

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

(The Daily Freeman)

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 9, Uimhir 6, 10p. Feabhra 8, 1978.

# SAS MURDER BID FOILED

AN ATTEMPT by SAS members to murder one of the "hooded men" who figured in the Strasbourg torture case against the Crown failed on the evening of February 1 in the man's Belfast home because he reacted so quickly as they forced their way in. The murder bid follows death threats to such well known Republicans as Barney McFadden of Derry by members of the Crown forces and the murder of McNutt a few weeks ago.

Kevin Hannaway (31) was standing at the kitchen door of his house in Benares Street, Clonard area, at 18.15 hours with his 21-month old baby Kevin in his arms when two men burst in, one with a heavy, semi-automatic handgun blazing from his fist. Kevin threw the child to the floor and pushed a heavy refrigerator into the doorway and the two men left but not before wounding the baby in the jaw, thigh and arm and Kevin in the hand. Ten shots were fired.

But for Kevin's quick thinking the entire family might have been massacred including Kevin's wife, Elizabeth, and two other children, Lian (8) and Tracey (6), all of whom were in the kitchen at the time.

When the SAS men left they entered their hijacked car (taken from Conway Street earlier), drove for a minute or two into Lucknow Street, abandoned it, walked through the barrier and into Cupar Street.

It looked just a little too

like a Loyalist operation . . . However, the Hannaway home is about 80 ft. from a Crown forces (military) post

where the shots would have been heard. Yet nobody there tried to stop the escaping pair.

### No denial

Mrs. Hannaway challenged the Crown forces when interviewed on TV, saying its members had been responsible. There was no denial.

Newspapermen consulted Loyalist paramilitaries who were surprised at the affair. After checking they said that they had not had anything to do with it.

Our Belfast correspondent writes: "The Hannaways were not recorded in either the



Kevin Hannaway



An active service unit pauses to check direction from a map. There is another picture for your freedom fighters' album in the centre page.

for assassination like some of the others.

"The Clonard area is sealed off from 16.30 to 19.00

Last night, however, there were fears in the city that the shooting of Mr. Hannaway might be the signal for a new wave in the long-running feud between the two wings of the Republican movement.

The lie nailed: "Irish Independent" (Feb. 2) facilitates the Crown by carrying its lie.

hours by Crown forces because of the Mackey workers. The attack took place at 18.15. That gave them a tight schedule, the success of the operation depending on full co-operation by the enemy military.

### Tight security

"The fact is that no sane person would sit in a car in that street with weapons because of the very tight security and the constant patrols . . . unless he were one of them."

Kevin Hannaway is a member of the Sinn Fein but, more importantly, perhaps, he is a folk hero, "lifted" in August, 1971; tortured as one

(Ar leantur ar lch. a 8)

## Mother of 12 jailed in Cork

A MOTHER of 12 children, the youngest of whom is only 14 month old, has been jailed and is now in Limerick Jail because she refused to seek a permit to honour Ireland's dead.

She is Mrs. Pat O'Leary of Cork city and she was arrested in that city on Tuesday, January 31, last for having sold Easter Lilies on the streets of the city last Easter.

Pat is an active member of the Cumann Mhic Suibhne, Corcaigh, and is also OCP (PRO), Comhairlecheantar, Corcaith. She travelled to Doire Cholm Cille for the Bloody Sunday commemoration and was arrested the day after her return.

What an example this young mother is

setting, writes Geroid Mac Carthaigh, cathoileach, Comhairlecheantar Chorcaigh, to all the mothers of Ireland and to her own children. She is a true follower of the late Maire Drumm, leas-uachtaran, Sinn Fein.

Arnie O'Connell was arrested on Wednesday, January 25, also for selling Lilies. Noel McCarthy was arrested again on January 14 for selling Republican literature.

What a telling demonstration of the "republicanism" of Jack Lynch and Fianna Fail!

**Belfast march for prisoners : Feb. 26 — ALL OUT!**

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 9. Feabhra 8, 1978. Uimh 6.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire. Guthán: 747611.

## What is torture?

WHAT constitutes torture? Most of us have little if any difficulty in defining it, when discussing the matter among ourselves. After the recent Strasbourg verdict, however, an agreed, international definition of what, in legal terms, constitutes torture, would appear necessary.

The British judge in Strasbourg discussed the passion of Jesus in the first Holy Week as a background for his view that the "hooded men" had not been tortured. What Christ suffered, in that judge's view, was not torture!

The judge's discussion of what he considered torture and his special pleading for his monarch, her minions and their doings in Ireland, make fascinating, even very funny, reading as one forgets, for the moment, the suffering, past and present, behind this callous case.

Not even the Nuremberg trials heard such degrading arguments. One has to go back quite a while, to the Inquisition in Germany or the witch trials in England, to hear anything remotely resembling this bloodcurdling hypocrisy.

Nevertheless, a precedent has been set. We may consider that subjecting people to physical violence for the purpose of extracting information constitutes torture. But Strasbourg, in its first verdict in an inter-state court case, by majority verdict, has decided otherwise.

The verdict, certainly, should be challenged. But how? Where? At the United Nations, if possible. But Jack Lynch is unlikely to take the matter further and farther. Nor is he willing to prosecute the Crown, in Strasbourg or elsewhere, for torture that is still going on.

Resurgent Ireland has her friends abroad and members of the Third World might be prepared to challenge the Strasbourg verdict at the United Nations, putting Lynch in the interesting position of washing his hands in public or of backing the appeal.

Whether the verdict is challenged or not, however, a clear definition of torture is necessary. The Irish Civil Rights Association might care to consult lawyers and doctors, to produce a proposed definition for consideration by the International Red Cross, the international body of jurists, Amnesty International and similar bodies, and, of course, the United Nations.

The matter is urgent because, as the internees have pointed out in their Dublin press conference, torture is continuing. Last week we recorded a case of Derry people being hung from hooks in the ceiling from their tied wrists. Again, as the former internees have pointed out, torture is increasing all over western Europe though nobody, legally, after the Strasbourg verdict, may call it torture any longer.

Already, in Ireland, the Strasbourg verdict is being availed of and last week from the Special Criminal Court we heard of men having been "beaten up" by the Gardai, not tortured, mark you. Later we may expect to hear the brutal treatment described as "roughing up", a nauseating prospect.

The most horrifying aspect of torture, more horrifying, even, than the cant and hypocrisy of officialdom, is the growing tendency to accept that "some torture" may be necessary today "to deal with terrorism" or even (perish the thought) to "speed the revolution".

States do not descend suddenly to the obscenity that is torture. The entire legal system first must become polluted, to be followed by "special" legislation, "special" judges, "special" courts, acquiesced to by the sort of "respectable people" who saw Jews and Gypsies being taken to the gas chambers about 40 years ago and did nothing about it.

Torture marks the end of a regime for it makes revolution - and its success - a moral necessity if civilization is to survive or to be restored.

# Béarla an stáit le bheith dá bhuanú ag Fianna Fáil

NI RAIBH mórán cainte faoi rud spéisiúil go leor a tharla i dTeach Laighean an tseachtain seo caite, sul má thosaigh an histéir faoin mbuiséad.

Gaeilge bhí i gceist, bealach i mbille na chun go mbeadh an teanga ar fáil dóibh siúd a mbeadh sí a dhóth orthu agus gan aon iachall a chur ar gach státseirbhíseach i bheith ar a tholl aige.

Mar a dúras, ní raibh mórán cainte fúthi. Ach bhí a dhóithean ráite chun go mbeadh sé comh soléir is atá do sirón nach bhfuil Fianna Fáil chun an teanga a threimí.

Níl ach an taon teanga amháin riachtanach sa státseirbhís, anois, mar atá an Béarla. I ndiaidh an bhéarla tá an Fhraincis agus an Ghearmáinis.

Ach tá stua mór Gaeilgeoirí ann tá ag impt "ar an rialtas" an rud seo nó an rud siúd a dhéanann "chun an Ghaeilge a shábháil".

Ní thuigean na daoine maíthe meáúla seo, is cosúil, nach féidir le stát bheith neodrach i gceist teanga. Féach ar Cheanada. Feach ar an mBeig.

In Eirinn, caithfidh an státseirbhís bheith Gaelach nó Béarlach. Béarlach atá sí ó thús cé go mbíodh sí breac le Gaeilge. Is Béarlaí anois í ná riamh.

Is dual do theanga bheith naimhdeach do gach teanga eile. Tuigean Maolsheach-

## Gaeilge do na cimidí

WE HAVE not received any reaction yet from those prisoners of war learning Irish and for whom this column is intended. Would they care to write, to tell us if this feature is of assistance?

