

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.

(See 1937 Constitution)

# An Phoblacht

Iml. 8. Uimhir 42. 10p. Deireadh Fómhair 26, 1977.

## AN ARDFHEIS AB FHEARR



ARDFHEIS '77 was the most successful for many decades in Sinn Féin's history. The unanimously re-elected Uachtarán, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, told us, in an interview after the ardheis, that it was the best, from many viewpoints, since he had become a member of the Ardchomhairle, in 1956.

Uailtéar Ó Loinsigh, one of the comh-rúnaíthe (the other is Niall Ó Faodhagáin, pictured above during the debate on a vital motion, with unanimous re-election Leas-Uachtaran Dáithí Ó Conaill) told us the attendance of delegates was up 10 per cent., judging from the cards issued, but the general attendance was also up considerably.

There were times when the floor and the gallery in the Mansion House were packed with no seat available and scores of people standing at the sides and at the back.

"The 1972 ardheis was exceptionally well attended," Ruairí told us, "as was the 1975 ardheis. Last year there was a slight drop. This year beats all records in my experience."

But this was only the physically visible proof of the fact that Sinn Féin is marching ahead to political victory in Ireland, he pointed out.

### Self-confident

Debate was of a much higher standard. Young, intelligent, determined men and women were coming forward, sure of themselves, well able to express themselves, fully conversant with the party's ideology, sure of where they wanted the party to go. "Dúghrácht, sínn, déafhóil, daoine óga, na seanlaochra ann i gcónaí, ball ó Dhia orthu: is ea, tá an eagraíocht dulta i bhfoirfeacht i mbliana," ar seisean. "And members well understand their standing among the oppressed peoples of the Third World, to which we belong, and among their own people. There is a new confidence, a certainty of victory."

"We had on the platform this year two representatives of the political wing of resurgent Euskadi, Tir na mBásach, and the full support of the Breton Republican Army, the Corsican resistance, Jean Paul Sartre and his colleagues in France, the Catalans and many many others.

"Correspondingly, our delegates were more outward looking, fully appreciating that resurgent Ireland is in the front line of the resistance of the Third World,

with all the responsibilities that go with that role of glory.

### Sin saoire

"Tá nuid sásta lán-tsásta," ar seisean. "Tá muid in éide agus in eagar, anois, chun an chinireacht tá a dhíth ar Eirinn a thabhairt don phobal, ní hamháin chun an stróinséar a bhíú amach, ní hamháin chun aghaidh a thabhairt in éadan gadaíochta an Chomhphobail Eorpáil, ach chun struchtúr nua a thabhairt don tír seo, córas a thabharfaas cothrom na Féinne do chách, síocháin do chách ach, thar éinne eile, cumhaíocht don ghnáthdhuine. Sin saoire."

Among the most important work achieved by the ardheis, he stated, was acceptance of the two-tier system of membership, making for greater efficiency through the full (voting) members and greater, wider participation through the associate (non-voting) members.

All could help, not only in forcing the exit of the Crown forces but in, perhaps, the more

immediate future, in resisting EEC plunder of resources — now becoming widely understood by the people — and in disentangling ourselves from the stranglehold of Brussels.

Did not some of the rún (motions) before this year's ardheis not suggest some confusion among some members and some cynicism as to the reality of the political situation in Ireland, with demands that "the government" (Leinster House) do this or that?

"Yes, I agree. Some of our members have come under the influence of radio, TV and papers to the extent of using the gobbledegook of the status-quo," he replied, "and this comes out in the wording of some of the rún or an gclár."

### Mental laziness

It gives the impression of mental laziness, that they did not think out our position and our attitude and state it clearly, just as other members err by reaching out for some fashionable label in the clichés of the Left, a label which means one thing to them and something rather different to

others who hear it. Some editing will have to be done on the rún or an gclár next year."

Was not the clár, too packed with the limited time available? Three minutes hardly was sufficient to deal in depth with complex matters?

"We would be reluctant to limit the clár to a set number of rún, even though this would make for deeper, more considered debate," he stated. "We don't want to be undemocratic or even appear to be so. But, yes, we will discuss the matter, to see how we can be fair to everyone while planning for a more efficient ardheis."

Might not the problem be solved by provincial ardheis-canna?

"We have thought about this and we will be having seminars in every province. But, of course, only a limited few can be accommodated. Then, of course, as at every level, there is the finance problem.

### Munster crux

"Above all, however, only two of the Comhairle Cúige are working properly: Comhairle

Uladh agus Comhairle Chonnacht. Comhairle Laighean is coming along well if rather slowly. Comhairle na Mumhan is the greatest worry."

Another way in which this year's ardheis differed from others was the virtual absence of talks about legalisms, the absence of internal stresses and strains: "the physical presence of the visitors from abroad and their messages of support and solidarity," he said, "helped to put the struggle in its international setting.

"An Phoblacht is helping us a lot and that help was to be seen and its influence felt in the work of the ardheis, particularly the explanations of Éire Nua policy by Christene Elias, as well as the foreign affairs section under Risteárd Behal.

"All this has helped us to be more outward looking, in getting to grips with the realities."

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# An Phoblacht

Iml. 8. Deireadh Fómhair 26, 1977. Uimhir 41  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.Á.C. Éire. Guthfón: 747611

## Fight for identity

CONRADH NA Gaeilge, the Irish language organisation, has protested once again at Crown attempts to force Irish travellers to translate "into English" their first and surnames, when these are supplied in the correct Irish form.

There is a long tradition of harassment behind this bigoted practice which often is accompanied by threats of assault and jail. It began formally with the Statutes of Kilkenny, which attempted to outlaw virtually anything relating to an Irish identity. There is hardly anything more fundamental of identity that the preferred form of one's name.

If the teaching of history is to be effective, we are told by experts, it should begin with the history of the parish and work outwards (a precept still largely ignored for the obvious political reasons).

Similarly, the Irish identity begins with the personal affirmation and moves out from that basic conviction to know, understand and embrace the other elements.

Unfortunately, even still, despite unanimously carried *ruin* (motions) at Sinn Féin ardtheiseanna, very many Republicans go under those forms of their names declared acceptable by the Crown.

If it is a revolution that we are about surely that revolution must begin with each individual. If it is freedom we seek, surely our first act must be to free ourselves? Conradh na Gaeilge is to be commended for taking a resolute stand on this basic issue and for setting up its bureau to pursue complaints of this Crown barbarity to the ultimate in every instance.

One of the reasons why so few people insist on using only the correct Irish form of their names is that they have only a meagre knowledge of the Irish language. Such insistence with officialdom, they fear, might be followed by a flood of Irish and the shame at not being able to match it.

The shame is very human but, for those with little or no knowledge of Irish, there is a simple and dignified answer: "I regret that I cannot speak the ancestral language but I am asserting a basic right under international law, that I am entitled to be known by the form of my name which I prefer, in a language which is recognised by an international body, the Postal Union. In using this form I have taken the first basic step in asserting my Irish identity."

Such an answer will stand up in the highest international tribunals and refusal to recognise the right asserted, accompanied by assault or threats of assault, leave the offending official open to legal action at Strasbourg and the United Nations.

Some readers may think that this is a very minor issue compared with the more painful assaults on the right of Irish people to live and work at home in peace, without alien interference.

No basic right can be considered minor, and the right to affirm, assert and broadcast one's identity is a very basic right, indeed, the reason why it has been attacked so assiduously for some 800 years.

It is politically dangerous for one to be sure of one's Irish identity. This is the first act of a rebel. It is a revolutionary act to turn upside down the practice of centuries of slavery, to discard the label which the conqueror would have one wear and to put in its place the genuine thing.

It is intolerable to the Crown (and to its allies all over Ireland) that the Irish language should continue to exist despite the huge sums of money spent trying to extirpate it. It is a challenge and a rebellious act to insist on using the native form of one's name instead of being willing to accept the Crown's version (that is the Crown's main objection to Ardceasp Ó Fiachá).

Nobody today attempts to use the term "Ourselves" instead of "Sinn Féin." Terms such as Bord na Móna are accepted at home and abroad. If Republicans will move en masse into the correct Irish versions of their names, using them always, a similar victory can be gained.

From there we can go about the reconquest of Ireland in the area of placenames, retaining the historic versions, restoring them to correct spelling, discarding the new, ugly names forced on us by the gommeen builders and speculators, aided and abetted by the Crown's servants.

# Aire a scéith air fein

BÍODH DO rogha tuairime agat faoi Phroinsias Mac Aonghusa maidir le cúrsaí polaitiúla ní chóir aon amhras bheith ort ná faoina seil mar fhear teifilise.

D'éirigh leis, agus gan aon stró, an dá rud sin a chruthú athuair an tseachtain seo caite sa chláir úd, "Feach."

Agus d'éirigh leis, chomh enimn éiteachtach céanna, a chruith nach bhfuil form dá laghad ar Fhianna Fáil aon cheo a dhéanamh chun an teanga náisiúnta a tharraing siar ó bhéal na huaighe.

Más aon chruthú Ó Gallchoir, an fear bhí faoi agallamh aige, ní feidir náire, anois a chur ar Fhianna Fáil faoi mharu na Gaeilge.

Ar ndóigh, níl muintir Fhianna Fáil sásta sin a admháil.

