

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 44. 8p. Samhain 2, 1976.

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and well being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.  
*(1st Dail Eireann)*

## **Máire Bn. Uí Dhroma murdered by pro - British elements**



**Thursday, October 28, 1976**



# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 7, Samhain 2, 1976, Uimhir 44.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire, Guthán: 747611.

THE RESULTS of the Mac Greil attitudes survey, disclosed in Galway, should not surprise anybody who understands the colonial mind. Evidence of racial prejudice among the colonised Irish has been documented for more than 300 years.

Attitudes in the Pale have been faithfully recorded. Irish-born troops under the Crown in India and elsewhere were noted as being particularly savage, in many cases, refusing to accept the 'native' as human beings.

In North America, Irish-born troops and police were particularly cruel and merciless against the Red Indian, Mexicans and blacks.

In more recent years, native-born Irishmen have played a shameful role in the continued suppression of the black and the Puerto Rican, notably in the Boston area, in the bussing protests.

Bishop Lamont has pointed out that Irish-born Roman Catholics in Rhodesia are the most anti-black (and, logically, anti-Christian) in his diocese, in that classic example of colonial exploitation. Similar reports come to us from South Africa.

The Irish, however, despite their colonialisation in body and soul, hard to escape after more than 800 years of bondage and anglicization, are often redeemed in their clergy, Protestant as much as Roman Catholic, abroad if not, unfortunately, at home, and, among the laity, in the social revolutionary role, both at home and abroad.

Ironically, the Irish Jesuit, Micheal Mac Greil, responsible for the attitudes survey, recently put his name to an inter-Church report on the Irish conflict, one which lined those churchmen solidly behind the status quo and, historically, in an anti-Irish tradition.

It is one thing to be a pacifist, and Father Mac Greil takes this stand. To be a genuine pacifist, however, involves neutrality. To back the status quo, as Father Mac Greil has done is to be partisan to play the political role, to line oneself with the imperialist and neo-colonial forces.

Father Mac Greil, one is given to understand, was awakened to a partial understanding of one of the facets of imperialism, the linguistic one, when a student in Belgium. He learned the Flemish dialect of the Dutch language and is believed to have played some part in the struggle for linguistic freedom waged by the Dutch-speaking people of Belgium.

Returning to Ireland, he joined Conradh na Gaeilge, improved his knowledge of the Irish language, and rose to a position of respect and power in the language movement, only to become recognised in recent years as one of its most reactionary elements.

To a considerable extent, it would appear, due to his influence, the traditional revolutionary thrust of the language movement has slowed down if not halted entirely, expending much of its energies in sociological forays in stark contrast to the sharp, realistic surge of the Flemish people and which won them

their linguistic victory, the only example of such a victory by an oppressed people over the past 50 years in Western Europe.

We do not deny the necessity for sociological research. Anything which adds to our education can be used towards our liberation and the Thomas Davis plea - "educate that you may be free" - is even more true today than in his day because anglicization has conquered huge areas of this land since the days of Young Ireland, particularly over the past 20 years.

The presence of Father Mac Greil on the imperialist platform may cause unthinking people to believe that a fluent knowledge of Irish is not an essential dimension of the complete Irish revolutionary.

The fact is - and we have numerous examples to prove it - that a man or a woman can be a slave, fearful of freedom, in an oppressed country while fluent in the national, ancestral language. Castlereagh supported the Irish language movement of his day. O'Connell was as fluent an Irish speaker as Máire Mhac an tSaoi, John Kelly, Patrick Burke or Patrick Hillery.

But to balance the picture we have had Ó Donabháin Rosa, Liam Ó Maolíosa, Pádraic Mac Piarais, Ceannt, Aghas, Seán Sabhat, Feargal Ó hAnluain and the many good Irish speakers in the Republican Movement (and, *pace* Father Mac Greil, in Conradh na Gaeilge). And we have the warnings and pleadings of James Connolly in his dialogues with the Gaelic League of his day.

The unfree man and woman is a maimed creature. He has racist tendencies because he has no understanding of freedom. Not being free himself he cannot understand the necessity of others to be free. He fawns on his masters. He despises the lower, less privileged orders, whether they be Jews (as in Limerick about a century ago), blacks, 'wogs' (adopting the contemptuous slang of his masters), 'culchie', 'Galegors', thinkers (as in Galway, at present), 'winos', anarchists, Communists, atheists . . . or Republicans; anyone, any group, whose condition or whose conscientious protest disturbs his conscience, even if sub-consciously.

All too frequently the weight of guilt within us causes us not to analyse that guilt and to blame ourselves prior to repentance and salvation but to strike out against the innocent; much of the current

wave of torture in Ireland may be explained in that context.

The man and woman who is free in his mind, be he Christian, Moslem, Jew, Buddhist, Communist, atheist, agnostic . . . or Republican . . . wants all mankind to share his salvation, calls all mankind to understanding and repentance, and is prepared to fight to the death for this universal, ageless ideal.

That is why it is necessary for just men and women to wage terrible war when there is no other way - and history has few examples of national liberation without an armed struggle.

The unfree man and woman is spiritually blind, cannot conceive of freedom, fears it and shrinks from it as does the recently released person who has spent a long period in prison which has maimed him in mind if not also in body.

Hundreds of thousands of black slaves, when emancipated in America after the Civil War, willingly would have returned to their former status, if permitted by law; the facts have been recorded by reliable historians.

This is the basic problem of all liberation movements and thus the heavy burden on such movements to educate their people at every level, showing by example, on the limited scale made possible to them, that freedom is the objective rather than a new domination.

Hence the duty of Republicans today not to participate in any act which can sully their noble cause, disillusion their potential followers or give any opportunity to the enemy to confuse the mass of the people.

In this respect, once again, we emphasise the importance of Republicans taking all possible measures to ensure that the "peace" marches are not attacked physically, that no word or action by responsible Republicans be such as to give the slightest encouragement for attacks on marchers, regardless of provocation, if only in the knowledge that the truth must triumph and that the contradictions and the stupidities of the mercenary troops must tear the sham peace movement into shreds, proving to those of goodwill where their real interests lie.

There are no 'doves' and 'hawks' in the Republican Movement but, rather, a united leadership dedicated to truth, peace, justice, all of which add up to freedom.

There can be no lasting peace in Ireland until the mercenaries and the imperial Crown that employs them leave our country forever. To pretend that there is any other way to permanent peace is an illogical repudiation of all history, of all experience.

No matter what their politics, most people in these islands are coming to realise the truth and the practicality of that principled assertion, the resolute determination which backs it and the inevitability of its realisation in our time.

## Deile

CUID MHAITH dinn, a d'eacontuigh go laidir lena dhearcadh polaitiúil ach raibh meas agann ar an duine ionraic taobh thiar de, mar a bhíonn meas ag saighdiúir ar na laoi ionraic crodha ta ina choinne, ghoill orainn a dtarla do Chearbhall O Dalaigh.

Bheadh a leithéid d'fhear ina sheod ag ghuaiseacht nó ag páirtí ar bith, lena déann, lena ghaelachas, lena uaisleacht, lena chomhbhá don bhocht, don íseal, don easáin.

Agus is dócha go raibh daoine ann, nuair a chuir Cearbhall bocht deireadh leis an dráma trí shílú amach on ardáin, adúirt: "Eire, an chárán a d'áip a hál . . ."

Ach ní Eire a rinne sin ach na madafí lathaigh a dteastaíonn uatha go gceapadh an domhan gur Eire tá iontu. An mhí seo caite, mar sin féin, chruthuigh siad nach Eire tá iontu ach an tréas, an mhí-onóir, an tseafóid . . . nó na faoi choilín. Agus nach n-oiréann dóibh, mar chinnire, ach an cladaire, an lúbaire, an t-amadán nó each bocht saonta.

An stát is íú agus dá fáil é i gcóir an tsaoil, más stát saor neamhspleách é, tá dínit éicint ag baint leis agus uaisleacht dá réir. Is fíor sin faoi na pobail agus faoi na treibheanna is íú eolais agus oideachais i measc na barbarachta.

Scéith an "Saor" stát ar fáil agus dá déileáil le Cearbhall O Dalaigh, agus tá sé comh fíor sin faoi iompair Fhianna Fáil is atá sé faoi Fhine Gael agus faoin bhPáirtí Oibreachais.

Ciall Sinn Féin

BHÍ CIALL agus réasún ag baint le áiteas

## MEAS NA GCOLLACH AR A STÁT AGUS AR DHÍNIT A UACHTARÁIN

controversy. . . our cause.

"It is the Northern crisis and its effect upon us," said Mr. Corish. "If there had been no Northern conflict and its spill-over effect into the Republic, there would have been no Presidential resignation, just as there would have been no cabinet crisis in May 1970. Truly, the North has taken a heavy toll of political institutions in the Republic."

