

An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 14. 8p. Aibreán 9, 1976.



Radio Eireann: Dr. Goebbels at work

LAST SUNDAY listeners to Radio Eireann at lunchtime heard a crude example of "Free" State propaganda designed to "prove" that the mass of the Irish people in the 26 Counties had turned their backs on the men of force in their traditional bid to free Ireland from alien domination.

The accents of the carefully selected "spokesmen" were only the tip of the propaganda exercise, which was couched with all the usual, approved media clichés of "violence," the "south," the troubles, the "horror" and "disgust" at the "cruelty" inflicted by members of Oglai na hEireann.

Bashing of class and religion

"Murder" and "gunmen" popped up in rhythmic precision. Very, very few, we were told, wanted the unfortunate people of the Six Counties to "join us," and all the safe bashing targets of class and religion were presented for the unerring aim of the so splendidly articulate liberals.

Ireland has grown up, matured and was the grand old dame, Britannia surprised, for all (or most) of us were splendidly disposed to forget the past (never mind the present) and the future Strasbourg verdict, which nobody remembered to remind us, will name 20 RUC torturers and detail their horrors.

The prize exhibit was the Roscommon farmer who wanted to bully or drive into the sea the

"million" (raised to 1,500,000 by one imaginative commentator) unfortunate Protestants. Even the Rees survey never put the figure at half that size.

Apart from providing easy money to un-named ham actors, in performance fees, it is difficult to understand why this programme managed to pass the NUJ, the producers' union or the commonsense of the controller of programmes.

Unless, of course, it was "ordered" by the Bishop of the Humanist Society, Right Rev. Dr. Crude O'Brien, as a follow-up to his smokescreen designed to keep the financial mess of the state from the view of the taxpayers, the unemployed and those learning for their jobs through the mismanagement of the Coalition Chancers.

Embarrassing for British Ambassador

It must have been extremely embarrassing for the British Ambassador who is accustomed to rather more sophistication and expertise. But what, really, can you expect from the remains of the colonies, these days?

Meanwhile, the pound pounds the floor, trying to reach yet another record level.

O'Briens re-united...



MRS. MARGARET O'Brien, secretary of Irish Civil Rights Association in Britain, seen above with her husband Frank and daughter Margaret, following her release from detention.

She had been detained for five days under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Margaret, who is a native of Donegal was arrested five days previously along with her husband and daughter.

Frank and young Margaret were released on Tuesday evening.

It is believed that the arrest of the 15 year old daughter has caused considerable concern among Civil Liberty groups. She is the youngest person ever detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Husband Frank, has since resigned from his job, after a confrontation with his English workmates.

Mrs. O'Brien, claimed after her release that she was intensively questioned about the bombs in London.

The family now live with the threat of deportation despite the fact that they have resided in England for over twenty years.

MORTAR ATTACK

ANOTHER indication that mortar attacks are likely to play an ever increasingly important rule in the war of liberation was provided late on Sunday night by the firing of a bomb into the enemy camp in Omagh.

According to an enemy spokesman the mortar bomb caused "neither damage nor casualties".

Liberation war continues - see page three.

Harassment in Beleek

DETERMINED to exact whatever revenge was possible for the weekend landmine explosion which killed three enemy Brits in the area, the Crown forces went on a rampage in the Beleek neighbourhood, harassing local people, insulting them, threatening them and even preventing them from attending Mass.

Every tedious exercise designed to infuriate local people and those travelling through the area was tried, in the hope that somebody, somewhere, would lose his temper and strike out, giving

the hoped-for excuse for an increase in fatalities.

People effectively were prevented from attending Mass by the blocking of road, delay of traffic and enforced, lengthy detours.

The effect of the harassment, however, has been to bring the local people more firmly behind the liberation movement than ever before, we are told by our local correspondent.

Responsibility for the soldiers' deaths was acknowledged by Oglai na hEireann.

WEAR AN EASTER LILY



HONOUR IRELAND'S DEAD

Quotes of the week ...

"Our job is to root out and KILL identifiable terrorists"
- Commanding Officer, Royal Scots.

"It is extremely important that the Army get maximum assistance from the whole community. That assistance was often not forthcoming and was to be regretted."

- Commanding Officer, Royal Scots.

"Good-bye Rees"

BY the time you read this edition Merlyn Rees has probably been transferred to another job in the Brit Cabinet.

Last week, with abject failure for his past few years work staring him in the face he broke his decorum and had a bash at Maura Drumm, Leas-Uachtarán Sinn Féin.

But Maura was wise to Rees, and didn't rise to the bait. She summed it up by stating: "as well as setting me up for prosecution he is also pointing me out as a possible target for assassination."

Rees's outburst came after a unit of Oglai na hEireann had killed three enemy Brits.

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THE manipulation of the media has been managed expertly, to such an extent that it borders on madness to hope that a controversy may be allowed to develop, and continue to its logical conclusion, on any of the major issues facing Ireland today.

The reality is that an occasional spark may be struck; that, occasionally, it may ignite briefly; but that Cruise O'Brien fire-brigade is ready always in the wings to ensure that no dangerous conflagration of controversy leading to the truth may be allowed to result.

It would be a pity if the carefully chosen battlefield of Conor Cruise O'Brien for the demolition of stupid prelates were to be populated too thickly for the bould Cruise O'Brien seeks the classical stage-Irish *diversion*, in both senses of the term, lest other thoughts possess us and inspire us to action.

Really, it is sad that "Dublin Opinion" no longer is with us to depict the latter day stage Irishmen at their most fantastic: Cruise O'Brien, as the impoverished middle-class version of Don Quixote; Garret Fitzgerald, as the under-study for Columbus, in the parish hall presentation; Liam Cosgrave as the beggar-on-horseback riding to the devil (or Bodaire mór na tíre).

It would all be very funny, very worthwhile, very much in line for a Pat or Paudge on the back, a stipend and publication promise from a mid-West American university, but for the fact that people are dying in Ireland so unnecessarily with all the co-operation of Leinster House which couldn't care less.

The issue avoided

Ireland is burning but Cruise O'Brien fiddles on, masquerading as the great liberator, as the defender of the non-faith that is liberalism, as the knight of the day against the episcopal windmills.

Cruise O'Brien may imagine himself as a knight, may even glory in it, hoping to unhorse a bishop, winning acclaim from the sidelines; but, in the last analysis, he is merely a pawn; he cannot influence decisively the course of the struggle; he is merely a fringe diversion, checkmate being beyond his power or ken.

It is not in the interest of the likes of Cruise O'Brien to break the power of the political clergy, that hundred of years old willing tool of alien domination; and the politician's carelessness is likely to cost him dearly in the short term.

The campaign that Cruise O'Brien would have us imagine he is conducting is but a charade of the real thing. But, for the real thing to have reality, the circumstances must be real: the fight against imperialism must dominate the stage. Once that fight is won the bishops may be relied upon to operate according to size and weight; and, certainly,

the Republican Movement has no desire to liquidate them, to humiliate them, to harass them, to interfere with them in any way, as long as they confine their activities to matters of faith and morals, abandoning their political ambitions.

The dialogue that should be taking place in Ireland today concerns freedom, peace with justice, democracy, community government. The sparring by Cruise O'Brien with the bishops has nothing to do with the priorities. It has nothing to do with subsidiary priorities, such as the bankrupt state of the 26 counties, the impoverished pound sterling, growing unemployment, an inflation which is speeding out of control.

These other priorities depend on the basic priorities - though Cruise O'Brien and his comrades in the sleight of hand business would have us think otherwise - for, until the foundation has been made safe, the security of the house cannot be guaranteed: the nation remains in chains.

Cruise O'Brien taunts the Roman Catholic Church with sectarianism (and rightly). But Cruise O'Brien is just as sectarian in backing the British and Irish Communist Organisation's two-nation theory, and British linguistic imperialism in Ireland against the survival rights of the Irish language, so tellingly put by him in that most delicate of images, the bog-og Irishman (*in vino veritas*).

In the last analysis there is hardly anything so sectarian in Ireland as the Liberal ethic of which, it would appear, Conor could press his claims as the most vocal and best placed spokesman: in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king.

Debe

An Aisling dá comóradh ag Sinn Féin

TÁ SÉ 60 bliain, geall leis, ó Éirí Amach na Cásca, 1916, agus deallraíonn sé nach mbeidh mórán eile seachtasú Gluaiseacht na Poblachta á chomóráil, feasta: seacht scéal an méid sin féin, caidéis réadúil ar an gcéim a bhí sa pírléite polaitiúil ag tréigint na cásca, ar an gcaoi a bhí ag Éirí leis an táirneon i saol faiseanta ar linne.

Ní fós fós cén diabolachóid tá beartaithe ag na húdaráis maidir le bac a chur i gcomradh na Cásca i mBaile Átha Cliath ag Sinn Féin. B'fhéidir go bhfuadfaidís Ruairí O'Bradaigh agus Uilleall O'Loinsigh nó Ard-Oifig an Phosta féin nó go ndéanfaidís Béal an Aithis eile de Bhaile Átha Cliath Duibhlinne.

