

An Phoblacht

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We Say
NO SELL OUT



"No man gave his life for the constitution Wolfe Tone died to abolish, but, for the constitution that Wolfe Tone died to uphold. Independence, free and absolute independence for this Island and for every man, woman and child within this Island." We today want to build a new Ireland with the constitution of Wolfe Tone, equal rights and equal opportunities for all citizens, irrespective of class or creed. To break forever the connections with England, the never failing source of all our political ills. We call on the Irish people to prevent the sell-out to European law makers. To prevent the sell-out of mineral lands and property sites

to foreign and native speculators, to Wilson, Faulkner, Lynch and others from selling out our people in the six north eastern counties to some federal form of Government within the British Empire. The informers in past history sold men like Emmet, Fitzgerald, Harris and many others for what was commonly called bloodmoney, today the informers are of a more subtle nature they do not merely sell the lives and liberties of single individuals but they are plotting and planning to sell-out this nation and its people, lock, stock and barrel. Remember Irish people its up to you to prevent these sell-outs.

British Army and R.U.C.

"Devoid of Honour and Guilty of Inhumane Conduct"

PRISONERS have been tortured and given drugs in Holywood Palace and Girwood Barracks since the presentation of the Compton Report, two Northern Ireland Catholic priests, Fr. Raymond Murray, chaplain to Armagh Prison, and Fr. Denis Faul, Dungannon, who accused senior officers of the British Army and the RUC of being "devoid of honour and guilty of inhumane conduct."

And they presented the Northern Ireland authorities, General Tuzo, prominent British politicians and the world press with 19 statements taken and witnessed by them containing allegations of brutality against them by British Army personnel, R.U.C. officers and Special Branch men.

All these statements were taken from prisoners on remand in Armagh jail and all the allegations dealt with a period from the middle of November to January 7.

In a covering statement issued along with the statements of alleged brutality, the priests stated that there was medical evidence for a number of these cases to confirm that the injuries were consistent with the stories told. In a number of cases the priest themselves claim to have seen physical signs of severe injury.

INHUMANE

Said the statement - "The statements reveal that these brutalities and tortures were inflicted by British Army personnel and RUC personnel particularly Special Branch men. We feel compelled to apportion the major share of the blame to officers of the British Army and senior officers of the RUC, who must have known what was going on even if they did not always participate."

"We find these officers devoid of honour and guilty of inhumane conduct. They have actually broken the laws of the state and of God and their conduct would be condemned by civilised persons," added the statement.

"It is our urgent wish that this brutality should cease immediately, but since it has continued, despite repeated

publicity, we can only resolve to bring to the attention of the world and the international tribunals of justice as many cases as we can."

"It is particularly important that the British public should know the atrocities that were being committed by their army and by the authority of their government."

"It is our reluctant duty to point out that not only army officers and police officers are dishonoured by these statements, but also army doctors and people who were in charge of persons in custody," they stated.

APPEAL

"As priests we place the utmost stress on the sacredness of human life and deplore any action which imperils it. We are also bound to deplore what ever degrades a man and takes away his basic human rights."

Their statement concluded by appealing to decent people in the community to assist them in bringing legal brutality to an end.

The statement of Joseph Rafferty, Saintfield St., Belfast, arrested on December 22, alleged he was kicked in the stomach in Girwood Barracks, subjected to verbal abuse and during interrogation forced to place his head on a heater until he became unconscious. During interrogation he was stretched out on a form with a heater at each end all the time he was being beaten about the stomach.

He states: "An old fellow, red-faced and about 50, came in with a syringe and a bottle of blue liquid. He had needles in a case. He probed the veins in the back of my hands as if to use them. Sgt. --- came in and I signed his

statement, I could not take any more treatment."

MOST BRUTAL

Rafferty's was one of the cases seen by the priests, who described the injuries they saw on his body in Armagh Prison after he was taken there from Musgrave Park Hospital.

The most brutal treatment of all is alleged by George Burt, Rodney Drive, St. James Road, Belfast, who was taken wounded to the Royal Victoria Hospital after his arrest early in December.

"In the Royal Victoria Hospital I was put into a private ward. There were about six soldiers, about four in the ward and two outside. Three of them with Stirlings took the magazines out of their Stirlings and beat me on the shin," said the statement.

"At this time I was in the hospital bed with the drip on my arm. When I tried to stop them the rest took their magazines out and beat me around the shin. The other did the other leg. When I grabbed hold of one of the Stirlings, one with a sniping rifle came in and now and again he brought it down along the side of my face."

"Then they cooled off, but they kicked me when I tried to go asleep and I got sick. When I put my head over the side of the bed to vomit one of them brought his boot up and kicked me under the right ear. When they got tired they looked about and found a syringe, started sticking needles in my legs and feet," it added.

Burt said the officer was not there when the beating took place in the hospital bed, but when Burt asked for a sedative from the nurse to knock him out she said no.

His statement goes on to allege that the soldiers then

continued to beat him and one used the butt of his rifle. After the beating he had to get stitches in his arms. Later they took him to Palace Barracks and had to carry him in on a stretcher. He asked the doctor to get him to hospital but the doctor - in his twenties - did not pay any attention.

While still in a bed in a cubicle Burt alleged that a Special Branch officer hit him on the shin with a pistol. He made a statement, agreeing with everything they said and admitting everything they said. Each hour the doctor examined him.

Each hour during his interrogation Burt claims that the doctor checked on him but allowed him to be interrogated again. The Special Branch officer threatened to take him to Broadway Barracks and told him that instructions had been issued to the army to shoot him on sight.

A covering statement made by Fr. Murray said that injuries on Burt's face, head, shoulders and bruises and cuts on his legs were consistent with his statement.

Francis Maguire, 44 Strathroy Park, alleged that at Girwood Barracks he was punched in the privates and threatened with being killed.

"One of them started kicking me on the ground and the one who said he was an SAS man tried to choke me with his hands. One time he did this - while two others held my arms - I think I passed out," Maguire's statement, too, is substantiated by a statement by Fr. Murray which was made on January 8 in Armagh Prison.

Mr. Michael Finnigan, 37 Rodney Drive, Belfast, alleged that in Holywood Barracks on November 29, he was threatened with shooting. He was stripped, made to put on an army uniform and made face the wall all night. He was also beaten. Later he was charged with wearing armystyle clothing.

WHIPPINGS

Gerald Smyth, Vulcan Street, Belfast, alleged a young (named) Special Branch officer broke his knuckle in Musgrave Street Police Station after his arrest on January 1. In Holywood Barracks he was kicked in the privates and whipped with the chain off a toilet. He, too, alleges subjection to the electric fire treatment. He signed a statement.

Gerard O'Neill, 29, Short Strand, Belfast, alleged he was beaten after his arrest in Holywood Barracks. An officer put a pistol to his mouth and pulled the trigger. He was made to strip to his boots and checks and beaten with a belt. One officer called "Major" kept hitting him in the stomach.

In a cubicle blank shots were fired behind his head and rifles cocked to frighten him. He signed a prepared statement.

Robert Lavery, New Lodge Road, arrested on November 8, alleged he was given drugged tea to drink in Holywood Palace, which made him think the walls were on fire. He was punched and not allowed to sit for 20 hours.

Michael Walsh, 41, Ardmonagh Gardens, Turf Lodge, alleged a baton was used on his privates in Holywood Palace Barracks. He was prodded in the legs, back and backside. Each time a needle was stuck into him he received a shock.

He, too, alleged he was given drugged tea as he saw pictures and people in period costume. He signed a statement under duress.

SCREAMS

Gerald Leonard, Quinn St., Belfast, interrogated in Holywood Barracks, alleged he was almost strangled by an officer of the Special Branch. He was beaten and kicked and after drinking a cup of tea he began to see things.

Brian Morgan, St. James

Road, Belfast, alleged that in Holywood a named Special Branch officer beat him.

James Gibney, Seaford Street, alleged he was held from behind in Holywood Barracks and a Special Branch man squeezed his testicles until he nearly fainted. He would not sign a statement, but when the officer squeezed his testicles again he did sign.

HEAT

Sixteen-year-old, Paul Kane, Jamaica St., Belfast, alleged he spent three hours under the electric heater in Girwood Barracks.

Anthony Bradley, Cavendish St., Belfast, alleged he was beaten in Holywood Barracks, threatened with shooting and a revolver discharged behind his head. He was kicked in the stomach and body.