Ardchomhairle Shinn Féin an tseachtain seo caite nuair a mheabhruigh sé de mhuintir na hÉireann gur bhí an bhfíor ghábh náisiúnta - Éire fós faoi chois ag Sasana - ba ea a d'eascair gábh Theach Laighian agus dá ngabhan leis.

Bhí an ráiteas úd chomh gar don néaróg gur bhí eagal d'fóilseacháin ar bith ach an páipéar soc é fhóiláil. Ach is cosúil gur rith cuid den smaoineamh le polaitoírí. Ach is cosúil gur rith cuid den smaoineamh le polaitoírí suaracháir áirithe cé gur chuir siad a gcuid meabhair feir an scéil, Halligan agus Coris, go háirithe.

Abhar grinn, i ndáiríre, atá sa gnióta tá faoi líthe leis an gcóilín seo, mar histéir de chuid Mhic Theorais ("sóisialach a bheas na dalchadha").

Is féidir dhul beagán níos faide ná sin, mar a mheabhroth an Crúiseán dó. Dá mba

rud é nach dtarlódh 1916 . . . dá mba rud é nach mbeadh a Finíní ann . . . dá mba rud é nach mbeadh cuimhne ar 1848, ar an nGorta Mór, ar Roibeárd Emmet, ar 1798 agus na hÉireannaigh Aontuigh, agus siar go dtí 1169 agus bulla an Phápa Shasanaigh.

Ar éigean a bheadh Teach Laighian agus a mhuintir chomh dona agus atáid dá bhfaighcadh sé freagra ar an gcuma sin. Ach ní bheif ag síil ó mhúic - ná ó chollach muiche - ach únfairt.

Ar ndóthan den únfairt a bhí agann an tseachtain a chuaign thart. Mar a d'earfadh Yeats, dá mairfeadh sé: "You have disgraced yourselves again." Go fóinneach.

Cén fáth nár aontuigh Teach Laighian faoin Duineagánach a bheith ina uachtarán orthu? Nach shin an té is fearr a d'oirfeadh dóinn uilg? Nach aige gach subháilce tá ag

teastáil don ghradam, mar atá sé íslithe ag polaitoírí Theach Laighian?

Cinsireacht RTE

FE MAR is dual dom, tá fáiltíos orm, chuaign an spás amú orm arís an tseachtain seo caite agus mé ag tracht faoi ghíota bhí ag "Tuarascaíl" an tseachtain roimhe sin, san "Irish Times" faoin gceinsireacht nua ar RTE.

Seo a leanas giota na "Tuarascaíla" faoi chinsireacht:

'Is cosúil gurb é an t-agallamh le Sean O Brádaigh, Sinn Féin, Sr. Chaomhín, a chraol RTE ar an Domhnach, a spreag an gniomh cinsireachta is detreannai ón gceinsire náisiúnta, Conor Cruise O'Brien. Tá sé chomh maith aige anois na nuachtáin a leanacht, faoi mar a bhí sé ag tuar le linn a agallamh cáiliúil le tuairisceoir an Washington Post. Beith ar chumas na nuachtán troid ina choinne - an chuid acu go mbeidh fonn troda orthu - ní hionann agus RTE mí ó shin, i gcónaí i bpóca an Aire, b'íodh is gur maith leo bheith ag cur dallamullog orthu féin. Tá detreadh leis an dallamullog anois.

Beidh sé speisiúil a fheiceáil céard a bheas le rá anois ag an ceardchumann in RTE; go speisialta an NUJ agus an WUI, an dá cheann is mó a fheastalann ar lucht deánta cíar.

Tada, ar ndóighe.

Gaeilge: essence of our nationality



# PROTEST OVER THE DENIAL OF POLITICAL STATUS

SOLDIERS and police scuffled with demonstrators outside Derry County Courthouse during a protest against the denial of political status to prisoners and the conditions at Belfast Prison.

The demonstration coincided with the appearance in Derry of six Derry men on charges relating to arms and explosives and seizing control of vehicles. All the men, who travelled from Crumlin Road prison in Belfast, appeared in court wearing only underpants and socks.

The protest outside the courthouse in Derry was organised by the local Political Prisoners' Action Committee of parents and relatives. The accused were taken into the courthouse by a side door and a spokesman for the protest organisers alleged that an eye witness had seen a number of the prisoners being kicked down the steps to the cells.

## CONDITIONS DISGRACEFUL

During the court hearing a crowd of up to 100 outside sang pro-IRA songs and chanted slogans.

When the men were being taken away a large number of police backed up by soldiers, some with riot shields and carrying batons, kept back the crowd.

The six men were remanded in custody.

The Magistrate was told by a spokesman for the accused that they were protesting against the denial of political status to prisoners and also the treatment of the men in Belfast Prison, where, he said, they were locked up for 23 hours a day.

Mr. Patrick Marrinan, a solicitor for one of the accused said the conditions in Belfast Prison were "disgraceful".

## PROTEST HALTS COURT

A man vaulted the dock of a Belfast Court and raced up to the magistrate.

Eamon O'Donnell, aged 19 of Creggan Heights, Derry was appearing on remand at Belfast Magistrate's Court when he jumped out of the dock, clambered over the solicitors' bench and across to the magistrate's bench.

O'Donnell jumped back onto the solicitors' bench again, shouting, "We demand political status. We are not criminals, we are political prisoners".

protested about the way O'Donnell was bundled out of the court.

He said: "There is a right way and a wrong way to handle these youngsters. The methods that were used here were ridiculous. As an officer of the court, I feel it is my duty to protest".

The magistrate said that the court had to rise because of O'Donnell's behaviour and he said he could not deal with Mr. O'Hare's protest, adding that he should protest through the proper channels.

## PLIGHT OF JOHN WALKER

"The case of Derry Man John Walker, one of the six innocent men convicted through torture of the Birmingham pub bombs, is a prime example of the disgraceful repression which Irish Republican prisoners are forced to endure in British prison hellholes", said a statement issued by the Derry Comhairleachtair Sinn Féin.

The statement continues: "These innocent men had their applications for leave to appeal against the sentences refused by Lord Widgery of Bloody Sunday fame. Grounds for the appeal took a day and a half to outline but Widgery dismissed them in twenty minutes, evidence in itself that the whole exercise was just a complete fix. Fourteen prison warders went on trial in June charged with assaulting the six, but the complete and utter force of this trial was proven beyond doubt when none of the assaulted prisoners were called to give evidence. Automatically of course, the warders were found not guilty."

The brutality which John Walker has suffered is a disgrace to any civilised society. When first arrested the extent of the injuries he received were such that he was forced to wear glasses and dentures, he has burn marks on his feet as a result of being put into boiling water; as well as this he was kicked and punched on all parts of the body. After the protest on the roof of Hull prison, which gave new courage and resurgence, not only to Republican prisoners but to all anti-imperialist prisoners throughout the world he was moved from Hull to Winchester and again was severely beaten up. This time his glasses and dentures were smashed and the extent of the injuries received by those who participated in the protest, at the hands of prison warders, proved beyond doubt that the men were beaten by both fists and feet. The present medical condition of John Walker is very poor, he has developed a nervous temperament and the doctors have refused to treat him for ulcers which he has also developed.

## REPARATION

The visiting arrangement which his wife must endure to see her husband is also a disgrace and clearly emphasises the absolute necessity for his repatriation to Ireland. She must depart from Derry at 6 a.m. and is forced to stay overnight in England.

"We, in Sinn Féin demand an end to the vindictiveness and the intolerable prison conditions which Irish Republican prisoners are forced to endure in British prisons, we also demand the immediate repatriation to Ireland of John Walker, the other Derry men held hostage in a foreign country and all other Irish Republican prisoners incarcerated in British prisons", the statement ended.

# MÁIRE DRUMM

## A tribute by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

MÁIRE DRUMM'S dedicated life of service to her people is at an end. That she lived and died for Ireland her comrades in the Republican Movement proudly acknowledge. She lived and toiled ceaselessly face to face with the stern realities of life in Belfast and hers was the authentic voice of the beleaguered people suffering and resisting British and pro-British terror in their streets and homes.

She gave leadership fearlessly for close on seven years as a member of the Sinn Féin Ard-Chomhairle and later as Vice-President. She realised full well that the political activists - and her role in the Republican Movement was purely political - were in the front line, but that did not deter her from the rigorous code of duty she imposed on herself.

## Concern for Political Prisoners

Apart from her public commentary and her activity in street demonstrations, her especial concern was for the political prisoners, their families and their welfare, the securing of compassionate parole and every humanitarian consideration affecting the casualties of the struggle. She also maintained contact with British Government representatives right through the 1975 bi-lateral Truce.

