

AN PHOBLACHT

Iml. 3

Uimh. 6

6p

Meitheamh
1972

Official Organ of the Republican Movement

- * CRAIG - "WE'LL INVADE BOGSIDE"
- * EIRE NUA AGUS COMHAR NA gCOMHARSAN
- * THE I.R.A. JUSTIFIED
- * MILITARY COURTS
- * GLIMPSES OF CONNOLLY
- * E.E.C. ASSESSMENT
- * DERRY ELECTIONS



—STOP COLLABORATION!—

The extent to which the 26-County regime collaborates with the British Government has been amply demonstrated this past month.

The savagery with which the Mountjoy Jail protest was met shows how completely the Fianna Fáil politicians have yielded to British pressure. All the members of the Republican Movement imprisoned in Mountjoy were seeking due to political prisoners' decent food, more recreation time (they had been locked up within their cells for nineteen hours out of the twenty-four each day), and the right to political prisoner status. The demands, which had been made continually over the past few

months, were totally ignored at first, and finally were met with brute naked force. The use by the politicians of riot squads of police and Free State soldiers, with batons, riot shields, C.S. gas, and loaded rifles, to put down a protest is reminiscent of British tactics in the North and proves that they have not yet learnt a lesson from the Six-County struggle that

military means cannot succeed in keeping the just demands of people from being heard.

In the North at least the use of internment has been openly acknowledged by the British Government. In the South a much more subtle form of internment has been in force, in the guise of repeated remands in one Court after another of Republicans, many of whom have been arrested on flimsy and untenable charges.

Now, the political prisoners have been moved to the Curragh where a barbed wire compound is being erected in which to cage them. Other political prisoners are imprisoned in Portlaoise, and their demands

have not yet been met either.

Contrast this to the incident which happened in Monaghan, where ten British soldiers were arrested after crossing the Border into the South. A mere few hours after they were arrested, orders came from the higher-ups in Dublin to release them, in order not to embarrass the British Government!

So now it is the Curragh for Republicans and freedom for the British Army! How long more must we put up with the sickening sight of the 26-County politicians collaborating with the British oppressor and stabbing the resistance struggle in the back.



Ar aghaidh leis an troid....

LETTERS

Land Exploitation

53, Sarsfield Park,
Lucan,
Co. Dublin.

Dear Sir,

I should like to draw readers attention to the scandal now being enacted in Donaghmede parish Raheny. In this area is a large housing scheme, and the land, when purchased (at £1,700 per acre approx) was to include acreage for a shopping centre of medium size, a church and schools. The builder when he got the land in his possession wished to build a larger shopping centre, which would have taken up the acreage allotted for the amenities mentioned above. Planning permission was refused for the desired shopping centre and he was informed that it would upset the pattern of such large shopping centres, there already being some of similar size at Ballymun and Finglas, (note the reason for refusal). Thus the possessor of this land had no other option but to sell it back to the parish for its original purpose, so having purchased in 1967 for £1,700 per acre, he is now demanding £25,000 per acre from the community to provide the essential amenities. No need to remind readers of where government department grants come from, but it is easy to understand, why necessary services such as facilities for educational purposes are so costly, when a party can make such fabulous profit out of the land which "belongs to the people."

I believe the rights of private property are protected by our Constitution, would this be the 1922 document or the later one (1937). I have heard at least one Fianna Fail minister translate this clause as meaning "the full present day market value of land." It is easy to see how open to speculation this version of this part of our constitution is. The same Fianna Fail minister also mentioned that local authorities had now been given an open cheque book, to acquire, at their discretion, land for future building projects.

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs) Esther Doody.

Cumann Cearta Náisiúnta Chorca Dhuibhne

25/4/72.

A Chara,

Bliain agus mí inniu 25/4/71 a shrois a mhairséal a bhí againne, i gcomhar, le Cumann a Chadhanaigh Corcaigh, Craobh Cearta Rath Chaim, agus Cumann Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta, Blea Cliath tar-éis dhá lá dhéag a chitheamh ar an mbóthar ó Dhún Chaoin. Ag an am bhíomar ag éileamh (1) Obair don Gaeltacht, (2) Córas Eifeachtach Oideachais agus (3) Udarás Aitiúil. D'éirigh linn i gcuid mhaith bailte a chur in úl an droch staid ina raibh an Ghaeltacht. Léiríomar dos na húdaráis leis ná raibh aon eagla orainn cruatan a fhulaing ar son cearta daona d'ár muintir. Idir an dá linn is maith linn a chlos go bhfuil feabhas ag teacht ar an scéal ach fós tá fadhbanna bunúsacha le sárú ó shoinn agus i rith na máirseála úsáideach mealladh breabhadh, bagairt agus burdail. Fiú sa mbaile a institiúití "daonlathacha" ag iarraidh gach ceannaistíol is féidir leo chun ár mbaill a díothu. Tá fhios againn go bhfuil a bhfurmhór siúd go maith as agus gur amhlaidh a bhí an dream mar iad a chuaigh rompu - daoine deasa a leig an áir ar fáin.

Cé nár dhineamar fós é táimid an-bhuíoch do na daoine a thug cabhair dúinn i rith na máirseála go mór mhór Conradh na Gaeilge agus dhá eite gluaiseacht na poblachta.

Ag an bpointe seo gugaímid ár dtacaíocht do na ghluaiseachtaí atá ag obair ar son cearta sibhialta ó theas agus ó thuaidh. Go dtí go bhfaightear san níl sé ceart ná cóir stad.

Breandán Mac Gearailt
Labrás Ó Slátra
Rúnaíthe.

Ireland—Super Power!

Ballinrookera,
Whitegate,
Midleton
Co. Cork.

A Chara,

It has happened! The people of partitioned Ireland (26 Counties only) have voted overwhelmingly to join Europe in spite of all the warnings which were raised against taking such a risk. The objective of masonry that a "union of nations and states must be brought about through the establishment of some form of naturalistic Supra-national organisation, politic and economic" has indeed been realised, as witness the high vote in which the voice of the Irish people was heard to join this United States of Europe, a third world super-power after America and Russia! It will comprise of 300 million people and in due course will elect its own President. Indeed our brothers and sisters in the Six Counties were ignored, although the Dublin Government speaks for Ireland and the Six Counties is part of the nation! Why was not a postal vote initiated by Dublin for our beleaguered men and women in the wee Six? Were they afraid of the result? The Fianna Fail and Fine Gael party propagandists speak on behalf of Ireland (32 counties) when they appear on television, but in fact they completely ignore our fellow men and women in the Six Counties.

Yours sincerely,
Thomas Wall

"MEATH SCORES AHEAD....."

A Comhairle Ceanntar was recently formed in Co. na Míde at a very well attended meeting held in An Uaimh.

Four Cumainn were represented at the meeting and another four Cumainn have been formed since the Comhairle Ceanntar was established.

Sean Mac Stiofain represented the Ard Comhairle and he addressed the meeting for over an hour, outlining Republican policy on many matters - ranging from the British Initiative, the EEC Campaign, Eire Nua, the Republican Governmental Programme and the need to increase fund raising activities for Cumann Cabhrach. He stated that the leadership of the Republican Movement was deeply appreciative of the great work carried out by Meath Republicans over the past two years. "Co. Meath has raised more money since last August than any other County in the 26 Counties, and, while some of the Southern Counties like Clare, Kerry, Tipperary have worked hard and made worthwhile contributions, the Movement in Meath is making a terrific contribution to the overall effort and is way ahead of most other counties at the moment."

A full-time office in An Uaimh will be opened in the near future.



SEAN MAC STIOFAIN

IRISH FREEDOM — NEW YORK

Billy Kelly, Republican, right, is welcomed to New Jersey, by U.S. congressman Henry Helstoski, on the occasion of the Irish Freedom dance held at the Neptune Inn in Bergen county, 10 miles from New York. Over 1,000 area people and visitors from Ireland attended the affair. Mr. Kelly flew there specially and he gave a stirring address that at the end brought a standing ovation. Others who spoke for a united Ireland were: congressman Mario Biaggi, New York; Msgr. John P. McHugh, Paterson, New Jersey; Rev. Kevin Flanagan, (Strokestown, Co. Ros) Parsippany, New Jersey; Kevin McDermott, New Jersey freeholder; Judge Jeremiah O'Callaghan (Cork) Jersey City, and Mr. Helstoski.



I.R.A. BREAK-UP RUSTLING GANG

Units of the Irish Republican Army have cracked open a cattle stealing ring in South Armagh.

Complaints from small farmers in the area that their calves were being rustled were investigated by a unit of the IRA. Intelligence on the cattle rustlers was collected and this led to the eventual capture of one of the thieves involved.

Confronted with evidence of his complicity in cattle stealing activities, the thief gave the names of his accomplices and details of operations carried out by them to the IRA investigators.

Armed with this knowledge, units of the IRA arrested the remaining gang members and punished them in accordance with the crimes committed.

A statement by the Irish Republican Army explains "This ring through its criminal activities were acting contrary to the best interests of the small farmers in the free area. They had been stealing small calves and disposing of them for their own material gain. We will not tolerate lawlessness in any form in areas freed from the control of the occupying forces and their lackeys."



British Troops in Action

ACQUITTED MAN NOW IN LONG KESH

John Patrick Collins a South-Derryman was freed on a charge of attempted murder at Magherafelt magistrate's Court on April 26th.

But immediately he walked out of the court — an innocent man — he was re-arrested by the RUC Special Branch.

John Collins was the same man who was kidnapped in Dundalk by the Special Branch (Six-County species) and on whom since January they have been trying to frame a murder charge.

Now that all efforts under "due process of law" standards have failed, Mr. Collins has ended up, after being tried and acquitted, in Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

Isn't it true what Faulkner said about Whitelaw — "it is misleading for Mr. Whitelaw to suggest that his policy on internment and on prosecution of terrorists (sic!) is different from that of the Stormont Government."

RUBBER BULLET OF DEATH

Another example of the "restraint" of the British forces can be seen in the following incident.

An 11-year old boy was among a group of boys who were playing outside the Divis Flats complex in Belfast.

He was shot at almost point-blank range by a British soldier with a specially weighted rubber bullet packed with a torch battery. The idea is that instead of merely stunning a person, the weighted bullet can actually kill him.

The 11-year old was shot in the head, and died later. A surgeon in the hospital to which the boy was brought said that the boy's head looked like a "crushed eggshell." Had the boy lived he would have been blind, mindless and paralysed for life.

And yet we are told time and time again that the British forces are there to keep the peace, that they are the forces of "law and order."

When the IRA tan-and-feather an informer they are called "animals" but when the British forces murder an eleven year old boy it is called "restraint".

"WAR ON TOYS"

The British Army have again declared war on toys. In Armagh, the Gordon Highlanders have warned children not to play with toys guns or else they might be shot.

This warning followed an incident in Armagh when a mentally handicapped boy was playing with a toy-gun, his favourite toy. A British patrol ordered the boy to stop and when he didn't (the boy was a mongoloid and could not understand the orders) a British soldier hit the boy in the face with the butt of his rifle, breaking the boy's jaw. The only comment forthcoming from the British Army — "with less restraint by the patrol this youth might have been shot." Did we hear Jack Lynch call this "a bestial action"? Mr Whitelaw? Gerry L'Estrange? Cardinal Conway? Anyone?

