

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 23. 8p. Meitheamh 11. 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)

# BRITANNIA RULES THE COURTS

## Collaborators warned in Óglaigh Statement

FOR THE first time since 1920, British law is operating throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, openly and brazenly, under a plan concocted, under the tutorship of the Crown, in Sunningdale; pushed speedily through the Westminster Commons and Lords; and then followed to the letter by the puppet assembly in Dublin.

In a sense, ALL laws operating since the Republic was overthrown illegally in 1921, have been British. But few have been so brazenly and openly so as is the Criminal Justice (Jurisdiction) Act, which makes derisory any last claim of the Dublin regime to be a sovereign one.

For the normal, civilised practice governing extradition for political offences, jealously guarded by independent states, has been thrown aside in a last desperate attempt to stop the tide of revolutionary freedom.

The potato republic now stands naked in its shame, lower, more craven, more subject, than even the most abject of the banana republics under the economic and political domination of imperial America.

Unfortunately, little shame is being displayed by the creatures of Leinster House, with a very few exceptions (but will they express that shame in the only logical and honourable way left them, by resigning?).

Unfortunately, too, those from whom we might have expected some wisdom, some concern for the consequences of this dangerous escalation of collaboration with the imperial enemy, are silent.

What we are observing is a closing of the ranks of a besieged traitor class, too stupid to realise its tactical error,

too callous to show any concern for what, inevitably, must befall its servants and, perhaps, many innocent people.

The imperial master must be obeyed. We are back to the mind that ordered the attack on the Dublin Four Courts, terrified of the ire of its master but even more terrified at retribution from the Irish people.

Terror, all too often, is the father of stupidity; and this act was a stupid exercise from the start. The only benefit accruing will be to the Republican Movement.

The following statement, issued on behalf of the leadership of the Republican Movement, through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, and signed P. O'Neill, runs, was the immediate, restrained but necessary reaction to the coming into force of the new, infamous Act.

"With the implementation of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill a very dangerous stage of collaboration has been reached between British enemy forces and the Dublin junta. In view of this development, the Irish Republican Army has decided to classify, as legitimate targets, any 'Free' State civil servant, court official, solicitor, counsel, judge or police officer found in the occupied area in a prosecuting capacity against Republican prisoners of war. If any of these people are accosted in the Six Counties they

### News from the North

THE promised long hot summer against the RUC rose a few degrees this week with the wounding of five men, the death of a police reservist and the execution of a known torturer by an active unit of the Belfast Brigade. Horrific stories of torture in Limavady police station against two Republicans are related. A leading member of the UDA is shot dead in Belfast. Children are wounded in sectarian assassination attempts. (See page 8.)

will be treated in the same way as members of the Crown Forces.

"We wish to reiterate also that any members of the English establishment, military, police or civilian, found in any part of Ireland, will be struck down ruthlessly, without warning."

### EFFECTS OF ACT

We reproduce here extracts from a review of the new situation created by the Act and published in the bulletin of the Irish Republican Information Service. Copies have been sent to foreign diplomatic missions in Ireland, as well as to newspapers, magazines and newspapermen, at home and abroad.

"Under the agreed London-Dublin legislation, British law relating to 'terrorist offences' (which, in present circumstances, mean armed resistance to British rule in the North) become an offence in the Twenty-Six Counties and can be the subject of prosecution in one jurisdiction even if committed in the other.

"Crown prosecutors in Belfast can, in effect, procure the arrest and prosecution south of the Border in southern courts of persons whom they allege committed any of the scheduled offences in the Six Counties. (Ar leanúint ar chúl)

BELOW: Gardai surrounding Proinsias Stagg's Free State Grave on Sunday, 30th May during the Michael Gaughan commemoration. See also centre pages.





# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 7. Meitheamh 11, 1976. Uimhir 23.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

## An Phoblacht abú.

IN YEARS to come, when the hysteria and frustration of the anti-liberation media and their political bosses, regarding the conduct of Oglagh na hEireann, have died and been forgotten, historians will comment on the remarkable restraint of the liberating forces in trying to contain the war in the Six Counties to that area and the area of the invading, imperial power, and will contrast that restraint and concern with the apparent callous concern of the London and Dublin *de facto* authorities.

The Provos are cruel, they scream. The Provos are indiscriminate in their attacks, heartless, ruthless, mindless. Yet, virtually alone among warring people in this century, or any other, Oglagh na hEireann consistently have given timely warning of bombings, so much so that, when such a warning is given, it is attributed virtually automatically to the Irish Liberation Forces.

Nor has this concern for innocent life been confined to such a discipline. Many a member of Oglagh na hEireann has lost his life, been terribly injured, or taken prisoner, to be tortured before trial, by waiting to ensure that all innocent people leave a premises where a bomb has been placed and time to explode.

Provocation upon provocation to extend the war has been ignored by the liberation leadership. Armed men, when confronted by unarmed Gardaí in the "Free" State, are under orders to avoid arrest without firing a shot.

The most traitorous conduct of the collaborators has been ignored similarly, not because such creatures have not merited execution but because the extension of the war would bring so much misery to so many innocent people. And, of course, the collaborators have capitalised on what they

consider to be the "softness," the "weakness," of the revolutionary army, by piling repression on repression and now openly condoning torture.

Last week there were screams of rage and indignation when the Republican leadership, in an extremely moderate reaction to the extension of British imperial law to the entire country, in the Criminal Justice (Jurisdiction) Act, warned that all "Free" State officers or officials, if caught in the Six Counties while attempting to put that Act into effect, would be shot.

What else did they expect, Future historians will marvel that, even at this stage, the Republican leadership still sought to contain the war within the Six Counties and Britain, and still refrained from extending it to every area of the two islands.

"The Irish Times," and other organs, self-righteously pointed out that the new Act was the "law of the land." Have they forgotten that the Petain edicts also were the "law of the land"? That the Nazi laws against the Jews, the Gypsies and other *Untermenschen*, also were the "law of the land"? Or that the same "law of the land" was initiated in an alien country which had made possible such imposition of British law, for the first time, since 1920, through forcing a counter

revolutionary group to overthrow the lawful Republic violently in 1921?

Have the "Times" and the other quisling organs forgotten the unlawful and unconstitutional acts of the father of Liam Cosgrave and his cohorts and the terrible violence in which the "Free" State was born and maintained for more than fifty years?

Restraint, humanity, compassion, concern — all are on the side of the Republic, which is backed by morality in the broadest sense. The impudence of "The Irish Times" is matched only by its hypocrisy, if not by its bigotry and ignorance, despite all its airs of bourgeois respectability, bourgeois learning and bourgeois elitism in general.

The honest people of Ireland rejoiced when they heard or read of the Republican decision to act decisively against "Free" State traitors on active service in the Six Counties and, with their Republican sisters and brothers in the north-east, scorned the growling and whimpering of bluishism.

In unison with their brothers and sisters of the north-east, the working people of the Twenty Six Counties shout out defiantly: "Let loose your dogs of war: we can handle them. Do your worst: we will better it. Increase your repression and you will only hasten your downfall. Escalate your torture and you will succeed only in clarifying the Irish issue before the entire world. No matter what you do, you cannot eliminate, erase, destroy the spirit of freedom in the resurgent people. We will match your cruelty and your viciousness with our discipline, our compassion, our humanity. History will spit on the memory of your wretchedness and will glorify, for all time, the valour of the women and men who put freedom before all else."

An Phoblacht abú.

IS DEACAIR a bheith cinnte dearfa céard é ta ar siúl i Raidió na Gaeltachta. Tá se raitte go bhfuil se ar intinn ag mionlach sa rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath, nó i measc na státseirbhíse, nó na ndaoine ta ar Udarás RTE, Raidió na Gaeltachta a lagú agus, de réir a chéile, a mhair, ní loitiméireacht.

Nuair a chéadchualais mise go mbheadh deiradh leis an gclár sa tráthnóga, bhí imní orm. Ní mian anor san imní a bhíos mar a coicis níos airigh mé diuine amháin, fíu, a rú gur aontuigh se leis an bplean nua, mar atá an raidió a chraoladh ar maidin.

Ansin léas a raibh le rá ag Múiris Mac Conghail, stiúrthoir an raidió, ar "Seála Eireann." Tá gá, dar leis, le craoladh na maidne agus is tabachtait sin na craoladh an tráthnóga.

Cibé tuairim ta againn faoi Mhuiris maidin leis an bpolaitíocht (agus fear Chrúis Uí Bhriain ta ann i gceann) diuine ata ann ar mor leis Gaeltíche na Gaeltachta. Duine é ta ag fogáil clainne le Gaeltíche. Duine eifeachtach é i gcearsaí raidió. Agus tháinig feabhas ar Raidió na Gaeltachta ó thosaigh se ag dul i mbun oibre ann.

Is í mo thuirmeis go bhfuil gá le craoladh na maidne ón Raidió ach go bhfuil gá le craoladh sa tráthnóga, chomh maith. Measaim go mba choir do raidió sin bheith ag craoladh ó go moch ar maidin go dtí deireannach san oíche, ar a laghad go dtí go mbeidh Teilifís na Gaeltachta sainbhunaithe.

### Deachtóireacht sainleolaíoch

AN RUD is measa faoi chineadh den chineál ta ag bagairt orainn gur leor, is cosúil, roinnt sainleolaíche i gcearsaí raidió, nó roinnt polaitíoch, nó roinnt státseirbhísh, bheith ag teacht le chéile chun plean a cheapadh agus gan focail a rá leis na daoine a bheas thíos (nó thuas) lena bhfuil beartuithe, mar an pobal.

Bhíos ag siúl, nuair a cuireadh tús le Raidió na Gaeltachta, go mbunófaí rannóg ann a dhéanfaidh suirbhéanna ó am go chéile ar thuarimí mhuintir na Gaeltachta faoina lán cúrsaí.

AN BHFUIL cothrom na Féinne faite ag na Protastúin sna 26 Chontae? Níl, a deir an tEaspag Ó Mórdha, an Chill Mhór, Co. an Chábháin, Agus, dar leis an easpag seo, nuair a ardaiann an Protastúin a ghuath, agus nuair a éilonn rud a cheapann se a bheith ina chearta, is é an freagra a chloiscean se go mba choir an tír a athaon. Agus i athaontuithe seans go dtabharfaí aif ar.

Nó, uair eile, nuair a iarrann an Protastúin rud a cheapann se a bheith tuille do, mar shaoranach, is amhlaidh a bronnat ar rud air agus cuirtear in iúl gur bronnantas atá ann agus gan ach bronnantas.

An rud is bunúsai le cearta, is dócha, gur rud é a chuirtear ar fáil gan argóint, gan agóid; ach go deimhin ní rud é a bronnat ar dhaoiné.

