

An Phoblacht

Iml. 6. Uimhir 14. 8p. Aibreán 4, 1975.



THOUSANDS ATTEND EASTER PARADES

MEMBERS of the various branches of the Republican Movement and the general public marched in their thousands in Easter ceremonies throughout the 32 Counties and also in England and the U.S.A. to commemorate the 1916 Easter Rising and Ireland's generations of martyrs for peace with justice.

Central themes in all the Easter orations delivered at the different venues were:

- Increased Garda brutality in the Free State.
- The truce.
- The Republican attitude to the Northern Convention Elections.

The Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement was greeted with resounding applause at all venues.

We publish here the full text of the statement supplied:

Easter Sunday is the traditional day for commemorating the patriot dead of our country. The occasion has a particular relevance today because the Republican Movement remains the only significant body which sets aside a day of national commemoration for the soldiers of the Irish Republican Army who gave their lives in the fight for Freedom. The Movement's loyalty, fidelity and service to the ideals of 1916 have been amply demonstrated during the last five years.

Nearly one-hundred-and-fifty of our comrades have died during those years. Most died on the battlefield fighting against our ancient enemy; others died in Free State and British jails upholding the code of honour of soldiers of the Irish Republican Army. We salute their memory today; together with comrades of former generations, they shall remain our inspiration and strength in completing the task they so nobly served.

Major developments

We have witnessed major developments during the last year. The Assembly of power seekers crashed to the ground and direct British rule was imposed again. Increased enemy

pressure was answered by decisive blows to the enemy in its homeland and in the occupied area. The world witnessed the grim determination of the Irish Republican Army to pay any price to smash British rule in Ireland.

Our military action had the desired effect. The British Government indicated a willingness to give serious consideration to the three basic demands of the Republican Movement for a lasting peace in our land. This development was assisted by the courageous action of the Feakle churchmen. The Army Council of Oglagh na hEireann decided to negotiate an agreed truce with the forces of the British Crown and thus give the British Government an opportunity to grant justice to the Irish people without further loss of life.

British withdrawal demands

That position obtains today. Its continuance depends on the willingness and sincerity of the British Government to withdraw its forces from Ireland. The Irish Republican Army will settle for no permanent agreement which does not include a programme of planned and orderly withdrawal of the English establishment from our country. The Republican Movement has been unflinching, in war and in peace, in demanding the withdrawal of the British presence and to that basic tenet of Republicanism, the leadership of today remains completely committed.

Britain experienced our determination in war to secure a Declaration of Intent; today she witnesses our control, discipline and patience in securing the same objective. There is a limit to our patience and if it becomes war again, the responsibility will rest firmly with the British Government.

Truce wreckers

It will stand to the eternal shame of the Irish elements who did their utmost to wreck the present truce. Foremost amongst them is the Dublin regime who did everything possible to get the British Government to renege on the truce agreement. History has given us many traitors but few could equal the fascists who rule in Dublin today. The Dublin Government does not want peace in our land; it is determined to create toil and strife across the island in a blind orgy of attempting to destroy Republicanism.

The Dublin Government is assisted by the power seeking politicians of the S.D.L.P. Those politicians of violence fear the day when genuine peace pervades our land. There will be no future in the New Ireland for men who grew wealthy and



Daithí Ó Conaill at the meeting in Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone, on Easter Sunday

treacherous on the backs of a suffering people. Despite the actions of disestablished politicians and gangsters who masquerade under various labels, the peace initiative of the Republican Movement has held and brought a glimmer of hope to the thousands who bear the brunt of our struggle for freedom.

That freedom will be secured and with it a new society will evolve in our country. The responsibility for creating new institutions of government rests solely with the Irish people alone. It is no concern whatsoever of any outside power. For that reason, the Army Council endorse the decision of Sinn Féin to ignore the forthcoming Convention elections. It is an arrogance on England's part to summon any Convention in Ireland and exercise an absolute veto over the results. Irish sovereignty belongs to the Irish people; it does not rest with any British parliament.

Portlaoise murder

It is futile also to expect normal political development while the jails, North and South, are full with political prisoners. The hardship which these comrades endure was borne out recently by the murder of one of them in Portlaoise. The courage of the prisoners and their tremendous loyalty to their Movement is one of the outstanding features of this struggle. Until all the political prisoners regain their freedom, there is no question of a permanent ceasefire.

Finally, the Army Council takes this opportunity of expressing sincere thanks to all those who have played a part in the war of liberation. We salute those who have borne the loss of their kith and kin in this war. We express our admiration for the volunteer soldiers of the Army whose discipline during the last few weeks has been an example to all. To the people of Ireland we pledge the loyalty and service of the Republican Movement in the pursuit of our national freedom.

We hope to publish in our next edition a full account of the various Easter ceremonies held.

"Sell-out of nationality"

— says Sinn Féin speaker. — see page 2.

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 6.

Aibreán 4, 1975.

Uimhir 14.

44 Ceannóg Phannell, B.A.C., Eire.

Guthán: 747611

Convention : foregone failure

CONTEMPORARIES have expressed some surprise that Sinn Féin has decided not to contest the Convention elections in the Six Counties on May Day. But have they bothered to analyse the situation? They accept the value of such elections without question: anything offered by the empire must be wholesome — the slave mind.

Will the Convention be a sovereign parliament for the Six Counties? It will not: the British Parliament will remain the master. If one of the Convention parties is greater than all the others, will it rule? It will not. If all the Convention parties take a vote and select a "government," will this body rule the Convention? Not necessarily. Probably not.

What, then, is the function of the Convention? A bit of window-dressing, at its worst; a pious hope, at its best. The window-dressing is a sop to world opinion: the people of the north-east are not "rejected" and their views will be listened to with "respect" (and, likely as not, "consulted"). The pious hope is that the elected representatives of the carefully gerrymandered area may have become so sick and tired of British bullying that they may decide to do exactly as Mother England says is best for them (for Old Mother England loves us still, despite everything).

There may be something else behind the pious hope. A bit of good British Blackmail, mark one: "This is your last chance. If you don't do as we want, we get out, taking our bribes with us."

Britain continues to negotiate with representatives of the Republican Movement about the wording of a declaration of intent to withdraw and how the withdrawal shall be ordered, to the lasting advantage of the Irish people of all the 32 counties. This is the main stick being brandished over the professional politicians. Some of them think the talks another example of British trickery: keep the Provos tied up in interminable talks while gradually whittling away at their control of the nationally minded areas. But there are other professional politicians who are fearing the worst and who might be stampeded into the spurious "power-sharing" and all the rest of the charade. Anyway, it helps to pass the time.

The Republican Movement is negotiating with the British in the hope that they do want to quit Ireland and cease interfering with Ireland at every level. The Republican Movement believes that the Convention elections will solve nothing; that yet another example of Orange Ascendancy arrogance will be paraded before the world; and that, when this happens, the British government, perhaps, may wish to wash its hands of the entire sorry mess in a manner which appears honourable to everyone, everywhere, but particularly where it counts, before the electorate at home. Why should Sinn Féin contribute to that farce?

The Convention is a British institution. It acquires its "legitimacy" from the premise that Britain has the right to rule in the area. This right is denied by the Republican Movement and opposed resolutely. It has been challenged in the most forceful way — by open warfare — for six years. Why, in view of all this, should Sinn Féin take part in the elections?

The best thing that could happen the Convention is paralysis from the start. The worst that could result would be British withdrawal, preceded by investment of sovereignty on a new Stormont preparing the way for the setting up of a fascist statelet and all that goes with fascism everywhere. That would be treachery of the worst kind, to the British people as much as to the people of Ireland, for it would be likely to involve all in these islands in a long, bloody and bitter strife. We hope that the British government has the wisdom not to try it.

The sanest proposal has come in the Sinn Féin statement on the Convention elections: a proposed convention of all the people of Ireland. This would be democratic and would have obvious legitimacy. The Government of Ireland Act, 1920, has failed. It is time for the British to realise that. The Act has been patched and darned over the years but it is still no use. From the view even of the people of Britain it is a nuisance. It has brought them continuous trouble, death and destruction. It has cost them dearly in the eating away of capital, particularly over the last six years; and today, more than at any other time in their history, they must economise to survive.

If there were anything remotely resembling a nationally minded government in Dublin it would be so much easier for the British to quit and to allow a convention of the entire Irish people to set up. But, if the "loyalist" politicians are stubborn, the Dublin politicians are heartless: they want to hold on to their power and privilege at all cost. The last six years have shown exactly what they think of the people of the Six Counties, be they nationally minded or otherwise.

The main worry of the British is not the final withdrawal from Ireland not the abandonment of erstwhile allies, north and south; not the welfare of the Irish people; not the good relations between the Irish and the people of Britain. The main British worry is not political, military, cultural: it is economic. Britain has thousands of millions of pounds invested in Ireland. And Ireland is an important market for British products, its third or fourth most important. Ireland, under British economic domination, can be exploited in a thousand subtle ways. This is the kernel of the problem.

