It shall be the duty of the government of this Hapublic to make provision for the physical and mental well being of the children, to secure that no child the children, to secure that he child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their properties and Gastic reland.

# Phoblacht

lml. 9. Uimhir 33, 10p. Lúnasa 19, 1978.



WHY DID Britain's "Daily Mirror" (circulation: 4,000,000 readers) on August 14, write: "Ulster: Bring home the troops"? Why has this paper written: "The time has come for a new start. One that would allow the Irish people to rule themselves"?

The "Daily Mirror"did not explain. But the reason is both economic and political. The paper's constant concern is to remain popular, to continue to sell to 4,000,000 readers and, if possible, to sell to 5,000,000.

The easiest way of continuing and even increased popularity is to go along with public opinion. And public opinion is demanding that the British government withdraw its troops from Ireland.

This is now an important economic ((as far as the press is concerned) and political issue, with the Gallup Poll's latest figure in England making it bluntly clear that 53 per cent. of those polled want

Britain to end its Irish adventure.

Experts in the field reckon that, by this year's end, more than 60 per cent. of the people of England, Scotland and Wales will be demanding an end to the English connection.

# Political stand

The longer the British imperial election is delayed the stronger, the louder, the British demand for a withdrawal of troops from Ireland.

The 53 per cent, figure makes it possible and realistic for candidates to stand for election to Westminster on the ticket of doing their utmost to end British interference in Ireland, be they mem-

bers of existing parties or independents.

How long can the three main political parties in Britain continue to ignore the results of the Gallup poll on the basis of politics alone? It is clear now, that if one of the major British political parties comes out in favour of an end to British interference in Ireland a considerable number of extra votes is probable in the general election next month.

Amazingly, the 53 per cent, figure reveled from the Gallup Poll was kept out of all British papers except "The Irish Times". According to the "Daily Mirror," there is only one policy, regarding enemy withdrawal, which can lead to success, That policy is for "Britain to announce its unshakeable intention to withdraw altogether from Northern Ireland."

newspaper does not believe that Britain

ernment should declare that, on a date five years from now, Ulster will be given its independence and that British forces, finance and administration will depart."

The Republican Movement has made it clear that all such talk about independence for Ulster or any part of Ulster is unrealistic and that Ireland must be the unit in question. All Ireland is unfree at present, part of the land being governed by a quisling administration.

The newspaper adds that "many people fear that a decision to quit Ulster would lead to a bloodbath" and asks: "But what is 1,850 dead and 20,000 injured if not a bloodbath?"

The paper's editorial comment gives the following statistics for the past nine years: 1,854 dead, including 365 soldiers; 115 RUC members; and, of the 19,917 injured, soldiers numbered 2,721; RUC, 3,295; personal injury awards totalling £38, 000,000; compensation payments for damage to property, £246,000,000. The "Daily Mirror" does not attempt to est-

imate the damage to the British economy of the past 10 years of British occupation in Ireland – how much the extra troops cost; how much the

propaganda war; how much the loss in industry and

Little by little, in the months ahead, these devastating figures will be revealed in Britain as the demand of the ordinary people for Crown disengagement in Ireland becomes louder and more insistent until there is no alternative but to obey it.

The reaction of most party politicians in the Six Counties to the Mirror's demand for British withdrawal is very revealing. All shades of unionism, from official true-blue through orange to the bile green of the SDLP, feared and objected to British withdrawal, thus emphasising the colonial connection

In the 26 Counties the voice of unionism (Fianna Fine Gael and Labour) officially was silent.

Unofficially, there was extreme nervousness.

The obvious answer is that the Crown must into negotiations with the liberation forces AT ONCE to arrange for a mutually agreed programme of orderly withdrawal as well as amnesty and release for all the prisoners of war in these

The sooner the Crown's ministers begin the negotiations, the sooner peace can be made to return to Ireland. It is as simple as that.

the men more than two to one in the rally organised by Sinn Fein and the Relatives' Action Committee in Belfast on August 8, to mark the seventh anniversary of the introduction of internement. Altogether some 10,000 people took part in the impressive Belfast demonstration.

Bonfires were lit in many parts of the Six Counties to comm emorate the Crown's internment blunder. In many parts, also, members of the patriotic forces attacked enemy forces and targets.

Enemy forces were SDLP MP Gerry Fitt, the reformist collabor ator, to disperse a gang of stone-throwing youths. Fitt was unhurt.

A march by some 10,000 people from Clonard Street, in the Lower Falls, to Casement Park, Andersonstown, Belfast, heard Sinn Fein speakers calling for continued support of prisoner of war status for the prisoners in Long Kesh

During the march, enemy troops bulldozed massive bonfires on the main roads in west Belfast, while other soldiers in riot gear stood

After the troops left more bonfires sprang up all over the Repub lican areas of the city.

**Briogaid Bheal** Feirste, Oglaigh na hEireann has claimed respon-

H-BLOCK: March from 5 Blessington Street on Saturday, 14.00 hrs. (Ar leanuint ar Ich. a 8)

# An Phoblacht

# Amnesty for all prisoners of war will cover all political prisoners

OVER RECENT months there has appeared the occasional suggestion in print that the Republican is ambivalent demands for amnesty for all those who have been imprisoned in these political because of activities, including participation in warfare, the extreme of politics.

Some of these suggestions have come in the letters-to-the-editor columns; some have come from political commentators or "northern editors". A favourite ploy would seem to lie in attempting to grade the alleged offences, the idea being that those on one side who demand the release of a "grade-one" man on their side would be aghast at the release of a "grade-two" or "grade-three" man or woman on the other side.

In other words, all very well to demand the release of a man jailed for "membership" but this would have to be balanced against the release of somebody on the other side on a similar charge. "How would members of the Republican Movement react to the release of those serving sentences for, for example, the Miami Showband

Republican spokesmen, if they

were to give definitive replies to correspondents, part-time journalists, agents provocateurs in print, professional newsmen and the rest of them, every time they emerge with some new twist to an old nonsense, would hardly have time for anything else. That is why, regrettably, uncorrected. so much goes

and the state of the state of

It is assumed that responsible people in search of the truth will consult Republican publications or ask well known local Republicans. It is known that very many journalists prefer not to consult responsible sources before writing their current nonsense from the tops of their heads for fear having to re-write or even forget the current "good story

In view of all these tiresome facts of life in Ireland today it becomes necessary for such as "An Phoblacht" to restate, from time to time, the clearly enunciated policies of the Republican leadership in the hope that it may penetrate some thick skulls and shame those still capable of being ashamed into avoiding misrepresentation Republican policies.

There should have been no doubt whatsoever as to what the

# **Tuairim**

the Movement meant when they said amnesty meant freedom for ALL imprisoned as a result of

political activities.
This "ALL" This "ALL" means not only members of the Republican Movement 1 but members of other groups and organisations. This "ALL" also means everybody, regardless of the offence with which he has been charged. covers ALL the most vicious killers and torturers who have been the pawns and the dupes of the Crown forces. It also covers ALL who have not been pawns or dupes; all who have known exactly what they were doing; all who have been more dedicated enemies of the Irish nation than any mere mercenary member of the Crown forces.

What the Republican Movement is saying is that we believe that everybody should have a second chance in freedom, on the eve of Eire Nua, the Crown having announced its intent to withdraw forever from Irish soil, and representatives of the people, all

over Ireland, preparing for series of public meetings which will precede the dawn of Eire Nua.

This attitude of the Republican Movement should be no surprise to the likes of McKitterick of Irish Times", if this individual were to take the trouble of acquainting himself with Republican history himself with Republican history and Republican literature (the writings of Fintan Lalor, John Mitchel, James Connolly, Pidralg Mac Piarais, for example), or to consider the record of the legitimate Dáll Éireann (the first and the second assemblies and the second assemblies representing the entire 32 counties of Ireland).

The quality of mercy is not strained, we are told by Shakespeare. The Republic, as long told as it was allowed to function, was merciful and bountiful, generous and noble, forgiving and understanding, and the history of those brief years bears eloquent testimony to the liberality of the first Irish state in some 800 years, a liberality which, nevertheless, was to be noted throughout history when Irish men and Irish women had any say in decisions of weight, at home or abroad.

The Republic never should be

judged on the record of the live parliaments set up the Westminster Parliament under the Act for the Better Government of Ireland, with their history of violence of all kinds including torture and murder, of of meanness, disloyalty cowardice and corruption.

