

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical and mental well being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

(The Dail Eireann)

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 8. Uimhir 43. 10p. Samhain 2, 1977.

# WAR

Le DARA Mac DARA

LAST WEEK I interviewed commanders in most areas of the Six Counties. All were confident of victory — of contributing to the gaining of Irish freedom. But, they emphasised, the freedom struggle has entered a new phase, calling for new tactics without any change, of course, in the overall strategy.

One commander summarised their views thus: "The enemy has been beaten in the war, overall, so far, and knows it. There is a parallel in Vietnam as there was another parallel in Algeria, some years earlier.

"Enemy commentators call this stage 'Ulsterisation' or 'normalisation'. The best term is colonisation/neocolonisation. The plan is to hand over to local

police and military, giving them maximum armament, trying to soften up the civilian population through extreme brutality so that, in the textbook words of Kitson, they will 'vomit out' the guerrilla fighters.

"Our job is to maintain the initiative, to keep the enemy guessing, to change our tactics to meet every new threat successfully, and to ensure that this colonisation will be just as unsuccessful as every other phase of the war.

"That's standard textbook guerrilla warfare but it is new to Ireland in this decade, new to all but a few of the generations of civilians. It has to be explained so that it may be understood for what it is, the last vicious snarl of imperialism, the last snapping of its brutal jaws."

## Wishful thinking

Accompanying the wishful thinking, which is colonisation, the enemy uses its propaganda machine at its loudest and most shrill.

Long statistics of convictions and jailings and (hopefully) casualties. Deliberate, public bypassing of known leaders of the armed struggle and brutal attention to very young people

who might be assumed to be volunteers, the idea being to give the impression that the "godfathers" have made some obscene pact with the devil so that they may go about safely while the young ones are exploited and sacrificed.

Alongside the statistics of convictions (obtained by framings, tortures, mockeries of trials) is the inference that there is a shortage of guerrilla military material, even though the cost of the Crown — direct attacks on capital — is greater than ever.

## Bloody Sunday

I was shown a mass of sophisticated material which proved to me that the armed struggle does not lack, by any means, the weapons, ammunition and other means essential to victory.

"One of the maxims of guerrilla warfare," another commander told me, "is not to react the way the enemy wants you to react. A very good example of what I mean is Bloody Sunday in Derry: they wanted us to come out and fight them on the battlefield they picked."

"A more recent example is Turf Lodge in Belfast. Again, what they sought was a military confrontation on a battlefield they had picked very carefully.

## Commanders explain this new phase

So they provided the maximum provocation, hoping that they would get us to react emotionally but not intelligently in defence of the people.

"The main idea was that if we did not so react we would be exposed to the people as incapable of their defence, in other words, as John Taylor told the Dublin Chamber of Commerce the other day, that O'Leigh na hEireann is a defeated and broken force."

I have visited Turf Lodge and have met the people there, as I have met and monitored the reactions of the people in the Creggan, Bogside and Scantalmah areas of Derry.

## Morale high

These are the areas which, in recent months, have withstood the brunt of the most provocative and brutal actions of which the Crown forces are cap-

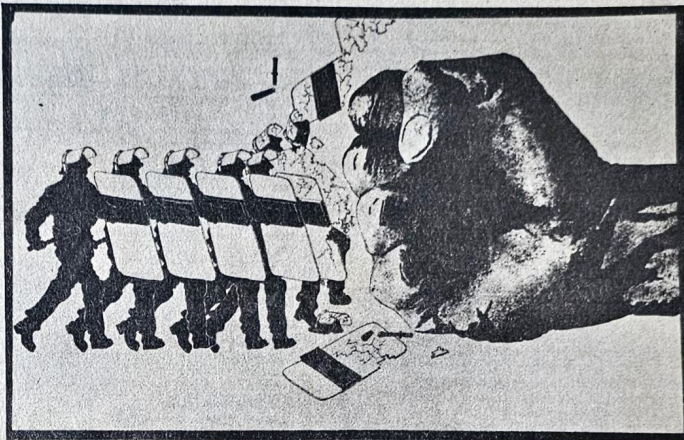
able, short of another Bloody Sunday.

"These are the areas where the will to resist is greatest, where the people have been most politicised. There is no worry about their morale. And, at present, these are the key areas, because there the enemy has done his worst and failed."

"What many people throughout Ireland fail to appreciate, it would seem," said another area commander, "is that the mass of the Republican people in the Six Counties are determined never to return to the 1969 status-quo. There is no going back.

"Nevertheless, colonisation does not mean just returning to the 1969 status-quo but going beyond it, to an even greater oppression.

"The Royal Ulster Constabulary was to have been disbanded but today they are more heavily armed than ever. The B Specials were to have been abolished,



increase in revolutionary political activities (Sinn Fein work).

Since last spring the entire Republican Movement has been engaged in a reappraisal of the struggle.

The evidence of the success of this is to be seen on the ground in the Six Counties particularly with the continued strikes at the Crown forces and capital and from wall slogans and murals to printed and spoken explanation of Republican ideology and highly efficient processing of civilian complaints for action throughout the various tiers of protest right up to Strasbourg, where the fighting of the vanguard of a thick dossier of cases already has begun.

The publicity resulting from these cases, and the growing worldwide furor, is calculated to educate the mass of opinion throughout the 32 counties, as well as world opinion, bringing tremendous pressure on the Crown to end its dirtiest war.

This, of course, would leave behind, to be destroyed, as in Algeria and Vietnam, the forces of 'colonisation' before the basis could be made available for genuine peace and reconciliation in Ireland.

"With that as the realistic background of the present phase of the struggle for freedom," an area commander said, "you can see just how silly are the rumours of ceasefires and truces, and how fruitless are the various compromise solutions, such as new alliances and new parties."

"There will be ceasefire until the basic demands of the Republican leadership are met honestly, openly and realistically, and you can print that."

"As to the statements that the Crown forces, already are withdrawing, the facts prove otherwise. Colonisation would entail free movement of RUC, backed up, on occasion, by UDR."

"In fact, the RUC appear only when thickly covered by heavily armed members of the other Crown forces, in most cases not the UDR but other British army units.

"Colonisation in the genuine sense, has failed and will continue to fail for the very simple reason that units of O'Leigh na hEireann will not allow it to take place. They will not allow it because they are an unbeaten force and by now, cannot be beaten, and have the vital support of the civilian population.

"Victory for resurgent Ireland is inevitable," he concluded.

## How they keep the truth from you: Report, page 8

**FRONT  
PAGE  
FOR  
THE LIE**

**The callous killers  
NOW IRA  
TURN ON  
TODDLERS**

**NEWS BLACKOUT  
FOR THE  
BRUTAL TRUTH**

**BRIT USES METAL  
BAR AGAINST  
3 YEAR OLD**

By DOMINIC CUNNINGHAM

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 8. Samhain 2, 1977. Uimhir 43.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C. Éire, Guithián: 747611

## Conor's obsession

IN MANY ways the Republican Movement owes a debt of gratitude to Conor Cruise O'Brien, the elected representative for Trinity College, Dublin, for the continuing succession of that learned man's political blunders.

For if Dr. Cruise O'Brien, with all his knowledge of history, cannot make a better case for the continued presence of the trespassing Crown on Irish soil, as required, apparently, by the shoneen élite who put him back into Leinster House after his constituency voters had kicked him out, there must be no logical case to be made.

Let us not forget the doctor's widespread reputation for logical debate, his tireless appeals for the avoidance of special pleading, his insistence that emotion be forewarned.

Here, then, is the doctor's latest "logical argument": The "loyalists" do not want direct rule from London; the Republicans do not want it, either. But both would prefer it to any other possibility. And direct rule is the only guarantee of peace...

While the doctor "argues", both "loyalists" and Republicans are making it ever clearer that they do not want Englishmen governing them and some of the most amazing alliances are being reported as taking place in an effort to discard, to some extent, at least, the English overlord.

Further, and the historian that is Dr. Cruise O'Brien prefers to ignore it, history tells us that Irish Catholics, Protestants, Jews, agnostics and atheists, as well as Irish men and women members of most political parties, have a long record of resenting English rule. And of opposing it in arms.

As to peaceful prospects under direct rule, history tells us otherwise. Ireland was governed by the Crown for centuries, directly, as a united country, but peace was conspicuously absent.

Even if anything near a respectable minority of Irish men and women could be found to declare that the English are able to govern them better than they could themselves (and we doubt that), that would not make English rule right, moral, sane or... democratic.

Cruise O'Brien prefers to avoid the realities in his very selective analysis that the trend since 1913 among the "loyalists" has been in direction of self-government rather than direct government by the Crown; and that customs, moralities and practices deemed, apparently, satisfactory by the electorate in Britain (or, anyway, by the ruling clique), have been rejected consistently by the "loyalists" (easier divorce, abortion, pornography, easing of the laws on homosexuality, non-denominational education, to quote some examples).

The learned doctor makes no mention whatsoever of the desire of the "loyalists" to rule themselves as a community, which is the kernel of the problem, and to preserve their community identity and integrity. Nor does he bother to examine (in public, anyway) the Sinn Féin proposals to meet this case, offering to give this community far greater freedom than ever it had under Westminster while, at the same time, not infringing the fundamental rights of the other communities in Ireland, of individuals, or the mass of the Irish people as a nation.

The greatest fault in his argument, however, and strangely for an historian, is that he ignores completely the fundamental change of attitude of the Republican people in the Six Counties, their determination never again to allow themselves to be pushed back into the pre-1916 status of *Untermenschen* (second-class citizens) under an Orange-Fascist regime.

Yet that remains the objective of the Crown. The RUC were disbanded: today they have more guns and paramilitary equipment than ever. The B. Specials were disbanded: the Ulster Defence Regiment has taken their place, to be far more heavily armed.

Irregular pogroms have been replaced by the greatest population displacement of Western Europe since the war in the Belfast area, accompanied by sectarian murder, aided and abetted by the Crown, to an unparalleled degree.

(Ar leanáint ar chúil)

# Robáil mhór seo na hiascaireachta - Cén fáth an tost?

## Cúnnla

### Flaithiúlacht

FÓILL. Is eol dom go bhfuil ceannais ar fáil on mBrúisíúid do bhail an Chomhghaird; ach níl an Spáinn ina bhail den Chomhghaird go fóill. Is cosúil go bhfuil cead ag an mBrúisíúil mhábháir ar sabbreas éis a bhronnadh ar bhail eile an Chomhghaird ach iad a thabhairt do gach éinne tá sísta foc as ceánais.

