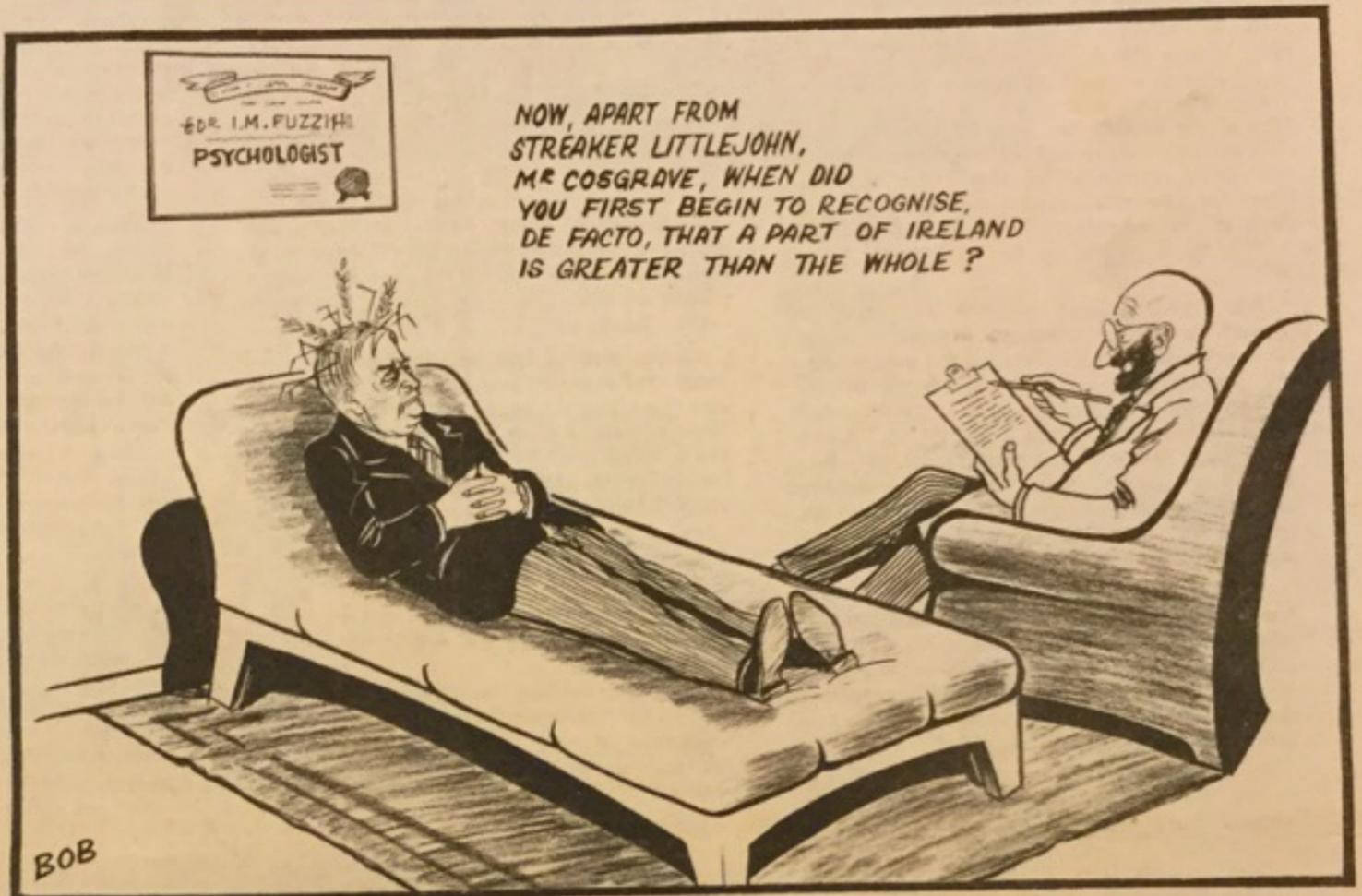


An Phoblacht

Iml. 5. Uimh. 12. 5p. Marta 22, 1974.



STEP BACK TO 1921 AND



CIVIL WAR ?

By DARA Mac DARA

'Council of Ireland' being pushed aside

CURRENT antics, among Tories north and south, look like a farcical replaying of the Treaty fiasco of 1921. The farce is underlined by Leinster House and Stormont orchestrating the Cosgrave "statement" of recognition of "Northern Ireland's constitutional status" in time for St. Patrick's Day, designed by Liam Cosgrave as the national festival for the commemoration of all of Ireland's dead (regardless of the banners under which they died).

If background music were required we can think of nothing better than: "Take it down from the mast..."

The statement will be interpreted variously. Cosgrave can say privately that "cannot be changed" means that the changing is physically impossible as his crowd will not and desires not to bring any pressure to bear on Westminster - moral, physical or economic - to achieve Irish unity and independence.

Publicly, to those interested, such as the wriggling Faulkner, he can assert that it means all that his "well-intentioned" listeners want it to mean. Eamonn de Valera hardly could have ordered it better.

But the "Belfast Telegraph" (and many nationally-minded people, north and south) read it as being "a firm declaration of Ulster's right to be British".

Major Vivion de Valera read it in that sense, a lone voice, apparently, among the disintegrating Fianna Fail ranks.

Top priorities

The "Telegraph" adds: "What remains is for it to be removed in law" (the assertion in the Dublin Constitution of 1973 of sovereignty over the entire country) "and this must be one of the top priorities for the Fine Government in the coming months". Back to the 1921 Treaty, in other words.

All public commentators seem to have missed the point that not only *de facto* but also *de jure* recognition of the alleged British status of the Six Counties was given by the Dublin administration in signing up for the E.E.C. in Brussels last year.

A terrible civil war in the 26 Counties, and pogroms in the Six Counties, followed the 1921 Treaty. Indications are that another is in the making unless all the Unionist fascist noises of the moment are merely sword rattling.

There is another kind of hammering on the door of privilege that will not be so easily quietened, the Protestant working class which is sick of Faulkner, tired of Craig and Paisley, and getting booted about by Westminster's soldiers. They do not want Sunningdale but, unlike

the Faulkners, Craigs and Paisleys, are likely to do something about it if, despite the recent electoral decision, an attempt is made to force Sunningdale on them.

Strasbourg withdrawal

We may expect, now, Dublin's withdrawal of the torture accusations against Britain at Strasbourg, and a round-up of Republicans under the most flimsy of excuses: they will be interned in all but name under one or other of the many means available under the Offences Against the State Acts, again, perhaps, ironically, by Easter.

Already, in many parts of the country, many Republicans have been taken into custody. In the Six Counties, similar action, with the Brits at their roughest, is being taken against working-class Protestants.

This harassment and Cosgrave's declaration have not made Sunningdale any stronger: it would take very much more to reverse the recent electoral defeat and Faulkner knows it in his bones. He is doomed.

The following comments are taken from the "Belfast Telegraph":

The Rev. Ian Paisley reacted to Mr. Cosgrave's statement by saying: "Mr. Faulkner will find cold comfort in this vain attempt by Mr. Cosgrave to bail him out."

The statement, he said, was just another piece of political gymnastics. All Mr. Cosgrave did was to recognise the fact that Northern Ireland existed as part of the UK, a fact Fine had been forced to recognise since the setting-up of the state.

'No referendum'

But Mr. Cosgrave had not announced any intention on the part of his Government to change by referendum the claim of the Republic's Constitution to territorial sovereignty over the North.

Mr. Paisley said that would be the only way that Northern Ireland's status within the UK would be properly recognised.

It was pure hypocrisy for Mr. Cosgrave to reject the criticisms of the North about this matter as unjustifiable.

"In reality all Mr. Cosgrave has done is to recognise his own agreement at Sunningdale. As far as the United Unionists are concerned, even if the Constitution of Fine was changed, they would not agree to the sacrificing of Ulster's integrity in any way to a Council

of Ireland with executive and judicial powers," the Democratic Unionist leader said.

He added: "There can be no United Ireland. The Northern Ireland electorate has rejected the Humpty Dumpty of Sunningdale and all the efforts of Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. Faulkner will not put it together again."

A spokesman for the Official Unionist Party said the Dublin declaration represented a step backward.

Out on bail

"Mr. Cosgrave is talking about an agreement that a Dublin court has said does not exist. Some people might choose to believe this stupid flannel, but the Dublin Prime Minister is just trying to bail out the Northern Ireland executive," he said.

Mr. William Craig, the Vanguard MP for East Belfast, said the Éire Government had shown in the recent Boland case that it did not recognise Northern Ireland as part of the UK.

Mr. Craig, who was at the Commons said: "Such a statement made in a court of law carries far more weight than any political statement which has now been issued by Mr. Cosgrave."

"He might as well not have bothered."

Meanwhile, Lord O'Neill of the Maine has added his voice to the rising chorus that the Council of Ireland be postponed.

On Ulster Television, Lord O'Neill said: "The new Executive, a frail vessel, is sailing along quite happily and should not be sunk by imposing another institution on top of it, about which people in Northern Ireland have serious doubts."

If the politicians proceeded with the Council of Ireland it could wreck not only the Executive but also the Assembly.

And, of course, there is no plan for a restructured R.U.C. In fact, the R.U.C. has been promised by Whitelaw and Pym that it will not be restructured. Rees is expected to make a similar statement.

Nor is there any indication that internment is to be ended. Indeed, with the Dublin administration planning internment in all but name, why should the British budge an inch?

No harm for the people to remember how they were fooled and are still being fooled, by the S.D.L.P., when asked to end the Rents-and-Rates strike.

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 5. Marta 22, 1974. Uimhir 12.