Meanwhile, we are not finished yet with BAIN, which can mean "win" among many other nuances.

Bhain Tomás an chraobh . . . bhain sé an cluiche . . . bhain sé an bonn . . . bhain sé a raibh ann, mar dhúiseanna.

Bainimís nó caillimís, tabhairmís iarraidh air (bíodh an bua againn nó ná b'fódh, féachaimís leis).

Tá gach aon (achan, 'chúile) lá ag baint a chuid fhéin asam (níl aon lá dá bhfuil ag teacht nach bhfágann a bheagán nó a mhórán dá thuirse orm de réir a chéile).

Is minic a deirtear sin mar threagra ar: "Cén áit aoi? bhífuil tú ag cur isteach?" (Coidé, coidé, mar atá tú ag cur isteach) nó ar: "Caidé an saol atá agat?"

Bairille - Tá an lasair sa mbarille: tá an trioblóid tosaíthe: tá ábhar raice ann.

Tá sin ar na bairillí go fóill: níl an scéal sin seacar go fóill; Ní feaseach dúinn caidé mar rachas sé; níl fhuos agam cén toradh a bheas ar an obair, feachtas, iarriacht, comhráit.

## Cúnnla

Iain agus Pádraig é sin. An féidir leo an loighic leanúint go dtí an siolla deiridh?

## Scil gan luach

IS AMHLAIDH a cheapann a lán lán Gaeilgeoirí go bhfuilid ag cuidiú leis an teanga má thógann siad orthu féin, mar dhualgas breise, a scil a chur ar fáil saor in aisce do na basaná.

Go deimhin is rud é sin a dhéanann státseirbhíshigh: "Will you wait a moment until I get somebody who can speak to you in Irish?"

Dá ndéanfáidís machnamh thuigfidís gur feall ar an teanga atá a dhéanamh acu agus ní a mhalairt. Sa chaoi é sin níl aon luach ar an nGaeilge.

Fhad is a bheas Gaeilge gan bheith riachtanach sa státseirbhís nó eile do gach éinne ní chóir do Ghaeilgeoir a chuid Gaeilge a chur ar fáil saor in aisce nuair a bhíonn éileamh uirthi.

Ba chóir dó diúltú glan d'achainn den chineál sin go dtí go mbeidís sé mar riaiil san oifig go gcaithfidh Gaeilge bheith ag gach éinne nó go dtí go bhfágadh sé aigead breise (ba chóir go mbeadh aigead breise ar fáil as gach scil breise tá ag duine má bhíonn éileamh ar an scil sin oifig; agus ba chóir do na ceardchumannáid a thabairt a dhéanamh faoi sin).

Ar hdoigh, ní bheidh aon mhaith ann, ó thaobh dul chun cinn na Gaeilge de, go dtí go mbeidh an rud tá molta agam thuas eagraithe ag cumann Gaelach éicint, agus pobal Gaeilge eile eagraithe taobh thiar den éileamh poiblí ar an nGaeilge.

Má dhíúlaíonn

státseirbhíseach Gaeilge á úsáid, gan pái breise, agus má thugann an pobal Gaelach lasmuigh raic toise nach bhfuil Gaeilge ar fáil dó agus é i dteagmháil leis an stát, bí cinnte de go mbeidís an stát, bí réabhlóid teanga san áit is tábhachtaí.

Mar a dúirt Domhnall Ó Corcora fadó, is tábhachtaí an Ghaeilge in uachtar sa státseirbhís ná sna scoileanna. I mbileog a scriobh sé do Chonradh na Gaeilge a dúirt sé sin. Is fíú fios a chur ar an mbileog, í a léamh, í a athmeas. B'fhéidir gur thráthúla anois í ná an t-am a chéadfhóilsíodh í.

Caithe ar dhingeadh isteach i gcoloinne an Chonartha, na Comhdhála, an Chomháltais, an Chumainn (L.G.) agus eile go bhfuil an teanga i bhfíorchrúachas.

Tá Liam Ó Murchú ina chontúirt phoiblí mar go gcuireann sé a mhalairt in iúl. Is fíor go bhfuil roinnt mhaith Gaeilge ag roinnt mhaith daoine sna 26 Chontae; ach is fíor, freisin, gur corghasúr sa nGaeilteach anois a bhfuil Gaeilge aige ó dhúchas; agus is fíor gur ísle caighdeán na teanga sna scoileanna (Gaeilteach is Galltach) ná mar a bhí se chomh fada siar leis na triochaidí.

## Gaeilge faoi ghlas

BAIL O Dhia ar Unseann Mac Eoin, an t-áitire a dhíoltaigh íoc as ceadáns teifíse toise nach dtugann RTE ciotrom na Féinne do lucht labhartha na Gaeilge. An tseachtain seo caite gabhadh Unseann agus cuireadh isteach sa phríosún é toise nár íoc sé fineáil a



- As 'Ros' na míosa seo.

ghearradh air mar gheall ar an gceadáns teifíse bhí in easnamh air.

De réir mar a chloisim bhí Unseann Mac Eoin ar na hOglaigh i gCampa. Gheibhfeann an Churáigh a d'fhoghlaim Gaeilge ó Mhairtín Ó Cadhain . . . agus ailtireacht ó leabhrá.

Bhí sé ar lucht bunaithe Chumann Wolfe Tone sna seascaidí Gaeilge teanga a theaghláigh. Tuigean sé agus go raibh a dheacair atá sé cian a thógáil le Gaeilge nuair nach mbíonn ach fíorbheagán den teanga sin ar le coistéal ar an teilifís.

Chuir Conradh na Gaeilge picéad ar an bpríosún, oíche anáin; d'eagraigh sé crúinní i Halla na Saoirse, oíche eile agus chuir sé picéad ar Ardóigh an Phosta tráthnóna Dé Domhnaigh.

An sean-rud ar siúl i gconái, gan mórán den samhlaíocht ag baint leis (an gcúimhin libh an uair a chuir an Conradh eagar ar na daoine óga lasmuigh de RTE? Ba shín feachtas!).

Tá duine mar Thomas Mac Anna, Amharclann na Mainistreach a dhíth chun an feachtas aláimhseáil, lesamhláíocht, le greann, le ceol. Le daonnacht, a dhúine.

Dala an scéil, cá raibh na Bráithre, an sagairt, na heaspag, na mná rialta? Cá raibh na múinteoirí? Cá raibh óige na scoiteanna lan Ghaelacha?

Bhí an Conradh i láthair ar an picéad ach gan go mairbh - bhí Joe Stagg ann, mar ionadaí ar Chumann Chearta Sibhialta na hEireann; bhí roinnt Sealaclach ann; roinnt den Pháirtí Eireannach Poblachtach Sóisialach; roinnt den Pháirtí Cumannach; roinnt de Ogras.

# Ladhar an Chroipáin agus all that

THE AMERICANS, having laid out the streets and the avenues of New York in a sensible if uninspiring geometric pattern, proceeded to name them - again sensibly, if unpoetically - by number. Indeed, for the purpose of finding one's way nothing could be simpler. Some years ago some International Big Brothers were strongly suggesting that, in the light of the growing world population and for the purpose of avoiding confusion and duplication and, indeed, some of us

suspected that in an Orwellian future ("all the better to finger us") that each human being in the world ("where else?" you may ask) would be given his or her own unique number. A prison too soon! It hasn't happened YET but imagine how dull life would be if Hifidí Paidí Hifidí became 01 - 5784360 - 117 and wouldn't the grand old Irish pastime of "tracing" sound strange when Granddad would remark: "Wasn't he a cousin of 02-6112-117 that married a daughter of

02-4911852-118 that lived outside Tullamore?" Our ancestors, fortunately, were not so sensible in naming places and simply - and sometimes with great beauty - named the place by what they considered to be its most outstanding characteristic or by its association with some event, person, family or animal. Indeed, most of them are a combination of one of the above with some physical attribute.

**Derry's commemoration**

# Thousands spell it out for Mason

THE MANY thousands of people who supported the Sinn Féin-organised commemoration of Bloody Sunday in Derry gave their definitive answer to Roy Mason's assertion that the people had rejected the Republican Movement, Derry Sinn Féin Comhairlecheantar pointed out last week.

"Following the worst storms of the year and braving snow and bitter cold, 15,000 people came out yesterday on the streets of Derry to show Mason and England that they remembered Bloody Sunday and its message for the Irish people", the statement continued.