Dá ngabhainne soir go dtí an Ruhr agus dá dtosúin ag mianraichearta is maith is eol dom céard é a dhéanfaí dom. Ar a laghad ar bith chuirfí isteach i dtéach na gceall mé B'fhéidir go scaoilfí iomra. Ach is é an prionsabal céanna é.

"Ní hé", a deir an Gearmáineach. "Tá saorchead agbail hiascaireachta a dhéanamh thair ar chósta na Gearmáine". Is fear dó. Tá Ach níl aon íasc ann le marú. Níl, le breis is 50 bliain. Dá mbeidís ann is féidir a bheith cinnte nach bhfaighinn mo loiteidh cead iad a mháir.

### Rinnacháil, mar dhea

NIL MÓRAN ráite ar na saolta seo, ach oiread, faoi na ceánais tá tugetha ag an gCoimisiún ná mBrúisíúid d'aiscari na Fraince, na hOllóine agus eile, le héisc a mháir sin áit a dtugtar anois go hoiúigíúil airthi ná Mhuir Cheilteach (thart timpeall ar Phortgairde agus sa cheantar maugairde).

Go hoiúigíúil, tá marú na scádan coisfa sa Mhuir cheánna, faoi láthair. Ach tá éis eile ann seachas an scádn glecte blasta. Go háirithe, tá rinnacháil ann.

Tá neart bád ag iascach sa Mhuir Cheilteach faoi láthair. Má fhiafraítear díobh cé na héisc tá a marú acu freagróidh siad: "Rinnacháil".

Go bhfios dom, deamhan ceist a chuirtear. Deamhan serúid ná iníuchadh a dhéantar. Ach is féidir eolas a fháil agus an fhinne a aimsiú.

Caitheadh na báid sin na lastaí éis a dhíol am éicint. Beidh an

teolas ina iomlán ar fáil sa chialldhóirt. Is féidir a bheith cinnte deirfa go bhfuil scádn á ndíol ag na hiascari seo.

Ní hionann sin is a rá go bhfuil an díl - nó an cosg - á shárú ach fáid slán mura bhfuil thart 20 faoin gcéad de scádn i measc na téisig tá díolta.

Sin cannal Sin robáil. Ach sin an díl. Agus má leantar leis an marú sin agus a ndóiteach de fíréidh leo an scádn a scríos ar fad, gan aon teacht aniar bheith i ndán dó, mar a tharla ar chósta na Fraince, na hOlláine agus na Gearmáine.

Amadán cruthunta is ea Lenihan, mar is eol do na hEireann. Ní thuigean Lenihan faic na fríde, maidir leis an iascaireacht. Ní thuigean na stáiseoirbhisigh i mBaile Átha Cliath é, ach oiread.

B'fhéidir go dtuigean Bord hiascairí Mhuir. Tuigean na hiascari. Cén fáth an tost marbhánta seo - nó an gceol amaideach seo, iad ag "caint", "plé an scéil" - agus an scríos (faoi lán-tseol) ag na heachtrannach?

Agus féach an taircint suarach ón gComhghaird, ar na mallabha, agus na nuachtán "naisiúnta" ag rá go bhfuil bua mór fáite ag Lenihan, toisc an Comhghaird bheith sísta caillteanas na n-iascari a chéiteamh leo le slam mór airgid (má bhíonn Baile Átha Cliath sísta a leith a thabhairt).

Dona go leor go mbeadh bríd ar fáil chun go bhfanfaid muid ináir d'ost as ar sabbreas a ghoid uainn agus is an iascaireacht a lioft go deo. Ach níós measa íos má bhíonn orainne leath na bríbe a íoc, freisin.

An amhlaidh a cheapann muintir na Mór-Roinne gur amadán gach éinne dinn? Is cosúil go gceapann agus gur féidir leo a gceann a thabhairt slán leo agus go n-íofaídh muid an costas!

Cén fáth nach bhfuil aon cheo a dhéanamh ag Sinn Féin faoin bhéith gafa sa chomhcheilg uaid iad chomh ciúin ciontach is a taid?

Fearfaidh mé fáilte roimh iascaire ar bith a bhfuil Gaeilge bhríste aige, íú, agus atá sísta scríobh chugainn agus cúsair a mhíniú. Níó Béarla na saighdiúirí féin.



Eibhlín Ní Sheidhíir, bean óg a rugadh is a togadh i Sasana ach a d'fhoghlaim Gaeilge ar theacht go hÉirinn di. Bean i ata ina ball de Chumann Chearta Sibhialta na hÉireann agus a chaithe seal sa phríosún i mBaile Átha Cliath (gan triall) toisc gur scaip sí bileogaí de chuid an Chumainn. Tá a seal i gceol; 'Deirdre' (eagrair Mheán Fhómhair).

### Riail an tSasanaigh

RUD EILE a tharla ar na mallabha, rud náireach, ach rud a thuar muide anseo: stop long Shasnach iascari na hÉireann as bheith ag iascach taobh istigh de theor na hÉireann, thoir siad go Béal Feirste na báid, gearraídh fíneál oirne agus scíob síad idir threallamh agus éis.

Tuigim gur chuidídh ar muintir thuaidh (Protastúin, sa chuid is mó díobh, agus, cá bhfios, "dílseoirí") leis na hiascari as Beann Eadair; gur scíobadh treallamh agus na lastaí éis thar seas, agus náir chail muintir Bliain Éadair móra.

An ndearna ar máistrí Tigh Laighne aon ghearán oifigiúil faoi seo? An amhlaidh a fuair siad "mea culpa" ó na Sasanaigh? Agus galltanas nach dtarlódh a leitheidh arís?

Ní dhearna aon ní bhfuair. Mar tá conradh sinithe sa mBrúisíúil; faoin gcóradh sin a bhí na Sasanaigh ag feidhmiú; ach oiread sin é d'Fhianna Fáil an fhinne sin a admháil.

Breága. Comhehéilg Robáil. Loit agus scríos. Agus formhór mhuintir na hÉireann aneolach faoin scéal náireach uile.

Ach, in ainm Chroim, bhfuil cús ar bith ag na hiascari féin bheith gafa sa chomhcheilg uaid iad chomh ciúin ciontach is a taid?

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UAIREANTA, tagann sé deacair orm cúsair na tíre seo a chreidiúint. Cúsair iascaireachta, mar shampla. De réir gach cosúlachta tá formhór mór na ndaoine sa tír seo, thuaidh theas, thoir thiar, ar aon tuairim, go mba chóir go mbeadh teorainn 50 míle thart timpeall chósta na hÉireann ar fáil dá gcuid iascarií agus díobh sin amháin.

Más fíor an tuairim sin, shifí go mbeadh fonn ar triseoirí, ar pholateoirí, ar eacnamóirí agus eile eolas a lorg faoin gceoi a bhfuil cúsair, céard é tá ag tarlú, cé na nialaí a bhfuil Baile Átha Cliath oifigiúil ag claoi leo, cé an dallam uileg a bhfuil an Comhghaird ag iarraidh a chur orainn uileg.

Ar na mallabha rugadh ar dhá shiocheas an Spáinn agus iad ag iascach taobh istigh den teorá 64, 50 míle. Chail siad an chósta, na héisc a mharaigh síad agus treallamh.

Thug scipire amháin (nó b'fhéidir an bheirt díobh, ní fhios agam go baileach, ach is cuma) fianaise, go bhfuair sé ceánais le bheith ag iascach taobh istigh de theorá 50 míle, ón gCoimisiún sa mBrúisíúil, ach go ndeacha an ceánais as feidhm.

B'amhlaidh a bhí sé ag súil len é athnuachain, an fear bocht. Bhí cuma na firinne ar an scéal.

Ach seo an goimh. Go bhfios domsa, agus is duine mé a chuireann spéis as cuimsíre mór cúsair seo, ba shin an chéad nó go raibh an Coimisiún sa mBrúisíúil ag díleáid amach ceánais le haghaidh mair iascaireachta na hÉireann, agus gan gócs na míos ó éinne - nuachtóirí, polateóirí, easpáig, lucht díl ní eile. Agus gan smid, ach oiread, ó na hiascarií.

Ar a laghad, shifí go dtógfaidís síd ralic mhór faoi seo agus iad ag ceapadh go raibh na "cáinteanna" ar síd go fóill idir Lenihan agus an fear duairc úd sa mBrúisíúil, Grundeacha nó cibé leagann a uaaideann se.

### Buanchuimhne

CONEY, third anniversary. In proud and loving memory of our dead son and brother, Gerard, who was murdered by Crown Forces while attempting to escape from Long Kesh Concentration Camp on November 6, 1974. Rest in peace. St. Gerard Majella pray for him.

We often sit and think of you And think of how you died

Many times we've longed for you

And many times we've cried

We had a love so precious

If only it had flowered

But you alone knew, Gerard,

Just how much we cared.

Always remembered and sadly missed by his loving mother, father, sisters, Colette and Noelle, brothers, Jim and Frank, - Lower Gortgionis and Knockmoy, Coalsland and Cookstown.

CONEY - In proud and loving memory of Lieutenant Hugh Gerard Coney, murdered by Crown forces while attempting to escape from Long Kesh Concentration Camp. St. Joseph pray for him.

We miss your smile

Your kindly way

We miss the things you used to say

And when old times we do recall

It's then we miss you most of all.

Always remembered by the officers, board and members O'Neill-Kilpatrick-Coney Sinn Féin Chumann, Clonoe, Coalsland.

# How greatly Scotland Yard fears the Irish truth

WHO FEARS to speak '77 and the Sinn Féin Ardheis? Scotland Yard, obviously, when secret police went to the trouble of



The two EIA representatives

arresting the two Basque guests of the Ardheis (pictured left) on their way home through London Airport, under the excuse of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and stole souvenirs of their Dublin visit.

Why this robbery under arms? The Spanish bully to that question replies: Porque puedo (because I am able); and also, in this case, because Scotland Yard knew that the Basques would make no official protest to the governments of the occupying powers in Paris and Madrid.

In the course of a statement on the outrage Risteárd Behal, Sinn Féin Foreign

Affairs Bureau, said the men had been closely interrogated about the Ardheis, being asked to tell what other foreign groups had been represented, who had sent the various messages of solidarity, as well as being required to supply personal details about wives, children and friends.