What 'the leadership of the Republican Movement has not declared so far is what action will be taken against those accused of war crimes against the Irish people over the past 10 years, by traitors collaborators, touts, spies and informers, in other words, people who are NOT in prison and who, on the contrary, have been rewarded in various ways for their base actions by servants of the Crown or of its agents in the "Free" State.

These are people who, by their sickening activities, have been responsible for prolonging the war of liberation, who have been guilty. directly or indirectly, of murder torture or jailing of Irish patriots In due course, the leadership of the Republican Movement, no doubt will make a statement as to what action, if any, will be taken against them when Ireland is a united and independent country once again.

# Airgead ó Ghartraí do mhuintir Uí Mhianáin

TÁ NAIRE orm agus an colún seo á IA NAIRE of magus an coiun seo a scríobh agam an tseachtain seo nach bhfuil fáite do chiste Uí Mhianáin, a bhunaigh mé chun cuidúi le Rós Bean Uí Mhianáin agus na gasúir, ach £2.

agus na gasúir, ach £2.

Ach táim bródúil as gur ó na príosúnaigh cogaidh i Sasana — Príosún Gartraí — a tháinig an dá phunt sin. In ainm Jerry Mealey att an t-ordú poist curtha chugainn.

Tá fhios ag Día nach mbíonn mórán airgid ag na cimí cogaidh. Tá Chios ag Día such an du gudaít de su de chair a c

fhios ag Dia gur mór iad na rudaí tá uatha ach an t-airgead a fháil. Ach in ainneoin sin uilig bhí na

cimí sásta an beagán atá acu a chur le chéile agus an t-airgead a chur chugainn chun cuidiú leis an gclann seo i nGaeltacht

Cuirfidh muide, sa pháipéar seo suim éicínt leis an airgead sin ó Ghartraí. Agus b'fhéidir, le Dia, go ndúiseódh an náire léitheoirí eile an nduiseodh an naire leitheoiri eile an pháipéir agus an cholúin seo agus go mbeadh deis agam, an tseachtain seo chugainn, a rá go bhfuil a thuilleadh fáite againn ar son na

cúise sin. Os ag scríobh faoi na cúrsaí seo dom níor mhiste litir le Vivian Uibh Eachach, Craobh na Conradh na Gaeilge, a lua Saoirsí.

Níl aon dáta ag an litir ach is le déanaí a cuireadh chugam í agus tá an smaoineamh céanna ag Vivian

agus ag an gCraobh is a bhí agam, nuair a rinne mé iarracht faoi chiste a bhunú. Seo à leanas an litir. "Is dócha go bhúil cloiste ag bhur léitheoirí fé chás Phroinsias Uí Mhianáin atá le cúig seachtain anuas i bPríosún Mhointseó as ucht "díspeagadh cúirte". Ní hí seo an chéad uair sur cuireadh duine i chéad uair gur cuireadh duine i gcarcair ar son na Gaeluinne ach is í an chéad uair – go bhfios domhsa – gur coimeádadh istigh an fhaid sin é bacaint in aon chor lena

gan bacaint in aon chor lena argóintí. "Is í an ghné is measa de chás Phroinsias ná go bhfuil bean agus triúr clainne aige agus go bhfuilid sin gan "teacht isteach" an fhaid is

go bhfuil Proinsias fé nglas.
"Mar iarracht bheag chun
cabhraithe le muintir Uí Mhìanáin, tá craobh na Saoirsí de Chonradh na Gaeilge ag bunú ciste airgid dóibh. Más mian leat rud eigin a thabhairt — is euma cé chomh beag — cuir go dtí 'Ciste Uí Mhianáin', Craobh na Saoirsí, Northern Bank, Ltd., 98 Cuarbhóthar Theas, Baile

Atha Cliath, 8 é.

"Más mian leat a thuilleadh a dhéanamh, cuir brú, gan mhoill, ar na polaitíceoirí agus lucht an tionchair i do cheantar chun go ndéanfaidís rud éigin faoi", a chríochnaíonn an litir. Dála an scéil, tá Proinsías scaoilte saor ón bpríosún, anois.

# Débé

DE RÉIR suirbhé a rinneadh ar na mallaibh i measc na ndaltaí ollscoile, tá mac leinn amháin i ngach seachtar ag fágáil hEaglaise Caitlicí Rómhánaigh.

Ní chuireann sin a dhath d'íontas ormsa ach amháin sa mhéid go bhfuil an líon úd chomh híceal Changfainn á a bhaith i Cheapfainn é a bheith

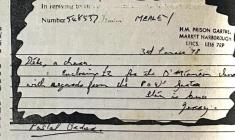
hísdaí. Cheaprainn é a bheith i bhfad ní ba airde. Ní dhearna an Eaglais Chaitliceach mórán le blianta beaga le cur in iúl don óige go raibh fáilte roimpí san Eaglais. Ní dhearna an Eaglais aon Eaglais. Ní dhearth an Eaglais aon airracht cheart chun i déalachas na hóige a aithint. Ná réabhloideachas na hóige. Ná dúchas na hóige. Ba chóir go dtuigfeadh an Eaglais go raibh an dúchas úd go

tréan san óige. Bhí sin, ar a laghad, le tabhairt faoi ndear as ucht spéis na ndaltaí sa cheol Gaelach.

# Mo shuirbhé féin

RINNE mise mo shuirbhé féin i measc na ndaltaí, i gColáiste na hOilscoile, agus i gColaiste na Tríonóide, i mBaile Átha Cliath. Daltaí Éireannacha amháin a bhí sa líon agam.

Ar na rudaí bhí ag cur as do na daltaí faoi pholasaí na hEaglaise bhí fimínteacht na cléire. Bhí siad



ró-bhog ar lucht an airgid, dar leis na daltaí. Bhí siad ró-throm ar Oglaigh na hEireann. Shil 87.7 faoin gcéad go mba chóir do na Sasanaigh imeacht as tír

rain do ha osasanigh imeacht as tir na hÉiréann. Shíl an méid céanna gur mba choir don chléir labhairt amach in éadan na Sasanach agus nár chóir an obair sin a fhágáil faoi leithéid Wilson, Faul agus Ó Muirí,

mar shagairt.

Tá misean a dhíth ar óige na hÉireahn, i ndáiríre; ach mura bhfuil an chléir sásta firicí áirithe a aithint b'fhearr gan tabhairt faoi.

An fhiric is mó dá bhfuil ann, dúchas folláin óige na hÉireann; réadúlacht gan smál; agus

neireann; réadulacht gan smál; agus fonn chun oibre.

Déanadh an Eaglais suirbhé i measc na hóige i mBéal Feirste agus i nDoire maidir le fanacht taobh istigh den Eaglais nó í fhágáil,

Cuirfidh torthaí an tsuirbhé sin an-scannradh ar an gcléir. Ach is í an chléir atá ciontach as an mbánú.

# Scannal eile

Scannal etle
IS DÓCHA go bhfuil an méid seo
ráite cheana agus minic go leor, leis.
Tá, go bhfuil Tara Mines thar a
bheith craosach. Féach anois an
comhlacht agus é ag fágáil slán ag
800 oibritheoir.

Tấ an 800 caite amach mar gheall ar agóid sna mianaí seo, agóid a ba chóir bheith réitithe k

agoid a da chon whether ag Tara Mines fada.

Tá míchlú tuillte ag Tara Mines mar gheall ar an méid oibritheoirí a fuair bás san mianaí. An bhfuil na mianaí slán? Ceard é tuairim na gceardchumann?

Má cheanann na ceardchumainn

Má cheapann na ceardchumainn nach bhfuil na mianaí slán, cén fáth

go gceadaíonn siad d'oibritheoirí bheith ag obair iontu? Céard é tuairim na Roinne? Nó ar iarr éinne ar shaineolaithe na Roinne dul ann chun iad a mheas agus tuairim oifigiúil a phoibliú

CÉ HÉ an fear dlí seo, an tiama talún a d'eáluigh as an gcéad seo caite, mar Phádraig Madigan? Bhfuil aon bhaint aige le muintir

Mhadagáin na bpubannaí? Nó le muintir Mhadagáin an léinn? Sloinne Ultach, dála an scéil. Ní chuirfeadh sé aon (ontas oim

dá mbuafadh sé an ar an Saorstál. Cuirfidh Eire Nua deireadh leis an seo, ar aon chaoi. Tá sin

Ach cen sórt duine e, an fear seo, mar Phádraig Madigan? Sort Lord Leitrim?

