

An Phoblacht

Iml. 6. Uimhir 5. 7p. Eanáir 31, 1975.

HUNGER STRIKERS TO CONTINUE

STATEMENT FROM PORTLAOISE

As we go to press we have just received this statement smuggled out on behalf of the Republican prisoners in Portlaoise Jail.

There are 16 on the Hunger Strike that has now entered its fourth week. Of the first group to embark on the strike a number are now very ill.

Pat Ward is continuously vomiting, unable to retain water when taken and suffering from severe kidney pains. When last at the toilet (Wednesday 22nd) he had to crawl there on hands and knees. He is sleeping very little.

Colm D'Altun vomits frequently, bleeds from the nose, is unable to walk and finds it difficult to retain water when taken. He sleeps infrequently.

Donal McCarthaigh is unable to walk, very weak and steadily getting worse. Also sleeping infrequently.

Kevin McKenna is very ill and unable to walk. He has stomach and back pains. Getting very little sleep.

Joe Buckley is gradually declining. Finding it difficult to sleep. Unable to walk.

Tony McDonnell is weakening steadily. Barely able to sleep.

Geardóir McCarthaigh is steadily growing weaker. Able to walk a little, sleeps a little.

Of the second group two have fainted. They are Nicholas Keogh and Joe McCaffrey. The others grow weaker daily.

SINN FÉIN DEMONSTRATIONS

It is believed that the coming week will see a massive stepping-up of Sinn Féin demonstrations in support of the Hunger Strikers. Thurs-

day night tentatively has been mentioned for a protest meeting at the Mansion House, Dublin with Joe Cahill as the main speaker.

MOTHER REFUSED VISIT

The weekend past showed the growing militancy of the prisoners' relatives when they took over the visiting boxes and refused to leave till Sunday. During this period Mrs Ward, 69 year old mother of Pat, who is seriously ill, was refused a visit after travelling nearly 200 miles from Burtonport, Co. Donegal. What sort of mindless red tape can the Portlaoise authorities excuse themselves on this enforced suffering on Pat's mother.

Indeed other relatives in the visiting boxes reported a sadistic delight on the part of the Prison Officers during the whole protest.

UNTRUE GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS

We take issue with the Government Information Service statement, on a number of points.

● Segregation: This has been an issue with the Republican Prisoners from Thomas Ashe to the present day. As late as October 1973 this point was won by Hunger Strikers in Mountjoy Prison, by some of those who are presently on strike. It, along with other rights were later rescinded by Mr. Cooney, although at the time the Government stated that the agreement reached was a "victory for common sense".

● Mr. Cooney rejects our right to receive food parcels, this despite the fact that such a right is internationally recognised. Parcels were allowed at Halloween without any apparent risk to security, and again at Christmas. Where is the danger to security?

● We are accused of campaigning to destroy prison security. In so far as the Government uses "security" to infringe on human rights then we are and will continue, by whatever means possible, to retain our basic rights and dignity, and that of those who visit us.

● The Government cannot provide "better educational facilities" in Portlaoise as they do not exist to improve on.

● The public knows well the range of craft work that emanated from Portlaoise. To suggest that the materials used for making matchwork, woodwork, leatherwork etc. were used to prepare wardens uniforms is ludicrous. All materials for handicrafts were provided by relatives and An Cumann Cabhrach. NOTHING was supplied by the Government. Despite the Government's vindictive approach to the issue here, morale remains extremely high. Living and eating standards have not improved one per cent. Those engaged on the Hunger Strike are determined to continue until human rights are restored. Unlike the Government it is our intention to issue further statements as the need arises.

S. De Brun, P.R.O., Republican Prisoners, Portlaoise Jail.



On Sunday afternoon Mrs. Joan Carmichael and Mrs. Annie Ward told the press of their ordeal in the visiting room at Portlaoise Prison where they remained, refusing to leave, from Saturday at 11.00 a.m. to Sunday at 10.30 a.m. demanding that Mrs. Ward be allowed to see her son. Prison officers refused to allow in meals which had been brought. During the night the ladies' toilets were locked.

Joe Cahill's statement

Joe Cahill, following his release issued the following statement at a Dublin Press Conference. We believe it speaks volumes for all Republicans:

The purpose, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Press, for this Press Conference is not to discuss my release, but rather it is for me to highlight to you the inhuman and barbaric conditions under which my comrades are languishing in Portlaoise Jail today.

But before I go any further, I feel that it is necessary for me and on behalf of my comrades to state that despite what Mr. Cooney says - we are not criminals. I or my comrades have never sought personal gain or profit from the hardships and deprivations of the beleaguered people in the North and I resent his inference.

Regarding conditions in Portlaoise. Most of you will have read Andy Molloy's statement on his release. In it he described the actions of the Garda Riot Squad who went on a rampage of the Jail. I concur with Andy's account.

When I left the Jail yesterday, the Riot Squad still control the Jail and not the Prison Officers.

Mr. Cooney states that the men have beds.

On the contrary, the men have refused the beds until such time as the necessary Jail furniture is restored.

Clothing: Since the trouble in Portlaoise the men's personal clothes have been confiscated. Clothes left at gate still have not been received.

Hunger Strikers: Ten men went on Hunger Strike on the 3rd January. Today is the 24th day. Seven men have been on Hunger Strike for twelve days (12); There is no need for me to tell you the grave concern I feel for some of the men whose conditions are what I can only describe as "Very serious".

Mr. Cooney can end the Hunger Strike within a few hours if he would only act as a human being instead of as a man who feels he will lose face.

There is no victory to be lost in granting men their rights. Rights which Mr. Cooney granted them in October 1973.

As you are aware, I was one of the Hunger Strikers then. I negotiated the terms that ended that Hunger Strike. It is totally wrong and deceitful for Mr. Cooney to deny this and worse, it is dishonest of him to call me a liar.

I hurl that lie back in his face.



Joe Cahill, who has been released unexpectedly and unconditionally from Portlaoise prison giving the press the facts concerning the hunger strike, at a Dublin Press Conference.

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 6. Eanáir 31, 1974 Uimhir 5.
44 Caernóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

Bankruptcy — or Eire Nua

A BUDGET is supposed to be so arranged as to provide money to keep a state going for a period. In the past, that period was a year. Then the professional politicians discovered that the budget could be fiddled or, if preferred, manipulated, to suit political occasions. Before an election, for example, a "good" budget might "legitimately" be introduced, so as to influence the voters into returning that government. Once returned, a subsidiary budget might be prepared, exhibited and executed, to balance the books; and the unfortunate voters would have no obvious means of redress.

The taxpayers of the Twenty-Six Counties, by now, are experts in budgets. They have been well trained by the professional politicians. They have been conditioned to expect virtually anything; and the politicians, aided and abetted by the civil servants, could have pulled virtually any coup to extract a few more pounds.

The wonder of the last budget was that so many items remained untaxed; bicycles, windows, long hair, tea, shoe leather or even jobs (a pay-packet tax must have appealed to the chief exortitioner, Richie Ryan, and what dissuaded him is still a mystery).

But, despite everything, the "Free" State is very much in the red and most certainly will be much more in the red before the year is out. The Common Market, despite the Brussels handouts, has been a disastrous connection, even worse than the British connection though. In the nature of monopoly capitalism, it was the inevitable sequence.

Every informed person in Europe knows that Britain's economy is in such a mess that it is doubtful if there is any viable solution within the present system. The truth about the economic mess of the 26 Counties has been kept fairly secret: it is not as sick as Britain only because so much less is involved.

"Free" State politicians see little hope of survival through withdrawal from the E.E.C. with Britain. If the British voter comes out against continued E.E.C. membership in the summer plebiscite, Leinster House, virtually to a man, will be against any plebiscite in the 26 Counties.

Republicans must begin at once a new anti-Common Market membership campaign. They must demand a plebiscite. But they must demand, also, that the choice be made clear. The choice is not between continued impoverishment under Brussels as against continued impoverishment under London (or, maybe, under a New York-London axis) but for an economically independent Irish state, pledged to full independence.

Republicans will not be starting out on a new campaign with empty pockets and empty heads, promising the sun, moon and stars to a cynical electorate. By the summer it will be clear that the Republican Movement has sufficient pledged capital behind it, at the minimum rate of interest, to capitalise to the full the Eire Nua programme, without any straggling strings from any of the major powers to bind it to some alien philosophy or political system. And the Republican Movement will be offering a sound political and economic pact not only to the 26 Counties electorate but to all Ireland, economic assistance being distributed according to regional needs.

Last week we stated on page-one that the Irish freedom movement has allies abroad willing to help smash British imperialism for once and for all. These allies realise that the *coup de grace* can be given best to British imperialism through the successful and speedy conclusion of the Irish fight for freedom.