Scotland Yard's harassment may have done the Crown more harm than good for, on their return home, the two men were met by representatives of the media keen to know why they had been detained two hours in Heathrow Airport, London, and what was the latest about the Irish armed

struggle for freedom. The bizarre story went around the globe.

One of the delegates told the media that Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, would be paying a visit to Euskadi (the Basque nation) within a fortnight.

Risteárd Behal writes that, since the Ardheis ended, additional telegrams of support have been received from SWAPO (South West African People's Organization), Soweto Students' Representative Council, the Law Study Group of Belgium and the Defence of Political Asylum Committee, Brussels.

## Ardheis '77

WE aim to give leadership to our people at home, and example and encouragement around the world, as a previous Sinn Féin generation did earlier in this century.

Valuable contacts have already been established with the liberation movements of other parts of the globe, and the degree of solidarity, understanding and sympathy which results is at once amazing and encouraging.

It is because we are political revolutionaries that we must concentrate on all issues of immediate and urgent importance to the overall struggle. And while there are always priorities, there can be no opting out, no turning away from difficult issues which have to be tackled.

We cannot afford to gaire don scórnach" (the knot nearest the throat)" has to be considered, as well as long-term objectives. The "gaire don scórnach" can be defined in many ways, and can take many forms.

### EEC tactics

But one important form, very definitely, is the E.E.C. and the associated attempts to "integrate" us into an international power-game which is so overwhelming that whatever limited freedom and limited individuality we still retain will be finally abolished.

The next important phase in this process is the election to be held next year to the so-called "European Parliament".

We cannot afford to ignore this development because it is an attempt to hood-wink people into the belief that they are being given greater democratic control of their destinies within the Brussels bureaucracy.

Ireland, North and South, will be given a total of 18 well-paid — we can safely say vulgarly well-paid — jobs, in what is neither European nor a Parliament.

The EEC embraces nine out of a European total of more than 30 states; its assembly has no power of decision-making or legislating in any sense so that the term "parliament" applied to it, is a further misnomer.

### Dr. Hillery

The man who negotiated the 26-Counties entry into the EEC and was the first of the new well-paid Irish like in Brussels, before returning to another well-paid job in the Phoenix Park — I refer to Dr. Hillery — spoke to EEC journalists in Dublin recently.

He made the highly-political and untrue statement that these elections would enhance democracy in Europe. Those of us who consistently opposed EEC membership are well aware of the dishonesty of the promises and predictions made by Dr. Hillery about the EEC in 1972.

Five years later, the reality is, sadly, clearer to many more people than would accept our word at the time of the referendum.

That this latest attempt by the supposedly non-political President of the Twenty-Six Counties' State to rally support for his EEC friends is interesting. It highlights the fact that, at this stage, the entire Leinster House club is for the EEC, for continuing Irish membership in it, regardless of the consequences for those

# EEC: A ngad is gaire don scórnach

Concluding the O Brádaigh address

ordinary Irish workers who have to pay the price.

Who now remembers the promises on fishing, regional policy, natural resources, small farmers, sensitive industries? And does anybody seriously think that the Labour Party, the so-called Workers' Party, or any of the others who said they were against full membership in 1972, will offer a serious alternative to the voters at next year's elections?

### Getting poorer

Well may Michael O'Kennedy of Fianna Fáil point out that since we joined the EEC the gap in income between the West of Ireland and West Germany has deteriorated from a five to one imbalance to an imbalance of six to one.

But what is he or anybody else going to do about it?

Who can they do about it, as long as they persist with current policies, dictated, not by the evolving democratic will, but by the Treaty of Rome which established the Community, and which is the foundation of all current policies, directives, and efforts?

Why the alleged anger at the increasing poverty in peripheral Ireland and increasing affluence at the Continental centre? What other result could any sane person expect from the policies being pursued and the political system being operated?

The only way to halt these trends is to change the policies, to change Ireland's relationship with the Community. Do not expect the initiative to come from the Labour Party or any of the others registered in Leinster House, while there are plum jobs up for "grabs" for themselves.

The seriousness of this situation places an especially heavy burden on us in Sinn Féin at this juncture.

We headed opposition to the EEC in the past. We are still opposed to it for several reasons, and must continue the struggle.

Few people were — sad when the National Coalition of Fine Gael and Labour were swept out of office last June. Even those who have no love whatsoever for Fianna Fáil realised the necessity to halt the increasingly fascist trend of the Coalition in its tracks.

We stated at the time that the change would not, however, bring about any major alteration in the 26 Counties' political merry-go-round, at least where fundamental national questions were concerned.

### Fáinne ff

The truth of that prediction has already been borne out. One has only to mention the recent meeting between Mr. Lynch and Mr. Callaghan to see that much. But the experience of the

past year raises again, in a very critical fashion, the heavy duty that is on the Republican Movement to break the frame of the game of musical chairs in Leinster House, and provide the Irish people with an alternative vehicle of expressing their democratic will.

We cannot opt out of the attempt to snake-screen the EEC by calling these processes "direct elections". We cannot ignore the threat to our neutrality which, I suggest, is already serious, and is not unconnected with the general EEC financing of uranium exploration in this country at the moment.

We cannot ignore all the other serious questions, the failure and disappointments, and, above all, the continuation and intensification of policies which are bleeding this country to death, robbing it of its chance to develop self-reliance and full freedom, and which are rapidly converting the entire national outlook to one of the begging bowl and the dome mentality.

We have to tackle this entire complex question immediately and urgently, especially since it is perfectly obvious that even the groups which offered token resistance up to 1972, are now largely happy to abandon the task of nation-building altogether — provided the dole is good enough for themselves.

### Church pastoral

I would go even further with this serious political issue. Sinn Féin welcomes the general outline of the recent Catholic Bishops' Pastoral, "The Work of Justice".

It attempts to pinpoint at least some of the scandalous injustices in Ireland today. I would say, by way of general criticism, that many of its passages are not specific enough, and do not see the ills of this fair land in the context of its long colonial and neo-colonial experience.

And while we have no wish to engage in debate with their lordships here on the various points, I would like to challenge them to come clean on one vital issue which they have largely ignored.

Do the Catholic Bishops agree with our suggestion that it is futile to hope for a just and caring society while social and economic policies continue to be operated under the Treaty of Rome?

We regard the basic philosophy of that Treaty, with its capitalist-consumer-society orientation, to be not only unjust or unsuitable for Irish conditions, but essentially immoral and wrong for a just and decent human society, never mind a truly Christian one.

### Immoral system

We hold that any economic system which makes profit the main motive of endeavour, which sees competition between large international financial concerns as the best hope of a fair deal for the ordinary person, and which consciously regulates the production of food in order to keep up prices of basic items to the average household-shopping list, is wrong, immoral, has to be resisted and changed.

We further suggest that the authors of the recent pastoral cannot remain on the fence about this central issue, if they are to retain credibility in their teaching on social justice.

This Ardheis will, then, have to face the issue of the EEC and the latest development in the form of direct elections. The fact that we are against the Treaty of Rome, or that we believe these elections to be a smokescreen, does not mean that we can afford to ignore them. They can, perhaps they must, be used to initiate a massive rejection of the system, North and South.

If so, we have to prepare to do this. If this is the course we decide in our democratic annual congress of delegates from the 32 counties of the land, then we have to decide on strategy.

Fighting this campaign will be hard, expensive and will put strains on the organisation which will be without precedent in our time.

### Funelling dissent

But it could also present an opportunity for growth and development, for gaining the leadership of the people at every level, and for funelling the massive pockets of dissent and discontent that we see all around us.

Not just in the case of such obvious groups as the fishermen, the small farmers, the redundant workers, the housewives who have been injured directly due to EEC policies, but also in the case of those who seek a new departure, and who aspire to a new deal in a New Ireland.

We need to show the world that the continuation of the old Anglo-Irish partition arrangement, in a new EEC context, is not the solution to our problems. We need to show the world that there is massive support, North and South, for Republican separatism, and for the self-liberation of Sinn Féin.

Such an outcome would have a very international significance, not only in the Third World of

Africa, Asia and Latin America, but also among the subject nations of Western Europe — the Bretons, the Basques, the Catalans, the Sardinians and the Corsicans, struggling to be free, in most cases, from the domination of the bigger brothers in the EEC itself.

### 'Democratic' decision

Whatever we decide, we cannot afford to fail ourselves and others by ignoring what is going on.

We are fully aware of the difficulties — of the massive propaganda from Brussels, of the vested interests working on establishing politicians, of the subtle and frequently not so subtle pressures which are, and will, be put on our members engaged in political activity.

The denial of access to the mass media is an obvious case in point. So too is the tremendous "democratic" decision to seek a deposit of £1,000 from each candidate and the ridiculous insinuation that only those who are prepared to register with the EEC can be deemed to be serious about politics.

Sinn Féin is the fourth largest political party in the Twenty-Six Counties and, Unionists apart, the oldest party in the land.

### Seanad canvassing

Political commentators and rivals usually ignore these facts, though it is interesting to note that when a 26 Counties Seanad election is being held, candidates from Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and Labour are all quite prepared to canvass our elected members on the various local councils — the largest block outside their own three groupings.

This is only one other aspect of the censorship machine which rarely gets across to the public. Certain RTE never seems to get the message.

The tactic of tying a man's hands behind his back and then asking him to fight, is an old one for bully-boys and bully-politicians alike.

Having specifically banned the elected public representatives of this party from RTE and then having lost his own popular mandate, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien has been questioning the desire of the Irish people for unity in recent months.

His honesty in this statistical exercise is as credible as the logic of his ban on Sinn Féin spokesmen who retain their mandate at the polls — a ban which, by the way, Fianna Fáil continues to operate despite the zeal of some of its Seanad hope-

fuls for the votes of those same banned persons.

### All-Ireland vote

Dr. O'Brien, when pressed, has indicated that it might not be a bad idea to have an All-Ireland vote taken on the future government of the country.

Sinn Féin has been calling for this for decades.

Sinn Féin won the last All-Ireland poll in 1918 with such an overwhelming majority that even Dr. O'Brien could not question it.

Whatever small measure of self-determination Ireland gained in the 20th century derived from that victory and from the positive programme pursued by Sinn Féin in local government and in the First Dáil — backed up by military action against the British forces of occupation — in the years immediately after.

