

REPUBLICAN NEWS

THE VOICE OF
REPUBLICAN ULSTER

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper



Vol. 4 No. 26 SATURDAY, 29th JUNE, 1974

PRICE: FIVE PENCE

Dublin Special Branch Harassment of Republican Paper Sellers Stepped-up

A young Belfastman, Frank McGowan (18), who is a regular seller of Republican News, was arrested last Saturday, by five Special Branch detectives at the GPO in Dublin.

Some time later, a few detectives called at the home of Mrs. Maire Lyons, a key distributor for us in the 26 Counties, to inform her that Frank would be appearing in Court on Monday morning.

Mr. McGowan was held in the Bridewell, and in spite of several requests, no one was allowed to see him.

It is understood that Mr. McGowan was fined £4 for selling newspapers without a street trader's licence and that he refused bail when charged with "conduct likely to lead to a breach of the peace."

Our reporter was told on Tuesday that Frank has been taken to Mountjoy Jail.

We have just heard that Frank and another young man who was also selling Republican newspapers, were ordered to be bound over to "keep the peace" for 12 months on a bail bond. When they refused to enter into the bail bond, they were sentenced to six months in jail.

26-County Local Election, June 1974

THE FOLLOWING SINN FEIN CANDIDATES WERE ELECTED:

Patrick Ruane	Galway County Council
Frank Glynn	Galway County Council
John J. McGirl	Leitrim County Council
Sean Lynch	Longford County Council
Anthony O'Malley Daly	Ballyshannon Town Commissioners
Michael Nevin	Longford Urban District Council
Joseph O'Neill	Bundoran Urban District Council
Gerard Ginty	Ballina Urban District Council
Vincent Conlon	Monaghan Urban District Council
James Mee	Passage West Town Commissioners
Frank McCaughy	Clones Urban District Council
Frank Maguire	Clones Urban District Council
Michael Sheil	Gorey Town Commissioners
Patrick McGinn	Castletroy Urban District Council
Sean Doyle	Enniscorthy Urban District Council
George O'Reilly	Athy Urban District Council
Charles Boylan	Cavan County Council
Thomas O'Connell	Youghal Urban District Council
Michael Ronayne	Midleton Urban District Council
Charles Kennedy	Birr Urban District Council
Michael Kennedy	Clare County Council
P. J. Burke	Belturbet Town Commissioners
Michael McGearty	Louth County Council
Frank Browne	Carrick-on-Suir Urban District Council
William Coady	Dundalk Urban District Council
Frank Browne	Monaghan County Council
James McElwain	

We are publishing this list in view of distortion of election results by commercial news media—Editor.

LOYALIST BITTERNESS TOWARDS ENGLAND

WHAT IS THE REASON FOR IT?

By armed struggle and mass resistance the national people of the North and their supporters in the South have forced England to her knees and made her seek every possible means to withdraw politically and militarily from Ireland.

Although England has been extremely reluctant to do so, and has only begun lately, she has been forced to jettison her traditional local agents in Ireland, the Orange Alliance of Protestant landlords, businessmen and working-class loyalists.

Pro-imperialist Protestants, whose attitudes are as reactionary as Ian Smith's or the Klu Klux Klan's, are powerless against the determination, skill and heroism of those who have traditionally spearheaded the fight for complete political, economic, social and cultural liberation from English oppression, . . . the Republican Movement.

The continuing sectarian assassination and mutilation campaign with the blowing up without warning of Catholic pubs, churches, schools and community halls, have been repeating, emphasising and reinforcing the historical role of a Protestantism in Ireland which has been one of repression on behalf of British imperialism.

With the exception of the United Irishmen and some other rebels, liberals and socialists, the Protestant Irish have carried out since the plantations the function of an Ascendancy, supported by a tenant and working-class militia, serving

the interests of the British, especially by disarming and intimidating every attempt at democratic or national self-assertion by the Catholics.

The bitterness that most loyalists harbour towards England at present is due primarily to the fact that the English government has not been repressive enough recently towards Catholics.

The English government and the loyalists are united in trying to prevent the establishment of an All Ireland Democratic Socialist Republic. It seems they have the co-operation of some politicians in Leinster House in this regard.

The Dublin Government is preparing the necessary cultural adjustments with plans to suppress commentaries of national fervour, to teach a new more British version of Irish history and even to replace the National Anthem because it would be embarrassing to "Northerners." The fact that a social revolution was not carried out in the South (continued on Page Eight)

NO WAGE RESTRAINT HERE . . .

AND THE TAX PAYER
MUGS WILL PAY FOR
THE LEINSTER HOUSE
FARCE

It was revealed last week that Leinster House politicians are to get large salary increases. For example, Mr. Cosgrave is getting a rise of £2,543 which will increase his salary to £12,918. Mr. Corish's new salary will be £10,622, an increase of £2,700 while Mr. Lynch must have smiled when he heard that his Party allowance was up by . . . £4,905.

The salary of the ordinary T.D. will jump in two instalments from £3,416 to £4,237. Not bad, eh?

Ministers will go from £7,846 to £10,047 and this will also apply for the Attorney General and the Coann Comhairle. The Leas Ceann Comhairle salary goes up from £5,314 to £7,176.

Magnificent Volunteers

As the Summer offensive of Ogligh na hEireann swept the six counties a statement (June 18th) from the Mid-Ulster Brigade clarified the issue. "The attacks marked the latest phase in the campaign to bring home to Britain our determination to intensify the war. Economic and military targets will come under constant attack until there is a declaration of intent by Britain to withdraw and until the other demands already made by the I.R.A. are met."

The accidental deaths of two Derry volunteers, Gerard Craig and David Russell underlines the great courage, skill and dedication required for a successful bombing campaign. The bombs they were planting in a supermarket exploded prematurely. A statement from the Derry Brigade said: "It is far from our wish to inflict any suffering on the people of our city, but as long as young men are willing to give their lives to further our aims and as long as the British Army continues to patrol the streets of Derry our fight will continue."

"There can be no end to the conflict with the British until they make a declaration of their intent to withdraw from the North of Ireland."

In Clones, a volunteer of the Mid-Ulster Brigade on surveillance duty risked his life to save the people and town from destruction. A 200lb. bomb was planted, and under the nose of the Gardaí and Irish Army, the volunteer of Ogligh na hEireann removed the detonator and so made the bomb harmless. Responsibility for planting the bomb was claimed by a new group called 'The Young Militants Association of the U.D.A.' The U.D.A. claim to be unaware of their existence. But then the U.D.A. were denying the existence of the U.F.F. until they issued a joint statement with them last week calling for a truce.

In Belfast there was a huge 200lb. explosion outside the B.B.C. in Ormeau Avenue. There was a lot of damage and two soldiers and a policeman were injured (14th June). The resisting people were heartened at this blow at the centre from which brain-numbing anti-Irish propaganda is pumped out. It followed a large explosion in the middle-class S.A.S. stomping ground of Myrtlefield Avenue the previous evening.

The Chamber of Commerce building in Great Victoria Street was wrecked on Tuesday (18th June), by a 400lb. bomb. Blast damage knocked out all the windows in the Europa Hotel and there was extensive damage to other business premises. Seven policemen were injured.

As the week wore on the co-ordinated nature of the offensive became apparent. Corbett's, the largest department store in Portadown was gutted by fire bombs (15th). The heavily fortified R.U.C. station at Ballymena took the full force of a major explosion on Monday 17th. On Tuesday (18th) the whole mid-Ulster area rang to the sound of

blasts. The R.U.C. station at Stewartstown was blasted by a 500lb. bomb. An 800lb. explosion rocked the R.U.C. station at Coagh. In Dungannon a 600lb. bomb devastated business premises in Scotch Street. There were also large explosions in Lisnakea, Castledawson, Roslea and Bellaghy that night. In Dungiven fire bombs exploded in the Post Office. In Lurgan there were four explosions in one of which an R.U.C. man was killed and two others injured.