## Father of victim speaks out

FOR THE first time a relative of one of the 14 murdered by Crown forces on Bloody Sunday in Derry was among the speakers at the commemoration organised by Sinn Féin.

He was Jim Wray, father of one of the victims and he pointed out that those victims had marched for an end to British repression, torture and murder, on the day of their massacre.

They had been murdered because they were an embarrassment to the British Government which could not explain to the rest of the world why 20,000 unarmed people were marching in the streets of Britain for civil rights.

### Two options

The British Government, therefore, had two options. They had to grant the protesters their demands or repress them. They chose the second option.

While none of the Bloody Sunday victims had received the Nobel Peace Prize nor medals, they had been rewarded with a martyrdom bestowed upon them by the Irish people.

Jimmie Drumm urged his listeners not to forget the plight of the prisoners of war, particularly the men in H-Block, and those in English jails.

The next time the people of Derry would march, it would not be for civil rights, nor would it be to beg.

It would be to free Ireland from British rule and to let the people of Ireland decide their own destiny.

### 'Criminal' defined

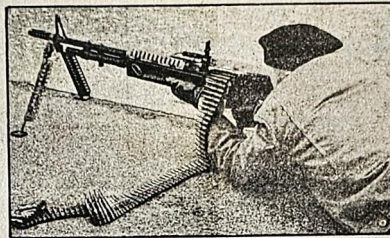
Aindriú O Ceallaigh said the hypocrisy of successive

"England had intended Bloody Sunday as the final intimidation of the freedom-loving people in Ireland but instead, like so many of England's plans for this country, it back fired and renewed the people's determination to continue on with the struggle.

"Indeed, for many people, Bloody Sunday was their awakening to the reality of British rule here.

"As we have told England all along, and as yesterday's events proved so clearly, whether England shoots peaceful, unarmed civil rights marchers off the streets in the cold blood, or tortures the innocent into signing false confessions, or locks up freedom fighters in naked solitary confinement for years in sub-human conditions, nothing will break the Irish people's will to win this final struggle for national freedom", the statement concluded.

The M60 heavy machine-gun ready for action at the Óglaigh checkpoint in Derry for the Bloody Sunday commemoration.



The M60 heavy machine-gun ready for action at the Óglaigh checkpoint in Derry for the Bloody Sunday commemoration.

## International support

Before the first of the platform party for Derry's Bloody Sunday commemoration spoke a member of the city's Comhairlecheantar read some of the telegrams of support which had arrived from many parts of the world.

They included messages from organisations in the U.S., Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Isle of Man, Australia, Sardinia, South Africa, Belgium, Norway, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Cornwall, India.

"We are not alone", he said. "Messages from all over the world are stating with us that Ireland demands to be free".

## Tortured by RUC in Derry

A YOUNG man had to be hurried to Altnagelvin Hospital, following his collapse, after being held for 35 hours by Derry RUC, according to a Comhairlecheantar statement.

In the 33 hours since being taken by Crown forces, he had been beaten so continuously and brutally that he passed out three times until at last he passed out for so long the RUC were worried he might not recover and so rushed him to Altnagelvin.

"This incident, unfortunately, is no isolated case nor is the death threat he got in the barracks.

"The lot of our young people as they go about their business on the streets and as they sit at home will still be brutally coloured by constant arrests, intimidation and beatings from the R.U.C. and B.A.", the statement concludes.

## Free TV demand by Clones

AT THE monthly meeting of Clones U.D.C., in the Courthouse, Clones, on Monday January 30, Councillor Frank Maguire (Sinn Féin) said: "There is a very important matter which I wish to bring to the attention of this meeting and it concerns our so-called democracy.

"When my colleague, Frank McCaughey, and myself, were elected to this Council I understood that it was on a democratic basis. However, last week we were amazed to hear Mr. Pádraig Faulkner (Minister) excluding us (Sinn Féin spokesmen) from taking part in any RTE programmes or interviews.

"I now ask you my fellow-Councillors, is that democracy? Consequently, I ask that this Council now adopt a resolution, demanding from Mr. Faulkner that the RTE ban on Sinn Féin spokesmen and Councillors be lifted immediately".

Councillor Frank McCaughey (S.F.) seconded the motion, which was passed unanimously.

### Democratic rights

He said that the RTE ban on S.F. Councillors made them second-class citizens. Calling for a British withdrawal did not make them any different to the other politicians who were demanding the same.

While Councillor Maguire was speaking Councillor McAvinney (F.G.) remarked: "I thought you only attacked the Coalition Ministers".

Councillor Maguire replied: "We attack anybody who denies the people their democratic rights".

More than 500 people marched from Hyde Park to Whitehall during the London Bloody Sunday commemoration, organised by Sinn Féin. One of the S.F. comhrúnaíthe, Niall O Fagháin, stated: "We are marching today to remind the British people of what is being done in their name in Ireland..."

## Suspended sentence for brute

PAUL Jackson (19) and Alfred Henry Harbottle (24), Coldstream Guards, Strabane, full of drink and returning to barracks, saw a woman in a car, snatched her car keys then assaulted her when she got out and tried to recover them.

James Thompson (76) went to her assistance, only to be assaulted, knocked down and kicked.

The case was heard before Derry Petty Sessions the other day. Resident Magistrate P. Maxwell imposed a three-months' suspended sentence on Jackson, fined him £40 and ordered him to pay £36.72 to the woman, as compensation. Harbottle was fined £10.

The soldiers were in civilian attire at the time, Aug. 12 last. Had they been in uniform...

### BUANCHUIMHNE

#### Peter McNulty

Peter McNulty, sixth anniversary, always remembered by McNulty-Cannon Cumann, Baile Átha Cliath.

*Ireland, unfree, shall never be at peace.*

#### Proinsias Stagg

Proinsias Stagg, second anniversary, in proud and loving memory. Never forgotten by Mrs. Bridg Roseleen Conlon, 19 Cork Road, Portlárge.

## HYPOCRISY OF THE CROWN

British administrations had been highlighted by their definition of the word "criminal".

Criminal status had been used for freedom fighters by the Crown since the American revolt in the 18th century and against the Fenians in the 19th.

Anyone who fought against British interests was branded a criminal. Mr. Begin, the present Prime Minister of Israel, once a freedom fighter, had been branded a criminal by the British government.

It was Sinn Féin's intention to keep the struggle going until the aims of the Republican Movement - British withdrawal and an amnesty - had been achieved.

Those with right and justice on their side had a weapon greater than an atom bomb, a H-bomb

or a neutron bomb for "we have justice and right on our side".

### Other massacres

Mary Lawlor-Ward said that, after the Bloody Sunday massacre the "Free" State regime had recalled its ambassador from England, vowing that never would there be a repetition.

But there was. During the 1972, more six people were shot dead in Belfast. In other instances people were shot dead in Strabane, Newry and Tyrone.

In Dublin, regime after regime had played the role of collaborator with British governments.

Jack Lynch had let the British use Irish territorial waters to prepare for Operation Motorman. He had banned Sinn Féin representatives from TV and radio and Sinn Féin members had been jailed.

Repression had continued when the Coalition Government came into power and put its full support behind the S.D.L.P.

However, the S.D.L.P. had received a setback with the failure of the Sunningdale agreement and Convention, because they were British schemes.

### Lynch's somersault

Jack Lynch was now doing an

about turn. He saw that the Irish people were not going to stand for repression and for the conditions in the jails. He recently stated that the British should withdraw from N. Ireland and that he would agree to an amnesty, but people should beware of Jack Lynch.

But it did not matter what Jack Lynch or Roy Mason said. The people were interested only in the demands of the Republican leadership.

## Proinsias Stagg Commemoration

### MARCH TO BRITISH EMBASSY

Merrion Road, Dublin

Assemble: Mount Street Bridge at 14.00 hours

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12

Organised by Comhairlecheantar B.A.C. Thuaidh.

### COMHAIRLECHEANTAR THIR EOGHAIN THAIR

Fourth annual dinner, céilí and old-time:

Inter-county Hotel, Lifford

Friday February 17

at 21.00 hours.

Ceol: Pride of Erin Céilí Band.

Táille: £4 - Tickets on Sale.

Táille don cheili amháin: £1.

# US CITIZEN TELLS AMERICA

## 'How RUC thugs tortured me'

HE WAS 17 when the Special Branch arrived at his home at 4.30 in the morning, last Aug. 18. He was arrested under Section 10 of the Emergency Powers Act, and, despite possession of an American passport, was taken to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre. Let Kerr tell what happened.

"After about two hours in a cell, I was taken across a kind of courtyard to a group of prefabricated huts. They politely call these 'interview rooms,' but there's nothing polite about what goes on in them....

