

An Phoblacht

Iml. 5. Uimh. 7 5p Feabhra 15, 1974



O'BRIEN BOALED OVER

THE CRUISE O'Brien attack on the Boal plan for peace in a sovereign, independent united Ireland on the basis of federal government was the first salvo by the Dublin politicians in defence of Faulkner and Fitt. For if Fitt and Faulkner and Co. fall in the British imperial election, their Sunningdale fellow conspirators hardly can hope to survive much longer after them.

In his attack, however, Cruise O'Brien exposed himself, his sectarian politics and the distortion of democracy on which Sunningdale is based, the entire operation being a camouflage to hide the class interests of the conspirators.

For Sunningdale, before all else, was designed to maintain in power, north and south, the old middle-class groupings which survived, flourished and prospered by keeping sectarianism alive, the working class and Ireland divided under the overlordship of a foreign imperial power. And the conspirators are merely a front for a capitalism which becomes more voracious with every week that passes, as every housewife knows to her cost.

Or could it be, for all his liberal gushings, that the doctor is really as sectarian as he sounds and that it isn't just a matter of huffing and puffing and playing ruthlessly on the deep fear, north and south, of civil war?

Real power-sharing

Cruise O'Brien, apparently, concedes that, on his side of the ditch, Protestants and Roman Catholics can come together, under Mother England: they are all well brought up, neat and clean and civilised and old Mother England knows best. He puts all the emphasis on alleged power-sharing.

There is no concession to the willingness and ability of working-class Prods and Teigues — who want nothing of old Mother England except her exit — to solve their problems and to operate real power-sharing, for only when Mother England stops meddling will there be any real power to share.

Nor is there any willingness by Uncle Conor to face the fact that Desmond Boal has a reputation for honesty and integrity. No. Boal is a Machiavellian, Protestant fascist, all set to restore the Stormont that failed. No doubt Boal will know exactly how to deal with Lord Howth.

By DARA Mac DARA

Of the I.R.A. and U.V.F., O'Brien says: "These two gangs have long been engaged in political and sectarian murder." The U.V.F. will know how to reply to that. As for Óglaigh na hÉireann, it is well known throughout Ireland that sectarian killings never were part of its policy and that it always took every possible means to stop them.

One of the murderers

It is becoming more widely known with every week, among all sections of the Irish population, that very many of the "sectarian" killings in the north-east are the work of special killer squads of the foreign army of occupation. This is known to Cruise O'Brien in far greater detail than to most Irish citizens — he has available to him intelligence reports from Gardai and military.

Unashamedly, he stands with the interners, the torturers, the killers and the trouble-makers of the foreign army and the R.U.C., and with the British bombers of Dublin, Clones and elsewhere, against the Irish people.

O'Brien associates with the butchers of Derry, Faulkner and Heath, and continues in association with the British murder gangs in the north. He must, therefore, be considered equally with them as another common murderer. All the more reason, therefore, for him to try to shout down Boal, Ó Brádaigh, Robb, McManus, Paisley, West or anyone else who opposes the hypocrisy of Sunningdale, the real recipe for civil war in Ireland, north and south.

O'Brien is right when he says that Boal's ideas and Sunningdale are not on the same plane. Of course not. Boal thinks in terms of an independent Ireland; O'Brien can conceive only of an Ireland divided and subservient to foreigners.



Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien overlords it in the Falls, Belfast, with a body-guard from the imperial army of occupation. That was before he became a Minister. Before Sunningdale. Would he risk it today — with or without bodyguard?

Boal is interested in permanent peace and reconciliation; O'Brien is thinking only of personal advantage, and power as long as he lives in the shadow of the indulgent overlord. Boal wants to see the working class in control of a de-centralised Ireland of real, meaningful democracy; O'Brien wants pseudo-democracy and bureaucracy to continue, with the middle-class still dominant.

Pseudo-democracy

O'Brien prates about the "democratically elected Assembly" that is Stormont No. Two. How could it be democratic when Sinn Féin was not allowed to contest the election and is still banned in the north-east? And what does Uncle Conor know of democracy when he stands by the imprisonment of an editor and journalist of this paper? When he denies Republicans freedom of radio and television? Or stands by while men are imprisoned on hearsay evidence under an act which is the antithesis of democracy?

Ironically that this Queen's man should be ranting and raving for Faulkner and Fitt, terrified of the result of the imperial election, in a city which was the first in Ireland to taste the advantages of superior English rule as it ran red with the blood of its most prominent citizens. How appropriate that there, a few days ago, Cruise O'Brien could play the role of a latterday Diarmuid na nGall.

MAKE IT A FREE ELECTION

FOLLOWING a Dublin meeting of the Ardchomhairle of Sinn Féin at the weekend of the forthcoming Westminster Imperial election was considered in depth. Afterwards the following statement was issued:

"Sinn Féin calls on the British Government to take the following steps immediately:
Transfer the Winchester Eight prisoners to Ireland;

Reverse the bann on Sinn Féin;
Give a guarantee to end harassment of the people by British forces so that a free election can be held."

The Ardchomhairle awaited a reply by noon on Thursday, February 14.

NEXT WEEK : Special edition. A U.S. expert assesses the campaign of Óglaigh na hÉireann since 1969.

**SUPPORT
THE MEN
AND WOMEN**

An Cumann Cabhrach

**IN JAIL
FOR IRELAND'S
LIBERATION**

Hunger-strikers: I.M.A. urged to break with B.M.A.

A SHARP criticism of the medical profession in Britain is made in an article by Dr. Aidan Meade in the "Irish Medical Times" (Jan. 25 issue) on the issue of forced feeding.

He recalls an editorial in the Sept. 1 issue last year of the "British Medical Journal", voice of the British Medical Association and "champion of medical ethics".

Gardaí are worried

THE Garda Síochána does not want to find itself cast in the role of a gendarmierie or a frontier militia as a result of the Sunningdale agreement, according to an editorial in the "Garda Review."

The editorial adds that the force does not want to assume the functions which circumstances thrust upon the RUC, nor does it want to be an armed police force.

The only way for Gardaí to ensure that they are not used as a political police force, armed, trained in terrorist techniques, torturing, etc., and hence targets for the liberating force, is to show how they feel by concerted action right now.

Tomorrow will be too late.

Border roads re-opened

In two protest demonstrations organised by Sinn Féin crowds gathered on the Border on Sunday in Co. Monaghan to clear unapproved roads blocked by enemy troops.

More than 300 people took part in the demonstration at a border road leading to Fivefort, Co. Tyrone, and attempted to destroy the walls which had been built across the road.

An unapproved route at Mullagh, about five miles from Castleblayney, was re-opened to traffic last night by a group of 40 local farmers working with picks and shovels.

Sinn Féin agus an Ghaeltacht

AN tseachtain seo caite d'fhóillsigh muid an bread chuid den raiteas a d'eisigh Seán Ó Brádaigh, Oifigeach Poiblíochta, thar cheann Sinn Féin. Seo a leanas an chuid deiridh de.

- Tá sé rianachánach go mbeadh na hathruithe togha-cheantair atá le bheith ann do na toghcháin áitiúla ag teacht le mí-ghaeltachas na Gaeilte agus go mbeadh pobal na Gaeilte ag vótáil mar sonad feasta. Seo ceann de na bun-adhmeanna a bheadh ag Sinn Féin sa bhfeachtas rialtais áitiúla a bheadh ag an bpáirt ag na toghcháin sin.
- Tá gá le clár oideachais agus colais ar mhéid capla chun a gcearta faoin gcóras atá ann faoi láthair a léiriú do phobal na Gaeilte Bristear córas an dole agus na pátrúinacht.

Cearta na teanga

Baineann an ráiteas seo le staid phríomhach na Gaeilte. Níl sé i gceist againn seasamh an Chomhairleais ar cheist na teanga féin a phlé anseo. Ach seasann Sinn Féin go huile agus go hiomlán do chearta na Gaeilteora, is cuma cén pháirt den tír ina bhfuil conaí air.

Tugaimid go bhfuil deacrachtaí ann maidir le obair na hathbheochana - deacrachtaí atá ag crá ár mball féin in an-chuid cásná. Ach sa ghearrthearma ní amháin ní mór troid ar son cearta duine ar bith a chloíonn leanaí na n-áite go háirithe maidir le athbheochas ag forais phoiblí agus aitheantas ar leith i gcearta scolafachta agus teaghlacha. Cearta bunúsacha daonna atá i gceist anois, is áite bunúsacha go mór ná rud ar bith atá scríofa i mbun reachta na bliana 1937.

Dr. Meade calls on the Irish Medical Association to break with the British Medical Association unless the BMA takes immediate action on the force-feeding of the hunger-strikers and against those doctors supervising the operation.

He continues: "It recounted how an urban guerrilla in West Germany, imprisoned and awaiting trial had contested the right of the German Public Prosecutor to have her medically examined to see whether she was fit to plead."