LYNCH—"I.R.A. NOT NEEDED"

CRAIG—"WE'LL INVADÉ BOGSIDE"

Irrespective of whether you like it or not, Mr. Lynch, the I.R.A. is needed to protect the people of the North.

It was needed in 1969 when, unfortunately, due to the faulty policy the then-leadership of the Republican Movement was promulgating, the Irish Republican Army was not capable of answering the call. When the people buried their dead and wandered back through the fire-scorched ruins of their former homes in Belfast in 1969, they wondered.....and they changed. Yes, they changed. They realised that they would get nowhere by remaining on their knees. So they became a risen people; risen to throw off the yoke of imperialist oppression, of discrimination, of humiliation, of tyranny. And there's a desperate need. Out of that need grew the awesome strength of the Irish Republican Army — an army by the people, of the people and for the people.



LYNCH

From the cities and the towns, from the villages and from the countryside, they came in their thousands — the volunteers of the IRA, pledging their lives to the Republic and to their people.

HORRORS OF INTERNMENT

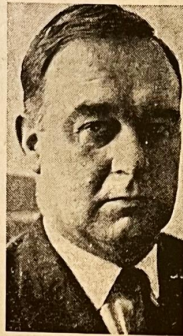
In 1969 and 1970 many were the calls upon the army of the people, but it was in August 1971 when the horror of internment and torture loomed into reality that the need for the I.R.A. as the people's protector was proved beyond a shadow of doubt. The terror of those first days of internment, which to a certain extent is still evident, was enough to daunt the most courageous. The homes wrecked, the men and boys, fathers and sons, brothers and cousins, dragged away in the darkness from their weeping families, the savage treatment meted out to their victims by the British soldiers on their way to the detention centres, the sadistic and sub-human tortures inflicted on innocent men — Irishmen — at those centres, and finally, the mind-demoralising imprisonment behind the barbed wire of the concentration camps.

During all that time the men and women of the Irish Republican Army unflinchingly stood by their people. Wherever resistance to British oppression was required, wherever the people needed protection, wherever another blow could be struck against the enemy it was there you found the I.R.A.

NEW DANGERS

Now, again, the Irish Republican Army are being called upon by the people to defend them. New dangers are looming on the horizon. Craig has stated: "We will go to any lengths, even to the use of arms. Let no one be under any illusions. When we say 'force' we mean 'force'. We will destroy in Ulster all that represents republicanism if we have to. We know these people and we could tomorrow assassinate the greater part of them." More recently he has announced the intention of his Vanguard Association to invade the Bogside in Derry and to put down the rebels!

Over the past few weeks disquieting incidents have occurred which has raised tensions to a high degree in Nationalist areas of the North. Many of these incidents have not been reported in the news media in the 26 Counties because of their "low news value." Incidents such as the burning of Mrs. Alice Kals house in Belfast. Her house has been set on fire three times, she has been threatened several times, and solely



CRAIG

because of her religion and her husband's colour. She is a Catholic and he is from Ceylon. Other incidents include the throwing of petrol bombs into a Catholic shop in Carrickfergus, shots fired at a Catholic home in Maghera, the burning of a bookmakers premises in Belfast, again the only patent motive being that he was a Catholic. There are hundreds of such incidents. More serious, the deaths of such men as Sean McConville, Bernard Rice and Patrick McGee, to mention but three of the unknown number of selective killings by special assassination squads in the North, had added a new dimension of fear to the situation. The Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association have suffered heavily in these incidents, which they claim as the work of Loyalist extremists. Three of their members have been shot dead, and over fifteen wounded, whilst on vigilante duty, and unarmed.

BRITISH ASSASSINATION SQUADS

But not alone is there danger from groups such as the U.V.F., there are also British assassination squads in action in the North. Incidents here and there and bits of information picked up, when compiled, point to this being a definite fact. One of the most recent incidents which illustrate the existence of such specialist squads happened on the same day that Sean McConville and Joe McCann were shot dead.

Two brothers, Gerard and John Conway were shot in the legs in Whiterock Gardens, Belfast. A man and his wife awakened by the shooting, rushed to the window.

As the wife pulled on some clothes, the husband heard a man shouting: "Help me, I'm shot", and he saw a man staggering and crouching on the road holding a coat in front of him.

When the wife ran out to help him, the husband saw a gunman with a heavy pistol in his right hand, crouching at a hedge. He was wearing a blue pullover, jeans, and suede shoes. As the woman came on to the street, the man approached her and ordered her at gunpoint to get back inside.

The husband shouted: "For God's sake come in, or you'll get shot."

Just then, an army Saracen came down the street and to the man's amazement, he saw the gunman running towards it, waving the gun in his right hand and gesticulating with his left.

His first thought, that the man was going to try to shoot the soldiers, was quickly dispelled when he saw the gunman talking on friendly terms to the soldiers in the Saracen, as if they all knew each other very well.

Then another gunman appeared and a red-haired soldier, who appeared to be an officer, got out of the Saracen and began arguing with him. The second gunman was dressed in a fawn pullover with beige slacks and spoke with an English accent.

"You bloody so-and-so, you shot the wrong man. That's not him at all," the soldier shouted. The other



soldiers put the wounded man into the back of the vehicle and drove off leaving the two gunmen behind.

A few minutes later two army foot patrols arrived and took up positions on each side of the street, five on each side. The two gunmen strolled down to a blue/green BMC 1100, got in and drove off. The witness noted the number of the car.

So Mr. Lynch, you are far off the mark when you say that there is no need for protection by the I.R.A. It's easy to say it from the safe haven of the 26 Counties, but the facts belie the words.

ABANDONMENT BY POLITICIANS

A Fine Gael politician John Kelly, in an interview on RTE said that the only course for the Nationalists in the North was to lay down any arms they had and turn their cheeks to any attacks on their person or on their homes. By so doing, he added, the Nationalists in the North would regain a certain moral standing in the eyes of Britain and the world, and, by inference, their troubles would be over. Past facts make smitherens of such a suggestion. The border was set up over fifty years ago, and from the very outset discrimination, gerrymander, religious divisions and sectarian pogroms were promoted by the Stormont regime. For fifty years the minority in the North have turned their cheek to all of this, for fifty years the politicians played football with or couldn't be bothered about the situation in the North, and for fifty years the situation in the Six Counties remained as rotten and as corrupt as ever. Now that there is a chance that a final solution worthy of an Irish nation is in the offing, politicians are striving to recapture the ground they have lost. Their only method is to denigrate the one organisation which stood by the people in their hours of need, the people whom the politicians ignored, or at best about whom they muttered pious platitudes.

THE I.R.A. — ARMY OF THE PEOPLE

We say to the people of the North stand by the Irish Republican Army. Remember it was born of the Irish people's desire to be free. Remember that it is your army; it is your fathers, your mothers, your brothers, your sisters, your sons and your daughters who make up the I.R.A. Politicians have drifted away from you, have switched their allegiances as circumstances changed. The I.R.A. will always stick by you, for it was for you that the I.R.A. was created, and you through it, will achieve the ultimate aim — a 32-County Democratic Socialist Republic, based on the Proclamation of 1916.

Sinn Féin Activities



MAY DAY Demonstration in Paris - Held by French Committee for the Liberation of the Irish People.

TOUR FOR FREEDOM

Three members of the Republican movement are home, again after a highly successful visit to the continent of Europe. The trio are Sean O Bradaigh, Baile Atha Cliath, publicity officer for Sinn Féin, Maurice Conway, Coalisland, Sinn Féin organiser, for Ulster and Francis McGuigan, who escaped from Long Kesh Concentration Camp under the very eyes of the British Army.

First stop on the tour was Brussels where a press conference was held in order to publicise the Republican Movement's involvement and attitude in the struggle for freedom in Ireland. There was strong support in Belgium for the struggle, especially from the Flemish speaking section.

In Germany, the next stop, a very intensive coverage was given to all aspects of the Irish fight for independence - historical, political and military. From points expressed by individuals and from the atmosphere surrounding each stop, it was apparent that Germany was probably the most anti-British of the Continental Countries.

The Editor of 'Der Spiegel', a German magazine, expressed a

desire to visit Ireland immediately and he considered the I.R.A. to be the greatest organisation since the days of the Roman Empire! Afterwards the trio were invited to an Irish Club in Hamburg, which holds Irish nights, demonstrations etc., and tries to counteract British Propaganda.

From Germany to Italy and Rome. There is tremendous enthusiasm and support in Rome for the resistance struggle. Protests are organised weekly, collections are taken up and Parliamentary representatives are lobbied to put pressure on Britain to grant Ireland her freedom. "Latta Continua" an Italian newspaper, gives very extensive coverage to the Irish scene. One of the journalists attached to this paper is Fulvio Grimaldi, who was in Derry on Bloody Sunday and witnessed the murders. The British Army had ordered him to be shot on sight that day.

Actor Peter O'Toole met Sean O'Bradaigh and his companions, and stated his agreement with the objects of the Republican Movement - a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic, under a structure of Regional Government and based on a

co-operative and worker-owner system of control.

In Switzerland, there was great interest in the Regional Government proposals which the Republican Movement had advanced - not unnaturally, since Switzerland herself is governed by regional parliaments.

The biggest gathering of all was in Paris where a meeting lasted over three hours. At the press conference every one of those present seemed to be on the side of the Republican Movement. Afterwards the trio met a great number of people who are doing massive work for Ireland at their own risk and expense.

The intense interest and support shown in the tour means that there is a strong basis for international solidarity on a much larger scale than in the past. It indicates how the freedom loving people of Europe have been captured by the resistance struggle at present continuing in our country, and how much they wish to help.

The Republican Movement has shown that it is not just an insular inward-looking movement, but that it is spreading its wings world wide in its efforts to achieve true justice and freedom for the Irish people. It has shown that it is aware that international support can shorten the struggle for freedom, but it recognises that it is the Irish people themselves who must achieve that freedom.

SINN FEIN REPLY TO UNION JACK

A statement by the Belfast Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin condemns Jack Lynch's speech in Castlebar in which he stated that there was no longer a need for the IRA in the North.

"He forgets that the I.R.A. has succeeded in demolishing Stormont and that they alone have succeeded in bringing nearer the realisation of the long-awaited dream, the unity of our country."

The statements add that Lynch would have the Northern people believe that they had nothing to fear from the British Army "in the present circumstances". Does he not realise that nothing changed since the appointment of Mr. Whitelaw? Torture at Holywood and Girdwood continues unabated, the latest manifestation of barbarism being the treatment of the three young Belfast men."

The statement adds "The time is gradually approaching when the extremism of Unionism will rear its ugly head, as evidenced in East Belfast recently. What would Lynch have us do? Leave our people defenceless and have a repetition of 1969? Mr. Lynch would do well to think twice before allowing himself to be used by Britain as a means of selling out the Irish people."