44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Éire. Guthán: 47611

Escape of a spy

THE IRISH public, north and south of the Border, will need a lot of very convincing evidence before it will even begin to believe that the escape of the Littlejohn brothers from Mountjoy Jail last week was not the result of collaboration between members of the Dublin Special Branch and British intelligence.

People will remember the Oíche Shamhna escape of the airborne three from Mountjoy and all the Merrion street propaganda that followed. The security system was to be reviewed by experts: it would never – it *could* never – happen again. The Dublin administration has at its disposal such experts; and, if their advice were followed, it would be very, very difficult, indeed, to escape from that place.

If the Littlejohn brothers – or their advisers or both – were able to find the weakest link in the prison security system, such a discovery was unlikely not to have been made also by the advisers to the king of the cockroaches. The prison warders must have known as well as anybody else the most obvious place to try in an escape bid. How strange, therefore, in all the circumstances, that material should have been left convenient to this place to provide the scaffolding to get the spy brothers over the prison wall?

Was it ever intended that both brothers should escape? Perhaps not. Obviously, it would be unwise for the Merrion Street authorities to take too many into the secret. Obviously, it would be useful if an excuse could be found to concentrate the search parties in one particular area so that the one intended to be freed should have a better chance. Therefore, Keith, conveniently, is found with telephone numbers and addresses, an obvious plant, if ever there was one, so as to lay a false trail. Meanwhile, Kenneth heads west or south.

Visualise the absurdity of trained spies, who have learned to memorise far more complicated data than telephone numbers and addresses, having to rely on such things as notes. Even if one were to get such information at the last moment it could be written on the palm of one's hand where it could be rubbed off easily in the event of recapture.

We are not alone in our view that this was an "inside job", aided by British intelligence. The political correspondent of the Press Association

believed likewise. The only question that requires an answer is: Why should the Dublin administration allow itself to be put in this quandary, one that could bring about its downfall?

The answer is that the British wanted Kenneth free and ordered Merrion Street to provide the facilities. Merrion Street had no option but to obey. It is too deep, now, in the collaboration business to be able to withdraw. There is far too much damaging information available to the British.

Some of this information was uncovered by newspaper reporters in the earlier stages of the Littlejohn saga. It was published in bits and pieces, as the reporters found it. It is no secret to newspapermen in Dublin that a very embarrassed Merrion Street appealed to newspaper editors, "in the national (*sic*) interest" to end the investigation and to publish no more. There was mention, too, of the Official Secrets Act.

Merrion Street was obeyed. The investigation was ended. The reporters were told to lay off, to forget what they had discovered, and given other tasks. There was, for example, the drinking association in Tralee between a high-ranking individual under the control of the Department of Justice and the Littlejohn brothers.

There were the peculiar circumstances by which the British spy Crinnion obtained his key position in C-2, in the Garda Depot, Phoenix Park, and the much more damaging connections, perhaps, between Wyman and other British spies, and prominent Dublin politicians.

Material for blackmail is available to a huge extent, due to the immaturity, carelessness and personal weaknesses of very many people in good jobs. Disclosure for them would mean ruin, even in the apathetic "Free" State area as it is today.

But Jack Lynch was able to survive as leader of

Fianna Fáil despite his convenient memory lapse. There appears no reason to doubt the ability of the present crowd of messers in Merrion Street to survive the latest Littlejohn scandal. Nevertheless, an attempt should be made to unseat them.

The average man-in-the-street, grossly uninformed as to the capabilities of Sinn Féin, due to the amazing shyness of so many members, would not be immediately enthusiastic to a suggestion of another general election in the 26 Counties, as a result of the Littlejohn affair. His reaction would likely be: What choice do we have? Isn't Fianna Fáil just as bad?

The Mountjoy Jail escape scandal gives Sinn Féin yet another glorious opportunity to tell the people in their homes and on the streets just how rotten the Leinster House regime is; how hopeless the situation must continue to be under monopoly capitalism, as a puppet state of the Westminster empire; and what considerable improvements are possible at once with a really nationally minded and independent government such as Sinn Féin could form.

There is a sufficiently strong body of intelligent people, not at present part of the Republican Movement, appalled at all the insults to national dignity inflicted by the professional politicians, to push Sinn Féin into power. But this body needs convincing that there is a viable alternative, that there are practical proposals behind Republican idealism, and that there are reasonable people in the Movement who could be trusted in national office.

The black propaganda of the media is strong, shrill and insistent. All the power and influence of big business is backing the campaign of vilification. But there are times when that grave disadvantage can be overcome.

Now is an ideal time to get out and to rally the people who cannot fail to be disgusted at this latest clumsy example of the worst kind of collaboration between the native and the foreign enemies of Ireland. Sinn Féin, unlike other political parties, is well documented as to the details and reasonableness of its politics. Has it the vitality, imagination and initiative needed to organise a nation-wide series of protests? The tide is with us. It would be a crime against the Irish people and their descendants to miss it.

Jesuit and language

Should all good Roman Catholics, members of Conradh na Gaeilge and other national organisations, cease to practise religion because of the hypocrisy of so many Irish Catholic bishops and priests?

There is hardly any need to labour the point or to extend the argument to the Church of Ireland, to the Presbyterians, Methodists, Jews, to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, to the alleged custodians of democracy, freedom of speech and all the rest of it: the press.

Hypocrisy, it would appear, will be a fact of life for many a long year, at home and abroad. The only way of stopping or delaying the decay is to expose it broadly rather than selectively and to fight it. Nothing can be gained by resignation, opting out, abandoning principles merely because many of those in high positions, boasting of the same principles, betray them by hypocrisy.

Our loyalty is to the principles, not to some of the weak, sick, ignorant or arrogant betrayers. That, surely, must be the reaction of intelligent people of conscience: logic must triumph over disgust and disillusionment by our determination to change society for the better. That is the only way to fight the stagnation of a society, through faith, hope and charity. And, when necessary, through physical force: Christ whipped the money-changers from the Temple.

If Ó Catháin had said that the restoration had failed, and had tried to prove it, he would have been found out by the facts. For, despite all the betrayals of people in high places, despite all the sabotage by politicians, seoinin elements and the civil service itself, despite all the stupidities, more people know, speak and write Irish today in the towns and cities of the 26 Counties than for centuries. The official census returns show a steady increasing percentage of fluent Irish speakers.

Had the 26 Counties been independent economically, and had it been organised in the interests of the mass of the people instead of in those of a rich minority, development would have been spread evenly over the entire state; emigration, especially from the west, would have been stopped many decades ago, and the Gaeltacht regions would be far stronger than they are today. No. The restoration has not failed. Rather has the state and gombeenism in general failed the restoration.

For a time, perhaps as late as 1954, up to which time some pretence was being made of economic independence, it was fashionable for those in power to be seen to stand by the language restoration. Since that time the ruling parties gradually have abandoned every principle connected with the reconquest of Ireland, including the cultural reconquest.

It was only to be expected that the likes of the various Fitzgeralds, O'Briens, Beltons, McCarthys and Ó Catháins would come out more and more openly against the only sane alternative to their policies of national surrender and reintegration with the British ethos; and the Irish language is the very essence of nationality, of independence, of defiance to alien dictates, of revolt and the freedom struggle.

The logic of their betrayal must lead them even farther, to question the commonsense of a separate parliament in Dublin when, having abandoned nationality, the sanest, most economic course, would be to leave the complete administration of these islands to the Westminster parliament. After all, they have gone a considerable distance in surrendering to Brussels. And for how much longer, with all its tensions and contradictions, can the Common Market last, or, at least, offer any incentive whatsoever to the people of this country, north or south?

Already, Charles McCarthy and Jack Lynch are talking along these lines. Cruise O'Brien is stepping out on that journey with his proposals for radio and television services. Business and industry are controlled almost entirely from abroad.

How dangerous for the future of our people all that madness is can be seen in our petrol and oil problems: Leinster House has been told officially by ministers that we are completely at the mercy of foreign exploiters who, as long as the present system lasts, can bleed us white and get away with it.

Ó Catháin probably knows all this but is a man broken in spirit, like so many of his class. But the road to sanity, to national self-respect and dignity, to hope and progress, must begin with the determination to reach out and take control of our own affairs. The very marrow of that determination lies in the conviction that the Irish language is vital to our being. There can be no freedom in Ireland until we are free in our minds and our mouths.

A JESUIT father suggested recently that official attempts at restoration of the Irish language be abandoned by the Merrion Street administration because of the hypocrisy associated with state policies. No doubt he was thinking, among other things, of the hypocrisy of civil servants and politicians connected with Irish language policies and who do not bother even to use the correct, Irish forms of their names. To do him justice, the form he uses is Ó Catháin, a surname of distinguished Ulster origin. He has an impeccable Irish-Ireland background and is related to the late Athair Ó Duinnín who produced the only Irish-English dictionary in general use today.

From a Jesuit father and a former professor of education at a university college one expects knowledge and use of logic. The Jesuits take a vow of poverty. Yet, they have been associated in the public mind with the cultivation of the more affluent and the abandonment of the poor and struggling. They are looked upon as a vanguard of the upper middleclass and of having the same set of values and interests. This is true of Ireland as it is of other countries. It continues to be true of Ireland despite the rather tardy appeal, in recent years, of the General of the Society of Jesus that Jesuits should concentrate on the education of the under-privileged.

All this would seem to smack of hypocrisy. Should all honourable members of the Order in Ireland – and elsewhere – resign forthwith?

It can be shown just as clearly that hypocrisy is a fact of life of the Roman Catholic Church in general in many countries today, as in other centuries. Again, we do not have to go farther than Ireland for detailed documentation.

The ambivalent attitude of so much of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, and of the clergy in general, to violence, is the obvious example. And to power and temporal interests, even when these clash obviously with the teaching of Christ.

