

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical and mental well being of the children, to secure that no 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 proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

(Isa. Dail Éireann)

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 9, Uimhir 8, 10p. Feabhra 22, 1978.

## SPY CHIEF SHOT DOWN BY AN M-60

### Served under Kitson in Belfast in 1972

IN ONE of the most important operations in the war a unit of Óglaigh na hÉireann near Jonesboro, south Armagh, on February 17, using an M-60 machine gun, shot down a five-seater Gazelle helicopter, killing a high-ranking enemy intelligence officer and injuring seriously two others.

The officer who died was, ostensibly, the commanding officer of the Second Battalion, Royal Green Jackets, based in south Armagh, Lieut. Col. Ian D. Cordon-Lloyd (39), but believed to be one of the highest ranking intelligence officers with the Crown forces in the north-east.

Certainly, Cordon-Lloyd served as an intelligence officer with Brigadier Kitson in Belfast in 1972. When the Green Jackets left Belfast he remained behind. He was the most important as well as the highest ranking soldier killed in the 10-year-old national liberation war.

The dead man was awarded the Military Cross "for distinguished service in Northern Ireland in February 1972." It is not known exactly why but it is suspected that he was decorated for his intelligence role in the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry. He was awarded an OBE also, in the Crown's new year's honours list last year.

Enemy spokesmen in Lisburn were unwilling to give any details of the helicopter crash, neither denying nor confirming that it had been shot down.

Another officer from the Second Battalion, Royal Green Jackets, Capt. Phillip Schofield (24), was described as very seriously injured as a result of the crash. The pilot was stated to be seriously injured.

Although units of Óglaigh na hÉireann have fired upon and even hit enemy helicopters this is the first known case of one of these craft having been shot down. Some of the aircraft hit have been forced to withdraw but, as far as is known, all managed to land safely.

Last week saw continued attacks on capital and engagements with enemy troops in most areas. Here are the details:

#### SATURDAY, FEB. 11

**Belfast:** McMullan's paint shop, Smithfield Square, was damaged when enemy forces defused two bombs by controlled explosions.

A petrol bomb was thrown at a Crown forces (RUC) mobile patrol at the junction of Churchill Street and Antrim Road, followed by two shots.

**Derry:** A shot narrowly missed a Crown forces (military) patrol in Meenan Square.

#### SUNDAY, FEB. 12

**Belfast:** Boyd's chemist shop on Ballygomartin Road was badly damaged when a bomb exploded. The Spar food shop nearby was completely destroyed by another bomb explosion.

#### SAS man's files

Shots were fired by Crown forces examining a hoax bomb at Potter Cowan's wholesalers, in Henry Street.

A 10-year-old boy, Michael Scott, and his grandmother, Mrs. Mary Smith (70), died in a fire-bomb attack on their home in Oldpark



M-60 machine gun when displayed recently in Derry at a checkpoint set up by a unit of Óglaigh na hÉireann.

Avenue. Sinn Féin, in a statement, described it as "another British Army inspired assassination".

Mrs. Smith's son, Michael, narrowly escaped. He is a Republican and ex-internee. His photograph, as in the case of Kevin Hannaway, who also escaped an assassination bid (Feb. 1), was in a file of 73 miniature pictures taken from the SAS spy, Paul Harman, after he had been executed by Óglaigh na hÉireann on Dec. 14 last.

Thus the exSASination pattern continues under Gauleiter Mason's orders.

Michael Smith described the attack which killed his mother and nephew: "I was asleep in the back bedroom and was wakened by my mother shouting 'Mickey, Mickey'.

But when I went out on to the landing, there was a wall of flame between me and my

mother's room at the front. So I broke my bedroom window and jumped down 15 feet or so into the yard."

Then he ran for a ladder but there was nothing anyone could do. It was discovered when the firemen arrived that the nearest water main had been sealed off by the authorities a fortnight previously!

#### Arrested by RUC

Despite Michael Smith's ordeal the hated RUC's propaganda machine swung into action.

When they had decided that the fire was caused by a bomb they told the media that neighbours had noticed the flames in the upstairs first and that the RUC were "keeping an open mind as to who was responsible."

Michael Smith was then arrested, swab tests were taken off his hand, and his pyjamas seized for forensic tests, just a few hours after he had seen his mother and nephew burn to death.

The distressful implications being suggested by the callous RUC were that Michael, had been making up a bomb in his bedroom at four a.m. on a Sunday morning with his pyjamas on, when it had exploded "without injuring him!"

However, after long delay the RUC were forced to admit that the bomb had been placed against the front door, and that it had been meant to kill the occupants.

On the same day in Newry two bombs in Fisher's coal yard, Albert Basin, were defused by enemy forces.

#### TUESDAY, FEB. 14

**Derry:** Three bombs exploded in Foyle Street, at a pork butcher's shop, the Cellar cash-and-carry store and a betting shop. All the premises were damaged extensively.

**Belfast:** Murdoch and Deane's estate agents, (Ar leandain ar lch, a 8)

### Man rushed from Castlereagh to hospital with heart attack

ENEMY FORCES announced at the weekend the arrest and detention for seven days of 20 men and one woman, stated to hold important positions in the "command structure of the IRA."

We have been given to understand that this claim is inaccurate and that, in fact, no members of Óglaigh na hÉireann were caught in the dragnet. One of the victims, however, is a Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle member, Gerry Adams, an ex-internee.

The woman arrested is Moya Gettins of Andersonstown. One of the arrested men, Pat McClure from Turf Lodge, Belfast, suffered a heart attack because of the tortures to which he was subjected and had to be rushed to Musgrave Park Military Hospital.

The following are others who were lifted at the same time: Eddie Brophy, Phil McCullagh, Owen Coogan and Hugh Smith, all from either Andersonstown or Turf Lodge. We regret that we do not have a complete list.

## H-Block protest, Belfast, next Sunday: ALL OUT



# An Phoblacht

Inil, 9. Feabhra 22, 1978. Uimh 7.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Éire. Guthán 747611.

## Lynch's trickery

FEDERALISM has become a fashionable political word once again, made "respectable" by the recent utterances of Jack Lynch and John Hume. Unfortunately, however, they have not been converted to the commonsense of the Sinn Féin formula for permanent peace and reconciliation in the north-east and, indeed, in all Ireland.

What both Hume and Lynch are advocating is a new administrative system in Ireland, the 26 Counties linked to the Six Counties in the same way as the Six are linked now to Britain, a Stormont parliament being under the control of the Dublin parliament in much the same way as it was under the control of Westminster until abolished.

Nobody has bothered to go into any great detail as to the proposed marriage of convenience which would provide for the same sort of bigotry as before though now under the Harp without the Crown, "Irish" federal troops being employed to ensure that the Croppy lie down and stay down, the entire sorry mess being crowned by the Council of Ireland; or a bitter struggle between Belfast and Dublin, to the detriment of the entire country.

If, however, one cares to examine the Act for the Better Government of Ireland, 1920, one will see clearly that the Lynch-Hume plan is well within the scope of that Act which was designed to keep Ireland, by hook or by crook, under Crown control, with an economy of English lives. The confederal plan of Hume and Lynch would change nothing fundamentally. It would just look a bit different to the casual, ignorant, uninformed glance.

The double-talk that is going on at present, however, is likely to fool many people ignorant of the details of the 1920 Westminster Act, who never read the debates on the "Treaty", who never heard about De Valera's Document No. Two (he, too, had a "federal" plan) and who believe, genuinely, that the 26 Counties is a sovereign independent republic instead of a carefully camouflaged satellite of the Crown.

Sinn Féin, at every level, has the obligation to educate the people in these matters, to present the facts. It is not enough to point out that the Éire Nua plan provides for real federalism founded on genuine sovereignty and independence and that the Uladh Nua could not be a vehicle for oppression, being founded on nine instead of six counties.

The basic issue is independence - economic, cultural, political - for all Ireland; and the pre-condition for this is the withdrawal of Crown forces and an end to Crown interference, at any level in this country.

Even the declaration of intent to withdraw and the release of the prisoners of war would make it possible for the all-Ireland conference to take place, enabling the people to hear proposals for the new Ireland from the political organisations. This would be followed by all-Ireland elections. The national assembly of the Republic would then take up where the Second Dáil left off and decide on the new structure. If Sinn Féin were to have a clear majority of a majority with the support of others, the result would be Éire Nua.

