

An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 2. 8p. Eanáir 16, 1976.



Ó BRÁDAIGH INITIATIVE SUCCESSFUL

THE APPEAL by the Feakle clercymen, following the initiative by the Sinn Féin President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, for an end to tit-for-tat killings, appears to have been heard by those who initiated the killings and by those who reacted so bloodily against them since the year began.

The army council of the Mid-Ulster Protestant Action Force issued a statement at the weekend that it had decided to take no retaliatory action for the Whitecross massacre. It warned that this decision would be revoked if there were "interference with Protestants."

In South Armagh, Republicans promised they would have no part in such killings in the Whitecross or Bessbrook area, provided there were no further attacks on Catholics.

A number of families, frightened out of their homes in the Bessbrook area by Orange threats, and asked to return with the promise of full protection by Oglagh na hEireann, have gone back home.

The initiative was begun by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh in a statement issued on January 4, followed by a statement two days later.

MacMahon family

On January 4, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said:

"Tonight's slaughter of two Catholic families in Co. Armagh is reminiscent of the wiping out of the entire MacMahon family in Belfast, in 1922, and of the McKenna family in Co. Tyrone, in April last."

"Loyalist extremists are conveying a stark and bloody message to the British government before next Monday's House of Commons debate on the Stormont Convention report."

"They are complementing in a planned and calculated manner, the demands of the Loyalist politicians that their supremacy must be maintained," the statement concluded.

On January 6, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh stated:

"Sinn Féin is taking steps to contact the Feakle clercymen to ask them to take initiatives to halt the escalation of sectarian violence in Ireland."

"Our organisation has engaged in talks with many interests and is still prepared at this late stage to do so again, regardless of the failures that have attended such efforts in the past by both Sinn Féin and the Feakle clergy."

Clergy's reply

On January 7 the Feakle Clergy replied:

● "The President of Sinn Féin has publicly called upon us to take an initiative in the present situation. We are utterly appalled at the escalation in sectarian assassinations."

● Our concern is to see an end to *all violence*, but at this time we realise that the *most urgent*, though not the only, need is to stop, if at all possible, the sectarian killing in which law-abiding citizens of both sides are being ruthlessly bombed and gunned down.

● "These killings can be stopped if all paramilitary organisations decide that they will not be party to any such

(Ar leantain ar chúl)

Stagg nears death



Proinsias Stagg

AS we go to press the latest news on the condition of Proinsias Stagg is that he is now in a critical condition.

His mother, Mrs. Mary Stagg, travelled from her home in Mayo to England at the weekend to visit him in the hospital wing at Wakefield prison, Yorkshire.

COLLAPSED

Mrs. Valerie Phillips, a sister of Proinsias said that her mother collapsed after the visit and was too upset to issue a statement. Mr. Phillips was allowed to drive his car right into the hospital wing to assist Mrs. Stagg home.

Mrs. Phillips speaking about Proinsias said:

"He is quite determined not to give up his protest, and even before my mother spoke to him he told her that he would not call off the strike. He knows he is very near death, but is quite alert and able to communicate."

Proinsias, it was said, passed out yesterday, and was unconscious for a time in his cell. Mrs. Phillips said that his circulation was badly affected as his hands were stiff and cold.

"He is so close to death that we are all most upset but we will not be asking him to end his fast. My mother will stay here with me until this is over."

MR. GAUGHAN

Among the many protests and pleas of support for Proinsias and Gerry Mealy, was a telegram from the mother of the late Michael Gaughan who died on hunger strike in 1974, to the British Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins.

Mrs. Gaughan pleaded with Jenkins to transfer both men to the Six Counties and thus avoid a repetition of the fate of her own son.

PROTESTS

Meanwhile members of Dublin Sinn Féin mounted pickets all week on the British Embassy and each day between the hours of 1-2 p.m. paraded up and down O'Connell St.

On Saturday and Sunday in conjunction with the Irish Civil Rights Association they mounted pickets again outside the British Embassy.

SINN FEIN CALL

In a statement from the Head Office of Sinn Féin the brutal treatment being meted out to Proinsias and Gerry were denounced. According to the S.F. statement:

"Nowhere is English hypocrisy more apparent than when H.M. Government has been appalled and distressed by the disclosures of Dr. Sheila Cassidy. The torturers of Stagg and Mealey are not in Chile, they operate in that country which prides itself on 'good form, cricket and fair play'."

"On Saturday last Proinsias Stagg managed to get from his bed to the toilet. When he got weak he asked the warders to help him back, but they turned their backs on him and told him to dry himself. He collapsed and came to in his bed about two hours later and with a bump on his head. This man is now very ill from the effects of his hunger strike, yet the torture continues. Despite his protests a bright light burns continuously over his bed."

"The Publicity Department of Sinn Féin has kept in daily touch with relatives of the men on hunger strike and with Mr. Frank Maguire, M.P. Every time Republican prisoners reach the critical point in a hunger strike attempts are made to drive a wedge between them and the Republican Movement. But the public and the relatives of these men will not be fooled."

"This English Government murdered Michael Gaughan in June, 1974. Proinsias Stagg is now in a critical condition. If they have any decency in them they should act now to prevent another tragedy," the statement ended.



"Killing Fenians is one thing - but murdering Protestants is another. Sectarianism will have to be stamped out!"

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 6. Eanáir 16, 1976. Uimhir 2.
44 Ceardnig Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611

Sectarian or political?

London and Manchester. Among them one description stood out, variously called the "flag of convenience" or the "label of convenience" of the Provisional I.R.A., referring to the title of the organisation which claimed responsibility for the Tullyvalen and Kingsmills massacres.

When, in 1969, the oppressed people arose in Belfast and Derry, the conflict was depicted throughout the world as an Irish versus British affair. The Irish media thought otherwise, led by Raidió Teilifís Éireann, which gave these "riots" the "sectarian" label. Gradually, the other media followed.

The effect was to cloud the true issue, to confuse, to encourage sectarianism. Sectarian killings, having been believed in sufficiently, have been supplied. In the works of Brigadier Kitson, as in the works of Adolf Hitler, one finds the shadows of things to come, of things of horror which have come and are now part of history.

Every Republican who knows his history and who has studied the theories of the various kinds of war knows the danger to the civilian population as well as to his own forces of any action which is likely to succeed in confusing the main issue, draining energy and resources from the struggle to win on that main issue and of not following resolutely the carefully

planned strategy and the tactics which will make that strategy victorious. No such Republican could be under any delusion that sectarianism could be any thing other than disastrous, in the short or the long term.

The tradition of the Republican Movement is one of anti-sectarianism. The practice of the Movement is to strip naked sectarianism and show it as the ally of imperialism. The objective of the Movement is to win the freedom of the Irish people to settle their problems among themselves, without alien interference, seeking to accommodate local communities under the common name of Irishmen, within the common loyalty to the overriding interests of all the people of the nation.

Republicans do not recognise as enemies those who worship as Catholics, as Protestants, as Dissenters, or those who spurn all organised religion. There is only one enemy, the imperial power, which occupies the visibly six of our counties but which dominates the entire 32 counties culturally, economically and even politically, as the record of collaboration since 1921 shows convincingly.

But not everything labelled "sectarian" is such: the word has been used as a smokescreen for political action, often of the most vicious and pro-imperialist kind. It appears to us that the recent and heavily labelled "sectarian" massacres in what Rev. Denis Faul has called the "Murder Triangle," killings of both Catholics and Protestants, serve a political rather than a sectarian purpose. They are designed to destroy Ogligh na hÉireann and to end this generation's fight in the imperial interest for the freedom of all the Irish people.

Iníúchadh piblí ar chomórtas Chaeltarra

NUAIR a bhunaigh Gaeltarra an comórtas úd le haghaidh na Gaeltachta scríobh mise ina éadan toisc mé bheith amhrasach faoi chuspóir an stáiteagais seo agus toisc go raibh a leithéid de chomórtas ar fáil cheana, é agruithe ag Glór na nGael, faoi choimirce Chumann na Sagart.

Geabaire mór na mbréag

IS TRUA go mór nach bhfuil éinne sa tír sásta nó in ann Geabaire Mac Gearailt a bhréagnú nuair a deir sé gur Éireannaigh ba chúis le 95 faoin gcéad des na daoine a maraíodh le píleirí nó éile 1969 i leith... agus gurbh iad Ogligh na hÉireann ba chúis leis an séacht uilig.

Ach ba shín an cineál cainte bhí aige agus é ag labhairt leis an FLM agus cuide eile de chuid Fhine Gael ar Bhóthar na Trí, Gaillimh, an tseachtain seo caite.

Níor mhíniú sé cén fáth a bhfuil gach rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath ag obair go dlúth le fórsaí Shasana in Éirinn ó 1921. Níor mhíniú sé faoin gcéad a maruigh Cumann na nGaeithe an Phoblacht le dúnmharú agus le céasadh sin blianta ina dhiaidh sin. Níor mhíniú sé go raibh *carte blanche* ag arm Shasana agus ag cairde sin Sé Chontae a rogha rud a dhéanadh ar Éireannaigh nuair a gheall rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath nach ndéanadh sé rud ar bith chun Éireannaigh sin Sé Chontae a chosaint, cuna céard a tharlódh.

Agus ba shín an rud a chinnigh go maródh agus go céasadh Sasanaigh, agus a chairde, Éireannaigh, go hoscailte agus go feallach san oíche.

Rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath is cúis leis an marú uilig sin Sé Chontae. Agus tá na hairí chomh báite i bhfuil na ndaoine ionraice is a bhí na hairí i 1921, 1922, 1923, agus go minic ina dhiaidh sin.

Malvern murders

AMACH anseo, beidh naire ar shliocht an Ghaebaire gurbh uaid a shíorlaigh sé agus is beag a déarfais an ar a shon. Ach beidh onór á zshairt i gconat do leitheidh Seosamh Uí Cathail, Sheamais Uí Thama, Chaomhín Uí Mheallain, Dháithí Uí Chonaill, fhad is a nhairfais an náisiún Gaelach.

An amhlaidh atá an Geabaire dall ar na "Malvern murders"? Ar obair an U.V.F. sul má scaoil son Oglach oiread is uchar amháin le shaighdiúirí nó le péas? Ar ba buamaí a shíab rialtas Uí Néill san aer agus a raibh Péasáil ina bhun?

Ar a dtarla i mBunúleir? Ar an ionsaí a rinneadh ar Shráid Bhombay agus ar shiridanna eile i mBaile Deiriste? Ar ionsaithe na Constáblachta ar Thaobh an Bhogaidh, i nDoire Cholm Cille? Ar sheall agus ar dhúnmharú na Constáblachta tá daortha i dtuaisirí oifigiúla na Corónach féin?

Tá geargha le paimféid, caipéis a labhrós go fuarchóiseach faoi stair 1967-1975, maraon leis na figiúir, chun an Geabaire a bhréagnú. B'fhéidir go smaoineodh Sean Ó Braduigh faoi? Nó an tAthair Denis Faul? Nó an Canonach Mac Iomhair?

Ná ligtear an canáin leis an nGobeils seo, ar mó a chuid bréaga ná mar atá a ríomh ag an nGrúiseach féin.

CÚNNLA

Debe

ag cur in iúl nár rinne Donnachadh éinne as bealach, mar oifigeach le chuid Aontas Muinteois Éireann, nuair a d'ionsaigh sé Nollaig (rud a chuir Nollaig ina leith).
San eagrán céanna de "Tuisiric" tá ionsaí ar ag Donnachadh ar Nollaig. In aon abairt, ceapann sé nár chóir go mbeadh Nollaig ag saothru aird mar chomhthreagóir ag páipéir eagraí. Is dócha go gceapann sé nár chóir go mbeadh Nollaig ag scríobh in aon chur.

Tá focaíocht agus focaíocht an leith. Tá focaíocht aird agus focaíocht pobliocht. Uaireanta, is fearr a oireann focaíocht na pobliocht do dhúine na focaíocht aird. Agus tá Donnachadh ag saothru a choda féin as an pobliocht a fhaighnean sé as a mbionn le rí aige i "Tuisiric".

B'fhéidir gurb é an pointe is láidre dá bhfuil ag Donnachadh, más féidir é chruith, nár chóir do Nollaig bheith ag saothru as irisoiríocht. Fhad is atá job maith aige cheana, agus fhad is atá an oiread sin daoine gan fostaíocht. Ach dá stopadh Nollaig de bheith ag irisoiríocht, arís fheidir a bheith cinnte go bhfaighfeadh duine nó daoine, atá ag obair faoi láthair, na jobannaí sin.

Go bhfios domsa, jobannaí iad tá a ndéanamh ag Nollaig, más fíor do Donnachadh, a dhéanamh leitheidh Nollaig i gconat i stát gabhineach, ach amháin nuair a bhíonn conradh ar leith an idir Cumann na nIrisoirí agus na fostaíochtaí i gcomhachtaí.

Dá sárúdh Nollaig conradh dá leitheidh, bheadh cúis láidir ag Cumann na nIrisoirí... agus ag Donnachadh. B'fhearr nach ndéanadh ach irisoiríocht an irisoiríocht. B'fhearr i gconat go n-focfaí an obair de réir rialacha Chumann na nIrisoirí.

Ach ní irisoiríocht gairmiúla a scríobhadh do "Tuisiric". Agus, cinnte dearfa, clóidóirí gairmiúla a chlíoann "Tuisiric" agus atá focaíocht as a gcuid oibre, agus go cothrom.

Ach, a Donnachadh, a chara, cén áit a fhágann tú do chomradai



Seo séipéal Mhic Dara ar an oileán i ngar do Chárma, Conamara. Sionach (nó Sionnach?) Mac Dara, a deirtear, an t-aonm ina iomláir. I 1969 thug Deasún Ó Fionnghaile Percy Le Clerc go dtí Oileán Mhic Dara agus d'iarr air ceann a chur ar an séipéal. Ag obair do Bhor na nOibrí Poiblí a bhí Percy faoin am. Duirt sé go ndéanfaí an rud a b'fíor Deasún air. Tá an obair i gcrích anois, nach mór. Tuilleadh faoi seo sa chéad eagrán eile.

Fharraige chun eolas a fháil ar scéal na dtéacsleabhar agus go mór mór faoin gruinníocht a d'éagraigh an Comharchumann in Indreabhán ar na mallabhaí, faoi dhágh na dtéacsleabhar.

In Indreabhán, dúradh liom nár fheastail mórán ar an gruinníocht céanna. Ar éigin a bhí 20 muinteois i lúthair.

B'fhéidir nár rinneadh an phoiblíocht a ba ghá léi. B'fhéidir nach raibh an phoiblíocht i rinneadh sábháil. Ní b'fhéidir nach dtuigfeann na muinteois, ní cinneirí scoileanna lánGhaelacha a leas. Níl fhios again.

Ach cruthú eile fós is ea an tef seo gur eagrais thar a bheith míféachtaigh Gluaiseacht na Gaeltice, má bhíonn sí ann a thuilleadh (deir Thomas Mac Gabhann nach beo di, ar chor ar bith).

Cruthaíodh don gurb be Comharchumann Chois. Fharraige an foilsitheoir is mó dá bhfuil ag an nGaeilge anois, go mór mór i nGaeilge anois, ar chor ar bith).

Dúradh liom, freisin, go bhfuil gach téacsleabhar a bhí i dhúth ar na scoileanna lánGhaelacha foilsithe anois nó ar tí a foilsithe. Sin éacht.

Más Gaeilgeoirí tú, a léitheoir, agus má theastaíonn uait buille a bhuailadh ar son an náisiúin, ceannuigh scé £10 i gComharchumann Chois Fharraige.

Éacht Infreabháin

IDIR DHÁ Nollaig thugas cuairt ar an gComharchumann i gCois

In Loving Memory

In proud and loving memory of our comrade Staff Captain John Francis Green O.C., 2nd Batt. North Armagh Ogligh na hÉireann, who was murdered on 10th January, 1975.

Always remembered by his comrades in Port Laoise prison.

Leaba i measc na Naomh go raibh aige.



John Francis Green

NOTEBOOK

My wish for 1976

AT THE beginning of 1976 things are moving towards the consolidation of an increasingly repressive and anti-Irish Dublin state, and the emergence of an independent, anti-Irish Northern state covering an area somewhat smaller than the Six Counties.

My wish for 1976 is to see the emergence of a movement towards an independent, four-province federal Ireland along the lines of Eire Nua.

Consequently, my immediate wish is for an all-Ireland political organisation, supported by the IRA, which would bring about this change in direction. I believe it is almost too late for the change of direction to occur; so I hope that the required political organisation emerges as close as possible to now.

It has become clear over the past few years that the Ulster Protestant paramilitary bodies have no compunction about killing Catholics indiscriminately; that this is, in fact, their normal method of warfare; and that it is regarded, both by them and by their political backers, as the most effective way of defeating the revolutionary upsurge in the North and making the Ulster Irish, and the Irish in general, bend to their will.

With this end in view, they have consistently represented their indiscriminate killings as retaliation for the actions of the IRA. Their purpose, in so doing, is to make the IRA appear to be the enemy rather than the liberator of the Irish nationalist minority, and thus to turn the latter decisively against the only military force which they have at their disposal.

If they can do that, they reckon, they can have their way as heretofore. Preferring to lie down and to accept injustice rather than get killed, the croppies will betray, inform on and paralyse the IRA.

The IRA, for their part, have carried on a strictly selective guerrilla campaign. For its humanity, and its strenuous attempt to avoid civilian casualties, it has been virtually unique among twentieth-century warfare and comparable only to the IRA campaign of 1919-21 or the contemporary ETA campaign in the Basque country.

When they planted bombs in places where civilians could be injured, the IRA gave warnings, and the great majority of their bombs exploded without injury to anyone. They limited their anti-personnel attacks to soldiers and policemen. They refused to retaliate for the indiscriminate killing of Catholics by Protestant soldiers indiscriminately. (If they had directed their guns and car bombs against the Protestant people several thousand of the latter would have been killed by now.)

Naturally, there was constant pressure on the IRA to reply in kind to the slaughter of Catholics; but this pressure was seldom yielded to. Republicans did not regard ordinary Protestant people as their enemies. They also had moral inhibitions about the indiscriminate killing of civilians.

At the same time, very naturally, they wanted the killing of Catholics to stop. On the one hand, the people being slaughtered were their own kith and kin. On the other, they knew that the propaganda which made the IRA seem to be the cause of the slaughter presented a serious potential threat to themselves and to their just cause.