The next day the range of operations spread to Derry. Two parcel bombs and other devices were planted inside the security barriers in Errisquay Street and Richmond Street causing extensive damage to business premises. A Arragh a 300lb. bomb destroyed the electricity showrooms and showrooms in Dobbins Street. The U.D.R. centre in Cookstown was damaged by a car bomb.

In Ballynahinch, Co. Down, two plain clothes soldiers were wounded by gunfire as they left a petrol house. The following day the town was gutted by fires started by fire bombs.

The centre of Clogher was badly damaged by a major explosion on Friday 20th June. A large bomb exploded in the main street of Newcastle, Co. Down. On Saturday incendiary devices started a major fire in Cookstown. Two soldiers and a policeman had been wounded in shooting incidents in Derry the previous weekend.

A telling blow, recalling the devastation of the army headquarters in the Grand Central Hotel was struck in Ardoyne. On Sunday afternoon a major car bomb exploded outside the heavily fortified military post in Flax Street, the soldiers had to evacuate the premises. The previous day a R.U.C. sergeant was shot dead in Crumlin Road and a soldier was killed by sniper fire at the corner of Antrim and New Lodge Road. On Monday 24th four bombs were planted in Derry in one of which two volunteers were tragically killed. The next day an expert planted bomb destroyed the Crown building in Omagh which house the local government offices. In Castledawson, a business premises was destroyed.

This intensification of the campaign against the British power in occupied Ireland proves that there will never be a just and lasting peace in Ireland until the just demands of the Republican Movement are met. It is no wonder that the S.D.L.P. collaborators and their tame churchmen have started a new campaign of vilification against the heroic volunteers to whose actions they owe their passing importance. The summer offensive is ruining Paddy Devlin's and John Hume's last minute efforts to re-instate themselves as credible spokesmen for the minority.

Republicans know the justice of their cause and that they can expect nothing but slander from the opportunist 'leaders' whose hypocrisy they so effectively expose.

LEADERS OF INTEGRITY NEEDED FOR THE NEW IRELAND

The colonialism experienced by Ireland down through the ages has been cleverly disguised over the years with a view to gaining control over the political situation. Ireland, undoubtedly an underdeveloped nation has certain unmistakable characteristics of its own, because of its nature, its inhabitants and its time honoured traditions and customs and the larger more technically advanced nations must recognise and respect this individuality.

For Ireland to be totally individual not only must it have severed the bonds from "Mother England" but it must also be able to achieve its own economic and social growth. To achieve this, there must be basic elementary rights for all the citizens but this cannot be possible so long as there still exists, glaring economic and social inequalities under the present system.

This country is only at the beginning of its journey along the road to economic and social development but we would do well to carefully consider the experiences of the wealthier nations in this respect and to learn from their mistakes. Increase in production and efficiency is sound policy and indeed very vital, but it is of the utmost importance that the riches produced should be fairly distributed among the members of the community. To do this a concerted effort will have to be made to ensure that social progress keeps pace with economic progress — evenly and simultaneously.

Different factors enter into the assessment of a just wage, and not only the rate of pay, but the contribution made to the good of the community should be the yardstick in which certain trades and skills be measured. To have justice and equity the remuneration of work should not always be left to the laws of the market or be fixed arbitrarily; this means that all workers must be paid a wage which allows them to live

and enjoy their family life in a worthy manner. In the past enormous riches have accumulated in the hands of the few, while the masses of the ordinary working people have found themselves in conditions of ever increasing hardship.

To prevent a natural spirit of resentment the powers that be in the New Ireland must promote production in a way best calculated to achieve social progress and the well being of all the citizens.

State and public ownership of property is very much on the increase today but to have the state control all the large concerns in any country would be political suicide. However this does not mean that public authority should not broaden its sphere of activity. Public ownership can only work and be seen to be working right when the state and other public bodies only extend their powers for the common good of the citizens; but even with this there must still be the usual safeguards.

Much more important is the fact that the economic enterprises of the state should be entrusted to men of the highest reputation and integrity who have the necessary experience, ability and responsibility toward their country.

Constant checks therefore must be kept on their activity so as to avoid anything which to cause a detriment to the best interest of the society and the community as a whole. Notwithstanding this it is imperative that even with public ownership and the influence on the economy the state should never exert its authority to the extent of depriving the individual citizen of his freedom of action and his desire for the right of private enterprise and ownership.

It is an undeniable fact that many people are moving away from their

farms into the more thickly populated areas of towns and cities. While an economy develops the number of farm workers decrease and the number in industry and other services tend to increase. The lure of novelty and adventure along with the prospect of easy money and greater freedom is a contributory cause of this movement and leads to farming becoming a depressed occupation.

Practically all countries in the world are faced with this problem and to combat it, it is essential that the same drive and determination with which industry is helped should in turn spread to the whole field of agriculture. The essential services so much taken for granted e.g. roads, transport communication, housing, hospitals, education and drinking water, in the cities and industrial areas must be one of the top priorities on any agenda for the good of the rural and agricultural areas.

A firm agricultural policy is needed if the state is to maintain an evenly balanced progress in the various branches of the economy, and into this they must take into account, credit, social insurance, price protection and the adjustment of farming as a viable business enterprise.

The progress of science and technology in every aspect of industry has led in part to the drift from the land and its consequential side effects namely rising prices in the cost of food stuffs due to supply and demand. The greatest problem of industry is the creation on a large scale of urbanization and with it the problems which follows a large concentration of the population. The growth of these centres accompanies industrial expansion due to technological research, but while certain enterprises develop and are concentrated, others die or change their location. However, much this rise may throw a

challenge to the wisdom of man and to his capacity for re-organisation and to his far seeing imagination; there should always be extreme caution and safeguards made, in the event of man becoming a slave of the objects which he makes.

In the new Ireland it is imperative that the loneliness experienced in the past by us all, will not move with us into the new era that is planned, through being a face in an anonymous crowd in the heart of the large cities.

Centres of special interest and of culture having recreational and different forms of associations must therefore be developed where the individual can escape from this isolation and form new friendships. To those who live in confined urban conditions which at times become intolerable, it is always necessary to bring a message of hope and this requires an active and brotherly participation and justice — seen to be done.

It is of the utmost importance that parents exercise their right and indeed their obligation towards their children by securing for them a good education. There must also be in this sphere a deep sense of responsibility coupled with a sound cultural formation because it can only promote true human values. In the new Ireland therefore it will be of primary importance not only to educate the children but to acknowledge the various religious denominations and to invite the people into one nation. The only uniformity that must therefore be exercised should be our National Heritage and this includes the Irish language.

No one could claim that every citizen is enthusiastic about the restoration of the Irish language but it should be remembered that the language is necessary to Ireland for her survival as a nation; indeed this view was proposed at the inception of the Gaelic League — a country without a language is a country without a soul.

After all the scientific and technical progress, the problem remains, how to build a new order of society based on equality and justice. To attempt to find a solution a number of theories must be expounded. To have social stability, justice, equality and freedom of speech, ordinary common sense, coupled with a concerted and sustained effort of the whole people must be forthcoming, and an effort that must be as much the product of patriotism as of considerations of material advantages.