"The highest court in Germany ruled that the examination could be carried out forcibly if necessary, even with the use of a drug to overcome her resistance."

"The 'British Medical Journal' editorial then goes on, self-righteously, to declare that it supports West German 'intellectuals' who protested that the German court's ruling contravened the State's constitution."

In the next paragraph it goes one better, and I quote: "The medical profession in West Germany should know that they will have the support of their colleagues in Britain in resisting any attempt to engage their members in the examination of a person against his or her will."

"Whatever the law may command in our respective countries, we share the same ethical tradition in medicine and the forcible examination of a person is contrary to it, and the fact that the person is a prisoner would aggravate the offence."

Hypocrisy

"It is heartening, however, that this matter can be publicly ventilated in the Germany of today. In many countries unfortunately, it still could not be."

"How is that for unadulterated hypocrisy? In their own

Ar lean, cúl lech.

Censorship exposed

DR. Cruise O'Brien, Posts and Telegraphs Minister, likes to be known as a liberal and a champion of free speech, according to Sinn Féin. "yet he operates RTE under an Act which is probably the most restrictive of free speech and the most partial in dissemination of views and news in the world."

The statement added: "The knocking of the Price sisters letter off the 'Hear and Now' programme is the meanest and most shameful of a long series of repressive incidents. Yet the 'Hear and Now' programme has long been a platform where British propaganda agents parade their views and peddle their 'charities'."

BRITS TURN SCREW ON THE U.D.A.

THIS is one of the pictures which appeared in an English newspaper along with a report of U.D.A. training in England and Scotland. It was taken at the invitation of a leader of the Ulster Defence Association, presumably in the hope of boosting recruiting, presumably also in the conviction that the Westminster authorities would take little or no action against this organisation, as has been their habit in the Six Counties.

Why, then, was there a successful raid for U.D.A. guns in Lancashire last week and why were U.D.A. men arrested and arraigned? Why the sudden change in Westminster's policy?

The answer is that Westminster no longer trusts the U.D.A. to act as anti-Irishmen, as a poorly paid garrison. Desmond Boal and his federal Ireland has changed every thing utterly. Then Dr. Ian Paisley and Prof. Ken Lindsay provide a documented, hair-raising report on a murderous British army operation. And is not the U.D.A. against Sunningdale? And has not the U.D.A. put Boal's plan before the people of the Six Counties for consideration (along with the proposals designed to safeguard the Protestant heritage)?

More and more the set-up, north and south, becomes clearer: a line-out on the class basis. Sunningdale has united the middle-class politicians and hopes to rule by keeping the working-class divided. Sunningdale could not exist but for the sectarian pedestal on which it has been placed by the alien overlord.

DUBLIN BLAMED FOR DIVIDED IRELAND

A THEORY that Ireland would be united today if there had been a greater decentralisation of government from Dublin 50 years ago, was made in Belfast towards the end of last month by Desmond Fennell.

He made the point in a paper read to the Irish Association, on "World Decentralisation of Government: Help Us Solve Ireland's Problems".

Mr. Fennell wondered if the North would have broken away if the four Provinces, including Ulster had their own Provincial administrations. "Underneath the talk about Roman Catholic and Protestant, the breakaway was also in a large degree a rebellion

against the centralised power of Dublin," he declared. Mr. Franklin O'Sullivan, chairman of the Community Government Movement, said their unitary Constitution should be dismantled.

"It is not in its claim that Ireland is a 32-counties country, but in its omission to provide for a free federal structure, which would relieve the northern people from the control of the centralised power in Dublin, that the Constitution failed," said Fennell. "London should disengage from direct involvement in Irish affairs as soon as possible, so that a true Irish dimension could be considered by Irishmen for Irishmen," he said.

Another turn of screw

"MY dismissal by the Dublin government from my teaching post at Roscommon Vocational School comes over a year subsequent to my being sentenced by the Special non-jury Court in January of last year," Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, says in a statement.

"Viewed in the context of my being banned from RTE since June, 1972, my imprisonment a year ago on the mere 'opinion' of a police chief superintendent and the recent revocation of my American visa on information supplied by the government here, this latest action represents just another 'turn of the screw' in an attempt to pressure me out of political life."

"It was a process begun by Messrs Lynch and O'Malley, now being taken further by the Fine Gael - Labour coalition, just like the police raids on my home, it is an attempt to get at me through my family by penalising me further and impairing my prospects in life."

"However, I want to tell Mr. Cosgrave, Mr. Cooney, and Dr. Cruise O'Brien that I am not intimidated, that I shall continue as President of Sinn Féin to seek a political solution to the conflict in Ireland which will ensure a just and lasting peace, and that I regard the proposals made by Mr. Desmond Boal as the most hopeful move in recent times towards that end."

"Finally, I wish to express my appreciation of the stand being taken in the matter by the members of the Co. Roscommon Vocational Education Committee," the statement concludes.

Thomas Gibson Commemoration

Wreath-laying ceremony after Mass in Raheen, Co. Laois, on Sunday February 24.

Tugtar ómós don laoch



AS I was saying, last week and the week before, the British always present the same recipe of fake home-rule to generation after generation of political dupes and scoundrels in Ireland, totally immune to the misery which this meddling in Irish affairs has caused over the years. I ended my article last week, quoting from Dorothy McArdle ("Irish Republic") on the 1912 proposals for "home-rule". I continue to quote from her work on the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill, introduced by Asquith.

"It retained the major powers over customs and excise and full control of taxation. Further, it was stipulated that the supreme power and authority of the British Parliament was to remain unaffected and undiminished. The British Parliament was, in short, to have the power to alter or repeal any act of the Irish Parliament. At the same time, the number of the Irish representatives at Westminster was to be reduced from 103 to 41.

"The recommendation of the Primrose Committee, that the British Government should contribute to Irish revenue a sum estimated at about £3,000,000 a year, was not embodied in the Bill.

Redmond's welcome

"Redmond welcomed the Bill as a full and final settlement of Ireland's future. At a National Convention on April 23, he advised the delegates to accept it "with alacrity and enthusiasm". The Unionists opposed it as vehemently as though it offered Ireland freedom indeed. The Bill contained a clause to which the Nationalists objected, prohibiting the Irish Parliament from making laws giving preference to any religion or inflicting any disability on account of creed, but that did not placate the Orangemen.

"Carson brought forward the extraordinary contention that any argument for Home Rule in Ireland applied also to Protestants in the North. Asquith replied that it was impossible to allow a small minority to veto the verdict of the Irish Nation.

"In opposing the Bill a few days later, Bonar Law said that the settlement could not be final, also that it was impossible to grant Home Rule against the decision of "Ulster".

"The practice, responsible for incalculable confusion of the issue in the public mind, of arrogating to the north-eastern counties the name of "Ulster", was instituted during these debates. By conveying the impression that the whole northern province of Ireland, with its nine counties and its 1,400,000 inhabitants was Unionist and Protestant - this practice served to prejudice fair-minded people all over the world against Ireland's cause.

"The Bill passed its second reading on May 9 with a majority of 100. During the Committee stage, on June 11, a Liberal Unionist, Agaz-Rebates, proposed an amendment the exclusion from the provisions of the Act of the four counties, Antrim, Armagh, Down and Derry. The House understood that the proposal was merely a wrecking measure intended to make the Bill unacceptable to the Nationalists, to whom the partition of their country was unthinkable. In this spirit Carson supported it. "An impossible spirit Carson supported it. Actually, he declared Ulster Unionists would never agree to anything that would be in the nature of a desertion of any of the southern Protestants. William O'Brien described the amendment as "an impossible and hateful one, both to Protestants and Catholics".

"It is", he said, "almost the only compromise I can conceive of which those who think as I do would object if the result were to ally the suspicions and win the co-operation of our Protestant fellow-countrymen". The amendment was defeated.

"In Ireland, the people awaited developments, bewildered and confused, some still clinging with a blind trust to the Party, others confirmed in their distrust of Parliamentarianism and as that it involved, Sinn Féin denounced the Bill. If this be liberty the lexicographers have deceived us ... It recognises no Irish Nation, Griffith wrote.

"Ulster Unionists, following the precedent of 1886, demonstrated against Home Rule by attacks upon Catholics. On July 2, 2000 Catholic workmen were driven out of the Belfast shipyards.

Signal for civil war

"The Unionists were determined to prove to the people of Great Britain that a mandate for Home Rule would be the signal for civil war. The Conservative leader was not averse to the use of that argument in support of his Party. In July, Bonar Law went again to Belfast, Addressing a great meeting at Blenheim, he said: "The Home Rule Bill, in spite of us, may go through the House of Commons. There are things stronger than Parliamentary majorities. I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go, in which I shall not be ready to support them, and in which they will not be supported by the overwhelming majority of the British people."

