

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 6. Uimhir 41. 8p. Deireadh Fomhair 10, 1975.

## REPUBLICANS ACCUSE COONEY

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT unhesitatingly accuses the Free State Government of deliberate cold-blooded intransigence over the kidnapping of Dr. Herrema, the Dutch industrialist.

Ever since the news first broke of the kidnapping, the Republican Movement have made every effort possible to save the life of Dr. Herrema.

Within hours a statement from the I.R.P.B. denied all responsibility for the kidnapping, emphasising that NO member of the Republican Movement were in any way involved. This statement was acknowledged and accepted by the Ferenka company to which Dr. Herrema belonged.

The Ferenka company then made representations to the Republican Movement asking for help in bringing about Dr. Herrema's release. Immediately members of the Movement, made themselves available and at the request of the Ferenka company tried to make contact with the three prisoners named by the kidnappers, Kevin Mallon, Jim Hyland and Rose Dugdale in an effort to get them to issue a statement saying that they (the prisoners) would approve of the kidnapping of Dr. Herrema and asking that they not be harmed in any way.

But the efforts of Joe Cahill and Bob Smith were thwarted at every attempt to comply with the request.

Consequently as Saturday, October 4, drew to a close a press conference was held at the Sinn Féin Head Office, Kevin St., Dublin to outline the efforts being made by the Republican Movement and to expose the intransigence of the Free State Government.

### Ó BRÁDAIGH STATEMENT

At the Conference Seán Ó Brádaigh, Press Officer for Sinn Féin read a prepared statement. Following is the full text of the Statement.

The Republican Movement received a message today from the Ferenka Company, to say —

- they accept as genuine the statement issued by the I.R.P.B., saying that no member of the Republican Movement was involved in the kidnapping of Dr. Herrema;

- they believe the 26-Co. Government will not do anything to save the life of Dr. Herrema;

- they request that the three prisoners involved issue a statement saying they do not approve of the kidnapping and asking that Dr. Herrema should not be harmed in any way.

2. An effort was made today to visit the three prisoners in order to get them to sign such a statement. Mr. Cooney personally refused to let representatives of the Republican Movement into Port Laoise and Limerick Prisons to see the prisoners in question.

3. Mr. Cooney was made aware, through an intermediary, that the representatives of the Republican Movement wished to see Kevin Mallon and James Hyland to get them to agree to a statement on the following lines: —

- they are not involved in this kidnapping;
- they do not know who is involved;
- whilst they will at all times endeavour to escape from unlawful custody, they do not approve of the present method; and they call upon those involved to release Dr. Herrema.

4. The Netherlands' Government is aware of Mr. Cooney's refusal and has been trying this evening to persuade the Dublin Government to allow the prison visits.

5. The life of Dr. Herrema is at stake. A statement from the prisoners on the lines outlined above could very well save his life. Yet Mr. Cooney refused to allow a simple visit in order to get this done. It is abundantly clear to us that Mr. Cosgrave, Mr. Cooney and the whole Cabinet are callously prepared to let Dr. Herrema die — presumably for their own political end.

### JOE CAHILL

Joe Cahill who attended the Press Conference answered many questions put to him by the Press Corps.

Mr. Cahill made it abundantly clear that no member of the Republican Movement was in any way connected with the kidnapping and pointed out that his main purpose was to do everything in his power to save the life of Dr. Herrema.

Mr. Cahill protested bitterly at the intransigence of Mr. Cooney and said that the "Free" State Government seemed to

be deliberately playing with the life of Dr. Herrema to prove a futile point.

In answer to a question on what the attitude of the Republican Movement was to the kidnapping, Mr. Cahill stated: "We condemn the kidnapping, we don't see that any useful purpose can be served by it, we don't see that it furthers our cause."

Asked a further question about the worthiness of a signed statement of the prisoners, Mr. Cahill answered:

"The whole exercise could be worthless but we are interested in saving the man's life. Certain proposals were put to us by the Ferenka company and we said that we were prepared to do what we possibly can. No one has a guarantee that it will save the man's life."

### COONEY'S REFUSAL

Mr. Cahill then stated that Dr. John O'Connell was the intermediary and that he was present when Dr. O'Connell made a phone call to Mr. Cooney, the "Free" State Minister of Justice, requesting a visit with the prisoners named by the kidnappers, to attempt to get the signed statement. Whilst Cooney admitted that it was a good idea, nevertheless he refused the visit.

### EX-MEMBERS

In answer to a final question on why Marion Coyle and Eddie Gallacher were no longer members of the Movement, Mr. Cahill stated that there are rules and regulations which govern the Movement, and they chose to ignore certain rules, therefore automatically cutting themselves off from the Movement.

Meanwhile in Portlaoise Jail the Governor of the jail obviously acting on Government orders made a stupid attempt to con Kevin Mallon into signing a bogus statement.

One can hardly believe the sheer criminal stupidity of this action. It proves the point that the Free Staters are not interested in Dr. Herrema's life. Kevin Mallon was not fooled by this outrageous act.

Due to immense diplomatic pressure the "Free" State Government finally bowed and allowed the prison visit. Here again they threw every effort into destroying the attempts by members of the Republican Movement to help save Dr. Herrema. The prison governor and chief officer who were responsible for the stupid incident with Kevin Mallon, refused to withdraw out of hearing, claiming security as the reason. This was an insult to the integrity of Mr. Arlow and Dr. Kirayenhoff and they both made their feelings known to the Governor.

Mr. Arlow and Dr. Kirayenhoff were cleared by the "Free" State Government to witness and hear all discussions between the prisoners and Bob Smith the Republican Movement representative.

But the actions of the Governor proved once again that every obstacle be made to thwart the efforts of the Republican Movement.

The prisoners, Kevin Mallon and Jim Hyland in fact were never given an opportunity to endorse a statement disassociating themselves from the kidnapping and appealing for the life of Dr. Herrema.

The statement emanating from the G.I.S. department was a tissue of lies and deserves to be treated with contempt. Mr. Arlow and Dr. Kirayenhoff are witnesses to the truth.

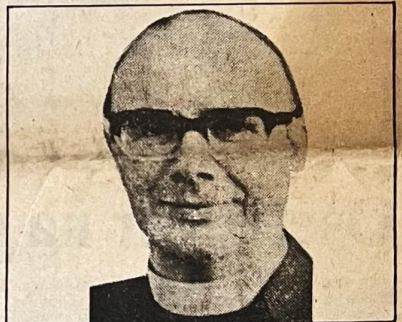
### WITHDRAW

Because of the deliberate bungling of the "Free" State Government the following statement was issued to the press on Sunday night (October 5):

"The attempt which was made by Sinn Féin to get



"We condemn the kidnapping, we don't see that any useful purpose can be served by it, we don't see that it furthers our cause." — Joe Cahill.



"Prison governor refused to withdraw to allow us to speak alone with the prisoners" — Rev. William Arlow.

endorsement of our proposals by the prisoners in question could have been successfully completed yesterday, but for the intransigence of Mr. Cooney. This we explained in our statement of yesterday evening.

"After representations and persuasion from various quarters which went on all night we were told this morning that Republican representatives would be allowed into Port Laoise Prison, plus a representative of the Irish Red Cross, the Rev. William Arlow and Dr. Hugh Krayenhoff of the Ferenka parent company and the Dutch Red Cross.

"Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, Bob Smith, Joe Cahill and James O'Gara of Irish Northern Aid, New York went immediately to Port Laoise. As time was running out it was reluctantly agreed to withdraw Joe Cahill from the delegation and that Bob Smith alone would represent the Republican Movement.

"At about 10.30 Bob Smith, the Rev. Arlow and Dr. Krayenhoff were admitted to the prison. Kevin Mallon and James Hyland were brought into the same room. Kevin Mallon related to them that the Prison Governor had attempted to dupe him last night with a bogus message in writing from "friends outside".

"The purpose of the delegation consisting of Bob Smith and the two intermediaries was to get both prisoners to endorse a statement disassociating themselves with the kidnapping and appealing for the life of Dr. Herrema. In fact the delegation was denied an opportunity to put the proposals to the prisoners.

"In view of the outrageous attempt by them to dupe the prisoners the evening before, Prison Governor O'Reilly and Chief Officer Harkins were requested to withdraw out of hearing but not out of sight. They refused. Any suggestion that the security of the prison would have been endangered by this procedure was considered ridiculous by both Mr. Arlow and Dr. Krayenhoff who would be present at the interview and hear every word spoken.

"We repeat that at no time did the prisoners refuse to endorse our proposals; they were in fact denied the opportunity of hearing them. The government claim that they refused to sign the statement is therefore completely untrue.

"The Republican Movement did not at any time seek to gain political capital from this affair. It has been concerned solely with a genuine effort, begun behind the scenes and at the suggestion of Ferenka, to save Dr. Herrema's life. As we have been blocked, thwarted and deliberately misrepresented at every turn by the Dublin government, while time continued to run out, we have reluctantly decided to withdraw.



# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 6. Deireadh Fomhair 10, 1975. Uimhir 41.  
44 Ceannóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

COMMENTATORS have said that the Dublin Coalition has no policy in relation to the North but the facts indicate otherwise. Two public statements illustrate that policy clearly, those of Donegan in Ireland and Fitzgerald before the United Nations General Assembly.

They boil down to this: the Dublin regime will agree to anything by the enemy or its allies in the Six Counties provided the war is kept away from the 26 Counties. Even the S.D.L.P. must realise by now that it has been sold out and abandoned by the Leinster House politicians.

But these same politicians may be expected to trim their sails to changing winds as the S.D.L.P. trimmed theirs from Derry's Bloody Sunday to the twilight of the Convention. Fitzgerald was prepared to tear up the constitution of the "Free" State, in so far as it referred to sovereignty, when he told the United Nations: "We have accepted the right of the majority within Northern Ireland to determine freely the character of the relationship of Northern Ireland with our state and stated our willingness to have an agreement to this effect registered with the United Nations."

This makes it clear that the Coalition politicians have abandoned that political sleight of hand which came to be known as "power-sharing" or its twin, the grotesquely worded "Irish dimension."

In recent weeks, so intense has enemy repression in the Six Counties been, that reports are spilling over from anti-imperialist publications: the floodwaters cannot be contained any longer and, with more widespread information, the conscience of most people in the 26 Counties has become uneasy. It will become a lot more uneasy until it boils over.

Fianna Fáil is aware of this change in the public temper and is preparing to exploit it. Thus can be explained the extraordinary *volte face* of writers in the "Irish Independent" in recent issues. Tony O'Reilly is no Provo but he and his fellow agents of

## By-election in Mayo

international capitalism are dismayed at the mess the Coalition has made of finance and business life generally. They reckon that Fianna Fáil, back in power, would safeguard their interests better.

With the death of Kenny a by-election must take place in Co. Mayo. If Fianna Fáil wins it could be a short step to a general election. Traditionally, Fianna Fáil has used the I.R.A. to get into power. It happened in the twenties, the thirties and even in the fifties.

The technique is to give the impression that Fianna Fáil would stand up to the enemy more bravely, more convincingly, than the other chancers, who make no such pretence and in that, anyway, are more honest.

It must never be forgotten that Fianna Fáil made its treachery clear many times since it was founded and that that treachery never was made clearer than when it became party to the Sunningdale agreement. None of the Leinster House politicians can be trusted. None of them is dedicated to the freedom of Ireland.