The very fruits of office which Dr. O'Brien and others enjoyed since then were due to the Sinn Féin policies of those years, even after the Republic had been compromised by those who betrayed their trust.

Our refusal to participate in Leinster House and in Stormont, the latter now defunct, due largely to the sacrifices of the Republican Movement, derives from our refusal to betray that trust.

### Poll challenge

We have consistently called for an All-Ireland election in the context of a British decolonisation, of intent to leave our country; in recent years great emphasis has been placed once again on our call for an elected convention of all interests in Ireland to work out a new constitutional settlement, free from outside interference, or imposed British settlements.

We are not afraid of such an All-Ireland election. We would like to think that Dr. O'Brien is now sincere in his call for a nation-wide poll to resolve the matter.

But the fact of the matter is that, to date in any case, the very people who lecture us about polls and democracy are the very people who have refused to do anything to pave the way for an All-Ireland election or for an opportunity for the Irish people, all the Irish people, to settle their own destiny.

They have been willing to play the partition game, North and South, content with their Leinster House merry-go-round and with party organisations which are confined to either the Northern or the Southern statelet.

(Ar leardnín, lch. a B)



# THE AMERICAN BETRAYAL

## The enigma of Arthur Griffith

Seventh in a series by Máire Comerford

Arthur Griffith was entering the last seven months of his life on January 10, 1922, when he was elected President. No one can tell now whether he was a dying man or whether the brain injury which caused his death should be blamed for the disasters in to which he led his country in the final 10 months of his life.

Griffith gave very great services under very great strain during the absence of de Valera in America from 1919 to 1920. He suffered imprisonment in Mountjoy from November to June, 1920-21.

He came straight from prison into harness, as Minister for Foreign Affairs and as leader of the negotiating team in London.

Then came the Treaty, signed in the early hours of the morning after a spell of tension which included two sea and rail journeys, London to Dublin and back travelling all night; a full day of meetings in the Mansion House, Dublin with the Dail Cabinet; on top of that the final meetings and the signing in London; then secret meetings and, I think, a secret understanding with the Unionists.

After all that he returned to Dublin, on the urgent call of de Valera, to face the split in the Irish Cabinet.

This was followed, on Dec. 14, by the Treaty debate (Dec. 14 to January 7), with a break for Christmas holidays.

(I should have added that the sea-crossing from England was prolonged when the mail boat successfully was involved in the sea rescue of a small craft. It got into Dun Laoghaire several hours late. Griffith's party had to go straight to the Mansion House to keep their appointment at 11 a.m.)

I am reluctant to write what I have to write now about the sad and tragic case of Arthur Griffith.

Up to this we have seen him as a "moderate", who had been nominated by de Valera to be the acting-President, chief and leader of the supposedly Republican government during the absence of the President.

### Oath of allegiance

Griffith had performed his task even to the point of supporting the decree of An Dail which imposed the oath of allegiance to the Republic, and taking that oath himself.

He was a generous man who left no personal fortune; he died as poor as he had lived.

How long before his death he was a dying man is not for me to speculate. Neither can I write about the events leading to the second phase of the War of Independence without getting the fairest description I can on paper of those two most unusual men,

Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins.

M. Blanche of France called Collins "Jupiter". That was at the time of Collins's death.

I quote comments of other people, none of whom were enemies of Griffith.

### Pearse's view

Patrick Pearse, in an open letter of Arthur Griffith: "You were too hard, too obstinate, too intolerant, too headstrong..."

I do not know the date or the occasion and I would be grateful to anybody who could help me by supplying them. The quotation is from "Arthur Griffith and Sinn Fein" by Sean O Luin, a Thomas Davis lecture in the series, "Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising", edited by Rev. Professor F.X. Martin, 1967.

Pearse's open letter included a tribute to Griffith.

Griffith admired Maud Gonne and the story is told that he once armed himself with a horse-whip and went to the "Freemen" (or "Independent") office to horse-whip a member of the editorial staff who had criticised her. (Only "terrorists" would do things like that, now.)

Oliver St. John Gogarty, his doctor, wrote: "He was gentle and simple and lovable. He was terrible, unpersuadable, and right!"

T.J. O'Reilly, in a book review in the "Sunday Press" (July 3, 1966): "Griffith, a sick man suffering from cerebral arteriosclerosis, already showing itself by loss of self-control and outburst of irrational anger, was soon to die of a massive cerebral haemorrhage."

### Cairo gang

Griffith could believe no evil of those he liked, and no good of those he disliked.

Strange and dangerous men were among his closest friends. One of them, John Chartres, is still under investigation, although long dead.

Evidence exists that he was in fact the officer in charge of the "Cairo Gang", the group of English spies which was supposedly, wiped out on Bloody Sunday, November 1920, in one of the most important operations ever organised by Michael Collins in his capacity as Director of Intelligence.

It is thought that Chartres was out of the country on that morning and returned to take up the job which was his cover.

I think it was earlier that year when I was asked if I would show something of Republican Dublin to a person who had become interested in our fight.

For a while Chartres used to call for me, wearing his London clothes, including spats and a bowler hat, and carrying an umbrella.

### Gunman job

I had told my friends about the unwelcome job I had been saddled with and, in consequence, I was warned off from every

Republican house where, normally I might have visited, looking for some Republican activity to help.

Chartres offered me a foreign affairs job in Germany. I declined that and was grateful when I saw no more of him.

Afterwards, he went to Germany to serve with the Irish office opened there by the Dail Foreign Affairs department.

It was from Germany, I think, that he was appointed to be a secretary to the Irish delegation in the London negotiation.

Erskine Childers was chief secretary to the Delegation. It is not difficult to guess how Griffith might have been set against Childers, and with excellent reason: from the point of view of British Intelligence.

Darrell Figgis was another traitor who was close to Griffith. He had his own office in the V.I.P. corridor of Government Buildings.

Letters to and from Figgis between May and September, 1922, were published in the report on the Broadcasting Commission, 1924 (an immense volume without an index. The National Library has a copy.)

### Vulgar language

A letter of Figgis, May 27, 1922, conveyed advice to Lord Middleton about the way Michael Collins should be greeted in London following the Collins-de Valera Pact designed to avert civil war: "He does not want to come to London, but should be compelled to do so. He has only one card to play and that is bluff."

"There should not be any friendly greetings but he should be told quietly and firmly that he has dishonoured his signature to the Treaty."

"It is possible to make him break down in London; his banging the table and vulgar language can be ignored" (Broadcasting Report p. 266, vol. 1, 1924.)

Collins did, in fact, go to London, and come home again and dismissed the Pact in a speech in Cork. But it should be stated that the letters and speeches of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, with their continuing treat of war, by far exceeded in violence the "firm" line advocated by Figgis.

Griffith ran a weekly paper, "The Free State," from early 1922. Beside the title on one side he had the quotation which you can read on the Bannell monument, O'Connell Street, Dublin, and on the other side his own assurance: "This is no more the last settlement than this is the last generation."

### Controlling influence

President Griffith held his majority in Dail Eireann only as long as he had the support of Michael Collins.

The attitude of Collins was dominated by the opposite influence of the British threat of war and his personal conviction that the Irish people were no longer capable of accepting that.

When Collins made the Pact with de Valera Griffith lost his majority in Dail Eireann and

ceased to attend meetings. But he still held the controlling influence in the Ministry.

It was a joint meeting of Dail and Provisional Government ministries that attacked the Four Courts after Griffith accompanied by Cope of the Castle, had borrowed artillery from General Maeready.

The "Free" State always claimed that it was not the British demand for action against the I.R.A. which motivated the "Free" State decision; they never said it was political necessity.

There had been an election but, in spite of all the talk and writing about its result, the counter-revolutionary junta (about nine men) could not face Dail Eireann of the "Free" State Parliament for which the British had legislated.

Michael Collins had been present for the decision to start the war but he left and went to Greystones, and probably got drunk.

After that he carried on his public commitment of "Free" State Commander-in-Chief and his private efforts to end the civil war. Ernie O'Malley, Asst. Chief of Staff, Ogligha na hEireann (IRA) regarded the death of Collins as a disaster for our side.

I am personally convinced that Collins did not intend to attend the "Free" State Parliament and, in fact, made no effort to acquire the use of the library of the R.D.S. (Leinster House) which had been advertised by the Viceroys Lord Fitzalan.

This parliament was prorogued until after Collins and Griffith were dead.



Norwegian students were not fooled by the bogus peace propaganda surrounding the Nobel peace prize and here a group is pictured picking up the Nobel centre in Oslo. See page six for report.



# OUR SOCIALIST FUTURE le CHRISTENE ELIAS

## Agriculture in the new Ireland

INTERNATIONAL economic strategists serving the wealthy E.E.C. states and the multi-nationals have found a special place for Ireland in their overall plan for more lucrative exploitation and easier profits.

We have been granted the privilege of supplying primary raw materials to the markets and factories of the industrialised economies of Western Europe.

None of our natural resources, from our mineral wealth to the fish in our seas, has been overlooked in this regard, but, of particular importance are the abundant riches produced from our agricultural activities.

In most parts of this land farming is still the mainstay of our economy and will remain so as long as we are prevented from creating an industrial base of our own.

### A new system

In the proposed New Ireland economic system, agriculture will continue to play a very significant role.

It will produce the foodstuffs and raw products necessary to feed our people, to provide valuable exports to be sold in exchange for those goods that cannot be manufactured in this country and to supply vital raw

materials to our newly-developed processing and other industries dependent on agricultural resources.

The agricultural policies of the Éire Nua programme represent a complete break with the present system of inefficient, undemocratic and discriminatory exploitation of the land of Ireland, a system which is, for the most part, beneficial only to the native agricultural gumben men and the foreign buyers of our precious agricultural raw materials to realise enormous profits in their processing and marketing.

We intend to build a revolutionary new farming system which will be of maximum benefit to all the people of Ireland.

At present, the ownership of agricultural land is unevenly distributed in both the Six and 26 Counties. Some 60 per cent, of our farms are of 30 acres or fewer while fewer than one-tenth are of 100 acres or more.

Some 20 per cent. of the land in the Six Cos is concentrated in farms of 100 acres or more and in the 26 Cos 36 per cent of the land is held by farmers with 100 acres or more.

### Small farmers

Generally, throughout the country, holdings are small and the trend in recent years has been for these small holdings to be amalgamated and their owners to impoverish.