UNDER MY EYE

Asquith opposes Orange veto

"The Prime Minister described this speech as a 'declaration of war against Constitutional Government' and the whole affair at Blenheim as 'furnishing forth the complete grammar of anarchy!' He took no action against the anarchists.

"On September 28, a solemn League and Covenant drawn up by a Committee, which included Lord Londonderry, Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig, was displayed for signature throughout Ulster. Unionists observed the day as a public holiday. Union Jacks were flown, religious services with special psalms were held, Bibles were distributed while these 'men of Ulster, loyal subjects of King George V' signed the undertaking to stand by one another.

"In using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority."

"It was signed in Ulster by over 219,000 men. Unionist clubs were immediately organised; a Women's Covenant was signed. In December every Ulsterman who had signed was called upon to enrol for either political or military service against Home Rule and the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed."

Under British Law at the time, it was forbidden to organise any armed Force other than the British Army of Occupation or the R.I.C. Carson got over the difficulty by a loophole in the Law. He applied to the Justices of the Peace for permission for the new Force to train in arms. This permission was never made. It could be revoked at any time but it never was.

Protestants in rebellion

There was, now, a new situation in the country. Protestant Irishmen and women were organising themselves as an armed force to oppose a British Act of Parliament. They were engaged in open rebellion. The immediate reaction to their activities was the founding of another armed force, the Irish Volunteers, at the Rotunda Clinic, Dublin, on November 25, 1913. The Irish Citizen Army had been founded some months previously, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, under Tom Clarke, saw in the three forces the potential of an Irish army of liberation.

As a matter of fact, the official organ of the I.R.B. "Irish Freedom" editorially congratulated Carson's Volunteers on their opposition to British law in Ireland. Can my readers not see a similar parallel in the Loyalist para-military groupings in the Six Counties today? Perhaps in our day we can achieve what the Irish Volunteers failed to achieve in 1913 and 1914, a linking of all armed Irish forces to the common movement against British aggression. We can, if we are wise enough to draw upon the lessons of history and not accordingly.

January, 1913, brought the first whisper of partition. On that day Carson moved in the House of Commons that "The Province of Ulster be excluded from the operation of the Home Rule Act". Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, supported this move, but, as yet, there was no mention of an Ulster parliament. What Carson was proposing was direct rule from Westminster for the whole nine counties of Ulster, with Dominion home rule for the 23 counties comprising the other three provinces.

Redmond opposed this vigorously. He declared: "This would create for all time a sharp internal dividing line between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants." He went on to state: "To that we, as Irish Nationalists, can never submit".

Carson's amendment was defeated and the Liberal Prime Minister, Asquith, declared that the Bill could not become law until after the next British general election. The Liberals were stalling for time. They were afraid to oppose the vested imperialist interests of the Orange industrialists and they were also toying with the idea of working out their own particular brand of a partition solution.

(Ar lean, an ts Teachstain seo chugainn.)

CORMAC MAC AIRT

REPUBLICAN STUDENTS HARASSED

THE apparently quite illegal interference by An Craoibhín Shíbhín with UCD students engaged in legitimate political work is alleged in the following statement:

"Before Christmas, a member of Cumann Chóilín Uí Chianáin, Sinn Féin, was arrested in Dublin while handing out leaflets calling for the transfer of the Winchester Nine to Ireland. He was later charged under an 1841 law.

"Since then, six other members of the Cumann have been questioned and intimidated. They were led to believe that this was being done under the Offences Against the State Act. One of these was brought to the Store Street Police Station and to the Bridewell, where he was threatened and verbally abused. The Special Branch became particularly foul-mouthed when he answered their queries in Irish.

"One Cumann member was also harassed regarding a serious matter - a hit and run accident - with which he could not possibly have had any connection, and which in fact never occurred.

"Cumann Chóilín Uí Chianáin strongly condemns such harassment and attempts at intimidation of a political organisation by the Coalition Government. We see it as an attempt to beat out of existence what is now the strongest political grouping in Ireland's biggest University. The reasons for this are obvious - Cumann Chóilín Uí Chianáin has, since its inception, insisted on fair and reasoned political debate of political questions in an atmosphere of free speech. The value put on free speech by the Coalition Government is known to all - political opponents of that Government are denied right of comment or right of reply to libellous attacks on radio and television, while the status of anti-Government views has landed others in prison under the most extraordinary piece of legislation in Europe.

"It therefore comes as no surprise to the Sinn Féin Cumann in U.C.D. that its phenomenal success to date has met with extra-democratic action by a Government which is devoid of all policy except to build a West Britons' Ireland at the dictates of the British Tory Government. Their lack of policy and initiative of their own was shown clearly recently, when Desmond Boal's proposals for a peaceful solution based on a federated Ireland were censored almost out of existence in the 26 Counties. The latest efforts, however, to stifle debate in the universities on the future of Ireland might be viewed as even more sinister, if they were not of so pathetic a nature.

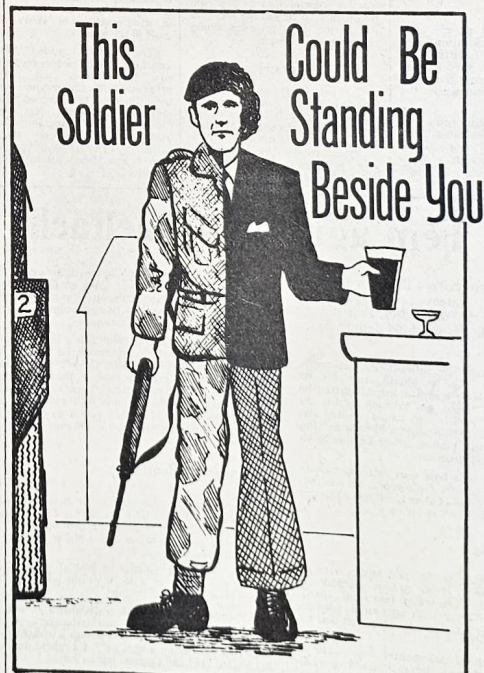
"The Coalition 'politicians' have now, for fear of defeat in fair and open debate, stooped to the level of utilising the 'Special Branch', a political police force renowned only for its boorishness and intimidatory dimensions.

"Another dimension is added to the question by the fact that those arrested and intimidated have been to the fore in organising a petition for the return of the hunger-striking prisoners in English jails to Ireland. Thousands of people have signed this petition in U.C.D.

"Jealousy on this and other accounts has now spurred the Coalition into action. It is scarcely necessary for us to state publicly that we will not be intimidated by such action. In view of the circumstances, however, we consider it appropriate to clarify the position, to more recent developments in the Coalition's attitude to free speech and to balanced public debate", the statement concludes.

THE SPLIT BRIT

"The split Brit" is the title given by the people of Belfast to this poster, published by Óglaigh na hÉireann, and to be seen on many a Belfast hoarding. Heed its warning: loose talk costs lives.



WATCH WHAT YOU SAY



By Róisín Ní Dhó

"CRY For Tomorrow of the latest published as a about the Irish liberation.

The back sleeve follows: "Ryan young, brave ... fighting somebody ... A British soldier in Ireland, attractive young, attractive ... in a war she does understand. A Catholic Northern Ireland."

These are the pro-an impossible ... punctuated by a season and feathering, which enjoys describing at the killing of the ruthless "assassin" ... be some volunteers of hÉireann.

Now, the interest not this lamentable literary "British propaganda" required at a time sectors of the British ... that in the ... attraction, the British ... suffering more ... important losses.

This invites us to at the numerous literary "British propaganda" required at a time sectors of the British ... that in the ... attraction, the British ... suffering more ... important losses.

The use of "psychological warfare" new for British ... setting up of the De



British propaganda: the credibility gap

By Róisín Ní Dhomhnaill

"CRY For Tomorrow" is one of the latest thrillers published as a paperback about the Irish war of liberation.

The black sleeve reads as follows: "Ryan Greene is young, brave... involved in fighting somebody else's war. A British soldier in Northern Ireland, Katherine Hunter is young, attractive... caught up in a war she doesn't really understand. A Catholic girl in Northern Ireland".

These are the protagonists of an impossible "love-story", punctuated by a session of luring and feathering, which the author enjoys describing at length, and the killing of the "heroes" by ruthless "assassins" supposed to be some volunteers of Óglaigh na hÉireann.

Now, the interesting story is not this lamentable romance written by a pen-prostitute of the "Daily Mail", but rather the one behind the publication of which books, the proliferation of such books, has been noticeable in the recent months, including a trilogy for children, "Across the Barbedes", published by Penguin.

This invites us to have a look at the numerous ramifications of literary "British black propaganda", all the more required at a time when large sectors of the British population realise that in this war of attrition, the British army is suffering more and more important losses.

Crew House

The use of offensive "psychological warfare" is not new for British imperialism; the setting up of the Department for

Enemy Propaganda at Crew House during the 1914-18 war bears testimony to this fact.