Understandably, all the details cannot be given at present — how Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter will benefit, according to their needs, in Eire Nua, from a guaranteed fund; or how close the realisation of Eire Nua is. But full information will be made available to all as soon as tactics and strategy dictate the logical timetable.

The war against monopoly capitalism is entering a new stage and, as we forecast last week, it is being broadened on all fronts, including the economic one. To exploit the new situation to the full, all Republicans, and their allies and sympathisers, must campaign forcefully in the months ahead, to ensure that the people are made aware of the bankruptcy, in every conceivable sense, of Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster politics, and the alternative offered by the Republican Movement.

Every attempted factory closure must be resisted, ideally by the sit-in, by the formation of co-operatives by workers, or workers-plus-consumers, to protect jobs. The housing campaign must be stepped up to force the state and local authorities to build houses for workers and thereby save jobs in the building industry. This can be done best by the formation of worker co-ops to build their own houses.

The Buy-Irish campaign must be virtually taken over by the Republican Movement and all reasonable attempts made to persuade shopkeepers to stock and give priority to Irish goods. Where Irish and foreign goods are in competition, every legitimate attempt must be made to ensure that Irish goods get preference.

Approached in the right way, dockers can be in the forefront of the battle to save Irish jobs. At the very least, it is not unreasonable to ask dockers' co-operation in a boycott of British goods until interment is ended. The I.T.G.W.U. has come out clearly against interment.

It should not be too difficult to get the other major unions to make a similar declaration. Nor should it be beyond the capacities of the people's leaders to persuade the unions to back their declarations by the boycott tactic, at first, perhaps, on a basis of one day weekly, gradually extending the pressure until the British give in.

There is always the danger, during a revolutionary period, of the counter-revolution at the moment when the fruits of victory are about to be harvested. An insurance policy against such a take-over, by the professional politicians and their bourgeois masters, of the commanding heights won by the Republican Movement, is for the impetus to be shared as widely as possible by the working people at every level.

We must educate, agitate and organise now as never before in the history of the Movement. Irish freedom is ours for the taking. Agus ní saoire go Gaeilge agus go lucht oibre.

Cearrchumann na Gaeltachta á eagrú

GACH UILE short ar son na Gaeltachta: sin an bhfoirseacht a chloiseann tuiseal de shíor ó leithéidí Tomás Ó Domhnaill, leathara le léire chultúir; agus Gaeltarra (Gaeltair?) Éireann. Ach ní bhíonn Tomás ná cinnirí Gaeltarra sásta a sdrmháil gur duthaóthúr mhuintir na Gaeltachta is príomhchospóir Gaeltarra agus gur scannal saolta an páí a thugtar don ghnáthóir, do na cáilíní, go háirithe.

Debe

na Gaeltachta agus a muintir, rud nach áitíonn Baile Átha Cliath, is coitlí. Déocha go mbeadh craobh amháin an d'fheiceáil, craobh eile do mhúinteoirí, craobh eile fós do mhúinteoirí, agus mar sin de. Ní hé sin an bealach is fearr, sílim, le cearrchumann a bhunú i gcaithear mhór (is fearr líoma an cearrchumann ingearach, bunaithe ar thionscail), ach ní son cul ar é láthair na huairse sa n-Gaeltacht.

Má bhunaítear a leithéid de cearrchumann sa n-Gaeltacht tá síl agam go mbeidís deis ag oibríocht, a bhfuil Gaeilge acu, sa n-Gaeltacht, a bhfuil ina mbaile de. B'fhéidir nach bhféadfá an sócrú sin a dhéanamh ón tí. Ach amach anseo, nuair a bheas an cearrchumann ar a bhonnaithe, is cóir feachaint faoi.

Banc talún

IS BEAG deis ag daoine faoi léithaí son phingín a chur ar fáil leathóir ar son lá na coise inne. Ach dá mbeadh féin, a bhfuil son cinnta agus foigebhá na heasónaíochta faoi lán scoil?

Mar sin féin, ó am go chéile, bhunnaí d'fheiceáil, nó faigheann a'airgead le h-uimhir, nó éiríonn leis ag na rástaí, nó eile. Cén áit ar féidir leis a chuid airgid a infheistiú (gan dul le gadaíocht ar an stoc-mhargadh) chun luach an airgid a choinneáil ar son léibhéal?

Má bhunaítear an cearrchumann faoi sin i n-Gaeltarra agus meachnámh faoi rud tá ag déanamh tinnis do mhuintir na Gaeilge i gcoitinne, idir Gaeltachtaí is Ghallachtaí. Is é sin ceannródaí na mBéaróirí isteach sa n-Gaeltacht. Bhfuil son leigheas air?

Rith sé líom go bhféadfadh Conchubhann an Chais Fharráis banc a bhunú, banc na talún, agus iarraidh ar phobal na Gaeilge son phingín breise tí aige a infheistiú sa mbanco sin.

Ceannródaí an banc talamh sa n-Gaeltacht. Choinneódh an banc an talamh sin do lucht labhartha na Gaeilge amháin. Ní chailfidh an talamh a luach, agus má

bhíonn an 'airgead atá infheistithe ceangailte leis an talamh atá ceannaithe, tá sé sin ón mbóla.

Bronnaim an smaoineamh ar Phóil Ó Fúail agus taim ag spúil go ndéanfaidís lucht an cearrchumann an smaoineamh a chlois. Má cheapann siad gur fíil é, déanadís siad poblíocht faoi agus cuideodís muid uile leis an soicim, chomh fada agus atá ar ár gcuimh. Beidís go leor dinn ag fáil sa caitheamh agus sa bheith ag fáil (nó, ar a laghad, beidís muid ag maoliú ar a óil), óir ní féidir le héilne na praghaíanna nua a fóid, ach na bóla, mar an Dálach agus a chomhlúadar. Agus ba chóir go mbeadh sruth beag airgid ag tíoche isteach sa mbanco nua, má bhunaítear é.

Sotal mhalartáin

IS MINIC mé ag clámháin faoi Bhéarla éigeantach an stáit; ach ní stopfaidís mé a chlois go bhfaigheadís mé faoi ceann agus ceann. Ceannródaí Dá Domhnaill, seo caite b'éigean dom labhairt leis an malaráin i nGallúchthí chun uimhir ghutháin sa Gheathrú Rua a fháil (ní féidir bheith ag brath ar Gólaí an Teilefón: tá uimhir ar leabhair, atá mícheart, agus caithear an uimhir chearta a fháil ón malaráin, sampla eile d'fheacht an Bhriantáigh agus a Roimne).

I n-Gaeilge a labhairt mé, i mBéarla a d'fhreagair m'ár cáilín. Lean mise ar aghaidh i n-Gaeilge. Lig mise uirthi nár thug sí mé. Cuireadh moil agus fearg orm ach gheill sí dom ar deireadh. Bhí Gaeilge aici ach níor theastaigh uirthi a labhairt.

Go pointe áirithe is a mhuintir na Gaeltachta atá locht tuiscim go ngealláin sí ró-éasca ar fáil don Bhéarla. Ní cheannairde ar fáil. Glacáin sí leis an mbealach is éasca, is tapula, rud atá sóitheithe.

Ach go fóill go dtuagáin sí ar go gcaithfidís sí ar fód a sheasamh, is beag meas a bheas ag an stáit uirthi agus is beag dul chun cinne sa n-Gaeltacht a bheas mar thoradh ar an drochmeas céanna.

Ní son dul as do mhuintir na Gaeltachtaí ach bheith trodach ar gach bealach is léibhéal chun go dtuigfidís meas. Nuair a bheas an branar sin bheith beidís sé i bhfad nóis éasca an solaisach a chur, agus an síol, agus an fómhar a bhunú.

Ach níl meas madadh ar éinne ná ar son dream ach bhfuil sásta troid ar son a chearta. Ba chóir an ceacht sin bheith foghlamtha ón mhuintir thuaidh.

Biatais: cá bhfuil an ceart?

FEACHTAS an biatais: cén áit a bhfuil an ceart? Sócal casta, a deir tú, agus an ceart agat. Ach féach: is iad na feirmeoirí beaga is mó a chuireann biatais.

Cinla

Ní fíor dom nuair a deirim go bhfuil Cumann na bhFeirmeoirí Éireannacha a' gabáil feidhm as na feirmeoirí beaga is mó taobh airgid de, ar leas dá chur i gcoitúir a mbriste, ar leas chuspóir na bhfeirmeoirí móra. Agus nach iad na hoibríochtaí a dhéanann próiseáil ar an mbiatais a bheas thíos leis an bhfeachtas seo freisin, má éiríonn leis?