Tá abairt réidh smoltaiche sa mbéil acu i gcómaí ar na saolta seo, agus bí muintir na hÉireann a chaitheas an teanga a shábháil agus nach amháin do pháirtí ar bith aon cheo a dhéanamh sna cúrsaí sin.

Má bhíonn aon locht ar Phroinsias Mac Aonghusa is é náir dhúit sé go bhfuil na húdaráis agach tíf ag cuidiú le teanga amháin agus ag dul in éadan teanga (nó teangacha) eile dá réir; agus gur fíor sin don tír seo, chomh fíor céanna is atá sé faoin Spáinné nó eile.

## An dátheangachas

BÍODH AN dátheangachas deas, muinte, aisiúil, cuidiúch, cáilanta nó éile, níl polasáí an dátheangachais in bheithinn in áit ar bith. Ní héadfadh sé a bheith aon óir is dual do gach teanga bheith canabach nó forúdráich. Nó, séagórach.

Níl polasáí an dátheangachais i bheithinn sna 26 Chontae, cuma céard é deir an té is údaráis; is é an Béarla tá i gceannas. Tugtar aithní eicint don Ghaeilge, níos lú aithníe ná mar a thugtar don bhFraincis i gCeannada (lasmuigh de Céibeo), ach sin an méid.

Agus is lú an aithní sin le gach bliain dá dtéann thart. Féach na cúirteanna dlí i dtír Chonailí, i lár na Gaeltachta; Béarla i lár na Gaeltachta féin.

Féach an teanga tá in uachtar sa státseirbhís, fíú i Roinn na Gaeltachta féin.

Féach, ar ndóigh, an teanga tá in uachtar i dTeifilís Éireann.

Tá sé ráite agus sainraite agam anseo, le blianta fada, go bhfuil sé in am, agus thar am, do mhuintir na Gaeilge na fíric, an fhíríne shearbh, úd a aithní agus páirt a ghlacadh linne sa Réabhlóid.

Ní hionann sin is a rá go bhfuil Gluaiseacht na Poblachta gan locht ó thaobh na Gaeilge de. Ach dá mbeadh pobal na Gaeilge linne sa réabhlóid, neartóid sin lámha agus údaráis - agus creidimint - na Gaeilgeoirí i nGluaiseacht na Poblachta.

Dh'eiríodh sin an Réabhlóid. Dh'eiríodh sin ré na síochána.

B'fhéidir go dtuigeanm Proinsias MacAonghusa an méid sin. Ar dtús a d'fhéadadh sé níos níos mó chun an fhíríne shearbh úd (nó fírinne an tsolaí) a leirniú ná mar a rinne sé ar an gclár úd de chuid "Feach."

Mar ní ligfí dó na cinnirí a thabhairt isteach sa stúidéio agus iad a chur i lárthaí na fírinne mis a rinne sé leis an Aire deoráil úd, urlabhráir ar aon Gaeilge de chuid Fhianna Fáil.

## Fealltóir RTE

D'UNE É Proinsias MacAonghusa a rugadh agus a tógadh i Ros Muc, áit a bhfuil clú uirthi bheith ar na háiteachtaí is réabhlóidí in Éirinn ach an ehimírceacht a bhí ann. Faraoir gearr, níl aon chumhant de chuid Sinn Féin i Ros Muc, ceantar an Phiasaigh, go fóill.

## Débé

Cén fáth sin? Tá na Poblachtóirí ann agus go fairsing. Níl a dhifhí ach eagar chur orthu.

Fear éile a rugadh agus a tógadh sa nGaeltacht, nó i ngar di, nó ar a ion chuma, le Gaeilge ó dhúchas, tá Seán Duignan, tá luaithe againn ar leathanach a trí ar gcomhfhreagróir i Nua Eabhrac.

Fear é a fuair scoláocht ó na hÍosláin i nGaillimh agus scoláocht eile fós sa "Tribune," agus a d'fhág sin chun post a fháil sin "Independent" i mBaile Átha Cliath, agus a thréig an oifig sin chun RTE a mhaisiú, ach atá anois ag obair ar son na Coronach i gcóilín an "New York Times".

"Mór mo náir, mo chlann fein a dhíol a máthair."

Castar sin leis an chéad uair eile a thugann sé cuairt ar chathair na Gaillimhe nó aon áit thar. Nó i mBaile Átha Cliath féin.

## Costas Títhíochta

I gCONAMARA dom ar na mallabhad agus mé ag labhairt faoi na tíf breitha nua tá tógtha ag muintir na Gaeltachta, mé ag déanamh comparáide idir iad siúd, mar árais, agus a bhfuil againn sin ar dhaicéad, mar phruchógáil, cuirdeach stop go hobann lem bhéalscútar agus go pas beag mífhoighneach, shíl mé.

"Nearc agus stuaim agus allas mhuintir Chonamara, ar thuaralast suarach, is cúis leis na títhé sin a bheith againn," arsa mór chéite comraic, tigh an gailí mífhoighneach, shíl mé.

"Ach na deontaisí móra," arsa mise go hainleach, "cuid díobh ón stat, cuid eile díobh ó Roinn na Gaeltachta."

"Bhfuil fhios agat," arsa mór dhuine, "céard i an uair dheireadh a fuair mhear ar an pá? Bhíuill fhios agat," ar seisean, "cé mhéid faoin gcead fá praghas an amháid agus eile arduithe ag na gadaithe i nGaillimh le blianta beaga? Bhíuill fhios agat nach bhfuil cúirtéamh dá laghad fáite againn sna deontaisí agus an praghas ag siorradú i gcóma?"

Bhí ndíre orm. Ní bheid aon



Máire Ní Chonáin ag múineadh scoile sa scoil Iár-Ghaelach nua in Inse Caoir, Baile Átha Cliath, bail Ó Dhia orthu uilig.

chéarta bunreachtúla a cheadlaíodh. Ach díol spéise i gcoitiné "Rose" don té bhfuil spéis i dteangachaí aige agus sa Ghaeilge háirithe. Agus ar leathanach a trí tá fogra a bhfuil trácht aige faoin Réabhlóid Chultúrtha agus an bhaint tá aici sin leis an bpáipéar eile.

## Beoiriseoireacht

TUIGIM GO bhfuil colúnáil Gaeilge a scríobhfas Gaeilge bheo bhíadnách chollaíoch ag teastáil ón "Sunday World."

Deirtear liom go bhfuil a leithéid d'iriseoirí thar a bheith gann. Ní dóigh liom fein go bhfuil. Táim tar éis nó broim sa scoileadh. Fíobh féin tá sé, anois.

Cuidítear le rún na hardhífise faoi chultúr trí tuairisc chur chig Débé agus Cúnnla. Comhfhreagróir a dhifhí i ngach Gaeltacht.

## Rosc catha

B'FHÉIDIR GO bhfuil sé pas beag deireannach sa ló bheith ag scríobh faoi "Rose" na míosa seo tá ar fáil ó Chonradh na Gaeilge, Sráid Fheachair Bhaile Átha Cliath, ar 12p.

Uaidh sin a thóg muid an pictiúr tá ag maisiú an leathanaigh seo. Tá ráiteas ar leathanach a dó ó Mhíchéil Mac Conmara (S.F.) faoin ngrá tá ag na Gardáil i gCeannas don Ghaeilge (mar dhea) agus faoin gceat a dhéileáil said leis nuair rinne sé iarracht a

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# Crown's game in US played by RTE man

Ónar gComhfhreagróir, Nua Eabhrac

ROY MASON came to America to urge industrialists to invest in Ireland's north-east for the benefit of the Crown's economy. He is a Crown Minister of State and that's his job.

Mason alleges that the Crown forces have almost restored peace in the Six Counties. By way of proof he takes from his pocket a sheet containing the number of convictions in non-jury courts for what he calls "terrorist offences." He does not say that the "convictions" are the result of fabricated confessions, in most cases, and that's understandable, as his job is to boost Britain.

Now along comes Seán Dugan of RTE to bolster Mason's arguments in the "New York Times" Review of the Week section of Sunday, October 16, and he writes of "anti-terrorist successes by security forces", of "the sharp rise in the number of convictions being obtained" in the north-east and of the "lack of money" from Irish-Americans for the struggle there.

The "New York Times" describes Mr. Dugan as "a political correspondent for Irish radio and television." He is not on the staff of the "Times" so why does he write British propaganda for it?

The short answer, no doubt, is that this is the only kind of material the "New York Times" will print and that Mr. Dugan is

being paid for it.

Mr. Dugan's piece said nothing about the role of the Crown forces in Ireland's north-east, of the ill-treatment, torture of prisoners or anything like that. He made the point that the Crown hopes "to keep (money from America) to a minimum through a continuing programme of anti-Provisional (Óglaigh na hÉireann) publicity in the United States."

Is Mr. Dugan's article part of this publicity?

### Killing of Children

Mr. Dugan does not mention the killing of Irish children, Leo Norney, Brian Stewart and Majella O'Hare spring to mind by Crown forces. The other atrocities committed by Crown forces also are mentioned.

Is this good enough, Mr. Dugan? Even to get some extra dollars from the "New York Times" on top of your RTE salary, which is paid for by the Irish people?

Mr. Dugan says that Prime Minister Callaghan "is reluctant to mount a British political initiative" because of his dependence on "Ulster Unionist support" in Westminster.