That, and not Irish unity, is the essential issue for, on freedom, everything else depends, everything is possible. We have had Irish unity in the past but without freedom. Therefore, it was worthless.

When Michael O'Kennedy criticised Fitzgerald for the statement we have quoted above he was conveniently forgetting the Sunningdale agreement; he was subscribing to Kevin Boland's Aontacht Éireann philosophy (and Boland's party, such as it is,

is merely a Fianna Fáil splinter: it is not dedicated to Irish freedom; it accepts the "Free" state and its constitution; it accepts the position of the 26 Counties as a satellite of the empire though, like Dev, it will try to confuse people by means of semantics).

There may very well be a power struggle going on in the Fianna Fáil party. The political jellyfish that is Lynch may no longer be tenable as an atrocious compromise leader. O'Kennedy very well may be a strong contender. But whoever wins the advantage will not be Ireland's.

A similar power struggle may be taking place in the Fine Gael party, to be won, perhaps, by Fitzgerald, if he can find time from his travels to give sufficient attention to the matter. Again, whoever wins, the advantage will not be Ireland's. Witness his latest assertion that Britain's physical presence in the north-east is not the most important factor.

The by-election campaign will give Republicans an opportunity to expose the opportunism, hypocrisy and criminal negligence of the Leinster House politicians and their treachery in wartime. Their policies can be shown to be dangerous to the peace of the entire island.

By their actions and inactions and their unbelievable lack of political foresight they are encouraging the worst elements in this island to widespread murder, torture and destruction. Thus it is they who have earned the label of the "men of violence" for, by their policies, they are encouraging violence and destruction to engulf the entire island.

The Mayo by-election is irrelevant to the main Irish issue today: freedom. Leinster House and Stormont both are irrelevant to that issue. The only relevant force today in the struggle for Irish freedom remains the unbeaten forces of the liberation - Ogladh na hÉireann - under a tried and proven leadership. Only the I.R.A. can free Ireland. Only the I.R.A. can protect the people.

# Osclaítear na coláistí ullmhucháin

CAITHFIDH mé a rá go bhfuil Gaeilge íontach maith ag an mBúrach (aire le hoidéachas) agus gur aobhinn bheith ag éisteach leis an Easpag Caomhanach. I láthair ag an oscailt oifigiúil Tigh Lorcáin, Co. Bhaile Átha Cliath, an tseachtain seo caite, a bhíos, den dá nuachlaiste Gaeilge, Coláiste Eoin agus Coláiste Fasáin.

Ba bhreá leat bheith ag labhairt agus ag ól agus ag ceol in éndí leis an mBúrach, a deárfa, tar éis bheith ag éisteach leis. Is é an trua Mhuire é go bhfuil a chuid polaitíochta chomh fola as atá.

Ní físeadh dom cén polaitíocht tá ag an nGaoimhánach ach is eol dom nár labhair sé amach go fóill ar son na nOglach, ag coisáit a gcúil tá loite ag easpaig eile.

Bhíodh nath ag an Ardeaspag Mac Uid (go ndéana Dia grásta ar ananam). "Is í an Ghaeilge scrín an Chreidimh." Chuala mé an nath céanna ón nGaoimhánach an tseachtain seo caite. Is é an trua é nach rud é a aithníonn ag heaspag uilig, idir Chaitlicigh agus Phrotastáin.

Ba mhó thosagán an Búrach lena chuid cainte bhí fonn orm gur ísteach go borb air, ag fíoraí

## OIDEACHAS GAELACH I mBAOL

Míorúilt is ea Scoil Bhaile Múla. Throid na tuist stáit agus Eaglais agus d'éirigh leo. Ina dhiaidh sin chuaigh roinnt mhaith ban, mar mhátharacha, faoi dhian-chúrsa Gaeilge chun go mbeadh ar a gcumas na teaghlach a Ghaeil a gcóir.

Eileamh é sin ar an dúchas atá i ngach áit, ar fud na hÉireann, ach go mór mór i measc na n-obrithe. Is í an difríocht idir muintir Bhaile Muna agus aiteanna eile nach bhfuil na cinnirí ar fáil, nach bhfuil an tuist sách láidir, go bhfuil an miseach in iasailbhí.

Bhí muintir na Gaeilteachta i láthair nuair a labhair an t-áire agus an t-easpag. Bhí cead cainte ag duine díobh, mar atá Bean Uí Chuminn. Agus d'iarr sí ar an mBúrach go n-athscróidh an rialtas ceann amháin, fiú, des na coláistí ullmhucháin a dhín Fianna Fáil, toisc na muinteoirí nua bheith chomh gann is atá ar Gaeilge.

## Débe

Chuir sí beim ar an gceantúir is mó tá ag bagairt ar na scoileanna lán-Ghaeilge a mbaile Átha Cliath agus, go deimhin, ar fud na hÉireann, nach mbeid muinteoirí ar fáil dóibh, amach anseo, agus an córas chomh dona, chomh fíabhtach, is atá.

B'heidh go mbeadh fonn ar mhuintir na Gaeilteachta - an méid dá d'áit na hÉireann - gairne a dhéanamh fúm, ag ceapadh go mbeadh muinteoirí le Gaeilge ar fáil i gcoil. Ach ní shin an t-áire agairt. Déantar scrúdú ar a bhfuil an teacht amach mar mhuinteoirí "fóille."

Tomás Mac Gabhann

NÍL FHIOS agam cé mhéid de mhuinteoirí na Gaeilge a léann "Inniu" (i.e., i gcomparáid leis an méid a cheannóinn an páipéir).

Dá bhíri sin, ní tuairim agam cén chaoi ar éirigh le Tomás Mac Gabhann dul i bhfeidhm ar phoblacht na Gaeilge trí na halltanna speisialta leis a d'holáigh "Inniu" ar na mallabha.

Amhlaidh a thuigeannt Tomás ar mhéid, Agus gábh is ea. Gábh mór. Céard is féidir le státhóras a dhéanamh, fiú má theastaíonn uaidh cuidiú go fíal le cúis na Gaeilge agus freastal go deonachtach ar an bpobal a deast-aíonn uaidh oideachas lán-Ghaelach don óige mura bhfuil na muinteoirí ar fáil?

Cuimhnítear faoi chás Phroinsias Uí Fhogartaigh i mBeall Feirste, roinnt Gaeilge agus féin, fonn air agus ar a bhean go mbeadh Gaeilge ag na páistí.

Rinne sé ar fhead sé, a dúirt sé liomsa tá blianta fada o shin, ach theip nar. Ní raibh na muinteoirí ar fáil sna scoileanna. Agus bhí beim ag an gcóras ar abhair eile seachas Gaeilge. Theip, an córas agus na scoileanna ar a chlann muinteoirí.

Ní fada uainn an lá céanna sna 26 Chontae nua tugtar aird ar a bhfuil molta ag Tomás Mac Gabhann, go n-oscloidh Conradh na Gaeilge níos lánáinistreach oideachais.

Rachainne féin ní ba fhaide ná Tomás. Measaim go gcaithfidh an Conradh - nó institiúid eile - a chóras féin oideachais a bhunú, le bunscoileanna, le eard-áire scoileanna agus le hollscóileanna lán-Ghaeilge, nó tá cúis na Gaeilge caillte.

Chaitliche na Tomás sa mhéid a thuairsear sa nGaeilteachta féin.

Cheana, a deir sé, tá cuid den oideachas a bhí ann sa nGaeilteachtaí faoi mhéid an Bheirte, tá cuid mhaith páistí a tógáil le cúlurbheas sa nGaeilteachta.

Tiocfaidh an lá, cinnte, má leanfar leis an truaill, nuair a bheas an Béarla in uachtar sna scoileanna sa nGaeilteachta. I gcéann deich mbliana?



Tomás Mac Gabhann

## Oíche an Phúca

CÉARD é a bhí sa Phúca? An neach a dhéanann caca ar an sméara dubha, a deárfa corrdhuine na nGaeilteach leat. "Each-uise," a deárfa an seandúine críonna, má bhíonn an seanchas ar a thóil aige. Céard is "each" ann ach caipín.

Tá Oíche Shamhna ag druidim linn agus tuigim go mbeidh oíche mhór i Ráth Cairn bunaithe ar an bPúca. Éigse an Phúca a bheas agairt, le léachanna speisialta ó shainleolaí a deárfa go beacht céard é a bhí sa Phúca (nó an amhlaidh a mhaireann sé i gcónaí?).

Tá áit i gCo. Chill Mhantáin a dtugtar Poll an Phúca uirthi. Tá áit eile, in Inis Meáin, a dtugtar bóthair an Phúca uirthi. Tá áite eile fós i gCo. Luimnigh a dtugtar Lios an Phúca uirthi.

Chuide sheans go bhfuil an tír chomh fola le logainneacha a bhaineann leis an bPúca is atá faoi cheannas ag an bhFear Mór féin.

Ar aon chaoi, cuirfidh muintir Ráth Cairn fáilte roimh "Púcháir" a thíosfaid go dtí an áit Dé hAoine, Deireadh Fómhair 31, Oíche Shamhna, agus a fhanas ann an lá ina dhiaidh sin.

Beidh feis agus féasta ar fáil do dhágh agus go mór mór don aos óg. Tuigim go bhfuil cúl le tuilleadh eolas agus daobh an tseachtain seo chugainn, le cúlurbheas sa nGaeilteachta.

Gaeilge: essence of our nationality

## Cursáí reatha

IS É a cheapann an tEaspag Newman, Luimneach, más fíor do na nuachtáin, go mba chóir do na hÉireannaigh i Sasana Sasanaigh a dhéanamh díobh féin, a ligean dóibh bheith comhsamhlaithe i bóbal Sasana.

Airíom go bhfuil tú scantraithe: ba chóir dóibh a dtéanga a chur ar leataobh, a gcuid choil, a gcuid chluichí, a gcuid Chreidimh agus eile? Fan ort. Fan ort, a mhic. Gach rud ach ós rud é gur fíor.

Níl aithne agam ar an Easpag uasal seo ach ós rud é gur fíor "Newman" atá aithne ag an saol air, déarfainn nach í an Ghaeilge an téanga is anas leis (cé mhéid Afreannach Gaeilge a léitear san fhairche sin aige?). Ach tá cead cainte aige i gcoil.

Cén fáth go gcaithfidh Éireannaigh i Sasana (nó lóidáigh in Éirinn) géillpadh do pholaitíocht agus do chúitir na tíre iasachta? B'fhearr í bhfad, ó thaobh chúitir na hÉireann de, go leanfaidh na hOidhreachtaí de bheith dílis dá dtéanga aoinn féin, dá gcóil binn féin agus dá nósanna féin. Sa chaoi sin bheidh níos mó measa acu ar chúitir na hÉireann, an téanga san áireamh, agus más fíor sin faoi na hOidhreachtaí in Éirinn, is fíor é, freisin, faoi na hÉireannaigh i Sasana.

B'fheidir gurb é an rud a chuireann as don tiarna Easpag gurb amhlaidh a bhriseann an dúchas trí shúilbith an chait agus go bhfuil Gluaiseacht na Poblachta láidir i Sasana toisc go bhfuil Éireannaigh tháit ansin, agus a sliocht, agus sliocht a sleachta, dílis d'Éirinn sa bhrí is búnaí de. Ach teastaíonn uaidh an easpag an ceangal le Sasana a neartú ar an gcaoi i measa.