Let us make this issue clear and uncomplicated. The armed struggle is not for Sinn Féin's Éire Nua because that would be impossible. It is to free Ireland so that Ireland in freedom may consider Sinn Féin's Éire Nua, vote on it throughout the 32 counties, accept or reject it.

The second issue that needs to be presented just as clearly is that the Hume-Lynch-Ó Fáilich plan is the old fashioned Westminster one of 1920; that Sinn Féin's is up to date (born in 1971), constructed against the experience of more than 50 years; and that it is made in Ireland, not Westminster, designed in the Irish, not the British, interest. It is the ONLY political plan based realistically on today's Ireland and designed for a free Ireland.

Some people find history tiresome, remembering boring school sessions. To understand our present, however, and to be able to plan intelligently for the future, the Irish people must know the truth about their past.

Republicans now must cut through the Leinster House deceit and disclose, behind it, the enchainment Republic. That is a task for Sinn Féin, every week, at parish, and at every other level, and for us. Educate that you may be free.



## Ní hamháin Gaelach ach ceolmhar...

D'éirigh go maith leis an dream seo ón mheáncoil lanGhaelach, Colaiste Eoin, Co. Bhaile Átha Cliath, i Slógadh, agus beidh páirt acu sa chomórtais náisiúnta. Seo Ceoltóirí Eoin (ar chúil) Míchéal Ó Héilítí, Nollaig Ó Cionnaith, M. Ó Bréartún, Seathrún Ó Cassaide; agus Barra Ó Tuama, Eoin Ó Cionnaith, Ciarán Ó Cróinín agus Niall Ó Cuinn.

AR NA rudai is greamhnhaire dá bhfuil cloiste agus riamh tá caint Sheoirse Uí Cholla (Feabhra 12) faoi dhán na Gaeilge, dar leis, amach anseo, nuair a thíosfaí bláth ar eacnamaíocht na tíre.

Rinne sé tagairt don bhliath a tháinig ar cheol na hÉireann sna seascadai agus theaspáin sé nár thuig sé fás agus leathnú ceolta tíre) ná na coinníollacha a chaitheas a bheith ann chun go dtaga neart ar theanga.

Ach tá fírinne i bhfolach áit éicint ina chuid cainte. Shílfeá gur airigh sé caint am éicint, áit éicint (agus é ina chloadh, b'fhéidir) ach nach raibh sé in ann ach an macalla a thabhairt leis.

Seo mar atá an scéal: Tagann bláth ar eacnamaíocht mar thoradh ar aisíré nó athrímiú teanga óir is amhlaidh a thugann an t-athrímiú úd muinín don

# Béalscuter Uí Cholla faoi theanga is ceol

## Cúnnla

phobal ina neart agus ina chumas féin, tar éis dó briseadh amach ó charcár theanga (agus dúchas) eile.

Maidir leis an gceol, ní dóigh liom go bhfuil áit ar bith sa tír nór, ar a laghad, ceantar mór sa tír, nach raibh an ceol beo i gcónaí ann.

Mura bhfuil sin cruinn, amach is amach (agus níl ann tsuirbhé déanta agam - níor airigh mé aon cheo faoina leithéid) tá sé cinnte dea go raibh an ceol beo i gcónaí sa chuid is mó den tír, cé go raibh sé faoi thalamh, b'fhéidir in áiteanna, nuair a bunaíodh an Comhaltas.

Do Raidió Éireann a chaitheas cuid den chreidiúint a dhul; agus cuid eile fós do Ghael-Linn agus do na comhaltait eile a chuir ceol na hÉireann ar an margadh i bhfoirm na gceimíní.

## Fás mall

Ó 1921 anuas tá an teanga ag dul ó neart go neart, más go mall féin é, sa nGalltacht; ach ní bhfuairas léargas air sin go dtí an daonaireamh i 1961. Faoi na 26 Chontae atáinn, óir a mhalairt de scéal is fíor faoi na Sé Chontae.

Cén fáth go mbeadh an scéal ar an dóigh sin - ag cúlú sna Sé Chontae agus ag dul ar aghaidh sna 26

Chontae Ait nár chuir Seoirse ó Colla an cheist sin air féin.

Simpli go maith atá an freagra. Ní raibh Gaeilge dá múnadh ach i gcuid an-bheag des na scoileanna sna Sé Chontae agus, chomh maith le sin, ní raibh riachtanas dá laghad ag baint léi.

A mhalairt ar fad sna 26 Chontae agus toradh dá réir ar an obair. Bhí Gaeilge riachtanach chun scrúdúthe agus chun post a fháil sa státseibhíus agus áiteanna eile. Bhí "Status" ag an nGaeilge.

B'fhéidir nár thuig Ó Colla sin; b'fhéidir gur thuig. Ach is cinnte gur thuig daoine eile é, na Sasanaigh a thug airgead don FLM chun an staid úd bhíodh ag an nGaeilge a scrios.

Arís, tá toradh ar an obair, tá, naimeadhas an stáit (an té nach bhfuil ar son na Gaeilge is ar son an Bhéarla atá sé). Tá truailliú as cuimsí mór ag teacht ar labhairt na teanga, fíu sna ceantair Ghaeltachta (mar a léiríonn Raidió na Gaeiltachta).

Tá múinteoirí nua sna scoileanna le blianta beaga agus níl ar a gcumas comhrá simplí Gaeilge a choinneáil beo.

B'fhéidir gurb é an rud ab aite a dúirt an Collach chun lá faoi dheireadh go raibh rachmas i ndán don tír mar níl an fhianaise úd ar fáil, go bhfiós dom.

## Gan ach spreagadh

SPREAGADH agus ugach a gheall an Collach chun cuidiú leis an nGaeilge a chur chun cinn. Ach caitfidh go dtuigean sé nach leor sin.

Níl sé ach roinnt seachtainí ó thug Maolsheachlainn Ó Caollán nó Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (nó beal bán, mas fearr leat sin).

Ach tá sé ráite le mo linne chomh minic sin go bhfuil na hargóintí uilig ar eolas agam agus iad bunaithe ar thaighde agus ar thairth.

Caitfidh stáit a bheith go láidir taobh thiar de theanga nó teipfidh uirthi, go mór mar an lá tá inniu ann agus cumhacht na teilifíse chomh forleathan agus chomh láidir.

Ní fhios agam an mbeadh aon mhaith ann leithéid Uí Cholla a nárís i gclár mar "Feach" agus na hargóintí úd a bhí isteach ina bheath.

Ni amadán é. Caitfidh go dtuigean sé an scéal.

Le tamall fada tá muide anseo ag áitheamh ar Ghaeilgeoir dearnad a dhéanamh

(Ar leantúint ar lech, a 8)

## Gaeilge do na cimi

A READER, not a prisoner, writes about this column in page seven and, perhaps, reflects the views of some prisoners.

Largely, we concur. We insist, however, in recommending the use of a tape recorder to check pronunciation. This is possible in both the Long Kesh and Armagh Jail, at least, if not yet in Portlaoise.

While acquiring fluency is a major objective intelligibility when among Gaeltacht speakers is not to be despised. With a little care both may be achieved simultaneously.

Cuirfeá fáilte roimh litreacha i gcónaí.

Bánuigh - Bhánuigh is an teach - chuir sé amach a raibh de dhaoine istigh ann. Bhánuigh na Sasanaigh an tír - mharúigh siad neart daoine. Tá Co. Mhaigh Eó bánuithe ag an eaisimire (by emigration).

Baol - Ní raibh baol air sin a dhéanamh - ní raibh contúirt ar bith ann go ndéanfadh sé sin.

Níl sé baol ar chomh fuar anois is a bhí an tseachtain seo caite: ní sé chomhair bheith chomh fuar is a bhí sé.

Níl Séamus baol nó guais ar chomh haosta (sean, críonna) le Séan: níl sé chomh haosta le Séan fá ghiota mhór.

-Cearnach.

# Ladhar an Chompáin agus all that

IF you shifted a woman by name of Toomey at a dance, disco or in a lounge bar, and asked her permission to see her home (and you really meant "home") 100-1 you'd have to wheel her all the way to Cork, because that is where the Toomeys largely are to be found and, indeed, were to be found for hundreds of years.

A remarkable fact that, despite famine, emigration, penal laws and other misfortunes, Irish family names still remain in the same areas that their ancestors occupied for previous centuries: Ryans in Tipperary; Roches in

Wexford; O'Flahertys in Galway and Fees in Armagh.