Is that not an immoral stand? Is it a good enough reason for a continued Crown presence in Ireland? Surely it deserves a comment of some kind to put the issue in proper perspective? As Mr. Dugan raised the matter he should explain it.

Statements by Crown officials usually follow the formula: Mr. Dugan is a Dublin official, in effect, since he is paid by a Dublin agency - RTE. In America, such statements are suspect.

Ar lean, lch, a 8

### Fisher's line

Some months ago Desmond Fisher, also of RTE, wrote a similar article for the liberal Catholic journal, "Commonweal", here.

There was an immediate outcry from "Commonweal" readers.

In the past, the journal has had a number of reasoned and well-researched articles on Irish politics in general and the Six Counties, in particular. Its readers are not so easily fooled.

But the "New York Times" has a strong bias against Irish nationalism, a matter well known to the present U.S. Ambassador to Dublin, William Shannon, late of its editorial board. Mr. Shannon was always a fair commentator on Irish affairs though he did not often get space in the "Times" for his views.

A final point: Mr. Dugan praised the so-called "Peace Movement" for making it possible for people in Belfast to become informers. In effect, that was his message.

### Nobel prize

Some days earlier, commenting on the Nobel prize award to Máiréad Corrigan and Betty Williams (see also page six) Roy Reed of the London bureau of the "New York Times" suggested what is well known in Belfast, that the "Peace People" thing is a media invention, without influence or impact on the Irish community in the Six Counties, Catholic or Protestant.

Now, if Mr. Dugan were honest he could have made the same comment. But, no doubt, he feared the "New York Times" would not print his piece. He might be right.



"The problem of the ghettos? The ghettos, my dear, are a solution, not a problem."

From "The Militant," the U.S. Socialist newsweekly.

# Enticed outside home, battered against wall

PROBABLY the worst case of Crown brutality short of murder (such very well may have been intended) was recorded in Belfast's Turf Lodge shortly before the Marine Commandos (Crown forces) were withdrawn. The victim was Sammy Hyland.

According to the statement made by Mrs. B. Hyland, 66 Monagh Road, Turf Lodge, Belfast, on October 17 last, she and her husband, Sammy, were awakened at about 01.50 hours on the morning of Sunday, October 16, by soldiers kicking at the front door.

When the door was opened four soldiers entered, saying there was a suspect car down the street and that they suspected Sammy of having left it there.

### Pool of blood

In her statement, Mrs. Hyland said: "Outside, I heard Sammy ask where the car was and the soldiers replied 'just down the street.' I got ready to follow, and was on my way down when a neighbour came running up and said: 'Bernie, come quick. I think that's Sammy lying on the footpath.'"

She hurried down Monagh Road, her statement continued, to find her husband lying in a pool of blood and seemingly unconscious.

She became hysterical and had to be taken into a neighbour's house.



Sammy Hyland

The local priest, Rev. Patrick V. McWilliams, and an ambulance, were called.

Meanwhile, Sammy regained consciousness and asked for a priest. Father McWilliams arrived and spoke to the sick man in the ambulance.

Her sister and her sister's husband accompanied Sammy to hospital.

### Unhelpful RUC

"When I had recovered a little the priest, a neighbour and myself went to Andersonstown police station," the statement continued. "The extent of his injuries are: 20 stitches in the back of his head; his face is twice the normal size and they have to keep draining fluid from it. His body is all bruised and sore and he has a mark around his throat where they tried to choke him with a rope."

"He is being led through a straw and is receiving injections for the pain. His speech was also incoherent when I visited him on Monday. Only for the neighbour coming out he is convinced he would be dead."

"The neighbour told me later she heard Sammy shouting for help and she heard the thuds of his head against her garden wall."

### Property Stolen

She would not know the full details of the terrible assault, her statement continued, until his health improved considerably.

Her home had been raided at 05.10 hours on Wednesday, October 12, when Sammy had been arrested, taken to Fort Monagh and released after three hours.

"When he went to the drawer to get his bureau card it was missing, along with his Parker pen. I believe they were taken by the soldiers."

"On numerous occasions in the past few months people who were lifted by the British Army (Crown forces) have been questioned about Sammy and told that he would get a 'head job' before the Marine Commandos left Belfast," the statement concluded.

A "head-job" is understood to mean a Crown murder.

### Patriotic work

Our Belfast correspondent adds that Sammy, an ex-internee, has been an active Sinn Féin worker in Turf Lodge; that he was beaten up by the Crown forces in August during Elizabeth's visit; and that a reference was made to him for a "head-job" last September when Malachy Kearney was assaulted (report: "Republican News", Oct. 8, page five).

Our correspondent adds: "Incidentally, the Brits (Crown forces) made similar references to Jack McCartney before they assassinated him, one week before the Elizabeth visit."

## Northern Relief Committee

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Nal cleistear ar ár muintir thuaidh!

# ARDFHEIS PREVIEW: AN OBJECTION

OUR ARDFHEIS preview provoked the following letter from Michael Mac Conmara, Sinn Féin, 5 Sraid Bhaile Choinín, Béal Átha Cliath.

In the edition of 'An Phoblacht' published Deireadh Fómhair 19, an unsigned article was published concerning Ardfheis '77.

"In previous editions of 'An Phoblacht' a notice was carried which carried the following: 'The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement.'

### Unsigned Articles

"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."

"Unsigned articles are not covered by the above statement and I would like a clarification whether unsigned articles such as the above mentioned are the official policy of the Movement.

"In the course of the article it was stated: 'A logical and principled policy has worked out on this matter at some stage.' The matter referred to was the Sinn Féin attitude to local government in the 26 Counties and Sinn Féin participation in the same.

"This implies that Sinn Féin's present policy is illogical and arbitrary. The anonymous author then goes on to support two motions calling for a reverse of the present policy.

"In my opinion it is unprincipled to publish such articles in 'An Phoblacht' and to state that there was some confusion when there is no time to reply. This is compounded when the letter is unsigned and thus could be construed to be Movement policy."

### Byline left out

Our political correspondent replies: Unwittingly, the byline, attributing the preview to me, was left out. Nevertheless, it should have been obvious to readers that the feature (it was not a "letter") was a pol. corr.'s preview."

All statements made by the

leadership of the Republican Movement are attributed clearly to that source.

All political correspondents are aware that party policy is made by cumáin at ardfheisanna and that this is particularly so in the case of the most democratic political party in Ireland, Sinn Féin.

Jimmie Drumm and Ruairí Ó Bráithir (and other Sinn Féin leaders) have emphasised that Sinn Féin is a REVOLUTIONARY party.

It was in this context that my preview was written. It seemed to me that there was some confusion among Sinn Féin members as to what such a revolutionary role entails and I quoted rudy to clarify this point (partition thinking).

### Revolutionary truth

Mícheál MacConmara writes that such an analysis is "unprincipled." My obligation is to the truth of the Revolution, as I see it, and to make a reasoned analysis.

Most mature Republicans



Sixth in a series  
by Máire Comerford

# Degradation of the 1921 'Treaty' trick

THE VIEW of Ireland from the outside — particularly from the foreign offices of free countries — changed fundamentally in response to the new situation to which we had degraded our island Nation and ourselves, in the actual terms of the Anglo-Irish "Treaty" apart from the imaginary terms put forward by our own counter revolutionaries who had signed in 1921.

The tidings that Ireland was "free" (but not all of it), that the Crown forces was evacuating (but not everywhere, or all of it), that a Provisional Government (which had not been elected) was organising the new "Free" State and had received the surrender of Dublin Castle, all must have been transparent in the various foreign offices of the states where the normal reports of agents and observers were also coming in at the same time.

Three recent articles by Dom Mark Tierney, OSB, make this conclusion inevitable. The articles deal in part with the reports of M. Blanche, French consul in Dublin, and they were printed in the "Independent" (Oct. 4, 5, 6, last).

It must be understood that what was given in that paper of Father Mark's work was selective. Nevertheless, we find Blanche reporting, in January, 1922, when Arthur Griffith became president of the majority party in Dail Eireann: "There was very little public rejoicing (pas un soupir, pas un rassemblement joyeux)."

Blanche had been, of course, accredited to Dublin Castle; he now needed fresh instructions from Paris.

### Inexperienced TDs

In the past he had attended meetings of Dail Eireann and noted the inexperience of its members.

These articles appeared at the moment when I was studying for "An Phoblacht" had brought me to the point of reading my notes copied from the minutes of the Second Dail starting on January 10, when Arthur Griffith had been elected President in succession to Eamon de Valera. Unfortunately, I have not yet seen the minutes of the Provisional Government. They were not available at the time when I was able to get to the State Paper Office; this is the point when some younger person must take up the historic inquest which is long overdue.

The terrorists of the "Free" State always have alleged that their bloodbath of 1922-23 was sanctioned and given an aura of democracy by the vote of Dail Eireann on January 7, 1922.

### Amnesty for Crown

The account of the President's Department at the cabinet meeting of January 11, 1922, show that, after providing for payments to outgoing ministers up to the end of the month, which were not accepted, the first business was to approve a letter of amnesty to the Crown forces and "all persons who co-operated with them in any capacity whatsoever during the recent hostilities."

It was to be a mutual amnesty to date from the setting up of the Provisional Government.

Arrangements were made for the calling of the Provisional Government for Saturday, January 14.

January 12: The Irish Race Convention, already in course of organisation for Paris, was discussed and a letter to "President" de Valera drafted: "Equal representation from both sides to prevent introduction of party differences."