For a time, Republicans believed that "public opinion" would bring about an end to the indiscriminate assassination of Catholics.

They believed that the public moralists and moralisers, recognising the savagery of what the Protestant assassins were doing and the difference between that sort of thing and the IRA campaign, would raise such an outcry that the Protestant assassins would have to stop.

But this was not what happened. The public moralists and moralisers turned out to be moral nihilists and mere politicians whose primary purpose was the same as

that of the Protestant assassins, namely, to defeat the IRA.

Not merely the Unionists and English propagandists, but the SDLP leaders, the Dublin liberal establishment and such Catholic bishops as Cahal Daly, Conway, and Philbin, utterly ignored the efforts of the Republican side to keep the conflict within bounds, refused to recognise any distinction between IRA methods and Loyalist savagery, and used incomparably more extreme language — the record shows it — to condemn the IRA than to condemn the Protestant assassins.

In addition, the whole united chorus took up and supported the propaganda line of the Protestant assassins to the effect that the IRA — and not the Protestant assassins or their backers — was morally responsible for the indiscriminate slaughter of Catholics. It was the IRA actions, not the supremacist aims of the Ulster British the supremacists, which were the cause. If the IRA stopped, then, automatically, the assassinations would stop. It was all the croppies' own fault — they wouldn't assume their proper position, they wouldn't lie down.

Gradually, therefore, it dawned on Northern Republicans that the "moral consensus", or "public opinion", or the self-appointed public guardians of morality, were not going to stop the Protestant assassins. On the contrary, they were siding with them.

Gradually, it dawned on them that they lived in a world where the justice or injustice of your cause or your methods was a matter of utter indifference to those who held power and who were accepted as moral guides or arbiters. As far as such people were concerned, the indiscriminate slaughter of Northern Catholics could go on and — in a "doomsday" situation — could become a holocaust — and they would do absolutely nothing to stop it.

Some time back, therefore, Northern Republicans realised that, if the indiscriminate slaughter of Catholics was to be stopped, some other means must be found. Unlike the moral arbiters and the callous hacks of the Dublin media, they were not indifferent. Since the moral deterrent of "public opinion" had failed to materialise, some of them began to talk of taking deterrent action.

This talk is still going on, and it has been fuelled by the recent horrible outbreak of "tit-for-tat" killings of Catholics and Protestants. Talk of deterrent action is not amoral talk. It raises a moral issue of a new kind, namely: if it is likely that there is to be continuing indiscriminate slaughter of Catholics, what physical-force action, or what threat of such action, will ensure that this slaughter is, on the one hand, minimised, and, on the other hand, stopped as soon as possible?

It is a matter of taking an overall view of the conflict, now and in the foreseeable future, and of asking what can be done to save human lives. I will return to this matter next week.

by

FREEMAN

Torture in Chile
and torture in
the North

Free Derry News

WATERSIDE residents felt especially sick to see the front page of a leading English popular paper, which illustrated the ill-treatment suffered by Dr. Sheila Cassidy at the hands of the present Chilean paper misrepresent the Irish situation, and particularly vilify the Irish Republican Army. What deafening silence thunders against our eardrums from these English papers when it is their own soldiers (sic) the UDR and RUC who carry out the torture.

How many boys and men have suffered cigarette burns while undergoing interrogation at Ballykelly and other torture centres. While the British taxpayers pay those who stamped out cigarettes onto their bodies? How many

documented cases have there been of men taken up in helicopters and, while high in the air, were pushed out?

What do the English half-papers have to say about this? Precisely nothing most of the time. Whenever word about such tortures are forced from them by wide-spread coverage in other papers, they whitewash it as: "Our soldiers deal with desperate terrorists".

● The Waterside has been the scene of violence against the minority, especially teenage boys, for quite a while. Just over the Christmas period — the 10 days from Christmas Week to New Year's — no less than six young men were "carved" with broken bottles, and in one case, rusty tin

cans. All these were Catholics; the sectarian angle can not be denied. On New Year's night, a young man had "UVF" carved on his forehead and chest with the lid of an old bean tin. During Christmas week, one boy got 10 stitches in his scalp after being stabbed with broken bottles by a gang who gave him a beating after interrogating him. Other boys were stabbed in the eyes, in the legs and elsewhere with broken bottles.

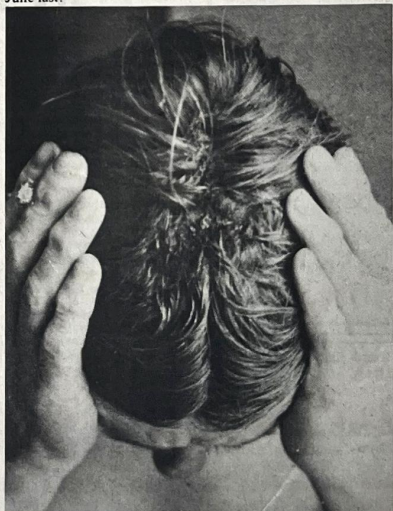
Since these attacks occur almost under the noses of the Waterside RUC — their barracks is not 50 yards from the scene of these vicious fights — there is no doubt in anyone's mind who the RUC support, or are willing to wink at.

● The incident about Dr. Sheila Cassidy and the hovering sympathy she got from all the British media recalls another incident which happened two years ago in the Waterside: A UDA "snatch squad", complete with British Army issue shields and batons, grabbed a young Catholic man. They took their kidnap victim to what was then a clinic in Irish Street Estate. They took sadistic delight in giving the boy electric shocks and burning his body with cigarettes. Meanwhile, fearing for the boy's safety, a local IRA unit took a UDA man hostage, stating that they would hold him until the Catholic boy was released. This hostage was let go without being harmed — not a scratch on him — when the other boy was found. However, the young victim of the UDA's "romper room" torture session wasn't accorded the same courtesy; his friends found him half conscious and horribly beaten and burned, lying out a country road.

Funny how the English half-papers missed a headline story on this incident? Or maybe they hushed it because the UDA "snatch squad" was supplied with B.A. batons and shields?

—Derry Comhairleachtair, S.F.

ABOVE: A victim of British brutality in the North. BELOW: The same victim's head was split with a baton. The injuries were inflicted while the victim was being "interrogated" in June last.



S.D.L.P. Bull

Ringed by the nose, Fitt is bellowing like a mad bull ready to stampede all who dare to threaten the milking pastures of the SDLP. Surrounded by the debris of their Assembly and Convention failures, Fitt in conjunction with his party executive are intent to steer clear of issues reckoned offensive to their employer, the British Treasury. Cornered by the promises of a short cut to personal power by a grateful British government, the degenerated Fitt seizes every available opportunity to align himself and his party on the side he imagines will pay higher dividends.

After last Friday's successful penetration of the Belfast "security screen" by forces of the resistance, Fitt lost no time in proving the sincerity of his party's pro-Britishness. Immediately he released, through the pro-British news media, a Faulkner-styled condemnation of the so-called men of violence responsible for putting another spanner in the machinery of British aggression.

Fitt was, to all intents and purposes, trying to lead those naive enough to believe him or his party, up the Longstone Road of 1976.

—P.R.O., Patrick Pearse Cumann, Bogside.

IRELAND: LAND OF PRISON CAMPS AND DOLE QUEUES



Map showing locations where Republican Prisoners-of-War are held in Ireland.

AS the British withdrawal from Ireland gathers momentum the next on a long list of closures is the Rolls Royce Factory at Dundonald. This factory is to close in the very near future, but it is hardly likely that the minority population will feel its effects as the work-force at Rolls Royce is mainly loyalist. This factory has been the scene of many attempted murder bids on the Catholic employees and two have died there.

Everyone, apart from the loyalists (who pretend they don't know) realises only too well that the British are on their way out of Ireland, taking with them their industries.

The shirt factories have closed, ICL Larnie is closing down, Standard Telephones is going, and the Shipyard has had its death knell sounded by the British Government. The trappings of British rule in Ireland are being dismantled slowly but surely. Now the loyalist community is having to face what the minority population has always faced, poverty and mass unemployment, queuing up week after week for unemployment benefit, as jobs gets fewer and fewer.

However, there is a very industry, maintained by the British, the prison population and its employees - the screws. Up to 2,000 people are now in jail, taking nearly as many of a prison administration to keep them there. The prison population is rising steadily and will continue to rise until the last Brit has gone from this country.

The Irish people have come to the cross-roads, and must take one path or the other, proceed with the British to ruin and humiliation, or strike forward for a New Ireland, a Federal Ireland, built up by the Irish people themselves, for themselves and their children, free from the yoke of England. Our people in prison in Ireland are there because they sought to free this nation, to drive the invader back into the sea. They are not criminals, they have committed no crime, save one. Their standing up and fighting for their belief in Irish unity.

We call on the people now to stand firmly behind the Republican Movement, to support and maintain the political hostages in prison. In a new battle soon to be fought with the British on the withdrawal of political status, the peoples' participation is vital. Men's lives are at stake now, and the British in their dying kick in Ireland are showing themselves even more willing to take Irish lives.

Ireland today is one big prison camp, and one long dole queue. This can be changed with the removal of the British. The Federal system of Government in Ireland as advocated by Sinn Féin offers the best solution to the Irish question, and gives both sections of the community the opportunity to control their own affairs. With the British gone, the Republican Movement will open the gates of Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Armagh jail, Magilligan Camp, Port Laoise, Mountjoy, Limerick Jail and return freedom to the girls and boys who gave their liberty that Ireland might be free.