Is cinnte go bhfuil cleas suarach éigin i gceannáil chun laochra na Cásca a mhiadú agus lucht a leanúna óir is amhlaidh a cheapann na húdaráis go gceadfaidís siad fobairt dóite de chianóil éicint a thabhairt don dream buí agus do Sheán Buí chun nach bpleácfadís a thuilleadh buamaí san ard-chathair.

Cineál polasáí arachais, dá bhrí sin, atá i sfórbhealléint a chur ar Phoblachtóirí. An ádh d'fáidís a thabhairt ar a leithéid? Is dócha gur féidir: ach d'fáidís a bhí ann is amhlaidh a thabhairt iomlán a gheallúint na gíallóirí Sheán Buí, fé mar a thabhairt na gheallúint ar an sionnach le Liam Mac Cosgair.

Céid rud a dhéanfas na fealltóirí trí chur isteach ar chomóráid laochra na Cásca is beag loit tá ar a geumas maidir le foilseachán alainn Sinn Féin, "An Aisling," atá ar fáil on eagrair i mBaile Átha Cliath ar 50p.

Is é an teideal céanna a bhí an fhóilseachán a d'fhoilsigh Sinn Féin i 1966 agus atá cló anois, b'fhéidir, mar léacht chumasach a thug Máirtín O'

Cadhain uaidh Tigh Jury, Baile Átha Cliath, Aibreán 19 na bliana sin.

Más an cló don facht úd, níor mhiste athchloí chur uirthi, na botúin a cheartú agus na nótaí a chur in eagar, mar aon le giotá beag, ag cur síos ar na blianta 1966-1976, ag duine éicint den bhfoireann a bhí ann le foilseachán is nuaí le chéile: Ruairí O'Bradaigh, Cathriona Ní Mhuinnigh, Daithí O' hUgáin, Nollaig O' Gadhra, Diarmuid O'Suilleabhain agus Deasún O'Fionnghaile.

Dan cumasach

B'fhéidir nár chóir idirdealu idir na daoine sin uilig a fíne job chomh cumasach agus chomh riachtanach. Agus is é an dán fada Gaeilge de chuid Uí Shúilleabhain is mó a chuagáil i bhfeidhm ormsa. In áiteanna feictear don go bhfuil Máirtín O' Cadhain é féin ag labhairt amach as béal an tSúilleabhainigh, feach:

"A Cháise, éirigh amach, déan do ghiall, déan do dhámha, rince gineis is spéire, comhsholas do Mhís is Caillinn. In áiteanna, tabhairse uait palm phaisit, fáilse cosa caillme, ungáth a ndéana, tarráing tairní, dírig cros.

A cháise seo '76 buail fút gan bhuille is éirigh amach. B'fhéidir go smaoineodh Diarmuid faoin déan seo a athbhóilú roimh dheireadh na bliana agus léaráid in eindi, iad bunaithe ar na hionghnín, na móit-chéanna, na samhailtí is na fíotail, diath agus inneach na háilleachta agus na tairgreachta seo: "Coinníne Chásca '76"?

Taighde Uí Ghadhra

"Public Reaction to the 1916 Rising" teideal na haiste tá scríofa ag Nollaig O' Gadhra agus tá roinnt mhaith taighde déanta aige, taighde a mheabhraíonn dinn gur míroin mar a chéile a bhí an stathas-úir i 1916 agus ina dhiaidh is atá inniu, chomh hian-eolach, chomh nímheach, chomh faiteach is chomh feallach céanna.

Fíricí na haiste seo, tá daltaí scoile dall orthu: tá Éirí Amach na Cásca thart; tá blianta fada idir muid agus é; tá sé "slán" anois agus, dá bhrí sin, naofa; agus "níl aon cheangal idir a bhfuil ar siúl thuaidh inniu agus a tharla ansin 60 bliain ó shin." Dar fa!

Ach teaspéinneann Nollaig dinn gur mar a chéile an cuspóir: m'ar a chéile an mímháid; mar a chéile na nuachtáin, na hriséirí, na míonpholaitóirí, an nua-nuachtáin agus na heaspáig. Agus mar a chéile naidir an chogaidh.

Agus mar churthú nach rud "slán" é 1916, ní cumhaine ar 1916, ná na laochra a chomóráid, tá deireadh le fímhéiteacht rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath: ní bheidh aon bhaint aici sa mpaireadil Domhnach na Cásca a thuilleadh. Buíochas mór le Dia.



Pósadh Treasa agus Seósamh O'Cuag thart ar mhí ó shin... ó Chill Chiaráin don bheirt díobh... go maire síd an nuachtóir.

Dr. O Duibhir, Easpag Luimnín, an t-aon eaglais-each mór le rá a labhair amach ar son cheart na hÉireann don saoirse agus ceart na laochra, i 1916. Idir 1970 agus inniu, is beag easpag a labhair nach ar son ar gcearta, an tEaspag Bartholomew easpag Caitliceach i Meiricea.

Ba dheacair aiste Ruairí a lochtú mar léiriú ar stair na Gluaiseachta, ar chuspóirí an chogaidh agus ar pholasáí an pháirt. Agus is fíor do Ruairí, gur mar chuid den "tríú domhan" is coir Éire a theicéil.

Cur-síos gairid ar Sheachtain na Cásca, ní hamháin i mBaile Átha Cliath ach i roinnt áiteanna eile, atá san aiste le Cathriona: "A Terrible Beauty." Ach is trua go mór gur dháil sí do "Návan", nach gceallóinn tada. "An Uaimh" ainm traidisiúnta an bhaile.

CRIED É nó ná creid: tá seachtair airi de chuid rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath ag plé le Gaeilge agus Gaeltacht (agus cuid díobh chomh dall ar an teanga is atáid nímheach di). Chomh maith le sin, tá 26 eagrais stáit agus leathstáit ag plé leis an dá rud céanna.

Caitheadh go bhfuil dúbláil, mí-éifeacht, díomáit airgid agus ama ag baint leis an tionscaltas leis an easba mór eagrair seo. Agus tá sin ar an bairdíní is mó tá ar son Udarás na Gaeltachta a bhunú, dar le Seósamh O'Cuag, atá ar na daoine a thabairt an ollchruinnú uair údáris in Indreabhán Dé Shathain seo caite (Aibreán '73).

Ó Thír Chonaill, ó Cho. Mhaigh Eó agus ó Cho. na Mí, go háirithe agus ó gach cearn de Chonamara, a tháinig ionaidithe don chruinnú seo agus nuair a cuireadh stop leis b'fhéidir na Gaeltachta bunaithe den chéad uair le breis is scór bliain.

Ba chóir, agus an scéal chomh práinneach is atá, go mairfeadh an t-eagrair nua níos mó agus níos nuaire agus níos éifeachtai ná mar a mhair Muinín na Gaeltachta, as ar eascair "Amárach," atá i fhóilú le bliain, nach mór, san Indreabhán céanna seo.

Ar na hearraí is mó a mbeidh dá leo chun an t-eagrair nua a choinneáil ina dhúiseacht, ní áiríom obair a dhéanamh, ní nótaí punt. Punt a chosnós ballraicéit, don té ar aicmháin dó í íoc. Ach ní teora leis an méid a gcuirfeadh fáil roimhe ar son an eagrais. Is féidir an t-eagrair nua a chur láirtheach chug S. O'Cuag, bainisteoir, an Comharthumann, Indreabhán, Conamara.

Notai don Ghaeltacht amháin

AG NA baili a bhí cónaí Gaeltachta orthu, agus aon siúd amháin, a bheas uairt. Measaim go bhfuil an riail seo réasúnta. Tugaim faoi deara go bhfuil Tomas O'Donnaihl ag dúirt fós d'údaráis "glaitiúil" (eogair) an bhféadfaidís an tUdarás bheith neampholaitiúil? agus nach bhfuil sé cinnte go fóill céard is brí le "údaráis daonlathach."

Méiseáil mhór na seacht n-airí

An mbeadh sé daonlathach dá gceadfaí do mhuintir na Gaeltachta an tríú cuid de bhaill an Udarás a thogh, tríú cuid eile ag teacht ó na comharthumainn (abair) an tríú cuid eile fós ainmnithe ag an aire? Ní thabharfaínnis féin "daonlathach" ar a leithéid.

Tá daoine ag déanamh comparáide idir an tUdarás nua agus comhairle chontae, go mba chóir go mbeadh an chumhacht chéanna ag roinnt leis an Udarás is a roinntear leis an gcomhairle chontae. Is é mó bharúil féin fós mó de chumhacht a ba chóir a bheith ag an Udarás tóir gur páinní na gadbanna a chaithearf a réiteach: tá pobal na Gaeilge ar tí a-riosa.