The general clerical attitude to the Irish language is yet another example, despite the documents of Vatican II, in striking contrast to the attitude of the Basque Catholic clergy to the native language and native culture in general, in striking contrast to Roman Catholic clerical attitudes to native culture in South America, Africa and elsewhere.

Horror at Border murder

ÓGLAIGH na hÉireann and Sinn Féin were among the many national organisations which condemned the Border killing of Senator Billy Fox.

"Free" State police and administration were quick in a bid to link Ógláigh na hÉireann with the killing. The link was denied indignantly. Fox was respected by the Movement as a sincere, compassionate, courageous man.

The following statement on the murder was supplied by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, on March 12:

"Sinn Féin condemns unreservedly the killing of Senator Bill Fox near the Fermanagh Border last night and expresses sympathy with his relatives and friends.

"The late Senator Fox was active in protests against British army action in cratering roads, firing C.S. gas and rubber bullets across the Border and making incursions into the 26 Counties.

"He was also engaged in effort to find a political solution to the present conflict and secure a lasting peace and, in the course of this work, he became known personally to Republican leaders, including the Sinn Féin vice-president, Daithí Ó Conaill, with whom he explored the federal Ireland proposal.

"Once again, as in the case of the Dublin bombings, in December, 1972, politically motivated British or pro-British agents have made a strategically timed intervention into the affairs of the 26 Counties.

"Their purpose is so obvious, to pressurise and frighten the Dublin politicians into giving another turn of the screw to coercion of Irish Republicans, and collaboration with the British Forces of occupation in Ireland at this time.

Eight murders

"The Republican Movement is not content to be made a whipping boy, as happened on previous occasions, for the failure of the Dublin government to protect the lives and property of the people of the 26 Counties.

"There is much talk of increased security and intensified Border patrolling; but it is relevant to ask what kind of security is in question?

"The many raids, burnings, bombings and attempted assassinations in Border areas of the 26 Counties and in Dublin over the past number of years, as well as the murder of seven people - Senator Fox is the eighth - have gone unpunished.

"It is clear that all the security is geared solely towards protecting the British occupation forces in Ireland and is not directed at all towards the defence of the people of the 26 Counties, especially those in Border areas who have suffered so much at the hands of the British or pro-British assassination and terror squads. Major incursions by the British army are glossed over while, as happened last week, their victims are promptly jailed.

"Mr. Cosgrave talks of co-operation with the British forces; but will he demand and enforce an end to their under-cover activities in the 26 Counties?

"Criminal negligence in dealing with British agents and



Hugh Feeney is held in Gartree Prison, England, and is never forgotten by his Irish comrades who picket the prison three or four times a week. These pictures show some of the banners and slogans at a recent demonstration outside the prison.

POLITICAL HOSTAGES HOME SOON

THANKS to the efforts of Sinn Féin supporters in Britain, backed by Republican demonstrations at home and in many parts of the world, plus growing understanding and sympathy on the Continent and the U.S., it is now virtually certain that the Irish political prisoners in Britain will be sent home to serve their sentences here.

In London, S.F. members have been on the streets often three or four times weekly, picketing prisons the HQs of the British Medical Association, the "Free" State Embassy.

London Sinn Féin members and Women of Ireland Group organised a token 48-hour hunger strike outside Brixton Prison to highlight the plight of the Price sisters.

On Sunday, Feb. 17, a massive demonstration and picket was held outside Gartree Prison, Leicestershire, where Hugh Feeney is being held and tortured. Six coachloads of people and dozens of cars and vans brought more than 300 people along.

Various Sinn Féin banners were carried from London, Birmingham, Coventry and Manchester. Also present were People's Democracy and various Socialist groups.

After the picketing a public meeting was held and addressed by representatives of Sinn Féin, Irish Political Hostages Campaign and People's Democracy.

All the pictures are courtesy Cumann Wolfe Tone, North London.

Cork: On January 26 a protest march through the city carried four coffins bearing the names of the prisoners on hunger strike. On February 2, another protest march was held. The Bishop of Cork was approached and asked to issue a statement, which he refused. The local T.D.s have been visited and leaflets distributed.

Meath: The Meath Comhairlecheantar has organised several protests in recent weeks. These included a forced-feeding demonstration in An Uaimh and Coannanus Mór. Other public meetings are arranged. All local T.D.s have been visited.



assassins in the past is the direct cause of last night's murder of a compassionate and concerned Irishman.

"A final question: Could the murderers in this case be the British army under-cover squad who were arrested by Gardaí in Clones last May, were brought to the barracks and were given tea, but were then released across the Border on orders from Dublin?" the statement ends.

Australians warned

According to newspaper reports, the Australian Defence Minister, Mr. Barnard, has stated "that he was anxious to have Australian military forces in Britain".

A statement supplied by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau (Australia) reminds Mr. Barnard that a state of war exists between the British Crown forces and Ógláigh na hÉireann; "that all military establishments in the United Kingdom are targets for the liberation forces.

"Mr. Barnard is risking the lives of Australian soldiers if he agrees to co-operate with the British Crown Forces who are at present engaged in a terror campaign in occupied Ireland.

"We appeal to the Australian people not to allow themselves to be involved in another Vietnam.

"We appeal to the Australian Government to request the British Government to withdraw from occupied Ireland, to release all political prisoners and allow the Irish people to determine their own destiny," the statement concludes.

Nuacht na gCumann

How to get a suspended sentence

DAVID McGready, Co. Derry, was apprehended by the Brits on June 17 last, while on his way to his A-level examinations at Foyle College with a revolver in the waistband of his trousers.

His statement said that he had had it "for the good of Ulster". He lived a mile from the Donegal border, considered himself under a permanent stage of siege, had to pass through hostile areas to get to Foyle College, had to remove his school blazer for personal safety and once he and his father had been petrol-bombed while in their car.

On June 17 he had been given the revolver while on "protection duty" in a Protestant estate but had now severed his links with the U.D.A. The Judge said that he was treating McGready as a "silly schoolboy, which he then was". The age of this youthful offender, this naughty little scamp, this "silly schoolboy", only 20 years young!

Our 15 year-olds are interned!! Our 16 year-olds are interned!! Our 17 year-olds are interned!! Our 18 year-olds are interned!! Our 19 year-olds are interned!! McGready's punishment: a two-year SUSPENDED SENTENCE.

From "Bogside News"

Cooney's attack on children

THE recent outburst by Mr. Paddy Cooney against An Cumann Cabhrach (Prisoners Dependents' Fund) at a Fine Gael banquet in Listowel, demonstrates further the callous nature of the Minister who is clearly not satisfied with jailing the breadwinners of many families but also is prepared to see their dependants starve, according to a statement from An Cumann Cabhrach.

An Cumann Cabhrach, a voluntary organisation which raises funds to support the wives, families and other relatives of imprisoned Republicans, was established in 1922.

Among those who served on the central committee since the establishment were Maude Gonne McBride, and the wives of Austin Stack and Cathal Brugha. Two members of the present committee have served 31 years and 25 years, respectively.

No member of An Cumann Cabhrach is paid for services. All have given voluntary service and the present committee is making valiant sacrifices to collect or raise sufficient funds to hold together the families of some 2,000 prisoners, men and women, until the return of the breadwinners.

An Cumann Cabhrach will not be intimidated by Mr. Cooney's statements but will continue to do its Christian duty of supporting those deprived wives and children.

"We will do so in the certain belief that, without their work, many Irish families would be broken up and, in some cases, children would have to be put into institutions. We look forward confidently to continued support from all who have supported our worthy objectives in the past", the statement concludes.

Gardaí protect ex-S.A.S. major

(By a Special Correspondent)

WHY ARE some 30 gardaí and detectives guarding a British ex-S.A.S. major day and night in a quiet Waterford town?

Why is a respectable Munster daily paper being used in a public relations exercise by a feudal landlord to polish up his image? The answer, in the words of a local resident, is that "British imperialism is alive and well in Cappoquin".

For Sir Richard Keane, Baronet, lays claim to the ground on which Cappoquin is built, and has increased rents exorbitantly as leases run out. He is now in open confrontation with the townspeople who have organised themselves in a tenants' association.

Things took a further turn when the association recently decided to withhold all ground rents pending a final settlement of this feudal practice.

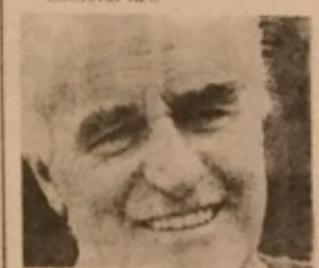
Proud record

In his public relations counter-offensive Sir Richard dispelled rumours of eviction: "The proud record of the Keane estate, that never in the history of the town of Cappoquin has a tenant been ejected, will be maintained".

Old people claim this simply is not true and cite instances. And the memory of Sir Richard taking a widow to court over non-payment of rent two years ago is not reassuring.

There are fears that the tactics of "divide and conquer" may be adapted to present-day needs and that some tenants may be induced to settle individually, thus paving the way for victimisation of the weaker members, such as those on fixed incomes.

The strategy of victory is clear, however: the continued withholding of ground rents and the maintenance of a united front by the people will eventually abolish this immoral tax.



Sir Richard Keane.

Coisde Cuimhneachain na Poblachta (Republican Commemoration Committee)

EASTER SUNDAY 1974

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LILIES, WRAPPERS & POSTERS:

Apply: Joe Clarke, 33, O'Donovan Rd. S.C.R. Dublin 8. Tel. 753723

SPEAKERS:

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Send a subscription today to: An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, 1, ÉIRE.

Cruise O'Brien declaring war on Irish

DR. Conor Cruise O'Brien is declaring civil war on what must be the most patient linguistic minority in Europe, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, told a meeting of Laois Comhairleachtar in Portlaoise recently.