Táim ar fad leis an Easpag Ó Mórdha sna cúrsaí seo (ní réitíonn le gach dar raibh le rá ag an tseachtain seo caite, ar chor ar bith). Mar chinnire ar mhionlach an-bheag sna 26 Chontae ba ea a labhair an tEaspag ach freisin, measaim, mar Ultach, labhair se ar son na bProtastúin sna Se-Chontae, mionlach fós ach mionlach i bhfad níos mó.

Is curra mionlach nó tromlach, tá ceartanna ar leith ann a ba choir a bheith ar fáil do gach cinne. Ach, mar a dúirt se féin, ar son mionlaigh ba ea a labhair se. Agus seo mo mhodh d'ó: deán clár leis

## Loitiméireacht nua ar Raidió na Gaeltachta?

Dá mbéadh gú imarcach, ar an abhar nach bhfuil an t-airgead ar fáil ag an Raidió chun tabhairt i gceart faoin obair, d'headhfaid Roinn na Socheolaíochta i gColáiste na hOllscoile i nGailiúin, agus an Roinn cheannana in Ollscoil Nua Uídh, tabhairt faoi na suirbhéanna.

Dearfaínn go gcuirfí faite faoin iarratas, Scríobhas a leitheid anseo cheana. Ach macalla ní bhfuairas.

Is fear a thuigeann an sainleolaí "chuide short ná mo leithéid, ní airm muintir na Gaeltachta nó muintir na Gaeltíche sa nGaeltacht (agus tá lucht eisteacha go fairsing sa nGaeltacht, níos fairsinge, b'heidir, ná mar atá sa nGaeltacht féin).

Nuair a bunaíodh Udarás Raidió na Gaeltachta, mar choiste comhairleach do Raidió, shíl go leor dinn, ce go raibh muid amhrasach faoi chuid den na daoine a toghadh, nach gheall ar an gceangal polaitíoch nár iad agus Fianna Fáil, go mbéadh cead cainte acu go gcuirfidís toil mhuintir na Gaeltachta in iúl; agus go bhfaighidís éisteacht.

### Ráflaí v. eolas

TÁ DE chosúlacht ann, anois, faraíor, nach bhfuil cumhacht ag na daoine sin ná tionscail lucht stúdhtha an Raidió. Is mó a bhíad an tionscail ta ag Udarás RTE ar raidió agus ar theilifís na iad. Agus tá seans ann go bhfuil Udarás RTE ag cur a ladar isteach i gcearsaí Raidió na Gaeltachta.

Nach atá an seál é nach feidir linn an fhéinne a nochdaid? Nach bhfuil a fhios againn céard é a sin? Nach bhfuil thart timpeall orainn, lasmuigh de thuarimí foilsithe Mhuiris, ach ráfa? Sin daonlathas.

Maidir le hUdarás RTE, de réir cosúlachta is measa a bheas an fhoireann nua, ó thaobh na Gaeltíche de, ó thaobh chultúr na hEireann é goitíonnte de, ná an seandream (agus shíl muid nach bhféadfaidís siud a bheith ní ba measa... mar a shíl muid nuair a chuaigh Fianna Fáil ar oifig).

Tá rud amháin cinnte faoin Udarás nua: tá seandream biogideach ann go foill ach tá biogidí nua tar éis a bheith ceaptha, freisin.

Maidir leis na daoine a bheas ag seasamh leis an nGaeltíche — nó a cheapann muid a bheas amhlaidh — ní mórán colais againn fúthu ach amháin nach raibh siad go mór chun tosaigh i nGluaiseacht na Gaeltíche, i nGluaiseacht na Gaeltachta, i nGluaiseacht an Chéoil ná mórán eile. Ach gan amháin go fóill, gan a thuilleadh a rá, chun go fearfimid siad iad fein bealach amháin nó eile.

Agus ta Dónall Ó Morain caite amach faoi dheireadh... nó an amhlaidh a dhuitlaigh se téimhise eile a chur isteach? Bhí se de cheart aige cirt as i bhfad ó shin. Dá ndéanfaid se amhlaidh bheadh meas air, inniu.

Mas fíor nach bhfuil cead cainte ag an nGaeltíche ar Udarás nua RTE, tá se chomh fíreannach ceanna go bhfuil diorma an FLM go láidir ann — an fear a speacadh amach óna job i Co. Mhaigh Eo, an Carrthach beag binbeach, an Caomhach gear agus an Sasanach uil i gCorcaigh. Tuigim go bhfuil beirt eile on eagrais lófa ceana in eindí leo ar an Udarás nua.

Mas cogadh atá uatha siúd gheobhaidís siad é agus fáilte. Ní feidir le pobal na Gaeltíche cúbadh a thuilleadh.

LE BLIANTA BEAGA Tá Seoil na hIrisoireachta i Rath Maonais, Baile Átha Cliath, agus cé go raibh corrdhuine ag feasta uirthi ó am go chéile, a sheas leis an naisiún, teanga liom leat a bhi a bhíormhor na ndalait... agus a chomhartha sin ar irisoireacht Bhaile Átha Cliath.

Ach ta cúrsaí ag athrú, mar atá soileir ó "Cumarsaid," nuachtán gairmiúil Gaeltíche ta curtha le chéile ag na hirisoirí oga ta ag freastal ar an scoil sin faoi láthair.

Seo a leanas giota ón bpáipéar seo a ardós an croi: "Tá Seoil Scoilaisreachta chun na Gaeltachta le bheith ag feidhmiú do scoláirí Seoil Irisoireachta Rath Maonais anois. Is i seo an Seoil a d'eiligh an t-eagarfóir sa chéad eagrán de Cumarsaid."

"Beidh curra mósa ar siúl do mhic leinn ná chéad bhliain i gColáiste Lurgain, Indreabhán, Mhi Mheán Fomhair. Is i eindí le Comharthumhann Chois Fharráige atá an cúrsa a reachtáil agus beidh obair phraiteiciúil curtha ar fáil do dhá mheic leinn leis an nGomhlacht Fíolitheoireachta agus le Amárach."

"Chomh maith le seo beidh ceathair mac léinn ón Scól Irisoireachta ag obair mar phrintisigh ar Amárach roimh an ceana, beirt i Mí Iúil, beirt i Mí Lúnasa. Is faoi AnCo atá an Seoil seo a reachtáil."

"Irisoireacht, an Ghaeltíche, cúrsaí na Gaeltachta, agus saiocht na hEireann is mó a bheas i gceist ar an curra mósa. Déanfar staidéir ar stair agus seanchas Chois Fharráige agus tathar ag siúl le teachtaí ósna hirisoirí is fearr i gConamara."

An tseachtain seo chugainn beidh tuilleadh again faoi "Cumarsaid," a cuid nuachtait, tuairimí agus eile. Is mór an chreidimín ón bpáipéar seo do lucht foghlamtha na hirisoireachta.

Is lada ó chonaic me páipéar leagtha amach chomh gairmiúil, chomh tarraingeach, chomh seisiúil. Agus, i goitíon, sa scríbhneoireacht, freisin, agus sna léaráid, ta caighdeán ard sriochte. Bail ó Dhuia ar na daoine oga fuinnimheacha seo.

### Daonlathas ar aire

Dála an scéil, agus é ag tabhairt freagra ar a raibh le rá ar na mallabhaí ag an Easpag Newman, dúirt an Crúisín go ngéilllean se don tromlach: an rud atá ag teastáil ón tromlach ba choir sin bheith aige.

Ní féidir sin a chosaint, amach is amach. Más rud é an ní tá dhith ar an tromlach a dhéanann dochar do mhionlach, ní chóir é chur ar fáil. Ní áiríre, sampla can seansamhaintoireachta is ea an rud a dúirt Ó Brain. Níl an saol baobh chomh simpli sin.

Ach, ar ndóighe, nuair a dúirt an Crúisín an méid sin thuas, ní raibh se ag smaoineamh ar cheart na Gaeltíche nó ar cheart an chéidil ar RTE. Is amhlaidh atá an Crúisín saista géilleadh don tromlach nuair a bhíon se ar an Crúisín.

Liobrálach is ea an Crúisín. Ní aifníonn liobrálachas aoh mhóraithe: Ní aifníonn se ach a leas féin. Pragmatach atá se, agus deirheadh.

## Guth an mhionlaigh ó Easpag na Cille Móire

na mionlaigh eile chun go bhfaighse gach mionlach cothrom na Féinne — muintir na Gaeltíche, na tinnéir, Finnéithe Lava, na Mormion, na feilmeirí beaga, na hiascáir agus mar sin de.

Sin, páirt a d'headhfaid Protastúin a imirt ar stáise na hEireann faoi láthair — páirt tabachtait, páirt a thuilleadh meas, páirt a chuirfeadh in iúl go soiléir do dhá chéad a lófa atá an lár-rialtas chois Life agus go gaitfeair Eire Nua a bhaint amach.

Agus is páirt se a d'headhfaid an tEaspag Ó Mórdha a imirt agus go maith. Ó cuireadh tús le Eigse Bedell tá páirt ag an easpag seo le cúrsaí agus chonaic se lena shuí féin an páirt mhór a d'headhfaid an Ghaeltíche a imirt ach cothrom na Féinne a tháil. Rud ab é — agus is ea fós — an Ghaeltíche a dhíluathuigh daoine le chéile i gCo. an Chábháin, idir Chaitlicigh Romhanacha agus Protastúin.



# Port Laoise ... the facts

**THE Prisoners Welfare Action Group comprising relatives of Republican political prisoners in Port Laoise Jail have documented in a statement the vile conditions existing there at present.**

**They state that the purpose of their present campaign is "simply to bring the truth before the public" and appeal for immediate support.**

## DECEMBER '74.

Prisoners protested about conditions in the jail. Gardai Riot Squad destroyed all the prisoners' belongings and cell furniture. The prisoners' clothing and bed clothing were taken and the men were forced to eat and sleep on the cell floors.

## JANUARY '75.

Visits suspended; no letters allowed in or out of the prison; no information to relatives about the condition or names of the injured prisoners.

Hunger Strike commenced. Senator Michael Mullen, Miss Siobhan McKenna and Mr. Seamus Sorohan, S.C. refused admittance to the prison to inspect conditions. Sinn Féin Councillors refused admittance. Minister for Justice refused to hold public enquiry.

## FEBRUARY '75.

Hunger strikers transferred to the Curragh Military Hospital. Condition of Hunger strikers gave rise to serious concern. Negotiations to improve conditions in jail concluded. Hunger strike ended.

## MARCH '75.

Visits again suspended; workshop closed. Wire Grid erected between visitors and relatives.

Tom Smith shot dead and other prisoners wounded. Minister for Justice refused to allow Requiem Mass for Tom Smith.

Visits again suspended; no information to relatives about the condition of prisoners. Workshop closed; exercise yard closed.