Their technique was extremely crude for they were aiming at an indulgent and uninformed public; thus, the propaganda staff of the British army could allow itself to circulate safely wild rumours pretending that "the Germans were cutting off the hands of children", "boiling corpses to make soap", "crucifying prisoners of war" and "using priests as clappers in cathedral bells".

This was a prelude to Goebbels' theory according to which the most downright lies are more firmly believed by people.

This, however, was an unaltered type of propaganda, aiming solely at the "home front". The same could be said of Rudyard Kipling's novels, praising the civilising mission of the British empire in India and elsewhere.

Thus, the actual purpose of literary propaganda and the use of other media is dual. It must ensure that the British people stand firmly behind the government and let them think that "our boys are doing well", but at the same time feed the doubts of those who waver in the Irish population, and even, if possible, to change people's attitudes.

'Sectarian' killings

The main thrust is the one advocated by other means by Kinson to cut off the mass support of the guerrilla fighters.

This perspective fits "To Take Arms".

The same can be said about the book "Political Murder in Northern Ireland" which manages to assert that only two or three

sectarian killings were carried out by British "pseudo-gangs", which grow like mushrooms: "Red Hand Commandos", "Ulster Citizen Army" and other political phantoms given life by the SAS or the MRF.

However, it is clear that this kind of propaganda in Ireland has little effect on those radicalised by the actual freedom struggle and convinced of its inevitable victory.

But it is symptomatic of the type of brainwashing which permeates both Irish and British societies.

Study these propaganda methods and you'll discover how strikingly they resemble those of totalitarian regimes, and flow from the rich experience of Nazi Germany in that field.

Like in the Third Reich, the irrationality on which these methods are built is obvious. An example: the same "Daily Mail", which sponsored the book mentioned above, will have tomorrow morning a headline stating that Óglaigh na hÉireann, according to experts, has only 20 militants left in Béal Feirste!

Next day, it will announce that a paratrooper has been shot dead by "terrorists". Since a

British soldier can die only if he has been outnumbered, the British reader will learn that in most nationalist areas, the I.R.A. is controlling the situation and "swims like a fish" among the supporting population, *ad finitum*...

Wilder and wilder

This is precisely where the British propaganda apparatus is bound to fail. Basically it is thought that the British public will accept every lie, like in the U.S.A. when, for 10 years, it was announced every month by Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon that victory in Vietnam was in sight. Now we know which victory they were talking about!

The more the British army is hammered, the more the British workers open their eyes to reality, the wilder propaganda will become, to a point of rupture, where the whole system will get jammed and fall down the precipice it has dug itself.

Already, the credibility gap is wide enough and the day is near when Heath and his class will have to hide in some kind of underground bunker in the burning city which they have brought to disaster.

An Cumann Cabhrach

Results of private members' draw:

First prize:	Mr. Joyce No. 36	£15.00
Second prize:	Pat McGlynn No. 39	£ 5.00
Third prize:	M. O'Reilly No. 41	£ 5.00

Next draw will be held on Tuesday, March 5.

GERRY Ruddy of People's Democracy, Belfast, asks for a reply to "the series of articles in 'Unfree Citizen', criticising the Provisionals, especially Éire Nua". I'll be delighted to oblige if Mr. Ruddy will kindly send me the series of articles which, I regret to say, I have not seen.

In his letter to "An Phoblacht", Mr. Ruddy asks was the "Éire Nua document" discussed in depth and accepted at a Sinn Féin ardheis. At the moment of writing, I can't answer for certain, but I shall try to find out. In the meantime, perhaps someone else can answer Mr. Ruddy's question.

For myself, I would not regard discussion at an ardheis as a sufficient validation of the Republican Movement's policy. To become genuinely and really the policy of the Movement it would first need to be discussed and assessed in detail by every Comhairle Ceantair at a series of special meetings.

Approved reports of these discussions would then be examined by a policy committee, and a collated report on the Comhairle Ceantair reports, circulated to all cummáin. All of this prior to a full discussion at an ardheis.

But I think the real answer to Mr. Ruddy's query is that *Éire Nua* is regarded by all intelligent

Republicans as a working policy document, subject to amendment in detail and requiring updating, revision and re-statement. I hope that this will soon be done in the systematic manner I have described.

But, even then, intelligent revolutionaries will regard it merely as a statement of the principles on which the New Ireland will be built, and as a guide to the application of these principles in the initial stages of revolutionary transformation.

Since we want to be humane and successful revolutionaries — by "successful" I mean really achieve the sort of Ireland we want — we will not fall into the anti-people error of drawing up a blue-print of life in the New Ireland and insisting that people fit into it, whether they want to or not.

Once the initial stages of revolutionary transformation have begun, others will join us who are not now of our number; and they will have a right to make their contributions.

In the long run, the Ireland we want is a people's democracy shaped by all the people of Ireland according to general principles which we believe to be necessary and right.

The present edition of *Éire Nua* (already supplemented by the government-structure proposals and by separate policy documents) offers a first statement of our general principles and a first attempt to apply those general principles in some detail.

Mr. Ruddy criticises *Éire Nua* on the ground that it is "soft on capitalism, especially the capitalist instruments of power, mainly parliamentary democracy". And he says: "The decentralisation merely seems to reform not revolutionise parliament...".

He finds it "ironic" that the English Tory Government should be "considering" decentralisation, too. You cannot, he says, "transform a capitalist society into a socialist society unless you change the institutions themselves".

The "real alternative to Stormont and Dáil Éireann" is, in Mr. Ruddy's view, "not four parliaments but Revolutionary People's Councils representing both areas of work and areas of residence made up of delegates elected by popular assemblies".

For the reasons I have mentioned above, and for other reasons I'll mention now, I find no real opposition between what Ruddy is saying and what Republicans say. He seems to me to be shadow-boxing, when he could, more constructively, be advocating ways and means by which the general principles of Republican policy

Freeman

might be implemented. For nothing which he says rejects these principles.

Republicans recognise that the capitalist-imperialist system is a mental, governmental and economic system based on instruments of mental, governmental and economic power. This is so in Ireland, as it is in every other capitalist country, including the state-capitalist countries of Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

Pseudo-democracy

The capitalist governmental or political system is based on an increasing monopoly of governmental decision-making, within each state, by a central bureaucracy and its political directors — usually called "ministers".

This is what political centralisation means. The key word in analysing and understanding it is not *parliament* but

Gerry Ruddy and Éire Nua

government. Under this system, the elected legislative assembly, called "parliament", is merely a pseudo-democratic disguise.

The anti-human effects of this governmental system are becoming increasingly obvious. For some years past, in the more centralised Western countries, there has been some movement in favour of decentralisation.

The Republican Movement, for its part, wishes to replace the present system of government in Ireland by a multi-centred, multi-tier system which would put governmental power back into the hands of the nation's local communities.

It believes that such a system of government, under democratic control in its principal centres and on its various levels, is a prerequisite for the rehumanisation of Irish life, the reconquest of Ireland by its people, and the rebuilding of the Irish nation.

Now, Mr. Ruddy must agree that this system of government would represent a considerable "change" (his own word) in the present governmental "institutions". In my view, it would represent a first step in political socialism; a step without which there can be no real economic socialism, i.e. social control by communities of their economic lives.

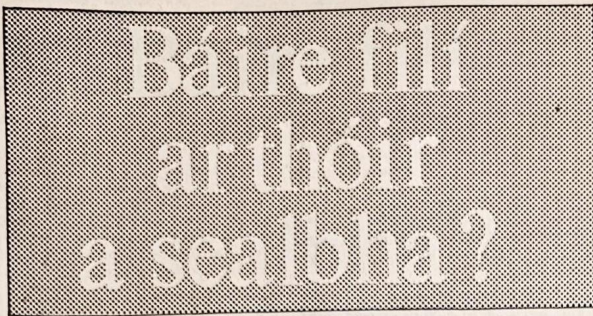
Revolutionary councils

The point I was making above is that Mr. Ruddy seems to accept that government in the New Ireland should be multi-centre and multi-tier. He simply fails to say so.

It is no real critique of the Republican proposals for a new governmental system to say that instead of "four parliaments" (five, actually) and two tiers of government under each provincial government, there should be "Revolutionary People's Councils". How many such councils? Representing what population units and which territories?

There is no essential opposition between the word *parliament* and the term "Revolutionary People's Council". Republicans are willing to discuss with each other and with anyone else what precise form the proposed central parliament, the four provincial parliaments, the regional councils and the district councils should take.

The real question posed to Mr. Ruddy and to other committed revolutionaries and ordinary bourgeois Irishmen is this: do you think that the general scheme of government proposed by the Republican Movement is worth aiming at? Will you help to achieve it, and contribute to shaping and transforming it in an increasingly pro-people and humane direction?



AI SLING an focal bhíodh i mbéal Mháirtín Uí Chadhain. Ídeál Mór, an téarma a úsáideadh in Aonach Urmhumhan agus Scoil Gheimhridh de chuid Chumann Merriman ar siúl. Céard is corr do scríbhneoireacht na Gaeilge?