In addition, Máire Drumm had to cope with the internment without trial of her husband, Jimmy, for thirteen years, the rearing of a family of five, the arrest and ill-treatment of her son Seán, the internment without trial of her son Séamus in Long Kesh and the imprisonment of her daughter, Máire Og, in Armagh Jail.

Now the worst has happened. Death came to her in the most brutal and callous of circumstances, while a patient in a hospital ward - surely a place of refuge and healing. But she died as much to liberate those who murdered her as those who would have defended her had they been present.

## Warm and compassionate

Firm and uncompromising in her public attitudes, she was in private the most warm, compassionate and hospitable of people; she had a genuine love of human kind, and especially of her own oppressed people, who in their turn, took her to their hearts long ago.

Now that Máire Drumm is dead, the uncharitable expressions of some public figures who lead closely guarded lives surrounded by maximum protection of the British Occupation Forces, ill becomes them and reminds the Irish people of similar sentiments expressed by them following the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry.

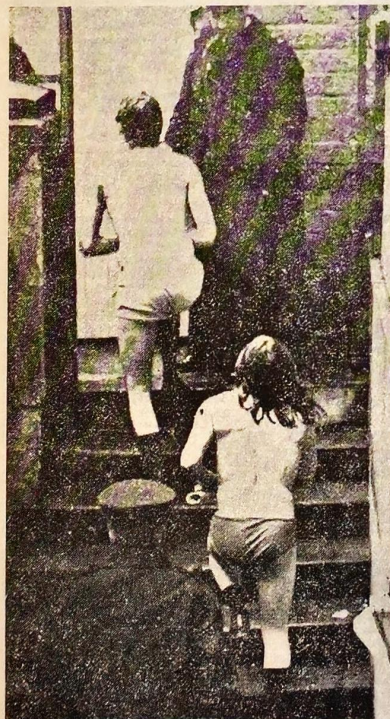
Indeed, some of the comments by politicians and pressmen on both sides of the Irish Sea in the past have not helped and have assisted in making a political figure like Máire Drumm, the target for assassination squads.

The refusal of a visa to her to enter the United States is likewise difficult to interpret; one wonders what the American State Department, acting under British pressure, had to fear in exposing Americans to a realistic exposition of the facts of life under English rule in Ireland.

One aspect of Máire Drumm's life is clear to all who worked with her; she ceaselessly advocated the rights of the Loyalist communities in the New Ireland, and consistently guarded and developed lines of contact with them. Those with whom she was in touch among the Loyalists knew well of her persistent work for a just peace in Ireland; it devolves on them to come forward and acknowledge this now that she is no longer there to survey one such vital work.

## Inspiration to all

For her comrades, Máire Drumm is not dead; she lives, she inspires us. On every street barricade, at every prison gate, at every mass demonstration and confrontation, she is there, urging us on to even greater effort. Her tireless spirit beckons us forward in our struggle for the New Ireland, for the liberation of all mankind, for freedom, justice and peace. We salute you, Máire Drumm, fearless anti-imperialist fighter; for us you live forever.



Two of the Derry prisoners who entered Derry County Courthouse wearing only underpants as a protest against the denial of political status to Republican prisoners.

## Protest by NUJ against S.F. ban

A RENEWED call to the 26 Counties' regime to reconsider its news radio and TV censorship move was made on October 19 by the journalists' union leader, Mr. Ken Morgan.

Mr. Morgan, General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists, told members in Wakefield, Yorkshire: "A union of journalists cannot lay aside its role of opposing censorship."

"It must question even the best intentioned moves to restrict what papers may print and TV may screen."

The NUJ must and does deplore this week's move by the Irish Government to ban from screens and the microphone interviews with members of Provisional Sinn Féin, both IRAs and the outlawed of Northern Ireland.

"Our opposition to Doctor Constance Cruise O'Brien's use of Section 31 of the Irish Broadcasting Act implies no sympathy for the groups at whom he aims."

"We can only sympathise with the dilemma of a Minister faced with this problem but the journalists' path and the NUJ's is clear - to oppose censorship and defend the reporters' freedom to report in Africa, in Eastern Europe and in Ireland."

## Port Laoise motion passed by council

A proposal supporting Sinn Féin condemnations of cruelty in Portlaoise prison and other prisons was passed at a recent meeting of Roscommon County Council by ten votes to eight, two in dependent members abstaining from the vote.

The division followed a Fine Gael amendment that the Co. Council ignore a letter from the Roscommon Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin, drawing attention to the prison cruelty.

The matter was raised by Mr. Tom McGarry (F.F.) who had in his hand a Sinn Féin leaflet which had been sent to Council members and the Co. Secretary. He said that if what was in the leaflet was true then there was a lot of ill-treatment being meted out.

He said the prisoners were all Irishmen some very well motivated but there were vandals in every organisation including his own.

## Call for phased withdrawal

He went on to state that the

three political parties in the country had been founded on the gun, and "peaceful means" was a new element in our history. He asked the Council to show their abhorrence of all prison cruelty, and called for the phased withdrawal of the British Army from the North.

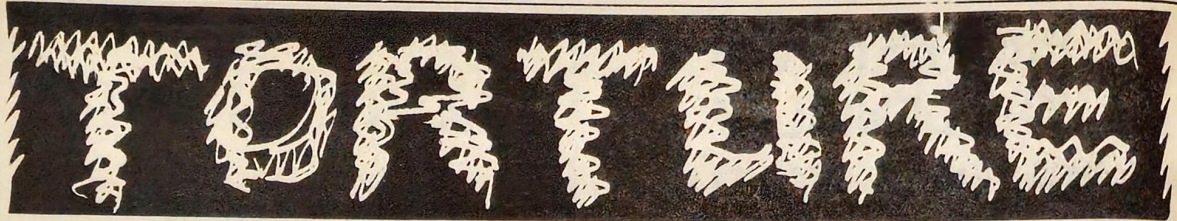
## Muinteoirí in aghaidh

### pianos an bháis

RITHEADH an rún seo leanas ag cruinniú de Aontas Muinteoirí na hÉireann (19-10-1976):

"Go seasaim Craobh Iarbhunscoile Bhaile Átha Cliath de d'Aontas Muinteoirí na hÉireann glan in aghaidh pionós an bháis".





# 3 held under emergency law

By STEPHEN O'BYRNES

**Balance**

THREE of the six men held for questioning at Portlaoise Garda Station after the fatal booby-trap bomb blast on Saturday are being detained under the new Emergency Powers Act, which came into force about the same time as the killer explosion at Garryhinch, Co. Laois. The other three were released yesterday afternoon.

The new legislation allows the gardai to detain suspect without charge if they compare



The Tortoise, Mr. Cosgrave, and the Branch men.

## behind the headlines

THE DUBLIN regime took Britain to Strasbourg on the torture issue but, long before the verdict of guilty was delivered against the Crown, members of the Garda Síochána were torturing suspects in the 26 Counties.

A Cork solicitor publicised the fact and protested against statements extracted under torture being accepted as evidence. The statements were accepted. The accused were jailed. But the authorities, when challenged, denied that torture had been used.

Since then, the use of torture by some members of the Garda Síochána has escalated. Today, most Gardai know that torture is being used. Today, most lawyers know that torture is being used. Today, many newspapermen believe that torture is being practised.

The Association for Legal Justice and similar organisations have no doubt at all about the matter. Civil cases on alleged use of torture are pending (details may not be given because the matter is *sub judice*).

Was Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh aware that torture was being used and was this a contributory factor to his resignation? We do not know. We do believe that if he were so convinced he would have resigned.

Do the judges know that torture is being practised? Some of them must have a very shrewd suspicion. Do the Church leaders know that torture is being practised? Do Leinster House representatives know of its widespread practice?

### Can they be innocent?

Can Cooney, and Cosgrave, Declan Costello and Commissioner Garvey be unaware of what is happening?

The public was not informed of a change in the rules of evidence and of "judges' rules" yet such changes have taken place . . . and so on, down the slippery slope away from the much vaunted "rule of law" and into the murky region where results justify "pressure", where the end justifies the means, where a suspect is guilty merely by being a suspect and, as such, a legitimate target for the most obscene of cruelties.

Thus, the bloody path first carved out by legalising as evidence a senior Garda officer's belief in a man's "guilt" as member of an "illegal organisation".

Will they stop at torture, shameful though that descent may be? From torture to judicial murder is but a short step . . .

Raidio Éireann and Telefís Éireann are prohibited by Conor Cruise O'Brien from publishing statements such as we publish here today.

### Moral obligation

Most of the papers have been conditioned by fear from publishing them. But every individual who reads these accounts has a grave moral

obligation to satisfy himself or herself as to their veracity.

Convinced, he or she has a moral duty to protest loudly and continually until torture is ended.

This is not a matter of politics. Civilisation itself is at stake. He or she who remains silent is aiding and abetting the torture of a brother, a fellow citizen.