Here is his address in full.

The recent statement of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien on Section 17 of the Broadcasting Act, is only one further example of the dictatorial zeal of a warped pseudo-intellectual who, having got the taste of power, wants to mould the national broadcasting service in his own image and likeness.

Nobody can be in any doubt now about the myth of the "liberalism" behind which Dr. O'Brien tries to hide. Having already gone a long way towards making RTE little more than a mouthpiece for his own political views, he wants to impose his own dishonest version of Irish history on a reluctant RTE authority and staff.

When Dr. O'Brien suggests that the effect of removing the directive under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act might be to have "the I.R.A. running free" in RTE, he is being dishonest, because, when he was in opposition, he advocated on more than one occasion that I.R.A. spokesmen be allowed on RTE; so that, presumably, their case could be demolished.

Why has the doctor changed his mind? Does he fear that the viewers, if confronted with the other side on certain issues, might at last realise the degree to which the "big lie" technique is being used by the British army propaganda machine and others, including the British diplomatic services which, on occasions have been only too glad to re-print and distribute material which was written by Dr. O'Brien himself?

Doubly dishonest

But, in this instance, Dr. O'Brien is being doubly dishonest for he knows that the aim of the Section 31 directive was not to prevent "the I.R.A. running free" in RTE. Its aim, and certainly its practical effect, was to prevent the expression of certain points of view on RTE and to effectively exclude certain groups, mainly Republicans, from exercising political influence.

Its practical effect has been to lead to a general demoralisation of RTE staff and the growth of self-censorship on a wide range of topics. It has damaged severely the credibility of RTE as an independent service which is there to serve the general public, not the parties in power.

Its bias, enforced from the top, is a particular source of bitterness amongst the Nationalist people of the North where the acceptance, almost without question, of British army, Stormont and Cosgrave-O'Brien propaganda on the one hand, and failure either to cover adequately or investigate fully so many other issues in the present conflict on the other, seems to them to be much more marked than in the B.B.C. itself.

Dr. O'Brien's twisted reasoning can also be seen in his references about the duty of RTE to foster the national culture.

We ask Dr. O'Brien what Irish language or national cultural groups suggest that the Irish language is the only tradition worth cherishing to the exclusion of all others?

Sinn Féin's proposals for a federal Ireland, with maximum local autonomy, would give equal access to the media to each part of the country and not just to the fashionable set centred around Montrose.

Central tradition

But Sinn Féin, which preaches self-determination for all traditions, north and south, east and west, would agree with those who suggest that the Gaelic element in our heritage, while not dominant, is central to the make-up of the Irish nation.

We would also point out that, while there are several traditions in the country, there are two

RUAIRÍ Ó BRÁDAIGH SPEAKING IN PORTLAOISE

languages and that the basic civil rights of the speakers of each have to be recognised.

In sneering at the legal recognition given to the weaker one of those two languages at present Dr. O'Brien is declaring civil war on what must be the most patient linguistic minority in Europe.

If Dr. O'Brien thinks less than 3.0 per cent. of the programming on RTE television to be excessive, we wonder how he would treat really small minorities.

If he recognised the fact that basic information in his own language is not available to the Irish speaker at present from the public media despite the legal recognition which Irish is said to have — then Dr. O'Brien might propose a Gaeltacht television service for those communities whose life-style at present gets less from a so-called national network than the linguistic minorities of Wales and Brittany get from the centralised

imperialistic powers of London and Paris.

Gaeltacht channel

Section 17 is and always has been a dead letter in RTE. Its removal, however, should be contemplated only if and when a fully satisfactory Irish television channel for Gaeltacht and non-Gaeltacht Irish speakers is a reality.

Dr. O'Brien's whole approach to the development of broadcasting betrays a basic belief that what is British is best and that the best thing to do would be to hand over the future development of the Irish airwaves to a foreign power.

We are not denying the merits of the B.B.C. It is an excellent service for Englishmen. There is no reason why we cannot relay the best of its programmes but this does not mean that we should limit the development of Irish

broadcasting.

If we are to have a second channel, why not a second Irish public service which might draw on the best of B.B.C. TV and other European networks?

Why pretend that the "Open Broadcasting" proposal is a ploy to, in disguise, of television services when we know that only a few hours programming are produced in Belfast each week?

"Open Broadcasting" means allowing British programmes throughout the south and west of the country with no guarantee that RTE will be increased even throughout the Six Counties.

If we were to have a second channel, the right to broadcast our own programmes in the Irish in Britain in return for any extension of British programming here.

Contempt for natives

Dr. O'Brien's suggestion of the

possibility of Irishmen to run a broadcasting service can be seen also by his decision to extend the cable television system to the maximum even though he knows that this will not solve the problem of choice in the rural south and west.

The lack of confidence in his RTE staff was never more strongly indicated than when he gave the "scoop" on Mr. Lynch's knowledge of the Littlejohn affair to the B.B.C. in preference to the nationalists of the station for which he is responsible.

Thus RTE was in the demoralising position of having to quote the Dublin correspondent of the B.B.C. as to source when the news story broke.

Such obvious contempt for the efforts of a news staff who have had to labour under the heavy burdens of the past years — some of them the direct result of the present Minister's two-faced attitude to freedom of the press — gives some indication of Dr. O'Brien's patronising attitude.

His grip on what Irish people can see and hear in both languages must be relaxed, the address concludes.

Conall Ó Cearnaigh under fire

IT WILL be extremely difficult for Republicans and your readers, alike, to reconcile your hard-hitting attack in "An Phoblacht" of 15th inst. on the policies of Conor Cruise O'Brien with that of your colleague, Conall Ó Cearnaigh who, in your issue of February 1, expressed such glowing approval of Mr. O'Brien's manifesto as to give me my first nauseating warning that Sinn Féin and Conor Cruise O'Brien are propounding identical policies in many respects.

I feel sure, Mr. Editor, that you and yours in "An Phoblacht" will scream to high Heaven in protest at such an accusation as this but, before attempting to refute my charge, just take a look at the inconsistency of your own statements.

In your issue of February 15, Cruise O'Brien is portrayed as an

FIRST ALLEGIANCE

YOUR correspondents, "Watcher" and Liam Ua Croinín, manifested dismay at Conall Ó Cearnaigh's article in your Feabhra 1 issue. I, too, should be very unhappy to think that the Republican Movement would make such a philosophy its own. But I fancy it doesn't, not yet anyhow.

The door is still open for the Christian, for him even more than anyone else. He belongs to the world of Christ, an exceedingly big world, with room in it for all authentic human sentiments and aspirations; and he is welcome if he comes to it with his love of country, his care for his heritage, his anger at the injustices his country suffers, his dedication to its service, his readiness to sacrifice even his life in its cause.

So, Watcher, happily we are not obliged to make that choice between Christ and our country, because even if we give our first allegiance to Him, we find ourselves required to be true Irishmen.

— An Canúach Diarmuid Mac Iomhair, Cill an Chorráigh, Dún Dealgan.

A front page article by Conall Ó Cearnaigh, describing Bradford's secret meeting with the Knights, has aroused more controversy than anything else we have published in months. Here we print two more letters on the subject and invite readers to contribute their viewpoints.

Other letters: page seven.

unprincipled opportunist unworthy of the support of honest people.

In your issue of February 1, Conall Ó Cearnaigh was afforded banner headlines to confer on the same Mr. O'Brien a Sinn Féin banquet for the latter's courage in drawing what was described as "legitimate attention" to the tolling on RTE of the Angelus bell on the grounds that it is sectarian, with a clever prod to that gentleman to use his absolute power, now, to rid the media of the Angelus. This is quite a friendly shake-hands with Mr. O'Brien on one aspect of his policy, is it not?

You are forever preaching that the British connection is the principal source of all our ills. If you believe this, why are you sharing the same band-wagon as Mr. O'Brien — howling in the same voice for contraception and divorce, desegregated schools, a secular society?

Are not these things an eloquent expression of the very connection you are at pains to condemn?

Shame on you for your two-faced hypocrisy. Deceit will become Republicans, and, indeed, has been an unknown ingredient in the Movement until recent times.

It is shattering to realise that the day has dawned when Republicans can be accused of a sell-out. For if Ó Cearnaigh's recipe is the price Sinn Féin is prepared to pay for a united Ireland, Republicans will have bartered our country's age-old glory for Britain's provincialness of postage, and history will indict them as being more base and more unscrupulous than the shameful States who sold the pass after the Treaty of Surrender in 1921.

"An Phoblacht" of recent

times has made me think that times over. It is obvious that the inspiring motto "Chun cúl Dú agus oibre na hÉireann" is no longer your guiding principle; but, be assured, that when this golden goal is abandoned, the magnetism of the Republican Movement will be no more.

Maire Ní Chiosáin, Baile Átha Cliath.

The staff and volunteers of Briogáid Bhaile Átha Cliath wish to extend their deepest sympathy to the family of the late Mrs. Rose Johnson, R.I.P., 21 Asgal Ribh, An Chulóg, Baile Átha Cliath. Sympathy is extended in particular to her son, Johnny, who is interned in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp and who was refused parole to visit his dying mother or to attend her funeral.

Conditioned?

Nineteen sixth-year students, from Belvedere College, Dublin, sat and listened to the Parliamentary proceedings in the Stormont Assembly one day recently.

They were welcomed by Mr. Basil Melvor, the Minister of Education. The visit was the first by a party of schoolchildren from the 26 Counties.

Thoughts on a long prison sentence

The sun will still be there to warm us,
the rain to wet us,
the sky will turn from blue to grey
to black despite us,
and we must be content to pass these years,
these long and lonely years away from that.
But how much richer will we be at last,
when all this pain and living
death has passed?