Focal contúirteach is ea "aisling". Dá gceirfeadh duine údarásach ceist faoi "céard a tharla don aisling"? seans go gcuimneodh daoine faoin aiste a scríobh Máirtín agus an freagra a thug sé: Níor tharla aon rud di. Tá si ann i gcónaí. Tá daoine ag troid, ag fuailaig, ag fáil bháis ar a son.

B'fhearr, dá bhrí sin, b'fheidir, idirdealaí a dhéanamh; sin, nó an aisling a scrúdu go mion, go príobháideach, ar ndóigh, féachaint an bhféadfaí piosa a ghearradh amach aisti agus a thabhairt amach faoi dteacht Chumann Merriman, ag siúl nach b'píosaíochas éinne ná éinní.

Is cosúil gur shíl daoine go mbeadh "Ídeál Mór" sách slán sibhálite measúil - agus teibí - chun nach gcuirfí aon oile ar lucht leanúna Chríus Uí Bhriain ná iad siúd a bhfuil drochmheas acu air.

Agus bhí a leithéidí sin i láthair. Breandán Ó Héithir, mar shampla, agus an tOllamh Daithí Ó hUaithne, a raibh caint morán ar an gcuma seo le cloistéal uathar.

Breandán: Nuair a chloisim an focal "cúltúr" is amhlaidh a shnínim mo lámh amach faoi choinne mo ghunnáin. Ach Críus

le Deasún Breatnach

Ó Briain - nuair a chloiseann seisean aon cheo faoi ghunna is faoi choinne an chultúir a shíneann sé.

Daithí: Cúltúr dhuine eile.

Deireadh le hÍdeál?

Is é a dúradh go gceapann a tán go bhfuil an t-Ídeál Mór úd (athrúimú na teanga Gaeilge ar fud na hÉireann) treithe ag na scríbhneoirí óga.

Ní deamadh mórán cainte faoin ábhar sin, go díreach, ar aon chuma; agus níor léir domsa gur theastaigh ó na scríbhneoirí óga mórán ama a chaitheamh air.

B'fhearr leo iad féin a chur in iúl, mar "bháire" nó mar dhaoine ar leith. Buachaillí báire bhí iontu uile, faraíor: ní raibh bean ná cailin ar an ardán.

Is dóide go mbeadh Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill i láthair ach gur phós sí tá tamall ó shin agus go bhfuil cónaí uirthi san Oileán.

Ar "Intní" is mó a theictear saothar an bháire seo, a deitear luim, agus, ceart go leor, ón Mhumhan ba ea a tháinig, na

filí óga seo: Michael Davitt (Corcaigh), Gabriel Rosenstock (Luimneach), Finín Ó Tuaitín (Corcaigh) agus Daithí Ó hGáin (Luimneach).

Eisceacht amháin: ó Bhaile Átha Cliath duibhlinne is ea a thagann Micheál Ó hUanacháin. Is dócha gur mar scríbhneoir phríos is mó a bhfuil aithne ar Dhaithí (nó mar Phoblachtóir?).

De réir cosúlachta, cuireann sé isteach ar na seanfhundúirí - nó orthu siúd a bheas ina seanfhundúirí má léicann siad den ól agus den ragairne - go bhfuil na scríbhneoirí seo tar éis briseadh amach ó "corral" an traidisiúin.

Chuir sé oile ar Sheán Mac Réamoinn nach dtugann siad faoi phíosaí móra agus nach bhfuil ag teacht uatha de gnáth ach órlach nó dhó.

Is é a deir siad féin go bhfuil tionchar mór ag filí an Bhéarla - daoine mar Bob Dylan - orthu; agus ag aois seo na ndruaga; agus ag fealsúnacht iar-Vietnam siocáin (= géilleadh) agus opt-out nó diúltú den status-quo.

Bás Dé

Deir Gabriel go gcaithfidh an file bheith ina scannán den saol agus den mhórtácht fé mar atáid. Tá Dia marbh. Agus mar sin de.

"Ní chreidimse féin go bhfuil Dia marbh ach is amhlaidh a chaitheamh fé freastal ar shaoil a gceideann a leithéid".

Bhí creidiúint ag dul d'ollamh Sasanach éicint, dar leis, as cuspoir úd an fhile a chur in iúl.

Bhí caint agam le Mícheál adúirt liom gur síochánaí bhí ann agus a bhí glan in éadan an chogaidh thuaidh. Ní raibh sé thuaidh ach uair amháin ach "tír ar fad eile atá ann".

"Má bhuailéann duine thú, céard é a dhéanfas tú?" arsa mise.

"Yerra, ní bhuailfinn é", ar seisean.

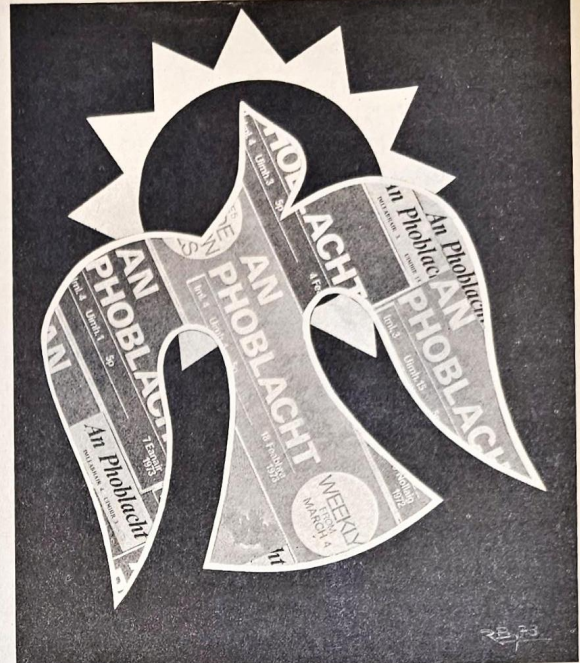
Is dá maródh sé a'fhair? Dá ndéanfadh sé banéagair ar do mháthair? Ar do bhean? Ar do dheirfiúr? Dá scríofadh sé do theach? Leannann sé de bheith ina síochánaí.

"Naomh nó amadán atá ionat", a deirim.

Ag labhairt le Gabriel ní ba dhéanaí, is é a deir sé faoi Mícheál: "Níl sé leath chomh simplé le sin, mise a rá leat. Níl ann ach cultúr na síochánaí" (= géilleadh).

Cogadh na Spáinne

Nuair a bhí mise chomh hóg leo siúd bhíos chomh mhór sin faoi anáil na bhfilí eacshtracha is atá siad: Cecil Day Lewis, E.E. Cummings, Auden, T.S. Eliot, Walt Whitman, Gerald Manley Hopkins; ach freisin faoi



thionchar ag Yeats, Iremonger, Bruce Williamson, Charlie Donnelly; agus tamallín ina dhiaidh sin corraithe go mór ag filí na Fraince agus na Spáinne, F. García Lorca go mór mór.

D'fhág cogadh na Spáinne a nian orainne, fé mar a rinne Vietnam (dearcadh an GD) ar fhilí de chuid "Intní".

I bhfad ina dhiaidh sin ba ea a tháinig mé ar Ghaeilge agus faoi láthair ní féidir liom calú ón mheadaracht traidisiúnta.

Na filí óga seo, is amhlaidh gur le Gaeilge a tógadh iad. Nó b'amlaidh a tháinig siad ar Ghaeilge gan mórán stró. Táid ag diúltú do mheadaracht traidisiúnta na Gaeilge, seans, fé mar a dhéanann na filí óga reabhdh in éadan an aithris.

Gallú na hÉireann

Ach tá, ar ndóigh, i bhfad níos mó ná sin ann. Fíú ó na caogaditá saol na hÉireann á ghalldú faoi dheifr.

Is é dúirt duine éicint ar an Aonach nach dtuigean muintir na Gaeltachta na filí óga ón nGalltacht a tháinig chucu. A gcuilíocht, ar ndóigh, nó tá ag éirí leo i bhfad níos fear ná mar a d'éirigh linne foghraíocht agus caint nádúrtha na Gaeltachta thabhairt leo.

Fear Gaeltachta tá i Mícheál, ina bheal, agus, seans, ina chroí, dá n-éisteadh sé leis.

Ní thuigean an Ghaeltacht a gcuid filíochta, a dúirt mo dhuine. Deir an Ghaeltacht gur i mbéarla atáid ag scríobh agus bréagíocht na Gaeilge thart timpeall ar na dánta.

N'fheadar nach dtuigean siad go gcaithfidh siad calú ó "ghetto" an Bhéarla go domhan na Gaeilge, is é sin, litríocht na Gaeilge ón gcéim amach go dtí an filíocht tá a scríobh ag leithéid Johnnie Choi Mhaidhe, trí iad a bhá sa thraidisiúin, nó trí tamall a chaitheamh i dtéanga eile, rud a rinne mise; rud a rinne Máire Mhac an tSaoi; rud a rinne Seán Ó Riordáin (atá an-tugtha don Spáinnis); rud a rinne Máirtín Ó Cadhain (féin agus go leor leor eile).