"Well, the first thing one of the three detectives said was, 'You're gonna sign a statement.' I said, 'I'm not gonna sign any statement. I want a solicitor. Can't I see a lawyer?'

"This hard-looking one said, 'You must be effing joking. You'll be asking to see a doctor if you don't sign.'

"They stalled for about 10 minutes, thinking, I guess,

*We have covered in fair detail the story of the American-born schoolboy, Pearse Kerr, who was captured by the RUC, tortured, framed and saved from false imprisonment only because of US State Department intervention. But we did not have the details of his torture in Castlereagh until now. Here they are, as told to America...*

that it would work on me psychologically. Then the one asked me again if I was gonna sign. When I said no, he clouted me across the face and I flew across the room and hit one of the walls and slid down."

### Sign unseen

Kerr, a thin young man with a choirboy face, said that he wasn't allowed to read the statement the cops wanted him to sign. When he got up off the floor, "two of them grabbed me around the chest from the back and the other one grabbed me by the elbow and held my arm upright and started bending and twisting my wrist. He's work on one wrist and then the other. I heard something crack in my left wrist and I knew it was broken."

Kerr eventually was taken into a separate room to see the U.S. vice consul, Wayne Allen Roy. A Special Branch

man was with him during the interview, so Kerr was afraid to protest to Roy.

His broken wrist was handcuffed behind his back. When Roy left, the interrogation resumed.

"One Special Branch man propped himself up against the wall behind me, with his arms clamped around my chest," Kerr told Jack McKinney of the Philadelphia Daily News, who was later instrumental in obtaining Kerr's release.

"Another one stood directly in front of me and placed his fingers and thumbs up under each side of my jaws. He would push his fingers up until my breath would stop completely.

### Strangling attacks

"I could feel myself losing consciousness and my vision got so blurred I thought it was because the pressure was making my eyes pop out.

Then I'd come around a bit after they'd stopped. So they would go at it again.

"During one of these strangling attacks, a Special Branch man, a different one, came in an said, 'You may as well give up on this one. We're going to have to hang him.'"

Eventually, the gentlemen from the Special Branch broke him.

"I was losing contact with what was going on," he remembered later. "I thought I was going to die. I fell down on the table again and was hanging with my elbows in the corner of the wall with one hand on the table.

"While I was in that state, they shoved the statement in front of me again. So I just signed it, because I thought if I didn't, I would have been a dead man."

Kerr was presumably innocent until proved guilty, but these brave gungels didn't care for even the basic premises of English common law.

One thing is certain: If he hadn't been an American citizen, and if McKinney and other Philadelphia reporters had not started writing about him, he'd still be rotting in Crumlin Road Jail or the Long Kesh concentration camp.

**Gaeilge: essence of our nationality**

### Buanchuinne

#### Paul Keogh

I ndiuchuinne ar a gcómrad, Paul Keogh, a tuair ba an 27ú Faoz, 1975, o oifigigh agus o bhall Chumann Bryson, BAC.

In loving memory of our comrade, Paul Keogh, who died on January 27, 1975. Inserted by the offices and members of the Sinn Féin Bryson Cumann, Central Dublin.

#### Proinsias Stagg

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Proinsias Stagg, murdered by British authorities in Wakefield Prison on February 12, 1976, from Comhataícheantar Londain.

At dheis De go raibh laochra na hÉireann.

### Troops Out

"Troops Out": Monthly paper of the United Troops Out Movement.

The February issue contains articles on Bloody Sunday; the Prevention of Terrorism Act; the Brits' heart-and-minds warfare; the Better Life Campaign; Conor Cruise O'Brien; an interview with Gerry Brannigan (chairman, Belfast Sinn Féin); and more.

It is available from: Troops Out (literature committee), Box 10, 2a St. Paul's Road, London, N.1. 10p (plus 7p p&p; 10 copies for 70p plus 20p postage).

### PUBLIC MEETING

Finglas Shopping Centre, Saturday, February 11, 14.30 hours, **big ann agus linn to tell public of**

### H-BLOCK

Join Sinn Féin

## Psychologists used as sops

THE BRITISH Home Office uses its psychologists as a sop in its prison policies, not as a real force for change, Dr. Masud Houghugh, a NATO consultant on penal affairs, told the London conference of the British Psychological Society last December.

Speaking of forensic psychology as a profession, Dr. Houghugh continued: "We are not even in the state of the 14 century barber surgeons, who would not bleed a patient if he had toothache. At least they knew that much. We are not even at that state of knowledge."

Appealing for a fundamental reassessment of the work and research methods of forensic psychologists, Dr. Houghugh told his distinguished and international audience of psychologists that they had all leaned too heavily on the classic scientific method.

"We, as psychologists, have helped to build up a very cock-eyed view. We should be moulding our own new procedures, moving directly to the problems of control of criminality. We, as a profession, have not earned our living," he stated.

"Some people say 'imprison them, flog them, shoot them', and some say 'give tender, loving care,' he continued. "But there is no scientific guide as to what we

can do. As psychologists we know hardly anything about what we can do. We don't know in detail which types of criminals give trouble and which types do not.

Defining criminality as "an undesirable state as deemed by someone in authority who can or feels that he should do something about it," Dr. Houghugh argued that psychological views of criminality tended to concentrate on criminality as problems of social relations and social behaviour.

"But these are just aspects of a mass of other human problems, of family problems, physical and personal problems," he said. The London conference attracted more than 500 British and foreign psychologists.

There were allegations that a Barlinnie prisoner, who died after a drug overdose, had become a drug addict as a result of massive

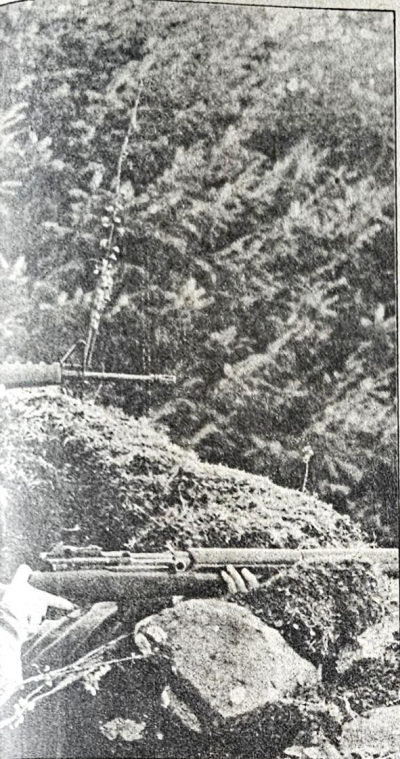
(Ar leanuint ar col. 1 le. a 5)

THREE armed and uniformed members of a unit of Ógligh na hÉireann at a checkpoint on Iniscarn Road, Derry, before the Bloody Sunday commemoration. Volunteer, nearest camera holds an Armalite at the ready. Beyond him, prone, is a volunteer with the new M-60.



ABOVE: Another picture for your freedom fighters' album. BELOW: A section of the enormous crowd which remembered Bloody Sunday in Derry, giving Gauleiter Mason a decisive answer (see page three).





(Ar leannuit o col. 4 lch. a 4)

doses of drugs administered to him in Scottish jails. Drugs are supposed to be prescribed only for "the restoration of health or the relief of symptoms".

Mr. Deane John, Home Office, has given figures proving that the costs of drugs and medications supplied to prisons has doubled from £131,327 in 1971 to £259,000 in 1975. The Home Office agrees that 900 prisoners are mentally ill and shouldn't be there at all.

Every day drugs are administered to 30 per cent of Parkhurst's population. There is considerable evidence that large numbers of prisoners are given psychotropic drugs, not because they are suffering from mental illness but as a form of control.

Psychiatrists believe that it may be less humiliating for prisoners to be dosed with tranquilisers than to be tied up in straight-jackets. Drugs may also be used to prevent Category A prisoners from escaping.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Hoghugh and his distinguished colleagues will assist the various organisations calling for an

## MÁIRE COMERFORD reviews

I REMEMBER well the history of the Boland family as it was told when Harry Boland was murdered by the "Free" State in a hotel in Skerries on the night of July 30, 1922. He didn't die till August 2, and he didn't tell the name of the old comrade who had killed him. Michael Collins had told Harry: "You will be killed but I won't do it". Nor did he. Murder was the character of the times. If he did not know who the Bolands were before the death of Harry we had reason to know it afterwards.