DRUGGED

Paul Maguire, Frere Street, Falls Road, alleged he had been drugged in Holywood Barracks. He signed a statement under pressure from the Special Branch.

KICKED

Paul Magee, Whitecliffe Parade, Ballymurphy, alleged he was kicked down the stairs in Springfield Road RUC station and struck in the privates by a soldier when he could not sing "God Save the Queen."

Raymond Rules, Norglen Parade, Turf Lodge, interrogated in Holywood Barracks, alleged he was drugged by tea and subjected to a recording of screams in the Barracks.

In the statements given to the press, the names of the officers concerned in the alleged brutality were deleted.

Cúrsaí Reatha le Debe

BEAGNACH 20 bliain ó shin ghlac Coláiste Ríoga Phádraig, Má Nuaid, le "Statutes of Maynooth"; agus orthu bhí deithiú don Ghaeilge - bheadh sé ina dhualgas, feasta, ar gach sagart a dhéanadh a dhéanamh chun an teanga a thabhairt chun cinn.

Thainigh sin go mór le Gaeilgeoirí, ní nach ionadh; ach tar éis tamaill thug siad nach raibh ann, i ndáiríre, ach caint. Lean formhór na cléire in Éirinn a bheith naimhdeach nó patuar faoin chúis; agus go praiticiúil chuidigh siad, mar rinne siad le breis is 1,000 bliain, le bás na Gaeilge sa nGaeltacht agus neartú an Bhéarla sa

nGalldacht.

Seans go bhfeicfidh muid "Statutes of Maynooth" de chineál éicint eile sa rí bhad, más aon tuar a bhfuil ráite ag ceithre easpaig in éadan na teanga náisiúnta (agus in éadan "Bunreacht an Liotúirge" agus Vatacáin a 11) le fíordhéanai.

Seans gur shíl na daoine uaisle seo go bhféadfaí polaiteoirí, ar theastaigh uatha Bunreacht na 26 Chontae a athrú, sa chaoi go gceadófaí colscaradh, ar rudaí eile, a chur ina dtrósc ach ceist na Gaeilge a dhúiseacht.

Más amhlaidh arís an scéal, deallraíonn sé nach dtuigean na heaspag na polaiteoirí nó is ansa leac Ifrinn leis an

gcuid is mó díobh ná aon rud a bhaineann leis an náisiún agus leis an náisiúnachas.

Nó b'fhéidir go mbeadh minú eile are an scéal, mar dhíoltas. Mar arís agus arís eile le blianta beaige chaith Gaeilgeoirí áirithe i leith na n-easpag go raibh siad fiminteach faoi "Statutes of Maynooth" agus faoi Vatacáin a 11 nuair nach raibh siad sásta rud praiticiúil a dhéanamh ar son na Gaeilge, mar Aifreann Gaeilge a chur ar fáil gach Domhnach agus lá féile na hEaglaise i ngach paróiste sa tír.

Is dócha go mbeadh na heaspag in ann cur suas le léasadh Mháirtín Uí Chadhain. Ach nuair a tháinig Conradh measúil na Gaeilge amach go láidir, ag iarraidh cotrohm na Féinne don Ghaeilgeoir san Eaglais ina thír féin, bhí sin ionmarch.

Bhí an Conradh i lárma "deargaí" (tá an tuairim

chéanna ag oifigigh de chuid Fhianna Fáil); bhí cúis na Gaeilge i lárma na bhfithríleirí; an chéad rud eile a mbeadh uatha, Éire a bheith neamhspleách agus an ceangal le Sasana a sháir agus deiridh a chur leis an Aisling, go mbainfeadh Dia feidhm as Éire gallda chun Sasana a thabhairt isteach aithiúar san Eaglais (fear deauid Laudabiliter, ora pro nobis).

Is trua go mór liomsa, go pearsanta, go bhfuil an meid sin daoine, idir Ghaeilgeoirí agus eile, brúite amach ón Eaglais agus na heaspag chéanna ghallda úd.

Ach is cóir gan dearmad a dhéanamh ar leithéid John Charles M. uaid a chomhlíonadh a dhualgas don teanga agus don dúchas fé mar a d'ordaigh Vatacáin a 11.

Is coir gan dearmad a dhéanamh ar Chumann na

Sagart, a labhair amach go tréan in éadan leithéidí Ardeaspag Morris (iarbhall an Chumann, mura mhiste leat) agus i gcoinne na seafóide faoi aondacht na tíre agus Gaeilge a tháinig uaidh ar na mallaibh, más fóir.

Ba é an Ardeaspag Mac Uaid a dúirt, uair, gurb í an Chaeilge "scrín an chreidimh"; agus is fóir dó. Is fóir, freisin, go raibh agus go bhfuil an teanga chéanna ina scrín creidimh ag Protastúin chomh maith, fé mar is léir ó leithéidí Mac Uaid.

Ní dhéanfaidh, an stair dearmad ar na heaspag Chaiteilgeacha a labhair amach in éadan na Gaeilge agus a áit thuaidh faoi ionsaí fíochmhar ag na barbaragha Shasana. Cibé tuairim atá ag corraspead de chuid Eaglais na hÉireann in éadan na Gaeilge - agus bhí a leithéidí ann tráth - níor dhúirt siad aon chéad an babhtu seo, bail

ó Dhia orthu.

Aithris

TUIGIM ó Chaisleán Bhaile Atha Cliath go bhfuil staidéir a dhéanamh ag an mBrainse Speisialta ar mhodhanna an Bhrainte thuaidh, idir fhiosúr, fhíoradh, chiapadh agus eile. Tuigim go bhfuil i gceist ag an mBrainse bheith ní ba chrua i mbliana leis na "haintoisigh" ná mar a bhíodar anuraidh.

Buailfidh siad níos mó daoine. Beidh na buill níos déine, níos brúidiúla. Ní imní ar bith ar na bleachtairí seo. Cuid mhaith des na daoine a bheas buailte agus ciaptha, gearán dó leghad ní dhéanfaidh siad leis na húdaráis.

Agus na daoine a dhéanfas gearán, tá a fhios ag an saol eard é tharlós: focal an

Leanta ar leathnach 9.

Feall na nEaspag

MORE than 12,000 Republicans took part in a march through Dublin organised by Sinn Féin and the Provisional I.R.A. to show solidarity with the people of Northern Ireland. Several thousand more people waited at the G.P.O. in O'Connell Street for a rally addressed by prominent members of the Republican movement.

Delegations from all over Ireland took part in the march from St. Stephen's Green to the G.P.O., including Sinn Féin groups from Northern Ireland and London. Mr. Sean MacStiofain, Chief of Staff of the Provisional I.R.A., described the rally as the biggest held by the Republican movement in Dublin since the 1920s.

Francis McGuigan, the 24-year-old Belfast Provisional I.R.A. officer, who escaped from Long Kesh internment camp last week, addressed the rally, McGuigan and the seven other speakers on the platform were introduced by Mr. Joe Cahill, the Belfast Provisional I.R.A. leader.

IN BACKGROUND

The march was led by a

The Provos Are The Force In Ireland To-day

colour party and pipe band and an accordion band. Numerous placards bearing anti-British slogan were carried. Stewards were placed at Strategic points along the route and they stopped the march and controlled the course. At the G.P.O. gardai stayed in the background, but there were no incidents. The march paused momentarily outside the Department of Foreign Affairs in St. Stephen's Green.

Thirteen students who had walked from Galway joined in the demonstration.

Outside the G.P.O. a silence was observed in tribute to members of the Republican movement killed in the North and the "Last Post" and "Reveille" were sounded. The song, "The Men Behind the Wire," was played

over the public address system and the meeting concluded with the playing of the National Anthem.

Three of the seven men who recently escaped from the Maidstone prison ship were also on the platform.

NEW IRELAND

The president of Sinn Féin Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh, said they wanted to build a new Ireland — a democratic, socialist and free Ireland. They wanted to abolish both the Six County and 26-County States rather than extend the 26-Counties over the whole of Ireland. He said that there would be no place for the new Ireland in a European Common Market. Mr. O Bradaigh said they wanted the British completely out of Ireland,

they wanted Stormont abolished and a general amnesty, including the end of internment. Then, he said, they would be able to sit at the conference table and resolve all their difficulties.