Minister for Defence reported he had received a requisition for Volunteer Convention "by certain

members of HQ staff and individual commandants."

### Demolition of Dail

He proposed to reply: "The proposal is entirely outside the constitutional powers vested in the Dail Executive by the Dail. Without a resolution being passed by the Dail the proposal could not be accepted to."

This reply suggests that Mulcahy had obtained some legal or constitutional advice.

It should be kept in mind when considering the other business carried out by this cabinet in its self-invented task of demolition of Dail Eireann.

It had been decided from the beginning that the Dail civil servants could hold their jobs only if they changed from Republican to "Free" State views.

On Jan. 12, also, Mulcahy got approval for taking over certain barracks from the Crown, say, Beggars Bush, and for quartering and training of "Irish" troops...

It was decided that such troops be loaned from the Defence Department, the cost to be paid by the Provisional Government, and the barracks "to be held for the Irish people."

Home Affairs and Defence co-operated in taking "necessary precautions to prevent disturbances" at the departure of the auxiliary police (Crown forces).

### Request refused

On January 13, they decided on the membership of the Provisional Government. Michael Collins, Liam T. Cosgrave, Eamon Duggan, Fionan Lynch, Joseph McGrath, Eoin MacNeill.

The heading in the minutes is important: "A meeting of members for Southern Ireland."

There are frequent mentions of the Foreign Affairs staff abroad. This came to a head on February 24.

I regret to have to state that

the Minister was George Gavan Duffy; his speeches are all worth reading; it is to his credit that, eventually, he resigned; but it took time.

The decisions were: Art O'Brien... remain in London at his post. Osmond Esmonde, to go to Madrid to take the place of Miss O'Brien. Harry Boland dismissed.

Sean T O'Kelly had been permitted to go back to Paris to pack up; in deference to his wish to be dismissed rather than resign his dismissal would take place in about a fortnight.

Mr. Chartres moved from Berlin to Paris for the time being.

### Southern Ireland

Obviously, Dail Eireann's Appeal to the Free Nations of the World had been cancelled.

From then on, for a span of years: foreign affairs, passports, etc., came within the imperial organisation.

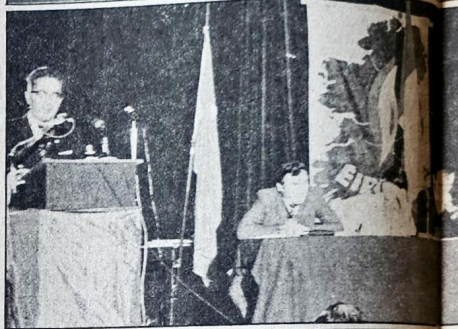
I know nothing of this but I recall being with Mrs Pearse somewhere in the United States when we met a Canadian post-master general.

He took great delight in telling us how he has just then visited Washington and had called on the United States Post-Master General (or equivalent official).

His cause of pleasure was that purposely he had avoided going first to the British Embassy, a course prescribed by the rules and tradition of his job.

## An Cumann Cabhrach

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## Third World messages to Ardfheis '77

MESSAGES of support for the Republican Movement, reaching the Sinn Féin Ardfheis, came from many parts of the world. They included the Cornish National Party (James Whalley), the Front National de Catalunya, two Australian solidarity groups, the Irish Solidarity Committee in Oslo, Norway, the Comité Action Contre Europe, Germano-Americaine (Sartre, Bourdet, Vigier), the Comité de Solidarité de Dijon (France), SAV (Breton National Front, via Gilbert Monroy), FLB-ARB (Front of Breton Liberation and Front Republican Army), the Partido Revolucionario Proletario Portugues and the Front Liberation National de Corsica (FLNC).

Ana, on behalf of FLNC, in a message of support, "salutes your ardfheis and wishes you complete victory for a united and independent Ireland." The message continues: "Our two peoples are engaged in the struggle against imperialism for our complete liberation. We salute the struggle of the Irish people and the struggles of all the people of the world."

The two Basque representatives of EIA (Euskal Iraultzarak Alderdia) got a standing ovation from the ardfheis after reading out the

EIA message to the Irish revolution: "A revolutionary greeting from our country, from our freedom fighters, to yours, to you in support in the struggle against the same enemy — imperialism. We are a young party, born a year ago, at the last national assembly of ETA."

"Our party fights for the independence of Euskadi and socialism fundamental and essential for the real solidarity between oppressed nations, towards true internationalism."

"Euskadi knows what it is to be oppressed to lose its best men and women, torture, prisons, and also to be divided in two; but we all know that when there is the will to obtain freedom, liberty comes. A Nation can overcome all the obstacles. You will always find the support of our party and our country for you to obtain a reunited and socialist Republic and we are sure that this congress will help you to achieve this."

"Long live Ireland. Gora Euskadi askatuta ta sozialista! Iraultzaile agur bero bat zuet eta Irlandako Herriari!"  
"Euskalherria, borrokan gaudela hainbat urte, zer diren Irlandatarok ba dakigu, eta behar, herri baten askatasunen gogoa dagonean, ez dazo ostopirik."

"Iraultzaileok, sozialismo eta independentzi — a gure herburuak direla argi dugu eta erabai nola, denok artean, munduko gizarte klase gaberik, egingo dugula."

"Gora Eire askatuta ta sozialista! Gora Eire'ku ererepublika! Lail herrialde, herri bat!"

Is é a chiallóna na ceithre fola deireanacha: "Ceithre cúig, aon niasúin anháin (four provinces, one nation)."

Among the foreign journalists present was Cristina Gonn, Joe Cahill agus Darthí Ó Conaill. Comhrialtithe: Uallteir Ó Loinsigh agus Niall Ó Faodhagáin. Comhchaitheir: Toifín Ó Ruidháin agus Cathal Mag Léid. Oifigeach poiblichoita: Sean Ó Bradaigh.

Bail na hArdchomhairle: Gearóid Mac Adháimh, Séamus Ó Droma, Risteard Behag, Seán Seósamh Mac Sin Iarla, Aindriás Ó Ceallacháin, Seósamh Ó Néill, Seoirse Stagg agus Brendan Mac Giolla.

# ARDFHEIS '77

FEARAIM fíor-chaoin falte romhaibh arís ag an 73ú Ard-Fheis de Shinn Féin. Tá bliain stairiúil eile curtha dinn sa troid in aghaidh an impiríalachais agus ar son saoirse agus cearta an duine in Éirinn.

Sa tréimhe sin daingníodh spiorad ár muintir san Oll-Thuisceart agus theip glan ar ghluaiseacht bhéirge na síochána san uile chearn den tír.

Taispeánadh go soiléir don tsaol mór nach raibh uathu ach an Pax Britannica, Síocháin Shasana sa tír seo, nuair a thuill siad moladh poiblí agus dea-thoil Choróin Impiríúil na nGall.

Theip dhomh maith ar peigendáil, bhéirge na Sé Chiontae Fíchead lena gabháil seacht lá gan triail, lena brúidíalach ag lámha phríosíní lena droch-íde ar phríosínáigh, tuag an gnáth-phobal freagra in mbealach thein orthu siúd ar bheag leo teanga na nGael, ar nár leo bheith ina nÉireannaigh agus ar mhór leo an Faisisteachas, an Galltáchas, cúl cine agus athscríobh na stáire.

Neartaíodh ar mheánma Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta agus thug an gnáth-phobal freagra in mbealach thein orthu siúd ar bheag leo teanga na nGael, ar nár leo bheith ina nÉireannaigh agus ar mhór leo an Faisisteachas, an Galltáchas, cúl cine agus athscríobh na stáire.

## Croíthe slán

Ní hionann is a rá nach bhfuil obair ábal-mhór roimh an Ghluaiseacht seo? Is é sin, le treoir cheart a thabhairt do mhuintir na hÉireann — a bhfuil a gcroíthe slán — chun impiríalachas agus cóilneachas idirnáisiúnta a scrios sa tír seo.

Thairis sin, an gnáth-phobal a chur i gceannas, ár gceaspóir; nó i bhfocla Forógra 1916 "dála na hÉireann á stiúradh acu gan chos gan toirmeasc".

Another historic year has passed since we met in annual delegate conference. In that time the defiant spirit of resistance of our people has been strengthened. It has not been undermined by the false Peace Movement north of the Border or the bogus State of Emergency south of it.

From the support and favours lavished on it by the British

On the day following our last ArdFheis, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien suppressed a "Reach" current affairs programme which dealt mainly with our ideological stance and the work of our new Foreign Affairs Bureau.

Then he issued a further diktat to R.T.E., forbidding even the bare five minutes annual live interview with a Sinn Féin spokesman.

Even the 26 elected representatives of our movement were banned, it transpired. Well did a Sinn Féin statement comment that "Dr. O'Brien must feel very frightened and incapable of answering our arguments when even this ration of five minutes per year is to be disallowed".

Dr. O'Brien and his theories have since been answered much more effectively by the people than they ever could by Sinn Féin. Nevertheless, Fianna Fail continues quietly and efficiently to implement the self-same



# Óráid Ruairí Uí Bhrádaigh

Crown, and gladly accepted by it, the Peace Movement has been shown to be unashamedly an instrument of British policy in Ireland.

Their aim of the "Pax Britannica" - to quote Padraig Pearse, our first President, of a temporary triumph for the forces of imperialist oppression over ordinary people, has not been achieved.