## Easpaig Luimní nach dtuigeanann an dúchas

Má leanann Éireannaigh i Sasana cuid de chomhairle an easpaig deánfaidís said Sasanaigh amháin is amach díobh féin agus, fé mar a tharla leis na mílte dár gceine, caillfidís siad cibé deachamh a thóg siad leo, bíodh gur Caitlicigh nó Protastáin bhí iontu. Ba thra go mór é sin.

Ach tá bealach ann ar chóir dóibh an ceangal idir Éireannaigh agus Sasanaigh a neartú, gan laghdú ar an dúchas, agus sin bealach thart na córa, ar bhonn chogadh na n-aicmí. Is obrithe muid, bíodh gur Caitlicigh, nó Protastáin, nó eile, muid, agus tá an córas fola céanna dar mbu fáil chois.

Déanaimis an córas sin a bhriseadh agus a scrios, le chéile, Éireannaigh agus Sasanaigh. Is é cúis na hÉireann cúis Sasana, tá, an tseoirse a bhaint amach. Ach sin rud nár dhíonta an t-easpag, toisc, b'fheidir, nach dtuigean sé bunfhríne na Críostaithe, mar atá, an tseoirse.



## Dublin Public Meeting



ABOVE: Aidan Corrigan addressing a Sinn Féin meeting at the G.P.O. on the Eve of the All-Ireland Football Final. Other speakers included, Myles Shevlin (Solr.), Charlie McGlade, Liam Cotter, and Sean O Bradraig; BELOW: A section of the crowd who attended the meeting.



## Fall's Taximen's Protest



ABOVE: A picture taken on Tuesday, September 22nd, when Taximen from the Falls Road blocked two main roads in and out of Belfast City centre in protest against British army harassment of drivers and passengers. BELOW: The Brits arriving. Abolished British soldiers pursued a cameraman who was taking photographs demanding that camera and film be handed over to them. A youth, who came to the cameraman's assistance and a narrow escape when one of the soldiers opened fire on him.



## Haunted room in Leinster House

THERE IS a haunted room in Leinster House. It is the room where the government party meets. Whoever enters there must toe whatever line is the line of the moment; personal honour has no place. Only the remains of human beings made in the image and likeness of God and endowed with free will and intelligence, come out; they are the party hacks, belonging to the plastic age.

"Freedom's fire" had once been supposed to be in the blood of all the men in my first story, and they had been disciples of Tone, Bator, Pearse. In earlier days many who entered here had taken the oath of allegiance to the Dail and government of the Irish Republic, elected in 1918:

"I ... do solemnly swear that I do not and shall not yield a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority or power within Ireland, hostile or inimical thereto, and I do further swear that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dail Eireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me, God".

The history of the haunted room (or perhaps we should say the haunted house) starts very shortly after the late British Viceroy, Lord Fitzalan was in secret conspiracy with certain members of the Royal Dublin Society and got Leinster House to be the seat of the new parliament being set up under British law. The deal included the railings all around the house which have been so helpful to all bureaucrats for keeping the people at a proper and respectful distance. The promises and guarantees under which the Treaty was signed were effectively kept outside the new regime by the murder of Michael Collins (a revolver bullet in the back of his head), and by the early death of Arthur Griffith. Neither man was ever in Leinster House and the laying of a wreath in its vicinity every year is part of an old fraud.

### OATH TO KING GEORGE

The late Ernest Blythe, writing in the Irish Times, November 1965 after the death of William Cosgrave (Sen.) revealed what happened behind the scenes on December 6th 1922. This was the first anniversary of the disastrous signing of the Treaty, under threat, in London. The time had come for all hands in Leinster House to take the oath to King George:

"I ... do solemnly swear true faith, and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her dominions and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations".

"As by law established" meant British law. Blythe described Cosgrave of the executions as being "essentially a man of peace", preferring stratagem to violence and persuasion to a show down. When, as happened ... his Cabinet was sharply divided on an issue of importance Cosgrave was skilled in finding a compromise ... Michael Collins appreciated this. Once when post-Treaty discussions were going badly in London he dispatched an urgent message to Dublin asking to have Cosgrave with his oil can sent over immediately ... A group of pro-Treaty Deputies declared on the enactment of the Free State Constitution that they would not take the oath and would thereby exclude themselves from the Dail ... Mr. Cosgrave put his own plan into action ... He announced that he had decided not to take the oath either ... Kevin O'Higgins condemned ... angrily and bitterly ... Mr. Cosgrave refused to relent and allowed himself to be lumped with the others, of whom he was now the obvious leader. They retired to another room to consider the arguments ... After half an hour they returned and announced that out of consideration for their colleagues they would take the oath and remain in politics ... Mr. Cosgrave had averted a minor political crisis which might have had major consequences". (And the T.D.'s saved themselves from internment).

### RECORDS WITH—HELD

(It was reminded of this when Mr. Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of England, was "oil-can" sent some obstructions against Britain joining the E.E.C. by William Cosgrave (Jun.) in Dublin Castle earlier this year). Blythe gave no names of the men who tried to stem the horror of 1922 but I hope these names will emerge so that the owners may be distinguished in the history and records of the period from the such criminals of the counter-revolution. It would be interesting to know also how far Cosgrave was responsible for "oil-canning" the R.C. Hierarchy into the infamous pastoral of that period which excommunicated the defenders of the Republic then, and for many years after.

What are called the "democratic" foundations of the 26 County state are so disgraceful they cannot be hidden and disguised for ever by the writers of history, even though, on the statement of Ernest

Blythe, many of the documents were burned by out-going politicians. Historical records were also withheld from publication during the whole career of Eamon de Valera in 26-county politics. The first releases of State Papers were by Jack Lynch in 1971, and they are meagre. De Valera and others appear to have regarded the documents which they handled, or created, as private property. An extreme example of this is that the papers of the Provisional Government of January, 1972 have never been opened; I have been told that it is now known where they are; but this was a mystery up to recently. The late Diarmuid O'Hegartaill, was secretary to the Ministry, First Dail, then secretary to the Provisional Government, then governor of Mountjoy Jail, then head of the Board of Works.

### DEMOCRACY THWARTED

The Parliament of Southern Ireland — its legal name — stole the name of "Third Dail". But before it met for the first time in September the Free State Junta, calling itself the cabinet of the Provisional Government, had carried out a number of actions which, when fully revealed, will make it a record breaker in the history of "democracy". In this they had the backing of British law, money, arms, propaganda, and a British army still camped in the Phoenix Park and Kilmainham. The election of 1922 would be overturned on many counts which I hope to spell out in course of time. It resulted from a Pact between Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera, made a decree of the Second Dail. The Dail was to meet to give place to the newly elected 32-County Third Dail. "Our programme was that the Dail should meet again on the 30th June, and that it should meet on the following morning, the 31st July at an hour to be arranged, when the new Parliament should be summoned, say for 12 o'clock. At that hour the roll of the new Parliament would be called". (—Michael Collins 31 Dail Eireann's last meeting, 8th June 1922).

Michael Collins had a bigger following in Dail Eireann than Arthur Griffith. Griffith never attended the Dail again after the Pact. It is obvious now that for political reasons he could not risk the final meeting because the reasons which had brought Collins and de Valera together would still be poignant. This, combined with British law, explains the attack by the junta on the Four Courts the day before the Dail meeting. The purpose of the attack was not, as stated, to further democracy, but to thwart it.

Having started the Civil War the junta abolished the courts "by Cabinet Decree", suspended Habeas Corpus (an aspect of British law not suited to the time) Any T.D.'s not on their side were interned if caught — except for Harry Boland who was murdered in his bed, and a few others in the I.R.A. who were shot on surrender. The executions had started.

James Fisher, Nov. 17th; Peter Cassidy, Nov. 17th; Richard Twigg, Nov. 17th; J. Gaffney, Nov. 17th; Erskine Childers Nov. 24th; Joseph Spooner, Nov. 30th; Patrick Farrelly Nov. 30th; John Murphy, Nov. 30th. — all of Dublin.

These were between the session of September 5th and that of December 5th. Imagine, if you can, the predicament of T.D.'s who had shared Michael Collins reasons for agreeing to the Treaty — "It gave freedom to obtain freedom". Terrible things had happened, and they had been consulted about nothing.

Three days after the oath-taking executions resumed: Rory O'Connor, Dec. 8th; Liam Mellows, Dec. 8th; Joe McKelvey, Dec. 8th; Dick Barrett, Dec. 8th; Stephen White, Dec. 19th.

Joseph Johnston, Patrick Mangan, Patrick Nolan, Brian Moore, James O'Connor, Patrick Bagnel, John Phelan, John Murphy, all before the end of December.

### DE VALERA'S POLITICAL MURDERS

Now come forward with me twenty years, more or less, Eamon de Valera is in the Taoiseach's office. He has a key in his pocket and twenty two T.D.'s locked in the room until they will agree to his new coercion bill. Judge Fawcitt has already refused to act on the courts being set up. The judge told the Taoiseach that when they were both young they did the same things as the men on whom he was now being asked to sit in judgement, and perhaps impose death sentences. So he will be adjusted and the courts would now be military courts. Sad, sad to relate the T.D.'s give in and they voted for the bill. Executions resumed with George Plant, Paddy McGrath, Harte, Charlie Kerins, Maurice O'Neill and Richie Goss being sent to their deaths.

Think how different our history might have been in these two occasions when the fate of patriots was settled in the haunted room. The men in blankets in Port would not have changed places. May the public representatives of the future be firmer men than those who yielded to Cosgrave or to De Valera.

— Le Maire Comerford.



# Shot by a "Free" State Gun

## Port Laoise Inquest Detailed inquiry shelved

le Dara Mac Dara

ABOUT the only thing the Portlaoise inquest established conclusively was that the Republican prisoner, THOMAS SMITH (28), 269 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin, was killed at about 20.00 hours on March 17, 1974, by a bullet from a "Free" State gun.

The jury in Portlaoise Courthouse on September 25 and 26 last, having heard all that was allowed by the authorities to be said, declared that in sufficient evidence had been presented to make the inquest into the sort of detailed inquiry promised by Patrick Cooney in Leinster House shortly after the killing. It was adequate, however, the foreman of the jury declared, to conform with the Coroner's Act of 1962.

The verdict returned by an uneasy jury was that the late Thomas Smith had died as a result of being struck on the head by a ricochet bullet, which had caused fracture of the skull and lacerations of his brain, as a result of which he suffered shock and haemorrhage and inhaled blood.

### Unanswered Questions

What additional evidence would the jury have wished to have been presented?

We suggest that answers to the following questions might have satisfied the jury that an adequate inquiry had been made and would have made the general position clearer to most people.

What were the fire orders given to the soldiers? Were the soldiers who fired on March 17 following general fire orders? Or were they following specific fire orders given by a superior officer that night?

If so, who was the superior officer and what were the orders he gave? If not, what were the general fire orders and when were they first given? Are the same fire orders in effect today? If not, when were they altered and why?

How many soldiers fired? How many rounds were fired? In what direction were those rounds fired?

Why were soldiers involved not asked to give evidence?