Ní dhéanamh ag a nGumman ach na hoibríochtaí agus na feirmeoirí beaga a úsáid, a dhúshóthóir. Is cuma leis na feirmeoirí móra na feirmeoirí beaga a bheith as. B'fhéidir go bhfaiteodís roimh a leithéid — bheadh talamh sách saor ar fáil dóibh. Ní son bheith freisin, idir na feirmeoirí beaga agus na hoibríochtaí, rud atá go fíor dhona.

Ba iad na feirmeoirí móra a bhfuil na feirmeoirí beaga isteach sa Chomhargadh agus anois teastaíonn uatha na feirmeoirí beaga a úsáid arís, mar lón choitúin in éadan an rialaigh agus an Chomharghaidh, nuair tá cúrsaí ina gcoimne. Nuair is dian don challeach...

Ní i nGCo. na Mí a bristeas go dtéann an tairne talún ach sna cathracha, le tacaíocht na gearrchumann. An bhfuil son rún dá leithéid rith le déanaí ag ceann ar bith deis na cearrchumann mhóra? Mura bhfuil, cén fáth?

Nuair a rithfeas an I.T.G.W.U. nó an W.U.I. rún ina choinne, tá fáil deis na cearrchumann mhóra go daingean agus go dlúth ina choinne.

Má bódh son chaint faoi 'meánaíme' agus 'coimhuintir' agus an scéal seo faoi mhéas a chlois, ans é go maireachtáil ar pháil seachtáin i gceist agus príonabail mór, feisín.

Chomh fada agus a bhaineann an scéal leis an goimhuintir, a bhfuil tithíocht son rialtas áitiúil, ní déantar dearmad go bhfuil an bardas nó eile i gceist sa scéal go dtuigfidís go fóill leis an tairne.

Tá sí dhéanamh, creid é nó ná creid, ag rialtas Baile Átha Cliath féin!

Gaeilge: essence of our nationality

WELCOME THE HERO . . .

ON THURSDAY, January 23, the Remains of Kevin Coen, South Fermanagh Battalion, Óglaigh na hÉireann were laid to rest in Soocy cemetery, Co. Sligo.

The previous day, one of the largest funerals since that of Pat McManus in 1958, left Enniskillen and travelled to Kevin's home town, Riverstown. At the Border a Guard of Honour of men with dark glasses joined the cortege and flanked the hearse through the towns of Swanlinbar, Ballinamore and Drumshambo. Crowds of people turned out in each town to honour the remains and it took hours for the funeral to reach Riverstown, where again a large crowd had gathered to welcome the fallen hero.

Volleys fired

The cortege arrived in Riverstown at about 8 p.m. and was brought to the church flanked by the Guard of Honour at the church. Six volleys of shots were fired over the remains.

The church and the surrounding area was thronged with people the following day — local people estimated the crowd at about 6,000. A Guard of Honour flanked the hearse as the remains were brought from the church to Soocy cemetery. The funeral was led by a lone piper. Hundreds marched behind the hearse. They were followed by a cortege of cars about six miles in length.

At the graveside a vote of sympathy was extended to mother, sisters and brothers of Kevin Coen by P.J. Kearney, Chairman of the Sligo Comhairlecheantair, Sinn Féin. The piper played a final lament and a decade of the rosary was recited in Irish by Mairtín Mac Giolla Rí.

McGill oration at graveside

John Goe McGill, who gave the oration at the graveside, was introduced by P.J. Kearney. Following is the full text of his oration:

I join with the Chairman in a vote of sympathy to the mother, sisters and brothers of Kevin Coen. As I called with Mrs. Coen on Tuesday last, she looked forward to him coming home for his birthday but his homecoming has been a sad one for his family. The many people who had the opportunity of knowing Kevin Coen had memories of his qualities.

He played with the children, he was at one with the people of his own age and happy to

Thousands in tribute to Sligo Volunteer

spend time talking to the old. His ambition was to help all the people of Ireland. He was a true socialist, always available to help his neighbours and friends. The old people, the not-so-old and the young, all shed tears.

Held in high esteem

The 60 mile journey from the Erne Hospital in Enniskillen to his home town of Riverstown showed to everyone the esteem in which he was held. I remember Kevin with a few of his comrades and friends giving his sincere and humble views on what he thought of the position of our country today. He admired the efforts of previous generations in opposing foreign rule. He quoted Seán Mac Diarmada when he said: "Damn your concessions, England, we want our land". He accepted the 1916 Proclamation as the charter of liberty. He saw the treachery of England in destroying the only legal government elected by the people of all Ireland in 1918. He was proud of Sligo's noble six men who died in September 1922 opposing that treaty. He sincerely regretted the mistakes of Irishmen opposing Irishmen as he liked all the Irish people, irrespective of their political beliefs. He felt strongly that the Nationalist people of the Six Counties should not have to fight the war for freedom on their own. Indeed, the fight towards freedom which began 1969 was not long started when Kevin made his services available.

Disciplined and loyal volunteer

He was highly disciplined and loyal. He was shot dead flagging down a private car which came from the Free State border — a car driven by the British Army. It is another of the tragedies of our country today and we have to ask ourselves who is responsible and the answer clearly is that our country is divided and unfree. England has made this situation. It is up to England to get out. People would like to whisper that Twomey, O'Connell and O'Hagan were responsible for this situation, but let us be clear in our minds once and for

all that it is the British Government that it totally responsible for all the deaths in our country and it is England's duty to rectify it.

If this does not happen, Thomas McDonagh's words will continue to be translated into action: "Let England make no mistake, the generous, highbred youth of Ireland will never fail to answer the call that has been passed to them, they will never hesitate to blaze forth in the red rage of war for our country's freedom".

As everybody is aware the people of the

Six counties have had to bear the brunt of the struggle but Kevin felt that the people of the North should not be left alone. He has made his contribution in the same way as the young Corkmen, Tony Aherne and Dermot Crowley did. Michael Gaughan from Ballina fought a lone battle in an English Jail and used the same method as Terence McSwiney — he felt that brave young girls like the Price sisters should not be left alone in their sacrifice. Kevin died a short distance from the place where Pat McManus and James Crossan also met their deaths — Republicans true to the end.

Foreign intruder must go

One thing is clear — Republicans are sincere that the Irish people should live and work together as Kevin did with his neighbours — but the intruder in Irish affairs must withdraw, so that lasting freedom and peace can be brought about in Ireland.

I hope that you will all help in this last earnest effort.

Killed in Action

The Republican Movement regrets the deaths of

Lieut. John Kelly (R.I.P.)

O/C 'D' Company 2nd Batt. Ogligh na hÉireann

and

2nd Lieut. John Stone (R.I.P.)

"B" Company 2nd Batt. Ogligh na hÉireann

and

Vol Kevin Coen (R.I.P.)

South Fermanagh Batt. Ogligh na hÉireann

Killed on active service, January 21, 1975

Deepest sympathy is offered to the relatives

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a n-anama.



John Kelly



John Stone

Bloody Sunday Commemoration

3rd Anniversary

Comhairle cheantair Doire Cholmille invites the Republicans of Ireland to stand with them in the North, March with them in Derry for the biggest demonstration ever

Sunday 2 February 1975

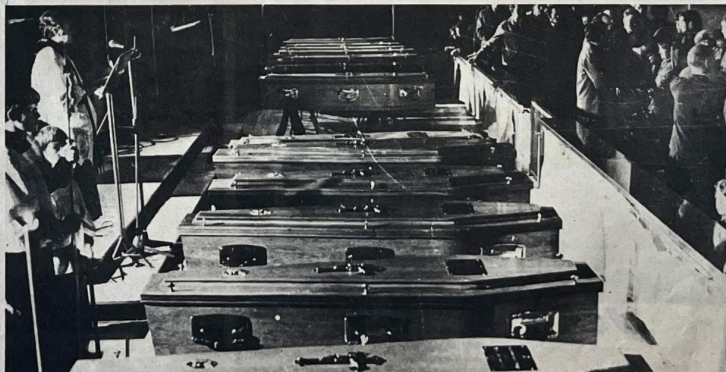
Parade forms up in Bishops Field, Creggan at 2.00 p.m. to march to Free Derry Corner.

PROMINENT REPUBLICAN SPEAKERS

Massed bands in attendance — all bands welcome

Ample parking reserved for buses, catering laid on for marchers

Further inquiries to:
U. O Loingsigh, 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8. Tel: 781552 or
An Rúnaí, Comhairlecheantair, Doire Cholmille, c/o 15 Cable Street, Bogside, Derry.



On 13 coffins the date of death was the same.

