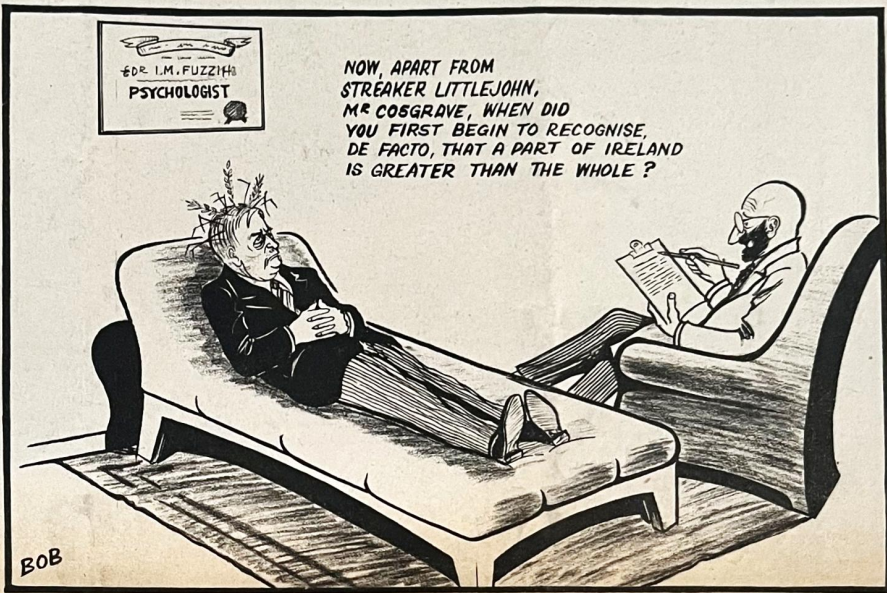


An Phoblacht

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

STEP BACK TO 1921 AND



CIVIL WAR ?

By DARA Mac DARA

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

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

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

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

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

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

Top priorities

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

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

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

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

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

Strasbourg withdrawal

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

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

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

The following comments are taken from the "Belfast Telegraph": The Rev. Ian Paisley reacted to Mr. Cosgrave's statement by saying: "Mr. Faulkner will find cold comfort in this vain attempt by Mr. Cosgrave to bail him out."

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

'No referendum'

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

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

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

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

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

He added: "There can be no United Ireland."

"The Northern Ireland electorate has rejected the Humpty Dumpty of Sunningdale and all the efforts of Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. Faulkner will not put it together again."

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

Out on bail

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

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

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

"He might as well not have bothered."

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 5.

Marta 22, 1974.

Uimhir 12.

44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire.

Guthán: 47611

Escape of a spy

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

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

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

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

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

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

But Jack Lynch was able to survive as leader of

Jesuit and language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Horror at Border murder

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Eight murders

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

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

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

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

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

"Criminal negligence in dealing with British agents and



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

POLITICAL HOSTAGES HOME SOON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From "Bogside News"

Gardaí protect ex-S.A.S. major

(By a Special Correspondent)

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

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

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

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

Proud record

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

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

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

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



Sir Richard Keane.

Cooney's attack on children

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

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

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

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

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

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

Coisde Cuimhneachain na Pobhlachta
(Republican Commemoration Committee)

EASTER SUNDAY 1974

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UNDER
MY EYE

A journalist speaks out

VERY OFTEN here I have had to attack my fellow journalists for the part they were playing by collaborating in the British propaganda war against the Republican Movement. This week, however, I have a much more pleasant task. I want to congratulate a journalist on his moral courage and his journalistic integrity. I refer to Tim Pat Coogan, editor of "The Irish Press".

On Sunday, March 10, Mr. Coogan was involved in a Radio programme, "This Week", in which a discussion took place between Professor John Kelly, Government Chief Whip and Conor O'Brien, editor of the "Sunday Independent".

The discussion had to do with a speech which Professor Kelly had delivered earlier in the week, when he attacked the media for "highlighting the men of violence". Professor Kelly's statement meant nothing at all if it did not mean that journalists were to suppress facts.