Tomorrow, it might be YOU.

### Sworn statement

The following is condensed from a sworn statement by William Hoey (38), Kilmalogue, Portlaoise, witnessed by Rev. Piaras Ó Duill and Mr. P.A. Sanderson.

Mr. Hoey was arrested at 04.30 hours on Saturday, October 15

last, in his home.

Note that he states that he asked to see a solicitor and was refused. So much for Cooney's assurances in Leinster House and the Supreme Court's directions.

"I was in bed after being at the pictures. I heard terrible banging at the door and windows. I jumped out of bed and shouted: 'Who is there?' Somebody shouted back: 'Get up, you bastard. It's the Garda Síochána.' I was putting on my trousers and I opened the door. They pushed me back out of the way and pulled my wife out of the bed."

"What's going on?" said I. "As if you don't know. One of our mates has been blown to bits", he said. They took me out and I was put into a Garda van. I was taken to the barracks in Portlaoise and held there for about half an hour. Then I was taken out to a van and put into it.

"Sean McCabe, Dominic Hughes, Eddie Fitzsimons and Patsy Trimble were in the van. We were taken to Portlaoise Barracks. It was about 5.45 a.m."

"In Portlaoise Barracks they stripped us of our watches and personal belongings and then

### GUARD OF HONOUR

Mr. Patrick Duffy, a Maynooth lecturer, a brother-in-law of the late garda, read the first lesson in the Cathedral, the second lesson with the theme "to hate your brother is to be a murderer", was read by Garda William Hoard of Monaghan.

"The van was brought down the steps of

"His work, like that of so many of his comrades, was to protect life and property so that you and your children would live in peace and enjoy the ordinary decencies of life."

"The Garda Síochána are our own police force. They are bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. Their work is a work of peace—not war. Their task is to prevent crime, not engage in it."

we were put into cells. At about 11 a.m. swabs were taken, stuff rubbed on hands, etc., fingerprinted, cleaned out under nails. I was taken into a room and told to stand on a large sheet of brown paper and told to strip. All my clothes were taken and I was given prison clothes.

### Attacked physically

"After that I was put back into a cell along with Eddie Fitzsimons. I would say I was a couple of hours in the cell but cannot be sure how long. I was taken to a room upstairs where immediately three detectives attacked me, boxed me on the ears, told me to sit on a chair but kicked the chair away before I sat on it. This happened many times. I was kicked about the room each time the chair was taken from under me. They kicked me in the hand when I tried to protect my private parts."

"I forgot to mention that as soon as I went into the room I was forcibly stripped to the waist. The clothes were dragged off me. The singlet was tied round my neck and they seemed to be trying to strangle me."

"Three of them were working on me and one in particular was bad. George Carroll was his name as I heard him talking on the 'phone, later."

"They tramped on my bare feet. They kicked me in the private parts and hands when I tried to protect myself."

"They were not questioning me, only shouting 'murderer' and the likes. Their language was foul, especially Carroll's. I was beaten on the back of the head. I got many rabbit punches on the back of the neck. My ears were slapped repeatedly."

"They jumped on me on the floor and beat me with chairs. When they were finished beating me I was taken from the room and they put me back into the cell."

### Solicitor refused

"I was half unconscious and didn't care. I had double vision. I don't know whether I had anything to eat or not. I couldn't sleep with the pain in my head and ears. I remember somebody giving me a cup of water."

"All night I couldn't sleep. I asked an Inspector Murphy to see a solicitor on the Saturday at 11 a.m. He said 'There will be none of that here.'"

"On Sunday morning I was taken from the cell—it must have been about 11—and brought to a room with two detectives."

"They said they were the Murder Squad from Dublin Castle. They apologised for the rough treatment and said they didn't realise I was such a nice fellow and wouldn't have ill-treated me if they had

known."

"They never interfered with me that day but were shouting at me and kept repeating the same questions. They told me my fingerprints were in the house where the Garda was killed. They told me I was the contact man."

"They kept telling me things, not asking questions. They said we were out to get the Branch men. That went on for hours, harping on the one thing."

"They put me back into a cell, different cell, with Patsy Trimble. They kept taking Patsy out every hour and bringing him back. I didn't eat anything on Sunday, only two stomach tablets. I had lost count of time."

### Offered £500

"I can't say what happened Monday morning. It seemed to be two o'clock when I was taken from the cell. I was brought to the room and two different fellows were there. There were more questions about people I knew."

"I was offered £500 if I could help them. The questioning went on all day and we break even to let me drink the tea."

"Nothing happened during Monday night. 'This morning' (Tuesday) 'I got tea and bread and butter. I wasn't taken out but two came into my cell and chatted for about an hour and brought me out to see my wife and a cousin, Mrs. O'Keefe, and said they would see about getting me out."

"After the visit from wife and cousin I was brought back upstairs and sat in a chair. Two men were there. They were the same ones that beat me up the first day. This time they were very polite, altogether."

"One of them put a pound into my top pocket and said: 'Buy a drink going home.' I was brought back to a cell and kept there till about 5 p.m. Today when I was released."

"They said to me: 'Don't go too hard on us, outside', the statement ends.

(Ar leamuit ar leathanach 5)



# Noel Jenkinson commemoration

THE Prisoners Aid Committee is to hold a commemoration meeting for Noel Jenkinson in the Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 at 8.00 p.m. on Friday, 12 November.

## General Meeting

THE Annual General Meeting of the Tomás Ó Dúinn Féin Cumann, Dublin, was held in the Kevin Street Headquarters of the organisation on Monday, 25th October. The meeting was attended by S.F. vice-president, Joe Cahill and Ardchoimhaire member, Seán Keenan, both of whom called for re-newed determination to bring the freedom struggle to a successful conclusion.

It was stated that that Cumann's annual Christmas ballad session will be held on Friday, 10th December. The members' affiliation fee was collected and the Cumann affiliation fee of £8.00 has been forwarded to head office.

## Officers elected

Chairman, Cathal Ó'Donoghue; Vice-chairman, Mrs. Keane; Secretary, Pat Ennis; Treasurers, Pat Trayner and M. Ní Dhunshlaine; P.R.O., Tom Clarke; Transport, B. Golden.

## Write a prisoner a letter a week.

This will be the fourth anniversary of Noel's conviction for the Aldershot bombing after a political trial in Winchester which resulted in his being given a 30 year minimum sentence. The PAC, which was the sole organisation authorised by Noel to act on his behalf, intends the meeting to be a commemoration of Noel's contribution to the working class movement both here and in Ireland; to publicise the mysterious circumstances of his death in Leicester prison on 9th October and to publicise the plight of all Irish Political Prisoners in British jails.

Speakers have been invited from Sinn Féin, IRSP, and

TOM as well as people personally known to Noel.

## Acton public meeting

A public meeting is to be held at Acton Town Hall on Thursday, 4th November, at 7.30 p.m. to protest against the Prevention of Terrorism Act and to call for its repeal. The meeting is being held by the Trade Union Committee against the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

## NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION

### Annual November Ceremonies

#### Friday, 5th November:

Liberty Hall: Showing of slides of pictures taken by Sean Cronin with tape recordings; slides will include funeral of founder member Joe Clarke, RIP, including the Eamon Mac Thomais oration at the graveside.

#### Sunday, 7th November:

Mass will be offered at 10.45 a.m. at St. Joseph's Church, Berkeley Road, for 'All Those' who died for Ireland.

11.45 a.m.: Visit to National Graves Mountjoy prison. Meet at Main Gate 11.30 a.m.

12.30 p.m.: Visit to graves of Nurse O'Farrell and Sheila Grenan, Glasnevin cemetery. Tribute will be paid by Eamon Mac Thomais.

organisation but they continued to question him the following day. On Saturday night I slept in the cell adjoining Sean McCabe's.

"On Sunday, about 11 a.m. I was brought to the room for questioning again. At about 1.30 I was brought back to the cell. About 2 o'clock two detectives helped Sean McCabe into the cell. He could hardly walk and was holding his stomach.

"His face was very puffed up and bruised and his ears were a blackish colour. He staggered to the bed and put a blanket round him. He was shivering.

"He indicated seven with his fingers and I believed he was showing that seven detectives had beaten him up. He made signs of Karate chops to the backs of his ears and pointed up through the ceiling. He tried to get to sleep but about half an hour later two detectives came and took him away.

**Near suicide**

"Later on Sunday Patsy Trimble was put in my cell. He said he was beaten up and that if he had had a knife he would have taken his own life rather than get beaten up again.

"About nine o'clock on Sunday night I was taken to a caravan outside the police station and introduced to a detective who told me he could make me confess because he had made two

Englishmen confess to the murder of two women.