No genuine regional policy in Ireland

— Sinn Féin Statement

"THE REPORT published by the National Economic and Social Council at the week-end has highlighted in sad but dramatic fashion the end result of the sterile economic policies pursued by the Dublin Government over the past 20 years", said Sinn Féin in a statement commenting on Dublin Government's report on its regional policies. The statement went on:

"It helps to expose, in the nicest way possible, the reality that we have in fact no genuine regional policy in Ireland. And it points to the sanity and logic of what Sinn Féin has said on this question over the years.

"The report looks at the changes in the economic and social position of the nine 'planning regions' in the 26 Counties from 1951 to 1971. Thus its conclusions are not affected by the oil crisis or the economic difficulties of recent years. They cover in fact the so-called 'boom years' of the Lemass/Whittaker era in total, and start from a very low base line. Yet despite this the over-all picture is a poor one. Only Dublin has consistently grown in population over the period; it has the lowest proportion of old people and the highest personal incomes. It has nearly 14 times as many people as the weakest region — Sligo/Leitrim.

Power and decision-making centralised in Dublin

"The report also shows that despite all the window-dressing, talks of redressing the balance, etc. there was no reduction in the inequality of income per head between the regions during the 1960's. Nor could there be, while power and decision-making is centralised in Dublin.

"The report fears that the difference between the various regions is, if anything, getting greater and the present plethora of development bodies has no real plan to do anything about it.

New Approach Needed

"This dismal record over the most favoured period of the Lemass/Whittaker neo-colonial effort clearly underlines the need for a new approach. The failure to bring equality and a general measure of development to the vast majority of the island shows the relevance of the Sinn Féin plan for a New Ireland, for a federal structure based on the four historic provinces, and for a genuine decentralisation of power and decision-making.

"Our policy aims at solving certain historical and political problems e.g. in Ulster. But it is equally important to the solution of the problems of development, community consolidation and the provision of equal opportunity, e.g. in Connacht and other areas

that have declined while Dublin alone has mushroomed.

"The question of regional imbalance in Ireland is raising its ugly head more frequently with each passing day. Sinn Féin never placed any faith in the so-called regional policy of the E.E.C. as a cure-all for Ireland's ills. We are sorry for the people who believed in such promises at the time of E.E.C. entry. Like the farmers, they are now bitterly disappointed with what has resulted. But even with regard to the tiny allocation that has been made, it is obvious that little thought has been given to the best way to spend it.

"More importantly, the present structure of government and the confused organisation of development services is obviously not in a position to make the best use of the money. Neglected areas in the West cannot decide what region or grouping they should join — because there is in fact no real regional structure on which to work. Add to that the complications which partition has caused in Ulster and one can see the futility of expecting any real change while the present system lasts.

Norman Gibson viewpoint

"The N.E.S.C. Regional Committee, which is chaired by Professor Norman Gibson of the N.U.U., Coleraine, asks if the present nine planning regions, could not be reduced in number and laid out in a more logical fashion. Sinn Féin suggests that the four provinces with a four-way allocation of resources and a large degree of self-government would form the basis of a policy to arrest the present disturbing trends.

"The report also asks if the number of bodies involved in 'development' might not be reduced or co-ordinated in a more logical fashion. Sinn Féin says yes. Development at regional level can only make progress when the efforts of each community are harnessed in real local institutions under democratic control with real decision-making powers.

"In pin-pointing the major defects in the present situation Professor Gibson and his group have come very near the Republican view of the best way forward in a New Ireland once the British stranglehold is eliminated", the statement concluded.

Workers on three-day-week



Following a meeting held in Dublin on Friday, 10 January between the Union concerned and the Management of Roadmaster Caravans, an agreement was reached to work a three-day-week for a month's trial.

The meeting followed the rejection of

redundancy notices by fifty of the 120 male employees, of the majority of which were to take effect from January 20.

Our picture shows the premises near Castlecomer where Roadmaster Caravans are in production.

Cork students' protest



Our picture shows a group of students at University College, Cork, protesting against the sell-out of the mineral wealth of the country to foreign speculators.

"God-send for the I.R.A.?"

1916 Commanders' reply rejected by newspaper

THE following letter to the Editor of the Sunday Independent in reply to an article entitled "God-send for the I.R.A.?" has not been published. Our readers will draw their own conclusions on their behaviour from a so-called "Independent" Newspaper.

The letter reads:

Sir, In re above caption, may I be permitted to take issue with your staff writer, Vincent Browne. In the interests of truth and justice, no less than the fact that I am the senior surviving Post Commander of Easter Week, 1916, but also because I am solely the man responsible for the inculcation of the concept of Guerilla Warfare as the only successful military tactics to combat the continued occupation of our country by armed British forces. I can, therefore, write with considerable authority on the subject.

In your issue of 12th inst. Mr. Browne, in a very long article (six point. I refrain from doing so for reasons of space, confining myself to obvious selections.

In his article Mr. Browne wrote:-

"Though I have only instinctive hunches to deny by — and O'Connell has denied this interpretation — I am convinced that the Special Branch raid on the Feakle meeting was a set-up by the I.R.A."

Exactly. "Instinctive hunches", not factual reporting. Well, Guinness and Jameson, have been responsible for far too many "instinctive hunches" for the peace and good order of this long suffering country. Further on he lays emphasis on what he terms "My guess". At this

moment of writing we have not Peace in any part of our island home, only a truncated TRUCE tethering on a razor's edge. The plain, incontrovertible fact is this: armed British forces are illegally in occupation of a large portion of our homeland — the only authority they possess is that of force majeure. Therefore, I cannot see any difference, moral or legal, between the fight now being waged by the present generation I.R.A., and that waged by the I.R.A. of my generation. The objective of both is precisely the same — the liberation of our beloved country from foreign domination; or, as the martyred Terence MacSwiney phrased it: "Its not to those who can inflict the most, but to those who can suffer most that victory comes".

What I am mostly concerned about, however, is what Mr. Browne wrote in the second paragraph of his article:

"The difference between the positions of the two communicating parties remain irreconcilable, at least in the foreseeable future".

Within the limitation of human perception nothing is more readily foreseeable than the future of Great Britain and Ireland. Since the 1930's Gt. Britain has existed solely on borrowing money; and, by 1980 — at the furthest — she will be a poverty-stricken island off the west coast of Europe. And that is

not based on any "instinctive hunch". No less an authority than Lord Rothschild has publicly warned the British people to that effect. Moreover, universal history proves that this is the inevitable end of every country which has built-up a materialistic empire. Due to the inefficiency of our professional politicians (who are more British than the English) when Britain goes smash we follow suit.

Finally, Mr. Browne is strangely silent as to the real obstacles to a lasting peace in Ireland. Permit me to list them.

1. The professional politicians, north and south.
 2. The Orange Order (whose members are the real terrorists) is the child of the Masonic Order.
 3. No British politician can become a cabinet minister of the Crown, unless or until he has become a member of the Masonic Order. It is this tie-up which is the main obstacle to peace.
 4. The nit-wit British Army Generals, who are more concerned with their military reputations than they are with peace.
- Giving credit where credit is really due, all honour to the Protestant clerics who courageously took the initiative towards securing the Truce.
- W.J. Brennan-Whitmore, Comd't, 7, Salzburg, Ardea, Roebuck, Dublin 14.

ALL IRELAND ELECTION

THE demand for an all Ireland election brings us all back to fundamentals. There has been no such vote since the general election of 1918 and the Local Government and Municipal elections of 1919/20. The verdict of these elections tempted Lloyd George to suspend democracy and to impose the vast gerrymander of Partition; and this, in the absence of consent by the people, was imposed and maintained by ever present force from that day to this.

Mr. Merlyn Rees says "Impossible". But we know that there is nothing easier to a British government than to introduce and carry an act of Parliament, if that is what is needed. There have been hundreds of them, changing and correcting one another. The Treaty of 1921 has been changed on a number of occasions and can be changed again any time the need arises.

Eisenhower and Churchill

Twenty one years ago, on June 29, 1954 President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill agreed.

"We uphold the principle of self-government and will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire and are capable of sustaining an independent existence.

"In case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations to ensure they are conducted fairly."

A change of opinion in Britain is all that is

needed to change government thinking, to overturn treaties, and alter foreign policies. If the British people decide to withdraw their army from Ireland that will be done.

One interesting element in the arrangements at the time of partition was that England's friends in Belfast were to pay an enormous yearly tribute of money. This was in continuation of the custom of centuries during which all Ireland was a source of immense wealth and revenue. Much more money was drawn out than was ever returned in services or capital development. But the Orangemen were able for her there and in the last fifty years they must have cost a fair proportion of what was taken out in the past. It is being pointed out to Belfast that this kind of thing cannot be continued! (Lloyd George told them the same in a famous letter at the end of November or early December 1921. This was when he was promising Griffith and Collins that their constituencies, and those of De Valera, John O'Mahony, Eoin MacNeill and Sean Milroy, on the six county side of the Border would be able to vote themselves free under the terms offered, and subsequently signed. If the Orangemen did not consent they would be penalised. This belongs to the history of the English dirty tricks department).