What Professor Kelly was suggesting was that actions and operations carried out by Oglagh na hEireann should not be reported in the newspapers, or referred to on television or radio. To do so, according to Professor Kelly, would be to romanticize the men involved and build them up into national heroes.

Of course, the learned professor had no objections to the reporting of action by the enemy forces, whether that action was violent or not. The cause of Law and order was sacred, particularly if it was British law and order.

Censorship plea

Professor Kelly, on the radio, repeated his call for the suppression of news by suggesting that no journalist had the right "to write or say anything which was against the interests of the nation". The nation in this case being, of course, the 26 Counties State or the Six Counties State, whichever way you like to take it.

Professor Kelly went even further when he suggested that no journalist had even the right to oppose or write against the Sunningdale Agreement because Cosgrave, Lynch and Company had declared that it was "in the interests of the nation".

Conor O'Brien, who I criticised in this column before, made one statement with which I agree, and which I hope he acts upon in the future. He stated that he would not be dictated to by any government or government minister as to what was, or what was not, news. He would always, he said, give the facts, his plain duty as a journalist. He did, however state that he, personally, was in favour of Sunningdale, but he conceded the right of those who were not, to write and speak against it.

I come now to Tim Pat Coogan, whose handling of the situation was superb. He made it quite plain that he was not in favour of the Provisional I.R.A. or the military policy which they were pursuing in occupied Ireland; but he stumped John Kelly completely when he asked: "If the I.R.A. can plant a 1,000lb. bomb and devastate the centre of Belfast after penetrating what we were told was a water-tight security ring, are my readers to be denied knowledge of that fact?"

Mr. Coogan went on to say that the I.R.A. in the occupied area obviously could not do that sort of thing unless they had a great deal of support amongst the civilian population. He also pointed out that the bomb had to be assembled in Belfast and transported several miles to the target before the actual explosion took place.

Then Mr. Coogan very adroitly brought up the case of the Russian writer who was expelled from Russia recently for writing about conditions inside Soviet concentration camps. The Russian was expelled from his country and Mr. Coogan more or less suggested that, if John Kelly had his way, Irish journalists who highlighted conditions in Long Kesh and other places of detention in England and Ireland, also would be sent into exile.

Long Kesh defended

The learned professor was rather shocked. He denied that Long Kesh and the Soviet concentration camps had anything in common by suggesting that the inmates of Long Kesh were operating against "a democratically elected government" whilst the inmates of the Soviet camps were operating against a "Communist dictatorship".

So we were right back again to Sunningdale; but what Mr. Kelly conveniently forgot was that only the week before the Sunningdale agreement had been rejected contemptuously by a majority of the people of occupied Ireland.

Only one pro-Sunningdale candidate had been elected to fill the 12 seats which the occupied area has in the imperial parliament. That was the ex-Republican Labour M.P., Gerry Fitt, who had sold out all his principles for a job.

Mr. Kelly also forgot that even in Gerry Fitt's own constituency he polled a minority of the votes. He got 19,000 votes. The anti-Sunningdale Unionist got 17,000; Albert Price, Independent Republican, got 5,000; and the Republican Club candidate got 3,000. That made up 25,000 anti-Sunningdale votes against Fitt's total of 19,000. What price democracy? Professor Kelly was on a very sticky wicket.

But things got worse for him as the interview progressed. Mr. Coogan, who has written a best-selling book, entitled "The I.R.A." knew what he was talking about, and the professor of law did not. The learned professor thought he was scoring a point when he said to the journalists: "You should not publish statements or communiques from those people unless you are sure of the authenticity of the statements and identity of the people who issue them".

The professor went on to point out that statements coming from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, and signed P. O'Neill, were, in his opinion, dubious. He did not believe that the editors using them knew where they came from or who wrote them.

Integrity and patriotism

Mr. Coogan was quick to the ball: "Of course, I know who wrote them", he said, "and where they come from. I don't publish anything unless I know it is authentic. It is my job to know. But the government does not know, nor can they prevent such authentic statements being issued".