# Ladhar an Chrompáin agus all that

"Níl sa tsaothar seo ach scáthán ina bhfeicfidh an pobal cuid dá gcomharthaí féin, agus ina n-aimseoidh scoláirí múnlaí áirithe an dúchais. An pobal fhéin a bhronann anáil na beatha ar a dtimpeallacht nó a cheileann san uirthi. Is é an múnlú a dheineann pobal ar fhéin agus ar a thimpeallacht a nochtann a spiorad-áltacht dó. Bíonn spiorad an duine ag cur thar maoil i gcónaí, á hion-chollú sa timpeallacht a chruthaftear glúin i ndiaidh a chéile. Tá an cúram céanna le déanamh dá gnéithe seachtracha agus a diaidtí

dá gnéithe inmheánacha".

I will not, I am sure, satisfy any-body, and least of all the author in the following translation of this important excerpt from the preface of Breandan O Ciobhain's "Top-onomia Hiberniae 1". However,

This work (T.H.1) is but a mirror in which people see their own likeness and in which scholars will find certain indications of their

"It is the public irself which gives

environment. This shaping of the public of itself and its environment reveals to itself its spirituality.
"Man's spirit is constantly over

flowing, reincarnating itself in the environment created by generation after generation. It has the same responsibility towards its external

characteristics as to its inner ones".

This is only the first volume of
25 planned! This first volume is
fittingly dedicated to one of its pre-publication subscribers "Do Chearbhall O Dalaigh i mbuanu a

# In the Crown's Gulag

# NTERN

OVER THE past year, we look back and ask if anything essential has changed since that black day in August seven years ago when hundreds of unamed men were dragged from their beds and their families by heavily armed foreign troops to imprisonment without charge, trial or evidence brought against them, writes the OCP Comhairlecheantar, Doire Cholm

We see the same situation still prevailing, only with the hideous gloss of normality provided by the most massive Brit propaganda campaign ever mounted against the Republican cause, to vilify its ideals and to attempt to criminalise its adherents.

Over the past year, we have witnessed people from many walks of life raising their voice to the heavens against the torture, degradation and death of many Irishmen and Irishwomen at the hands of the Brit regime.

Irishmen and Irishwomen at the hands of the Brit regime.

This year has seen solicitors and doctors repeatedly condemning the torture of those they are brought in contact with in RUC barracks and hospitals across the Six Counties.

# Scathing report

We have heard that internationally respected body, Amnesty International, issue a Amnesty International, issue a scathing report condemning the widespread use of torture here.

We have just heard the highest Church leader in the land express his disgust, horror and condemnation at the Brits' savage treatment of human beings held as Pows. in H-Block, Long Kest.

Over and over again, we witness the NIO and Roy Mason's vast ugly gang of press officers turn lies into

The most bare-faced lies are The most bare-faced lies are paraded as truth, on the motto of Nazi Germany's leader, \$4Josef Goebbels, who claimed that, "the bigger the lie, the more likely the people will believe it".

# **Brian Maguire**

After the Amnesty report on torture: after groups of doctors had condemned the continuing use of torture by the RUC and after a group of solicitors repeatedly had condemned the use of torture on clients and had threatened to withdraw from the courts in protest over the torture that achieved signatures to false confessions, the N.I.O. came out with colour photos of Castlereagh and its "luxurious" accommodation, and flashed them over every TV screen in the land.

Their brass neck in bringing out



photos turther descriptions of Castlereagh after Brian Maguire was hanged there sickened even the most hardened

observer of Brit tactics.

After contagious skin rashes broke out in the filth of H-Block broke out in the fifth of H-Block Long Kesh, we were again subjected to colour photos, allegedly from Long Kesh, desperately trying to convince us this is "the best prison in Britain".

There is a name for such tactics, familiar to all: BRAINWASHING.

familiar to all: BRAINWASHING. But, just as the lies the put out denying their widespread use of torture are seen as lies, just as their claims that H-Block is a paradise prison is laughed at bitterly as a lie, so too are their claims that internment is ended and laws and courts have been established.

courts have been established.

Internment by any other name stinks as foully. We now have Derrymen in jail 25 months on remand, awaiting "trial".

Already they have served the equivalent of a four-year sentence,

with not a scrap of evidence against

em.
Other Derrymen lie in their prison cells awaiting recalling the day they were charged at a special court held at their hospital beds, as they lay in a daze with broken bodies, recovering from RUC "questioning".

# Flimsy excuses

Other Derrymen are held on the flimsiest of excuses. A garage worker for selling petrol; another man "identified" by a long distance photograph of a pair of shoes; and, at the end, only the most fortunate will escape a long sentence, depending on the political situation at the time of trial.

OF IRELAND !?!

Under the present "emergency" legislation, never enacted democratically by the people of the Six Counties, the British regime and their forces have life and death power ever everyone, if and whenever they choose to use it.

Whether this means imprisoning people without evidence, shooting unarmed civilians volunteers in the streets, attempted coercion of families of those in prison, or any other means, the British have a free hand while their

British have a free nand wine their image before the world.

For, more than anything, the Brits are fighting a war for the minds of the Irish people, who, in recent years, have indicated they have freed themselves from generations of brainwashing by this

nihan, The Bothy Band. Acts and exhibitions will include:

The Tagoat Mummers, The Alternative Co-op Theatre, Dublin Children's Theatre, Profile Theatre

This is most of page one of the "Troops Out" magazine for August "Troops Out" magazine for August-September, the organ of the United Troops Out Movemennt. The author is the ubiquitous Cormac of "Rep-ublican News" (and now also to be seen in "Socialist Challenge"). The magazine costs 10p and is available from UTOM, 182 Upper Street, from UTOM, 182 London N1, Sasana.

Active in Co. Kildare

Michael Gaughan Sinn Fein The Michael Gaughan Sinn Fein Cumann, Celbridge, attended three public meetings arranged by the Sinn Fein Kildare Comhairlecheantar highlight the plight of PoWs the Long Kesh Concentration

The meeting in Athy on Aug 5, was chaired by Paddy Wright, Athy Cumann. Speakers included Matt Conway and Sean Fanning.

The other two meetings in the Celbridge Cumann area, were in Kilcock and Celbridge. They were chaired by Berry Finglas. Speakers were Matt Conway, Sean Fanning and Paddy O'Neill.

The meetinge were very well received by the public and leaflets were in considerable demand.

# **Get to the Point**

IRELAND'S first anti-nuclear power show will be seen from August 18-20 at Carnsore Point, Co. Wexford. Carnsore is the proposed site for the first of the four nuclear reactors planned for this country. It is hoped that this festival will see the birth of a mass movement to oppose nuclear power in Padraig MacMathuna, Johnny Moy-

Most of Ireland's foremost traditand rock musicians have offered to play at the event. Camp ing, food, music and entertainment will be provided for those who want to attend and learn more about nuclear power and the other choices as regards provision of light-ing, heat and power.

Here is the programme of events: Friday: 18.45 hours, brief explan-ation of aims of Anti-Nuc-

lear Power Show.
19.00 hours onwards,

Saturday: 10.00-18.00, exhibitions of other energy forms; workshops on various as-pects of nuclear power; theatre; children's theatre; and lots more!

Sunday

10.00 hours, Rise and shine music. Noon, the Anti-Nuclear

Noon, the Anti-Nuclear Power Show Collective will open a mass meeting to discuss the formation of a mass movement to stop the building of a nuclear power plant in Ireland. 17.00 hours onwards, music.

Musicians participating will include: Musicans participating will include: Christy Moore, Barry Moore, Andy Irvine, Mick Hanly, Paddy Glackin, Liam Weldon, McMurrough, the Sands Family, The Ard Ris, Stokers Lodge, De Danann, Paul Brock, The Activity, The Sinners, Noel Hill and Tony Linnane, Midnight Well, Al O'Donnell, Sacre Bleu, Jackie, Oisin, The Red Peters Band, Clannad, Seamus Creagh and Jackie Clannad, Seamus Creagh and Jackie Daly, Peter Browne, Stagalee,



August 1978 Boxwrappers and Badges, £10 per 1,000, available from Head Office. Cash with Orders, please. -Seoirse Ó Loinsigh, Cathaoirleach agus O.C.P., N.F.C. N.F.C. representatives are:

National Collection,

AUSTRALIA: Bill Moreland, Melbourne. BRITAIN: Jim Reilly, Luton. IRELAND: Brendan Golden, Dublin, Cisteoir, N.C.F.

# WAKEFIELD OF ALL the top security prisons in England, Wakefield Jail has the worst reputation as regards the ill-treatment and

victimisation of Irish political prisoners.