Mother England Bankrupt

It is an unfortunate fact that no amount of peaceful tactics employed by and on behalf of Ireland during more than half a century achieved the smallest result, or lessening of the tyranny of the "Northern Government" over their nationalist minority. Dublin policy

has accepted partition, and all the efforts at official level are directed to coerce the weaker side to accept the Six County State.

One of the principles of democracy is that there must be no representation without consent. One of the demands of the I.R.A. is that there shall be a general all-Ireland election to put us back on the right course. This is a necessary and consistent sequence to the operations directed against the British forces of occupation. These operations appear to have been planned to cost as much money and as few Irish or civilian lives as possible. One does not read reports from other places where guerrilla campaigns proceed against other tyrannies, that the standard which the I.R.A. impose on themselves is of general application in other places. Nevertheless it is an enormously tragedy when lives are lost.

Tyrone Councillors evicted by Troops

The agony in the north started shortly after the results of the all-Ireland Municipal elections were declared. Every city in Ireland except Belfast voted republican; nearly all the urban areas did likewise. Then, in June 1920 the pogroms started - a backlash against democracy!

The night the Treaty was signed a copy, and whatever Lloyd George had to communicate, was sent by destroyer to Craig. British troops were already in occupation of the Tyrone County Council offices after evicting the elected councillors who had voted allegiance to Dail Eireann. On December 7, the first of many coercion bills (by North and South) was passed through all stages in one



Le Maire Comerford

day. This particular bill was "for the coercion of rebellious local government bodies in disaffected parts of Ulster" (Manchester Guardian). There were 51 such bodies representing the majority in more than half the total area of the Six Counties. Thus began the massive treaty breaking; the members of the councils were interned; De Valera and Co., elected parliamentary representatives, kept south of the Border where their followers now refuse sanctuary to others. South of the Border all politicians earned contempt and loathing for long sustained cowardice. Some personal courage by the half dozen elected representatives might have averted the horrible results of their failure.

Regretted Death

THE Leadership of the Republican Movement tender their sincere sympathy to the husband, sons, daughters, sisters and brothers of the late Maire Ní Shealigh whose death took place on Monday, 20 January.

Maire Ní Shealigh was a life long Republican, she and her sister, Bridget, were active during the '40s and '50s and since the present campaign began she gave every help and support to the Freedom Fighters. Her home was always open to those coming from the North.

The funeral took place to Bohernabreena cemetery after 10 o'clock Mass in the Church of the Good Shepherd, Churchtown. The chief mourners were her husband, Brendan, sons Colm and Brendan, daughters Bláithnín and Maire, sisters Brigid and brothers Brian and Michael. Brendan Magill represented the Republican Movement.

Ar deis Dé go raibh a h'anam.

Sinn Féin secretary's visit to Derry

JOINT-SECRETARY of Sinn Féin, Mr. Ualtéir O Loingsigh recently paid a visit to Derry where he addressed a meeting of the Comhairleachtair and visited the various Sinn Féin Cumainn in the city.

It is understood that during his visit he discussed the Organisation of the forthcoming Bloody Sunday Commemoration was on the agenda.

Progress in South Derry

Two new Sinn Féin cumainn have been formed in the South County Derry area. They are the Francis McCloskey cumainn which will operate in Dungiven and district. The officers elected were J.J. McCloskey, Chairman; Mary Donaghey, Secretary; and Gerry McCloskey, Treasurer.

The officers of the Gerard Coney Cumainn, Desertmartin, are: Chairman, Colm Hegarty; Secretary, Rita Fuller; and Treasurer, Máire McIvor.



U. O Loingsigh

The scene in Tralee as Gardaí and Special Branch waded in with fist and boot to break up a protest against conditions in Portlaoise prison. See also picture and report on page 7.

"Peace with Justice" meeting in U.C.D.

OVER 400 people attended a meeting organised by the Colm Keenan Sinn Féin Cumann in University College, Dublin in support of the "Peace with Justice" theme of the Republican Movement. The meeting was chaired by the Auditor of the College Debating Society, Mr. Gerry O Danachair. Speakers included Mr. A. O Ceallaighín, Mr. D. O Hogáin, and Mr. Gerry O'Hara, Editor of "An Phoblacht".

Putting the Christmas ceasefire in the context of the struggle of the minority in the occupied area over the

Buiochas

WE wish on behalf of our Political Prisoners (Provisional), and their families to thank the people of Tallaght for their generous response to our appeal for funds.

Due to increasing demands being made on our existing branches throughout the country we are forming a branch in Tallaght.

For further information please contact John O'Reilly, 33 Avonbeg Road.

last five years, Mr. O'Hara pointed out that organised self-defence and counter-attack were the only methods left open to the minority to counteract the violence of internment, torture and subjection which the British employed to maintain the colonial link. Because of this, the resistance movement were not prepared to have "peace" at any price, as this would imply continued repression, mass unemployment and open discrimination against the minority.

Asked from the floor why did Britain want to keep Ulster as a Colony, Mr. O'Hara answered that Westminster used the pool of cheap labour in the Six Counties whenever labour became scarce and also that the investment in intensive industries in the Six Counties, such as the Belfast Shipyards, promised to yield Britain handsome profits in years to come.

Mr. D. O Hogáin deplored the action of the Free State Government over the ceasefire period. The arrest of Kevin Mallon, the continued political censorship of the state media; the wild speeches of Minister Fitzgerald and the inhuman conditions in Portlaoise political prison all

pointed to the fact, he said, that the Dublin Government had a vested interest in the resumption of hostilities.

Andreas O Ceallaighín furthered this point when he asked: "If the Republican Leadership can ensure peace for 26 days, why are the puppet politicians so anxious that the Christmas ceasefire be broken?" The answer, he said, rested on the fact that both the Dublin Government and the S.D.L.P. were politically insecure in the present climate. Both these groups had bargained all their principles to the British there is nothing but social unrest, and in the Free State a near bankrupt economy. By their actions, they had permitted themselves to become dependent on Britain and her patronage money.

After the guest speakers had finished, the Chairman, Mr. O Danachair invited an open discussion from the student audience. This proved to be an outstanding success. Many of the speakers had an opportunity to clarify points made earlier, and indeed, speaking to students after the meeting it became quite clear that the student population in U.C.D. had, for the first time, got a grasp of the real meaning of "Peace with Justice".

Accommodation wanted urgently

Houses and Flats wanted, furnished and unfurnished, reasonable rent paid.

They are very urgently required to accommodate the people who are being deported from Britain.

All enquiries to: Bob Smith, 380, Nutgrove Ave., Rathfarnham, Dublin, Phone 985549. or Charlie McGlade, 60, Mounse Road, Dublin, 12. Phone 500245.



NOTEBOOK

The Greatness of Connolly

I HAVE just come across a Pelican paperback called "James Connolly, Selected Writings" by P. Berresford Ellis. It is not new (it was published in 1973) but it is the best presentation of Connolly which I know and I heartily recommend it.

The introduction is excellent. Along with an outline of Connolly's life-story, it gives a clear survey of his socialist theoretical writing, stressing his innovations in this field. The selection of his writings which follows is divided into sections in a way that makes it very easy to find out what Connolly actually said on the main issues which concerned him: Socialism and Catholicism; Nationalism and Imperialism (including Socialism and Nationalism); Industrial Unionism and Trade Unionism; Women's Rights; War and Revolutionary Warfare; the Partition of Ireland; the Language Movement.

The net result of this presentation is to let us see Connolly not only in relation to the contemporary Irish situation, but in the context of the international socialist movement, as a thinker ranking with Lenin, Mao and Che Guevara - relating, as they did, the basic socialist theory to the national conditions which he encountered and developing it in the new light of that unique national situation.

I think that Connolly's most important message for us is contained not in anything he said about socialism, but in the following statement about revolutionary thinking generally:

We are told to imitate Wolfe Tone, but the greatness of Wolfe Tone lay in the fact that he imitated nobody. The needs of his time called for a man able to shake from his mind the intellectual fetters of the past, and to unite in his own person the hopes of the new revolutionary faith and the ancient aspirations of an oppressed people.

We are familiar with what you might call geographical provincialism: a nation, such as the Irish, deriving their ideas and their view of their own life from another country or, more precisely, from the metropolitan centre of a foreign nationalism. What Connolly is hitting at in that passage is the *historical*

provincialism of revolutionaries who derive their thinking about the present from the thinking of a revolutionary leader or group who lived a hundred or two hundred years ago.

Connolly was one of the most original of Irish nationalist thinkers and of Marxist socialist thinkers. To imitate him or Wolfe Tone or Thomas Davis or Douglas Hyde - to be loyal to what these men stood for - means, among other things, imitating their independence of mind in regard to their own predecessors. Consequently, to a considerable degree, it means thinking *differently* than they did.

No one exemplified more than Connolly that, after devotion to the cause of the oppressed people, the first characteristic of the Irish revolutionary is spiritual and mental freedom. Moreover, the principal thing which the revolutionary is trying to win for his oppressed countrymen is this freedom, for the simple reason that all other freedoms and well-being follow from it. A people with free spirits and minds make themselves free politically and economically.

Connolly did not, repeat, did not regard the first object of the Labour or socialist struggle as being better wages or working conditions or housing or even control of industry. He said: "Every victory for Labour helps to strengthen the cramped soul of the Irish labourer". That was what mattered to him in the first place.

And of the ITGWU, among all the things he could have said in praise of it, this is what he did say:

It found the workers of Ireland on their knees, and has striven to raise them to the erect position of manhood; it found them with all the vices of slavery in their souls, and it strove to eradicate these vices and replace them with some of the virtues of free men...

By taking this stance, by making the human quality of his countrymen and of Irish life the first goal, Connolly showed himself to be a humanist revolutionary using labour organisation, the written word and nationalist politics as *means*. His socialism was, in the first instance, a humanism directed towards

making men and persons out of servile and broken people.

This gives us a yardstick by which to measure many in Ireland today who call themselves socialists, and who talk like capitalist businessmen, as if achieving for everyone the condition of well-care-for animals were what socialism is about.

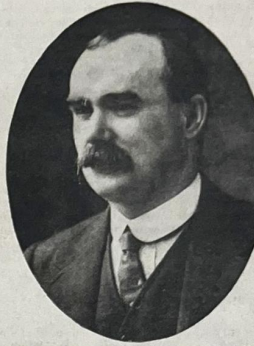
Connolly was repelled by, and explicitly opposed to, the materialism of the capitalist world and its ruling class. His socialism was anything but a desire to perpetuate that materialistic view of man and of his well-being.

Connolly's main innovations in the field of socialist theory were in relation to socialism and Catholicism, socialism and nationalism, and the shape of the future socialist republic or, in other words, the political form which socialism would take. But he was also a pioneer among socialists in regard to the rights and status of women and in regard to the role of national languages in the socialist scheme of things.

As is well known, Connolly rejected the idea that Catholicism and Marxism were incompatible and he united them in his own person. He believed that a man could be Marxist in politics and Christian in religion. Indeed, he went further, holding that the essence of Christianity, as evidenced from the early Church Fathers, agreed with the Marxist view of private property, common ownership, and the rational ordering of society in the interests of the common good.

Consequently, he saw socialism as the putting into practice of Catholicism properly understood.

It follows that he did not regard atheism as an essential element of Marxism. Marxism was a scientific method of analysing the history and present condition of the world with a view to action; it was also a general indication of the lines that action should follow. Since the ultimate aim was to end the exploitation and oppression of man - to liberate man to be his human and personal self - how could it be in conflict with Catholicism, even if it might well be in conflict with Church authorities?



In regard to nationalism and socialism, Connolly rejected the widespread view in socialist circles that the nationalism of oppressed nations was a betrayal of socialism. He took the view that it was a necessary part of socialism, and Lenin supported him strongly on this.

On the other hand, Connolly urged Irish nationalists to be socialists as well, on the grounds that a legally sovereign Irish state would not in itself mean freedom from economic control by England, nor would it really liberate the Irish people, most of whom suffered from an economic oppression originating inside Ireland itself.

He made clear, in other words, that socialists in an oppressed nation, who play down their nationalism, are bad socialists; also that nationalists who promise freedom to an oppressed nation, while cold-shouldering socialism, are frauds.

FREEMAN

'Around the Country'

le Maire Ni Bhaoil



THROUGHOUT the country protests are taking place on behalf of the hunger strikers in Portlaoise prison.

In the 26 Counties Sinn Féin members are urging T.D.'s and Senators to save the hunger strikers' lives by conceding their demands before it is too late.

Donegal protests

About fifty members of Sinn Féin, Kevin Street, picketed the Garda-Army road-block at the round-about Ballyshannon in protest against conditions in Portlaoise Prison. Michael McMahon, spokesman for the picketers stated the reasons for this protest was to highlight the worsening conditions in Portlaoise Prison where ten men have been on hunger-strike since the 1st of January. He stated that the gardai and army were responsible for the destruction of £15,000 worth of equipment and personal belongings of the prisoners, including tape recorders, the record-players, radios, crafts, etc. A similar picket was placed on the Garda barracks in Bundoran on Sunday evening. Anthony O'Malley Daly, Ballyshannon Town Commissioners, addressing those present stated that Joe O'Neill, Bundoran U.D.C. and himself had been to Portlaoise Prison the previous day to visit Pat Ward, a native of Burtonport, who is one of the hunger strikers. They were refused admission and clothes that they had for the prisoners were not accepted. He

stated that men were five and six to a cell and didn't have a change of clothes since Christmas. They were also refused a report on the condition of the hunger-strikers.

Athy protest

Members of the Connor-Lacey Sinn Féin Cumann, Athy blocked all traffic in Athy for fifteen minutes on Saturday. This was followed by a march through town. The purpose of the blockade and march was to protest against the treatment of prisoners in Portlaoise prison and the treatment of relatives who seek information about their condition.

Members of the cumann also protested outside Portlaoise prison and outside the home of Mr. Cooney, the Free State's Minister for Justice.

Letter to local T.D.'s

The Thomas Ashe Sinn Féin cumann, Dublin in a letter to local T.D.'s, David Thornley, Hugh Byrne, Richard Byrne and Jim Tunney said:

"In the Cabra West area alone there are six of your constituents incarcerated in Portlaoise Prison, there are several more in the constituency outside the Cabra West area imprisoned there. The vast majority of these people would not be in prison but for the repressive legislation enacted subsequent to the bombings at Liberty Hall and Sackville Place, and indeed as you will recall Mr. Cooney himself, was one of the most vociferous in condemning this legislation".

The letter added: "A worse aspect of this matter is Mr. Cooney's petty vindictiveness in removing the normal remission due to prisoners under sentence. We urge you to raise this matter at your earliest opportunity and see that your constituents are treated fairly and allowed their basic civil rights. We must mention at this juncture that despite Mr. Cooney's statement of last week, prisoners do have rights and it is up to you as a Public Representative to see that they are not deprived to them".

The letter concluded: "It would appear from the foregoing that the 26 County Government is finding the present truce an embarrassment and are bent on destroying it, as their bankrupt policies are now in greater danger of being exposed than ever before.

Roscommon people shocked at Portlaoise conditions

Members of the Sean South Cumann, Sinn Féin, Roscommon, manned a caravan in The Square on Saturday and distributed leaflets asking the public to protest to T.D.'s local councillors and clergymen about the conditions prevailing in Portlaoise Prison.

On Sunday a deputation from the Cumann saw the parish priest, Very Rev. Canon T. Hanley, and the Church of Ireland Rector, Rev. R. Graham, to urge them to add their voice to the growing protest about the plight of Republican prisoners.

The leaflets distributed on



Saturday outlined the events that took place in the prison on 29th December when gardai and army riot squads wantonly destroyed personal effects owned by the jailed men.

It told of men now having to sleep on the floor, some without mattresses, being unable to wash or shave and having only the clothes they stand up in.

Said Cumann Chairman Mr. Tom Kiroo: "We distributed 1,000 leaflets and a number of people took home copies of our political programme 'Eire Nua'. People, generally, were shocked at the conditions at Portlaoise and a number promised to make a personal protest".

Letter to Bishops

The Roscommon Comhairle Ceannairt Sinn Féin, agreed to write to the Bishop of Elphin, Most Rev. Dr. Dominic Conway, and the Church of Ireland Bishop for the Diocese to ask them to aid their voice to the protest about the conditions in Portlaoise Prison

being endured by Republican political prisoners.

Ulster Executive Statement

The Ulster Executive of Sinn Féin, Kevin Street, commenting on the "inhuman conditions" Republican Prisoners in Portlaoise Prison are forced to endure, wish to remind the Free State's Minister for Justice, Mr. Patrick Cooney, that these men are not common criminals but political hostages.

The statement continued: "These men should be afforded the status of 'political prisoner' by right and not as some sort of concession from Leinster House.

"Sinn Féin stands solidly behind the men in Portlaoise and support any action they considered fit to gain their just demands for proper living conditions pending the implementation of a general amnesty".

The statement was issued by the Executive's P.R.O. Mr. Malachy Foots.

Outside Portlaoise Prison uniformed Gardai shield a Special Branch member (arrowed) from angry women demonstrators, after he had knocked an elderly woman to the ground. It is noteworthy that no member of the Gardai Síochana rushed to the aid of the Branch thug's victim, who was noticeably shaken by her ordeal.

P.D.F. Sympathy

The executive meeting of the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund was opened and then adjourned by the chairman following the observance of a two minutes silence as a mark of respect to the memory of James Moyne.

A motion of condolence and sympathy was passed to the parents and family of Mr. Moyne.

REPUBLICAN POST BAG

Tralee demo for prisoners...

IRISH-AMERICANS NOT FOOLED BY GARRET FITZGERALD

A FEW days ago I watched a television show in which Foreign Minister, Mr. Garret FitzGerald, spoke on the Northern situation. We wish Mr. FitzGerald would stay at home.

He spoke to Irish-Americans on this show and asked them to stop sending money for relief of distress in Northern Ireland. He spoke to us as if we were children. I was very demanding.

Mr. FitzGerald, obviously, has no understanding of the feeling of the Irish-American community which fully supports the struggle for basic human rights in Northern Ireland. Mr. FitzGerald's problems with the I.R.A. and other Republican political leaders is of no concern to us. We know what the British Government is doing in Northern Ireland and we want it to stop.

On the T.V. show, Mr. FitzGerald said absolutely nothing about the British Government's denial of human rights and the activities of the British Army in Belfast.

We wish Mr. FitzGerald and other Dublin politicians would stay at home and stop insulting the intelligence of the Irish-Americans. We know better.

— Patrick Kelly, 234, Eggert Road, Eggertsville, Nua Eabhrach.

CARDINAL AND THE PROVOS

IS Cardinal Conway really serious when he states that the Provisionals have no right to speak directly to the British Government? Mr. Wilson being a reliable news better - his talks with the Provisional I.R.A. in the past proved that.

Cardinal Conway is on very thin ground when he refers to "politicians" and "democracy" in the context of Northern Ireland whether he likes it or not the

S.D.L.P. are a political party without a parliament in which seems to get the blind eye from Dublin too. This makes a mockery of any mandate they may have received at the ballot box from a minority of the minority, a point well-taken by your correspondent Aidan Corrigan some months back. Furthermore Mr. Fitt and company have very little bargaining power vis-a-vis the Brits, their about-turn circa Sunningdale on internment and the Rent Strike saw to that.

With respect, at this historic moment, Cardinal Conway should not be too pharisaic about the gathering at the round table. The British have sat down with freedom fighters the Empire over before. Any 'softly softly catches monkey' ideas the Cardinal may have could prove unwise. After five years of bitter guerrilla warfare the Provisional I.R.A. know their rights. They unfortunately as well have rather vivid recollections of much verbal violence visited on them by members of the Catholic Hierarchy who since Feakle have remained strangely silent.

Perhaps Cardinal Conway should forget the whipping-boy and get on with the good work. Playing chess or establishment roulette with a hardwon ceasefire is dangerous business. It is no time for 'party politics' North or south.

— Diarmuid Ó Súilleabhain, Guaire, Co. Lough Garman.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

WHILE THE TRUCE was in operation the Irish people were parading for "Peace with Justice". These events co-incided with The "Buy Irish" campaign launched by the Dublin Government. Mr. Cooney Minister for "Justice" appeared on R.T.E. and openly declared that Republican Prisoners in Portlaoise Jail had no rights.

To prove his point he ordered that these hunger striking prisoners be sprayed with water cannons, shot at with rubber bullets and batonned.

Ireland was a signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights which calls for humane treatment for imprisoned Political Prisoners.

On the anniversary day of - Human Rights convention Political prisoners were liberated from Greece, Iran, Rhodesia and many other parts of the world, not so in Ireland.

The people elected Mr. Cooney - and he was chosen to fill the post of Minister for Justice.

What do the Irish people now think of their choice of man? Revenge is mine said the Lord - I say.

— Una Toal, Newry Road, Dún Dealgán.

PROPAGANDA AT ITS CRUDEST

PROPAGANDA can be subtle or crude. In one Dublin daily it may be seen at its crudest. This consists of not publishing news, even though competitors will have it, or distorting news reports, even when competitors carry the straight version.

For Hire

Aveling - Austin 99H motor grader

M.B. Stack Gibbstown, Navan, Co. Meath

When numbers embarrass, they are deemed, as in reporting of the Gaughan funeral. When they are useful, they are exaggerated, as in reports of 'peace' (surrender) demonstrations.

The most amusing element of this propaganda war is the use of special jargon, often imported from Fleet Street, London. Examples: for Crown Forces, British army, R.U.C., U.D.R., etc., substitute "security forces" (which may include Paras, S.A.S., torturers, etc.).

Republicans, whether they are Fianna Eireann, Cumann na nGall, Cumann na mBan, An Cumann Cabhrach, Sinn Féin or Oglaithe na hEireann, all are called "Provos".

There are no such things as "Republican principles". Use, instead, "Republican tactics". And for "prison protest" always make it "all riot".

Funnily enough, the paper specialising in this kind of journalism calls itself "Irish" and "Independent".

— Fear Fair, Baile Atha Cliath.

GARDAI OPPOSE BUY IRISH CAMPAIGN

ON SATURDAY evening 18/1/75 three members of this Cumann were putting up our Buy Irish Boycott British posters and others in and around Monaghan Town. They were stopped by Gardaí and their car was searched.

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of Republican Movement.

Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Fáilte ar leith romh Ghaeilge.

The Gardaí then confiscated all posters in the car. When our members objected that no poster in the car was in any way illegal Garda Flynn and his cohorts retorted that they were empowered to confiscate all posters and were doing so per instructions from their superiors.

Are the senior Gardaí in Monaghan acting unlawfully in this matter or is it Garda policy nationally to oppose the Buy Irish campaign? Has collaboration between the Gardaí and the British reached the stage where the Gardaí are willing to permit

The Trade Unionist

Paper of National Federation of Shop Stewards' Committees.

Available from: D. Whelan, 38, Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Price 6p.



Women and children lined the streets of Tralee in protest against the brutal treatment of Republican prisoners in Portlaoise. The wives and families of Kerry prisoners took a leading part in the demonstration which lasted for 20 minutes.

Despite loudspeaker announcements by a member of the Republican Movement that the protest was due to end in two minutes a force of Special Branch and Gardaí rushed up from the barracks and attacked the demonstrators.

"Now the people of Tralee can clearly see who are the men of Tralee as well as the men of the world," announced the man at the loud hailer as the Free Staters

began to drag the women from the street, pulling them by the hair and using fists and batons, indiscriminately.

Members of the general public joined in to assist the demonstrators in resisting the police brutality. Bystanders shouted "Blue-shirts" and "Gestapo!" as the foiled Branchmen and their henchmen had to beat a sullen retreat.

At the close of the protest, the demonstrators left the street in good order, and assisted the blocked cars to get the traffic-flow smoothly flowing once more.

ANOTHER MURDER FOR THE CROWN

THE British concentration camp at Long Kesh claimed the life of its seventh victim on Sunday last. For more than eighteen months James Hoyne from Derry suffered from asthmatic attacks in the damp, foggy, swamp conditions in which that dreadful camp is situated.

The fact that this disease was at an advanced stage in this man was well known to the Camp Governor and his staff and Mr. Hoyne had to be removed to an outside hospital more than once.

The authorities at Long Kesh also knew death was certain for this man if he was held in such conditions. Yet he was not released, nor was he or others like him considered when the nerve gas was pumped down on the inmates by the British Army.

His death is murder willfully committed by Crown forces and the Camp Governor.

— Concerned, Co. Fhear Manach.

CUMANN GAELACH BHRIOSCAI EIREANN

TA suas le 500 duine sa dá mhionchathair i Sráid an Easbhuig agus Tamlacht ag iarraidh an oiread Gaeilge is atá acu a labhairt. Tá siad ag foghlaim breis Gaeilge ó bhileogí sheachtainiúla a sholáthraítear trí oifig an Fhóinne Nua. Tá gá le teagasc de chineál éigin nó chuid mhór dóibh le fuaimneama is rithim na cainte a thabhairt dóibh.

Tá an comhlacht sásta seomra fá choinne ranganna a thabhairt dúinn. Mar sin, ba mhaith linn teacht ar chaire a bheadh sásta ranganna a bhailiú. Einnse go dtig le cabhrú déanfadh siad teangeamhláinn ar an uimhir seo, 370/26, nó le hOifig an Fhóinne Nua, 16 St. Chardán Iochtar, Baile Atha Cliath, 1, Teil: 752231.

