

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 8. Uimhir 21. 10p. Meitheamh 1, 1977.

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.

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(For Daily Stream)

## RECESSION WILL GET WORSE

### 290,000 out of work by end of summer

ACCORDING to Richie Ryan, as the parties in the 26 Counties prepare for the election, the economic recession is over. That is a lie. All Ireland is sinking into poverty and, as long as the present foreign domination continues there is no hope of revival, except briefly and in spots, by means of EEC financed military construction works, following the planned end to Irish neutrality.

INFLATION: it is NOT falling. Current figures do not reflect recent state-sponsored cost increases which, in turn, will produce their own rounds of increases later. The pound is likely to fall 10 points this year, causing more jitters. Commodities - everything from metals to food - are rising swiftly, more harshly against states, such as the 26 Counties and Britain, which do not have the hard currency to drive bargains in advance in world markets.

FOOD PRICES: EEC will force butter prices up another 16p (to 72p) on the Irish market this year, consolidating the half-million ton butter "mountain". A conservative guess at overall food price rises on the Irish market in the 12 months of 1977 is 26 per cent. In other words, for every pound now spent on food the consumer may have to find

126 pence by next Christmas. Inevitably, many will not have the money. Thus, old people and children, already feeling the pinch, will be deprived further.

UNEMPLOYMENT: In the 26 Counties this stands at 116,000. But this conceals school-leavers and others not registered but believed to number, in all 180,000. There will be an additional 30,000 school-leavers to sort out this summer.

In the Six Counties the official figure is 55,000. This is believed to conceal a further 25,000. These figures have scarcely fallen this spring when, seasonally, they should have done so. This leads one to believe that the figures next winter will be much higher.

PERSONAL CONSUMPTION per head

in Ireland on durables and food is less than half the consumption in five of the EEC states. It continues to fall. Increases in the cost of living - largely caused by state and EEC action - combined with static output have resulted in a fall in real living standards.

AGRICULTURE: Despite forecast increases in beef and milk output, the cow is not yet home from market. Two things may happen. EEC will allow in Argentinian beef, which will depress the market, and the price of milk will be held back. Signs on it. There was a 10 per cent. drop in agricultural exports last year. These may fall further this year.

HOUSING: The mortgage gap (The amount to make up on deposit between price and loan) is increasing. Hence, a fall in

housing output last year of 4,000 dwellings. Local authority housing is being cut back, too, although population increases (ever look at your local school?) are being recorded everywhere. This is a recipe for bottled up revolution. Meanwhile, mobile homes and temporary homes of all sorts proliferate to the great detriment of young children and (incidentally) of the environment. There are 40,000 such shanties around Dublin alone.

STATE DEBT: Money, of course, would solve most of our problems. What would anyone think of a very poor man forced to pay £30 weekly on interest payments alone? Yet that is the fix the 26 Counties is in with £300m in interest payments alone in 1976, £420m in 1977, and a forecast £500m in 1978. This does not take account of the indebtedness of state companies (Aer Lingus, ESB, CIE, IDA, Irish Steel, etc.) which would add 20 per cent to the above figures.

The status-quo political parties are hiding these facts from the voters because they are terrified by the prospects and have no plans to meet the growing crisis. Only a liberated Ireland will be able to solve these problems.

# Crown's torture revenge for SAS defeat

## NEWRY COURT BANS DOCTOR

PICK UP a few young men; torture them, force them to confess to some politically important "crime"; bring them before a court and get them convicted, to "clear the books", send them away for 20 years or more; and hope that the spirit of the Irish-oriented people will be broken.

More and more this pattern is emerging, north and south of the Border. The five "lifted" last week in south Armagh and charged with the killing of SAS Captain Robert Nairac on or about May 14 is yet another example.

To show that the RUC doesn't give a damn as to possible consequences at Strasbourg level, nor the judges, either, permission was refused in the Newry court for the men to be examined by a doctor. The excuse given by a RUC officer was that there were "no facilities" for such an examination, as if the men could not

have been brought into a room in the building and examined there by a doctor. Or in the court-room, for that matter.

The judge made the collaboration with indiscriminate arrest of "suspects" and torture, at the hands of the RUC, all the more blatant when he stated that he had no power to order that the suspects be examined by a doctor.

Before the court were: Michael Francis McCoy (19), bricklayer, Forkhill; Owen Francis Rocks (30), farm labourer, Forkhill; Gerald Patrick Fearon (19), plasterer, Jonesboro; Daniel Joseph O'Rourke (31), mill worker, Jonesboro; and Thomas Patrick Morgan (17), dealer, Jonesboro.

### First case

They were charged with killing Nairac in Ravensdale Park, Co. Louth. The case is the first brought under new Anglo-Irish legislation permitting authorities north and south of the Border to bring suspects before a court in

the area where arrested, regardless of where the alleged crime is said to have been committed.

It is believed, also to be the first case of this nature brought in the Six Counties where the proof of killing - the body - is not being produced. Up to the time of our going to press the body of Nairac had not been found.

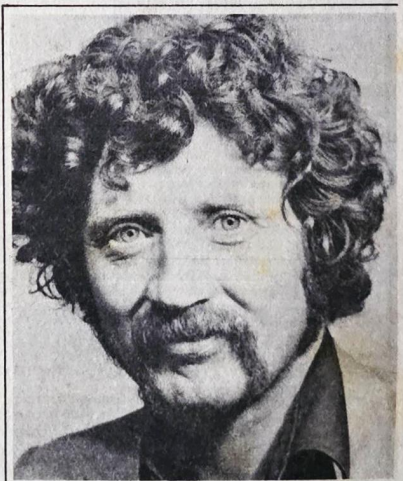
Local people believe that the five working men were picked from a RUC list of people suspected of being sympathetic to the liberation of Ireland from imperialist control. They were arrested by military and police on Wednesday morning, May 25.

Such information is computerised. If a suspect is not able to produce strong evidence of not having been in the area and at the time of an alleged offence he is considered "fair game" by the RUC.

The objective is to "clear the books" at all costs. Where suspects do not have strong alibis - and numerous witnesses to make them strong - the job is made easy for the sort of "law and order" operating in Ireland today.

### Vital 'confession'

The essential evidence is a "confession." Judges will accept this, no matter how obtained, and (Ar leainint ar chul)



BLIAIN ina eagarthair ar a bpaipear seo. Ba shin an socrú a rinne Gearaoid Ó hEithir leis na foilsitheoirí. Ach d'farr siad ar leainunt leis an dea-obair agus chuir sé dhá bhliain go leith isteach. Tá sé ag cur ar an bpost, anois, agus tá na foilsitheoirí agus Gluaiseacht na Poblachta i gcoitinne fíorbhuíoch de.

When Gearaoid Ó hEithir was asked to take the job of editing "An Phoblacht" he agreed to do so for a period of one year. He was asked to stay on but now, after completing two and a half years in the post, he has resigned: The Republican Movement is grateful for his dedicated service, much of which was given during a period of considerable difficulties when, as well as editing the paper he had to look after a young family while his wife, Rita, was in Limerick Jail. Gufonn muid ráth Dé air.

### LATE NEWS

LAST WEEKEND as Mr. Robson of Brandywell Place, Derry, accompanied by two friends was passing through the checkpoint at Ferry Quay Gate a coloured Brit soldier without any provocation, discharged a plastic bullet from almost point blank range at Mr. Robson, who has since lost an eye.

This incident happened at 6.30 p.m. Not content with this murderous attack, the unconcerned Brits then threw Mr. Robson into the back of a land rover and drove him around the city. Mr. Robson did not receive hospital treatment until 11.30 p.m. One can only imagine his suffering. Mr. Robson is in the intensive care unit at Altnagelvin hospital. - Derry P.R.O.

# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 8. Meitheamh 1, 1977. Uimhir 21  
44 Ceannóg Phárlaiméin, B.A.C., Éire. Guthán: 747611.

## Dangerous clowns

HAS THE country lost its sense of humour? A few women and fewer men form an organisation, dedicate it to an unqualified "peace", hold emotion-charged meetings and hostings, parade themselves around the country and abroad, attracting the maximum exposure from newspapers, radio and TV - particularly TV - and their leaders are decorated, receive medals and doctorates and prizes, as well as substantial sums of money.

When Desmond Boal and Seán MacBride engage themselves in an effort to establish peace they are attacked by politicians and virtually ignored by the media, except for a brief splash of publicity designed to damage them personally and their objectives.

If we compare the two groups we become aware that all the first is able to contribute is an orchestration and a channelling of the peace demands of the plain people of Ireland in the form of slogans, placards and chanting - on one dimension alone - while the other group is dealing with the other vital dimensions, taking the first for granted.

Every sane person wants peace. We take that for granted. Sloganising it achieves nothing but a brief emotional uplift.

Suppose we put it this way. Peace lies behind a locked door, which has a lock, a combination number and a key or keys. Standing on front of that locked door, shouting "peace", will not open it. The key or keys must be found. The combination must be known. The defender of that door must be persuaded to withdraw or he must be forced to do so.

That illustrates the difference between Corrigan, Williams and McKeown, on the one hand, and Desmond Boal and Seán MacBride, on the other.

Let it be noted by all who will that the defence of that door was undertaken, not by Jim Callaghan and his men, in this instance, but by those dangerous clowns, Gerry Fitt and Conor Cruise O'Brien.

Nevertheless, nobody laughed. Have we lost our sense of humour? Or our sense of shame? The question does not apply to Republicans but to those prominently associated with peace because of their calling. Laughed is a sharp weapon.