This fact must be linked to the use of Wakefield by the

Home Office for training prison officers.

The deliberate victimisation of all political priosners in Wakefield, including anarchists and other dissidents as well as Republicans, can therefore be seen as a result of a decision taken by the British gov-

ernment to attempt to crush the spirits of those prisoners who represent a threat to the State

As early as 1971 Wake-field came to the attention of the PAC when two prisoners awaiting trial there on conspiracy charges, Eamonn Smullen and Gerry Doherty, complained of being treated as though they had been convicted.

In fact it was very unusual for remand prisoners to be held in Wakefield which is a jail for top security convicted prisoners.

Smullen and Dohe vere, however, Irish and Doherty were remanded there

and not to Risley.

While in Wakefield they had to wear prison uniform, not their own clothes as remand prisoners are usually

In addition they were forced to wear the special uniform of brown suit with broad vellow stripes usually reserved for prisoners who have tried to eascape.

They were not held in the normal part of the prison but in the hospital

for "security reasons".

All this was imposed on men who, according to the tenets of "British justice" are innocent until proved guilty.

# Forced feeding

In early 1974 the first of what has turned out to be a large number of Republican prisoners came to Wakefield.

He was Hugh Feeney and he had been on hunger strike for some weeks when he arrived in Wakefield.

he arrived in Wakefield.

The prison doctor in Wakefield, a man hardly deserving of the name, undertook to force feed Fengue, The method used was in principle the same as that used in other British jails in 1974 to force feed the trips however tribics. hunger-striking Repub-

It involved the forcing of a catheter tube down the throat of the prisoner while the prisoner was being held down by screws. Liquid was

then poured down the tube.

However, depending on the doctor, more or less sadistic refinements could be added to this barbaric practice which was condemned out of hand by the World Medical Association.

Feeney has told the PAC that the Wakefield doctor, a man called Xavier, was undoubtedly the most savage he was assaulted by in the three jails he was in.

# To Long Kesh

Xavier would not only twist the tube round in his stomach, causing him imme-nse pain which has lead him to having ulcers, but would accompany this with sarcastic and humiliating verbal abuse,

# Le Jacqueline Kaye



telling him that he should it as he was "doing enjoy r his country".

it for his country".

Hugh Feeney was lucky.
In early 1975 he was transferred to serve the rest of his sentence in Long Kesh along with fellow hunger-striker, Gerry Kelly.

They, as with Dolours and Marian Price, who also were transferred, had been on hunger strike for 205 days during which they had been force fed by the barbaric method described.

Another prisoner held in

Another prisoner held in Wakefield was, however, to lose his life in his attempt to win a transfer to Ireland.

This was Prionsias Stagg. In late 1975 Stagg was moved from Long Lartin to Wakefield. He found conditions there intolerable.

Stagg was refusing to work as a protest at the fact that he was refused political status.

Progressively, in an att-empt to cow him the Wakefield Board of Visitors ordered him to be held in solit-ary confinement, all furniture ary continement, all rurniture removed from his cell, all his books to be removed and radio, the heating in the cell to be turned off, strip searching before and after every visit and searches of his vistors.

It is difficult to see what

more they could have done than walled him up alive. For Stagg Wakefield was the culmination of three years of victimisation.

He went on hunger strike in December, 1975, and his comrade, Gerry Mealey, went on hunger strike with him and was to remain on hunger

strike with him until he died. Stagg had been on hunger strike three times before and had been with Michael Gaug-han when he died as a result of force feeding in Parkhurst in 1974.

When he went on hunger strike in Wakefield he was deeply embittered not only

by the treatment he had received but also by the callous refusal of the Home Office to allow him to attend his father's funeral and even to allow him an extra letter to write to his father when he knew he was dying.

# Prison lies

Weakened by his previous hunger strikes and suffering from a kidney complaint it was clear that Stagg would not live long if his request for transfer was refused. Politically calculating as

usual the Brits decided that they could afford to let him die. Despite a campaign on his behalf in England and Ireland which had to be countered by the Brit govern-ment in the form of several full page announcements in the "Irish News", Wakefield prison continued to issue the information that he was not ill and that his condition was "unchanged", even when it was clear to his family

that he was dying.

The priest in Wakefield refused to celebrate Mass in his cell and the local hishop, when approached, rebuked the caller with the words: "But this man is only a bus driver from Coventry."

It was also Stagg's final weeks that the Home Office engaged in some of the more bizarre tactics it has to resort to in its propaganda war against Irish PoWs.

At one point they put out the tale that an offer to transfer Stagg had been made subject to his getting better.

This cruel trick not only caused great distress to his family but also led certain gullible elements amongst supporters of the prisoner to attack the PAC for not accepting the offer! to those visiting him, includ-ing the Sinn Fein leader in England, Derek Highstead, and Frank Maguire MP that no such offer ever had been made and that, furthermore, Stagg was absolutely deter-mined to accept nothing less than an unconditional offer than an unconditional offer of transfer. Finally, after great suffer-ing, he died on February 12, 1976. Right up to the very

last minute, even when he was too weak to recognise his visitors or raise his head from the bed in a cell which was kept deliberately cold, his visitors were treated to the normal "security" precautions.

His mother, who had diff-ulty in walking and who made the harrowing journey from Mayo, had the car she was travelling in searched for bombs on her last visit

to see her son.
A crowd of National Front supporters who gathered out-side the jail calling for his dead body was not dispersed by the police and National Front sympathiser, Griffiths, himself serving a sentence for a similar offence to Ior a similar offence to Stagg, was being used inside Wakefield as a "trusty" clerk in the wages office while serving his sentence a cosy 20 minutes drive from his wife's home in Leeds. With the death of Stagg Republican loathing of Wake-

Republican loathing of Wake-field jail intensified as did repression.

# Facilities refused

From 1976 onwards Irish prisoners in Wakefield have been refused all access to re-creational and educational facilities. Only one Irish prisoner,

for example, is allowed to use the gym.
When Tony Madigan, who

was trying to study for his A Levels, started to attend evening classes he was sto-A letter to an MP from

A letter to an MP trom
Shirley Summerskill brought
the reply that it had been
a "mistake" to allow him
him to attend and that
"security" conditions would
not allow lirish prisoners to
attend classes that they could
not study in their cells.
Wakefield is the only jail
peneland in which the

in England in which the visitors have to converse with prisoners across a wide table with a hard board partition from floor to a foot above the table.

They are allowed to embrace only at the beginning and the end of the visit. Children who try to run around the table are stopped by screws who also make

notes of conversations.

Visitors to Wakefield have a tough time not only inside the jail. On two occasions

(Tuilleadh sa chead eagran eile)

WHAT ARE THEY LO

Above is a picture taken France, of the poster cam for the H-Block PoW sta Some 5,000 posters have b Paris and the other brand Amiens, France. The poster prisons, particularly those PoW status and the barbaric

CHILI? ARGENTINE UN CAMP DE CONCENT BRITANNIQUE EN IRLANIR « LONG KESH



Que se passe-t-il dans les camps de concentration aujourd'hui? A Long Kesh 350 détenus refusent de porter l'uniforme carcérul Maintenant, une grève de l'hygiène a été engagée : les prisonniers dans les quarti-onditions les plus dures (bloc H) refusent de se laver, de nettoyer leurs cellules, etc

Ces formes de lutte aujourd'hui ne cessent de s'étendre dans les pro-Tous ces prisonniers, près de 3 000, luttent pour la réobtention du

STATUT POLITIQUE CONTRE LA GRANDE-BRETAGNE I QUI REPRIMENT ET TORTURENT DEP

SOUTENONS LA LUTTE DES PRISONNIERS IRLANDAIS

Chèques à l'ordre de B.SPITERI avec mention au verso «Pour les Prisonniers Politiques»

Pour la réobtention du statut p Pour l'amnistie générale Troupes britanniques hors d'Irlan



# MON! TRATION RDU NORD:

ibes the conditions in the

ong Kesh, the struggle for ne of the Crown forces.



nerdans leur cellule depuis 2 ans

derre comme en Irlande du Nord et du Sud.

LETAT FANTOCHE DU SUD BURANS!

Pour toute informations contactez le Comité Irlande, 14 rue de Nanteuil 75015 Paris

THOMAS N. BROWN, writing on "Nationalism and the Irish Peasant, 1800-1848" (Review of Politics XV, 1953, pp.403-445), points out that, contrary to any such inten-tion on the part of their founders, the British Government, the national schools 'nevertheless served the cause of Irish nationalism by increasing the literacy of the Irish people, enabling them to comprehend nationalist prop-

In 1841, 72 per cent. of the people of the four provinces were unable to read and write; 52 per cent, were unable to read or write. By 1871 these figures had been lowered by twenty

percentage points .

