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FROM THE CEASEFIRE TO THE FINAL SOLUTION



STATEMENT FROM THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

"Statement from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. Announcement by Irish Republican leadership.

"We have been asked to release the following statement:

"The Irish Republican Army will suspend offensive operations as and from midnight, Monday, June 26th, 1972, provided that a public reciprocal response is forthcoming from the armed forces of the British Crown. The leadership of the

Republican movement believes that a bilateral suspension of operations would lead to meaningful talks between the major parties to the conflict. The movement has formulated a peace plan designed to secure a just and lasting solution and holds itself in readiness to present it at the appropriate time.

Signed by the leadership of the Republican movement, "P. O'Neill, runal, I.R.P.B."

INSIDE

INTERVIEWS WITH

SEAN MAC STIOPHAIN & RUAIRI O BRADAIGH

- Anseo is Ansiùd -

O'MALLEY'S FAUX PAS

some Northern papers are not only Republicans, but also re Irish history, by refusing to print such letters, even abridged. Ed.).

Seán Mac Stiopháin Interviewed



Q. The I.R.A. have called a ceasefire. What is the position now?

A. The position is this. The Army leadership have suspended offensive operations as from midnight on June 26th. I emphasise that the Irish Republican Army has not surrendered, that it has not called a general ceasefire. That will not come until we have achieved our objectives. We have suspended offensive operations and this has been publicly reciprocated by the British authorities. It is the first time in fifty years that the British Government has given public recognition to the I.R.A. as a combatant force, and this, I think, is very significant. The Army stands in readiness to defend the people of the Nationalist areas of the North from attack by sectarian elements, or from any other source.

Q. Do you see the likelihood of wholesale attacks on Nationalist areas by sectarian elements?

A. We hope that plain common sense will prevail, and that there will not be an outbreak of sectarian madness by the U.D.A. and other extreme Unionist organisations. We do not seek an armed confrontation with our Protestant fellow-countrymen — we have made this quite clear all along. However, we are equally determined that the threat of a backlash is not going to be used to blackmail the vast majority of the people of all Ireland and deprive them of their lawful legitimate national aspirations. The vast majority of the people of this country want a united Ireland, and an Ireland free of British rule and undue British influence, and we, in the

Republican Movement, have evolved policies — we have our three-point peace plan, we have our regional government plan, and we have the Social and Economic Programme, Eire Nua. With these three policies we believe we have evolved the way to a New Ireland in which all people, Protestant and Catholic, can live in peace and harmony and mutual self-respect. When that day comes, we can have normal peaceful relations with England, but, again, friendly relations with any country depend on a basis of equality and mutual respect. If that position can be reached, that British troops are withdrawn from our country, that Britain ceases to interfere in the affairs of this country, that the people of Ireland are the masters of their own destiny, that they are in proper and real control of the wealth and resources of this country, then we can develop friendly relations with England on a basis of mutual self-respect and equality.

Q. What lessons can be learnt from past events?

A. The lessons to be learnt from recent events are that self-sacrifice, determination and courage has brought the Republican Movement closer to the achievement of its aims than at any time over the past fifty years. The fight isn't won. We have taken significant steps forward but we have not yet won the war. It is essential, therefore, that all Republicans maintain a high standard of discipline. It is equally important that all Republicans make an all-out effort to push the policies of the Republican Movement, so that every Irish man, woman and child will know what we mean when we talk about our Regional Government policy, what we mean when we talk about Eire Nua, our Social and Economic Programme and what we mean when we talk about the Republican Three-Point Peace Plan. These documents are available and all Republicans should make themselves familiar with them and distribute them under the direction of the national and local leadership. We still have many, many members imprisoned, we still have many men who are on the run, who are unable to return home and who are working fulltime for the Movement. Therefore there is still a very urgent need for a massive effort on the part of An Cumann Cabhrach, so that the dependants of those who are in prison for us and of those who are unable to return to work because of the situation will not be in any want. Then there is the question of confidence in the leadership and confidence in each other. I personally believe that there is greater confidence amongst the rank and file for the leadership of the Republican Movement at the present time, than at any time in my experience, and I have been 23 years in the Movement. There is a great spirit of comradeship, very necessary in a revolutionary organisation, and it means that we now stand in a position of great strength. We have a national organisation. We have units of Oglagh na hEireann and Sinn Féin Cumann in every part of Ireland, and the organisation is still expanding. We have resources, and we are in a position, if it becomes necessary to use those resources to resume offensive operations, and continue to pursue the campaign against the British Army of Occupation, as we have been doing over the past two and a half years. However I hope that the present situation will lead to meaningful talks and discussions between the leadership of the Republican Movement and

representatives of the occupying power and that we will be able to achieve our peace plan by negotiation, but again I emphasise what I said earlier in this interview — the Irish Republican Army stands ready to act if necessary.

Q. Ag Ar Fheis Sinn Féin anuraidh, i dteiraeas, chuir tu beim orm ar an Ghaeilge. An bhfuil go leor a dhéanamh ag Poblachtanaigh sa cheist seo?

A. Ní ceapaim go bhfuil. Sa ráiteas a léigh mé ag an Ar Fheis lú mé tábhacht na Gaeilge, agus uaireanta ceapaim nach dtuagann alán Poblachtánaigh tábhacht na Gaeilge i gceart. Muna bhfuil an Ghaeilge againn san Eire Nua, muna bhfuil sé curtha ar ais mar príomh theanga muintir na hEireann, ní bheidh tada againn. Caitheadh muid bheith cúramach faoin cheist seo. Tá tábhacht faoi leith ag dlú leis an Ghaeilge. Is cuid dár n-oidhreacht é, is cuid dár gcultúr é, agus mar a dúras, mura bhfuil an Gaeilge againn, ní bheidh tada againn. Mar sin, tá dualgas faoi leith ar Poblachtánaigh i bhfad níos mó a dhéanamh ar son na Gaeilge ná mar atá déanta acu go dtí seo. Tuigim go bhfuil deacrachtaí ann, go bhfuil go leor le déanamh san Airm, i Sinn Féin, agus obair eile, ach is fíú an beagánín. Dí mbeadh gach duine sísta beagáinín an Ghaeilge gach lá sa cheist seo, bhéadh feabhas iontach ar an scéal. Cúpla pointe faoi cheist na Gaeilge agus conas is féidir leis an gnáth duine cús na Ghaeilge a chur ar aghaidh. Tá na mílte Poblachtánaigh go bhfuil ríocht Ghaeilge acu, ach, tá brón orm a rá, ní labhrann siad an Ghaeilge sin le chéile. Ba chóir dóibh, mar Poblachtánaigh, an Ghaeilge sin a labhairt, bíodh sé maith, cúasach maith, nó fíú, droch Ghaeilge. Is fíor beag an méid Poblachtánaigh a bhaineann úsáid as an leagan ceart dá ainm, an leagan Gaeilge. Ba cheart dóibh na Fáinne Nua a chaitheamh. Ba chóir go mbeadh obair na Gaeilge mar ríocht den obair atá á dhéanamh ag gach Cumann de Sinn Féin. I 1955/56 bhí tuairim is trí scór ranganna Gaeilge á reachtáil ag Sinn Féin ar fud na tíre. Is fíor beag an méid atá á reachtáil anois, agus ba mhaith liom an chaoi seo a thógaí, chun impi ar na Poblachtánaigh ar fud na tíre níos mó a dhéanamh ar son na Gaeilge.

Q. Ceard faoi an troid eacnamaíochta a moltar san chaispeis in 'Eire Nua'?

A. Bhuel, ba chóir go mbeadh na daoine i Sinn Féin ag obair i, mar a gloatar air san chaispeis a luaidh tú, 'Economic Resistance Movement'. Seo mar a feictear domsa é. In gach paróiste tá fadhb éigin ag na gnáth daoine a bhaineann le cúrsaí eacnamaíochta. Ba chóir go gcuirfeadh Poblachtánaigh suim insa fadhbanna seo agus ba chóir go mbeadh siad in ann rud éigin a dhéanamh faoi na fadhbanna seo. Sa slí sin, déanfadh siad maithiús den phobal, agus tuillfidh siad meas an phobail orthu féin agus ar Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta, dá bharr.

Q. What significance do you attach to the recent suspension of offensive operations proclaimed by the Irish Republican Army?

A. It is fifty one years since we have reached this stage before, and it is important to underline the fact that it is a bilateral ceasefire, in other words, that the British have recognised the Irish side in this struggle.

