

An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 43, 8p. Deire Fomhair 26, 1976.

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and 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. (The Dail Eireann)

**OUR
REAL
CRISIS**

SURRENDER

UNFORTUNATELY, what we published on this page (5/10/1976) about the projected Common Market plunder of the Irish sea fisheries has been proved correct. Now we forecast that Dr. Garret FitzGerald will surrender on the fisheries issue and agree to a compromise on the basis that it is better to antagonise 6,000 fishermen than 175,000 farmers (and the Germans), with a general election around the corner and party votes taking precedence over the national interest, natural justice and plain common sense.

When we last wrote on this issue Britain, apparently, was backing the Dublin plea in Brussels for the 50-mile limit demanded by the sea fishermen of Ireland (not of the 26 Counties alone, but it is noted, but of the fishermen of the entire 32 counties).

Last week, Mark Clinton and Garret FitzGerald, during a most peculiar working lunch in London were given to understand that Britain would be going her own way. FitzGerald now is on his own.

Why? Because Britain must do a fish deal with Soviet Russia in the Berents Sea, as we pointed out. Nobody else, that we know of, beyond ourselves and 'Sunday World', has pointed this out yet. Another example of censorship.

We, alone, pointed out that Germany would try to blackmail the Dublin regime into surrender on the sea limits by means of the

Social Fund, to which Germany contributes the major sum. Last week, Brussels commentators in Irish papers confirmed this.

Soft landing

The FitzGerald surrender will not be absolute, on the face of it. He will be let down softly by the bosses in Brussels. The media here will put a glossy face on it.

A "satisfactory compromise" will be announced, making for a temporary limit of, perhaps, 25 miles; with "special rights" outside the 12-mile limit for other E.E.C. members and "third parties" in return for facilities elsewhere).

A major attempt by the media and the politicians will be made in Ireland to con the majority of the people - who do not understand how essentially sane the demands of our sea fishermen are - into thinking that "Brussels has been generous" and the still protesting fishermen "unreasonable".

Built into the Brussels "compromise" plan will be a quota system which will satisfy the gigantic fishing interests of the other E.E.C. members, confine Irish fishermen close to shore, and prevent expansion.

If Brussels has its way, Ireland will be denied a deep-sea fleet and a middle-water fleet, and will be confined to inshore fishing.

This, for Ireland, would be economic madness. Sea fisheries constitute the most promising area for expansion, involving the comparatively inexpensive creation

to German blackmail

of thousands of new jobs, at sea and on shore, and a very profitable export market in fish, fish products, gear and boats, as well as other enterprises.

Capital for such expansion would be available from the World Bank if the Dublin regime had not been so stupid as to pretend, for prestige purposes, that Ireland is not an under-developed nation. It is still available, perhaps not so cheaply, from other sources.

Non-productive loans

Unfortunately, Dublin seldom borrows money for productive purposes. Most of it goes to service debts. Inflation makes the servicing of those debts ever more costly.

Even the fear of a militant army of unemployed men and women, ever growing, does not seem likely to bring the Leinster House to a sense of realities.

Now they plan to sell the priceless Irish fishing rights and rich fishing waters for a mess of general election votes and the

contemptuous Brussels hand-out of the Social Fund.

Once again, this week, we have a paper "emergency" (called a constitutional crisis) to cover another real emergency, the EEC threat to plunder our sea fisheries and to deny the Irish right to expand still further an expanding industry, one of the most efficient in Europe, full of promise, manned by young, vigorous and enterprising fishermen in modern, well-equipped boats. Here, indeed, is a proof of Leinster House sense; here Leinster House wit is seen. . . .

FOOTNOTE: When Garret FitzGerald appeared to be working hard in Brussels to get permission for an Irish 50-mile limit (backed, incidentally, by Scottish and 'Manx' fishermen, and many Englishmen), "Disgrace" Donegan made yet another of his amazing public blunders: "We couldn't defend a 50-mile limit!" With friends such as D.D., does Garret need enemies? Or, to put it another way, who are the real subversives?

Offensive in North

THE CROWN admitted, as we go to press, of one soldier having been killed and 11 others wounded, some of them gravely, in a new guerrilla offensive in Belfast and Crossmaglen. Local people are reported as saying that the casualties were much greater.

There were about 10 attacks on Crown patrols in north and west Belfast, some of them single shots, others by volleys and bombs. The Crown said that *Gunnar Anthony Brian Abbott* (20), Royal Artillery and a Manchester man, had died in hospital.

The hundreds of fatalities caused by carelessness or worse by drivers of Crown vehicles were added to early on Sunday morning in Belfast when a Saracen hit a car and killed three occupants: *Mr. Samuel Campbell*, his wife, *Colette*, and *Mr. Henry McGrann*. A survivor is in hospital. On Saturday, the driver of a van in Belfast was hit by indiscriminate fire from a Crown patrol.

In Crossmaglen, the RUC-military post was attacked by flying bombs on Saturday and the Crown stated that five soldiers had been injured, "none seriously". Five of the bombs were said to have been direct hits. The missiles are stated to have been fired from a new, long-range weapon.

Before the Crossmaglen attack people living in houses close to the Crown post were evacuated and taken some 300 yards away from uniformed, armed men. No civilians were reported injured.

In Lepper Street, New Lodge road area, Belfast, a Crown patrol beat a 17-year-old youth senseless on Sunday. When a crowd of other youths surprised them, the soldiers ran away.

According to a Sinn Fein spokesman, this is the latest in a long series of military attacks and harassment in the area. The youth was taken to the Mater Hospital for treatment.

Bombs and incendiaries destroyed a restaurant and three shops in Derry over the weekend. Fires from incendiaries were reported in Co. Armagh and in Belfast.

The Crisis

THE NEWLY elected Ard-Chomairle of Sinn Fein met and considered the constitutional crisis in the 26 Counties.

Both the Fianna Fail crisis of 1970 and the present Coalition crisis have their roots in a Northern problem.

The struggle in the North is the historic struggle of all the Irish people to self determination.

As the state progresses and as the 26 County State fails to do its national duty, the basic instability of both states will become more apparent.

THE TRUE PEACE STORY THEY HIDE

WITH EVERY carefully stage-managed "peace" march, and with virtually every statement from the "peace" women organisers, aided and abetted by the Crown and its agents, media and otherwise, the politics of that tactic become ever clearer.

The Turf Lodge episode was the beginning when the "peace" organisers intruded on the local people's grief and anger at the British murder of yet another child. The local people's patience exploded and the "peace" organisers had to run for it, protected by a few Republicans.

The protection was ignored by the Crown and its agents. Instead, the smearing of Republicans began. Anything could - should - be blamed on them. But that is the propaganda war at full blast.

Last Saturday, the "peace" organisers led a march into an area where the local people have been brutalised at steadily increasing tempo by the Crown forces and the inevitable happened again.

Nothing that Sinn Fein could have tried to do would have succeeded yet the Republicans were smeared once again.

What did the "peace" organisers expect after their public declaration in favour of the "security forces"? Were they hoping for the protection of the I.R.A.?

The attacks on the "peace" marchers were condemned by Sinn Fein. All that Sinn Fein can do is control and discipline its own members. The Crown and its agents know all this very well but it is useful politically to smear Sinn Fein today just as it was useful politically during the Truce to pat Sinn Fein on the back, to talk to Sinn Fein and to go through the motions of co-operation with Sinn Fein in safeguarding the Truce.

All we can do is back Sinn Fein in its appeal to those with the interests of Irish freedom at heart to discipline themselves strictly and to give no excuse to their enemies to sully their worthy and honourable cause, which is the cause of the majority of Irish people: Peace, based on justice for all, one that is possible only when Ireland is free of foreign interference.

The "violence" visited on the "peace" marchers in war-torn Belfast might be contrasted profitably with the violence on two special CIE trains travelling from peaceful Tralee to peaceful Dublin on Sunday night last. The trains were wrecked at a cost of thousands of pounds. Travellers were robbed at knifepoint.

Not for some 50 years have Gardaí and military been as numerous in the 26 Counties as they are today. The area is said to be well under the control of the "security forces".

Yet, apparently, it is not possible for the authorities to protect two trains and legitimate, law-abiding travellers, from armed gangs of ruffians.

The current "constitutional crisis" has been blamed by at least one imaginative politician on "the machinations of the I.R.A."