## Liam's blunder

WHEN LIAM Cosgrave slipped in his enormously funny remark about the "blow-ins", suggesting that they should "blow out" again, it is unlikely that he realised what he was saying. Not for the first time, of course. And one of the Dublin dalies, traditionally sensitive to such remarks, was quick enough to take him up on the point without, however, daring to push that point straight home through Liam's empty head.

Not so the Republican with the sense of humour who adjusted a "Brits-out" slogan in Dublin city. He (or she) struck out the word "Brits" by drawing a line through the word and then, above it, wrote "Blow-ins".

Often, our enemies supply us with the most explosive ammunition and poor Liam is no exception, especially when he leaves the safety of his carefully prepared and more carefully vetted script for off-the-cuff pleasantries.

To even a 10-year-old child the significance of the remark about "blow-ins" being urged to "blow-out" again hardly could be misunderstood, even if he had only a very brief idea of Irish history. For the major and most obnoxious "blow-in" known to generations of Irish men and women has been the Brit.

Alas, that "Dublin Opinion" is with us no longer (except as an amusing; and by that time the woe joke may well have been forgotten). Alas, that Ireland has nothing in the nature of a "still phrobháideach".

However, there are still many other surfaces on which to turn little Liam's joke back on himself and his "blow-in" allies. By judicious use of them the people can be brought to laugh with the Republican Movement, against their imperialist and class enemies.

# Déite

IS FADA Pobal Feirste, pobal beag Gaeilgeoirí i mBéal Feirste (Bóthar Seoiú) a thóg a dtíthe féin agus a rinne Gaeilteach bheag den áit, á mhólaigh agam. Agus cúis mhaith agam. Níl a sháru sa tír.

Dé Sathairn seo chugainn (Meitheamh 4) tá seiminear staire le bheith á eagrú ag Pobal Feirste in Ostan Lakeglen, Andarsán, Béal Feirste 11. Seo an téama: "An bunús staire atá le Críochdeighilt na hÉireann". Táille (seiminear agus caife): aon phunt amháin.

Seo a leanas na príomhchainteoirí: Breandán Ó Buachalla, Institiúid Ardleinn, Baile Átha Cliath; Pádraig Ó Snodhagh, an Iarsmalann Naisiúnta, Baile Átha Cliath; agus Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, Cofáiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh.

Ag deireadh an lae (a thosóid a 10 ar maidin) beidh fóram oscailte agus cead cainte ag cách. Éinne a bhfuil a thuilleadh eolais uaidh nach bhfuil sa dréacht seo a leanas, scríobhadh sé chuig: **Bríghid Bean Mhic Sheáin**, 54 Bóthar Seoiú, Béal Andarsán, Béal Feirste b.t. Il p.á. Nó labhróidh sé leif ag (084) 619178.

Tá sainiúine ag go leor de mhuintir Bheáil Feirste ar Bheandán, a chath seil sa chathair agus a scríobh leabhar spéisiúil fúntach fúthi, mar atá "Béal Feirste Chois Cuan".

Is minic do Pádraig a bheith san áit, freisin, mar uachtarán ar Chonradh na Gaeilge, mar staraí, mar an té a scríobh "Hidden Ulster", leabhrán a d'oscail cuid mhaith sí i measc na ndlíseoirí.

Níl fheadar mé an bhfuil mórán eolais ag muintir Bheáil Feirste ar Ghearáid, fear óg cumasach a thuil clú agus cáil le blianta beaga, go mor mor as na leachtanna a thug sé do Chumann Merriman (seachtain éicint eile le beidh clár na scoile sin i Leacht Uí Chonchúir á ríomh againn, le cuidiú Dé).

Is minic a bhíonn saothar a chartúnaí, Oisín, le feiceáil ar an bpiáráir seo agus tugtaí faoi ndear go mbíonn a áit féin ag

An Clár  
SEO a leanas an clár: Léacht le

## Sean Ó hAnnáin

FUAIIR síghidúr dlís d'Óglaigh na hÉireann bás le galúid. Ba shin Sean Ó hAnnáin. a bhí ina bhall de Chomhlacht Léarphóil agus gearradh seacht bliana daor-phróisúntachta air mar gheall ar a pháirt i bhfeachtas buamála i Sasana i 1939.

B'éigean d'chlan cáil a bhí le Feirste le linn racán na bhfeid-eadaí ach n'fóidh thad i Léarphóil é gur ghabh sé leis na hÓglaigh thall.

Ba chara measmach mísdúl é a raibh beáil binn bhlaa agus agus anghreann ann ag cúlú is ag cúlú. Nuair a cuireadh i bpríosún é d'fbríódh a chlann as Sasana agus chaith a dheartháir, Páit, na blianta fada i ngéibheann an Churaigh.

Níor stáon sé lena bhao óna dhúisceacht do chais na Poblachta agus ba mhaith linn, a chomráidíe de na daicheadaí, comhbhrón ó chraic a dhéanamh lena mhuintir.

Go gcoida a anam i measc na bhFiann.

- Súmas Ó Mongáin.

## CROCK OF GOLD

Remember that June 1st is the final day for returns to Sinn Féin National Finance Committee, 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.

# Deighilt an náisiúin á grinneadh

an nGaeilge i n-gach ceann díobh, bealach beag ach éifeachtach chun abairt ghonta a theagasc le greann agus le daonnacht.

Bhí Séamus Mac Seáin ar na daoine a bhunaigh Míneach agus ba é Máirtín Ó Cadhain a spreag é féin agus a chomráidithe chun an Ghaeltacht bheag seo a bhunú.

Blianta beaga ó shin, nuair a bhí sé ag obair do Gharásí de Phobail (comharhachumann) rinn scata rúthair ar an áit, Mharshaid siad callrín agus scoil sídh, freisin, le Seán, Míoráil ab ea é i nGaeilge. "Bhíodh" a d'úrair, mé ag súil go bhfuil cúrsaí áthraigh, faoi is fada scéalta aniar chugam fág.

B'fhéidir go gcuireadh léitheoir ar an eolas mé faoi staid láithreach na Gaeilge sa tséipéal sa chontae chéanna?

## Larkin an Bhéarla

FEAR EILE a raibh páirt áge i mbunú Míneach agus an Phobail t, Tomás Ó Monacháin, a raibh uncal leis ag troid i 1916. Bhí Tomás ar an nuaocht as ucht dhul go príosún ar son na Gaeilge tá tamall ó shin, mar agóid i fadán an Bhéarla éigean sa chúirt i nGaith Dóthair.

Cupla seachtain ó shin bhí a phictiúr le feiceáil ar "Inniu" (Bealtaine 20), fógra ina dhá láimh áge, agus an teachtaireacht seo a leanas le léamh air: "Teach leat go bhfeidhfid tú cur i gceill stáit Bhalie Átha Cliath fán Ghaeltacht".

Ag tagairt don chúirt a bhí an fógra ó is é an Béarla tá féis féin i réim inti.

Tá picid mar é a gur cur ar Chúirt Larkin an Bhéarla le breis is bliain ach fós tá neamhóntas á dhéanamh ag an stát de cheart na Gaeilge i lár na Gaeltachta, dar le "Inniu", agus is fíor sin.

Smid níor dhúirt an clasaí úd, an Dilach, faoin bhfeall sin

agus é ag maíomh as a bhfuil déanta ag a pháirtí ar son na Gaeltachta.

Ar ndóig, is beag díocht, i ndáiríre, idir brú seo an Bhéarla sa séipéal. Cén fáth go mbeadh ar mhuintir Rinn Uí gCuanach éisteach le seannóirí agus fógraí i mBéarla le linn an Afriant?

Bhíodh an scéal amháin i gCo. Mhaigh Eó ach níos measa, Ní bhíodh an Afriantain féin i nGaeilge. "Bhíodh" a d'úrair, mé ag súil go bhfuil cúrsaí áthraigh, faoi is fada scéalta aniar chugam fág.

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## Bréaga 'Inniu'

TÁ GEARÁN agam le muintir "Inniu". I dtuarisc ar an scéal faoi Thomás tá tuairimíocht ag "Comhfhreagróir" sa Tuaisceart, mar an abairt seo a leanas: "Bhíodh tromlach mhuintir an oileáin seo, is cinnte, toilleannach glacadh le sócrú a dhéanadh stáit neamhspleach de na Sé Chontae, gan é bheith faoi cheannas na Breataine nó na Poblachta ach an dá stát sin dul i mbanair ar chearta pobail na Sé Chontae".

Níl míse chomh cinnte céanna is atá "Inniu" faoi sin. Ach tiam cinnte dearta nach mbeadh fórmhór na bhfiúreannach sna Sé Chontae sísta glacadh leis an réiteach céanna.

Stormaid eile darab ainm an Láiste i Dia idir sin agus an anachain.

# Caint Chaoimhín ag Teach an Phiarsaigh

AN tSEACHTAIN seo caite gheall mé go mbeadh an chaint bhreá a thug Caoimhín Mac Cathmaí uaidh i Ros Muc, ag Teach an Phiarsaigh, Domhach ag Cáis, i gCé. Agus an eagrán seo. Ba é Domhnaill Ó Lubhal an príomhchainteoir.

Seo a leanas caint Chaoimhín: "Dia leat, a Phiarsaigh, nár mhian leat ach saoire;

Dia leat, a Chléirigh, a gheir-loaich is a thoisigh;

Dia leat, a Chonghlaile, a bhonn-saioi na ndaoine;

Dia leat a Mhic Dhíarmada, a chiallaigh mo chroí istigh.