"We must not only win the war," he said, "we must also win the peace." Jack Lynch was doing England's dirty work for her. Did he tell the press of the world that he had 14 Northern Republicans in Mountjoy Jail, he asked. He did not, because he was a hypocrite. Nor did he tell the press that he had put people who collected for the Northern Relief Fund into Limerick Jail.

"What we want is Ireland for the Irish. Its mineral wealth, its jobs and land for the Irish people," he said.

Mr O Bradaigh said that Heath's package deal with too

little, too late. It had now gone too far, the people were going the whole hog this time, and it was too late to beat them back. If there was going to be a change in the North, there was going to be a change in the South as well. They were going to change the old Ireland that was manufactured in Britain 50 years ago.

He added: "We are going to win this time and we are going to win hands down, and I want you people in the South to make sure that we are not stabbed in the back,

and sold out by the politicians in Leinster House."

Francis McGuigan said that the men in Long Kesh internment camp were now 100% behind the Irish Republican Army. The men were behind the wire because they believed that Ireland should be free — that was their only crime. Some had fought and others had just spoken, "but I fought, and I'll fight again," he said.

Appealing for people to join the I.R.A., Mr. McGuigan said that people had asked him what he was going to do now and he was going to do what every young Irishman should do — go back North.

Mrs. Maire Drumm of Belfast, Miss R. Keegan of Derry, Mr. Maurice Conway, Co. Tyrone, Sean Mac Stiofain, Miss. H. McKenna and Mr. Daithi O'Connell also addressed the rally. In closing the meeting, Mr. Joe Cahill said: "The Provos are the force in Ireland today."

Welcome (Home?)



To MAURA DRUM after 12 months in Armagh Jail

ONLY ONE WAY OUT — BY THE FRONT GATE

FRANCIS MCGUIGAN, a 24-year-old Belfast joiner and an officer in the Belfast Provisional I.R.A., refused to say how he escaped from Long Kesh internment camp, when he met Irish and European pressmen in Dublin, following the Sinn Féin (Kevin street) march and rally at the G.P.O. Members of the British press were excluded from the conference held in a city hotel.

McGuigan, clean shaven, looking fit and relaxed and dressed in a light-coloured suit and waistcoat, said he would make no comment on how he escaped. "They are still trying to figure it out," he said. "It will give them something to do."

He would make no comment on theories that he escaped by disguising himself as a priest, or as a British soldier. Asked if other internees might try to escape in the same way, he said that they might try. Everybody was thinking of ways of escaping.

FATHER AND BROTHER

McGuigan, who was arrested on last August 9th, the day internment was introduced in the North, was taken from his home in Jamaica Street, in the Falls road area. His father and one brother, Gerard, are interned and another brother, Sean, is in custody on a charge of murdering a British army major. His mother, Maura McGuigan, has just been released from prison.

He described conditions in Long Kesh as being very bad. Many of the men had flu, the food was bad and very cold. There was a lack of space and recreational activities.

McGuigan said there was a funny story to his escape. On his first day in the camp he asked the camp governor what was the best way out and the reply was that there was only one way out — through the front gate. Asked if he had gone through the front gate, he replied "Near enough."

He said there was no car waiting for him outside, but he did use transport. "I waited for an opportunity and an opportunity arose," he said. While in the camp he had seen

12 or 13 such opportunities of escape. He would not say whether it was daylight or night when he left the camp. "Let Brian Faulkner figure it out," he said.

IMITATION GUNS

McGuigan said that many of the men had made imitation wooden guns as souvenirs of the camp to fill in the time, but he did not use one of these in his escape. After he left the camp there were two or three night incidents on the way to Belfast, he said, but he would not elaborate on these.

He got a change of clothes from members of the Provisional I.R.A. in Belfast and then made his way south across the Border. He would not say how long it took him after his escape to reach the Republic.

McGuigan said he would return to the North in the near future, "to continue doing what he was doing before he was arrested."

McGuigan said the relations between the two wings of the I.R.A. were good at Long Kesh; nearly 90% were members of the Provisionals. Some who had been members of the Official wing had joined the Provisionals.

MAKING POTEEN

McGuigan said the authorities knew about the home-made poteen still that was found. The internees had borrowed an element from a kettel for use in the still and they were told to bring it back when they had finished with it. He did not drink himself, but the "poteen" appeared to be quite drinkable.

After his arrest he spent two days in Girwood Barracks, Belfast, and then six

days at an unknown place, before being transferred to Crumlin road Jail, where he spent 2½ months before going to Long Kesh. He was subject to extreme torture in the place he was taken to from Girwood Barracks. He got no sleep or food, his head was covered by a hood and his clothes taken from him. He was subject to a continuous high-pitched noise and it was three days before he got his first drink of water.

The hood was kept over his head for three days and was only removed while he was being interrogated. This period was so terrible, he said, that the feeling he got when arriving at Crumlin road Jail was similar to the feeling he had when he escaped from Long Kesh.

Sean MacStiofain, Chief of Staff of the Provisional I.R.A., said that the fact that six months after the introduction of internment the Provisional I.R.A. had carried out 300



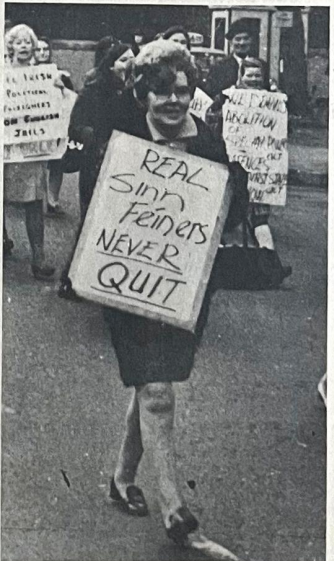
Mr. Francis McGuigan

operations in the North in the 14 days up to last Tuesday, including 42 operations in one day, was sufficient to prove that the I.R.A. was not only intact in the North but was expanding.

Mr. John Kelly, the Belfast Republican, was also present at the press conference.



Martin Meehan and Tony "Dutch" Doherty acknowledge cheers from the crowd after they and five others had been cleared of Arms charges in Dundalk.



Mrs. M. McGuigan

Open Letter From An Orangeman

Dear "Ceithearnach" (that means "Guerrilla", doesn't it?) - I am replying to your "Open Letter to an Orangeman" mainly because I agree with you that we cannot trust the English; they will, as you say, sell us down the River Boyne just as soon as it suits them. And all the signs, now, are that they are preparing a scuttles.

What was once the Unionist monolith now is broken. There are some who, like Faulkner, will do anything the English say and never use their own brains or try to find common ground with fellow occupiers of this island. Then there is the Alliance Party, the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the Paisley party and, latterly, Bill Craig's Vanguard. Very few working class people, anyway, would bother to give another vote to the

Unionist Party, at least as long as characters such as Faulkner dominate it.

Alliance is far too middle class for us; the wishy-washy N.I.L.P. isn't much better and is a sort of puppet on a string, to be wagged as suits Wilson and Callaghan, whom we wouldn't trust as far as we could throw them.

Paisley is honest and has strong socialist tendencies - real socialism, not the thing paraded as socialism by Wilson and his gang - and Bill Craig has guts. Most of us are divided between the two of them. There's a wee touch of Hitler about Bill Craig which makes us a bit uneasy but something in our Ulster pride answers to his call. We'd rather have Paisley, perhaps; but he does not seem to realise that a sell-out is close at hand; and he does not seem to have any plan to deal with such a sell-out.

I suppose you know as well as I do, "Ceithearnach," that we are not unarmed or untrained and that, if it comes to a fight with the I.R.A., we know how to take care of ourselves. We are going to be beaten into the ground and have a Roman republic built over our corpses. Those of us destined to die would take very many along with us.

But most of us know that, when the English pull out, we won't be dealing only with the I.R.A. We may very well be dealing with three million other citizens of this island. Even at that, we could still put up a good fight. But some time or other there would have to be peace and talks.

How much better it the peace and the talks were to take place now, when fewer than 300 have been killed instead of the hundreds of

thousands who would fall in a civil war?

Thus, another reason for my answering your letter: peace makes sense. The only laugh in the civil war would be for the English.

But, "Ceithearnach," you and your comrades will have to spell out a lot more clearly just what exactly you mean by a non-sectarian, socialist and co-operative republic?

Would the Orangeman be able to retain his identity? Civil and religious freedom is a noble aim, the foundation of all democracy. Our music is rousing and beautiful. Our parades are colourful. Would these be banned in the kind of state you are suggesting?