Will the Tralee-Dublin "thundering disgrace" also be blamed on the same "subversive elements"? Anything is possible, now.

FOOTNOTE: The peace march, organised by the Republican Movement in Belfast on Saturday, was an outstanding success, with a reported 6,000 on the streets to demand the exit of Crown forces. Turf Lodge, with bin lids, whistles and other early-warning systems, continues, meanwhile, to emphasise that peace depends on Crown forces staying out of the district.

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 7. Deire Fomhair 26, 1976. Uimhir 43.
44 Caernog Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611.

SINN FÉIN was stated to be an unlawful association, as we pointed out in our last edition, during the trial of Maire Comerford, by the state prosecutor. The charge was not pressed, proved or sustained but it shows the thinking of the 26 Counties' legal advisers.

Apparently, however, the time is not considered to be entirely opportune yet. The war on Sinn Féin is to be waged skirmish by skirmish and battle by battle.

Last week we saw the beginning of that with the banning of any mention of the party's activities or the views of its leaders or members on RTE. The next step may well be a similar restriction on printed reports of activities or views.

After a short interval the party would be banned, its offices closed, its funds sequestered and many of its members imprisoned. This is a pattern we have come to expect in states where creeping fascism sets out to strangle all opposition to the police regime.

Creeping censorship is part of creeping fascism. The police state in Ireland does not feel itself strong enough at present to act as the fascists did in Greece and Chile. The widespread opposition to the mock "Emergency" warned them to take it easy.

The character assassination of Republican leaders, their Movement and its actions logically was followed by the radio and TV ban but a greatly increased campaign of vilification, accompanied by frame-ups and "confessions," may be expected to precede the party's banning.

At the moment, the erstwhile civil rights campaigner, Conor Cruise O'Brien, the great humanist, liberal, democrat and all-round oracle, is content to make his *ex cathedra* statement that Sinn Féin is not a legitimate political party, merely a mouthpiece for Óglaigh na hÉireann: "I am Sir Oracle and when I open my mouth let no dog bark".

Sinn Féin is the oldest all-Ireland political party, with properly constitute cumainn and comhairl (branches and councils) in every electoral area of the 32 Counties and in some areas abroad. But Sir Oracle must be right. It cannot be a legitimate political party because he says so.

Sinn Féin has held its annual ardheiseanna (party congresses) for 75 years in public, with democratic election of uachtarán, leas-uachtarán, comhárnaite, cisteoirí and ardchomhaile, throughout most of the time since it was founded. The exception was during the Tan War, when it was banned by the Crown. Nevertheless, Sir Oracle must be right: it cannot be a legitimate political party.

Creeping censorship

Sinn Féin has not been banned in Britain, where it is recognised as a legitimate political party. Under the Crown in the Six Counties, however, since Stormont was founded, it was banned until unbanned a few years ago by Merlyn Rees, who recognised it as a legitimate political party.

But Rees was wrong. Mason is wrong and the Crown ill-advised; and Sir Oracle hopes that the Crown will give way gracefully to his logic when he asserts that Sinn Féin is not a legitimate political party.

In the imperial election of 1918 candidates put forward by Sinn Féin contested most of the Westminster seats in the 32 Counties of Ireland. Being recognised as a legitimate political party, the Crown allowed the names of those candidates to appear on ballot papers.

Every seat contested by Sinn Féin was won. This accounted for more than 70 per cent of the Westminster seats allotted to Ireland.

The Crown was willing - even, perhaps, eager - for the M.P.s so elected to take their places as legitimate representatives of a legitimate political party in Westminster and took umbrage only when those M.P.s (or teachtaí Dála, as they preferred to be called) decided to keep their electoral promises, to found Dáil Éireann, and to announce their allegiance to the Republic proclaimed by the leaders of the 1916 Rising.

But 1916 was wrong, says Sir Oracle. The decision of the majority of the Irish people in the 1918 election was wrong. The decision to boycott the Imperial Parliament in Westminster was very wrong.

Sinn Féin was not a legitimate political party when founded. It was not a legitimate political party when it won the 1918 election, the last time the entire Irish people in every Irish county had an opportunity to express, democratically, their political wishes.

It was not a legitimate party in the one-party Dáil

Eireann up to the Truce, nor during any of the Imperial and other elections in which it was seats under that bog-oak title. Thus Sir Oracle.

In the early years of this century, rather than being a legitimate political party, it was the mouthpiece of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and, later, of Óglaigh na hÉireann. The very fact that the Crown waged war on Dáil Éireann, its institution, proved that it was not a legitimate political party. The Crown can do no wrong...

Today, Sinn Féin has 26 democratically elected representatives on local authorities in the 26 Counties. Those who elected them, and many who did not, recognise them as honourable, hard-working, informed, progressive people concerned deeply in the people's interests. Nevertheless, Sinn Féin is not a legitimate political party.

Sinn Féin members are involved in agitation at local and national level of housing, fisheries, social issues, education, culture, mining, employment, industrial production, agriculture, co-operatives and in many other areas. The party's policies are better documented than any other political party in Ireland. But Sir Oracle has spoken.

They are illegitimates; their party is illegitimate. Despite all the facts and figures, all the history, all the slogging political work, Sinn Féin is not a party and, because it constitutes such a political threat must die.

Cruise O'Brien is a man of many parts, a born actor. At one time he was Parnell; at another, Abraham Lincoln; at another, Camus, the Algerian writer who betrayed his people, joining the French fascists tearing at the throat of the Algerian patriots.

Just now, perhaps, he is not quite decided as to his most appealing image. Sir Oracle, in Shakespearean dress? That royal character in Carroll's "Alice in Wonderland"? Batista? Nero? Castlereagh? Or Bacchus?

But no matter what role he chooses - and few will care to deny his dramatic merits - it may be forecast safely that Sinn Féin will survive him, to become stronger rather than weaker, despite his machinations or even because of them.

Republicans have a relatively easy and immediate answer to the radio and TV ban, to accompany their redoubled activities in answer to his arrogance.

They can refuse to pay radio and TV licences. Nobody is forcing them to listen to a radio and TV service where they are classified officially as illegitimate, "mere Irish," outside the Pale.

Debe

EAGRAS NUA OIDEACHAIS NÓ DEIREADH LE GAELIGE FAOI 1999

AG SCRIBH FAOI Scoil Chronán i Rath Comhriobh, Co. Bhaile Átha Cliath, a bhios an tseachtain seo caite, agus go n-oladh na dtuistí as an obair dhian ta ar siúl acu chun an scoil a choinneall leo.

Ait go leor, is beag a chloiseann muid é "gluaiseacht" na Gaelige faoi oideachas a bhí chuir ar bheith saor. Ach is maith is eol do gach tuiste a bhfuil gasúir aige ar bhunscoil nó ar mhéanscoil lánGhaelach gur bréag mhór é bualam sóchiar ar rialtais go bhfuil oideachas seo ó chóras ar fáil do dhá chéad. Seo mar atá an scéal sa "stát Gaelach": Caitheadh an tuiste foc as oideachas trí chéim agus trín airgead a thugann sé don sagart paróiste nó don mhúinteoir. Ach más tuiste Gaelach é agus oideachas trí Ghaelghe dá chuid páistí ag teastáil uaidh, caitheadh sé éin an stáit a foc, éin an tsagart nó an mhúinteoir AGUS airgead breise, de réir a acmhainne.

Is fíor nach bhfuil an t-airgead breise sin riachtanach do réir dlí an stáit. Níl. Ach muna n-íoctar é agus muna gearúir cúrsaí ar bun chun airgead a thuilleamh tá deireadh leis an scoláocht lánGhaelach.

Is ionann seo uilig agus a rá gur saoránach den tarna grád an Gaelgheoir a dteastaíonn uaidh go mbí oideachas lánGhaelach ar fáil dá chlann.

Shifí go mbeadh feachtas láidir trodadh ar síúl ag na heagrais Ghaelghe chun an ceart bunúsach seo, ceart d'oideachas trí ghaelghe, a fháil saor in aisce ón stát, nó chomh saor is atá an t-oideachas trí Bhéarla.

Is í an fhírinne faoin scéal go bhfuil stát agus Eaglais ag troid in éadan na Gaelghe, in éadan oideachas trí ghaelghe, ag cur trioblaíde agus costais i mbealach an té tá a iarradh.

Bearna an bhaoil?