Why was no prisoner called to give evidence? Was it because such evidence would have been embarrassing to the state? If so, why? Because it indicated that shots were fired into the open recreation area that was at the time bathed in light and where Thomas Smith was the only person standing.

Were those prisoners closest to Thomas Smith, when he fell wounded, satisfied that, in all the circumstances, all possible aid was rendered immediately to the wounded man in an attempt to save his life?

How many shots were fired into the prison from outside? Where is the proof that such shots were fired? Why were there no empty shells or rounds fired from outside the prison made available to the Coroner as proof that, in fact, shots had been fired from outside?

If the soldiers were under orders to fire at escaping prisoners refusing to halt when so ordered, how could Thomas Smith have been killed by a ricochet bullet? Why were not the trajectories of bullets fired by the soldiers not worked out and presented to the Coroner, in an attempt to explain how Smith, in the position in which he fell, was killed?

### Inconsistency

When the inquest opened, the deputy coroner, Mr. Philip Meagher, told the seven-man jury that they were there to inquire into the death of Thomas Smith.

They were not concerned with any matters apart from how, when and where the deceased man met his death; and in particular, he would like to refer to Section 30 of the Coroner's Act, 1962.

Mr. Meagher read these sections. Section 30 states: "Questions of civil or criminal liability shall not be considered or investigated at an inquest, and, accordingly, every inquest shall be confined to ascertaining the identity of the person in relation to whose death the inquest is being held and how, when and where the death occurred."

Section 31 (1) states: "Neither the verdict nor any rider to the verdict at an inquest shall contain a censure or exoneration of any person."

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in Sub-section 1 of this Section, recommendations of a general character designed to prevent further fatalities may be appended to the verdict at any inquest."

Mr. Myles Shevlin, solicitor (for the next-of-kin) said that in regard to the inquiry itself, he wished to refer to a statement of the Minister for Justice, Mr.

Cooney, who, in answer to a question in Leinster House had indicated that the inquest would, in effect, be a public inquiry into the death of this man; and he suggested that, in regard to that, there was some inconsistency with the coroner's opening remarks to the jury.

The coroner said that subject to what he had said, he did intend to have a fairly full inquiry.

Mr. R.J. O'Hanlon, S.C., who, instructed by the Chief State Solicitor, appeared for the authorities, said that Smith with a prison in Portlaoise Prison on March 17, 1965. The manner in which he met his death was that there had been a large-scale attempted break-out by the prisoners on that day; that there was an outbreak of very serious dimensions involving first the extinction of the public lighting, plunging the whole place into darkness; the use of an explosive device to break out from the prison recreation hall; the surging of a very large number of prisoners into the exercise yard, among them Smith; the use of a further explosive device to effect escape from the exercise compound and, in the process, the use of an improvised armoured vehicle to move from inside the prison outside and a vast number of shots towards the prison.

When this outbreak occurred, the military personnel on duty on the perimeter of the prison had fired a number of shots, one of which, clearly the evidence would indicate, brought about the death of Thomas Smith — not apparently a direct hit, but a ricochet, which struck the deceased man about two inches over his right eye.

The evidence would indicate that Thomas Smith, before the break-out, had been in the recreation hall; that he, with a large number of other prisoners, broke out, and the body had been found outside the recreation hall.

This latter part, however, was not corroborated by Army prisoner witness.

### Bullet marks on wall of Recreation Hall

DR. JOHN Frederick Austin Harbison, State Pathologist, said that he had carried out a post-mortem examination in Portlaoise Prison at 5.25 a.m. last March 18 on the body of a man identified to him by the assistant chief officer, James O'Reilly, and another prison officer as that of Thomas Smith.

Also present at the post-mortem were a number of Garda officers. The post-mortem had begun at 5.25 a.m. and had continued for several hours. The body was that of a well-nourished young adult male with a beard, five feet seven inches in height.

Then he described the external marks of injury. Giving his conclusions, Dr. Harbison said that Smith, a healthy young man of 28 years, had died of a fractured skull and laceration of the brain with haemorrhage as a result of a penetrating missile injury to the head.

In his brief inspection of the exercise yard of the prison, he had seen marks consistent with bullet impact on the wall of the recreation hall and several fragments of iron and brass on the ground. He did not see any pieces of lead shrapnel.

The missile had come from Smith's front, from his right and, if his head was erect, from about 45 degrees above the horizontal.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin, he said that he had dictated his report into a tape recorder and it would have been typed probably the following day. His conclusions were arrived at mainly as a result of his own findings, but he was aware also of metallurgical evidence which would be given from the State Laboratory. It became available to him later and was a confirmation of what he already suspected.

In reply to the coroner, he said that what he implied was that at least one piece of metal struck the head and broke up.

A ricochet bullet could shed its jacket, but the core would presumably remain in one piece until it struck something else, such as the skull.



### Film Being Shown

Anthony Sheriff, a prison officer at Portlaoise, said that on March 17th he was on duty in the recreation hall when a film show began at about 6.30 p.m. He was seated about six feet to the right of the door leading to the main block. About 120 of the prisoners were present as well as a number of members of the guard and prison staff. There were no lights on in the hall during the showing of the film, except for the beam of the projector. Every so often the lights came on to change reels. At about 8.25 p.m. after a reel had been changed and the film came on again, there was a black-out.

There was a lot of shouting a lot of noise from the prisoners. They threw chairs at members of the guard and members of the prison staff. He heard a voice shouting three times "Get down". As he was in the doorway on the way out, there was an explosion. The force pushed him out on to the stairs. He went up to the main prison block and he heard gunfire coming from the back of the prison. There were good few shots fired, but he could not be sure how long the firing continued. There were no lights at all.

Assistant Chief Officer McDonnell and himself went to the stores to get torches, which they gave to the men who were on duty in the prison. They then went to the back gate, where the Army had a post outside the compound. He and other officers stood beside the Army post. There was an injured prisoner lying on the ground at the night guard's hut beside the back gate. The injured man on the ground was Patrick Murphy. The gate leading to the exercise compound was open.

A large number of prisoners corresponding to the number who had been in the exercise hall were gathered there. The officer in charge of the Army told them to get back into the compound and into their cells. They went back after a few minutes. The shooting had stopped before it happened. He had seen Thomas Smith in the recreation hall that evening and he then appeared to be in normal health.

### Objections made

Mr. Shevlin asked how many prison officers were in the recreation hall, and O'Hanlon objected to the question on the grounds that it would be contrary to the public interest to disclose matters relating to the security in prison. He submitted that it had nothing to do with establishing how, when or where Smith met his death. The coroner said that he would allow the question, and the witness replied that there had been three prison officers in the recreation hall. He was not sure how many members of the guard were present that night.

When Mr. Shevlin asked who was the officer in charge of the prison on occasion, Mr. O'Hanlon again objected.

Mr. Shevlin said he did argue that it went to the root of this inquiry, was an inquiry. It must be a matter virtually of common knowledge, he said. The coroner did not allow the question.

In a further reply to Mr. Shevlin, the witness said he had no idea how many shots had been fired, and when he asked whether there were 100 or there were ten, he replied that there were more than ten. He said that he himself had fled from the firing.

When he had seen Thomas Smith in the recreation hall, he had been about eight feet away from him.

### Prison officer fair

Michael O'Donnell, an officer, said that he was on duty in the recreation hall on March 17th and was present at the film at the recreation hall that evening. At about 8 p.m. the film went dead. There was a lot of shouting. The hall was in complete darkness. He heard somebody shout "Get down".

Then there was action at the door leading out onto the compound. The explosion, he saw prisoners going through the door. The light was on outside but there was inside. Then he heard shots being fired as continued for three or four minutes. He was in main block and got a lamp, and came back. The shooting had

stopped at that time and he went outside through the door that had been blown by the explosion. He saw a man lying to the right of the door. After a while, when he looked closer, he saw it was Thomas Smith. He appeared to be dead. He was to the right of the door which had been blown up and about six feet away from it.

The rest of the prisoners were standing in the middle of the compound inside the wire surrounding the exercise compound. They were directed to get back into the prison. Some of the prisoners carried in the body of Thomas Smith and placed it on a table in the main block. The body was in the same position when Dr. Burke arrived.

Subsequent to being asked what efforts he had made to get medical attention for the wounded man, Mr. O'Donnell suddenly fell backwards and fainted.

### Garda evidence

When the inquest was resumed Sergeant James Masterson, of Santry, Dublin, said that he was on duty in Portlaoise Prison on March 17 last. He was in the recreation hall during the film show that was

At 8.22 p.m. the film stopped and the hall was in total darkness. He expected the lights to come on, as they had done on previous occasions, and when they did not do he guessed that something was wrong.

Immediately there was a scuffle of feet and chairs being pushed to the floor. He rushed for the door leading from the recreation hall to the main block. It was a double door, but only half of it was open.

There were other guard and prisoners trying to get out through the door, and he was very nearly the last to go through it.

He heard shouting, "Get down, get down". There was an explosion behind him, and he was more or less blown through the door. He went upstairs into the main block and as he got there he heard shooting.

When he got into the main prison block, he heard a second explosion, which came from outside. He ordered the guard with him to get on their riot helmets and instructed them not to go into the recreation hall while the shooting continued.

About two minutes later Inspector Anderson arrived. They waited until the shooting stopped, and then entered the recreation hall, where, the door leading to the prisoners' compound was open and there was light coming in from the outside.

There were chairs scattered everywhere, and there was broken glass everywhere and also flakes of paint from the ceiling. There was no prisoner in the recreation hall.

They went out into the compound, and he looked southwards and saw a bunch of prisoners at the southern gate of the compound. They were quiet at that stage.

He then saw the body of a man lying about 10 feet from the recreation hall door.

Inspector Anderson and he went over to the body, and he saw a large wound in the man's right forehead. He appeared to be dead.

Inspector Anderson felt for the man's pulse. There was none, and he then ordered a Garda to get a blanket to cover the body, and that was done. Inspector Anderson instructed another Garda to say an Act of Contrition in the prisoner's ear.

The prisoners at the southern end of the compound started singing songs. Inspector Anderson informed him that he was going to speak to the prisoners.

The Inspector spoke to Mr. O'Hagan, and the prisoners started coming down towards the recreation hall.

The Garda moved to one side, and the prisoners were allowed back into the recreation hall. A number of them carried the body into the hall and placed it on four tables, and a priest and a nurse arrived after some time.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin, he said that he had instructed the Garda not to go to the recreation hall because of the shooting. He did not seek any medical assistance when he found the body.

Inspector Noel Anderson, of Donnybrook, Dublin, said that he was on duty in the prison and was standing at the main gate leading into the



security wing. The lights suddenly went out, and when they did not come on within a few seconds he had a message transmitted by walkie-talkie radio to the effect that the lights had gone out and that there was something wrong at the prison.

There then was a loud explosion, followed by another explosion about 15 seconds later, sound of rifle fire.

## Shots fired

Accompanied by Sergeant Masterson and six guards, he went into the recreation room, which was in darkness, but there was light coming from the outer yard into the room through the open doors.

There were a number of shots being fired from the direction of the exercise yard, and he directed the guards to remain in the recreation hall, where he saw chairs scattered around and also glass from the windows and lighting from the roof.

There were pieces of metal in the room, which appeared to have come from the door leading into the yard, as part of the metal on the door was in a jagged condition.