Since the time of the Fenians and, perhaps, before, they were staunch Republicans and greatly respected. They had suffered. The mother of Hally and Gerry, Kevin's granny had some sections of the Russian Crown Jewels up the chimney in her parlour in 15 Marino Crescent, Clontarf. That shows you the way the Bolands were trusted.

The jewels belonged to a transaction carried out a few years previously when the Government of the Irish Republic was in a position to make a loan to comrade revolutionaries. The loan was repaid and the jewels redeemed later. The money was paid not to the Republic, however, but to Leinster House.

### Green paint

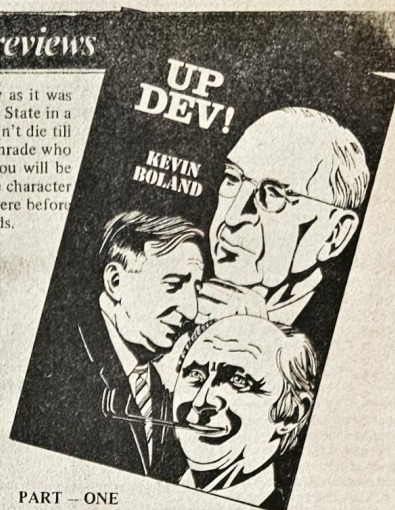
Kevin Boland (Harry's nephew) belongs to the first generation of them to be born into the very complicated world after the Flag of the Republic was taken over by the counter-revolution and flow on prisons and barracks vacated by the British.

Kevin was a baby when the green paint was fresh on pillar boxes. King George's head on the stamps was over printed Rialtas Sealadach na

hEireann. (Provisional Government of Ireland).

The soldiers wore the uniform and insignia of the Volunteers at Easter Week but their 18 pounder guns (four or five of them) had been lent by the Crown.

It was not by any means the first time in history that "King's Irish" turned a



PART - ONE

# The Junta murderers

war of independence into a civil war.

The term is not by any means as simple as it appears to be. In 800 years there were many times when people who starged out as comrades fell out about their policies or tactics.

### Lost heads

It happened again in 1921. The political leaders of Dail Eireann accepted an invitation from the English to negotiate peace and then, when they were confronting the enemy, lost all sense of comradely discipline and allowed themselves to split in a massive dispute over a treaty which they had signed under threat by Lloyd George.

The Irish leaders lost sight of the Irish Republic, as declared in 1916 and confirmed by Dail Eireann on Jan. 21, 1919.

The larger pro-Treaty section of them was committed to establish a parliament other than Dail Eireann which would, for a time, exclude the representatives of Six Counties; and it was their troops which invaded the Charlemont House tenement and found young Kevin.

The "Free" State operation at that time was completely lawless. Dail Eireann was supposed to meet on June 30. Arthur Griffith was President but it was not called and did not meet, probably because that was not the English plan, partly because the "Free" State had attacked the IRA in the Four Courts two days before.

After that the big guns moved into O'Connell Street.

### Illegal junta

According to English law the parliament for 26 Counties legislated at Westminster should have met on July 1. But that did not happen either.

What did happen was military rule by a junta which abolished courts, arrested or

continued, Cosgrave declared: "A lease of political life cannot be given to them at the price they ask."

De Valera spent a year in jail.

Kevin O'Higgins introduced his first Public Safety Bill.

The victorious parliament was that legislated in London. It sat, under the name of "Dail Eireann," in Leinster House.

The Second Dail had never met to dissolve in favour of the Third Dail, elected in 1922 with a programme for Coalition and to suspend final approval of the Treaty until the constitution was known and the terms better understood. Members continued to meet.

Four years later, 1926, de Valera split the Republicans, rejected majority rule in Sinn Fein and started another splinter called Fianna Fail.

LEANFAR DE

### Limerick raffle

The west Limerick raffle in aid of An Cumann Cabhrach was won by ticket no. 258; second was 2858; and third, 1796.

An Cumann Cabhrach wishes to acknowledge £12, received from Patrick Fennell, Hasset Street, Cill Ruis, Co. an Chlhair.

## 'Victorian penal system'

THE Prisoners' Rights Organisation announced that it has selected an international tribunal of nine people to inquire into prison conditions in Ireland.

Arrangements are being made to obtain oral and written sworn submissions from the various interested individuals and groups.

The date of the inquiry has been fixed for a four-day period next autumn in Dublin.

The Prisoners' Rights Organisation said that the Irish penal system had reached the last quarter of the 20th century in its present Victorian state simply because it had been immune to public scrutiny.

"Only a full public inquiry can reveal its true nature; only then can we hope to build anew," said the Organisation in its statement.

The organisation, the statement adds, had collected over 10,000 individual signatures, as well as resolutions from 18 public and private bodies throughout the country, such as trades councils, country councils, and sporting and cultural associations, supporting the call for a public inquiry.

investigation into the mis-use of thugs in prisons and call on the British Medical Association to become involved.

Irish doctors also should become involved because many Irish people in British jails, particularly the political prisoners, are suffering under this terrible system.

Question: In general, is the medical system in Irish jails much better than their model, the inferior Crown?

**Provisionals**

We owe it to those who have died to complete the task they nobly served. Previous generations have failed - we must not.

JANUARY

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

These calendars, at 30p (+ 8p postage) each, are available from our Craftshop, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath.

**Cúrsaí eachtracha Foreign affairs**

**Le Eldrida**

THE SIX Counties was not the only area Elizabeth invited herself to celebrate her jubilee year. But, when she asked to go to Jamaica, the Prime Minister, Michael Manley, despite pressure, absolutely refused to have her. Instead, at the exact time intended for the Crown visit, he invited a well-known neighbour, Fidel Castro.

This snub and invitation are symptomatic of the changes taking place on this Caribbean island which, for 15 years, has been a nominally independent state which still acknowledges the English queen as its head.

Jamaica has many parallels with Ireland. For one thing, the country is an island emerging from prolonged colonial exploitation with considerable economic problems and, until recently, a great export of people as emigrants, particularly to "mother England".

Once there, the migrants found themselves despised as second class citizens, living in the worst housing, and expected to do the most menial and hardest work. A position very familiar to Irish emigrants.

Most Jamaicans are black. Nearly all have some mixed ancestry. Some are white. Some are Asian. Forging a nation from the descendants of traders, planters and slaves alike takes time; but giving everyone a basic involvement in the development of his land may well be the most positive way of doing this.

**Constant dialogue**

After the general election of a year ago, Cabinet appointments included a Minister of National Mobilisation, with the duties of "supervising the democratisation programme in education, community councils, worker participation, and maintaining a constant dialogue between government and the people, through the mobilisation of popular opinion in the party and nation".

The Prime Minister has now announced a constitutional reform programme which brings the ordinary people of Jamaica fully into this democratisation. He has announced that the country, which remained a monarchy at independence in 1962, will become a republic within the British Commonwealth; and that, within the next 18 months,

**Preferred Castro to Elizabeth**

the people will be asked to decide the type of constitution and presidency they want.

Before announcing the Emergency Production Plan a few months ago, Manley had invited suggestions from people; and 9,000 of them sent in suggestions. This participation in changing the constitution is on a much more organised scale.

The process is to last two years. The first 18 months will be spent in "mass reasoning" in villages and towns throughout the country. Manley has emphasised that not one in a thousand Jamaicans knew much about the present constitution which was "not the basic rule and law on

(Ar leanúint ar lch. a 8)



This is available now, from Poibhocht Sinn Féin: Ask your local cumann.

**KNOW YOUR ÉIRE NUA**

le Crístín Ní Éilias

IN THE January 20, 1978 issue of "Hibernia" Mr. D.S. de Bráodán implies that the Republican Movement no longer is interested in achieving a united Ireland. He suggests that this "dropping of the call for Irish unity by the Provisionals" would be useful to Fianna Fáil in its attempt to make political mileage out of the war situation, as evidenced in its recent spurt of "republicanism".

The following is a letter sent by me as director of education to John Mulcahy, editor, "Hibernia" on January 22 last, clarifying the position of the Republican Movement.

A. Chara, Your contributor, D.S. de Bráodán (20/1/78) has seriously misunderstood recent political developments within the Republican Movement when he suggests that we are "dropping the call for Irish unity" because our demand

**Stick is unstuck?**

for a "united Ireland" has been replaced by our call for a "Four Province Federal Ireland" based on democratic socialism.

A fundamental prerequisite for the implementation of our Éire Nua programme is the achievement of an independent 32 Counties Irish state. Sinn Féin always has maintained that peace and prosperity in Ireland can be achieved only through reunification of all the Irish people in one sovereign nation.

In this context, therefore, we are fighting for a "united Ireland"; but that phrase has other implications for many people in this country, Nationalist and Unionist.