Q. Where will Sinn Féin go from here?

A. As far as Sinn Féin is concerned, one of the prime demands that will be made initially — and this is without regard to the national issue at all — is that first of all that the Special Powers Act, regulation which bans Sinn Féin as an unlawful organisation in the Six Counties be removed so as to give Sinn Féin full freedom of action, secondly, that all political test oaths and other restrictions on candidates for local elections or provincial assemblies be removed so as to give Sinn Féin an equal chance with every other interest in contesting elections in the North, and, thirdly, that the application of proportional representation to all such elections will be confirmed. In other words, we want this fear that has been worked on at all times of splitting the vote of the nationally-minded people of the North removed. With P.R. and the transferable vote, people can vote 1 for whatever candidate they like best, and then transfer their votes to other nationally-minded candidates if they so wish. Thus the dangerous splitting of the vote is avoided, and at the same time every interest entering the contest is given full scope. This has been denied under the direct vote system. These are but technical matters, but it is as well that we be clear in our minds that Sinn Féin will have to emerge as a formidable force among the people, and will have to gain a considerable footing politically in whatever elections arise and some elections will arise at some stage or another. It is vital that we consolidate our position among the people and also to show our strength and to help cement what is called our "bargaining position". I would not like that people would misunderstand that last expression. The fact is that there are certain demands that will have to be met in the sense that they will have to secure the basis for a just and lasting peace. That is the very minimum — the basis for a just and lasting peace.

Q. The ceasefire has been generally acclaimed by all sections of political thought — with some expected exceptions — and by the general public. What reaction do you expect from the 26-County Government, taking into account the widespread use they are making of the Offences Against the State Act against Republicans, including yourself?

A. Of course, the strategy of the 26-County Government has been to let the Republican Movement do the fighting, and that when it reached a stage like the present they would break our necks as it were. They would put us all in prison and then would proceed to occupy our place at the conference table. That is exactly what they tried to do at the end of May, when they introduced their Special Courts and manipulated the law to bring charges against Republican leaders. Even yet they will still try to shoulder us one side, by fair means or foul.

Q. What of those Republicans who have not been so lucky and



Interview With Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

are now lying in prison?

A. It is vital that the demand go up immediately for political status for all Republican prisoners. It has been conceded by the British, but it has not yet been conceded south of the border. This should be followed by a demand for their unconditional release, that is, political status pending a speedy amnesty. I would draw attention to the position of the prisoners in Portlaoise Jail who are forced to wear convict garb and do penal labour, the position of the prisoners in the Curragh who are in military custody, and who are denied even open visits. They have to speak through a little grill — like a confession box grill — to their relatives, and the general attempts that are being made to deny political status to Republicans. As well as campaigning for the release of the political prisoners, there is the whole question of obtaining a political footing south of the border as well. We must bring it home to the people that it was the Republican Movement that brought down Stormont, and it was the Republican Movement who continued on for another three months in direct confrontation with the British Government, that has dealt directly with the British Government, with Stormont gone and over the head of Jack Lynch, Liam Cosgrave and Brendan Corish, and that it is that Movement which has brought the situation to the pass it is at present. It is the Republican Movement which has made this way forward possible and the

representatives of that Movement should be given a voice in the framing and shaping of the New Ireland. We have our policies on Regional Government, we have our Social and Economic Programme, Eire Nua, we have brought out a further document which outlined the governmental structures in the New Ireland and also summarised the Social and Economic Programme. It is vital that the representatives of the Republican Movement and Sinn Féin gain a political footing and be given a platform to implement these things and the people have it in their power to give us that platform. We must go before them and win their support. This is complementary to what I have said already not allowing the people who have done the fighting to be pushed aside at this stage. This indeed is the great danger in all revolutionary situations which reach this level.

Q. For the benefit of those who may not have heard of Dail Uladh and the Regional Government concept, would you explain in some detail the principal features of such a concept?

A. Well, it is felt in general that the centralisation of power that has occurred in Europe over the last hundred years has been detrimental to the ordinary individual, in that he has less say over decisions that affect his own life. We have seen the decentralisation of power in Switzerland, in Western Germany, and in the under way in Italy, as well. Dublin has become a concentration of power and wealth and industry to the detriment of the outlying areas of Ireland, so that regional government in itself is desirable. This would break up the present centralised decision making process and bring it down the Provinces, thus bringing power back to the people. Now that much said in relation to the province of Ulster and the Ulster problem, it presents a solution. The Six County area was based on a headcount and was a gerrymander of the island of Ireland. It ceded the greatest amount of territory to the pro-British elements, to the Unionists, while at the same time, giving them an inbuilt perpetual majority, so that the Unionist Party has enjoyed power in the Six Counties for over fifty years, until the downfall of Stormont some months ago. It is felt that four regional parliaments based on the four historic provinces would be the fairest way to go about this, and that in the case of Ulster the nine county historic province be taken. In this case — in a Dail Uladh — the Unionists would still have a working majority. There would be something less than a million Unionists in the nine counties, and the anti-Unionists in number, would be in the region of three quarters of a million. It would mean that Unionists would have great control over their own affairs, but they would have, what is lacking in the Six County area, a credible opposition, at least in the realm of achieving power, which was and is impossible within the Six County area. What it means is that in all Ireland the Nationalists are in the majority and would enjoy power; at provincial level, in the Province of Ulster the Unionists are in the majority, and the Unionists would enjoy power; and, beneath that, at community or local government level, the various areas — Belfast, Derry, Newry and so on — would be either Unionist or anti-Unionist according to the local population. So there would be a series of checks and counter-checks. Local power according to the local community, provincial power according to the provincial majority and national power according to the national majority.

Sinn Féin Activities

LOUTH COMHAIRLE CEANNTAR

8 Months ago Louth had one Sinn Féin Cumann i.e. The Goss & Gaughran based in Dundalk. This Cumann, thanks to the Dundalk members, kept the Sinn Féin flag flying in Co. Louth over the lean years.

To-day Co. Louth has seven Cumann, some more active than others but all of them dedicated to the ideals of the 1916 Proclamation and of An Ard Comhairle. There are still quite a few un-tapped areas in Co. Louth where Cumann can be established. And we in the Louth Comhairle Ceanntar have as our aim the establishment of possibly one new Cumann every 6 weeks until all of Co. Louth have organised active Sinn Féin Cumann.

In recent weeks we have had quite a lot of activity around our area, particularly in Dundalk and District. Not a week passes by without our members - and I'm sure nobody will object if we single out that little bundle of energy - Eileen Campbell - going through the streets with their little tin boxes. Money is of course always in demand and to the people who put their hands in their pockets when approached to do so, we say - KEEP IT UP - you could not support a better cause.

On Sat. 27th May in conjunction with the rest of the country we organised our hunger-strike as a gesture of Solidarity with Republican Prisoners everywhere and in particular to focus the people's attention on the plight of Billy McKee in the agony of his hunger and thirst strike. The response from the people of Dundalk and their expressed sympathy and anxiety gave us high hopes for the success of our efforts. We hope that by the time this report is published Billy McKee will have achieved his purpose.

On Thursday night May 19th trouble erupted in Mountjoy jail as Republican Prisoners demanded political status. On Friday morning we read in the Dublin national newspaper of how Brian Smith - a six County Republican who was brought from Dundalk to Mountjoy jail on Thursday morning - was injured in the Mountjoy "riot" and had to have five stitches in his head.

Herewith we publish a statement issued by the Goss & Gaughran Cumann Dundalk and distributed in leaflet form on the streets of Dundalk.

SPECIAL BRANCH TERROR ACTIVITIES IN DUNDALK LOCAL GARDAI USE B. SPECIAL TACTICS

Why was Brian Smith - a local (ex 6 County) Republican admitted to the Louth County Hospital on Wed., night last 18th May?

Why is Brian Smith now in Mountjoy Prison?

THESE ARE THE FACTS

Brian Smith was harassed in the town of Dundalk all day Wednesday by the members of our so-called keepers of the law i.e. the local Special Branch and members of the Local Gardai.

In the pursuit of this man throughout the course of the day were the hench-men of Det. Myles Hawkshaw (who recently took over the duties of Mr. J.J. Donovan Eimbar Bar) Mr. Hawkshaw is learning fast also are Det. Ned Smyth, Det. Daly, Sgt. Prenty, Garda Hyne and Garda Gethins.

Over the years Republicans in Dundalk have known what the mid-night knock on the door meant but since the advent of Whitelaw in the North, Lynch Law in the South has been stepped up.

Brian Smith is the latest victim - Taken by the Gardai on Wed., night he was brutally beaten about the head and body, by one garda in particular, which necessitated 5 stitches in the head and an over night stay in a Hospital bed. However don't let all of the blame rest on the one uniformed shoulders, the batons of the other peacekeepers were very much in evidence and the armed guard on Brian Smith (injured as he was) speaks volumes for the Special Branch activities.

Thursday morning Brian was charged at Dundalk Garda Backs on a re-hash of the famous Gun-Battle at Dungwooley some time past.

The people of Dundalk will remember how Justice Dunlavy threw these charges out of Court at the last trial.