In addition, under the present system, the type of farming practised discriminates against the small farmers and ensures increasing prosperity for the stronger farmers.

For example, in the production of store cattle, the costly and risky operation of rearing calves is carried out largely by the small farmers in the north-west, west and south, while the large farmers finish the process with maximum gain and minimum risk and labour. Thus, an inter-regional pattern of exploitation is created.

Present practices have encouraged the growth of a merchant element which preys on agriculture as a whole and thrives on seasonal and regional price differences.

The ranches, situated mainly in the east, are the principal beneficiaries under the existing system, to the cost of the smaller holdings in the west.

### Living Standards

Another symptom of the mismanagement of our agricultural economy is that the standard of living of two-thirds of the agricultural population ranges from modest to absolute impoverishment.

Although the situation is somewhat brighter in the Six Counties it is obvious that those implementing this system do not have the best interests of the Irish nation at heart.

The existing marketing structures are prone to uncertainties and fluctuations; capital for vital investment is not made available to most farmers; and the lack of diversification on many farms generates an unhealthy instability.

The dole is so regulated that it constitutes a rural survival subsidy rather than an agricultural subsidy; increased production, if achieved, is penalised by loss of dole. This perpetuates poverty.

An added danger looms large for the agricultural community. From January 1 next many of the temporary concessions granted to the Irish to ensure acceptance of E.E.C. entry will be withdrawn. From that date, any E.E.C. national, virtually all of whom have more money to spend than we have, can buy Irish land as freely as any Irish citizen.

In a relatively short time, our country could well be owned by foreigners.

### Better life

The Republican Movement realises that drastic measures will be necessary to reverse these trends, to alleviate the serious inconsistencies in the farming community, and to guarantee that the management and development of our most important economic activity results in a better life for all concerned.

The Éire Nua programme proposes a major redistribution of (Ar leanúint ar chúl)

## California protests at Carter statement

ON SEPTEMBER 26, The Friends of Ireland (a California-based coalition) and Students for a United Ireland in San Diego staged angry sit-ins at Senator Alan Cranston's offices in Los Angeles and San Diego (pictured above and left). The demonstrations were in response to President Carter's recent statement on Ireland: "I ask all Americans to refrain from supporting with financial or other aid organisations whose involvement direct or indirect in this violence delays the day when the people of Northern Ireland can live and work together in harmony . . . Federal law enforcement agencies will continue to apprehend and prosecute any who violate US law in this regard . . ."

The protestors responded by saying: "Irish-Americans will not be intimidated and will continue to give aid until human rights are restored in Ireland."

By sitting-in, they stated, they were attacking the facade of neutrality displayed by US politicians: "They tell us that the violence will end in Ireland if only Irish-Americans will stop sending money. These same politicians show no concern for the use of American tax aid that allows Britain to maintain its over 14,000-strong military presence there (aid now totalling over two billion dollars). Yet all the while, they only pay lip service to human rights."

"Further, the Coalition condemns the fact that Carter failed to deal with the fundamental problem wracking Ireland - British occupation."

The protests were being held in Senator Cranston's offices, said Coalition members, because of frustration in dealing with other politicians (i.e., Kennedy, Moynihan, Tip O'Neil and New York Governor, Hugh Carey), who were yielding continually to political expediency. "The Friends of Ireland now turn to Senator Cranston as the Senate Whip, and their representative in Washington, to take a strong stand for justice in Ireland."

"We want to emphasise that the worn-out policy of American interference in Chile, Vietnam and Korea is now being 'born again' in Ireland. By encouraging US economic aid, Carter is treating peace like a 'bargain-basement special. Peace has no price," according to their statement.

During the sit-in, the Senator's aid, Lou Hoss, indicated that the Irish issue was low priority because of lack of pressure from the Irish-American community.

Coalition members responded: "Due to this lack of pressure, the issue was tossed into the laps of Irish political hacks."

A meeting was promised between the Friends of Ireland and the Senator. The purpose will be to document continuing violations of human rights in Ireland.



## BERNIE GIBSON, canóglach Éireannach

After a long and painful illness Mrs. Bernie Gibson died in Dublin last week. Our picture (left) shows the scene at the graveside where representatives of the Republican Movement, relatives and friends, paid tribute to a courageous Republican.

From an early age Bernie helped in very many ways, though the mother of a large family, the cause of Irish freedom, a typical example of the best of Dublin working class womanhood, a virtually unsung heroine.

Many are the Republicans on the run who found food and shelter in her house in Drumcondra. Among them was Sean Sabhat of Garraigh Foghain.

We offer our condolences to her husband, Seamus, another lifelong stalwart in the Republican cause, and to her sons and daughters.

Ar dheis De, le laochra dochloithe na hÉireann, go raibh sí.

## An gad is gaire, an CEE

The work of the Foreign Affairs Bureau established last year's Ardtheis, both in its educational activities and making international contacts and exchange for the Movement, has been invaluable.

The extent of that work is readily in evidence at this Ardtheis. We wish to go on record as condemning with all the vehemence at our disposal the recent banning by the white minority racial government in Pretoria of 18 South African people's organisations, the suppression of two newspapers and the arrest of more than 50 leaders, just as we deplore the killing of the Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko, while in police custody for seven days.

### President Carter

In the foreign affairs context also, while we welcome President Carter's references to our country in that they help to internationalise our struggle, we must guard against any attempt by American administrations to fill at a future date the so-called power vacuum left in Ireland when Britain is forced by the people's struggle to disengage.

We want American and other international involvement to force Britain to leave, and we want America and the rest of the big powers to respect the sovereignty of the Irish people and to stay out of Ireland themselves.

We look then to the future, to the continuing struggle and Sinn Féin's role in it. Support must continue to be forthcoming for the suffering people in their struggle, in confrontation with imperialism and all its works and pomps.

British torture has never ceased in Ireland, despite Attorney-General Silken's assurances at Strasbourg that it had. They lie in their teeth.

More than 200 prisoners are "on the blanket," which means

### Ó leathanach a 3

naked and in indefinite solitary confinement, in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh.

By Christmas the number will be 300 and they suffer because the British Government set an arbitrary date, March 1, 1976, from which it withdrew recognition of Irish freedom fighters as prisoners of war.

### Our heroines

Their womenfolk, including the women in Armagh Jail, similarly deprived, are to be praised and admired for their courage and devotion in standing in comradely solidarity with them through the streets and public places of Ireland and across the Continent of Europe, wherever a British Government representative presents a hypocritical public stance.

Solidarity must also be expressed at this conference with our prisoners, both men and women, numbering close on 100 held in the most rigorous confinement in England.

Sheer neglect and willful deprivation of medical treatment has cost another prisoner, Seán Ó Conaill, his life. Caughan, Stagg and Jenkinson's comrades suffer on for the liberation of mankind.

The question arises, then, of continued resistance: Providing our people with a lead, North and South, in their struggle to retain their place on the face of this earth and develop their lives to the fullest, lives which are now dominated by imperialism.

Our mineral wealth is being stolen from us in ever-increasing quantities; our fishing is being

filched while Leinster House politicians fight a sham battle with the Brussels bureaucrats; neutrality and non-alignment are being steadily eroded by the pro-NATO and pro-EEC lobbies; and, as the EEC nose tightens into membership next year, Irish land will be bought by Common Market nationals on the same terms as by Irish people; the small farmer is being planned out of existence and Irish industries are the multi-national giants.

Meanwhile, the pool of unemployed victims of the system swells. Now that the so-called safety valve of emigration has been turned off, we have a population where 50% of our people are under 26 years of age.

Twice before in this century did this happen - in 1918 and again in 1931. Twice before it was diverted into counter-revolutionary channels and the Irish people suffered reverses on each occasion, resulting in much poverty, deprivation and mass emigration.

This is our opportunity.

### Greater resistance

As Mr. Mason, the British secretary for the Six Counties, tightens the screws on the people, and boasts regularly of it, we know his actions can bring only greater resistance.

All support, then, to the overall struggle: to the anti-EEC campaign, North and South, next year, and to preparations for the 26-Counties local elections in 1979.

We have the policies; we have the personnel; we have taken our place among the progressive forces on the world stage; we follow a clear anti-imperialist line. Seo linn chun oibre. Let us get to work.

Cúrsaí eachtracha

Foreign affairs

# Soweto — as in Derry, Belfast...

Le Eldrida

"I AM 17 years old. I can't give you my name or I would be arrested. I was demonstrating because I was a student. They don't want to give us the things we want. They detain us. They shoot us like bait. We were not armed or fighting" — Soweto youth interviewed by RTE reporter.

"A leaking roof, a flickering candle, a kitchen table, rickety chairs, five of us or a large air-conditioned library. Squalor, poverty, us. We need a place to study, to read, to breathe.

"Our primary school brothers and sisters swarm our already too small library. The city library is closed to us. Where now? Have we caused any damage? Or does our presence cause embarrassment, uneasiness maybe?"

"We only want somewhere to sit, and you need have no fear of us taking over your library. Not for a chance in education we ask, but for education. Silence, atmosphere of learning, feel of life... a library.

"About subsidies, administrators, we know little. Conditions, concessions, we do not care. We have up till now eaten half loaves of bread. Whole loaves cost too much.

"On second thoughts, keep your library. We can do without. The complete loaf of bread will be ours one day."

Open letter from a South African school student to a city council which voted to close the library to Blacks.

## Justice and peace: Zimbabwe to Ireland

Le Eldrida

Tyrannies find human rights organisations — Amnesty International, the Justice and Peace Commission or whatever — embarrassing, but, due to world opinion, cannot be seen to be acting too strongly against them.

Recently, we heard of arrests and expulsions of members of that Commission in Rhodesia focussing attention on investigating allegations of brutality and murder of Africans by members of the Rhodesian "Security Forces" which are protected officially from criticism by a series of "emergency laws". Bishop Lamont's connection with the Justice and Peace Commission was a major reason for his "trial" and expulsion.

As Bishop Lamont himself put it: "When the security forces move into an area, uproot the local people and move them into 'protected villages', bomb their houses and destroy their crops, harass and torture people on suspicion of harbouring terrorists, shoot civilians on their way home, the missionaries cannot help but be involved. They experience with them the injustice of the system and share with them the desire for change."

### And in Bogside

And what of nearer home? A couple of years ago a young man from the Justice and Peace Commission in London was "fact-finding" in Derry. While walking in the Bogside he and two local companions were lifted by the Crown forces.