## APRIL '75.

Two months after the ending of the hunger strike and none of the following has been provided: Indoor recreational facilities; hospital unit; educational facilities; church facilities. Children visiting their fathers and wives their husbands do so in cages separated by a double wire grill 3' apart and ceiling high. Prisoners forcibly stripped naked and assaulted by warders and Gardai.

Fr. D. Faul refused permission to visit prisoners. Visitors subjected to two searches before entering the prison.

## MAY '75.

Visits again suspended. Prisoners reported injured — no available information. Letters from prisoners censored. Men's shoes and socks taken. Prison Chaplain refused to say Mass because of condition of prison.

## JUNE '75.

Shoes returned with heels and soles removed and inner shoe cut away. Men unable to wear them. Still no recreational facilities provided.

## JULY '75.

Father McManus refused permission to visit a prisoner. Two prisoners assaulted by Gardai and

warders. A number of prisoners taken ill and due to lack of hospital facilities were transferred to Curragh Military Hospital — relatives not informed of transfer. Military doctor not available to discuss cases with the relatives.

## AUGUST '75.

Gardai baton charge an anti-interment protest to the jail and refuse to allow all marchers pass the jail. Prisoner transferred to Curragh Military Hospital for operation and forcibly stripped, searched and badly beaten by military personnel on admission to the hospital.

## SEPTEMBER '75.

No recreational facilities. Workshop closed. Food inedible. Still no hospital unit. No educational facilities.

## OCTOBER '75.

Prisoners strip searched and beaten in their cells by Gardai and warders. Visitors to the jail subjected to further searches.

## NOVEMBER '75.

Visits once more suspended — workshop closed, outdoor recreational yard closed. Prisoners strip searched and beaten.

## DECEMBER '75.

End of 1975 with conditions getting worse each week. Christmas cards censored.

## JANUARY '76.

Visits suspended. Food inedible — letters from prisoners re conditions censored.

## FEBRUARY '76.

Still no proper recreational facilities — educational facilities. Irish books banned.

## MARCH '76.

Visitors left waiting hours for a visit. Prisoners strip searched and beaten. Prisoners assaulted by Gardai.

## APRIL '76.

Prisoners relatives refused visits. Prisoners and relatives warned not to speak of prison conditions.

## MAY '76.

Relatives again refused permission to visit prisoners. These include brothers, brother-in-laws, mother-in-laws, girlfriends and friends. No reason given for refusal. Brother-in-law required to produce marriage cert. before being allowed visit relative.

## JUNE '76.

Conditions are as listed above. We ask for your support to publicise the conditions under which our relatives and friends are being held in your name by Mr. Cooney.

# Demand for public inquiry

**The Prisoners Welfare Action Group has consistently called for a public inquiry into the shooting dead of Tom Smith in Port Laoise Prison on 17th March, 1975.**

**The inquiry held in September only served to prove the need for such an inquiry.**

The inquiry jury stated that: "they felt that insufficient evidence had been given, in particular with reference to **Warders Bermingham, who was inside the compound, and also the soldiers who were on duty in the sentry-box at the north-eastern corner. If the Court wished to proceed with the inquiry they would like more evidence.**"

No further evidence was forthcoming from the State and no enquiry has been held.

Tom Smith, an unarmed prisoner was shot dead in the prison by soldiers on duty in the prison. Yet no army personnel present in the prison at the time of the shooting were called to give evidence. Why?

The evidence of a State Laboratory chemist was that the analysis of the pieces of metal from the body were comparable to the analysis of the core of bullets which were samples of ammunition issued to the Irish Army. None of the guns or ammunition used by the soldiers on the night of the shooting were examined. Why?

Why was the State selective in the Prison Officers called to give evidence?

Why was **Warder Bermingham** excluded?

On the night of the shooting the Prison Doctor and a nurse attended the prison. The doctor examined the dead man and in evidence stated that "he had a wound on the right side of his forehead."

The State Pathologist in evidence stated that in addition to a wound above the right eyebrow there were three different abrasions on the left hand side of the face.

Why were these wounds not adverted to by the Prison Doctor?

Why was the nurse who attended the dead man not called to give evidence?

## FARMERS DEFENCE ASSOCIATION

The Annual Conference of The Farmers' Defence Association will be held on Sunday, June 13th in the Lake County Hotel, Mullingar. Delegates from all parts of the country will attend the conference and discuss the future hopes of smaller farmers to remain on the land.

A special open session of the conference to which interested people are welcome to attend will commence at 2.30 p.m. This period will include the Chairman's Annual Address, reading of the Annual Report and decision on a Plan of Campaign for smaller and medium farmers to tackle their problems during the coming twelve months.

## Oglaigh Statements

**The following supplied statements were issued by units of Oglaigh na hEireann.**

### West Cavan Command

Oglaigh na hEireann was not responsible for the bombing of the National School, Swanlinbar on the morning of May 21st. This latest incident is just another attempt by enemy agents and Unionist thugs to turn the people against the Republican Movement.

Our patience is being exhausted so we warn those people that from now on we will hit back hard and fast and in the right place.

E. Mac Donnell,  
Command O.C.

### South Fermanagh Command

Several Brit soldiers were injured when their Saracen was blown up by a landmine near Killesher on Wednesday, 26th May, at approximately 10.00 hours.

The attack was carried out by an A.S.U. from the third Batt. Signed: Eoin O'Flaherty, O.C.

### South Down Command

The command accepts responsibility for the car bomb explosion on the 25th last. A warning was given.

We would like to comment on the people who have condemned the bombing campaign. The S.D.L.P. last night, Sugar Island was not a military target. We never said or insisted it was. Obviously it was an economic target.

We have and will continue to fight this as both military and economically irrespective what the S.D.L.P. may rant and rave. A torrent of vituperation

laden with clichés about "peace" and men of violence has been poured forth, both from political platforms and pulpulated for politics. The vocabulary of condemnation has been exhausted.

Recently we were asked to offer "reparation" and were told how evil "violence" was. Yet apart from a few honourable exceptions, no reference whatsoever was made to the root cause of all the violence — English occupation and aggression and all the injustices which flow from it, violence, which produces counter violence.

There are many people who attribute all acts of violence to the Provisionals. We have not in the past become involved in chit-chat through media, but with some of the recent acts carried out in our name we must firstly point out that all statements come from the South Down Command Oglaigh na hEireann, as no other group or body has any authority to issue statement on our behalf.

S.D.B.

### South Down Command

An Active Service Unit of the Command carried out the attack on Brits on Sunday Morning, 30th May, on the main Omagh/Newry Road. The attack was on the Checkpoint.

Ten mortars were fired with direct hits claimed, also a fifteen minute gun battle took place.

S.D.B.



ABOVE: The monument erected in St. Colman's cemetery, Lurgan, in memory of Staff Captain Thomas Harte and his comrade Adjutant-General Paddy McGrath who were executed by the Free State on September 6th, 1940. The name of the late Staff Captain John Green, murdered at Mullagh, Co. Monaghan on January 10th 1975 has been included in the inscription. The remains of both Thomas Harte and John Green are interred in the cemetery.

BELOW: Members of the Harte family with Sean Keenan at the monument.



## IN MEMORIAM



In memory of Sean McKearney and Owen Martin, killed in action May 13th, 1974.

Inserted by Mac Kearney Cumann, Sinn Féin, Carniska, Strokestown, Co. Roscommon "While Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace".

## SYMPATHY

Comhairle Cuige Connacht, wishes to express sincere sympathy with the O'Bradaigh family on the recent deaths of Mr. John Caffrey, Dublin and Mr. L.E. O'Connor, also with the Conry Family, Killina, Roscommon, on the recent death of Mr. Anthony Conry, R.I.P.

## VOTE OF SYMPATHY

At a meeting in Farranfare, a vote of sympathy was passed to P.J. Teahan and family on their recent bereavement.

—Runai, Dermot Brosnan.

## BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Mc Phillips, Port Laoise, Prison.

Happy Birthday, James on the 9th June from your friends in Cork.

—Eileen, Kay, Irene.

## News from the North (Ar lean, o chul)

The third gunman ran into a house in the same street where the shooting took place. He left behind his gun and gloves then casually strolled out into the street passed the house where Parsons was shot, spoke to the neighbours and then proceeded to walk calmly away.

David Spratt a 20 year old Protestant was shot dead at his brother-in-law's home near Comber just outside of Belfast. It is believed that the intended victim was, in fact, Spratt's brother-in-law who is a Catholic.

Later in the same day, a Catholic man had a lucky escape when gunmen opened fire on his home in the North part of the City. Five shots were fired and the man received a wound to his hand.

## THURSDAY 3rd JUNE.

A Reserve RUC man driving to work in the Dunmurry area was fired upon. The attackers fired a number of shots at the reservist as he drove with his wife near Black's Road. One of the bullets passed through the rear of his car but only bruised his back.

It is believed that the gunmen were using a motorbike which later crashed. Two youths were detained.

## FRIDAY, 4th JUNE.

Three gunmen entered the home of a catholic family in the Ardoyne area and attempted to assassinate Arthur Fusco. The Fusco home is in Mountain View Vale. Mr. Fusco escaped upstairs but the gunmen turned their attention to his children. Marie (20) was shot in the arm, chest and thigh and Anne (9) in the arm. Marie is seriously ill. The obvious loyalist attack was instigated when a gunman stole a car in the Shankill area.

In Belfast's Crumlin Road area a man was found murdered. one man was shot dead and another wounded when in the stomach at Highfield

gunmen opened fire on a taxi. Drive.

Later another taxi driver was wounded in a shooting attack in Albert Street.

In Waterproof Street, a 51 year

A 19 year old youth was shot in the stomach at Highfield

Drive.

In another shooting incident a shopkeeper was wounded.

The incident occurred at Dunmurry.



# BRITS ARE GOING

## The Economic Case

THE economic withdrawal of the British from the Six Counties is more apparent now than at any time in the past 55 years of colonial rule. Despite recent statements from Merlyn Rees we fully believe that the run-down of the Six Counties, commercially and industrially has already begun, and that this run-down is also taking place coincidentally with a military withdrawal.

Loyalists fears have already been expressed on the number of redundancies which have taken place and which are about to take place. Merlyn Rees' attempts to gloss over this situation have not had the reassuring effect he anticipated and hysteria in the Unionists ranks is apparent.

There are fears by union leaders that the Six Counties unemployment figure would reach 80,000 before the end of the year. With firms closing down in the very near future in Omagh, and Coalisland very few opportunities will be available to help absorb the redundancies. In Newry 120 jobs are in jeopardy at the firm of Bessbrook Products. If this company closes redundancies in the Newry area will have reached almost 2,000 in two years.

The Rev. Roy Bradford has already indicated over the past weekend the serious plight of the Ulster Clothing and Shirts industry. This has now been confirmed by these manufacturers. The jobs of literally thousands of people hang in the balance. The enormous cutbacks of revenue from the British exchequer is also having a crippling effect on industry in the North of Ireland. Table 1 shows the redundancies and firm closures from March 1975 to May 1976. And there is more to come.