When the firing stopped he led the party of guards out into the exercise yard, where he saw at the bottom of the yard a large group of prisoners sitting. Slightly to his right, and in the shadow of the recreation hall, he saw the body of Thomas Smith.

He immediately went over to the body and endeavoured to obtain a pulse at the wrist and at the neck. He failed to get a pulse, and he was satisfied that the man was dead. He saw a hole in the man's right forehead.

After a short interval the prisoners were directed by a prison officer to go back into the prison, and the guards stood aside to let them go in. He had previously instructed a guard to cover the body with a blanket, and this was done.

He went for medical help for the injured. No lights came in the prison for some time after he re-entered the main block.

Lighting in the yard was on at all times and did not go out. He did not hear any gunfire immediately after the second explosion. He heard some shooting continuing over a period of three to four minutes.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin he agreed that, to his knowledge, during those three to four minutes there were prisoners in the exercise compound, which was bathed in light.

He himself had radioed twice on the walkie-talkie for medical aid. He was informed that there was an ambulance at the front gate and, on the second occasion, that there was a doctor on the way.

He went to the front gate and brought a nurse who was on duty in the ambulance back to assist injured prisoners.

He agreed that, in the course of his call, he informed his base that a prisoner was dead and that he believed two prisoners were injured.

## Prison officers evidence

Daniel Murphy, a prison officer, said that he was on duty outside the recreation hall controlling the area. There was a scuffle in the hall, the sound of chairs being thrown around. He immediately pressed the alarm.

After a minute and a half there was a loud explosion. As the explosion went off the emergency lighting came on outside the prison buildings.

About 60 prisoners rushed out from the compound from the recreation hall, running towards the end of the exercise yard.

They were called upon to halt by the Army sentries, but they refused to obey. They proceeded to the gate of the exercise yard, where some lay down on the ground about 10 feet from the gate, while two approached it and seemed to be interfering with the gate.

About 15 seconds after there was a flash and a second explosion, which blew the gate wide open. The men who interfered with the gate had moved back after doing so and laid down.

When the gate was blown open the majority of the prisoners rushed out of the exercise compound through the open gate.

The Army sentries started firing. He could not say whether they fired from different positions around the prison.

He heard several shots, and the firing continued on and off for about 10 minutes.

He could not see the prisoners at that stage from the position he had taken up.

He remained in a safe position out of the line of fire.

When the shooting stopped he went to the entrance of the recreation hall, and he saw the body of a prisoner lying on the ground about six feet from the door.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin he said that prison officer Bermingham was also on duty in the exercise yard. As far as he could see all the men who came out of the recreation hall went towards the gate. There was no firing until the gate was blown in.

A couple of seconds elapsed between the gate being blown in and firing. It was before the gate was blown in that he heard the sentries calling on the prisoners to stop.

He was out of the line of the firing, but he saw bullets striking the ground in the compound after the shooting commenced.

About five minutes elapsed between the second explosion and the time when he saw the last bullet strike the compound. At that stage the majority of the prisoners had left the compound.

Another prison officer, Michael Murphy, said that he was on duty at the gate leading from the exercise yard to the outer part of the compound.

He heard the noise of chairs being thrown in the recreation hall, and a few minutes later the external lights went out and the compound was in total darkness.



Mr. Myles Shevlin, solicitor for next-of-kin.

There was a loud bang, and he saw the door of the recreation hall blowing out. The emergency lighting had just come on then.

About 60 to 80 prisoners came running up in the direction of the gate where he was on duty.

He heard the Army guards in the overhead observation posts calling on the men to halt.

The prisoners did not obey, but kept coming for the gate.

The Army guard shouted to him to take cover, and he did so behind the pump-house.

In a few minutes the gate had been blown open and the prisoners had come out.

He did not see the gate being blown open, but he heard the sound of the second explosion.

He heard shots being fired, but he could not say where they came from, because there was a lot of noise, including alarms going off.

He did not see any of the prisoners falling or anything like that.

The shooting began a few seconds before the gate was blown open.

The prisoners came out through the gate and stood outside. Some armed soldiers approach them, and in a few minutes the soldiers got the prisoners back into the compound.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin he said that he did not think the firing lasted more than 10 to 15 seconds.

## Heard gunfire

Garda Noel Ryan, of Cabra, Dublin, said that he was on duty in the prison on the landing known as E2 on the first floor of the building.

The lights flickered and went out. He felt a shudder, and then heard an explosion, and he went to a cell window and looked out.

The window was overlooking the exercise yard, which was brightly lit, and he saw between 70 and 80 prisoners running very quickly towards the gate of the compound.

All these prisoners, except two, lay down on the ground and covered their heads with their hands.

The nearest of them would be three or four yards from the gate when they did that.

Two men went up to the gate and appeared to be fixing something to the lock.

They then lay down on the ground and covered their heads, and after a lapse of between three and five seconds there was an explosion.

The two who had been at the gate rushed up to it and pushed it out, and the rest of the prisoners then got of the ground and rushed towards the open gate.

He then heard shooting coming from two different directions, and it appeared to him that different weapons were being used.

He saw a prisoner lying on the ground inside the compound holding his leg, and there was an armed soldier standing over him.

The prisoners then started to sing, and went back to the compound, where they continued to sing for some minutes. The lights in the compound remained out for over an hour.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin he said that he could not see from the window the place where the body was found.

He could see about two-thirds of the exercise compound, and it was well lit.

He did not see any individual prisoner leave the group of prisoners who were outside the gate and return alone to the recreation hall.

He heard gunfire from his right, and from directly in front of him, but the soldiers who were on the ground directly in front of him were not firing.

Christopher Breen, another prison officer, said that he was patrolling the cell wall of the prison outside the exercise compound. He heard the shuffling of chairs, and immediately the lights went out and the whole place was in darkness.

He immediately pressed the alarm, and there was a loud explosion, which blew the door of the recreation hall open.

About 56 or 60 prisoners burst out through the door. The external lights had come on at that stage. The prisoners ran in a crowd position up to the gate.

The Army sentries were shouting to halt, but nobody stopped.

Immediately afterwards there was a second explosion and the gate blew open.

Just at the time the second blast went off shots started to be fired.

The shots seemed to be coming from the Army posts at both sides of him, and also from the roof.

The prisoners just got outside the gate, and they were stopped by some soldiers.

As the soldiers approached the prisoners were singing and jering at the soldiers.

He heard the soldiers calling one prisoners to halt, but the prisoners did not halt and the soldiers fired a few shots.

From what he could see one of the prisoners was

shot in the hand. The prisoners halted at that stage.

The soldiers marched the prisoners into the exercise yard, and some time later the prisoners went back into the prison, but before they did so they were singing and kicking football around the exercise compound for a few moments.

He saw a body lying on the ground. It was lying in complete darkness in the shadow of the recreation hall.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin he said that, during a lull in the shooting, he went down towards an Army post, because he thought it would be safer there.

He did not see anybody near the door of the recreation hall when the prisoners were down at the gate until the guards arrived.

He agreed that something had happened and that he had been there when it happened.

Mr. Shevlin: Are you saying you did not see a man being shot or fall after a shot.

The witness: I did not see any man falling outside the door. When I saw the man he was stretched on the ground.

He said that the body was 10 to 12 feet from where he himself was lying. He heard no sound, nor did he hear a man cry out.

In reply to the coroner the witness said that he had intended to speak in terms of yards instead of feet when he was referring to where he was in relation to the body.

## 60 or 70 shots

In his evidence Garda Sgt. John O'Brien, Portlaoise, said that he heard shots which appeared to be coming from the fields in the Dublin direction. He estimated that between 60 and 70 shots had been fired.

In reply to Mr. Shevlin he said that he did not take part in any investigation subsequently in relation to these shots, but he was aware that an investigation did take place. He was not aware whether any evidence had been discovered.



The Coroner, Mr. Philip Meagher (Solr.)

Garda Michael Heery, now stationed at Killoccan, said that he was on duty in Box 25 just outside the south-eastern wall of the prison, near the back gate.

He heard the soldier in the observation post above him shouting: "Stop. Go back or I will shoot".

He shouted this a couple of times, and then he fired a shot.

Garda Heery said that he could hear shooting coming from the north-eastern corner to his right, and the man above him continued shooting.

There was further shooting from the direction of the farm.

## Real evidence not made available

Mr. Shevlin, addressing the court, said that he would be submitting before the matter was put to the jury, that the situation was left hanging and that there was, in fact, a vast area of evidence that had not been put before the court at all.

If the how, where and when of Thomas Smith's death was the purpose of their coming together, he would respectfully say that some of the evidence tendered had been at the very best periphery to that issue, and the real evidence that existed had not been made available.

The story that emerged, ignoring small inconsistencies in the picture of the evidence, was that this man, while a prisoner in Portlaoise Prison, was watching a film in the recreation hall; the lock of the door was blown off by some people who were not named and who were not identified; immediately, a scuffle, and the shuffling of chairs and there was an exodus of a number of the men, some towards the exercise yard and others apparently towards the main building; there was a clearing of the hall for obvious reasons, and a number of prisoners came from the recreation hall and ran towards Gate No. Three.

Again there was a slight confusion as to when the firing began. One version was that the gate was opened and that the Army opened fire.

The preponderance of people said the explosion took place at this gate, and that the men emptied themselves out into the area between the pump house and the main gate, and that it was at that stage that the shooting took place.

Whichever version represented the accurate picture, one thing was certain, and that was that there was a man back near the door who was shot dead.

The best evidence of what occurred would be expected from prison officer Murphy, who was

within 40 or 50 yards during all the events. He saw nothing.

The Coroner: Are you prepared to accept what Dr. Harbison said, that in his opinion the projectile which killed this man was a ricochet?

Mr. Shevlin: No, I could not accept that, and I do not see how any jury could reach that conclusion. The prison officer in the immediate vicinity, said Mr. Shevlin, saw nothing.

Another strange omission from the evidence was that one of the prison officers in the yard, officer Bermingham, had not been heard from.

The relevant area was surrounded by soldiers, and there was ample evidence that they were shooting.

What in Heaven's name these men could have seen, or what they were shooting at, beggared the imagination.

There was a veritable fusillade of shooting into the badly-lit area in which there were or were not 80 men locked.

If there were 80 men locked there, the irresponsibility involved was hard to grasp, but, if they were not there, what were the soldiers doing shooting at the one man who was standing down near the door?

## Minister lied

Mr. Shevlin said that he could understand the reticence of the Army in this matter, but he would respectfully say that, without evidence from the soldiers or the gunmen or riflemen, the court was not in a position to reach a conclusion as to the how of Thomas Smith's death.

They were no nearer it than they had been at the outset, except for the concession that was made in refutation of the little politicking that the Minister for Justice engaged in when he suggested in Leinster House that death had been caused by a piece of shrapnel, and he had made the suggestion, it would appear, long after knowing on the 19th, when all his officers knew and he must have known, that it was a lie.

There was no evidence at all from the last people who saw him alive. If anybody knew conclusively the how, if it was not Mr. Bermingham or Mr. Murphy, then no one was better placed to give them that evidence than the prisoners who were with him at the time.

If that evidence was ever to come out, it should come from the people who fired the shots.