"Ba shín a scríobh Brian na Banban, Brian usail Ó hUiginn, go ndéana Dia trócaire ar na Casca, a scríobh Brian. Tpa an dán sin ar fáil in Iris Feoin, 1946, 30 bliain i ndiaidh Seachtain na Casca. Tá 30 bliain eile imithe ó Shín agus bliain le cois.

"Is cuimhinn Linn go rinneadh i 1966, 50 bliain tar éis an Eirí Amach, go gearradh inaithle ar bun ar fud na tíre seo, áit a laghad ar fud na Sé chontae, áit a laghad ar fud na hÉireann, bhí 'chuite cineál rud ar bun, idiar dhírmaid, agus mar sin de. . . .

mar atá, nó bíodh sin mar a bhí, ní raibh an chinsireacht ar hun. Ní raib toirmeasc ar chruimhite.

"Anuaidh, céard a tharla? Ní raibh tionóladh ar bith oifigiúil ar súil ag an stát ach a mhalaírt. Shocraigh Sinn Féin cuimhneacháin a thionóladh i mBaile Átha Cliath. Rinne an rialtas iarracht an rud a chur faoi chois, ach níor éirigh leo. Cuireadh an dí ar na tírimí. Tpoigeadh os comhair cúirt eile.

"Agus an bhliain seo, táimid anseo i Ros Muc ag Teach an Phiarsaigh, san áit uaigneach seo, ach tá a dtáiríne sanáidite dírithe ar Phríosún Phort Laoise, agus ar mhacaire an Churaigh, agus ar maorcha 1977 - ar scór fear ansin ar, mar a deárfa, leaba an bháis. Táid i mBéal an bháis, anois. Bhí siad i gCarraig Phort Laoise. Chuaigh siad ar stailc corais do cuir ceart. Ba 31 bliain i ndiaidh scríobh Brian na Banban an iris sin. Iris Feoin 1916.

"Tá sé 31 bliain freisin ó nuair Seán Mac Eochaid bás ar stailc corais agus tairt sa bPríosún mallaithe céanna. Lig rialtas an stáit seo an Ulltach óg sin bás a dhírt i mí na Bealtuise, 1946.

"Bhí mé ag cuimhneamh ar sin, agus nuair a dhóradh inné go raibh Aire Conasán an tSaorstáit thois de chineál éicint, a thabhairt do gheada na bhFear - goicita an stailceoirí sa Gúrrach 'cuimhinn mé freisin (Ar leanúnt ar chuit)

# CO-OPs

"COME and see our new clinic!" A small, rough building it was but the African villager speaking probably helped make the bricks himself. When co-operation had erected the structure, the state provided medical facilities.

A sense of involvement with development and the sharing of benefits among all is seen as a major asset of co-operative enterprise.

Here in Ireland, according to the Sinn Féin policy document, Eire Nua "... the main instrument of economic development will be co-operative enterprises in production, distribution and exchange".

Co-operatives aiming to restore initiative to local level are very much part of Republican thinking. But how many people who consider them a "good thing" have much idea how they actually work elsewhere in the world?

The intention here is to attempt to look at co-operatives on a wider scale, their difficulties and how these could be avoided or overcome.

Since the mid-19th century Europe and North America have had co-operatives of a type in the retail-wholesale trade, and agricultural marketing-processing, as in Denmark. Producer co-ops are few and are small-scale experiments where they do exist.

The original ideological impulse largely has been lost (what difference is there in fact between the Co-op in Belfast and other retail stores?) and rarely have they come to dominate any economic sector or to have overall impact.

An economy based on a colonial heritage gives Ireland something in common with Third World nations in their struggle for political and economic self-reliance.

In the Third World, earlier development of co-op, agricultural marketing and credit supply, based on the Western model, has given way to increase in producer Co-op's.

## U.N. approval

Praise for co-operatives without much critical examination of actual performance has been forthcoming from many quarters. They give local people incentive for development, take the burden off national government and are ideologically acceptable to all.

United Nations resolutions of 1968 and 1970 affirmed their importance in economic and social development, especially as a means of increasing equity and popular participation, particularly of the rural poor.

The actual record - even allowing for the many successes - has been disappointing. Generalisation over so many different local situations is difficult and can be misleading; but the fact remains of a common pattern of overall poor performance and inefficiency, as assessed by reference to the co-operatives, own proclaimed goals.

What has gone wrong?

The main problems can be considered in four groups:

\* Social Setting: co-operatives introduced without other forms of social change merely reinforce, not eliminate, existing

## Why they fail - or succeed

inequalities.

In India, for example, co-op societies are unwilling to finance innovations for the small farmer, concentrating their loans on the prosperous.

The small man is forced back to the money-lender, whose interest rates are 100-200 per cent a year, eventually leaving him impoverished and landless, while the wealthy farmer becomes richer, through access to co-operative credit!

The local "big man" tends to dominate the co-op, through wealth, power and status. Also, the designation of men as "head of household" leaves women excluded from membership and from seeing the rewards of their efforts, even when they are responsible for the production.

\* Initiative and control: Afro-Asian, unlike Western co-operatives, often were introduced from above, as government policy, rather than by local impulse.

## Development village

In Tanzania, for instance, despite visionary beginnings a few years back (described in recent articles in this paper) the ideal of the socialist co-operative "ujamaa" village has given way, in practice, to the "development village", which is merely a settlement to which people are moved by the government.

## By Eldrida, Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau

Economic conditions may well have forced this policy of houses, but the fact is that true communal villages are few and far between.

\* Administration is often by staff not dependent on, say, agriculture except, as it is seen by the local farmers, as a new parasite class.

The Kilkenny city Brits-Out meeting on Saturday, May 21, was a pleasant, well organised demonstration in brilliant sunshine. This picture captures the atmosphere.

Speakers were Joe Cahill, Seán Ó Cianáin, Risteárd Behal, Joe Stagg and Seán Ó Brádaigh. Cathaoirleach was Paddy Dollard. More than 200 took part in the march through the city and at the meeting at the Parade.

A supper-dance and ballads followed later in Newpark Hotel. Special thanks to Jack Connolly for organisational expertise.

Co-operatives are often inefficient - so is democracy, compared with dictatorship - and it must be remembered that much is demanded of the ordinary member as a decision-maker: Skills, education, experience.

\* Economics: A co-operative has to succeed in terms of the economic system in which it operates.

While in the West, a co-operative has to be a good business in order to be worthwhile to its members, a USSR collective farm is tied to fulfilment of state targets.

It is worth remembering that no economy yet exists dominated by co-operatives. If such is proposed, it is an innovation, indeed.

## No panacea

The lessons are many. Co-operatives are no panacea. Neither do they exist in a vacuum. Research, investment, education, land reform are needed to make their success possible.

They do have one great advantage, however, one relevant to Ireland: They are most likely to function well when set up by local rather than state initiative.

No need to wait for social change from the "top". Though this must and will come through pressure from the "grassroots" if the long-term co-operative ideal is to be realised.

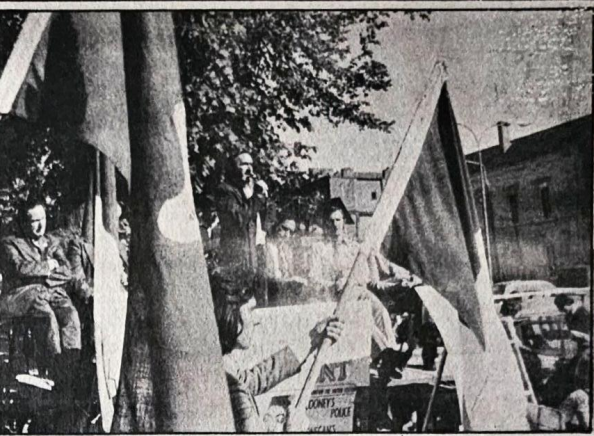
## E.E.C. STANDARDS ARE 'TOO HIGH'!

### James Hope

scrutiny by parliament) in a high flying society of US, proportions, they are proving too expensive for general adoption here.

The result is that, since they have the force of law, much of dodging and sly-ferge takes place.

The state adopts them and passes the cost on to the taxpayer. The private sector - other than banks, insurance



## KNOW YOUR EIRE NUA

THE POLITICAL structures of government in Ireland today, from the machinery of Leinster House and Stormont, down to the apparatus of the local councils, in no way reflect the inalienable rights of the Irish nation to power over its own affairs. They are completely geared to a continuation of the colonialism (in the Six Counties) and neo-colonialism (in the 26) exploitation by the real masters of Ireland.

They serve only those who have partitioned this country and those who seek to maintain that partition. The very existence of Stormont (and its inevitable Northern Ireland Office structures today) depends on the continuing division of this island and the Leinster House "concession" was born of Britain's realisation that, in permitting the creation of the "Free" State, she could continue to exploit us as well in her absence as she had done in her presence.

Sinn Féin always has maintained that drastic political and structural changes are necessary to ensure that the rightful power over this country is restored to the Irish people.

We believe that decentralised and truly democratic political units are essential and the fundamental principles of these new regional structures were laid down many years ago.

In 1974, a term was coined by Republicans to describe this new system of devolving and decentralising political power and activity. That word is "regionalisation".

We are aware that the word "regionalisation" (or regionalism) is used in Europe today to describe quite different structures to what we have in mind.

It has meant, for example, the taking away of powers from primary local authorities and giving them to regional authorities; and it has meant dividing up a state into economic planning regions, for which the planning is done centrally.

## Misleading meanings

These means of the term are misleading and we must be clear about what Republicans mean by regionalisation. Our use of the

## By Christene N. Elias Comhairle Chuide Lighéan

word is more akin to how the Swiss, Dutch and Germans interpret it.