Professor Kelly was stumped on this; but if he had only done his home work well he would have realised that when Tim Pat Coogan was writing his book on the I.R.A. he had met many of the men involved in the present struggle. He had interviewed them and, although he disagreed with them, he formed a high opinion of their integrity and their patriotism.

I will say this much for him. He has always defended them against the charge of being criminals and the free Ireland of tomorrow will remember him for that.

Tim Pat Coogan also pointed out that the physical force tradition was part of the Irish traditional struggle for freedom. Although he disagreed with the methods used, he understood the men who used them.

He indicated also that the causes of the violence, i.e., occupation, segregation, partition, etc., would have to be removed before complete peace was restored to Ireland. Tim Pat Coogan is an honest man. We need many more like him in Ireland.

Youth knows truth

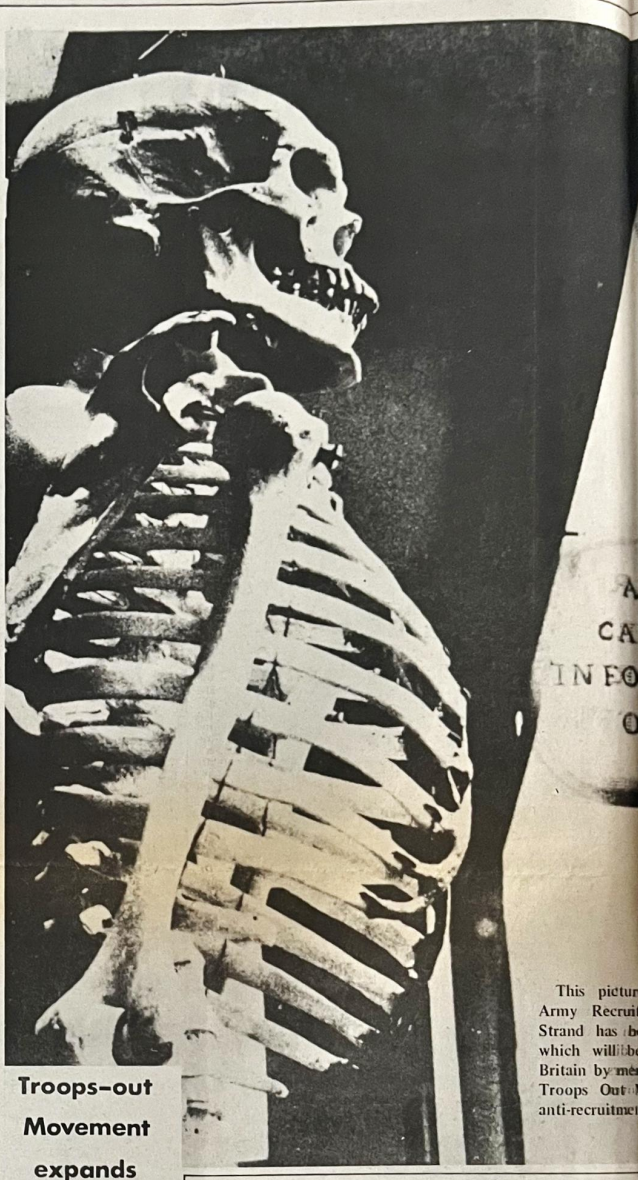
Now, one last word to Professor John Kelly. Not all the censorship in the world can prevent Republicans telling the truth. Many men have tried it, tougher men than Professor Kelly ever will be, and they failed miserably.

Perhaps the learned professor would like to ban Mr. Coogan's book on the I.R.A. or any other book on the same subject? But it won't work, professor. The younger generation already know the truth. I refer you to the election of the S.R.C. in University College, Dublin, last week. You were professor of law there.

The young man elected to represent the law faculty certainly would disown you and your imperialism. No wonder you need censorship. We will leave it at that, shall we?



"I hear the Americans are suffering a fuel shortage"



Troops-out Movement expands

SATURDAY, May 4, was chosen as the provisional date for a conference on repression and the role of British troops in Ireland by the Troops Out Movement at a meeting in Warwick.