Beal Feirste.

-Clonard, Martyrs' S.F. Cumann

Donegal's generosity

THE Donegal Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach wishes to thank the Ballybofey Sinn Féin Cumann for a donation of £400 raised at a "25 card draw".

The Committee also thanks the St. Johnston S.F. Cumann for £107; The Fanad S.F. Cumann for £75; the Annagry S.F. Cumann for £157; the Drumkeen S.F. Cumann for £20; the Castlefinn S.F. Cumann for £30.

GLASGOW COLLECTION

The Irish people in Glasgow are thanked for a contribution of £105; and also the people of Arranmore Island for their generosity.

Cheques for £800 have been forwarded to the An Cumann Cabhrach - Central Committee in Dublin and £160 has been forwarded directly to the prisoners.

SIAMSA

I gCORCA DHUIBHE

Is Ostan Dhún an Oir ar an 8ú lá de Mhí na Nollag thá sína mór i lúthair ag dinnéar agus siamsa a bhí reachtaithe ag Sinn Féin. Bhí imeachtaí na hóiche ar fad i nGaeilge.

Dob é Seoirse de Rís a labhair ann ar son Ghluaiseacht na Poblaíochta. I measc na ndaoine a bhí i lúthair bhí Máire O'Dúbhá ón gClócháin a thug seal insan Campa Gáibhinn, bPort Laoise.

Chuaigh próifil na hóiche chuig An Cumann Cabhrach. Bhí an óiche eagraithe ag Cumann Phiaras Fhírtéir, Daingean Uí Chúise.

Write a prisoner
a letter a week.

50,000 DELIVERIES

IF any postman deserved a good Christmas box, it was the Provo Postmen of Derry. Sinn Féin organised a highly effective postal service, where for 2p, a person could buy a Republican stamp and be certain their parcel or letter would be delivered anywhere in Derry, usually the same day. Five Sinn Féin centres were turned into post offices for the 10 days preceding Christmas, and in the last days before Christmas, letters were going through the Bogside Centre at the rate of over 1,000 per day. Making an early estimate from receipts, nearly 50,000 cards and parcels were delivered by Derry Sinn Féin. Although the service was designed to operate only in the Free Derry area, the entire city was served. Post was delivered as far afield as Bready (12 miles out in the country) and to Bally as far afield as Bready (12 miles out in the country) and to Ballykelly!

One woman brought in a parcel costing 34p to post in the British post to deliver within the city. She got the present hand-delivered for 2p the same day by a conscientious Sinn Féin member.

The Post Office in Derry reported a drop of 30 in Christmas posting this year. We can tell the post office: "You needn't look any further to find the reason for this: just think of all the smart Derry ones who supported Sinn Féin's postal service. They spent 2p against the 8½p they'd have spent in the GPO."

Who can argue with money facts like that? Each cumann cancelled the Republican stamps with its own rubber stamp bearing the name of the cumann - giving a more personal touch to the service.

All money will be contributed to the PDF.

Hugh Feeney, Long Kesh; Gerard Kelly, Long Kesh; Dolours Price, Armagh; Marian Price, Armagh. wish their express solidarity with Frank Stagg, Gerry Mealy and their comrades in

WAKEFIELD PRISON

"If this Letter reaches my Fellow Countrymen, I have the right to demand that they raise their voices to insist that Justice be done for their suffering Brothers".

(O'Donovan Rossa from an English Prison, 1870)

RESIDENTS COMPLAIN OF BRITISH ARMY HARASSMENT IN THE CLONARD AREA

BRITISH Army harassment in the Clonard area has now reached an all time high. This harassment was particularly noticeable over the Christmas period and was directed in the main towards the congregations attending Clonard monastery.

ROAD BLOCKS

Roadblocks were erected systematically in Clonard Street, causing inconvenience to the residents of the area. Several cars were singled out for special attention, being stopped at every opportunity by the Brits, one vehicle being held at three different roadblocks. Residents were continually being stopped and searched, young boys were a particular target. One man complained to us that he had been on his way home up Clonard Street when he was stopped by one patrol searched, his working overalls opened up. This search was observed by a 2nd foot patrol, coming 50 yards behind the first, yet as he passed the 2nd patrol he had to go through the same search routine. He threw his clothes at the Brits in disgust.

PETTY THEFTS

We have had several

incidents reported of theft from peoples' hallways. In one incident a small plaque was taken, in another the black bow was removed from the door of a person who had just died. On Tuesday 23rd and Wednesday 24th December these Brits took supreme advantage of the bustle of the festive season and sneaked in with them in their patrol. Black Uniformed RUC man, much to the disgust of the residents. We realise that this is the only way in which they will ever be able to patrol Clonard, surrounded on all sides by the British Army.

ARGYLE AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS

The regiment in Clonard at the present time is the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, and though these Brits would

not admit it, they have a lot to be thankful to the Irish people for. In 1969 this regiment was getting the H.M. Order of the Proverbial Boot. As part of the British Government defence cuts the regiment was to be disbanded, recruitment to be stopped, and the existing soldiers to be merged with regiments.

This caused considerable resentment among the Scotchies as the Argyles were the oldest regiment in the British Army, and their passing would leave an English regiment in first place. The situation which arose here in 1969 granted the Argyles a stay of execution, and they were sent to the North. Since their arrival here these dregs of Scotland have been pasted good and true by the Republican Army, especially in areas like Crossmaglen.

MAD MITCH

The peoples of Aden and Cyprus as well as Ireland, will long remember the murdering tactics of this Scottish/British regiment. This regiment is guilty of mass murder and brutality towards the people of Aden. Under the command of the notorious 'MAD MITCH' Mitchell they plundered, tortured and murdered the Arab people. In more recent days they have been guilty of the same tactics here in Ireland. Their cat-cry to the Irish people who do not bend to their will is the threat of a trip to 'Springfield Road Torture Centre' for screening!

However, we would point out that the war here in Ireland will end sooner or later, and a suspended Order of the Boot for the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders will be soundly applied where it hurts most.

-Clonard Martyrs' S.F. Cumann, Beal Feirste.

Have you forgotten Bloody Sunday?

THE 4th Anniversary of Bloody Sunday will be commemorated in Derry on Sunday, 1st February 1976.

The theme of this year's Commemoration is: **DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ALL REPUBLICAN PRISONERS.**

Those who died on January 30th, 1972 were taking part in an anti-internment protest. Internment has now ended, in name at least, but there are still almost 2,000 men and women held hostage by the British.

They are behind prison bars because they dared oppose internment and the corrupt regime which has been interning Irish men and women without charge or trial for over 60 years; and which was responsible for the cold-blooded murder of 13 unarmed civilians in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

The Derry Comhairleantair, Sinn Féin,

invites the Republicans of Ireland and all Republican supporters to march with them in Derry on Sunday, 1st February:
Parade forms up in Bishop's Field, Creggan at 3.00 p.m.

PROMINENT REPUBLICAN SPEAKERS

Massed bands in attendance
— all bands welcome

Parking space for buses;
Catering laid on for marchers

All inquiries to:
The Secretary,
49, Linsford Drive,
Creggan,
Derry.



The Bloody Sunday murders were followed by mass harassment of the civilian population of Derry.

I went with anger at my heels

*I went with Anger at my heel
Through Bogside of the bitter zeal
— Jesus pity! — on a day
Of cold and drizzle and decay.
A month had passed,
Yet there remained
A murder smell that stung and stained.
On flats and alleys — over all —
It hung, on battered roof and wall,
On wreck and rubbish scattered tack,
On sullen steps and pitted brick.
And when I came where thirteen lied
It shrivelled up my heart, I sighed*

— THOMAS KINSELLA
"Buthers Dozen"

"They may have been taking part in a parade which was banned, but that did not justify the troops coming in and firing live rounds indiscriminately. I would say without reservations that it was sheer unadulterated murder. It was murder gentlemen!"

Major Hubert O'Neill, Derr City Coroner, at the conclusion of the inquests on the 13 people killed by the British Army. The Inquests' Jury returned 'open verdicts' on the 13 dead on August 21, 1973.

50 years on and the story is the same

FIFTY years ago Cosgrave's owl fellah spoke to journalists about "alleged" ill-treatment of Political Prisoners in Irish jails. Cosgrave Senior pooh-hoed the whole affair as simply an attempt to embarrass the Government of the day.

There were seven thousand prisoners in Free State jails, he claimed, and only one — Joe McDonagh, T.D. — had died, so there could hardly be much ill-treatment.

"I believe", he added, "that in actual fact the prisoners' health improves. I know mine did".

He was not prepared, however, to hold a public inquiry into Madame MacBride's and Mrs. Despard's allegations of ill-treatment.

In 1976 we are watching a repeat with Cosgrave Junior in the driving seat. Much has been said over the last few months of the Political Prisoners themselves and by *An Phoblacht*. About vicious repression in Free State jails.

An *Phoblacht* believes it important to reproduce a statement made by Joe Clarke during his term as a Councillor on the Dublin Corporation.

Complaints had been made to Cosgrave by his wife but again Cosgrave claimed they were "lies and filthy Republican propaganda".