Again, the reticence of the Army in the matter was understandable. He was a lawyer, and he accepted that no one ought to incriminate himself by his own statement; but at this stage he would have to ask the coroner to adjourn the inquest to enable them to have the real evidence of Thomas Smith's death.

Mr. O'Hanlon, in his address, said he failed to see what further evidence to indicate how the deceased man had met his death could be given by anybody.

## Difficult to explain

The coroner told the jury that they had heard the evidence, and there was just one aspect of it that was difficult to explain.

If they accepted that there was pandemonium in the prison on this night, and a large number of prisoners rushed out of the hall across the compound and down to the gate, all the evidence seemed to suggest that the shooting did not start until the prisoners had rushed out the gate and if they accepted that it was a ricochet bullet that killed this man, and if he was killed about six feet from the door of the recreation hall, a considerable distance from the gate, it meant that either the shooting started immediately the prisoners came out through the door of the recreation hall, or that this man stayed behind and rushed out of the door when the other prisoners had stopped, and was standing there when a ricochet bullet hit him.

They would bear in mind that their terms of reference were laid down by the Coroner's Act, 1962.

The questions were how, when and where the deceased man died. He would recommend to them that they should accept the evidence of Dr. Harbison as to how he died.

If they accepted that the object that caused this damage to the deceased man's head was a ricochet bullet, he thought that they had sufficient evidence to bring in their verdict. It was not for them to try to ascertain whether the shot, whether it was fired accidentally, intentionally, or otherwise.

## Insufficient evidence - Jury Foreman

The jury retired, and when they returned 53 minutes later the foreman said that, insofar as the inquest verdict was concerned, they had arrived at a verdict: but, in view of the inquiry nature of the proceedings, they believed that insufficient evidence had been given, in particular with reference to warden 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 wanted them to give a verdict strictly in accordance with the Coroner's Act, they could do so. If the court wished to proceed with the inquiry, they would like more evidence.

The coroner said that the position, as he understood it, was that this was an inquest, and their terms of reference were as he had set out at the outset. He then recorded the jury's verdict.



## NOTEBOOK

# WAITING FOR A LEAD FROM ULSTER

I DO wish that Republicans would call for the withdrawal of the *English* presence from Ulster, and refer to the foreign army which is stationed there as the *English* army. They would then be talking the same language as the Welsh and Scottish nationalists and as many Ulster Loyalists.

There would then be one united demand from Aberdeen to Belfast, and from Edinburgh to Cardiff and Cornwall, namely, that the *English* go home to England where they belong. Every time that Irish Republicans call for the withdrawal of the *British* presence from Ulster, they are breaking the unity of this demand.

Moreover, they are saying, in effect, to a million of our fellow countrymen in Ulster: "Get out, we want nothing to do with you". That is how Fred Weir, John Taylor, Ernest Baird, Desmond Boal, Bill Craig and hundreds of others hear it and feel it. Wolf Tone spoke of "breaking the connection with England". He knew what he was saying, and I see nothing gained, and much lost, by changing it.

The politics of the moment in Northern Ireland are that the English are sitting back and telling the leaders of the two communities to work out a system of government in which both communities will share proportionately. The English want to see something on these lines emerging so that they can get on with the business of withdrawing.

On the face of it, this is a reasonable attitude. Until there is some substantial political agreement between the two communities — until there is some sort of regime to hand over power to — the English feel that they can't make any really serious moves to extricate themselves.

At the moment, there are some signs that agreement may emerge between the S.D.L.P., the Alliance Party, a section of Vanguard, most of the Loyalist paramilitaries and the Faulkner Unionists. The agreement would be on the basis of a Northern Ireland governed by an "emergency coalition" of these groups.

It seems to us here in the South that this is what the S.D.L.P. is now working for. Consequently, the friends of the S.D.L.P. here are trying to encourage this political movement. The establishment media are telling us it is a good thing and suggesting to Northerners that we would welcome it. Paddy Harte, the Dublin government's emissary, has been politicking on this basis in Belfast.

Republicans in the 26 Counties don't want that kind of settlement in Ulster. They want a settlement along Republican lines. They wish there were a movement taking place in that direction — a movement which they could support. But their comrades in the North have not created such a movement. So there is nothing for them to support.

If Sinn Féin in the Six Counties were calling for an extension of the Border to include all of Ulster, Republicans in the three Ulster counties on this side of the Border could support them, and argue for them, in their own counties. If the Ulster Executive of Sinn Féin, along with some grouping of Loyalists, were demanding this, and calling for an all-Ulster parliament without compulsory power-sharing, at cabinet level, the rest of us would recognise this as Republican policy and could lend support in many ways.

If this Republican-Loyalist grouping were demanding that we set up three provincial parliaments in Leinster, Connacht and Munster, and that all four parliaments together negotiate an all-Ireland federation, Republicans in Leinster, Connacht and Munster could work for this with conviction.

We would have an alternative political movement in Ulster — an alternative to the present one of the S.D.L.P. and other groups

— which we could support and help to succeed. We would do this with added conviction knowing that, by our support for this joint movement of Republicans and Loyalists, we were advancing the date of the final English withdrawal.

But until we can see this alternative political movement taking shape in the Six Counties, and saying what it wants in plain language, there is nothing practical we can do to speed the English withdrawal or to ensure that the regime which it leaves behind in the Northeast will be one which Republicans could support or welcome.

In short, my Ulster friends, and specifically, my friends in the Six Counties, you need to get moving. We need a lead from you.

\*\*\*\*\*

Things have certainly been moving recently in Corsica and the Basque country. The domestic empires of London, Paris and Madrid are under simultaneous assault. Our fight in Ireland is not only for Ireland: it is part of the struggle for the new Europe with a human face that will rise out of the ruins of empire.

The Celtic League at its annual meeting in Peel, Isle of Mann, was well aware of all this. I see from Innis that it passed resolutions

- condemning the facilities given to non-Manx tax-dodgers to buy land in Mann;
- demanding official status for Manx nationality and powers to refuse Manx nationality to undesirable immigrants;
- demanding Manx language classes on Manx Radio;
- recalling that one of the aims of the Celtic League is to encourage a confederation of the Celtic countries after they have achieved independence, and urging that the capital of the Confederation be in Mann;
- demanding that the London government declare its intention of withdrawing the English army from Northern Ireland on the grounds that there cannot be a settlement in the North without this;
- demanding that the Dublin government publish the survey on attitudes to the Irish language;
- supporting the stand of the Cornish nation against the efforts by Plymouth to divide it;
- informing the people of Corsica that they have the sympathies of the Celtic countries in their struggle for self-government; and
- condemning injustices to women in various sectors of public life, as well as demanding equal rights for them.

Merely resolutions, you may say. But you would be wrong. It is by multinational groups like the Celtic League coming together and articulating common purposes that the revolutionary consciousness appropriate to these times begins to take shape. In the world of the EEC and the multinational companies, there is no role any more for blinkered national liberation movements which fail to make common cause with similar movements around them. Just as the present world is shaped by the worldwide action of groups working together, so will the world of tomorrow be shaped by the worldwide action of groups working together. The only question is: which groups?

by

**FREEMAN**

# Small farmers forced to leave the land

"THE arguments propounded by T.J. Maher, at a recent I.F.A. Press Conference, was a bid to reconcile the irreconcilable," according to a statement issued by Sinn Féin.

Mr. Maher now admits, that only a programme of National development can alleviate the plight of small farmers. It has always been quite clear that the E.E.C. had its own narrow concept of growth and development. It's the concept of sprawling, congested cities. This is not accidental, but necessary to absorb the farmers who are forced to leave the land.

"The forced migration of farmers is totally consistent with E.E.C. policies as enshrined in the Marshall Plan. There is little point in formulating national policies to protect our people from European community policies. If the I.F.A. are really sincere, let them now admit that they were wrong to campaign for full membership of the E.E.C. Norway, Iceland, and Malta have proved that European summits are no substitute for national self-reliance."

## Cutbacks

"The cutbacks in these funds are a further vindication of Sinn Féin's opposition to membership of the E.E.C. We believe that only now are the people realising the full implications of membership. A referendum of the thirty-two counties should be held to implement the democratic will of All Ireland", the Sinn Féin statement said.

## SHANNON S.F. CUMANN

At the meeting of the Shannon S.F. Cumann the unemployment situation was discussed. It

## Sinn Féin news and views

was felt that due to the high unemployment in the area that better facilities were needed. The Cumann protested to the Office of the Free State Minister for Social Welfare, and received the following reply:—

"I am desired by Mr. Brendan Corish T.D. Tanaisite and Minister for Social Welfare, to refer to your recent letter about the question of the provision of a local employment exchange for the Shannon area and to say that the Minister is aware of the problems generally from the increases coming in the numbers of unemployed. However, in the present circumstances, the opening of an exchange in Shannon as distinct from any other area would not be justified. In order to facilitate the payment of unemployment benefit to persons in the Shannon area the Minister has authorised the making of special arrangements by the Manager of the Limerick Employment Exchange to enable persons on short-time to have their claims accepted and paid at their firm's premises. Other unemployed persons who are resident in the Shannon area may make application and receive payment by post by writing to the Branch Manager of Ennis Employment Office for postal claims forms. On completion of these forms the person concerned may have their declaration of unemployment certified at Shannon by the Gardai each week and receive by post from Ennis Employment Office weekly pay vouchers for encashment at Shannon Post Office."

The Cumann feel that the Minister is side-stepping the issue and that the provision of an employment exchange in Shannon Newtown would be an embarrassment to his government, because of the millions of pounds of taxpayers' money which has been invested in the Industrial Estate.

The cumann's Citizens Advice Centre is now operating from the community office, 38 Tola Park, every Thursday evening between 8.00 — 9.00 p.m. So far, due to complaints received through the centre, they have had several meetings with S.F.A.D.C. regarding rent reductions, maintenance and serious redundancies.

## MAN AND BOY ARRESTED

"A man and an 11-year-old boy travelling by car from Dundalk recently were followed by a British army helicopter patrol, which landed after they had crossed the border, arrested the two occupants of the car and brought them (by helicopter) to Crossmaglen R.U.C. barracks", according to a statement issued by the Lavey Sinn Féin Cumann. "They were released after being questioned for four hours", the statement said.

# Magilligan Ard Fheis Motion

THE following motion from the Sinn Féin Cumann in the Magilligan prisoner-of-war camp will appear in a condensed form on the Clar of the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis. It contains very sound arguments in favour of local Newspapers. For this reason and because the proposers who are "faoi ghlas ag Gallabhai" will not be present to present their arguments, we publish the Motion in full in *An Phoblacht*.

That a Sinn Féin paper of *Newsheet* be established in every *Comhairlecheantais* area:

Although *An Phoblacht* and *Republican News* are a vital asset to the Republican Movement but do not adequately cover the political policy of Sinn Féin we do not mean the high aspects and ideals of Sinn Féin, but the Grass Root Practicalities. We do not wish to see these papers hastily re-arranged to accommodate our request, but would rather they continued in their present role of supplying War news and columns of the more advanced aspects of political thought.

What we advocate is a paper of a good standard. The paper will come under the direct control of the local *Comhairlecheantais* and will be supplied with articles from each Cunn in the area. These articles will endeavour to highlight local grievances and simplify Sinn Féin policy. A paper of this kind will serve a multitude of purposes — but will not be a complete answer and can only succeed if allied with progress in other fields of Sinn Féin work. The main projects we have in mind are Co-ops and social work groups who, through different ways will alleviate the problems of the people.