AR MHISTE do dhúine údarásach i ngluaiseacht na Gaelghe a insint don cén fáth nach bhfuil coiste trodadh bunaithe chun an ceart bunúsach seo a fháil, trí shuirbhéanna dhéanamh, trí pheanáil don chóras dá dhíth, trí

chúiseanna trí pheanáil don chóras dá dhíth, trí chúiseanna dá a throid, trí bhólaireacht, trí dhúil go dtí Strasburg nó go dtí na Náisiúin Aontuise, fíú, más gá? Tá Conradh nua nó comhdháil nua a dhíth chun eagar a chur ar an troid sin. Níor mhíste an t-eagras tá a dhíth a bhunú ar chóras an cheardchumainn, craobh a haon, do na tuistí; craobh a dó, do na múinteoirí; craobh a trí, do na daltaí; craobh a dó, do na múinteoirí; craobh a trí, do na daltaí; craobh a cheathair, do na fóilsítoirí agus scríbhneoirí (féacs-leabhair); craobh a chúig, don lucht pleanáil; agus mar sin do.

Sa chaoi sin, bheadh a cuid oibre leagtha amach ag gach craobh, í ag obair faoi údarás an eagrais de réir pleain. Fé mar a tharlaíonn i gcúrsaí na gearrchumainn thioctadh na daoine sin uilig le chéile uair sa mblain ag ardheis nó cuinníú chinbhliana chun obair na bliana a mheas agus chun polasáí a leagan amach don chéad bhliain eile.

Tá sé soiléir domsa go bhfuil a leithéid ag teastáil. Tá eagrais Ghaelghe againn, ceart go leor, ach níl an chaoi a bhfuil síd eagraithe éifeachtach ná orionnach don obair tá romhainn.

Tá gach úrann Gaelghe ar gach eagras Gaelghe agus ciallaíonn sin nach ndéanann síd freastal cóir éifeachtach ar chóras ar bith. Bonn gairmíúil tá a dhíth.

Dá mhúnófaí an t-eagras nua tá molta agam, saoróidh sé Conradh, Comhdháil is eile d'obair eile agus bheinn ag síúl go ndíreoidís a bhfuinneamh agus a n-éifeacht ar shaothar n-ó ar fheachtas ar lieth agus gan sin a fhágáil go dtí go mbeadh toradh ar an obair.

Tá n-ascoll bunaithe ag Scoil Chronán le seachtain nó mar sin agus 15 ag freastal uirthi. Níl spás ar fáil más tathar le cur leis an líon sin. Faoi dheireadh na haoise seo tá deallramh ar chúrsaí go mbeidh 2,000,000 ina gcónaí i

mBaile Átha Cliath agus sa cheantar maguaird. Chun freastal ar na daoine a dteastóid, uatha a gcuid páistí a chur ar scoil lánGhaelach nó scoil dhátheangach beidh gá le thairt faoi 500 scoileanna nua a dhíth.

Chun go gearúir na scoileanna sin ar fáil tá gá agus gearghá le pleanáil. Ach níl caint dá laghad na cloistéalí faoi sin ó Chronradh na Gaelghe ná ó eagrais Gaelghe ar bith eile san ardchathair.

Sa chomhthéacs seo cuirim ceist ar na daoine maithé tá maillta ag Tom glic: goldé an áit a bhfuil bhur dtreoir?

Agus níl í bhfadhb na scoileanna ach an ghné amháin den obair mhór tá le déanamh in éadan an stáit agus na hEaglaise chun go mairfidh an teanga beo go dtí deireadh na haoise seo.

A Thomais Mhic Ghabhann, bhfuil don léamh? Nó bhfuil sin cheo le rá agat, ar chor ar bith?

Coiste aimdeach

IS COSUL nach mise an t-aon duine amháin a cheapann gur amaideach an mhaise do chinneirí gluaiseacht na Gaelghe baint dá laghad a bheith acu leis an gceas is nuaí tá ag Tom O'Donnell.

Seo a leanas a raibh le rá ag "Tuairascáil," san "Irish Times" an tseachtain seo caite faoin gcoiste nua, "coiste amaideach eile," dar leis an "Times," agus an ceart ar fad aige.

Tá a fhios ag an saol nach é "Tuairascáil" an saothar Gaelghe is polachtaí ná is náisiúnaí sa tír agus nac féidir, le smid dá laghad den bhfírinne, a chur ina leith gur fronta d'Óglaigh na hÉireann tá inti, ná guth bhólaireacht Sinn Féin. Ar aon chaoi, seo mar atá an gíota de "Tuairascáil".

Tugaimid faoi deara go bhfuil Coiste Náisiúnta Comhordaithe bunaithe ag Tomás o'Donnáil agus go bhfuil daoine gnólaíu - go

gceapfaí rud éigin níos fearr a bheith le déanamh acu - ainmnithe aige chun "comhheagar a chur ar shaothar na n-eagrais doonach d'fhonn an Ghaelghe agus an cultúr Gaelach a chur chun tosaigh oiread agus is féidir sna féilte náisiúnta, sna féilte áitiúla agus in imeachtaí áitiúla eile a bhíonn ar síúl ar fud na tíre." Glacaimid leis gur cuid de pholasáí gaeilge an Rialtais é seo agus go bhfuil na Gaelghe bhíonta a bhfuil an dualgas do dhéanta seo curtha orthu, ag iarraidh an polasáí a fheidhmiú.

Beidh síúl againn, teacht na bliana 1977, go mbeidh Gaelghe ag Rós Thrá Lí, gur sa teanga ársa cheánna a chuirfidh Mairg de Dunleao an "last heat" di, gur í n-áire Gaeilge freisin a dhéanfaidh poc Chill Orghlain a chuid meigiallaigh, go gcuimfar "Amhrán na Sú Talún" d'Fhéile Inis Chóirthead agus "Amhrán an Fhog a shloig an tAmhas" d'Fhéile Bhaile an Chumhair.

Thar a bheith báruil: ach nach bhfuil sé báruil ar chor ar bith ach coiuril'.

Giollaí na cinsireachta

ACH BHI gíota spéisiúil ag "Tuairascáil," an tseachtain seo caite, faoi chinsireacht, mar atá a leanas, agus molaim míneach an scríbhneora.

Sul má chuirim an méid sin i gcló anseo, níor mhíste don "Irish Times" a choinneáil a serdúí faoina chuid cinsireachta féin, go mó mór faoi chás chuintir Uí Mhuiri.

Cén fáth nach raibh "Tuairascáil" ná aon chuid eile den "Irish Times" síta riarthas Conradh na Gaelghe faoi chás Uí Mhuiri a fhoilsiú?

Ar an 11 den mhí seo d'fhoilsigh an Conradh an ráiteas seo a leanas faoi phónós an bháis agus fuair an "Irish Times" cóip de: "Glacadh leis an rún seo thíos ag cruinnid de Choiste Gnó Chonradh na Gaelghe Dá Sathair seo caite (9/10/1976): 'Go n-éilíonn Conradh na Gaelghe go gearúir pónós an bháis ar ceal in Éirinn agus nach ndoarf muintir Uí Mhuiri ná Éireannach ar bith eile chun báis'."

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

What should YOU do if detained?

Under this legislation you can be held WITHOUT CHARGE for up to seven days. To guard against ill-treatment or worse and attempts to extract statements against your will, by physical or other force, you are advised to heed this advice, given by Rev. Denis Faul:

- When brought in, say: "I want a solicitor". Name him.
- State clearly: "I am quite willing to answer all questions and to give an account of my movements. But I want all questions in writing and, when my solicitor has seen them, I shall answer them in writing".
- DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME to any piece of paper for the full seven days unless advised to do so by the solicitor of your choice.
- Ask for your own doctor. When released, get a full physical examination and a blood and urine test for drugs. If ill-treated, have photographs taken immediately on release and instruct your lawyer to prosecute.

REMEMBER ALWAYS THAT YOU ARE NOT OBLIGED BY LAW TO SAY ANYTHING OR TO MAKE A VERBAL OR WRITTEN STATEMENT TO THE GARDAI. YOU ARE ADVISED TO SAY NOTHING UNTIL YOU HAVE SEEN YOUR SOLICITOR AND HEARD HIS ADVICE.