Probably the most numerous place-names in Ireland refer to the town of some family of clan, "Bally" is obviously the anglicised form of the Irish word "Baile" (well, almost always!) and in most cases the anglicised form of the family name is joined to it - Ballybrennan, Ballyconnelly from Baile Uí Bhréanain and Baile Uí Chonghaile.

Other examples are Ballycunningham, Ballydooley, Ballygorman the towns of the Cunninghams, the O'Dooleys and the

O'Gormans, respectively. However that Uí which comes from the Ó of the surname sometimes, through aspiration of the initial letter of the name, completely silences that letter.

Baile Uí Fhaoilín becomes Ballyvaughan and Baile Uí Fhearghail becomes Ballyvaughan because F aspirated (Fh) is silent and the names seem to start with the vowel sounds of "e" and "a".

Similarly, Baile Uí Shioradain becomes Ballyshannon because the "s" aspirated has a "h" sound and so merges with the "h" which is the second letter of the name.

-Lugán



## ICRA acts on Neave tirade against Irish

THE London branch of the Irish Civil Rights Association has taken a number of steps arising from the speech made on Saturday, January 21, last by Airey Neave, the Tory Party spokesman on "Northern Ireland".

A formal complaint has been lodged with the Commission of Racial Equality (formerly the Race Relations Board). ICRA claims that the speech contravenes the 1976 Race Relations Act.

A copy of the speech has been sent to the President of the Council of Ministers of the EEC, K.B. Andersen of Denmark.

The Dublin Ambassador in London, Paul Keating, has been asked to take appropriate action.

A letter has been sent to the Tory leader, Margaret Thatcher, asking her if the Neave speech represents party policy regarding the Irish in Britain.

### Hate piece

A spokesman for ICRA has said that they are also considering what action to take on an article by George Gale which appeared in the "Daily Express", January 23.

The article echoed the Neave sentiments but in stronger language.

Here is the full text of the Neave tirade:

"For some time past the United Kingdom has borne in comparative silence a succession of unfriendly acts and accusations from the Republic of Ireland. Our people, especially those serving in the security forces in Northern Ireland, are fed-up to the teeth with Irish propaganda against Britain. I sincerely believe in Anglo-Irish friendship but it is a two-way process.

"These accusations of a neighbouring state are becoming intolerable. I invite Dr. Owen, the Foreign Secretary, to inform the Irish Government that we are no longer going to bear these insults with a stiff upper lip. He should say: 'We have had enough of this. Stop this traditional propaganda and help us beat terrorism instead of meddling with the political and security situation in Northern Ireland'.

### Irish in Britain

"We have granted special privileges to about one million Irish citizens in this country. They know that Britain is both civilised and democratic but the attitude of Mr. Lynch's government will increase public pressures for the question of Irish citizenship to be included in the forthcoming review of the Nationality Laws.

"We should not be pushed around any more. The decision of the European Court of Human Rights categorically acquitted Britain of torturing IRA men in spite of the unprecedented incompetence of the Attorney-General in failing to contest this odious charge.

"The kind of ill-treatment which was applied to 14 IRA suspects in 1971 never at any time amounted to the type of suffering implied by the word torture. The Irish government knew this perfectly well but believing their own anti-British propaganda pursued the vendetta against the British army and the RUC for no less than six years.

"There are a number of leftist political organisations in Britain which make similar attacks on their own country - helping to smear it with exaggerated charges. Countries like the Soviet Union, with repressive police regimes which are no better than the

Nazis, are enjoying themselves at our expense, like the Provisional IRA, who now take new heart from Irish demands for the British army to withdraw from part of the United Kingdom.

"The Irish are now saying that the European judges were wrong, although they themselves referred the torture case to the court. Their disappointment and fury at Britain's acquittal showed their true feelings. This exhibition and the reaction of Mr. Lynch and Archbishop Fee are a bad start to the New Year in Anglo-Irish relations. They should be in no doubt, as Mrs. Thatcher said, that we in Britain stand rock firm for the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland."

## CROWN HOME-WRECKERS

CROWN FORCES in Derry since the Bloody Sunday Commemoration, have embarked upon an orgy of home-wrecking and raiding.

In the Seantamlah and Creggan areas entire estates have been sealed off for between four and six hours while the foreign soldiers, sometimes arriving in large troop carriers by air, comb the area and swarm inside the people's homes.

In the high flats in Rossville Street, Bogside, a Brit raiding party banged the door of Mrs. John Kelly's home in 31 Garvan Place, early on February 2.

When Mrs. Kelly went to open it, she was shoved back from the door by a burly Brit.

The rest of them entered and set about "searching" the flat, taking out drawers of clothing chests and dumping them on the floor; scattering photos and personal belongings across beds and furniture; dragging Mrs. Kelly's son out of his bed where he was sleeping; questioning him about his whereabouts; and feeling the bed to see if he'd just got into it.

Dishonoured pledge

After an hour of this, the Brits were called away by

## Brit bullies terrorise mothers and babies

radio and left without even an attempt to clean up the mess they had made.

No search claim or damage claim was left. The only message the departing officer gave Mrs. Kelly was a casual: "We'll send someone back to fix it up".

The pledge was dishonoured. Brit officers know no honour.

The Sinn Féin Advice and Complaint Centre in the Creggan was turned upside down in another Brit raid the same day as was the Bogside Sinn Féin Centre, Cable Street, although no damage was done.

In Creggan, the manager of the Sinn Féin Centre, Dáithí McDonagh, had opened his centre and was operating it normally when a Brit raiding squad entered.

They threw over the files and office equipment, tore down Republican posters and turned furniture upside down.

### Shooting threat

This continued for 30 minutes. Then they turned their attention to Dáithí, who



These are the winners of the Munster Scola nÓg novelty act contest. They come from Ardara, Co. Phortlárige, and are: Olivia Fahy, Kay Looby, P.J. Burke and J. Moloney.

February 6, two further examples can be cited of the numerous raids carried out by Brits over the past week in Derry's ghetto areas.

### 57th raid

For the 57th time, the home of Mrs. Margaret McGuinness Elmwood Street, was raided. At 06.00 hours Brits arrived and, during a two hour search, ripped up floorboards and lifted fitted carpets.

Because the Brits actually smashed the floorboards in the hallway, a new floor will have to be put down there.

No incriminating matter was found by the invaders.

Mrs. Mary Friel, 4 Garton Square, got her visit from H.M.'s homebreakers at 06.30 hours, same date.

Not only did the Brits tear up fitted carpets and lift floorboards but they also broke down a portion of her garden wall.

Mrs. McCourt, Creggan Heights, who has one son already held hostage in Crumlin Road Gaol, was harassed again on Friday morning, February 3 when, at 6.30 hours, Brits raided her home and lifted her son, Eamonn.

At the time he was out on bail on a vague charge of having allowed himself to be carried in a stolen car.

She wasn't told what the RUC wanted him for but, at 14.00 hours on Saturday, her

parish priest called at her house to tell her to go to Strand Road RUC Barracks right away, as her doctor had been with Eamonn and he needed two prescriptions.

Mrs. McCourt was alarmed. Eamonn is a healthy young man.

On arrival at the barracks she asked to see the D.I. and showed him the two prescriptions left for her son - one set of tablets for his stomach, another bottle to be got for his head.

The D.I., looking at the prescriptions, realised it was necessary to get them right away and told Mrs. McCourt she would be admitted again to the RUC barracks and should get the tablets immediately.

This she did. After much worry she saw her son that night on a visit.

Eamonn McCourt was kept until Sunday evening in the barracks, and got much physical and mental abuse, in an effort to make him say or sign something to get a conviction in court the next day.

The total lack of any evidence by the RUC in his case was the sole reason for his arrest and beatings over the weekend.

In Monday, he and another lad were found innocent of all charges against them.



is vice-chairman of Derry Sinn Féin.

The Brit in charge said: "These centres are nothing but fronts for a military organisation. You are a crowd of —s".

He put his pistol to McDonagh's head and threatened to shoot him. The previous night, another Brit patrol also had threatened to shoot him.

While the gun was at McDonagh's head, the Brit continued to abuse him verbally, trying to provoke anger and retaliation.

When McDonagh failed to play into their hands in this way, the Brit stopped and, after threatening to tear the Tricolour from the flagpole outside, left.

On Monday morning,

## KNOW YOUR ÉIRE NUA

le Crístín Ní Éilias

WITH THE SDLP's recent conversion to a "federal" solution, one cannot help wondering who next will jump on the bandwagon.

We have had Jack Lynch's vague "federal" mutterings and John Robb's incredible confederation of English, Scots, Welsh and Irish.