To apply these principles into practice there are three stages which should be followed, and usually expressed as: look, judge, act. It is important that all the people should grasp this method and practice it because it is something that can be translated into action. Differences of opinion will almost certainly arise even among the most sincere people and they should always be careful not to lose their respect and esteem for each other as effective action can only be taken when points of agreement have been reached.

It is only through mutual respect and a yearning for justice from all sides that a guaranteed and lasting peace will ever be seen and with it justice, equality and unity.

MR. COONEY MAN OF VIOLENCE

An English woman now living and married in Southern Ireland has publicly denounced a recent speech made by Mr. Patrick Cooney, Minister for Justice. She is Mrs. Vera Costello, Convent Road, Roscommon. In his speech given at Moate, Co. Westmeath, Mr. Cooney said that people must all play a part in isolating men of violence and added that their aims were "an outright declaration of war on the whole population and an assault on their opinions and way of life." Mrs. Costello states that she wholeheartedly agrees with Mr. Cooney and hopes that he will now practise what he preaches and isolate himself. For, said Mrs. Costello, "I brand Mr. Cooney as a 'man of violence'."

The following is Mrs. Costello's statement:—
"Four years ago, I, a native of Berkshire and my Limerick born husband (a journalist) came to live here. My husband was editor of a Greater London newspaper, after a career spanning local and national newspapers in England during which he gained a reputation as a defender of the rights of minorities.

As editor of a local newspaper in Roscommon he exposed examples of political and bureaucratic bunting and infringements of the rights of individuals, something not common in Irish provincial newspapers and advised the people to stand up and show their disapproval of such practices in a democratic manner — through the ballot box. He never encouraged violence but his writing incurred the enmity of the established politicians.

He also read Sinn Fein programmes for a New Ireland and felt sincerely that it was a basis for a just solution to the problems of Ireland, North and South. He met Ruairi O'Bradaigh and was impressed with his integrity

during many discussions on the programme. Was it this that brought out the violence in Mr. Cooney?

Very soon my husband was informed by a fairly senior member of the police force that there was "guilt by association." My husband replied that he also spoke to the local Canon, but that doesn't make him a priest.

Despite the fact that my husband never used his editorial position to propagate his views on the New Ireland programme.

In fact he had advised candidates of all parties in the current local government election — Mr. Cooney unleashed his political police (formerly the Gardai Síochána). They raided our home on May 20th and again on June 6th. On the latter occasion we had four children aged between seven and twelve from the Turf Lodge area of Belfast staying with us for a 14 day break from harassment there and I tried to explain this to the uniformed sergeant leading the raiding party. The sergeant refused to listen and forced his way into my house, where he proceeded to read our personal correspondence.

"Yes, Mr. Cooney, you, who sent those men to torture me, my children and our visitors, are a 'man of violence.' You have made a physical assault to my 'opinions and way of life' — and that is why I agree with you that people such as you should be isolated and despised by the ordinary people of this land.

"For the ordinary people have been very kind and friendly to me, an Englishwoman, even during the worst excesses of the British troops in the North, and the only menacing armed men I have seen were the Irish army men who accompanied the police on their first visit to my home."

IS THERE A P.D.F.
COMMITTEE
IN YOUR AREA?

* THERE ARE MORE REPUBLICANS IMPRISONED now throughout Ireland and Britain than there has ever been during the last 50 years. This means a heavy demand on An Cumann Cabhrach (Prisoners' Dependents' Fund) who are doing a wonderful job helping the relatives of the POLITICAL HOSTAGES.

* The dedicated PDF workers go out week after week quietly making sure that the relatives of the Republican prisoners do not want during the time their breadwinners are behind the wire of concentration camps or prison bars.

* These dedicated workers need our continued support. They need MORE FUNDS and WORKERS. Subscriptions and offers to do voluntary work may be sent to The Green Cross, c/o Ard Scoil, Divis Street, Belfast, Phone 29635. There should be a PDF Committee in every village and town in Ireland. If no committee exists in your locality and you are willing to try and form one, write to us and we will put you in touch with someone who will send you the necessary details.

GARAISTE Upper Springfield Road
Beal Feirste

AN PHOBAIL SERIBHIS JOMLÁ'Í
GLUIASTEAN

A FAMILIAR SIGHT IN LONDON SOON?



FROM OUR MAN IN GLASGOW THOMAS NELIS

I was told recently that the metropolitan police have been expressing interest in purchasing a small quantity of "pigs" for crowd control in London. "Pigs," of course, are those armoured troop carriers used by the British army to repress the Irish Republicans in their own country. If my informant is correct, the working class in Britain will, in the not too distant future, experience their share of repression — just like the Irish.

Little bits and hints of information regarding the possible purchase of the "pigs" by "the pigs" has been dug up by Allan Sinclair, late of black box news agency in Glasgow. Allan, who now resides in London, is, like many Scots, sympathetic towards the Irish struggle for independence. His story is supposed to be due for publication in the resurrected "international times," (I.T.).

It may appear to Allan that I have some what stolen his thunder. Sorry but the information was much too vital to hold back, for the "troops out movement" — of which, incidentally, Allan is playing a big part — is arranging a series of demos and meetings in London.

One of these demos is fixed for "the twelfth." It is obviously being arranged on that day in an effort to counter the waves of propaganda the media always gives the Unionists in

Ireland's Ulster province. The T.O.M. organisers will be hoping for a big turn out of London's Irish population; it is here that the rub comes in. Do the metropolitan police want these "pigs" to break up the T.O.M. demonstration?

Breaking up demos which support the Irish struggle for independence is nothing new in Britain. The Irish solidarity campaign held a demo in Glasgow a few years back. Matt Montgomery (well known to Irish Republicans) was one of the organisers. Right from the moment the march assembled the Irish solidarity marchers were harassed and intimidated by games of drunken, foul-mouthed orange men, who, as I have been told, were generally regarded as being an absolute disgrace to the protestant religion. They cast bricks and bottles — don't worry Paddy, the bottles were all empty — into the parade. The police, who were in sparse attendance, charged them with batons and broke them up.

When the tri-colour was raised it caused a riotous uproar. Out of a big crowd of protestant support raced Jack Glass, a close associate of Ian Paisley (who also is well known to Belfast Republicans). Glass took a flying leap into the air and seized the tri-colour, vanishing with it into the protestant mob. In an interview given to "Glasgow News," a small circulation paper in the city, Glass sneeringly asserted that he kept the

stolen tri-colour at his door so that he could wipe his feet on it.

Irish folk will be interested to know that Jack Glass is a "marfan." This was a family of people who came from one district in the West of Ireland. They all inherit the peculiar "marfan" physical feature of having the fourth finger on their hands, longer than the centre finger; with a few other features, like high cheek bones, and a long slender frame. There are said to be about 2,000 marfans scattered all over the face of the earth, all possessing this physical peculiarity. Any Irishman who reads this and finds out for the first time that he is a "marfan" now knows that he is a descendant of a long line of Irishmen with a family line going back into the dim pasts of Irish history, with roots in the West of Ireland. The name Glass is only an anglicised form of the Gaelic word Glas. In Gaelic Jack Glass would be Sean Glas. Thus we see that Glas has insulted the flag of the nation, from which he sprung.

This hatred Scots-Irish feel for the Republic is one of the contradictions of history. They do not seem to be aware of the fact that their forefathers were forced out of Ireland, and Scotland, by the English land lords and ruling class.

Ulster Scots-Irish in particular seem to have a thick blanket of ignorance covering their minds. They always attribute their settlement in Ireland to persecution in their native Scotland back during "the killing times," when the Presbyterian covenanters suffered awful persecution during the reign of Charles II. Ulstermen will cry out that "their fathers fled

from the persecutions of black popery." But the facts of history show otherwise. The proponents of persecution were not Roman Catholics but Protestants of the episcopal, Anglican Church. They also persecuted Roman Catholics. Yet such has been the power of the English propaganda media, that the facts of history have been wrested to fit the form of politics, and now Scotsmen and Ulstermen lean towards that nation which still holds up its head in vanity as great Britain; that nation which established an empire in blood.