Brown also points out that e Queen's Colleges however anti-Irish, spawned nationalists because they brought the student into contact with European thought"

The adoption of the English language by the majority of Irish people did not obscure the fact of England's colonial dominance over this country: it merely underlined it.

## Social roots

Irish nationalism has essentially social roots. J.H. Kautsky, in a collection of essays entitled "Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries" states that nationalism in such countries "is really opposition to the colonial economic status and its native beneficiaries" and it is seen that colonial capitalism "does not want industries in the colony to compete with its own industries for the colonial supply of raw materials or for colonial market".

Putting it simply, ationalism can nationalism can be summed-up in the phrase ubit panis, ibi patria, England in a colonial or neo-colonial relationship to this country has never been able to provide more than a precarious supply of panis to

most of the Irish.

Making the Irish literate in English recoiled upon the British Government. The attempted ousting of the Irish language recoiled in another way too: The movement which grew up to stem the decline of Irish itself helped generate a resurgence on a very broad scale of the movement for complete political separation from Britain.

Conradh na Gaeilge had this effect even though it was not a political organisation in the usual sense of the term.

# Pearse quoted

The historian Nicholas Mansergh ("The Irish Question 1840-1921", third edn., London 1975) comments: "It is not comments: "It is not necessary to have a definite political programme in order to influence political thought

to influence political thought and political action ..."

Mansergh quotes Pearse's description of the Conradh as "the most revolutionary influence that has ever come into Ireland" and adds: "An overstatement? Perhaps . . . overstatement? retraps.

But the verdict is in all probability not far from the truth, especially when the League is seen, as Pearse saw it, as an influence that released revolutionary forces.

The conclusions to be derived from a study of the

# Conradh leads struggle against imperialism

fortunes of the Irish language are that the decline it has suffered came about in the first instance because of British political and military domination of this country and, in the second instance because of the economic and stagnation resulted primarily from the lack of independence.

## Freedom needed

Since this political and military domination has not yet been finally ended and since the economic and social stagnation is, when all is said and done, still with us, nobody should be surprised at the fact that the Irish language continues undergo a general decline.

The first prerequisite for the revival of the Irish nguage is full Irish independence and unity.

Clearly, only a broad national movement can hope to achieve this and clearly only one which takes seriously Pearse's dictum in

"Language change in Ireland: An historical perspective" was a paper read by Déaglan S. de Bréadún, M.A., to a bilingual symposium in Dublin organised by Craobh na Cásca, Conradh na Gaeilge. This is the fifth in a series of excerpts.

"The Sovereign People" that ". . . no private right to property is good as against the public right of the the public right of the nation" can hope properly to consolidate such an

language movement, whatever may have been the subjective intentions of some of its adherents, objectively contributed to the development of the broad national movement in the

Since this is required for the future, some lessons can be learnt from the activities of Conradh na Gaeilge in that period, most notably from the successful campaign to have Irish as an essential subject for matriculation to

the new National University

# Enmity of prelates

Despite the identity between the Irish language and Roman Catholicism which Dr. Garret FitzGerald and others claim to see, the hierarchy strongly opposed the proposal. (as did John Dillon of the Irish Parliamentary Party). Douglas Hyde wrote at the time: being freely said . . . that the reason for opposing Irish as an essential for matriculation is probably the desire on the part of certain authorities nd others to create in Dublin (ultimately, of course, at the expense of the Irish taxpayer) a great Catholic University for all the English-speaking Catholics of the Empire.

"Certain it is that the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops have gone out of their way to publicly disapprove of making Irish an ntial . . ." lew" 1909). ("Celtic

But the Conradh was not about to allow Irish to be shut out from its rightful position in this extremely important part of the Public Domain.

Hyde wrote: "I believe that as the Irish language did not die naturally but was killed by force, so a little gentle pressure is necessary for its restoration'

when a demonstration in Dublin in September, 1909, organised on a broad, organised on a broad, non-exclusive basis, attracted 100,000 participants - the biggest demonstration for a olitical demand in Ireland in this century, bigger even than the Newry march of 1972. (Tuilleadh sa chead eagran eile)

# WHAT HAPPENED THE PEACE PEOPLE?

Following increasing disturbances between the two communities in the north-east resulting from the civil rights demonstrations of 1968-'69, the British soldiers were called in essentially to protect Catholic minorites in certain

Within a year (and only a short time after a Conser-vative Government came to power in London) the British forces had succeeded in alienating the population of the Catholic ghettoes as a result of very heavy-handed arms searches in the middle of the night (homes were damaged as floorboards were ripped up, fireplaces pulled down and so on).

The situation might have been saved had the soldiers carried out a similar search in Protestant areas, but it failed to do so.

From then on it was easy to perceive the British army as the same one which had been occupying Ireland by force for hundreds of

This perception can be reinforced every day by the sight of British soldiers in combat gear and with assault rifles at the ready as they rifles at the ready as they patrol the streets on foot, and in Land Rovers or armoured cars, the main purpose of which often seems to be intimidation rather then rectation. than protection.

It is of the greatest sig-nificance that the rapid growth of paramilitary activity (shootings, bombings etc.) occurred after the arrival of the British forces, not

# Cyprus contrast

Thus the British forces appear to have contributed to the climate which promoted much of the violence.

The tactics of the British forces may be compared with those of the UN forces in Condensed from a publication, "Current Research on Peace and Violence," Tempere Peace Research Institute, Finland.

Cyprus (of which British ces make up a part). UN forces are subject to

severe restrictions with regard to using weapons and carry them discreetly rather than

provocatively.
They have no powers They have no powers of arrest but cooperate with UN and local police forces, a major function of the UN police being to try to ensure greater impartiality on the part of the local police in matters concerned with in matters concerned with inter-communal implications.

While the UN force cannot 'solve' the Cypriot conflict, it has achieved considerable success in preventing local escalations of violence which have made intercommunal negotiations impossible.

By contrast, the British strategy in Northern Ireland has been to root out paramilitary fighters by means of counter-insurgency tactics and to try to isolate them from the population.

# Peace people

This strategy is coupled with considerable economic subsidies from Britain with which it is hoped to promote capital investment measure of economic devel-opment, thereby ameliorating socio-economic conditions

The strategies adopted by the Peace People complement

British government strategy.
On the one hand they seek to isolate the "men of violence" from the populat-

On the other hand. their overseas tours they have attempted to "sell" Northern Ireland (the word is that of Mairead Corrigan during the Assembly, when justifying

these foreign trips) to overseas investors.

This degree of parallelism raises the strong possibility that the Peace People will be tarred with the same brush as the British Govern

The question is, then, will the startegy be successful?

# Root of problem

There is widespead agree-ment amongst those concern-ed with Northern Ireland that impoverished socio-econ-omic conditions cause much of the frustration which is at

the root of the problem, Nineteenth century agricultural and industrial policies drove people from the land and created overcrowded slum areas which have been largely neglected in the 20th century when major industries (e.g. linen and engineer-

ries (e.g. linen and engineer-ing) have been declining. Result is bad housing, high rates of infant mort-ality and a very high prop-ortion of unemployment, the last rising from seven per cent in 1969 to thirteen per cent in 1977; the great majority of the unemployed have been so for more than have been so for more than three months.

This problem is particularly great in, for example, some inner-city areas of Belfast, primarily due to the decline in the numbers of small businesses.

This has led to as much as 28 per cent adult male

unemployment in some areas Problems of this order of magnitude can be tackled only within the framework of general agricultural and industrial development poli-

Over 100 yeasr ago, Engels pointed out that when "Eng-

land needs grain . . Ireland is just perfect for wheat-grow-ing" but when "England needs meat . . Ireland is only

This hypothesis would still seem to apply.

During World WarII, when England had difficulty importing food, the amount of land under tillage in Northern Ireland—and employment on the land-increas-ed and the amount of land given over to pasture decreas-

Since World War II there has been a steady decline in the tilled land area and in agricutural employment and an increase in pasturage

The trend towards the production of beef cattle has been particularly marked

Thus in order to provide bread to the population, Northern Ireland is increasingly dependent upon imports, while, at the same time, exporting a high pro-portion of the meat products.

This trend affects employ-ment, since pastures require less labour than tillage.