Now Brian Smith is back again on the same charge but for all who sit down and think, the charge should be, DOING ONE'S BEST TO FREE IRELAND.

DERRY

SINN FEIN DERRY TO MR. WHITELAW

"Mr. Whitelaw had the audacity to sit down and talk with masked U.D.A. men who drill, train, and uniform their men in military style and who have commando sections and assassination squads (over 20 Catholics - not Republicans - have been shot in the past couple of months) etc., AND THEN REFUSE TO TALK WITH THE I.R.A. WHO ARE REAL LY FREEDOM FIGHTERS."

The statement goes on "Whitelaw has clearly come to some sort of deal with the U.D.A., because late on Tuesday night, after meeting Whitelaw, they announced that they were going to postpone for a fortnight their threatened settling up of permanent 'no-go' areas all over the Six Counties. Obviously Whitelaw has given the U.D.A. some promises about the ending of Free Derry, and we say to him to make public what he said to the U.D.A. concerning Free Derry - whether he proposes to launch a large invasion of the area or to set up some ridiculous form of blockade of the area."

BELFAST STATEMENT ON FAMILIES EVACUATION

Following "bitter sectarian incidents" at the week-end Belfast Comhairle Ceanntar Sinn Féin said the evacuation of 40 families from Annalee Street in the Oldpark area to Girdwood barracks (under threat of being burned out) was unnecessary since "the so-called Security Forces could have protected the people without having to remove them from their homes."

The statement added that the I.R.A. had been accused of operating in the Manor Street area. "This is totally without foundation since the shots fired from Manor Street were directed at the Army from behind Protestant extremists' barricades."

Catholic families in the West Circular Road area were forced to leave their homes. The British Army helped them to remove their furniture, but refused to give any assurance that the houses would be protected.

Over the past number of days there has been a remarkable lack of information and publicity concerning arms caches found in "Loyalist" areas (Urney Street included). This is due to the fact that there is open collaboration between the Army, RUC and Protestant extremist organisations (UDA and Vanguard).

The Belfast Comhairle Ceanntar wish to stress the need for our fellow Protestants to realise who the real enemy are, the British Imperialist system and its forces of occupation."

'PARAS' QUICK TO KILL

A report on Lord "Whitewash" Widgey's investigation into the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry has recently been published by the International League for the Rights of Man, an international body with consultative status at the United Nations.

Paratroopers deployed to make arrests on Londonderry's Bloody Sunday had a "notorious reputation in Northern Ireland for brutality to civilians, were trained to be quick on the trigger to kill in aggressive warfare and were unsuited for the action" says the commentary on Lord Widgey's report.

The writer, Professor Samuel Dash, director of the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure of Georgetown University Law Centre says the record of the Widgey Tribunal justifies a finding that the 13 dead were unarmed and were shot either recklessly or deliberately by Paratroopers.

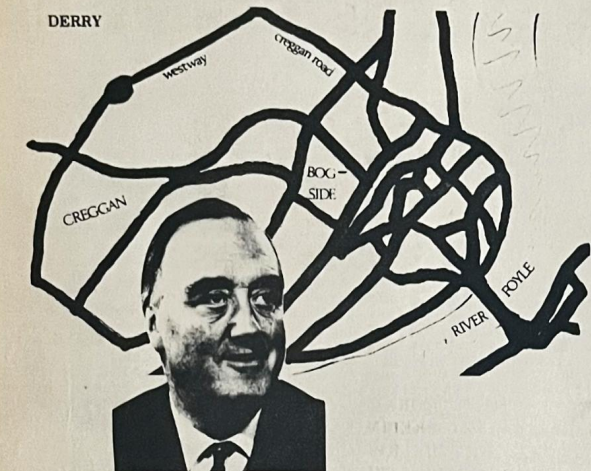
Officials "should have known that they were exposing thousands of peaceable citizens to a high risk of death or serious bodily injury" when they approved plans for dealing with the day's civil rights march.

"Those in command decided to accept a high risk of civilian deaths and injuries, in spite of the urgent warning of this risk by the Chief Superintendent of Police in Londonderry."

Professor Dash says the police officer had greater experience with Derry Catholics than the higher authorities who ignored him. He told Army commanders the marchers would be non-violent with the possible exception of a hooligan fringe group.

The Ministry of Defence said last night that they could not accept the "independent inquiry" description of Professor Dash's report.

"A real inquiry can only be carried out by listening to all versions of the facts, and all the viewpoints, as Lord Widgey did in his inquiry."



In a statement released shortly after Mr. Whitelaw's meeting with the military Council of the U.D.A. (Ulster Defence Association), the Derry Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceanntar issued a statement strongly condemning his actions.

"It must now be obvious to everyone that at long last they are seeing the real Whitelaw. Despite his nice little utterances about peace and stability in Ireland he cares nothing except protecting British Imperialist interests here."

They asked the "peace-at-any-price" people to take note of what had happened.

MR. LYNCH'S "SPECIAL COURT"

The reintroduction of Part 5 of the Offences Against the State Act, after a lapse of 10 years, is a denial of the elementary democratic rights of trial by jury, equality before the law, and freedom to refrain from answering under interrogation.

Mr. Lynch's action is a complete sell out of the people's resistance to British rule north of the border and is in line with his infamous internment threat of December, 1970 which paved the way for the opening of Long Kesh Camp by the British in August last.

Since this is a matter of basic civil rights which affects all citizens, Sinn Féin calls not only on Republicans but also on all freedom-loving people and upholders of civil liberties to come out in open and active opposition to this most blatant form of British-inspired repression.

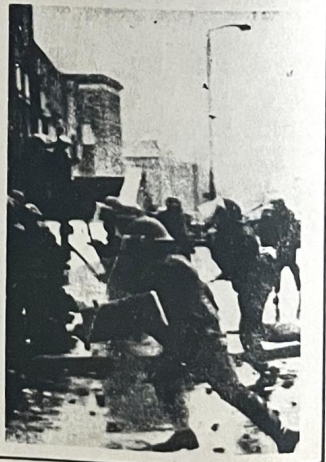
The timing of this morning's SDLP announcement of their intentions to move back into the British system, when taken in conjunction with Mr. Lynch's action this afternoon is evidence of a sinister arrangement to crush popular resistance to British rule. It would appear that both moves are part of an agreement by politicians to prop up the tottering partition system of government in their own selfish interests. Those most pleased by this pattern of events are certain to be Mr. Heath and Mr. Whitelaw.

Sinn Féin would remind the Irish people of the consequences of such "Special Courts" in the past, which included deaths on hunger strike, repression in jail and in military custody and the denial of political treatment to Republican prisoners. It makes little difference that three judges replace three military personnel on the bench. The outcome will be seen to be the same.



"TWO LOST SOULS"

The above photograph was taken by a Sinn Féin member at Bodanstown on Sunday, 11th June. The "two lost souls" (marked with the crosses) were very much in evidence at the ceremony. Anyone recognising the subjects please get in touch with An Phoblacht.



Bodenstown 1972



“ WE WANT THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH SOLDIERS FROM THE STREETS AS A PRELIMINARY TO THEIR COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE TO DECIDE THEIR OWN DESTINY ”

Sean Keenan, Derry at Bodenstown, 11 June, 1972.

NOT SINCE 1932 had there been such an enormous demonstration at Bodenstown as was held there on June 11th last. Estimates of the numbers present put the marchers at 23,000 – it took the parade almost an hour to enter the churchyard – and those present who did not or could not march at 5,000, a total of 28,000!

From every county in Ireland they came, the strident northern accent mingling with the softer brogue of larchonnacht. Thousands arrived from Belfast notwithstanding that many of those who had wished to go to Bodenstown had to remain because of the tense situation present in the city.

It was a grand sight to see – the colour party of volunteers carrying the Tricolour and the Plough and Stars flag – following them Cumann na mBan, Cumann na gCaillíní and na Fianna Éireann – with their standards bravely fluttering above them – then the bands and the main body of the marchers from the four provinces, marching in step and with a proud determination.

Taking the place of Ruairí Ó Bradaigh, who was on that day still on hunger strike in Mountjoy, Eamonn Mac Thomais acted as Chief Marshall.

WEATHERS LAID

Seamus Twomey of Belfast laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement, Pádraig Varian, Fianna adjutant, laid one on behalf of the Fianna Éireann, and Dennis O'Brien, from Nenagh, laid one on behalf of the National Athletic and Cycling Association. Mr. O'Brien is a veteran of the campaign against the Black and Tans.

The Last Post and Reveille were sounded by a Fianna bugler accompanied by drummers from the Cork band.