At a certain well-known barracks, as soon as the Crown forces knew what organisation he was from — and heard his public school accent — they could not release him fast enough! Pity he did not refuse to speak. He might have learnt a few more "facts" about the Crown forces that way.

Soweto ranks with Belfast and Derry throughout the Third World as a focal point of resurgence against tyranny. Our picture shows a Soweto (South African) demonstration demanding release of detainees.



## Catholic League says 'no' to Carter

THE CATHOLIC League for Religious and Civil Rights in the U.S.A. has criticised President Jimmy Carter's proposal for Ireland's north-east as a betrayal of the Administration's professed concern for human rights throughout the world.

The Carter proposal called for an end to the fighting in the Six Counties, to be followed by increased American aid as a means of lowering unemployment in the region.

But, according to Michael Schwartz, associate executive director of the Catholic rights group, the Carter proposal ignored several important factors contributing to the fighting and is, therefore, no solution at all.

### Anti-Catholic

"There was nothing in your statement about the denial of civil rights to the minority population in Northern Ireland; the discrimination against Catholics in housing and employment; the brutalities of military and police investigators; the systematic mistreatment of political prisoners; and the creation and embitterment of sectarian strife by those who hold political power", the League official said.

"Until these problems are resolved", Schwartz continued, "there can be no just and lasting peace in Northern Ireland. Promises of economic aid to the

region that are contingent upon the establishment of peace, with no consideration for the necessary preconditions of peace, are virtually meaningless, however well intended".

Schwartz recalled that during last year's campaign, candidate Carter "specifically promised support for human rights in Northern Ireland. It is incomprehensible to us", he continued, "that you can now make a major policy statement on Northern Ireland which includes not one word on human rights".

## San Francisco shock for Gauleiter

REPUBLICAN sympathisers breached the tight security surrounding Roy Mason on his visit to San Francisco, USA, on October 13, causing red faces among the U.S. and Crown secret police surrounding the Crown's minister.

Our San Francisco correspondent, T. Breathnach, explains:

Bhif Ragh Mason anseo inné (D. Fómhair 13) agus deichmíur on Seirbhís Rúnda a chosnadh shior. Folaíth ar fad a bhí sé, dar leo go léir.

Ar a shon san agus uile, sholtaítragh mé féin gan dua an tráidín. Inaithriugh a bhí ar a dhealláimh is dhíagús cóig d' "Éire Nua" ina ionad. Ní fheadar ar léig sé é?

## Peace prize protest in Norway

Lenár gComhfhreagróir in Oslo

A WELL attended meeting of the Norwegian Student Society (DNS) in Oslo, Norway, on October 15 passed unanimously the following resolution concerning the Nobel Peace Prize:

"DNS strongly condemns the granting of the Nobel Peace Prize to Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan and expresses its strong support for the Irish people in their just war against British imperialism.

"At the same time we want to express our full support for the Irish liberation movement in its struggle for a free, united and socialist Ireland.

"Support the Irish people's fight against imperialism! No peace without freedom! No peace prize to the hirelings of imperialism!"

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUREAU A YEAR OLD

## Le Risteard Behal

AT THE 1976 Sinn Féin Ardheis the following resolution on Foreign Affairs was passed:

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

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

(c) That we educate our members and followers in these matters and especially in the proposed future role of the New Ireland in world affairs and that a Foreign Affairs Bureau be established to implement this resolution.

### A year later

Since the passing of that resolution the Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau has improved our international contacts and written many articles for "An Phoblacht" and "Republican News".

As a result, the general membership of the Irish Republican Movement and our supporters have a far greater understanding of and solidarity with people's struggles

the world over, whether political, cultural or economic.

We wish to forge stronger links with our fellow brothers and sisters throughout the world, believing that the struggle of one is the cause of all, from our Celtic cousin

nations in Europe to the hunted Indians in the deepest jungle in South America.

Further information, contacts and such like in the field of International solidarity would be greatly appreciated by us.

## Foreign affairs and you

What is YOUR opinion of foreign affairs coverage in this page? What freedom movements would YOU like to see covered by us? Tell us briefly and we will try to meet your requirements.

# BY NO MEANS A RACIST: NEW YORK READER

I FIND it extremely painful to be involved in a totally irrelevant squabble in the pages of "An Phoblacht". No matter how many replies you may receive on this subject, this is my last.

My main criticism is of the management of the paper itself for allowing this ridiculous matter to begin in the first place. That was when you accepted a report from someone in New York and put it on the front page; from someone who is unknown to the rank and file of Republican supporters here in New York.

This report was pure condemnation of the Irish here in relation to their attitudes to Blacks and hispanics. There must be a large number of reliable people here, known to your staff, with whom you could have checked that first report before you gave it the prominence of the front page.

But you went ahead with this irresponsible report in the primary Irish Republican national newspaper. A reply was bound to follow to correct the errors in that first report. I gave this reply but, unfortunately, the paper thinks it good policy to prolong this slanging match and published an attack on me rather than what I said.

This is rather sad because I have had a similar, unwarranted and lying attack levelled at me in the past in your publication. On that occasion, however, I was vindicated by the highest authority in the Republican Movement but its memory has been revived by this latest attack by a Mr. Cathal Seán Ó hAra.

Mr. Ó hAra didn't deny anything I reported about the condition of the cities here. He couldn't because anyone with eyes and normal perception can observe the scene for himself. But, like the messenger of old who was put to death because he was the bearer of bad tidings, I was called a racist because I reported on the plight of white people from the virtual terror of life in the central cities.

I didn't TELL those people to flee... I merely wrote of it. Then he refers to the likelihood that I am living in an all-white neighbourhood, thinking of ways to keep the blacks out. The fact is that I am living in what was once an old happy area. However, I am "thinking of ways" to escape from here, not because of the colour of anyone's skin but because of the alarming increase in all kinds of vandalism and

crime and even random murder on any sidewalk. Is it racist to want to, to HAVE to run from predators whose numbers and crimes have escalated so much that there is no recourse but to flee?

I have never denied the right of Blacks to all the same rights that I am entitled to; God made them as He made everyone else. The aims of the Black people for jobs, housing, education, etc., have never been denied by me but I do say that we need more support not less for our struggling nation and to highlight and encourage this Black and white debate on your pages can only result in yet more divisiveness among our supporters. If you are so inclined may we not expect you to take sides on the Greek-Turk, N. and S. Korea, Bangladesh Jews-Arabs and all the others? I wonder if supporters of all those causes argue and create divisions among themselves because of us?

In my last letter to your paper you added in italics at the bottom "this is part of a very long letter". You could have added to Mr. Ó hAra's letter an answer to his query about my credentials: "Mr. Duffy is well known for his support and work on

behalf of the Republican Movement".

Finally, I am bitterly disappointed that the management of "An Phoblacht" should have permitted such an unwarranted demeaning of my good name. Not only does this hurt me needlessly but it hurts the image of the very cause which we are proud to serve because I am often publicly in press, radio and television known as a spokesman for the Republican Movement.

I prefer to live in community with Irish people than Italians, Jews, Poles, Germans, etc., but if I add Blacks and Puerto Ricans, I am called a racist. PLEASE let's get rid of this obsession with other countries' affairs and muster the support we have to defeat the ancient enemy.

—Tom Duffy

Bronx, New York, Mexico.

● The Republican Movement is fighting for freedom, including freedom of expression. It is in that spirit that we publish readers' letters. As our struggle is part of the struggle of the third world it is logical that we interest ourselves in the third world. It is also pragmatic. — Eagarthóir na Litreacha.

**Comhbhrón**

Ms. Bernie Gibson, Dublin - Members of Jim Bryson Cumann, Dublin, express deepest sympathy with member Seamus Gibson on the death of his wife, Bernie, on Monday, October 24, R.I.P.

The Gibson family wishes to thank members of the Bryson Cumann, Clann na nGael and all other members of the Republican Movement who sent wreaths, Mass cards and notices of sympathy in connection with their recent bereavement.

**Tom Flately** - At the monthly meeting of Cavan Comhairlecheantair, Sinn Féin, a vote of sympathy was passed with the widow, family and relatives of the late Tom Flately; R.I.P.

**Michael Major** - Members and Committee of the Connolly Keegan Cumann, Sinn Féin, St. Albans, Hertfordshire, England, tender deepest sympathy to the family and friends of the late Michael Major (Sean-Oglaiha na hÉireann), Newry and Dundalk, who died suddenly in St. Albans on October 9, aged 78.

The funeral was attended by Michael Holden on behalf of the Republican Movement in England. A wreath was laid on behalf of St Albans Sinn Féin by the Cathaoirleach, Noel Lyaght.

"We may have great men, but we'll never have better".

**An Cumann Cabhrach**

Salé of Work, December 9, 10 and 11 in the Dublin Mansion House. Donations and helpers needed. Committee meets every Tuesday night in 44 Parnell Square. By linkin ar son na bpáirtneach.

**Gaeilge: essence of our nationality**

**AN CUMANN CABHRACH**

Annual dinner, céilí and ballads.

Clare Manor Hotel, Malahide Road, Dublin.

Friday, January 6, 1978. 9.2 a.m. Dress Informal

Taille: £5.00

Inquiries: 314941, 592863.

Bus will leave 44 Parnell Square at 20.15 hours.

Dinner: Florida Cocktail, Scotch Broth, Roast Turkey and Ham, Brussels Sprouts and Garden Peas, Roast and Creamed Potatoes, Coupe Hawaii, Tea or Coffee, Rolls and Butter.

Dinner will be served at 21.00 hours.

**Australian raffle**

First prize, G. Murzen Sydney, ticket 2660; Second prize, B. Barry, Campbelltown, Ticket 3165; Third prize, J. Kinella, Homebush, ticket 1869; Fourth prize, L. Ward, Belrose, ticket 79; Fifth prize, T. Silles, Queensland, ticket 1524; Sixth prize, G. Devine, Enfield, ticket 1916; Seventh prize, P. Stabback, ticket 471; Eighth prize, M. Bolland, Wollongong, ticket 289; Ninth prize, B.W. Story, Sth. Australia, 2910; Tenth prize, P. McLoughlin, Blacktown, ticket 360; Eleventh prize, H. McCafferty, Victoria, ticket 1137; Twelfth prize, M. Cummins, Perth, ticket 4784.