## No jury

Neither has the seven-day Emergency detention without charge or trial - now in cold storage - broken or intimidated our people.

We know from the official record that less than 10 per cent of the many hundreds held under these Emergency Powers ever appeared on a charge in the non-jury court in Green Street, Dublin.

We also know - and the whole world now knows - of the cold, calculated and organised police brutality against prisoners under cover of this seven-day detention.

Jumping from upstairs windows while in police custody has, in the past year, been extended from Springfield Road barracks, in Belfast, to Cahir, in Co. Tipperary.

One wonders will it be long before it is announced in both parts of Ireland, as it was in South Africa in the past year, that future "interrogation" of political prisoners will take place in ground floor rooms only - for obvious reasons!

## RTE censorship

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decrees of Dr. O'Brien against the freedom of speech and the exchange and dissemination of ideas.

## Máire Drumm

On October 28, 10 days subsequent to the ArdFheis, Máire Drumm - our Vice-President for four years, and Ardchomhairle member for eight - made her last defiance on this earth of British rule in Ireland when she faced alone and at point-blank range the guns of Crown agents while a patient in a ward of the Mater Hospital, Belfast.

Máire Drumm, fearless anti-imperialist fighter, you do not die, You - our very own - live on to inspire us. Your struggle and your bearing in life, and the manner of your death, ensure that for all time.

Ar dheis laimh De agus a mhathar beannaithe go raibh d'anam uasal croga.

The major campaign of the year planned before Christmas and implemented in three phases in the new year was what has come to be known as the "Brits-Out Campaign".

The initial phase, with the message "Brits-Out - Peace In", was carried with tremendous enthusiasm to even the most remote parts of the country.

## Wall slogans

Wall slogans were particularly successful. This was clearly shown when tourist bodies, local Fine Gael, Labour and Fianna Fail councillors and other members of the Establishment became immediately concerned.

From end to end of the country their voices were raised in public, saying in effect: "We do not want the British to leave because, in the changes which will surely follow, we may lose our little share of transient power".

So much resisted idealism in age-old conflict.

Leaflets, posters, public meetings, demonstrations of every kind, were employed to carry the message that in order to have peace in Ireland, the British must first decide to go.

The posters in this, as in other Sinn Féin campaigns, were systematically and methodically torn down under cover of darkness, and sometimes even in daylight, by members of the Gardaí, acting, no doubt, on orders from their political masters.

The second phase, "Brits Out - Éire Nua", conveyed message No. 2; that when the British leave, both states erected here in 1921 must be dismantled and replaced by an entirely new Ireland - a new Federal Ireland of the four provinces with community government, in the view of the Republican Movement.

## Church and state

In this connection, we welcome the call from high places in the Churches in Ireland that Church and State must be separated, a new constitution brought in, and a pluralist society built.

We made this call at the Sinn Féin ArdFheis of 1971 and repeated it many times since, notably at the banned and highly successful Diamond Jubilee Commemoration of the 1916 Rising on April 25 last year.

An added feature of this round of activity was a series of indoor public meetings at five provincial venues with leading

Republican speakers and a public question and answer session.

The campaign was interrupted and all its vast enthusiasm had to be diverted owing to the 47-day hunger strike of Portlaoise prisoners against inhuman and degrading conditions in the prison.

Police aggressiveness and brutality at the demonstration of April 3, the dignified solidarity of the relatives and the response of the Movement in general to the prisoners' sacrifice all forced a way into the public consciousness, both nationally and internationally, culminating in the intervention of Amnesty International.

The results of their investigations into police brutality, the operation of Emergency laws and the Special Non-Jury Court, and prison conditions here are still bearing fruit, while the Fianna Fail administration's belated response is entirely inadequate and constitutes a classic exercise in "whitewashing".

The third phase of "Brits Out" called for not just a New Ireland, but a Better Ireland - a Democratic Socialist Republic. Message No. 3 was that if we do not own and control and develop our natural resources and wealth, we will not be able to provide employment for our youth and all our people. This phase will carry over straight into Round No. 2 of the anti-E.E.C. campaign next year.

Meanwhile, a further and very topical policy document, the fifth of a series in recent years, was launched under the name "The National Offshore".

This document, with maps and other information, advocates a 200-mile offshore fishing limit plus a similar offshore economic zone for Ireland.

Pending a satisfactory outcome to the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, which rightly regards the mid-ocean as the common heritage of all mankind, the outer Mid-Atlantic zone should be tentatively divided between Ireland and her Atlantic neighbours.

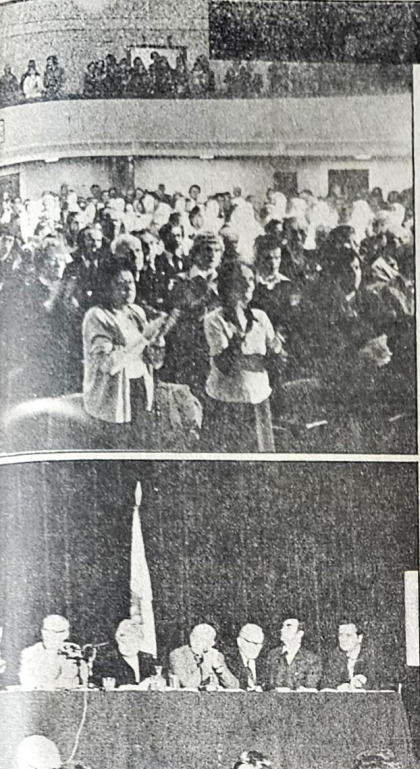
Sinn Féin has to be concerned with the widest possible spectrum of the many-sided attempts of British and international imperialism to deny the Irish people their God-given and inalienable right to sovereignty and self-determination.

We have spelled out our policies in detail and have charted in much greater detail than any other political group in this country where we wish to see our country going.

The fact that the greater part of the media are prevented from allowing our message to reach the public in no way diminishes the claim we make. We invite those who wish to deny it to examine the record.

But we are more than a ginger-group for bright ideas. We are a movement totally committed to revolution, right across the board, and from top to bottom; we are struggling in Ireland, and in the Irish revolutionary tradition for the same things that are being fought for by the oppressed, exploited and deprived peoples of the whole world.

Le críochnú an tseachtain seo chugann



## Pictiúirí

- 1 - A packed Dublin Mansion House Round Room for Ruairí Ó Brádaigh's address.
- 2 - Ardchomhairle members on the platform.
- 3 - Displayed at Ard-fheis, papers and magazines of the Third World.
- 4 - Seán Ó Brádaigh, two Basque representatives and Risteárd Behal.
- 5 - Jimmie Drumm alongside the Groulet painting of his assassinated wife, Máire.
- 6 - The painter and Breton freedom fighter, Yann Goulet.
- 7 - Corn Marshall, Pobl Bhaile Munna, Baile A tha Cliaith, ag labhairt ar an Ard-fheis.



*Cúrsaí eachtracha* Foreign affairs

# American Indians at Geneva conference

Le Risteárd Behal

The International Non-Governmental Organizations Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations, 1977, in the Americas, brought together more than 250 delegates, observers and guests at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, from 20-23 September, including representatives of more than 50 international non-governmental organizations. I attended on behalf of Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau.

For the first time, the widest and most united representation of indigenous nations and peoples, from the Northern to the most Southern tip and from the far West to the East of the Americas took part in the Conference.

They included representatives

of more than 60 Nations and peoples, from 15 countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, United States of America, Venezuela).

It was regretted that some delegates were prevented by their governments from attending.

The Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights addressed the participants on behalf of the United Nations Secretary-General. Representatives of the United Nations, the International Labour Organization and UNESCO addressed and participated in the conference.

The representative of the Conseil d'Etat of the Canton of Geneva welcomed the participants. Observers from 38 UN member states followed the proceedings.

#### Fourth meeting

The conference was the fourth such event organized by the Geneva NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization of the Special NGO Committee on Human Rights.

Previous conferences, all organized within the framework of the United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination were, in 1974, against apartheid and colonialism in Africa; in 1975, on discrimination against migrant workers in Europe; in 1976, on the situation of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

The representatives of the

indigenous peoples gave evidence to the international community of the ways in which discrimination, genocide and ethnocide operated.

While the situation may vary from country to country, the roots are common to all.

They include the brutal colonization to open the way for the plunder of their land and resources by commercial interests seeking maximum profits; the massacres of millions of native people for centuries and the continuous grabbing of their land which deprives them of the possibility of developing their own resources and means of livelihood; the denial of self-determination of indigenous nations and peoples, destroying their traditional value system and their social and cultural fabric.

The evidence pointed to the continuation of this oppression, resulting in the further destruction of the indigenous nations.

#### Wounded Knee

Many participants expressed support for the solidarity with the indigenous nations and peoples. I expressed the solidarity and deep concern on behalf of the Irish Republican Movement in an interview with Mr. Russell Means, leader of the Indian delegation.

Mr. Means is an activist in the Indian struggle for autonomy and has yet to face serious charges in connection with the Wounded Knee Siege.

He expressed his keen interest and sympathy of the Indians generally for the Irish struggle. He hopes to visit Ireland in the near future.



## Nobel decision puzzles people in Andersonstown

THE announcement that Mrs. Betty Williams and Miss Máiréad Corrigan had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize was received with little excitement or enthusiasm in their native Andersonstown, Belfast.