O Cuana ina leachtóir

NIL Padraig O'Cuana ar na daoine is tuiscenai, is meabhraí nó is fearr cainte sa tír. Níl de chluí air go feann sé leabhair. Mise i mbannaí ort nach bhféadfaidís sé idirdealu idir Marcuse, Lenin, Marx, Mao agus Fídel Castro.

Ní haon fiontas é, dá bhrí sin, gur rinne sé muga agus maga agus mugadh magadh de féin, an tseachtain seo caite, agus é ag ramhaíl faoi réabhlóideachas. Dia dhár réiteach!

Seo a leanas caint Uí Chuana, más fíor (agus docheirdite atá sí): "a deasúnd nationalism diffused by a Sino-Hibernian of the Communist Manifesto." *In vino veritas?* Ní fíor.

Ach nuair a chuireann sé stair ghluaiseachta na gceart sna Sé Chontae

as a riocht ar fad, é beag beann ar thuairiscí móra na Corónach a d'ins cuid mhaith den fhírinne faoin ghluaiseacht chéanna, caitheadh muid ceist a chur orainn féin: is amhlaidh a cheapann O'Cuana gur amáid lena bhréagha mar rogha ar a bhfuil de thuairiscí oifigiúla agus leabhair curtha ar fáil le blianta beag?

Nó an ag dul i muintir teoiric Geobells atá O'Cuana, gur mó de sheans go gceirfidh daoine brág más brág mílteannach mór? Is trua gan teifís neamhspleách againn. D'fhéadfaidís an-sport go deo bheith againn ach na ceisteanna córa cearta a chur ar an tUdarás, Machiaveli mór na hÉireann anois, ó tá Dev faoin bhfód.

Na Gardai agus Port Laoise

TÁ AN ceart ar fad ag na Gardai nuair a d'fíor siad nach bhfuilid ásta obair oifigiúil an phríosúin a dhéanamh a thuilleadh i bPortlaoise. Agus an colún seo á scríobhadh, ní sé seachtair an tUdarás an-sport go deo bheith againn ar an bprionsabal sin nó cuid ásta. Tá Laois agus Uí bhFáille. Ach is fada eolach mé faoina míshástacht.

Tá na Gardai ar an teorainn chomh mí-shásta céanna agus, dar le cuid mhuid díobh a raibh mise ag éisteach leo ag clárádh, ábhar maidir le scaoiteachas nua lucht SAS, etc.

Beagnach gach tí, anois, tá saighdiúirí ag teacht teansa na teorann, lena ngnáth, agus go minic gan bheith in éide air; agus nuair a thagann na Gardai orthu ní ceadmhach dóibh iad a chaitheamh isteach sa chéim, mar a chaitheafas fáil a dhéanamh le hOglaigh, ach iad a thabhairt dóibh sa mbeairic, ar chostas mhuintir na hÉireann!

Heavy enemy casualties as liberation war continues

IT HAS been a week of heavy enemy casualties. Four members of the British occupation forces lost their lives and at least nine suffered serious injuries.

Three Brits killed in South Armagh

Tuesday, March 30: three Brit soldiers were killed, and one seriously injured, when a Land-Rover exploded as their Land-Rover drove past a culvert about a mile and a half from Belleek, in South Armagh.

The explosion took place on a lonely part of the road in an area where a number of other British patrols have suffered fatalities.

The Provisional IRA claimed responsibility for the killings saying they would continue their campaign until the Brit Army ceased its harassment of the Republican community and Britain stated its intention of withdrawing from Ireland. The dead soldiers were believed to have been members of the First Battalion, Royal Scots. They were travelling in convoy with a second Army vehicle.

The deaths bring the number of soldiers killed in the Six Counties so far this year to five.

One dead, two injured in Orange Hall blast

Monday, March 29: the soldier who was killed in a bomb blast which ripped through an Orange hall in Co. Armagh was Corporal Donal Traynor (28), single of Worsley, Manchester. He was serving with the 3rd Battalion Royal Regiment of Fusiliers.

His death came after security forces had staked out the hall at Ballygargan, between Lurgan and Portadown, during the night following an anonymous call that arms could be found there.

The Brits had just moved in to make an examination when there was an explosion, killing Corporal Traynor and injuring two other soldiers.

Keady

Sunday, March 28: two soldiers on sentry duty at Keady, Co. Armagh, Police Station were injured when a bomb exploded at the main entrance gates.

Damage was caused to the gates and a sandbag observation post.

Andersonstown

Saturday, March 27: an RUC man was injured when a mobile patrol vehicle was stoned in Andersonstown. The patrol was forced to withdraw from the area.

In the Unity Flats, the RUC came under machine-gun fire when they arrived to arrest youths for alleged stone throwing.

Derry: Another mortar attack

Friday, March 26: for the second time in a week mortar shells were fired at an Army base in Derry. Casualties have not been disclosed by the Brits.

The attack was on Fort George - the former Navy maintenance depot - at Pennyburn. As in the previous attack on Creggan camp the missiles were fired from a range of about 400 yards.

A hotel on the outskirts of Newry came under attack the same day. The Provisional IRA said that they placed the bomb which damaged the Ardmore Hotel. The ASU opened fire on a member of the RUC as they withdrew.

In a supplied statement the South Down Command, Oglagh na hEireann said:

"Active security units carried out the two attacks in Newry on Friday at the Ardmore Hotel and the Tax Office. Adequate warnings were given in both cases. The Ardmore Hotel is known to have been the meeting place for RUC Special Branch and Free State police.

"The command would like to point out that no members of their organisation was involved in the Post Office robbery, the same day. The names of the 'gangsters' concerned are well known to our Intelligence Department.

"It has come to our notice that people selling bomb damaged goods in and around the South Down area are the same people who have condemned the bombing campaign. We will watch the future movements of these people.

"The command would also point out to those people acting under the name Irish Volunteer Force to cease their activities immediately. The command views these people with great alarm.

"An investigation is under way concerning the intimidation of a postman.

We can say one person known to us will be questioned in relation to this incident. Personal gain will not be allowed to stand in the way of the Republican Movement," the statement ended.

Great Victoria St. bombed again

Thursday, March 25: hours after the new security arrangements for Belfast city centre were announced two bombs went off within minutes in Great Victoria Street, which is not included in the new scheme.

The bombs badly damaged three shops in a block which has been blasted six times already. They also started a fire - most of the ground floor of the block was destroyed.

Police station blasted

Wednesday, 24 March: a Belfast dockside RUC station suffered blast damage when a van loaded with explosives went off minutes after it was parked and a warning was given.

Neighbouring premises and offices were also damaged when the car-bomb exploded in York Road. The vehicle had been hijacked during the morning in the Ardoyne district of North Belfast.

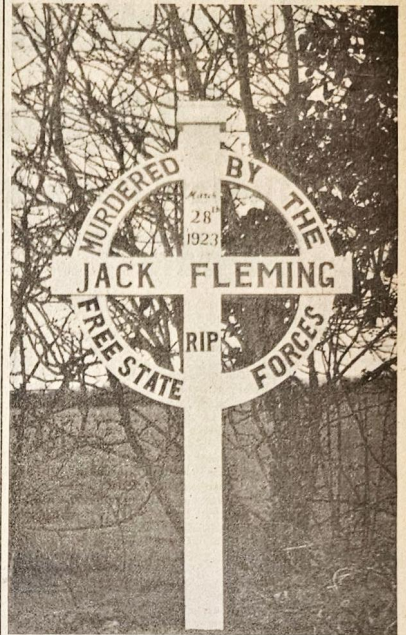
Proposed H.Q. destroyed

Monday, 22 March: In Belfast Plaza dance-hall earmarked for use by occupation forces as a city-centre ad hoc headquarters was destroyed by fire. The Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann have claimed responsibility for the operation.

The bomb attack itself began at 1.00 p.m. when two men and a woman, all armed, entered McDermott's engineering works in Gloucester Street.

A single explosion occurred at 1.44 p.m., which caused a fierce fire that destroyed the dance-hall.

MEMORIAL CROSS RESTORED BY S.F.



The Memorial Cross to Vol. Jack Fleming, murdered by Free State troops on March 28th, 1923, has been replaced in Haip's Tce., Tralee after an absence of ten years.

The work has been carried out by the John Joe Rice Sinn Fein Cumann Tralee on the 53rd anniversary of the patriot's death. Jack Fleming, a lover of Irish music, joined the Volunteers in 1917, at a very young age.

In Derry a member of the RUC reserve seriously wounded in a shooting attack.

In Derry also four high-velocity shots were fired from Brooke Park at the military post in Rosemount RUC station, which is close to Creggan Estate, in Derry. Casualties have not been disclosed by the "Security Forces".

NOTEBOOK

I DON'T know Mr. Brian O Maoleoin of Ross Gail, but I read recently in *Amarrach* that he said something very good at a meeting held in Gaith Dobhair to discuss a Gaeltacht authority. By his own account - he was writing to the paper to correct a previous report of the meeting - he said: "Da mbeadh Gaeltacht in Eirinn, bheadh udaras aici."