"After that he wrote down my movements for the previous week. He asked me to sign my account and then I was brought back to the cell and released an hour later", the statement concludes.

## Edward Fitzsimons

This is the statement of Edward Gerard Fitzsimons, 33, Binnigan Drive, Andersonstown, Belfast, taken from Avondale Estate, Portlaoise, Oct. 19 last and again witnessed by the same men.

"I was arrested out of bed at 4.50 a.m. on Oct. 16. I was taken to Portlaoise Barracks. I was woke on Saturday morning and taken up to a room. I was fingerprinted and swabs of my hands were taken. I was photographed as well. In the room I was made strip. The detectives made me put on prison clothes. I was then returned to my cell.

"I was taken out of the cell on Sunday morning to a room and questioned for about three hours. I was shouted at and bawled at and accused of having done several things that I know nothing about. I was then returned to the cell and told to think it over and be sure to talk when brought back.

"I was left in the cell for an hour and then brought back up again, shouted at and questioned about the same things.

## CAVAN VISITOR

SOVIET AMBASSADOR Kaplin spoke in Cavan recently and, when questioned later, said he and his state supported the right of the Irish people to self-determination. He reminded a questioner that "liberation by peaceful means" rarely if ever happens.

The Ambassador's subject was the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. He outlined the structure of the Soviet Union. It consisted of 15 republics of which Russia was numerically the greatest, with her 25,000,000 people.

His main theme was peaceful co-existence with states of different social and political regimes. Though Stalin was not mentioned, Soviet losses in World War One and World War Two and the period of isolation were invoked in reply to jingoistic questions about "gun-running to the Third World" and reactionaries, such as Solzhenitsyn.

The U.S.S.R., he stated, supported national liberation struggles against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Union had no desire to occupy new countries or territories but would help progressive movements in backward or oppressed countries.

Mr. Kaplin called for Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands and pointed to the success of *detente* at Helsinki and of Soviet demands for arms limitation, along with cultural, scientific and technological exchanges between the U.S.S.R. and the West, continually increasing in scale.

He contrasted U.S. aid to Soviet aid — the Soviet Union did not own as much as one factory or military base in any foreign country to which it had sent technicians or aid.

Only one question had a workingclass content. The Ambassador was asked to explain why full employment existed in Soviet bloc states.

It would be too much to expect a high level of understanding of socialism, never mind the U.S.S.R., in a middle-class dominated provincial town such as Cavan.

Still, it is a reflection on developments that the question was asked and that a Communist diplomat was welcomed in their midst with some awe and craven respect.

As for Mr. Kaplin, he probably knows a little more about Cavan than before, the River Shannon rises here, for example. Arise, arise!

— T.P. Ennis.

## Buses to Edentubber

SPECIAL buses will be run from Dublin for the annual Edentubber Martyrs' Commemoration on Sunday, 14th November.

BUSES will leave Rathfarnham at 11.00 a.m. and Blessington Street at 11.30 a.m.

RETURN FARE: £1.50

TO BOOK ring Dublin 975878 anytime.

## COMHBHRON

The McCabe/Quigley S.F. Cumann, Dublin, wish to extend their deepest sympathy with the Judge family, 45 Griffith Road, on their recent bereavement.

## BUIOCHAS

The committee and members of the McCabe/Quigley S.F. Cumann, Dublin, wish to extend their deepest sympathy with the Judge family, 45 Griffith Road, on their recent bereavement.

## Fáilte

Welcome home to Seamus English who is due home in October from Port Laoise prison after four years.

The best of luck always — Noreen.

## Congrats

To Philip Elliott (Port Laoise prison) and Ellen Covey (Cork) on their recent engagement. The best of luck to both of you. — from a friend.

# Dublin's housing conditions

IN 1913, the city of Dublin, had the highest death rate in Europe, — 27.6 per 1,000, — as high in fact, as India's Calcutta. Her slums were the worst in John Bull's colonies.

There were approximately 5,322 tenement houses in the city, in which 'lived' 25,822 families, or a total population of 87,305; 20,108 families occupied one room, 4,402 of the remainder had two rooms each. An Irish Times editorial commenting on the report of a Dublin housing enquiry wrote:

"We knew that Dublin had a far larger percentage of single room tenements than any other city in the Kingdom, but sanitary conditions ruled out ordinary standards of morality. The Dublin slum is a thing apart in the inferno of social degradation".

Such was the Dublin of 1913. Sixty three years later in 1976, we have the same government, (only the names have been changed). We have the same slum housing:

- Holyfield Buildings and Mountpleasant Buildings, Rathmines are good examples.
- Take a stroll down Sean Mac Diarmid Street, the Street named after one of our brave leaders of 1916, and you will see an awful monument to an Irish martyr.

No wonder, Cosgrave, O'Brien, Cooney, and the rest of them want to forget 1916, and do away with Búnreacht na hÉireann enacted by the people 1st July 1937.

I quote Fundamental Rights Article 40: The State guarantees in its law to respect and as far as practicable by its laws to defend and vindicate the personal rights of the citizen, the right of the citizens to assemble peaceably and without arms.

The constitution was never adhered to by any government, Fianna Fáil, the sham Republicans, had concentration camps in the forties and in the fifties and not only that, they executed Irish men, for asserting their constitutional rights.

In the early seventies *Cromwell* in the guide of Des O'Malley, re-introduced internment without trial; he called it the Amendment to the Offences against the State Act.

They had no policies, for the south, for the sixteen years they held office. They tackled unemployment, by exporting the unemployed.

Yes, Ireland could do with law and order, and we shall have it, when we get rid of the men of violence in Leinster House and proclaim our EIRE NUA.

— Betty Crilly.

## Fight for Political Status

### Sean McCabe

● Up to the time of going to press we were unable to get a statement from the unfortunate Sean McCabe.

(Ar leasúint ó leathanach 4)

### Badly bruised

"During this time I could hear squeals and yells and a lot of banging. I was then put back in the cell. Some time in the afternoon Sean McCabe was put in the cell with me. He was helped in by two Branch men.

"He shuffled to the bed and wrapped a blanket round himself. He was shivering and he was badly puffed up and bruised about the face and ears. His ears were almost black.

"He seemed to be afraid to talk but he made the sign of seven with his fingers and pointed to his ears indicating Karate chops. He also pointed to his head at the back of his ears as if his head was bursting.

"After about an hour he was taken out of the cell and I did not see him again. Sean McCabe appeared to have had a very bad beating.

"I was left in the cell until 12.00 p.m. on Monday morning and then driven home by two detectives. I got two meals of fish and chips on Saturday and on Sunday I got a fry in the morning and tea and a sandwich for tea", the statement ends.



This statement by Dominic Hughes (21) Avondale Estate, Portlaoise, was made on Oct. 19 last, in the presence of the same witnesses.

"On Saturday, Oct. 1, I was arrested at my home at 5.10 a.m. and brought to Portlaoise Barracks by two detectives and about 10 uniformed guards. In the barracks all my possessions were taken from me and I was put in a cell with Sean McCabe.

"At that time McCabe was all right. At about 11 a.m. I was brought to a room and fingerprinted and swabs and photographs were taken. I was stripped and given prison uniform and brought back to my cell.

### Screaming heard

"At about 8 p.m. I was man-handled by two detectives to a room for questioning. In the way to the room I could hear shouting and screaming and crying. I was questioned in the room by two detectives.

"The detectives tried to get me to admit things I never did. They were shouting and saying if I did not admit I would be beaten up. After about four hours of questioning I was taken back to the cell.

"I should have said that, after questioning me the three detectives were talking outside the door and I heard them saying that Patsy Trimble was completely innocent and was not involved in any political



NOTEBOOK

# Building on the people's culture

IN considering the relationship of the revolutionary movement or the revolutionary state to the national religion (or religions), the essential point to get hold of is that religion is part of culture. Irish revolutionaries, in particular, need to note this: for they have the strange habit of taking it for granted in regard to every country in the world except Ireland. They recognise that Presbyterianism is part of Scottish culture, Catholicism part of Italian culture, Islam part of Egyptian, Egyptian, Hinduism part of Indian culture, and so on; but they often talk about "Irish culture" as if Catholicism and (to a far lesser extent) Protestantism, were not part of it.

Yet the whole world, looking at Ireland, regards Catholicism as the most marked element of our culture — for good or ill, according to whether the observers like or dislike Catholicism!

Since religion is part of culture, the question of the revolutionary movement's attitude to the people's religion is bound up with the larger question of how the revolutionary movement regards, and relates to, the national culture. Does it regard that culture as the bearer of positive values which can be of service to the revolutionary remaking of the national life and society? As we have seen, this is the view of the national culture (including the national religion) taken by the Communists in South Vietnam and by the FLN in Algeria — to cite but two examples.

Or does the revolutionary movement regard the national culture — wholly or partly — as an impediment to the revolution, and therefore as something which must be rejected and destroyed, wholly or partly? Irish liberals and stickies, like the Russian Communists before them, take the view that the religious part of the national culture must be rejected and destroyed.

Clearly, the relationship of the people to the revolutionary movement and, ultimately, to the revolution, depends very much on the answer to this question. Indeed, the whole course of the revolution depends on it.

To the extent that the revolutionaries treat the people's culture as a positive force, the dynamic of that culture can energise the revolutionary process. To the extent that the revolutionaries take the opposite attitude, that dynamic will be lost to the revolution and must be compensated for by compulsion or (a difficult business!) by the inculcation of a substitute cultural dynamic.

It is in this context that Chapter Two of the Algerian National Charter is of interest. As I mentioned already, the FLN set out in the belief (imported from the French Left) that they must and would establish a secularist regime which would be indifferent to the people's religion, if not actually hostile to it. Chapter Two of the National Charter, headed "Islam and the Socialist Revolution", shows the more experienced position which they have adopted now.

I am not suggesting that, in making Islam the state religion, the Charter offers a model for the Irish revolutionary state: a state religion is not part of Irish culture or tradition. But the general view of the people's religion which is expounded here is one which would profitably find echoes in the minds, the policy documents and the constitutional documents, of Irish revolutionaries.

Chapter Two reads as follows (I translate from the French version):

*The Algerian people is a Muslim people. Islam is the religion of the State. An integral part of our historic personality, Islam showed itself to be one of the most*

*powerful defences against all attempts at depersonalisation. It was in a militant and austere Islam, moved by the sense of justice and equality, that the Algerian people fortified themselves in the worst times of colonial domination, and it is from this source that they drew the moral energy and the spirituality which prevailed them from despair and allowed them to conquer.*

*The decline of the Muslim world cannot be explained by purely moral causes. Other factors of a material, economic or social nature, such as foreign invasions, internal conflicts, the rise of despotisms, the extension of feudal oppression and the disappearance of certain world trade routes, played a decisive role. Moreover, the growth of superstition and of backward-looking mentalities must not be regarded as causes, but rather as effects. To concentrate criticism on these aberrant practices, while neglecting the social conditions which give rise to them, is to fall into an ineffective moralism. The fact is that, to regenerate itself, the Muslim world has only one option: to leave reformism behind and commit itself to the path of social revolution.*

*The Revolution fits well into the historic perspective of Islam. The spirit of Islam, properly understood, is not tied to any particular interest, any specific clergy or any temporal power. Neither feudalism nor capitalism can lay claim to it nor bend it to their purposes. Islam has brought to the world a very lofty conception of human dignity which condemns racism, chauvinism and the exploitation of man by man. Its fundamental egalitarianism can find an expression suited to every age.*

*Consequently, it behoves the Muslim peoples whose destiny, today, coincides with that of the Third World, to become conscious of the positive qualities of their cultural and spiritual heritage and to renew it in the light of the light of the values and changes of contemporary life. In other words, every endeavour which aims, today, at a reconstruction of Muslim thought must, to be credible, find itself turning to a much vaster endeavour: the complete remodelling of society.*

*In this age of decisive social transformations, the Muslim peoples are called on to throw off the outworn yokes of feudalism, of despotism and of obscurantism in all its forms.*

*The Muslim peoples will realise, more and more, that it is by reinforcing their struggle against imperialism and by committing themselves resolutely to the socialist path, that they will achieve unity between action and principles.*

*Following immediately on this, Chapter Three of the National Charter (headed "Three Historic Objectives") begins as follows:*

- Socialism, in Algeria, aims essentially at three things:*
  - 1) The consolidation of national independence;*
  - 2) The foundation of a society liberated from the exploitation of man by man;*
  - 3) The promotion of man and his blossoming in freedom.*

**FREEMAN**

**Kieran Nugent**  
*needs your support*

## NEWS FROM THE NORTH

SATURDAY OCTOBER 23

**DERRY:** After a telephone warning from the Provisional I.R.A. the R.U.C. and British army cleared Strand Road. Several incendiary devices were planted. At least 5 stores were damaged including the Home Decor shop and the Leprechaun Restaurant.

Later on the same night 3 shops in the Waterside area of Spencer Rd. Clooney Terrace were badly damaged by incendiary devices.

**WARRENPOINT:** A fire completely destroyed the Bay Shore Hotel.

**CROSSMAGLEN:** British experts were examining a new unexploded mortar bomb found among the wreckage at the local British Army R.U.C. Barracks. They were expressing alarm at the successful attack which left 5 soldiers seriously injured.

The local I.R.A. in a statement accepting responsibility for the attack said that the new missiles were capable of devastating military positions outside normal mortar target range.

The statement concluded by stating that "the attack was designed to force the British Army into evacuation from South Armagh and ultimately from the 6 Counties."

**BELFAST:** 6 shots were fired at a British Patrol as it moved along Ballymena St. Other patrols attacked were on the Antrim Rd. Springfield Rd. and Broadway.

Pro British Elements shot a doorman at the Regency Hotel in Botanic Ave. They escaped and later abandoned their car in the "Village" area of the Donegal Rd.

SUNDAY OCTOBER 24

**BELFAST:** British soldiers took a hammering in the city today. In the Ardoyne area a combined R.U.C./British Army Patrol was attacked from two points. One soldier was shot dead. A second was shot in the head and is "seriously ill". 3 other received bullet wounds.

The shooting occurred at Oakfield St.

Another soldier was seriously wounded when a lone sniper fired on him as he sat in a land rover in the Springfield Rd.

Yet another soldier was seriously injured when he "tripped" an explosive device in the New Barnsley area.

MONDAY OCTOBER 25

**ARMAGH:** A massive car

bomb devastated several business premises in Keady.

The car bomb, believed to be about 200 lbs. was left outside Cheevers Chemist shop on Armagh Rd. by two youths.

They gave a warning and the car was immediately cleared.

British bomb disposal carried out two controlled explosions. The second triggered off the bomb. A fire engulfed the chemist shop and adjoining premises were shattered.

**BALLYNAHINCH:** Fire severely damaged a shop in Dromore St. Incendiary devices are believed to have caused the fire.

**BELFAST:** A shipyard worker had a lucky escape when a 2 lb. bomb taped under his car exploded as he went over a ramp. He received leg injuries.

TUESDAY OCTOBER 26

**ARMAGH:** A senior officer in the U.D.R. was assassinated by the I.R.A. in the city. He was Joseph Wilson and he was shot dead as he worked in a retail store. A youth fired 3 shots at close range.

In a statement claiming responsibility the local I.R.A. claimed that Wilson was responsible for giving information against local men culminating in long prison sentences.

**BELFAST:** Two youths left 3 bombs in Cowpers shop on the Ormeau Rd.

The area was cleared before the bombs exploded. Each bomb of about 5 lbs. was attached to a can of petrol.

A fierce fire ensued and the shop was destroyed.

**PORTADOWN:** Leslie Carrigan who was shot two weeks ago died from his injuries.

WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 27

**ANTRIM:** A man lost his leg when his booty trapped car exploded outside his house in the Parkhill Estate.

**DERRY:** Two bombs exploded in Castledawson. The first was in the Moyala Lodge. A five minute warning was given.

At the same time another bomb was being planted in the Moyala Inn. Both bombs exploded simultaneously. No injuries were reported.

**Derry:** Two blast bombs were thrown over a wall at Strand Rd. Police Headquarters.

No injuries were reported.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28

**Belfast:** Maire Drumm, Ard Cornhill member, was killed when three men passing — as doctors entered the war of the Mater Hospital where she was a patient. They opened fire with an automatic. Mrs Drumm died immediately.

(See pages 1 and 8)  
A 61 year old bank manager James Kyle died from gunshot wounds received over a month ago in an attack in which his daughter also died.

Women on the New Lodge Road held a protest meeting after a local man was shot by a pellet from an air-gun. The women were adamant that it was fired by a British soldier stationed in the nearby flats complex. The RUC said a soldier was 'helping them with their enquiries' (sic). Later the soldier was charged with maliciously and unlawfully wounding a man.

**Tyrone:** A member of the UDR was shot dead near Cappagh. He was delivering mail to a farmhouse when two men emerged from the bushes and shot him. He was the 2nd UDR man killed in a week and the 10th UDR member killed in 1976.

Over £500,000 worth of damage was caused at the Ulsterbus depot in Dungannon when over twenty buses were destroyed by incendiary devices.

**Derry:** Another member of the UDR was shot and wounded. He was shot as he came to the front door of his home in Harding Street off Abercorn Road. His condition was described as 'seriously ill'.

**Maghera:** Three men planted a bomb in Pattersons bar in Bank Square. Extensive damage was caused when the bomb exploded. The area was cleared and there were no injuries.