We are not proposing that the Brits be forced out and then the liberated Six Counties be conveniently "re-united" with the present day 26-County Free State.

**Standing idly by**

The treachery of the Leinster House authorities, who continue to stand idly by and who, to this day, ar leanúint lch. a 8.

**Criminal note on citizen's file**

WRITTEN on a man's application for a house were the words "mentioned in regard to a criminal offence." Sinn Féin councillor Vincent Conlon told a shocked meeting of Monaghan UDC.

Vincent added that he had spoken to the man in question and had been told that he had not even been interviewed by the Gardaí in connection with any criminal offence.

The Co. Manager is to investigate.

Sinn Féin in Co. Louth has made a strong protest against £5,000 of public money being allocated by Louth Co. Council for the Irish tug-of-war body; world championships are to be held in Dundalk this year and among those invited are South Africans, hence the Sinn Féin objection.

Sinn Féin Councillor Fra Browne voted against the allocation, saying the money could be better spent on a cheap fuel scheme for the old and underprivileged.

**Silly whippers**

Wexford Sinn Féin members are complaining about dishonest councillors pretending that they are getting houses for those on the housing list and raising their hopes unnecessarily.

Some people believe this plámás and when, eventually, they get a house the dishonest councillor gets the credit (and the votes). But others check and find that their hopes have been raised unnecessarily with lies.

Sinn Féin emphasises that councillors have no influence at all in getting people houses and do not know details of the housing list until it is discussed at council meetings.

**EIA party now legal**

THE Madrid government has removed the ban on Euskal Iratzeak Alderdi (Party for Basque Revolution) since mid-January. EIA is the political party of ETA, the Basque militant organisation, and it sent two delegates to the Sinn Féin Ardheis in Dublin last October.

EIA has one deputy elected, Francisco Letamendia "Oztyz", and one senator. Besides - since June 15 last.

**Generous Louth**

An Cumann Cabhrach acknowledges with thanks, receipt of £325.85 from Louth Comhairlecheantar, Sinn Féin.

**ST. ENDA'S SCHOOL**

I went past St. Enda's School today.

It's often so . . .

It's on my way

to everywhere I go!

The eaves were soaked in sunset, gold and grey . . . an Easter Lily lay atop the snow.

Red Branches reached and scratched at windows all trimmed with paper cut outs, A "Poblacht" page blew wild lost by an eager child.

I went on past, knowing how fast these children grow.

Why, those were Kevin's cut-outs, Brughá's Lily,

Liam's missing page;

"An Phoblacht" long ago!

-Tim Breathnach



Here is an illustration of some of the craft work being produced by the PoWs in British jails. See opposite page.

**POSTMHALA · POSTBAG · POSTMHALA · POSTMHALA · POSTBAG · POSTMHALA**

THE FOLLOWING is a copy of a letter sent to "The Irish Times" on January 23 last:

Your editorial, "Off the Air" (21.1.78), is a typical reaction from a "liberal" paper to the decision of Mr. Faulkner, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, to follow the Conor Cruise-O'Brien line in imposing blatant political censorship in RTE. But your case, on the liberal grounds, that the only way to preach democracy is to demonstrate it in action, etc., ignores two much more fundamental points.

For one thing your entire editorial is at total variance with what we, as elected public representatives of Sinn Féin, stand for. Only an editor with a closed mind, if not a total bias against all our works and actions over the years, could misrepresent our policies and performance in this way.

Secondly, you fail to make

**'Irish Times' libyrocity**

the very important point that, of all the groups banned by Mr. Faulkner, Sinn Féin is the only one which does contest elections and which does have publicly mandated spokesmen.

Sinn Féin is the third largest political party in Galway County Council. I have been a public representative since 1967, having passed the test of electoral support as recently as 1974.

Paddy Ruane has been a Sinn Féin member of Galway Co. Council since 1955 and was elected on the first count in 1974. Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the sole Labour member of the Council sit down and discuss a broad range of political matters with us on a regular basis.

Yet, because Mr. Faulkner does not like us, the Irish public are prevented from hearing what we have to say on the media for which they pay themselves.

John Hume may be, as you suggest, a "formidable broadcaster". We would not agree that he has been able to "demolish Provisional arguments on the air". But that is hardly the point. The real point is that we are elected representatives, who enjoyed support at the polls long before John Hume entered politics.

We have retained that support after Mr. Hume became redundant as a public representative. But, of course, you and other media ignore such realities. We are sending copies of this letter of

clarification to RTE and the Galway press also.

- Frank Glynn, Sinn Féin Councillor, Galway Co. Council; agus Paddy Ruane, Sinn Féin Councillor, Galway Co. Council.

**MRS. JULIA MOONEY**

IT WAS with deep regret that the South Dublin Comhairlecheantar learned of the recent death of Mrs. Julia Mooney, who all her life was a supporter of the Republican Movement, being involved in her early years in the War of Independence.

In expressing our deep condolences, we would like to send a special word of sympathy to her daughter, Kathleen Knowles, a member of the Casement-Nolan Cumann, -South Dublin Comhairlecheantar, Sinn Féin.

**COUNCILLOR PRAISED**

WE, the undersigned cumann of Sinn Féin in Co. Louth, wish to go on record to show our support for Councillor Fra Browne.

At the January meeting of Louth Co. Council he opposed the allocation of £5,000 granted to aid the World Championship of Tug O'War to be held in Dundalk in September next.

He did so on the grounds of the expected appearance of the South African team in this event. However, he did emphasise where the money should be spent, namely, on old age pensioners for a cheap fuel scheme.

Surely money collected in rates and taxes, as we do, that we must first put our own house in order, before interfering in another country's affairs.

Councillor Browne is the only councillor who has raised the questions of national importance at Louth Co. Council meetings.

He believes, as we do, that we must first put our own house in order, before interfering in another country's affairs. However, if the South African team is scheduled to come here, we will play our part to make

their visit an unwelcome one.

- Francis Jordan Cumann, Cooley area; McKernan-Mulholland, Killycroy; Worthington-Watters Bros, west Dundalk; Goss and Gaughan Cumann, Dundalk central; Crossy-O'Boyle, Blackrock; Duffy-Hessey, Mid-Louth; O'Carroll-Tierney, Ardee; and Captain Tim Flanagan Cumann, Drogheda.

**ON RAMPAGE**

THE Brit news media is once more on the rampage. Now they state that Mason is bragging in Belfast that "the tide is turning" against the freedom fighters.

Paradoxically, while the newscaster is saying this, she adds: "There were two bomb explosions in the centre of Belfast".

Callaghan is trying to stir up flagging morale among his occupiers scuff, speaking in the same vein of "only a handful" etc. Yet, in their TV programme, "Tonight" they admitted that

(Ar leanúint ar lch. a 8)

# What's this about the class war?

THE CLASS war has nothing to do with Republicanism. This was the gist of the heated statement made by a Sinn Féin councillor from Co. Donegal at the last ardheis.

A young man rushed up to the microphone and reminded his audience, just as heatedly, that James Connolly believed in fighting the class war and that James Connolly had died for Ireland.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh then interjected to say that he didn't mind what it was called, the class war or whatever, as long as people understood what was meant, that Sinn Féin — and Republicans in general — takes its place among the have-nots against the haves (the five per cent, who lay claim or say they own some 70 per cent of the wealth of Ireland).

More and more Republicans, especially the younger ones, are using such terms as "boss class" and "class war" with ever more frequency as are many of the other political organisations and groups here and abroad. But the particular political-economic meaning of the word "class" should not be new to Irish Republicans, especially to those even slightly familiar with Wolfe Tone.

**Famous Appeal**  
Surely all of us remember his famous appeal to "that most respectable class, the people of no property"? Pádraig MacPiarais made the Republican commitment to this class far clearer in "The Sovereign People," a good companion for Connolly's "Labour in Irish History," which brings the story of the Irish have-nots about up to Connolly's time.

A class is a section or a division. Up to even 20 years ago it was common enough to hear people dividing society into three sections: the upper (monarch and aristocrats), the middle class and the lower class (classes).

The French Revolution came about by a revolt of the middle (or bourgeois) class against monarch and aristocrats, the middle class using the "lower classes", skilled and unskilled and usually manual workers, to destroy the tyrants on top.

Having succeeded, eliminating the ruling royal family of France and ending the power of the nobles, the stage was set for the nature of the state to be changed in the interests of the new boss class, the middle or bourgeois class (property and business interests, their managers and other allies).