### Conditioning process

In the knowledge of its withdrawal from the Six Counties, the British Government has been promoting a conditioning process for the British people, to prepare them for the eventual total withdrawal. Table II shows what six years of guerrilla war has cost the British pocket. It shows clearly that in order to prop up this sectarian state hundreds of millions of pounds have been spent. The amount of public money spent on 'maintenance of law and order' in the Six Counties is almost three times that of the rest of these islands. When one takes in the number of cases pending and yet to come, the cost will be in millions of millions of pounds.

### CLOSED DOWN

Name of Firm	Date Closed	Jobs Lost
Richgrass, Limavady	March 1975	25
David Acheson Ltd., Castlereagh	April 1975	72
McKee and James, Bangor	April 1975	116
B. Britton and Sons Ltd., Ballymena	June 1975	539
Tyrone Metalcraft Ltd., Dungannon	April 1975	134
Yardmaster Ltd., Newry	June 1975	72
Weirax Ltd., Newry	June 1975	356
John Burns Ltd., Castledawson	July, 1975	136
John Burns Ltd., Draperstown	Sept. 1975	138
International Engineering Ltd., Castlereagh	Sept. 1975	1,631
Milwata Weatherproofs, Banbridge	Nov. 1975	54
Gainsborough Fabrics Ltd., Rathgael	Jan. 1976	423
Standard Telephones and Cables, Larne	Jan. 1976	700
A. Kirkland, Omagh	Jan. 1976	56
Regal Styles Ltd., Markethill	Mar. 1976	144
Kirkpatrick of Ballyclare	Mar. 1976	129

### PLANNED CLOSURES

Name of Firm	Closing	Jobs
Rolls-Royce, Dundonald	1977	780
RAF and Naval Maintenance Bases	1977	2,000

### THE LAY-OFFS

STC at Monkstown and Enniskillen	1976	670
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### FIRMS IN TROUBLE

MCI Plastics Ltd., Strabane	Feb. 76	61
Ballymena Textiles Ltd., Ballymena	Mar. 76	120
Regina International, Derry	Mar. 76	197
G. Ney Products Ltd., Bangor	Apr. 76	42

### PAY-OFFS

Tyrone Shoe Company, Omagh	May 76	49
Tyrone Brick Works, Coalisland	May 76	100
Bessbrook Products, Bessbrook, Newry	May 76	120

### SIX YEARS OF WAR

Item	Expenditure (£)
Total since the troubles began in 1969 for industry, social security and health services .....	£1,582,000,000
Total cost of keeping British Army in 6 Counties from 1969 .....	£ 129,000,000
Compensation for property damaged by Republican forces .....	£ 129,000,000
Total compensation to date for persons injured in 6 years of war .....	£ 206,000,000
Insurance Companies payout since 1969 .....	£ 96,000,000
The Northern Ireland Assembly, the Executive and Convention, three attempts to find a political solution total cost .....	£ 1,343,900
Security Precautions throughout Britain, (excluding 6 Counties) .....	£ 50,000,000
Bomb attacks in England, Scotland, Wales .....	18,000 ('74)
Victims compensation only .....	95,000 ('75)

### THE SHARE OUT

Public expenditure in 6 Counties per head of population in 1974 .....	£452
Public expenditure in England per head of population in 1974 .....	£363
Public expenditure in Scotland per head of population in 1974 .....	£429
Maintenance of 'law and order' 6 counties (%)*	8.6%
G. Britain (%)*	3.2%

\* These percentages relate to the above figures for public expenditure

### Leaflet for Taxpayers

As a prelude to the conditioning process of withdrawal the British Inland Revenue Department in the tax year 1974/75 issued to every worker a slip of paper. This leaflet gave a breakdown of what the taxpayers money was used for i.e. Defence spending, education, health and social services. At

the bottom of this document, it was stated that 9p in every £ was spent on Northern Ireland. Taking that the average weekly earnings in England was £40 per week, the English worker was paying the sum of £3.60 to prop up the state of Northern Ireland.

The British are leaving the Six Counties, and everyone is saying it. Over the past few months since the fall of the Convention statements have appeared

# Why the Irish establishment rebuffs peace

by James Hope

*One Ireland - an Irish Republic. One Government - a Government of the Republic. One Army - an Army of the Irish Republic. These were the aims of our Great Dail - these, too, are our aims. We have clung to them in the face of ruthless Tyranny. Tyranny is overthrown - we survive. Shall we abandon now the aims for which we strove through these wars? Shall we turn traitors to our Great Dead?*

*We shall not. Ni siothchain go saoirse!*

— Frank Ryan, Easter Sunday, 27th March, 1932

You know, we all know, that after seven years of a wearing and unpredictable struggle the British Government is prepared to meet some of the terms for peace of the Irish Republican Movement.

When I say, *some of the terms*, I mean, of course, that like a retreating (yanny anywhere they would like to get out on soft conditions leaving a near Quisling\*\* government behind them. My sort of victory would be the complete victory where they were literally hurled into the sea like the US troops retreating from Saigon, where they did not have time scarcely to take their helicopters with them. But I accept that that is unlikely to happen and that we must rely instead upon the wearing down process, the water upon a stone process.

After all it has cost them dearly.

Over and above the subvention of £300m. to the statelet itself it is costing them nearly £300m. more annually. They have had to thin out their NATO reserve in Germany. Recruiting - until the recent unemployment upsurge - had flopped disastrously. She has lost face abroad (although Leinster House has supported UK propaganda and made it easier for her). The Mother of Parliaments has had to devote so much time to the North that they are sickened to the teeth with northerners and loyalists. Corruption within their cabinet and within their system has been exposed over and over again, beginning with the financial crook Maundling and running through Lord Lambton (sex), Lord Jellicoe (ditto), and Lord Carrington (implicated in the Littlejohn affair). Their dirty deeds department has had the most startling disclosures made about its tortures and its killings, though again Leinster House and certain venal journalists in the South have made it easy for them on that too.

It has cost us dearly also - it has cost us in ways that do not



bear thinking of. I mean in human terms, and not the £500m. that ex-Marxist Keating said recently "Northern violence" was costing the South.

The British Government, as I remarked, would still then accept the soft option (it knew the Convention was a million to one shot) if it was open to it. The soft option, of course, is to deal directly with Dublin, and with any caucus of Northern politicians it can drag together: in other words, the Sunningdale situation was the ideal one from their point of view, and not a reversion to a Stormont government via a Convention. The

Republican Movement and Republican people would be as firmly shut out of politics in the whole island as it is presently shut out of southern politics. And the Republican Movement, if it is to fulfil its revolutionary objectives, must avoid that.

### The Second Option

The second option for the UK government is to face the fact that it may have to deal with a united and disciplined Republican Movement while hoping, of course, always hoping, that it can inveigle, suborn, defraud or trick it. In which case, the first option is reverted too again, the hard men and women are locked up,

from every quarter, and the only ones to deny this withdrawal are the British themselves. But history has shown us that this is the British way. This is how they gear themselves to leave their colonies and this is how they leave this country.

It is now up to Sinn Fein to prepare the people both physically and psychologically for the withdrawal of the British from this island. The

Federal solution is the one way in which the people of Ireland can live together in peace, and can go forward to a lasting peace based on trust, harmony and justice.



# INEVITABLE...

IT WAS important for the people of the Six Counties to face up to the INEVITABILITY of British withdrawal, the Belfast surgeon, Mr. John Robb, said last Sunday week in Dublin at a 1916 commemoration seminar.

The New Ireland Movement, he stated, believed that the Westminster government had no immediate intention of withdrawing, however; but the Movement believed, also, that the British people would be the final arbiters who would force the politicians to sanction withdrawal.

Such withdrawal, he urged, should be accompanied by guarantees of economic support and should be on a stated date, at least five years from now but not more than 10 years.

The Robb argument differs considerably from the Republican one and envisages an independent Six Counties, recognised and guaranteed by the Dublin government.

## S.D.L.P. slide

At the same seminar in Liberty Hall, Dublin, Mr. Paddy Devlin of the S.D.L.P. also advocated an independent Six Counties, perhaps indicating yet another major party shift in policy.

Captain James Kelly told the

seminar that he believed an independent Six Counties would lead to an escalation of the struggle there and that, eventually, the entire island would be involved. Britain already had begun its economic military withdrawal, he added.

Mr. Michael Farrell of the People's Democracy said he opposed devolved government for the Six Counties. The Northern state was "essentially sectarian" and any devolved state must be dominated by "loyalists".

In Buncrana, during the by-election campaign last Sunday, week Mr. Liam Cosgrave also, apparently, favoured an independent Six Counties; his administration, he stated, would support fully any institutions, "freely arrived at" and which commanded the "respect of the people of Northern Ireland as a whole".

Mr. Cosgrave also told a radio interview on that Sunday that his administration disapproved strongly of British contacts with Sinn Féin.

## Illegal party?

Sinn Féin, apparently, is illegal in Mr. Cosgrave's view. He said: "We have indicated that this" (contacts between Sinn Féin and the British) will possibly lessen the influence of elected politicians and give some sort of credence that those who are illegal ("our emphasis") means

## ...John Robb

may have their views taken into account".

The elected politician, the Sinn Féin vice-president, Mr. Daithí Ó Conaill, replied: "It is deplorable that Mr. Cosgrave's long established hatred of Republicans should motivate him to sabotage any peaceful effort to bring the Northern conflict to an honourable end".

His statement continued: "It matters little to Mr. Cosgrave how many people are killed in all; he is far removed from the conflict and blissfully ignorant of its root causes. He has no idea whatsoever of a solution".

The Northern gusleater, Merlyn Rees, has not ruled out an independent Six Counties... yet. He suggested, even, that his government might be prepared to do a deal with a majority in the Six Counties seeking "independence" though he believed they would be foolish.

During his highly guarded Dublin visit, kept secret to the last possible moment, Rees said direct rule of their Six Counties colony by the imperial power would continue for a year.

FOOTNOTE: To show who is who, yet another enemy helicopter entered the 26 Counties "accidentally" near Lifford on Sunday morning last. It is understood that the observer was a SAS man having difficulty with his maps. The usual apologies etc. etc.

# Buchanan backs the Brits

Dr. Buchanan, Archbishop of Dublin, recently came out loud and clear on the side of the British continuing their presence in Ireland. "The British Army must remain in Northern Ireland", he said, as their withdrawal would mean "a triumph for violence".

With all due respect to the Reverend gentleman, one wonders if his judgement is not somewhat coloured by the fact that he once held the rank of officer himself in the same Crown Force? It should be remembered also that Bishop Buchanan once upon a time favoured Internment without trial in no uncertain fashion, a rather strange Christian instrument certainly not proffered as being just by any other bishop, with the possible exception of British Army Bishop Tickle.