Only those happy people who understand Irish will grasp the simple profundity and the rich ambiguity of that remark. The rich ambiguity comes partly from the fact that Mr. O Maoleoin said and wrote *udaras* with a small *u*. This enables him to say two things, both of them true, at the same time.

He is saying "if there were a Gaeltacht in Ireland, it would have authority" and "it would have an authority". You can understand it either way; both ways it's true; and the second meaning follows logically from the first. *Da mbeadh Gaeltacht in Eirinn, bheadh udaras aici*.

It isn't that there aren't pieces of Ireland here and there where Irish is the everyday language of the people. Such linguistic islands do exist; and their population, taken together, comprises 25-30,000 people.

But the people living in these language islands do not feel or believe that they share a common identity together as "the Gaeltacht". The Gaeltacht is not a self-conscious social entity, but merely a name which we give to a collection of territorial and linguistic facts, and to a corresponding bunch of local social identities, most of them.

Even within Donegal, as everyone knows, there are neighbouring Irish-speaking parishes which simply turn their backs on each other.

Since the Gaeltacht does not exist as a social entity, it does not exist. (There is no other way it could exist except as a social entity.) And since it

doesn't exist, it doesn't live or throb or move or act. It doesn't have pride in itself or display its pride. It doesn't express itself in the only way that social entity can express itself, namely, through a representative institution.

Consequently, the Gaeltacht has no authority in either of the two meanings of the word. To have authority, in the moral sense, it would need to have an organised means of presenting and expressing itself to the rest of Ireland. To have an authority in the political sense, it would need to begin by having a political organisation.

But if the Gaeltacht *did* exist, if it really existed and had a life of its own and a social personality, then - this is Mr. O Maoleoin's point - all the rest would follow.

As long as things continue as they are now, the recurrent talk and agitation about the Gaeltacht authority is condemned to futility. It will lead to nothing of any importance. It is a mere cackling here and there in the dwindling language islands.

You remember when we had things called "national aims," two of them: the reunification of Ireland and the revival of Irish? You remember how every right-thinking person subscribed to them but did nothing effective to achieve them - for 50 long years?

From time to time, when some Englishman or Ulster Britisher said or did something provocative with regard to the North, there was a great flocking to meetings and a great outburst of fiery speaking. Then, after a week or two, everything would subside again. But the "national aim" would remain.

Well, the *Udaras ceart daoilathach* has become the "national aim" of Gaeltacht activists respectively, English-surrounded islands. Every right-thinking person among them - and most of them are by now right-thinking - says something about it on formal occasions.

When Tom O'Donnell makes a provocative utterance, there is as we saw recently, a great flurry of protest and outcry. They appoint "ad hoc committees" to make "a clear statement of our aims". Then everything subsides again. The ad hoc committees never make their statements. Clarity and coherence might frighten people, not least the Gaeltacht activists. But the "national aim" remains.

The simple fact is that all the Gaeltacht activists together do not include *five* men who really care whether the Gaeltacht achieves self government or not. It is doubtful whether there is even one such activist. If there were he would have been noticed before now.

He would be at it full-time, living from hand to mouth, moving from Gaith Dobhair to Cleire and from Ceathru Thaidh to An Cheathru Rua. He would be living and acting and talking like everyone else who has ever really cared about a cause - not to mention those who have both cared about something and achieved it.

He would be recognisable. He would have been recognised by now. But no one answering to the above description has been sighted in Cleire or An Cheathru Rua.

I believe it is still worthwhile saying these things. The Gaeltacht cause is Ireland's cause, every bit as much as Ulster. There is still time for the Gaeltacht activists to look at themselves in the mirror and catch themselves on.

They are not obliged to go on play-acting in their present manner until they become as disgusting as the cynical old windbags who used to go on and on about Irish unity and the revival of Irish. They can become serious. They can discover passion.

They have, before their eyes in Ireland today, criteria by which they can measure what *caring* means and entails. Many of those who have been

caring most passionately, these last few years, are dead or in jail. Faced with these examples, the Gaeltacht activists can still ask themselves - there is still time - do they intend to remain children or to become men.

Probably the creation of a Gaeltacht consciousness, and the achievement of Gaeltacht self-government, would not require the use of guns, rockets or bombs. But it would require at least as much work as went into winning Faoise self-government, or self-government for the French-speakers of Haut-Jura canton in Switzerland, or cultural self government for Flanders.

Boys need definitely not apply. *Da mbeadh fir sa nGaeltacht, bheadh udaras aici. Blonn udaras ag fear.*

There is still time - time to stop talking a double incoherent language: telling the people of the Gaelic districts, on the one hand, that the aim is "control over our own affairs, our own life, our own destiny", and telling the Dublin media and government, on the other hand, that the aim is a "correct, full-powered, democratic Authority".

Their people are listening when they say that mouthful and wonder why they don't say "govern ourselves". Is that version, so to speak, only for "home consumption"?

There is still time for them to realise that the only way to rouse mass consciousness for a cause is to describe it in plain, simple, consistent language on all occasions: "Ourselves alone", "One Man One Vote", "The Land for the People", "All Power to the Soviets".

Death of Life-long Republican and GAA man

The late Peter Rogers

THE death took place after a long illness on Wednesday, March 10th in the County Hospital, Mullingar, of Mr. Peter Rogers of Nultyfarnham, Co. Westmeath and formerly of Currygrane, Ballinalee, Co. Longford. He was a life-long member of the G.A.A. and of the Republican Movement.

The coffin was draped in the Tricolour at the removal to Nultyfarnham Parish Church which was largely attended on Friday evening. The attendance included Father Basil Doran, Franciscan Priory, Nultyfarnham and Rev. Fr. Carrigy C.C., Athlone. Father Kevin Rogers, P.P. (Scotland) brother of the deceased officiated.

St. Andrew's Church was thronged at the Requiem Mass next day celebrated by Father Rogers, assisted by Very Rev. Michael McManus, P.P. Nultyfarnham.

GAA Guard of Honour

Six members of the Republican Movement, acted as pall-bearers on either side of the hearse and forty members of Sean Connolly's Gaelic Football Club, Ballinalee bearing the Club banner, provided a Guard of Honour, and escorted the remains to the graveside.

Attendance

A strong contingent of Sinn Féin members from Dublin Louth, Meath, Westmeath and Longford marched as a body behind the relatives. They were led by the organisation's

President, Ruairi O Bradaigh, who was a close personal friend of the deceased, General Secretary Ualtair O Loinsigh and National Treasurer Tony Ruane; Ard-Comhairle Members, Joe Cahill of Belfast, Thomas Hayden, Longford and Thomas O'Neill, Dublin.

Father Herman and Father Ultan Tuite of the Franciscan Priory walked in the funeral procession and the attendance included Mr. Dan McCarthy Co. C., President of the National Land League, Sinn Féin Councillors Sean Lynch (Longford Co. Council) and Michael Nevin (Longford Urban Council) and Mrs. Kathleen Moynihan, Mullingar representing the Barnes and McCormack Commemoration Committee.

Oration

Father Rogers and Fr. McManus officiated at the graveside. Then Mr. Sean Lynch Co. C., paid a tribute to the late Peter Rogers and introduced Ruairi O Bradaigh, who gave the oration at the graveside, in the course of which he said:

"It is difficult to speak here of Peter Rogers because of a long and close association with his in the Republican Movement and because of his untimely death.

"His dedication to the ordinary people did not confine itself to the Movement however. He was active as a playing member with his local G.A.A. Club, named after the heroic Longford L.R.A. leader of the 1920's Sean Connolly.

"His grit and determination brought him to represent his native County on the playing field and when he went to Dublin he was captain of St. Joseph's C.F.C. there for years and won many honours, including that of wearing the Dublin County jersey on an occasion.

"Peter's outstanding qualities were his obvious sincerity and his persistence over a lifetime of service. He was respected and loved by those who worked with him and who today honour his fruitful contribution to his fellowman. To his wife, Emma, his children is offered the heartfelt sympathy of all who knew him and were associated with him. To have had such a husband and father is indeed an honour."

"Leaba i Measc na bhFinini ar dheis lamh do go raibh aige".

Chief mourners

The chief mourners were his wife, Mrs. Emma Rogers (nee Kenny); children Josephine, Peter and Theresa; brothers Michael (Addee, Co. Louth), Tommy (Currygrane), Tony (Currygrane), John (Dublin), Jimmy (Cool); sister, Brigid (London); Mother-in-Law, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews to whom the sympathy of the entire community is offered.

"During Requiem Mass, Fr. McManus paid tribute to the deceased and said: "Peter Rogers loved his country and his fellow-man". At the conclusion of Mass Fr. Rogers thanked everyone, including the G.A.A. and Republican Movement for the honours accorded.

A large force of Gardai from Longford and Mullingar were on plain-clothes duty during the funeral as well as Special Branch men from Dublin.