NO. 5 BLESSINGTON STREET

It was stated in the May issue of An Phoblacht under "Sinn Féin Activities" that Dublin No. 3 Area Comhairle Ceannair handed a cheque over to Cumann na mBan to help them in their maintenance of No. 5 Blessington St. We have been informed by Cumann na mBan that they have not been involved in Blessington St., and that they have returned the money to Dublin No. 3 Area Comhairle Ceannair for presentation to the House Committee in charge of Blessington Street.

British torture knows no limits. Sean McKenna, a member of Ard Comhairle Sinn Féin, has been transferred from the sick bay at Long Kesh Concentration Camp to a mental hospital. Sean was interned on August 9th, 1971, because he had been to the forefront always in leading his people in their resistance struggle against British Imperialism and its Stormont puppet. The horrors he underwent when suffering under British interrogators and torturers make one shudder. Not content with striving to break their victims' bodies, the British torturers did their damndest to break their sanity. It shall not be forgotten.

A statement from Sinn Féin says:-

Despite Mr. Whitelaw's words systematic torture of prisoners continues as was evidenced by the brutality inflicted on three Belfast men on April 21 and 22 and the prolonged 72-hour ordeal of John Carlin in Derry, a member of Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle.

More disturbing is the case of a Newry man, also a member of Ard Comhairle, who was seized with his elder son on August 9. Both have been interned since then. One of them was one of 12 singled out to undergo interrogation in depth last August. His mental health appears to have been affected by the torture and last week he was removed to a mental hospital."



Sean McKenna, Newry - Easter, 1971.

MAYO CUMANN

The Martin Forsythe Cumann of Sinn Féin was inaugurated barely six months ago at a meeting in Claremorris, Co. Mayo. Ruairi O Bradaigh, Uachtarán Sinn Féin presided.

In the intervening months it has proved itself to be a hard-working Cumann and was forefront in the anti-EEC campaign in their area.

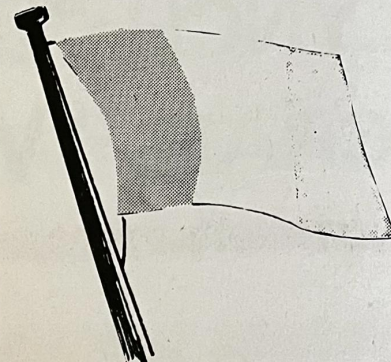
The Cumann are shortly to take up a collection for Cumann Cabhrach in their county.

The plight of internees and their families has been well publicised by the mass-media, and many organisations, including Northern Aid, have been set up to cater for their needs.

But, have we forgotten that there are over seven hundred political prisoners held in English and Irish jails - some serving sentences of up to 15 years. Dependents of such prisoners must total to about two thousand - all victims of British "Justice".

An Cumann Cabhrach (Prisoners Dependents Fund) helps the families of the political prisoners to survive. This requires money. Send subscriptions to An Cumann Cabhrach, 2A Lr. Kevin St., Dublin 8 or put it in the box when a collector comes your way. The Secretary of the Martin Forsythe Cumann is Miss B. Hanley, Mount Street, Claremorris, Co. Mayo.

NO LIMITS



SOS?

Cé mhéid breise
a chaitheas íoch
mar leorhíomh
ar fháilt chléire
roimh phelean Heath
fós féin ag síleadh
le fuil na laochra
ar sracadh a bhfeárlacht uatha
i mbearaic in Ard Mic Nasca
chun faisneis a ríomh?
Focla meala

ó dhúnmharfóir Dhoire
is ar éigin curtha
an 13 a chailleadh
is trí ghair ar chnoc
don Ghauleiter muath
lena shaighdiúirí séimhe,
lena Phax Britannica,
lena "croppies sit up",
ar chomhéim le Sasanagh:
soc, soc, soc.
A Eire, a mhéidrígh,
cuir bail ar do chúrsaí,
scaoil uait do chuid éadaigh,
is luigh leat cois bhóthair,
go dtaga Seán Bui suas leat,
go dté sé in áirde ort,
is muintir Bhruiséil 'na dhiaidh sin,
is gach boc is bodach,
is móide go n-íocfar thú

(muna n-iarann tú an iomarca
mar tá, dar leo, do ré chaite).

Sos, a d'iarr siad,
is ár n-anam ar phice,
ár máthair á sláodadh,
ár bpáistí á gcamadh,
Sacsbhéarlaí tar mbodhradh
is cinnirí Cois Life
i mbreágnocht Mhic Mhurcaidh
i gcomhcheilg Ghallda
leis an Strongbow nua.

Sos ní dhéanfar
go héag nó go bua.

Deasún Breathnach

JOIN UP IN WATERFORD

Anyone wishing to join the Waterford Cumann of Sinn Féin should contact Nicholas Roche, 6 Cork Rd., Waterford, Ned Brown, 6 Barrack St., Terrace, Waterford or Pat Cullen (Sec.) Upper Kilmacow, Co. Kilkenny.



FAMILY BUSINESSES, FACTORIES & CO-OPERATIVES



It is the policy of Comhar na gComharsan to give as much support to family run businesses as possible — even where a fairly large number is employed. In fact these businesses will be much more secure under the Sinn Féin policy, which is based on the philosophy of Comhar na gComharsan, than they are at present. For instance no economic unit would be distrained on for debt and full legal protection would be given against unfair competition whether foreign or domestic. As prices would be controlled by a Central Marketing and Distributing Board the prosperity of a business would depend mainly on the quality of its product and the efficiency of workers and management.

In cases where there is a large number of employees, these would have representation on the management board and a share in the profits over and above wages. However, these schemes would vary from firm to firm and would be the product of negotiation between unions and management.

Comhar na gComharsan holds that every person over 30 years of age and every married provider should be entitled to absolute ownership of an economic unit of the means of production. Single people under the age of 30 would provide a floating labour pool for industry and give the young people time to find a suitable way of life.

Joint Stock companies would of course be handed over to the workers. [The question of compensation has already been dealt with in a previous article on Comhar na gComharsan in 1972]. Natural monopolies would be taken over by the State. Naturally the State would make available the necessary finance for the formation of these producer co-operatives and the conversion of the joint stock enterprises to worker ownership.

Section 7 of the summarised Sinn Féin programme Eire Nua puts it thus: "Private enterprise will have a role to play in the economy, but it will be a much smaller role than it has to-day. It will have no place in key industries and state incentives will favour co-operative projects as the most socially desirable. No non-national shall be allowed to have a controlling interest in an Irish industry."



TRADE CONSULATES, SHIPS & PLANES



Section 8 eschews all entanglement with N.A.T.O., the E.E.C., Comecon and the Warsaw pact. It says "Trade will be expanded with the smaller and neutral

nations of Europe and with the countries of the third world in Asia and Africa."

Such a policy would necessitate the abandonment of prestige establishments such as embassies and involve the setting up of trade consulates in the developing states. These trade consulates would be staffed with trained personnel whose duty would be to study the tastes and wants of these people and to find what we could sell them and what they could sell us. This would involve the building of a fleet of small or medium sized vessels which would carry our goods and those of our customers in contrast to the present practise of Irish Shipping Ltd., which "spends most of its time carrying foreign produce between Foreign ports."

The building of medium sized slow flying aeroplanes and dirigibles (which with new materials and techniques are now considered safe and economical) would also be of great help in the industrial development of the western and other underdeveloped regions. With quite small airports dotted throughout the western regions these could cut out the expense of carrying goods and materials by road or rail between the eastern ports and the western towns. There is the further advantage that these aircraft, like the small ships, could be made in Ireland.



INDUSTRIAL PROCESSES, MARKET GARDENING & TRANSPORT



This would involve the setting up of a complete industry incorporating many different processes in.

Eire Nua agus Comhar na gComharsan le Fear Domhnann

independent Ireland. The logical conclusion to the operation of a system of economic imperialism since 1921 has been to rob the people of confidence in their own country and to acquiesce in the handing over of control of their destinies to a Western European Power Bloc.

The only real alternative to this development is a dismantling of the 1921 system and the building of a New Ireland. The Republican Movement alone of all the groups opposing full membership of the EEC put forward such a programme. Our presentation of it to the people was suppressed by those who control the news media. In view of this, the result of the referendum, though disappointing, is not surprising.

During the course of the election campaign we refrained from criticism of others who were also opposed to the EEC. We should now like to put on record our disappointment with the performance of the Labour Party who did not make any real impact, especially in rural areas. The voting figures do not indicate a defeat for Sinn Féin. On the contrary they show that Sinn Féin is the only real bulwark against the new imperialism.

This is clearly evident in those constituencies where Labour polled only a few hundred votes in the last General Election but where the 'NO' votes on this occasion were numbered in thousands. This underlines the need for people within the other Opposition groupings to define their objectives clearly, to reject the timid approach and to adopt a determined stand as exemplified by the Republican Movement.

We should like to pay tribute to the zeal and hard work of all our members and supporters in this campaign, which has not been without success. It has yielded at least three tangible and significant results, as

for example, a district like East Mayo. Here raw materials could be brought into Castlebar from some of the developing countries if they were not available at home. The first process in production could be carried out, say in Kiltimagh, the second in Swinford, the third in Foxford — all of which are within seven or eight miles of one another and the finished product brought back the seventeen miles to Castlebar for export.

Many other such networks could be made, centred on any of the large towns in the West. This would have the advantage of bringing a weekly pay packet into these small towns which would greatly stimulate trade and by creating a demand for fresh vegetables encourage a number of farmers to take up market gardening. It would also act on the rural population like bent grass on the shifting sandhills. By keeping many young people at home, who would otherwise emigrate, it would raise the standard of living of the rural and smalltown population, and provide an occasional labour force for the farmer in Spring and Autumn.

The extra cost of transport between processes would, owing to the smallness of the distances, be very little more than the transference from one factory to another on an industrial estate.



KEEP OUR PEOPLE AT HOME



As against the many advantages of the industrial estate there is this to be said for the above scheme. It will keep the people at home in their own districts. On the other hand, the industrial estate in Galway will not halt the depopulation of Mayo. These young people would be strangers in Galway, their brothers and sisters, fathers and cousins are in the cities of England and a difference of a few pence per hour in wages would tip the balance in favour of London, Birmingham or Manchester.

As we have the misfortune to having become a member of the E.E.C., our emigres will go further afield to Hamburg, Dusseldorf and Turin, to dig the tunnels and build the roads and the skyscrapers, enriching every country but our own. And Ireland's west will become a wilderness with the tycoons of Europe stalking the deer through the streets of the little towns and villages which once held people.

It is not intended to neglect trade with the EEC countries nor for that matter with those of the Warsaw Pact. "Trade links will be maintained with all countries and groups of states such as The Common Market, with which a trade agreement should be negotiated. The aim will be to have as much free trade as possible bearing in mind that certain industries will need protection for a period." (Eire Nua, Reamhra Section 7)

follows:

1. The new alliance of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael which combines the conservative forces in the 26 Counties and polarises politics along the lines of conservatives versus progressives.
2. The linking up of the problems of North and South and the education of a significant number of the people in the concept of a New Ireland. In doing this Sinn Féin was the only group who showed the relevance of the North in solving the problems of the whole nation.
3. The expansion and strengthening of our organisation throughout the 26 Counties and the placing of it on a firm and solid footing. In doing this our young members showed a spirit and dedication comparable to that of their comrades in the 6-Counties.