Britain will have to make a careful calculation: is it worthwhile, economically, to continue to try to dominate the entire Irish economy? Or would it be better to cut her losses, now, quit Ireland in a manner satisfactory to the liberation forces, do her utmost to achieve normality in the relations between two sovereign states and hope that, by so doing, some advantage in trade and commerce may be assured in the future? That is the pragmatic approach. That is where Britain's real interests lie.

The socialist federal Ireland of the future must trade, like all other states, to survive. There is no reason why Ireland and Britain, so close geographically to each other, should not have close commercial and trading relations. If, however, the British withdrawal is conducted in such a manner as to leave unnecessary problems and disturbance behind her, relations between the two states must be cold and bitter for generations to come.

Ireland, being an under-developed country with newly discovered and considerable resources, is in a better position to survive as an independent state than Britain. Ireland has good friends abroad who are ready to help her without strangling political or other conditions attached. She need not fear a trade war with Britain. She can sell her products anywhere. If Britain chooses to continue the war, after withdrawal, economically or commercially, she will be the loser. We hope that her economists will tell her that and that she will pay heed.

A Socialist Ireland will want good relations with Britain and with all states. Britain has a unique opportunity, now, to pave the way for those good future relations. BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT, AND FAST.

An tsochraid á ríomh ar Raidió na Gaeltachta



Ag Féile Luimní, bhuaigh Fíleas Ní Chróinín, Luimneach; Corn Phádraig, bailiú Dhiu uirthi. San dara áit a bhí sí sa chomórtaíocht do Chríos na Mumhan.

glacadh leis an amhrán úd mar cheol traidisiúnta: nach ó Shanae é ó dhúchas?

Tá súil againn go mbeidh sé cheiliú ag an gComhthráil a thógtar go soléir gan mhóil nach ngcafar le haghaidh an chomórtaíocht i 1976 ach ceol traidisiúnta amach is amach.

Tá súil againn, leis, go gcuirfidh an Comhthráil bheoga diún a mbeidh na lirici i gceol nua-éireannach chéad chomórtaíocht. Is beag de na focla a chuala mise ón ardan in Amhránach Ghaeilí Dóharr.

I ndáiríre, b'ádhmhaire a chur an comórtaíocht i mbliana domhain orm. Bhí na harrachtaí sa chomórtaíocht éile — focla nua le pósadh ar sheanchéil — i bhfad níos fearr agus thuill go maith "An Chéad Mháirt d'Enaí" agus "Aisling" na duaiseanna.

Mura bhfuil dúl amú orm, beidh "Aisling" ina chéad pop sar i bhfad. Ach b'fhearr lóm é bheith le cloisteall ó amhránait traidisiúnta. Máire Ní Dhoneha, mar shampla.

Mí gan Gaeilge?

"THE MEATHMAN" is teideal do nuachtán nua poiblíocht agus fuairas cóip de ó chara i nDomhnaigh Phádraig an tseachtain seo caite. Tar éis Afirinn, a bhí leitear de na hÉireann, a fuair mo chara é i mBéarla atá an nuachtán, thug deirleadh.

Tuigeanann gach finne dinn nach bhféadfadh an pháipéar den chineál sin bheith i nGaeilge amháin agus eirísi mar aith. Ach nach bhféadfadh a leath de a dteanga na hÉireann?

Mar a deir mo chara, go Gaeilteach na mí, ba chóir go mbeadh Poblaíochtaí chun tosaí i gcóir na deangacha i nÉireann. Ach níl. Cén fáth nach bhfuil?

Tá nóta speisiallú ar an "Meathman" faoi dhíogras mairiú na Gaeltachta i gCo. na mí: d'éirigh leo £549.19 a bhailiú ar leas na geimí, arb as an Mhí dóthar, i bPoblaíocht. I nDomhnaigh Phádraig a bunaíodh an ciste. Bail ó dhia ar mhuintir na Gaeltachta.

AR NA cláracha is speisiúla a rinne Raidió na Gaeltachta le tamall fada bhí "Saul Saighdiúra," a bhí bunaithe ar an leabhar a scríobh Dónall Mac Amhlaidh. Fíor a chaithe seal in arm an tAistóiréit, sír Ghaeltachta, a bhí páirteach ann.

Níor aigh mé gach trácht den chláir ach chuala mé Dónall Ó Luiní (a chloídh Mháirt seo caite, Márta 25) agus bhí sé ar sheabhas ar fad.

Tá Dónall ina Phoblachtóir, anois, ach nuair a lóistáil sé ina caogaídh bhí sé dall ar fhirinne an seil. B'ádhmhaire a shíl sé go raibh an rud ceart á dhéanamh aige, fé mar a shíl go leor domhain, Sean Ó Cróinín, san áireamh, fear a bhí ina cheannasair ar Oglach na hÉireann i bhfeachtas 1957-'61.

Chuala muid Dónall ag trácht faoin tsochraid úd den laoch a dhúmharaíodh i bPíorsún Phortlaoise ar na mallabha, an tOglach Tomás Mac Gabhann.

Ní fuaca sé aithne a leithéid de dhrochmeas ar mharbáin, ar lucht a chaointe, ar reiligiún na dhia, ar seisean, agus thuig sé samplaí des na rudaí a chonaic sé lena shúile cinn.

Caint stairiúil. Caint a mhairfeas. Is trua liom nach raibh téipéiríocht taobh liom chun an chaint a thairdeadh; ach bhí na bhfocla a leithéid ag éinne, beidh mé buíoch de ach i thabhairt ar iasach Múc.

B'fhearr gan an post a tháil. B'fhearr í a fhágáil faoi lámh dom in ollig an pháipéir seo.

Maidir le Ó Conghaile a chur an clár iontach sin ar fáil dúinn. Tá súil againn nach mbeidh sé féin ná Raidió na Gaeltachta thíos leis an iarracht. Dá mbeadh saoirse ag an raidió ní bheadh sin i gceist. Ach níl.

Tuigim go raibh Alondras as áthair, i mBéarla. Aithis Clath, faoin am a craoladh an clár. Ní feachdom an "beo" nó an théip a bhí sé. Cuirfidh sé iontas orm má dhéantar é a athchraoladh: bhí sé ró-ínnéach.

Tá aithne ar Dónall go forleathan ar fud na hÉireann ach go hairithe i Ros Muc agus ar fud Ghaeltachta Chonamara.

Rinne sé éacht i mbuand agus i riardh Cholaiste na bhFiann, i Ros Muc. Anuair, chuir sé lena chlaí nuair a chuala sé isteach sa phríorsún ar son na Gaeltach. Agus tá Dónall leis, ina eagarthóir ar "Leas" i nGaeilge, de chuid Chlúiseacht na Poblaíochta, iris, faraior, a bhfuil go leor Poblaíochas.

Ba é "Dónall Donn" a bhuaigh amhrán a chuir i gcúimhne dom "Johnnie, I Hardly Knew You." Níl fhios againn ar fheidir

Debe

lactóirí dall uirthi (agus caint cori dúchas an áireamh).

Na díli óga

AN tSEACHTAIN seo caite an tseachtain "Poetry Now" (Goldsmith Press) inár láthair agus is iad na filí seo a leanas atá ag soláistiú ar fídh na hÉireann. Dúran, Davitt, Galvin agus Rosenstock. Cheannuigh mé cóip de (£1.50).

Uair éicéit éile déanfadh níos mó cainte faoi na díli, le cúpann D. Ach, idir an dá linn, cén fáth go bhfuil aistriúcháin i mBéarla ar na dánta Gaeilge agus gan aistriúcháin Gaeilge ar na dánta Béarla?

Bhí caint againn le Gaibrial Rosenstock ag an bpreas-agallamh. Chuireas ceist ach ní bhfuairas freagra uirthi: cén fáth nach bhfuil an tseachtain ag na filí óga seo faoin tuafas sna Se Chontae?

Leitheachas? Lad dall? Bodhar? Ag iarraidh bheith faiseanta? Aicmeachas?

Amhrán Gaoth Dobhair

THUG mise gurb é bhí i gceist i gcomórtaíocht na n-amhrán tá eagrúir ag Comhthráil Náisiúnta na Gaeltachta agus Raidió na Gaeltachta i nGaoth Dobhair cloí leis an tseachtain agus gan ach an tseachtain a bheith i gceist.

Canaid a leithéid na hamhrán dunn. Ceolóirí mairte atá ann ach tá níos mó ná iarracht dinn phop ag baint leo. B'fhearr ceolóirí traidisiúnta — "Franci" Ó Maonagh agus a mhuintir, abair — a fhóstu más ag an tseachtain agus sin amháin atá i gceist. Ach an bhfuil?

"Mise Earragall": popcheol a bhí againn, anseo, agus, arís, i "Teileann." An suantraí. Tá Chodadh, Anois, "bhí sin traidisiúnta go maith agus an ceann ab fhearr díobh, ach ní bhfuair sé ach dúchas aitheantas.

Ba é "Dónall Donn" a bhuaigh amhrán a chuir i gcúimhne dom "Johnnie, I Hardly Knew You." Níl fhios againn ar fheidir

See-out of nationality

— says Sinn Féin speaker.

SPEAKING AT Easter Commemoration Ceremonies at the Republican Plots in Doonbeg and Crusheen, Co. Clare, Sean Ó Brádaigh, Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin, said that the 26-County state was now abandoning even the symbols of sovereignty. The Fine Gael-Labour Coalition was moving with great haste to bury our Republican heritage.

"The position has now been reached where the state is even ashamed to honour Ireland's dead patriots. All official tributes were cancelled and we were told that there was to be one day in the year for commemoration ceremonies and this would be St. Patrick's Day. Obviously Easter would be too much of an embarrassment for them.

"But when St. Patrick's Day came around just two weeks ago there was no mention of Ireland's dead. Indeed, the state celebrated the occasion by shooting an unarmed prisoner in Port Laoise, thus adding another name to the roll of martyrs.

"We also see the downgrading of the Irish language in the schools and the public service, the re-writing of the history books and the attempt to re-broadcast BBC 1 as RTE 2. It all adds up to a complete sell-out of our nationality and any claim to sovereignty."

"The Republican Movement regards the Proclamation of 1916 as its foundation-stone; the Republic we seek to create is that of Pearse and Connolly; and like them we believe that the fundamental question is the removal of the British presence from Ireland. In short, we regard all as Irish men and women, irrespective of class or creed, and we wish to put them in control of the affairs and resources of this island, in a true democracy.

"When Conor Cruise O'Brien says that he will not see a united Ireland in his lifetime, he is really saying that he does not want to see a united Ireland. He is typical of all the Leinster House pull out and leave them to survive as best they can in a 32-county state where the population would be 1/3 million greater than that of the 26-Counties.

"The selfish interests of party politicians must not be allowed to stand in the way of Irish freedom, no matter how many troops or baton-wielding police they have at their disposal, or how many threats are made to beat Republicans into the ground."

Sinn Féin not to contest convention elections

SINN FÉIN has decided not to nominate any candidates in the forthcoming Six-County Convention Elections. The proposed Convention contradicts the basic right of the Irish people as a unit, to govern themselves.

In addition, the British Government has arrogantly appointed the Chairman of the Convention before it is elected at all and retains the right of veto on any result of its deliberations.

The Six-County state was originally, and still is, an artificial creation and the type of discussion proposed is unrealistic until Britain declares her intention of withdrawing from Ireland. Furthermore, there are almost 2,000 men and women in prison, North, South and in Britain and hundreds more have been uprooted from their homes because of the turmoil.

The Republican alternative is a 32-County Convention for All Ireland which would provide for a provincial parliament for the Nine Counties of Ulster which would have every power except Foreign Affairs, Defence and National Finance.

The proposed Six-County Constitutional Convention is another irrelevancy and is regarded by Sinn Féin as an effort to reconstruct British rule in Ireland. Republicans will not assist Britain in doing this.

Once again, Britain will be forced to face the decision that she cannot govern any part of Ireland and that the best policy is to declare her intention to withdraw for ever.

Remember Long Kesh

NO NEGOTIATIONS UNDER DURESS

Elections will be held to select men to negotiate about the future of the Catholic community.

Despite the ceasefire and no violence from any section of the Catholic community:

Despite the continuing unimpeded sectarian assassinations of Catholics:

Despite the world-wide condemnation of Internment and his own promises of a speedy end to Long Kesh in peace-time—

REES is holding 450 Catholic men and women without trial

THE INTERNEES ARE POLITICAL HOSTAGES

We cannot give any man an electoral mandate to conduct negotiations while hostages are being held. It is immoral and unjust to ask a man to negotiate with a "gun" at his head.

REFUSE TO VOTE IN THE CONVENTION, OR RENDER YOUR VOTE UNUSABLE BY INTERPSONATORS

Issued by Fr. Denis Paul, Dunsannon, and Fr. Raymond Murray, Armagh

FIAN. ROBERT ALLSOPP

The Staff and Vols. Belfast Brigade Óglaigh na hÉireann

Na Fianna Éireann

Cumann na mBan

Cumann na gCárán

Auxiliaries

Sinn Féin

National Graves Association

Republican Prisoners, Sentenced, Interned and Remand

Deeply regret the death (accidental) of FIAN ROBERT ALLSOPP "C" Coy. 3rd. Batt. Fianna Éireann and extend their deepest sympathy to his Mother and Family.

MICHAEL McVERRY Memorial Fund

Dinner dance and raffle will be held in the Fairway's Hotel, Dundalk.

18 April, 1975
Beginning 9 p.m.

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during a campaign — turns out — to be

just like all the rest after the election?

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L.P.s continued

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Workers occupy Dublin factory

WORKERS employed at the workshops of Thomas O'Connor and Sons Ltd., 133, Harold's Cross Road, Dublin are staging a sit-in in protest against the redundancy policy of the management.

The following statement has been issued by the workers involved in the protest:

"We, the workers at the above named concern and members of the National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades, pledge ourselves to resist enforced unemployment, euphemistically called redundancy.

"In our endeavour to win the right to work for our fellow workers we have decided to stage this occupation and picket the premises. This struggle was prompted by the actions of an unscrupulous management who, at the outset, attempted to make three workers redundant out of a staff of ninety. In ensuing discussions between union and management the situation was mitigated to a point where two men 'volunteered' to become redundant in place of two of the original three selected. This left a problem to settle in the case of one individual.

"The unions' policy on redundancies is to resist them wherever possible. But, the type of management who run this company is family concern have acted in the most irresponsible manner by insisting on having their way thereby breaking the union policy solely to satisfy their own egos and placing the livelihood of all those concerned in jeopardy. Management such as this is totally irresponsible. They do not seem to know from day to day just what way the industry is running, in relation to trade, finance or industrial relations.

"These points and many others highly critical of not alone the management of this firm, were published in a thoroughly researched report by the Department of Industry and Commerce in 1974.

"This trade is a craft trade and has involved in it some of the most highly skilled craft workers in the country. If the powers that be wish to see this beautiful craft industry become extinct, eroded by Irish society by buyers and profiteers, then the loss to the people of Ireland will bring a terrible shame on them.

"We demand government intervention immediately! We call on the workers of Dublin to contribute to our cause in the strongest possible way!

"We will be grateful for any assistance which our brothers and sisters in other workplaces can give us in our just struggle for the right to work," the statement ended.

Sinn Féin Officers

AT A recent meeting of the Longford/Westmeath Comhairle Cheannair, Sinn Féin, the following officers were elected: Chairman, Tom Haydon (Longford), Secretary, Aodhán Ó Muineacháin (Mullingar); Treasurer, Mrs. Moynihan (Mullingar); Organiser, Peter Rogers (Mullafarnham); P.R.O., Thomas Doyle (Moate).

This governing body will remain in office until the next Ard Fheis. Brendan Golden, Leinster organiser for Sinn Féin was present at the meeting. The next meeting of the new officer board will be held on Tuesday, 8th April at 8.30 p.m. in Mullingar.

CRAFT CENTRE

44 Cearnog Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath.

Catholic clergy and Irish Nation

WHEN I say that the Catholic Church is not working for the Christianisation of Irish society, I mean it very literally, but I am liable to be misunderstood, I mean that the Catholic Church, as an organisation of clergy and laity ruled and directed by the former, is not working to give Irish society a Christian form or shape.

The present shape of Irish society is not Christian. It is not Christian for people to live in the world as masses of individuals and families, without community and without control over their own lives, and with the power and possession which belong to them, collectively, alienated from them to oligarchies — native and foreign — who manage their minds and their lives.

That kind of society is not Christian because it is not in accordance with the nature of man. It frustrates man and prevents him from being himself. Consequently, it is not a kind of society in which man unites with God through Christ — which is the whole aim and purpose of Christianity. To unite with God, man must first be there.

In other words, the first requirement of a Christian society is that it be human. It must be a society which expresses and realises the nature of man and, in the first instance, his social nature.

Man expresses his social nature by forming a community of national communities in the world, and he expresses and realises it further by forming communities within each nation. That is how he lives in the world in accordance with his nature, and that is, consequently, the *minimally Christian form of society* — the form in which man actually occurs, realises himself and is *really there* in the world.

He forms communities — at world, national and sub-national level — and lives in them. And communities are not clusters of people who feel cosy together and are nice to each other. Communities are autonomous social

bodies, making their own vision and their own lives, and therefore — it goes without saying — controlling their lives.

When community does not exist, or is frustrated, man is absent and Christianity impossible. You have masses of rootless, frustrated humans, existing like shadows of men, and because man is absent, God seems absent too (as he does today, and I am not the first to say so).

To bring this down to the individual nation, our own nation, it means that while we are not living in the world as a real nation does — as a national community of communities in control of our own affairs — we are deprived of our humanity, we cannot be really men and women, let alone Christian men and women. The proletariat, said Marx, is "the total loss of man". In this radical sense, we are all dispossessed persons, all proletarians.