**POSTMHÁLA • POSTBAG • POSTMHÁLA**

HERE is a copy of the letter which appeared today (October 18) in the "Irish News". Please publish this letter in "An Phoblacht" and allow your many readers to see that we have at least one doctor in these six north-eastern counties of Ireland concerned about our defenceless men and women taken into custody by what "Bull" Mason's so-called security forces (Crown forces).

I salute Dr. Séamus McAteer for his courage.

—Harry Murray, 37 Drumsill Park, Longstone Estate, Armagh.

**TORTURE** is an emotive word today. It brings denials from Mr. Roy Mason and Chief Constable Newman that it cannot happen in the North of Ireland.

The fact is that conditions now are as bad as the nightmare days of Ballykinnal, Palace Barracks, Holywood, and Girwood. Cattergagh RUC Interrogation Centre is a great problem and attention has been brought to it recently by doctors. But torture has moved out from such centres to the private houses.

From my own casebook I can give a list of brutalities:

- 1 - They try to unnerve their prisoner with foul language and they sometimes do.
- 2 - They change from rough officers to "sweeteners", too sweet to be wholesome.
- 3 - They make an arrested person pretend that he is sitting on a non-existent chair with his hands out for a cigarette or a kick on a bare ankle.
- 4 - They make him do press-ups until he collapses, then they kick him up again.
- 5 - They spread his feet out, standing on his toes, hands out, resting on his fingertips and leaning against the wall with his head back. Should his head come forward, it is yanked back by a fistful of hair or a karate chop or a kick on the ankle.
- 6 - They make him "run on the spot", and if he does not lift his knees high enough they will thump him in the stomach.
- 7 - They will bone into him head down, and charge him backwards into the wall.
- 8 - They will shake him by the hair "to soften up his brain".
- 9 - They will threaten to shoot him.
- 10 - They will threaten to shoot him.
- 11 - They will throw him one to another, around the room.

All this has an adverse effect, obviously, on the recipient, on the general public whose confidence in law is eroded and on the torturer, who progresses to sadism and is himself in danger of committing suicide.

These cases are happening frequently in Northern Ireland. To many politicians look the other way. The only chance the people have is to phone Eather Faul and Father Murray, who already have won a place in the hearts of a suffering humanity.

As a doctor I have opened my own casebook for you. I hope by this publicity that I will help to end brutality and torture in police stations in Northern Ireland.

—Dr. Séamus McAteer, Idr Chinn Trá (Newry).

**GARDA TORTURE**

SELDOM has any government had such a clear consensus of opinion as the present (Dublin) government has in the matter of dealing with the charges of brutality against the Garda. A overwhelming public demand is unmistakably on the side of an impartial tribunal to investigate the allegations.

What Mr. Collins has set up by way of a three-man Committee is a mere sham that far from satisfies public demand. This Committee has no power or function to investigate the serious allegations contained in the Amnesty Report or in the dossier of brutality that is handed to the Minister. The Minister has further tried to fool the public by giving the task to the Garda of investigating complaints against themselves. Considering the very serious nature of the allegations, an internal inquiry into the Garda is totally unacceptable to the public. These, too, are entitled to their measure of justice. After all, it is they who are on trial and they also must see that the good name of the vast majority of the force cannot be vindicated by such an inadequate investigation.

Nor can justice be done to the persons allegedly ill-treated, unless those who abuse their power are made amenable to the law and, if guilty, are made pay the penalty. I have seen a number of instances of people brutalised by the Special Branch and whose lives were fully upheld by medical examination. These, too, are entitled to their measure of justice.

One wonders how Mr. Collins abandoned the sense of justice he displayed in Leinster House in February last when he asked the then Minister, Mr. Cooney, accept that his sole responsibility lay in these four direct areas:

- 1 - To ensure that no person in Garda custody was ill-treated;
  - 2 - If such ill-treatment had occurred that it was his responsibility to see that it was stopped;
  - 3 - That those who carried it out were punished by way of prosecution or disciplinary measures.
- If the allegations were unfounded he would ensure that the good name of the Garda was vindicated.
- As Mr. Lynch forgotten conveniently what he said when interviewed on the RTE radio programme, "This Week", on February 20: "I endorse what Gerry Collins said. These allegations must be investigated" the Minister (Cooney) did not even question the Commissioner. He said it was all very fine for the Minister for Justice to say the courts were there, but he could not deny that it could take months or years for cases to be dealt with ("these things, if they are to be exposed, should be exposed at the earliest possible moment", Mr. Lynch said).

Three days later it was reported: "The Flanna Fáil parliamentary party yesterday called on the Government to set up a judicial tribunal to

**Salute to a doctor's courage**

investigate allegations of brutality by the Garda against prisoners in their custody." ("Irish Press" Feb. 24).

No doubt the extended detention period was one of the major causes of the alleged brutalisation of prisoners. But the public should note that Section Two of the Emergency Powers Act has not been removed - it is merely shod off-stage for the time being. Any excuse and the seven-day detention may be re-activated. Either way, it cannot mean that there is no case to be investigated.

There should be genuine concern because of the distinct possibility that the treatment of prisoners and detainees has been condoned not only at high level in the Garda but at Cabinet level, at least in the last government. The Office of the Director of Prosecutions should also be investigated as to why no prosecutions have so far been brought in relation to the brutality allegations. It is not, therefore, dissimilar to the case versus Britain in Strasbourg.

For these reasons I believe that any investigation must be independent, public and speedy. Failing a prompt satisfactory inquiry into the whole murky business I am considering the possibility of publishing the complete dossier, names of the well-documented allegations of maltreatment which I have in my possession.

—An tAth. Piaras Ó Dúill, Baile Átha Cliath, 7.

**CRIMES TRIBUNAL**

"AN Phoblacht" (5 October) carried an interview with Jane Crawford which implied that the PAC is supporting the proposed war Crimes Tribunal to be held next year. This is not the case.

The PAC, having attended one preliminary meeting, has decided not to support the Tribunal in any way as we regard it as an example of the "politics of the last atrocity", which has diverted attention from the struggle for freedom in Ireland over the last few years.

We do not regard the Irish people, who have waged a constant struggle for liberty, as "victims" but as a nation which has an inalienable right to nationhood. Amongst organisations backing the Tribunal are the Socialist Worker's Party which recently refused to carry, in an In Memoriam notice for Noel Jenkinson, a quotation from Noel's last letter, in which he called for the unity of the Irish people behind the Republican Movement.

The reason given to us by the editor of the SWP paper, Chris Harman, for this refusal was that: "We do not support the Provisionals". Yet these are the people backing a tribunal into "war crimes" which will be ended only when the occupation of Ireland by England is at an end.

This is not going to be brought about by the SWP or Miss Crawford's friends, most of whom have been strangely silent for the last eight years while their own government perpetrated the acts against the Irish people which they now propose to "try".

If the SWP wants a theatrical performance on Ireland, let them mount it. They have the money and the resources and it is an obscenity that they should be going cap in hand to Irish people for it. It's their government, their army and their prisons and their eighty-year failure, to support the people waging the struggle for freedom in Ireland.

Irish people should continue to support only those organisations which have a proven record of effort and achievement behind them.

—Jacqueline Kaye, Prisoners' Aid Committee, 182 Upper Street, London N.1, Sasana.

● The hard and sustained work of Prisoners' Aid Committee is appreciated deeply by the prisoners of war and the Republican Movement in general. The proposed Tribunal, if it succeeds in publicising widely crown barbarities in Ireland (and against the Irish in England, Scotland and Wales) also could be valuable in the struggle against imperialism and for Irish freedom, hence our publicity. We regret that we gave the impression of PAC support - Eagarthóir na Litreacha.

**Lá breithe Uí Dhubda**

Birthday greetings to our son, Brendan Dowd, Longport Prison, Canterbury, Kent, on Nov. 17 from his parents in Rathfranny, Tralee. Also to Roy Waise, Paul Norney, John Hayes, Maddy Duggan, Sean Kinsella and Eddie Coughy, on their birthdays, all in Crown jails.

Happy birthday, Brenda, from all the members of Charlie Daly Sinn Féin Cumann, Keel, Castlemaine, Co. Kerry.

Thinking of you on your birthday, Brendan: Ladden family, The Mall, Castlemaine.

**CRAFT CENTRE**

**Leather goods**  
Women's leather handbags, shoulder style, made in Long Kesh ..... £14.00 and £16.00  
Silver medallions ..... £7.50  
Women's purses and men's wallets, made in Long Kesh ..... £6.00  
(All are modelled in Celtic designs; postage and packing 40p extra).

**Jewellery**  
Silver Phoenix lapel badges ..... £2.50  
Gold Phoenix lapel badges ..... £10.00  
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Gold Phoenix medallions ..... £25.00  
Women's silver Phoenix rings ..... £4.00  
Women's gold Phoenix rings ..... £12.50  
Men's silver Phoenix Rings ..... £6.50  
Men's gold Phoenix Rings ..... £25.00  
(Post and packing, 25p extra)

**Records**

Long-playing records: Those marked with an \* also available in four track cassette.  
\* Ireland live on - by Saoirse ..... £2.50  
\* Hang my country - the story of a targedy ..... £2.40  
The Price of Justice - by Kathleen Largesy ..... £2.50  
England's Vietnam - by the Men of No Property ..... £2.50  
Ireland: The fight goes on - by the Men of No Property ..... £2.50  
\* 20 rebel songs ..... £3.25  
\* The Bloodstained Bandage ..... £3.25  
18 Rebel Songs ..... £3.25  
\* Ireland United, Gaelic and Free ..... £3.25  
\* Best of the Wolfhound ..... £3.25  
\* Freedom's sons - by the Wolfhound ..... £3.25  
\* Ireland, boys, Hurrah - by the Wolfhound ..... £3.25  
\* Smash Intermarriage ..... £3.25  
Irish songs of Freedom, Vols. 1, 2, & 3 ..... £2.75  
The Winds are Singing Freedom - by the Barleycorn ..... £3.25  
The Barleycorn at the Embankment ..... £2.50  
\* For folk sake - by the Barleycorn ..... £3.25  
\* Paddy Reilly at home ..... £3.25  
\* The life of Paddy Reilly ..... £3.25  
\* The Town I love so Well - by Paddy Reilly ..... £3.25  
\* Rifles of the I.R.A. - by the Wolfstones ..... £3.50  
\* Irish to the Core - by the Wolfstones ..... £3.50  
\* Across the Broad Atlantic - by the Wolfstones ..... £3.50  
\* Tommy Makem and Liam Clancy ..... £3.75  
Four Green Fields - by Tommy Makem & Liam Clancy ..... £3.25  
(plus 40p, post and packing)

Singles (all prices 75p plus 20p post and packing):  
Long Kesh: Up and Away; Farewell to Dublin - by the Wolfstones.  
My Little Armalite; Proving Birdie; Michael Gaughan; Brave Frank Stage; Provo Lullaby; Smash of the Van; Ireland, United, Gaelic and Free; Ashdown Road - all by Wolfhound.  
The Town I love so Well - by Paddy Reilly.  
Sean Sabhai from Garryowen - by Michael Moran.  
Crossmaglen - by the Freeman.  
Call or phone or write: Craft Centre, 44 Cearnóg Phiarail, Baile Átha Cliath, ÉIRE.