Larger farming units are encouraged by means of government grants which include a system of bonuses to "one-man" farmers who to "one-man" farmers who sell out, subsidies to egg-producers, exceeding a cert-ain level of production etc. Grants and loans are avail-able for the purchase of

machinery. order to ease the unemployment problem, owners of larger farms can receive grants to employ temporary labour for farm

Thus, agriculture in Northern Ireland is characterised by increasing dependency on outside markets, declining on outside markets, declining employment, fewer but larger farming units and more capit-al intensive farming units. In general, these trends are stimulated by government

# Moscow blamed for cuts in UNSURED WALK aid from a friendly Cuba to

Ar leanuint tseachtain seo caite.

According to a report in the June 7 Le Monde by K. Nezan, a journalist who spent several weeks in the areas of Eritrea controlled by the ELF and EPLF, the Eritreans privately blame Moscow for the cut in aid to the Eritreans from certain

Nezan said that "the Eritreans are convinced that it was the Soviet Union that twisted the arms of South Yemen and Cuba, two countries that are very dependent on it economically.

## Moscow pressure

"They also affirm that Moscow pressured Libya and Iraq in order to get them to end their assistance to the Eritrean movements'

Despite the persistent rivaltries between the two main Eritrean liberation groups, the ELF and EPLF signed a unity agreement April 20 in the Eritrean-held town of Keren

According to a report in the June issue of the New York monthly Eritrea in Struggle, the two organisations have

# ERITREA II

# Le Ernest Harsch

launched a joint military garrison in action against Ethiopian garris Barentu, in the western

# No direct link

At a joint news conference in Beirut June 29, the top leaders of the ELF and EPLF called for a negotiated end to the long war in Eritres, stating. "The Entrea, stating: "The continuation of the fighting is not in the interest of either the Ethiopian or Eritrean people

The declaration was The declaration was issued by Ahmed Nasser, the secretary general of the ELF, and Ramadan Mohammed Nour, the secretary general of the

It called for negotiations with the Dergue without any preconditions.

Previously, the two groups had maintained that they were willing to talk with the junta only after it first recognised Eritrean independence.

Despite this shift,

however, the declaration stressed that the talks must accept "the right of the Eritrean people".

## Negotiated end

The offer came just offer came just 10 days after Nasser visited Moscow, but leaders of the ELF maintained that there was no direct link between the two developments.

The call for negotiations was denounced by Osman Saleh Sabbe, the openly pro-imperialist leader of the small Eitheration Front-People's Liberation call for The Forces.

He charged the ELF out the Eritrean struggle interest Moscow

On the other hand British Communist Party, in an editorial in the June 30 issue of its daily Morning Star, urged the Ethiopian regime to respond positively to the offer of negotiations.

"National feeling in Eritrea is such that attempts at a military solution offer no hope for the future", it concluded.

Thus far, Mengistu has not openly responded to the negotiation offer and his war against the Eritrean people grinds on.

(Reproduced Intercontinental Press).

# **Support for** Tribunal

Britain's presence in Ireland states that its planning committee is engaged in an ambitious project aimed at building an independent, international, open committee at building an independent international, and the surface and the su iding involvement deep into the British labour movement, and gaining strength from the invaluable support of prominent and influential figures and

as supporting the tribunal

e US Irish National Caucus; the Belfast Central Relatives Action Committee; the poet Adrian Mitchell; the national executive of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union; former world light weight boxing champion Jose Torres; the Norwegian National Union of Students; Basque lawyer and Senators Juan Mari Bandres; a dozen British trades councils; the Irish jounalist Eamonn McCann; actor Cyril Cusack; deputy, National chaplan of the US Ancient Order of Hibernians, Rev. Sean McManus; theSouth-West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo); the Sheriff of Baltimore, George Freeburger; lin guistic philosopher Noam Chomsky; vice-president o the World Boxing Council, D. Chester O'Sullivan; former Derry City councillor, Michael Montgomery; the International Association of Democratic Lawyers; civil rights campaigner, Peter Hain; leading New York journalist Pete Hamill: Maryland State Building Trades Council president, Edward Courtney; and the Irish Civil Rights Association (Ireland). There are

Further information about the Tribunal and how one can help to build it is available from

The Committee for the International Tribunal,

THE COMMITTEE for the international tribunal on

organisations around the world.

Here are some of the people the group announced

182 Upper Street, London, Sasana.

# SINN FÉIN

Third annual national education seminar "The Transition to the New Ireland"

The annual national education seminar, organised by the Department of Education of Sinn Féin, is to be held this year on the weekend of September 9 and 10. The theme will be "The Transition to the New

The purpose of the conference is to examine in depth some aspects of the past, present and possible future developments in the political social life of the Irish people. Lectures will be given on a wide variety of subjects. Most of the speakers this year will not be members of the Republican Movement.

Each Comhairlecheantar has been invited to send two delegates to the seminar. Further details and programme will be forwarded to Comhairlecheantar

secretaries in due course.

Admittance to the Seminar will be by invitation

Information is available from the undersigned. Cristin Ni Elias, Stiurthòir Oideachais, Sinn Fèin, 2a Lower Kevin Street, Baile A tha Cliath, 8,

Walking for a free Ireland: Some 200 children took part in Belfast on August 6 in the sponsored walk organised by Sinn Fein. Our picture shows some of the participants and their obvious enjoyment.

**BALLAD NIGHT** Wednesday August 23 Foxe's

Glencullen F eaturing

Paddy McGuigan The Freewheelers Gerry Crilly

Taille: 60p Am: 20.30 u. Bar extension until 12.30

Bus organised

# BUANCHUIMHNE

Michael Cunningham, Ard-Na-Moher, Galbally, who died recently, following a prolonged

Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Aherlow.

# **AIFREANN** LÉITE

Mrs. W. McCoy has sent us a Mass card notifying us that Mass will be offered for the men in H-Block, Long Concentration Camp

## AN CUMANN CABHRACH

An Cumann Cabhrach committee in England wishes to acknowledge with thanks the following financial contributions from supporters at home and abroad.

Halifax Sinn Féin,

£5.00. Manchester Sinn Fein,

£10.00. Club Éire

(Australia),£60.00. Alaskan Support Group, 25 dollars. Pádraig Ó Droighneáin

(Co. Meath),£5.00.

(Scotland), £5.00. 'Anonymous'
(London),£5.00.

Nottingham Sinn Fein £60.00.

(Ar leanuist o col. a 4)
say to the Brit
government: Brits out,
Peace In, And we will keep saying this until the day they leave this

country.

Postmhála · Postbag · Postmhála · Postbag · Postmhála · Postbag · Po

PCHRISHOP Fiaich's statement on the condition of men in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, drew attention to the fact that a huge proportion of them had been convicted on the basis of their own "confessions", that they been tried before non-jury courts and that the methods used to extract these "confessions" were, to say the least, dubious

The same arguments could be put forward about Irish political prisoners convicted in England. A large number of them have nothing than their own statements: among others, Judith Ward; the among six men convicted for the Birmingham pub bombs; four people convicted for the Guildford and the

Woolwich explosions. In other cases the use of established judicial procedures in English courts has been "unusual" and highly prejudicial to the courts prejudicial to the impartiality of the jury: Massive publicity and intense security within the courts; the use of the courts; the use of politically prejudicial evidence by the prosecution; the establishment of smear tactics and guilt by association; as well as the wholesely as the court of the second political politic wholesale use of conspiracy charges. (More than 80 per cent. of those convicted in England have been convicted on conspiracy counts).

In one case, that of argued by the PAC for

# **Prelate's statement**

the Maguire family, the evidence against them was of such an esoteric and obscure nature, involving as it did allegations of possession of minute quantities of nitroglycerine, as to be almost impossible to

In Irish trials England, too, the burden of proof in practice has shifted onto the accused who has to try to prove his innocence

Under the Prevention of of Terrorism Act this shift in the burden of proof has been given

official approval.

The extraction of confessions by violence, both physical and have resulted who are currently suing the police for assault.

Taking all this into account, it is clear that any right to special status based upon the "special' nature of convictions convictions should also be given to Irish prisoners in England — a point which has been

British

-Jacqueline Kaye, PAC, London, Sasana.

psychological, is a well England and by no means confined to Irish cases, although police desire to get a conviction in political cases has led to an almost systematic use of violence in these arrests and severe injuries Dowd, who was unconscious for several days following his arrest in Liverpool, and the six Birmingham prisoners

the last six years

The relationship between these prisoners and the forces of "law and order" are essentially no different from those of their comrades in the Six Counties with whom they would be serving their sentences if the government treated them the same way as they have done all

British soldiers convicted of criminal offences.