## FROM WOLFE TONE TO THAT ARMY COUNCIL STATEMENT le Deasán Breatnach

To strengthen this class it became necessary not only to destroy the power of the nobles but to keep the "lower classes," the people of very little or no property, "in their places," by means of laws, police and soldiers.

### Captive class

Initially, education was reserved for the propertied class. Later it was doled out grudgingly only so that workers might work better and make the rich richer.

Everything possible was done to discourage the captive class from liberating itself through the formation of political parties, by combining in trade unions, by availing itself of education, better health facilities, proper housing, decent working conditions, adequate wages or, indeed, by anything which might be construed as a threat to the bosses, the bourgeoisie; or, as they are known in Ireland, the gombeen class.

Fewer than 100 years ago children were denied schooling and employed from dawn to dusk in heavy manual labour, wrecking their health, stunting their lives, often dying before reaching maturity, particularly in the mines.

In the time of Larkin, Connolly and Pearse, parents and children often were clothed in rags, spent most of their lives half-starving, lived in filthy conditions, in Belfast and Dublin slums, often 10 or 15 to the one room.

At the same time the dominant class had its carriages, foot-servants, house maids, butlers and the rest, burned huge quantities of coal in huge Georgian houses, ate and drank of the best.

### Bitter War

Somewhere at some time somebody considered the

situations of the two classes and came to the conclusion that one was at war with the other, the bourgeois or middle class winning most of the time, except during the terrible riots, or when the workers, through their (illegal) combinations of trade unions, managed to squeeze a few shillings more for their work or to cut minutes off the working day.

One class was oppressing another class. The comfort of one class was made possible by the misery of the other. The conflict, the friction, between the two sections came to be termed the "class war."

Today, no trade unionist with any experience of the jungle that is the labour market is in any doubt about the existence of that class war.

When people chide him for thinking in such terms, suggesting that such conduct is "anti-Christian" (or even "un-patriotic") he can reply that it was not he or his likes who started that war.

Neither, he can reply truthfully, is it he or his likes who continues to press that war home, chipping away at his standard of living, at the real, take-home value of wages, forcing or trying to force him to enter into special agreements so as to be given a decent wage, special agreements which reduce the work force, may render him or his comrades redundant, will leave fewer jobs open for the next generation.

### Rich grow richer

At the same time he observes that while his standard of living disimproves, through inflation, state-employer conspiracies to keep wages down and boss cunning in general, his employer grows richer and richer.

Thus it becomes very clear to him that the class war is very much on.

If he has guts he will become a soldier in that class war, initially, perhaps, as a militant trade unionist; later, as a member of a political party which seeks to dislodge the robber class and put the captive class in control; later still, as a guerrilla fighter, struggling to free his country or his class or, as in Ireland today, both.



Michael Holden.

## Hands off Ireland

ON JANUARY 22 last more than 300 Trades Unionists voted in support of the "hands off Ireland" resolution put to a union conference in Harlow (Essex) by ATCC member and shop steward Michael Holden.

Putting the motion to the floor Michael Holden said: "It is necessary now more than any other time for British Trades Unionists to demand, loud and clear, their complete opposition to the Labour Government's Campaign of brutality and intimidation upon the people of north-east Ireland.

"Now is the time for the 'Silent Majority' to make their views known to their union headquarters and the TUC. The day when criticism of the British army and the RUC could be dismissed off-hand as Republican or IRA propaganda had come to an end.

"Persistent and strong criticisms keep being levelled from a wide variety of sources and any person present at today's meeting, who had been to Belfast or Derry during the past few years, could not say otherwise.

### Police blamed

"Lessons learned by the army and RUC are being adopted slowly but surely by the police in Britain, and the Grunwick strike was a glaring example of how things are going to be in this country in future.

"Recently, the assistant General Secretary of the U.S.S.A. pointed out that the violence on the Grunwick picketing line was not caused by the picketing trades unionists, but by the police who waded in with their fists, knees and boots.

"This was common practice in Northern Ireland. I was recently informed by a reliable source that the London police were on the verge of using CS gas to break the picket lines and crush the opposition of trades unionists at Grunwick.

"The use of the army recently to break the firemen's strike again is ominous. On all fronts, workers and working class organisations are under attack.

"The media are working hand in glove with the establishment. They say lip service to what is happening in Rhodesia and South Africa, yet remain silent on the dosing down of 'Republican News' in Belfast, an area which they claim to be 'Home Ground'.

The following resolution was seconded by Ruth Anderson of C.O.H.S.E. and was passed unanimously:

"This conference deplors the campaign of intimidation being waged against the minority in Northern Ireland, by the British army and RUC, and calls on the TUC to protest in the strongest possible terms to the Labour Government and demand an end to it.

"Furthermore, we demand an independent investigation be conducted into the recent raid and closing down of a legitimate newspaper, 'Republican News' by the British Army."

## Cumann Cabhrach appeal wins wide support

AN CUMANN Cabhrach (England) wishes to acknowledge with thanks the many individuals, groups and clubs who sent letters, cash, postal orders and cheques in response to the appeal for money made through the Republican press in December.

The committee wishes to thank in particular the Irish organisations in Australia (the Éire Nua Club and the Celtic Club) in Melbourne for the collections made for Irish prisoners of war, and to Frank and Emy in Victoria for their donations and help. It is greatly appreciated.

Thanks, also, to the officers and members of the Cathal Brugha Slua of Na Fianna Éireann in San Francisco, California, USA, who organised a rummage sale and sent the proceeds to An Cumann Cabhrach, in London.

An Cumann Cabhrach committee intends to use this money to purchase wood, modelling leather and other material to enable the prisoners to continue their handicraft work in the various prisons throughout Britain. Again, we thank you all for your more than generous response.

Readers of "An Phoblacht" wishing further information on the work being done for Irish prisoners of war are invited to write to Michael Holden, Box 8, 182, Upper Street, London, N.1.

## COMHBHRÓN

### Milo Carr

A YOUNG Drogheda man, Milo Carr, Marian Park, was killed instantly when the car he was driving hit a fence on the Dublin road recently.

Milo was a very good friend of the Republican Movement and will be sadly missed by the Movement, especially in the Louth and Meath areas.

His fiancée, who was in the car at the time of the accident, was taken to Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital but was not seriously injured.

To her and to Mr. Carr's family and friends we extend our sincere sympathy.

At dheis Dé go raibh a nam. — P.R.O., Meath Comhairlecheantar.

## Still only 10p

TO HELP strengthen the anti-imperialist front in the past we have made space available free of charge in this paper to friendly organisations and publications.

Because of growing economic pressure and our unwillingness at present to increase the cost of the publication we must end free donation of space and charge for all advertisements, in future, at the current rates: 5p per word (minimum, 50p) or, display, £1.50 per inch.

Subscription rates for "An Phoblacht" (and "Republican News") remain the same and (including postage) are: £8 per year, Ireland and rest of Europe; \$20 (or equivalent), elsewhere.

Until such time as "An Phoblacht" is being sold and bought in reasonable quantities in every parish in Ireland there will be no realistic basis for a daily Republican newspaper.

Support the armed struggle by increasing sales of "An Phoblacht" and "Republican News". Circulation of both is increasing but not quickly enough.

Cross all cheques or money orders and make them payable to: "An Phoblacht". Send your subscription now to us at: 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, ÉIRE.

## Memorial to Coalisland Volunteers

National Graves Association, Tyrone, in conjunction with East Tyrone, Comhairlecheantar, Sinn Féin, will unveil a memorial to Volunteer Denis Quinn and Volunteer Dessy Morgan on Sunday next, February 12.

Assembly 14.00 hrs. at Parochial Centre, Coalisland. Parade to cemetery. Prominent speakers and bands will attend.

## Sinn Féin Irish language class

Improve your knowledge of Irish by attending class every Wednesday (20.00 hours) in 5 Blessington Street, Dublin, organised by Sinn Féin.

Ni scoir go Gaeilge.

### Oslo demonstration

A demonstration on Jan. 30 in Oslo, organised by the Norwegian-Ireland Committee, backing the Irish demand for self-determination and freedom, was supported by the Norwegian Student Society, the main student body in the country.

## Coiste Cuimhneachain na Poblachta (Republican Commemoration Committee)

Applications by speakers for Easter commemorations should be made not later than February 22 next, giving the time and full details, to: An Rúnai, Coiste Cuimhneachain na Poblachta, 44, Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

### ORDER YOUR EASTER LILIES, NOW!

Price: £10 per 1,000. Available from: Mrs. P. King, 29, All Saint's Park, Raheny, Dublin 1.

Honour Ireland's Dead: Wear an Easter Lily!