The Protestant Archbishop is in fact saying that he wants the British government to continue for the foreseeable future to underwrite — militarily and financially — the root cause of the violence there — the Unionist oligarchy set up in 1920 against the expressed vote of 75 per cent of the Irish people. In 1969, the British Army "moved in" ostensibly to protect the Catholic population but actually to uphold the status quo of the Loyalist Protestant Ascendancy.

Same difficulties

Perhaps Dr. Buchanan would like to mention just one instance where the British

Army's presence made for peace, justice and equanimity in the erstwhile Dominions? Surely he must be aware that the British Army as a peace-keeping force had to withdraw from Palestine, Aden, Cyprus and Africa, and for reasons tersely stated by Brig. H. Hardbottle in a recent address somewhere in Ireland, "My experience", said the Brigadier, "as a soldier, a fighter, and a peacemaker has given me a particular insight into the many dimensions of violence... In the 30's year experience of internal security arrangements the British Army has not changed its methodology or tactics. It is not surprising to me that the British Army is perceiving the same difficulties in Northern Ireland that they did in previous internal security arrangements".

Dr. Buchanan must agree had the British Army been a "peace-keeping force" in Northern Ireland, Derry's "Bloody Sunday" would not have happened: neither would that army have forcibly prevented on July 9, 1972, Catholic families from lawfully entering and occupying houses in Lendonderry, Belfast.

(— Courtesy I.R.I.S.I.)

# Large crowd at Gaughan commemoration

OVER 1,500 people assembled in Ballina last weekend for the 2nd Anniversary commemoration of Vol. Michael Gaughan.

Paddy Gaughan, father of Michael and relatives of Proinsias Stagg, Gerry Ginty, Ballina presided and Joe Stagg gave the oration.

During the course of the oration Joe Stagg traced the agonies of Michael's hunger strike and the difference in attitude of the Free State's handling of Michael's funeral and that of Proinsias.

"I feel sure", Joe said, "that when the history of these troubled times comes to be written that the murder and the subsequent Republican funeral of Michael Gaughan will be regarded as the great turning point of our time, even as the 1916 Rebellion was a turning point in the early part of the century. Before Michael Gaughan made the supreme sacrifice with his life for his country, the Free State Government propaganda machine was appearing to have some success in smearing the Republican Movement as irresponsible terrorists,

anarchists, bully-boys and so on. But even as the headlines came out, proclaiming that the first Irishman had died on hunger-strike in England since Terence McSwiney, the massive sympathy of the people of Ireland began to make itself heard and felt.

The funeral through Dublin and across the country was one of the finest Republican spectacles ever witnessed. The flying of the Tricolour at half-mast was arranged at the G.P.O. — however deviously, the streets of Dublin were lined on all sides by people from all walks of life and from every corner of the land, and as the cortege moved across the country the strength of the Republican Movement was revealed in every town and village by the masses that turned out, by the pipers who played laments for the Slain Soldier, by the old, old men, bent and worn with their Fenian memories, by the little children with their

teachers who brought baskets of petals. They were all there, not in their thousands, but in their tens of thousands".

Before the ceremonies ended, Joe made reference to Proinsias' guarded Free State grave and assured the people that his body would be moved.

"Rest assured Michael", he said, "one day we Republicans will bring Proinsias to you, and lay him down beside you in this holy place, and there you two great hearts will mould into the one clay and merge with the pure soil of Ireland and of Mayo, and from this grave and this soil will rise other men in future generations, who, in remembering you, will be imbued with the same spirit of freedom that no British torturer will ever break".

During the ceremonies a large force of Gardai had surrounded Proinsias Stagg's grave.



Our picture gives a view of the round the clock guard on the Free States grave of Vol. Proinsias Stagg in Leigue cemetery Ballina. On the right a uniformed Garda and a member of the special branch outside the hut provided; on the left three more special branch men scanning the horizon.

and a twenty year peace is secured via a watered-down Sunningdale combining the Leinster House go-bos with Faulkner types, polite little Alliance men and the mouths from SDLP. In all this, as you can see, the hard line loyalists happen to be quite fortuitously the allies of the Republican Movement. Let us give them a cautious welcome, and may they yet see the day where their real interests lie.

But why — and this is the purpose of our literary excursion — don't the Leinster House go-bos and those great churchmen, (Conway [Wm.] J. Daly (Edward), Daly (Cyril B.) and Philbin (William) support either option? Is it like a child with a steaming kettle — they are afraid even to touch it. We all know that, at a push, they will adopt the soft (British Government) option though they would much prefer to revert, if they could, to the old pre-1968 status quo. They have looked into the Northern cauldron and what they have seen has unmanned

them.

After all, if this island had a unified system of government with linked provincial parliaments, you might have — I trust we would have — a very radical system veritable Cuba on the western flanks of Europe. We would not be in NATO, nor would we be in EEC (though we would talk to them). We would cherish all the people equally. We would look after our great monuments. We would have a happy and colourful life. Contract that if you will, with what pertains in the 26 Counties and you will quickly perceive why the Establishment here — politicians, civil servants, bankers, judiciary, Cathal B. and the rest are afraid — why they oppose peace.

They would all be sacked! (What place I ask you would there be for a Prince or his prosecuting counsel in any proper judicial set-up?)

Even in the most lop-sided democratic system that prevailed Fianna Fail, with its present 45% of 26 County votes, must slip to 30% in the whole island. And Fine Gael to 20% and Brendan's mis-named little rump to 5%. Like the ingredients of a rich cake, when one adds new and different ingredients — one produces an entirely different cake.

The Churchmen would have to toe the line. I am sure the Republican Movement can work with honest churchmen of any hue but the Conways, the Cathal B's and the Edward Dalys, together with Buchanans and the

Temple Lunds — like the Stephenics and Mindzents — would have to make way.

But, worst of all, from their point of view the well cosseted and comforted Free State political families, Fitzgeralds, Donegans, Ryans, Cogravas, and Lynchs with their masses of outlaws, hangers-on and business associates would no longer make the laws and create the conditions that suit their own personal political families. Fitzgerald bankers, the business men, the hierarchies, the NFA bureaucracy, the Federation of Irish Manufacturers' bureaucracy, the new faceless bureaucracies of the state companies, the Institute of Management people, and let us face it, the insensitive super bureaucracies of the trade unions,

have it their own way.

## They would have to deal with the people

They would have to serve the wills of 4,650,000 multi-racial, multi-faceted people, Prods and Taigues, tartans and denims, soft-spoken Kerry men, hard faced Belfast women, big-eyed Tyrone men, comely people from the West, 4,650,000 that are growing in numbers though our Establishment hates the thought and would prefer to remain in a tight little milieu of two and three quarters whose needs they had well taped — as they have had for we past 50 years — and whose wants they could easily quantify — and deny. A people over whom

the Cogravas and Cooneys could wave a coercian whip at any time, and like frequently whipped curs they would scurry to lie down.

No; that can not be the sort of society we would have in a Mahli to Cape Clear island of 4,650,000. Shake the jar, and the colours and the contents change. Shake the island with that intrusion of people and ideas and the old Free State establishment is forever swept away.

That is what they are afraid of. That is why they oppose peace.

\*\* Vidkun Quisling the prime minister Hitler installed in Norway in 1942. Most of the Norwegian government and Church went along with the choice. Only a few subversives opposed it.



# NOTEBOOK

## by FREEMAN

### HOW TO RUB YOURSELF OUT

IF YOU want to understand Irish history, or Ireland today, you must get a firm hold of the following fact. Shame and self-hatred, and the consequent desire to get rid of one's self, have been the basic collective driving force in modern Irish history – and still are.

Padraig O Snodaigh, president of Conradh na Gaeilge, was talking not so long ago about about the operation of this force in our own time and in recent times. But it is important to understand that it has been operating continuously since the beginning of the modern age in the 16th century.

Negroes who don't like being negroid, and who are ashamed of being negroid, get their noses straightened and their curly hair decoloured. They powder their skin to reduce its blackness. Orientals who don't like being Orientals get their slanty eyes made straight. Jews who hate being Jews get their noses adjusted.

Naturally, in none of these cases, do they cease to be Negroes, Orientals or (speaking racially) Jews. But at least they look less so; they are less noticeably so; they are that little bit less distinguishable from, and more like, those "other, normal" people who have made them dislike themselves. In short, they do what they can.

People in the North of England who dislike themselves, and who want to be normal like Southern English, go to elocution schools where they are taught to get rid of their Northern, "working-class" accent and to speak like Southern toffs. They know that the most "distinguishing" thing about them – and therefore the most shaming thing – is their Northern speech. So they change their language, they learn Southern, upper-class speech.

To be sure, the negroid nose, the oriental eyes, the Northern speech, are not "distinguishing" features among one's own kind. They are "distinguishing" only in relation to those "others," those "normal" people who make one feel ashamed.

But that very fact – that these features do not distinguish one from one's own kind – is an added motive for getting rid of them. One's own kind are one's extended self. They are the collective self which one shares by birth and heritage. Consequently, they are part of that self which one wants to get rid of, which one wants to separate oneself from.

And what better way to do this than by acquiring features which both distinguish one from one's own kind and make one like or at least less unlike – those who lord it over one's own kind? One kills two birds, so to speak, with the one stone.

If the distinguishing marks of your tribe are skin colour and facial features, there is, as I said, a limit to what you can do. You can't really change the colour of your skin. However, if the distinguishing tribal characteristics are certain facial features, a place of residence, certain social habits, speech, religion, or of a certain kind – or a combination of two or three of these – you are a more fortunate self-hater. There is no limit to what you can do to get rid of yourself.

It will take work, mind-bending, twisting of your mouth muscles, painful exercises with your vocal chords, considerable expenditure of money, and perhaps – if you are one of the facially-distinguished types – an unpleasant operation. But you can do it. You can make yourself a new self, and press your old self – your self, that is – down into the soles of your feet and walk on it, that is, on you.

You can become, in effect, one of the "others." You can not merely look at and speak like them, but you can feel and say the things they feel and say. You can share their dislike for the faces, language, religion,

laws, cooking or whatever, which distinguish your own people; and you can express this dislike with sneers and contemptuous outbursts which win their applause. You can become quite indistinguishable from them. You can rub yourself out.

In short, a white self-hater has many advantages over a black one. The poor Negro no matter how much else he changes, nor how many right-minded things he says, is stuck with his skin.

Now imagine a whole white nation, through ten or twelve generations, feeling collective self-hatred and desiring to be indistinguishable and not itself, a whole white nation feeling increasingly, from one generation to the next, that each of the marks which distinguish it from the "others" who have humiliated it is a blot on the landscape of normality, a blemish to be removed.

Imagine, moreover, that it is a white nation which is not distinguished by any particular facial characteristic, but only by language, laws, religion, social habits, and a preference for living in the countryside rather than in towns. Could it succeed – as a similar individual self-hater could well succeed – in getting rid of all those distinguishing characteristics and becoming, so to speak, invisible?