If a friend or relative is detained, ring:

EMERGENCY 'PHONE NUMBER

(01) 342793

DAY OR NIGHT

- If the person detained is your relative or friend, ring the emergency number above. It is manned 24 hours daily
- Ring local Garda stations in succession to find whereabouts of your friend or relative
- Contact solicitor, doctor, local clergy and get them to visit the detained person WITHOUT DELAY.

ARDFHEIS

THE Ardchomhairle resolution on foreign affairs was as follows:—

(a) That Sinn Fein recognises that the only realistic future for Ireland in relation to the world at large lies in disentangling our people from economic and political power blocs and possible military alliances such as the E.E.C. and joining with the post-colonial and non-aligned countries of the Third World of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggles against all forms of imperialism and in their endeavours to build a New International Economic Order;

(b) That we declare our support for those throughout the world engaged in struggles for national liberation and invite their explicit support for the struggle in Ireland;

(c) That we educate our members and followers in these matters and especially in the proposed future role of the New Ireland

in world affairs and that a foreign affairs Bureau be established to implement this resolution.

Ruairi O Braadaigh, speaking to this motion, said: "The world does not begin and end with England, the E.E.C. and America. The Third World countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, colonised and exploited like ourselves, are emerging into liberation and national independence. They have shared our experience and we have many friends among them.

"In this connection, it is interesting to note that majority rule is now universally accepted to be the only basis for peace in Rhodesia — or Zimbabwe, as it will shortly be known — yet is not this very same principle of majority rule the sure basis for peace in Ireland with local communities governing themselves?

'We are part of

"In supporting their liberation struggles, we look to the Organisation of African Unity, a regional body of the United Nations Organisation embracing 47 states, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations with a membership of 85 states and the "Group of 77" at the United Nations as progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the world. Taking the longer view, links forged now will serve the New Ireland of the future well in its quest for trading partners and economic arrangements to mutual advantage.

"We also support the captive nations of

ECONOMY OF EIRE NUA

I REFER to the article in the issue of "An Phoblacht" (No. 40) by your Political Correspondent, regarding the Ardheis this year. Although I would agree, for the most part, with his opinion of this year's Clar, I would strongly criticise his theories about the possible economic structure of the New Ireland.

Your correspondent fails to appreciate that the fundamental strength of the Eire Nua programme lies in the basic cohesion of the various interrelated principles that make up our policy document.

Eire Nua offers the people of this nation completely new political, economic and social structures, which will complement each other and will, together, make up the new revolutionary whole, the New Ireland.

According to our programme, the basic economic principles upon which the foundations of the New Ireland will rest are:

- * Control of the 'commanding heights' of the economy through nationalisation and workers' participation;
- * Setting up of workers' co-operatives which we envisage as the most popular and widespread economic structure;
- * Limited private enterprise with restrictions on profit margins, abolition of capitalistic exploitation and strict control of employer-employee relations by just and democratic labour laws;
- * Regionalised political structures embracing decentralisation of power and a devolution of control and decision-making back to the people of Ireland through provincial, regional and district assemblies.

State ownership

Your correspondent suggests that we discard the above principles and replace them with a policy of state ownership of all the means of production in the country. As an enthusiastic supporter of our Eire Nua programme, I must reject his beliefs for the following reasons.

Complete state control over all facets of the economy becomes, by progression, more and more undemocratic. Economic power, initially in the hands of the people, gradually becomes the monopoly of a small number of state bureaucrats and economic planners.



Siobhan Ni Mhaolchathaigh, Luimneach.



Barney McFadden, Derry.

The inherent beauty of the Eire Nua programme is that, by offering several possible economic structures, we envisage a diffusion of economic power to a certain extent, in conjunction, of course with nationalisation of the "key" industries.

A mixed economy along the lines advocated by Sinn Fein is the only realistic path to true democracy.

Complete state control inevitably evolves into state capitalism which would be completely inconsistent with our desire to build a new socialist society.

Despite certain basic advantages, state take-over of all the means of production usually has resulted in a more inefficient and ineffective economic system.

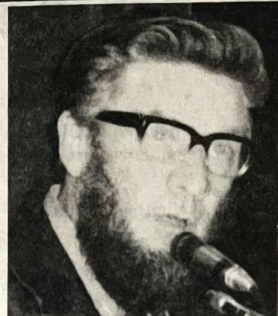
For example, by taking control of one of the primary means of production, i.e. the land of the country, we would be forced to deal with the limited advantages and colossal disadvantages and inefficiencies of state-controlled "collectivised" farming.

Our present policies of limited land ownership by private persons along with widespread co-operative ownership of the land allow for the preservation of the individuality and initiative of the farming areas and, at the same time, rid the country of exploitation by agricultural capitalists.

State control over every facet of the economy must, by its very nature, create a centrally controlled economy. Are we to discard our ideals of regionalised, decentralised, political structures?

Are we to exchange the present neo-colonial centralised Dublin control over every aspect of our economic affairs for a state centralised Athlone control?

What power are we to offer to the provinces and to the regional and district councils if anything that affects their economic development must be referred to a state bureaucracy in some central location?



P.J. Carney, Sligo.

Fundamental strength

The Eire Nua programme embodies the only reasonable and realistic solution to the national problem and the fundamental strength of this solution is that it invites the ex-Unionists to become actively involved in their own province of Ulster.

It is realistic because we, in fact, offer the ex-Unionists something that they have never really had under British colonialism, power in their own province and control over their own political, social, and economic development within the framework of a new democratic, socialist Ireland.

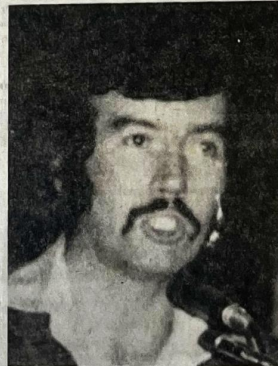
By placing complete economic control in the hands of centralised state bodies, your correspondent would have us reject the rights of provincial parliaments, rescind our offers to the people of Ulster, and, thereby, withdraw the only reasonable solution to Ireland's national problem.

Finally, it must be pointed out that, in a Sinn Fein New Ireland, we would, in fact, have nothing to fear from the limited private enterprise that would exist.

It is not the small shop owner, garage owner or small factory owner that is robbing this country blind, exploiting the labour force or prostituting our natural resources to foreign speculators.

In the New Ireland of nationalised key industries, co-operative development and controlled profits, there isn't a chance the "free" enterprise element would ever again become a "free-for-all", profit-motivated, capitalist monopoly.

Note: Christene is the Secretary of the Eire Nua Study Group, South Dublin Comhairlecheantar.



A London delegate.

Risteard

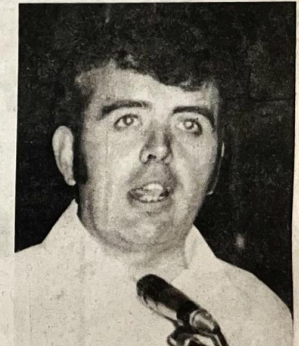
RISTEARD BEHAL, in seconding the Ardchomhairle foreign affairs motion, stated: "In seconding the motion let me quote the closing sentence of my report to last year's ardheis: 'In the struggle against British imperialism we do not lack friends but must also extend our hand in friendship'.

"The past year has seen a greater awareness of and pursuit of international contact. From need for the proposed bureau is great. From my own experience I can say that lack of a co-ordinating centre was highly frustrating and, in turn, I am sure that I, in turn, frustrated the Republican Movement.

"The bureau is needed to co-ordinate contact on several levels: Republican Movement internal matters, including tours; contact with solidarity and friendly groups; contact with news outlets, press, radio, television; contact with trade unions, legal bodies, human rights groups; contact with political parties and individuals; contact with cultural and economic groups.

Learn from others

"A far greater emphasis is needed on study of various literature, particularly the literature of other anti-imperialist groups. This work should enlighten and enliven our members in the pages of the Movement's publications.



Michael Timothy, Dublin.



John Joe Mc Girt, Leitrim.

1976

the Third World'

Western Europe, the Bretons, the Basques, the Corsicans and the Catalonians to name but some of those struggling for liberation and national identity.

"In particular, we support the efforts of the Scottish, and Welsh peoples for self-government and freedom from English control. Their struggles are part of a common effort which was initiated in Ireland to throw off the imperial rule of London which has had such dire effects on all the Celtic nations. We look forward to the day which is not far distant when the Irish can resume those direct

relations with our Celtic brothers which have been interrupted by the divisive policies of London. Not merely that, but we look ahead to the establishment of active political and economic co-operation between our three liberated countries.