Forty delegates from TOM groups and supporters, in London, Birmingham, Nottingham, Manchester, Oxford and other areas met to discuss the future of the troops out campaign.

Following a general discussion on the role of individual groups, plans were laid for the co-ordination of this role, a week-end school for sympathisers, the conference on the role of the military, publication of a paper to be called TOM-TOM. Plus a monthly bulletin for members, and an anti-recruitment campaign in schools.

The May conference, to be held in London, will be preceded by a campaign to secure signatures on a petition calling on the Labour movement to break with bi-partisanship, and demand the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland.

A campaign is to be conducted by TOM to secure sponsorships for the conference from trade union branches, women's groups, black groups, squatters, community organisations, Labour parties and LPYS branches. Further details about the conference may be obtained from: Alistair Renwick, 28, Lantmas, Park Road, Ealing, LONDON, W.5.



Brixton Prison is seldom without a picket as faithful Irishmen give witness to their solidarity with their comrades inside. Most of those pictured are members of Sinn Féin in London.

This picture
Army Recruit
Strand has be
which will be
Britain by me
Troops Out M
anti-recruitme

Cruise O'Brien declaring war on Irish

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

Here is his address in full.

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

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

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

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

Doubly dishonest

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

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

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

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

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

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

Central tradition

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

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

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

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

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

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

imperialistic powers of London and Paris.

Gaeltacht channel

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

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

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

broadcasting.

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

Why pretend that the "open broadcasting" proposal will lead to an exchange of north-south services when we know that only a few hours programming are produced in Belfast each week?

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

If we were logical we would be demanding the right to broadcast our own programmes to the Irish in Britain in return for any extension of British programmes here.

Contempt for natives

Dr. O'Brien's suspicion of the

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

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

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

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

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

Conall Ó Cearnaigh under fire

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

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

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

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

Other letters: page seven.

unprincipled opportunist unworthy of the support of honest people.

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

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

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

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

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

"An Phoblacht" of recent

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

Conditioned?

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

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

Thoughts on a long prison sentence

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

— Dolours Price

Chugainn nah Albannaigh

BEIDH an cheanntrú cuairt bhliantúil d'fhilí agus ceoltóirí Albannaigh a Eirinn a heagrú ar an mhí seo chugainn (1-8). Rachaidh beirt fhilí na Gaidhlighe, pioibear agus amhránair traidisiúnta i gcomhar le filí agus ceoltóirí Éireannacha i gceirteanna filiochta agus ceol a bheas a n-eagrú i nBaile Átha Cliath, i nGaioth

Dobhair, sa Spidéal, agus i gCorcaigh.

Ta an chuairt a h-eagrú arís ag Gúineabhall Naistiana na Gaeltache mar chuid de shocrú a d'eascair idir an Comhar Cultúra agus Comhairle Ealaíon na hAlban. Tagann fóireann ó Alba go hEirinn gach earrach. Beidh grúpa ó Eirinn ag dul go hAlban sa seo chugainn.

ARMY
REERS
FORMATION
OFFICE

re taken at the British
the Office in London's
en made into a poster
distributed throughout
of the British-based
movement as part of its
campaign.



MOUS GUERRILLA LEADERS:1

By a Special Correspondent

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

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

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

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

No shots fired

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

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

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

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

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

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

Irish, under Barry, set a style for revolt

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

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

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

Despite Bishop Cohan's decree, that anyone taking part in an ambush was guilty of murder and would incur the censure of excommunication, despite the Cork I.R.A.'s rather poor knowledge of explosives in the initial stages, despite the presence of some 12,600 British troops in the Cork county, opposed by some 300 armed Volunteers of Oglagh na hEireann, the Irish forces were able to wage a highly successful guerrilla war against the demoralised occupant troops.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

In the Congo

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

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

Paradoxically he may have been involved in a measure he would not deeply regret; in May, 1956, the Dublin Government extended the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act to give unrestricted citizenship to persons of Irish descent living in the Six Counties which, at that time, was Dublin's official title for "Northern Ireland".