Now we are blessed with Paddy Duffy and his "Northern and Southern administrations" and John Hume's federal power-sharing.

Maybe if one stands idly by long enough or, as in the case of the SDLP, plays cat and compromise politics with the Brits long enough, one becomes proficient at determining in which direction the wind is about to blow.

### Crown consent

It would appear that they may have almost grasped the

## A plethora of 'federal' solutions

basic strength of the federal idea in that, if we are to achieve peace and justice in a Britless Ireland, power must be devolved in some radical way.

Yet all their proposed "federal" solutions are unworkable and unrealistic because they would perpetuate the fundamental contradictions of the Irish dilemma.

Their solutions all rely on Britain's consent to play ball with her former colony and, indeed, British permission for the natives to decide their own affairs; and they all base their unit delimitations on the validity of the British-imposed border that artificially divides our country and our people.

The Republican Movement's "Four Provinces Federal Ireland" solution, announced in June, 1972,

envisages revolutionary new structures of government for the New Ireland, based on our four historic provinces.

The regionalisation programme of Sinn Féin incorporates a federal level of government with its powers restricted to matters in which the nation must act as one, shared sovereignty between the federal and four provincial parliaments, and devolution of power to regional and district levels on the basis of subsidiarity of function.

### Participation of all

A "Four Provinces Federal Ireland", based on the democratic socialism of the Éire Nua plan, would ensure the active participation of each citizen in the running of his own community and district and the opportunity to redress the disastrous

economic imbalances plaguing this country.

In addition, our proposals represent an Irish solution to the Irish national problem whereby all the people of this country (including those in the new nine-counties Ulster) will contribute to a democratic all-Ireland Irish identity.

A "federal" Ireland, built on the crumbling foundations of the British imperialist mandate of colonialism and the acceptability of partition, can never succeed.

A federal Ireland of four provinces, based on the firm foundations of Irish sovereignty and unity, decentralised power and democratic self-government, and dedicated to the protection of the rights of all its citizens, can and will succeed.

See also letter, page six.

## 4,000 bought way out of B. Army

LAST year 4,000 soldiers paid more than £1,000,000 to buy their way out of the British army. In one regiment serving at present in the Six Counties this worked out at one out of every 12 men.

The information was published in the "Scottish Daily News", which quoted a British army spokesman as being "very concerned: we are losing specialists who are vital to us".

An indication of the resulting state of enemy morale is quoted by our Derry correspondent, referring to a threat made to a Creggan resident during a raid on his home on February 7. He was told by the officer in charge that up in Piggy Ridge, the Brit base built above the Creggan and looking directly down on a large number of houses in this estate, there were four general purpose machine guns, one on each observation post, each with a belt containing 1,000 rounds.

### Officer's threat

The officer threatened: "The first shots fired at the Piggy Ridge and we'll take the houses", meaning all those homes within range.

This is an indication of the total inadequacy of the enemy forces to deal with the resistance offered by the people, and their total impotence against the military might of the people's army.



# AN CHÉAD DÁIL

IN THE history of Irish political evolution, the First Dáil is absolutely necessary to any understanding of the Irish claim to self-determination as an independent nation and is the vital link in the chain of political and constitutional evolution which put Ireland's right to freedom beyond all doubt.

Because of this it seems a pity that it is not given a more prominent place in the calendar of Irish national commemoration and that in most years its anniversary passes largely unnoticed.

The real significance of January 21 in Irish history, it must be conceded, seems to be largely lost on a younger generation, despite the essentially constitutional and political nature of the revolutionary event.

Consideration of the foundation of the First Dáil must, of course, be seen in the context of what had gone before.

## Massive swing

The 1916 Rising, a military failure, and the execution of the leaders, led to a massive swing in Irish public opinion to the Sinn Féin party, which was re-organised as a Republican party in 1917.

Sinn Féin, despite official harassment and technical illegality in many parts of the country, contested the 1918 general election on a clear-cut policy of Irish self-determination.

There was to be a break with the Home-Rule politics of the past, a new emphasis on self-reliance at home, and a rejection of Britain's right to govern in this country.

In popular terms, the electorate understood Sinn Féin to take its stand on the Irish Republic declared by the men of 1916.

The contest in its simplest terms boiled down to backing the men of 1916 or not.

## Resolute verdict

The verdict was overwhelming. Sinn Féin won 73 of the 105 seats which Ireland then had at Westminster. Unionists dominated in north-east Ulster (they had a few more in Dublin), while the old Home Rule Party was reduced to half a dozen members.

Then, early in 1919, Sinn Féin decided, in accordance with its stated policy, to convene an assembly for the Irish elected representatives and refused to attend at Westminster.

Thus, the first session of Dáil Éireann took place in the Mansion House in Dublin on January 21, 1919.

All Irish elected representatives were invited to attend, but only Sinn Féin members did so.

## Faoi ghlas

Even in the case of that party most of its members were either in jail or on the run.

Thus, only 28 members were present, many of the others were reported as being

## Most of the people of the 32 counties backed the 1916 freedom declaration . . .

"faoi ghlas ag Gallaihb" as the roll was called.

There are several significant things about that first historic two-hour session of Dáil Éireann. It was the first elected Irish assembly in recent centuries and certainly since the concept of democracy and universal suffrage became accepted as the normal basis of moral government.

Significantly, all the proceedings were in Irish. Cathal Brugha, a veteran of the 1916 Rising, was elected Ceann Comhairle — both the President of Sinn Féin,

Eamon de Valera and the Vice-president, Arthur Griffith, were in jail and could not attend.

## Forced underground

The revolutionary assembly approved a provisional constitution, endorsed a declaration of independence, appointed delegates to the Peace Conference at Versailles, sanctioned a message to the free nations of the world and adopted a Democratic Programme of Social and Economic Reform.

Then it adjourned and usually was to meet underground in the months ahead as British oppression increased and the forces of the Irish Republic engaged in a life and death struggle with the British forces and administration, for the loyalty of the Irish people.

There could be no doubt about that loyalty. Nor any questioning of the legal basis of the Irish people's struggle.

Overwhelmingly they had endorsed the Sinn Féin programme. The elected members of the Irish people had come together and

reaffirmed their allegiance to the Irish Republic, declared in 1916.

The Republic had become a reality in the most democratic of fashions.

The only thing that now prevented its proper functioning was the failure of the British authorities to accept the verdict of the Irish people. That was the real significance of the convening of the First Dáil on January 21, 1919.

## Women's vote

The 1918 general election gave women the vote for the first time.

The British thought that the women in Ireland would swing the poll to the right.

In the event, however, it was the women of Ireland who clinched the victory for Sinn Féin.

(Ar leantúir ar lch. a 8)

## Withdraw, demands Leitrim

THE DEMAND for enemy withdrawal from Ireland grows stronger daily and the latest local body to demand that withdrawal is Leitrim Co. Council.

At its meeting on Friday, February 10, the following resolution was adopted: "In order that lasting peace may be established we demand that the British government renounce all claim to sovereignty over any part of Ireland and that as soon as practicable but, in any case, before December 31, 1982, they withdraw their troops and entire administrative institutions from the six counties of Ireland they at present occupy."

"This Council also calls on the government of the Irish Free State to implement their declared policy on the Six-Counties problem by making a serious effort to re-unite our country".

## Only way to peace

In moving the motion, John Joe McGirl stated that the organisation (Meitheal Náisiúnta or National Co-Operation) was not a front for the Provisionals, or Sinn Féin, but an independent organisation, whose members had approached him and a member of Fianna Fáil and

Fine Gael on the Council to have their motion brought up.

The only way to lasting peace was such a declaration of intent, said Mr. McGirl. In 1918 the Irish people had elected a Republican Government and that Government had declared to the nations of the world that Ireland no longer accepted British rule.

Britain, however, had refused to accept the right of that democratic Government and, under treat of war, had imposed partition, the cause of all our troubles to this day.

The motion was seconded by Peter McKeon, Fianna Fáil. Several Council members spoke in favour of it. It was adopted unanimously.

## Unionist SDLP

Through the Unionist attitudes of SDLP and Independent members of Fermanagh District Council a motion, passed recently by Derry City Council, calling for an impartial inquiry into Six Counties jails, was lost.

Our correspondent writes: "The spineless minions who have control of Fermanagh District Council must stand condemned for their disgraceful attitude to a notice of motion down for discussion on Tuesday, February 7.