Gathering of the Gaels

THE Irish Northern Aid Committee, Queens Region, is sponsoring its Seventh Annual "Gathering of the Gaels" and Easter Week Commemoration Party and Dance on Friday evening, May 14th, 1976 at the Tower View Ballrooms, Woodside, Queens, New York.

"There will be dancing, entertainment, drawings for valuable prizes, door prize and a few surprises", says vice-chairman, Tim Brennan.

The committee, headed by Jimmy McCullough of Maspeth and Frances Durrigan of Jackson Heights, is working very hard to ensure the success of the party.

All proceeds go to the dependants of the Republican prisoners. This function is one of a large number organised by Noraid for the coming months.



The marriage of Mr. Patrick Ward and Miss Mary Lawlor took place in the Capuchin Church, Dublin, on Tuesday, March 30th. Mr. Ward became seriously ill during the hunger-strike protest by 16 Republicans over conditions in Port Laoise Prison last spring. He fasted for 44 days.

More about that Cosgrave safari

"The Cosgrave Visit" was the title of the Editorial in the *Irish Echo* of March 27th, 1976. The *Irish Echo*, an influential paper is published weekly every Saturday by the *Irish Echo* Newspaper Corporation, Broadway, New York.

This editorial comment leaves us in no doubt that Irish Americans are far too well informed of the true situation in Ireland to be influenced by the venom spewed out by the Free State's Taoiseach.

Commentary on the Cosgrave address to Congress the Editor of the *Irish Echo* had this to say:

In that speech and others during his hectic six-day visit, Mr. Cosgrave chose to make the

major theme of his messages a condemnation of those Americans who allegedly raise funds for arms for the IRA in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Cosgrave, of course, has every right to voice this opinion but it was a curiously one-sided criticism. Only supporters of the IRA were directly singled out.

There was no direct mention of those who raise money and send weapons to the Ulster Loyalists, even though it is generally accepted that they have many times the weapons of the IRA.

There was no direct condemnation either of the British Government — the original source of all violence in Northern Ireland.

This newspaper has repeatedly exposed the use of violence by anyone in Northern Ireland whether it be British troops, loyalists or republicans. Violence will not solve the problem. But neither will the simple condemnation of violence without a positive programme.

A British declaration of intent to leave (which over 60 per cent of the British people would certainly be a step in the right direction. We are not talking about the British leaving tomorrow. We are talking about the British phased pull-out over a period of time, perhaps several years.

Also concerted effort to find areas of co-operation between Northern Protestants and Catholics and between Irish people on both sides of the border should be vigorously pursued by both the Dublin and London Governments as a step towards an eventual unified Ireland.

Unless there is some sort of positive programme forthcoming from the elected governments involved in the "Irish question", the violence will not end.

Cosgrave's 'Whitehall' speeches

Commenting on Mr. Cosgrave's appeals in the U.S. for Irish-Americans to stop supporting certain Northern Ireland "relief" organisations, the Economist's correspondent in Washington writes that the Taoiseach's concentration on this theme won the heartfelt, if silent thanks of the British Embassy and consulates.

"What the Irish prime minister had to say might just as well have been drafted in Whitehall," he writes. "All too often it is left to the British to point out that up to 83 per cent of the Irish are of American origin and that the traffic in these arms may run to 3 million dollars a year."

We believe that the above news item which appeared in *The Irish Press* of 29/3/76 needs no comment from us.

Easter Sunday

Following is a list of speakers and venues for Easter Sunday, 18th April, 1976:

Belfast	Details later
Derry	Details later
Crossmaglen	Details later
Cullyhanna	Details later
Belleeks	Details later
Mullaghbawn (Holy Saturday)	Details later
Newry	Details later
Ballymacnab	Details later
Dromintee	Details later
Kilcruy (Easter Monday)	Details later
Carrickmore	Details later
The Loup	Details later
Lurgan	Details later
Coalisland	Details later
Armagh City	Details later
Fermanagh	Details later
Castlewellsan	Details later
Drumboe	Daithi O Connail
Dundalk/Drogheda	John Joe McGill
Monaghan	Donal O Lubhail
Cavan	George Stagg
Dublin	Maurice Conway
Meath/Westmeath	Liam Cotter
Longford	Tony Ruane
Kilkenny	Seamus Donnelly
Cork	Myles Shevlin
Limerick city	Daithi O'Hogain
Tralee	Joe Stagg
Cahiriveen	Niall Fagan
Sth. Tipperary	Liam Minnagh
Nth. Tipperary	Mary Lawlor
Clare	Malachy Foote
Oughterard/Donoughpatrick	Sean O Bradaigh
Mayo	Frank Graham
Leitrim	Vincent Conlon
Roscommon	Aidan Corrigan
Sligo	Charlie McGlade
London	Details later
New York	Details later

Subservience of Irish journalists

"The problem is that most people do not like such disclosures (the Watergate affair) for reasons of patriotism or simply because they disturb the general sense of security or well-being. But the journalist's position in a democratic society is, and will remain, that an unpalatable truth is far better than no truth at all".

This quote, from Antwerp's "To the Point International", should be on every Irish journalist's desk and a copy given to every politician in Leinster House.

Because the cover-up that goes on in Irish political circles will eventually become known as the most shocking scandal of the first fifty years of the State. If the politicians were given a declaration of intent that such cover-ups, known simply as "co-operation", were to stop we might have a different code of conduct in Leinster House.

Appropos the same subject matter, I hope the journalists in Montrose have taken due note of this quote from Westmeath T.D. Gerry L'Estrange in a letter defending the Blueshirts:

"The Government have a responsibility which I believe they should now exercise and ensure that all programmes are presented accurately, fairly and objectively".

Ruairi O'Bradaigh, and others who have suffered from the censorship of RTE, will echo that sentiment. But I wonder if that is what Gerry was suggesting — or was it the usual, that RTE must be "objective" only on the side of the Establishment?

That great Liberal, Conor Cruise O'Brien, once told the National Union of Journalists that he was not in favour of censorship — but he believed that interview programmes should be recorded in advance and, if the Government or Establishment side came off best, they should be broadcast. If the anti-establishment side won the round the programme should be scrapped.

Conor proved his point when an interview with Mrs. Deirdre O'Connell ended up in some RTE waste basket because Mrs. O'Connell was too articulate for the interviewer and won handsomely on points.

N.U.J. men from England were profoundly shocked at Conor's revelation and sailed home amazed at the subservience of Irish journalists who were prepared to knock down and accept such a view from a Minister for Posts and Telegraphs.

O for a few more journalists and even one

coddled so easily!

Egg on the faces of the Sunday Press moguls over that Frank Stagg funeral story. They didn't even get the picture of Mrs. Bridie Stagg right — but the story behind the story is that they were conned.

A civil servant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is laughing up his sleeve but he may not have the last laugh. He thinks he's in the clear but, I hear, there is an inclination to break a journalistic code that says one should not divulge the source of one's information.

The civil servant should ponder on the fact that Dublin politicians have not a very good record of looking after those who drop them in the proverbial. Think about it, lad.

Political notes by Maren

newspaper magnate who would practice and believe that "... the journalist's position in a democratic society is, and will remain, that an unpalatable truth is far better than no truth at all". How Ireland is in need of them now!

Our national newspapers are full of praise these days for old Gravel Voice's trip across the Atlantic. He put Noraid in its place and — surprise, surprise — came home with pockets full of sweeties, thousands of jobs and big investment promises. Familiar? It should be. Cast your mind back to Jackeen Lynch's visit to the U.S. — remember now? Yes, you're right. He came home with massive American factories for Donegal and other depressed areas.

Where are they? Probably in the same place all those jobs Cosgrave brought back will be as the years roll by without action to replace the honeyed words. We are

Nothing yet about those forests that have been hooked to pay for keeping this Government out of the ranks of the fallen. Not a question from any politician of any hue.

Well, let's see if we can stir some action — the information came originally from the office of the Attorney General. Now let's wait for the witch hunt!

Vote of Sympathy

A vote of sympathy was passed by the Bundoran Urban District Council with the Stagg family at their recent meeting.

The vote was passed on the proposal of Colr. Joe O'Neill, S.F.

Bletchley

Sinn Fein

Dance and Social

SINN FEIN members and their families from all over the 'home counties' travelled to Bletchley in Buckinghamshire, on Saturday night (March 27th) in support of the 'Dance and Social get-together' organised by the Paul Best Sinn Fein Cumann in the town. The cumann was recently reformed to incorporate Milton Keynes, the neighbouring town. The function, which was run in aid of An Cumann Cabhairle was supported by the Home Counties Comhairle Ceannair, and was attended by Sinn Fein members from Northampton, High Wycombe, Leighton Buzzard, St. Albans and Luton.

Music was provided for the occasion by local Bletchley Irish group 'The Felons', who played traditional Irish and Scottish as well as modern music, and gave their services for the occasion free of charge.