To transform this frustrated mass of individuals and families which we have become into a national community of communities — that is what we mean by becoming a "nation once again" and that is what Christianising Irish society means, in the first place. Insofar as this is something which can be done by political means, the way to do it is all there, written down, in the Sinn Féin programme.

But remaking and rehumanising our nation in this manner must encounter the problem of the Ulster British. This part of Irish society says it is not part of our nation, and that is a self-definition which we must respect so long as it isn't used to frustrate the prior right of the nation to remake itself.

We can respect it and give these equally frustrated people the human life which is properly theirs by persuading them to accept association, as a community of communities, with our national community of communities. This, too, the Sinn Féin programme aims to do.

I said, at the start, that I could be misunderstood when I say that the Catholic Church is not working for the Christianisation of Irish society. I think you now see what I mean. It might be thought I was suggesting that the bishops and clergy are not seriously trying to make Irish men and women into morally good Christians, or that they are not preaching charity or urging legislators to respect the rights of the Church and the law of God. And that is not what I am talking about at all.

The clergy may well be doing all these things, but none of these things, nor all things, amount to working for the creation of an Irish community of communities. Moreover, they are irrelevant activities, really, from a Christian point of view, as long as the structure of our society is anti-human and unChristian — as long as community does not exist and is not being built.

Christian social principles are principles of social organisation. They are applied — if they are applied at all — not to individuals, no are applied to all — not to particular matter how numerous, nor to this law activities of public authorities, nor to this law or that, but to the *overall shape and structure of the society*. And they are applied, in the first instance, in order to make that shape and structure into a real, collective human personality — a form of man living in the world.

We know what happened to the Irish form of man which our ancestors created in Ireland, western Scotland and elsewhere. We live in its ruins. The Catholic bishops and clergy have regarded this situation with indifference, and this is still their attitude today.

It was left to a section of the Catholic laity, and to a few patriotic Protestants, to attempt to do something about it. That is how the Irish revolution and Irish socialist republicanism came into being — and why the Republican Movement exists today.

If the Church leadership were doing what it

is there to do, it would be working actively, by the means available to it, for the same goal as the Republican Movement. One reason why it is not — and why the Church, consequently, is not — is that the bishops and clergy, by and large, don't think it matters much if their flock are a mass of slave-souls, deprived of the nationhood and community which are their right and their property as men. Slave-souls can provide an adequate crop of "vocations" and avoid damnation, if shirved in time.

But another reason for this clerical indifference to our social condition as men lies in the structure of the Church itself, as a political body. With its clerical bureaucracy administering a powerless mass of laity, it is a mirror-image of the secular power structure.

Community is no more to be found in its parishes, deaneries and dioceses, or in the Irish Church as a whole, than it is to be found in Irish society generally. Nowhere, and at no level in the Irish Catholic Church, is there a body of Christians, making their vision and their life together, and controlling their own ecclesiastical affairs.

In short, it is *not in the interests* of the clerical establishment, as a political body, to work for the application of Christian social principles to Irish society. For this would necessarily involve applying them to the Church itself — to its organisation and structure. It would mean transforming the Irish Church into an ecclesiastical community of communities. And what bishop or monsignor in his senses wants that?

NOTEBOOK

by

FREEMAN

DESECRATION

Guardians of Ireland's peace and guides

And advocates of democratic love

In the shadow of O'Connell's Tower

You stamped with weighted clouds of helmets blue,

Gestapo guns and bludgeons

'Neath your folded knuckles, slinched.

On consecrated sepulchres, More blood you spilt,

With lips distorted — devastated here

You played at God, while God's ordained

Prayed o'er the one you slew.

Your robust, rural, muscled strength

Your vile blasphemous curse

Did fail to ebb the glory

Of the one you gunned

to glory death.

Inside the dungeons of Portlaoise's Hell.

Thirty silver pieces,

Traitor's gold for Irish blood.

Go! Cast it down.

— Uimsin O Donabh| ain.

Basque Easter Demonstration

The Basque leaders have decided to celebrate the Day of the Basque Homeland in Gernika on Easter Sunday, March 30th.

According to a statement issued by Euzko-Gaztedi:

"It will be an act of civil resistance. It will be a demonstration of the determination of the Basque Nation (Euzkadi) to survive as a people. It will be an example of discipline and government. It will be a clamour for the amnesty of political prisoners and exiles.

"Gernika, the ancestral seat of the Basque Parliament, was levelled to the ground by Hitler's Luftwaffe on 26th April, 1937. This act symbolised the wanton ferocity of Fascism.

"Gernika, whose thousand year-old oak survived that bombardment, was the scene of a massive, pacific demonstration on Easter Day of 1964, representing an authentic referendum to which 30,000 people attended. It was a symbol of the Basque spirit."

THE people with most power to currupt democracy are those who control the press, television and radio. In Belfast they are the British Government, in Dublin the 26 County government. Because of this there has been no free election in which the Irish nation could express itself since 1920; when Sinn Féin won their second "sweeping victory". Out of 127 Corporations and Town Councils they controlled 72 completely and shared their authority with other Nationalists in a further 26. They dominated 28 out of 33 County Councils, 182 out of 206 Rural District Councils and all but 16 of the 154 Poor Law Boards.

"Even the fact that proportional representation gave considerable weight to other parties and sections could not disguise the extent of the republican triumph". (Prof. F.S.L. Lyons, Provost of T.C.D.).

Sinn Féin then competed on equal terms with all other parties — and Labour was very satisfied with more than a hundred successes. The point to remember is that this was the last time there was a clear issue. Since then there was no free election because the electoral area — all Ireland — was divided by force of British arms; and without the people's consent. The unfortunate and complicating factor is that elections were, and are held within the divided area, and the holding of those elections has, over and over again, given consent to partition.

1922 Pact

The Pact of May/June 1922 was an effort to find a way out of the crisis. It would have held the existing balance between pro and anti-Treaty parties until such time as the Treaty could be put to the people under the conditions which were, and are, considered essential to the proper conduct of a vote by the people. These conditions had been agreed to by the Ard

Fheis of Sinn Féin the previous February; and the resolution then adopted was made a decree of the Second Dáil — unanimously. After the Second Dáil enacted the Pact, unanimously, a further meeting of the postponed Ard Fheis also ratified it.

The agreed essentials for a free and proper election were: a register brought up to date and votes at 21 for men and women. It was recognised by the Republican Party that the election would have to be held by December 5th, anniversary of the signing of the Treaty in London. Even though it was not even then very strongly denied that the Treaty had been signed under threat of war, Republicans accepted the need to put the Treaty to the people. They were committed to accept the result.

Harry Boland, speaking to his constituents in Roscommon during the 1922 election campaign told them that delay was necessary in order to make the meaning of the Treaty far clearer than it was at that time. No truer word was ever spoken. Harry, Liam Mellows and Mrs. Tom Clarke had been the republican representatives on a committee of Dáil Éireann trying to find some way to avoid Civil War.

Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe

But as I have already said, the people who controlled the newspapers, and who held the money, following the change of government in January 1922, were able to confuse the issue at the Pact election, and subsequently to set aside the terms of the Pact. It was a high price to wager in support of their belief — among other things — that Down, Derry would be able to decide their own destruction. If anyone would like to check upon this they will find Mr. Cosgrave's statement on Page 15, Vol. 2, of

Diosbofreachtai Parlaimint.

The date was 6 December 1922 — two days before they executed Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe.

Lies repeated

In this speech of Mr. William Cosgrave he noted with satisfaction that in a recent election Tyrone-Fermanagh had a majority of 6,000 in favour of "remaining within the Free State". "A majority, he said which it was impossible to ignore".

However, Mr. Cosgrave, and his successors certainly did manage to achieve the impossible. What have they done since to ignore the pledges and promises of those days. Daily we hear them repeat the lie that democracy started in Ireland at that time; and that democracy is possible under the counter-revolution.

The same thing can be said of Harold Wilson and his agents in our country. Le Máire Comerford.



Maire Comerford

NO FREE ELECTIONS

SDLP sellout continues

Someone once said that there was no more ridiculous sight than that of British politicians in one of their periodic fits of moral self-righteousness. But equally ridiculous, surely, is the sight of "moderate" Irish politicians trying frantically in a pre-election period to cover up the policies they espoused in the past.

Take, for example, the SDLP. It is impossible these days to pick up an Irish newspaper without reading yet another stern statement from an SDLP leader reiterating that the RUC, as at present constituted, is totally unacceptable and that no police force will be acceptable this side of "fundamental political change". Great stuff for whipping in the coters in Andytown, the Creggan and other such recalcitrant regions.

But readers of elephantine memory may recall a series of expensive full-page adverts in Northern papers in February last year, just prior to the Westminster election. These were part of a money-no-object campaign drawing the attention of the electorate to the magnificent achievements of the SDLP as part of the Executive. The achievements included "An impartial police force acceptable to all".