Now who can honestly say that the working class will not pay more attention to the actions of Sinn Féin rather than to words. The words do, however, have their uses as their power to arouse emotions and support depend entirely upon the way in which they were used. It is our opinion that local papers of this kind will provide an adequate media to propagate the news, facts and ideals of the Community in which they are established and will also prove their worth as all organs of S.F. by fulfilling the following points:

- make the people aware of Sinn Féin in their midst.
- encourage people to think Sinn Féin and compare our attitude to their present position.
- pave the way for more concrete action by encouraging people to seek help and advice from Sinn Féin as to how to set Sinn Féin policies into

practice and it will thereby encourage members of Sinn Féin to work harder as they will see their ideals being made fact.

- be a censor free media whereby, if properly used, it will co-ordinate the efforts of a risen people to resolve local issues.
- make Sinn Féin policy a more relevant aspiration, than the present day high-pile-in-the-sky ideals of some more adept Sinn Féiners.
- install in the people a basic awareness and a feeling of involvement in our envisaged Democratic Socialist system.

■ fight for and strive to obtain solutions for local grievances by relating their effects on each person in the area.

■ remain a mainly political paper and not become absorbed in the war.

We Republicans must get off our high horse and pull our heads out of the clouds for a change and do something which, allied with other of Sinn Féin work, will show that we are neither intellectuals nor another class, nor morans, but the party of the people, prepared to work night and day for the people. This is sadly not realised by many people at the moment. Did anyone of us understand what DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM would mean in Ireland before we learned as much as we could about it? How can we expect the people in the street to understand the rantings of high-faluting Idealists when we couldn't. We MUST get our policies across to the people in a simple, effective manner and this can best be done by relating our policies to local problems through a locally-based Sinn Féin paper.

We suggest that a paper be established in each *Comhairlecheantais* area and that a Committee be set up by each C.C. to promote and encourage this publication.

The motion is proposed by the Michael Meenan Cumann (Cage 'B'), the Michael Gaughan Cumann (Cage 'D'), the Vivienne Fitzsimons Cumann (Cage 'F'), the Ethel Lynch/Hugh Coney Cumann (Cage 'G').



# Republican Post Bag

## DENIAL OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

A SERIOUS situation is arising in Portlaoise prison because of the refusal of the authorities there to permit certain educational facilities. Repeated requests for the termination of the hunger strike last February, to date the following requests of the prisoners have been met by blunt refusals and total indifference.

(1) A request to have a room made available for classes, lectures, debates etc., has been refused outright by the prison governor. He has also refused to reopen the Recreation room closed since last March.

(2) The authorities will now allow correspondence courses to prisoners wishing to do Leaving Certificate and G.C.E. examinations. Attempts to get the prison recognised as an examination centre have been frustrated. The prison governor and his assistant ridicule the idea of examinations being conducted in the jail even though this practice has been quite successful in the jails of the North and elsewhere for many years.

(3) Basic teaching aids such as drawing equipment, text books, cassettes and records are banned completely. Many prisoners who are individually studying languages are working under great hardship because of the refusal of the authorities to permit courses on tapes. Educational books were seized last December by the authorities have not been returned to the prisoners.

(4) Offers by outside teachers to give lectures in the prison have been turned down by the prison governor. Lecturers have been given access to Long Kesh for the last couple of years while this facility is being denied strenuously by the Portlaoise authorities.

(5) An offer by AnCo to conduct courses in the prison has also been rejected. Many of the prisoners are young apprentices who could be greatly assisted by AnCo. In Mountjoy prison AnCo courses are being conducted for non-political prisoners. This is progress. But there seems to be a determination on behalf of the authorities in Portlaoise prison to create conditions where prisoners are forced to revolt. It is such use of institutional privilege that forces more and more people to identify themselves with those who have been pushed to violence.

All the above issues have been raised on numerous occasions with both Church and Social Welfare authorities who, though sympathetic to the demands of the prisoners, admitted that they made no progress with the prison authorities. A wall of indifference has met every reasonable demand

for educational facilities.

—An IATH. Piaras O'Duill, Dublin 7.

## FUNERAL OF EAMONN DE VALERA

SEPTEMBER 2nd 1975. The great sham is over. I've seen much of it on T.V. — the state-rigged funeral of a man who has been dead for decades. Dead, because he ceased to have any relevance in the struggle for Irish freedom when he turned his back on the aspirations that committed former comrades like P. McGrath, George Plant and many others to untimely graves because they held unwaveringly to a course which he thought fit to abandon.

His way led to public plaudits, mostly insincere, and to a remunerative office culminated in the secluded luxury of the Vice-regal Lodge while the people he fooled emigrated in their tens of thousands, others cynically abandoned their language and slavishly submitted themselves to a statelet modelled on the British pattern, alien in language, law and governmental procedure.

We search in vain for any good that we could attribute to him. During election campaigns and when out of office he was "an active anti-partisanship" but when he resumed leadership he made no attempt to practise his preaching.

He fully co-operated with the Stormont regime, jailed, interned, shot and hung those who dared try to break the connection with England. He allowed noble, dedicated patriots like McNeela and Sean McCaughey die on hunger strike, keeping the latter in solitary confinement for years dressed only in a blanket and generally treated as you would not treat a dog.

He shall be remembered as a humbug and a hypocrite, faithful ally of England in perpetuating the dismemberment of his country and the disunity of its people.

He has left no monument to his memory save the tragic legacy of the Six-Counties; no noble phrase to inspire future generations — a man without honour who prayed on our heroic dead beneath whose shadow idealism wilted and spathy grew apace.

He served our present-day political scavengers well to stage his funeral and thus perpetuate the myth that we are a free people. But in the wings wait, watchful and intent, the inmates of many jails whose dreadful sufferings are a gauge of the fears lurking in the hearts of the lost souls to whom the words *Freedom with Justice* are anathema.

What an act of supreme irony Dev's funeral war! State funeral! The guns that murdered Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe fired to 'honour' the Chief! The guns that partitioned Ireland fired again to

maintain partition. What a commentary on modern Ireland! We turn from this stinking scene and salute the unconquerable souls who carry on the fight on the streets and in the jails. Dia go deo leo.

—M.O.C.,

Baile Atha Cliath.

## ENGLAND'S HYPOCRISY

MR. O'CALLAGHAN, Labour English Minister, yelled from his platform that England condemned governments who interned men without trial and who tortured prisoners in their prisons.

Surely he doesn't think to brain-wash the Irish by such statements — especially as England holds untold and unconvicted Irishmen in her dungeons — the whole wide world knows that England was convicted at the Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg for all her brutalities to Irishmen.

O'Callaghan knows very well also that England was forced last year to pay compensation to Irishmen for wrongful arrest and brutality inflicted on interned prisoners. Does he expect the Nations of the World to have such short memories?

The English Queen dined with Tito, the Dictator, and entertained him in her palace only last year; also English trade-union men howl with fury — and insist that English people boycott everything Spanish in reprisal for the Spanish Dictator's foul deeds; while we all agree with their insistence to hit the Spanish economy — let England be warned that we Irish have so many more good reasons to apply our boycott to everything English entering our land — because of all the brutality their government continue to inflict upon our fellow Irishmen.

People in glass houses should not throw stones and should quake with the shame of so much Irish blood which England spilled over the Centuries. There trade union organisers frothing with anger because of Franco's misdeeds just awaken our memories to all the injustices England committed against us for so long.

But England's foul deeds are catching up with her — even on her own soil by her own now illegal Army of Retired Colonials — and also all the unrest felt in the Trades Unions over on her own soil.

So England, clear up your own sorry plight before pointing the finger of scorn at any other Nation's misdeeds — rise from the gutters and make the words "BRITISH JUSTICE" hold some true meaning: lay off the double talk and condemning yourself from your own mouths — or be silent for ever!

—Una Toal,

Dun Dealgan.

## PRISONER REFUSED PAROLE

THE Minister for Justice, Mr. Cooney, personally refused parole to a young Kerryman in Port Laoise Prison to visit his dying father. (Mr. Spring was released for 48 hours on parole during his father's early illness at the beginning of September. Mr. Spring honoured his parole by returning on time).

On Saturday last, Mr. John Spring (25) of Castlemaine, Co. Kerry received a letter from his mother informing him that his father had only a few days to live. On the previous Wednesday Mr. Spring had phoned the prison Governor asking him to let her son know how seriously ill his father was.

A similar call was made on Monday but neither message was allowed to Mr. Spring. On receipt of the letter on Tuesday Mr. Spring applied for immediate parole. He was informed by the Chief Warden, Mr. Hawkins, that parole would only be granted when his father had died.

The prison Chaplain was contacted but he stated he was powerless to do anything. The chairman of the Visiting Committee, Mr. Tom Keenan, who is also Chairman of Laoise Co. Council and a leading member of Fine Gael, said he would do his utmost to get parole for Mr. Spring.

Two hours later, Mr. Keenan told the prisoner's O/C, that he got no satisfaction from the officials in the Dept. of Justice but he was confident of contacting the Minister personally. A short while later Mr. Keenan returned and informed the Prisoner's O/C that he had pleaded the case with Mr. Cooney but parole for Mr. Spring was flatly denied. Mr. Keenan said he was appalled by Mr. Cooney's attitude.

An hour after Mr. Keenan left the prison word was received that Mr. Spring's father had died. The Chief Warden then told Mr. Spring that since his father was now dead, he could be given three days parole.

All the political prisoners in Port Laoise were incensed by the way Mr. Spring was treated. The ghoulish attitude of Mr. Cooney is indicative of the overall policy pursued in the prison. A disturbance took place on Wednesday morning when gardai and warders entered each prisoners cell and removed beds and mattresses. In some cases bed linen was thrown on the floor and walked on by the officials. A few warders and gardai tried to molest a young Dublin man but after intervention by the prisoners, the incident passed over.

Mr. Spring returned to the prison on Friday. He is serving a twelve month sentence having been convicted on the belief of a

Police Superintendent. Again Mr. Spring honoured his parole as do all Republican Prisoners.

Republican Prisoners,

Port Laoise.

## DIEGO GARCIA

UNTOLD suffering to innocent people has again been caused by our arch-enemy, British Imperialism. More than 1,200 people from Diego Garcia, a group of islands in the Indian Ocean, have been moved from their homes by the British, to make way for a U.S. Naval Base. They are now living 1,174 miles away in Mauritius, poverty-stricken and in terrible housing conditions.

The death of Diego Garcia came about as follows. circa 1800. The island passed from French to British Rule. In 1965 Mauritius won independence from Britain. In 1966 Britain paid Mauritius around £3 million to retain colonial control over Diego Garcia under the new name of "British Indian Ocean Territories". In 1967 the British took control of the islands' major industry — Copra. They with the U.S. to develop a huge military complex there.

In 1962/68 the copra plantations were deliberately allowed to run down and the exodus began. In 1970/71 the whole population was "resettled" when work on the plantations came to a halt. In 1972 the islands' population consisted entirely of U.S. Military and Naval personnel.

Investigations by newspapers such as "The Guardian" and "The Sunday Times" failed to reveal how much the U.S. has paid the British for the use of the base. Also, the failure of these papers to follow-up stories published some weeks ago, suggests pressure. 'D' notices, perhaps, to drop the matter.