Mrs. Maire Drumm, from Belfast, whose husband has only been recently released from Long Kesh Concentration Camp, was chairman. Referring to Ruairí Ó Bradaigh, she said: "Our President is now in Mountjoy, and is not the first president to serve time in jail for his country. He is now on hunger strike. We hope and pray that he is the last president of Sinn Féin that will ever be put behind bars in this country."

She then read a message from Dáithí Ó Conaill sending greetings on behalf of Sinn Féin to all Republicans at Bodenstown, and apologising for his absence due to obvious reasons.

Continuing Maire Drumm read a message from the internees in Long Kesh sending greetings to their comrades and

friends at the grave of the father of Republicanism. The fond dream of Tone was about to be realised. Could a cause fail that had such men as the men behind bars, the men who had suffered under British oppression, the men of the utmost bravery who were enduring a lingering death from starvation in Belfast prison.

One hundred and twenty men are on hunger strike in Long Kesh, nineteen in Belfast prison and eight women in Armagh. One of the first to go on hunger strike was Billy McKee who was in a very weak condition after spending 27 days on hunger strike.

SEAN KEENAN, DERRY

Sean Keenan from Derry was then introduced by Maire Drumm, as the main speaker. Sean's son, Colm, was killed by the British Army in March, and Sean was released from Long Kesh shortly afterwards.

Thosnaigh se ar an oraid: "Ag uaidh Wolfe Tone geallaimid do na buachaillí oga agus do na mna croga go dtabharfaimid gach cuidiú doibh sa doigh go mbeidh an bua againn sa chogadh seo. Tá spiorad nua ar fud na hÉireann agus ní feidir an spiorad sin a chloí fhaid a sheasfaimid ar chuil na ndaoine ata ag troid – ní cheart, duinn teacht anseo muna bhfuil muid reidh e sin a dheanamh."

Continuing, he said: "There is a new spirit in Ireland that cannot be ignored. It has destroyed a Government that but a few short years ago seemed firmly established. Stormont is gone and the monolithic Unionist party recently all-powerful is now making protests reminiscent of the Stormont Opposition for the past 50 years."

CRAIG'S ORDERS

When Craig gave the order to the police force to wipe the growing movement for freedom off the streets he was acting as midwife for a movement that would sweep him and his friends out of office and change him into a most unconvincing revolutionary. The R.U.C. who used baton, bullet and gas to

quell the rising tide of revolution found that every baton and bullet was a recruiting agent for the movement. The British Army had been welcomed by some people. Some said that Whitelaw was a gentleman and must be given a chance. The British Army had killed, tortured and imprisoned with all the enthusiasm of its imperialist past.

Faulkner wanted internment and the British Government sanctioned the torture of prisoners. The systematic torture of prisoners was one of the blackest crimes English Governments had perpetrated against the Irish people. The details were so horrible that the minds of civilised people shrank from contemplating them.

It is still happening, sanctioned by a Government of which Whitelaw, that real gentleman, is a senior and influential member. Whitelaw and his Cabinet colleagues are guilty of this crime against humanity. Stormont had been repudiated by civilised people throughout the world and soon their own people would repudiate them.

We recall how Mr. Faulkner claimed that the security forces were on top of the I.R.A., but instead the I.R.A. became daily more effective. On Bloody Sunday, Faulkner and the British Governments decided, as British Governments had done before, to resort to massacre. Thirteen unarmed peaceful citizens were cold bloodedly murdered by the army of Whitelaw, the real gentleman.

BRITISH TACTICS CHANGE

When massacre failed like everything else, the British Government sacked Faulkner as if he were an office boy who had filched the petty cash.

Then the British tactics changed. A handful of women were used by Whitelaw and others who paraded them before the television cameras. To their credit these women agreed with the peace points put forward by the Republican movement as the only basis for true, lasting, just peace. Unscrupulous politicians tried to use the women for their own ends. The idea that such people would have any effect on the struggle is grotesque. The brave young men who have sacrificed everything for their country will not abandon their task. The

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



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 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 visit there, on 2nd July, 1970. At six o'clock on that evening the Army swept into the Lower Falls, an area which had been quiet for the previous nine months after experiencing the pogroms of August '69. Four men were murdered on that awful night of terror by the British Army. Close on the heels of this atrocity came the British murder of Danny O'Hagan, on 31st July, 1970. The repression and selective searches continued and intensified during the winter. By February the Army had murdered Bernard Watt and James Saunders. At this stage the IRA had not started. In fact it was in 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.

KITSON TERROR

To achieve the maximum results the British Government posted Brigadier Kitson in 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". His criminal mind and debased tactics are best seen from reading the following extract from his own book where he plans and plots cold blooded murders in euphemistic terms:

"An excellent example concerns the way in which the law should work. Broadly speaking there are two possible alternatives, the first one being that the law should be used as just another weapon in government's arsenal, and in this case it becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public. For this to happen the activities of the legal services have to be tied into the war effort in as discreet a way as possible..."

KITSON IGNOMINY

But Kitson had to leave, for which many people were very thankful. His mission had been a total failure. His withdrawal was clear proof that the British Army had suffered a major defeat in the North of Ireland.

The repressive measures introduced by Kitson failed abysmally. The Long Kesh cages, wire, gas, and appearance 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 the multiplicity of hardships inflicted on visitors was further calculated to break the will of the people outside. The horror searches in ghetto areas, the murders of civilians, the roadblocks, the insults, the arrests of boys, were all directed by Kitson & Co., to wear us down. By the 20th January when nearly all the male population of Belfast was either on the run or in prison, Kitson, Tuzo and Forde were very happy men. Their plan was then to weed out the IRA in Belfast by the end of January and then head for the Bogside and use 10,000 troops to take it. They reckoned that 400-1,000 people would be killed in this battle.



HEATH PREPARES VICTORY SPEECH

The Bogside having been taken, the army reckoned, that it would only take a few short weeks to move on the IRA in the country and have the whole job finished by end of February or at latest before Easter. Then the army looked forward to telling Faulkner, Heath and Taylor that they had the IRA smashed, that they had finally and fully got on top of the gunmen. At this stage it was planned that Heath would come on TV to formally announce the victory of his army over the "Terrorists". In fact his speech writers were getting his script ready. He would tell the world of the "valour and courage" of his men, of the "restraint they showed under the most abominable provocation from the gunmen". He would tell them further of the "vile deeds these murderers had performed" against his fine boys. He would also congratulate the North of Ireland's Prime Minister and Cabinet on their devotion, and determination to harass and crush the "gunmen". He

would boast of the rate of attrition against the IRA. He would emphasise that these gunmen had not "the support of the Catholic population" who would be treated fairly under Mr. Brian Faulkner's new proposals for governing Northern Ireland, contained in his latest Green Paper. This publication, Heath would have emphasised, showed the sincerity and fairmindedness of Mr. Faulkner and his Government. After lashing and lacerating the IRA, he would recall his speeches from last September when he pledged himself and "Her Majesty's Government to get on top of the gunmen". This pledge I renewed when I visited our hard pressed troops two days before Christmas. This pledge we have finally honoured by our final victory over the IRA gunmen in the past few months. Many gunmen have already been caught, charged and convicted. Many more are awaiting trial and they also will face long prison sentences. Let their imprisonment be a parable to any one who thinks he can fight and win against the British army which is the finest in the world".

BLOODY SUNDAY

This speech which Heath looked forward to making and which Faulkner looked forward to hearing was never made and could never be made. Both Faulkner and Taylor last January looked forward to having over 1,000 men interned by Easter. Instead both of them had been dismissed with great ignominy before that date. Maudling who told us on internment day that things would settle in a few days was likewise been left speechless. Two things prevented Heath ever making his speech of victory:

1. Bloody Sunday when 13 men were murdered by the Paras. Quite clearly the British Government and army hoped to inveigle the IRA out into an open battle. Sean McStiofain's men were not so foolish or irresponsible. The world recognises that the Provisionals are the greatest guerrilla fighters that the world has ever seen. It was therefore a most erroneous assumption on the part of the British army and Government to believe that the IRA would make such a mistake. Heath's army on the other hand made

the stupidest decision possible and murdered 13 innocent men in a crime which has become the name of England everywhere. That in itself was one of the principal factors which prevented victory for the British.

HEATH DUBROUNDED OVER CAR BOMBS

2. The introduction and development of the car bomb by the Provisionals put the final nail in Heath's coffin. This new bomb was first introduced in the March in Lisburn and Derry. One bomb destroyed 80 shops in Lisburn and another demolished a whole street of shops (Shipway Street) in Derry. Prior to the advent of this device, bombing was quite a sluggish and hazardous operation. For armed men were usually required to place a bomb of relatively low power which would start to destroy one building, the dangers of being caught by the army or RUC were a part from Belfast, Derry and perhaps Newry only or two other towns received any bombing. However, with the introduction of this new

VICTORY FOR THE

How the British Army and Government are being defeated

in the North of Ireland

by
AIDAN CORRIGAN

ORY IE I.R.A.

and British Policies

defeated



bomb things dramatically changed. Enniskillen, Dungannon, Cookstown, Lisburn, Armagh, Bangor, Carrickfergus, Ballymoney, Markethill, Banbridge have all received extensive bomb damages. Worse still the fear of a car bomb has led to no parking zones in towns and cities right through the province. This in turn has hit the commercial and industrial life of the area a crippling blow. The Provisionals set out to wreck, as their statements clearly show, the economic and industrial system because the people who control big business are the people who are responsible for all the injustices.