Regardless of the outcome of the E.E.C referendum the task of building the New Ireland must go on. To this objective we rededicate ourselves. The struggle in the North will be maintained. In the south we pledge ourselves to organise and lead our people in economic resistance to the consequences of EEC policies. We will resist the robbery of our mineral wealth, the plunder of our fishing grounds, the closure of factories and the squeezing out of small farmers and small businessmen.

We have said that the underlying philosophy and policies of the Common Market are in conflict with the progress of mankind and the basic values of the Irish people. We have opposed full membership of the E.E.C. since it was first mooted and are confident that in the long term our stand will be indicated. In the short term we will defend the interests of the Irish people and continue with the work of building the New Ireland.



ASSESSMENT OF E.E.C. REFERENDUM RESULT

The outcome of the recent referendum in the 26 Counties was made inevitable by the failure over the last 50 years to adopt the radical national, social and economic measures necessary to build an

THE I.R.A.

Today, when you picked up your morning paper, you probably noticed a leading article on the 'terrorist' activities of the day before. These 'terrorist' activities relate to the I.R.A. campaign in the Six Counties. This campaign has and is being condemned by political and Church leaders on both sides of the border and on both sides of the Irish sea. It is condemned on many and varied grounds by many different people. The I.R.A. is invariably referred to as a 'terrorist' organisation by the news-media. It is described as a sectarian organisation with sectarian aims. It is said that far from uniting Ireland, the I.R.A.'s campaign is only further alienating the Protestant community in the Six Counties. In short, it is alleged that the I.R.A. campaign is a political disaster and a moral crime.

It is neither of these things and it can be justified on political and on moral grounds. The condemnation of the I.R.A. campaign comes in the form of superfluous rhetorics by people whose rank adds weight to their nonsense, while its justification comes from factual proof. It is because so many people are unacquainted with the facts that this justification is necessary and it is for them that it is intended.

The political viability of such a campaign as the I.R.A. is waging in the Six Counties can be proved by our own history, by its very tactics and by its results to date.

Down through the 800 years of British occupation, there was an attempt approximately once every fifty years to break the bonds of union with Britain. Both constitutional and violent methods were used. It is a historical fact that, although initial gains were often made, the constitutional movements were invariably crushed by military strength — as in the case of O'Connell, or by deception and slander as was the fate of Parnell. Of course it can be argued that the most of the revolutionary movements failed as well. However the reason for their failure is different to the reason for the failure of the constitutional movements. The revolutionary movements failed because of incompetence in practice rather than in theory, as was the reason for the failure of constitutional agitation in this country.



This may seem hard to believe, as constitutional agitation has been known to work in various countries with magnificent success. However, Ireland's relationship with Britain, i.e.

one long night of oppression, made the failure of constitutional agitation inevitable. Such agitation can work only when the majority of a country's population are united against the oppressing government and in the position to bring immediate pressure to bear. However, Ireland was always kept under close scrutiny, her population formed but a small section of the combined populations of the enforced union and was by geography removed from the seat of power and thus denied the opportunity of bringing immediate pressure to bear.



History has often proved, as in the case of Bangla-Desh recently, that in such cases the sword is the only method of arbitration left to the oppressed.

The Anglo-Irish war of 1919-21 showed clearly that if a small nation used the sword efficiently and combined it with political initiative (both of which the I.R.A. are doing today) although it might not defeat the enemy, it itself could not be easily defeated either, no matter the superiority of its adversary. In 1921 and 1922 the elite of British politics sat down to negotiate with the men they had called murderers but a few weeks before. Such is the power of revolutionary tactics when properly applied.



Today the I.R.A. are waging a type of war known as urban guerilla warfare. The situation has changed since the Tan war, in which the campaign waged by the flying columns was predominantly a rural one. Today, however, instead of large columns, the striking force is usually very small and the action takes the form of sniping, bombing or other sharp engagements. The I.R.A. do not have a majority of the people of the Six Counties behind them, which adds to their problems. In the Catholic ghetto areas, however, where the I.R.A. have almost complete support, it is impossible for the British army to even control the offensive capabilities of the I.R.A. The I.R.A. will never push the British into the sea, nor is that their aim. It can and aims to force the British, as in 1921, to come to the conference table. And they are succeeding!

Before the present campaign, a united Ireland was never even considered or mentioned by either London or Stormont. When the Civil Rights movement began, the Catholics could have been appeased by a semblance of

fair play. We know what they did get at Burnttollet and in the Belfast pogrom of August '69. The majority of the people in the Twenty-Six Counties knew little and cared less about the situation in the Six Counties. The 'B' specials and the R.U.C. were able to enter and ransack Catholic areas at will, as happened in the Bogside in 1969. This was before the I.R.A. began their resistance, a resistance which has been so successful as to seem incredible. Today, the leader of the opposition in Britain, Mr. Wilson, as well as many Tories and even Unionists recognise the inevitability of a United Ireland. The Catholic minority were united as never before, even if their parliamentary representatives were not, in their determination to smash Stormont and achieve the ultimate solution — a United Ireland. Stormont was smashed and even the most extreme Unionists now admit that a United Ireland is a legal aspiration!



Anti-British feeling over the Six Counties has never been as high all over the world and in the Republic since the Tan War. No one can be so gullible as to believe that after 50 years of consistent failure to achieve anything, that the constitutional agitators won any of this by themselves.

Any such claims are merely despicable attempts to claim the credit due to the men who died or risked their lives to achieve it.

Such is the political justification of the I.R.A. campaign in the Six Counties. However, the campaign has also been condemned by Church leaders of all denominations, and these condemnations have carried as much, if not more weight in the minds of the uninformed at home and abroad. However, the I.R.A. campaign can be justified on moral grounds and the condemnations are easily refuted.



Such a campaign as that of the I.R.A. involves violence and death. Human life is so precious and above all so irreplaceable that under any circumstances the taking of human life is a very serious matter. However, the taking of life is morally justified under certain circumstances. The I.R.A. campaign constitutes such a special case. Killing is justified in a just war and this is agreed upon by both Catholics and Protestants. In order to justify the I.R.A. campaign it must therefore be shown that



One of the revolutionaries — a Volunteer — guarding the entrance to Free Belfast and probably deadliest light accurate, this weapon fires 40 rounds per minute and is particularly useful in urban guerilla light and the butt may be folded for concealment. The armalite rifle is also used in Belfast and other areas in the North. The I.R.A. pledged their lives in defence of the people and the safeguard the people have against the extreme Unionists.

JUSTIFIED



volunteer of the Irish Republican Army, Free Derry. He holds the world's light rifle in his hand. Extremely accurate piercing bullets per minute. It is also being used by IRA units in Northern Ireland. Volunteers like the above have the might of the British Forces and

the struggle between the I.R.A. and the security forces in the Six Counties does constitute a war and also that it constitutes a morally just war.



It is obvious that there is a war in the Six Counties. How else does one describe a situation in which people are dying through violence every day, in which the British Government sees fit to employ 15,000 troops, including crack combat regiments such as the paratroopers, in addition to the normal security forces, in which the normal civil 'law' is usurped by internment without trial and such legislation as the Special Powers Act, in which bombing and rioting are accepted features of everyday life, in which the British Government has declared itself to be at war with the I.R.A. and in which the I.R.A., an 'illegal' army has declared itself to be at war on the security forces in the Six Counties — a war they have waged with an uncommon efficiency? Many people do not believe that there is a war in the Six Counties because some of the more publicised trappings of the 'Hollywood' war are missing. The war in the Six Counties is a new type of war, resembling the French resistance movement of the last war, in which the guns, tanks and superior numbers of the British are unable to defeat the Irish resistance movement. The British could learn from their own part in the French resistance that they cannot win.



Having established that there is a war, it is necessary to show that war to be a morally just one. In order to be morally justified, before beginning the war every other possible means of righting the wrong must be tried, one must have a reasonable chance of success and the situation producing the war must be one of extreme provocation. For the past fifty years, a system has been in operation in the Six Counties by which one third of the population have been deprived of their political and civil rights, discriminated against in the allocation of housing, employment and political representation. For fifty years the method used to remedy this was constitutional agitation. It achieved nothing. Surely fifty years of undisguised discrimination and repression constitutes extreme provocation. There is no doubt that the situation in the Six Counties justified a

war on moral grounds as far as extreme provocation and recourse to other means are concerned.

The I.R.A. have more than a reasonable chance of success and this was obvious before they took the decision to commence the present campaign. They have never had as much support as today, they have never been as prepared as today and their tactics have never been as militarily sound as today. The I.R.A. cannot lose this round and anything short of defeat for them, is victory. The I.R.A. campaign thus fulfills the condition of a reasonable chance of success.



From this it is clear that the attacks made on the I.R.A. campaign by the Church and political leaders are not only untrue but in some cases deliberately misleading. The inconsistency of some of these spokesmen is startling. Dr. Daly, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, for instance, on an R.T.E. interview, claimed that the present day I.R.A. were 'Anti-Republican' and that they were betraying what past patriots had fought and died for. Nobody denies Dr. Daly & Co. the right to disagree with the I.R.A. but to condemn the I.R.A. involves condemnation of the men of 1916, the Tan war



and back along to 1798. The men of 1916 staged a rising at a time of relative prosperity for Ireland on account of the Great War, at a time when Home Rule seemed imminent and without any mandate from anybody and without a chance of success. These are historical facts. Yet today they are not condemned. Indeed each Easter Sunday we see the hypocritical inconsistency of Lynch and his friends when they pay tribute to the men of 1916, men who used the violence which Lynch claims to detest to achieve their end. Cardinal Conway or Dr. Simms do not condemn this open homage to men, who according to their logic in condemning the I.R.A. of today, were terrorists and murderers! When the patriots of 1921 are commemorated today, the fact that these same men were excommunicated for their patriotism is conveniently forgotten. In a pastoral letter, Dr. Cohan, Bishop of Cork, launched the sentence of excommunication against the killers of R.I.C. men and British soldiers. He also condemned 'the oppression' of the Crown Forces. But when these 'killers' became the rulers, all

this was forgotten and the hierarchy clearly showed the value they placed on principle.



The attitude of these political 'leaders' and those of the hierarchy who agree with them, is sheer hypocrisy. There can be only one explanation of such utterly conflicting and inconsistent sentiments. These people want to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds! It they were honest in their condemnation of the I.R.A. nobody could deny them the right to express their opinions on the I.R.A. or their condemnations. But the inconsistency of men who can condemn the killing of a British soldier today but can commemorate the 'killers' of British soldiers of fifty years ago and who can accept without revulsion, a state, built by their own logic on murder, is blatantly obvious.



Republicans, however, are consistent in their attitude — they accept 1916, 1867, 1848, and 1798 as the legitimate attempts of one nation to rid itself of an oppressor, just as they accept the I.R.A. campaign of today as the continuance of that struggle. People who believe that none of the risings were justified are also consistent and entitled to their views. The self contradictory attitude of some leading Church and political leaders are not justified, since, to put it in a nutshell, one either accepts the I.R.A. AND 1916 etc., or one accepts neither. Mr. Lynch probably agrees with neither but since he does not wish to end the exploitation of Republican sentiment by Fianna Fail (the unRepublican party) he continues on his hypocritical pilgrimage to Bodenstown each year.