# IRA wound 15 members of Crown forces in attacks



AT LEAST 11 enemy soldiers and four RUC men were injured in the course of the armed freedom struggle in the north-east during the week beginning January 29.

Operations were reported from four of the Six Counties. The latest weapon in the armoury of Oglaiigh na hÉireann, the M-60 machine-gun, went on public display in Derry for the first time.

Millions of pounds of damage was caused in attacks on capital. Here are the details.

## SUNDAY, JAN. 29

**Kinawley:** A Crown forces (military) patrol was blown up by a landmine. In a statement, claiming responsibility Briogaid Fhear Manach (Fermanagh Brigade), Oglaiigh na hÉireann, said: "The campaign against Crown forces personnel as well as economic targets is to be intensified by all active service units in County Fermanagh during the coming weeks, pending a declaration by Britain to withdraw".

**Dungannon:** Lamont's supermarket, Cabra, was damaged when a bomb exploded.

**Derry:** In a road-check, mounted by Oglaiigh na hÉireann, to protect the Bloody Sunday commemoration, the newly acquired M-60 machine gun was on view to the public for the first time.

**Belfast:** The Crown forces (RUC) base in Andersonstown came under fire on three occasions. Shots were fired at the Monagh military camp. In North Queen Street, a RUC mobile patrol came under fire. In Koden Street, shots were fired at a military patrol.

Two members of a military patrol were shot and injured in Lenadown.

Buses, lorries and vans were hijacked, used to block

roads and set on fire in the Falls and Twinbrook areas.

In various parts of the city numerous hoax bombs kept enemy forces tied down for hours.

## MONDAY, JAN. 30

**Belfast:** The Marlborough D-I-Y shop, Lisburn Road, was damaged severely when a bomb exploded.

A bomb exploded in the VG store, Edlingham Street, causing extensive damage.

## TUESDAY, JAN. 31

**Derry:** Three shots were fired at a Crown forces (military) foot patrol in the Creggan area.

**Dungannon:** A hardware store, a jeweller's and a tobaccoist's in Irish Street all were damaged extensively when bombs exploded. Four members of the Crown forces (RUC) were injured in the blasts.

**Belfast:** The Radio Rentals shop and Bannon's furniture store, North Street, were damaged extensively when bombs exploded. Two members of the Crown forces (military) were injured in the blasts. A hoax bomb was left at Castle Jewellers, Upper North Street.

Gillespie and Wilson's furniture store, Newtownards Road, was damaged badly when a bomb exploded. A second device was defused by enemy forces.

A booby-trap bomb went off at the corner of Hillman Street and Duncairn Gardens. Two hoax bombs had been left nearby.

## WEDNESDAY, FEB. 1

**Belfast:** The 21 month-old son of Kevin Hannaway, one of the "hooded men" victims in the Strasbourg torture trial, was seriously injured when men burst into their home in Benares Street and opened fire.

Sinn Féin in Belfast accused

Relatives of the 14 people the Crown massacred on Bloody Sunday lead the Commemoration parade. (See also page three).

the British government, through its agents, the British army or its Loyalist murder gangs, of trying to assassinate the Hannaway family.

## THURSDAY, FEB. 2

**Strabane:** The Lynton and Robinson furniture and hardware store, Abercorn Square, was damaged by a bomb explosion.

**Belfast:** Two bombs exploded in A.S. Baird's car showrooms on Boucher Road. Parsons and Parsons, tailors shop in Wellington Place, was damaged by a bomb explosion.

## FRIDAY, FEB. 3

**Belfast:** Two members of the Crown forces (military) were shot and injured outside Crumlin Road Jail. Minutes later a bomb exploded in a nearby derelict building.

The Steak House, High Street, was destroyed when a bomb exploded. Adjoining buildings were damaged in the blaze that followed.

Three bombs were found by enemy forces in a car abandoned in White Street after a chase.

**Omagh:** The town's courthouse was damaged when a bomb exploded inside. Two more devices were defused by enemy forces.

● On February 1, a statement from Oglaiigh na hÉireann said there had been 52 bomb attacks in the Six Counties since January 15; 35 soldiers and RUC had been hurt during the same period.

# Éire Nua and unity

(Ar leanúint ó lch. a 6)

attempt to make political gains from the sufferings being endured by the people of the Six Counties ensures the total unacceptability and impossibility of a 32-Counties "Free" State.

In addition, the "united Ireland" concept implies a coming together of all the Irish people under the auspices of a central authority - dangerously vulnerable to deterioration into a bureaucratic, undemocratic and centralised regime, similar to that at present tolerated in Leinster House.

With these considerations in mind and in an effort to spell out exactly what we

believe is the only realistic solution to Ireland's dilemma, the Republican Movement, in June, 1972, adopted the call for a "Four Province Federal Ireland" as a slogan that more adequately expresses our belief in the necessity for entirely new decentralised and democratic political structures in the new Ireland.

In discussing our federal solution, Mr. de Bráddín complains that "the territorial implications of this are unclear". In the past six years, numerous Sinn Féin policy documents have been issued outlining our proposed four-tier system of

government, based on self-governing communities.

Briefly, this programme envisages district councils, representing communities of 10-40,000 people; regional councils, responsible for the administration of 15 clearly defined socio-economic regions; four provincial parliaments, based on the historic provincial divisions of Ireland and including a nine-counties Ulster; and, finally, a federal or central government situated in Athlone.

## Democratic rule

The obvious advantages of this federal solution include its provision for the introduction of real democratic government in an independent Ireland, the decentralisation of power and its distribution among the people in their own communities, the participation of each and every Irish citizen in the affairs of his own district, the opportunity to redress the disastrous economic imbalance in development of the poorer, disadvantaged western regions (west of the Shannon and west of the Bann), and a realistic Irish solution to the Irish national problem within the framework of provincial power, which will allow all the differing traditions of this country, especially in Ulster, the right of free expression and participation.

We reject the vague "federal" musings of both Mr. Jack Lynch and Mr. John Robb because they continue to recognise that Britain has a role to play in the future development of our country and because they base their federal structures on the artificially imposed Six Counties unit of partition.

The political structures of the new Ireland, as outlined above, have been examined in great detail in Sinn Féin policy documents and we would expect that a professional journalist, such as Mr. de Bráddín, successfully would have breached the ban on political discussion by Sinn Féin spokesmen.

We stress that the unity of all the Irish peoples into one nation is our foremost concern in the struggle against the truder and that we are confident that this unity can be achieved in a four-province Federal Ireland. Ceithre chúige - Aon náisiún amháin.

## Eldrida

(Ar leanúint ó lch. a 3)

which the people stood every day".

The people are now being asked to help produce a "democratic and truly people's constitution". The present one was devised in 1962 by a committee of 17 politicians in only 31 days. The proposed two years' consultation with and by the people before a referendum to produce the new one is taken straight from the theories and policy of nearby Cuba's Fidel Castro.

## Éire Nua style

The Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Justice with responsibility for

## SAS MURDER BID FOILED

(Ar leanúint ó lch. a haon)

of the "hooded men" on whose behalf the Strasbourg torture case was brought against the Crown; one of the first to be interned and the last of the "hooded men" to be released, in April, 1975.

A Sinn Féin Belfast statement after the shooting pointed out that "Republican News" had warned the Republican people that Crown forces were preparing an assassination campaign "in the hope of creating a sectarian or feud situation."

A week before the shooting Kevin and seven others of the "hooded men" attended a Dublin press conference on the subject of the Strasbourg verdict; re-affirmed that they had been tortured; and pointed out that torture is continuing in the Six Counties

at the hands of military and RUC, with the acquiescence of the judiciary.

This was the third attempt on the life of one of the "hooded men." The first two were bids to kill Gerry McKerr of Derry/macash, Lurgan.

First of these came in January last year when two shots were fired into his home, wounding him. The second came a month later when his car was booby-trapped - fortunately he saw trailing wires in time.

● FOOTNOTE: Crown GOC Greasy in Aden used assassination widely in a ruthless but unsuccessful attempt to break peaceful resistance. The weapon will fail just as miserably here under the same tyrant.

## BUANCHUIMHNE

Birmingham Cumann Cabhrach and Pearse McDavid Cumann, Birmingham, remember with pride Praisias Stagg, murdered in one of England's notorious hell holes, Wakefield Gaol, on February 12, 1976.

"Life springs from death; and from the graves of the patriot men and women spring living nations."

## Commemoration Clonmult Martyrs'

Midleton, Co. Cork.

Sunday, February 19

Assemble at Monument at 15.30 hours sharp.