To them, and to us, it represents the creation of regional public authorities under democratic control, empowered to oversee the development of a particular region by the people of that region.

However, over the years, with increased usage of the term, "regionalisation", by Republicans, it has come to mean and to represent the essential basis of our proposed political structures, the devolution of power to democratically-elected political units with a province, a region or a district.

Briefly, the regionalisation programme for Ireland envisages the formation of a four-tier system of decentralised government: Elected district councils for communities of 10,000 to 40,000 people, 15 regional administrations, with responsibility for specific tasks; four provincial parliaments for the historic provinces of Ireland; and a federal Dail Eireann at national level that, we propose, should meet in the geographical centre of the country, in Athlone.

## Federal variations

In theory, the above outlined system of political structures correctly could be described as "federalism"; but, in practice, we refer to the "federalism" of countries that have adopted that structure to find a way for more than one nation, and sometimes several nations, to live in peace and co-operation and still retain their separate national identities.

The "federalism" of such states as Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Canada and the mooted federalisation of Welsh, Scots, English and Irish, are examples of this frequently encountered use of the word.

But, in Ireland, we are dealing with only one nation, the Irish nation, with all its differing regional traditions. Therefore, to

## Democratic reconquest of our land

avoid even a vague association with Conor Cruise O'Brien's "Two-Nations" theory, we refrain as much as possible from using the word "federalism" and strive to emphasise our own term, "regionalisation".

In the same way, in theory, a federalist means someone who supports federalism, but, historically, in the American experience, it came to mean a proponent of an all-powerful central authority infringing on and vetoing the decision-making rights of the lesser regional (state) structures.

This is a concentration of power to the centre, the complete opposite to what we propose.

Legitimately, we use the word "federal" when referring to a national level of government or the coming together of representatives of several different political levels or to describe a responsibility handled at a national level.

## Three advantages

The basic advantages of regionalisation for Ireland are threefold:

\* It is a realistic means of devolving power from the centre out to all the people of the country.

\* It will generate balanced economic development and destroy the dangerous imbalance between the east and the west; and

\* Thirdly, by creating a nine-county Ulster, with a provincial parliament, it will solve, once and for all, the national problem and eradicate the horrifying results of partition.

In conjunction with the revolutionary socialist and democratic policies of the Eire Nua programme, the new political structures of regionalisation will ensure a much brighter and increasingly prosperous future for the Irish nation.

\* Our readers are invited to discuss the policies outlined in this series of articles by means of letters to the editor. Please keep letters short, concentrating on one point. Write on one side of the paper, leave space between lines (double-space; if typing) and provide a two-inch margin right and left. Do you agree? Disagree? Could these policies be improved?

## SPIKE ISLAND

As the crisis of the status quo deepens, more and more journalists are finding that timid or worried or collaborationist editors and managers are preventing them getting the truth into their papers. Some have brought their "spiked" stories to "An Poblacht." To encourage this progressive trend we are beginning, this week, a new feature on the media, Spike Island, which will be compiled by Scoopie-do.

Journalists and others wishing to contribute to Spike Island should send their information (in strictest confidence) to Scoopie-do, c/o 44, Cearnog Pharnell, B.A.C., (preferably leaving their copy with our office by hand and, of course, giving names, for checking purposes).

# Bread crisis in D'Olier street

Things are bad at "The Irish Times." The company is losing bread at the impressive rate of 400,000 green ones a year. So the management has opted for the traditional capitalist solution of making the wage-slaves slave harder. Eighteen workers are to be paid off in the coming months. The remainder will have to do the same amount of work as the current staff.

The unions in general involved have made no protest nor have they demanded to see the books.

As for the journalists, the N.U.J. leadership is muttering into its Guinness in adjacent pubs and talking drivel about "saving this great paper". That is to say, doing what the management wants.

The real problem with "The Irish Times" is that it is not a great paper, now. Not even in capitalist terms. It has lost its self-respect. The reasons are political.

Most members of the staff blame their problems on the current editor, Fergus Pyle. There is some truth in that. Pyle is one of the youngest has-beens in the country. He finds much difficulty in making the vital decisions and is very eager to be seen as "responsible", in awe of his predecessors, Gageby and Smyie, desperate to be seen as "responsible" but at the same time pathetically anxious to keep up an image as a "tough" journalist. He is seen as torn by contradictions - like the paper itself.

### Profile lift

"The Irish Times" could overcome its difficulties very simply - by increasing its circulation. To do that it would have to broaden what the marketing men call the "readership profile": it would have to target in on a working class audience, stop giving acres of space to boring rubbish about "Arts and Studies" and the results of dog-shows and bridge tournaments (nothing wrong with arts and studies, of course; but there's a lot wrong with boring rubbish) and begin the simple task of covering the news adequately and probing in depth the stories behind the news.

If it did that it might lose those advertisements for 50 guinea silk scarfs at Switzers and share issues by investment companies which frequently take up a quarter of the front page. This is the management reasoning.

Strange as it might seem, boss-men, such as ex-Brit officer Major McDowell think the paper cannot afford to go out and try to win more readers.

After all, the bosses of Switzers, Brown Thomas and the Irish Permanent might think twice about giving the lion's share of their annual advertising budget to a paper with a substantial readership in irrelevant places such as Ballyfermot or the Falls Road. The wrong class of reader, don't you see?

### Blueshirt rally

Best illustration of the effect of this on the paper came after Liam Cosgrave's vicious attack on the Times at the Blueshirt rally in the Mansion House the other day.

Cosgrave, in effect, said that the Times's reporters, who (belatedly) exposed the brutality of the Garda Heavy Gang, were liars.

Instead of standing up for its own people The Times, next Monday, headlined on the front page a cynical, throwaway remark by Cosgrave the day after his attack, to the effect that, of course, the media had the right to criticise.

The "Irish Times" licked the boot which had just been planted in its face. Self-abasement can go no further.

Amazingly, The Times has some of the best journalists in Ireland - amazing when you consider the boring triviality which fills the paper daily. They are not being allowed to work to the limit of their ability. The management is terrified that if the staff were given its head it might drag the paper in a politically and socially inconvenient direction.

### Really political

The staff knows this, both on the journalistic and production sides. But members are getting nowhere complaining about Pyle behind closed doors and just wishing that he would go away.

At bottom, the paper's problem is political. Only a

political struggle will solve it.

Getting rid of Pyle and McDowell, in the short-term, would be good for morale. In the long-term it is only by getting rid of what they represent that real advance can be made.

The workers should stop wondering which personalities to back to take over the top jobs.

They should start thinking about the possibility of taking over themselves.

A slimmed-down daily, without "prestige" advertisements but aimed at the mass of the people and committed to telling the whole truth about what is going on in this country, would make a real difference, not just to Irish journalism but to Ireland generally.

- Scoopie-do



The strike picket was placed on the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, last week, because of the recent dismissal of a waiter, Karl McCafferty (25). The strikers will go back to work on condition that Karl is suspended, rather than sacked, pending an inquiry. This is being rejected by the management AND by the I.T.G.W.U. (no. four branch).

The striking workers are without wages or strike pay. What a contrast to the financial comfort of the hotel owner, Sir Charles Forte, multi-millionaire owner of a chain of 400 hotels around the world. His other Irish interest is Trust Houses, Ireland, Ltd., the managing-director of which is Charles Symnot and the general manager, Padraig Brown.

Properties include: Shelbourne, International, Airport, Hibernian and many other hotels throughout Ireland.

**LIBERAL  
ETHIC,  
MAR  
DHEA**

# THE HYPOCRISY OF THE IRISH TIMES

MOST PEOPLE, who pride themselves on being educated, if asked which of the Irish daily papers they would associate with the liberal ethic, which opposes censorship and stands for free speech ("I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it" - Voltaire), would reply: "The Irish Times."

When the recent hunger-strike of the Portlaoise political prisoners ended "The Irish Times" published an editorial, commenting on the strike.

At the time, I was involved in a letters controversy in that paper on the subject of the Celts, entering it to oppose racialist views.

All my letters on this subject were published. When, however, I sought to comment on the editorial about the hunger strike, my letter was not published, proving, once again, that "The Irish Times" is NOT the liberal organ that it pretends to be.

### Nothing illegal

As my original letter, I thought, might have been too long for publication, I cut it, intending to send a second portion if the first were published. But the first part has remained unpublished.

As I handed the material into the office rather than trust it to the post, I am forced to conclude that it was stopped by voluntary censorship as there is nothing in the letter contrary to law (emergency or otherwise).

Here is the letter "The Irish Times" censored: "A chara - I forsake 'the Celts' for the moment to comment on your editorial, 'Best way' (Aib. 23), particularly: "However ill-directed their actions, the prisoners' capacity to endure has been amply demonstrated. But so has the futility of the outmoded and inappropriate method of protest which they chose to employ.

"Futility? That remains to be seen, now that the conscience of so many organisations and individuals have been aroused. Inappropriate? Was there any other effective protest method left them to publicise their case? Had they not tried every other means? Complaints of Portlaoise Jail continue, as of today or yesterday. Poor McCaughey died in that jail in conditions which, the prison doctor told the in-

## Le Deasún Bretnach

quest, he would not impose on a dog.

"But the story of inhumane, degrading and vicious - in the full sense of the word - conditions in 26 Counties' jails, goes back, with all the rest of the institutional violence, to the beginning of the state, and beyond.

### Mac Thomáis

"I was one of a number of people who tried to direct attention to Portlaoise Jail conditions in recent years, only to be prevented by voluntary press censorship by most of the media, including your paper, from publishing the matter.