— Dolours Price

Chugainn na hAlbannaigh

B'íodh an chomharthaíocht bhídh na hAlbannaigh a' tairneadh an t-Éireann agus a' tairneadh an t-Éireann. B'íodh an chomharthaíocht bhídh na hAlbannaigh a' tairneadh an t-Éireann agus a' tairneadh an t-Éireann.

Dubhair, sa Spideal, agus i nGaoth. B'íodh an chomharthaíocht bhídh na hAlbannaigh a' tairneadh an t-Éireann agus a' tairneadh an t-Éireann.

FAMOUS GUERRILLA LEADERS: 1

By a Special Correspondent

TOM BARRY, perhaps one of the greatest guerrilla leaders Ireland ever produced, was born in Rosscarbery, Co. Cork, in 1898. In the 1900s West Cork was a particularly poor area and the usual option for a young man was either to emigrate or join the British forces.

The latter course Tom Barry adopted in 1915, when he was aged 17, "in order to see what war was like," more than any other reason. In 1916, then serving in Iraq, Barry learned of the Easter Rising and was awakened for the first time to Ireland's long struggle for freedom.

He learned of the previous failures of resistance movements yet was conscious of the continued resistance of the Irish people to foreign domination despite these failures.

In 1919 Tom Barry returned to his native Cork and there became better acquainted with Irish history and became aware of a new resistance movement then being formed and organised around him, the Óglaigh na hÉireann. In the summer of 1919 Tom Barry joined the Army as an intelligence officer with the Cork No. 3 (West Cork) Brigade.

No shots fired

West Cork in 1919 was a quiet spot for the British occupation forces, with no shots being fired in anger by the I.R.A. at what would now be termed by enemy or puppet authorities "the security forces".

Nevertheless, raids for arms and general counter-insurgency operations were intensified by the British during the early months of 1920.

On February 12, 1920, attacks on the British and their R.I.C. allies commenced and they continued with deadly effect until the end of the war making West Cork one of the "hottest" areas for the British in Ireland.

Skirmishes with the enemy and training took up most of the time of the Army and, in August, 1920, Tom Barry was made a member of the Brigade staff. Shortly afterwards he became, reluctantly, he admits, Commandant of the Brigade Flying Column.

From then until the Truce a ruthless guerrilla war was waged by Tom Barry and his Flying Column on the British forces. Spies and informers were the source of British intelligence in the West Cork area and, as soon as the Army recognised and identified this threat, the network was smashed, effectively leaving the British in the dark.

British tactics in the Cork area were similar to those employed in the Six Counties today - raids for arms and men, torture and intimidation,

Irish, under Barry, set a style for revolt

assassination of innocent people and the murdering of captured I.R.A. prisoners, black propaganda and, of course, condemnation from the bishops.

The Óglaigh na hÉireann reply consisted of ambushes, sniping, attacks on police and military barracks, shooting of spies and informers and, to a certain extent, disruption of communications.

Fire was used by the British in their terror campaign. Native Irish houses were burned to deter guerrillas from being offered shelter.

The Army answered this by burning twice as many loyalist "big" houses as those Irish houses fired by the British. This helped to discourage the British in this particular type of activity.

Barry's Flying Column waged war with success and daring against the enemy forces which included the infamous terrorist Essex Regiment (among its ranks Major, later Lieut. Gen. Percival, who was to surrender Singapore so ignominiously to the Japanese in 1941), the Auxiliaries and, of course, the Black and Tans.

Barry's most famous victory was probably that at Kilmichael, where the Army ambushed and wiped out two lorry-loads of Auxiliaries who, up to then, had become seemingly invincible.

Another substantial victory was that at Crossbarry, when Barry's Flying Column of little more than a 100 men fought its way clear and inflicted heavy casualties on an encircling enemy force of more than 1,000 British troops, supported by armour and artillery.

Many other successful actions, such as the attack on Rosscarbery R.I.C. barracks, took place during this time but they are too many to be listed here.

Despite Bishop Cohan's decree, that anyone taking part in an ambush was guilty of murder and would incur the censure of excommunication; despite the Cork I.R.A.'s rather poor knowledge of explosives in the initial stages; despite the presence of some 12,600 British troops in the Cork county, opposed by some 300 armed Volunteers of Óglaigh

na hÉireann, the Irish forces were able to wage a highly successful guerrilla war against the demoralised occupation troops.

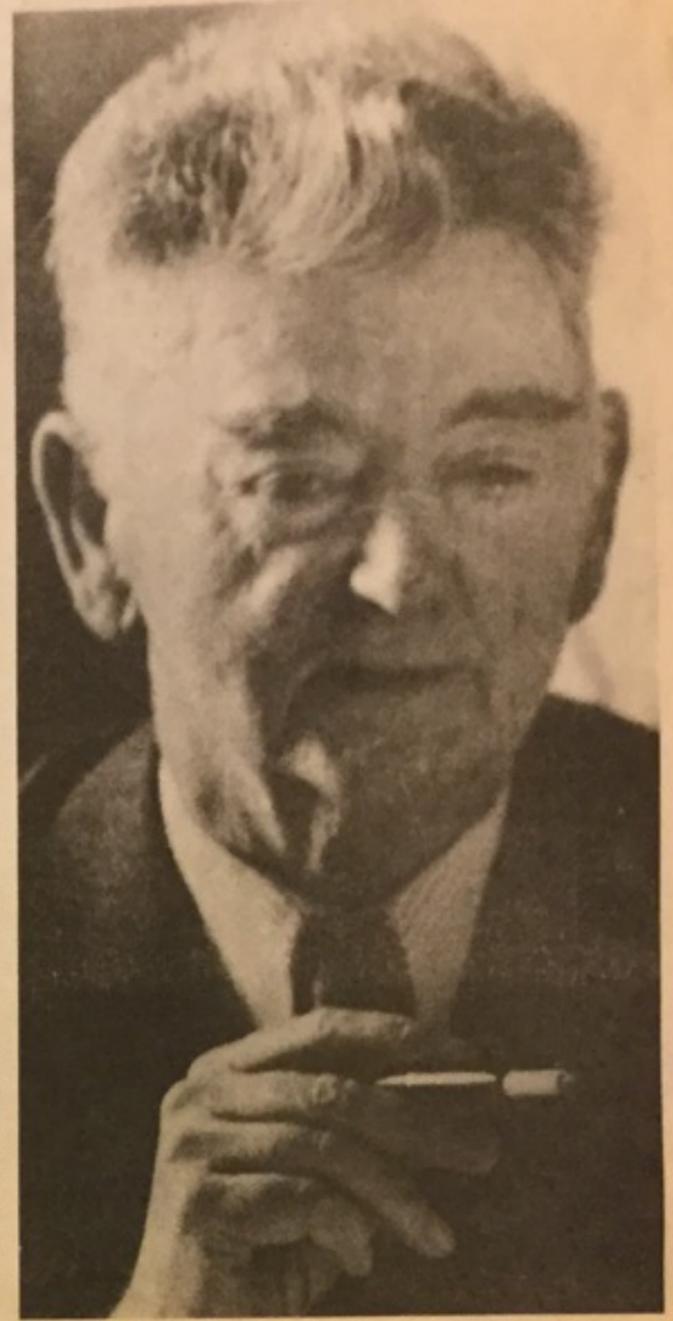
However, Tom Barry's assertion to de Valera, shortly before the Truce, that the Cork Flying Column could survive for another five years, at least, may have been too optimistic.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that resistance could have continued for a considerable time.

After the Truce came the war in Defence of the Republic and Tom Barry's imprisonment in Kilmainham jail by the Free State. After that war Tom Barry stayed on in the Óglaigh na hÉireann and eventually rose to the rank of commandant-general.

The War of Independence is regarded as a classic of guerrilla warfare (in which Tom Barry played no small part) and the tactics of the Army were copied by other liberation movements, such as the Irgun, in Palestine, the EOKA, in Cyprus.

They proved that guerrilla warfare by a small, ill-equipped people could defeat a major industrial power in a colonial war by making the situation intolerable for that colonial power and thereby forcing it to withdraw.



LAST week I sketched in lightly the mould which produced the Minister for Censorship (and black propaganda), Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. I said that his grandfather was David Sheehy, Parnellite M.P., of Belvedere Place, Dublin, then a residence for the well-to-do.

I traced, briefly, David Sheehy's manoeuvres which enabled him to keep in with the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and I reached the sordid business of the split in the Irish Party, the result of clerical pressure. In less than a year Parnell was dead.

Conor's grand-pere was among the carrion. He switched sides with Healy and denounced Parnell. "Curs yapping at a mastiff," as one writer puts it.

Conor himself knows all about this, and makes the best defence he can in a biography of the Chief.

In the Congo

To understand Conor it is necessary to know all this. Cognisance must be taken also of his upbringing and early life in the Department of External Affairs, where he began as a third secretary in 1944 after being educated in Sandford Park, Ranelagh, and Trinity College.

He is credited with having had a lot to do with the policy of non-alignment advocated by Frank Aiken in the United Nations from March 1957 onwards, until Uncle Sam put the squeeze on such initiatives, that is, after an historic vote on whether to seat China in the early 60s. It died a swift death.

Paradoxically he may have been involved in a measure he must now deeply regret; in May, 1956, the Dublin government extended the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act to give unrestricted citizenship to persons of Irish descent living in the Six Counties which, at that time, was Dublin's official title for "Northern Ireland".

U.N. membership gave Conor the opportunity of a role upon the world stage. Colonialism, never dear to his heart in any country but his own, was in retreat in Africa. Belgium handed over the Congo to a tottering native government in 1960, and U.N. troops were invited in.

The Dublin government offered a contribution of some

By JAMES HOPE

hundreds of mercenaries nominally commanded by General S. Mac Eoin.