WILSON NEGOTIATES WITH IRA

As soon as the second car bomb exploded in the beginning of March, the army immediately informed Heath that the Provisionals had made a serious breakthrough on the war front and had devised high powered car bombs which were not made of gelignite. Tuzo, Heath and Forde were all speechless. Faulkner in his mulish stubbornness would not

believe it. The old excuse of 26 County gelignite would now work no more. The road cratering, the torture, the internment had all failed. The army reported that there was no effective way of countering this bomb. Heath moved fast. He first dispatched Wilson to meet the Provisionals. It is reliably learned that Rory Brady thought it best not to meet Wilson himself. Instead the IRA delegation was headed by their top tactician, the wily David O'Connell, who escaped the police net cast for him last year on the Continent. This must have been the Provisionals' finest hour or was it four and a half hours. Heath then knew that he had to move fast and radically on the initiatives. He vainly hoped in this way to "detach the support of the Catholics from the IRA." Stormont was abolished forthwith and things moved so quickly in face of the car bomb that Lynch did not even know that Wilson was meeting the IRA. Hume would not believe that the meeting took place almost a week later and Heath had not time to tell Faulkner before he came over on 22nd March

the full outcome of the Wilson-IRA meeting and his own (Faulkner's) impending redundancy as a result of it.

HEATH BACKTRACKS

Heath now saw that his army had been badly defeated. He would have to cover up for them. He and Carrington and Maudling would have to start saying that they never sought or expected a military victory in the first place; they would have to say they were only interested in a political solution. This they have been doing ever since and hope that we Irish will forget their speeches over the past year. We will not forget Carrington's secret weapon which he had threatened on the IRA in March, 1971. We will not forget his calling of the hooded internees murderers. We will not forget Douglas Hume's United Nations speech last September. We will not forget Bloody Sunday. All true Irish men will remember with pride that the British army got "a damnable hiding" from the boys of Andersonstown, Falls,

Ballymurphy, Ardoyne, New Lodge Road and the Bogside. We all know that Whitelaw and Co., never now talk about "murderers and thugs." They know that they have soon to talk to the IRA just as they had to talk to the FOKA in Cyprus, just as they had to talk to the Irgun in Palestine etc., etc. Whitelaw would give his right eye to have the bombing stopped. He knows he can achieve this only by negotiation and by meeting the three demands of the Provisionals.

IRA THE PACE SETTERS

Faulkner and Heath although they did not like it could have withstood the rents and rates strike. Without the guerrillas there would have been no civil disobedience campaign at all. In the event the guerrillas precipitated this campaign and provided the dynamism necessary to carry it. No wonder Faulkner's voice quavers with rage when he pronounces IRA. It was they who decided to end Stormont when the Opposition MPs were talking of institutional changes which would have had the mere effect of giving credibility to a tyrannical regime. The IRA knew that their campaign would meet with internment which in turn would meet with the wrath of the people. Faulkner in his stupidity could not see this.

The IRA's plan to wreck the commercial and industrial life of the Province has been successful with a vengeance. We have now ghost towns and cities where cars may not pass through or park in and which are deserted by shoppers. The Provisionals argue that it was the big business people in Belfast who owned chains of shops, lived on the Malone Rd., or Bangor, voted Unionist or condoned Unionism who were the people responsible for the system of oppression. These people were so rich that they holidayed on the continent in the summer and had a cruise on the Mediterranean in the winter. Now they shout loudly about their rates and their falling off of custom. They were silent for fifty years when people were denied houses and jobs and deprived of the right to hold political meetings and treated worse than animals. It is a sad reflection on the mentality of these people that it took the noise of the gun and the roar of the bomb before they were brought to their senses.

S.D.L.P. HIDE BEHIND WOMEN IN DERRY

It is idle nonsense to believe as Women Together know in Andersonstown and Mrs. Boyle and her followers do in Derry that the ghettos of the North of Ireland which gave succour to the IRA, that the small farmers and small business men who supported them in shaking off the yoke of oppression will ever betray them. Poor fools in the Alliance, SDLP, NUM will never learn.

Fifty years ago Prime Minister Lloyd George speaking with a strong army behind him threatened horrible war on the Irish unless they acceded to his wishes in imposing an unjust settlement on Ireland. Today it is the turn of the Provisionals. They have Heath beaten over the ropes and they threaten him with more shootings, more bombs, more destruction if he does not rectify the wrongs imposed fifty years ago. There is certainly poetic justice in this.



Eamon MacThomais Chief Marshall addressing the parade at Bodenstown



Maire Drumm, Belfast, Chairman, speaking at Wolfe Tone's graveside on Bodenstown Sunday.



Three regular patrons of Bodenstown, Joe Clarke and Mr. and Mrs. Donal Connors.

Bodenstown 1972

FROM PAGE 5

struggle will continue until the Republican demands are met in full. The internees must not be used as a bargaining counter. Internment is immoral and unjust and must be brought to an end immediately. We want the release of all political prisoners and amnesty for all on the wanted list.

We want the withdrawal of British soldiers from the streets as a preliminary to their withdrawal and recognition of the right of the Irish people to decide their own destiny.

We have been accused of sectarianism by people as diverse as Cardinal Conway and the Rev. Ian Paisley. Surely in these two gentlemen we have two experts on that particular subject.

The grave of Tone is the appropriate place to repudiate with all our energy and vigour such an unjust and baseless charge. We look for inspiration to Tone who almost succeeded in destroying dissension between faiths. We honour Russell, McCracken, Orr and the other Presbyterians. We honour Emmet and remember that he was traduced and villified by Archbishop Troy. Today most Republicans, by a mere accident of birth, are Catholics. We know it is against the teaching of that Church to force Catholicity on anyone by sword or Act of Parliament.

NEW CONSTITUTION

There is a consensus of opinion that a new Constitution should be introduced in the 26 Counties to make union more acceptable. We should rid ourselves of the notion that the Six Counties should come into the 26 and think that Ireland, divided for 50 years, is to be united.

The Constitution which will govern a united Ireland must be worked out by the people of Ireland and be put to them for acceptance or rejection. Meanwhile, all groups in the South must make it plain that they are willing to have a non-sectarian Constitution, making a start to convince Protestants of their good faith by altering laws to make Protestants or anyone else act according to someone else's conscience.

The equivocal statements of Governments on partition has left people with the suspicion that in Dublin Government circles there is little enthusiasm for unity. In the '20s the Free State Government turned guns on Irishmen in the South while nationalists in the North were being murdered. Anyone who acted against partition was treated with like savagery and it looks as if we are going to see this again. Unionists remember the rush in the '40s and '50s to rescue the partition structure.

Now young men and women have brought the Six Counties to an end. The political structure has disappeared. Its commercial and economic life has finished. The appearance of existence was preserved by thousands of British troops and by the devious manoeuvres of wily Whitelaw, but the I.R.A., for all practical purposes, has destroyed partition.

SPECIAL COURTS

I ask Jack Lynch to state clearly the Irish case on partition. Lynch has reverted to the old stance of Dublin Governments and has rushed to the rescue of the Orange Order and Unionism. Republicans are dragged before special courts. Lynch and his Ministers, the high priests of law and order, abused the courts for not bringing in verdicts against Republicans. Strenuous efforts made to intimidate judges and juries, but to their credit most of them refused to be intimidated. Lynch then established special courts which would convict on evidence that would not satisfy a jury. Internment and special courts are utterly similar. The only difference is that the special courts give an appearance of legality.

Let us compare the Offences Against the State Act and the Special Powers Act. So-called liberals who talk of civil rights never have a word of criticism of this evil piece of legislation. Neither South Africa nor the Soviet Union has anything so tyrannical or so all-embracing in its provisions as the Offences Against the State Act. I would remind Mr. Lynch that he is not the first to try to destroy the revolutionary Republican movement. It is not a year since Faulkner introduced internment. This brought an escalation which brought about the speedy disappearance of Faulkner and his Government. War means suffering, but we accept that suffering because we repudiate slavery.

PEACE

People inspired by unscrupulous politicians called for peace at any price.

That is surrender. They are guilty of treachery to their country. They are helping to create a climate of opinion so that those who fight for freedom may be destroyed and those for whom they fight may be brought into subjection. No people desire peace more than Republicans. No people suffered more in every decade since Stormont was set up.