In my opinion it is about time the Scots/Irish read another view of history than that put out by their ministers of religion every Sunday from their pulpits. They could start by reading, "The Irish in Scotland." But they would probably reject this book because the historian was a Marxist Brother, and headmaster of St. Mungos Academy, the Roman Catholic school in Glasgow. This ignorance turns his face away from an understanding of history, another good book which gives a social history of Ireland is "The Great Hunger" by Mrs. Woodham-Smith. Our ignorant Scots Irishman would be well advised to read that. Then he could read prebibles "Highland Clearances" and "Darren Disaster." After which he should move onto Frederick Engels "Conditions of the Working Class," finishing up with Robert Tresselt's socialist classic, "The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists." As the Irish solidarity campaign marched through the centre of Glasgow it was observed that an orange supporter was walking on the pavement with an open razor. He was tackled — courageously, in my

opinion — by a plain clothes policeman. The policeman was slashed on the face and arm before the razor man was subdued. A front page photo in the press showed the razor man cutting the policeman.

The results of all this violence and intimidation of the Irish solidarity campaign, was a very marked reluctance to take part in any more demos. Thus the orangemen won a victory, and hindered the growth of the movement in support of Irish Independence in Glasgow.

One can't really blame them, for an angry mob is a terrifying sight. It comes pouring towards you in cold waves of hatred that sends shivers of fear up the back bone of the blindest man. One man told me of fleeing for his life along a Glasgow street with about eight orangemen close on his heels. The police were so few in attendance that they could not protect the Irish solidarity marchers from the attacks of the orange mob, even had they wanted to, which is another story.

Matt Montgomery flayed the marchers at an indoor meeting. He said they hoped to conduct a revolution, and believed it would be a violent one, where they would be cut down. I to take up arms a la French revolution, with barricades and all — yet they ran from an unarmed orange mob. How would they do in fighting with a highly trained infantry division? Did they expect to show any more courage then?

One wonders if the "Troops Out Movement" will have any impact in a city like Glasgow. The left-wing "International Socialists" have been advised to work in the movement. But will they risk incurring the wrath of the powerful orange order, which has many thousands of supporters in Scotland? I guess we will have to wait and find out.

Letters

Group Study the Irish Question

c/o Hoghemmar,
Djaknegatan 93,
754 25 Uppsala,
Sweden.

Sir,
Irlandskommittén (The Ireland Committee) has been in existence for some 2 years now. Basically, we are a group studying the "Irish Question" from all possible angles in an attempt to educate the people of this country in the complex situation that exists in Ireland today. Besides working with the news media we collect money on the streets for the Internees Dependents, arrange public meetings for speakers from the different movement in Ireland and Sweden, organise panel debates and study circles. All, in the attempt to clarify this "seemingly impossible" situation that the British Press so often propagate abroad.

We do not support any political or military organisation in Ireland, but we recognise that the root cause of the present and past civil and political strife rests firmly on the shoulders of the Westminster Administration and their followers in Dublin and Belfast. Our work is based on the following political platform:

- FIGHT IMPERIALISM IN IRELAND
- BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND
- FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
- ABOLISH ALL REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

Concerning the plight of the Irish Political Prisoners now on hunger-strike in English Prisons, we wish to issue the following statement:-

"We wish to express our condemnation of the callous disregard of Justice shown by the British Courts following the outcome of the London Bombing Trials. The sentences passed on these Irish citizens, we feel, were based on circumstantial evidence. Even if the charges could have been documented thoroughly, the inhuman sentence of life imprisonment is wholly unjustifiable. The British prosecution has resorted to the use of displays to influence the Jury and the British Public. We refer to methods such as the unnecessary massive show of force by the Police to imply that these men and women were dangerous Terrorists. In these circumstances, talk of a fair trial by British Justice is sheer hypocrisy.

The savagery which has marked such disgusting inspections as the concentration camps, and the "Peace Keeping" Forces in Northern Ireland has proven to be a Cancer in Britain. The last refuge of morality in Great Britain, the once-respected British Judicial system, has now been exposed to be thoroughly corrupted. These political exercises devoid of Justice must be viewed against a background of Internment, a repressive institution which has men, women and children as its victims. World-wide public outcry against the injustices of Britain is needed to bring an end to Her Imperialism.

We express our deep sympathy to



QUESTION: WHAT HAVE THESE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN COMMON WITH THE VOLUNTEERS IN BELFAST?

ANSWER: BOTH ARE FIGHTING THE BRITISH (ONE IN IRELAND AND THE OTHER IN THE ARAB GULF—WHERE SAS UNITS OPERATE).



the relatives and friends of the Irish political prisoner, Michael Gaughan, who died on hunger strike. We hereby give our full support to those who at present are on the verge of death, only because of their simple demand to serve their sentences in Northern Ireland.

Yours,
Irlandskommittén
LAURENCE LOUGHAN

A chara,

At a recent meeting of the Regional Committee of A.T.G.W.U. held in Dublin, a resolution demanding the release of all internees failed to

get the support of the following delegates:-

N.I. Labour Party's candidate, Lisburn; W.H.A.N. Downpatrick; Hugh McPoland (Bread Servers) and G.A.A. Referees Sec. Derry Trades Council; J. McComish, Chairman, (Belfast Barmen) Taggart, Belfast Docks.

Michelin's Delegate and Gillespie stated that never had they seen any Brits brutality or wrecking of homes, except thugs and stone-throwers.

The U.W.C. statements refute these statements and also demanded an end to Internment.

Yours,
"TRUE SOCIALIST"
(Paid-up Member)



1.—Timpéall 401 A.D. éug an tArd-ní fiail piosúnaís abáite leis ón mBreatain. Oréu bí an t-óganac pádrais. I mDannabem, cois béal na Sabáinne, a rugab é.



2.—Óiobab pádrais le míliuc. Ar feab seac mblian bíod sé as doireac caonac vo míliuc an síab mis, in Aontroim. Bíod sé sac lá as zúide éun óé.



3.—Faoi deireac d'ábalais sé. D'éirís leis dul go dtí nantes, sa b'raimc. Cosnaís sé as foilaim éun beic ina shasac. Rinneab sasac de in Auorro.

VOLUNTEER LOUIS SCULLION

(Murdered by British Army, Friday, 14th July, 1972)

*Listening in the dark
To moon patterns on
The wall of my solitude
When
Four shots rang out and away
Void of meaning through the black.*

*One bludgeoned home,
Drained life white,
Hammered bone;
Left a piled carpet
Of blood that crept to a halt
On the bleached concrete
Below
While all around slept.*

*Lou died within the hour.
I feel that moment:
All ceased
Eyes crystallised
Flesh, greyed for want of expression,
I can press a hand on the hour.*

*Our morrow will wake
To carry him over
Our sorrow will bear a joy
To blossom freely from his grave.*

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WHAT MORE CAN YOU SAY?

CONDITIONS IN CRUMLIN ROAD PRISON

"The Sinn Fein Ulster Executive are very disturbed at recent reports centred around Crumlin Road Prison, which concern visiting times and literature disallowed to political remand prisoners. Added to these is the case of Michael O'Hagan from Derry being refused his right to political status, and as a direct result is clad only in his underpants and locked up for 23 hours daily.