As Conor was the man on the spot, however, much of the every day decisions fell to him. He may prove himself a better man at Post and Telegraphs but, in the Congo military affairs, he was an ignominious failure.

A small group - no more than 20 correspondents said, of bow-and-arrow carrying Baluba tribesmen - shattered a column of "Free" State army, troops at Niamba, killed 10, and wounded scores more.

The gory details of the ambush were carefully hushed up; coffins said to contain bodies were carried home amid a carefully orchestrated national mourning, and the engagement is now listed as a victory in the Curragh pantheon.

Katanga adventure

Niamba, however, did not dismay Conor; he was far from finished. One of the richest provinces of the Congo, Katanga, a country many times larger than France, and containing some of the world's richest deposits of copper and uranium, had broken out of the federation under the leadership of a provincial politician called Moïse Tzombe.

Conor saw Tzombe as a tool of Belgian industrialists eager to hold the rich mineral deposits by means of a puppet ruler (honestly the paradoxes of the man will never cease to astound), which, indeed, he may have been.

Tzombe, however, was probably no better and no worse

Conor Cruise O'Brien under the microscope

than the Congo's current dictator Gen. Joseph Mobutu (Tzombe died later in Algeria), but Conor saw red, and moved the UN troops into the Katanga capital, Elizabethville, now Lumumbashi, to stall him.

A period of great confusion, with coup following coup, resulted, during which Conor, safely from the sidelines, saw some action and not a little death.

For the honour of the country his actions, much criticised abroad, were not publicised at home; nor was it clear upon what authority he acted since his senior, Dag Hammarskjöld, who flew to the Congo early in 1961 (some say, to stop him) did not survive a jungle plane crash.

Conor has, however, written up his side of the affair in "Katanga and Back", and has found the material for one play out of it.

He found romance there, too. Miss Máire Mhac an tSaoi, poet, authoress, and fire-eating controversialist, was on the spot, though how her post in the Civil Service Cultural Relations Committee coincided with Congo affairs in war-time was not clear to anyone.

Second marriage

Conor, born a Roman Catholic, previously was married to Christine Foster of Belfast, whose father, Alex Foster, was one of the founder members of the Wolfe Tone Society in that city.

This marriage was dissolved in 1962 and the new ceremony with Miss Mhac an tSaoi, solemnised in the same year.

It shows how accommodating the Roman Church can be to a lapsed Catholic and divorcee.

Money and connections - Máire's uncle was ~~Monsignor~~ Paddy Browne of Galway - were a help.

They have no family, but have adopted two coloured children. Conor is a crusader against South African apartheid and is on the Council of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. His earlier marriage brought a number of tangible bonuses - a residence on the Hill of Howth left by the future Mrs. Hetherington, and an entrée (her husband is a director) to the columns of "The Irish Times".

It is easy to see from that why "The Irish Times" pushes Sunningdale.

For a brief year or two, after Oct., 1968, "The Times" was great on civil rights but it has clearly reverted to type.

Behind the scenes opinion in Dublin in 1961 was that the Congo had cast a long shadow over the career of Conor Cruise O'Brien.

Significantly, at the end of the year, he resigned quietly from the Civil Service and departed abroad.

Off to Ghana

His judgment still deserted him. In 1962 he accepted a post as Chancellor of the new gold-plate university at Accra from the dictator, Kwame Nkrumah, when that potentate had already begun to smell.

Starting life as a promising radical in 1950, he became

increasingly dictatorial when the former Gold Coast colony was handed over to him.

Rigged courts and public executions were the order of the day even before Conor went there. He managed to survive, however, for three years, and made some show of public indignation when he resigned in 1965, a year before his patron was deposed.

Frequently visiting Ireland and England, he spent most of the succeeding three years in the U.S.A. as Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at New York University; it is on his experiences there, and an astute build up, that his reputation as a great liberal rests.

He even went so far as to offer shelter in 1968 to the young German student leader Rudi Dutschke after he had been refused entry to the U.K. It added to the shine on his halo.

Conor has never overlooked the written word. There are nearly a dozen books, including two plays, to his credit, most of them published in the last few years.

An "in" with the Abbey enabled two of his plays to be produced there and his wife has had some poetry readings, not always, he it said, in a tranquil vein; on an occasion last year she huffed out of the Peacock when one poet spoke what she conceived to be skittish of her verse, ringing Leinster House and ordering Conor down to collect her.

The late Tomás O'Rahilly of the Institute of Advanced Studies also allegedly had his fingers rapped two and a half decades ago when he ventured criticism: her father then being a very powerful Minister.

British pet

Conor's name makes news and his moniker emblazoned upon a dust jacket is sure to sell it. Since civil rights became an issue in the

North at least four books from Conor have sold well on a world wide scale on the premise that they were going some way to undo injustice there which, of course, they do not.

For Conor has been one of the best propagandists that the British Foreign Office has unearthed, and their patronage, especially in the States, has contributed greatly to the sale of his books.

It also has contributed handsomely to his own income, now believed to run to five figures from this source.

Newspaper articles in "The Observer", widely disseminated by the Foreign Office, have supplemented this, though Conor has never disclosed what it makes.

He is, however, easily the best paid man - from British sources in Liam Cosgrave's Cabinet. On top of this he has been an absolute slave to TV.

The man has a boring condescension which goes down with upper class English viewers, though why RTE ever exposed him for so long can be attributed only to the state policy of dampening down on the North.

In this respect his contribution to the gradual win over of S.D.L.P. to Whitelaw constitutionalism cannot be over-estimated.

Paddy Devlin, Minister for Social Affairs in the new Stormont, has a libel action pending against Conor that he is very unlikely now to press.

Paddy used profess a white hate for Conor and pointedly left S.D.L.P. platforms when Conor went on.

Quiet persuasiveness has ironed out the irritations and now Paddy and Conor are the best of friends. But next time you see Conor's moniker on TV., bless yourself, for there is Liam's simmering time bomb. And nobody knows that better than Liam Cosgrave himself.

When it will explode it will be everybody's business.

CHIEF CENSOR

What religion, asked English policeman

I AM enclosing a report of an incident which took place recently here in Luton. In view of the seriousness of this event I feel sure you will give it serious consideration for publication.

On February 12, two carloads of plain clothes policemen raided the home of the treasurer of the Sinn Féin Cumann here.

The raid was carried out at 10.30 at night. The man arrived home to find the policemen in every room of his house carrying out a search.

His wife (who is English) and his young children were terrified of what was happening.

Inside his home, the man was surrounded by policemen, who produced a search warrant for "arms and explosives".

Having done that, they took him into his own living room

a chara

(away from his family) and told him to sit down.

There he was interrogated in a fashion known up to now only in the Six Counties. He was questioned about the explosion at the Military College in Chesham (Bucks). He was questioned further about an explosion last September in Welwyn Garden City (Herts).

Having satisfied themselves on those matters, the police officer in charge questioned him in a different way. He was asked what his religion was.

He refused to answer, saying it really wasn't anybody's business what his religion was and that that was a sectarian question.

The officer then asked him was he "frightened" of being questioned like this?

He replied he was more concerned about the effect it was having and would continue to have, on his wife and small children.

He was again asked what his religion was and he refused to answer. The officer then told him he was a Catholic himself and not to be afraid to answer the questions.

He replied that he was not interested in what religion the officer was, or anybody else for that matter.

The officer then asked him which school in Luton did his children attend?

He refused to answer that question also and reminded the officer of the sectarian nature of this line of questioning.

The officer then said it didn't matter, anyway, as he already knew the answers. This line of questioning continued for some time and, after about three hours, the policemen left the house empty-handed.

The man's wife and children were very distressed at what had happened. He has now written to the Chief Constable of Hertfordshire, demanding an explanation and an apology.

He has also written a complete and detailed account of the incident to the National Council for Civil Liberty and asked them to take the matter up on his behalf.

Before leaving the house the officer in charge told him he had recently completed a course (at the Open University) "in psychology".

It appears he was using this man and his young family as guinea pigs for new newly-acquired technique in questioning.

The man concerned now intends to follow up this matter right to the top, if necessary, and is demanding an inquiry from the police.

This was deliberate harassment, causing a great deal of unnecessary distress to innocent children and a law-abiding family.

— Micheál Holden, rúnaí, Patrick McAdorey Cumann, Luton, Beds., Sasana.

LONG KESH

I WAS highly amused to read that Mr. Pym has invited the IRA and the UVF "in from the cold". I think it would be much better if Mr. Pym descended from the top of that cold pedestal and met the warmhearted Ulster people of whom he is overlord.

He might also restore happiness that he has taken from the homes of law-abiding citizens through the detention of their loved ones.

I wonder if Mr. Pym was so naive as to think that the Maze Prison is always as he saw it some weeks ago — visits rushed through, clean bedding, clean shirts for the convicted prisoners, choice on the menu for lunch etc.

I would be very happy to arrange a visit for Mrs. Pym to accompany me so that she could see at first hand the indignities that respectable people are subjected to in order to visit their sons, husbands, brothers etc. This takes up to four or five hours per day.

So please, Mr. Pym, do not try to fool the Ulster people any longer, as I can assure you that the majority of us are educated and intelligent.

Finally, Alexander Solzhenitsyn can take heart as there are hundreds of British citizens unlawfully imprisoned at the Maze Prison for daring to speak their minds in public. Some are not even guilty of that.

I think the following extract from a letter published in the Sunday Times (February 17) sums up the situation:

"I find it impossible to condone the attitude of the Russian authorities, but equally impossible to join with the hypocritical smugness of the Western World.

"We do not so much turn a blind eye as close our eyes completely to our political injustices.