If it had ten or twelve generations to do it in, or maybe a couple more, and if it was willing to work and suffer diligently in the process like any individual self-hater seriously trying to get rid of himself – then the answer is certainly yes. Indeed, if you search the footnotes of history carefully, you will find that it has happened not once or occasionally, but many times.

If that is required is a grip, the self-hater, once it has got a grip, retains that grip by getting passed on from generation to generation. Then, first, one of the distinguishing marks will go, and then another, and so on until there is none left.

There is actually a standard social dynamic by which this happens. The most virulent self-haters, that is to say, the truest representatives of the nation's gut-feeling, emerge as the leaders of the movement to get rid of the nation's distinguishing marks, and consequently, as the ruling class of the nation.

Thus, it is always in the ruling class that each successive wave of self-hatred – like everything else human, it has its ebbs and flows – emerges. In a sense, it is a self-confirming process. By leading the new wave of self-hatred, naming the characteristics which are to be got rid of this time, and directing the hatred against them (for against a single one, as the case may be), each successive group of virulent self-haters establishes and justifies itself as the leading class.

Once it is established and legitimised in this fashion, it confirms its power more securely, and legitimises itself more fully still, by whipping up and fomenting a new wave of collective shame.

The ruling class, the top people, do this by mocking typical features of the people's life, and by inciting feelings of guilt and fear with regard to them, so that these features come to seem absurd, evil, productive of evil and life-imperiling in the people's eyes.

By so doing, the leading class are articulating and giving direction to what the people feel anyhow, in a general sort of way. So the people, grateful for the direction, duly feel ashamed of things in question and – in an attempt to get rid of their shame and feel better – rub another bit of themselves out.

The process is self-perpetuating. It can go on until there is nothing left. Anyone who examines modern Irish history will see it working there – and well advanced.

## Sinn Fein Notes and News

### Sean Mac Diarmada remembered in Kiltyclogher

TILL President of Sinn Fein, Ruairi O'Bradaigh delivered the oration to the large crowd attending the annual commemoration in Kiltyclogher organised by North Leitrim Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Fein.

The march from Straduffly Cross led by the colour party and Kilturbid Pipe Band took place to the monument. Wreaths were laid by Mrs. K.B. Keane on behalf of the Republican Movement, P.J. Kearney Ard Comhairle, Thomas Kelly, Glenfarne Cumann, Willie Meehan Rossinver Cumann, North Leitrim Comhairle Ceantair, Sligo Comhairle Ceantair and Belcoo Cumann also laid wreaths. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Gaelic by James Dolan, Carramore. The Proclamation was read by Jim Dillon, Kiltyclogher.

R. O'Bradaigh talked on the life and work of Sean MacDiarmada, and of the events which led to the 1916 Rising. He also described how Sean MacDiarmada and his comrades were branded as terrorists and murderers, just as the Freedom Fighters in the North are today.

Chairman was Cathal Kelly, Glenfarne. The Platform Party included Mrs. K.B. Keane (niece of Sean MacDiarmada), Mr. J. McDermott (cousin of Sean MacDiarmada), and Councillor J.J. McGil.

There was a large force of uniformed and plain clothes Garda on duty in the area, cars were being stopped and searched on all roads leading to Kiltyclogher.

Sinn Fein support for fishermen

"The Sinn Fein Organisation gives full support to the fishermen in their fight for the 200 mile limit. We give our full support for the safeguard of their living. The fishermen are being neglected by the Government down through the years" said a statement issued by Kerry Sinn Fein.

"The fishing is one of our natural industries and should be subsidised and promoted on the same lines as farming. The only way the fishermen will achieve their objective" is by co-ops and one body for all fishermen. In

addition there should be a separate Department for Fisheries and Local Fisheries Committees which were formed a few years back should be non-political.

"Sinn Fein informed the fishermen of the consequences of the Common Market: all the waters of European Countries are already overfished. The richest waters in the world are the Irish waters, and should be protected from foreign robbers.

"We now see Dutch Trawlers along the West Coast of Ireland being registered in the Country and the fish caught are sent to the Continent for processing. There should be no non-nationals allowed to fish in Irish waters and the Government should set up a fund for Co-ops and (National) native private enterprise to buy boats to work in conjunction with processing plants owned by Co-ops and Irish Personnel.

"We call on the people to reject all foreign speculation in our fisheries and also the political parties for their mismanagement of fisheries down through the years. Some of our plans for fisheries are:

- \* 200 mile limit
- \* no Foreigners or Foreign boats to be allowed to fish out of Irish Ports
- \* all fish to be processed at home.

"We wish to congratulate the fishermen on their stand and pledge the support of Sinn Fein to them in their fight for civil rights and justice", the statement ended.

Sinn Fein reply to Dr. Kiernan

"The Bishop of Kilmore, Most Rev. Dr. Kiernan, has seen fit to issue a strongly-worded statement condemning the shooting at a Scotland Yard Agent in Cavan on Thursday, May 20th", said a statement issued by Sinn Fein.

"We do not recall any statement from the Bishop when two young people were blown to death by a pro-British bomb in Belurbaun on December 29th 1972. If he did make a statement on that occasion, what publicity was given to it?"

"Dr. Kiernan apparently preaches a dual standard of morality, with vigorous

condemnations of pro-Irish actions and no protest whatever against pro-British actions. He has taken no public stance on the atrocities of Loyalist murder-gangs, the barbaric conditions in which prisoners are held in Port Lais and the disgraceful interference with the funeral of Frank Stagg last February.

"Sinn Fein believes that Dr. Kiernan by his one-sided utterances does disservice to the cause of Christianity in Ireland", the statement said.

Ballyconnell meeting

A very successful meeting was held in Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan, for the purpose of reorganising the local Cumann. It was unanimously agreed to elect new officers in the Cumann to cater for the growing support that the Republican Movement is getting in the area.

A lengthy discussion took place on the brutality of the Garda, in the town, which resulted in some people being hospitalised with injuries received from blows of batons by Garda in full riot gear. A letter of protest has been sent to the "Minister for Injustices", Cooney by the people of the town. At the conclusion the secretary made an appeal to any people in the area wishing to join Sinn Fein to contact any of the officers.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, P. Brady; Vice-chairman, S. Baxter; Secretary, J. Fox; Treasurer, M.J. Brady; Delegates to an Comhairle Ceantair, F. Brady, H. Baxter, and M. Brady, P.R.O., T. McManus.

## Martin Forsyth

### Cumann

Anyone in the Rathfarnham/Churchtown area wishing to join Sinn Fein should write or call to:

Mrs. M. Langsdorf, 32 Willbrook Park, Rathfarnham, between 7 & 9 any evening.

## Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration BODENSTOWN

SUNDAY, 13th JUNE, 1976.

(Under the auspices of Coiste Cuimhneachain na Poblachta).

CHAIRMAN ..... Jimmy Drumm (Belfast).  
CHIEF MARSHALL ..... Joe O'Neill (Donegal).  
ORATION ..... Geroid MacCartaigh (Cork).  
ASSEMBLY POINT ..... Sallins, Co. Kildare at 2.30 p.m.

Refreshments will be provided by An Cumann Cabhrach in the assembly field.

### NO TRAINS

NO TRAIN will be run from Dublin this year. Instead a fleet of buses will leave the following pick-up points at 12.30 (sharp): Marine Road, Dun Laoghaire; Halfway House, Walkinstown (Dublin Southside) and 5, Blessington Street (Dublin Northside). All buses will travel via Heuston Station.

RETURN FARE: Adults £1.25; Children 50p. Remember there is no train to Bodenstown this year so book early.

BOOKING AT: 5 Blessington Street, Dublin 1; Saturday 1.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. Sunday 11.00 p.m. to 1.00 p.m.

Tel: 308783.

### CEILI MOR

A CEILI and Ballad Session will be held in Romanoff's (beside Gate Theatre) on Bodenstown Night, from 9.30 p.m. to 2.00 a.m. (Wine Licence only).  
FEATURING: Eamon Ceannt Ceili Band and Platform.

ISTEACH ..... £1.75  
Admission by Ticket only  
Proceeds in aid of An Cumann Cabhrach.





# Republican Post Bag

## "VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION"

"THESE men regard themselves as Soldiers - revolutionary soldiers", so said one of the police chiefs involved in the trial of 4 Irishmen, who were sentenced recently to long terms of imprisonment, for their parts in the Military Campaign now dying by the Republican Movement in England.

At present there are over 100 Irishmen and women, mainly Republicans, locked away in prisons throughout Britain, who, under the direction of the British Home Office, are victims of a campaign of Oppression, discrimination, physical assault and in many cases mental torture, at the hands of their jailers. Although similar sentiments, such as those expressed by the Police Chief mentioned above, have been expressed many times by public figures, such as Politicians, Army Officers, etc. etc., the British Government consistently refuse to recognise these people for what they are, i.e., Political Prisoners. Since the first Irish P.O.W.'s were imprisoned in England, two brave Irishmen have given their lives in a hope that the republican campaign being fought on their comrades' behalf may end. Yet, with all the hardships these Irish prisoners have to endure, they remain unrepentant and are forever proclaiming their belief in ultimate victory of the Republican cause. They have dedicated themselves to ridding Ireland of British Occupation, recognising in it, the major cause of Irish misery.

Britain's treatment of our Comrades in English and Scottish jails, although obviously designed to deter the volunteers of the Irish Republican Army, will only add to the already long list of reasons why the Republican Movement will continue with its fight until ultimate victory has been achieved, i.e., the ending of British Rule in Ireland.

—Sean Magee P.O.W.,  
Cage 12, Long Kesh, Prison Camp.

## BLACK PROPAGANDA

WE hear, day in and day out, the British applying such terms as 'Bandits', 'Gangsters', 'Criminals', etc. etc., to people arrested (Republicans in particular) for offences arising out of the political unrest in Ireland.

The fact is, no matter what the British call or label such people, they are arrested and imprisoned for political offences, therefore, they are political prisoners, nothing else.

The British Establishment however, being the hypocrites they are, forever portray them

Armed Forces as being the 'do-gooders', the 'peace keepers' and use such phrases as, 'our boys in Ireland doing a grand job' and on the other hand, go to extremes in their efforts to portray the Republican Movement as being a Criminal Organisation. Full-page adverts frequently appear in the, so-called, Nationalist Daily Newspaper, the Irish News, scurrilously attacking, not only the Republican Movement but the Nationalist-Republican Community at large.