"The case in which I was interested particularly was that of the genial scholar, lecturer and author Eamonn Mac Thomáis.

"When suffering the second of two jail sentences, separated by only a few weeks, for 'membership', Eamonn was writing a book on Dublin and had in his cell, with the permission of the authorities, rare books lent him by learned societies and other rare books he had spent decades collecting. These books were very valuable. Some of them would be difficult to price. All of them, and the almost completed manuscript of his book (afterwards re-written, mostly in jail, and published, a best-seller), were destroyed by the authorities, presumably on Departmental and Government authority: it has not been denied.

"You refused to publish that account from jail you made no attempt to interview him on the matter and on jail conditions generally. If you checked or tried to check my account (which I checked very carefully, finding it difficult to believe) you did not publish your findings.

"I tried also with very little media support to draw attention to the fact that educational facilities were being withheld in Portlaoise Jail.

### Course in Irish

"Independently, without prompting from any organisation, I had contacted Gael-Linn about running a crash course in Irish in the jail, being assured by an Irish-speaking prisoner, a personal friend, that it would be supported by the prisoners. I understood from Gael-Linn that it would cooperate, given Departmental co-operation. That co-operation was withheld.

"Hoping, also, to further the education of the prisoners at other levels, I had the co-operation of lecturers in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, members of Cumann na Sagart.

"Given support from the prisoners and the co-operation of the Department, I was assured that lectures in Irish, history and French, at least, could be arranged. Again, official co-operation was denied.

"My letters to the Department remain unacknowledged and unanswered to this day.

"These facts about the denial of educational facilities have been kept from the public by elements of the so-called 'free and democratic press.' If the media have checked privately on them nothing or very little has been published. It is a very serious matter in United Nations terms (minimum model rules for prisons) and in those of other international organisations to deny such privileges, to prevent education, to deny help in rehabilitation through education, and thus help save the sanity of prisoners with long sentences to serve.

(Ar leannair ar seachtain sochugainn)

Support the Prisoners Dependants

Send your donation to

An Cumann Cabhrach 44 Parnell Sq., Dublin 1

# PRIEST CHARGES IRISH CONSUL WITH DIRTY TRICK

A Boston priest accused by the Irish government of being a supporter of the terrorist faction of the Irish Republican Army said yesterday the Dublin government is trying "to put heat on me" to curb his activities.

Rev. Sean McManus, a Regemontist priest from Ireland on the staff of the Mission Church in Roxbury, said the Irish consul in Boston, Carmel Heaney, approached the chancellor of the Boston Roman Catholic Archdiocese about his activities as head of the Irish National Caucus, a lobbying group trying to get the British out of Northern Ireland. Heaney denied Fr. McManus's claim.

"She wondered why he hasn't done something about me, said I was sending guns, the whole thing", said Fr. McManus.

Fr. McManus claimed that Heaney had approached Most Rev. Thomas V. Daley, auxiliary bishop of Boston, and that Bishop Daley subsequently approached the rector of the Mission Church, Rev. James F. Foley, his immediate superior.

A Mission Church official said Fr. Foley met yesterday with Bishop Daley at the chancery.

McManus said: "Father Foley informed me the bishop had contacted him to ask him about me. Bishop Daley had been to Ireland, had some sort of folder of letters about me".

Fr. McManus who was ordered out of England several years ago for his Irish political activities, claimed he was being subjected to

an attempt by the Irish government "to have me silenced and leaned upon".

He said Heaney was "interfering in church-state relations, and also, as she represents a foreign government, interfering with American politics".

The priest said he would not remain silent "out of misguided loyalty to the church", and he demanded a meeting with Bishop Daley.

## Dublin's top-official

Heaney, who is the Dublin government's top official here, said, "I certainly have not made any approach" of the kind described by Fr. McManus.

"I really can't discuss what I may or may not do", she continued. "I can tell you categorically I have not made any approaches to Catholic officials specifically for the purpose of discussing Fr. McManus. "Obviously, I have conversations with all kinds of people in the course of my job in some cases they can be regarded as public, and in other cases as private".

Last night Fr. Foley said in an interview that Bishop Daley had "mentioned his interest" in Fr.

McManus's activities in an incidental fashion during a routine annual conference to discuss Mission Church affairs.

## Wonderful priest

"I told him what a wonderful priest Fr. McManus is", Fr. Foley said. "We had absolutely nothing but the highest regard for him here".

Asked if Bishop Daley had told him of being approached by Heaney, Fr. Foley replied, "I don't want to comment on the various details, it was a private conversation". Bishop Daley was unavailable for comment.

Fr. Foley said that as far as he was concerned Bishop Daley merely expressed a "very objective" interest in the activities of Fr. McManus, and that Fr. Foley replied that Fr. McManus does an excellent job in running the church grammar school.

Fr. McManus insists he only supports "the struggle for human rights in Northern Ireland" and does not condone terrorist activities.

## Michael Lydon R.I.P.

MICHAEL LYDON who recently passed away in Jenkinstown, Philadelphia, was born in



Cloontork Kilkelly, County Mayo. He was a member of the Company (Kilkelly) East Mayo Battalion 3rd Western Division I.R.A. from 1918 until 1924 when he immigrated to America. From then until his recent death, after a long illness, he was a member of the McSwiney Club Clan-Na-Gael and I.R.A. Veterans of America. He is survived by his daughter, Mrs. Ann O'Brien of Fairfax, Virginia, 8 grandchildren, his sister, Mrs. A. Barnes of New Jersey, and brothers Thomas of Philadelphia and James in Ireland. To his daughter and all members of his family we extend our deepest sympathy. All those who believe in the establishment of an Irish Republic Free and Independent should remember Michael always. He was faithful to the end.

A sponsored walk to raise money for Irish political prisoners and their dependants took place in Hempstead on Sunday morning last.

The walk was organised by the Connolly/Keegan S.F. Cumann, St. Albans (Hertfordshire) and those taking part included several nurses from the Watford and Hemel Hempstead Hospitals, as well as members of Sinn Fein from Kilburn, High Wycombe and Slough.

The walkers assembled in Hemel Hempstead town centre, and set off on the 30 miles route through Redbourn, St. Albans, Abbots Langley, Leverstock Green, and arrived back in Hemel Hempstead at 5 p.m. (after a seven hour trek).

A reception was laid on that evening at the nurses home in Watford for the sponsored walkers, and music was provided for the occasion.

The Connolly/Keegan Cumann wish to thank all those who took part in the walk and their sponsors, particularly those who travelled out from London, and to the nursing staff who provided food at the end of the evening.

So far £130 has been collected. Our picture shows a section of the walkers having a well-earned rest at the end of their 30-mile walk.

## Coiste Chuimhneachan na Poblachta REPUBLICAN COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE

# B O D E N S T O W N

## SUNDAY 12 JUNE 1977

Oraid - Jimmy Drumm

Cathaoirleach - Joe Cahill

Priomh-mhaor - Gearoid Mac Carthaigh

ASSEMBLE SALLINS 2.15 p.m.

## IRELAND HONOURS TONE

Ceili and Ballads Clare Manor Hotel, Coolock

Admission £1.75 9 p.m. to 1 a.m.

# Democratic process - and Ireland

**MOST CONSISTENT** amongst the exhortations of the "respectable" establishment parties connected with British-imposed and gombeen maintained politics in Ireland have been the urges to "use the democratic process", to "reject the man of violence", and, as if in a magnanimous gesture of conciliation, and compromise "forget the past".

To an uninformed outsider, or native, for that matter, this would tend to give this group an aura of high-mindedness, humanity and justice, as well as to imply that they were untainted by blood-letting in pursuit of political ends.

Democracy for the Irish people over the centuries of British involvement has been administered by various assemblies: Grattan's parliament, Westminster, Leinster House, Stormont, with a final reversal, in the case of the North-east, to Westminster once more.

Democracy, according to the Oxford Dictionary, is: "Government by people as a whole, especially through elected representatives".

At no time in the history of this country have these criteria been fulfilled by any of the allegedly democratic administrations which have ruled our lot.

Grattan's parliament was the tool of the rich minority of a religious minority. The Westminster parliament was not "of the people", let alone by the people. Leinster House and Stormont, by their separation, were not elected by the people "as a whole".

The same applies to the present Westminster administration, which is not even the elected wish of the "majority" population of the Six Counties let alone the whole country.

Furthermore, not one of the establishment parties ever has suggested seriously a government by the "people as a whole", through its elected representatives.

"Serious suggestion," of course, excludes clumsy obvious, political point-scoring gimmicks by the

SDLP and their like at various times.

John Hume's "All-Ireland - or nothing" assertion is as dead as the "democracy" which his party asserts to be its "modus operandi". The "democratic process" which we are urged to pursue and which led to the establishment of the various assemblies mentioned is also worth observing.

The "democratic" process which preceded Grattan's parliament was armed plantation by foreign settlers-mass murder via Oliver Cromwell and William - and mass dehumanisation, courtesy of the Penal Laws.

The "democratic process" which followed but one generation later was mass starvation and mass emigration.

The British threat of "bloody and terrible war", was the process to hasten acceptance of the "Treaty", while the "democratic process" which maintained

Partition initially in the 20s was the Special Powers Act, the military Tribunals and their offspring, with the resulting murders, executions, torture centres and concentration camps.

As for: "Reject the man of violence, the terrorists," "Terrorism" (Oxford Dict, aris) is a policy or system of ruling, seeking to obtain political demands, etc., by violence and intimidation."