"A tank is a tank, a soldier is a soldier, a political prisoner the same no matter where. Russia's excuse is that it happened half a century ago. What is ours?"

Need I say more?
— Mother of a Loyalist Detainee, Belfast 6.

OGRAS

CUIREADH trí chasraí nua ar bun le tamaill ghairid agus is comhthárúint é go bhfuil na trí áiteanna an-scartha oná chéile ach léiríonn sé go h-éifeachtach cé chomh forleathan is atá Ogras i láthair na h-uaire.

Tá na cinn nua i gCarraig na Siúire, Co. Thiobraid Árann; i mBéal Átha na Slua, Co. na Gaillimhe, agus i gCill Chaol, Co. an Dúin. Tagann na 30 baili atá i gCarraig na Siúire le chéile gach tráthnóna Sathairn chun dráma agus céilí á gceachtadh ann. Pléann siad a gclár oibre, freisin, ar mhaithe le himeachtaí nua a phleanáil i gcónaí.

Tá Seán Ó Maonaigh i gceannas an ghrúpa seo. Tá an dá ghasra eile bunaithe i gceoláistí cónaithe agus de bharr sin tá clár éagsúil ón gnáth-ghasra á chur i bhfeidhm acu. Tá dea obair á dhéanamh acu, áfach, i gcur chun cinn ár n-aidhmeanna i measc lucht na geoláistí agus glacann na daltaí uile páirt i bhformhór na n-imeachtaí, a chuireann siad ar siúl.



Students protest in Dublin against the refusal of the Dublin administration to meet reasonable requests as to fees and other matters vitally affecting the students. Students throughout the "Free" State now are at war with Minister Burke.

of history which shows that "countries want their independence, nations want their liberation, people want revolution".

Also "while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace".

Uphold the struggle of the Irish people for an independent united and democratic Ireland! Uphold the solidarity between the Irish and the French people!

— Centre d'Information sur la Lutte Anti-impérialiste, 17, Rue du Sentier, Paris 11, An Fhrainc.

HARASSMENT

WE, the members of the Jackie Griffith Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin, wish to protest against the harassment and intimidation of our paper sellers at the G.P.O. by members of the Special Branch.

We wish to state clearly that we will continue to sell "An Phoblacht" at this historic spot and we urge other Sinn Féin members in Dublin to join us.

— Máire Bean Uí Eochagáin, Rúnaí, Jackie Griffith Cumann, Baile Átha Cliath.

Is iad Sinn Féin, Biúro Phoiblíocht na Poblachta agus cinnirí Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta, ina gcuideaití, a leagan síos polasaí oifigiúil na Gluaiseachta.

Leis na húdair na tuairimí a nochtáitear sa pháipéar seo, bíodh siad i litreacha, sna colúin rialta sinthe nó in altanna eile, agus ní i gcónaí aontaíonn na foilsitheoirí leo.

Is é Abhastín Mac Conmara an treoraí atá acu i mBéal Átha na Slua agus is í Caitlín ní Shiothcháin an ceannaire i gCill Chaol.

Tá obair ar siúl in an-chuid áiteanna ar fud na tíre ar bunadh chasraí agus ní fada go mbeidh cinn nua i gCill Chainnigh, i gCoillte Mách agus i mBaile Átha Cliath.

— Rúnaí, Ogras, Baile Átha Cliath.

FRENCH SUPPORT

TWO years ago during a Civil Rights march 13 patriots were killed by the paratroopers of British imperialism. They died in the cause of Irish freedom.

Today, when the whole Irish people commemorate the second anniversary of Bloody Sunday, the French information about the Anti-Imperialist Struggle (CILA) wishes to be associated with them to re-affirm its militant solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people for justice and freedom.

This war goes on without respite, in the concentration camps, in the prisons of the British oppressor and in the working class areas in Ireland. On this occasion we particularly salute the Winchester hunger strikers for their exemplary fight.

Two years after the cold-blooded massacre in Derry, the politicians, who seemed to blame the British killers help them now to pass the imperialist rule through the whole country.

The traitors of Leinster House now attempt to subject the people of the Six counties to a new version of that which caused Bloody Sunday as also the S.D.L.P.

But the military and political swindlers of British imperialism with the support of southern and northern collaborators will be in vain because the struggle of the Irish people is part of the course

Republican

BALLAD SESSION

Every Friday 8 - 11

Top Ballad Groups

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I nDÍL CHUIMHNE

I ndílchúimhne do
Mhíchéal Gillen, Derry,
murdered by the occupation
forces on March 14, 1972.

ÁR mBUÍOCHAS

Seán MacConchoille (John
Woods, jr.), on behalf of widow
and family of the late John Joseph
Woods, Baile Átha Cliath, wishes
to thank Cumann Chaoimhín de
Barra, Mr. Joe Clarke and others
for expressions of sympathy on the
recent bereavement.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH

In the private members' draw
on Marta 3, prizes won were as
follows: 1, Seán Ó'Brien
(No. 21, £15); 2, Seán Walsh
(No. 55, £5); 3, Marie Vaughan
(No. 58, £5); and 4, Máire Lyons
(No. 13, £4).

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Gardaí still irked by threats of military

MANY Gardaí are dissatisfied at the replies given by Dr. Garret FitzGerald in Leinster House last week regarding the crossing of the Border at Carrickarnon by British military on March 5 and their threatening to shoot the Gardaí present.

There are suggestions that meetings should be held around the country but especially in Border areas to discuss this and other unpublicised incidents; the constant traffic of armed British soldiers in civilian dress in unmarked vans into counties Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth and even Meath; the role of the Gardaí under the Sunningdale Agreement; and whether the Gardaí should refuse to take part in Border patrols as long as the disturbances continue.

A Garda, who asked that his name not be disclosed, said that most Gardaí believed that such Border patrolling should be left to the soldiers.

"We are unarmed and quite defenceless", he said. "But we have made it clear we do not want to carry arms."

"We find, also, that our patrol work is making us unpopular with local people and preventing them from co-operating with us to prevent crime."

"Local people have become particularly hostile in recent months and we fear that

stone-throwing may become the rule rather than the exception.

"We believe we are being used for political purposes and resent this. We are being cast as political police. The thing has got to be talked out before things get worse. We didn't join up for this."

30 raids on Creggan home

MRS. Peggy McLaughlin, Creggan Heights, Derry, certainly must be eligible for the star award in the raiding stakes. Recently Brits. completed their 30th raid of this Irish home.

On that day, they saw fit to ravish it no less than three times within 24 hours. Having seen her young son dragged away under arrest Mrs. McLaughlin and her young family were forced to abandon their home in the face of the British terrorists.

Learn "Bogside News".

Irish Republicans march to Whitehall, London, to make their case to the new British Premier, Mr. Wilson, for the return to Ireland of the political prisoners.

M. Drumm on O.A.S. charges

Mrs. Máire Drumm, leas-uachtarán, Sinn Féin, appeared at Dublin's Special Criminal Court last week, accused on five counts under the Offences Against the State Act.

Mrs. Drumm, who was arrested in Dublin late the previous night, was charged in connection with two speeches allegedly made in Galway on June 9 last year.

The charges allege that she encouraged "an extension of the armed conflict" to the Republic in each speech, when she asked for assistance to prevent the extradition of Róisín McLaughlin and of Rev. Bartholomew Burns.

It is also alleged that she attempted to intimidate a member of the judiciary in relation to the extradition.

Mrs. Drumm, refused to recognise the court, refused bail and was remanded in custody until April 3.

Father Burns, a Glasgow priest, wanted on explosives charges in Scotland, won his appeal against extradition. The appeal of Róisín McLaughlin has yet to be heard.



WILSON HEARS IRISH CASE

From ROSEMARY SULLIVAN in London

BRITAIN's new premier, Harold Wilson, had unexpected visitors one Sunday afternoon recently, 70 members of the Irish Political Hostages Campaign, supported by Sinn Féin and IMG. They called to his private house at No. 5, Lord North Street, in London's Westminster district.

The visit followed a well-attended rally in Hyde Park, to launch Phase Three of a campaign started by the I.P.H.C. last October.

Phase One consisted of a series of meetings, rallies and demonstrations. Phase Two meant getting prominent figures in political, legal, medical, theatrical and sporting circles to support the campaign, by means of individual petitioning, etc.

This was completed with a mass intervention at election rallies on the question of the hunger strikers.

The highlight of this campaign came when a meeting, addressed by Whitelaw, former Gauleiter of the Six Counties, was disrupted. This incident was featured on British television and was the lead story in the London "Times" the following day.

The last phase, which the committee believes will lead to victory in a matter of weeks, will involve, while simultaneously maintaining the weekly pickets of the Home Office and Brixton Prison, a campaign pressuring the Labour Party "left" until they support the demand for the return of the hunger-strikers.

Another activity will be the publication of 10,000 copies of a pamphlet, "The Case of the Irish Political Hostages."

The campaign is being marred, however, while victory is in sight, by individuals more concerned

with gaining notoriety for themselves than with the aims of the prisoners.

Notice-boxing

On Sunday March 10, before the march to Wilson's home, Sean Murray, a member of the minuscule JAC grouping, approached the rally organisers, claiming to be speaking on behalf of Albert Price, father of Marion and Dolours.

He requested room on the platform for Mr. Price to make an important announcement.

When this was granted, and an announcement to this effect had been made from the platform, Murray started shouting; "No, not on that platform. He won't speak on that platform," to the undisguised delight of the British media, present who lapped up this "further" display of Irish disunity.

CORLOUGH DRAW

(An Cumann Cabhrach) Winner (€20): Noel McKiernan, c/o McCormack's Products, KILLESHANDRA

OPPOSE IMPERIALISM: JOIN THE MOVEMENT

Where green means boot

WE have all seen it at one time or another. When a British army unit sets up a road block, mounts a search operation or carries out a routine patrol - one item of equipment is essential - the green and orange map.