Chairman of Bletchley Sinn Fein, Joe Gallagher, told the gathering that as the event was such a financial and social success his committee would now give serious consideration to running functions such as this, on a regular and permanent basis, to raise money in aid of political prisoners and their dependants at home and abroad.

BUIOCHAS

During the evening the gathering was entertained by several vocalists from Bletchley, High Wycombe and Luton. This was followed by a half-hour Cabaret Act. The Cumann wish to thank all those who supported their social evening (which was held in a hall with a "night club" atmosphere) and particular thanks to the members of the Polish community who also attended.

At the end of the evening a raffle for a bottle of Irish whisky was won by J. Treacy of Boxmoor, Hemel Hempstead, on Ticket No. 398.

Bletchley Sinn Fein plan to run another fund-raising function during April and tickets can be obtained through the Republican paper sellers in the town.

PROINSIAS STAGG BURIAL

A letter to Oliver J. Flanagan

Following is a copy of a letter written by Kevin Cahill of British Columbia, Canada to Oliver J. Flanagan, Free State T.D. and Parliamentary Secretary:

Oliver,

I waited until I got an Irish paper to see the details of your government's actions in dealing with Frank Stagg's remains: I could not accept as being even remotely near the truth, what I thought were the garbled versions of that affair as published in the Canadian press.

To my horror and with the utmost loathing not only did I read of the actions of an Irish government in the desecration of the body of a man who gave his life for his ideals — ideals, which, don't forget, Oliver, have made it possible for an Irish government to exist — but I failed to find any report that you dissociated yourself from the actions of the Government of which you are a member.

I cannot help my memory going back to a day, some thirty years ago, when you and I stood on the same platform on the Falls Road Belfast and you spoke with the deepest feeling, castigating Eamonn de Valera and the Fianna Fail party for allowing Sean McCaughey to die on hunger strike in Port Laisie Gaol; later, that same day, you and I stood on the roadside, while the hearse carrying Sean McCaughey's body passed by — and you, Oliver, were bitter, indeed, in your comments on de Valera.

At least, de Valera allowed Sean McCaughey's body to be buried in peace and didn't hold it by force from his wife and mother — I wonder what your comments would have been had he done so?

You, surely, find yourself in strange company for an Irishman. Lloyd George, seizing Terence McSwiney's body from his relatives at Holyhead, also pleaded that if it were allowed to pass through Dublin it would, maybe, lead to a breach of the peace.

Oliver, how would you like to come back some day soon with me to the Falls Road and then to Sean McCaughey's grave in Miltown Cemetery, when you could tell the people that you and times have changed and all that Ireland means is a road to political preferment?

Yours,
Kevin Cahill.

* Kevin Cahill was at one time well-known in Leix/Offaly, Oliver J's Constituency.

A copy of his letter, has also been sent to the *Irish Press* but so far has failed to appear.

Coiste Cuimhneachain na Poblachta

REPUBLICAN COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE

Ceremonies to mark the sixtieth anniversary (Diamond Jubilee) of Aiscirí na Casca will be held in Dublin by the Republican Movement on

Sunday, 25th April, 1976

A parade will assemble at Stephen's Green at 2.30 p.m.

A public meeting will be held at the G.P.O. at 3.00 p.m. Speakers include Daithí O'Connell and other prominent Republicans.

Commemoration Ceili Ceili and Ballads

Sunday, 25th April, 1976.

CLARE MANOR HOTEL
(Malahide Road)

ISTEACH: £2.00 (Supper included)
By ticket only.

TICKETS AVAILABLE: 44, Parnell Square, Dublin 1 and 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8. Country patrons may apply for tickets by letter. All rights reserved.

The Trade Union Movement

by James Hope

Q. How shall we arrive at the blessings so certain from Independence?

A. By a union of ALL the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in that union?

A. No. Were we to await their concurrence our delivery would be as distant as the general death of nature.

—Catechism of the United Irishmen

The Irish trade union movement deserves the support of Irish Republicans, but not an unquestioning support. The trade union movement has done little as yet to earn it.

There are good unions, progressive unions and others with a mediocre record. Connolly's Union, the Union of Larkin, was the Irish Transport & General Workers. It still carries the faint threads of his mantle. When Larkin returned from prison in 1923 imbued with an anti-Cosgrave anti-Free State spirit he found the leadership of his former Union, William O'Brien and others, no longer wanted him. He created from among his own lonely band of supporters the Workers' Union of Ireland. For a time, with Big Jim and his son, official Communist James Junior at its head, it was the enfant terrible, the pace setter of the movement. To-day its main concern is Aer Lingus' 5,000 employees, a measure of its upward climb on the bureaucratic ladder.

RADICAL

The ATGWU, the Amalgamated, is one of the 'foreign based' unions. Matt Merrigan, whose father was in the I.R.A. in the twenties and thirties, is one of the activists there. It, together with ASTAMS (Assoc. of Technical and Managerial Staffs) of which former Civil Rights chairman Noel Harris is Secretary, another 'foreign based' union, are two of the most radical trade unions north and south. Even in the UK ASTAMS is a thorn in the side of the establishment — its secretary over there Noel Jenkins — whom many of you may have seen on TV — is outspoken and courageous. (This is one of the reasons, dare I say it, that I have never favoured an internecine struggle between native and foreign based unions — too often one could trace the argument back to bickering personalities as rife and destructive in trade unionism as anywhere else).

What a difference, indeed, from the staid middle-of-the-roads who chair their TUC like Len Murray, or the now retired Lord Vic Feather (Chairman of Brit. sponsored N.I. Human Rights Commission and apologist in the U.S. for Bloody Sunday), or that other right-wing rat, (excuse me, dear reader); English Roman Catholic, Bruce Woodcock.

Yes, the English TUC, like top trade unions everywhere, seemingly, breed earnest middle-of-the-roads for the top jobs; good negotiators others might call them, reasonable men, but it is sufficient when one recalls Woodcock and Feather's role in helping a Tory government cover up on its excesses in the North to realise that a trade union leadership anywhere — unless imbued with a Connolly/Larkin type radicalism is not

one to be trusted unquestioningly.

They may fulfil their role of protecting jobs (though in their acquiescence to EEC directives, unrestricted imports, farm closures, and factory run downs, I would question that) and looking after wages and conditions, that union perennial, but for the higher flights of a workers' existence (improved education and leisure use, radicalising government, the freedom struggle, chopping bureaucracy, protecting our natural and built environment) they have not been a great deal of use.

When one considers that in Ireland, north and south, there are more than a million and a half each-for-all and all-for-one-members one must reflect on how minimal their influence when judged by the criteria of objectives bracketed above has been. With a combined muscle power like that one would merely have to shrug to have ones wishes implemented — the ending of employment discrimination in the north, the ending of unemployment in the south, the forging of a strong link between both parts and across the board between our sadly victimised urban and rural communities.

PROBLEMS UNRECOGNISED

But the trade unions either do not recognise these as problems or are unable to do anything about them. My own fear is that they simply do not recognise them as problems. Instead the leadership in the north, which includes a few radicals like Barry Boyd, and others, allows itself to be manipulated into a pathetic peace campaign when it must know that the nub and kernel of the untouched problems about it is the malign presence and influence throughout Ireland of Big Brother John Bull. From that presence all the other grievances stem, sectarianism, job inequalities, right-wing governments, parties north and south. End that and you will be half way to dealing with these other problems though, be it said, not if intelligent radicals, Republicans, trade unionists and rural farmers, do not get firmly in the saddle from the word Go. Otherwise, the lice must inevitably creep back.

This, then, is the position. Our trade unions deserve our support but we should recognise that they are a pretty decrepit crutch to lean upon. It is fashionable nowadays among our bourgeois dilettants to eschew nationalism. They have done that, and like people who cast away religion, they have replaced it with no other morality. In the north trade unionism, if its objective has been to unite the workers, has been a resounding failure. In the south, from a position of opposition EEC, they are now firmly dovetailed into it. They are dovetailed into the bureaucracy too. There are a quarter million workers there from post office labourers to Special Branch, needless to say, not all unionised, but with a hell of a lot of bureaucratic muscle. What's good for General Motors is good for Uncle Sam has been replaced south ICTU in Raglan Road by the bigger the bureaucracy the better it is for us. They are the pace-setters on those

perennial wages and conditions troop. Hence our leftist radicals of the south concentrate on the deep and devious plan to expand the bureaucracy and in time press a switch and take the lot over.

TWO-TIER SOCIETY

They forget that southern Irish trade unionism has advanced far on creating a two-tier society of worker, the quarter million state employed who are assured of all the perks and the three quarter million non state employed who are the real producers and who must pay for it. What a scene, where the interests of faceless state bureaucracy and southern Irish trade unionism combine in a one against three onslaught against the rest of the Irish workers. You have heard it yourself. If the State is unable to pay let it raise the levels of taxation, upon the most highly taxed and most poverty stricken populace in western Europe! This is the cul-de-sac that southern Irish trade unionism has got itself into. Or perhaps I am wrong and that it will work out. At the press of a switch somewhere in Gardiner Place, Palmerston Road, or Ballsbridge a radicalised Irish bureaucracy, Special Branch, C.I., Free State Army and all, will suddenly leap forth, strangle the politicians and give us that wonderful new Revolution that is at the end of everyone's rainbow.