It must be admitted readily by honest people who have even a rudimentary knowledge of Irish history, including our contemporary history, that the statelets of the Six and the Twenty-Six Counties of Ireland came into being through violence and intimidation, both internal and external.

Both were created by and are being maintained by terrorists, albeit through the grace of their own laws legal terrorists, who have been dubbed "the security forces" by their masters.

The ethics of these terror-

ists are the ethics of power and capital throughout the world, total immorality.

Maintenance of status and of the financial interests of the monied class are the ends of the terrorist armies. Torture, concentration camps, death and misrepresentation of truth are their means.

Oglaigh na hEireann and those who suggest it are engaged in a war of physical force with these terrorists, the difference being that the force used by the volunteer soldiers of the IRA is based on the assumption that the wealth and territory of Ireland belong to the Irish people as a whole and is theirs to rule for the benefit of the whole nation and not for that of foreign exploiters who use their terrorists to ensure that benefit for themselves - no indeed, for a minority of native exploiters who would do the same.

Undoubtedly there has been innocent victims in this as in every other war, through misadventure. Accordingly, all those who support the



**John Platts-Mills, Q.C.**, chairman of the unofficial public inquiry into last September's three-day riot in Hull Prison and which caused £750,000 worth of damage, with Peter Chappell (right), a leading member of the Free George Davis campaign. He was jailed for his part in wrecking the Headingley Test wicket. Chappell, a member of the inquiry committee, was pointing out evidence written on pieces of toilet paper.

The inquiry, organised by P.R.O.P., the Prisoners' Rights group, is to look at evidence from ex-convicts and prisoners' relatives, and statements by prisoners who took part in the riot will be read.

freedom fighters and the use of physical force must accept their share of the responsibility.

Concurrently on a far greater scale the "legal" terrorists and their counter-gangs, with premeditated, cold-blooded deliberation, have murdered hundreds of innocents and tortured and imprisoned thousands more.

Likewise, all those who support these terrorists through the so-called "democratic process" must, too, accept their share of the responsibility.

Every vote cast, north or south of the Border, since "Treaty" times, has been a vote for torture and internment, a vote to kick Danny McCooey to death, a vote to murder 14 protesters in Derry, a vote to have their neighbours' homes raided and ransacked by terrorists.

It is little wonder, then, that those most vociferous in their pleas to "forget the past" are those who would be most adversely affected by actions which are the logical conclusion of a proper study of the past.

A careful examination of

our history will show us all how parties which totally fail to represent the interests of the Irish people, in general, and the majority class of that people, in particular, the working people, have come to wield the power they do and suggest the remedy.

## NEWS FROM THE NORTH

### MONDAY, MAY 23

**BELFAST:** A 10 lb bomb exploded at a garage in Chichester St., and a fierce fire soon engulfed the building.

A telephone warning was given and the area cleared. There were no casualties.

A 74-year-old man was seriously ill in hospital after being shot and wounded during a robbery at a Belfast bowling club last night. One of the men fired a shot through a hardboard partition into the club kitchen hitting the man in the side and abdomen.

Four men - two carrying shotguns and two armed with handguns - held up staff and customers at Ewart's Bowling Club in Somerdale Park, Upper Crumlin Road. The men stole money from the till and from the customers and staff who were made to lie on the floor.

The IRA admitted responsibility for the bomb attack at the house of a prison officer at Whitewell Road, on Sunday night. The device went off on a window sill.

The IRA said they would continue to attack prison staff until political status was given to Republican prisoners.

**TYRONE:** The I.R.A. in East

Tyrone issued a statement claiming responsibility for the shooting of R.U.C. reservist Robert North last week.

### TUESDAY, MAY 25

**BELFAST:** The Brit Army base at Musgrave Park Hospital came under sustained fire from men operating on the M.1 Motorway. Fire was not returned.

Two men and a 16 year old youth appeared at the Magistrate's Court, charged with a series of 10 murders, which became infamous as the "Butcher gang". Most of their victims, who were Catholics were found with their throats cut.

### THURSDAY, MAY 27

**BELFAST:** A British soldier was shot as he patrolled in a corridor in the Royal Victoria Hospital. His condition was described as "seriously ill". His duties included guarding "high risk" patients at the hospital.

A man was shot in the Shankill Road area. The 31 year old man was hit as he and another man were leaving a Junna Street social club just after midnight.

Three shots were fired from a white car as it drove past. The man was hit in the cheek and he was discharged from hospital after treatment. The other man was not hurt.

The Stormont Inn, on the Hollywood Road, was also

damaged by fire. Forensic experts were trying to discover how it started, but they believed incendiary devices were responsible.

An R.U.C. constable was hurt by flying glass after the Land Rover in which he was a passenger was attacked.

At least 6 shots are believed to have hit the Land Rover.

The R.U.C. returned fire. A woman constable was treated for shock.

**DERRY:** A Customs post on the Derry-Donegal border was destroyed in a fire. The cause of the outbreak, at Molenan near Swanlinbar, was not immediately known, and forensic experts were examining the scene.

### SATURDAY, MAY 28

**DERRY:** A Brit soldier was wounded in Derry when three shots were fired at a foot patrol in Shantallow. He was hit in the leg and his condition in hospital was reported as "not seriously ill". The patrol returned the fire but did not claim a hit.

A 44-year-old Derry man, Sammy Robinson, of Lecky Road, Upper Bogside, who was taken to hospital after a late night incident at Ferryquay Gate Army pedestrian checkpoint, in which a plastic bullet was fired, was reported to be "still ill" in hospital. He has lost an eye.

**CO. DOWN:** The I.R.A. claimed responsibility for a mortar

attack on the harbour at Carlingford where the Royal Marines have a base.

### SUNDAY, MAY 29

**CO. ARMAGH:** The British Army admitted that over a thousand shots were exchanged between themselves and a unit of Oglaigh during a major gun battle near the South Armagh Border at Cortamlet Newtownhamilton.

Although the gun battle started at 1.30 a.m. when a B.A. mobile patrol was ambushed, embarrassed P.R.O.'s at Lisburn H.Q. needed several hours before they issued their statement. Apparently they were covering up for the rout of the S.A.S. who were involved in the battle.

It seems the policy is only to mention the SAS if they are winning, but to blame it on the "squaddies" if they are losing.

**BELFAST:** A man who was shot in the stomach during a raid by Pro Brit elements on a bowling club in North Belfast last week died in hospital. A man and a juvenile had already been charged with his attempted murder and this charge may now be changed.

The victim of the attack, Roland Hill (74), of Chief Street, in the Crumlin Road area, was in Ewart's Bowling Club, in Somerdale Park, Ligoniel, when the raiders broke in. He tried to hide in the kitchen, but was shot.

Three men were detained by the police for questioning. Subsequently, George White, of Forth River Road, North Belfast, and a 16 year old juvenile appeared in court charged with attempted murder.

**FERRMANAGH:** Two Enniskillen shops were destroyed

by incendiary devices and another two shops were slightly damaged.



**Danny McCooey** beaten to death by the Brits.



When the news of the death from injuries inflicted by the foreign mercenaries spread through Belfast, the people in the war areas came out onto the streets in protest. Our photograph shows Republicans protesting outside the Springfield Rd. torture centre.

# REPUBLICAN POST BAG

## James Hope and Sinn Fein

I LONG to see the day when Sinn Fein will emulate the Sinn Fein of older days to which "James Hope" referred (Bealtaine 18) "Youngsters who had never taken part in an election ill equipped, lacking political experience, and with a poorly working central office took on the sly gangsters of the Redmondite Party".

I was a backbencher in Riverchapel Cumann, Co. Wexford and I recall that the "poorly working" central office had us working night and day on a programme rigidly enforced. We had to make three canvasses of every house, friend and enemy; before each we had to copy all names in a note book, noting who was dead, who absent, who likely to have a vote somewhere else. We had to analyse and compare the results. Further analysis in Ennisicorthy provided detailed reports to Dublin HQ at 6 Harcourt Street.

Bob Brennan, Director of Elections certainly kept things moving and was fully informed of our good progress until he was arrested. There was no slackening that I ever heard of when James O'Mara - no youngster - stepped into his place. The polling booths were fully staffed and everyone knew his or her job, and did it on polling day. We had plenty of transport. A special seal with "I.R." was provided in each booth on polling day with sealing wax and tape to prevent the ballot boxes from

being opened secretly between then and the count. Tired Sinn Feiners and tired R.I.C. men sat around on guard over them through the night. Next day we provided a bicycle escort which accompanied to boxes to Gorey station and handed over to another Sinn Fein guard on the train.

As for the questions of "youth and Experience" it should be remembered that the local government bodies had existed for long enough to provide the later. I surmise that IRB was strongly active in those elections to keep landlords and their wives) open or hidden unionist interests out. Sean T. O'Kelly, Alderman Tom T. Kelly, and W.T. Cosgrave were among S.F. members of Dublin Corporation (but the last was in jail).

I do not agree with James Hope about the Redmondites. In the main they were honourable men personally. They made bad mistakes and were unrepentant about them. When there was famine on the land they did their utmost to organise the counter-revolution. (In this I think as individuals not a political party). They never really recognised majority rule until they got things their own way. After that they never stopped talking about it.

One thing is heavily in their favour and should outweigh many faults. They never accepted paid employment under the Crown, like SDLP. I do not know what their attitude would have been to jobs in Europe. Nor do we know, yet, what the attitude of the electorate will be to candidates in the coming election who already hold very highly paid jobs in Europe.

—Maire Comerford, St. Nessian's, Sandycroft.