The map covers the whole of the Belfast giving an up-to-date plan of the city - but it doesn't stop there. Working class areas of the city are coloured either green (for Catholics) or orange (for Protestant areas).

Middle class areas are coloured tan and described as "mixed" areas. Lower Malone, for example, is treated as a "mixed" area. Upper Malone is not even coloured in at all, the supposition being that the fortunate inhabitants of this area are never to experience the attentions of the British Army.

The Fortwilliam area is also uncoloured so perhaps Fortwilliamites are also immune.

A strange aspect of the map is the fact that some non residential areas, the Balmoral Industrial Estate for example, are coloured in.

This leads to the speculation that the colour of an area is not simply an indication of the religious adherence of the inhabitants.

The colour of a district is, in fact, used as an indication to the British soldiers of how they should behave when carrying out their duties in that particular area.

Conduct themselves

Experience has shown that in the tan coloured mixed areas the British conduct themselves with smarmy courtesy.

In the orange coloured working class Protestant areas there is very little courtesy shown but nevertheless the naturally brutal behaviour of the soldiers is restrained by the political policies.

In the green coloured working class Catholic areas, anything goes. The policy of intimidation, harassment and bloody murder is implemented with cruel ruthlessness.

Secure in the knowledge that the entire propaganda machine of imperial Britain will back them up, the "gallant lads" put the boot in in traditional style.

Reproduced from "Republican News".

Public warned of captured weapons

THE BRITISH Military have acquired possession of a PPG rocket launcher, according to a supplied statement from Brigiáid Dhoire, Óglaigh na hÉireann. The acquisition has not been publicised by the enemy.

"We are of the opinion that the British may use this in an effort to discredit the I.R.A." according to the statement. "They have done this in the past,

when soldiers in special murder squads were armed with Armalite rifles and Thompson sub-machine guns.

"Their task was straight forward. They were to shoot innocent civilians in the Republican and anti-British areas and thus create confusion and dissension among the people. We believe that this rocket launcher now in British hands could be used to the same end."

An abairt gháirsiúil: ní orainn an milleán

BA é an clódóir a scriobh an líne úd a scantraigh na mílte is cosúil, mar "ag súdairacht ar cheann bóid," an tseachtain seo caite.

Meas tú? Nó i ndáiríre? Ach ba é a scríobh muid. "Ós ag caint ar Chrúise é, más ag crúisúil roimh an Déib bhí sé, nó leanacht an Déib, nó ag sodar i ndiaidh an "Taosigh" sair go Conamara agus go Raidió na Gaeltachta i gCaisleán, sin nó ag súdairacht ar cheann bóid ag 'chuire short oimh-antheas bídh agus dighe in Ostaín na Ceathrú Rua, náir stop sé dhen chrúisúil go deo nó gur stríoch sé cian agus caladh lena churachán i snamh na bhFiann i bPórt Laige?"

Chuaigh an spás amú orainn, an tseachtain seo caite, sáil má bhí deas agann an aiste a chríochnú, ach níor mhiste leanúint anois.

Seo a leanas an t-ail deiseanach a bhí agann an tseachtain seo caite. Ina dhiaidh sin beidh agann an piota ar chur easba spais stop leis: Ail eile a raibh ofche mhóe roimh an gCúisúil leithe agus ól fúisce deag bhí chomh buí le cois lacha bán, beoir Lochlannach agus cruithneacht dhearg na Spáinne mar bhuidh ag ól ag an bhfínn úd.

Déibé

Seans gur le chomh maith is bhí an oíche, sin nó an braon a dhul sa gurín ag an gCrúise, go dtag sin le rá dhi, oiread is gur thosaigh se dhá fíú ar an teanga Ghaeilge.

Drochfúe ceart críochnaithé bhí ann, freisin, oiread is go gceapann an crúisúil anois gur féidir leis nó gur ceart an teanga íosbairt ó hídriachai is 'chuire áit ach sa nGaeltacht agus náir cheart an oiread dhon teanga úsáid ar RTÉ.

Níorbh é inné ná inniu roimhe sin a bhí an Crúisúil i gcomhairle leis an Udarás faoi ceart a bhí ina cheann agus an rún a bhí aige le bailchúioch a chur leis an dlí a bhí roimhe amach le theacht ar an teanga.

Dur na dar i mbéala ná i ndearmad níor tháinig as béal mhácan-phéata acu, focal amháin féin. Ní hea, ach bíodh dhíús agat go bhfuil céim mhóe in arde faite ag Gaeilgeoir níos acu ó

shin agus focal amháin féin níos chuir sé in aghaidh Chrúise. Ó diabhal a dur ariamh. Anois, an bhfuil biseach agat?

Cur le balla

AR chualá tú Seósamh Ó hÓgart-aigh os cionn seachtaine ó shin as Raidió na Gaeltachta is é dá chur le balla ag Tomás Ó Ceallaigh?

Ar ndóigh, tá Seósamh i gcónaí ag breathnú amach óna chuid malláí Gaeltarra agus fóirshúil dhá choinneáil ag Cathal Mac Gabhann ar Sheósamh ach alltracháil Chonamara idir iad is léas le hambaire níos ionláine a bhail ar chuan na Gaillimhe agus ar an nGaeltacht.

Mínac go leor a thús Seósamh freagraí deasa, míne, léach ar chros-cheannú Uí Cheallaigh an oíche úd i dtaoibh obair, fóstú is tionscal Ghaeltarra sa nGaeltacht ach minic cheana, freisin, a chuaigh comhar tascáir Chonamara, i gcomhairle le Gaeltarra i dtaoibh tascarracht, bíd iascach, treallamh agus léas farrage sa nGaeltacht.

Céard a tharla? Sin a thomhais ort. Fan ort go gcosúil tú. An

gceidteá go bhfuil Gaeltarra ag gabháil i gcomhar le gnóluacht rachmasúir ó Mheiriceá le báid a thógáil anseo in Éirinn agus báid iascach iad, beag an baol, ach longis longseoireacht pléisúir a bheas ina dlíthe bsta agus aoin-eachta ar farrage idir seasúir cuairtíochta.

Thuga leat.

Éigse Uladh

I nGaith Dóibhair d'fúinn agus Éigse Uladh faoi lan seoil agus comórtas na n-amhrán nua faoi Dháicéil an easontais, mar níor réitigh cinne leis an toradh, rith sé liom go mbeadh sé thar a bheith deacair don Chomhdháil, nó dg Raidió na Gaeltachta, nó ag dá each faoi aon chuing, an comórtas seo a lainsúil i gceart.

Cuimnis i gcás gur scríobh duine eicint dan den scoth le ceol den scoth, i gceallár abhainn an traidisiúin, agus é ag moladh na nÓglach tá ag troid in eadan na Savanach, an bhféadfaí an chraobh thabhairt dó? An bhféad-fadh Raidió na Gaeltachta é chruaigh? An mbeadh ceol ag purpear ar bith é thoisú?

Maidir leis an triúr bhí i gceannas ar an gcomórtas, meas tú gy dtuigeann Mac an Bhua nó Ó Gallchoir céard is ceol na hÉireann ann, lena n-oilúint clacacach, lena mblianta fada cois Life, lena n-íntinn Bhearla?

Níor dhuir me gur i gcoinne an cheoil atáid. Ní móide go mbeadh. Níl aon eolas agam ar cheangal an Cheallaigh leis an gceol, ach má tá sé eolach ní bheadh aon seans aige agus an bheirt eile ag aon bhord (seach-ain!) moltóireachta leis.

Tuige nach mbeadh an Raidió agus an Chomhdháil sasta daoine mar atá a leanas a thostú chun bheith ina moltóir ar an gcomórtas. Breandan Breathnach, Sean Óg Ó Tuama, Seamus Mac Mathúna, An Bráthair Ó Caithnia, Ó Baoill (athair agus mac), Piaras Ó Gréagáin, Seán Ó Catháil, John Kelly (fidleir), Liam Óg Ó Floinn, Seán Ó Tuairisc nó An Seanadóir féin (R. na G.).

Tá daoine eile ann, go leor díobh ar ndóigh.

Tá aithne agam ar dhuine de mhuintir na Gaeltachta a raibh iarracht ígith aige ar an gcomórtas tá a scrúdu agann, duine a bhfuil an traidisiún agus an sean

sméasach, ach ní raibh an rud bréa a chum sé le cloistéal ar an ardan in Amharclann Ghaoth Dóibhair.

"Cumba an Dómhain" a bhuaigh an chéad áit. Seo na daoine a chum é, idir fhocla agus cheol: Eugene Murphy, William Murphy agus an Bráthair Ó hAogáin, Lansdowne Valley, Long Mile Road, Drinnagh, B.A.C. (sin díreach mar a fuairas é ón gComhdháil: níor bhac na cumadóir le ainmneacha ceart Gaeilge chur ar an sloinne ná ar an seoladh).

An iarracht ab shearr, dar linn uile, nach mór, "Tá an Fjobaire ar Láir" (Willie Clancy bhí i gceist), le Mícheál Ó Friel agus Rina Uí Loinsigh, Dún an Óir, Sráid na Cathrach, Co. an Chláir.

Má fhaighteann muid an deas, foidseoidh muid an dá cheann amach anseo agus ceal cainte ag na léitheoirí ina dhiaidh sin.

Tá i bhfad Éireann níos mó le rá faoi Ghaith Dóibhair, faoi na léach tanna breáha, agus ghaeilthe faoi Phádraig Ó Míonaigh, a bhfuil togha oibre ar suil aige sa cheantar, baíl ó Dhúis air. Ach, arís, tá an t-am ígith: am suip, a dhuine.

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