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

The Dublin government offered a contribution of some

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

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

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

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

Katanga adventure

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

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

Tshombe, however, was probably no better and no worse

Conor Cruise O'Brien under the microscope

By JAMES HOPE

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

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

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

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

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

Second marriage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Off to Ghana

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

Starting life as a promising radical in 1950, he became

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

British pet

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What religion, asked English policeman

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

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

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

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

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

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

a chara

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LONG KESH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Need I say more?
— Mother of a Loyalist Detainee. Belfast 36.

OGRAS

CUIREADH trí chasraí nua ar bun le tamail ghairid agus an chomhairliúir ag go bhfuil na trí áiteanna an-acartha úd chéile ach léiríonn sé go h-éifeachtach cé chomh forleathan is atá Ogras i mbailé Atha na Slua, Co. na Gaillimhe, agus i gCill Chualainn, Co. an Dáin, Tagann na 30 ball atá i gCarriga na Siúire le chéile gach tráthnóga Sathairn chun dráma agus céif a gceleachtadh ann. Plean siad a péir oibre, freisin, ar mhaith le h-imcheathrú nua a phleanáil i gCónaí.

Tá Seán O' Maonaigh i gceannas an ghruipa seo. Tá an dá ghraha eile bunaithe i gceoláistí cónaithe agus de bharr sin tá clár eagsúil ón gnaíth-ghraha á chur i bhfeidhm acu. Tá obair á dhéanamh acu, áfach, i gceur chun ár n-aidhmeanna i measc lucht na gceoláistí agus glacann na daltaí uile páirt i bhformhór na n-imcheathrú, a chuireann siad ar siúl.



Is iad Sinn Féin, Búiró Phoiblíocht na Poblachta agus cinnirí Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta, ina guid ráitís, a leagan síos polasaí oifigiúil na Gluaiseachta.

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

Is é Abhastín Mac Conmara an treoraí atá acu i mbailé Atha na Slua agus is Caitlín ní Shuibhéalín an ceannairí i gCill Chualainn.

Tá obair ar siúl in an-chuid áiteanna ar fud na tíre ar bunadh chasraí agus ní fada go mbeidh cinn nua i gCill Channigh, i gCill Mích agus i mbailé Atha Claithe.

— Rúnaí, Ogras, Baile Átha Claithe.

FRENCH SUPPORT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Also "while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace". Uphold the struggle of the Irish people for an independent united and democratic Ireland!

Uphold the solidarity between the Irish and the French people! Centre d'Information sur la Lutte Anti-impérialiste, 17, Rue du Sentier, Paris 11, An Fhraince.

HARASSMENT

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

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

— Máire Bean Uí Eochagáin, Rúnaí, Jackie Griffiths Cumann, Baile Átha Claithe.

Republican

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A new record, "Flight from Mountjoy" with "Billy Reed" on flip-side by the Freeman from Belfast: 55p.

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

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VISIT A PRISONER

TA na cimi i bPríosún 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 Claithe, 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. Bigá dílis. Bigá fial flaithiúil daonna.

LEAS

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Ar leas na Gaeilge
Ar leas na Poblachta
Ar do leas féin

£2 ————— 12 eagrán
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Tuilleadh eolais ó
Dhomhnaill Ó Lúbhail, 250
Cuarbóthar Theas, Baile
Átha Claithe, 8.

Arna foilsiú ag Gluaiseacht
na Poblachta.

I NDÍL CHUIMHNE

I ndíleuimhne do
Mhicheál Gillen, Derry,
murdered by the occupation
forces on March 14, 1972.