"The above three mentioned instances are a definite and deliberate attempt by the prison authorities to impose the most stringent restrictions on the remand political break their magnificent resolve to British misrule.

Acknowledgements



MARTIN - McKEARNEY

The parents, brothers and sisters of the late Vol. Sean McKearney and Vol. Eugene Martin wish to thank most sincerely all those who sympathised with them in their recent sad bereavement. Especially Rev. T. Quinn, C.C., Clonfeacle, V. Rev. D. McDonald, P.P., Loughgall, the large number of priests and nuns who attended the removal of the remains and Requiem Mass or called at the homes, the teaching staffs of the various schools, the G.H.Q. Ogligh na h-Eireann, the many units who paid such a memorable tribute to their comrades, Fianna Eireann, Cumann na gCailini, Sinn Fein represented by Mrs. Marie Drumm, Vice-president, Malachy Foots, P.R.O. Comhairle Uladh; Gearoid McCarthy, Cork, for delivering such a touching oration, the piper and bugler who paid the last tribute at the graveside, and the representatives of the various branches of the Republican Movement. The Armagh County Board of the G.A.A., Collegeland and Clonmore G.F.C. and the Staff of South Tyrone Hospital. We would like to say a special thank you to all the kind friends and neighbours who helped in so many ways, to the organisations which sent wreaths, and to the vast number of people who attended the funeral, called at the homes and had Masses offered. It would be humanely impossible to reply individually to the thousands of Mass cards, letters, telegrams and messages of sympathy received. Trusting that this acknowledgment will be accepted by all in grateful appreciation. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for the intentions of all.
31 Benburb Road, Moy and Corr and Dunavalley, Moy.

"We make three demands as rights to the prison authorities; Firstly we call for the removal of the unearthly visiting arrangements, whereby visitors must be at the prison by 9.30 a.m. and if not are refused admission. This arrangement by the authorities is a method to dissuade visitors, such as those making long journeys. The fact that persons travelling from Derry have to leave home in the small hours of the morning, to these people this arrangement is especially callous.

"Secondly, we demand the removal of the recently imposed ban on Sinn Fein literature to the prisoners, as Sinn Fein is now deemed a "legal" organisation. This recent ban by Crumlin Road highlights the men co-ordination between prison staff throughout the Six Counties, because all our literature has been given free access to Long Kesh, Armagh and until recently, Crumlin Road Prison.

To find out clearly why this literature is being banned, we are sending our book list to the Governor so as he can return his comments on our literature to show what provoked his decision to ban it.

"Lastly, we call on the Prison Authorities to grant immediate political status to Michael O'Hagan from Derry. We can see no reason for not granting political status, the only conclusion we can draw is that spitefulness and hatred towards Republicans is being used to fulfill the sadistic pleasures of those who take great delight watching this young boy suffer the indignity and torment of lying half naked whilst being locked up for 23 hours daily. Michael O'Hagan is a political prisoner and should be treated as such."

Our three demands to the Prison Authorities are as follows:-

- (1) The scrapping of the 9.30 a.m. visiting arrangement.
- (2) Free flow of Sinn Fein literature to the prisoners.
- (3) The immediate granting of political status to Michael O'Hagan.

The above statement was issued by Mr. Malachy Foots, spokesman for the Sinn Fein Ulster Executive.



British soldiers in Germany refuse to go back to Ireland

The following statement has been issued by the Westdeutsches Irland Solidaritatskomitee, Frankfurt, West Germany:-

"When Harold Wilson visited Frankfurt, on 19th June, to see the world football games, the Internee's Release Association and our Committee presented him with a protest list signed by more than 5,000 German people.

"The signatories called for an immediate release of all Irish political prisoners, for an end of internment, for a total amnesty and the abolition of all special powers acts.

"The signatories also demanded an immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Northern Ireland and called for the repatriation of the hunger strikers and all other political prisoners in English jails.

"The British Consulate General in Frankfurt was packed the same day with stickers: 'BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND' and with texts on the walls: 'FREE ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS.'

"Two days before, the West German Press reported about the display of the same stickers: 'BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND' in the Northern parts of Germany, where British Army units are garrisoned near the Rhine. Newspaper reports revealed that in the town of Bergen, 100 British soldiers of the Royal Horse Artillery, refused to go to serve in Northern Ireland again."

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CREDIT UNION

How Does A Member Apply For A Loan?

By filling out a special loan application form, giving full information as to the amount required, purpose of the loan, length of time needed, security offered, etc.

On What Basis Are Loans Granted?

The Credit Committee reviews each loan application to determine the need for the money, the character of the borrower, and his ability to repay the loan. The committee may never give money to someone who is not able to pay it back. Agreement to grant a loan must be unanimous at the Credit Committee meeting.

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Must All Loans Be Secured?

Credit unions are allowed (but not obliged) to make signature loans (that is, loans without security other than the promissory note of the borrower) up to a certain figure, usually specified in credit union law. Any loan above that figure must be secured, but the Credit Committee may require security for a loan of any size above a member's shareholding. The best security we can have in the credit union is our good character, and on that alone the credit union can lend some money. But if the loan is for a larger amount, the easiest and simplest security is your own savings, but when you want to borrow even more than you have saved, you can pledge jewellery, property, insurance policies, etc., or you can get some other members to be your guarantors.

May A Non-Member Act As A Guarantor?

Yes, if satisfactory to the Credit Committee.

Do Directors Act As Guarantors?

No. Directors have to be protected from the temptation to favour any member more than another.

On What Terms Do Directors Get Loans Themselves?

Directors get loans on the same terms as ordinary members, except that a specially enlarged Credit Committee, which includes Directors and one or more Supervisors, studies the application, when any elected officer wants to borrow more than he has saved in the credit union. The one who wants the loan cannot be at that meeting, and even if one person says 'No', then the loan will not be given.

If The Credit Committee Refuses A Loan, Is There Any Appeal?

Yes. The aggrieved member can appeal to a Special Meeting of the credit union. The members in General Meeting elect the Credit Committee to judge loan applications, grant or refuse them, and if the majority of the members at a Special Meeting approves a loan that the Committee had refused, then the loan will be granted.

What Happens If A Borrower Misrepresents The Purpose For Which He Wanted The Loan?

The loan (whatever the terms) becomes payable in full immediately the deception is discovered. As soon as the loan is paid, the borrower should be expelled from the credit union. A credit union is built on trust and good faith.

When Should A Borrower Pay Back The Loan?

The terms of repayment are agreed on at the time he gets the loan. He should repay each instalment, with the interest due, on the dates arranged at that time, or sooner than he promised if he wants. If, for any reason, he finds he is unable to meet his obligation when an instalment is due, he should come immediately to the Credit Committee to explain the cause of his difficulty, and make some new arrangement about repayment. Only in this way can a member guard his own reputation for honesty. The fact that he has found himself unable to repay a loan as fast as he thought he could is nothing to be ashamed of, and he will find the Credit Committee



I am mac paged THE WORKERS COUNCIL AND THE B. & .C.O.

Away back in the early days of 1969, an organisation, consisting of a small number of Catholic students at Queen's University who had decided that all the existing left-wing groups in Queen's at that time including the People's Democracy were not extreme enough, decided to prove to all and sundry that they were the true disciples of James Connolly. The small badly printed pamphlets they issued proclaimed that Connolly socialism was the answer to the Irish problem.

In an introduction to the Pamphlet "Socialism and the Orange Worker" by James Connolly the I.C.O. had this to say: "In response to the Fascist-led attack on workers flats in Unity Walk, Belfast, the question is raised who has been responsible for maintaining sectarianism in the working class. The openly capitalist press, the Telegraph, Newsletter and the Irish News have played a big role in pumping sectarian and anti-working class poison into the ranks of the workers for decades . . . it is no wonder that fascist elements like the Shankill Defence Association have the influence to commit the crimes they are responsible for."

This organisation was the Irish Communist Organisation, later to be known as the British and Irish Communist Organisation and the Irish Workers Association.

Since those early days the B. and I.C.O. has found a new leader and now describe themselves as disciples of Josef Stalin who it seems in an article written away back in 1913 defined what constitutes a State and a Nation. So when in August 1969, with the sending of the British Army to the Six Counties to safeguard British interests by preserving the Stormont state against those fighting for civil rights, the I.C.O. decided that they were no longer anti-imperialist but pulled out of the hat the theory that, according to Stalin, there are two states in Ireland, the six county state and the 26 county state. That the Protestant Unionist State should have the right of self determination, and that the source of national oppression came not from British Imperialism but from the Catholic South who were the real enemies of the Protestant workers.

The strength of the I.C.O. soon developed by their work inside the Northern Ireland Labour Party who also, stood aside and watched the struggle for civil rights take place. Both organisations don't believe in active participation in the struggle, they only theorise, so it attracted people like Eamon O'Kane of the P.D. after interment was brought in.

In their news sheets and pamphlets they kept on theorising, building up a philosophy of a 'Protestant State for a Protestant People' which was sweet stuff to the Unionist right wing organisations who eagerly bought everything that was published as it gave them a political base for what they had been instinctively carrying out for generations. When they were helped by Billy Boyd to contact certain leaders of the Woodvale Defence Association, who began to attend their educational classes to explain their philosophy, one noted leader 'Duke' Elliott was shot by his comrades because they thought he had become tainted with communist thoughts.

Since those days, things have changed. The I.C.O. were able to

infiltrate into the very heart of the Workers Council. With two members on the 21 man executive - Boyd Black who is a lecturer in Business Studies at the Polytechnic, Jordanstown, who was able to advise the Council on the economics of the strike. W. D. Trimble Lecturer in Law at Queen's University, who was the legal advisor during the strike. This man is also a member of Vanguard and stood at the Assembly elections. William Morrison, Newtownabbey, Lecturer at Queen's, although not on the executive, was able to advise on tactics in the Rathcoole and Monkstown areas. Alan Carr and his wife from Coleraine, who are also members of the Executive of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, and who are the main reason why the N.I.L.P. have been able to spread the theory of 'two Nations' of the I.C.O.

The members of the British and Irish Communist Organisation were able to convince the Workers Council that they needed more publicity, and from the fifth day of the strike they published 'Strike Bulletins' under the imprint of the Workers Association, 10 Athol Street. When the strike was over, the Workers Weekly newsheet could faithfully state: "We have witnessed the end of Connolly Socialism. James Connolly a sound socialist in other ways, got caught up in the Nationalist movement. In 1912 he denounced the Ulster Protestants for organising themselves to prevent the imposition

on them of the Catholic Nationalist Home Rule Government. He ended up ridiculing the culture of Protestant Ulster. Connolly socialist has now burned itself out. It broke before the organised power of the Protestant working class."

The British and Irish Communist Organisation has come a long way, since in 1969 they proclaimed their right to be called Connolly Socialists.

By the way, the N.L.F. Anne Devlin, and the editor of the 'Irish People' should rethink their present policy of praising the Workers Council in carrying out their strike and damaging anyone who suggests that they are fascist . . . it's no use them trying to get in with the Workers Council as with the use of the files and dossiers of the B. & I.C.O. along with those already supplied by the B. Specials Association I am told that the Workers Council have quite a lot of information on activists and especially Catholics.

So there is either the chance of losing your head or like the I.C.O. lose your 'principles'. It seems that we in the Republican Movement are not the only ones who have been watching the antics of the I.C.O. inside the Workers Council.

"Combat," newsheet of the U.V.F. has a front page article (No. 11) on the dangers of Communism. Are they beginning to get uneasy working with the British and Irish Communist Organisation?

CONFUSION AND CONTRADICTIONS

By Una Toal

The art treasures were found by the Garda with all haste so credit goes to them for their actions in that instance; what we would like now to know is; were they never authorised to pursue the planters of the Dublin bombs by which the bus men were killed, isn't life far more sacred than Art Treasures?

As all enquiries and proceedings to find the bombers were dropped, we are left wondering if the government here were well aware who did that for deed. They feared their talks on Sunningdale with Britain might not be concluded favourably to them, so seemed more expedient to keep on collaborating with Britain as a gesture of pacificism. This was an outrage to the bereaved Dublin families, and in sharp contrast with the pursuit of criminals in Nazi Germany after the war. Even to this day, traitors and criminals active in Europe during the war are still being pursued!!

The Irish people are being coaxed by every means to turn the other cheek until secula, seculorum! The families deprived of the bread winner must live on in sorrow knowing that no effort whatsoever was even taken to bring justice and trials to the courts.

S.A.S. British Agents and spies run unopposed, while the Irish people patiently wait to hear pronouncements of all their foul deeds condemned. While waiting in anxious terror, the Dublin people were again at the receiving end of British bombs. We all expected at last to hear them

indicted, when Mr. Cosgrave, appeared on our T.V. screens and with grave face looked us in the eyes and stated that all of us bore responsibility for the bombings. Such pronouncements were rammed down our throats, yet we knowing that neither our Fathers nor Forefathers ever shed a drop of Irish blood, we honestly thought that Mr. Cosgrave should be the last in the world to mention innocent Irish blood spilling! Go help the poor Irish people who are left as sheep without a shepherd.

We are accustomed to Britain saying white is black and vice-versa since Widger's pronouncements; and a British Minister appearing on T.V. stating that Britain would soon withdraw from Ulster. A day or two later the same gentleman appeared and contradicted all his statements, or made us believe that we had misunderstood what he had said, they were not beating a retreat at all!

It seems definite that we are Britain in everything; as now Mr. Cosgrave says one day this, and a day or two later tells a hushed audience that they misunderstood what he had said. He got Conor Cruise to help out at stirring up the stew pot. Was it we who had a nightmare? Once and for all would Mr. Cosgrave articulate his words properly so that they understood what he had said. Or let him just stay SILENT as has been the attitude of the government of the 26 counties for half a century in affairs relating to the warring Irish people in the Six Counties.

And problem

AS has been said, Wales, our closest neighbour, has a language problem as serious as our own. Even though, today, there are more native Welsh than native Irish speakers, it is not overstating the case to say that Welsh, like Irish, could be in grave danger of dying out.

When we think of Wales, we think of a country of miners, community-hymn-singers, rugby-footballers; a country of hills and valleys, mountains and rivers; a country steeped in the traditions of bard and prince and poet. Though it is true that the "Let's Back Britain" tag of some years ago belonged to Wales as much as it did to England itself, yet the fact is that there are few countries in which there is such determination to fight for national identity.

As in Ireland, the common link with Welsh traditional culture down through the ages has been the language. But the language has not been prospering. The 1961 Census showed a drastic drop in the number of native Welsh speakers—from 50% in 1901 to 26% in 1961. The number now is about 650,000.

It may seem surprising to us that these people do not need English in order to live in a society so close to the social, industrial and cultural influences of England; yet this is so. Over a very sizeable area, Welsh is the living everyday language. English influences become fused into this Welsh-language way of life. A farmer or an industrialist orders his English-made equipment in Welsh; his wife does her shopping in Welsh; his children play games and have pop-sessions in Welsh. He can read Welsh-language papers, he can bank his English pound-note in Welsh, he can play, pray, drink, cheer and joke in Welsh. If, in this part of Wales, Welsh were to become the official language tomorrow, it would cause little or no inconvenience.