"It is to be hoped that this Ardfeis will institutionalise the relationship established with peoples abroad during the year in a Foreign Affairs Bureau which would operate under the direction of an Ard-Chomhairle and add a global dimension to our own liberation struggle", he concluded.



Behal in support

including 'An Phoblacht' and 'Republican News'.

"World contact will be invaluable to the Republican Movement. It will boost morale; supply us with ideas from experiences elsewhere; and help to prevent us making mistakes made by our allies abroad.

"However, it would be unwise to allow ourselves to be carried away by such foreign influences or to allow ourselves to become deluded into thinking that foreign aid, resulting from close foreign contacts, will solve our problems for us.

"Ultimately, it will depend on the sustained efforts of the Irish people to win the fight against imperialism in Ireland, to win the political struggle that will follow and to consolidate the Revolution.

"It will be the men, women and children of Belfast, Derry, Tyrone, Crossmaglen and the north-east generally, together with their kindred in the rest of Ireland who will win and consolidate Irish freedom", he stated.

The motion was agreed.

ARDFHEIS 1976

LOCAL CENTRES VITAL

A NUMBER of speakers emphasised the important work that can be done to identify the Republican Movement with the people through the creation of local advice centres.

Set up your centres, advised one man. Listen to the people's complaints on overcharging, housing, social services and the rest of it. Note them carefully. Take action. Get results.

Inform those who made the complaints. Within six weeks of establishing the centre, working along these lines, the local people will come crowding in, knowing that you are giving a real service.

Another speaker pointed out that material from such centres should be fed to local papers, particularly to the Republican press. Publicity, locally and nationally, is vital to success. If the Republican papers get the material, properly documented and presented, they will print it.

Local roots

Yet another speaker pointed out that Sinn Fein at present in no way was prepared to take over the country and that the beginning must be made by the local cumann, concentrating on local issues which are easily understood.

"It is no good going out and trying to collect money for Republican causes", he stated, "without first proving to the people that you are their friend, that you are working hard and consistently on their behalf".

Ruairi O Braadhain intervened to say he was glad to see that the Robert Emmet Cumann in Dublin was re-examining the proposals for the Nine-Counties Ulster.

It would be wrong to think of Ulster in terms of an extension of the Stormont set-up, which could not be reformed and which had a sectarian purpose. He pointed out that most international, progressive and anti-imperial movements favoured decentralised power.

Sunday morning

As to the local centres, get them running at first for two hours on a Sunday morning and expand from there. Cut your cloth to measure.

Identify with the local people and their interests. Prove to them that the Republican Movement has a plan for a better life-style which is more fulfilling - and prove it.

"Let our policy be", he urged, "that we give the people directions and they give us directions, that we work together, learning from each other and co-operating in the march forward of the nation to freedom. That is the way ahead".

An comhrann, Niall O Faoghagain, pointed out that a re-examination of the Nine-Counties Ulster did not mean that the proposals were being thrown out. They were being merely examined in depth so as to achieve a better understanding.

Healthy region for a healthy nation

HEALTHY regionalism will make for a healthy nation. This was one of the points made in the secretaries' report, read by Uilleall O Loinsigh at the 1976 Ardfeis.

The policies of the Republican Movement, he pointed out, were designed to make people think and to change their attitudes of subservience, conditioned by centuries of slavery and exploitation, into a view of truth and freedom; casting aside old, threadworn, conservative ideas and joining in the creation of something new, worthwhile and practical.

"We know", he said, "that the two statelets set up in this island some 50-odd years ago were born in conservatism and that people have been fed on this and ruled by it since 1921.

"The Irish people are not at heart conservative. It is our job to rebuild this nation into one of revolutionaries and this can be done only by example.

"Methods that are completely unorthodox to most other people must be used by us. Wherever there is a gathering, our members must be willing to stand up and proclaim, either by voice, poster or leaflets, that we want a new nation.

"Wherever an anti-Irish, anti-Republican or anti-social statement is made, whether it be in club room, the debating hall, the bus, in the street, or off the pulpit, it must be repudiated.

"A second objective is to create the sense of provincialism or regionalism if we want to win power for the people. This cannot be done if our members cannot think in provincial, regional or local terms.

Republican centres

"Our first step will be the setting up of at least one Republican Service Centre by each Comhairlecheantar. This centre will become the hive of activity for Republicans and for contact with the people.

"The Clonard Cumann in Belfast has worked hard on this and other areas are also developing the idea. It is hoped in the coming months to organise seminars in different areas on methods which will help the development of the centres and the projecting of our regional policy.

"The message then for the coming year is: * Everyone must involve himself now in an expansionist programme;

* Do not be demoralised by the opposition's tactics and do not create a defeatist attitude amongst our own people;

* Defeat the phariseses marching in the name of peace;

* Build a feeling of change among the people;

* Think provincial.

"Using these guidelines, we can go places. Recent statements coming from British political and military leaders would indicate that a guerrilla military force is hard to beat



Uilleall O Loinsigh, A tha Cliath

unless its political wing and its propaganda machine are subdued.

Greatest opportunity

"These statements clearly put Sinn Fein more in the front line than ever before. Is the seriousness of this situation realised?

"The struggle in the north-east has created the greatest opportunity of 1,000 years for this island to enter into a golden age and we are reaching for the pinnacle of success.

"If we fail it will take years, perhaps centuries, to get back to this forward position again. We glorify in 1798, 1803, 1848, 1867 and 1916. Future generations may speak in awe of the people of the 1970s - or they will curse them. They will curse if we fail.

"We are not striving for some unattainable myth. We are on a practical course. We want to build an Ireland that can be the envy of other nations.

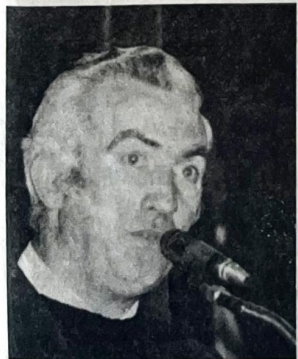
"In recent years many nations have thrown off the imperial yoke and their people are prospering as never before. Will this nation that was the first to crack the empires, be the last to reap the rewards of freedom's fight?"

"Let us hurry with our task. Various shades of opinion talk about freedom for this country. Some would accept a capitalist-dominated society; others, pseudo left-wingers, would accept an imperialist dictatorship.

"Our doctrine is that there must be a new society, a complete change from the past. Culturally, economically and administratively, we demand the support of all progressively minded people, for we are the Revolution".



May Devlin, Tyrone.



Sean Thornton, Dublin.

Support for Murray Defence campaign

"A MARCH in London, a picket in Paris, and a torchlight procession in Dublin were just some of the activities which marked the International Day of Solidarity with Marie and Noel Murray on Friday last, said a statement received from the Murray Defence Committee.

The statement continued: "A public meeting will be held in Paris later this month with a representative of the Dublin-based Murray Defence Committee present. The climax of the campaign in the run-up to the hearing of the appeal against sentence of death, however, will be a meeting and march to be held on Saturday, 30th October, in Dublin.

"For the meeting, representatives of all the defence committees based in other European cities will be invited. Many of them have sustained a high level of activity throughout the past weeks and months. The German committee, for instance, has recently got the signatures of several well-known writers and academics to a protest statement about the sentence of death on the Murrays. The Dublin organisers of the October 30th demonstration expect that they, and other of the committees abroad, will send prominent speakers to it — especially as it takes place just two days before the application for leave to appeal is due to be heard.

"The demonstration will take the form of a meeting at the GPO, O'Connell Street, and a march to Mountjoy Prison. A publicity campaign, and a series of other activities, are now being launched in order to gather support for the demonstration. Students returning to their colleges will, in many cases, find

publicity stands on the campuses and meetings organised for the first weeks of term. A picket will be organised at the Leinster House in the first week of the resumed sessions — on Thursday, 21st October at 6.00 p.m.

No information

"In Mountjoy and the Curragh, Marie and Noel Murray wait "on death row", starved of information about the campaign being carried on in their defence. If their spirit has not yet been broken by harassment and by isolation, it is not for the state authorities' lack of trying", the statement ended.