ÁR MBUIÓCHAS

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

AN CUMANN CABHRACH

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

FACTORY STOCKS

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Gardaí still irked by threats of military

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30 raids on Creggan home

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

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

from "Bogside News"

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

M. Drumm on O.A.S. charges

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

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

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

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

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

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



WILSON HEARS IRISH CASE

From ROSEMARY SULLIVAN in London

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The campaign, "all being married, however, while victory is in sight, by individuals more concerned

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

Notice-boxing

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

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

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

CORLOUGH DRAW

(An Cumann Cabhrach)
Winner (E20): Noel McKiernan, c/o McCormack's Products, KILLESHANDRA

OPPOSE IMPERIALISM:
JOIN THE MOVEMENT

Where green means boot

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

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

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

The Fortwilliam area is also uncoloured so perhaps Fortwilliamites are so immune to the

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

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

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

Conduct themselves

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

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

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

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

Reproduced from "Republican News"

Public warned of captured weapons

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

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

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

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

An abairt ghairsiúil: n'orainn an milleán

Debe

BA é an clódóir a scríobh an líne úd a scanntraigh na mílte is cosúil, mar "ag súdaireacht ar cheann bhoird" an tseachtain seo caite.

Meas tú? Ní ndáiríre? Ach ba é a scríobh muid. "Og ag can ar Chríste é, más ag crúisáil roimh an Deibí bhí sé, nó leanaigh an Deibí, ag sodar i ndiaidh an "Faisigh" siar go Conamara agus go Raidió na Gaeltachta i nGaeil, sin nó ag súdaireacht ar cheann bhoird ag "chúile stóir óilmháthas bídís agus díghne in Oidhreacha Rúa, nár stop sé dhén chruáil go deo nó gur stíofh sé cuan agus caladh lena churacháin i snámh na bhliain i bPórt Láirge?"

Chuaigh an spás amháin orainn, an tseachtain seo caite, súil bhí deis againn an aiste a chríochnú, ach níor mhaire leantúnais.

Seo a leanas an t-ádh deirneach a bhí againn an tseachtain seo caite. Ina dhiaidh sin beidís againn an giotá ar chúir casba agus stop leis. Áit eile a raibh oíche mhór roimh an gCúisáil leithe agus ói fuise dearg bhí chomh bí na cois lacha bna, beoir Lochlannach agus cruinníneacht dhearg na Spáinnis mar bhiadh ag éal ag bhí éin fadó.

Seans gur le chomh maith is bhí an oíche, sin nó an bráon a diúl sa gceirín ag nGaeil, go gáin sin le nGaeil, oíche is gur thosaigh se dhá dhá ar an teanga Gaeilge.

Drochde ceart críochnaíthe bhí ann, freisin, oíread is go gceapann an crúisáil anois gur feidís leis nó gur ceart an teanga foisbair ó iúdrachais is "chúile áit ach sa nGaeilteacht agur nár cheart an oíread dhon teanga úsáid ar RTE.

Níorbh é inné ná innis roimhe sin a bhí an Crúisáil i gcomhairle leis an Údaráis faoi ceart a bhí ina cheann agus an rún a bhí ag éal ballechóir a chur leis an dfeidís a bhí roimhe amach le theacht ar an teanga.

Dur na gar i mbéala ná i ndearmad nór tháinig as béal mhá a-n-pheata acu, fíod mhá a-n-pheata. Ní hea, ach b'fíod thíos agat go bhfuil céim mhór in airde faite ag Gaeilgeoir mór acu ó

shin agus focal amháin féin níor chuir sé in aghaidh Chríste. Ó diabhal a dur ariann, Anois, an bhfuil biseach agat?

Cur le balla

AR chuala tú Seosamh Ó nGortaigh aon cionn seachtaine ó shin as Raidió na Gaeltachta is é dhá chur le balla ag Tomás Ó Ceallaigh?

Ar ndóig, tú Seosamh i gceáná ag breathnú amach óna chuid malláí Gaeltarra agus chosúil dhé choimeád ag Cathal Mac Gabhann ar Sheosamh ach allraich Chonamara idir iad is ícas le hamharc níos íomláine a tháir ar chuan na Gaillimhe agus ar an nGaeilteacht.