But no language community in these times can be totally isolated and these people are not alone. Like ourselves in Ireland; many Welshmen see no reason for learning their ancestral language. One of them joining a Welsh-speaking group, however large, can make them, from politeness, turn to English. One English-speaking family has been known to change the language in which local church services were held.

The main point, however, is that the Welsh-speaking territory, though large in area, is small in influence, compared to the rich, industrial, densely-populated, and English-speaking south. In this small south-eastern corner, three-quarters of the population live. In towns like Newport, Cardiff, Swansea and Port Talbot, Welsh is very much a secondary language; native speakers, having no outlet for it outside the family, either transfer to English, or by insisting on their right to use their language become second-class citizens in their own country. This is how Alwyn Rees, Director of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Aberystwyth, puts it:

"You have those who do not speak Welsh and are afraid that, if the Welsh language gets more official recognition, they will become second-class citizens by being shut out from official jobs and ostracized in their own country. Secondly, there are those who do speak Welsh, hundreds of thousands of them, who have already experienced this feeling of an attempt to turn them into Englishmen, so they must either fit the official mould or become second-class citizens in their own country".

To some in Wales, it is more important that Welsh be given official status than that Wales be given independence; others argue that Home Rule should come first, that only with a government of its own can Welsh be made a fully official language, and a conscientious programme of development implemented.

Again Alwyn Rees's comment sums up the case for giving the language priority:

"The language comes first, there is no doubt at all about this. Of course, there is an economic case for Welsh self-government. I think we would be far better off economically. But the motive which impels us all, in the leadership at any rate of Plaid Cymru, is the desire to create conditions in which the language can flourish and become the language of the whole people once again.

"We must get our priorities right here. The Welsh

language is declining; when a language is lost, it is a tremendous task to resuscitate it. Whereas Home Rule is something you can get at any time, provided you are determined enough to get it".

Welsh political nationalism springs directly from the desire to save the language, in the belief that without the Welsh language there can be no Welsh nation. Gwynfor Evans, leader of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, puts it trenchantly:

"The history of Wales is the history of the Welsh language very largely. It is the great distinctive mark, the greatest of our traditions. My own nationalism, as well as that of most of my fellows in the Party, is bound up entirely with the language. We would not be in politics if it were not for that."

Nevertheless, despite the ardour of the few, there has been this drastic drop in the number of Welsh speakers. And while some concessions are made, many people believe that, to the central government—which is, of course in London—Welsh is an irrelevancy.

Not that the decline itself did not have some salutary side-effects. For one thing, there appears to be a new motivation towards learning the language on the part of English-speaking Welshmen. How has this come about? Jac L. Williams, Professor of Education in the University of Aberystwyth, has an interesting answer:

"I think it develops with a growth in national consciousness. There was a time when many of us were almost ashamed of being Welsh; now we are not. The Welsh language is part of our whole Welshness; parents are more anxious than ever before that their children should learn it. It is used more in the schools—not enough, but still it is on the increase. There is a growing determination among young people, many of them educated in these schools, to ensure that it is officially recognised. I would not ignore the fact that these are a minority and many of them are Welsh-speaking to begin with; but there are many others who are not Welsh-speaking and who are equally enthusiastic about the language.

"What we want, therefore, is an educational system which gives the opportunity to learn Welsh to everyone. This precious heritage should not be confined to a handful of people, but rather should profit the whole nation".

Is the educational system doing this? To take one example—the primary level—the position is that, up to recently, Welsh was taught in primary schools only to children whose home language it was; now, the idea of having Welsh on an equal status with English is generally accepted. There are two examination standards, one for native speakers and one for learners. Over the past few years, there has been an increased demand for Welsh in all schools, and local authority policy now favours this demand. To take another example—that of higher education—the position is that, in the University of Wales in Aberystwyth until

the 1920s, most lectures in the department of Welsh were given in English. Since then, the language has been given official recognition by the University. But there is still very little teaching in Welsh outside the Department of Welsh itself.

Perhaps the strongest sustaining link down through the years between the people of Wales and their ancestral language were the non-Conformist Churches which represent the majority of worshippers. Chapel services, even in English-speaking areas, have for the most part always been in Welsh. There are places where the Roman Catholic as well as the Protestant Churches use as much Welsh as English. This has been a vital support in the struggle to save Welsh—in passing, let it be said, an enviable contrast with the situation with Irish where, as a later chapter will show, the majority church (with notable exceptions), particularly since the founding of Maynooth in 1793, did little to encourage the language.

Later, too, there have been at work other influences not altogether unfavourable to the language. Radio and television have played a not unimportant role. Wynfor Vaughan Thomas of Harlech Television spoke of this:

"The Authority insist that we do 5½ hours' programming a week in the Welsh language and this we follow. If you are going to give them something that is vital to them, their own language everyday, then you are really making an effort. If, that is, you can use the language, as we are trying to do, to entertain people, to make them feel that it is the language of their leisure and entertainment".

But, of course, television and radio are not the only means of communication and entertainment, there are also magazines, newspapers, books. There are some hopeful signs in these areas: increased sales of books, magazines and records; more Welsh language sections in major book stores; here and there, a shop solely for books in the Welsh language, or books written by Welsh authors.

Again, at the popular level, a fillip was given to the language in 1969 when Prince Charles, at his investiture as Prince of Wales, spoke in Welsh, having first taken the trouble to learn it. This kind of thing has an appeal to the popular mind, particularly in the English-speaking south-east, and does help to engender, however superficially, the impression that an ability to speak the ancestral Welsh language is an aim to which every Welshman wishing to continue to be called by that name should aspire.

But "superficial" is the word and, if the Welsh language is to have a future, then that future must be secured by more fundamental and substantial steps.

Will these steps be taken? Are the Welsh-speaking Welsh sufficiently concerned about their language to take them? Ask the man in the street, or in the field, and you'll get a variety of answers, just as you will in the Gaeltachts here; amongst the professional classes, especially clergymen and school-teachers, you will probably find more concern. They know about those statistics, and want to turn the tide.

But the conclusion is inescapable; the Welsh language will not survive unless it is the language of government and has the full and conscientious force of government behind it. A Welsh crowd may sound impressive singing their national anthem, with its references to the survival of the language, and the shedding of their blood for freedom. But what are the realities? It's often sung in English now, and the shedding of blood, if it is done at all, happens in the service of the queen of England. Will this pleasant-sounding nostalgia save the Welsh language from eventual, though perhaps slow, extinction? Hardly. But even if, by some miracle, the political situation were to change, and the Welsh people were to succeed in building a Welsh-speaking state, would their 25% of native speakers be a sufficient base for the job? Each language situation is unique and only time can answer that question. But, in an attempt to provide some clues to an answer, we will next take a look at Israel, a small but successful state on the other side of Europe, which speaks a language that was as dead as a doornail a hundred years ago and was still spoken by only a handful of enthusiasts when Douglas Hyde founded the Gaelic League here in 1893. A question that must be asked by any community concerned as to whether its gradually-fading ancestral language can be restored is this: how was the dead Israeli language, Hebrew, brought to life?

for Wales

PEACE MOVES

Dear Sir,
 111 Stewartstown Park,
 Andersonstown.
 I was astonished, dismayed and angered at the article given full page coverage on the back page of last week's Republican News.

It is a long time since I have read anything which was so lacking in those values which have sustained the Republican movement since its inception. My astonishment at the coverage given the article, which seemed to indicate that it was the policy of the Movement, was only surpassed by my anger at the inability of the author to make even a superficial analysis of the situation. My dismay was because of the bigotry so evident in the article.