Still, for me, I will await it from here meshed among the rabble.

EASTER PARADES South Armagh

Holy Saturday:
Mullaghbawn - at 8.30 p.m.

Easter Sunday:
Crossmaglen - after 11.00 am Mass.
Drumintee - after 11.00 am Mass.
Belleeks - after 11.20 am Mass.
Cullyhanna - at 3.00 pm.

Easter Monday:
Kilcurry.

Ireland's natural wealth

IN THIS age of uncertainty in the world, most countries are fighting for survival in the economic field. The problems of the "Third World" are, each day being highlighted in the media, yet the root causes for these problems are never mentioned. What most people fail to realise is that the situation which has arisen in the less developed is the direct result of Capitalism.

The people in countries such as Ceylon are not starving because of a lack of food, they are starving because of the actions of rich mans clubs such as the E.E.C. power bloc. They are being forced into selling their exports cheaply to ensure some returns for their work while the prices of sale are continually being forced down by the South and West could eventually suffer the same fate as those in the Third World. If we are not careful we could allow the multi-national companies to take over our lands' natural wealth.

Many experts agree that the West coast of Ireland has a very high potential mineral wealth. The island of Rockall is reputed to be the marker for gas and oil similar to that found in the North Sea. If we allow foreign investors to pillage our resources and exploit our people in the same way as was done in the Third World then we too will become one of

the poorer nations of the world. Admittedly we are not at present in any position of great wealth and the reasons for this can be planted firmly at the feet of Britain. Her policy of withdrawing her physical influence and then maintaining her strangle-hold through the economy is chiefly to blame.

The Leinster House Government is also responsible for the poor state of the country. They freely allow foreign capitalists to take over industries saying that financial help is needed to provide employment. Yet millions of pounds have been spent over recent years on so called security. This "security" is really a front for the hounding of Republicans. If the 26 County Government would spend this money on providing jobs, it would have neither need nor desire for the Foreigners.

Through the policies of Eire Nua we can offer to the Loyalists in the North safety, security, and freedom while to the people of the whole of Ireland we can give a promise of prospective employment through Co-Ops and Nationalised industry.

This country is lavished with wealthy resources but this wealth can only be exploited for the good of all the people if they are living in harmony. This harmony would develop under a Socialist Government in a 32 County Republic. No part of the country would be allowed to deteriorate or be neglected as is happening at present.

Through the policies of Eire Nua we can achieve all this and we ask all the people to help themselves through Sinn Fein to help build a new Ireland.

—P.R.O., An Cumann Sean Dolan, Waterside, Doire.

Books for Prisoners

COPIES of the following books are required for Republican prisoners in Irish jails, North and South:

Tragedies of Kerry; The First Dail; Lady at the Gate; Last Words of 1916 Leaders; Freedom — the Wolfe Tone Way.

The writings of Connolly, Lawlor, Pearse, and William Thompson. All books and literature on mining and resources.

ALL books to be left at:

44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.
Siopa an Phobail, Rossville St., Derry;
2a Lower Kevin St., Dublin 8.
or 170a Falls Road, Belfast.

ALL parcels should be marked: "Books for Prisoners".

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PORTRAITS — 20p EACH £1.60 per DOZ.

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1916 PROCLAMATION.

These portraits, 12 1/2" x 10" are excellently produced, and are printed on art board with two colour border design.

As a special fund raising incentive to Sinn Fein Cumann and kindred organisations, we are offering the above at half price, for minimum lots of 100 — assorted as required, postage paid. Cash with order £100.00 the lot. No credit orders entertained. This offer applies to Ireland and Great Britain only. Full list of publications on request.

Republican Post Bag

COSGRAVE'S SHAME

ATTENDING the commemoration for Frank Stagg recently, I was appalled and horrified by the tactics used by Cooney's puppets to intimidate those who were present, not to protest or demonstrate, but to pay their last respects to one of the bravest Irishmen ever known, Frank Stagg.

Cockroach Cooney has often stated that the Republican Movement were only a handful, a mere few, with little support, despite this he had over 2,000 army, and Special Branch, backed up by jeeps, tanks and even helicopters to central those who turned out in their thousands to pay tribute to Frank. The massive turn out of green and blue "Free Staters" did not upset the commemoration in any way, except for a few stones being thrown by people, provoked by Cooney's body snatchers. They did not prevent a volley of shots being fired over the grave, nor did they prevent the Republican Movement paying full military honours to Frank which he had asked for in his dying hours.

The Stagg family were present and the "Staters" refused to allow Frank's mother, (74-year-old) to have her car driven into the graveyard. Perhaps this would be a "security risk". The commemoration was not held where Frank Stagg was buried by the body snatchers but where his proper burial place should have been, the Republican plot.

The least I can say is that Cooney and Cosgrave ought to be downright ashamed of themselves for going against, and denying a brave Irishman his dying wish.

Brendan O'Carroll, Birr, Co. Offaly.

COSGRAVES U.S. TRIP

RECENTLY in the news media I have seen Mr. Cosgrave's address to the joint session of the American

Congress described as "frank" and "candid" and since the said address was exclusively one-sided and misleading I should be grateful for an opportunity to publish a few comments.

In the first place Mr. Cosgrave spoke as if what he called "Irish Republican Army violence" were our only problem whereas the violence he referred to is not a problem at all but is merely a symptom of the real problem - partition - just as toothache is a symptom of a decayed tooth or a pain in the abdomen is a symptom of appendicitis.

Had Mr. Cosgrave wanted to be frank or candid he would have reminded the Americans that partition is a hideous outrage shackled on the Irish people by force of arms with utter disregard for justice and designed specifically to set up a puppet state in which there would always be a Unionist elite with Nationalist second-class citizens. He would have referred to the fact that in order to establish such a puppet the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh with South Armagh and Derry City all with Nationalist majorities were brutally forced into the Unionist camp.

Mr. Cosgrave should have mentioned the half century of recurring sectarian pogroms, the blatant discrimination in job opportunities and allocation of houses and the unending but futile struggle on the part of the Nationalists for justice which were the inevitable result of partition. He would have mentioned that when the struggle for basic civil rights was being pursued by peaceful democratic means the marchers were set upon by Paisley's mob (encouraged by the R.U.C.) and similar gangs (again aided by the R.U.C.) soon afterwards went into Catholic areas of Belfast, burned down hundreds of Nationalists' homes and murdered a number of innocent people. It would have been important for the sake of frankness on Mr. Cosgrave's part to mention that these things were done

before the Irish Republican Army took any action.

Was it frank or candid of Mr. Cosgrave not to mention the long list of cold-blooded murders of helpless people carried out by the British Army and the savage harassment perpetrated by them day and night against the peaceful civilian population - not to mention the vicious tortures inflicted on thousands of innocent civilians who were indiscriminately snatched into custody over the past six years?

A frank address would have contained a reference to the fact that the British are nubbisiding the Unionists to the extent of £600,000,000 per annum, the full support of their Army and the full support of their world-wide propaganda machine to keep up their sectarian killing and their threat of a backlash for it is on the strength of these killings and threats the British try to justify their continued occupation of the Six Counties.

A much clearer picture could have been presented by Mr. Cosgrave if he had explained that the Irish Republican Army are heroically struggling to get the British out while his government "has made our army, police and judiciary contemptible tools of the British for the purpose of preserving partition. He would be a poor doctor who would go about healing a toothache by cutting off the hands of his patient or to cure an appendicitis by cutting off his legs but that is an exact similitude of what the coalition are doing. They are pretending to cure the cancer of partition by wasting the greater part of £150,000,000 of our money collaborating with and protecting the British Army of occupation and at the same time scandalously repressing our own people with laws that are an absolute disgrace to any civilised society.

Everyone knows that after over fifty years of trial the policy being pursued by the coalition has been proved a complete failure and, consequently, had Mr. Cosgrave been frank with the Americans he would have appealed to them for understanding and support in an all-out effort to speed the British departure so that peace, justice and prosperity could begin to be established in the whole of Ireland.

I would suggest that it was neither frank nor candid of Mr. Cosgrave to omit so many

WEAR AN EASTER LILY



HONOUR IRELAND'S DEAD

ORDER your Easter Lilies now.
AVAILABLE FROM: Peig King, 29 All Hallows Road, Raheny Dublin.
PRICE: £7 per 1,000. Postage 25p extra.

very important relevant facts and that his representation of the role of the Irish Republican Army was plain as calumny.

-Patrick A. Sanderson, Fearnansaor, Bothar Fhearrann Na Coille, Dun Laoire, Co. Atha Cliath.