The campaign of the I.R.A. in the Six Counties can therefore be completely justified. It is time that the Irish people showed themselves to be truly Republican and stand with the men behind the wire and leave Mr. Lynch agus a chairde to stand idly by.



Anseo is Ansiúd

Political Prisoners in Crumlin Jail

In view of the misleading press reports of the past few days, we, the Republican Prisoners of Crumlin Road prison, deem it necessary to place on record the real facts concerning the demands for political treatment by the political prisoners in Belfast Prison.

Contrary to reports, which implied that the 'Provisional Republicans' were not concerned in the demands for political prisoner status, the facts are: The 'Provisional Republicans' (as we are labelled in the press) have been on strike since Wednesday the 3rd of May (without consultation with any other group or groups of political prisoners in this prison) when we ceased work in the pursuance of a five point demand for political prisoner status which we presented to the Prison Governor on that date. The demands are: "That we the Republican Prisoners of Belfast Prison do here and now demand the right of Full Political Prisoner Status. Political prisoner status as required by Republicans is the right to:

keeping their cells clean.

We informed the Governor that we wished to have a reply to our demands within 48 hours. On Friday May 5th, in an interview the Prison Governor stated to the O/C Republican Prisoners that our demands were being considered 'at the highest possible level'.

He urged us to take no further action until an answer was received from the Authorities concerned.

At a meeting of Republican Prisoners later that day it was decided not to resume work, but to take no further action until we had received an answer to our demands.

Should, however, an unsatisfactory reply be received in regard to our demands, five men will commence a hunger strike. They will be joined at a later date by five other men, and additional men will join in the hunger strike from time to time until our demands have been met.

Signed:

Billy McKee,
O.C. Republican Prisoners.

British Army Regimental Losses

Derry I.R.A.

Attacks on the British Army in Derry are becoming more and more frequent and successful.

One recent night operation was highly successful when two volunteers from the I.R.A. crept up to the British Army post at Bishops Street in Derry. Two bombs were lobbed over the wall and into the post.

Eleven British soldiers were injured in the incident — one seriously.

The two volunteers returned to their unit which was covering their movements. The two volunteers returned without suffering any injuries.

And all this under the very eyes of the British sentries. Next day there was pandemonium among the British Army officers trying to figure out how two I.R.A. men had managed to creep unseen carrying two bombs up to the army post.

RESULTS OF PRIZE DRAW

1st Prize	P.Crow, London.
2nd Prize	B.P.Barr
3rd Prize	Ballygorman, Malin Head, C.. Donegal.
4th Prize	Esther O'Brien c/o Edwards Co., 1 East Arran St. Dublin 7.
5th Prize	Francis Conlon 7 Highfield Grove, Leeds 12
5th Prize	Philomena O'Connor, Ballyvaddock, Middleton, Co. Cork.
Winners notified.	

Farm Jobs in E.E.C.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCY chiefs in this country and in Britain are looking towards the E.E.C. for new business. And some of the leading agencies in Britain — particularly in London — are already first in the race of preparing "job lists" for farm labourers and farmers' sons

from Britain and Ireland in the E.E.C. countries.

An Irish-born official in one London agency said "We think that quite a lot of good agricultural employment, mainly of a mechanised nature, will come up for jobless farm workers in Ireland and England."

Christianity and the Northern Guerrillas

In the course of an open letter to Professor Enda McDonagh, Maynooth College, Desmond Fennell, writer, had this to say about the situation in the North: "Regarding those excerpts from your lecture which refer to the Civil Rights Movement, Gandhi, etc., it must be remarked:

1. that in extreme conflict situation, physical violence is normal.
2. that the oppressed side will respond in this way unless effective non-violent leadership is given
3. that an extreme conflict situation arose after the Falls curfew of July, 1970.
4. that in this situation neither the Civil Rights Movement nor Bishop Philbin nor Cardinal Conway nor any politician gave effective non-violent leadership.
5. that from February, 1971 onwards, the normal response of the oppressed — a guerrilla campaign — got under way.
6. that effective non-violent leadership in an extreme conflict situation means someone like Gandhi doing, without violence to others, what the young men and women of the I.R.A. do daily — risk one's life and freedom for one's people. In other words, hunger-strike "to death"



Desmond Fennell

and lying down on roads, railway tracks, etc. (Gandhi did these things)

7. that the Northern Catholics had no Gandhi, i.e., a saintlike leader totally identified, religiously and nationally, with the poorest and the most oppressed people and their cause of liberation.
8. that even the lesser leaders they had did not employ the hunger-strike to death or start campaigns of lying down in busy roads or on railways tracks until certain apologies were made or concessions granted. (It was remarked to me in Derry that after Hume, Cooper and others made a "human barricade" in Laburnum Drive, in August '71 and got arrested for it, John Hume had "Derry in his hands" — but failed to follow up with a campaign of physical, passive resistance).

Desmond Fennell wrote this as a result of a visit he paid to Belfast & Derry.

John McKeague's Vanguard

Craig may be vague about what Vanguard really is and what its purpose is but John McKeague, Editor of "Loyalist News" certainly is not, as a verse from one of his poems spells out starkly.

Blue is the colour... Vanguard is the name. And if we go berserk at times, who really can us blame? For at the final moment, with

Ulster's soil stained red, And bodies in the gutter, one million Sinn Fein dead."

And John McKeague's the guy that Craig said was a democrat.



Members of the Ulster Defence Association patrolling the loyalist Woodvale district in British Army "Duck Squad" style. Their aim: unless barricades in Derry pulled down and Bogside

Joe Cahill in Cork

CLONARD CHASES
R.U.C. &
BRITISH ARMY

The following is an eye-witness account of recent events in the Clonard Gardens — Kashmir Road area. At about 3 p.m. on Tuesday a white Hillman Avenger (Reg. No: SLF 900K) parked at the junction of Clonard Gardens and Kashmir Road. One of the two occupants then put his hand out of the window and fired two shots down the Kashmir Road where several children were playing. The car then sped off but finding its way blocked by the residents who had come pouring from their houses it turned up towards the peace line at Cupar Street. The driver had no choice then but to reverse down Clonard Gardens. At that time a military foot patrol accompanied by a uniformed R.U.C. man, Constable Jas. Hunniford was proceeding up Clonard Gardens but despite the tumult and the shouts from the incensed people no attempt was made to stop the car.

This is not surprising since one of the occupants of the car was recognised as a Special Branch man from Springfield Rd., Barracks and it is certain that Const. Hunniford who is also stationed there must also have recognised him. Fully detailed descriptions of both men were given to the commanding officer 1st Kings Regiment who promised that something would be done. And something was done! About 9 p.m. on the same evening the British soldiers, and Const. Hunniford returned to the area — NOT TO MAKE OFFICIAL ENQUIRIES ABOUT THE EARLIER INCIDENT — but to raid the Kane St., home of Francis Card who has been in the Crumlin Road prison for over a year. Well that was of physical, the residents really saw red and stones, bottles and other missiles were rained on the British Troops. The RUC man was told by the soldiers to run for his life. He and at least two soldiers were injured before they succeeding in fleeing from the wrath of the people. However they left behind them one walkie-talkie radio set and some of their batons (see picture) in their frantic bid to get away.

South Armagh

Since last August over one hundred operations have been carried out by local I.R.A. units in South Armagh.

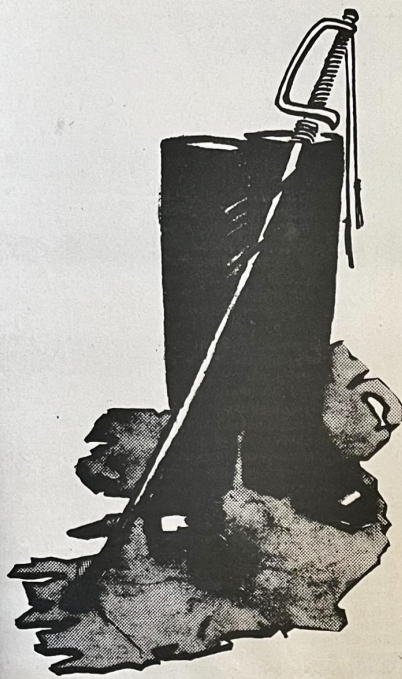
Included among the many sabotage operations was the destruction of much British Government property. Over twenty Post Office vans were destroyed, two Post Office Repair Trucks with valuable equipment, Customs Posts and British Administrative offices.

So many successful sabotage operations have been carried out that there are now very few targets left to hit for the units.

MILITARY COURTS

BY

CIARAN Mac an AILI



& SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURTS

NO MILITARY COURTS IN NORTH

There has been one remarkable feature of English and Stormont rule in the Six Counties since the setting up of partition, namely, that although repressive laws, discrimination and State terrorism were imposed on the Nationalist population with intermittent severity during the past half century, never once has either a Military Court or a Special Criminal Court been set up to give edge to the Unionist repression.

In the North one either got trial before a resident Magistrate in the lower Courts (comparable to District Courts in the twenty-six Counties) or a trial by a jury at the Quarter Sessions, or the Belfast City Commission. The alternative to a trial in one or other of these Courts was internment without trial. At no stage were trials held which twisted or abolished the laws of evidence, replaced judges with military officers or enlarged the list of crimes or offences for which a death sentence became an automatic penalty.

APPARATUS OF TERRORISM

All this apparatus of terrorism associated with the abolition of the ordinary judicial procedures, rules of evidence and the rule of law is associated solely since 1921 with the Governments South of the border. The Treaty itself was enforced and the Civil War stigmatised by the dastardly act of the First Free State Government in executing prisoners without even a trial. The callous and cold-blooded execution on 8th December, 1922 of Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Dick Barrett by the Cosgrave Administration was to set a path for future violation of judicial procedures that seems to have poisoned the whole attitude of Dublin Governments to the rule of law when dealing with their political opponents. On 7th December, 1922 a Dail deputy, Sean Hales, was shot dead. Whoever was responsible for this assassination, it certainly was not the four men whom the Free State Government took out and executed on the following day, because they had been in prison in Mountjoy during the previous five months following their capture on the surrender of the Four Courts garrison. Yet these prisoners of war — one deliberately chosen from each province — were taken out and executed by way of brutal reprisal for an assassination with which they had nothing whatever to do.

The particular "Court" which sentenced these four leaders to death was none other than the Free State Cabinet meeting in Session on 7th December, 1922. If ever there was a case of usurpation of the judicial functions by an Executive, this was surely the worst.

FIANNA FAIL IN POWER

When Fianna Fail came to power, they were no better than their predecessors. In the Offences Against the State Act, 1939, which was passed in March of that year, set up in Part V of the Act, provision was made for Special Criminal Courts

and in the Emergency Powers Act, 1939 passed on the outbreak of war in September of that year, provision was also made for the setting up of Special Courts, and both these Acts were used with ruthless effect during the period 1939-1946. The Constitution (Article 38) permits the setting up of Special Courts "for the trial of offences in cases where it may be determined in accordance with such law that the ordinary Courts are inadequate to secure the effective administration of justice and the preservation of public peace and order."