Wellington Barracks,
Dublin,
15-11-22

On Wednesday, 8th inst., I was arrested by C.I.D. men (in a motor) in Capel Street at 3 p.m. At the time I was cycling. One of the C.I.D. men's name was Leonard. He threatened me with his revolver and said he would make me tell where the

World still rings with prison horrors of the Free State Regime

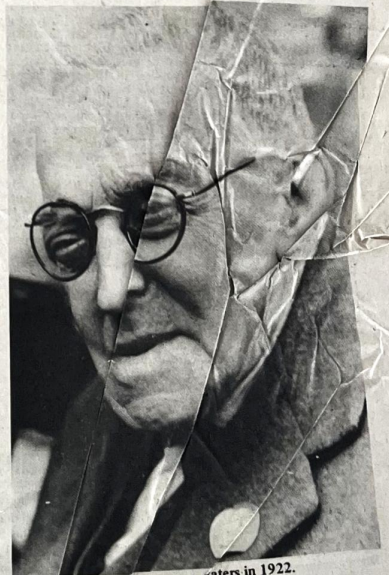
"Republic" was printed, and the whereabouts of Austin Stack. I was driven to Mountjoy and kept waiting outside the Prison gate for sometime. Then I was taken to Portobello Barracks. I was there interrogated by a Free State Intelligence officer who 'beat me around the room with his revolver. He struck me several times with the butt and muzzle. He said he would make me tell where the Republic was printed. He also said if I sent out information about the way he ill-treated me that he would make it hot for me. (I don't know this man's name).

I was then taken to Wellington Barracks about 5.30. Here myself and 9 others were lined up and brought in one by one to the torture room. When I was taken in my coat was pulled off me, and asked to give information about where the "Republic" was printed and about the people who frequented 23 Suffolk Street. Comdt. Frank Bolster and Dolan (with his coat off and his shirt sleeves turned up) twisted my arm, kicked me on the legs and body, tore my moustache off with a pliers, a scissors, a razor and some other torture instrument and also twisted my eyes with a pliers. Dolan did most of the torture and kept it up for fully half-an-hour. He also threatened to use a hot iron on me if I did not inform on my comrades. He made a blow at my head with a large black bottle. I dodged this, only I did I would not be here to-day. Bolster said I should be shot. There were 8 officers in the room during the torture including Lieutenant Tom Scully.

All my money (over £6), a fountain pen and knife were taken from me by Dolan.

I was then taken to the guardroom and left there in a small cell with 7 others without blankets or bedding of any kind.

Next day I was taken to I.O. office and the O/C Prisoners



Joe Clarke was tortured by Free State torturers in 1922.

denied getting any account of property and money taken from me. I made one of the men in the office admit he saw the money taken from me.

Nearly all the prisoners were tortured that Wednesday night. One of them, John Lawlor, was so badly beaten that he had to be taken to hospital (at least we were told he went to hospital as we have not heard of him since).

I can swear to the above statement.

(Signed)
Joseph Clarke, T.C.

No. 3, Area, Dublin.

Price Twopence

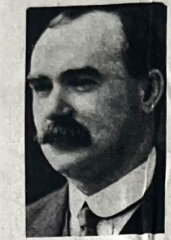
THE TORTURE OF COUNCILLOR CLARKE.

THE INFAMOUS BOLSTER AGAIN.

The following authenticated statement by Mr. Joseph Clarke, Republican Member of Dublin Corporation for the past three and a half years, recalls, in the fiendish ingenuity of torments devised and inflicted by Bolster and Dolan, the torture of Comdt. Thomas Hales of Bandon, during the Black-and-Tan war. The world will ring with the prison horrors of the Free State regime as it once rang with the story of Thomas Hales.

A comment in a newspaper of the time on the torture of Joe Clarke.

Why England needs a revolution



Monarchy is a survival of the tyranny imposed by the hand of greed and treachery in the darkest and most ignorant days of our history. The Socialist demands that the only birthright necessary to qualify for public office should be our common humanity. We deny all allegiance to the institution of royalty. The mind accustomed to political kings can easily be reconciled to social kings - capitalist kings of the workshop, the mill, the railway, the ship, and the docks.

—James Connolly, 1900.

By James Hope

ENGLAND never has had a revolution. It is time that she had. Not since William the Conqueror's Normans landed in 1066 has the aristocratic divine right of her blue-blooded peers and their ladies been suled. The same pure seeds of family rule in the same seats of power, the Cecil, Beauchamps, Wawicks, Bedford, Herberts, Dudleys, Pym, Wellesleys, and Churchills. It is time they were uended, their seed and generation scattered to the four winds, BUT FROM WITHIN AND BY THEIR OWN PEOPLE. Until that happens, there can be no progress and no independence for the people of Wales and Scotland, and no socialist state in Ireland that would or could be safe.

Three revlts

There were three occasions in history when the name of revolution might have been appended to what went on there. Only the first of these, however, that of Wat Tyler in 1381, was a genuine one. Tyler's revolt originated in the classical circumstances of war, misery, and misgovernment. It was a spontaneous one which broke out and overflowed in many places at the same time.

Only in the south, er, murder and prison persons, including the jupe Sir John Cavendish possid, was Tyler himself active, at when Tyler came to open and demanded to see the differences created rank and status must cea that church lands be divid that game laws be abolis and that no lord should longer hold lordship spt civilly, the property as and the ascendancy k fright and turned upon, and he was slain. The r was at an end.

The two other revlts on calls them that the civil war of the parliame anal under Cromwell again Chas. I. from 1642, untack the fighting men (as the wantree Trust and Free ate businessmen support SDLP for this very pose; as British Big ness bought the EEC ndum) must be firmly shif and the doors copper fasd against the inevitable colr revolution. Any revonary who overlooks this tain chance involves himse needlessly and does so at peril. It in this sense, therefo that we must look for a welcome a Revoluti among England's common ple, a revolution during w they would arise and overthrow the

Cuba's struggle from 1958 onwards, the abortive Chilean experiment of 1971-'73 and a host of others. They succeeded, or they did not succeed, in a purpose that was of its very nature revolutionary, to change totally the existing order of government and the manner of creating government in such a way that Tories, Social Democrats, Labour, and the various other labels under which the bourgeois parties and their hangers on preserve the existing order of things can find no place.

SDLP Supported

Bourgeois parties such as these cannot be "elected" in the countries which have had a genuine revolution in: if they could be it would mean simply that enough money and subtle propaganda through the ballot box could turn the clock back and put these nations away from the chosen road of egalitarianism which they have chosen, and any revolution which can be upended in that way is not worth a tinker's dam, is not worth fighting. The sluicer who spends money holds the cudgel against the inevitable colr revolution. Any revonary who overlooks this tain chance involves himse needlessly and does so at peril.

It in this sense, therefo that we must look for a welcome a Revoluti among England's common ple, a revolution during w they would arise and overthrow the

blue-blooded aristocracy which for one thousand years has ruled them uninteruptedly, that same blue-blooded aristocracy which rapidly absorbs grocers' sons even like Edward Heath when they proclaim themselves its willing servants, that blue blooded aristocracy which spews up men like William Whitelaw, recognisable now for what he is, to proclaim as he proclaimed again in the case of Scottish and Welsh "devolution" only weeks ago) that no, Northern Ireland, would never be allowed separate from the United Kingdom because "that would mean the break-up of the United Kingdom".

Revolution in England not far off?

Revolution then in England may not be so far off. It is for no idle reason that she has strengthened and perfected her military, at our expense, over the last five years. Some have said, with justification and truth, that is for that very reason the Westminster upper-crust have welcomed the bloody guerrilla actions in Northern Ireland as training and experience for the automatons who man her military and police forces. These people, they say, will go into action just as readily against their own people when the time comes chivalrously led, as always, by the spawn of aristocracy whom they uphold. When that day comes what a thing it would be if we, the Irish, were in a position to lend a hand and to assist in pulling the aristocratic strait-jacket from them.

Blood splattered Shamrock Paul O'Dwyer replies to Harold Wilson

MR. Paul O'Dwyer, President of the New York City Council has reacted angrily to a speech by Mr. Harold Wilson, in which he called upon Americans to cease subscribing to the funds of Irish Northern Aid.

In his reply to Mr. Wilson, Mr. O'Dwyer said:

"Prime Minister Wilson is on sound ground when he talks about terror in his own country. He pleads a weak case when he speaks of terror in Northern Ireland, an alien place where the bloodshed can be traced to his government's discriminatory policies and a brutalizing army.

"Perhaps instead of issuing gratuitous and unsolicited advice to the people of America, he should heed the 61% of the people of England who have advised him to withdraw the 15,000 murderous troops and cancerous presence from Ireland.

DISCRIMINATION IN BELFAST SHIPYARD

"It might be more appropriate for Mr. Wilson to explain to the American people how he can attempt to justify a British government-financed-maintained and controlled Harland & Wolff Shipyards where not more than 500 menial jobs are assigned to Catholics out of a total work force of 10,000 men. A direct reason for Catholic unrest.

"Or he might try to explain how his fear of an uprising of his own hostile army of Northern Ireland a year ago to bring his government to its knees and ended any hope of a peaceful settlement of justice for the Catholic minority.

"Or he might also seek to try to justify to the American people how, under his flag, half a million Catholics have been huddled into ghetto hovels in the hopeless cycle of poverty.

WILSON'S GUILT

"It is perhaps an understandable sense of guilt which requires Mr. Wilson to refer to 'kneecapping', the vile practice of breaking the patella. It is a brutality initiated by the British army during its occupation of India and during the time of the Punjab army during its occupation of India and during the time of the Punjab massacre. Any man, Irish or otherwise, who engages in it is as savage as those who patented it.