What the British fail to except is, that their very presence in Ireland, is illegal and with the use of repressive laws and legislations, enable their Imperialist Armed Forces i.e., British Army, R.U.C., U.D.R., etc. etc., to carry out a campaign of Institutionalised Terrorism against the Republican-Nationalist Community, for some seven years now. British propaganda would have the world believe that the Irish Republican Army are responsible for the sorrowful state our divided country is now in, when contrary to this, statistics show quite clearly, that the deaths of the vast majority of innocent people since the present troubles began, can be laid at the doorstep of the misleadingly named, Security Forces and their clandestine allies in the Orange Para-Militaries i.e., U.V.F., U.D.A., U.F.F., U.S.F., etc. etc. Hundreds of British soldiers have been guilty of committing various criminal offences from physical assault to murder to the murder of innocent people, all have got off scot free. It is interesting to note, that of all the crimes committed by the infamous R.U.C., only one of its personnel, so far, has been brought to court and charged with physically assaulting a prisoner in his care, found guilty and received an eighteen month suspended prison sentence which was later squashed on appeal. This blatant bias is evident even in civil cases involving members of the British Armed Forces, the following is an example of this: A Warrant Officer who admitted indirectly exposing himself to three young schoolgirls, was given a conditional discharge when he appeared in court in Farnham and was urged by the Magistrate to change his mind on his decision to retire from the Armed Forces: A Guardsman was cleared at the Old Bailey of assaulting his three-month-old daughter, who, suffered brain damage, the soldier in question, admitted that he brought to court and charged with having punched the baby after he had been drinking.

The leniency shown in the few cases mentioned above, are in vast contrast to those cases involving Republicans, who receive the most ridiculously long

prison sentences, on the flimsiest of evidence, in non-jury courts that are controlled by conservative orange hawks.

However the Criminality of the British Establishment (in Ireland) over the past seven years in particular, has been exposed to the World, hence, their scurrilous — black propaganda aimed at the Republican-Nationalist community. The term criminal speaks for itself i.e., to commit a criminal offence is to break a set of rules, laws or legislations in quest of self gain. Incidentally, the British Establishment have plenty to gain, by returning to the political 'status quo' of pre-1972 Orange domination.

Republicans are not imprisoned for offences committed in search of personal gain, they are imprisoned because they seek the eradication of an evil and illegal presence, i.e., the British establishment in Ireland.

—Sean Magee,  
Long Kesh.

## NATO - PARTNERSHIP

IN April or in the beginning of May 1976, a German unit of paratroopers from Wildeshausen near Kassel has been on training for one week at the British paratroopers in Aldershot. The training included the acquisition of the British parachute badge and a hardness test. (contents unknown). Aldershot paratroopers will return the visit at Wildeshausen (date unknown).

—Westdeutsches Land  
Solidaritätskomitee  
637 Oberursel 5, PF 35

## INCHICORE CUMANN QUERIES

A Chara, I would like through your paper to raise two points, one for the attention of the Ard-Chomhairle and the other for the attention of all provisional Sinn Féin members and supporters.

First point I would like to raise is regarding an issue that was passed at the Ard Feis, that a book of rights be published for Sinn Féin members.

As yet we have not seen or heard anything since regarding the "Book" and judging from reports in An Phoblacht it is about time that "all" Provisional Sinn Féin members knew their rights.

Point two is an issue I have heard discussed at all type of meetings. That the Provisional Sinn Féin Movement be allowed time on the national radio and T.V.

One solution that, though it may not correct the issue would really hurt O'Brien's pocket and I ask all Cumannans to raise at their next weekly meeting.

That Provisional Sinn Féin members withhold payment of

radio and T.V. licences till they be given proper time to "air" their views on all subjects that concern the Irish people.

I'm sure "O'Brien" would miss a half million £ or would his mate Cosgrave simply borrow it from somebody.

—Ruairi Sean Mac Conchubhair  
Robert Emmet Cumann,  
Inchicore.

## MAKE WAY FOR THE PROVOS

WAY back in 1948 the 26 Counties elected themselves a coalition government. Tansieach was John Costello (Fine Gael). His External Affairs Minister was Sean MacBride. In 1948-49 MacBride made various statements many of which are of great relevance today. Below are a few paragraphs from them.

"We ourselves suffer from an injustice, in that our country is artificially divided against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of its people. The continuance of partition precludes us from taking any rightful place in the affairs of Europe. I believe that the British Government and people are approaching the realisation that statesmanlike policy lies in the direction of securing the complete friendship and co-operation of this island; the realisation that a united and free Ireland is as essential to Britain's welfare as it is to Ireland's. We, on our part, want to hold out the hand of friendship to Britain, but, so long as partition remains, it will inevitably mar the relationship between our two islands. We want, and are prepared, to bury the past, provided that the present holds out a realisation of our right to national self-determination. The wise and statesmanlike approach on Britain's part is to assist the removal of this sore, and of all other reminders of the unhappy history of our past relationships".

"It has often been said that the tragedy of Anglo-Irish relationship lies in the fact that the British realisation of the realities of our problems always came too late. Two points emerge now more clearly than ever before. Firstly, that the artificial division of our national territory is something that no Irish Government will ever acquiesce in or accept. Secondly, that so long as it continues, definite will constitute a partial obstacle to the kind of relationship between Ireland and Britain which is in the interest not merely of the two countries, but of the world as a whole, to bring about".

"We are a great mother country. We are making a big noise in the world, and will make a bigger noise still. We can be of great assistance if we can only get rid of partition, the last worry we have. Until it is got rid of, we cannot give the full contribution of the Irish at home and abroad

to economic and military co-operation in the defence of peace. It remains to be seen whether those people in the North, hanging on so tenaciously to their privileges, will be allowed to stand in the way of a contribution a united Ireland can, could, and will give to the cause of world peace. We hope that when the cause of the strife that has existed in this country for the last 27 years is removed, we will have removed from our own internal affairs the cause of the bitterness between Irishmen. We hope that the cause of the bitterness between North and South will be soon removed".

27 years later the cause of the bitterness still exists, only now with the tacit approval of a similar Free State coalition Government. How times have changed! Today the shames of Cosgrave, Cosgrave and O'Brien are perpetuating that injustice. If these same people can't get rid of the cause of the still existing strife then they should make way for the men who can. Up the Provos.

—Sean McCann,  
Middleton, Lanes, England.

## IRISH CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK

THE Bi-Centennial Banquet of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, Inc., was given on May 1, 1976, as a salute to Irish Freedom Dinner at the Seventh Regiment Armory in New York City. More than two thousand five hundred participated in this stellar Celtic endeavour of Irish Americans.

National President John M. Keane deserves plaudits for having invited the distinguished prelate from Corpus Christi, Texas, the Most Reverend Thomas Drury and Honourable Gwynfor Evans, M.P. a brother Celt from Wales, who is President of Plaid Cymru, which like Sinn Féin in Ireland, aspires to complete freedom from Britain of his native Wales. Our thanks too, goes to the dinner chairman, Michael Deanehy whose invitation brought us a distinguished son of Ireland The Honourable Sean MacBride, former Chief of Staff of the Irish Republican Army, and presently a high ranking officer of the United Nations.

All three distinguished speakers touched on a different aspect of the same thing, freedom — as we shall see.

Bishop Drury, in his address, reminded us that we are indeed our brothers' keepers and we must not abandon our brother in his difficult hour. "Having seen the insides of many prisons in my pastoral duties I am rather familiar with some aspects of confinement. Nowhere did I see such human degradation as in Long Kesh. One sometimes wonders how can a government which boasts of the MAGNA CARTA be so inhuman to a

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement. Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

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

We regret that advertisements cannot be accepted for publication later than the Wednesday prior to day of printing.

fellow man. I yearn, like any Irishman should, for the day when all peoples would act in the best interests of our fellow man, and no others as we would wish them to do us.

Ireland would be a beautiful country if there only was fellowship but that comes only to a free people. I see no problem in Ireland if, as your banner above me here says: ENGLAND GET OUT OF IRELAND.

Of momentous historical consequence to this Salute to Irish Freedom was the attendance of our brother Celt from Wales who said in part, "We in the Celtic nation of Wales, have protested the sending of Welsh troops against our fellow Celts in Ireland — and condemned the role of British troops in Ireland. We believe in the ultimate freedom of Ireland, and a union of all the six Celtic nations, and the Welsh National Party expects our country to attain its freedom from Britain within the next ten years (Here his talk was held up by great applause). In concluding, he said, "I predicted that Britain will cease to exist as a political entity by 1990."

It seemed to us that Sean MacBride holds true to his Sinn Féin principles as ever after sixty years since his father gave his life in freedom's cause as we recall he was executed by the British in 1916. "Having pointed out how human rights have been violated, by British rule throughout several centuries there is only one solution and that is 'a free independent Ireland'. The proclamation of the Republic is as valid today as when first promulgated 60 years ago and I see great possibilities in the devolution of powers of government to the provinces. It is my hope that when we meet again Ireland will be Gaelic and free".

—Timothy B. Brennan,  
48-881 Street, Hicksville, N.Y.  
11801.

## NEW ERA ENTERPRISES MAY DRAW

1st prize: 14684, £100. Winner Kincaid, Donegal.  
2nd prize: 6805, Paddy McLoughlin, Rossinver.  
3rd prize: 8675, L. O'Flaherty, Ballygarra, Mayo.  
4th prize: 6708, Paddy Hargadon, Grange, Sligo.

## In Memoriam

The members of the McArdrey Cumann Dublin remember with sadness the 1st Anniversary of the death of the esteemed former Chairman Michael Carey. Grasta De da anam.

## 1st Anniversary

Michael Carey, died 28th May, 1975. Always remembered by the Peter McNulty Cumann, Raheny.

## Our Craft Centre

When you are visiting Dublin this weekend be sure to call to our new Craft Shop.

On display are products made by the Political Prisoners in Irish jails.

Our Book Stalls are full of the most interesting reading.

We have a fantastic selection of Irish Records including our latest single:  
"Brave Frank Stagg" by the Wolfhound"

Be sure to see our large selection of Irish Jewellery including our popular "Phoenix" badges, medallions and rings. Write for our stock list. We will also have a large selection of goods available on the Assembly Field at Bodenstown on Sunday 13th June. Watch out for us on the field. Now available: Bronze Statues of Cuchulainn with Marble Base. Our Price £10.99.

## Join Sinn Féin in Britain

Sinn Féin Cumann exist in many parts of England and Scotland, and there is now growing support in Wales. Help us to achieve 'peace with justice' by joining Sinn Féin in Britain. Write to 2a,

Lower Kevin St., Dublin, Ireland. (Inserted by the National Co-ordinating Committee Sinn Féin (Britain).  
—I. Mize, Michael Holden (Rural).

## Variety Ballad Session

Variety Ballad Session  
Rathoath Inn, Co. Meath  
in aid of an Cumann Cabhrach

Friday 11th June  
Featuring  
THE REFLECTION  
9 a.m. to 11.30 p.m. Adm. 50p



# News from the North

**MONDAY, 31st MAY.**

The Maghera, Co. Derry, a large bomb wrecked Aikin's Garage in Church Street.