We want to see an end to internment. We want the young men on the wanted list able to move through the streets without danger of being shot down. We want true peace. We want freedom first. Let us pledge ourselves that we will continue the struggle until our country is free.

GLIMPSES OF CONNOLLY

We regret that in last month's issue of "An Phoblacht" we inadvertently omitted the name of the author of the article "Glimpses of Connolly." The writer of that article is Mr. Liam Beecher, Secretary of No. 6 Branch of I.T.G.W.U., Cork. The author of the poem contained in that article is Liam MacGabhann, "This Week" reporter.

ANDERSONSTOWN BACKS HUNGER STRIKERS

A letter on behalf of 150 housewives in local R.U.C. station calling for justice for the political prisoners in the North of Ireland who are now on hunger strike. The housewives then held a picket outside the R.U.C. station.

In the course of the letter they said: "These men (the accused of breaking the law during a period of political hunger strike) normally law-abiding citizens, have been upheaved when a war situation exists. We feel that political prisoners should be granted the status of Powers Act and all its parallel repressive legislation.

We deplore the partial administration of so-called law and order, mostly in appeasement of so-called loyalists and the playing off of one community against the other."



Robert Emmet Sinn Fein (per Republican News).

NATIONAL GRAVES LETTER

20th June

A Chara,

The public interest shown in previous years, has encouraged the Committee of the National Graves Association to continue with their tours of national graves and memorials in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin. A Committee member will conduct the tours from the main gate of the cemetery on all Sundays of July and August at 11.30 a.m. Special arrangements may be made for organised groups.

The graves visited will include those buried in Republican Plot, Roger Casements, Fintan Lalors, James Fitzharris (Skin the Goat), Ann Devlin and Amnesty Nolan. The Memorials will include the Manchester Martyrs Cenotaph, The Bellow McManus and Miss Sigersons "Mother Erin" tribute to the men of Easter 1916.

Is mise,
Sean Fitzpatrick
18, Dromard Rd.,
Drimnagh,
Dublin 12.

ITEM OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL INTEREST

Michael O Mongain, Baile Mhuirís, Cuil an tSúdaire, Co. Laoise, writes to us that a commemoration ceremony to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of Volunteer Sylvester Shepherd, will be held in Monasteraven, Co. Kildare on Sunday, 9th July, after 12.00 a.m. Mass. Vol. Shepherd was killed in action in defence of the Republic at Castledermot on 4th July, 1922.

PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER HITS OUT AT BRITISH ARMY

At the Presbyterian General Assembly in Belfast last month quite a bit of stir was caused by the remarks of Rev. Terence McCaughey of Trinity College, Dublin when he labelled the British Army soldiers of consisting of "bewildered message boys" of a system in which they had no stake and which they did not understand. Mr. McCaughey went on to say that he did not welcome the British Army in any part of Ireland, and he asked that a resolution recording admiration and thanks to the British Army for seeking to defend others, be withdrawn. Stating that it was an affront to the fearless and endless work of firemen, ambulance men, nurses and doctors, to lump them together with the British Army, he asked that the above resolution be rejected outright.

Sad to state, the Christian stand on freedom of speech, as publicly stated by all churches, did not extend to the Belfast Assembly as Rev. McCaughey's words were interrupted again and again by catcalls and hissing. It's okay if you're on the side of the British Army, but if you are not, even though you be a Christian, watch out...

AMERICAN ATTORNEYS CRITICIZE USE OF OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE ACT

1. subdivision 4)
2. detention of civilians in "military custody" is allowed under sections 43 and 50
3. an appeal from a conviction is not allowed except where the "special criminal court" permits an appeal (Section 41). This section is violative of long established rules of jurisprudence. Even in communist states, the right to an appeal is absolute. Even the Criminal Court of Appeals may deny the right to appeal. The right to seek appellate review, conditioned on the government's consent, is no right at all.

We conclude the Offences Against the State Act violates those rights protected by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, as well as various articles of the Human Rights Convention of the Council of Europe. As a member of the Council of Europe, the Irish government has guaranteed to all of its citizens, those basic human rights which the Offences Against the State Act outlaws. Mr. Lynch's actions violate the Human Rights Convention. In particular, Articles 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 14 of the Convention have been invalidated by the Prime Minister's recent actions. The Convention provides that political dissent is an absolute right. Mr. Lynch has decreed otherwise."

The Committee Chairman, attorney James C. Heaney of Buffalo, New York who released the Attorney's report, made this statement: "Mr. Lynch's recent actions in depriving the courts of jurisdiction and removing from Republicans the right of trial by jury is certain to have international repercussions. Mr. Lynch's

"NEW YORK DEMO"

The Irish Northern Aid Committee Demonstration at the offices of Aer Lingus commenced on Saturday, June 3rd at 10.00 a.m., and continued all day with Chapter flags and banners. A very good crowd turned up on short notice. Twenty-two of our people went on hunger strike immediately on the sidewalk outside the door of the offices and continued without food through Sunday until 10.00 a.m. on Monday morning. Huge crowds of people came to see the hunger strike; many strangers gave substantial contributions with wishes for success. National network T.V. and newsmen covered the Demonstration.

Now the whole country knows of Dublin's collaboration with London against Republicanism North of the Border.

Similar protests went on in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The Irish Americans are determined that the Republicans of North East Ulster will be free.

It is planned to continue these demonstrations at the Aer Lingus offices and the Irish Consulates throughout the country.

On Decoration Day, May 29th, the day on which America honours her patriot dead, commemoration services were held at the Fenian Monument and Patriot's Plot in Calvary Cemetery, New York, to honour the leaders of the Fenian Movement who are interred there. The Commemoration was



DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK

sponsored by Sean Oglaigh Na hEireann and Clann Na Ghael. Veteran Republican, Jim Doris, was chairman and he was ably assisted by John McGowan. The assembly was addressed by speakers Mike Flannery representing Clann Na Ghael, John McGowan representing Sean Oglaigh Na hEireann and Tim Brennan with Tom Enright from Irish Northern Aid Committee. As usual, a large crowd of people turned out for the Commemoration.

ANOTHER VICTIM OF THE "PARAS" DIES

Mr. John Johnson, Marlborough St., Derry, died recently as a result of wounds received on Bloody Sunday. He did not partake in the Civil Rights march on that day but was walking down William Street on his way to visit some friends when he was shot by the paratroopers. Since receiving the wounds Mr. Johnson has had to undergo an operation, and while prior to the fateful day when he was shot, he had been "quick, healthy and a good businessman, after the shooting he was slow, hesitant, and often forgot things" according to his sister-in-law.

Mr. Johnson's death brings to fourteen the number of Irishmen who have died as a result of the paras' murderous and indefensible attack on unarmed civilians in Derry.

It is well worth remembering, especially by those who maintain that British justice is impartial, that although two young men, only 21 years old, have been sentenced to LIFE imprisonment for the shooting of a member of the security forces in the North, not one of the paratroopers or their officers who ordered the murders in Derry have been brought to trial. In fact Heath has stated that the British troops will not be tried for any murders they have committed at any time in the cause of British imperialism.

A GREAT ESCAPE

At approximately 8.45 a.m. on Wednesday morning two jeep loads of British Military arrived at the home of Mr. Robert Campbell, New Lodge Road, Belfast, who had been on hunger strike since May 15th in protest against the refusal of the British Authorities to grant him political prisoner status. He had been removed to the intensive care unit of the Mater Hospital in a weak condition on Tuesday.

"Is he dead?" Mrs. Campbell enquired of the

British raiding party. "No, he is gone", they replied. There was great jubilation in the New Lodge Road area as the news became known. Many people in the district had spent the previous night huddled on floors because of the gun battles which started at 9 p.m. and lasted until the early hours.

Mrs. Campbell received a telegram from the prison on



Tuesday that her husband had been removed to hospital. She was told that he was refusing to take glucose. We understand that the prison doctor asked her to speak to Bobbie, as he, the doctor, did not want to lose any of his patients. He has lost his patient, but not in the way he expected!

BEST OF LUCK TO YOU BOBBIE. (Republican News June 11th).

THE NORTHERN FAMILIES HOLIDAY COMMITTEE

The above Committee, sponsored by Sin Fein has been organised to give Free Holidays in the 26-County area to the dependants of political prisoners and internees, and also to families from the poorer areas of the Six Counties irrespective of religion. It is hoped to cater for about 600 families and during the first two weeks of July about 2,000 people (mostly children) are expected to benefit from the scheme.

Families all over Dublin and in other areas have been approached and the Families Holiday Committee have been very pleased with the response from the public. This year's scheme is an expansion of one carried out last year when the Belfast Aid Committee in Mullingar set up a sub-committee to bring children down from Belfast for a few weeks holidays during the tense period around July 12th, in 1971.