"Councillor Patrick McCaffrey, Irish Independence Party, proposed: "That this Council notes the volume of complaints about prison conditions and treatment of prisoners, arising from both sides of the political divide, and asks that an impartial enquiry by the ombudsman or other body, e.g., Amnesty International, ascertain the facts, seek the fullest support at every level and suggest remedies."

"However, the motion was declared lost by the Council chairman, Councillor Tom Daly, SDLP (Bishop Daly's brother) because there was no seconder for the McCaffrey's proposal.

"The combined anti-Unionists control Fermanagh District Council. The line-up is: Cllrs. Daly, Donnelly, Campbell, Gallagher, Lunney, Murray, Maguire (S.D.L.P.); Flanagan, McBarron, (Independents); McCusker (Unity); McCaffrey (I.I.P.).

"The actions of the SDLP and the Independent-councillors will not come as a great surprise to the people of Fermanagh.

"The people of Donagh and Newtownbutler will be shocked by Councillor McCusker's failure to support the motion", our correspondent concludes.





# TORTURE

LAST MAY, Professor Robert J. Daly published his paper, "The Psychiatric Effects of Counter-Insurgency Operations", in which he examined the results of the "inhuman and degrading treatment" (Strasbourg Court findings) received by Irish political prisoners during the internment swoops of 1971.

He examined, in all, 43 men, including the "hooded men" and he describes how these individuals "have been experiencing considerable psychological disability and suffering and also problems."

The commonest symptoms were: Marked anxiety, fear and dread, as well as insomnia, nightmare and startle responses.

"In this respect they resembled those subjected to traumatic experiences and shell-shock in wartime.

"Depression had been almost universal and weeping attacks were common. Family upset had been marked.

"Psychosomatic symptoms such as peptic ulcer, headaches and diarrhoea have emerged quite quickly.

"The emergence of serious illness in the group of 'hooded men' (one of whom has since died) points to the drastic nature of this particular procedure."

He went on to say: in the case of the 13 'hooded men' a five-year follow-up has been possible. One of these, a 42 year-old man, has since died, attributed at inquest to coronary disease.

"When examined some four months prior to his death, he had a feeling of impending fatal illness (a 'brain tumour' or a 'heart attack').

He had gross symptoms of anxiety.

*It's still going on,  
writes R. G. McAuley,  
Cage 12, Long Kesh.*

"His EEG (brainwave test) and EKG (heart test) were normal. His blood pressure was 150/100. Other laboratory investigations were normal.

"One 29-year-old hooded man had developed Hodgkin's disease, of which there was no evidence prior to his arrest.

"Another man has had surgical treatment for car-

cinoma of the skin which developed in one of the scars he received on his leg while being 'interrogated' in depth.



"The fourth has had colonic resection for suspected Crohn's disease. He developed intense and chronic diarrhoea some three months after the 'interrogation-in-depth treatment'."

Daly concluded: "All of the 'hooded men' report disability to a greater or lesser extent and this has included out-patient and in-patient psychiatric treatment as well as treatment for medical illness."

● Dr. Robert Joseph Daly, M.A., M.D., B.A., M.B., B.Ch., M.R.C.P., B.A.O., D.P.M., is Professor of Psychiatry, University College, Cork, and attached to the Department of Psychiatry, St. Stephen's Hospital, Cork.

## Limerick backs the PoWs

A PUBLIC meeting in support of the demand for political status for Republican PoWs was held in Limerick city centre on Saturday, February 4.

Among speakers addressing the meeting were: Gordon Hayes, the prominent Limerick Solicitor, and Pat Finnucane, of Belfast R.A.C.

Before the meeting, there was a placard parade through O'Connell Street. At the head of the parade was carried a large banner, reading "Political Status Now". Behind was a car and trailer on which sat a man and woman clad only in blankets. More than 70 people took part in the protest.

## Political status

Gordon Hayes in his address recalled the protests of last year in support of the Portlaoise hunger-strikers and urged the people to take to the streets again in support of the men and women "on the blanket".

Pat Finnucane outlined the conditions of the prisoners and the British criminalisation policy. A war of national liberation was taking place in the north-east, he pointed out. The prisoners' struggle was, a political one, for PoW status.

## Invisible chair

While the five techniques, as listed by the European Human Rights Commission and Court, are no longer used, variations on the theme are.

For example, in place of the spreadeagled position - finger tips against the wall, legs pulled back as far as possible and spread apart as far as possible - we now have the half-squat positions with hands outstretched in front (the "invisible chair").

Failure to maintain this physically painful position results immediately in hair-pulling, slaps, punches, etc.

Amnesty International, in a recent report on torture techniques employed in South Africa by the white fascist regime, describes the widespread use of the "invisible chair".

Leannar de.

## THE NEW METHODS

In an interview given at the time he described as "sham" suggestions by some, particularly the British military, that the effects of these techniques of interrogation would be minimal because they were psychological.

"If people are being tortured by these methods anywhere there should not be lies about it," he said.

"It should be admitted because the effects are worse than those of physical torture."

Considering the scrupulous nature of this report it came as a surprise to many that the Strasbourg Court had found Britain "not guilty" of torture.

Indeed a representative of Amnesty International publicly stated that he couldn't understand how such a decision had been arrived at Naive.

There can be little doubt that the decision arrived at was a political one, designed to save Britain from being placed in a more embarrassing position than was absolutely necessary.

## Silkinn's statement

It is also true that this amazing decision was reached in part because at one stage during the trial last year Sam Silkinn, the British government's Attorney General, told the court that the five techniques of torture - hooding, deprivation of sleep, deprivation of food and water,

## Join Sinn Féin

Anyone wishing to join Sinn Féin in Dublin 14 area is asked to contact Michael Gaughan Cumann, Dundrum, or to write to the Cumann, c/o 2a, Sraid Chaoimhin lch, B.A.C.



## Jailed though charge denied

A CALL to Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, people to protest to T.D.'s and local representatives about the early morning arrest of Dermot Mullooly, was made by Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, to a packed meeting in the town.

Dermot, a local farmer, was arrested and later appeared in the Special Court in Dublin, charged with "membership of an illegal organisation."

He was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, despite his unsworn statement, denying the charge.

Ruairi said the dawn knock on the door day seemed to be with us again. People should ask elected representatives if they agreed with this terror policy.

He told the meeting that Dermot's wife had not been told where he was being taken after his arrest. It was hours before she traced him to Mountjoy Prison.

Other speakers at the protest meeting included Councillor John Joe McGil, Leitrim, and P.J. Kearney, Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle, Sligo.

## Mansholt plan refurbished?

THE Inter-Departmental Committee on Land Structure reform report is very close to the old Mansholt Plan which aimed at the abolition of small farms, it was stated at a Sinn Féin meeting on farming in Strokestown.

Des Croghan, joint secretary, National Land League, said it constituted a danger to the livelihood of many people in agriculture, particularly in the north-west.

The meeting agreed that aliens should not be allowed to buy land; that measures be taken to curb the purchase of land by business and professional men; that upper land limits be lowered and that the Land Agency give priority to small farmers in distribution of large estates.

Other issues discussed were drainage, land reclamation, credit facilities and the E.E.C. milk levy.

## Support the Prisoners

Desmond Fennell  
March 7, 20.00 hrs  
Man of Arran  
39 Arran Quay, B.A.C.

## Gaelige: essence of our nationality

## Sinn Féin Irish language class

Improve your knowledge of Irish by attending class every Wednesday (20.00 hours) in 5 Blessington Street, Dublin, organised by Sinn Féin.

Ni saoirse go Gaelige.

## JOIN SINN FÉIN

Anyone wishing to join Sinn Féin the Harold's Cross, Dublin area is asked to contact Bill Kane, 12 Loreto Crescent, Rathfarnham, Dublin 14, Sean Treacy Cumann.

## Sinn Féin public lecture

## A Community of Communities: Federal Structures



## Cúrsaí eachtracha Foreign affairs

# South Africa after Biko's martyrdom

Le Eldrida

"DID YOU ever reprimand or fire a policeman for torturing or beating a prisoner?" South African Justice Minister James Kruger was asked recently in an interview with "Time" magazine. In true Cooney or Mason style his reply came:

"Frankly, I do not think the security police would beat a man. It is possible for a policeman to react to a prisoner who starts with violence but policemen never really start the trouble. Policemen try to stop it".

The incident in question was the death of the black leader Steve Biko, the 20th South African black known to have died in detention in the past 18 months. He was kept naked and, although seriously ill, was made to endure a 750-mile trip in the back of a jeep. After a six-day hunger strike he was found dead, with marks of injuries.

"I don't operate under statutes", was the comment of a senior South African police official when asked by a lawyer representing the Biko family to cite the statutory authority for keeping him in leg irons and handcuffs for 50 hours prior to his death.

But Steve Biko, leader of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, founder member of the black South African Students' Organisation, honorary president of the national Black People's Convention, was not one of the many unknown and largely forgotten victims of the apartheid racist state.

He has become a martyr for his people's struggle for freedom. If Ireland has MacSweeney, Gaughan, Stagg, South Africa has Biko. Biko's death — and the Widgery-type whitewash operation by which the authorities tried to exonerate themselves from blame — was greeted with widespread protests in the black ghettos.

## Students protest

In Soweto township 26,000 high school students protested by refusing to register for the coming term. One student said of Biko's death:

"The sorrow is still with us. The anger will come later".

Anger was not confined to the black population. A white friend of Biko's, writer and editor Donald Woods, whose book on the black leader is soon to be published, was put under house arrest for five years for statements he made.

He has since made a dramatic escape abroad.

At a rally in Johannesburg city hall 2,000 members of

the opposition (white) Progressive Federal Party called for Kruger's sacking and repeal of the internal security laws.

Kowie Marais, a prominent former judge and one time

member of the (ruling) National Party declared that Biko's death had made him a "complete and unequivocal enemy of the security legislation in South Africa".

(Ar leandúint ar lch. a 7)



## A 'political' verdict from Amnesty?

I THINK it worthwhile to make a few observations in view of the apparent imminence of the report of the Amnesty International team which investigated allegations of ill-treatment of prisoners in police custody, writes A. Rooney, Anderstown Relatives Committee.

Considering the recent disappointing outcome of the torture case at Strasbourg, we should be on our guard against a "political" verdict from Amnesty.

Few people, at home or abroad, have been taken in by the "no torture" declaration. This, however, will not stop the Brits from trying to manipulate public reaction.

Firstly, it should be borne in mind that Amnesty is susceptible to political pressure. It receives funds from different governments, including Britain, as well as from politicians.

## Why so long?

One also wonders why it took Amnesty so long to send a team here when the allegations of torture and brutality have been prevalent for a long time?

Peter Hand was arrested and tortured in June, 1976. February, 1977, saw the O'Connor case, incredibly, on BBC television. These were two of many cases.

Amnesty came here in November 1977. Yet, a very short period had elapsed after reports emerged of a Garda "heavy squad" down south, when Amnesty's investigating team arrived in Dublin.

It is worth noting the outcome of that investigation. Amnesty found that ill-treatment had been used, and the southern government announced an enquiry — not into the identity of the guilty parties, but to establish safeguards for people in police custody and also safeguards for the Gardaí and against ill-founded allegations.

They attempted to deceive the public and to bury the past with the promise of improvements in the future.

## Escape door

It is reasonable to predict that an "escape door" will be left open for the British (Ar leandúint ar lch. a 8)

Postmhála • Postbag • Postmhála • Postbag • Postmhála • Postbag • Postmhála

## Diversity can be our strength

I WAS annoyed to read this in "Gaeilge do na Címh": "Too often one hears the word 'baile' pronounced as 'bollya' instead of 'ba-il-eh', a musical example of the slender letter L". As if this wasn't enough, the PoW is asked to check his pronunciation by using a tape-recorder.

To my mind this is a supreme example of putting the cart before the horse. What matter if people say "bollya", "ballah" (as the southern Ascendancy had it) or — go bhíóir Dia orainn — "bula", provided they like our native language and are interested in what they have to say in it?

Consider the range of pronunciation in spoken English throughout the country. The Corkman, the Dubliner, the Belfastman can hardly understand each other! And this diversity is not a weakness, but a strength, of the English language in Ireland.

It was managed to adapt itself to those mysterious differences in local psychology, which come out in distinctive accents.

Previously, before English came like a cuckoo into the nest, the Irish language had this local diversity and richness. Whoever thinks it can recapture its old position through everyone learning that accursed "caighdeán" is wrong.

For God's sake let us learn from the English poet who said: "Take care of the sense, and the sound will take care of itself." (Aíreann an stáin, is tíofofaidh an ghuaim).

I would say that PoWs should get a general idea of how words are pronounced in one or other Gaeltacht, preferably Dún na nGall, but they shouldn't take too much trouble with it.

When Belfast PoWs begin to speak Irish as a living

language, their pronunciation will come very close to the present Belfast pronunciation of spoken English.

If they speak in the accent of Conamara — they'll be speaking unnaturally. They'll only be learning a dead language, picking up a field of academic knowledge as abstract as geometry.

Whoever is captivated by the sense of what he is saying doesn't worry too much about his accent. He lets it take care of itself. And accents change very slowly.

Serious discussion of subjects which are really important in people's lives — from a boy and girl discussing marriage, to a group of soldiers discussing the course of the war — is the heart's blood of any language.

Are the PoWs having long and occasionally heated arguments, when the Irish words begin to glow (though perhaps in a manner which would make the dogmatic believer in the caighdeán wince) and they forget that this hasn't been their everyday language?

If that happens, they're getting somewhere.

Consider that audacious idea of Pádraig MacPiarais, so shocking that nobody, to my knowledge, has dared try to develop it: "The prospect of the children of Sandy Row being taught to curse the Pope in Irish was rich and soul-satisfying" (The Murder Machine").

When the children of Sandy Row are being taught to curse the Pope in Irish, what will their pronunciation be like?

Let's be a little cautious. (Mac Piarais could get a man into trouble!). Let's suppose

they are taught to say: "Ag baile n' maith linn an Pápa". I imagine they will pronounce it as follows: "Ahih (siolla amháin) bal-ah nee mah lin (fuaim an "g" ar deiradh, n' ghlaicfaidh siad choíche leis, dar liom!) an Pay-pah".

I tell you, if I live to hear a child say that with a serious face and a straightforward manner, I'll count my blessings.

I imagine I'll reply: "Agbail é'smaith ling e'nPaw-pah" in the Tipperarymen's, quite incurable, undulating lilt.

What I dolefully dread is that some amadán might say: "Too often one hears the word 'baile' pronounced 'bal-ah' etc." and have the poor child check his pronunciation against a tape-recorder.

—Seamus Ó Cíomhain, 49 Cearnóg an Phiarsaigh, B.A.C., 2.

## Morale booster

ON BEHALF of this Cumann, I wish to extend our congratulations with regard to the February 1 edition of "An Phoblacht".

With an almost complete black-out on news from Ireland in the Fleet Street press, it is a great morale booster to us and our supporters to see a headline, picture and news story such as that on the front page of the February issue.

However, we do have one important criticism. It is with the caption accompanying the picture on the front page. To quote: "and the men pictured from a unit..." It is quite obvious from the picture that at least one of those

"men" is a woman.

This, one hopes, is an unintentional mistake and can be rectified in a future issue of the paper. The women of Ireland always have played a prominent and constructive part in the struggle against British imperialism and none more so than the present generation in the north-east.

We hope more prominence will be given in future editions to their activities, whether it be in Armagh Prison, Turf Lodge or wherever the struggle is fiercest.

—Jan Taylor, Rómán, Terence MacSwiney Cumann, London, Sasana.

Quite unintentional. And we are always glad to publish reports of the women's outstanding contribution to the armed struggle.

## Federal Ireland

AS we have published (8 Feabhra 1978) a letter which Cristín Ní Éilias sent to "Hibernia" in response to some comments which I made in that journal, on the subject of the demand of a Four Provinces Federal Ireland, I hope you will see fit to publish the following reply, which appeared in February 3 issue of "Hibernia", a week after that journal published the Ní Éilias's letter.

If the headline your page gave to the Ní Éilias's letter, viz., "Stick is Unstuck", is meant to suggest some similarity between my views on this matter and those of Sinn Féin The Workers' Party, I should point out that, as many of your readers will know, their principal demand regarding the North is for a Bill of Rights.

A Chára — Christine Ní Éilias, Stiúrthóir Oideachais of Provisional Sinn Féin, states that "the unity of all the Irish peoples into one nation... can be achieved in a Four Province Federal Ireland" (Hibernia, 27 January). As well as a federal or central government at Abilone, there would be a provincial parliament for the nine counties of Ulster. The residents of Ulster,

(Ar leandúint ar lch. a 8)

## Wanted, your used stamps

Help An Cumann Cabhrach by sending used postage stamps to: Miss Sally Walsh, Luriga, Patrickswell, Co. Luimnigh. Please leave about half an inch of paper around each stamp.





## Houses, not bridges

Houses not bridges! This was the slogan for many people in Dublin last week at the opening of the new Talbot Bridge over the Liffey.

The protesters mostly were local people, those who remain in the decayed City Quay area, a parish which has been allowed to run to seed by Dublin Corporation.

Last week, spontaneously, the people came out and showed their anger, as these pictures show. In the bottom picture their placards are waved in the face of the Lord Mayor who opened the bridge.



## Sinn Féin PROs

Do gach oifigeach chaidrimh phoiblí i Sinn Féin — to every Sinn Féin public relations officer:

In future please send material for publication in "An Phoblacht" to: Ualtéar Ó Loinsigh, Rúnaí, Sinn Féin, Sráid Chaoimhin, Baile Átha Cliath.

## Cameramen

We pay higher than union rates for good pictures. Remember us next time when on a marking...

## Eldrida

(Ar leanúint ó lech. a 6)

Despite a renewed mandate from the 4,300,000 whites, Prime Minister Vorster cannot escape the fact of the presence of 18,000,000 blacks — voteless, voiceless second class citizens who are increasingly making their growing militancy felt.

The pressure for change is growing, particularly in South Africa's business. Since the Soweto riots of June, 1976, the country's credit situation has been badly hurt — losing some 115 million monthly on short-term capital accounts.

## 40% unemployed

As a result of deepening recession, black unemployment ranges up to 40 per cent. with 200,000 blacks out of work in Johannesburg alone.

The government has scared off investment by talk of "total war" and an "economy of survival".

Maybe most significantly of all, a survey of white university students showed 72 per cent. wanting to emigrate.

A University of Cape Town seminar recently devoted a whole summer session to the future of the Afrikaner. The "not-an-inch" whites of Dutch settler descent who make up the ruling elite).

An Afrikaner psychologist predicted: "The whites in South Africa, as a privileged, ruling group, are 'finis, klaar, afgehandel' — finished, over and done".

Meanwhile, Biko's death, described as "the big one they can't get away with" may yet mark a decisive landmark in the erosion of the white South African elite's power base.

After all, "the anger will come later". They have been warned.

# IRELAND'S HUMAN LICE

GOMBEENISM came into the English language from the Irish: *Airgead ar ghaimhin* is money borrowed on interest. Gombeenism is the traditional word in English as used in Ireland to convey the nausea of capitalism.

In many parts of Ireland in the 18th century and even in some places virtually to the end of the 19th century there were only two classes, the poor and the rich.

The poor slaved to produce the maximum from their plots of land and the better they succeeded the higher their rents to the rich landowners or their agents and their tithes to a rich clergy, one not in most cases of their own religious persuasion (though the Catholic clergy, except for a short period in the 18th century, was very well provided for).

That terrible exploitation — robbery on a massive scale — is the moral basis for the Republican socialist's tenet that all the land of Ireland belongs to all the people of Ireland and that no landlord has any right to hold as much as one square inch of it without licence from the Irish people.

Anyone wishing to go deeper into the ethics of this matter might care to read the writings of Fintan Lalor, some of which were reprinted in recent years in Belfast and available from "An Phoblacht's" craft centre.

Having read Lalor one might turn to "Labour in Irish History" by James Connolly and Pearse's "The Sovereign People", following those, perhaps, with the writings of Thompson, the Irishman from whom Karl Marx borrowed some of his ideas.

## Human lice

In that starving, poverty-stricken, disease-ridden rural Ireland there were some human lice sufficiently unscrupulous as to decide to prosper and grow fat on their neighbours' difficulties.

These human lice were the first shopkeepers who gave goods on credit or lent money to buy seed, stock and machinery, at high rates of interest (or *gaimhín*).

The hatred, fear and contempt for these gombeen men, these huxters, comes across very clearly in oral tradition which will form an integral part of the social history of Ireland, when that is written.

It was by means of this hated gombeen class that capitalism was advanced in most parts of rural Ireland. That class, its nauseating origins, its revolting history, provides a lurid picture of naked, obscene capitalism — greedy, ruthless, recognising only one ethic, that might is right and that might is money, to buy anything from a tally girl to a bishop's absoolution.

It was from that class that many of the "strong" farmers of Ireland came. It was from this class that many of the Irish manufacturers and businessmen emerged.

## Dan O'Connell

This was the class which provided most of the Catholic priests and bishops of Ireland, though not her missionaries; most teachers, lawyers, doctors, politicians, journalists, administrators; in short, those who led the fashion in anglicisation.

Although this class was, being formed

before the era of Daniel O'Connell it was in his time and immediately following his death that its presence became so marked and its growth so rapid.

However, there is a hint of it in a much earlier period, in all its grossness, vulgarity and unprincipled ways, in an Irish language satire titled "Parlement Chlainne Tomáis", passages of which remind one forcibly of accounts of private meetings of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael or Labour, particularly those connected with choice of candidates for a local or general election.

Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Féin (then a nationalist, bourgeois party, even ready to accept the dual monarchy proposal) envisaged the creation of a capitalist class in Ireland and which would be independent of that class in Britain, a plan finally abandoned by Séán Lemass in 1954 (repeal of the Manufacturers' Act) as impossible (an independent Ireland would have to be socialist; capitalism — or private enterprise — could be saved in Ireland only under freestatory and stormontism).

What happened in Ireland, in the way of developing capitalism, happened everywhere else in the capitalist world.

## Le Deasún Breatnach

## Land grabbers

The natural development of industry would have seen craftsmen improving their tools by saving a percentage of fair prices asked for goods and services and later combining as co-operatives.

Feudalism perverted all that. A strong man grabbed land which once was held in common and disposed of it in his own interest, using proceeds to buy machinery, forcing the free tradesmen out of business, compelling them to work for him for a wage.

Labour thus became dehumanised, a commodity.

The Pope of Rome was the feudal high king of Europe and, as such, "gave" Ireland to Henry of England.

Later, the confiscation of Church land and other property, and the money it realised, helped to speed industrialisation. At the same time the pressure on land held in common continued to increase. Eventually, the landlords discovered that ranching paid them better than tillage, evicted their tenants from ancestral lands, replacing them with cattle or sheep. This was called "clearance". In Ireland it was facilitated by the Famine.

This has been particularly well documented by a Scottish Socialist group in the play, seen in Ireland on stage and TV, titled "The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil".

## Robbery compounded

The result of the clearances was to help in colonisation but, perhaps, more importantly, to provide cheap labour at home, with too many people chasing too few jobs, bringing wages to rock bottom and worsening conditions.

Thus came robbery on top of robbery. The peasants were robbed of their lands. The tradesmen in the towns were robbed of their tools. Members of the exploited class were robbed of life itself by work conditions, malnutrition, slum housing.

Connolly records that at the beginning of this century in Dublin deaths at birth, for example, were the highest in Europe.

But the robbery of the capitalists continued. It continues to this day, not only in the wage packet, in PAYE taxation, but in constant encroachment by property owners on commons, on rights of way, on access for the public to rivers, lochs, glens, mountains or the sea.

There is even a robbers' tax on one's home, in the form of ground rent, and on the inland waterways, if one wants to fish.

## Think about it

A united Ireland means the four provinces self-governing and federated as one nation

1 = 4 in 1



# Sinn Féin speakers rout EEC 'experts'

THE SEMINAR in Letterkenny on the future of the Irish fishing industry, addressed by Fin Gundalach, was almost brought to a premature end when he implied that there was no future for the Irish fishing industry outside the E.E.C.

Challenged about the Icelandic experience on this point by Niall Ó Faoithagáin, Sinn Féin fisheries spokesman, the Dane departed from his prepared script but found explanations difficult.

He became angry, thumped the rostrum and said: "I cannot execute my duties in these circumstances."

This brought the fishermen to their feet in angry reaction. The ensuing barrage proved too much for the Commissioner.

He did the diplomatic "run for cover", explaining that he had urgent conferences in Geneva. The last remark only increased the chagrin of the delegates and disorder reigned for some minutes.

The delegates already were quite incensed and astonished by the blackmail threat of a cut in promised financial aid if they did not toe the line and swallow the E.E.C. fish plans.

Gundalach had explained at length why a 50-mile exclusive zone was "unrealisable" in the context of the clauses governing fisheries of the Treaty of Accession.

Despite the apparent

evaporation of the "50-mile exclusive zone" Brian Lenihan, "Free" State Minister for Fisheries, when pressed by Joey Murrin, I.F.O. spokesman maintained that the 50-mile claim was still on the bargaining table.

## "SELL OUT"

Delegates were confused between the cold analytical exposure of the E.E.C. structures and restrictions by Gundalach and the contradictory pronouncements of Lenihan on quotas, percentages and plans for new legislation for the protection and exploitation of fisheries within the six-mile limit for inshore fishermen.

During the ensuing charge and counter charge and some under the-belt quips against Joey Murrin by Lenihan, there were cries of "Sell out - Sell out!" and booing.

Lenihan amid cries of

The day the members of the Irish Fishermen's Organisation marched past Leinster House was February 16. The only way to get a change is to march and demand an end to EEC membership.

"stand your ground" made a quick exit with the excuse of the Fianna Fáil ardtheis.

Niall Ó Faoithagáin asked Mr. Gallagher, the Director-General of E.E.C. Fisheries, if, in fact, the European Court decision, announced that day, meant that the E.E.C. Commission now could impose restrictions and controls covering all waters right up to our shoreline.

The seminar was stunned to the cold realities of the situation when Gallagher replied: "Yes! That is correct". By that time Lenihan and Gundalach had fled.

Sinn Féin councillor Joe O'Neill, countered the assertion that we would have "no stable high prices guaranteed market for our fish if we were outside the E.E.C." and pressed Gallagher as to where E.E.C. states would get fish if denied Irish water rights.

Ar leandúit ar seachtain seo chugainn

Mon House in which 12 innocent people died. There is nothing we can offer in mitigation bar that our inquiries have established that a nine-minute warning was given to the RUC: This was proved totally inadequate given the disastrous consequences.

"We accept condemnation and criticism from only two sources: from the relatives and friends of those who were accidentally killed, and from our supporters who have rightly and severely criticised us.

"Abroad and at home the British Government has had a field day with its unchallenged version of events, and that peace lies in the destruction of Irish Republicanism.

"It has been the disastrous presence of British interference in Ireland, and that continuing armed presence in the six counties, which is the root cause of unrest in our country. All killings and tragedies stem from British interference and their denial of Irish sovereignty.

"The Irish Republican Army will continue to resist the British with all the might that we can muster," the statement concludes.

The following statement was issued by Sinn Féin on February 20 on the Comber tragedy:

"The deaths of 12 innocent victims at Comber, County Down, and the serious injury to many others cannot be condoned in any way. What has happened is totally inexcusable.

"It is noted that the action was contrary to the stated policy of the Irish Republican Army as contained in recent published statement. "All who desire a British withdrawal and the establishment of a Federal and Democratic Socialist Republic in Ireland call for immediate and urgent measures by the Irish Republican Army to prevent any recurrence of events like last Friday night's multiple tragedy," the statement ends.

Arna fhóilsiú ag "An Phoblacht", 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.Á.C. 1, ÉIRE.



# PoW is thrown into a 'control unit'

FOLLOWING a public outcry in Britain some years ago the control units in Wakefield and other prisons were closed officially. They have been reopened and are in use against the Irish prisoners of war.

This dread news comes in a statement smuggled out from the PRO of the Republican prisoners in Wakefield and sent to us by Jacqueline Kaye of the Prisoners Aid Committee in

London. The statement will be published in the next issue of PAC News which will be out within a few days.

That, over the past few months, Michael Murray, James Ashe, Paul Norney and William Armstrong all have been placed in the control unit for various periods.

The prisoners point out that the words "control unit" no longer are used officially... BUT THE BUILDING IS: "It is designed to control and break prisoners by using sensory deprivation methods," the statement continues.

"Cell windows are blocked up, preventing the prisoner from natural light, sound and contact.

The screws take advantage of this solitary confinement to beat prisoners, when there are no witnesses, as there is a 20 ft. wall around the control

unit which makes it impossible for other prisoners in the main prison to know what's going on.

"At present our main concern is for Paul Norney who is being subjected to intensive pressure. He is locked up each evening at 16.30 hours and has no association with other prisoners; and at weekends, when all other prisoners are unlocked all day, Paul is kept locked up 23 hours a day.

"There is a real danger of a situation akin to that which took place in Albany Prison in 1976, as all this harassment is to provoke us into taking some form of action...

"We call on all political organisations and the people to support the political prisoners in 1978 and the best way to do that is to support the war for national liberation. Solidarity with all our comrades in the imperialist jails."

## Postmhála

(Ar leandúit ó lch. 6)

she writes in the June 15 An Phoblacht, would have "more authority, in fact, than was ever really granted to them by Westminster..."

This latter article also states that in "Ulster's" 9 counties, "Unionists would still constitute 56%-58% of the population... assuming that voting continued along traditional lines... but the rights of the Nationalist minority would be protected by the New Constitution and Charter of Rights".

Such an arrangement would be a barrier to the ending of the discrimination against Catholics which the Unionists have practised for so long and would obstruct the bringing about of genuine equality. The history of the U.S.A. holds many lessons in this regard.

A Four Province Federal Ireland would not be, nor would it facilitate the creation of, a United Ireland. A United Ireland would, in its "concrete" form, be an assembly elected by the whole island and empowered to draw up a constitution for the country; this constitution to be subject to ratification by the people. I think it most unlikely that such a constitution would permit the kind of regional Ulster government that Christine Ni Elias advocates, with its connotations of continued sectarian discrimination.

Provisional Sinn Féin say they do not want the reactionary features of the 26-county State rolled into a United Ireland. The best guarantee they could give that this won't happen would be their own active participation in all struggles against those features. What is the party's stance on the laws against Dispute and Contravention? Is mise le meas,

D.S. de BRÉADÚN

## Cúnnla

(Ar leandúit ó lch. 2)

faoin Saorstát, ga bheith ag impi ar airí stáit a ndualgas a chomhlíonadh, mar thuras in aise, ach páirt a ghlacadh linne sa ríabhlóid.

Caithear an Saorstát a loit ó bhun go barr go dtí go mbeid deis maireachtála ag an mGaeilge.

## A political verdict?

(Ar leandúit ó lch. 6)

government to avoid prosecutions against the torturers of our people.

It is illogical to expect that action will be taken against the guilty parties.

Since it has been established already that torture is an administrative practice here, we can hardly hope that the Brits will punish themselves.

Meanwhile, those who "confessed" under torture continue to languish in the Gestapo-like conditions in the H Blocks.

For the record; Amnesty did not visit the H Blocks.

## An Chéad Dáil

(Ar leandúit ó lch. 4)

The Crown tried every trick at its disposal to defeat Sinn Féin. Leaflets were dropped by planes, in favour of the Parliamentary Party. Police and military were in force at every polling station. It took great courage for Sinn Féin election agents to operate.

But all the Crown's tricks failed and Sinn Féin had a tremendous victory.

It was clear to everyone that the overwhelming majority of the Irish people wanted independence from Britain and the Republic declared in 1916.

What did democratic Britain which, allegedly, had fought a war for the freedom of small nations, do?

She forced the 1920 Act on Ireland, divided Ireland into two satellite sectarian states and provided 50 years of misery for the Irish people.

-N.O.G.

## SPY CHIEF SHOT DOWN BY AN M-60

(Ar leandúit ó lch. 1)

at the junction of James's Street and Linenhall Street, was damaged when an attempt by enemy forces to defuse a bomb succeeded only in setting off the main charge.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 15

**Belfast:** Patton's engineering company, Gienagall Street, was destroyed when a bomb exploded. An adjoining building also was damaged.

**Stoneyford:** The Ballymac public house was damaged in a bomb explosion.

THURSDAY, FEB. 16

**Belfast:** The Sauna Health Centre, Somerton Road, was damaged when a bomb planted by four armed men exploded.

**Derry:** Two bombs exploded at Melvor's plastics factory on Strand Road, destroying the premises.

**Maghera:** Five armed men set fire to the Sycamore Hotel on Carricknakielt Road, causing extensive damage.

FRIDAY, FEB. 17

**Jonesborough:** The commander of the Crown forces in South Armagh was killed and two others seriously injured when a helicopter was shot down by an ASU which also had exchanged shots on two occasions with an enemy foot patrol, minutes before the successful attack.

**Comber:** A bomb exploded at the La Mon Hotel. Twelve people died in the fire which followed.

The following statement was issued later through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and signed P.O. Neill, runal:

"The Irish Republican Army admits responsibility for the bombing operation in La