"It is not American money which is splattering blood on the shamrock. That plant was drenched in it by Mr. Wilson's army three years ago in the streets of Derry on 'Bloody Sunday'.

"It is unfortunate that Mr. Wilson did not address himself to the root cause of the bloodshed in Northern Ireland. Others, whose partisanship is not in question, have. The prestigious London-based National Council of Civil Liberties and the London-based Amnesty International have established that terror in Northern Ireland included persistent torture of political prisoners, not only in Long Kesh but equally so in the Women's Prison in Armagh.

BLOODY SUNDAY

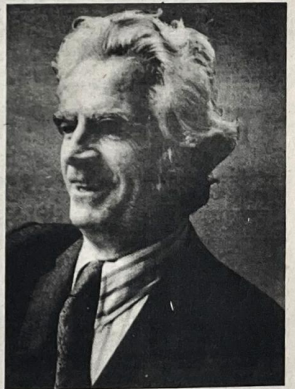
"Mr. Wilson, in ignoring 'Bloody Sunday' and those other acts of savagery, is as hypocritical as his predecessor Oliver Cromwell, who dedicated each sword thrust into the bellies of women and children to the Greater Glory of the Ever Living Jesus.

"Mr. Wilson's oblique compliment to the Irish martyrs of the Easter Week Rebellion of 1916 is sharp contrast to that of his government who executed them. The same appellations which now fall so glibly from the Labour Party leader's lips were precisely those applied by his predecessors to the advocates of Freedom who went down before the British Firing Squad 60 years ago.

WITHDRAWAL DEMAND

"If Mr. Wilson wishes to end terror and bloodshed in Northern Ireland, he can do so by the simple expedient of removing his army and withdrawing the British presence. He has been asked to set a timetable for withdrawal by the very Irish leaders whom he praises and he refuses to budge.

"He has been asked to do so by elected members of his own Party but refuses to answer. Were he to answer those questions now, he would then please everybody, including the English people", Mr. O'Dwyer ended.



Paul O'Dwyer, President New York City Council.

I.C.R.A. protest

THE following resolution was passed by the Dublin Committee of the Irish Civil Rights Association:

"We, members of I.C.R.A. wish to express our protest against the ill-treatment of Irish political prisoners in English jails and request the British government to transfer these prisoners to jails in Ireland".

A copy of the resolution has been handed by I.C.R.A. members to the British Ambassador.

An Cumann Cabhrach

THE Central Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach wish to thank all who made the Anach na ollag held in the Mansion House in December successful.

The Committee wish to thank all those, from every county, who sent gifts, all who manned the stalls, and sold raffle tickets and not least the hundreds who thronged the Mansion House during the three-day Anach.

Through the generosity of all a sizeable sum was realised for the dependants of the Republican Prisoners-of-War.

Finally the Committee wish to thank the readers of An Phoblacht for their generous subscriptions to An Cumann Cabhrach during the past year.

Dr. Cassidy released NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN

DR. Sheila Cassidy, accused by the rebel Chilean administration of having treated the wounds of Nelson Gutierrez, one of the leaders of Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario, hurt in an action against the forces of repression, was released, following repeated protests by the British government against her detention without trial.

She was accused also of helping to hide the patriot Gutierrez and the top M.I.R. leader, Andre Pascal Allende, a nephew of the deposed Chilean president, murdered by the illegal regime.

Senor Allende has taken refuge in the Costa Rican Embassy in Santiago de Chile and Senor Gutierrez, in the Vatican Embassy.

Five Senores Catholic priests, charged formally with hiding Gutierrez and Allende, were granted amnesty in Christmas week, along with 160 other political prisoners.

It is understood that Miss Cassidy intends entering a Catholic Convent in Britain in February.

WITH reference to the article "Cause for Concern" which was published in An Phoblacht 17th October, Luton Sinn Fein is happy to report that no conflict now exists between Mr. Joe Perry, manager of the "Foresters" public house and local Republicans.

A ny previous misunderstanding has been resolved with no ill-feeling on either side.

Republican Post Bag

REPRESSION IN FREE STATE JAILS

THE principle of peace and normalcy so gravely shaken in the Six Counties by violence, both institutional and reactionary, is in danger of being similarly weakened in the rest of the country because of the predominance in the South of arbitrary measures and the almost total subservience of law to politics.

Despite the fearful happenings in the North over the past number of years the circumstances there have somehow fostered a maturing of the public attitude towards repression and the need for a redress of human rights in general. Abandonment of the repressive artifice of internment without trial was not an indication of any sudden change of heart by the British government but rather a sign of the fact that a great number of people are no longer satisfied to accept old unjust repressive systems.

The impatience of the Northern people has now reached the extreme with seemingly nothing on the horizon but the deceit of politicians, tricking the people and pacifying them with new formulas and false solutions, while the self imposed political isolation of the Southern establishment from the scheme of things in the North prolongs and aggravates their tension.

The arrogance of the Southern government especially towards the political prisoners, many of whom have survived the tortures of Long Kesh, seems to indicate an erroneous confidence that their unconcern for the sufferings of the fighting minority in the North is somehow acceptable to the collective unconscious of the Southern people.

The Government of the Twenty Six would be well advised to take cognizance of the fact that it was the fighting spirit, not of the politicians, but of ordinary Irish men and women that made certain that repression in the six-counties created more difficulties than it solved for the authorities there.

The truth of the matter is that repression as a policy has failed in the Six Counties. The same negative policy cannot but fail in the South. It is interesting to note that only when internment ended was Fr. Denis Faul given permission on R.T.E. to recount some of the horrors of it. Are we to await the closure of political prisons in the South, in the seemingly distant future, before their daily horrors are revealed?

Emphasis on security is no excuse for delaying a public sworn enquiry. Nor has the Minister for Justice any right to label people "subversives" who

call for an enquiry into conditions inside our prisons.
—Rev. Piaras O Duill,
Baile Átha Cliath.

VICTIMISATION IN ENGLISH JAILS

THE British Government is engaged in a vicious and brutal campaign of harassment and victimisation against the Irish republican prisoners incarcerated in English and Scottish prisons. This campaign has been in force now for some considerable time and details are gradually coming to light. It appears the purpose of this treatment is to make life inside British prisons as uncomfortable for the Irish political prisoners as possible, and as a consequence, cause distress and much suffering to their families.

The bad conditions prevailing in these establishments are similar, but vary in degree from prison to prison. The degrading treatment meted out to these men and women must be a cause for great concern, and only a concerted, united course of action can help alleviate their ill-treatment.

The present hunger strike taking place in Wakefield prison (Yorkshire) is a case in point. At the moment there are five men on hunger strike in this prison. They went on hunger strike in mid-December, and are demanding to be repatriated to prisons in Ireland to serve the remainder of their sentences. This 'promise' was given to Gerry Kelly, Hugh Feeney and others in June 1974, through the intermediaries Lord Brockway, Lord Longford, and Mr. Stallard the Labour M.P. This 'promise' has been blatantly reneged upon. In recent months the prisoners have petitioned to be repatriated, but have been refused point blank. No Republican literature is allowed into Wakefield prison — and some time ago several copies of "Hibernia" were withheld by the prison censor although Copies of Paisley's "Protestant Telegraph" can be had without any bother. After complaints were made to the Prison Board of Visitors the "Suspect" copies of "Hibernia" were allowed in.

All the Irish political prisoners are 'category A' and are denied closed visits in Wakefield Prison. There are no real educational facilities allowed. At present there are five 'Loyalist' prisoners serving sentences in this prison. None of them is 'category A' and they are allowed open visits, and are allowed to say, there are no restrictions on education for them.

The list of points of victimisation against Republican

prisoners in Wakefield goes on ad infinitum. It is clear the British Home Office in London has dedicated itself to the abuse, victimisation and harassment of the Republican prisoners at every available opportunity.

We appeal to Republicans and to all others, particularly those living in Britain, to make their protests known by contacting the Home Office in London, Public Representatives, and organisations involved in the cause of civil liberties, and demand these restrictions be lifted immediately. During the last few years prisoners serving sentences in Britain have been repatriated to prisons in Ireland. There is no earthly reason why republican prisoners in Britain not also be repatriated if they so wish.

—P.R.O.
Patrick McArdrey/Seamus McCusker S.F. Cumann, Luton, Sasana.

THE TRUCE OF 1921

I HAVE seen the I.R.A. apparently crushed three, four, or perhaps five times in my lifetime, and I am reminded of what Professor Hayes McCoy (who died recently) wrote about them in a Thomas Davis lecture on "The Conduct of the Anglo-Irish War" (Jan. 1919 to the Truce).

"They were a force professing to be military; a voluntary force of the best. "Theirs was an organisation that would be megalomaniac, in the face of provocation, and in a world in which old wrongs were being everywhere redressed, did not try to act the part — a military part. "Their leaders were local leaders; their performance ran ahead of their headquarters; in some places they were active, in others not so; always they were practical men who were content to use the means at hand to achieve their purpose.

"They did not expect a victory overnight, or next week, or next year; and they were idealists, too, for they never seem to have contemplated defeat. Circumstances forced them to a war of their own."

There was never a time when the English military and civilian forces were not within our defences; in fact, we had no defences except those that God gave us. War was always ready made for Irishmen who continued to put up a defence in the teeth of many defeats over the centuries.