**Strabane:** British soldiers were attacked by sniper fire as they patrolled in Bridge Street. Over ten shots were fired but no injuries were reported.

**Belfast:** A young man winking with his girl friend was abducted by pro-British elements as they walked along Melfield. The girl was forced to lie on the ground and the victim was forced into a car. His battered body was found later.

**Tyrone:** The RUC barracks was attacked when a hold-all containing a bomb was left outside the front door. When it exploded it caused severe damage. Surprisingly the RUC said there were no injuries.

A single shot was fired at the sentry post at Andersonstown barracks.

An RUC Landrover was attacked by youths as it patrolled North Queen Street. The windscreen was smashed and the RUC beat a hasty retreat.

## Craft Centre

STOCK LIST — REPUBLICAN CRAFT CENTRE

<b>CRAFTS</b>	
WALLETS & LADIES PURSES:	
PLAQUES, 18" by 18" from Magilligan	£5.00 ea plus 20p post & packing
PLAQUES, from Portlaoise	£5.00 ea plus 45p post & packing
HARPS, from Magilligan Camp	£5.00 ea plus post & packing . . . 25p
STRINGED ART PLAQUES, from Magilligan	£16.00 & £20.00 plus 45p post & packing
SMALL COTTAGES from Portlaoise	£3.00 & £5.00 plus 25p post & packing
LARGE COTTAGES & CHURCHES from Portlaoise	£3.00 plus 25p post & packing
LEATHER PLAQUES, from Long Kesh	£5.00 plus 35p post & packing
	£6.00 plus 25p post and packing

### PHOENIX JEWELLERY:

Silver badges	£2.50 plus 10p post and packing
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Silver medallions	£6.50 plus 15p post and packing
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All orders to:  
The Craft Centre,  
44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.



# Republican Post Bag

## THE CENSOR COMETH

SO Mr. O'Brien has added to his censorship of a so-called dangerous organisation, whose very existence "poses a grave threat to this state".

As Mr. O'Brien knows, the only people who feel threatened are that capitalist-loving club in Leinster house. The "Cruiser" knows that Sinn Féin offers the only decent alternative to the meat-headed coalition whose only solution to the economic crisis is the dose queue. Should any one raise the question of unemployment they scream about subversives in our midst". But well they know that the people of Ireland will not tolerate this situation much longer, so they try to delay the inevitable a bit longer with prison sentences and censorship.

But just as surely as the day of reckoning came for Hitler, so shall it come for the oppressors of the people. This day will not come about by its own accord, but by hard political work by the members of Sinn Féin.

—K. McGrogan, P.R.O., T. Clarke, S.F. Cumann, Dun Laoghaire.

## THE PATHETIC LIBERAL

HOW pathetic that great liberal and intellectual Conor Cruise O'Brien looked on R.T.E. recently as he tried to explain away his ban on freedom of expression as far as Sinn Féin was concerned. At the very same moment R.T.E. journalists were warning the public in the national press not to expect full and honest news coverage from R.T.E.!

With baleful eyes Conor "Censor" O'Brien looked for some glint of mercy in the eyes of his interviewer on his very own bailiwick and tried to be said received notion. If Sinn Féin was an illegal organisation why not ban it? "If this political organisation has some 26 councillors elected by the people were they too to be muzzled?" What of the R.T.E. spokesmen — were they to be numbered among the "saints" who received comfort and aid from R.T.E.'s channels? Moby Dick even in extremis floundered no more badly than did the R.T.E. who supreme as he reeled before such telling and incisive questions. How the late Sheehy Skeffington would have laughed at the great white liberals dilemma! Quite obviously Sean O

Bradaigh had touched upon some sore Free State political heels in "This Week". As has happened on many occasions before a quiet man of intellect had held the candle up to the potage of Coalitions to which Cruise O'Brien belongs and having done so efficiently and well he learned doctor reacted violently. Dr. O'Brien has been absent on occasions before for purely personal reasons when the cut and democratic debate was not quite to his satisfaction. The Minister for Posts & Telegraphs has obviously his own two states — Liberal and Censor, strange bedfellows to be sure, things will never be quite the same for Dr. Cruise O'Brien again especially near the groves of academe.

In this instance the learned doctor has blundered badly. He has in fact seemed to have forgotten that British Television (B.B.C. 1, B.B.C. 2, H.T.V. and U.T.V.) is readily available to the majority of Irish viewers and (will, no doubt, be eager to undo his job of censorship. The Brits can be devilishly good at that kind of thing despite Cruise O'Brien's requests". He will most likely receive 'regrets'. Already Mr. Mason, the Northern Secretary, "does not envisage any change" as far as British Television is concerned and has made himself quite clear on censorship — "But in our free and democratic societies it is a very difficult thing to do that".

Why did Conor Cruise O'Brien really balk at having a Sinn Féin spokesman in the air. Was it because of an impending general election and the many rotten planks in the Coalition platform? An all-time high Unemployment rate, soaring food prices, no economic policies and loss of face and credibility in world business circles not creeping Fascism and 'no policy on the north at home'? A thundering disgrace indeed. And so the labour, the mountains, and the mice grow apace.

The O'Brien (conscience!) was beautifully exemplified in his gauche effort at framing Mr. O'Bradaigh, his A=B=C reasoning or, spokesman for Sinn Féin), (which is the propaganda voice of not to mention such felon-setting be construed as privileged information in the eyes of a Chief Superintendent?

How sad to see our Labour Liberals reduced to this. Perhaps this volte face gives the true answer to Desmond Fennell's soul-searching question: "Why has the Irish academic community failed to respond intellectually to the Northern conflict?" An excellent question. Could it be that many of the dozens of University are fascists at heart? Or perhaps it has to do with fear, falseness or a Famine throwback to job-hunting and eating daily bread with a certain libelous?

—Diarmuid O'Suilleabhain, Guaire, Co. Lough Garman.

## COONEY CHALLENGED

IN HIS address to Fine Gael convention in the Embassy

Ballroom, Mr. Cooney Minister for Justice referred to the I.R.A. as the greatest scourge ever to be known in the land. Mr. Cooney is entitled to his opinion. However, others of us, would say that the partition of Ireland is the greatest scourge with all its evil consequences. Ireland was partitioned to suit the wishes of a minority of her total population. To allow a minority to dictate their wishes to a majority was and still is evil. Michael Collins when accepting this will in the Treaty declared that the arrangement would be a stepping stone to the full Republic — the Republic of Pearce, Connolly and the other 1916 men.

I challenge Mr. Cooney through the medium of this paper to list what steps his Government has taken to bring the words of Collins to fruition. Instead we have lists and lists of coercion acts passed and signed in the dead hours of the night to enforce and maintain the unjust partition of our land.

Mr. Cooney also said that Republicans fear the ballot-box. No, republicans do not fear the voice of a free people un-manipulated by clever wily politicians. Let the politicians of Leinster House arrange to have a United Nations referendum of all the people of Ireland (32 Counties) to ascertain their attitude to freedom, partition, and the British presence in our land. Let Fine Gael and those who wish to support their cause and others of us will support freedom. The result of such a referendum should be accepted by all.

The politicians have reigned supreme for fifty long years since the establishment of the State. Has the time not arrived for truth to be given a chance?

—Maoliosa O'hanluain, Muineachain.

## THE PROCLAMATION

WE, who still display the 1916 Proclamation in our schools, knowing it to be subversive in its content, uncompromisingly pro-Irish and anti-British, would like to know where we stand under the new so-called anti-terrorist legislation.

This is a serious question impinging on our relationship with our pupils. Are we to defy the legislation by continuing to expound the ideals expressed in the Proclamation or must we remove that hitherto glorious document from our schools and conform to the new culture embodied in the verse:

"I thank the Goodness and the Grace

That on my birth hath smiled

And made me in these Christian days

A happy English child?

—M. O'Connell, O.S., Baile Atha Cliath.

## FREEMAN

MAY I be permitted to comment on a section of Notebook, by Freeman in An Phoblacht Uimhir 12.

Freeman tends to skip through the idea of peoples councils with an air of humour, which does nothing to further the confidence of



An Phoblacht staff at the recent Sinn Féin Ardheis. From left: Cathlean Knowles, Eileen Durande (Nor Aid) Lita Campbell and Sheila Ennis.

his readers in the only system that can bring this country back to its senses; the workers republic, power to the people, which he so glibly throw's aside as rhetoric and goes on to say that nothing concrete or effective comes from discussion of either, he then goes on to indulge in rhetoric himself.

If we are sincere in our belief that we have the saving of this country in a federal socialist republic then the rhetoric must stop and action take its place, immediately.

\* First, a declaration by Sinn Féin of its policy for the future of all aspects of Irish life, agriculture, food-processing, engineering, hospitals, police-force, tourism etc.