## Wolfe Tone Weekend

BALLAD SESSION featuring CLADDAGH and the JUG OF PUNCH will be held in the Baggot Inn, Dublin on Friday, 10 June, 1977.  
**ISTEACH** ..... 60p  
**TOSNU** ..... 8.30 p.m.  
 Organised by the National Finann Committee, 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.

## Bodenstown Night

Celtic Ballads on SUNDAY, 12th JUNE, 1977 in CLARE MANOR HOTEL featuring Fodhla Celtic Band & Liberties 9-1 (Bar Extension)  
**Isteach** ..... £1.75 including supper  
 (Buses return journey to town)  
 For details: Telephone Mrs. King, Dublin 314941 or contact 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

## SATURDAY PROTEST

DUBLIN Sinn Fein are continuing their Saturday protests against conditions in Portlaoise prison and demand for a public inquiry into ill-treatment of prisoners.  
 IF you are in Dublin on Saturday next, please join our protest from No. Blessington Street at 2.30 p.m.

## QUIZ No. 13

### Questions

1. How many of the 165 seats in the 1918 General Election were won by Sinn Fein.
2. How many of the elected were in Jail.
3. What date was George Plant executed and where.
4. What R.U.C. Barracks was attacked on a dreary New Years Day, 1957.



## Quiz Answers

Following are the answers to Quiz No. 11:  
 1) Stephen Fuller  
 2) De Valera  
 3) 26th July 1914  
 4) 19 men escaped  
 This week's winner is Fiona O'Neill, Kiltelvin, Newbridge, Co. Kildare.

## BODENSTOWN

When in Bodenstown on Sunday, June 12th, visit our refreshment stall in the Bodenstown field. Tea, soup, rolls, crisps etc. available. By supporting this stall you will be helping the prisoner's dependants.

# REPUBLICAN CRAFT CENTRE 44 PARNELL SQUARE, DUBLIN 1.

### LEATHER GOODS

- Ladies' leader Handbags, made in Long Kesh, shoulder style ..... £20.00
- Ladies' leather Handbags, made in Long Kesh, clutch style ..... £10.00
- Ladies' purses, made in Long Kesh ..... £4.00
- Gents wallets, made in Long Kesh ..... £5.00  
 (plus 40p post and packing)

### Ornaments

- Miniature Harps; Irish cottages ..... £2.00
- Miniature Round Towers; Wishing Wells ..... £4.00
- Miniature Rocking Chairs; Horseshoe key holders ..... £1.00  
 (plus 40p post and packing)

### Whiterock plaques

- Book of Kells, (set of four, 6" x 4") ..... £4.50
- James Connolly (oval shaped plaque) ..... £4.00
- Proclamation ..... £3.50
- Maire Drumm commemorative plaque ..... £3.50  
 (plus 50p post and packing)

### JEWELLERY

- Silver Phoenix Badges ..... £2.50
- Gold Phoenix Badges ..... £10.00
- Silver Phoenix medallions ..... £7.50
- Gold Phoenix medallions ..... £25.00
- Ladies Silver Phoenix rings ..... £4.00
- Ladies Gold Phoenix rings ..... £12.50
- Gents Silver Phoenix rings ..... £6.50
- Gents Gold Phoenix rings ..... £25.00  
 (plus 25p post and packing)



**maire DRUMM**  
 AID COMHAIRLE, SINN FEIN  
 Murdered by Pro-British elements 26th October, 1916

The only people worthy of freedom are those who are prepared to give and fight for a worthy cause, and the 2 survivors.....  
 In life you were faithful, noble and true, living your life to the end and in you, embodied to her in the Ardara of youth, symbol of Freedom, honour and truth. To death there you noble, valiant and brave. Your pure bright noble gleams from your grave. Pleading no country, the dead are most true. Enshrining our strength from the dead you have shed.  
 SPANISH STREET

## The Last Post

A valuable historical record containing the names of those who have given their lives for the cause of Irish freedom. Published by the National Graves Association. Available from the Republican Craft Centre. Price £2.60; Postage and packing 20p extra.

Also available a large stock of books, records and cassettes.

### POSTERS

A large stock of Republican Posters clearing at 5p each. All orders to: The Republican Craft Centre, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.  
**CASH WITH ORDERS**  
 Personal shoppers welcome. Open all day Saturday.

IgCulmhne  
**CAREY:** (2nd Anniversary): loving memory of Michael, whose anniversary occurs on May 28th. Always remembered by his comrades and friends in the McNulty/Cannon S.F. Cumann Raheny. Ar dheis De go raib a anam.

## DUNDALK

FAILTE abhaile social in the Imperial Hotel, Dundalk on Friday 24th June  
 FEATURING: Travelling John and Guests  
 RAFFLE with £200 prizemoney.  
**ISTEACH** (including supper) ..... £2.00  
**LATE BAR**  
 Proceeds in aid of An Cumann Cabhrach.

### Feminism and Ireland

The third workshop in the series "What is Socialist Feminism?" will take place on June 26th from 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. at Caxton House, St. John's Way, London N.19, (Archway Tube).  
 \* Why is Ireland important for Socialist feminists?  
 The specific characteristics of women's oppression, north and south.  
 \* The present political situation.  
 \* The struggles of women in Ireland.  
 \* What we should be doing in England.  
 PLEASE write for copies of Workshop papers before June 11th to 50 Upper Tollymore Park London, N4, enclosing a large S.A.E. (25p stamp).  
**ALL WOMEN WELCOME.**

### New Bookshop

The Five Eighth Bookshop now opened has a wide selection of new and second hand books on history, politics, economics, philosophy, feminism and trade unionism.  
 Our secondhand range runs from Peter Cheney through George Orwell to P.G. Wodehouse. Many titles have not been previously available in this country and will be of great interest to socialists.  
 You will find us at No. 3 Lr. Wellington St. off Lr. Dorset St., Dublin (around the corner from The Meeting Place bar) open daily 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. except Saturday 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.  
 Hours of opening: 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday and 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

# Why Portlaoise Jail must be investigated

THE Dublin Minister for Justice, P. Cooney, has refused an independent public inquiry into conditions in Portlaoise Prison. Many individuals and organisations, including Amnesty International, have called for such an inquiry.

## E.E.C. STANDARDS

(Ar leanúint o lch 3)  
recommendations on our labour and social policies probably had not been sufficiently appreciated by employers and trade unions.

The experience over equal pay, which caused serious diminution in employment prospects, "ought to be a lesson to us".

Another E.E.C. directive on equality of treatment between men and women in matters covering employment, training and promotion prospects will come into force in August 1978. While this will be borne automatically in the state and semi-state sector — even though it has already proved damaging to administrative flexibility and work load — it will have serious and unpredictable effects in the private sector. It is with the intention of rigorous enforcement that Mr. Michael O'Leary has piloted through the Employment Anti-Discrimination Bill, and has introduced another on redundancies. The likely effect of these impositions will be an erosion of employment at all levels as employers seek means to retire, sell out, or avoid the responsibilities of carrying labour which economic conditions have made it impossible to continue to employ.

During the recent hunger strike the Minister, in his statement of March 28 last, issued to members of the Dublin Oireachtas, city and urban district councillors, and national and local newspapers, stated that the allegations about conditions in Portlaoise were "totally false and without any foundation whatsoever."

In order to highlight the need for an independent public inquiry we believe it necessary to deal in some detail with this particular Ministerial statement, the Prisoners' Welfare Action Group says in a supplied statement.

In his statement of March 28, the Minister stated: "Firstly, it has been alleged that in strip searching the prisoner's anus is probed with an instrument. This is untrue. Instruments are not used."

It should be noted that the Minister does not deny that the prisoner's anus is probed by warders during strip searches.

We are not aware of any allegation that an instrument was used. The Minister stated that such an allegation was made last July. Last July, Councillor Joe O'Neill, in a signed statement, stated that the warders had made him bend over and pulled "my buttocks apart with their bare hands so that they could inspect my anus".

Councillor O'Neill did not allege that an instrument was used. Rev. Piaras O Duill, in his leaflet, "Portlaoise Prison — Can we remain silent?" said that during a strip search the man is physically searched and "his private parts explored by these warders".

"Prisoners have been turned upside down while their cheeks

are pulled apart and the prison warders probe the prisoner's anus."

It was not alleged in this leaflet that an instrument was used.

## Strip-searching

In the same statement the Minister said that, in addition to periodic strip searches, the men were strip-searched before and after visits to court, to the hospital and before and after legal visits.

However, in his statement of February 2 last, the Minister stated: "Occasionally it may happen that a particular prisoner may be required to undergo two or even three strip searches in a short space of time."

We would suggest that it is unlikely that any one prisoner would visit the court, the hospital and have a legal visit all in "a short space of time".

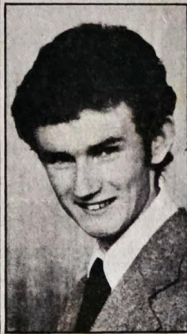
Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that there are other occasions not mentioned by the Minister, when the men are strip-searched.

It is our information that all the men are strip-searched on at least one morning per week; every evening men are poked at random and are strip-searched; men in solitary confinement have been strip-searched; they are also strip-searched if they use the workshop.

In his statement of March 28, the Minister stated that the term "solitary confinement" is itself misleading because prisoners "being kept apart could at any time associate among themselves."

In his statement of February 2, the Minister stated that during a period of "segregation" from the other prisoners "they must take outdoor exercise each day on their own and remain in their cells for the rest of the time."