Local people were at a loss to understand how what is, apparently, a coveted prize, awarded to people with long periods of service in the cause of peace, could be given to the leaders of a movement just a year in existence and with no successes to show for their efforts, which seemed to be concerned mainly with fundraising drivers, writes our Correspondent.

Far from advancing the cause of peace and justice, many people believe that the most obvious result of the Peace People's activities has been a marked increase in terror by the Crown forces.

#### Maguire deaths

When the movement began in August, 1976, following the tragic deaths of the Maguire children killed by a runaway car the driver of which, an IRA man, had been shot dead by British soldiers, many people believed that it was British-inspired, although this has been denied by its leaders who, nevertheless, in August, were received and entertained by the trespassing foreign monarch.

Certainly, there is no doubt that Britain and, particularly, the British press, leapt at the opportunity presented to further hammer the Republican people.

They reckoned that, as the Peace People were almost all Catholics, they could be used to make the Catholic people "vomit up" the IRA, the only armed force the British are interested in beating.

It has been reported recently that the British Government spent more than £11 million through its embassies, to promote the Peace People's fund-raising campaign.

Another thing that the men or women in the street finds difficult to understand is that the Nobel Peace Prize can be awarded to people such as Albert Schweitzer, Seán MacBride, Martin Luther King, Albert Luthuli, Amnesty International, all of whom worked for genuine peace, but also to Henry Kissinger and other Americans who masterminded and conducted the Vietnam war.

#### The inconsistency

A recent book on the Nobel Prize highlights the apparent

inconsistency in the choice of recipients.

Nobel, incidentally, made his money (which provides the fund) from the invention of dynamite, an intriguing thought in itself.

BY THE WAY: What about the factory in Strabane the peace people promised? Or has the money been blown on "expenses"?

## Callous boast of murder

AN Andersonstown Advice Centre, Belfast, official reports that a member of a raiding patrol of Crown forces on October 12 boasted that he had murdered Jack McCarran, manager, Andersonstown Social Club, on August 4.

A member of the Marine Commandos (Crown forces) he was described as 5 ft. 9 ins. tall, medium build with chubby face.

He and other soldiers entered the premises and were abusive.

As they left, the soldier shouted: "I shot McCarran."

When challenged he added: "The safety catch slipped; bang, bang, - he was dead."

Another soldier then said "We never kill defenceless women - only sometimes."

On October 10 a patrol of Fusiliers and Marines (Crown forces) entered the centre uninvited.

When asked by the staff to leave they threatened to return and paint the place "all in blue, but a few bricks through the window would improve the place."

It is significant that the two girls working in the Centre at the time of the raid had taken part in the demonstration in the Europa Hotel on Saturday during the Peace Conference.

BBC, ITV and Radio Downtown all were informed. None of them mentioned it in newscasts.

On October 10 trade unionists and other politically conscious people joined the Grunwick mass picket in Willesden, north London, and again there was an Irish solidarity presence in the persons of Sinn Féin cumann members. Slowly but surely workers in England are coming to realise that the Irish armed struggle is the front line of freedom and socialism in western Europe.

## S.F. speaker

### on ATUA

### platform

SINN FÉIN was represented at the conference of All Trades Union Alliance on October 16 in the huge Wembley Conference Centre, London, which was packed.

Sinn Féin, also, was given the right to address the conference and John McKeever called for the support of those present, and all workers in England, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and the Isle of Man, for the revolutionary struggle in Ireland.

The struggle in Ireland was not merely for re-unification under the Sinn Féin federal structure. It was for freedom. It was for the socialist Republic.

"Our aims are the same, basically," he told members, urging the forging of links between the Irish and the British worker.

#### Families terrorised

Police were increasing their harassment of Irish people in Britain, he pointed out. Homes were being raided and families terrorised. Police were pointing out Irish people to members of the fascist National Front.

Two hours before attending the ATUA conference a police Panda car had tried to run down a colour party leading a Sinn Féin demonstration through Cricklewood.

"The car drove straight at us and then reversed back at us," he told delegates.

He pointed to the importance of workers supporting the Irish prisoners of war in English jails, particularly Seán Páidí O'Doherty, wearing only a blanket for more than 12 months in Wormwood Scrubs. He criticised the allegedly British "left" for failing to support the Irish revolution.

## Amnesty asked to investigate

MAGILLIGAN Prisoners' Welfare Committee has called for an independent inquiry into two cases where prisoners, on their release from Magilligan after serving sentences, were re-arrested outside the prison and taken to Castlereagh torture Centre.

The Committee spokesman said that the actions of the Crown forces were like those attributed to the Gestapo in Nazi Germany "and certainly make the word justice ring very hollow."

"We call on Amnesty International, and, indeed, all bodies interested in justice and the basic human rights of prisoners of conscience, to seek an immediate and independent inquiry into this situation," he urged.



North American Indians listen to speech at the international conference in Geneva.

An Cumann Cabhrach

Sale of Work, December 9, 10 and 11 in the Dublin Mansions House. Donations and help needed. Committee meets every Tuesday night in 44 Parnell Square. Biflín ar son na bpróifianach.

Comhbhrón

TOM FLATLEY, Enniskillen, native of Colliete Magh, Co. Mh.gh. Eo. Mayo. Comhairleachantair, Sinn Féin, expresses deepest sympathy with widow and orphans. At dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

Buanchuimhne

SEAMUS Mac OSGUIR - Never forgotten by O'Halloran-McCusker Cumann, Sinn Féin, Beal Feiste.

Birthdays to remember

- Roy Walsh, Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight; Nov. 1. Seán Kinsella, Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight; Nov. 5. Harry Duggan, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Rd., London; Nov. 6. Paul Norney, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Rd., London; Nov. 11. Brendan Dowd, Canterbury, Kent; Nov. 17. John Hayes, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Rd., London; Nov. 18. Please send birthday cards to these prisoners of war and, if you can, books and records... (Irish and Folk, E.P. and L.P.).

Sean Treacy Commemoration

Sean Treacy Cumann wishes to thank all who travelled on the bus on October 16 to Killeek for the Commemoration during which a wreath was laid by the chairman, Terry L'Orain. Eileen and Pat are remembered with particular gratitude for the sandwiches provided.

BUANCHUIMHNE

MAIRE DRUMM - First Anniversary. In memory of our esteemed vice-president, Máire Drum, murdered by a coward's bullet one year ago. Always remembered by the committee and members of the McArdrey-McCusker Cumann, Sinn Féin, Luton, England.

Help us to expose them

The Irish Civil Rights Association urgently requires funds to cope with heavy commitments to organise demonstrations and campaigns and to staff offices in 5, Blessington Street, Dublin. Please send a donation today to ICRA Appeal, 5, Blessington Street, Balfe Átha Cliath, 7, Eire.

Leabhar Gaeilge

DUE to circumstances beyond the control of Dublin Sinn Féin, it has become necessary to reorganise the Irish classes which are in 5 Blessington Street. New classes for all interested in learning Irish began Wednesday October 19 at 21.00 hours in room number two. Instructor for these classes is P. O. Riain who begins the classes at the end of July. All interested are asked to attend the class on Wednesdays.

POSTMHÁLA • POSTBAG • POSTMHÁLA

YOUR Eire-Nua columnist appears to be excessively sensitive about any possible slight against the Eire Nua programme which might be taken from it as the unalterable gospel of Sinn Féin.

In the October 12 edition she takes issue with a Luton reader who described it as a "discretionary document". She insists that it is the definitive programme of the Republican Movement and that members of that Movement must accept each and every policy therein or leave the movement forthwith.

Let us examine how the Eire Nua programme itself sets out its purpose. In the introduction we read: "In the drafting of this programme our aim has been to outline a social and economic system... and

"We hope this document will be widely reported, read and studied. Constructive criticism and comments will be welcomed because it is realised that, as circumstances change, plans of this nature need to be revised and changed."

The concept of the Eire Nua programme as a doctrinaire "party-line," as it appears to be advocating, therefore, is absurd. It is not the Movement adopted changes in policy, if, as she says, "membership of the Movement is open only to persons who accept these policies and are willing to work to attain them."

The Luton reader to whom she refers has perhaps a much clearer and more widely accepted idea of what the Eire Nua programme is when he writes:-

"Eire Nua is a basic discussion document on which we hope to lay down the foundations of a just society. It is far from being perfect. But it will be up to the Irish people as a whole to make the decision."

The last sentence sums up what we are, or should be, about. The whole point of our fundamental policy is that we aim to establish a new society in Ireland, where the people will make the decisions and control their own affairs, at local level, at regional level, at provincial level, and at federal level.

The idea that we must demand that the Eire Nua programme be implemented as a complete, unaltered package, which has to be accepted as a whole, clearly is contradictory.

Indeed, that is the present position in this statelet at the moment, where the parties put forward an election manifesto every three years. If one wants a bit of it one has to endorse the whole thing. Of course, that is the last you have to say on the matter until the next time. Moreover, the particular party does not even have to stick to its own programme, once in power. Surely, Sinn Féin is not proposing this pseudo-democracy sham?

Sinn Féin, therefore, must be putting forward the basic formula of "people-power", showing how the policies presented in the Eire Nua programme are the kind of policies that the people's government, which envisages, would logically adopt, but not what it must unalterably adopt.