All offers of accommodation and all subscriptions to help cover the cost of transport etc., will be gratefully received by: Mr. Michael Carey, Chairman or Mrs. N. Kibridge, Treasurer at 45, Ardmore Crescent, Ardulane, Dublin (Telephone: 333623)



An tArd-Taoiseach na Fianna Eireann Donal Varian talking to Fianna bugler Diarmuid Murphy at Bodenstown.

BRITISH TROOPS TRAIN IN GERMANY

H. Mintoff,
c/o 33 Braunschweig,
Trachenbergstr. 3,
W. Germany.

A Chara,

The Braunschweig branch of the GIM/RKJ (International Marxist Group/Revolutionary Communist Youth) extends its fraternal greetings to the struggling Irish people in both the six and the twenty-six counties.

As British troops are being trained for their war against the Irish people in this area, and as the German people are largely unaware of what is going on in Ireland and misled by the capitalist press into believing that the struggle of the nationalist minority in the Six Counties is nothing but irrational sectarian warfare, we feel that we have the task of making the truth known here. To this purpose we have begun a campaign of solidarity with the Irish revolution in Braunschweig, distributing leaflets and literature about the history of Ireland, the nature of the Orange statelet and the role of the Republican movement. Next week a public meeting will also be held. We shall try to raise the issue in the local student union and organise as much moral and material support as we possibly can, given our forces. The slogans we are using in our propaganda are:

1. Unconditional solidarity with the I.R.A. in their armed struggle against the troops of British imperialism!
2. National self-determination for the Irish people!
3. Unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the British troops!
4. Release the internees and all political prisoners!
5. For a united Irish Workers' Republic!
6. British troops out of West Germany!

To be able to continue the campaign with the best knowledge of what is actually going on in Ireland we would like to subscribe to "An Phoblacht" and, if possible, the "Republican News". Please send us a bill with it, as we don't know how much a subscription is, and any other information about the struggle and the Republican movement would also be welcome.

Yours sincerely,
Mintoff.

NA FIANNA

A meeting of an t-Ard Choiste in Dublin recently ratified new members of G.H.Q. Staff.

The following now constitute G.H.Q.:-

Ard-Taoiseach: Donal Varian, Corcaigh.
Adjutant General: Padraig Varian, Corcaigh.
Quartermaster General: Valerie Gaffney, Corcaigh.

REGISTRATION

July 1st is the last day for registration of Sluas with G.H.Q. Registration Fee for a slua is £2.00.

When registering a Slua the following details are required:

1. Name and Area of Slua.
2. Slua Colours.
3. Names and Addresses of Officers.

Any Slua failing to register will not be recognised as a Slua of na Fianna Eireann. All registrations are to be sent to the A.G.

NEW SLUAITHE

New Sluas have been formed in the following areas:

- 1 Girls Slua in Limerick City.
- 1 Boys Slua in Tralee, Co. Kerry.
- 1 Boys and 1 Girls Slua in Passage, Co. Cork.
- 1 Boys and 1 Girls Slua in South of Cork City.
- 1 Boys Slua in Tullamore, Co. Va Faille.

Dublin has been reorganised under the directorship of Captain Simon Devilly.

The Staff of G.H.Q. wish our new members every success.

BECOME AN ASSOCIATE

Associate membership is open to all irrespective of age or sex, who are prepared to observe the Constitution and rules of the organisation. Each member pays £1.00 per year, this entitles him to a members badge and card plus each copy of "Fianna".

THE WORK OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

The Dept., of Associate Membership was formed as far back as 1922 to consolidate the position of the organisation, which in those days numbered 30,000 members.

Consequently, one of the first steps taken in the rebuilding of our organisation to-day, is the re-organising of our Dept., of Associate Membership.

There are several ways in which the associate member can help rebuild Na Fianna, and speed its return to its former glory.

Moral Support?—the associates will form a bulwark against the attack from anti-Irish and anti National People.

Inspiration?—by inspiring the Boys and Girls in Na Fianna to greater efforts and transmit to others, the desire to serve Ireland before self, by their example and encouragement.

Financial Support?—by running functions to support the projects of the organisation and help an t-Ard Choiste to initiate further constructive action with the funds made available.



Wreath-laying at Bodenstown.

SUPPORT NA FIANNA. HOW?

- By becoming a member
- By starting a slua in your area
- By active support for a slua
- By becoming an Associate member
- By sending donations to H.Q.

BODENSTOWN

A large contingent of Fianna assembled at the grave of Wolfe Tone on June 11th. The Northern units must be congratulated for being so well represented.

The Fianna Colour Party were picked from the Boys and Girls Sluas in Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

"Remember" The Youth of to-day are the Leaders of tomorrow.



VANGUARD

AT A MEETING HELD IN MADRID early in February 1961, the O.A.S. was founded. It was to be a single civilian and military organisation into which the entire European population of Algeria was to be enrolled and mobilised, and all existing activist groups fused into it. But in a sense this was not the beginning. All its basic characteristics had been formed by two events of the previous year.

Between January 24 - 29th 1960, European settlers with the passive support of French Army units raised barricades in Algiers and defied the French government for one week. Nineteen activists were indicted for an attempt on the security of the state and their trial opened before military court later that year in Paris. But perhaps the most telling blow fell on December 11th., when the entire Arab population of the Casbah and other Moslem quarters of Algiers demonstrated, brandishing the outlawed green-and-white flag of the Algerian resistance fighters, the F.L.N. This demonstration finally shattered once and for all the illusion that Algeria's nine million Moslems would accept prolonged French rule.

The six men directly in charge of the O.A.S. activists included General Raoul Salan, a former commander in chief of the French forces in Algeria, two army colonels, a deserter from the Foreign Legion in charge of the O.A.S. terrorist teams, a civilian doctor, head of the O.A.S. offensive operations and a former leader of the Algerian Student Association, in charge of propaganda.

The aim of the O.A.S. was to preserve French European supremacy in Algeria and preserve the link with France, despite De Gaulle's self-determination speech of September 16th., 1959. The European population, although in a minority, controlled most of the wealth of Algeria. They had grown prosperous at the expense of the native Arab community. The Arabs lived in overcrowded ghetto areas in the cities, below the spacious apartments and villas of the Europeans, who were not prepared to concede their economic power without a struggle.

The O.A.S. was an umbrella organisation under which the many existing European activist groups operated. They received the support and sympathy of the majority of the settlers and were prepared to conduct a campaign of terror to achieve their aim. In the beginning they busied themselves storing arms, establishing letter-drops and hide-outs, pilfering ammunition and explosives from Army dumps and penetrating the civilian and military administration in Algeria. Towards the end of 1961 they became openly active.

They organised strikes and rallies and began nightly bombing of civilian and military establishments. By March 1962, the city of Algiers was averaging between thirty and forty violent deaths per day. Such statistics are not impressive when stated in the abstract. It is more relevant to note that on one day, between 11.20 and 12.50, thirteen people were shot dead within a radius of 500 yards. The part-time O.A.S. gunmen had discovered they could fit lunch and murder into their schedules and return to work without haste.

At 6.10 a.m. on the morning of May 2nd., while more than a thousand Moslem longshoremen waited outside a hiring hall at the docks, a truck loaded with scrap iron blew up. The explosion cut a swath through the crowds of waiting men. Those who fled for safety were mowed down by O.A.S. commandos who opened fire from nearby buildings. When the dead were finally counted they numbered sixty-two.

Later that day, mortar shells rained down on two Moslem quarters in the city, killing thirty more. Still the O.A.S. terrorism grew. On May 15th., a homicidal attack occurred every ten minutes on the streets of Algiers.

The fanatical campaign of the O.A.S. continued until July 3rd, 1962 when Algeria proclaimed independence and the organisation which had exploded into being and marched across Algeria, destroying all in its path, receded and vanished. Its leaders and many of its supporters left Algeria, leaving behind their stamp of destruction and murder against the course of history.

The Vanguard organisation in the six counties are

GHOST OF THE O.A.S.



capable of carrying out a similar fanatical campaign. Many of the extreme Loyalist groups operating under the Vanguard umbrella are not prepared to give up their position or wealth, obtained by more than fifty years of exploiting the Nationalist community. It is only a matter of time before the policy of mass-strikes are to their own disadvantage and their hate and anger will be unleashed upon the Nationalist population.

Formed to balance Faulkner's hand in his dealings with the Heath regime, Vanguard aims to preserve the Loyalist position of power and retain the link with Britain. These are remarkably similar to those of the O.A.S. and already the rumblings of their actions can

be heard.

Spontaneous attacks on Nationalist areas and buildings in Belfast by mobs of Vanguard supporters, have taken place as also have attempts to invade the Oldpark area and attacks on schools in North Belfast.