REMOVAL OF POLITICAL STATUS

WITH the ending of political status no-one should underestimate the determination of the British government to ensure the implementation of this policy successfully. Cell-blocks have already been built at the perimeter of Long Kesh and more are being constructed. Millions of pounds are being made available by the ailing British economy for the development of this area, pending the completion of the new maximum security prison at Magheragaberry which will replace Long Kesh Concentration camp.

At present there are 26 political prisoners in Turf Lodge, serving a total of over 200 years imprisonment, imposed by the courts. A number of political prisoners are also serving barbaric sentences in Magilligan and Armagh Prisons from Turf Lodge. All of us have willingly undergone the rigours of the prison camps and will continue to do so. Under no circumstances however, will we allow ourselves to be branded as criminals, by permitting the Brits to remove our right to be treated as prisoners-of-war, in doing so we need the full support of our people in Turf Lodge. Their role in

resisting the ending of political status is as important as ours. The policy can be rendered ineffective but only if the support we urgently request is forthcoming from our people.

There are a number of ways in which our people can constructively register their support for us. A programme of protest demonstrations will be held in the near future. Attend these and make your voices be heard. Sign all petitions on the matter, phone the Northern Ireland office to register your disapproval. We ask our own Turf Lodge people to give full support to any other forms of protest that are initiated in that area by the Republican Movement.

Political status was hard fought for. We in Long Kesh will do our utmost to retain it, but our people must play their part also.

-Turf Lodge, Political Status.

We regret that advertisements cannot be accepted for publication later than the Wednesday prior to day of printing.

NOTICE

All Easter Reports with photographs must reach the Offices of *An Phoblacht* by mid-day on the 21st April for inclusion in the following week's edition.

-EDITOR.

BED AND BREAKFAST

If you are in Dublin and looking for a good bed and breakfast you just come along to the

"Glenariffe House"
Glenariffe Parade
Opposite the Mater Hospital.

Reasonable rates.

SYMPATHY

The Dermot Crowley Sinn Fein Cumann, Swanlinbar extends deepest sympathy to Mr. Peter (Albert) McGovern, Swanlinbar on the recent death of his mother in the U.S.A.

MUSICAL

Mandolin or banjo player required for semi-professional Dublin ballad group.

All replies to: "The Jug of Punch", c/o 44, Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

to my brother, Owen Hanratty (Dundalk) now a P.O.W. in Port Laoise prison. They have you in their keeping but we have you in our hearts.

From your loving sister, Josephine, Anthony and Louise. xxx U.T.P.

MAYO

To all Mayo Republicans: The biggest Republican contingent ever to leave Mayo will be travelling to Dublin on Sunday 25 April, for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

All who wish to travel are requested to contact An Phoblacht sellers or Mr. P. O'Reilly, Main Street, Kiltimagh.

RAFFLE RESULTS

Following are the results of the raffle held recently by the Sean Boyle Cumann Sinn Fein Belleeks, South Armagh:

- 1st prize (carved mahogany Celtic Cross) Barney O'Rourke, Oliver Plunkett Park, Belleeks.
- 2nd prize (Ladies' handmade leather handbag) Alice McGee, Coxs Demesne, Dundalk.
- 3rd prize (memorial plaque or framed handkerchief) Marie Murphy, Loughan, Mullaghbawn.
- 4th prize (ladies wallet, handmade.) Stephen Farrel, Keady.
- 5th prize (gents wallet handmade). Robena Loyal, Mullaghbawn.

An Cumann Cabhrach

A social and buffet will be held by the Dundalk Branch, An Cumann Cabhrach on Easter Monday Night, April 19, at the

Imperial Hotel

DUNDALK

MUSIC by "The Village Boys" and Johnny Norton. LATE bar extension... 9 p.m.-2 a.m.

ISTEACH.....£1.50

Proceeds in aid of Republican prisoners dependants.

EASTER COMMEMORATION

1916 DIAMOND JUBILEE 1976

DINNER DANCE

in aid of REPUBLICAN PRISONERS' DEPENDANTS

IN

BOYNE VALLEY HOTEL

ON

FRIDAY, 23rd APRIL, 1976

Music by

MAHER FAMILY plus TRAVELLING JOHN
Ballad Group

Bar Extension = Dance 9-2

SUBSCRIPTION - - - £3

Dublin Easter Commemoration

DUBLIN CITY: Mass in University Church, Stephen's Green Dublin; followed by parade to Glasnevin Cemetery.
DUN LAOGHAIRE: A ssemble at Monkstown Farm (statue) at 2.30 p.m.

Parade to Deansgrange cemetery (46A bus to Monkstown Farm).

ORATION: Maurice Conway (Tyrone).
Organised by the Dublin Commemoration Committee.

Óglaigh action in Armagh



The Scotch Street area of Armagh after a bomb blast on Friday 26th March. On the following Friday, the main post office in Armagh city, in English Street, was badly damaged by a 50 lb. bomb left by two armed and masked men. No-one was injured.

Anniversary



Fourth Anniversary of Fian Sean O'Riordan murdered by British Army, March 23rd, 1972.

- Always remembered by Rita, Limerick Jail, Dolores and Marion, Armagh Jail, and all the lads in Long Kesh.

Pay Restraint

It was crisis day in the Dail, The House was hushed and still, As a Member rose with a question: "Are we doomed to go downhill?" "I am confident of an upturn," The Taoiseach made reply: "If workers' pay is held at bay We'll all be home and dry."

"How true, how true! I cried the workers, "Let's end this wicked strife, We don't want a rise in wages, They can stick it where they like."

"Thank God! I Thank God?" Sobbed the bosses, "There's faith on the factory floor, And now we've got this extra lot We'll give it to the poor!"

They filled their pockets with money, And ran with eager feet, Pressing their surplus profits On the people in the street.

They moved among the dole-queues, And boarded every bus, With streaming eyes and heartfelt cries: "You need it more than us!"

Soon all the people prospered, And the devil became a saint, Now that the sober unions Had exercised restraint, And the cities were filled with singing And the sound of laughter spread, As hand took hand in the golden land And pigs flew overhead.

News from England

THE Republican Movement in London wish to make it quite clear that Gerard Clegg was not and never has been a member of the Republican Movement. His recent claim that he has been sent by the head of the Republican Movement in the House of Commons is utter nonsense.

Security at the House of Commons is inadequate as was pointed out by the following incident: The National Organiser of Sinn Féin, Derek Highstead and Brid Donahue,

sister of the late Frank Stagg, spent two days in the House of Commons negotiating for Frank's demands to be met and in the early hours of Wednesday, the 11th February, the day before Frank's death, they found themselves locked in.

After wandering through various corridors in the House of Commons for about half an hour they eventually found a policeman dozing in a chair. When he overcame his initial surprise and listened to their explanation he let them out through an area being used by builders at the House of Commons.

Peter who protested at the brutal treatment being meted out to Frank by the agents of Roy Jenkins has lost 188 days remission and is now forced to spend two months in the same punishment block in which his comrade, Frank Stagg, was tortured for eleven months and finally died.

- Finbarr Kissane, P.R.O. Sinn Féin, London.

WEAR AN EASTER LILY



HONOUR IRELAND'S DEAD

Torture in Wakefield continues

Peter Short who is serving ten years in Wakefield Jail is being tortured by the same screws who tortured Frank Stagg.

Unity Flats under fire

The people of Stanhope Drive, in the 'Unity Flats' complex which faces the Loyalist Lower Shankill estate, have over this past week been enduring without any recourse the renewed onslaught by loyalist gangs systematically engaging in an orgy of window breaking against their homes.

These attacks having been stepped up over this past few days when no fewer than fourteen maisonettes in the flats complex have been broken by loyalist stonethrowers. These stone-throwers committed these acts of 'sectarian vandalism' in full view of the RUC and British Army, namely the Argle and Sutherland Highlanders accompanied by Royal Regiment of Fusiliers. S. In so doing they seem to have the inbuilt

knowledge that they will be allowed to carry on this campaign of destruction without fear of hindrance, objection or arrest by the so-called 'security forces'.

Attacked by mob

This fact which is substantiated, when on Sunday, this mob again attacked the Stanhope Drive maisonettes, the British Army's only interference was acts of aggression against the residents whose only activity was in protection of their homes and children.

This being followed by a 'mini curfew' being imposed by the British Army on the local Unity Flats Social Club, wherein patrons were confined and screened. This happened during the continued campaign

by the Loyalists.

As the Argle and Sutherland Highlanders, the Fusiliers and their comrades in the RUC appear indifferent to the fate of the aforementioned dwellings, we in Sinn Féin state that as a first move to combat the indifferent attitude of the British Army and RUC, and to also deter and combat the loyalist attackers, that steel grills, of the type already afforded by the Housing Executive to the Loyalist Springmartin Estate, should now be afforded to the residents in Stanhope Drive.

This when done will act as a deterrent, and will also be a whitening down of the 'Blind-eyed' attitude continually adapted by the 'security forces' towards Loyalists.

Mountjoy Lunacy



Not at Central Mental Hospital

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