— Antón Mac Giolla Rua, An Cumann Gaelach, Brioscaí Eireann T.á. Sr. an Easbhuig, Baile Atha Cliath, 2.

Acknowledgement

KENNEDY: The husband, family and relatives of the late Marie Kennedy, 106, Bankbrook Hill, Armagh, wish to thank most sincerely all those who sympathised with them in their recent bereavement and all those who sent Mass cards, Seraphic certificates, wreaths, letters and telegrams and those who visited the house and attended the funeral. We would like to give a special thanks to Fr. Gerald Greene and the Staff of North Craigavon Hospital. Mass will be offered for the intentions of all.

An Cumann Cabhrach

Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund BALLAD SESSION AND BUFFET in

Round Tower Hotel, Balla, Co. Mayo Friday 7th February

Commencing 8.30 p.m. Featuring Sean Dynes, Ulsters No 1 Folk Singer

Prominent Republican Speakers Support Republican Prisoners' Dependents

Calendars

STILL available at the Carft Centre, 44 Ceasnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath, 1:

Resistance Calendar, published by the Belfast Publishing Bureau: Price 30p; postage 10p extra.

Long Kesh calendar, published by the Andersonstown Central Civil Resistance Committee: Price 15p; postage 5p.

Sinn Féin Calendar: Price 12p; postage 5p.

PORTLAOISE JAIL

A new song about the famous escape of 19 men. Sung by Michael Moran on a new disc. 60p - personal callers only. Sole distributors for Ireland: Sinn Féin, 2A Lr. Kevin St., Dublin 8. Boxes of 25 for £10.00. Add 25p for postage. Single copies will not be sent by post. Flip side: Seán South from Garryowen.

A Freedom Record

Me Jewel & Darlin' Dublin by Eamonn Mac Thomáis, £4.20. By post £4.45.

Raffle Results

PRIZEWINNERS in the Kildare Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin draw are as follows: 1st Prize (Celtic Cross): James Byrne, Moyola, Co. Kildare. 2nd Prize (Plaque with 1916 Signatories): Niall MacDonald, Ayre Street, Newbridge, Kildare.

Portlaoise Buses

THE buses run by Sinn Féin for relatives and friends wishing to visit Republican prisoners in Portlaoise Prison will in future leave Sinn Féin's Dublin office, 5 Blessington Street (Tel. 308783) every Saturday morning at 9.30 a.m.

TURF, BRIQUETTES AND LOGS

In ¼ ton, ½ ton, 1 ton and 8 ton loads. North Dublin and Drogheda Area

EDWARD O'REILLY, Ard Cath, Co. Meath. Phone: 254146

"BLOODY SUNDAY"

Deliberate murder planned at the highest level

It is commonly alleged that Irish People have particularly long memories for wrongs done to them, that we nurse our grievances through the generations and allow them to determine our attitudes; that we find it difficult to forgive, almost impossible to forget.

But there are times when we forgive and forget easily enough. Bloody Sunday, for example.

It is remembered by everyone, of course, in the sense that most people in Ireland recall what happened that day, can probably tell the date and how many people died. But from the bland editorials in the national papers and the "conciliatory" statements of establishment politicians one does not gather that it is remembered with any sense of outrage or what lessons have been learned from its happening.

Yet Bloody Sunday ought to be remembered with outrage, not on account of the desirability of opening old wounds but because it was an event which, in a number of crucial ways, is set apart from other incidents in which relatively large numbers died, and because the immediate reaction to it was uniquely instructive about the nature of British politics and the morality of British Imperial institutions.

It was massacre — exactly as planned

Bloody Sunday was deliberate murder. It was not an accident, a misunderstanding or a result of a number of individual soldiers losing their cool and going berserk. Any objective examination of the sequence of events and the pattern of casualties makes it clear that it was planned, planned at the highest level and that, far from "something going wrong", it went exactly as planned.

Almost certainly, British Army tactics for Bloody Sunday were discussed — and passed — at a meeting of the Defence Committee of the British Cabinet three days previously, attended by, among others, Heath, Carrington, the Joint Chiefs of the Imperial General Staff and General Ford, then GOC Land Forces, Northern Ireland. The go-ahead was given. In other words, from the highest political level came instruction that men known to be innocent were to be shot dead.

It is that which sets Bloody Sunday apart. There have been other incidents of multiple death. The Dublin and Monaghan bombings last May, for example, were possibly the work of the SAS. But the SAS work in a furtive way, does not acknowledge its activities and probably does not seek Governmental sanction for individual actions. The Bloody Friday deaths in Belfast resulted from mishandled telephone warnings. Mc-



Gurk's Bar was almost certainly a sectarian massacre. And so on.

But Bloody Sunday was sanctioned in advance and defended in retrospect by every British political leader from the Prime Minister down. By so doing they proclaimed to the world that they lie in their teeth when they condemn "violence" and "murder". They are violent men and murderers themselves.

British establishments' contempt for human life

By so doing they gave every British soldier in the North to understand that it was open season on rebellious elements and that if they happened to kill an innocent by-stander or two, not to worry: the Army press office would churn out blank denials, cabinet ministers in the House of Commons would cheerfully libel the dead and the British press would headline the lies and hail the killer as a hero.

And by so doing they ought to have given us, the Irish people, an understanding of the British establishment's contempt for human life and its bottomless hypocrisy when defending its own interests.

That hypocrisy was never more evident than in the awarding of derisory compensation to the relatives of the dead. The payments caused great controversy in Britain, Tory M.P.s saying that it was outrageous, more liberal elements expressing contentment that the payments were *ex gratia*; that is, there was no admission of guilt. In Ireland, North and South, "moderates" babbled about "justice being done at last".

But the point of the payments were quite simple. They meant that no civil claims would be brought in the courts, the hearing of which would have subjected British Army activity that day to more searching scrutiny than that carried out by the notorious Widgery. It was just another exercise in cynicism and deception.

Of course there was no admission of guilt. Killing Civil Rights marchers is not the class of thing British political or military leaders feel guilty about. Quite the reverse. The man who commanded the Paras, Lt. Col. Dereck Wilford, was not required to feel guilt. He was required to attend Buckingham

We were killed on the barricades, in the courtyards ... and a few died — God knows where.

Palace to be decorated by the Queen of England on behalf of a grateful nation.

Yet what have we learned from all this? As we approach the third anniversary of Bloody Sunday there is a massive and well-orchestrated campaign for "peace". It involves the leaders of all the main churches, and its demonstrations are attended by Southern Cabinet ministers and Assemblymen of all parties in the North. It is reported approvingly on the front page of every Irish daily paper.

Republicans can afford to remember

Yet the calls for peace are directed almost exclusively at the Republican Movement. On the platforms the word "gunman" refers always to members of Ogligh na hEireann. "Men of violence" is used as a synonym for "Provisional". Never a suggestion that the war is two-sided, much less an acknowledgement that the root cause of the absence of peace is the British presence in our country; no indication at all that in their self-proclaimed thirst for justice they recall the horrific slaughter perpetrated three years ago by highly-trained members of Her Majesty's forces.

Republicans remember, as we will on the streets of Derry next Sunday. We remember, not because we are endowed with fuller powers of recall, but because politically we can afford to remember, whereas the Conways, O'Briens, Humes and Faulkners cannot. Their pro-British, anti-Republican ideology cannot tolerate the memory of all the dead; to admit that the single most cold-blooded example of mass killing in the past five years was carried out by the armed forces of the British state would make it impossible for them to maintain their public position that Britain's interest in Ireland is entirely benign. So they contrive to forget it and to ignore the lessons to be learned from it.

We remember Bloody Sunday. And it is well to remember it at this time when the air is filled with talk of "concessions" and media speculation about what "concession" from the British would or would not be reasonable in return for a change in Republican tactics. There is no concession they could make now which has not already been paid for. The Irish people have paid, in advance and over the odds, for everything it is possible to obtain. We have paid through the ages in blood and tears, and it would be an insult to the memory of those who paid with their lives on 30 January 1972 for us to desist now from the struggle to build a free future in which such horror can, at last, be forgotten.

We stand and salute the 13 who were murdered by British guns in Derry City on January 30, 1972:

Barney McGuigan	Gerard Donaghy
Michael McDaid	William Nash
Jim Wray	Kevin McElhinney
William McKinney	Gerry McKinney
John Young	Michael Kelly
Jack Duddy	Hugh Gilmore
and the 14th victim, John Johnston who died later from injuries received.	

— We salute all who died by British guns before and after 30 January 1972. Let us ensure that all these sacrifices have not been in vain.

Demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.



Stay free, brothers and sisters. There'll be another day.