Scurrilous remarks

IN VIEW of the universal coverage given to Archbishop O Fiaich's statement about conditions among the prisoners in Long Kesh, will you now withdraw the scurrilous remarks

you recently made in your paper about him? The publicity given to his statement will carry far greater weight tha all the Communist flotsam and jetsom which the Republican Movement has taken on board over the last few

form is offensive to the Irish people but the British brand of Communism is especially malignant to us because we all know that it is motivated by an by · overriding concern, not for improving conditions in the Six Counties, but for gaining power England.

connection in Britain has done more to alienate respectable support for the Movement than the British propaganda.

-John Doyle Netherall Gardens, Hampstead, London N.W.3, Sasana.

Shannon support

Siannon support
WE, members of Terence
McSwiney Cumann,
Shannon, would like to
say that we give our full
backing to those
Republicans in Co.
Mayo who made a
gallant stand for freedom
and justice for our fellow and justice for our fellow prisoner's in H-Block, Armagh and Britain.

The people against whom they stood up are what we term capitalists, White Washers who just prisoners.
These want to make money and the

prisoners.

These people also have the backing of the gardaf, who, not so long ago, skyjacked the body of Proinsfas Stagg, our martyred comrade, who was murdered by the Brits. But that was under wee Liam's administratives

Nothing seems to change. These Dublin regimes seem to be following the Brit government's orders.

Sinn Féin is not against the ordinary working class people of

working class people of England coming to Ireland for holidays. Not at all. They are very welcome to visit our beautiful land. But we

which has be also be also be also be a superior

# What went wrong in the fight for the Republic

utionary (or Republican) Brotherhood saved the Irish nation from falling to pieces. I made this statement last week, well realising that somebody, somewhere, would be tempted to take me to task on the basis that many (if not most) historians blame the IRB for the success of the counter revolution in 1921 (the institution of the "Free" State) and the formation of the first fascist government in Europe, that of Cumann na nGaedheal.

The IRB made few

mistakes but, perhaps, the choosing of Michael Collins was one of them. country-born man who was used to city life - as a civil servant in the British service in London he had considerable antages.

He was in the Dublin GPO in 1916. He was among the prisoners of war in Frongoch. He was built, courageous, some. But he was also something of bully.

# Collins myth

Anyway, Collins was chosen as the man to take over the intelligence

# YOUR STAMPS CAN HELP

The prisoners of war are asking your aid. Maybe you have few of this world's goods. Maybe all you can give to callers is 50p.

But you can collect used postage stamps. Tear or cut them off envelopes, leaving a slight margin of paper around the stamp, and send them to: Sally Walsh, Lur Patrickswell, Lurriga.

Roger Casement Commemoration

# **SUNDAY AUGUST 27**

Assemble 15.00 hrs. bottom of Marine Road, Dun Laoghaire. March to bir to birthplace of Casement in Sandycove,

where a wreath-laying ceremony will take place,

Dublin Sinn Féin: Please support

# Seoda o na priosúin Prisoner's Crafts from Priosan Phortlaoise and

Long Kesh. Women's leather handbags (shoulder style)..... 

Post and packing: 50p extra.
Also available: Books, records, jewellery. Ask for our catalogue. Call or write to: Craft Centre, 44 Ceato's Pharacli/Baile Atha Cliath, 1, Fire

# **CLASS STRUGGLE**

le Deasun Breatnach

service which had been built carefully over the years by the IRB. All Collins had to do was to operate that system.

The idea that Collins

was the person who organised that like so many of the myths about the man, the work of Piaras Béaslaf, the "Free" State

propagandist.
When the time came for the IRB to consider the articles for a treaty the articles for a treaty between Ireland and Britain (merely the headings for a treaty which still had to be negotiated but which never was) Collins was chairman of the IRB executive.

executive.

When the members of that executive voted on acceptance or rejection of those headings only half of them voted in

The grim truth of the

Brit establishment

against

Great Famine is that it was the result of a policy of genocide conceived by

and differing little from

potato crop in the 1840 s which caused the deaths of almost 2,000,000 Irish

men women and children

the similar savage policie

perpetrated perpetrated against whole populations by Hitler and Stalin.

It was not the blight that destroyed the

Collins, who was in favour, refused to vote because, as he said, he did not wish to split the IRB which still could be

of service to Ireland. It was decided that all IRB members of Dail Eireann be instructed to vote according to their consciences when the matter came before the

Unfortunately, however, an unauthor-ised letter went out from the secretary of the IRB to members giving the impression that the IRB in fact favoured the Treaty. This may have influenced certain TDs when their turn to vote

## Double game?

Collins was a strange figure and, even today, it is difficult to decide if he was playing a double game with the "Free" State cabinet before his death; and if that death was murder, on cabinet (or British?) instructions. or his accidental death at hands of his own comrades.

Anyone who wishes to go further into this matter is advised to read the series of articles on the matter in Irish, in the Cork-published monthly magazine, "Agus", of a few years ago by Cormac

Mac Carthaigh.
Collins did, however, give the orders for the execution of Sir Henry Hughes Wilson, the mar who became chief of the General Imperial Staff in

The execution, which took place on June 22, 1922, was because of 1922, was because of Wilson's assistance to the Wilson's assessing to the (according to the incomplical note in assessing to the incomplication) Biographical Dictionary).

On his last journey, Michael Collins visited the military camp in the Curragh, after which he was to have returned to

rolls

convoy continued south and the cabinet sent a man after him, to bring him back, dead or alive.

## Clear passage

On his journey south the IRB had given orders for him to have a clear passage and clear it was, all the way. The man who went after him, to bring him back, however, was trapped in an IRA ambush and from there was taken to hospital.

There has been speculation that the unscheduled journey of Collins to West Cork was to provide facilities for

peace talks between him and officers commanding the troops defending the Republic.

There has been much

talk of the Collins part in the Leitrim Column, an armed guerrilla unit which was to have continued the war in the Six Counties against the imperial enemy and its local lackeys.

The entire cabinet would appear to have known about and approved this plan but unit never was

organised.

After the death of Collins nothing more was heard of it and the war waged by the Staters on

forces are used as scabs. It happened on August aslane, Stratclyde, the secret Polaris submarine base. Work on the submarine
Resolution had been
blacked by civilian
workers so the British government ordered navy men in and used soldiers to check visitors. Some day the soldiers or sailors will be ordered to fire on striking or demonstrating

those Republican soldiers who had remained loyal to their oaths of allegiance became very cruel indeed, particularly

in Co. Kerry.
The death of Collins was blamed on some of those Republican whom is sill alive.

The circumstances of that death, however, were kept very secret. There was no inquest and very few people were allowed near the body, (Ar leanuint ar Ich. a 8)

# Postmhála · Postbag · Postmhála · Postbag · Postmhála · Postbag troops with alsation

# Genocide by famine

MAY I supplement Breatnach's comment in "An Phoblacht" (22/7/78). Phoblacht" (22/7/78), that the word "famine" is a misnomer in that it 3,000,000 people by starvation, disease and than man-made hunger at a time and in a land where there was enough emigration. prevent mass starvation

migration.

This catastrophe in our land was but the fulfilment of declared Brit policy to solve the problem of overpopulation in Ireland, and the strength of the strength of

Sir Charles Trevelyan, permanent head of the Treasury: "The Irish problem being altogether beyond the power of man, the cure had been applied by the direct stroke of all-wise Providence in an manner as unexpected and as unthought of as it is likely to be effectual

The London "Times" rejoiced that soon the native Irishman would be "as rare on the banks of the Shannon as a red man on the shores of Manhattan"

Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, writing to an Irish landlord: "I am not at all appalled by your tenantry going. That seems to me a necessary part of the process . . . We must not complain of what we really want to obtain".

Sir Robert Peel:

"The time has come when it is not any longer necessary to pet Ireland. We only spoil her by underserved flattery and

everything for which she

herself ought to pay".

Nassau Senior, economics adviser to the government, said that he feared the famine of 1848 would not kill more than 1,000,000 people, and that would scarcely be enough to do much good ("That Most Distressful Nation", by Father A.M. Greeley).