Fálú atá uatha, ceart go leor, ach cínical eile, trí mheán na ndruaga. Agus ní éalú a thugann siad air, ach "moya" nó fantáis na réadálacha, a bhaint amach:

This is a present from the artist, Robert Berthelot, of Paris, inspired, no doubt, by the helicopter episodes.

Bribes offered schoolchildren

saoire na hintinne, má thuigean sibh mé - agus mise iad.

Beidh a thuilleadh mheasáin mearaí de tuairimíocht agus tuairisceoireacht agam an tseachtain seo chugainn, le cúnaimh Dé.

Despite boasts by the enemy of the "efficiency" of their intelligence they are still groping in the dark and will sink to any level to obtain information.

This is evident in Derry, where young boys and girls in the past week, have been offered "free holidays" in any country they wish, expensive transistor radios and tape recorders, cash on the spot, and several other inducements to betray the freedom fighters.

Wise up Brits. Go home. You can't win the war on the military front. You cannot "buy" a victory.

Pickets on homes of Waterford T.D.s

DEMONSTRATORS put pickets on the homes of two Waterford T.D.s recently during a protest in support of the "Winchester Eight", including the hunger-striking Price sisters. And in Dublin other demonstrators held a rally outside the residence of the British Ambassador to back demands that the prisoners be transferred to the North, every Sunday afternoon for some weeks past.

The Waterford picketers, carrying placards, handed in letters at the homes of Fine Gael T.D., Mr. Edward Collins, at Mayor's Walk, and at the home of Fianna Fáil T.D. Mr. William Kenneally, at Newtown, calling for them to use their influence to have the prisoners brought back to Northern Ireland.

Volunteers needed

The organisers of the Campaign for English withdrawal from Ireland needs volunteers to help with various duties. Apply at the Eire Nua Bookshop, 170a Falls Road, Belfast. (Phone, 46841). Helpers are needed to man the bookshop on Saturdays and Sundays also on weekdays, from 7 p.m. until 10 p.m.

DON'T FORGET THE COMRADES IN JAIL

Sunningdale rejected by Congressman

By Fred Burns O'Brien

MANY politicians quibble over issues they regard as explosive and look to find an acceptable answer that appeases two sides and says nothing. Paul Cronin (R - Mass), in the first day of the new Congressional Session made public his views on the British-imposed Council of Ireland in unqualified terms.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D - Mass) has supported the British initiative with a disregard to Irish national aspirations. Knowing his past support for Irish freedom, we are hurt that the Senator has seen fit to reverse himself, but we are further encouraged by the undeviating support given us by my friend, Paul Cronin.

Mr. Cronin is totally behind the factions in Ireland that seek a united country and do not equivocate with foreign intervention. The Congressman is the first U.S. legislator to voice his views on the Council and express a negative posture.

Whenever I have requested him to do so, Paul has placed material in the "Congressional Record" for me and now I would return the gesture and endorse his words by publishing his action in "An Phoblacht" for the Irish of Ireland and America to read and digest.

BALLYFINAGLE FILE

THIS week the "Ballyfinagle Vindicator" devotes a full-page article to the career of Gombestown-born novelist, Edward Mooney, who recently celebrated his 75th birthday. Speaking of this great literary figure, arts editor Julian O'Flannell (himself ex-editor of innumerable defunct journals) outlines his career as follows:

"Mr. Mooney first came to the notice as long ago as 1924 when, as a young civil servant, he proposed to Mr. Kevin O'Higgins that the Duke of Clarence be made king of the Irish Free State. Mr. O'Higgins was intrigued by the proposal but felt that the time was not opportune for such a move.

"Mr. Mooney left the civil service a year later to devote himself to literature. He was to become one of the earliest pioneers of the use of four-letter words in literature. His first novel, published in 1927, contained the word 'belch' and this caused a sensation. It was the first time this word had been used in a novel in modern times and, while strictly speaking, it has five letters, nevertheless it has a four-letter sound and its use was a great literary achievement and a great honour for Ireland.

"A year later, in his second novel, he used the word 'spit', which is a real four-letter word and this was, indeed, a brilliant literary and artistic triumph and raised Mr. Mooney to the pinnacle of Anglo-Irish letters.

"Since then we have had a novel a year, each with a new and breath-taking four-letter word embedded in the text. When I asked Mr. Mooney what word would be contained in his forthcoming novel, now with the printers, he replied '****'. ?"

Bullying tactics by Rees on Sunningdale

MERLYN Rees, Labour Party spokesman for Northern Ireland, on the "Here and Now" programme, tells us how he went in amongst the Protestant dock and shipyard workers to test their reaction to the Desmond Boal proposals only to find them negatively received.

When questioned on their reaction to the Sunningdale agreements, he tried to reassure us of their benefits by telling us they were still young and would bear fruit when allowed to mature.

But we know that the Sunningdale agreements are at least older than the Boal proposals and that they have had a lot more financial and high political backing. Still the majority in the occupied Six Counties are not taking to them.

Mr. Rees tries to wriggle out of these harsh facts by bullying the people of the Six Counties by making facetious remarks that the elected representatives of the majority of the people in Northern Ireland, etc.

Some of the people now apparently warning to these proposals are also representatives of the people of the Six Counties and when Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. Kelly of the Eire coalition Government scurry over the facts by making facetious remarks that only the Provisional I.R.A. and the U.V.F. are really interested, he would do well to note that it is exactly between the two forces that the majority of the people of the Six Counties' sympathies lie.

If these two forces ever find common ground (and it is on the agenda that they may) and come together, Mr. Rees and his colleagues would really get an eyepiece as to what the majority in the Six Counties could do to resolve their problems.

a chara

Of course, Mr. Rees's colleagues' agents will be working overtime to prevent this from coming about. But time is a good story teller, and nothing eludes like experience.

If anyone cares to refute the large following of the Provisional Movement, let it be put to the test. Let the Movement be declared a legal political force. Let them be allowed to put their political viewpoint before the electorate without fear or hindrance; eyes and minds would be opened.

The fear of the authorities in the occupied Six Counties is that the policy of Sinn Féin - Eire Nua, will be favourably accepted by the majority.

- Seán Ó Cléirí, 66 Connaught St., Phibsboro, Baile Átha Cliath 7.

WHY does the wily Faulkner say he was fully satisfied by the assurances he received from Cosgrave on his recent visit to Dublin?

Why does Cosgrave refuse to "explain" Sunningdale to Jack Lynch or the Irish parliament or people?

Why is Cosgrave in a panic to get the agreement signed as soon as possible?

The answer to these three questions is clearly in Clause Five of the agreement. In that clause Cosgrave says the people of the six occupied counties will not be forced into the "Republic" against the wishes of the majority of the people there.

This statement is of no material consequence whatever except in so far as it is a surrender to a demand from Faulkner which should have been met with contemptuous indignation.

Cosgrave could just as well have said the people of Timbuctoo would not be forced into the "Republic" against their will. On the other hand, the British side is covered by a statement that the six occupied counties are an integral part of Great Britain. No statement could be more clear, more categorical or more potent in its impact.

The moment Cosgrave signs that agreement, mention of a "Council of Ireland" is pure nonsense because even if Faulkner were at that stage to agree to the sham of some kind of hotch-potch it would be a council of a part of Great Britain and a part of Ireland and totally meaningless.

In a word, to talk of a Council of Ireland at present is pure hypocrisy; but, after the signing of the Sunningdale agreement, will be a contradiction in terms. This being so, can anyone avoid the conclusion that the answer to the three questions posed at the beginning is that Cosgrave wants to write off the six occupied counties behind the backs of the Irish people in the basest, most treacherous and cowardly way possible? Similar perfidy has been practised in the past by the party which Cosgrave leads.

- Breffni, Baile Átha Cliath.

GREETINGS

I WISH, through the medium of your paper, to send greetings to all Republican prisoners in English and Irish jails and to wish them a speedy release.

Greetings and good wishes also, to all Irish Republican freedom fighters. May 1974 bring the fight to a victorious conclusion.

- Seosamh Mac Conmidhe, Rinal Chain Mhor Cumann, Sinn Féin, An Tulach Mór.

PRICE SISTERS

HERE is a copy of a telegram sent by the Dublin No. 12 Branch of U.C.A.T.T. to their executive council in England:

"We, the members of Dublin No. 12 Branch, U.C.A.T.T., request the executive Council to intervene in the case of the Price sisters and their associates and have them transferred to serve their sentences in Northern Ireland prisons on humanitarian grounds."

Copies of the telegram have also been sent to all branches throughout Ireland and to members of the Labour movement.