The explosion caused extensive damage to the garage and surrounding buildings.

A telephone warning had been given, and police had managed to get people living nearby evacuated before the 100 lb. bomb went off.

South Derry IRA claimed responsibility for the explosion.

In Belfast a pipe bomb was thrown at a police Land Rover at Whitewell Road in the Shore Road area.

A petrol bomb thrown at a house in Oldpark Avenue burned out harmlessly.

A 12-year old boy was playing at the corner of Analee Street when a Loyalist armed with a rifle opened fire from Manor Street. The boy was struck in the foot, and taken to hospital but he is not seriously wounded.

In Newry a police Land Rover travelling between Newry and Warrenpoint was attacked by gunmen operating from across Carlingford Lough in the republic.

About 20 shots were fired and civic guards who carried out a follow-up operation, also believe that a mortar launcher was used.

**TUESDAY, 1st JUNE.**

Frederic McLaughlin injured in a Loyalist gun attack last month, died.

He was shot in the chest when Loyalist fired a number of shots into the town's Eagle Bar just over a fortnight ago. Three other customers were also wounded.

Married with four sons, aged 12 to 23, he died in Craigavon Area Hospital.

Minutes before the attack on the Eagle Bar, a bomb was lobbed into Clancy's Bar a few doors away, killing three men including the bar owner.

Several shots were fired at an RUC police vehicle travelling along Black's Road, Belfast, on the outskirts of the city.

Two bullets struck the vehicle but no-one was hurt. The RUC fired back.

Strabane — a Brit Army mobile patrol came under heavy gun fire at the Junction of Milntown Road and Cemetery Road.

And at Glengormley two youths fired a number of shots at the RUC station from a motorcycle. Police said seven bullets hit the wall, surrounding the station.

A single shot was fired at DUP man, Charles Poots, as he left Belfast market yesterday.

Police said a single shot hit the driver's door of his car but he was unhurt.

The shot was fired by one of two youths standing at the East Bridge Street gate to the market as Mr. Poots was leaving, the spokesman said.

Poots is a supporter of the New Ulster Service Corps and speculation is that the IRA were carrying out their threat to deal with the businessmen behind the USC.

A number of youths stoned a police vehicle at the junction of Joy Street and May Street, in the same district, last night but no-one was injured.

**WEDNESDAY, 2nd JUNE.**

Bombs went off in the centre of Belfast's security zone today. Two bombs were left in a large clothing manufacturers and caused extensive damage.

The policeman shot in Derry ten days ago died.

In Belfast an active service unit executed a notorious RUC torturer.

In a supplied statement issued by the Belfast Press Centre, the Belfast Brigade accepted responsibility. Their statement continued:

"R. McAdams was a member of the RUC Special Branch and was one of those involved in the systematic torture of Republican suspects in Springfield Road RUC Barracks. Consequently, he was kept under observation by an A.S.U. of the Belfast Brigade. The Belfast Brigade has repeatedly drawn attention to the activities of these RUC torturers and the methods used by them. Our substantiated allegations have been ignored and relatives of those tortured by the RUC have been told that any complaints against the RUC will be investigated by the RUC."

Inevitably, there will be the usual condemnations from the politicians and public figures, both lay and cleric, about the death of this Special Branchman. These people have remained silent in the face of increasing evidence of the brutality inflicted on young men and girls by members of the RUC, choosing to ignore them in their efforts to have the RUC brought back into the Nationalist areas.

The Belfast Brigade alone more re-iterates that the RUC will never be accepted by the Nationalist people."

The statement was signed on behalf of the Belfast Brigade by S. O'Neill.

In Derry nine shots were fired at a Brit post in Bishop Street car park. No-one was injured and fire was not returned.

In Belfast, Jackie Parson, one of the best known UDA in the city, was shot dead in his home in the Crumlin area of the city. The gunmen made their escape but ran into a Brit mobile patrol. In the ensuing chase two of the gunmen made their getaway in a stolen car later found in the Ardoyne area.

(Ar leantúint ar lch. 3)

# R.U.C. torture Derry men

**AT ABOUT 3.00 a.m.** on the morning of Sunday, May 2nd, the occupants of a house in North Derry were aroused by a loud banging on the door. Yet another dawn raid by the Butchers of 1969, namely the sectarian RUC and by their allies in the UDR and Brit Crown Forces was in progress.

In the house with the two McLaughlin brothers was Tom McFeely, one of the Gallant men who made fame by blasting their way out of Port Laoise Prison in 1974.

Both the Port Laoise escaper and Brendan McLaughlin were taken outside the house and severely beaten up by the RUC and UDR, such was the brutality of these Orange thugs that a Brit officer found it necessary to intervene in case of another sectarian murder.

## Torture centre at Limavady

It was 6.00 a.m. before the men were transported to the infamous RUC torture centre at Limavady and on arriving there Tom McFeely was still unconscious as a result of the beating he received.

It wasn't very long before the sectarian thugs of the RUC Special Branch applied their Kitson devised torture methods on the men. But firstly, the Six County Secret Police undertook a policy of isolation as they locked their victims in separate rooms.

Tom McFeely and Brend McLaughlin were then stripped completely naked, forced to lie across chairs and handcuffed in this position. Lighted cigarettes were then added to the torture and these were wedged on all parts of the men's bodies at regular intervals.

The sectarian reactionaries even held the cigarettes to the men's eyes and in an attempt to further irritate Brendan McLaughlin's already serious chest condition they repeatedly drenched him with buckets of ice cold water.

During their captivity in Limavady RUC hellhole, Dr. Daly, Bishop of Derry, made enquiries by telephone of the men's condition but the RUC again taking on the role of the wolf in sheep's clothing, stated words to the effect that they were fine and not being tortured.

It must be revealed also that a retired medical practitioner



Limavady R.U.C. barracks where Co. Derry men are being tortured.

from Limavady was the only outsider allowed into the Barracks. Since this man is well-known to be pro-establishment his ridiculous allegation that the men were in good condition is hardly surprising. This allegation was, in fact, found to be a tissue of lies by the diagnosis of another doctor who detected definite evidence of torture.

However, evidence in itself is the fact that after being charged under Draconian British Law, Brendan McLaughlin had to be moved in a condition near death, to Musgrave Park Hospital. Tom McFeely wasn't charged until two days later, May 7th.

Once again, the RUC and UDR have proved that they can never be acceptable to the Irish people. Both the Orange Militia and their allies in the UDR must be disarmed and disbanded immediately. It is blatantly obvious that only through this and Britain's disengagement can there ever be a permanent peace in Ireland.

The names of the R.U.C. Special Branchmen who inflicted the tortures on McFeely and McLaughlin were Dt. Con. Cassidy, Magherafelt, Co. Derry, Dt. Con. Thompson, Limavady, Co. Derry, Dt. Con. Holmes, Limavady, Co. Derry, Dt. Con. McCloskey, Derry City and Dt. Con. Owen Murphy from Castleberg, Co. Tyrone.

## BRITANNIA RULES THE COURTS

(Ar leantúint ó lch. 1)

"The iniquity of this system lies in the fact that it circumvents the present international law on extradition which protects political refugees and offenders who come from one jurisdiction into another."

"The international community has always recognised the right of political asylum and refused to hand up to neighbouring states political offenders who are in conflict against their own government. It was because of this principle that all the extradition cases heretofore brought by the British Government and the Royal Ulster Constabulary in the Dublin courts have failed."

"The courts ruled that, irrespective of what offence was committed, including killing of British troops or members of the R.U.C., use of firearms, possession of explosives, etc., the accused persons were entitled to sanctuary here, under the provisions of the European Convention on Extradition and the law of political asylum."

"Mr. Cooney's Act is designed to completely negate that protection. Thus, not only has his government failed to implement the undertaking regarding the European Convention on Human Rights but it seeks to destroy another European Convention on Human Rights, i.e., the Extradition Convention."

## INTIMIDATING PENALTIES

"Incredible though it may seem, it becomes an offence in the Twenty-Six Counties to escape from custody in the Six Counties. Any person who escapes from a Six Counties prison and comes south of the Border can be arrested and charged with the escape in the south and is liable to seven years imprisonment by way of penalty, even though he might have been serving only a one-year sentence in the North (section three)."

"A frightening aspect of the Act is the intimidating penalties provided for, samples of which are as follows:

- Having explosives with intent to endanger life or property, whether any explosion takes place or not — 20 years imprisonment.
- Robbery or assault with intent to rob — Life imprisonment.
- Burglary or entering any building with intent to steal — 14 years imprisonment.
- Aggravated burglary carried out with any firearm or imitation firearm or explosive — Life imprisonment.
- Hijacking a car — 15 years imprisonment.

"If any of these offences are committed south of the Border the persons involved can be similarly arrested, charged, sentenced in the Six Counties and, for this purpose, the evidence of witnesses can be taken in the south in the presence of judges of the Northern Ireland High Court who

will be entitled to come south and sit with a High Court judge in the south acting as a Commissioner."

"Any person can be summoned as a witness before the Commissioner and the Northern Ireland High Court judges and if he refuses to answer questions or attend at the hearing or produce documents, as required, he can be sentenced to six months imprisonment."

"Similar provisions are made to permit Dublin High Court judges to travel to the Six Counties and hear evidence there (Sections 11 and 12). Nowhere is it provided in the Act that it shall be a defence, in respect of any hostile acts against the British forces or administration in the North, that such acts were carried out for political motivation, which defence is presently available in all extradition cases."

"In effect, therefore, the Act makes it a crime in the south to carry out acts of political or military resistance against the British or Northern administration in the Six Counties."

## FORMAL ASSOCIATION

"Perhaps the most telling criticism of this Act is that, in the name of promoting law and order, it establishes a formal association between the discredited legal institutions of the south and the equally discredited legal and security establishment in the north."

"In Strabourgh, at this very moment, the southern government is prosecuting on a range of torture charges, the very same 'Security' forces with which this Act establishes a formal legal association."

"The Strabourgh case is not against a low-ranking individual British soldier who 'exceeded their orders' but, on the contrary, it concerns those at high level in the North's so-called security establishment who determined the torture policy and organised its implementation."

"While institutional violence in Ireland is generally given little publicity, from day to day, the R.U.C. and British army have been the subjects of repeated allegations of crime and brutality since 1969."

"The Compton Reports of November 3, 1971 and November 14, 1971, set forth details of 'interrogation in depth' during that same year. Rev. Denis Faul has repeatedly catalogued acts of violence by the Northern authorities."

"The Sunday Times and other papers have carried detailed reports of active collaboration between units of the British forces and the Loyalist paramilitary groups and many publications have demonstrated the judicial partiality of northern courts."

"Yet, in the midst of all this evidence, Mr. Cooney and the government in the south have the gall to proclaim that the introduction of the Jurisdiction Act is in furtherance of law and order on this island."