Lord Tennyson noted that the Irish live in a horrible island and "no history of their worth the least own notice. Could not anyone blow up that horrible island with dynamite and carry it off in pieces - a

And all through the cartoons were Famine week depicting the Irishman as a filthy, brutal creature, an assassin and a murderer, begging for money, under a pretence of buying food, to spend on weapons' (Cecil Woodham-Smith, "The Great Hunger").
The Jews will never

forget, nor will they let us forget Hitler's extermination camps and genocide policy.
Yet Ireland's

representatives in high places readily co-operate places readily co-operate in blotting out the memory of this great historic wrong. Even in America the most successful

Irish - Americans successful in terms of accumulation, wealth now that they have wire on top, prison become as respectable as officers with swinging the WASPs (Wire batons and artish

Anglo-Saxon Protestants) wish to forget their past,

and poverty. They degenerates who hearken to the message of national surrender their delivered within shores by Lynch, shoulders.
Cosgrave, Conor Cruise The

American respond to Ireland's struggle for life and liberty. He knows his own history, his roots in the oppression of a small nation by a rising power that pioneered genocide as an instrument of state policy, that invented the concentration camp under Lord Kitchener in South Africa, and the doctrine of the 'Superior Race' (public school, kipling's 'The lesser breeds' , etc. etc.) – all the false values and inhumanity at the heart of imperialism.
—M. Ó Callanáin,

London, Sasana

# Kesh visit

WENT on a visit to Long Kesh myself to see for self what ditions were like Block. When like H - Block. reached the outside of reached the outside of the prison it reminded me of an extermination camp the Nazis used in the last war, with look out towers at every corner manned by armed British troops; wire mesh 30 ft, high, with barbed

dogs.
After being searched

we were ferried by bus to the inner part of the camp. After a half hour wait we were brought to see the prisoner, His conditions were their origins, persecution frightening. He had not washed or shaved for the past several weeks. He had grown a beard and his hair was below his

> The cells in true Irish these men are kept are saturated with urine and excrement. The prisoners have to eat their meals off their knees because there is nothing clean to put the food down on.

Wrapped only

# H BLOCK

PROTEST MEETING

Mullingar, Co., Westmeath,

Saturday September 2 at 15.00 hrs.

Republicans: Honour the valour of the H-Block heroes by demonstrating

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# Make sure it is the best we have k

NOW is the time to prepare for the Sinn Fein ardfheis. Don't leave it to the last moment. Get ready, now, to make this the greatest ardfheis in the party's history in what may well be a decisive year That is the message going out from Sraid Chaoimhin, Baile Atha Cliath, to hundreds of cumainn and scores of comhairlecheantar.

The Ardfheis will take place on Saturday and Sunday, October 21 and 22. Completed motion, nomination and delegate forms, now with cumainn or in the post, must be returned on or before dates specified. Forms received later will be discarded. Motions should be received in head-office not later than Sept 7;

- Nominations, not later than Sept 21;
- Delegates' names, not later than Sept 21; Oumainn that have not paid the £8 affiliation fee
- and £2 membership fee cannot have delegates at the Ardfheis.

## No censorship

There is no limit on the number of motions that may be submitted. Neither is there any restriction on the type of motion, provided it refers to some aspect of the organisation.

However, it is recommended that the number of motions submitted be kept to the minimum to facilitate the orderly organising and running of the Ardheis.

'The work done at the Ardfheis should relate principally to activities for the following 12 months. Therefore, it is further recommended that motions should be submitted under the following headings Organisation: Development, expansion and re-

- cruiting.
- Publicity: Spreading Republican propaganda.
   Policy: Its application to possible developments during the coming year. • Elections: The strategy to be used for local and
- E.E.C. elections.

Comhairlecheantar secretaries have received invitations to the third annual national education seminar on September 9, 10 in Dublin. Each comhairlecheantar is asked to elect or appoint two delegates to attend the seminar.

# SWAP PRISONERS

The U.S.A. and Canada plan to trade about 70 inmates in August in the first prisoner swap under a U.S.—Canadian treaty signed last week.

The treaty for transfer of citizens under sentence covers 230 Americans in Canadian Federal prisons and an number in

provincial and state institutions, and 80 Canadians in U.S. federal prisons.

Slainte mhaith Members of the Sean Treacy Cumann, Baile Atha Cliath, wish to congratulate Mrs Catherine Coyne on her recent successful operation and wish her the best health now and in the

# Pos tmhá la • Postbag • Postmhá la

(Ar leanuint o lch. a 6)

blanket these men are continuing the protest for political status. For two years now men are living under the most degrading conditions. These conditions have become acceptable to ryone except iblican people. everyone

Why is it the men of

speak out, or politicians, north and south? Is it that they, too, are all part of this rotten system? These young men are fed up with being second class citizens in their own country. They want Brits out for to make way for Éire Nua.

Tom Kenny, Phelan Street, Rathvilly

# H-Block protests

After three Saturdays of small but militant and extremely vocal H-Block marches in Dublin, it was found necessary to cancel the protest on Satcel the protest on Sat-urday Aug. 5 due to heavy rain, according to Sinn Fein statements. Sat. July 15 saw a very vocal and high spir-

very vocal and high spirited placard protest throughout the centre of the city. On Saturday July 22 a march from St. Stephens Green was organised. This was about 200 strong It was about 200 strong. It was followed by a meeting at the G.P.O.

Saturday July 29 was again a placard protest and the cry for "Polit-ical status now" was undoubtedly heard throughout the city centre due to an extremely vocal crowd. During this protest the Greshan Hotel was briefly occupied and tourists used cine cameras to record the

demonstration.

After this the GPO occupied for half an hour and again the point was got accross to many tourists.

# As er em cho

THE PRISONERS

FREE THE PEOPLE

MAIN FEATURE in operations against enemy forces in the Six Counties in the period under review was armed clashes on the anniversary of internment. Here are the details of actions, as reported. FRIDAY, AUGUST 4

The protest concluded with a march through the British Home Stores.

Protests will continue every Saturday until vict-ory but "We need your support", the statement concludes.

Belfast- Four incendiary devices exploded at premises in Kent Street, SATURDAY, AUGUST 5

Strabane - Oglaigh na hEireann, in a statement, claimed responsibility for the attempted car-bombing of the Crown forces (RUC) barracks.

Beragh — Crown forces discovered and defused a 300 lb, landmine under a road outside the village.

# SUNDAY, AUGUST 6

Belfast - Three bombs which had been hung on the grills of Armagh House - a government build-ing in Ormeau Avenue - exploded, causing extensive damage. Briogaid Bheal Feirste, Oglaigh na hEireann, claimed responsibility.

# WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9

Belfast - Oglaigh na hEireann, in a statement claimed responsibility for six gun attacks on the Crown forces (military) in many areas of the city.

# March to Dungannon

To mark the 10th anniversary of the first civil rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon there will be a repetition of the march on August 20.

This demonstration is being organised by Relatives' Action Committees from all over the Six Counties.

# Birmingham

Three labour MPs William Wilson, Geoff Rooker and Tom Litterick - are among sponsors of a conference on Irel-and in Birmingham on Nov. 11.

This is how one part of Belfast comme ed the anniversary of internment in Casement Park. It was, once again, a massive proof of the ordinary people's supp-ort for the liberation struggle and it succeeded despite vindictive and vicious attempts by the Crown forces to extinguish the protest.

NEXT!

(Ar leanuint o lch. a haon)

sibility for the bomb attack on Armagh House and caused considerable damage, and for six gun attacks on the Brit-ish army during Tuesday night in many areas of

the city.

The statement added: "We wish to disassociate ourselves from any involvement in th acks on the small businesses and other prem ises in the Lower Falls during the night, and we also disclaim any involvement for the attack on the Mountainview Bar at the weekend."

# Courtaulds

With unemployment in the north-east at its worst since 1938, 1,200 workers are about to be laid off by Unipork and Courtaulds.

# **CLASS STRUGGLE**

(Ar leanuint o lch. a 6)

after it had been taken from Cork to Dublin.

From the few who had an opportunity to see the wound, the author of the "Agus" articles was able to articles was able to produce interesting

evidence.
The bullet entered the head from the front, where a small hole was shown. The exit was at back. where considerable portion had

This would indicate that the shot was fired fairly close to the head instead of having come from hundreds of yards away from an alleged Republican ambush.

from know

that some shots were fired by "Free" State soldiers in the Collins convoy at men observed in the failing light there was no ambush in the failing light outlined against the sky as they made to move out of the area.

These men returned re briefly and ontinued their continued withdrawal. One of them is said to have discharged his rifle accidentally later as he leaped over a drain. The "Free" State

sources maintained that that was the bullet which killed Collins. But, had it done so, it

would have left a small exit wound. Why did the "Free"

# Arna fhoilsiu ag "An Phoblacht", 44 Cearnog Pharnell, B.A.C. 1, EIRE.