\* Second the setting up of the various bodies envisaged in Éire Nua to involve the people in their own affairs.

We must move from the stance of the knowing by stander. If we are seen to move, then, we will, I have no doubt inspire the confidence and enthusiasm of the people.

—Padraig, Mac Eochagáin, 24, Sean Baile, Ceapach Chuiinn, Co. Phort Láirge.

## SOUND ADVICE

UNDER the new emergency legislation in the 26 counties a suspect may be detained by the Gardai for seven days without being charged with any offence. For this reason and because many allegations of ill-treatment of detainees have been brought to my notice during the past few days, it is important that people should know what they should do when detained as should their families and friends.

The detained should always demand a solicitor and name him. Remember you don't have to say anything to the police or answer questions until seen by a solicitor. Demand questions in writing and answer them only when your solicitor has seen them. Do not sign your name to any piece of paper unless you have been advised to do so by the solicitor of your choice. Ask for your own doctor immediately always get a full physical examination on release.

Friends and relatives of detained persons should ring stations to seek the whereabouts of the prisoner. Contact solicitor and family doctor as soon as possible. Ring emergency phone number (01) 342793 and give full particulars. This phone is manned day and night.

Dublin 7.

THE Casement affair is a "Watergate in reverse". It is a

most instructive fact that the "diaries", from 1916 onwards, have been peddled and sustained by the liberal Press. Significantly it has been the Journalistic Anglo-Saxon theory of mankind which has continued to "authenticate" material which dare not be produced for scientific examination.

Were the liberal Press put to the treadmill of telling the truth, instead of packing Juries, placating pluralists and fleshing a phantom, a spokesman for that august body would surely exclaim, as he ascended out of sight of mere "non-intellectuals" — "Behold the Fifth Estate in extremis — yet always at your service, — continuing to climb the golden stair, the while we weave the thread of Democratic Destiny".

The real issue in the Casement affair, it is noteworthy, has been studiously avoided. In the period from the "torn out pages", shown to Ben Allen in 1916 up to the "five" immense volumes of Rene McColl, 40 years later, not one iota of proof has been produced to sustain the charges, with the result that phantom documents are placed above the law of the land. This is tyranny.

For 60 years the wasps have continued to buzz around the "homosexual" honey-pot with amazing industry, but they have been most reluctant, meanwhile to see the lid taken off, and the contents analyzed. Why shrink from the forensic instrument? Prince, prelate, playwright, pole-vaulter and Pulitzer Prize-winner, each in turn has defamed an innocent man, even beyond the grave, to distract attention from those strange denizens of "Room 40" who plotted the downfall of a political opponent — whose greatest crime, it would seem, was that he was not a homosexual, but a man who always played the man. A man of the highest moral standard, whose name will stand out, like a pillar of fire in our memory, when the jackals of the liberal Press have been driven to ground, unmourned and forgotten; and the forgers stand before the Bar of History.

Eoin O Maile, Roger Casement Committee Baile Atha Cliath.

## SYMPATHY

KEN KINSON: The home Counties Sinn Féin Comhairlecheantair (England) express deepest sympathy with the family and friends of the late Noel Jenkinson, Republican, socialist and patriot murdered in his cell in Leicester Gaol on October 9th, 1976.

"Peace will only exist in a society of free men" — Noel Jenkinson.

Go ndean Dia trocaire ar a anam.

JENKINSON: The members of the Casement/Nolan S.F. Cumann, Dun Laoghaire, wish to tender their sincere sympathy to the family and relatives of Noel Jenkinson, (R.I.P.) late of Dun Laoghaire, who died recently in Leicester jail, England.

JENKINSON: North Tipperary Comhairlecheantair, Sinn Féin express their sincere condolences with the wife and relatives of Noel Jenkinson, recently deceased.

## COMHBHRON

THE North Dublin Comhairle Cheantair, Sinn Féin, extend sympathy to the relatives and friends of the three Volunteers who died recently in Belfast and the relatives of all who have died in the cause of Irish freedom in the present campaign.

## GREETINGS

"Birthday greetings to Chriss Graham in Mountjoy Jail. Happy birthday Chriss on the 11th November.

—Love from Mary, Derry and family (Blarney).

## I GCUIMHNE

The McAdorey/McCusker Cumann, Luton Sinn Féin (England) remember with pride our dear friend and comrade, Seamus McCusker, brutally murdered a year ago today.

"He who dies in a just cause, lives!"

## RAFFLE RESULTS

FOLLOWING are the results of the monthly raffle held by An Cumann Cabhrach on October 24th, 1976.

1st prize: (£100) .....	Ticket No. 222
2nd prize: (£50) .....	Ticket No. 965
3rd prize: (£25) .....	Ticket No. 152
4th prize: (£5) .....	Ticket No. 166
5th prize: (£5) .....	Ticket No. 049
6th prize: (£5) .....	Ticket No. 127
7th prize: (£5) .....	Ticket No. 246
8th prize: (£5) .....	Ticket No. 245

## Raffle Results

FOLLOWING are the results of the private members' draw held by the Robert Emmet Sinn Féin Cumann.

£100: Michael Dwyer (ticket No. 154); £50: Tony Sullivan (ticket No. 200); £25: Frank Coyne (Ticket No. 52); £5: Patrick Brien (Ticket No. 122); £5: Pauline Nugent (Ticket No. 4); £5: "Up the Dubs" (Ticket No. 171); £5: Albert Horan (Ticket No. 235); £5: Noel O'Rourke (Ticket No. 300).

Proceeds of the raffle are in aid of An Cumann Cabhrach.



# Another murder for the crown

MÁIRE DRUMM was the personification of the Ulster spirit of revolt against imperialism. That is why the pro British elements picked her as the spark which, it was hoped, would set off a chain reaction of tit-for-tat killings, thus relieving the recent, greatly increased pressure on the British military. The Crown adopted the same tactic before in Ireland and elsewhere in Cyprus and Kenya, for example.

The leaving of a bomb in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, allegedly (according to a particularly malicious "Irish Press" report) in retaliation for the murder of Mrs. Drumm, is seen as a complementary part of the Crown Tactic to set the two communities at each other's throats while Kitson and Co. sneer from the wings.

Máire MacAteer, as she was before she married Jimmie Drumm on his release from internment in 1947, was born in Killeen, south Armagh, a region which, despite the terrible, 18th century and the ferocious rule of Johnston of the Fews, preserved intact its Irish identity down to our own time and a fiercely militant opposition to alien rule.

Máire was proud of her adopted city and illustrated vividly the determination of its Irish-orientated community but she was prouder still of the cultural and military traditions of her native place. She was admired, loved . . . and feared . . . throughout the north-east and was a rallying point for Republicans everywhere.

## International concern

She was also a catalyst in the struggle against imperialism, nationally and internationally, and this was illustrated by thousands of letters and telegrams which reached her husband and Sinn Féin office on her death from freedom-fighting organisations and groups everywhere, including the Marxists-Leninists, the Fourth International and the spearpoints of the armed struggle in the Third World.

Máire also was the epitome of the classical Irish mother, of the Irish patriotic woman and, with a good few other women in the north-east, the backbone and soul of that glorious resistance to internment put up by the wonderful women in the North.

Critics accused her of being bitter in her public addresses but such critics were unaware of the terrible experiences which inspired that bitterness — the "Free" State abandonment of the loyal Irish to their fate under fascist Stormont; the pogroms, discrimination, forced emigration, imprisonments, internments, tortures, murders to which the abandoned, loyal Irish were subjected to be hounded equally by official Dublin when they sought refuge south of the Border.

But Máire also was a kind and considerate woman in private as many a 'loyalist' knows. She had a lively sense of humour. She was a popular singer and reciter; a reliable friend in adversity; an inspiration in danger; and, despite the heartless comments of her political enemies, following her murder, a great humanitarian. She loved and yearned for peace so strongly that she was prepared to give all in fighting to achieve it, on virtually every level.

Above all, she will never be forgotten for her tireless work for the boys and girls behind the wire, among them one of her own valiant daughters.

!Venceremos, Máire! Ní in aice a fuairis bás. Is léachraim romhain ar an ród seo romhainn, bealach na saoirse, a bheas tú, a stór.

(A tribute by An tUachtarán, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh — leathanach 5)



▲ Máire taking in the milk in her Andersonstown home. In the background is one of the invader's forts from which she was kept under constant surveillance even before being elected leasuaachtarán, Sinn Féin.



ABOVE: Máire flanked by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, uachtarán, Sinn Féin, at Bodinstown.

BELOW: Máire comforting the mother of Proinsias Stagg at Dublin Airport.



▲ The occasion was a meeting organised to boycott the sham democracy of the imperialists' election. From left: Mrs. Patricia Davidson, Mrs. Máire Moore and Mrs. Máire Drumm.