**Eire Nua carrier bags**

These plastic bags are available from: Craft Shop, Ceardóg Phiarail, Baile Átha Cliath, 1, Éire.  
Also from Siopa Éire Nua, Carriga Airt, Co. Thi Chonnail, Éire.  
£13.00 for 500; £23.00 for 1,000.



**The Last Post**

A valuable historical record containing the names of those who have given their lives for the cause of Irish freedom. Published by the National Graves Association. Available from the Republican Craft Centre. Price £2.00; Postage and packing 20p extra.

**SINN FÉIN LONDON**

Another new cumann has been formed in London. If interested in joining write to Box Eight, 182 Upper Street, London, N.1.

**Lá breithe Uí Dhubda**

Always on our thoughts - Madge, Mary and Kathleen.  
Thinking of you on November 17, Brendan - Maria Ladden.  
Best wishes on your birthday, Brendan - Tom. We are thinking of you - The Keel Gló. Your friends in Keel, Castlemaine, often talk about you, especially "The Vodka drinkers".  
Birthday greetings, Brendan, from your friend who borrowed the spotlight from your red car. Remember?  
Hello Brendan, remember us? All the girls in Pretty Polly factory, Killyarney.

**Crown's dirtiest war**

# Soldier hits baby with metal bar

A THREE-YEAR old Belfast child beaten with an iron bar by an enemy soldier is the latest Crown assault on children but the episode, like so many others, has been played down or ignored by the major newspapers of these islands, including the collaborationist press of Dublin.

Remember the huge headlines on October 10 last in response to the Crown's lie machine in Lisburn? "Irish Independent" under a strap-line, "The Callous Killers," printed: NOW IRA TURN ON TODDLERS.

They didn't, of course. They never have, but when the Crown said it, it had to be true.

The truth was that a woman spy had been executed (and got a funeral with full military Crown honours some days later).

Nobody tried to touch her child. Nobody fired as much as one round in his direction. But the Crown's manufactured "evidence" was accepted and the denial by Oglagh na hÉireann (IRA) virtually ignored (or ignored).

**How it happened**

As to the child beaten by an enemy soldier with an iron bar, it happened in the New Barnsley estate on Sunday, October 23.

MRS. PATRICIA MCHUGH, the mother, who lives in 13 New Barnsley Parade, reports how it happened to her son, Tony (3):

"The children were out playing. The soldiers were across the road. There was supposed to be a bomb. The next thing, I heard the child crying. I went out and his face was covered in blood.

"One of the children told me that a soldier had hit him. I went over to confront the soldier. He admitted that he had hit the child but would not tell me what with.

"I went to the officer in charge and the officer asked him had he hit the child and he replied: 'Yes, with an iron bar'. Later, I got the weapon.

**Stitches in head**

"The officer sent for an ambulance to take the child to hospital. The child was seen by a doctor at the Royal Victoria Hospital who had to stitch his head.

"In the meantime the soldier was sent into the Sarsen and had to stay there the whole day. But he had openly admitted in front of people that he had hit the child for no reason at all."

Mrs. McHugh added that the child had been hit with a metal bar about six or seven inches long.

"When I arrived back from the hospital," she said, "I brought the child over to the officer to show him that he had had to have stitches and he spoke down to the child and said: 'The bar bounced off the wall, son, didn't it?'"

**SUPPRESSION OF AN CHEAD DAIL**

"The child answered 'yes' but the child did not know where the bar come from or what he had been hit with."

**Bloody tradition**

Our American friends might cut this out and show it to President Carter, whose researchers will have no difficulty in proving that brutality by the Crown forces to Irish children has a long and bloody tradition (the poem, attributed, perhaps incorrectly, to Peadar O Doirnín, with the refrain "a leanbhain mo chléibh", records

such brutality in the Cronwellian period; butchering of babies at their mothers' breasts well documented also in 1798 in Wexford; there were many recorded examples of the same sort of callousness by the Tans).

No doubt an attempt has been made to have the soldier charged with attempted murder (or, at the very least, assault). It will be instructive to see how far it gets.



Mrs. McHugh and her son, Tony (3). Arrow shows the metal bar with which the child was struck.

**CHRISTMAS CARDS**

Order your Christmas cards now from the Craft Centre, 44 Ceanóg Pharnell, B.A.C. 1, Atha Cliath (10p each or £1 per dozen).

**Eagarfhocal**

Ar leantúint o lch. a do

The beating-up of the old days by the RUC have ended, and in their place is institutionalised torture, murder, internment-with-trial, forced confessions, framings, greater discrimination than ever in employment (the Ford factory, Mackey's, the shipyard, etc.) and housing.

The Republican people are not fools. Neither are they cowards. Nor will they be forced by Orange and Crown barbarities to emigrate. For some 50 years, perhaps, they hoped for justice eventually. Now they know that they can get justice, not as a manufactured minority in a carefully cut off part of their own country, but with the rest of the Irish people in a free Ireland. That is the

only way to permanent peace and justice in Ireland and they know it.

The time will come when the more realistic, humane and just of the "loyalists" will realise that the Crown must because there is no other way and that what Sinn Féin is offering is fair and reasonable, providing the best guarantees for their self-governing community, along with peace and prosperity.

It is regrettable that Conor Cruise O'Brien cannot put aside his emotional attachment to the historically passé "British" ethos, and attack the problem with the detachment he shows when making a critical analysis of literature, thus letting the peace-man out from the hulk of the bully.



## Agriculture in the new Ireland

(Ar leantúint o lch. a 5)

land. Large farms at present at a low production level would be taken over. A maximum amount of land to be owned by any one citizen would be established.

Only Irish citizens, living in Ireland, would be permitted to hold land. The holdings of an absentee landlord would be subject to compulsory purchase by the state but, if the absentee were an emigrant small farmer, he would be encouraged to return and participate in the building of the New Ireland.

If he did not wish to do this, he would be given the option of taking the purchase price in the form of a pension fund for retirement to Ireland when he wished.

**Pilot schemes**

Land taken over by the state would be leased to families who would work it as co-operative units. These would act as pilot schemes to help the spread of the co-operative idea, on which much of the agricultural enterprise in the New Ireland would be based.

The federal, provincial and regional authorities of a 32-Counties independent Ireland would be in a position to allocate funds for agricultural investment into projects which would strengthen the farmers' own organisations and encourage the growth of production and marketing co-operatives.

Guaranteed prices and market stability would enable investment to be planned properly. Subsidies would be tailored in such a way as to reward small-farm enterprise and to develop a broad, well-balanced and diversified agriculture.

The role would be consolidated into a "depressed area" subsidy which would remain, irrespective of increase in production.

The formation of marketing co-operatives would be encouraged so that profits, at present enjoyed by merchants, would be ploughed back into farm enterprises under co-operative control.

The Éire Nua programme aims to revolutionise and revitalise agriculture in this country, to increase rather than decrease the rural population, and to ensure that control over agricultural matters would be exercised by the farming communities.

**BUANCHUIMHNE**

SEAMUS McCUSKER - Sinn Féin, Luton, remembers with pride our comrade, Seamus McCusker, murdered by pro-imperialist thugs, on October 31 1975.

"You are still part of the revolutionary struggle." Vencere-mos.

STAFF Officers Paul Marlow, Joey Surgenor and Frank Fitzsimons - First anniversary, Luton Sinn Féin remembers with pride the memory of our comrades who died in the struggle for national liberation.

"Dead but shall never die."

## As lár an chogaidh

FROM THE WAR ZONE

ACCORDING to an English newspaper, the Irish firebomb attacks on capital is less spectacular than high-explosive bombs "but far more damaging." Compensation for bombing in 1974-75 has still to be met. Overall, it was costing the enemy £1,000,000 a week up to last January.

Since then, with the fire-bomb tactic, the cost has gone up to £1,500,000 per week.

Here is a list of most of the operations for the week beginning Sat. Oct. 22.

**SATURDAY, OCT. 22**

Portadown: Five incendiary devices exploded in Portadown railway station, extensively damaging a railway carriage.

**MONDAY OCT. 24**

Belfast: A Railway carriage was destroyed in York Road railway station, when another device went off.

Four incendiary devices went off in the Greenan Lodge Hotel, Black's Road, Dunmurry.

An incendiary device, discovered in Marley's hardware store, Donegal Street, was destroyed.

**TUESDAY OCT. 25**

Newtownards: The Town and Country Inn, Newtownards, was destroyed when a number of fire-bombs exploded.

Belfast: Following the hijacking and burning of a bus Cliftonville Road, north Belfast, Crown forces shot dead a 15 years old boy. According to relatives, he was on his way home from visiting friends in the Bone area and was not involved in the incident when murdered.

Another bus was hijacked and burnt on Monagh road, in the city.

Armagh: A bus was hijacked and burnt near Forkhill, Co. Armagh.

**THURSDAY OCT. 27**

Magherafelt: A member of the Crown forces (UDR) was injured seriously when a booby-trap bomb exploded in his car in Magherafelt. Oglagh na hÉireann (Derry) claimed responsibility.

**FRIDAY OCT. 28**

Belfast: The Truform shoe shop, Upper North Street, Belfast, was destroyed when an incendiary device exploded. An adjoining shop was damaged.

**PICKETS PLEASE**

Irlandskomiteen i Norge (the Irish solidarity committee in Oslo) ask for pickets and demonstrations outside Norwegian diplomatic missions and firms on Dec. 10, the presentation day for the Nobel peace prize.