To deal with the last point first, it appears that your author is capable of an innate ability to "double-think" or else is merely paying lip service to religious tolerance while at the same time doing his/her best to create religious intolerance by associating the religion of individuals or organisations with a political or social intent.

Despite the fact that during the course of the article your author states that "religious affiliation is a matter of indifference provided the full right of every man is so far as it does not interfere with the public interest is respected (sic) he on two occasions in the article makes specific the association with individuals (Dennis Barritt) and organisations (The Rowntree Trust) with a particular religious sect (The Society of Friends). If you author is sincere in saying that religious affiliation is a matter of indifference why then did he find it necessary to mention the religion of the above? If he has no reason then I will safely presume that it is simply the tip of the iceberg of bigotry that we are seeing in the article.

The analysis of your correspondent not only portrays an abysmal ignorance of the present situation on the Loyalist side but his attempts to derive conclusions from this analysis are pathetic. At one stage he concludes that the Loyalists had two major advantages to gain from talks with Republicans. First "they could promote an image as reasonable men and ALSO ENSURE THAT OGLAIGH NA HEIREANN WERE REDUCED IN SIGNIFICANCE TO THE SAME LEVEL AS THE MURDEROUS RED-HAND COMMANDOS ETC." Secondly they would gain some recognition however tenuous (sic) for the validity of their claim to speak for Ulster."

With regard to the first conclusion in fact the exact opposite to that which your correspondent claims would have occurred. Rather than be reduced in stature the Irish Republican Army would have been gaining in both respect and recognition. In fact the British Army realised this and were instrumental in releasing to the Press the internal U.D.A. leaflet which was being circulated to West Belfast U.D.A. units about possible meetings with the I.R.A. The same British Army were also responsible for the creation of public antagonism to the idea of such talks. It does seem that your correspondent, and the occupying forces both hold the same view, although for different reasons (allegedly) I would remind him of an old Chinese saying — "What the enemy supports we oppose, what the enemy opposes we support." It is a simple maxim if one is unable to formulate an analysis.

His second conclusion is that the "Loyalist para-military groups would gain some recognition, however tenuous for the validity of their claim to speak for Ulster." This would imply that their "claim" is a spurious one. If you author does not believe that the various groupings represented on the U.W.C. do speak for the loyalist population would he be good enough to inform us who does. Perhaps the elected politicians such as Craig, Paisley or West? Should the I.R.A. speak to them perhaps? If not would he inform us who we should talk to try and determine (in his phrase) "those institutions suitable to the needs and wishes of the Irish people." Perhaps the sad truth is that he does not regard the Protestant people as being part of the Irish people anyway. Such an acceptance would be in keeping with the level of applied thought apparent in the article, as further reading shows. He goes on to conclude that "Republicans would be represented as "underwriting partition and conceding the right of a group to impede Irish Unity." Now he arrives at the conclusion that a meeting between Republicans and Loyalists would be a concession to any group to impede Irish unity somehow escapes me. In fact the very acceptance of the need for such a meeting by Loyalist groupings who have been vilifying the Republican Movement for 50 years is in itself a recognition of the "de facto" unity of the Irish people. This again is the opposite of that which your author claims would happen but even a cursory examination of the situation would reveal this to anyone but a simpleton or someone so convulsed with bigotry or hate that logic

or reason have no place in his thought.

He would do well to read the advice contained in the Proclamation as to our obligation with regard to the carefully nurtured split in the Irish people.

His next paragraph he rambles on about a truce having by some devious method known only to himself decided that the Republican Movement is at war with the Protestant people. I would have thought that anyone with even a semblance of Republicanism would have accepted that there has been no campaign conducted against the Protestant/Loyalist population by the Irish Republican Army.

The actions of the I.R.A. have been mainly directed against those engaged physically in maintaining the right of England to remain in Ireland by force. If this is the case and the campaign is directed against England then there should be no need for a truce because a war does not exist with those you are talking to.

Even if this was not the case I regard the aspirations of your correspondent on those who seek for peace as being unworthy of anyone laying claim to be Republican. The Republican ethic has always been a concern for real peace despite the certain knowledge that "Ireland unfree will never be at peace." It is a terrible reflection on the Republican Movement that the word "Peace" and those who search for it can be held up to ridicule by a person claiming to be a Republican in a paper claiming to be "The voice of Republican Ulster." Let us never be ashamed of searching for peace any more than we should be ashamed of fighting for freedom.

He then informs us the big business and Tory interests want stability and peace in Ireland so they can get on with their class interest of making profits and exploiting Ireland. While I would suggest that he ask an economist to verify or not the ability of the English or world capitalist class to reap as much benefit from the existing war situation here as from a peaceful situation I would recommend that your author applies himself to a diligent reading of some of the standard works on neo-colonialism before he makes statements which imply that it is only with the maintenance of a repressive military presence that foreign capitalism can exploit. Better still he has only to take a trip down to the 26 Counties to experience the reality of foreign exploitation without foreign military presence.

From the reading of the rest of the article it is apparent that the author has no knowledge of the timing of approaches to the Republican Movement by the Loyalist groups nor is he aware of the arrangements for the Loyalists seminar. As in the rest of the article the lack of knowledge does not unfortunately, prevent him from reaching conclusions which even the most fragmentary research would have shown him to be ridiculous.

The last statement of your correspondent that "Englands presence is the only Irish problem" must surely have James Connolly revolving. It is evident from this that your correspondent has little or no awareness of the social, political and economic phenomena faced by our people. "If you remove the English Army tomorrow, and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain" was the message in 1897 from Connolly. Surely those who write articles in Republican papers understand both its implication and its application. For anyone at this time to promote such statements as "Englands presence is the only Irish problem" or to encourage the Irish people to think along those lines is to offer hypocritical homage at the shrine of freedom whose cause we would destroy.

In conclusion may I enquire if the views represented in this article are the views of the Republican Movement and if not why they were given such prominence. I agree that a newspaper has an obligation to foster views contrary to those of the owners or editorial staff but I feel that in the interests of good communication it would be better if a notice to that effect was displayed on every page.

Thanking you again and looking forward to a continuance of the debate "to talk or not to talk."

I remain,
 Yours in X
 JIM MCCORRY.

(We welcome the opportunity to publish this letter from Jim McCorry, which will be replied to soon on behalf of the Editorial Board — Editor).

WE NEED MORE SELLERS

I would like to become a REPUBLICAN NEWS seller and help to spread the gospel of Irish Republicanism.

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 170 Falls Road, Belfast.

Matthew Ward

We have been asked to clarify the position of Mr. Matthew G. Ward, a young Belfast man who is a Republican prisoner in Scotland.

Mathew is at present in Perth Prison, Fife, Scotland. His No. is 386/74. It is understood that he has been deprived of some of his prison rights and is subject to top security.

His parents are only able to visit him once every 6 months because of the heavy expense involved.

An Irish Class for beginners will be held every Wednesday, from 8 p.m. — 10 p.m. in the Eire Nua Bookshop, 170 Falls Road, Belfast.

LOYALIST BITTERNESS TOWARDS ENGLAND ...

(Continued from Page One)

will mean that the old Southern Unionist Ascendancy, which has always remained socially and economically powerful, will join forces with the Northern Orangemen in a revival of the old regime which the IRISH TIMES has the effrontery to call the union of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter which Tone called for.

Why should there be a bloc in the "New Ulster" voting "Unionist" and another voting "Nationalist" if the Union is broken and nationalism achieved?

Printed and Published weekly by the Belfast Republican Press Centre 170 Falls Road, Belfast.

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