Protests by Mr. T. Dalyell, a British Labour M.P., and in America by Senators Ted Kennedy and John Culver have been registered, but so far the British Foreign Office has refused to talk about the arrangement between the two great "champions of freedom and democracy".

—Leitheoir,

Baile Atha Cliath.

## SALE OF WORK

Cumann na gCailiní are holding a *Grand Sale of Work* on Saturday 11 October, 1975 at 4, Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

"The youth of today are the leaders of tomorrow". Please support generously.

All donations gratefully accepted.

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.

## Acknowledgement

THE husband and family of the late Kathleen McCarthy wish to thank the Republican Movement most sincerely for their expressions of sympathy during their recent bereavement.

They thank especially the Republican Prisoners in Port Laoise Jail.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for their intentions.

21 Bultin Gardens, Inchicore, Dublin.

## SYMPATHY

The Terence McSwiney Sinn Féin Cumann, Hammersmith, London, wish to extend their deepest sympathy to the relatives of the late Noel Pender. To ndeana Dia Trocaire ar an am.

## SYMPATHY

The Republican Movement in Clare wish to express sympathy to the Moloney and Brody families Killanena on the death of Mrs. Nora Moloney.

## Raffle Results

Following are the results of the raffle held by the Robert Emmet Sinn Féin Cumann, Inchicore, Dublin.

- 1st prize (£100): John Maguire, C/O. C.P.M. Clondalkin. (Ticket No. 1346).
- 2nd prize (£50): Paul Corrigan C/O. C.I.E. Inchicore. (Ticket No. 68).
- 3rd prize (£25): Eddie Murphy, C/O. C.I.E., Inchicore. (Ticket No. 67).
- 4th prize (£25): Sam Elliott, C/O. Seller. (Ticket No. 140).
- 5th prize (£5): Frank Maguire, C/O. C.I.E., Inchicore. (Ticket No. 260).
- 6th prize (£5): Anthony Nolan, C/O Killeen Paper Mills, (Ticket No. 161).
- 7th prize (£5): Peter Cunningham, Seller, (Ticket No. 210).
- 8th prize (£5): Noel Hannon, Seller. (Ticket No. 248).

## Ballad Session

Wine and dine with Ireland's

### BARLEYCORN

### Spa Hotel Lucan

October 17 at 8.30 p.m.

(bar extension; Supper served at 10.00 p.m.)

All in ticket only £1.50.

Tickets available at door or can be had by writing or calling to 44, Parnell Square, or 2A Lower Kevin St., Dublin. Organised by the John Green S.F. Cumann, Leitrib; Proceeds in aid of An Cumann Cabbhrach.

## Roger Casement Commemoration

(Dun—Laoghaire)

Annual Parade & Commemoration to Birthplace of Roger Casement, Sandycove, on SUNDAY 14th SEPTEMBER '75

at 3 p.m.

Oration by Gerry O'Hare

Parade will assemble bottom of Marine

Road D/L at 2.30 p.m.

Led by St. Kevin's Pipe Band Bray.



# LITANY OF HYPOCRISY

le Seamus Loughran

MAYBE it is the time of the year. Maybe the political environment. Maybe it is just me going nuts, but have you noticed the high rise in hypocrisy of late? The Labour Party Conference at Blackpool gives James Callaghan the opportunity to laud the situation in Portugal ignoring the presence of HIS army on Irish soil oppressing a people. Callaghan glibly talks about freedom of elections, freedom of speech, freedom from all that his Government perpetrate in Ireland. The N.I. Convention gives us more samples of this new breed of politico. Craig the moderate, would you believe it? He talks of Coalition in an Emergency, the emergency being of course his almost eclipse in political circles by Paisley and West.

The SDLP now completely at sea. Should suit Fitt! Craig embarrasses them to the extent of proving how near they were to throwing in the towel on what few principles they have and accepting the Craig whip in a Coalition.

Rees, still sustained and genuine, talking about the agreement that never was, despite all the evidence to the contrary. But then that was Rees just being Rees. The crocodile tears shed by all the Governments within the EEC. Germany for one despising the events in Spain when five comrades were murdered by Franco. West Germany overlooking the treatment she has dished out to the RAF (Bader-Minhoff) group while they awaited their oft postponed "trial". Mother England denouncing Franco while men and women languish in British Jails because of their love of freedom and fair play for all. Dublin of the Gombeen men at it once more. Donegan assuring the Loyalist Para militaries that they have nothing to fear from the Free State (has anyone??). Fitzgerald assuring American citizens that it was a religious war in Ireland and that they should refrain from helping the people of the six counties just because the Dublin Government was doing just that! They also, through Cosgrave condemned the Spanish killings, overlooking or is it ignoring the hell hole that is Portlaoise, forgetting about the murder of Tommy Smith. Everyone talks about counter violence ignoring the basic fact that State Violence done in the name of the law is the worst kind and that it only breeds more violence and more hatred. Of course there is always the sheer unadulterated hypocrisy of the N.I. Courts. One soldier can get £20,000 awarded while a man murdered by a British Officer, who admits that he did it, has his name scorned by the judge. We could go on in this vein and fill each and every page of this paper, but then we are preaching to the converted unless "Freeman" is right about the people of the 26 counties. He wanted us Northerners to tell you Southerners where we stand politically. We are all "IRISH!" Republic and as such we follow the policy of the Irish Republican Movement. You do know of that don't you??

## Successful function in Ballybofey

OVER 300 people attended the first-ever Supper Dance organised by the Seamus Harvey Sinn-Fein Cumann, Aghyran in Jackson's Hotel, Ballybofey, Co. Donegal on Wednesday, September 24.

Guest speaker was Mr. Anthony O'Malley-Daly of Donegal Comhairle Ceantair. Mr. Daly gave a brief and concise outline of the aims of Sinn Fein, spoke of the need for public awareness in this direction and made a plea for greater recruitment to the Cumann. He paid tribute to the newly-founded Aghyran Cumann and praised the people in its catchment area for supporting the function.

There was spontaneous and prolonged applause after Mr. Daly had finished speaking.

The evening's entertainment then got under way with the music being supplied by a versatile local group, "Knoxville". There was a special round of applause reserved for recently-released Portlaoise inmate, Sean McGinley, when - among other stirring renderings - he sang a self-penned tribute to Seamus Harvey, the young man after whom the Aghyran Cumann was called.

Later, there was a big demand

for raffle tickets for two prizes - the first being a barp fashioned in wood by Josie Floyd of Spamount who is at present serving a jail sentence in Magilligan; the second, a model of a church tower which was made in Portlaoise and delivered to the Cumann by Sean McGinley.

Proceeds have been forwarded to An Cumann Cahbrach.

## U.S. Ambassador misinformed

AT THE IRISH branch of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Dublin, Mr. Curley referred to "an appalling ignorance" about Ireland in the U.S.A. He dismissed the active concern of Irish-Americans as compounded of "sentimentality and emotion". This argument is a complete reversal of the facts. A typical example is Dr. Fred Burnt O'Brien. As a loyal American, his sense of justice was outraged in Belfast in 1971. Because he was there on August 9th, he saw the British Army in action first hand. He is typical of Ireland's friends in the U.S.A. One wonders how many Leinster House deputies have ever even spent a single day in Belfast?

S.F. statement.



The scene of the recent shooting at Millfield in which three people were shot dead by U.V.F. men.

## STATE VIOLENCE IN SPAIN

"THE MURDER of the Basques revolutionaries raises important questions for all who cherish justice and freedom. The pious self-righteousness of the British Labour Party is reminiscent of the Irish Labour Party's "concern" about Chile," said a statement issued by the Sinn Fein Head Office, 2a Lower Kevin Street, Dublin.

The statement continued: With these parties, the further away the injustice, the more "concerned" they become. We heard Mr. James Callaghan condemn State violence:

"... the State violence of the Security police, it is imprisonment without trial, it is denial of political freedom, it is persecution of the press..."

In the light of these remarks, we demand an immediate end to internment without trial. We further demand an end to all British inspired violence in Ireland, the statement ended.

"Sinn Fein in England protest in the strongest possible terms to the execution of the five freedom fighters in Spain on Saturday, 27th Sept. '75," said a statement issued by Sinn Fein in England.

The Statement went on: "We wonder why the Free State Government have not made any strong protest over this atrocity and we also wonder if the lack of any strong protest was because it would prove too much of an embarrassment to Mr. Cosgrave, whose father was directly responsible for the execution of 77 freedom fighters in the 1920's.

"Could it be the same reason which has held back the Irish Government from taking a strong line with Britain against the torture meted out to Republican freedom fighters and the minority population in interrogation centres and prisons throughout the six occupied counties of Ireland?"

"Sinn Fein demands to know the reason why the Cosgrave Government have not recalled their Ambassador from Spain. By their non action it is obvious to the civilised world that the men in Leinster House endorse the fascist Franco regime."

## Sean Treacy Commemoration

Assemble at Kilfeacle, Co. Tipperary  
on  
Sunday, 12th October, 1975  
at 2.30 p.m.  
Oration by Andreás O Ceallacháin

## Ballad Session

at  
The Embankment  
Tallaght  
October 28, 1975  
8.00 p.m. to 11.00 p.m.  
Admission: 50p

## Birthday Greetings

to Praisias Stagg now in solitary confinement in Wakefield prison, Yorkshire whose birthday occurs on October 5.  
- From his relatives and friends in England.

## Lá Breithe

faoi shous agus faoi mbaise do Bhrian Grant in gCarcer Phort Laoise  
- Ó do chairde i bFhianh Slua Teidhlin Grant.

## Brithday Greetings

to Brian Grant, E. Wing, Portlaoise prison, Happy Birthday Brian,  
When the war is over  
And the Provos have won,  
You can hold your head up high  
For the things that you have done - our boy.

-Love Maggie and Pat.

## Happy Birthday

and many happy returns to Brian Grant in the "Free" State's Colditz, Port Laoise prison. You are always remembered by your friends at the Saloon and the Tango's. Hoping to have you back with us soon.

-Pauline and Rosemary.

## Congratulations

Mrs. Maura Sullivan (wife of Eamonn) who recently escaped from the Curragh military detention hospital gave birth to a baby boy on October 3.

Maith thú, Eamonn, you won't escape from this predicament.

## Sinn Féin Ard Fheis October 26 and 27

By now every cumann and comhairleceantair should have received all relative documents and returned all nominations, delegate lists and motions to head office.

Any Cumann or comhairleceantair which has any query should contact head office without delay.

## Sinn Féin Finance Committee

RETURNS for the private Members draw must be made on, or before 17 October, 1975.

Six cards were forwarded to most cumann - A greater number were sent out to larger and more active ones; it is expected, therefore, that no less than an average of 10 will be received from each.

It is impossible to carry on the work of the Organisation without sufficient finance and each cumann should have no difficulty in forwarding this amount.

Organisation and Publicity are vital tasks at present. Please help us to go ahead with these tasks by making early returns and by accepting more raffle cards, even at this late date.

Name of Cumann and area of activities should be mentioned, when making returns, as a report of this draw will be given at the forthcoming Ard Fheis.

-Charlie McGlade,  
2a Sraid Chaomhain Ioct.,  
Baile Átha Cliath 8.