The basic features of any tribunal which claims to be an impartial judicial body is that its members should be independent of the Government and Executive, that all parties before the Court should have equal rights of audience and argument, that the laws of evidence should be strictly observed and that the penalties imposed should be commensurate with penalties existing in the criminal law for comparable offences, and not penalties designed to effect a political motive and create terror and fear.

NO LEGAL TRAINING NECESSARY

The Special Criminal Courts set up under the Offences against the State Act are deficient in the essential ingredients of an impartial judicial body in as much as the members of the Court need not have any legal training and have no judicial independence — being "removable at will by the Government" (Section 39.2). While the same Section provides that no person shall be appointed to such a Court unless he is a High Court, Circuit Court or District Court Judge, or a Barrister or Solicitor of at least seven Circuit Court or District Court Judge, or a Barrister or Solicitor of at least seven the actual practice has been to appoint military officers only to such Courts and there never has been an appointment of any qualified Judge or District Justice to sit on these Courts. It is, therefore, evidence that the judicial persons mentioned in the Section are mere window dressing for the setting up of what is intended to be a military tribunal.

A member of a judicial tribunal who can be removed at will by the Government is, obviously, subject to constant pressure and influence and the fact that he has no guaranteed tenure of office (unlike the other three types of Judges mentioned in the same Section of the Act), indicates clearly that these Courts are meant to be merely the extensions of the Executive.

JUDGES ALLEGED INTIMIDATION

The general allegation sometimes made — it is never specifically made in relation to any particular Judge — that the judiciary are subject to intimidation in relation to political trials which leads in turn to acquittals, is completely untrue. It is the false allegation always made by the State when their own prosecutions fail to prove offences due to lack of evidence or, judges direct juries (as has been done frequently in the past few months) that there is not sufficient evidence put forward by the State to warrant a conviction.

But even if a Judge were intimidated this is no reason for setting up Special Criminal Courts or military Courts. Nobody seems to pay attention to the provision in the Constitution which states that before taking office a Judge will take an Oath whereby he promises that he will carry out his functions "without fear or favour, affection or ill-will towards any man." A Judge is, therefore, expected to ignore threats or pressure of any kind and a Judge who acknowledges that he has been motivated by fear is in violation of his oath of office and, of course, should be dismissed from office. It is no less a reflection on a Judge to say that he is subject to fear than to say he is a corrupt Judge. Fear is a sort of corruption and if any Government spokesman in the future suggests that the Judiciary or any members of it were subject to fear or pressure, then he must be forced to produce the necessary evidence, name the Judge and take appropriate action under the Constitution to have the Judge removed from office.

There is also a quaint defect of logic in providing that Special Criminal Courts should be staffed by, amongst others, Judges of the High Court, Circuit or District Court, in order to deal with intimidation of the judiciary. If these Judges are liable to intimidation in their ordinary Courts, why would they not be equally liable to intimidation when sitting in a Special Criminal Court?

The further argument made is that if it is not the Judges that are being intimidated, it is the juries. Again, there has not been a known intimidation case of jurors for the last quarter of a century. The last juror to be shot occurred in 1931 and the recent long series of acquittals by juries of persons on political charges have followed either directions from the Judge or from the firm view of the Jury that no offence has been committed or proved.

MILITARY TRIBUNAL ATMOSPHERE

And what is the record of Special Criminal Courts? During the years 1939-1946 and in subsequent years when they said intermittently, the Special Criminal Courts inflicted grossly excessive penalties following many unsatisfactory trials. There is a right of appeal against a decision of the Special Criminal

Court to the Court of Criminal Appeal — provided one gets leave to make the appeal. The appeal is not available as a matter of right. The absence of a jury or any properly qualified judicial persons on the bench, immediately creates the atmosphere of a military tribunal and the constant revision of the Rules of Court in order to facilitate convictions, indicates the deplorable nature of these tribunals.

There is no limit to the type of offences which can be dealt with by a Special Criminal Court. The Offences Against the State Act gives the Government power to keep adding to the number of offences which can be dealt with by Special Criminal Courts and withdrawn from the ordinary Courts. The list of offences tryable by these Courts in 1939 began with the type of offences against the State mentioned in the Offences Against the State Act itself, but then were extended by Government Orders, to include offences under the Fire Arm Acts, Malicious Damage Act, Emergency Powers Act and even the offence of unlawfully assembly.

THE MILITARY COURTS PROPER

The trend in 1939-'46 showed that the Government were not satisfied with Special Criminal Courts and eventually set up a further type of Court under the Emergency Powers Act, i.e. a military court proper which by reason of the provisions of the Constitution relating to emergency powers in time of war, was quite incapable of challenge no matter what it did in relation to the abolition of the rules of evidence or the infliction of penalties. Under the Emergency Powers Orders made under this Act, a Military Court was set up which dealt with political charges and acted in a ruthless and merciless manner. The type of offences which it could try were likewise capable of being added to from time to time by Government Order and the astonishing development in this connection was that the Court could only impose one sentence — death by shooting, — yet the type of offences for which a person could be executed were continually lengthened and included offences which never attracted the death penalty since the evil days of mid-eighteenth century criminal jurisprudence. The following were offences in respect of which a person could be sentenced to death under Emergency Powers Orders of 1940 and 1941:

1. Treason
2. Obtaining or recording communication likely to prejudice public safety.
3. Doing any act or omitting to do any act with intent to impair the efficiency of any vehicle, vessel or aircraft used by the defence forces.
4. Unlawfully wounding or causing grievous bodily harm.
5. Shooting with intent to resist lawful arrest.
6. Assault or unlawful imprisonment of any person.
7. Causing an explosion likely to endanger life or property — whether injury or damage was actually caused or not.
8. Having explosive substances under suspicious circumstances.
9. Having possession of a firearm with intent to endanger life or cause injury to property.
10. Unlawful assembly.
11. Obstruction of railways by throwing stones etc.
12. Intimidating the President.
13. Unlawful drilling.
14. Being a member of an unlawful Organisation.
15. Wearing a uniform of the Defence forces or the Garda Sióchana.

DICK GOSS EXECUTED

It is not that these laws were introduced merely to intimidate or curb political opposition, but they were actually carried out and enforced in several cases. For example, Dick Goss was executed for unlawfully resisting arrest and causing injury to an army officer. Sean McCaughey for unlawfully imprisoning Stephen Hayes. The death sentence was commuted to life sentence and McCaughey died on hunger strike.

RESIST THESE EFFORTS

The fantastic lengths to which Governments have gone in this State in the matter of Special Criminal Courts and Military Tribunals should serve as a stern warning to public opinion to be ready to resist in the name of Justice and ordinary humanitarian considerations any effort by the Government at this stage to supplant the normal working of the Courts by indefensible and draconian measures of the type which were carried out here between 1939 and 1946. It is a sad comment on the comparative attitudes to law enforcement against political enemies, that there should have been only one political execution in the six counties since that regime was founded whereas there have been six executions as a result of Special Criminal Court and Military Court convictions and a number of other Death sentences which were commuted to life imprisonment due to special intervention of non-governmental influences.

This sort of destruction of the basic elements of justice must not be permitted to happen again.

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Lt. Liam McParland	Nov. 1969	Vol. Eamonn Lafferty	Aug. 1971
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Lt. Billy Reid 'C' Coy	April 1971	Vol. John Starrs	May 1972
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Vol. Gerard Bell 'B' Coy	Feb. 1972		
Lt. Gerard Steele 'B' Coy	Feb. 1972	Cumann na mBan	
Vol. Joseph Magee 'B' Coy	Feb. 1972	Dorothy Maguire	Oct. 1971
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Vol. Albert Kavanagh 'A' Coy	Mar. 1972	Na Fianna Éireann	
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Vol. Tom McCann 'C' Coy	Mar. 1972	Sean O'Riordan	Mar. 1972
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		Vol. Charles McCann	Feb. 1972
		Vol. Selim Grant	Feb. 1972

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THIS LIST WILL BE CONTINUED NEXT MONTH.

mbrabhs suarach féin.

Farair gear, rinne na hoibritheoirí agus na feirmeoirí laga dearmad faoi sheannmhána Éireannach, mar atá, gurb é an tréas agus an feall a dhéanann na saibhir ar na daibhir i gcoinn.

Ach b'fhéidir leis an seafóid, leis an fhíneacht, leis an geur-deiridh: cibé daonlathas bhí ann, tá deireadh leis. An tsaoil atá i réis, an méiréachas faoi lán tseoil, agus comórtas gan trua gan taise na bhfrancas?

Is iad na boicht agus a sliocht a bheas thíos leis.

Tost na n-Easbag

Is iontach go deo an tost i measc na n-easpag. Tá fóiréan cile ann, fóiréan eacnamaíoch. Smud níos labhair na heaspag faoi sin. Ach go rímhaith ba ea a thuigeadar a raibh ar siúl ag na huxters.

Tá sé de mhíneach agus d'ionracas ag easpaig na Spáinne teacht amach in éadan na tionsántachta eacnamaíochta agus cile. Tá sé de mhíneach ag easpaig Dheisceart Mheiriceá treoir a thabhairt do na daoine gan maoin agus fóiréan na saibhair a tharraingt orthu féin (Camara, cur i gcás). Ach bhí an dá eaglais in Éirinn dílis dá tdráidisiún le 300 bliain agus rinne siad feall eile fós ar na fréinn (cén uair a chaillfeas an chléir a saint: seanfhocal Éireannach).

Má threigear an Chríostaíocht in Éirinn — agus tá faifios orm go bhfuil sin tosúite i measc na hóige cheana — is ar na heaspag a bheas an locht curtha ag Dia agus ag an stair, is iad é mó de. Tá a lámh curtha ina mbás féin acu, ar an saol seo agus ar an saol eile, mura bhfuil aon osna de náire fágtha iontu a bhfogas a geroi.

DLI AGUS ORD SAN REIFREANN

IDE na much is na madraí a bhíodh. Ide na much is na mbó a bheas, feasta, tar éis d'fheachtas an Bhord Bhaíne agus Choimisiún na Muc is an Bháigín roimh an Reifreann. Dhá státchomhlacht atá iontu siúd a ba chóir a bheith neodrach sa pholaitíocht. Ní mar sin a bhíodar roimh an Reifreann. Ní mar sin a bhí státseirbhíshigh áirithe a bhfuil baint acu le "Inniu" agus a oibríonn go hoscailte ar son Fhianna Fáil.

Airgead an phobail sna 26 Chontae a chothaíonn an dá chomhlacht sin, airgead phoblachtóirí, airgead na gearrchumann, airgead an Pháirtí Oibreachais.

Ach an dtógfar raic faoin bháirt bhí acu — agus i gcomhlachtaí stáit agus leathstáit nach iad — i bhfeachtas an Reifreann ar son Fhianna Fáil agus Fine Gael?

Cén seasamh a bheas ag na polaiteoirí úd a bhfuil an méid sin cainte uatha faoi dhlii agus ord? Céard é dearfás an Seanadóir O'Kelly? Gerry L'Estrange? Mr. Cronin? Mr. Childers?