- M. Brierton (Branch Secretary), P. Earley (Branch President), Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, Branch 12, Baile Átha Cliath.

THE following is a copy of a letter sent to each of the medical officers of Brixton, Wormwood Scrubs and Gartree prisons:

"We, the undersigned doctors, wish to express our abhorrence of the force-feeding of occupants of British prisons. We have demanded that the General Medical Council enquire into the behaviour of prison medical staff of Brixton, Wormwood Scrubs and Gartree prisons where this is being perpetrated and who are responsible for the physical and mental welfare of the prisoners."

We know that the force-feeding of four Irish prisoners, Dolours Price, Marion Price, Gerard Kelly and Hugh Feeney is being carried out daily in these prisons.

These procedures offend against the standards of medical ethics which are accepted internationally and infringe the Geneva Convention of Human Rights to which Britain is a signatory.

These standards establish the principle that treatment may not be imposed on persons without their consent or the consent of their relatives. No treatment must degrade or abuse the person treated and the object must be to improve the recipient's mental or physical welfare.

We call on those members of the medical profession who may be concerned in the force-feeding to cease the practice immediately.

We call on all Irish and British doctors to add their weight to this plea, to stop the prostitution of our profession and to ensure that these procedures will not occur with our collaboration or under medical supervision.

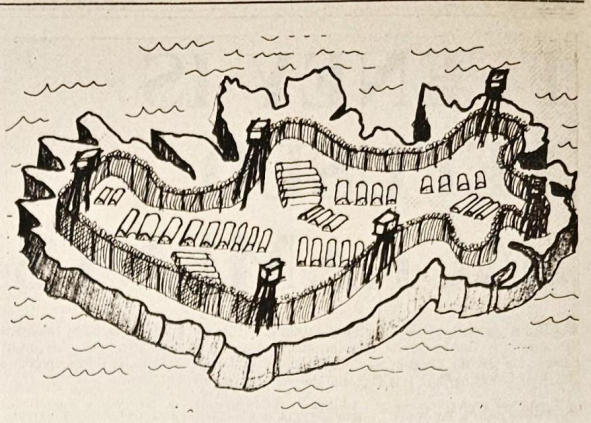
- Seánus McAteer, Liam Connolly, Frances Knott, N. Smyth, K. Keys, S. Ó Cléirí, Brian Laverty, Pádraic Donnelly, Máirín Keys, Cooimhghnín S. Breathnach, Ríobaird Ó Cuinn.

THE Sligo Branch of the Connolly Youth Movement sent a Telegram to the British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, demanding the immediate granting of political status and repatriation to the Price sisters, Gerald Kelly, Hugh Feeney and all Irish political prisoners in England.

- Declan Bree, (organiser), Water Lane, Sligoach.

FREE THE MINES

I WISH to make some comments



on an article "Ireland - a world mining power" in "The Irish Press" by Dr. Seán O'Donnell.

To claim that we are a world mining power is a totally false presumption.

Despite the fact, as Dr. O'Donnell says, that "this country has one of the highest ore body densities anywhere", and in Navan we are sitting on top of what "will be the biggest base metal operation on earth (Pat Hughes)", the fact remains that some of these mine operations is even remotely Irish controlled.

Canadian owned companies control Tyrone, Gortnam, Silvermines and Avoca and lay claim to the Navan deposits. How can Ireland be a world mining power if it does not control its mines, has no mining policy and receives but a pittance from the mining companies through a meagre newly introduced tax?

Indeed, Ireland is to be regarded as a Canadian mining province somewhere off the coast of Newfoundland.

According to Dr. O'Donnell the four Irish mines produced 200,000 tons of pure metal in the form of ore concentrate in 1972.

This, he says, contributed "some £16m. to our balance of payments".

Yet how much of this £16m. was subsequently exported as profit to Canada and how much was reinvested in Ireland?

At the same time as this exported ore was adding to our export figures most of this £16m. was being invisibly exported, adding to our balance of payment deficit.

Think of what the true value of this vast waste of the Irish landscape could have been if this ore had been melted, processed and used in a native metallurgical industry and then exported.

Instead of this Irish ore provided quick, tax-free profits for the Canadians, extra employment for Belgian smelter and foundry workers, while we in Ireland got a large hole in the ground.

Dr. O'Donnell remarks that these prospecting companies spent £15m. over a period of 18 years in exploration.

Tynagh has now been at least 12 years in operation. Gortnam and the Silvermines close on eight years. In 1972 alone £16m. was exported. This figure was surpassed last year.

Dare I respectfully suggest that the original investments by the Canadians have been handsomely rewarded?

Yet all these mining operations in Ireland pale by comparison to the discovery of Navan. "Sheer breathtaking magnitude." "A major world prize" (note not Ireland's prize) which to Dr. O'Donnell appears to be a result of "the venturesome exploits of the prospecting companies", neglecting to mention the major part that the Geological Survey Office played in helping to find it!

Dr. O'Donnell assesses the value of the Navan ore body at £1,500m. (with the other four mines) "have just increased known national assets by something like £1,000 for every inhabitant of this country".

This is reasonably accurate, yet in present circumstances and the present mining tax, the benefits of Navan as expected taxation of £13m. over 20 years would only afford about £46 for every inhabitant in the country!

The Navan ore body is said to contain some 10,000,000 tons of

lead and zinc metal - most of this being zinc. In December 1973, the London Metal Exchange quoted zinc at £927 per ton (£940 per metric tonne) as reported in the London Times (8-1-74).

To give an idea of a gross underestimation of the value of Navan, multiply £600 (per ton of zinc) by say perhaps five million tons and you have a staggering figure that, if in the hands of the Government, could provide social services, hospitals, schools, houses, roads, etc., throughout the country for decades to come.

When will we in Ireland awake from our national inferiority complex and realise that we have a natural resource that, if properly managed, could eliminate unemployment through the creation of extractive, smelting and metallurgical based industries?

We fail to appreciate that lead, zinc, copper, dolomite, barytes and mercury which we have throughout Ireland in abundance are in very short supply throughout the world.

We have a great timidity in even thinking of nationalisation of our resources. We appear to be afraid of ingesting off the big mining companies by even hinting at nationalisation.

We have the world's largest lead-zinc ore body in Navan and it is appreciating in value as time goes by.

There is absolutely no doubt that the world badly needs precious metals (even if they were smelted in Ireland) and would gladly pay whatever price the Government set as the world has gone to Iran, Saudi Arabia, etc., despite a threefold increase in the price of petrol!

Dr. O'Donnell rightly says that "past generations have readily accepted that Ireland has no metals worthy of the name".

We must admit now that we know better. Will future generations record that our generation readily squandered the greatest economic opportunity ever in the history of Ireland?

- Dermot P. Curran, Blackhill Street, Cill Chainnigh.

SHANKILL VIEW

NOT for the first time does Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, in his attack on a valiant lawyer and man of integrity, Mr. Desmond Boal, refer to the Ulster Volunteer Force as a "murder gang".

VISIT A PRISONER

TA na cimirí bPriosún Phortlaoise ag glacadh le cuairteanna athuair nó tá na húdaráis tar éis géilleadh dóibh sa chuid is mó dá ngearáin.

● For people in Baile Átha Cliath, a bus leaves the office of this newspaper every Saturday morning at 11.30, arriving back in the capital at about 6 p.m.

● Travel is free to all relatives of the prisoners to whom a visit brings a joy difficult to describe. It is essential to maintain their morale, by visits, by gifts, by letters, papers, books, musical instruments, records and similar material.

● Don't let the political hostages down. Bigí dílis. Bigí fiaí flaithiúil daonna.

"Sure, a little bit of heaven fell from out of the sky one day".

Acknowledgements to Solidaritätskomitee, Germany

It would be far more accurate for Dr. O'Brien to admit to being a murderer for he is a willing party to the conspiracy whereby Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ulster are being maimed and murdered by the British army, in and out of uniform.

"L.O.I.", Shankill Road, Belfast.

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CEIRNÍN NUA

A new record. "Flight from Mountjoy" with "Billy Reed" on Belfast by the Freeman from Flippide: 55p.

Written by a prisoner who was in Mountjoy at the time: Sean McGinley from Armagh. Profits will go to Eire Nua.

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FEENEY IS REFUSED SACRAMENTS

HUGH Feeney, one of the four hunger-striking Winchester prisoners, is being refused the Sacraments by Gartree Prison chaplain, according to his mother, after seeing her son last Sunday. He saw the chaplain only once, during Lord Longford's visit. He is being prevented, also, from attending Mass. It is all part of the plan to try to break his spirit.

The prison authorities told Mrs. Feeney that the chapel was in a wing of the prison away from where her son is held.

Mrs. Feeney said her son had lost three stone since going on hunger strike.

Mr. Liam Kelly, who visited his son, Gerald, in Wormwood Scrubs, said he looked 'like Ghandi' and was barely able to speak.