This "impartial" and "acceptable" police force was presented, not as an ideal to be aimed at, but as a policy to be pursued, but something which had *already* been attained and for which we were all supposed to give grateful thanks.

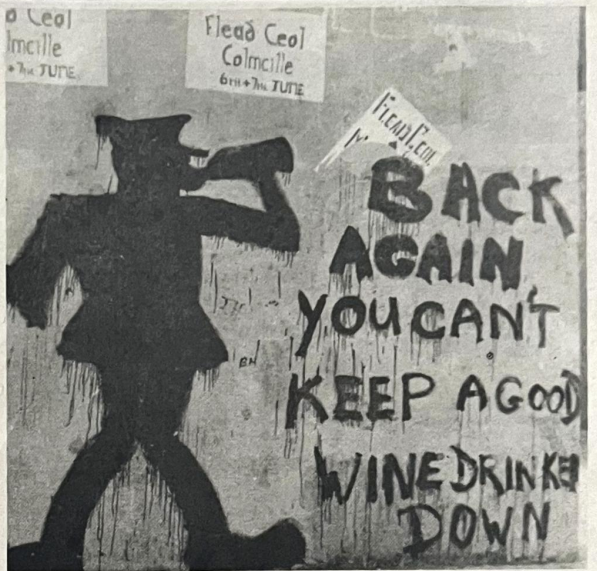
Now what, you might ask, has happened to this fine body of upright men? Is the RUC now skulking around Belfast and Derry a new body? And if not, how come it was impartial and acceptable thirteen months ago when it is neither of these things at present?

The answer to the conundrum is, of course, that the RUC today is no different to the RUC of last year, or the year before last, or the year before *that*, ad infinitum. What has changed is the situation of the SDLP. A year ago it was polishing its collective rump on ministerial armchairs in Stormont Castle and all the party's energies were directed towards preserving that comfortable state of affairs. While it continued the RUC, and every other institution of the Six County state was accepted, supported and glorified. And if lies had to be told to con the people into tolerating all this, the SDLP was perfectly prepared to tell them: even to spend thousands of pounds to by advertising space to spread the lies.

But things have changed. The Executive collapsed, as we always said it would. Now the SDLP is trying to fight its way *back* to power and hopes to do it by preventing people remembering its despicable record when actually in positions of power a short time ago.

The truth is that the SDLP has no real attitude to the RUC. It will accept it when acceptance seems in its own interests. It will reject it when that seems electorally more rewarding. The same consideration guides the SDLP in its every move: self interest.

The point is illustrated by recent SDLP statements on another, related matter. On March 3 Hugh Logue drew attention to UDR harassment of people attending Gaelic Football matches in Claudy and Feeney in Co. Derry. Mr. Logue claimed that "I have always believed that the UDR is one of the greatest obstacles to peace".



Now this, readers will know, is the same UDR which Mr. Logue, with Currie, Hume, Fitt and the rest of them, demanded that we *join* when it was set up in 1970. When the Bill establishing the UDR was presented in Westminster Gerry Fitt supported it enthusiastically. Currie and Hume made passionate recruiting speeches and denounced anyone who objected. Now, when it suits them, they have done a sharp about turn.

As with the RUC and the UDR, so with everything. The SDLP is a party which approaches political questions not in a spirit of "What attitude would be of most benefit to

the people, what line is best calculated to lead on to justice and freedom?" It asks rather: "What's in it for us?"

What has been in it for them so far has been six months of illusory power in the Executive, good salaries all round and the grateful thanks of the British establishment. Ordinary working people have gained precisely nothing. The message is clear. There is no way the people can advance by supporting those who sell their souls for meaningless "concessions". The only way to advance is to support those who are determined not to stop short of final victory.

Bill to stifle dissident voices

In Alice in Wonderland Humpty Dumpty explains that "When I use a word it means whatever I want it to mean". In this regard Humpty Dumpty bears a close resemblance to the chief egg-head in the Dublin cabinet. Moving the second reading of the Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Bill in the Senate Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien said that the chief purpose of the Bill was to "To provide greater autonomy and freedom for the Broadcasting service". Which has as much relation to the truth as Brian Faulkner has to Republicanism.

The new measure is designed to replace the 1960 Act, including the notorious Section 31 under which

ministers had power to ban the broadcast of "any particular matter or matter of any particular class". O'Brien would have us believe that his Bill is more "liberal". On examination, however it turns out to be anything but. It is designed, in fact, to strengthen the establishment's stranglehold on the media and to ensure that dissident voices are not heard.

The Bill prohibits RTE from broadcasting "anything which may reasonably be regarded as being likely to promote, or incite to, crime, or to lead to disorder".

The phrase "lead to disorder" is crucial. As the

crisis of imperialism and capitalism deepens disorder of one sort or another becomes a daily occurrence. Workers occupy factories, students disrupt ministerial visits to universities, farmers blockade roads, protestors stage sit-downs against repression and so on. All these certainly constitute forms of "disorder". Any self-respecting broadcasting medium must report that they happen. But how can the broadcaster be sure that in reporting them he does not encourage further "disorder"? The question is answered in the current issue of the "Journalist", the monthly magazine of the National Union of Journalists.

"The answer is, you can't be sure. You may phrase your questions as neutrally as anyone can, you may delete anything directly inflammatory from the replies, you may preface your report with as many ritual disassociations as you like, but if your report is a fair one, and if there is any sort of genuine grievance at the back of the disturbance you are reporting, you certainly can't guarantee that people — even reasonable people — may not be encouraged to lend a hand... In other words you can't be sure you won't be breaking Dr. O'Brien's law".

The result will be that RTE news and current affairs staff, especially in the atmosphere of nervousness and suspicion engendered by attacks on broadcasting freedom in the past three years, will tread warily when dealing with any story involving actual or potential disorder. The instinct will be to play safe at all times, to give relatively less weight to the voice of the aggrieved, relatively more to those who speak for the established order of things. Only this can you be *sure* that you are on the right side of O'Brien's law.

This is an issue which concerns not only political organisations which are denied access to RTE. It concerns trade unions, tenants' associations, housewives, student groups — anyone whose campaigns for this or that objective might bring them within the wide ambit of the Bill — and such groups should *begin now* to fight against the Bill being passed.

O'Brien and his supporters might object that this is to overstate the dangers that decisions about banning items will be taken by the upright men of the RTE Authority. But of course he himself appoints the Authority. And in the unlikely event of the Authority developing a mind of its own, his Bill empowers the Government to over-ride its directives and ban items which the Authority itself has passed for broadcast.

In other words, at the end of the day, it is he, Conor Cruise O'Brien, who will decide what you are allowed to see and hear on the "national" network.

And O'Brien has made it clear that one of the things you will certainly not be allowed to hear is the case for Republicanism. He expressed this to the Senate in typical O'Brien style:

"If the State broadcasting system were in any way to accredit the idea that the IRA is a quasi-legitimate institution, or that it was appropriate for citizens to be neutral as between the democratic state and the armed conspiracies which sought to usurp its functions, that would tend to confuse citizens by intensifying the false error (sic) of legitimacy with which the IRA has managed to surround itself".

Now that attitude to the IRA is, of course, a point of view. It is not a point of view with which we agree. But we would concede that it is proper that people should be able to express it. We are quite happy when they express it and *we have the right to reply*. Because it is not difficult to demolish. (For example, it is demonstrable that the "legitimacy" of the IRA stems not from devious propaganda befuddling people but from the situation existing in the North).

However what O'Brien is saying is that *only* his point of view should be expressed. If you don't agree with his attitude to the IRA you will not be allowed across the portals of Montrose. And all the verbiage in Leinster House will not disguise the fact that this is naked political censorship which cannot be defended by anyone claiming to be a democrat.

The depths of O'Brien's anti-democratic attitudes were revealed when he digressed from consideration of his Bill and spoke about newspapers. He told the Senate that "too many people spoke and wrote as if the IRA had a legitimate role to play" and went on to complain about a newspaper editor who failed to answer his question "whether he regarded the IRA as soldiers fighting for Ireland or as murderers".

Now if a number of people speak and write about the IRA in a particular way it is, presumably, because that is what they believe. O'Brien's suggestion that there are "too many" such people carries with it the implication that perhaps their numbers ought somehow to be reduced. His suggestion that it is impudence for a newspaper editor not to account to him personally for his view of the IRA increases the suspicion that deep in the darker recesses of his convoluted mind there is the desire some day to extend his control of political coverage to the press as well as radio and television.

Dr. O'Brien occasionally waxes eloquent about "dangers to democracy". But it is a Humpty-Dumpty democracy he worries about. In the real world, where words mean what they say, it is he himself and the ideas he represents which endanger the modicum of democracy we still enjoy.



Tógtha as "Inniu", eagrán dár dáta 22 Márta 1974.

Around the Country le Máire Ní Bhaoil

Students form S.F. Cumann

A GROUP of students from the Letterkenny Regional Technical College have formed the James McDavid (Jun.) Sinn Féin Cumann under the direction of the area organiser, Mr. Patrick Doherty, Carrigart.

Officers elected were, Chairman, Gerry Harkin; Vice Chairman, O. Doherty; Secretary, Geraldine Boyce; Treasurer, Ken McGuire; Asst. Treasurer, John Hamilton. Delegates to the Comhairle Ceannair, Geraldine Boyce and Gerry Garkin.

A resolution was passed condemning the fatal shooting of an "unarmed political prisoner" and the injuring of two others" at Portlaoise prison.

Organisers Appointed

AT a well-attended meet of the Donegal Comhairle Ceannair in the Abbey Hotel, Donegal Town five regional organisers were appointed to promote Sinn Féin.

Donegal electoral area, Joseph O'Neill; Glenties, Hugh Duffy; Milford, Patrick Doherty; Buncrana, Eddie Fullerton and Letterkenny, Jack Brogan.

Fleadh Ceoil on April 19

THE County Antrim Board of the Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann at a meeting in Portlaoise has drawn up plans for a Fleadh Ceoil in the town on Saturday, April 19.

Delegates from Belfast, Ballycastle and the newly-formed Portlaoise branch decided to confine competitions to those not already catered for by the Derry and Antrim Fiddlers' Association.

It was stressed that this new musical organisation was not competing with the traditional fiddlers but rather complimentary to them.

Saturday, April 19 has been set as music day and entries should reach the secretary, Mrs. Jeannie McGrath, "Usnach", 25 Gortahar Road, Rasharkin, before Saturday April 5.

Northern Aid Draw

AT a successful Northern Aid function in Bundoran on March 7th, the 3rd Annual Northern Aid (Tironeall Branch) draw took place. The 1st prize of a Bellec China Set was won by Neil Gallagher, Balintra, Arranmore Island; 2nd prize (choice of wallet or handbag) went to Thomas Caldwell, Donegal, and F. Cairns, Strabane, Co. Tyrone. Mr. Anthony O'Malley Daly, chairman of the Donegal Comhairle Ceannair, (Kevin St.,)

Sinn Féin, thanked all who had contributed to the continuing success of this yearly draw.

Glasgow Sinn Féin Raises £1,000

THE Michael Gaughan Sinn Féin Cumann in Glasgow, has raised £1,000 for the Burtonport Disaster Fund.

It was congratulated on its efforts at a meeting of the Donegal Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin (Kevin St.) to which it is affiliated.

Baile Ghib

D'EIRIGH thar barr leis an Aifreann Gaeilge i mBaile Ghib a duairt an tAithir Tomas O Fiach ar an gcead Domhnach na níos seo, bhí slua daoine ann agus bhí gach duine sasta go raibh Aifreann Gaeilge acu Dé Domhnaigh ma ba mhór an náire é go dtí seo go raibh ar Gaeilgeoirí freastal ar Aifreann Aifreann Beala. Ach tá sé sin thart anois agus beidh Aifreann Gaeilge eile san seipéal i mBaile Ghib maidin Dia Domh-Domhnaigh seo chugainn. ar 9.30 arís. Bíodh an slua ann arís. Beidh fáilte fé leith roimh Gaeilgeoirí Bhaile Allain.

Beidh anocht i mBaile Ghib gach teachtáin at seo amach agus beidh sí ar siúl oíche Dia hAoine idir a 7 lín. agus a 9 lín. Is iarracht é seo chun an costas beatha a íslú agus gan amhras bíonn na phraghasanna an reasunta ar fad.

New Cumann in Newcastle West

A new Sinn Féin cumann was formed in Newcastle West, Co. Limerick on March 20. The meeting was attended by the Ardchomhairle member, S. Bn Uí Mhaolchathaigh, and Michael Souilly, a member of the Sean Heuston cumann and was presided over by Pádraig O Maolcathaigh, Chairman, Limerick Comhairle Ceannair.

The meeting decided to call the new cumann after Bill Barrett, a native of Newcastle West, who had been a life-long Republican.

Officers were elected and the affiliation fee paid.

Anyone in the area who wishes to join the Bill Barrett cumann is requested to contact: Edward O'Connor, 2, Hillview, Newcastle West.

Sympathy

AT their weekly meeting the Dundalk branch of An Cumann Cabhrach voted sympathy with the family and friends of Thomas Smith (R.L.P.) who was killed in Portlaoise Prison on St. Patrick's Day.

A minutes silence was observed by the members at mark of respect. Masses offered.

Magilligan

A new Sinn Féin cumann has been formed in the Magilligan concentration camp.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, Gerry Sloan; Vice-chairman, Pat McKearney; P.R.O. Pat Brannigan; Secretary, Diarmuid Fox, Cage F, Magilligan.

The cumann is named after a comrade killed in action - Vol. Vivienne Fitzsimmons, D. Coy., 2nd Batt., S. Down and S. Armagh. The secretary wrote to his family requesting permission to name the cumann after Vivienne and the reply was in the affirmative.

Luton

A very successful dance was held in Luton on March 15. The dance, which was well attended by the Irish communities from Luton, St. Albans, Bletchley, and Hemel Hempstead was in aid of the Political Prisoners Dependents at home and abroad, and was a tremendous success financially and socially. All the tickets were sold out and latecomers were unable to gain admittance after 10.30 p.m.

Music was provided by a local Irish group - The Ohio Irish Showband who played to everybody's taste a mixture of traditional and modern dance music. Several guest singers also entertained the gathering, which was held in a Luton community hall.

Luton Sinn Féin wish to thank all those who supported their dance, especially Mr. and Mrs. J. O'Connor, who travelled out from distant Harrow with their supporters. Thanks also to the wives of cumann members who made such a success of the buffet during the interval.

Particular thanks goes to Miss Kathleen Barret of Finchley (North London) who personally contributed £40 and presented the cumann with a tape-recorder to aid the political education classes now in progress.

During the interval a draw took place on behalf of the Harrow Green Cross.

Prisoners in dock protest

REPUBLICAN prisoners clung to the rail of the cock in the Belfast Magistrates Court on Tuesday last and refused to leave until they got an assurance that there would be an improvement in the facilities for transporting them to and from Long Kesh.

The men stated that the prison van was grossly overcrowded, badly lit and ventilated, and this made them ill. They also complained of rough treatment when being placed in the van.

Protests were shouted by women in the court as the prisoners were taken away to the cells.

Loughran visa protest in U.S.



The Irish National Caucus in Washington has protested at the cancellation of the United States visa of Mr. Seamus Loughran and sought "full redress for this violation of the rights of American citizens who invited Republican leaders to give their views".

The Caucus also opposed revocation of the visas of Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh, president of Kevin Street Sinn Féin, Mrs. Maire Drumm, the vice-president, and the vice-president, and others. The Caucus condemned the U.S. State Department Secretary of State Mr. Henry Kissinger, and the Belfast Consul and apologised to the Irish people "for this very un-American act of policy".

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

Our picture shows Mr. Loughran being piped out of the Airport building following his arrival in the U.S.



ABOVE: The Martin Forsythe Sinn Féin Cumann leading the Anti-internment protest in Belfast on Sunday, March 16. The demonstration had been organised by the Belfast Comhairle Ceannair. (See also picture on page eight).

SYMPATHY

Volunteer Thomas Smith

The South Derry comhairleceannair, Sinn Féin deeply regrets the death of Vol. Tommy Smith and extends deepest sympathy to his family. May he rest in peace.

THE Sinn Féin Cumann, Melbourne, Australia deeply regrets the death of Thomas Smith, Vol. Oglaigh na hÉireann, shot dead by Free State troops at Portlaoise.

We offer our deepest sympathy to his family and comrades. Masses offered.

Shock as shirt firm closes down

THIRTY-EIGHT more workers from the South East will join the ever-increasing dole queues when a Kilkenny industry closes down shortly. The shock closure of the Silver River Shirt and Collar Company Ltd., at the Fair Green, Kilkenny, means an end to their jobs for 36 women workers and two male employees from April 4.

The shutdown follows close on the heels of the death of another Kilkenny factory, Kilkenny Knitwear Company, Callan, where between 35 and 40 workers, mostly women became redundant when the firm put up the shutters some time ago.

Common Market to blame

Workers at the Silver River Shirt blame the collapse of the firm on imports of cheap shirts

from South Korea and Portugal, particularly since the Free State entered the E.E.C. For some time the Kilkenny factory had been on a three-day-week, but finally a month's notice was given to all employees.

The girls who are losing their jobs are feeling quite sore about the matter.

They claim that the Kilkenny factory is being closed so that the Dublin factory owned by the same firm can return to full production.

"It was down the country, especially in many Kilkenny shops, that most of our shirts were sold", they emphasised.

No redundancy payments

Export market difficulties and antiquated machinery were given as the reasons for the

end of Kilkenny Knitwear Company, Callan, which at peak production employed 70 workers, 75 per cent of them female.

When production ceased, the staff had decreased to between 35 and 40. No lump sum payments were paid to the workers. The Company pleaded inability to pay.

Recently a liquidator was appointed and the workers' case has been referred to the Appeals Tribunal.

Roadmaster Caravans — crisis averted

North Kilkenny Sinn Féin is happy to report that the crisis at Roadmaster Caravans, Castlecomer, has been averted. At a recent meeting between management and union at the caravan factory, agreement was reached to:

1. shelve the 50 redundancy notices served.

2. to continue working a five-day fortnight with an extra caravan produced each day.

This agreement will last until Summer when extra sales should bring the workers back on a fulltime basis. Loss of wages will not be more than a couple of pounds a week.

The workers have let it be known that they appreciate the interest shown by Sinn Féin in their fight to maintain their right to work.

We, on our part, appreciate the help obtained in collections and paper sales in the area. The message here is clear and simple. If the 50 workers had not refused the redundancy notices they would be unemployed today. The stand taken by their fellow workers and by the Union ensured their continued employment at the factory.

We would think that the Sinn Féin interest also had an effect.

— P. O. DOLLARD.

Cooney unfit for public office

a chara

IN AN interview with a daily national newspaper, Mr. Patrick Cooney said on 22 March about the RUC: "I think it's a completely different force in its corporate personality, in its command structure and in its approach to its role to what it was in the '60s, when it was definitely a sectarian and prejudiced force. I see it now as a police force, a vastly different force and a force anxious to serve all the community".

What Mr. Cooney thinks is so completely wrong that it renders him unfit for public office. Worse than that is the suspicion he gives that he is playing politics with the lives and human rights of Catholics in Northern Ireland. Giving false praise to the RUC may seem to him to be good politics, but to us it is hypocritical.

The Dublin Government, of which he is Minister for Justice are presenting a case at the European Commission for Human Rights which contains 130 cases of torture and brutality committed by the RUC in 1971-72. Was that the '60s? His Government is also complaining that the RUC in 1971-74 interned 2,000 Catholics in a one-sided and discriminatory fashion.

Why do Catholics in the North not give general support to the RUC 1974?

1. They still fail to prosecute efficiently their own members for charges in police stations, as they have done since 1968.

2. The RUC are still beating up people in police stations.

3. They have failed charge or use their own weapon of internment against loyalist extremists in the Duncannon area where there have been 12 sectarian assassinations of Catholics.

4. Evidence has shown that the courts against Catholics in opposing bail, the preferring of charges, and in delaying court cases to ensure a heavier sentence on indictment after 6 months.

5. The RUC use insulting and disgusting language and manners towards Catholics who go to police stations to enquire after arrested relatives or

to lay a complaint.

6. The RUC allowed 40,000 Catholics to be driven out of their homes in Belfast between August, 1969 and February, 1973.

7. A completely different force from the '60s? In recent months, many ex-b-Specials and their sons have been brought into the RUC Reserve, armed with machine guns, and are now annoying and threatening their Catholic neighbours in Co. Tyrone.

— Rev. D. Faul,

Dún Geannainn, — Rev. R. Murray, Parochial House, Ard Mhacha.

FAINIC AN FEALL

MAIDIR le ndaoine ar Phlúinéidigh, cuimhnigh ar Marbhú Dhuin an Oir igCarráí i 1580. Mhair an cath trí lá's chuaidh S. di San Giuseppe, an t-Iodálach a bhí i gceannas can cainte le Lord Gray agus an Dr. Ollífar Plúinéid a Dhoiread Atha mar fear teangan eatorru. Níor thainc caint na beirte le Plúinéid's theaspáin sé é. Deirneadh príosúnach de acht bhéic ar Plúinéidigh ar a chéad go raibh feall ar Eirinn i mír ag San Giuseppe agus gan géilleadh choirce. Ní misde cuimhnemh ar a chomairle inniu. —Tiarna Breathnach, San Francisco, U.S.A.

BROADCASTING AUTHORITY (AMENDMENT) BILL

IT IS perhaps significant that nowhere in the Conor Cruise O'Brien catchism of which he has relieved himself towards a Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Bill is there any mention made of treasonable matter, of the slavish relaying of blatant propaganda prepared by the British Army of Occupation,

of reference to the re-partition of Ireland and the Three State Theory (rather than the Cosgrave Free State); of perorations towards the Second Act of Union and the New Pale; neither does it contain any moralising on the practice of *Neotism*. Clearly on the part of a "liberal" politician a case of not seeing the mote in ones own eye whatever about Ireland's Eye!

Nevertheless it is to be hoped that "goggle-box" apart from the Irish people and the future pages of our history will have the last analysis, the final say. Germany it should be remembered survived her Dr. Goebbels, Italy the Prince. News has its own means of finding its way down the glens and boherens of this country especially when it has to do with the freedom, unity and sovereignty of this island. It has been doing just that for many

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement.

Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Fháite ar leith roimh Ghaeilge.

centurists now, sometimes via "scooters and paves", oftentimes in song and ballad, by broadsheet, newsletter and magazine, but never as "woollier appellations" to use Dr. O'Brien's own words.

Such verbal garments are obviously reserved for garrulous political harlequins at a *haute couture* remove from the plain people. No, Minister for Post and Telegraphs, there will always be unrepentant "subversives" as long as Britain or her western shadows subvert the sovereignty and

Raffle Results

THE results of the raffle held by the Harrow Green Cross at Luton on March 16 are as follows:

1st Prize: Long Kesh cross — Mr. V. Richards (St. Albans).
2nd Prize: Long Kesh wallet — Mr. A. Haughian (Portsmouth).
3rd Prize: Long Kesh handkerchief — Andy (Hemel Hemstead).

Portlaoise Buses

THE buses run by Sinn Féin for relatives and friends wishing to visit Republican prisoners in Portlaoise will in future leave Sinn Féin's Dublin office, 5 Blessington Street (Tel. 308783) every Saturday morning at 8.30 a.m.



national aspirations of Ireland.

Meanwhile, thank God, we have journalists and editors who are not afraid of the cynical clutches of Big Brother, or for that matter Comrade Glavstop, professionals who refrain from seeing wolves behind every bush, bushwhackers behind every Minister of Government, even on the word of two "clerics" in the proposed Broadcasting Authority (sic) (Amendment) Bill there is a good strong whiff of Conor Cruise Super-Editor.

— Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin, Gaúire, Co. Loch Garman.

PADDY DEVLIN IN LONDON

AT A recent gathering in London Mr. Paddy Devlin of the S.D.L.P. and a former minister in Brian Faulkner's executive made an impassioned call for an immediate ending of internment without trial in Northern Ireland — I demand that our Association fully supports.

It is regrettable however that Mr. Devlin and his colleagues while they were in office seemed rather reluctant to raise with the British government not only the issue of internment, but also the widespread army brutality coupled with the continuing inequities of the Orange statelet: biased judiciary, repressive legislation etc. The S.D.L.P., both in government and "opposition" has much to answer for.

While in office the party collaborated with Heath and Wilson in political scheming while their constituents in the ghettos bore the brunt of military repression. They attempted to destroy the people's resistance to repression by their disgraceful attempt to sabotage the rent and rates strike. Party spokesmen have travelled abroad and have acted as propagandists for British imperialism, and last but not least John Howe wants legislation in the South that will have the effect of giving Britain political and military control throughout Ireland. In view of these facts Mr. Devlin really seems about wanting an end to internment?

In any case it is inconceivable that Mr. Devlin's call would carry any weight with the British government owing to his having been made a political enunch by the actions of the Ulster Workers Council. The ending of repression can only come about through mass struggle and an end to

imperialism, orangeism, and neo-colonialism in Ireland.

That ideal situation will never come about through the manoeuvrings of a neo-Redmondite party of opportunist equivocators such as the S.D.L.P.

— P. Mac Uidhir, P.R.O. Dublin County, I.C.R.A.

COMMON MARKET

WITH soaring prices and high unemployment, the Irish people are beginning to understand what membership of the E.E.C. really means.

The power hungry politicians of Leinster House promised us a Utopia, if we joined. The various groups and organisations opposed to membership warned us of the dangers. Time has shown who was right.

On top of all this our Taoiseach has got an increase of salary which makes him the highest paid head of state in Europe. Ministers of E.E.C. countries wise and dune in Dublin Castle while all the time the Irish people are becoming richer and the poor poorer in a way which makes a mockery of social justice.

The Irish people must demand a referendum on our staying in the E.E.C. This time there must be no mistake. Ireland's future lies in following an independent economic policy rather than in membership of big power-blocs.

—Hugh Boyle, Alt an Chorráin, 7 DTr Chonaill.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY AND IRELAND

COMMENTING on the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1974, The Tablet of December 12, inter alia, writes: "It is, we suggest astonishing that it is the I.R.A. alone the Act proscribes and not, for example, the U.F.F., R.D.C. and the U.P.G. ... all of which have claimed responsibility for acts of terrorism and sectarian murders no less foul than those perpetrated by the I.R.A."

Had the Tablet writer examined Mr. Jenkins's policy on North East Ireland, I feel he would not express astonishment over his refusal to proscribe the above organisation, for Mr. Jenkins believes in upholding and maintaining British rule in Ireland.

The history of the British Parliamentary Labour Party from Ramsay MacDonald and J.H. Thomas, though Atlee and Morrison and on to Messrs. Wilson, Jenkins and Callaghan has been in support of keeping Ireland a poor, oppressed colony in Britain's interests.

—S. Mac Lochlainn, Sráid Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath.

Easter greetings

Patrick McArdorey Cumann, Luton Sinn Féin sends Easter Greetings and best wishes to all Republican prisoners in Ireland, England, Scotland and America.
A Dia, Saor Éire.

To all political prisoners, North and South of the waters, I wish you a very happy Easter and hope that you will be able to wear your Easter lilies.

Your friend and comrade: Kathleen Barrett, 1, Mountfield Rd., Finchley, London, N.3.

To David and Deirdre O'Connell — Hope that by next year, you will be able to enjoy the comfort of your home and that Ireland will be on its way to freedom.

— Kathleen Barrett, 1, Mountfield Rd., Finchley, London, N.3.

Easter greetings to Michael Brody, Michael McNamara, John Casey and Martin Hegarty in Portlaoise Prison; and to Hugh Hehir in Long Kesh.

— Pearad Clancy Cumann, Sinn Féin, Ennis.

Kevin Mallon, Portlaoise jail — Happy Easter Kevin.

— From Your Favourite girl, Jane Frances.

Welcome Home

To Dotes and Marion, Armagh jail. Welcome home lovers. See you soon.
—The Cuddly Teddy Bear.

CONGRATULATIONS

Congratulations to John McCuskey, former chairman of the Terence McSwiney, Sinn Féin Cumann, Hammersmith, London now serving 20 years imprisonment in an English jail, on the birth of a son, John Gerald, to his wife Maura on the 18th March 1975.

—Terence McSwiney, Sinn Féin Cumann, London.

Happy Birthday

Birthday greetings to Michael MacLochláinn (Derry) on remand in Brixton prison, London, S.W. 2. Best wishes on your 20th birthday on 7th April, 1975.
— Terry and friends.

Leo Martin, Portlaoise jail. Your time is up speedy, Will be waiting with brandy. Purely medicinal, of course. — "Skiver".

Easter Greeting

Philp Coyle, Magilligan Camp: Happy Easter and lots of love.
— Marian.

Fishing rights

Sinn Féin welcomes the decision of Navan Trades Council to seek the introduction of legislation entitling all anglers to have free access to the rivers of the country. We feel that no group of businessmen are entitled to have control of any river in the country. Mr. A. Connolly (I.T.G.W.U.) said that his union felt the Blackwater belonged to the local people and that they were entitled to fish on it without interference from the law.

An Cumann Cabhrach

Má theastaionn uait cuidiú le cothú na ndaoine bhí ag brath ar na cimir polaitiúla thuaidh theas agus thar lear súl má ghabhadh iad cuir sinituís chugainn inniu.

If you wish to help support the dependent of the political prisoners, abroad, North and South, before they were jailed, send us a subscription immediately.

Wen Sie den Augehörigen der Erheitskasspfern helfen wollen senden Sie heute bitte eine Kontribution.

Si Vd. quiere ayudar a los dependientes de los patriotas encarcelados en Irlanda y en el extranjero envíe una contribución hoy a nosotros.

Si vous voulez assister à soutenir financièrement les dépendants des patriotes internés et autres prisonniers politiques en Irlande et Angletter veuillez envoyer maintenant votre contribution à nosotros.

• An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1, Eire.

Sinn Féin for a New Ireland

Sinn Féin recruiting campaign a success

THE publicity and recruiting campaign combined with the setting up of Information Centres launched by Sinn Féin some weeks ago is bearing very satisfactory results. Applications to join Sinn Féin are steadily flowing into An Ard Oifigh and reports from many parts of the country indicates a growing number of new people joining local Cumainn.

The publicity campaign has resulted in the greatest amount of posters ever displayed by any organisation, outside election periods, this particularly applies to the Dublin area. The Information Centres are being stocked with Sinn Féin literature and places like Derry and Strabane are foremost in this field.

Leaflets and An Phoblacht is spearheading the recruiting campaign.

Good progress is being made on the organisation front. In Meath the Comhairle Ceannair has been re-organised and the largest number of Cumainn ever, are now operating in the County. New Cumainn have been formed in Kilderry, Kiltale, and Athboy. Lapsed Cumainn have been revived.

Sligo has a new Cumainn in Riverstown and another one is to be formed in Colaney. Two new Cumainn are operating in Kilcoo and Rostrevor, Co. Down.

In Derry the Sean Dolan Cumainn will operate in the Waterside area and a further Cumainn, the Lynch, Moyne, McDaid will operate in the Creggan. The Tullamore Cumainn in Co. Offaly has now been re-organised and is working very satisfactory.

It is very obvious from reports that where Cumainn are operating by setting up Information Centres, selling literature including An Phoblacht and Republican News, issuing a local Newsheet, distributing leaflets and displaying posters and involving themselves in community work, progress is being made.

Too many areas are still very slack in their efforts and its from these particular areas a bigger push is needed in the coming months.

— Ualltéir Ó Loinsigh.

Join Sinn Féin now for Peace with Justice — A New Ireland of self-governing communities. A New Democracy which gives power to the people. Autonomy for each province within a federal structure for the whole country. An Ulster Parliament will guarantee the rights of Orange and Green.

Positive political education, organisation and publicity are now more important than ever both North and South. Otherwise the New Ireland will never become a reality. Men, women and children have died and suffered to bring the present position about. Will you fail now to advance the cause further? A big push is needed now on political, social and economic issues. Join Sinn Féin now.

Fill in the coupon below and send it to Sinn Féin, 2A Sraid Chaoimhin Ioct., Baile Átha Cliath 8; or to any of the following:

Kilkenny Paddy Dollard, 67 Old Callah Rd., Kilkenny.	Derry Kathleen Campbell, 36 Meeting House Ave., Maghera, Co. Derry.	Limerick Siobhán Uí Mhaolcathaigh, Lifu, Bóthar Bhaile Átha Cliath, Luimneach.	Wexford Sean Doyle U.C., Esmonde Rd., Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford.
Longford Michael Nevin, Demense, Longford.	Armagh Mr. Terry Brady, 81 Lurgan Tarry, Lurgan, Co. Armagh.	Waterford Mrs. M. Merriman, 66, Ballytruckle, Waterford.	Louth Ann Shields, 29 Fatima Pk., Dundalk, Co. Louth.
Donegal Anthony Daly, College Lane, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal.	Belfast Eileen McNeill, 170 Falls Road, Belfast.	Kerry P. MacCathmhaoill, Bishopscourt, Ballyduff, Tralee, Co. Kerry.	Galway Máirín Ní Fhathartaigh, C/o Archway, University College, Galway.
Westmeath Aodain Ó Muineachan, Oliver Plunket Street, Mullingar.	Derry City Martha Suto, 15 Cable Street, Derry City.	Sligo P. J. Kearney, 14 Cedar Drive, Sligo.	Clare Eoin Mac Logan, 50 Finian Park, Shannon.
Mayo Carmel Hemenstall, C/o McKenna's Hotel, Balla, Co. Mayo.	Laoise Michael Ó Mongain, Baile Mhuiris, Cuil an tSudaire, Co. Laoise.	Kildare Robert Redmond, 1301 Town Park, Athy, Co. Kildare.	Roscommon Larry Noone, New Street, Ballaghaderreen, Co. Roscommon.
Tipperary Marcus Fogarty, Friar Street, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.	Cork Cathal O Donovan, Rosedene, Glasheen Road, Cork.	Tyrone Mrs. Susan McGillan, 220 Lisnafin Park, Strabane.	Monaghan Tom Bannon, 5 Drumbeen, Monaghan.

Win the war — win the peace

**JOIN
SINN
FÉIN
NOW**

I wish to join Sinn Féin

Name _____

Address _____

Ó Dálaigh Paris Visit

As the Free State President, Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh arrived in France for a four-day state visit thousands of leaflets were distributed in the streets of Paris by the Irish Solidarity Group and again at a reception for the President on Friday night. The leaflets explained the powers of the Offences Against the State Amendment Act, the Special Criminal Courts and the treatment and conditions of political prisoners in Portlaoise prison.

A public meeting was held in

Paris on Saturday to highlight the position. In Montereau University on Friday, an exhibition of posters, photographs and literature on the Irish Struggle was held followed by a lecture and debate. A number of Republican Movement representatives participated.

Previous to Ó Dálaigh's visit, the Eire Nua Committee in Paris sold resistance literature to people attending an Irish/French Society reception attended by Irish Ambassador to France.

(Courtesy: I.R.I.S. Paris).



Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, Free State President.



British troops spying on Sinn Féin anti-internment march in Belfast on Sunday, 16 March. Despite the truce, harassment continued of the political wing of the Republican Movement continues.