An raibh an Reifreann dléathach, siú de réir dlí na 26 Chontae? An bhfuil sé dléathach an breacat a leasú sa chaoi a ndearnaid? Nó nár chóir altanna ar leith a leasú de réir a bhfuil a dhith orthu chun nach dtiocfaid siad salach ar Chonradh na Róimhe?

An fir thuaid iad na dlíghéadóirí atá chomh láidir, más fíor a guine cainte, ar chearta an phobail? Nó an bhfeacann gach duine díobh glúin roimh Mhamon?

Mar a dúirt calín i gComisiún na M. agus an Bh. chuirfeadh cúrsaí Bealtaine 10 agus roimhe músiam ar mhuc; agus bhí ana-cheart ag an té a labhair faoin "Gaderene Slide."

Torthaí ó Stát daonlathach?

Stát daonlathach bhí sna 26 Chontae, dar le cosantóir móra an phobail. Ach coinníodh poblaíochtírimh amach ó na hionaid vótála ar eagla go bhfeicfidís an t-ollphreasán na hionaid chomh fórléach, go mór mór faoin tír (ar an sampla is greannmháire den chleas seo bhí na mná rialta i mBothar Haddington; ar an sampla is suair bhí an phróséid bhí á dhéanamh ag F.F. ar othair nach bhfuil ach bás láithil i ndán dóibh: ar gheall F.F. fadsaol dóibh?).

Cuid des na figiúir, tá siad dóchreite. Tír Chonail, atá bánaite ag an eisimírce, chuir sí 91 faoin gcéad dá pobal chun guthaíochta, más fíor. Ach an fíor é? Agus an fíor an uimhir faoi Cho. Mhaigh Eó, mar 83 faoin gcéad?

An Ruis faoi Stailín agus an Spáinn faoi Fhrancó a chuireann torthaí den chineál sin agus an fhios againn go rímhaith an cleas bhí ar siúl. Agus náire dá laghad ní raibh ar lucht leannúna F.F. a rá gur "fhéach siad chuige" go ndéanfaí an vótáil "ar an taobh cheart."

AN "MASS MEDIA"

Stát daonlathach, a deirte, ach theaspáin na nuachtáin, an raidió agus an teilifís go raibh siad san áit a bhfuil an t-airgead agus an chumhacht.

Cuireadh sin ina leith i ndiaidh an Reifreann, run mar tháinig go mór leis an "Irish Times" (nach raibh chomh dona is a bhí

Cúrsaí Beatha le Débé

na nuachtáin eile) na leas an "Independent".

Bruce Arnold, eagarthóir an "Irish Independent," ina cholún, Perspective, a chosain a fhóistoir: "It left a nasty taste in the mouth, all those stabs at the media that followed the result in the Referendum... The most virulent came from Mr. Michael Mullen, general secretary of the I.T.G.W.U.... Let me just quote them:

"The outrageous performance by the press and the mass media generally was symptomatic of what one could expect in a totalitarian state. Every device was used, every opportunity taken, to persuade the public that their only course was entry into Europe on the Government's terms. It was probably the most irresponsible piece of brainwashing ever carried out in this State."

Ach tá Bruce goillínach agus rinne sé a iarracht chun na fostóirí a chosaint — agus a pholasáil féin. Rinne sé an obair sin sa chaoi gur, faoi dheireadh, le Hamlet, bhí fonn ar dhaoine é seo a rá leis: "Methinks the lady doth protest too much."

Ní raibh Bruce bocht sách ghlic agus scéith sé air féin ag tóin a ailt:

"Your remarks distress me. They are extreme and immoderate. The contest was a fair one and was covered as fairly as was possible. It was not perfect. But if you get as good at the next general election, you will be getting better than you deserve."

Linne an cló iodaíleach, Dála an scéil, Sasanach atá i mBruce, fear dlí agus óird.

Céardchumann agus Michael Mullen, I.T.G.W.U.

B'fhéidir go mbeadh leigheas ag Mr. Mullen agus a chairde. Tá céardchumann ag na hiriseoirí. B'fhéidir go ndéanfaidís clamsán? Nó an bhfuil siad siúd ceannuithe nó ceannsuithe, freisin? Mura bhfuil, an labhróidh siad amach go tréan ar son saoirse cainte, ar son an daonlathais? Agus an geuideoidh Comhdháil Éireannach na gCéardchumann leo?

Mhol cinnire amháin céardchumannach faoina thabhairt atá sé Comhairle Phreasa a bhunú chun an pobal a chosaint. An bhfuil an phríonsabal fágtha nó an bhfágfar an chaint agus an moladh san aer?

Más tost atá i ndiaidh, ná bíodh aon chaint feasta faoi shaoire na nuachtáin ná caite, ná faoi daonlathas a bheith sa stát seo na 26 Chontae. Níl sé beo. D'éirigh le lucht an airgid agus leis na ranséirí móra an pobal a chur amú ar mhaithe lena

Glimpses Of CONNOLLY

"We went out to break the connection between this Country and the British Empire, and to establish an Irish Republic. We believe that the call we then issued to the people of Ireland, was a nobler call, in a holier cause, than any call issued to them during this war, having any connection with the war. We succeeded in proving that Irishmen are ready to die endeavouring to win for Ireland those national rights which the British Government has been asking them to die to win for Belgium. As long as that remains the case, the cause of Irish Freedom is safe."

This then was part of Connolly's last statement, made to the Field General Court Martial, held at Dublin Castle on May 9th 1916, just three days before he was to die by firing squad, before dawn, on the morning of May 12th exactly fifty six years ago, aged forty six years.

IN POVERTY BORN.

James Connolly was born of Irish emigrant parents, on June 5th 1868 in Edinburgh, at 107 Cowgate, District of St. Giles. Present day trade unionists would find it difficult to believe that the labouring population of both Ireland and England were at that period the most exploited, degraded, and almost dehumanised of all the peoples of Europe. His father was indeed very lucky to secure employment as a Corporation dustman, and at the early age of 10 years young James went to work in a publishing house. Denied the benefits of a basic education, he at least learned to read and having come under the influence of a John Leslie, a leading socialist of that period, sought the solution to social and economic problems, by studying the writings of Marx and Engels. Around 1888 he left Edinburgh, and worked like many many Irishmen as an unskilled labourer, in various parts of England. He married a Miss Lillie Reynolds in 1891.

IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLICAN PARTY

Connolly came to Dublin in 1896 and with the help of a few working men, founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party. He devoted most of his time to Party activities and Party propaganda. Blacklisting by the employment class, which led to irregular employment, eventually forced him to emigrate to America in 1903 leaving behind him his wife, and family, of five girls and one boy. In America he became associated with the Socialist Labour Party and with that militant trade union, the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies).

OFFICIAL OF THE IRISH TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION

Connolly returned to Dublin in 1910 and in 1911 he was appointed a Secretary to the Belfast Branch of the Union, and this Branch is still a very virile Branch to this day. His work in the Union in Belfast won him the admiration and respect of both Catholic and Protestant Workers. In 1912 he succeeded in establishing an Irish Independent Labour Party at the Irish Trades Union Congress held in Clonmel of that year, and after a series of strikes, led in Dublin by Jim Larkin, in 1913 the employers threatened a mass lock out and Larkin sent to Belfast for Connolly to return to Dublin to assist in the struggle.

THE EVE OF LOCK OUT - THE FAULT OF THE I.T.G.W.U.

Writing in the paper the Irish Worker on August 30th 1913 Connolly wrote "What is the fault of the I.T.G.W.U.? What is it? Its fault is this, that it found the labourers of Ireland on their knees, and has striven to raise them to the erect position of manhood; it found them with all the vices of slavery in their souls, and it strove to eradicate these vices and replace them with some of the Virtues of free men. - Let them declare their lock out - but let them understand well that once they start the ball rolling no Capitalist power on earth can prevent it from continuing to roll, that every day will add to the working class purpose, to the thousands it will bring to the working class ranks, and every added suffering inflicted upon the workers will be a fresh obstacle in the way of moderation when the day of final settlement arrives."

How well he anticipated the future, because the 1913 lock out inspired the formation of the Irish Citizen Army, and this subsequently led to the rebellion of 1916. Much has been written and recorded of this period of history, the most turbulent, bloody, violent, and yet decisive, in the history of the National and Labour movement, and is adequately recorded in the following poem:-

1909

The dockers were heaving a hundred tons in the master's ships per day,
By night the dockers daughter bent her weary limbs to pray,
From the great North Wall to Liberty Hall,
Stood a dead line of unskilled,
They heaved and hauled when the masters bawled,
And stopped when the masters willed.
The dockers and carter and heaver of coal, were only the backwash then,
'Till Connolly built the Union, and the bosses feared again
From the Great North Wall to Liberty Hall,
Came the deadline of unskilled,
In a new born fight for the workers right, that the bosses thought was killed.

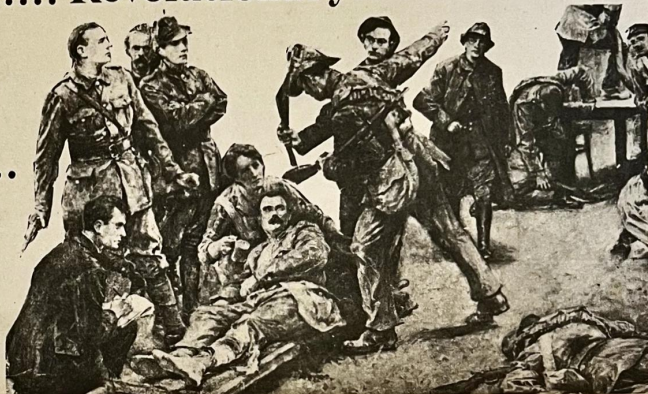
1913

The Citizen Army is out today,
And if you wonder why,
James Connolly lately came this way,
To nail the masters lie,
That the iron gyves on mens limbs and lives,
Would crush them till they die,
And the woman and kid whose tears are hid
As the Army marches by.

So the citizen Army is out today
And if you wonder why,
Ask the Lords of the Tram Line way
if their cash receipts are high,

..... Revolutionary

..Soldier..



But it's not the bosses who bear the brunt,
And its not you or I,
But the woman and kid whose tears are hid,
As the strikers stumble by.

1914

And Connolly watches the ships go out,
Through flags at Kingstown Pier,
As starving Dublin sends its toll
of Guard and Fusilier,
Food for the guns that o'er the World
Their murder call had pealed,
Ireland's bursted Union men
Were first on Flanders field.

1916

The Citizen Army is out to day
And if you wonder why,
Go ask the men in greeny grey
Why the Plough and Star Flags fly,
But it's not the bosses we challenge now
For Connolly has cast the die,
For the woman and kid whose tears are hid
As the Army marches by.

1917

Four hundred bosses swore to break
The dead line of un-skilled,
Four hundred bosses drink to day
For Connolly is killed,
But dead or alive there are men who will strive
Daring word to try,
And Connolly built and manned the Barricades,
For such as you and I.