What kind of civil and religious liberty would we have? Would Protestant councils be recognised as legal and their decisions legal, the

idea being to protect our individual rights and liberties? Or would we be forced to accept life as seems right to the Roman Catholic? You don't seem to have very much to say about contraception and divorce. It's not that our community has such a great demand for divorce but that, at present we have the right to it.

If we are to have socialism, we should have it the whole hog. Is this what you have in mind? In your booklet, Eire Nua, you talk about allowing some form of private enterprise. This means the right of one person to exploit another on a small scale. But what we want to see is an end to all exploitation, an end to capitalism, an end to the big landowners, and the small ones, an end to ground rents and ground landlords, an end

to big factory owners and small ones and worker control of industry.

Can you be a little more specific?

Or is it just a change of masters you envisage? And how do you plan to organise your Dail Uladh at local level? At present, as you know, every one of our streets has a freely-elected committee. Would it be on the basis of such committees that your Dail Uladh would be elected?

Would you veto some of our leaders because of their background? Many of them were in the R.U.C. or the Special Constabulary. Others were in the British Army. Would all that be held against us?

From Bill, an Orangeman on the Shankill

From The Green Cross Of Australasia



The Hon. Edward Heath, Prime Minister of Great Britain, 10 Downing St., London, England.

Sir, We have been directed by a public meeting of Irish and Irish-Australian citizens held in the Richmond Town Hall on last Sunday afternoon, 6th February, to make further representations to you regarding the presence of British troops in that part of Ireland known officially as "Northern Ireland". But more particularly in respect of the events in Derry on the previous Sunday, 30th January. This day has already been dubbed in all Australian papers as "Bloody Sunday", and will no doubt pass into the history of Anglo-Irish relations by that name. It is reminiscent of that other "Bloody Sunday" of November 1920, when British troops fired openly and without warning on a crowd of spectators at a hurling match at Croke Park, Dublin, and fourteen (14) persons were killed and about eighty (80) wounded.

You may recall our previous letter to you in October last in which we protested against the presence

49 Durrant St., North Brighton, Victoria, Australia. 3186. 11/2/72.

of your troops in Ireland and demanded their return to England. Nothing has been done in this direction. On the contrary you have increased their numbers, particularly by paratroops, generally accepted as ruthless fighters.

Your troops were originally sent to Ireland to keep impartially the peace between the opposing sections of Irishmen, generally but erroneously described as Catholics and Protestants. But from the start your troops have concentrated almost entirely on molesting the Catholic-Nationalist districts in Belfast, Derry and other towns.

The just claims for civil rights have been ignored by the Stormont Government. Peaceful demonstrations in favour of these demands have been broken up. Citizens are not allowed to assemble in their own towns. Derry City, for example, has a 65 per cent Catholic-Nationalist population, yet its citizens are prevented from

demonstrating.

What happened on that Sunday was not done on the spur of the moment. Why did your troops assemble and go around with blackened faces if not to avoid recognition when they did go on a rampage? Innocent men on a law abiding mission do not act in this manner; they knew what they were going to do, and so thirteen (13) Irish citizens went to their deaths.

We reiterate our previous demand that your armed forces should be returned to England immediately; we further demand that your Government should accept liability for the compensation and maintenance of the dependants of those who were killed or wounded; and we reiterate our previous request that the settlement of the internecine struggle between the two sections of Irishmen in N. E. Ireland should be left to Irishmen alone, without let or hindrance from external influences.

It is our intention to make available, in due course, a copy of this letter to the Press in Australia, Ireland, England and America.

Yours faithfully,

Kevin Fitzpatrick, Chairman
Sean Lavin, Secretary

FROM CAGE FIVE LONG KESH CONCENTRATION CAMP

Concentration Camp
Hut 26, Cage 5.

Associates of Long Kesh
Long Kesh
Lisburn
Co. Antrim
Ireland.

Dear Bill,

You were good enough at Christmas that you sympathized with us and disagreed with us and without trial. Now we internees ask you to take positive steps to end the present repression. Already you may be a member of one of the many groups fighting internment on August 9th, 1971. Pressure can and will end it. The following ideas are an outline of how you can help.

Camp." If you are prepared to help us would you write back to the following address. The C.C.D.C. Office, 43 Falls Road, Belfast 12, Ireland, or to me at Long Kesh. We will send you communications telling you of the progress of the events undertaken by the association and of course letting you know of "the men behind the wire." We hope that this will be an active association with one aim only, "To End Internment Now." Pressure by the Stormont Government on West Minister helped to introduce internment on August 9th, 1971. Pressure can and will end it. The following ideas are an outline of how you can help.

- (1) Get together a small group of people locally who are absolutely convinced that internment is wrong, explain to them about this letter.
- (2) Discuss and act on the following ideas: contact your local and central representative as a delegation, demanding their public support, ask your local trades council, professional association, trade union, branches, etc., to publicly oppose internment; write to your local and national press explaining your purpose and asking others to help you.

- (3) Direct pressure on West Minister, keep up a barrage of complaints, telegrams, and phone calls all directed to Mr. Maudling; this will make him and the West Minister Government realise how unjust their policy is.
- (4) Organize public protests against internment with speeches from as many different organizations as possible.
- (5) Demand that internment be ended now.
- (6) Please remember that our freedom ultimately depends on people who are prepared to fight back on our behalf. If we begin this fight now, internment can be ended once and for all.

Please remember too that there are many internees in the Crumlin Road Prison and on the Maidstone who will soon be joining us at Long Kesh.

I remain

Yours fraternally,
E.

P.S. I am smuggling this out of the camp so I hope you and the rest of your colleagues will be able to get something done on the issue. In regards to the hankies I am sending three on, one for A and T, one for you and the Mrs., and one for the gentleman that paid me a visit. We hope to send out three thousand all over the world.

THIS PLACE IS CAT

FROM BELFAST JAIL

THE "inside story" of the week-end's attempted jailbreak in Belfast was told in a statement by the political prisoners in "C" Wing, smuggled from Crumlin Road Jail. It said that at one time eight prison officers were held captive, but the plan misfired when ninth warden raised the alarm and the Army was called in.

The theme tune in T.V.'s "Dr. Who" was the signal for the attempted break.

The statement by the prisoners said: "At 5.50 p.m. on Saturday all the officers in 'C' wing were taken over. The P.O. and another officer overtook were having tea in the P.O.'s office were taken over by six men. One who was at the hot plate in the middle of 'C' wing was taken over by four men. The remaining officer in 'C' wing was also taken over by four men, but being an Englishman thought he was being assaulted

and struggled violently. Another lad, who wasn't involved in the break, thought it was a riot and struck him with a billiard cue, so this was an unfortunate accident.

An officer in C2 was also taken over.

"The signal was the theme tune of Dr. Who on television. The officers were tied up and treated with courtesy.

"We started to work on the door at the end of C1, but abandoned it as there were too many chains and locks. We got all the keys and opened the

door to a passage leading to the exercise yard.

There was a door at the end of the passage with steel bars from top to bottom. We quickly sawed through two of the bars with hacksaw blades and got into the yard.

TO COVER WIRE

"Blankets and mattresses were brought out to put over the special barbed wire. At this time the entrance to C1, which is opened from outside the wing and has a permanent guard, opened and two P.O.'s came in and went into the P.O.'s office. They and the guard were also taken over, making a total of eight.

"However, where the guard stands outside the wing, there are screens across to hide the wing entrance from anyone passing by, and another officer

had been coming into the wing but was still hidden from view behind the screen. He escaped and raised the alarm.

"At this time the lads were getting over the wire when the soldiers appeared and not wanting to cause any unnecessary deaths, the attempt was called off, as the soldiers have orders to shoot to kill. This was stressed on us by the P.O.

"We then got an assurance from the Governor that the Army weren't coming in to search and agreed to be locked up and submit to a prison search."

The statement added that a prison search was carried out and nothing was found. "But for that one bit of bad luck, 'C' Wing - 85 'remands' - would all have been freed," it said.

EASTER SUNDAY

April 2nd 1972

Order your Easter Lillies Now

2a Lr. Kevin St.

MANY Orangemen seem to forget that, when that renowned monarch of glorious and immortal memory was engaged in adding Ireland to his kingdoms, he was in alliance with the Pope of Rome against Louis of France.

With Roman Catholic prelates rivalling each other in condemning "I.R.A. violence," and the Pope in Rome adding to the chorus, it would appear as if very little has changed fundamentally since the 17th century.

Incidents such as these only go to indicate yet once again that the conflict in Ireland's north-east is not, as British imperialists would have the world believe, a matter of strongly held religious opinions meeting in a flashpoint of intolerant, bigoted anger, but yet another of the 20th century's wars of liberation as Ireland tries to get rid of her colonial oppressors.

For many Irishmen are willing to their guidance in religious matters from Rome but not their politics.

While Irishmen, who know their history, are well aware of the distinction there are some to whom the clerical attitude must be a matter of scandal, endangering their faith, or one of sheer wonder, at least, that Irish clergymen should have learned so little over such a long period of Irish history and rebellion against the colonial enemy.

The word "violence" has been explained for the half or under-educated on a number of occasions recently (not, alas, too clearly enough for some, such as the journalist Chris Glennon) as meaning

FALSE OATH

Claimed to be taken from a "Sinn Féin prisoner" was this copy of the "Republican oath": "In the presence of Almighty God and this my brother, I do swear that I will suffer my right hand to be cut off from my body and laid at the jail door before I will... betray a brother and I will... not spare from the cradle to the crutch and from the crutch to the cradle and I will not hear the moans of infancy or old age but that I will wade deep in Orangemen's blood and do as King James did... I will aid and assist with all my might and strength when called upon to massacre Protestants and cut away heretics, burn British churches, abolish all Protestant kings and princes... and I will think it no sin to kill and massacre a Protestant whenever an opportunity occurs."

her chaplains from all the armies of the world, and denounces all warfare everywhere, unreservedly, and all force, excessive and otherwise, then and only then will she have the right to be listened to by all her members.

And there is more and often greater violence than that used in warfare — the violence of property against the dispossessed; the violence of gluttony against the hungry; the violence of luxury against the homeless.

Increasingly, Roman Catholic priests are becoming angry at such violence and taking up arms with the risen people to end such injustices. It is happening all over Latin America. It is happening in the Basque country of the Iberian Peninsula.

Already it is beginning to happen in Ireland as it did in other periods of our history (the 1798 patriot priests are ex-communicated still).

There are, of course, prelates who, in their hearts at least, are able to justify their stand against the I.R.A. defence of the people on the basis of legitimacy.

Their argument is that Ireland was conquered by England and that the victor had certain "conquerors' rights."

Ireland, being conquered, had no right to revolt: the English was the legitimate authority. This legitimacy could, indeed, be traced back to the Papal Bull, *Laudabiliter* which gave the English king the right to invade and subdue Ireland and which ordered

Home Rule IS Rome Rule?

"excessive force." And theologians have shown how Roman Catholic doctrine does not oppose the use of force — as much force as is required to bring about a legitimate objective in certain circumstances.

Many of those prating against "Violence" by freedom fighters in the north-east are blinded by their own class prejudices and hypocrisy else they would see clearly the stupidity of their stance (that it is anti-Catholic, un-Christian, to use force; that this is a Christian dogma, based on the divine commandment, love thy neighbour).

One has to consider merely the large number of Roman Catholic (and other Christian) chaplains, accredited with full Church approval to armed forces throughout the world, to realise the extent of the nonsense being shovelled out by prelates and their spokesmen in Ireland on this particular political issue.

A privileged class feels itself threatened, north and south. There is the realisation that a revolution begun in the north cannot be contained there; that if the thirst for justice among the risen people is slaked in the Six Counties, it must be slaked soon afterwards in the 26 Counties.

Condemning the use of force against invading force, therefore, is a class reaction or, if you will, a class reflex action. And, as has happened so often in the past, at home and abroad (one remembers for example, the French Revolution and the Spanish Civil War), a clerical hierarchy, based on a privileged section of the community, takes a political stand in defence of what it fancies are its own temporal interests, abandoning Christ's poor and oppressed to the tyrant.

Thus the political reaction of the Church in Rome in favour of N.A.T.O., in favour of Malta remaining a N.A.T.O. base (the Archbishop of Malta conferred with the Pope before going to England to have the price increased) and, let it be remembered, in favour of the E.E.C. (no doubt the shoneen bishops of Ireland may soon be expected to be heard in full cry, urging Irish membership and belying our nationalist instinct for survival).

One does not need to go deep into theology, as my betters have done, to show clearly that the Roman Catholic Church does not require of members to renounce force in all circumstances.

Faith and morals are such as to be binding on all members everywhere. When the Church withdraws

TRUE OATH

I.... having been elected and approved as President of the Roman Catholic College or Seminary of Maynooth, do swear that I will diligently, faithfully and conscientiously execute the said office to the best of my skill and judgement and that I will so far as in me lies enforce a due observance of the Bye Law, Rules and statutes made for the government and discipline thereof; and that I will bear faithful and true allegiance and to my utmost endeavours inculcate the duties of faithful and true allegiance to His Majesty King George 111 and his successors in every member of the said college or seminary. So help me God —

the Irish to surrender to his authority.

According to this view, the collective Irish will had no validity since the 12th century. It had no validity in 1918 or in 1921. And, when England graciously offered, in the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, certain privileges, including Partition, we were bound in conscience to accept.

Similarly, England to this day acknowledges no other will or right than the will and the right of Westminster, which gave and which can take back in both parts of Ireland.

Some prelates even have a secret belief in their hearts that a vanquished, humiliated, denationalised Irishry, still true to the "faith of their fathers," one day will be "God's instrument" in "bringing back" England to the "true faith."

Our prelates seldom have been renowned for their learning; they have been poor psychologists and poorer sociologists; and they have not been even good politicians.

Even today they are incapable of understanding that Ireland is being influenced to a far greater extent by the moral and other values of England than England by "pious, steadfast," Catholic Ireland.

If the trick had worked as planned, since the Famine days, England, by now, would be well on the road to moral recovery, instead of which it tolerates torture of political enemies more openly than ever dared Russians, Americans or French in this age.

Because priests are so closer to the people than the prelates they tend to stand and fight alongside their flocks in the moment of truth.

Thank God that Ireland still has priests of such calibre and maybe, even, a few bishops who, up to this, have remained silent.

The Orangeman, who relies on traditional sources of information, must be a very puzzled man in Ireland today with all those he has been trained to fear and mistrust, including the Pope, ranged so resolutely on his side against the only kind of "home rule" that can ever be viable in Ireland, a socialist, co-operative republic of all the 32 counties.

Who was it said the Pope had red socks?

FORCES OF THE



- 18,000 British Soldiers
- 2,000 British Airmen
- 3,000 British Sailors
- Squadron Flights, countless helicopters
- mine sweepers, naval frigates
- barbed wire by the million foot
- sand by the million ton
- concrete stone by the million blocks
- informers, touts, U.D.R., Specials, C.I.D., R.U.C.,
- all working for the British crown

CANNOT DEFEAT

Backed up by a vast propaganda, war newspapers of England, the T.V. media, their agents and ambassadors in every country spreading the lies and spreading the scandal. This is what the I.R.A. are fighting.

And on the other side of the border, the home front, the Special Branch, the Garda, the politicians, the clergy, the churches, the indifferent people, the people who are now beginning to see the light after Derry. But is this only to be taken as a token gesture? Are the 13 deaths to fail and fade away and will the politicians continue to patrol the border with their Army and their police force against the freedom fighters of the I.R.A. Mr. Hillery went on a tour to tell the world of the

British Forces. He got a very poor reception, what did Mr. Hillery expect? He had his chance a year or so ago at the United Nations and a lame duck job they made of that on that day. Who would ever have thought that Washington would support the Irish? Did they ever support it in the past. Did they not withdraw their name from Casement's reprieve document and send him to the gallows in Pentoville. When were the Americans in favour of the Irish fight for freedom, none but the Irish exile and none but the chosen few who are out there working among the British and other nationalities. The Americans are doing in Vietnam what the British Paratroopers are doing in Derry. Roseville Street is Mai Lai and other places throughout Belfast is no different than the Vietnam campaign. We do not

BRITISH CROWN



AT THE I.R.A.

- British Murder Squads
- S.A.S. Torture Chambers
- Jail Ships, Concentration Camps, Raids, Arrests of Men, Women, Children
- DESPITE ALL THIS
- THE I.R.A. ARE WINNING THE FIGHT

want American help, we do not want Canadian help, we do not want French help, we do not want German help although in passing they were the only two countries who ever came to our assistance in the past. We want the help of our own people, we want the resources of every man in this nation, the resources of every Irishman in Britain, bring it to a standstill, disrupt it, disrupt it daily, make them know that the Irish are not second class citizens. Make them know that this is the ancient Irish Nation and the forces of the crown will remember us for many days to come. They still talk about the Park Murder when a few Invincibles went out with knives and laid Burke and Cavendish low, but the day can come again with long knives and we have the men, so let them beware for the Invincibles are

again on the march and the forces of the crown, big and broad and mighty as they are as Pearse said "They cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens the hearts of young men, the seeds sown by the young men of former generations." And let Mr. Heath and Mr. Maudling and General Tuzo and General Ford and all the Paratroopers beware, with the seeds sown by the 13 murders in Derry will come to a miraculous ripening.

You cannot defeat the I.R.A. because the I.R.A. are the people and you cannot defeat the risen people. We shall take ye by the throats and we shall drive ye from our shores.

American Support for I.R.A.



"FREEDOM OF COUNTRY NEVER SO NEAR"

"I THINK it is true to say, and it is accepted by many people today, that we have never come as close as we are now to securing the freedom of our country," stated Mr. Dave O'Connell, a Provisional IRA leader, when he spoke at the North Kerry Sinn Féin annual social in the Hotel Manhattan.

More than 600 people present gave an enthusiastic reception to two of the escapees from the prison-ship "Maidstone." Sean Convery and Martin Taylor, who were among the guests.

In the course of his speech, Mr. O'Connell said that nothing so exemplified the total involvement of the people of the North in the

war being waged against the English enemy as help given to the gallant seven who escaped from the "Maidstone." The people knew how British troops would vent their savagery upon them, but they readily faced it all to defeat the enemy. The fight could not be waged without that support, the speaker said, and in times of war the only mandate that was really realistic was the willing voluntary support of your people.

During the twelve months which had passed, he said, 46 British soldiers had died in the North. That fact highlighted the intensity of the struggle, and it brought home to many the fact that a

war was being waged between two peoples and not, as so often had been misrepresented, a struggle between Catholics and Protestants.

Mr. O'Connell said that the aid which the people of the South were giving to their fellow-countrymen in the North showed what their will was as regards the war being waged. Having made the statement quoted at the outset, he concluded: "England is paying in men, money and prestige for her tyranny in the North. The IRA, backed by its people, is prepared to pay any price to break England's grip. Her troops and influence will go, and with them sectarianism and all the other evil fruits of British Imperialism."

1,000 May be INTERNED

"I wouldn't be surprised if a thousand people were detained by Easter this year," Mr. John Taylor told a meeting organised by the Confederation of Conservative Graduates in London.

Mr. Taylor went on to defend internment. "The IRA is now in retreat and the Army's rate of attrition is increasing day by day," he said. "Internment is the only successful answer to the military sense is the only successful answer to the activities of subversive organisations like the IRA in Northern Ireland."

A Scottish Viewpoint

Reply to: Tigh an Uillt, Wilton Dean, by Hawick, County Roxburgh, Scotland.
February the 1st, 1972.

Do'n Eagarthoir,
An Phoblacht,
2a Lower Kevin Street,
DUBLIN 8.

A Chara:

On behalf of the staff of this Scottish Nationalist magazine - non-Catholics - who are appalled by what happened last Sunday, I wish to offer sympathy to the Irish people in general, and in particular to the citizens of Derry.

At the same time, we all beseech every Irish man and woman to recognise the

difference between the Scots and the English. We know that the English Government - employing the age-old tactics of setting blood-brothers against each other - are using Scottish mercenaries in the Six Counties, most of them brainwashed, but many of them sick at heart. If there can be such a thing as gladness in misery, we are glad that no Scots (or, for that matter, Welsh) troops were among the military terrorists let loose last Sunday against an unarmed assembly.

Is mise, Le meas mor,

Ronald MacDonald Douglas
Editor: CATALYST

THE reamhna to Eire Nua, which is the Social and Economic Programme of Sinn Féin, opens with these words. "The Constitution of Sinn Féin advocates not merely the complete overthrow of English rule in Ireland but also the setting up of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916.

The second paragraph states that among our objectives are the establishment of "a reign of social justice based on Christian principles by a just distribution and effective control of the nation's wealth and resources" and the institution of "a system of government suited to the particular needs of the people."

Among the "more important and fundamental features" of the Sinn Féin economic programme are listed—

1. The wealth of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland and is theirs to be exploited and developed in their interests.

2. To ensure justice for all, the means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically.

3. Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under State control. The principal agent of major development in industry, agriculture and fisheries must be the State.

4. The State will have complete control over the import and export of money.

5. An upper limit will be placed on the amount of land any one individual may own. Large ranches will be taken over and leased to groups of families to run on co-operative lines. Only resident citizens of the Republic will be allowed to own, purchase or lease land within Ireland.

6. Apart from the sectors mentioned above the main instrument of economic development will be co-operative enterprises in production, distribution or exchange. These will be based on the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy which is founded on the right of worker-ownership and is native Irish as well as being co-operative or distributist in character. Each individual worker will own an economic unit of the means of production in the form of a farm, workshop, business or share in a factory or other co-operative. Here is real industrial democracy. Credit Unions will play an important role in this type of development. Private enterprise will still 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."

It is clear from the foregoing that the term socialism as used by

Republicans has a very different connotation from that given it by the Marxists and that democracy means much more than universal suffrage or the right of every citizen to vote.

According to the tenets of Comhar na gComharsan, the philosophy which enlightens Sinn Féin economic thinking socialism is social control of the means of production for the common good and democracy means the right of every citizen to ownership of an economic share of the national wealth and wealth producing processes with an equal voice with his fellow worker, owners in the policy and management of their own industry, factories, etc., co-operative farm or business, in addition to, and as a foundation for his other democratic and human rights. This is true industrial democracy as understood by James Connolly and stated in his book "Labour in Irish History"—

"The whole age-long fight of the Irish People against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production in Ireland."

This ideal of industrial democracy was forgotten, or suppressed by the Irish Labour Party which claims Connolly as its founder until its pale ghost was resurrected before the last Free State election. But it was not forgotten by Sinn Féin, by Liam Mellows or Mary McSwiney. It remained the main plank of republican social tradition up to 1939 when it was developed and disseminated over the I.R.A. radio and in its official organ The War News, forming a topic for further discussion in the prisons and concentration camps of DeValera and Gerry Boland.

From its very first issue in May 1948 An t-Eireannach Aontaithe promulgated the ideals of Comhar na gComharsan and the second issue in June bore these banner head-lines across its front page—

RES PUBLICA
Economic Democracy In The Gaelic State

The ensuing article said: "The path of a Republican government in a free Ireland is clear—to divide the estates and ranches of the country into economic farms among the agricultural population and to establish the wage earners of the towns and cities as owner workers of the shops, factories and industries in which they toil.

Efficiency in agriculture demands that the farmers be encouraged and financed to form co-operatives."

The function of the State is to ensure that this economy of distributive and

co-operative ownership works; to this end it must organise markets, control prices and take over such enterprises as public welfare demands.

It would be necessary therefore to nationalise social services, banks, insurance, water, gas, electricity, mines and transport.

The Comhar na gComharsan ideal of worker ownership being a vital organic principle capable of evolution has been adapted and interpreted in Eire Nua to suit the new conditions of life and express the up to date policy of Sinn Féin by a team of economists and thinkers under the direction of Sean O'Bradaigh M.A.

Accordingly the fundamental features 1 to 6 of the Sinn Féin Programme, already quoted are a more up to date and informed re-statement of the principles enunciated in RES PUBLICA. And so the national tradition of a just Gaelic state goes back unbroken not only to Connolly, Lallor and Tone but to the very "first fight made by the Irish septs against the Pale."

The Socialism of Sinn Féin is not the Marxist model of State ownership of the means of production with a propertyless proletariat but rather the distribution of the means of production in economic units among all citizens with the state acting as guardian of the national wealth somewhat after the manner of the fear folta in the ancient Gaelic time.

An independent thirty two county republic in which it is the primary duty of the government to see that every qualified citizen is in possession of an economic unit of the means of production is truly a socialist democratic republic for in the immortal words of Lallor "Let laws and customs say what they will, these truths are stronger than any law and will overcome them, the fact that those who control your lands will make your laws and control your liberties and your lives."

Sinn Féin being committed to the ideal of the worker owner, it logically follows that they can only accept a regional or national Dail which guarantees in its constitution the right of every qualified citizen to an economic unit of the means of production. The terms "qualified citizen" and "economic unit" have been defined in previous issues of "An Poblacht" notably Aibreán 1970. In other words not only Dail Eireann but Dail Chonnachta, and Dail Uladh must guarantee "qualified industrial economic or industrial democracy in their constitutions or at least have it among their primary aims.

Eire Nua

agus

Comhar na gComharsan

le

Fear Domhnann

"Let no man deceive himself or be deceived by the words and colours and phrases of a false freedom, by constitutions and charters and articles and enactments of freedom. These things are only paper and parchment, waste and worthless."

Granted Dail Uladh and Dail Chonnachta will not be just creations of Sinn Féin but truly democratic assemblies representative of all national interests. In fact it is doubtful whether on Comhairle Uladh or Comhairle Chonnachta—the bodies elected to draw up a constitution for their respective Dala—there is a Sinn Féin majority. But just as in a Gaelic match the teams must abide by the Gaelic code while free to choose their own playing styles and tactics so must the different bodies on these regional or national Dala agree on a minimum common ground and the minimum in this day and age for any such assembly is industrial democracy or recognition of the principle of the worker-owner.

In a recent Thomas Davis lecture Professor Francis John Byrne of U.C.D. stated that our present parliamentary institutions are founded not on Gaelic but on British traditions. It would be a pity indeed if the new draft forms of local and regional government presented to Dail Uladh and Dail Chonnachta

should be smothered in the same morass of English legalism. There is a fairly clear pattern of native Irish government which might serve as a much better and more natural model. The tuath is a land and administrative area whose size lends itself to the practice of direct as opposed to delegated democracy for certain functions. The size of a tuath has been estimated as that which would allow its inhabitants to convene in one place, transact their public and private business and return home in the one day. New tuatha or old ones could be set up as natural entities. Any suitable number of these could be grouped into mor-thuatha to form natural development regions and the mor-thuatha themselves would of course form cuigi.

Smaller social units such as bailti fearainn and diuchi could like the tuatha be governed on the principle of direct democracy while the comhairli mor-thuatha and Dala Cuigi would consist of representatives from the tuatha elected by universal suffrage. Such a system would have obvious advantages over any re-hash of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman laws and institutions as it would be truly native and necessitate some original thinking on the part of those commissioned to work it out.

Fear Domhnann

Feall na nEaspag

Leanta o leathanach 2:

gharda i gcoinéal glhacann an breitheamh, fiú má thagann an té atá cúistithe (ar na Gardai a bhualadh) isteach so chúirt agus a cadán dorcha lena bhfuil fulaingthe aige.

Níor mhiste do na creatúirí bochta atá fostaichte ar an mBrainse Speisialta machnamh a dhéanamh.

Tá réabhlóid ar siúl. Cuirfear an réabhlóid dhéanna i gcrích. Sar í bhfad beidh údaráis de chineál eile i réim in Eirinn.

An garda, bíodh sé ina bhall den Bhrainte Speisialta nó eile, a dhéanann an job go cothrom agus go hionraic, bíodh an job céanna suarach go maith, uaireanta, ní aon chúis imní aige: ní bhainfidh muid aon díoltas amach air.

Ach an cladhair a chiapann Poblachtóirí agus a níosinn bréaga fúthú múnfear ceacht dól súl má chríochnófar an réabhlóid fin. Aon cladhair a bhleachtáir atá in amhras, déanfaidh sé nuachtáin an tuaiscirt a léamh.

Nimh, a chara

bainne...trí púdar glóine a chur ina gcuid leanna...agus féach gurb é an tuaiscirt a n-óilann siad an t-arm is mó dá bhfuil againn ach tabhairt faoi.

Níl aon deacracht faoi theacht ar eolas faoi nimh. Níl aon chonstaic roimh theacht ar nimh, rud atá á úsáid i ngach teach gach lá, ar bhealach amháin nó eile.

Litracha

DE REIR a chéile tá na polaiteoirí ag teacht suas leis an bhfirinne, tá gur ar thaobh Oiglaigh na hEireann atá formhór na ndaoine anois sna 26 Chontae.

Níor mhiste do gach Poblachtóir, mar sin féin, gan dearmad a dhéanamh ar a pheata polaiteora ach a thuairimí faoi chúrsaí an tuaiscirt a chur abhaille air, agus go tréan.

Má bhíonn a dhóiteadh des na litreacha sin ag adú amach feicfead toradh as cúisime mór mar ní aon duine is mó a bhfuil meas aige ar a chraiceann ná polaiteoir garmúil.

Airei

AN BHFUL sliat a ghearradh agatsa chun tú féin a bhualadh?

Gach rud a scríobhann tú, gach rud a deir tú, ar ghuthán nó eile, bí ar an airdeall. Cuimhnigh gur ar gach siolla atá an namhadh ag brath. Ná tabhair a leid is lú dó.

Ná bí fiosrach. Ná cuir ceisteanna. Ná bí caideiseach. Ná tabhair eolas in aiseis fiú má cheapann tú nach bhfuil aon tabhairt ann. Ná bí ag moidheamh as rudai.

Cuimhnigh: tá cogadh ar siúl. Ar do dhíscréid tá an bua agus do chairde — ag brath.

Is í Dáil Uladh doras na Síochána

agus dóchas Éireann

na leorann. Froganna móra méithe i linn bheag iad — le méadó ar an linn tá gach aon bhaol ann go laghdófar ar a ngradam féin.

Níl moladh ar bith ag an rialtas — ná ag an bhfreasúra — a bheárfad na 6-Chontae isteach ann lá amháin níba luath ná Lá Philib an Chluite féin.

Feictear dúnn gur j Dáil Uladh an t-aon mholadh le dealarmh ar an gclár a bheárfad an tsíocháin bhuan go hEirinn.

Is é an bua mór leis an mholadh seo ná góndéann Dáil Uladh cúram de dhínt gach duine. Ní bua ná

briseadh, díoltas ná sásamh atá i geist ach réiteach réasúnta, macánta.

Fágfar ag tromlach sa chúige a Stormont féin. Fágfar ag an Protastúnach tearmann ina mbráithfeadh sé saor slán lena chreideamh a chleachtadh go neamhspleách. Ní bheidh aon ghnó feasta ag an Oráisteach leis an bhfeisicín amhrasach úd ina ndísiníocht go leannan an chéim síos, an náire agus an drochmeas é. Beidh sé ina Eireannach crutha agus ina Protastúnach dílis, más iad leis, gan beann aige ar aon duine.

Is dócha gur díogras

polaiteoicta nó cleasa na ceirde céanna atá ag cur bac leis an SDLP glacadh le Dáil Uladh. Go fóill, pé scéal é. Beireann caint Ivan Cooper dóchas dúinn go bhfuil comhréiteach a lorg aige agus ag a chomhleacaithe le Sinn Féin. Os maith é míthid.

Agus na trí chontae eile curtha san áireamh neartófar an Freasúra ionnas go mbeidh acu, ar a laghad, an dóchas go dtiocfaidh a lá féin chucu i ndáil a gcúige.

Is í Dáil Uladh doras na síochána agus dóchas Éireann.

Aguisin—

IMEAGLA: sin an polasaí atá ag na Gaill ná Sé Chontae faoi láthair. Toil na ndaoine a lot; sin an cuspoir. Déannann siad sin a tabhairt chun críche trí dhaoine a mharú gan trócaire, gan mór mór má agus páistí; agus, ar ndóighe, misneach na mban a lagú trína dtealligh a scrios.

Caithear glacadh leis an dusháin. Caitheadh muid na Sasanaigh a bhualadh i bhfad níos tréine i mbliana. Cithfidh muid gach rian den true a bhuir amach ónár mbrollach.

Is iomaí bealach chun na Sasanaigh a scanradh...trí nimh a chur ina gcuid

Raids and Arrests of Republicans

Collectors — Public Speakers — Organisers

who will be next —? All the anti EEC people or the 80,000 unemployed — or perhaps Mr Blaney — Mr. Boland — Mr. Haughey or even Fr. Edward Daly whom the Free State Government sent to the U.S.A. to spotlight the British Murder troops in Derry.



LEITRIM
RAIDS
& ARRESTS

Offences Against The State Act Used To Please British Pressure



THE COMMON MARKET DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

Declaration of Allegiance

We Irishmen and Irishwomen, recognising the Proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916 as the touchstone of our assertion of nationhood, reaffirm our unqualified allegiance to the concept of Irish independence outlined in that Proclamation and resolve to defend Irish sovereignty against all usurpers, foreign or domestic. We regard the acceptance of the Treaty of Rome as incompatible with the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies. This right is sovereign and indefeasible and cannot be given away by this generation to foreign institutions not answerable to the Irish people. We recognise that because of our political, social and economic

history the people of Ireland, now and for a long time to come, will have to adopt policies that will put Ireland's interests first. We cannot allow Irish interests to be submerged within a group of European nations, with histories of Imperial exploitation, who still pursue policies directed against the welfare of the newly-independent countries of Africa, Asia, South America and their own national and cultural minorities. We believe that Ireland's place is with the emergent countries and with the smaller countries of Europe who wish to

remain outside economic and political power blocs. We recognise that the economic forces to which we would be subject in the Common Market, as established by the Treaty of Rome, would inevitably cause the depopulation of Ireland, the decline of our industry, the decimation of our farming population and the eventual destruction of the Irish people as a viable, distinct national community. We deplore the fact that Irish proponents of the European Economic Community recommend membership for Ireland solely because Britain has

decided to join. Britain is still carefully fostering differences between our people. Her continuous political intervention and brutally repressive military presence in our land is exacerbating and prolonging the division between a minority and the majority of our people.

We pledge ourselves to seek accord with our countrymen in the North East and to build a United Ireland in which civil and religious liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities will be available to all citizens. We believe that the

happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, will be achieved by staying out of economic and political power blocs. We ask all our people, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, to come together and oppose those who would bind future generations by the acceptance of the Treaty of Rome.

As the present political situation deprives the people of the North East of the opportunity of expressing their will in the Referendum on joining the European Economic Community, we demand that the government of the

Twenty-Six Counties make arrangements so that all the people of the Six-Counties may be able to vote in the Referendum. A decision confined to the people of the Twenty-Six Counties cannot place moral or legal obligations on the Irish people. Having faith in the intelligence, courage and spirit of independence of our people, we are confident that the vast majority of them will reject the Treaty of Rome and membership of the European Economic Community and we pledge ourselves to work unrelentingly towards this end.



ANOTHER PICTURE OF THE LEITRIM RAIDS AND ARRESTS

An Phoblacht

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

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Ainm
Seoladh

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NOTA ON EAGARTHOIR

INCREASE IN PRICE

We have been forced through rising printing costs to increase the price of the paper to 6p per copy. All national newspapers and periodicals have been forced to increase their prices several times in the last year and we have no choice now but to follow suit.

Due to the increase in costs the 1p rise in the price of An Phoblacht will not cover the extra printing and production charges, and we wish therefore to appeal for subscriptions to help us expand. All subscriptions should be sent to An Phoblacht, 2a Lr. Kevin Street, Baile Atha Cliath 8.

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An Phoblacht Nation On The March

WE are going to win, for the first time in possibly 800 years the whole Irish nation is on the march for full freedom and sovereignty, the thousands upon thousands of people who marched through every city in Ireland, the thousands who chanted anti British slogans outside the British embassy before it was burnt to the ground, should be clear to Mr. Heath and Mr. Maudling, should be clear to General Tuzo, General Ford, and British troops and should be equally clear to Mr. Jack Lynch, Mr. Hillery that the Irish Nation is now on the march and we are going to win this fight. This situation has been brought about by the gallant people of the 6 North Eastern counties by the men and women and by the school children who are daily facing the terror of British guns and British might, the Civil Rights marches, the innocent victims murdered in Derry, the raids and arrests, the concentration camps, the jail ships, the torture chambers, the intimidation, the extra British troops coming across the water, the S.A.S. and all the security arrangements and all the press paraphernalia that the British Empire can command is being used against the Irish people, but despite all this and despite the paper wall, the Irish people will succeed, we want no sell out, there is to be no compromise, if there is any talk at the conference table we have a single purpose, a single ideal and a single tradition, Ireland one and Ireland free, no treaty of surrender, no E.E.C., no speculators paradise, no capitalist control, the wealth of the Nation for the people of the Nation.

Protestant and Catholic to live together as Irishmen and Irishwomen in the interest not of any class or of any section of the people but in the interest of all the people and this is why we are going to win because all the people are on the march for full freedom of this Nation.

Beware England; Beware corrupt politicians; Beware of a risen people.

I.R.P.B. STATEMENT

WE HAVE BEEN ASKED TO STATE

- Over the past ten days resistance operations in occupied Ireland have inflicted the following casualties on the enemy. Killed three British Service men. One member of the U.D.R. wounded. Two British Service men and one member of the R.U.C.
- The Republican Movement repudiates the destruction of labourer's cottage at Brollagh, Co. Fermanagh

on the night of February 4/5.

- The Republican Movement was not involved in the Bank raid at Rush, Co. Dublin on February 16.

P. O'Neill
Ruanaí. I.R.P.B.

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PUBLICITY FUND

This paper is now a 12-pager. Costs of production are very heavy, including not only printing, but carriage, postage, blocks, wrapping and other essential office equipment.

We have set a target of £2,000 to enable us to increase the number of pages.

All subscriptions will be acknowledged.

Send to:
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Tus maith leath na h-oibre.

THE PAPER WALL AROUND IRELAND

On January 31 the Defense Department in London provided a detailed account of the events in Londonderry on the previous day, in which army units were involved.

The march in Londonderry on January 30 was held in contravention of the Government's ban* on all processions and parades. This ban of course applies to both communities in Northern Ireland.

Of the 13 men killed in the shooting that began after the bulk of the 3,000 marchers had been peacefully dispersed, four were on the security force's wanted list. One man had four nail bombs in his pocket. All were between the ages of 16 and 40.

The shooting started with two high-velocity shots aimed at the troops manning the barriers. No-one was hit and the fire was not returned. Four minutes later a further high-velocity shot was aimed at a battalion wire-cutting party. This shot also was not answered.

A few minutes later a member of the machine-gun platoon saw a man about to light a nail bomb. As the man prepared to throw, an order was given to shoot him. He fell and was dragged away.

Throughout the fighting that ensued, the Army fired only at identified targets - at attacking gunmen and bombers. At all times the soldiers obeyed their standing instructions to fire only in self-defence or in defence of others threatened.

The bulk of the marchers dispersed after reaching the barricades, on instructions from the March Stewards. A hard core of hoodlums remained behind and attacked three of the barriers. When the attacks reached an unacceptable level, the soldiers were ordered to pass through and arrest as many as possible. They were not, however, to conduct a running battle down the street.

As they went through the barriers the soldiers fired rubber bullets to clear the street in front of them. They made 43 arrests.



Northern Ireland Londonderry

The troops then came under indiscriminate firing from apartments and a car park. The following is the army's account of the return fire:

- "Nail-bomber hit in the thigh.
- Petrol-bomber, apparently killed in the car park.

10. Two gunmen with pistols, one hit, one unhurt.

11. One sniper in a toilet window fired on and not hit.

12. Gunman with pistol in 3rd floor flat shot and possibly hit.

13. Gunman with rifle on ground floor of flats shot and hit.

14. Gunman with rifle at barricade killed and body recovered."

Sir,
I enclose a copy of the official press release of the British Information Services here in New York relative to the events in Derry of Sunday, 30th January 1972.

"The paper wall around Ireland" is as effective as ever as this publication reveals, and I conclude by saying that the silence of Irish government agencies in the United States contributes in no small measure to the effectiveness of British propaganda.

Yours,

Eamon J. Timoney

- A bomber in the flats, apparently killed.
- Gunman with pistol behind barricade, shot and hit.
- Nail-bomber shot and hit.
- Another nail-bomber shot and hit.
- Rubber bullet fired at gunman handling pistol.
- Nail-bomber hit.
- Three nail-bombers, all hit.

"On January 18 the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Mr. Brian Faulkner, announced the extension for a year of the general ban on processions and parades. This had originally been introduced last August 9 for a period of six months in order to put no extra strain on the security forces. Making the announcement, Mr. Faulkner said, "It is...clear that in present circumstances those who take part in public processions or parades not only put themselves at risk, but expose members of the security forces in situations where they are open to attack..."

(Prev. Ref' PS 2/72)

DONT FORGET THE PRISONERS

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