In his statement of March 28 the Minister stated that men being



Micheál Óg O Briain, top European young scientist of the year and named as such at the ninth Philips European contest, is an Irish speaker, the son of a Conamara-born Abbey actor, and educated through Irish by the Christian Brothers in Coláiste Mhuire, Baile Átha Cliath. Education through Irish is a vital part of the cultural revolution and, as Micheál Óg has proved, it can bring you to the European top.

kept apart from the general body of prisoners "are locked in their cells, save for recreation."

It should be noted that, in this statement, the Minister refers to outdoor exercise as "recreation."

In fact, men are allowed no indoor recreation during a period of solitary confinement.

During a period of solitary confinement a man is allowed no communication with the other men; he is allowed no letters, no visits, no newspapers, no radio, no hobby or handicraft material.

(Ar leanúint ar seachtain seo chuigainn)

# Newry court bans medical examination

(Ar leanúint o lch 1)  
convict suspects on this basis alone.

Against the sworn evidence of the RUC and soldiers that no torture or intimidation has been used to extract the "confessions," Judges will not accept the sworn testimony of the suspects that they were tortured. The Crown forces are more equal than others before the law.

If medical evidence of beatings can be delayed by any subterfuge, as in the Newry court case, all the better. By the time a medical report is prepared, very likely by a biased, collaborationist doctor, many of the signs of beating, such as bruises, will have disappeared.

A defence solicitor, Mr. Pascal O'Hare, applied for permission for the men to be examined medically before leaving court and for them to receive visits from relatives.

Had permission been granted, some evidence of RUC brutality would have been made available. The men also would have told their relatives what exactly had happened to them.

## Strasbourg file

Past experience has shown that such evidence would not be sufficient to gain the suspects an acquittal but a stronger case would have been made for action at Strasbourg level.

A RUC chief inspector, however, opposed the application in the Newry court because of alleged lack of facilities and also because, he stated, the men would be examined when they reached prison, in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

The magistrate said he had no power to grant the application. The RUC had to take into consideration the "security situation!"

Mr. O'Hare said it was important that the men be examined by independent doctors who were present in the court. The action of the RUC showed an absolute and total lack of consideration. He would take the matter up with the Chief Constable.

The men were remanded from this Newry court on Saturday afternoon, May 28, to Belfast Magistrate's Court on June 1. Report of the case, including Pascal O'Hare's application, was broadcast on radio and TV but censored by most of the newspapers, indicating the level of collaboration between press and the Crown.

Full details, however, were supplied to radio, TV and newspapers by the local correspondents.

We understand that the Association for Legal Justice has opened a file on this case.

Padraig Mac Piaras "An Murder Machine" ar an gcóras Oideachas sin.

## Córas nua oideachais

"Níor theastaigh uaidh deireadh a chur le Béarla sa tír seo. Scríobh sé i nGaeilge é féin. Scríobh sé drámaí, dánta agus mar sin de i mBéarla. D'fhéadfaidh Pearse's Oratorian at the grave of O'Donnabháin Rosa, a chur i gcomparáid le scoth an phríos i mBéarla."

"Shroicigh an Piarasch ar chóras oideachas nua a bhunú. Bhunaigh sé Scoil Eanna i mBaile Átha Cliath. Bhí córas oideachas na scoile sin ar chomhchéim le córas nuair a bhí sé ar a bhith."

"Níor chríochnaigh an Piarasch a chuid oibre. D'fhág sé an piosa cálice i leath taobh agus phíoc sé suas a raidhfidh. Dúndadh Scoil Eanna. Throid Padraig Mac Piaras. Níor éirigh leis sa gcath agus cuireadh chun bháis é."

"D'fhág sé a oidhreacht againn: Scoil Eanna agus an claoimh. Scoil Eanna: Córas oideachais ghallaigh, córas den chéad scoth, suim i stair na hÉireann agus ní nárthain sa stair ach sa Réamhstair Fionn Mac Cumhaill, Cú Chulainn, an Fhiannaíocht agus mar sin de."

"Agus an claoimh: Lean daoine an Piarasch go crógaigh, go calma: Tomás Aghais, Toirleach Mac Sulbhain, Liam O' Maoliosá, Caoimhín de Barr, Liam O' Loinsigh, Antoine O' Dorsaiigh, Micheál Gaughan agus Prionsias Stagg."

"Támuil anseo i Ros Muc i gceatáir na Gaeltachta. Tá ár dtéanga féin le cloistinn anseo ach tá an nárthain ag brú isteach i gcóir. Inniu támuil buairth. Tá ár gcairdre i mbéal an bháis sa gCúrrach."

"Inniu, Domhach na Cásca, comóradh Aiséirí Chríost. Ach fíú anháin nuair a chuir Críost, moladh ó deo leis, smacht ar an mbás, bhí a lucht leanóna buartha go fóill. Bhí siad i bhfolach in uachtar staighre go dtí an Chnóic. Biodh misneach gaibh, a dhears Gae."

"A Phadráig Mhíic Phiarais, ar fhears lámh

Dé go raibh d'anam gael, D'imtigh tú uainn ar nós Eoghannáin na nEán. Léigh mé an scéal sin agus mé an-óg. Nó bhéidh gur léigh m'athair an scéal sin dom."

"Chuaigh an fóimhar agus an geimhreadh thairt agus bhí an t-earraoch ag fáil arís. Bhí na coilte faoi dhúilleáir, le na húisín ag méilliú agus an ghrian ag dealrann ar na bánta. Tráthnóna glóirshar an Aibreán tháinig na faoinleaga."

"Bhí solas fontach ag bun na séire san iarthair mar a bhí bliain an taca sin. Bhí seis cheoil ag na héanlúigh sa chóill. Bhí duan i chandadh ag na tonnta ar an trá."

"Ach ní raibh aon ghastróir fionnbhán ina shuí ar mhullach na haille fáoi scáth na bhfuineóg. Istigh sa teach bhí bean aonraic ag caoi cois tige."

"... Is a mhaicín mhúirínigh," ar síse, "feicim na fáinleaga chugam arís, ach a fheicfidh mé tusa chugam go deo."

"Chual na faoinleaga i agus iad ag dul thair an doras. Níl a fhios again an gcuala Eoghannáin í, mar bhí sé na mílte i gcóir, sa tír ina mbionn sé ina shamhradh i gcóir na ..."

"Siad na Gaeltachtaí foinsín a fhíorthradisiúin agus réabhlóide Gaelaí. Fionnladh Réabhlóid 1916 in Ard-Oifig an Phoist, Baile Átha Cliath. Bhí an síol i Ros Muc, Conamara, i gcoirthe na ndaoine. O na faoinleaga seo — béasaí agus béaloideaes — beidh an fóiruseach ag gluaiseacht ina slaotha go dtí 'chuilte chard den Tír," a chríochnaigh sé."

## An Cailín Gaelach

Dé Sathairn seo caite bhíis i láthair i Ráth Cairn. Co na Mí, nuair a bhí comórtas an Chailín Ghaelaí ar síúl, nó an chuid sin de a bhain leis an gceantar.

Beirt a roghnaíodh le dul go Daingean Uí Chúis don chomórtais mpor, deifíriúchá. Una agus Maire Ní Churraoin, bail 6 Dhia orthu. Bhí an t-athair, Marcus, hinn sa mbaile, ach bhí an mháthair, Bríd, i laithair.

Go maire bhí an nuaocht.

Drogheda

BALLAD SESSION  
Boyne Valley Hotel  
Friday, 17th June  
9 p.m. to 2 a.m.

MUSIC: ... Travelling John  
ISTEACH ... £1.00  
Proceeds in aid of An Cumann Cabbhrach.

# COMÓRADH I ROSMUC

(Ar leanúint o lch 2)

gur fhreastal Oliver Flanagan ar shocráid Sheáin Mhíic Eocaidh. Ní raibh an chomhacht aige an uair sin ach tá anois. Céard a dhéanfadh sé?

## Aerach Niamh

"Tá Piarasch nua ag an rialtas, Airy Neave. Bíonn ráitisí uaidh ar Theilifís Éireann do ló is de'choice. Dúirt Airy Niamh seo inniu ... Níl aon difríocht idir Airy Neave agus General Maxwell. Tá an dearcadh amach céanna ag Airy Neave."

"Faoi láthair tá trán iarraicé a dhéanamh ag rialtas an tSaoirstáit, an Comhrialtas Mínaíola, drochmeas a chur ar an bPiarasch, ar Sheámas O' Conghaile agus ar laochra eile na Cásca, 1916."

"Inniu ar Raidió Éireann idir a haon agus a dea a chlog tugadh deis d'aonturas do bhean seáóideach darb ainm Ruth Dúrdy Edwards dé, dímeas agus drochmeas a chaitheamh ar an bPiarasch. Blas breá gallda ar a cuid cainte. B'fhéidir nach bhfuil mórán céille aici — agus tá teideal faoi léith ar chailín den chineál sin inár dtéanga: ónseach. Gí go bhfuil díobháil a dhéanamh aici ní éireadh léi meas agus ómós mhuintir na hÉireann don Piarasch a scrios."

"Ba mhúinteoir an Piarasch. Thuig sé go rí-mhaith nach raibh sa gcóras oideachais a bhfuil rialtas Shasana ach seift le deireadh a chur le cultúr téanga, bealach agus spiorad na hÉireann. Genocíde nó Cínéidíocht. An Gorta Mpor agus an córas Oideachas. Ghlaigh

<p>Cumann member? No. But...</p>	<p>I'm really more useful...</p>	<p>On my own... Trade unionist?</p>	<p>Not on the LUMP!</p>	<p>But I am a socialist and all for the Revolution!</p>
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