The Eire Nua programme, as it stands, is certainly the political basis of the Movement; but it can hardly be definitive. Indeed, it does, perhaps, fall into the trap as the Eire Nua columnist when it talks about a Sinn Féin Government rather than a People's Government, perhaps thus helping to mislead her.

It does not claim, however, to be a detailed programme or the last word on our policies, and is clearly not thought of as such by members of the Movement, judging from the various criticisms and questions about it.

Any attempt to turn the Eire Nua programme into the "Little Red Book" of the Republican Movement - from which all "thoughts" must come, and against which all "thoughts" must be checked, can only turn it into a doctrinaire and dogmatic party, where all discussion and new ideas are stifled, and we slowly stagnate.

A vibrant movement can become strong and progressive only where everything is open to discussion and criticism, and where no idea is sacred other than the establishment of real democracy in a truly independent Ireland. - Fiachra McDonagh

HOW MARXIST?

In an important contribution to the understanding of Eire Nua policy, Christene Elias last week (An Phoblacht, D.F. 10) was far too charitable in her generous treatment of the marxist school of socialism.

"The philosophical foundation of that doctrine, dialectical materialism," she writes, "is of great interest to all revolutionaries and largely we would accept Marx's interpretation of the historical development of mankind."

I note the word "largely", but, despite the qualification, it is not true. Marx's interpretation of the historical development of mankind rests on the Hegelian dialectic applied to social history. Marx's doctrine of historical materialism.

If Sinn Féin now accepts this doctrine "largely", it has become, as a movement, part of the Marxist tendency of Socialism.

Dialectical materialism - Marx himself never used the term - is the world-view, the total philosophy of the dialectical laws of development at work in nature, on the one hand, and just society - was worked out mainly by Engels.

Marx intended to write a book on the Dialectic after he had completed "Das Kapital" but died before he could do so. His legacy is "historical materialism" and that is what is known as Marxism.

Today, the more abusive body of doctrine known as "dialectical materialism" is not regarded by leading Marxists in the West as an integral part of the great exaration of Daniel De Leon, leading Marxist philosopher of the Socialist Labour Party in America, and who branded the "inconsistent" Connolly as "heretical" and "syndicalist" and had

Must be a flexible Eire Nua

him expelled from the Marxist S.I.P. Connolly packed the Marxists for the more tolerant, less doctrinaire Socialist Party of America, led by a certain comrade Thomas, and soon packed them in to become a leading organiser of the militant syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) in "Socialism Since Marx". Leslie Derfler gives Connolly seven lines, as a syndicalist convert, linking him with Tom Mann, who published "The Industrial Syndicalist" in 1911.

Connolly's "Socialism Made Easy" (1905) and "The Axe To The Root" are not Marxist but Syndicalist in content; and Syndicalism, which stands for Worker Control, as opposed to State Control, is miles removed from every one of the 57 varieties of Marxism.

Finally, Sinn Féin's social theory, as expounded in Eire Nua and "Freedom Struggle", by the Provisional I.R.A., as Christene has often emphasized, stands for "Community", for Community local government "with the minimum control by central government in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity of function."

This is completely anti-Marxist, totally incompatible with the centralised power concepts of Marxism. Let Sinn Féin say "Stuff Marxist State Socialism" and "Socialist Democracy in the colours of the Tricolour" has its own infinitely superior native Irish tradition of Comhar na GComhar, which is founded on the right of worker-ownership and on our Irish and Christian values." (Where Sinn Féin Stands, 1971).

- M. O'Callanán

SEÁN Ó CONAILL

THE FOLLOWING is a copy of the letter I have written and sent to the Governor, Parkhurst Prison, Newport, Isle of Wight, England:

"Dear Sir - You are aware that the late Seán Ó Conaill made his will to Mr. Logue of Messrs Baker and Co. Solicitors, Guilford, Surrey; and in it left "ALL HIS BOOKS, PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS, AND ANY OTHER PROPERTY IN HIS POSSESSION" to me.

I was very sad at seeing that none of those documents came out from Parkhurst Prison amongst the things I merge possessions. I presume, therefore, that, as you did not hand them over, they must still be in your keeping. I am informing you, that since papers and documents were specifically mentioned in the will, I want them. They are mementos to me and of no interest to you.

From Seán's letters, which are still in my possession, I know how much he suffered while in Albany and Parkhurst. But for my contacting Mr. Frank Maguire, M.P. for Co. Fermanagh, in Westminster, he would have been X-rayed.

"Why was it necessary to hold him in a cage in the hospital? Were you English with the power of the whole mighty Crown forces at your calling - were you so afraid of an Irishman escaping and he at the point of death? Did you consider him such a menace that you felt compelled to hold him in a cage? Yet we know the English are said to be an animal-loving nation!"

I'm well aware of the brutality and sufferings which you have inflicted on Irishmen in Parkhurst Prison. Their funerals from that notorious prison sufficed to inform the whole world of the barbarity of the British system. Britain signed the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in defence of prisoners who are in jail. We know that still prisoners suffer harassment from prison warders and that they are sent to excessive periods of solitary confinement with very little reason.

Many of the prison warders are members of Britain's illegal army: The National Front. We have seen even on your own TV screens and through the news media what protection they were given in the upsurge of street violence; considering also how much they are given. Bobbies have brought to me Majesty's cloth by the very much publicised police corruption in sordid filth, that Britain's "Watergate".

Britain was found guilty of torture at Strasbourg court just as were the Nazis at the Nuremberg Trials. Following that disgraceful publicity across the whole world people would smother dissent. Even at this late stage prisoners now would be treated more humanely.

Yet still there are further cases pending in Strasbourg against Britain which should make Her Majesty's prison governors use their authority in the prisons to see that no brutality is carried out against Irish political prisoners any longer.

Parkhurst is sufficiently notorious, following the deaths of the late Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg. If any further funerals come from that dungeon the governor there should be charged.

Amongst the papers Seán was keeping was his Diary and Jail Journal, a record of the time he spent in the so many different prisons he was continually moved from. Perhaps you were afraid such diaries would incriminate you? The longer you hold such material the more convinced we are that you have something to hide. Through Mr. Logue, I am insisting that I am given the documents mentioned in Seán's will

- Una Toal (Mrs.)

3 St. Kevin's Terrace, Newry Road, Dún Dealgan.

CRAFT CENTRE

Leather goods Women's leather handbags, shoulder style, made in Long Kesh... £14.00 and £16.00 Women's purses and men's wallets, made in Long Kesh... £6.00 (All are modelled in Celtic designs; postage and packing 40p extra).

Jewellery Silver Phoenix lapel badges... £2.50 Gold Phoenix lapel badges... £10.00 Silver medallions... £7.50 Gold Phoenix medallions... £25.00 Women's silver Phoenix rings... £4.00 Women's gold Phoenix rings... £12.50 Men's silver Phoenix Rings... £6.50 Men's gold Phoenix Rings... £25.00 (Post and packing, 25p extra)

Records Long-playing records: Those marked with an \* also available in four-track cassette.

- \* Ireland live on - by Saoirse... £2.50 \* Hang my country - the story of a targedy... £2.40 The Price of Justice - by Kathleen Largey... £2.50 England's Vietnam - by the Men of no Property... £2.50 Ireland's Fight goes on - by the Men of no Property... £2.50 \* 20 rebel songs... £3.25 \* The Bloodstained Bandage... £3.25 18 Rebel Songs... £3.25 \* Ireland United, Gaelic and Free... £3.25 \* Best of the Wolfhound... £3.25 \* Freedom's sons - by the Wolfhound... £3.25 \* Ireland boys, Hurrah - by the Wolfhound... £3.25 \* Smash Internment... £3.25 Irish songs of Freedom, Vols. 1, 2, & 3... £2.75 The Winds are Singing Freedom - by the Barleycorn... £3.25 The Barleycorn at the Embankment... £2.50 \* For folk sake - by the Barleycorn... £3.25 \* Paddy Reilly at home... £3.25 \* The Life of Paddy Reilly... £3.25 \* The Town I love So Well - by Paddy Reilly... £3.25 \* Rifles of the I.R.A. - by the Wolftones... £3.50 \* Irish to the Core - by the Wolftones... £3.50 \* Across the Broad Atlantic - by the Wolftones... £3.50 \* Tommy Makem and Liam Clancy... £3.75 Four Green Fields - by Tommy Makem & Liam Clancy... £3.25 (plus 40p, post and packing)

Singles (all prices 75p plus 20p post and packing): Long Kesh; Up and Away; Farewell to Dublin - by the Wolftones. My Little Armalite; Provis Birdie; Michael Gaughan; Brave Frank Stagg; Provo Lullaby; Smashing of the W; Ireland, United, Gaelic and Free; Ashdown Road - all by Wolfhound. The Town I love so Well - by Paddy Reilly. Seán Sabhai from Garroymen - by Michael Moran. Crossmaglen - by the Freeman. Call or phone or write: Craft Centre, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Balfe Átha Cliath, ÉIRE.

Eire Nua carrier bags. These plastic bags are available from: Craft Shop, Cearnóg Pharnell, Balfe Átha Cliath, 1, Éire. Also from Siopa Éire Nua, Carrig Air, Co. Thír Conaill, Éire. £13.00 for 500; £23.00 for 1,000. CEANNAIGH EARRAÍ GAELACHA

The Last Post

A valuable historical record containing the names of Irish freedom fighters who have given their lives for the cause of Irish freedom. Published by the National Graves Association. Available from the Republican Craft Centre. Price £2.00; Postage and packing 20p extra.