FINAL TRIBUTE FROM PADRAIGH PEARSE

Before he was executed Pearse wrote "I desire now, lest I may not have an opportunity later, to pay homage to the gallantry of the soldiers of Irish Freedom who have during the past four days, been writing with fire and steel the most glorious chapter in the later history of Ireland. Justice can never be done to their heroism, to their discipline, to their gay and unconquerable spirit in the midst of peril and death. They have redeemed Dublin from many shames and have made her name splendid among the names of cities. If I were to mention the names of individuals, my list would be a long one. I will name only that of Commandant General James Connolly, Commanding the Dublin Division. He lies wounded, but is still the guiding brain of our resistance...."

REFLECT

To day let us for a moment pause and dwell on the sacrifices made by Connolly. As attempts are being made to rip and tear the soul from our movement, by selfishness, bitterness, pride, spite, jealousies, we may ask ourselves, Are we building the Nation that Connolly died for? Are we utilising the movement that he built for us in the same manner that he would have liked us to utilise it? Have sectional claims irrespective of the harm done to the Nation, or to our fellow workers, taken precedence over the old established trade union practice, of the strength helping the weak. Let us examine our conscience and by doing so ensure that the image of the trade union movement will be maintained and that we will not allow any selfish group to lead the movement to destruction.

Union Official

COMPLETE VICTORY

For the past 18 months, Westminster has been attempting to impose a military solution on Northern Ireland. To achieve this pernicious end every weapon in the British arsenal was put into operation. The British murder campaign got under way two weeks after Heath took office and two hours after his Minister Sharples left Belfast after his first visit there, on 2nd July, '70. At 6 o'clock on that evening the British army swept into the Lower Falls an area which had been quiet for the previous 9 months after experiencing the pogroms of August 1969. Four men were murdered on that awful night of terror by the British Army. Close on the heels of this atrocity came the murder of Danny O'Hagan, on 31st July, 1970. The repression and selective searches continued and intensified during the winter. February 1971 saw the murders of Bernard Watt and James Saunders. At this stage the IRA had not started its offensive. In fact it was retaliation to the British murders that put the IRA into gear. The first British soldier was shot in late February, 1971, and the war has been in full swing ever since.

To achieve the maximum results the British Government posted Brigadier Kitson to Belfast. An officer with an Oxford degree in psychological warfare, Kitson has written a

book on how to counter the enemy and murder "unwanted people."

The repressive measures introduced by Kitson failed abysmally. The Long Kesh cages, wire and general appearances and atmosphere were specially designed to break the spirit of the men inside. The long delays, the searches endured by the men's relatives and multiplicity of hardships inflicted on visitors were further designed to break the will of the people outside. The horror searches in ghetto areas, the roadblocks the insults were all directed by Kitson and Co., to wear us down. By the 20th January, 1972 when a large number of the male population of Belfast was either on the run or in prison, Kitson, Tuzo and Forde were happy men. Their plan then was to have the IRA cleared out of Belfast by the end of January and then head for the Bogside and use some 10,000 troops to take it. They reckoned that 400 people would be killed in this battle. With the Bogside taken by the British Army, it was hoped then to turn to the IRA in the country areas and they reckoned that they could break these in a matter of weeks. A complete victory was therefore predicted before the end of February and certainly before Easter!

(Republican News, Belfast).

"Ireland armed will attain freedom"

Contrary to purposely encouraged opinions, the I.R.A. is not a force that is carrying out a campaign of military resistance in the Six Counties because its leadership and members are not prepared to go about the job in any other way. If another way was open they would be effective then the I.R.A. would follow that road. But practical experience and History have shown that when a colonial power occupies another country, it may try to oppose its will through a puppet government, through a section of the people of that country who are prepared to collaborate with it or by some other pseudo-democratic means but that when the native population tries to gain its independence by measures other than armed force, the occupying power will let it go only so far. When such peaceful opposition shows signs of success the colonial power always falls back on the

final solution - its armed might, and armed might has got to be met on its own ground. If evidence of this was necessary then the Derry massacre by itself would suffice to provide it. But this is not the only country where it is so. It has happened in Algeria, in Palestine, in Indo-China, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia and it happened here fifty years ago. As Pearse truthfully said: "A thing that stands demonstrable is that nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms. In one or two instances there may have been no actual bloodshed, but the arms were there and the ability to use them. Ireland unarmed will attain just as much freedom as it is convenient for England to give her. Ireland armed will attain ultimately just as much freedom as she wants."

An Phoblacht

IMLEABHAIR 3. UIMHIR 6.

NO TIME FOR DESPONDENCY

Despite the overwhelming combination of forces which supported entry into the European Economic Community, 17% of the electorate south of the border had the confidence in Ireland's future outside the Common Market power bloc to vote 'NO'.

The two main parties in the 26 Counties, in their coalition would account for over 80% of the votes in a general election. The Press, national, provincial and sectional, played their part in ensuring that 'Yes' was the inevitable outcome, being almost unanimous in favour of entry. Added to these was the influence of the State subsidised companies, the Pigs and Bacon Commission, the Industrial Development Authority, An Bord Baine and also, the Confederation of Irish Industries. That the combined efforts of the above, with the enormous financial backing at their disposal, resulted in a 83% 'YES' vote, though disappointing, can hardly be surprising.

This is no time for despondency. The struggle for freedom in the North has gone from strength to strength. Success after success has come our way, allied as the Republican Movement is with the oppressed people of our land. Stormont has fallen, that last bulwark of Orange Ascendancy, and final victory cannot be too far off. With the volunteers in Oglagh na hEireann lies the credit for these successes; those volunteers who unflinchingly devoted themselves to their people and to the ideals of the Republican Movement. Some of them have paid the highest sacrifice of all and have given their lives that Ireland might be free.

In the South it is obvious that the Republican Movements Social and Economic Programme, radical in concept, has not yet been accepted by the people. A chain is as strong as its weakest link, and any weaknesses we have on the political front lies with those who wish to be Republicans but who do not involve themselves enough in the work required from Republicans. Patriotism and devotion to country is not measured by the amount of shibboleths we utter, but by the amount of hard work done to ensure the future of the New Ireland.

As Republicans we realise the necessity for political change North and South of the Border, but it will not come if we stand idly by. Upon us depend the future of the Nations children, and of their children. Rise up and work.



Sean Keenan (Jnr.), Martin McGuinness and Daithí O Conaill at a press-conference held recently in Free Derry at which they outlined the nature of the elections to be held in the area on June 15th.

SYMPATHY

The Republican Movement extends sympathy to Bob Mullally, Newbridge, Co. Kildare on the death of his wife.

G ndeana Dia trocaire ar anam.

Republican Ireland Honours Tone

Athair na Poblachta

Assemble Sallins (field)
2.15 p.m. Sharp

ORATION By Sean Keenan, Derry
CHAIRMAN Joe Cahill, Belfast
CHIEF MARSHALL Ruairi O Bradaigh, Roscommon.

Trains:
From Dublin - Sean Heuston Station, 12.50 p.m.

Tickets can be obtained from C.I.E., O'Connell St., Dublin, and in Sean Heuston Station day of departure.

Other Areas:
Consult your local Sinn Fein Cumann.

Ceili and Buffet - Spa Hotel, Lucan.
9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Taille £1.

Republican Commemoration Committee.
2a, Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.



BODENSTOWN Sunday 11 June 1972

SPECIAL BRANCH TORTURE OF JOHN CARLIN

MRS. BRIDGET CARLIN, mother of 24-year-old John Carlin, of Strabane Old Road, Waterside Derry, the detainee who was tortured by Special Branch men, and three young Derry women whose husbands are interned at Long Kesh, appeared at a Press conference held in the Creggan Estate.

They called for the abolition of the Special Branch; for the Release of all political prisoners and internees and an amnesty for "the boys on the streets" and for all men on the British Army and R.U.C. wanted list.

The conference was called by veteran Sean Keenan, recently released from internment at Long Kesh, who said its purpose was twofold. "We want to take this opportunity to tell what happened to John Carlin," he said, "and to make public the demands of the wives of Derry internees."

Mr. Keenan and Mrs. Carlin told the conference that John Carlin, who is a member of Sinn Fein, was arrested on Tuesday, April 25, in a public house in Dungiven Road, Waterside, Derry. He was taken to Victoria R.U.C. station in Derry and then transferred to Limavady and Coleraine.

During the early part of his interrogation Special Branch

men threatened to charge him with murder. "He was then placed in a car and told there was a bomb in it and that it would go off," they said. "He was made to stand for long periods in a search position with his fingertips against a wall. He was then thrown on a floor by his interrogators and was held spreadeagled while Special Branch men jumped on him. He later complained of a sore back and badly bruised legs because of this treatment."

"Lighted cigarette ends were then placed in front of the pupils of his eyes and he was told that his eyes would be burned out. Nails were inserted in his hands and patterns were cut out in them. His hair was pulled until bald patches appeared. An instrument was inserted in his anal passage and his testicles were squashed by hand. A dog leash was put around his neck and he was forced to walk on all fours and bark like a dog."

Derry Community Elections

Thursday, June 15th, will herald the dawning of a momentous era in the history of Derry. On that day, the electorate of Free Derry will choose a Community Government. The elections which are being run by Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army will demonstrate the wish of the people, battered and bludgeoned in 1969, scarred from the events of 'Bloody Sunday', to tell England once and for all "Concession be damned, we want our freedom."

The area has been divided into four constituencies, one of which will elect four members, and the remainder, three members each. The thirteen members elected will administer the day-to-day affairs of Free Derry, which comprises the Bogside and Creggan Estate. This Community Government will be the first of its kind in our history.

The people of Derry have suffered grievously under the imperialistic policy of England. A history of gerry-mandering, of discrimination, of economic under-development, of massive unemployment has left a hardened people. The realisation that they were but pawns in a political game of power has come at last to the people of Free Derry. By their actions on June 15th they will show a new confidence in themselves to carve out their own and their children's future.

These elections are the logical follow-up to the proposal put forward by the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army in August last year. The Army Council proposed the setting up of Dail Uladh, a parliament which would govern the nine counties of Ulster. Part of the statement issued by the Army Council read:

"The Army Council believes that the time is now opportune for the people themselves to demonstrate their effectiveness in the political sphere as well as in the military

aspect of the struggle. The time is past for futile trips to Dublin and Westminster to indulge in meaningless talk of reforms, conferences, and British Bills of Rights. We therefore propose, that the people of Ulster, establish forthwith a Provisional Parliament to exercise jurisdiction over the historic province of Ulster and thus take the first positive step in fifty years towards establishing a National Parliament representative of the whole people of Ireland. We call upon the people of our sundere province to take immediate steps to bring this proposal into operation. The people of the beleaguered areas now under attack can give the lead by selecting their own representatives forthwith."

The barricades surrounding Free Derry will have become more than mere physical barriers to the intrusion by the oppressors of the people. They will represent the complete rejection by a community of a corrupt and imperialistic system still governing the rest of the Six Counties. Inside the barricades will be formed the nucleus of a revolutionary political force, the repercussions of which will resound through the length and breadth of Ireland.

For the first time, regional and community government, which aim the Republican Movement has been promoting, will have visible expression - in Derry on June 15th, 1972.

"We declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and it's resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation and with Pearce we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare" (Democratic Programme of Dail Eireann 1919).