Mínig go leor a thús Seosamh freagar deasa, mfu, nGaeilteacht a chosúil dhé choimeád ag Cathal Mac Gabhann ar Sheosamh ach allraich Chonamara idir iad is ícas le hamharc níos íomláine a tháir ar chuan na Gaillimhe agus ar an nGaeilteacht.

gereidís go bhfuil Gaeltarra ag gabháil i gcomhar le gnóthacht rachmasóirí ó Mheiricea le báid a thógáil anseo in Éirinn agus báid iascach iad, beag an bál, ach lonngis lonngearach pléasfaid a bheas ina dhíthe beta agus gafa, eactha ar farráige idir scáisir cuairíochta.

Thuga leat.

Eigse Uladh

I nGaoth Débhair dhúinn agus Éigse Uladh faoi lap seoil agus comórtas na n-amháin nua fíodí Dhoibí an easaontaís, mar níor reitigh einne leis an toradh, is léir go mbeadh sé thá a bheith deagair dhon Chomhthúil, nó do Raidió na Gaeltachta, nó ag a each faoi aon chuing, an comórtas seo a lúimheáil i gceart.

Cuirpís i gcás gur scríobh dhóine eile dhá dhé seath le ceol den seath, i gcealláir abhainn an tairne agus i gcéim mbeadh na nOglach lá ag troid in eadga na Sasanach, an bhídeáil an chraobh thábhairt d'Ó. An bhídeáil fadó dhóine na nGaeilteacht a chraobh? An nbeadh cead ag páipéir ar bith é thóisí?

Maidir leis an tríd bhí i gceannas ar an gcomórtas, meas tú go dtuigean Mac an Bhua nó O Gailchóir céard is ceol na hÉireann ann, lena n-éilimh clasaic, lena mblianta fada cois Life, lena n-éilimh Bhearla?

Níor dhúir mé gur i gceinne an cheoil a bhí. Ní méide go mbeadh, nó níl colas againn ar cheangal an Chéalláir leis an gceol; ach má tá sé eolach n' bheadh an seans agus an bheith eile ag aon bhoird (seachán) m'fóiréachais leis.

"Tuige nach mbeadh an Raidió agus an Chomhthúil aiste doaine mar aís a leanas a fhóistú chun gheith ina móltóirí ar an gcomórtas. Brendan Breathnach, Seán Óg Ó Tuama, Seamus Mac Mathú, An Bratháir Ó Cathúna, Ó Baoil (athair agus mac), Piaras Ó Grádaigh, Seán Ó Cathúil, John Kelly (Julian), Liam Óg Ó Flúin, Seán Ó Tuairneir nó An Seandóir féin (R. na G.)."

Tá dainge eile ann, go leor díobh ar ndóig.

Tá aitheann againn ar thúine de mhuintir na Gaeltachta a raibh iarraich i gthé, agur ar an gcomórtas tá a scrúid againn, dúine a bhí an taidéilín agus an sean nGaeilge agus, is ea, agus go

smáicsh, gach n'raibh an rud bréa a chum sé le cloistéal ar an ardan in Amharclann Gaoth Dobhair.

"Cumha an Domhain" a bhuaigh an eigh áit. Seo na daoine a chum é, idir fhóca agus ceol: Eugene Murphy, William Murphy, agus a n-ádh na hA.A.A. in Lansdowne Valley, Long Mile Road, Drimnagh, B.A.C. sin deagair mar a fuairas é ón gcomhthúil; níor bhac na cumadóirí le aiste, ceol, ceol Gaeilge chur ar an doine ná ar an seoladh.

An iarraich bhí theacht, dar linn uile, nach mór, "Tá an fíobair ar Lá" (Willelly Clancy bhí i gceist), le Michael Ó Friel agus Rina Uí Loinsigh, Dún an Oir, Sráid na Cathrach, Co. an Chláir.

Má fhaigheann muid an deis, fóiseoidís muid an d'chéann amháin agus agur cead cainte ag na leideadh in a dhiaidh.

Tá i bhfad Éireann níos mó le fáil faoi Gaoth Dobhair, faoi na leachtana breifh, agus go háirithe, a bhfuil togha oibre ar súil aige sa cheantar, bál ó Dhaia ar. Ach, arís, tá an t-am istigh: an suip, a dhúine.