Craig has threatened loudly and given his followers their mandate. At a meeting in Carrickfergus on Monday April 3rd., he told those present,

"It will be by your actions alone that the future of Ulster will be decided."

He is attempting to halt the rightful course of Irish History. In the end Vanguard can only be as successful as the O.A.S. A campaign of terror and destruction on the road to defeat.

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GHOST OF THE O.A.S.

An Phoblacht

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The New Phase

The public response by the British Government to the offer by the Republican Leadership to suspend offensive military activity on June 26th., is one of the most significant events which has occurred in this country since June, 1921. However this is not a time for relaxation. All Republicans must maintain a very high standard and high level of activity. There must be no signs of complacency setting in – the war has not been won.

Much mention of a conference has been made over the last number of weeks. This idea of an Irish conference to arrive at an Irish solution to the problem facing us, British occupation of part of our country, was first proposed by the Republican Movement over six months ago, and considerable effort has been put in over those six months in meeting and discussing the idea with many people from the North, both Catholic and Protestant. The idea has been well received and the leadership of the Republican Movement place such importance on this conference that they regard it as the immediate political objective of the Movement. But there must be no restrictions as to attendance at this conference. The problem that we seek to solve is an all-Ireland problem, and attempts by politicians, foreign and domestic, to have attendance limited to people from the Six Counties is obviously designed to exclude some leaders of the Republican Movement from the conference. As such it is unacceptable. Such a conference will enable the representatives of the Republican Movement to present the plans for a New Ireland, that is, the Regional Government proposals and the "Eire Nua" Social and Economic Programme.

Let us remember that the Movement has not achieved its present position without sacrifice. Forty eight of our comrades have given their lives, others have been wounded, some quite seriously. Many have suffered torture and brutality, interment for the past year, and imprisonment. Many others have been forced to go on the run or go full time and have suffered grievous financial loss. The leadership of the Republican Movement is determined that these sacrifices will not have been in vain, and that this present phase will be the final decisive phase in Ireland's long, long struggle for freedom and full nationhood.

Special Courts Special Justice

While condemning the repressive policies out in the North the hypocrites of Leinster House – Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, and Labour Politicians – with a few honourable exceptions voted in the Prisons' Bill, and the Special Criminal Courts were set up by the so-called "Republican Party." Thus, in two strokes, much of the basic rights of the prisoners were thrown to one side, and the "law and order" politics came into being once again.

The sob-story of "Little Faulkner" O'Malley used as an excuse to bring in the Prisons Bill about how all his efforts to rehabilitate prisoners in Mountjoy had been set at naught by those ungrateful Republicans who caused such damage there in May is ludicrous. One has only to read letters in the daily papers from ex-prisoners or to read the appeal by the priest in Mountjoy who asked that the prison be not rebuilt in its old style because of the repressive influence it had on prisoners to realise that the slobberings of the Minister for Justice (sic) are so hypocritical.

But listen to this corker! The grounds on which the Special Criminal Courts were introduced was because of the alleged possibility that juries and judges would be intimidated. But not one shred of evidence was produced by the "Little Faulkner" to support his claim. One remembers his speech at the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis when he intimated that certain judges were not doing their job impartially – but no evidence whatsoever.

The first arrested before the Special Courts was Tommy Kilmurray from Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, who was sentenced to six months in the Curragh. However, he had, due to callousness of the 26-County Government, been remanded for four months in Mountjoy and the Curragh with no charge proved against him, and so he had two months yet to serve. Uallteir O Longaigh, Secretary of Sinn Fein, was found guilty of being a member of the I.R.A. and sentenced to six months imprisonment. Well, it's one way of ensuring that your political opponents are put out of the way. Diarmuid O Suilleabhain was found guilty, as well, but because the judges were impressed with the way Diarmuid handled his case they gave him a three months sentence.

What a mockery of the true spirit of law, even that practised in the 26 Counties.

Richard Behal, Kilkenny, received a one year sentence

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VICTORY is Theirs



Hunger Striker Billy McKee, Belfast, serving a five year sentence in Crumlin Road Prison.



Hunger Striker Susan Loughran, Belfast, currently serving a twelve year sentence in Armagh Prison.

On May 15th., 1972, five men in Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast, commenced a hunger strike. All were Republicans. Their names were Billy McKee, Robert Campbell, Kevin Henry, Martin Boyle, and Malachy Leonard. They would refuse food – taking only water to drink – until either the basic right of political prisoner status was granted to them, or else they would die, for this was a hunger strike to the death. Political prisoner status entailed the right to wear ones own clothes, segregation from criminal prisoners, no penal work other than was necessitated in cleaning up the cells, weekly visits by relatives and the right to receive food parcels.

OVER 100 ON HUNGER STRIKE

As each week passed, and the British Government seemed bent on ignoring the demands, more and more prisoners joined the ranks of Billy McKee and his four comrades. Eight Republican women prisoners in Armagh Jail went on hunger strike. Many internees in Long Kesh fasted in solidarity with the prisoners. Loyalists imprisoned on political offences and members of the "Officials" thus imprisoned also joined in the hunger strike. By June 11th there were over one hundred prisoners refusing food, each grimly determined to achieve victory. Whether this victory was to be achieved while those in prison were still alive or by their deaths depended on the British Government.

SUPPORT RAPIDLY FORTHCOMING

Support for the hunger strikers gained momentum all over Ireland. Units of Ogligha na hEireann and Sinn Fein Cumann held 48-hour fasts to show their solidarity with those behind the bars. The Derrybeg Women's Resistance Committee issued a statement "We, the representatives of approximately 1,000

families stand solidly behind the men at present being penalised because of their political beliefs". The Northern Resistance Movement, the People's Democracy and local Resistance Councils held demonstrations and fasts. Over 800 members of the Clonard Women's Action Committee, wearing black berets and combat jackets, marched from Billy McKee's house in the Lower Falls to Beechmount, where they held a public meeting at which they expressed solidarity with the hunger strikers and afterwards held a 48-hour hunger fast. Daily advertisements appeared in the newspapers – at times there were so many they filled the page – from units of the I.R.A., from Sinn Fein Cumann, from resistance organisations and from private individuals, giving wholehearted support to those on hunger strike.

VICTORY AT LAST

Then it came – victory! After 34 days of suffering, the prisoners' just demands were conceded by the British Government. Let no one be under any illusion. It was entirely due to the spirit of self-sacrifice and determination of the hunger strikers themselves that won them this victory. It was a phase in the resistance struggle that caught Britain on the hop, and she had no answer to it except to yield. For the prisoners it meant that separate accommodation would be found for them, they would be allowed to wear their own clothes, they could receive weekly visits and food parcels, and penal work meted out to criminal prisoners would be waived in their case, in short, they would now be acknowledged as political prisoners by the British Government.

TRIBUTE FROM FRANK CARDS

Fifteen days after the commencement of the hunger strike, a tribute to his comrades was written by Proinsias MacAirt, Acting O/C Republican Prisoners in Crumlin Road Prison. In it is portrayed the spirit of resistance and dedication which was inherent in both those on hunger strike and their fellow Republicans imprisoned with them.

"They have sacrificed much in the past, these men who today hunger for justice. They have opposed all the injustices of a corrupt and evil regime. They have fought to uphold the inalienable rights of their people. They have been tortured, slandered and finally jailed because they believe in the right of self-determination for the people of Ireland.

Now they seek justice for themselves and for their comrades. Must they sacrifice their lives to obtain it? We, their comrades, who are here with them, behind the grim walls of Belfast Prison, can do little to help them; we can only watch silently as they suffer the awful agonies of hunger strike; later we can join them and if necessary, die with them.

Today, this 15th day of the strike, we humbly commit the lives and future well being of our comrades, to Almighty God who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through long centuries of ruthless tyranny.

Let us ask his Divine Blessing on the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to victory".

These men are still in prison, and many of their comrades. Let your voice be heard. Release political prisoners.



Joe Cahill was cleared of a charge of inciting people to join the I.R.A. when he was brought before the Special Criminal Court in Dublin on June 21st. With him are his wife, and his son.

because of his calling on the people to support the I.R.A. in whatever way they could. One wonders, if Mr. Blaney, Donegal, will be arraigned before the Special Courts for stating his belief that "equipment" should be given to the "freedom fighters" (his words). Colm Murphy, Armagh, was sentenced to two years for having a pistol and four rounds of ammunition in his possession in Dundalk, yet British soldiers, carrying loaded rifles, can come and go across the border with impunity. Brian Smith was found guilty of shooting at British Soldiers at Dungooey six months ago, but his sentence will not be fixed until early next month. It's a good job for Pearce, Connolly, Cathal Brugha, Liam Mellowes that they aren't alive now. Do you need to ask on which side of the prison bars they would be spending their time?

DONT FORGET THE PRISONERS

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