On Saturday morning, following a British raid at his Belfast home, Mr. Kelly's older son, James (25), was arrested and charged with possessing five bullets.

Mr. Kelly said that this was the third time in less than two weeks that members of his family had been raided.

The home of his daughter, Mrs. Maire Duggan, was searched on Thursday and Sunday week the home of his daughter-in-law, Isabel, Gerard's wife, was searched by troops.

The raid on the home of James, who is married, with three young children, marked the 50th occasion that members of his family had been raided during the past two years, Mr. Kelly added.

Why strike?

Why these hunger strikes? What difference does it make when one serves a prison sentence? Why press for transfer of Irish political prisoners in England to Ireland?

These questions are being asked widely today now that, despite the enmity of the authorities, the forced-fasting torture has become a national and international - talking point.

Conditions and rules are much harsher in English than Irish prisons; that's one good reason.

English warders are more callous and brutal. Rules forbid one Irish prisoner from even greeting another. Recently, an Irish prisoner forfeited some of his remission because, when out exercising, he shook hands with a fellow Irishman.

Treatment of Irish political prisoners in British jails has changed little since the time of the Fenians. The policy is still to break their spirit.

Political status

Political status and treatment are not available to Irish political prisoners in Britain. They are, in Ireland, and it is a great help to one's morale to be imprisoned among one's own.

Imprisonment in Ireland also is easier on dependents or friends who want to visit the prisoners. Perhaps the most important consideration of all is that, when the fighting is over and normal political activity is possible in an independent Ireland, there will be an amnesty for the political prisoners.

There is no guarantee that when the Brits are forced to withdraw their troops they will be willing or ready to release any Irish political prisoner still held by them unless, of course, Brits are held prisoner here.

Demonstrations of forcible feeding are the most effective means of bringing home to people everywhere the barbarism of the British practice.

Next Saturday at 11 a.m. in Dun Laoghaire a demonstration

of the practice may be seen, under the auspices of the Political Prisoners' Repatriation Committee. Among the speakers will be Vincent McDowell.

Memorial to McVerry

MEMORIAL fund committees have been organised in almost every parish in south Armagh to collect subscriptions for the monument to Captain Michael McVerry, killed in action three months ago.

The memorial will be put up in his native Gullyhanna and it is hoped to have it unveiled for the first anniversary, Nov. 15.

French arms deal with Portugal

The "Daily News" of Tanzania has condemned a reported French arms deal with Portugal as the worst stab in the back Imperialist France has exercised in its long record of anti-African activities.

After demonstrating numerous French arms deals with South Africa, the editorial concluded: "Africa will never forgive France for this abominable machination against the freedom of her people".

Charlotte Brooke, the first of a long line of Protestant scholars in the Irish language (she was an ancestor of Lord Brookborough), though the English philologist and author, Robin Flower, was known widely enough in Kerry as "Blarney". Today, among the younger poets in the Irish language we have Gabriel Rosenstock, of German origin, and Michael Davitt.

Up to that time Mary, the Protestant schoolteacher, historian, author and journalist, however, carries a surname which is as young as Risteard himself: his forefathers came to Co. Cork from England and most of his relatives still use the English surname.

It was only with the Normans that the custom of using "Christian" names arrived. Up to the 12th century most first names here were of pagan origin, "Christianised" through baptism.

Up to that time Mary, the names of Apostles or other foreign saints' names, were used very infrequently. The word for the Virgin in Irish - Muire - is from the Latin, Maria. The equivalent Irish Christian name, Máire, is from the Norman French, Marie.

Most of the common Christian names in Ireland today - Mícheál, Séamus, Siobhán, Seán, etc. - are from the Latin, Mary, the names of Apostles or other foreign saints' names, were used very infrequently. The word for the Virgin in Irish - Muire - is from the Latin, Maria. The equivalent Irish Christian name, Máire, is from the Norman French, Marie.

Over the last 50 years or so there has been a slow, gradual return to the Irish forms of both Christian and surnames, illustrated in telephone and other directories, newspapers, tombstones, etc. And the use of "pagan" first names.

This applies more to the 26 than the Six Counties. Ironically, sadly or strangely, it is to be observed more in the Gaeltacht than in the Gaeltacht, as may be seen at a glance in the local cemetery. The trend is more obvious, also, in the larger towns and cities than in rural areas and is one of the more obvious proofs, in urban areas, of the success of the half-hearted moves to restore Irish.

If one is a Republican and one has a first name and a surname for which Irish equivalents are available why not make this act of faith in Irish identity and use them and them only?

Does it make any sense to continue to use corrupt forms as ordered by some act of foreign parliament?

Further information on names is available from Father Wolfe (long out of print), from Múiris Ó Droighneáin (the G.A.A. published his work) and from a Penguin publication.



Bolton Street students, Dublin, striking for a fair deal, letting a comrade in under a heavy chain and padlock.

Óích, a trí

backyard prison doctors are not just forcibly examining one prisoner but forcibly feeding by gastric tube at least three prisoners every day.

Have we heard any protest from British intellectuals yet whose German counterparts the 'BMJ' so strongly supports? Have we seen or heard any British doctors or 'BMA' members in particular protesting about such associations with the British Medical Association unless the BMA publicly disowned Dr. Gibson as representing it or its views.

"The time has come for us to take action. This time let us not be afraid to rock the boat unless the BMA and the BMJ demand an immediate enquiry into the constitutionality (in human rights terms) of forced feeding of prisoners in British prisons.

"If they are adhering to their Prison Manual of Instructions they must be examining these prisoners daily for signs of injury and illness, mental and physical as a result of the daily forced feeding."

"I would have thought that a journal whose editors defend medical ethical behaviour before the courts and risk diplomatic censure in criticising another member - with the British Medical Association - would have had screaming editorials in protest at such behaviour by its own doctors in its own country."

"I would have expected it to call for an immediate cessation of the procedures. I would have expected it to demand that the doctors concerned be drummed out of the British Medical Association forthwith."

Dishonour

"I would have expected it to ask that the doctors concerned be brought before the General Medical Council for bringing opprobrium and dishonour on its noble profession even if their behaviour could be defended as being professional. But no, we haven't had a line from it yet."

"Two years ago I asked the Irish Medical Association to dissociate itself from Dr. Ronald Gibson who has been Chairman of the Council of the BMA up to July 1971 when he served on the Compton Committee which found that the interrogation

Boxing champ jailed

A 25-year-old Belfast man who beat British heavyweight boxing champion Dan McAlinden in the final of the Ulster juvenile championships was jailed for three years at Belfast City Commission when he admitted remaining a member of Ógluigh na hÉireann in February last year.

He is David Gerald Smyth, unemployed labourer.

Austrians told of freedom struggle

From ROSEMARY SULLIVAN

Austrian students and workers must understand that they have a role to play in the struggle in Ireland. Gery Lawless said in Vienna, speaking at a meeting as part of an Irish campaign tour of Austria.

The tour, organised by the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (Revolutionary Marxist Group) Austrian Section of the Fourth International, was the first tour of all-Austria on the Irish issue.

In Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck and Salzburg enthusiastic audiences heard Gery Lawless describe the origin of the current crisis in Ireland.

The original intention was that the tour should end with a demonstration against the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, but Home cancelled the visit at the last minute.

DON'T FORGET THE COMRADES IN JAIL

Break with B.M.A.?

methods used in Northern Ireland are not brutal. The Parker Committee, Mr. Heath and even the 'BMJ' belatedly disagreed with him.

"At that time I urged that the Association should sever its connections with the British Medical Association unless the BMA publicly disowned Dr. Gibson as representing it or its views.

"The time has come for us to take action. This time let us not be afraid to rock the boat unless the BMA and the BMJ demand an immediate enquiry into the constitutionality (in human rights terms) of forced feeding of prisoners in British prisons.

doctors concerned in these inhuman procedures are expelled from the British Medical Association. Do you want to continue to share an association with them?

"4. That we refuse to cooperate with the British Medical Registration Council unless it brings before these doctors for investigation of their behaviour."

We hope Dr. Meade's proposals will get wide support. We are disappointed, however, that only a few Irish doctors, so far, have complained publicly against the inhuman treatment meted out to the Winchester hunger strikers.

Another murder for the Crown

The killer of the Belfast Protestant, Andrew Sloan Jordan (41), Kinross Avenue, Tullymacreary, found face downwards, hands tied behind his back, in a Co. Down field, is believed to be the same executioner of two other recent assassination victims, both Catholics. All Belfast suspects the British Army.

"I suggest we take the following measures: "1. Make immediate representations to the World Medical Association about the behaviour of British doctors. "2. Sever our ties-particularly the one whereby we send a copy of the BMJ automatically to each Irish Medical Association member-with the British Medical Association. "3. That we resign en masse from the BMA unless the prison

PROTEST

closure of the TB unit in Ardkeen Hospital by attending the public meeting: Thursday, Feb. 21, 8 p.m. THE MALL, WATERFORD

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