BELOW: Forty people — members of Comite Irlande, Sutte Ouvriere and Ligue Communiste Internationale — picketed the Aer Lingus building, Place de p'Opera, Paris, in demand for a reprieve for Noel and Marie Murray. The group distributed thousands of leaflets denouncing the death penalty, the introduction of the state of emergency in the 26-Counties and the withdrawal of political status in the Six Counties.



Motion passed at Ard Fheis

That the Death penalty in the 26 Counties be abolished and for the immediate reprieve of Noel and Marie Murray.

Vote of sympathy

AT A recent meeting of the Roscommon Comhairle-chaentair, votes of sympathy were passed with the family of the late Mrs. O'Brien, Faillibhy, Spencer Harbour, Carrick-on-Shannon and the family of the late Noel Jenkinson who died in Leicester prison, England.

Edentubber

The annual Edentubber Martyrs' Commemoration will be held at Edentubber, Co. Louth, on Sunday, 14th November beginning at 3.00 p.m.

COMHBHRON

Tá muide, Lucy, Mackers, Seán, Curly, Cormac, Diarmuid agus an tuisle ag bhí ar an Rás Taitteann, ag iarraidh comhbhrón a dhéanamh le muintir na ndaoine a fuair bás de thimpist i mBéal Feirste ar na mallaibh, tá, Seosamh O'Mianadora, Francis Simmonds agus Paul Marlowe.

SYMPATHY

The members of the James Daly, Sinn Féin Cumann, Westmeath wish to extend their deepest sympathy to the wife, son and daughters of the late Joe Malone of Meedin, Tyrrellspass, Co. Westmeath, who died recently.

Special Branch harassment in Sligo

DETECTIVE Sergeant Smith, Special Branch, with three of his picked minions set up a road block outside the SNIA factory in Sligo on Monday, 14th October.

After searching a number of cars they found the person they required. He was driving his car accompanied by four fellow workmen who were his passengers. The detective informed their victim that they required his fingerprints in connection with the theft of bed clothes from a house he had vacated some months ago — a scurrilous insinuation on a perfectly respectable young man, made in the presence of his workmates, a cheap and malicious excuse to harass this young man and defame his character to his fellow workers and his fellow tenants in the house where he now resides.

Life in danger

He was taken to Sligo barracks, palm printed, finger printed and photographed from the different angles. He

News from the North

SATURDAY, OCT. 16

BELFAST: 3 members of the Provisional I.R.A. were killed when a bomb exploded prematurely. The resulting fire caused a Gasometer at Belfast Gasworks to explode.

Later in a statement supplied from the Belfast Republican Press Centre on behalf of the Belfast Brigade it was stated that the intended target was not the Gas Works but rather the British Army base inside the Gasworks complex.

Another man was found shot dead on the Shankill Road, the 2nd in a week. His body was found in an entry off Richmond Street in the Lower Shankill Road.

Rumours abounding were that he was a Brit deserter.

Two low velocity shots were fired at an R.U.C. land rover in North Queen St. No injuries were reported.

LURGAN: A British soldier was shot and wounded as he patrolled in the vicinity of Shankill St. and Edward St.

NEWTOWNABBEEY: Two huts and a mechanical digger were destroyed by incendiary devices at the Enterprise Ulster site at Church Rd.

SUNDAY, OCT. 17

DERRY: British soldiers escaped injury after a bomb exploded near the Abercorn Rd. observation post.

BELFAST: The R.U.C. was attacked when a car bomb exploded near the scene of a "Bogus" alarm on the Springfield Rd.

Twenty-three-year-old Mrs. Patricia Mullen was shot in the back by Pro British Elements as she left the local G.A.A. and Camogie Club in Greencastle village with her husband Malachy and her father-in-law.

Mrs. Mullen is pregnant and her baby overdue. Doctors confirmed that the unborn baby was still alive.

A friend of Mrs. Mullen describing the shooting said that "Patricia had just left the club at 11.50 when a car pulled up near her and thinking a lift was being offered she stopped. A man in the car shouted "Fenian Bastard" produced a revolver and fired six shots at Patricia and her family.

The Brits were down the road and made no attempt to stop the getaway car.

BALLYCASTLE: Fire believed

NORTH ARMAGH NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION

Results of Draw

1st Ticket No.	—	128
2nd Ticket No.	—	125
3rd Ticket No.	—	3033
4th Ticket No.	—	488
5th Ticket No.	—	331
6th Ticket No.	—	2904
7th Ticket No.	—	1071
8th Ticket No.	—	3011
9th Ticket No.	—	335

Winners can obtain prize by contacting any member of the National Graves Association.

TIPPERARY Town and District Sinn Féin are at present re-organising. Anyone wishing to join should apply to:-
Mr. N. Boland,
134 St. Michaels Ave.,
Tipperary Town.

to have been caused by incendiary devices destroyed 6 buses and damaged two others at the local Ulster Bus Depot.

MONDAY, OCT. 18

BELFAST: 5 soldiers belonging to the "Black Watch" regiment were charged in a court of planting evidence on innocent civilians.

Last week 3 soldiers were charged with burning a G.A.A. Hall.

TUESDAY, OCT. 20

BELFAST: The 23-year-old pregnant woman who was shot in the back gave birth to a still-born baby. She was saved by Pro Irish Flements on Sunday night.

Two British soldiers were shot and wounded after their patrol was attacked. One was wounded in the thigh and the other received a side wound. At least 8 High Velocity shots were fired at the Patrol as it passed the junction of Whitelock Rd and Falls Rd.

4 men planted bombs in McIlhaggas glass and paint shop and Batty Bros hardware store. Large fires broke out later.

DERRY: Fire believed to have been caused by an incendiary device, severely damaged Alexandre Sloan's furniture store. Another fire in a discount store caused minor damage.

British and R.U.C. personnel were fully stretched dealing with several incendiary devices in the city.

THURSDAY, OCT. 23

TYRONE: An RUC man was injured when a car bomb exploded near Castleberg.

It is believed the car was abandoned near a roadcheck and as the RUC man approached it the bomb exploded.

BELFAST: The new British Army regiment which moved into Turf Lodge to replace the former regiment have reported that they are receiving a hostile reception.

The claimed that women were harassing them by banging bins and blowing whistles as they tried to patrol the streets.

The "Peace People" denied it was their whistle brigade. When the "Peace People" are reduced to issuing statements denying "whistling" it must be all up in the air

BALLAD SESSION

Foxe's of Glencullen
Admission 50p
Friday, 29th Oct.
Featuring
The Men of No Property and Guest Artists

8.30 p.m. Bus from Dun-Laoghaire

In aid of Dun-Laoghaire Republican Pipe Band

An Cumann Cabhrach

IT IS our privilege to remind everyone that we are once again preparing for our annual Aonach na Nollag. This year our Aonach (sale of work) will be held in the Mansion House on the 3rd, 4th and 5th December. To make it a success we need your help.

Help may be given by supplying groceries, fruit, vegetables, toys, hardware, minerals, clothes and cash. New clothes only please.

Christmas is just around the corner. Already preparations have begun. Shop windows will be decorated. Children will be writing to Santa or perhaps pointing out presents they hope to receive.

To ensure that all children will have a happy Christmas An Cumann Cabhrach requires some sacrifice from all of us who care about those whose loved ones are languishing in jail at home and abroad. There are many such children, but only with your help can we give them the little things that will help them over the sad absence of their dads.

Goods may be sent or delivered to: An Cumann Cabhrach, Kevin Barry House, 44, Parnell Square, Baile Atha Cliath, 1.

ARDFHEIS

1976

AS ALWAYS, one of the highlights of the Sinn Féin ArdFheis was the presidential address. Last week, due to a severe pressure on space, we were unable to give Ruairi O Bradaigh's address in full and promised to publish the remainder in this week's issue. Here it is.

"New generations of prisoners come and go; even new Cosgraves come and go; but, until the root cause, British imperialism in Ireland, is tackled and beaten, it will go on. Young people today are striving to break this vicious circle of repression and violence — and not by accepting the *status quo* which derives from it. They seek to establish justice, as the surest way to establish a lasting peace.

"Sinn Féin vice-president, Dáithí Ó Conaill was arrested in Wully and has been returned to Portlaoise prison for 18 months, having spent a matter of weeks with his family since his release in April.