SINN FÉIN LONDON

Another new cumann has been formed in London. If interested in joining write to Box Eight, 182 Upper Street, London, N.1.

JOIN SINN FÉIN

For a Federal Socialist Democratic Republic based on Community Government

Name: (Name): Surname: (Address): Send this form to: Sinn Féin, Sfid Chaoimhín, Balfe Átha Cliath, Éire.

# As lár an chogaidh

FROM THE WAR ZONE

DESPITE THE Crown's wishful thinking, expressed in Lisburn-inspired lies about a ceasefire, the Irish war for freedom continues and will not cease until the Crown forces withdraw from Irish soil. Here is an account of some of the operations of Ogligh na hÉireann from Oct. 8-21.

## SATURDAY, OCT. 8

Armagh: A UDR woman was shot dead in Middletown, Co. Armagh. A statement from Ogligh na hÉireann, claiming responsibility, said the execution had resulted from her involvement in the British war machine and her spying operations on both sides of the Border.

## SUNDAY, OCT. 9

Incendiaries destroyed a cinema in Newtownards.

Damage was caused to two other cinemas in Larne and Bangor. In other incendiary attacks, an insurance office in Enniskillen was destroyed and extensive damage was caused to the Helmsman Bar in Bangor, a furniture warehouse at Duncairn Gardens in Belfast and a social club in Victoria Street, Belfast. Two incendiary devices were defused at the Jaycroft Bar, Bridge Street, Derry.

## MONDAY, OCT. 10

Incendiary devices exploded in two more cinemas, one in Belfast, the other in Comber.

## WEDNESDAY, OCT. 12

The East Tyrone Command accepted responsibility for the tragic death of Francis Canavan, a school bus driver, near Ballygawley: "We deny putting out any other statement (the UFF phone call claim), as has been suggested by the RUC (Crown forces)."

"We offer our sincere condolences to Mrs. Canavan and family. Innocent people unaware of the presence of UDR personnel in a civilian role working alongside them are being deliberately placed in danger by the enemy," the statement said.

Ogligh na hÉireann, in a statement, claimed responsibility for the firebomb attack on Strathearn Hotel, Holywood, adding: "While the British government continues to boast of its successes we are inflicting heavy damages on property throughout the north. Damage totalling millions of pounds which must be met by the royal exchequer."

## Ardfheis '77

(Ar lean, 6 lch. a haon) cumann, or through the head office? Sraid Chaoimhin, Baile Átha Cliath?

There is room for all. There is work for all, now more than ever before, with the new two-tier membership.

What is Sinn Féin all about? If you don't know yet and if you want to know before joining, write now to head-office for information.

Your country must be re-conquered. Your country needs you.

With our eyes on the stars and our hands on the plough, as James Connolly reminded us, we can till for justice and lasting peace in the new Ireland.

Ar agaidh linn le chéile, in ainm Dá.

## THURSDAY, OCT. 13

A furniture store was destroyed in York Street, Belfast after an incendiary device had exploded.

## FRIDAY, OCT. 14

The Strathearn Hotel in Holywood, Co. Down, was destroyed by fire. Ogligh na hÉireann, in a statement claiming responsibility, said: "While the British Government continues to boast of its successes we are inflicting heavy damages on property throughout the north, damage totalling millions of pounds, which must be met by the royal exchequer."

Three business premises were attacked in Belfast when incendiaries exploded in the Chimes Restaurant, Musichall Lane; in the Chester Arms pub, Montgomery Street; and in a paint store at Belfast Car Hire, Grosvenor Road.

## SUNDAY, OCT. 16

Three buses were set on fire in Ballycastle, Co. Antrim.

## TUESDAY, OCT. 18

Ogligh na hÉireann, 5th Armagh, claimed responsibility for shooting dead a former member of the RUC reserve (Crown forces) in Armagh.

In Belfast, incendiaries caused extensive damage to the premises of Elliott's Hire Service, Ann Street. Two more devices exploded in Kilwee Cash and Carry, Upper Dunmurry Lane, Briogaid Bheal Feirste (IRA) claimed responsibility.

A man was kneecapped in Riverdale Park East, Belfast. Enemy forces carried out a controlled explosion on a landmine near Crossmaglen.

## WEDNESDAY, OCT. 19

Bombs exploded in the homes of two prison officers in Lisburn Avenue and Jellicoe Park. Briogaid Bheal Feirste (IRA) claimed responsibility.

Two buses were hijacked and set on fire in Turf Lodge area, Belfast.

## FRIDAY, OCT. 21

A RUC (Crown forces) man was shot and wounded in the Eglinton area of Derry.

A firebomb exploded on a train in Lisburn station. Four other devices were discovered.

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## Forgotten in Borstal

(Ar lean, 6 lch. a 6)

A.T. Copeland writes, after referring to the protests which result in their arrests: "Then the day of their trial comes and they get a Borstal sentence - whose boys and girls are they, then?"

### On their own

"From then on, except for their immediate families and circle of friends, they go it on their own."

"Are these youngsters not worse off, in some respects, than the boys in H-Block? They haven't any choice about continuing a 'blanket' protest, doing menial work, wearing prison clothes, etc."

"They are in a minority there, with no chance of remission. They have to do their full time and their time on remand is not taken into account."

"They might get a different address for the next couple of years, but that is the only difference - they are still political prisoners of war and should be treated and remembered as such."

"By the way, if it's true what's being said by the young boys in the 'Crum', they are the next candidates for the Borstals."

"The bigger prisons are full, and what better way to fill the Borstals-and at the same time break up the Blanket protest."

"Divide and conquer-that's the motto again," the letter concludes.

### Lists sought

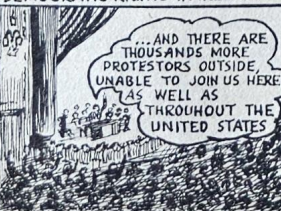
"An Phoblacht" asks Sinn Féin and other concerned bodies to supply us with lists of names of our hero children. We will publish them in the hope that, at the very least, they may receive letters to help keep their morale high.

We will publicise any welfare work in their connection brought to our notice.

Very certainly they rank as prisoners of war.

## SUPPRESSION OF AN CHEAD DAIL

SEPT. 1919: SUPPRESSION OF AN DAIL BY BRITS CREATES UPROAR IN AMERICA. THOUSANDS PROTEST AT DENIAL OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN IRELAND.



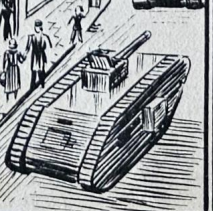
REPUBLICAN MINISTERS, NOW WORKING "UNDERGROUND," CARRY ON, REGARDLESS.



TANKS AND ARMoured CARS PATROL THE STREETS



LORD LIEUTENANT, FIELD-MARSHAL SIR JOHN FRENCH, COMMANDS...



... OVER 50,000 TROOPS PLUS 12,000 R.I.C. MEN - ALL CATHOLICS - WITH PROTESTANT OFFICERS.

# The cynicism of Barra Ó Briain

Lenáir gCómhthreagar Polaitiúil

JUSTICE Barra Ó Briain has described as "trash" and "naïve" senior counsel Aidan Browne for his condemnation of the Fianna Fáil regime on the Garda brutality issue: Fianna Fáil has rejected the Amnesty demand for a public inquiry (as explained in last week's issue) and instead has ordered a two-tier whitewash job.

## Kevin Barry remembered

KEVIN BARRY, the youngest of the Crown forces executed in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, during the post-1916 freedom struggle, is to be commemorated in the place where he was reared, in Rathvilly, Co. Carlow, on November 6. The commemoration will begin at 15.00 hours and a very prominent Republican speaker will officiate.

### Buanchuimhne

DRUM - In proud memory of Maire Drumm, murdered on October 28, 1976. Always remembered by Hightstead Cumann, Cricklewood, London.

The Royal Victoria Hospital Crown forces strong-point was attacked and a 15 foot wall demolished by a hijacked bulldozer.

In a statement, East Tyrone Command Ogligh na hÉireann (IRA) warns all civilians employed on a section of the RUC (Crown forces) barracks, Dungannon, that while they continue to work on this site, they must be prepared to take the consequence of their actions.

Browne is unlikely to get very many state briefs in future; naïve because, in Ó Briain's words: "He seems to have rashly drawn the conclusion that Fianna Fáil as a government would do exactly as they said they would do when in opposition."

How is that for cynicism?

Ó Briain, in a RTE programme "Feach," long before the Fianna Fáil whitewash decision, stated that a prima facie case had been established for those alleging Garda brutality (i.e. that enough had been disclosed to justify a full, sworn public inquiry).

Since then, Ó Briain has gone farther. During the "Feach" programme his suspicions had been aroused. Now he knows for certain that men were tortured by some members of the Garda Síochána.

His whitewashing committee, he says, would take the allegations as established. Yes, men had been tortured. Very regrettable. That had been done and could not be undone.

The thing was to ensure that it would never happen again. New set of rules and regulations. Blaze of publicity. Fianna Fáil seen as knight errant (and maybe Peace Prize for Ó Briain).

Meanwhile, the Gardai investigate themselves, or part of them.

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