The methods of the I.R.A. were impressive. Here is Hayes McCoy again: "When England sought to over-run Ulster, Hugh O'Neill's men had perfected a system of fighting which delayed the English conquest for years. They attacked moving forces of the enemy at places of their own

choice.

"They pressed their attacks home when they saw a chance of success, and drew back when they sensed danger, vanished when the enemy counter-attacked.

"Britain was not, and could not, have been militarily defeated. There was an answer to the methods of the Volunteers: for the country ambush, the armoured car and machine gun; for the attack in the city streets, the foot patrol.

"The concentration camps might have been enlarged. It should not have been impossible to deny the Volunteers ammunition. The limit of terror had not been reached.

"But the price of victory on those terms, in the 20th century between two civilised and not unfriendly peoples, would have been too great.

"Terror was unworthy of Britain. It was to her credit that even though belatedly she recognised that it was. It was the British who called the Truce".
—Maire Comerford.

EQUALITY FOR ALL

ACCORDING to our politicians we may as well start at once tightening our belts in preparations for the New Year's semi-starvation budget, especially if one is unfortunate enough to belong to the much burdened and victimised working class.

The working class is the backbone of the country but the powers-that-be couldn't care less. "I am alright, Jack. I have plenty of money, don't know what it is to be on some pittance such as the dole or sick benefit; I live in a good house; — not a cold damp attic room; I have two cars and also money for globe trotting", is the attitude.

The mess that this country is now in is nothing new for the people — they people of Ireland are being conditioned to it for 803 years; and from the pulpits they have been told, "The poor will always be with us", and "The suffering will be rewarded in the next world". Meanwhile five per cent of the population are taking no chances and are accumulating riches while the going is good.

Many have expressed what should be done to get the economy of the country out of the mess it is in and help the underprivileged 95 per cent.

My suggestions are: "Cut the membership of the Leinster House parliament to about half; cut down on the civil service and disband the Free State army". We are told we must have an army in case the country is invaded but Ireland is already invaded and we are told by the Free State politicians that the invasion is for

our good! The prices of all commodities should be controlled — they are scarcely any price controls at all; encourage all to but buy Irish goods and abandon the slave mentality that says that everything Irish is of no value.

—Sean Shaw,

Corcaigh.

THE BILL

WITH the result of the West Mayo By-Election tucked safely under their belts the Dublin Coalition are doubtless not merely pleased but also extremely confident that their latest piece of "cross-border co-operation" the "Criminal Jurisdiction Bill" will receive a successful if somewhat stormy passage when it is debated by Leinster House.

Some Labour members have expressed doubts and fears about the new bill. Despite their apparent misgivings however, they have made it clear that they will obey the Party Whip and vote along Party lines.

Such an attitude on a matter which they have stated troubles their consciences indicates a lack of moral fibre which should provide those who elected them with much food for thought. Obviously such men are not worthy to call themselves public representatives if they are willing to put Politics before Principles and Party before People.

What stand would such men take if, for example the Coalition decided to introduce measures to legalise Divorce, Contraception or Abortion, would they, despite their moral objections to such Bills, vote in line with the Party Whip and perhaps bring down the wrath of Church and people upon their heads, or would they assert their right as individuals and oppose them.

Fianna Fail have of course declared that they will oppose the Bill every step of the way, this undoubtedly is the sick joke of the century when one considers that it was Fianna Fail who introduced the infamous "Offences against the State Act".

When the Bill was being introduced the present Coalition stated that they would oppose it as they considered it unconstitutional, repressive etc. etc. The fate of both Fianna Fail and the Bill were hanging in the balance when two bombs exploded killing two employees of C.I.E. and injuring many others. This decided the issue and amidst scenes of unparalleled uproar the Bill was passed. Many deputies headed for the bar, some say to celebrate the victory for democracy, but more likely to try and blot out the shame of what they had done.

Jack Lynch admitted later that he and his associates never for one moment attributed the bombs to Republicans, but at the same time he agreed they could not have come at a better time.

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the Leadership of 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.

This is the man who has stated that his party will oppose the new Bill because it is unconstitutional etc. etc. The same man incidentally during the West Mayo bye-election boasted that Fianna Fail had not lacked the courage to introduce internment and would do so again if the need arose.

It is ironic that the British, who refuse to recognise within their own country at any rate that there is such a thing as a political crime are ready and willing to accept the right of a foreign state to arrest, try and imprison British Subjects, all but unwilling ones.

The poet of the First World War who wrote "There is a part of this foreign field that is forever England" was referring to The Bloody Field of Flanders. Little did he realise that his immortal lines could apply equally as well to Irelands Four Green Fields.
—Leo Mac Liam,

Beal Feirste.

FREE STATE CENSORSHIP

NOW that we are in the new year I notice that the cost of postal services, phone calls and T.V. licences are going up again. But I suppose this is to pay for the Ministers' £700 pay rise while the ordinary worker has to struggle with last year's wages, although price increases are rising drastically and the dole queues grow bigger each week passed.

This is a typical example of coalition governing. If Cruise O'Brien paid more attention to his own Department, these P. & T. increases might not be necessary. But he is too busy minding everyone else's business as well as his own.

Also O'Brien's censorship is second to none; this man would even make Moscow look twice. He bans Republican spokesmen from T.V. and Radio and yet he allows the terror thugs of the British army U.K.F. and U.D.A. and their militant leaders Craig, Barr and Paisley to broadcast their vile sectarian opinion on Irish T.V.

Cruise O'Brien has earned himself the title of "Loyalist Ambassador to the Free State".
—Bill Hayes,
Ferrybank, Port Laigne.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH

(Republican Aid Committee)

THIS Committee looks after the dependants of Republican prisoners. With arrests continuing both in Ireland and in England our resources are strained to the utmost and while we endeavour to alleviate some of the hardship and anxiety of those in prison by assuring them that their dependants will be cared for, we cannot continue to do so without your full co-operation.

Please remember the men and women behind prison bars in Ireland, England and Scotland, and send a subscription today to:

An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

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WHO IS KIDDING WHO?

THE WESTMINSTER decision to "send in the SAS" was merely a bit of political colour TV: a spectacular distraction. But it was also the thin edge of the big wedge.

For the SAS has been operating throughout the 32 counties of Ireland at least as far back as the Civil Rights demonstrations of the sixties.

Even Kition himself was known well in Lisburn and the brightly coloured cars his agents used were notorious in all districts of Belfast.

The U.V.F. and the U.D.A., as well as the Republican Movement, have bulky files of SAS operations. As early as May, 1971, an Army statement, issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, drew the people's attention to SAS operations, specifically to attempts to create an armed clash between Oglai na hÉireann and the National Liberation Front.

Thompson machinegun-armed SAS men fired on a group of N.L.F. men. Fortunately, reason prevailed and internecine strife was avoided. But SAS work on the same lines succeeded in bloody clashes between the U.D.A. and the U.V.F. until, again, the real enemy was recognised. Most informed U.D.A. men know that Tommy Herron was a victim of the SAS.

This SAS group operated in an off-white, dirty looking Morris van in areas north and south of the Border, penetrating well into counties Monaghan, Cavan and Louth. A number of murders and kidnappings have been attributed to them and some members of Oglai na hÉireann were their victims.

The existence of yet another SAS group was disclosed in Derry in mid-October last when one of their members was shot in the stomach. According to reports, there are SAS members attached to every unit of the British army operating in the Six Counties.

Oglai na hÉireann have killed a number of these SAS specialists. The most famous victory over them was the wiping out of the Four-Square Laundry spy unit.

In the 26 Counties, perhaps the most notorious intervention of the SAS was in the Dublin bombing onto the statute book of the Offences

Against the State (Amendment) Act. Even the Fianna Fáil ministers admitted their involvement, following indisputable evidence from the Gardaí and the "Free" State armed forces.

The British Premier, Mr. Wilson, has said the SAS will operate "in uniform." Undoubtedly: as they always have done when not "on real duty."

This statement was issued by the Irish Republican Information Service on January 9:

"One would have thought that the decision by Britain to saturate South Armagh with more troops, including the SAS Regiment, was prompted solely by the recent assassinations.

"This was at least the initial impression forwarded by Mr. Wilson, an impression unpermitted to last long in the public mind.

"It is obvious to all by now that the British 'dirty tricks' units are, in fact, being deployed in a last desperate effort to break the spirit of the resistant people of South Armagh, or, as it has been plainly spelt out, 'to defeat the Provisional I.R.A. once and for all'. The media in general have categorically stated this.

"Militarily at an impasse, politically bankrupt, unable to lure Republicans into the spider-web of her Convention, Britain has clearly manifested herself as the mother-slave to her monstrous offspring. Just as she had created the sectarian monster state 60 years ago, the House of Commons continues to nurture it, to placate it, to guarantee it strength and power.

"The carefully calculated delay and uncertainty of the British government's intentions; the cynical employment of the sectarian U.D.R. into South Armagh and the follow-through by SAS units; the frantic build-up in the British press, radio and TV; the bellowing demands of Mr. Paisley for 'their own Parliament, their own Constitution'; but, most indicative of all, the fact that the SAS is directly controlled by the British government — all these are ominous portents of any political solution from Britain.

"They tragically manifest that 60 years have not changed Britain and that her police in Ireland still lies in the hands of the Loyalists."