"As was the case last year, the unsupported and mysterious 'opinion' of a chief superintendent is the sole basis for his imprisonment. Other A.C. members, Mary Devlin, Charlie McGlade, George Lynch, Joe Cahill, have also been imprisoned, Paddy Dollard is in Portlaoise and John Higgins in Brixton Prison, London. Our National Organiser, Brendan Magill, was jailed, following the Frank Stagg Commemoration.

"At the same time our local councillors have come under attack. One of the twenty-six elected in 1974 at the head of the poll and on the first count — Michael Kennedy, Bird, Co. Offaly, answered a higher call in a vocation to the priesthood and accordingly resigned his position as councillor. Yet his seat was grabbed by a representative of the 'National Coalition'.

"Councillor Joe O'Neill of Co. Donegal, along with Dáithí Ó Conaill, was the victim of manifestly unfounded charges in an attempt to discredit them both publicly. Despite the pressure, propaganda-wise and otherwise, our councillors continue to serve the people fearlessly and with great industry.

Internment ended

"A further development was the ending, last December, of the 1971-75 phase of internment without trial in the Six Counties. Credit for this must go to the ordinary people who took to the streets, and stayed on the streets, the gallant people who maintained the rent and rates strike and the full civil disobedience campaign when SDLP and 'Officials' alike sent back their councillors to co-operate with Stormont Castle; to the leadership, for its handling of the general situation and, above all, to the uncompromising stand of the prisoners themselves who, when all else had been tried, burned the notorious Long Kesh to the ground. Another milestone has been passed on the road to freedom.

"By a new and more sinister form of persecution has taken the place of internment. I refer to the seven-day detention, *incommunicado*, when every form of devilish psychological pressure and, in some cases, actual physical torture, is applied to extract confessions from defenceless prisoners. The British occupation regime can then tell the world that "all cases are dealt with by the courts".

"Both the president, and vice-president, Maire Drumm, had first-hand experience of such detention during July and August and so we speak advisedly on this matter. Here, I would wish to send a message of good cheer on behalf of you all in this assembly to Maire Drumm, who is at present indisposed and cannot be with us.

"Maire Drumm has served this movement right nobly and well for many years, but especially since 1969. Her gallant work in a position of leadership has been an inspiration to us all, and she is missed from this ArdFheis.

"Last year in this address the question was asked of the 'peace-at-all-costs' people where they had been during the long months of the Truce.

"Likewise, the peace movement, as they have been called, many of whom were quick to carry their crosses and finger their Rosary beads in public last Christmas and on other occasions, were exposed by the Truce for the arrogant hypocrites they are.

"In typical one-sided fashion there was not a squeak of protest from them as 50, 60 and even 80 uninvolved and innocent people were methodically cut down in the early months of the Truce and the Nationalist people of the North were being driven demented with fear.

Churchmen silent

"No, no ministers of state or highly-placed churchmen, rushed to picket U.V.F. headquarters on the Shankill Road or U.D.A. headquarters in East Belfast when the McKenna family were slaughtered, or Bleary darts club was machine-gunned, resulting in a multiple tragedy.

"Nor, I might add, when the Miami showband was wiped out by serving members of the U.D.R. in the uniform of Her Britannic Majesty.

"With the arrest of Sinn Féin leaders which indicated publicly the suspension of the talks with the British government representatives, stalemate was reached politically and the 'peace' weapon was again reached for by the British.

"For more than two months the type of 'peace' sought was not defined; but now it has emerged (i) that it involves full support for the British Army and RUC, something that even the SDLP has not yet endorsed; and (ii) that reconciliation is to be confined to what is called 'Northern Ireland'.

"We should like to assert here (i) that the great majority of the people of Ireland believe that the British government and army have no moral right in this country; and (ii) that reconciliation is necessary in all of this island and, not alone that, but between the people of Ireland and the people of England.

"It is important that Sinn Féin members bring home to the Irish people the necessity to make the peace a lasting one. The minimum requirement for this, the dearly-bought lesson of history indicates, is that the British should leave Ireland. The new leaflet, Peace with Justice, must therefore get the widest possible circulation.

"In this connection it is interesting to note that majority rule is now universally accepted to be the only basis for peace in Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe, as it will shortly be known; yet is not the very same principle of majority rule the sure basis for peace in Ireland, with local communities governing themselves?

Institutional violence

"Bishop Lamont of Umtali, in his recent open letter to the racist Smith regime, had this to say: "... the institutional violence sanctioned by your administration and made

Justice
way to
lasting
peace...

Ruairi O Bradaigh

respectable by acts of Parliament, is itself the root cause of most of the physical violence which Rhodesia has experienced during the past 10 years'.

"But if Dr. Lamont did the same things and said the same things in his native Co. Antrim, with regard to the anti-colonial struggle in his own country, what would have happened to him?

"All of this leads us on to the clear emergence in the past year, of a conscious attempt to re-write the history of this country and its people, and to substitute the reality of our evolution to date with a new and false doctrine, more in keeping with the neo-colonial aspirations of those who wish to cling to power in the undemocratic 'states of Ireland', which grew up as a result of the partition settlement of 1921.

"It is easy for people to assume that Sinn Féin was overstating the case when we warned of this trend in the past. Those who believed genuinely that the rhetoric of Leinster House would some day lead to the Ireland of their dreams, those who were conned into accepting the EEC, through massive propaganda, coupled with so-called expert assurances, that we either had no choice or that the road to Brussels was the road to salvation.

"Those members of Irish language bodies, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Eireann and the G.A.A., who silenced the pangs of an increasingly worried conscience, by clinging to the paper assurances of the 1937 Constitution, or to the fact that some politicians or other spoke a few lines of Irish on formal occasions, can no longer ignore the realities: like the scandal of a Belfast man (a nephew of Charlie Monaghan, R.I.P. 1916) who moved to the Donegal Gaeltacht to rear his Irish-speaking family, only to find that the so-called Gaelic state has not yet got around to establishing Irish as the normal language of its district court there: like 'the systematic destruction of Gaeltacht and other rural communities through the insensitive centralisation of primary schools, reflected at another level by a made hospital re-organisation policy.

Attacks on community

"These and many other examples are not issues of language only. They are even more important than the local community problems they present, important as these are for the individual communities involved.

"They represent in a concrete and immediate fashion the logical outcome of policies or lack of policies, which are aimed at removing the outstanding 'obstacles' to neo-colonial designs for the new role of the Irish people — a role as subservient and as degrading in their own land as anything in the past. The pill is not as bitter. There will be blood from Brussels. There will be circles, if not bread, from RTE, and if Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien had his way, from BBC 1, as well.

"The aim of the exercise at the end of the day is to eliminate any development of an Irish way of life which might stand between total assimilation and our development as a distinctive and creative nation, making our own way in the world under our own steam, and allying and identifying ourselves with the cause of down-trodden man throughout the world, and the Third World in particular.

"The greatest obstacle to this plan is the plain people of Ireland themselves. We are what we are. We have a right to be what we are and there is a danger that we will assert that right with increasing vigour. Bayonets, plunder, economics: virtually everything has been tried to date. All have failed.

"So our alleged betters must now rely on the most devastating weapon of all, the one used to such effect in the first 80 years of the 19th century. We have to wipe out the memory of the past. We have to quench all pride in our forefathers and their achievements. We have to make people ashamed to be Irish.

Degrading people

"Our people are to be downgraded and degraded intellectually and culturally, not by bayonets and talismans, as in the past, but by the sophisticated techniques of the twentieth century, television, media censorship, pseudo-history.

"New norms of behaviour, fashion and social acceptability are being established, and those prepared to join the gray-train will, as always, be welcome. Because while one half is being intimidated, there is always another section that can be bought.

"The price that has to be paid is simply the price of our souls, the price of speaking our mind, of retaining our cultural attributes and our most fundamental religious and philosophical beliefs, the price of taking a pen in hand and writing to the papers to disagree with anything at all our masters have done which must, of course, be correct if the same masters now approve, regardless of what they said a few short years ago, before they came to power.

"Even pseudo-historians should realise, however, that you cannot fool all the people all the time, no more than you

could intimidate and (or) buy all the people of a former generation.

"Truth, reality and facts will survive, as they have survived other assaults, in spite of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's 'acculturation' and Airey Neave's enthusiasm for a 'psychological Warfare'. The reality of the matter is that if the Treaty settlement of 1921 was wrong, it is still wrong.

"We must, of course, take account of the evolution of history since then, an evolution which, if anything, is running in favour of Irish national aspirations. If Sinn Féin believed in self-determination for Ireland since 1916 we are on solid ground when we assert today the right of Irish self-determination and the right of self-government for all communities in Ireland.

"We reject the dual-gerrymander that is the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, and we demand a reversal of British policy towards this country in the form of an open admission that nobody save the Irish people has the right to determine the future of the country, and the relationship between the various communities within the country.

"We accept the right of Ulster Loyalists to rule their own immediate lives but we reject their attempt to do so on the basis of domination of the nationalist population or the frustration of Irish national aspirations by the partition head-count which makes a mockery of so-called 'majority rule', sets Irishman against Irishman, and leaves the two states of Ireland under the undue influence of Britain.

"Can anybody looking back on the last 55 years honestly say that the partition settlement forms the basis for a stable, never mind a just, solution to the Irish conflict?

"Can anybody looking back on the various juggling devices proposed and tried in the past few years to escape from the root cause of our problems, honestly say that camouflages of the Sunningdale variety are anything but a recipe for disaster and continuing conflict?

Declare intentions

"Even the S.D.L.P. have been forced to admit recently, after seven years of blood and tears, that Britain must declare her intentions towards Ireland and that a solution on the so-called power-sharing model is not possible. It is obvious, of course, that they would gladly have taken the spoils and patronage if the intransigent Unionist politicians had conceded them even a little.

"The short-term tricks have been tried and found wanting. We demand a fundamental, radical and, above all, an honest effort to settle this re-occurring cycle of violence, which has been the curse of Ireland for centuries, for once and for all. Nothing less is worthy of the dead generations or of the blood, sweat and tears of the risen people over the past number of years.

"What is wrong with a call for peace with justice — except that the Republicans have called for it first? What is wrong with a demand for a British declaration of intent to go — except that this has been our stand all along?

"What is so terrible about the right of the Irish people to self-determination, to real majority rule, apart from the fact that it does not suit the professional politicians of the day?

"The message is clear to the world. The writing is on the wall for British domination in this country. The more observant British commentators are saying so. British establishment politicians themselves say so in private but desist from a public declaration because of the fears of devolution in Scotland and Wales, and because Leinster House has clung to an irresponsible silence.

"We say to the British government: Do not be so callous as to engender further hatred between our two islands for narrow political advantage.

"Do not add to the litany of irresponsibility in your dealings with Ireland. On this final occasion, do the right thing, something which will help to undo, in some small way, the litany of crimes you have committed against this nation.

"Declare your intentions to get out. Abandon the war of brutality against the risen people which is doomed to failure in any case and which even your own hard-headed generals now realise you cannot win, and set about paving the way for your final departure from the shores of this sorry land.

"You know that, if you do this — if there is a clear change in the direction of British policy towards Ireland — we will give you every assistance to leave with as much grace and as little trouble as possible. If, on the other hand, you refuse to come clean or try to establish a new means of retaining your immoral interference in our affairs, we will continue to oppose you with all the determination and might at our command."

(Ar leanúint ar seachtain seo chugainn)

Kieran Nugent
needs your support

FINAL TRIBUTE



A volley of shots were fired over the three tri-colour draped coffins of Paul Marlow, Joey Surgenor and Frank Fitzimmons.

The end justifies the means

When the furious arguments over Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's directive to RTE are listened to and placed against the background of violence which led to Garda Clerklin's murder the discussion, for most people, narrows itself to one issue: if a temporary deprivation of certain freedoms will help prevent the murder of more innocent people then the choice the Government has made is the right one.

For the ghoul of Abbey Street, Dublin, the end justifies the means; and the end can be censorship; hanging; torture; forced confessions; frame-ups; concentration camps; gas chambers.

No matter what is contemplated the "Irish Independent" may be relied upon to give the necessary editorial support and comfort to liars, torturers, traitors and the most brutal of fascist thugs. The "Independent" called for Connolly's death in 1916 and continues to howl for patriot blood.

Gaëlle: essence of our nationality

Support for Struggle

THE NOW "Official" banning of Republican spokesmen from exercising their right of freedom of speech, on R.T.E. is a clear indication that the struggle for National Liberation is indeed achieving success. Caught in the snare of political and economic bankruptcy, O'Brien and the puppet regime in Leinster House obviously fear for the survival of their conservative policies against the democratic, socialist alternative proposed by Sinn Fein and the entire Republican Movement. Hence the attempt by the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs to politically outlaw Republicans from the people.

The latest dictatorial action by the Leinster House regime will create no convulsions in the Sinn Fein organisation, in fact the only surprising aspect of the whole affair is that O'Brien took the bother to get off his laurels and sign an irrelevant piece of paper. After all we have always been deprived of proper access to the media in the 26-Counties.

We in Sinn Fein believe that by their activities O'Brien and his bureaucratic blood-brothers are contributing to their own downfall, as the dawn of freedom approaches, their actions must be interpreted as the crumbling of what is virtually a totalitarian system.

No amount of television, radio, or Press censorship can hide from the world the nature of the Anglicized Irish men in Leinster House, the repression of defenceless political prisoners in 26-county prisons, the massive unemployment figure, the lowest standard of living in Western Europe. In fact it only helps to expose the system. The Revolutionary struggle of the Republican Movement cannot be halted, and this is what worries the Blueshirt regime. Victory is indeed within our grasp.

-P.R.O. Derry Comhairle Ceanntair, Sinn Fein.

LEINSTER EXECUTIVE STATEMENT

CUMANN:

ALL A.G.M.s BY 1ST NOV. '76 (AS PER CONSTITUTION)
COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR: A.G.M.s

LONGFORD	THUR	4th Nov. '76	8.00 pm.	Longford Town
WESTMEATH	FRI	5th Nov. '76	8.00 pm.	Mullingar Town
LAOIS	SAT	6th Nov. '76	3.00 pm.	Portlaoise Town
OFFALY	SUN	7th Nov. '76	3.00 pm.	Tullamore
LOUTH	MON	8th Nov. '76	8.00 pm.	S.F. Clubrooms, Dundalk
DUBLIN	TUES	9th Nov. '76	8.00 p.m.	S.F. Clubroom, Blessington St.
MEATH	WED	10th Nov. '76	8.00 pm	Navan Town
WEXFORD	THUR	11th Nov. '76	8.00 pm.	S.F. Clubrooms, Enniscorthy
KILKENNY	FRI	12th Nov. '76	8.00 pm.	Hugginstown
CARLOW	SAT	13th Nov. '76	3.00 pm.	Carlow Town
KILDARE	SUN	14th Nov. '76	8.00 pm.	S.F. Clubrooms, Athy

COMHAIRLE CUIGI LAIGIN: (LEINSTER EXECUTIVE) A.G.M.

SUNDAY, 21ST NOV. '76 AT 2.30.
DUBLIN S.F. CLUBROOMS NO 5 BLESSINGTON ST

* CHAIRMAN + SECRETARY + 1 DELEGATE TO ATTEND THIS MEETING (AS PER CONSTITUTION)

OTHER DATES

- * MANCHESTER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION. Hugginstown, Friday, 12th November 1976 at 9.00.
- * EDENTUBBER COMMEMORATION. 14th November at 3.00 p.m.
- * MEETING OF ALL LEINSTER COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR 'ORGANISERS' Saturday, 22nd January, 1976.

Signed: BREANDAN GOLDEN
(Leinster Organiser)

THE 'SECURITY FORCES'...

A BRITISH soldier whose startling claim to an English national newspaper lead to a fresh trial being ordered for a Belfast man, went into the witness box at Belfast City Commission today.

He told the court that none of the group of men involved in a shooting incident in the Ardoyne area of Belfast, on April 17, 1973, was armed and that the British Army unit had concocted a story "to justify their actions," on opening fire.

He also said he regarded a previous witness, soldier "A", who was in charge of witness, as "a maniac".



Man claims he was in U.D.R.

A MAN charged in connection with a bomb explosion in Pettigo, Co. Donegal, in September, 1973, told a Garda Inspector last May, that he had been a member of the U.D.R., since 1970, the Special Criminal Court was told today.

He was George Samuel Farrell of Coolshill Park, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, who is charged with conspiracy, and causing the explosion at Pettigo. The trial is continuing.

ARE SUPPORTED BY THE 'PEACE WOMEN'

Many of them are sincere but do they know the facts?