The statement is signed: Pádraig Ó Murchu, Runai, I.R.I.S.

Tit for Tat

le Dara Mac Dara

GREATEST need of the moment in Ireland is to end what the media term the tit-for-tat killings. What, perhaps, is not so readily realised today is that they are nothing new: in the twenties in Belfast, for example, uniformed policemen wiped out the MacMahon family during curfew, sparing only the baby in the cradle. But the fact that they span a bloody 300 years is no excuse for not trying to stop them now.

Tit-for-tat killing is no part of the Republican tradition and Republican leaders long have realised that the only way to end it forever is to free the Irish people from foreign domination, control and manipulation.

Orange pogroms have always had political and economic objectives. They were used to force non-Orange farmers to give good land; to clear non-Orange elements from districts where their presence would influence voting to Orange disadvantage; to intimidate the non-Orange population from seeking civil and national rights; or to blackmail the local, puppet regime, when it was thought to be getting soft, or the Westminster regime, for the same reason.

Orange pogroms have their basis in greed and fear. The fear is that Westminster might abandon them to a situation of equal rights — by an end to gerrymandering, by the granting of home-rule, or by absolute independence for the entire Irish people.

The "murder triangle" of our own times was the most outstanding contemporary example. It was only when the backlash came that the media and the politicians started screaming. That sort of backlash is not part of the established game.

But this does not make that sort of a backlash Republican policy or in the immediate or future interest of the freedom of Ireland. In the last analysis, Republicans have only their honour, an honour which never must be stained with innocent blood.

As long as even the slightest possibility remains of a return to 1969 in the north-east, or even of an appreciable proportion of the substance of that situation, there will be a strong temptation to bigots, madmen and the professional politicians who manipulate them, to burn, murder, maim, frighten and, in general, to terrorise what are regarded as the politically dangerous element of the population.

To call this "sectarian" is to slander and libel the Christian churches. The action is political and it is done in the name of the Crown, which must bear the major responsibility until it ends its bribes and quits Ireland for good.

But some responsibility for the killings — and the counter-killings — must be borne by the professional politicians of the 26 Counties through their active encouragement of Orange pogrom by their stated policy never to intervene in the Six Counties regardless of what may happen.

This gives virtually a carte blanche to Orange murderers to do their worst: the majority of the Irish people will be forcibly prevented from going to the aid of their embattled brothers and sisters, no matter what horrors are inflicted on them!

The same policy of "standing idly by" has encouraged the worst excesses of the official Crown forces in their institutional terrorism: internment without trial; Bloody Sunday in Derry; MRF and SAS murders and agents-provocateur work, so carefully defined by Kition in his textbooks for the Crown forces.

Cosgrave, Cooney, Donegan, Cruise O'Brien, Kitchin, Lynch, Haughey, Lenihan, and, indeed, the entire pack of cards in Leinster House, including the jokers, have been bloody hands.

But the main culprit is the Crown, through the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and all that has stemmed from that blood-saturated document. And now all the political options available under that act have been tried and found wanting. The Act has failed, obviously, terribly.

When the Crown quits as, eventually, it must, the bribes will end and the hope of a minority of evil men will be dashed forever.

Ó Brádaigh initiative

(Ar leanúint ó Ich. I)

activity and that they will do all in their power to prevent their personell or others known to them, from taking part in any such assassinations.

● "We see no purpose in attempting private negotiations in a situation where the onus is on others to call off the killings. The time is not for talking, but for action. We call upon the leadership of all paramilitary organisation to issue without delay, an order forbidding all acts of aggression or retaliation, at least for such a time as will test the willingness of the other side to do the same.

● "We wish to make clear our conviction that the perpetrators of all such assassinations must be sought out and brought to justice.

● "We believe that in this call we express the cry of the Northern Ireland people — stop the killings now," the statement concludes.

Willingness noted

Two days later the Feakle clergy issued a second statement:

● "It may be that in yesterday's statement by paramilitary organisations there are some indications of readiness to restrain the horrifying development of murder in our province. If this is so, it is to be welcomed in spite of the obviously propagandist method of presentation.

● "We note that the Provisional I.R.A. have stated that if no offensive action is taken as far as sectarian killings are concerned, the question of retaliation, from whatever source, will not arise. We note also, the U.D.A.'s declaration, that in the prevailing situation, the Protestant citizen has no option but to protect himself and his family and ultimately his own area.

● "This could mean that each body, while stating his readiness to act in a retaliatory or protective role, is, in fact, indicating a willingness to refrain from offensive or aggressive action, as far as sectarian assassinations are concerned, provided the other side does the same.

● "So far, so good, but more is needed. We again call for forthright orders forbidding all acts of aggression or retaliation, at the very least for such a time as will clearly test the willingness of others to do the same. This requires readiness by those concerned to see that their orders are obeyed, not only by their recognised personell but by others popularly associated with their cause, for whose deeds they are likely to be blamed.

● "The aim must be to stop the killings, here and now, from whatever side or source they come," the statement ends.

Belfast reminder

The Clonard Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann points out that Republicans have not engaged in sectarian killings despite extreme provocation.

In a statement the Cumann said: "There is no doubt that tit-for-tat killings are going on; but after 400 Catholics being slaughtered without question (since February, 1972) did anyone honestly expect anything different? The ugly spectre of sectarian assassinations, created and master-minded by Unionists, is now being turned on the Protestant community with its horrible consequences and untold misery."

The statement reckons that, if Republicans had reacted to the Unionist-inspired killings, at least 1,200 Protestants would have been killed in retaliation.

In an analysis of Protestant deaths, the statement says that 70 per cent. had been murdered by Protestants and the remaining fatalities had been the victims of feuds or murder within Unionist paramilitary groups or, more recently, sectarian murder.

The Cumann traces the history of sectarian assassinations of

Catholics back to 1920. Recent sectarian murder had begun in 1972, with the killing of Bernard Rice of the Ardoyne and, a month later, of 18-year-old Sean McConville.

Only answer

The statement ends by pointing out that the only long-term answer is the withdrawal of the Crown forces: "They are the ones truly responsible for deaths in Northern Ireland. They were the instigators of partition. They nurtured the hatred, bitterness and murder. Remove the British and the Irish people in Ulster will have contributed in no small measure to the restoration of peace in Ireland."

The following statement was made available through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau on behalf of the Republican leadership:

● "On January 12 next Mervyn Rees will rise in the British House of Commons to elaborate on the futility of the Convention and to explain to the British people the position, as he sees it, in relation to British presence in Ireland.

● "On February 10, 1975, the Irish Republican Army and the British forces of occupation entered into a bilateral truce which, if given a strong positive response by Westminster, would have been instrumental in bringing peace at last to this troubled island. Mr. Rees and his Cabinet colleagues tragically refused to utilise what was indeed a signal opportunity to discharge their responsibilities to Ireland.

● "Their New Year's message to the beleaguered people of the Six-Counties was one of irreparable disaster, as 1976 began in a blaze of anti-Republican propaganda, leaving one in no doubt regarding the ominous intentions of Mr. Rees on January 12 next.

● "British arrogance will remain unchanged, continuing in her traditional subservience to Orange bullying, still unprepared to face up to the consequences of defying the menace she herself created. Britain would do well to remember the following:

● "For 50 years the British Parliament at Westminster supported the Unionist monopoly at Stormont, ignoring widespread and blatant sectarian discrimination.

● "Westminster supported Brian Faulkner in his introduction of internment without trial and the ensuing brutality which brought Britain to the Human Rights Court at Strasbourg.

● "Britain has tried direct rule which did not and cannot work. Her efforts to muster up a ghost Executive dominated by unrepentant Unionists failed. Her Sunningdale conspiracy with the Dublin Government, the Alliance Party, the S.D.L.P. and the ramp faction of Unionism, collapsed. The Convention, arranged as a last desperate effort to salvage something from the terrible mess created by Britain in Ireland, also came to naught.

Federal solution

● "While Britain engaged in such sterile and futile conjecturing, the Republican Movement has been maligned and repressed and prevented from putting its policies before the people.

● "The federal solution proposed by Sinn Féin is still a basis for negotiation and reconciliation. The concept is a viable one and its implementation would greatly contribute to the solving of many of the problems facing all parts of this country.

● "But the three basic demands of the Republican Movement are vital and the continuing failure by the British government to satisfy these demands is not only the stumbling block to Irishmen living together in peace and harmony, but ties Britain and the Crown forces to the same position which existed prior to February 10, 1975."

The statement dated January 8, was signed by P. Ó Neill, Runai.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY



In proud and loving memory of

Vol. Jim Moyne

Derry Brigade, Oglai na hÉireann

Murdered through medical neglect while held hostage without charge or trial in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp 13 January 1975

Always remembered by the Lynch/Moyne/McDaid Sinn Féin Cumann, Creggan, Doire.

"Bury him out on the hillside
Along with the brave and the bold,
Put his name in writing
In letters of purest gold."

NOTICE

To all Sinn Féin Cumann, 32 Counties of Ireland

The first draw of NEW IRELAND ENTERPRISES will be made at the end of January 1976. All tickets for this draw MUST be received not later than 20th January 1976, at 5 BLESSINGTON STREET, DUBLIN.

If you really want the Republican Movement to go forward, if you really want PEACE WITH JUSTICE and FREEDOM it is vital that this draw be supported to success.

Diamond Jubilee
1916 Rising
Sunday 25 January 1976
Coiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta