

# I.R.A. DEMANDS

- *release  
internees*

- *amnesty for all  
offences*

The IRA has decided to suspend armed military actions.

News of the IRA's decision has caused a tremendous impact on the political situation and is regarded by observers as being the possible move that may prevent a full outbreak of a sectarian civil war.

The IRA's decision was taken in view of the growing dangers of that type of internal violence as a result of a request by the Executive of Republican Clubs in the 6 Counties. It opens up once again the possibilities of redeveloping political action.

The only exception to the general suspension of armed actions is the reservation of the right of self-defence and the right to defend any area under aggressive attack by the British military or by sectarian forces from either side. The oppressed minority in the North who have been able to rely with confidence on the IRA as a defender of the people may still have that confidence.

The reason for taking this crucial decision lay in a growing awareness by the leadership of the Republican Movement that we had been drawn into a war that was not of our choosing, and that we were being forced to fight on enemy ground. The IRA has decided to reaffirm its political programme in an effort to avoid sectarian war,

- *withdrawal  
of troops*

- *abolition of  
special  
powers act*

to bring about a political confrontation between the Irish people and British imperialism.

It is to be expected that the Provisionals may try and sabotage this development. But the onus rests in the main on the British aggressor forces. Obviously, if there were any repeat of the Bloody Sunday episode in Derry the IRA would have to reconsider its position. But for the moment the prospects look good for political progress: already both the extreme Unionists and the Provisionals are finding themselves increasingly isolated, as people rally behind the Republican movement's banner. The Armagh march is the beginning of a new phase of civil struggle.

The statement from the IRA confirmed the original announcement made by the Northern Republicans (see page 3). The statement reads:—"The Army Council of the Irish Republican Army confirms the statement issued by the Executive of Northern Republican Clubs. All units have now been informed of this decision and have been instructed to suspend all military actions, excepting only that we reserve the right of self defence and the right to defend any who are under direct attack from the British Army or from any sectarian force. We have agreed to this proposal of the Republican Clubs because of our growing concern over the dangers of a sectarian

- *establishment  
of political  
freedom*

- *progress  
towards full  
democracy*

civil war which could only set the cause of socialist revolution back many years. We feel that progress in the situation is dependent on a resumption of political activity, and would call on all Irish men and women to support the five points put forward by the Republican Clubs in their statement."

The immediate demands are listed in the five points:

- (1) the release of all internees.
- (2) a general amnesty for all political prisoners in British or Irish jails, for men on the run and for all those against whom charges are pending as a result of their involvement in the civil disobedience campaign or because of resistance to British troops; and a write-off of all debts incurred as a result of the civil disobedience campaign.
- (3) the withdrawal of troops to barracks pending their ultimate withdrawal from the country, and an immediate end to military repression.
- (4) the abolition of the Special Powers Act in its entirety.
- (5) Freedom of political expression must be immediately established; the Republican Clubs in particular demand their full democratic rights of political existence.





# REPUBLICAN CLUBS WIN IRA AGREEMENT

The following statement has been issued by the Executive of the Northern Republican Clubs.

The Executive of the Northern Republican Clubs has met with the leaders of the I.R.A. over the weekend. The Executive proposed to the I.R.A. that in view of the growing danger of sectarian conflict, the I.R.A. should immediately suspend all armed military actions. The I.R.A. has agreed to this proposal, reserving only the right of self-defence and the defence of areas if attacked by the British Military or by sectarian forces.

The overwhelming desire of the great majority of all the people of the North is for an end to military actions by all sides. While recognising the justification of the I.R.A.'s past policy of defence and retaliation, we feel at this stage that any military actions can only help to inflame the situation even further. The Republican Clubs therefore feel that this suspension of sectarian civil war which the Provisional campaign is threatening to provoke. The Executive of the Republican Clubs sincerely hopes that this proposal agreed to by the I.R.A. will be met by genuine responses from all the forces involved in the situation. We firmly believe that the only talks that can be of relevance at this, or any stage, are those between groups of Irishmen and to this end we ask representatives of the Protestant community to consider these proposals seriously.

We feel that peace in the present situation can only be found if full democratic rights and equality are instituted in the North, and will continue our political struggle and the civil disobedience campaign until our immediate demands are met. These include:

- (1) The release of all internees;
- (2) A general amnesty for all political prisoners in British or Irish jails, for men on the run and for all those against whom charges are pending as a result of their involvement in the civil disobedience campaign or because of resistance to British troops; and a write off of all debts incurred as a result of the civil disobedience campaign;
- (3) The withdrawal of troops to barracks pending their ultimate withdrawal from the country, and an immediate end to military repression;
- (4) The abolition of the Special Powers Act in its entirety;
- (5) Freedom of political expression must be immediately established; the Republican Clubs in particular demand their full democratic rights of political existence. The open convention we

held in Belfast during April showed our determination to establish this right, and we will continue to pursue it.

As the dangers of sectarianism threaten so gravely at this moment we call on all sincere people to support these proposals, which we consider essential if we are not to be plunged into sectarian war. They are vital if we are to build the mass movement that will bring about a true revolutionary situation and create a socialist republic. The I.R.A. has agreed to them and has accepted our suggestion. Now let all other forces respond in the same way, and we may yet see the possibility of eventually building a new free and prosperous Ireland in a democratic socialist republic.

Malachy Toal,  
PRO-6 County Regional  
Executive of Republican Clubs.

# TOM MITCHELL'S ORATION OVER GRAVE OF LIAM MULCAHY IN CORK

Liam Mulcahy's death has caused much sadness among Republicans, not alone in his national city, but throughout the entire country, and particularly in the North, where he had many friends and comrades. It is a very sad occasion for those of us who knew him and worked with him in the Republican Movement, to gather here to-day to leave him at his last resting place.

Liam was a life-long Republican who devoted much of his time and energy working to help shape the republic of his dreams. He joined the Fianna Eireann as a boy and later became a member of Cork Volunteer Pipe Band. Eventually, he joined the I.R.A. and was an active volunteer all his life until an increasing illness took its toll in the end. It was inevitable that he should take this step as he was a man who had given much thought to the problems and difficulties which affect our country and its people. In the early 1950's when the I.R.A. was preparing to recommence the armed struggle against the British, Liam was ready and willing to offer his services as the inevitable and logical extension of his beliefs. He was not a man who was given to flamboyant gestures or speeches. But those who knew him intimately saw him, and will remember him, as a man with a keen mind who loved Ireland and her people. He was deeply interested in social problems and had a great love for the language and culture. His sharp wit

and ready sense of humour were always a comfort to his comrades during the difficult years in Belfast prison. Despite the burden of poor health, and anxiety for his wife and family at home, he had the determination of a man with a big heart and mind.

He had the faults and weaknesses and hopes and desires which belong to all men. He loved life and all the things which God has sent for our enjoyment and he sought to impart his spirit and courage to those who had the privilege to call him friend.

Our sadness to-day is outweighed only by our anger of the presence of the forces of repression who have been sent here to intimidate those who have come to honour Liam's memory. There is much one could say about this, but it would be inappropriate at this place to indulge in recriminations. They have shown by their actions the scant measure of respect which they have for the plain people of Ireland and their desire to suppress Republicanism. The memory of Liam Mulcahy will be revered and honoured long after their mean minds have passed into oblivion.

He is gone now to join his friend and comrade, Jack McCabe. He has reled in for the last time and inisnicar and the Blackwater will know him no more. Go dtuga Dia suathneas agus radharh na bhFiainneas do.

# YES MEN OF EUROPE UNITED

THE YES MEN of Europe are again united, this time on the issue of Law and Order. Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's promoters in the Labour Party are now in full pursuit of Sinn Fein, the only real political opposition to their disastrous policies for the Irish people.

Dr. Cruise O'Brien calls for the closing down of our Headquarters. Sen. Professor John Kelly calls for our complete suppression and Mr. Desmond O'Malley drags us through the courts on trumped-up charges for which, as was stated in Court, "there was not one scintilla of evidence". As a follow up to this he now introduces Special Criminal Courts, all are merged to a concerted plan of conditioning the minds of the people to savage repression.

It is all being done in the name of ending violence in the North. Internment was introduced in the North under the guise of imprisoning "gunmen". In fact in the first week all the leading and most active members of the Republican Clubs were interned and many are still held. The result was the suppression of all radical political action with a consequent escalation of violent reaction. It seems now that the establishment down here wish to repeat the experiment.

For the second time in a few weeks Fianna Fail and Fine Gael could agree wholeheartedly on a major political issue. During the past decade Fianna Fail have taken over all the pro-imperialist garments of Fine Gael. By successfully proposing the Fine Gael policy of total surrender to the EEC, Fianna Fail has stripped the support of John Kelly's party of almost all its political clothing. At its Ard Fheis last week-end, Fine Gael flaunted its last political garment, the Blue Shirt of Fascist Law and Order. Within 24 hours Messrs. Lynch and O'Malley whipped the Blue Shirt from a completely exposed Fine Gael and donned it themselves. There is now clearly no reason for the existence of two pro-imperialist, right-wing parties, and the merger of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael supporters on the EEC issue is a clear mandate for the merger of the two organisations.

Senator Professor Kelly is one of the Fine Gael philosophers who, like Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, feels that the only way to outstrip Fianna Fail is by winning the debate on Law and Order. This of course is nonsense but it will inevitably lead to an ever-increasing spiral of repression by Fianna Fail and strident calls for more repression by people such as Kelly and Cruise O'Brien.

It is tragic that the once good name of the Labour Party should be dragged to this fascist competition which was very aptly described by Connolly as the "carnival of reaction" which would bedevil Irish politics. North and South of the British imposed border.

Sinn Fein is not a front for anybody. It is an open political organisation pursuing clearly

defined policies and objectives by determined political methods. It does not seek and never advocated violence in pursuit of its objectives either North or South. It recognised the existence of violence in the North, deliberately provoked by the Stormont and Westminster establishments, and it recognises the right of people to defend themselves against violent repression, terror and torture. The Labour Party, at its annual Conference in Wexford this year also recognised the right of the people of the North to use force in their own defence but of course Dr. Cruise O'Brien has never considered himself to be bound by decisions of Conference.

The alliance of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, the state machine and the communication media successfully intimidated people into voting YES to the EEC. Now they intend to destroy Sinn Fein, the political leadership of the NO men. This target will be the militant Tenants' Association, the Trades Unions and any other people's organisation which dares to protest at the exploitation of 95 per cent of the people. The per cent who control the wealth and resources of the country. O'Malley, Kelly and Cruise O'Brien can now clearly be seen as mere puppets of the powerful, media supported business-ads. Whether or not this latest attempt at repression succeeds, depends on those organisations of the people that have consistently opposed such repression in the 6 Counties. Now is the time for them to speak out here, before all opposition is silenced.

Signed: Mairin de Burca and Tony Heffernan, Ard Runaithe.

# AN CONRADH AGUS AN GHAELTACHT?

Is leir go bhfuil "gluaiseacht na Gaeltachta" ag an gCrosbhothar anois. Is ga a chinntiu go ndéantar mairbh na Gaeltachta a chosnú chuinn troda. Tu cuid de na cimirí na stathoras agus ta iarracht ann iad a cheannach na a chiunna. Tathar ag iarraidh a chosnú na Gaeltachta agus pobal na Gaeltachta a scaradh o cheille. (Se chulu ghinearalta ní gha go gcuirfeadh se linteas orainn go ndéanfai iarracht an Ghaeltachta a bhreabhadh. Oibhrionn sé seo dha bhealach is feidir usaid a bhaint as.)

Ar an taobh eile de rachaídh cursaí níos déine ar an Ghaeltacht de réir a chosnú rachaídh stadas na Gaeltachta níos ísle (de bharr muid beith sa Chomhghaird agus an neartu ginearalta ata tagaithe ar an ceangail le Sasana).

Ta ga níos mo na riamh le muintir na Gaeltachta go bhfuil agus ag cuimhniú agus ag aoidiocht. Is ga go mbeidh foras no eagrais ann le comhordha a dheanamh ar an aoidiocht agus le labhairt go hudaíraíocht thar cheann na Gaeltachta.

Bhí iarrachtaí ann roimhe seo eagrais naisiunta Gaeltachta a bhnuí ach feith ar chúiseanna eagsula: (1) eospa buaine - de bharr an ghaeltachta a chosnú agus a cheille nuair a eirigh daoine as; (2) seiceatas; níor d'eineadh iarracht cheart gnath-phobal na Gaeltachta a dheighilt ina maistri polaitiúla; (3) is annamh abhl muintir na Gaeltachta go bhfuil gnath-chonairí orthu sa Ghaeltacht i gceannas.

Séard ta ag teastail na eagrais no comhdhaíl go bhfeadfaí bheith cinnte go mbeadh se buan de bharr eagraíochta cinnte a bheith ann agus le bharr tacaíocht leathen a bheith leis.

Eagraíocht: Is coir tairbh a bhaint as pe eagraíocht atá sa ghnaethach ceanna fein. Go hairithe is ga coimhíne eagrais eile de chuid an phobal a sheachaint. Séard tathar ag moladh mar sin na comheagrais lena n-íarrfaí ar chumáinn loganta Gaeltachta a chosnú agus a cheille. Ghiaífaí le haon eagrais dá ghléatach go raibh a chúspoirí agus a ghníomhaíocht ag teacht le cuspoirí na comhdhaíla nua. Siad na cumáinn is mo a bheadh i gceist na cumáinn cearta, cumáinn eacnamaíochta (comhairleáil, cumáinn ar bhartha, cumáinn iascairí 7 rl.), craobhacha den Chonradh 7 rl.

Mas feidir comhdhaíl no Ard-fheis de na dreamanna san o ghaich Gaeltachta a thabhairt le cheille beidh rud ann nach raibh ann go dtí seo - comhthionól gur feidir leis dul sa -

shorcú agus labhairt go hudaíraíocht thar cheann na Gaeltachta. Ba ghaíocht éiríthe Naisiunta a bheith ann ar a bheadh ionadaithe o ghaich ceantar Gaeltachta. Ba ghaíocht reilgíne a bheith ann ar ball beag.

Ar mháilte le buaine ba ghaíocht eagraíocht agus limireachta a bheith ann. D'fheadh an Conradh e seo a sholathair maraon le seirbhísi pobliochta.

Feldhmeanna: (a) Polasaí a shorcú a bheadh bunaithe ar leas mhuintir na Gaeltachta agus eilimh da reir a dheanamh ar an stat eagsail, comhthionól stáit 7 rl.

(b) Coras daonlathach a bhnuí ar scata na Gaeltachta uille (rud nach raibh ann riamh).

(c) Cearta polaitiúla, eacnamaíola, sóisialta agus cearta an phobail sa Ghaeltacht a chosaint.

(d) Feachtais aoidé a thionscnamh agus a chomhordha. Ta se oprimáireachtaí rudaí airithe a dheanamh mairbh, ní ann freasara ceart do na gneithe mí-daonlathacha de thuarascáil SFADCO; ta an aoidiocht ar son udaras Gaeltachta titithe as a cheille.

An Conradh: D'fheadh an Conradh an t-eagrais nua a thionscnamh agus ina dhiaidh sin na buan-seirbhísi a stailuaithe tuas a bheith ann aon taobh eile de ta se rianachán gur lucht Gaeltachta go bhfuil gnath-chonairí orthu sa Ghaeltacht a bheadh i gceannas agus go mbeadh se solair gur mairbh ann na h-eagrais an Conradh a shochroídh polasaí.

**THE FUNNY RACE WE WERE WATCHING**  
It was the funniest race ever run... Two harness dicks and a flatfoot - all anxious to work harder at selling out their country and the Republican ideal.

The setting? Monaghan, 1972. The race? Promotion stakes in the Free State Garda Síochána. The runners? Lanky plainclothes S/Brannach man John McNamee who lives in Monaghan town; harness dick Paschal McArdie who roams the scene 'round Clones' and the daddyy-of-them-all, glamour harness-man 'T. J. Cahill' who tows the hills of Scotstown and Bragan, where all the power on earth couldn't kill the flames of Republicanism.

The big day came near. The three runners were told of the weigh-in...

And it was easy for any of them to have their handicap reduced. How? "Show how good ye are at catching the quare fellas" - that's how the menchen of Lynch, chief police-pusher, would have put it. His grammar is bad. What happened?

McNamee and McArdie cleaned their ears and listened out the footpaths in the North Monaghan towns. But Cafferky was determined to show results. What did he do? A few days before his interview for the day he hoped to become a "D. J. Cahill" he took up a country residence where some of the Official wing of the Republican movement were in temporary residence - where they were re-grouping to defend the people of Occupied Ireland from the pack of the British Tommy and the backlash of Orange injustice.

Did Cafferky win the race? No, he didn't. It went to lanky McNamee - and he has since learned that he still hasn't collected his prize!

# VOLTE-FACE BY MAHER

Prior to the EEC referendum, members of the IFA, particularly T. J. Maher, poured scorn on Republican statistics which showed how disastrous EEC entry would be to Ireland's small farmers. But that was before the referendum.

Now it's all over, and the confidence trick has worked, Maher can safely announce that there is no future for Ireland's small farmer in the EEC. What hypocrite!

# LEITHSCEAL

Mar ghaill ar deachrachtal do-sharaithe nilimid ag follíu leirmheas ar "Lug" no "nuacht o Chonamara", dhi an mhi seo chugallam. Gaibhmid leithsceal lenar scribhneoirí.



Mrs. Fahey, the Galway woman to be evicted by the English Col. Burgess. Clann na hEireann picketed the Colonel's house in England to the horror of the local villagers who were astonished to hear of his persecution of this 68-year-old widow.

## eagarfhocal

## AFTERMATH

The referendum defeat was certainly far more definite than anyone suspected that it would be, but Republicans — who provided the backbone of the campaign throughout the whole country and did the vast majority of the propaganda against EEC — can take genuine comfort from the fact that over 200,000 supported their lead. The immense growth which has been made by the Republican Movement over the last few years showed itself in the turn out which the Republicans were able to make. It is deeply to be regretted that the trade union leadership and the Labour Party did not put as much effort into the campaign as they should have done.

The Referendum is certainly a kick in the stomach for the Republican Movement, and far more importantly for the great majority of the Irish people.

But when you get kicked you have to get up quickly and return to the fight or else you will be kicked to pieces. Fianna Fail is now attempting to put the boot in hard, by extending the repression of the North to the 26 Counties. While they have been assisted in this by the Provisionals' riot in Mountjoy which allowed them to open the Curragh and introduce military detention unnoticed, the only answer open to the Republican Movement is to intensify our struggles on all the social, political, economic and cultural issues with which we have so seriously frightened the establishment — North and South — over the last few years, and upon which we built the votes of 211,000 against the EEC.

What happened proves how much hard and patient work there is to be done before we will have convinced the people of either the necessity or more importantly the possibility of socialism. Large numbers have been won to this most radical position but we have still a long way to go with many others. Clearly, the major factor that told against us in the referendum was the question of alternatives. Perhaps we fell down ourselves on this part of the question, but the establishment propaganda that we would have no markets at all and would be banned from the EEC market if we didn't enter was the most telling point. However untrue it was and is, with the whole support of the mass media and the big guns of the television, radio, newspapers, employers and large farmers it is remarkable that so many rejected the convenience of government lies.

Another factor was unquestionably the confusion felt by so many at hearing the different arguments from all sides. While the anti-market forces said things which people felt were true the weight of the establishment's counter attack was too much. In confusion, many people voted for their own party man. This trend was clearly seen in the last few days before the actual vote.

The debit side of the result is obvious. The Irish people have rejected the proclamation of 1916 and the principles of national independence and sovereignty which fired the enthusiasm of the Irish people. This rejection flows from the total failure of the native gombeen state to achieve any fulfilment for the Irish people. To that extent the referendum can be seen as a rejection of Fianna Fail's policies of failure. More urgent than ever is it now to show that there does exist a real alternative to the policies of corruption and frustration, and that this alternative lies in a fully independent socialist republic.

Another fact which has now been rendered beyond the issue of debate is the Free State nature of the Fianna Fail party. The reason for Fine Gael's continual ineffectiveness is that all its policies have been taken over by Fianna Fail. Fine Gael used to be the party of the ranchers and big businessmen, in favour of integration with the UK economic system, reactionary and red-baiting, keen on what they euphemistically termed 'law and order'. Their attempts to maintain this are defeated because Fianna Fail can do it so much better.

What needs to be re-emphasised again and again, however, is that the Irish people have not voted for higher prices, for rising unemployment, for the driving of the small farmers off the land or for increasing foreign take-over of Irish wealth. They have not voted for these things because the majority of those who voted did not believe us when we warned of the dangers which Fianna Fail and the establishment denied.

## IMPERIALISM &amp; CAPITALISM

The six month lockout at North Kilkenny Meat Exports in Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, was discreetly ignored by industrial correspondents until a unit of the Armagh South Down IRA brusquely dealt with one of the scab hauliers who kept the factory going. Like the great Arigna strike the Freshford dispute carries echoes of the silent, tenacious and long drawn out struggles between miners and foreign cartels in countries of the Third World. It seems remote from the modern, industrial world of productivity bargaining, labour courts and short ritual strikes. The resemblance to an earlier kind of industrial struggle is not accidental. The employers at Freshford are becoming part of history.

Irish capitalism is dying before our eyes. Its passing is disputed by many — none of them capitalists. On the far left the Trotskyites chant "Bosses Out; North and South". On the far right there are orations against "British Imperialism" by which the orators seem to mean the British Army. These slogans and orations in an era of multi-national corporations mean that the Trotskyites don't understand their slogans and that the Green Tories no longer listen to their own orations. The fact of life is that an independent native and healthy capitalism never existed in Ireland. Even cursory research shows that the so-called heyday of de Valera protection, the 1930s marked a further penetration of the economy by foreign capital. Certainly Irish capitalists as individuals were allowed to survive on the periphery. But no economists could describe "capitalism" as the dominant economic fact of the Irish experience. Imperialism, that is to say, the internationalisation of capital is and has been the political economy of Ireland.

But however weak the native capitalist class may have been under de Valera it was the late '50s and middle '60s that marked the end of

any pretensions it might have had. From the publication of T. K. Whitaker's "Economic Development" in 1957 the collapse of Irish capitalist reached breakneck speed. Its dominant and most obvious result was the replacement of the Irish boss by the Irish manager. In other words the replacement by Imperialism of native "capitalism". The first visible sign of this dramatic shift was the replacement of the old guard Federated Union of Employers, by the trendy Federation of Irish Industries. Next was the emergence of the Irish Management Institute as the ideological expression of the victory of the F.I.I. (whose nominees actually contested with members of the FUE for control of the IAI in the mid '60s). The most visible cultural expression was the cult of the manager, of management jargon and the managerial life-style. In short it should be clear to even the most left sectarian sloganeer or right wing orator that what happened was that smoothies like E. J. Gray of the FII and Guy Jackson of Arthur Guinness Ltd. replaced employers like Senator E. A. Maguire (now Canadian, Galen Weston) and Noyeks (now Venesta International).

Behind these well-known changes (whose significance appeared to have been lost on the left) lies a structural or more correctly an infra-structural economic change in Ireland. For, while it is true that the distribution of wealth in Ireland is grossly unequal, this glaring inequality is in fact concealing a more important reality from socialists; the question of control of the means of production.

In theory, an Irish social democratic government (i.e. the Labour Party or the Provisional Alliance) could distribute wealth more equally. But it would have absolutely no power to either generate wealth or to stop the extraction of wealth from this country by Imperialist

exploitation. The control of the means of production is firmly in the hands of multi-national corporations aided and abetted by the advanced capitalist countries. In every sense, whether we look at it from the point of per capita income or the number of managers, Ireland is a country of the Third World. And if anybody still wants to prove there is an Irish capitalism by pointing out that 5 per cent of the population here own 71 per cent of the wealth he must reconcile that position with the experience of any Latin American country where about 1 per cent of the population would be found to own all of the wealth. Yet no Latin American Marxist would say he was fighting a "native capitalism". He will and correctly does, conceive his struggle as anti-Imperialist; a national liberation struggle which will sweep the remaining local capitalists aside.

For too long now the Irish left have attempted to avoid the iron logic of Marx's first law: one capitalist kills many. The truth of this is seen in the feudal and pathetic struggle at Freshford, Kilkenny. On the one hand Staunton, the owner of North Kilkenny Meat Exports, attempted to crush 14 Irish men and women. Yet in turn Staunton's firm is being crushed. Some time ago it applied to the Industrial Development Authority for a development grant. They were refused. The reason was because the **IDA had already given out 82 per cent of its grants last year to foreign industrialists.** The Freshford strikers, if they do not beat North Kilkenny Meat Exports will at least have the pyrrhic satisfaction shortly of watching an international capitalist strangle it to death.

The Freshford meat factory is part of the declining native manufacturing sector which now constitutes only 30 per cent of manufacturing in Ireland. At the present time 70 per cent of Irish manufacturing industry is under foreign control. If indeed there is a class of "Irish bosses" north and south no one has to chant at them to move out. They are being moved out so fast that they can't get their breath. Behind them they leave the policemen of capitalism, the standing army of the multi-national cartels — "Irish Managers". It is this class and its management ideology which now holds Ireland. It is for Irish socialists to revise old mythologies in the face of this fact. Such an examination of long held assumptions will not be popular on the left. It is crucial to the destruction of the right.

(To be continued).

## IRA STATEMENT OF ITS POLICY

(Continued from page 5)

There must be an end to the Special Powers Act. Those responsible for torture of prisoners, at whatever level their responsibility obtains, must be unequivocally charged with their crimes. British troops must be withdrawn to barracks as a prelude to their total withdrawal.

There must be massive social investment in the Six Counties to assist the people of the area to overcome the misfortune which has been wrought upon them by the existence of British oppression and resistance to it. We call upon the trade union movement, as the only broad-based, non-sectarian organisation operating throughout the Six Counties to pursue with all the vigour at its disposal a programme designed to bring peace to the area and we pledge the support of the Republican Movement for any such campaign emanating

from the workers' representative organisation.

Finally, the Irish Republican Army pledges its support to the common people of the Six Counties in their struggle. We have in the past undertaken defence and retaliation in a responsible manner, aiming at all times at the agents and symbols of dominance and oppression. We state that the Irish Republican Army which is not engaged in a military campaign, will cease its armed defensive and retaliatory actions when the British Army calls off its campaign of terror against the people. We will not cease in our determination to give the people whatever assistance they may need. We know that the people of Ireland, indomitable in the face of the most implacable enemies, have the will — and that because they have the will they have the means — to win full freedom in every area of their lives.

Signed: J. J. McGarrity.

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IRELAND UPON THE  
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Connolly on Ulster and  
Partition

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CORK WORKERS' CLUB  
9 St. Nicholas Church Place,  
Cork.

# STATEMENT OF POLICY

Over the past years, the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army has issued a number of comprehensive statements setting out the Republican position North and South, and pointing the way forward for the Irish people in their struggle to establish a Democratic Socialist Republic.

Today, confusion, contradictions and lies make it necessary for the Republican Army to restate its aims, principles and demands. The confusion, rooted in political uncertainty, is fostered by the imperialistic enemies of the Irish people. The contradictions are inherent in the statements and actions of the Provisional Alliance. The lies are spread, with malice or ignorance, by agencies created to broadcast the propaganda of the establishment.

## Provisionals

The sectarian actions of the Provisional Alliance in Belfast and elsewhere are inspired by cynical leadership in political bankruptcy. They intensify confusion and exemplify contradiction. The Provisional Alliance claims to be non-sectarian and to act in the interests of the working people of Ireland. The lie is clear: to shoot an Irish worker because of his religious allegiance, to attack a public place — a pub, a store, a factory — because of the religious affiliation of the people who frequent it is naked sectarianism for which there can be no excuse. Sectarianism divides the working-class on lines that lack reality and the intention of the Provisional leaders who promote sectarianism is to create the ultimate, divisive distraction in the workers' struggle — civil war.

The Irish Republican Army condemns, without reservation, the sectarian bombings and shootings of the Provisional Alliance. The Irish Republican Army stands for the revolutionary unity of the Irish working-class in face of the enemy of the people, the dominating force of imperialism allied to local

capitalism. To distract the workers' attention from this struggle is to take a counter-revolutionary stand. It is to contribute, with disastrous cynicism, to the divisive efforts of the gommeen governments whose ability to stay in power has depended for so long on the disunity of workers and farmers. It is a treacherous betrayal of the interests of the Irish working-class, North and South of the Border. To be victorious a struggle for freedom must be a struggle of the people. The role of that I.R.A. is to assist the people in what is their liberation struggle.

This concept of a people's campaign for the Re-Conquest of their country rather than an armed campaign against British Occupation Forces is the key to the fundamental difference between the Irish Republican Army and other elements. It can be clearly seen in the streets of Belfast where the I.R.A. help the people to organise the successful defence of their own areas while other elements clear the people off the streets with ineffective gunfire against British armour.

Now the gulf is again being widened by the sectarian activities of those who wish to turn the Irish Republican Army into a purely Catholic Defence Force. The task of the Irish Republican Army is to defend the common people against physical attack from the forces of the establishment against economic exploitation by the forces of capitalism and British Imperialism in both the North and South of our country, and against any elements who desire to provoke a Sectarian Civil War.

## The churches

The Church of Ireland Synod in Dublin this week has condemned not only the counter-revolutionary violence of the Provisional Alliance but the striving for revolutionary change in social and economic organisation of the Irish Republican Army. The synod simply echoed the condemnation of members of the

Catholic hierarchy, led by Cardinal Conway. It is necessary to point out to these Church leaders that they have been in a position for fifty years or more to use their considerable influence to remedy the ills of divisiveness, sectarianism and social deprivation. Moreover, they have taken upon themselves the responsibility of acting as guardians of the country's morality in all its manifestations. How bitterly they have failed is only too evident in the extent of vicious deprivation and dangerous division that remains. The Protestant Clergyman who joins and supports the Orange Order is at one with the Catholic Clergyman who resists the development of a secular state for the promotion of the common good. Both are contributors to the evil which their Churches claim to abhor.

## Division

The Churches have connived with the gommeen governments to maintain a divisive division of the Irish working-class. The governments of the 26-County and 6-County states, consistent with their role as agents of British imperial control, have sought to ensure that no popular revolt against the status quo could be undertaken by the people of Ireland. They have kept Catholic and Protestant apart, in ignorance of each other's common interests; they have maintained the unnatural division of the country; they have used every means at their disposal, in education, communication and economic control, to thwart the development of the working-class not only in revolutionary organisation but in their basic, human demands. The Irish Republican Army accuses the leaders of Church and State of cynical abuse of their positions of privilege — abuse more subtle but no less damaging than that of the leaders of the Provisional Alliance or Vanguard.

It has always been apparent to us that even the most successful military struggle in the North in

isolation cannot result in the establishment of an Independent Socialist Republic. The best that could be achieved is to put the North into the hands of Fianna Fail, either the Lynch band or the Blaney-Boland band.

The most vital thing is to develop a popular struggle in the South to complement the struggle in the North so that there can be a fusion of the people of both areas in opposition to the Establishment of both areas; those who say that Revolutionary activity in the South is a stab in the back to the fight in the North are ignoring the lessons of our history and assisting the 26-County Establishment to maintain their power. It is all too clear that the stab in the back will come from the Dublin Government when the opportunity presents itself.

To safeguard the struggle in the North is therefore essential to mount a massive campaign in the South to oust the collaborationists. The economic conditions which Republicans predict as a result of the Free Trade Agreement are now upon us. Closures of factories are coming thick and fast, hundreds of workers are being made redundant owing to the full effects of the 1965 Free Trade Agreement with Britain being felt by Irish industry, and while small and medium sized farmers are being driven from their holdings by social pressures and falling prices, there is a first instalment of the effects of Free Trade in E.E.C. conditions, and is only a prelude to the disaster that awaits our country in the E.E.C.

## Referendum

The government of Mr. Jack Lynch and its allies in Fine Gael and big business have sought to read into the results of the national referendum a rejection of the Republican Movement by the people of the 26 Counties. They have been backed up by the commentators in the capitalist owned press, on the bureaucratically controlled radio and television services. The impression has been created that the triumph in selling Ireland to the highest bidder was almost equalled by a triumph over the forces of republican socialism. We reject utterly this conventional interpretation of the referendum result. It is an interpretation which can only be seen as a lever for the Dublin Government to intensify repression in the 26 Counties. It is evident that the 26-County Government has decided on a policy of repression. This is clearly seen when one notes the increasing use of troops to be used by the gommeen at times to even have troops patrolling the streets of some of our main cities. The threat or the use of troops equipped with all the paraphernalia of the British soldier — batons, Riot Shields, C.S. Gas — demonstrates that the Fianna Fail regime has learned nothing from the events and happenings of the past three years in the Six Counties.

## 211,000

Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and the pro-Common Marketeers in their interpretation of the referendum result also to recognise view expressed by 211,000 Irish men and women who resisted the sell-out and who remain determined that the fight against domination of Ireland by the forces of imperialism must continue. The politicians and the commentators have chosen to regard each of the 211,000 as a supporter of the Labour Party. They have chosen to ignore the failure of more than half-a-dozen Labour deputies to oppose the sell-out. They have chosen to ignore the fact that in 15 constituencies there was an increase on the votes cast for Labour in the 1969 General Election, that in some cases the increase was more than 100 per cent, that in all cases these increases were in areas that were not in traditional Labour strongholds and that in Dublin the Labour vote in the General Election was far greater than the 'NO' vote in the referendum. This points, not to a rejection of republican socialists, but to a substantial rejection of the sell-out with which some highly-privileged members of the Labour Party agreed. The Irish Republican Army believes that only the mass of

the Irish people, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, aided by a courageous revolution in every organisation can defeat the forces of repression and reaction. A struggle waged for on behalf of the interests of the people must involve the mass of the people if it is to succeed.

## Sinister

It has been obvious to some people and known to us for a long time now that certain sinister elements are at work, leading some sincere people by the military nose to defeat. The media, which so falsely interpreted the referendum result, had already combined at the best of these elements to produce the paper monster of the glamorous bomber with his simplistic appeal to the emotion. It is understandable that the Provo campaign should have found a certain echo in newspapers tied to the capitalist system and given to supporting the divisive activities of Dublin, Belfast and London regimes. It is only now that the media, recoiling from the monster it helped to create, has come to bitter rejection of the misguided men it once glamourised. The Republican Movement, where its actions were open to a false interpretation by these commentators, attempted to explain to the masses the reasons for their actions and the circumstances in which they took place. The Irish Republican Army has openly acknowledged its actions in defence of the people of the Six Counties and in defence of the people of the Twenty-six Counties. It has not hidden behind half admissions and tried to evade responsibility for errors, as the media men of the factories, Co-ops and Stores have done.

The Irish Republican Army pledges itself to continue the struggle for a full, free and independent Ireland — a country free of capitalist domination, from whatever source that domination derives. The republican socialist tradition of Tone and Connolly, bequeathed and shared by sectarian action, is and will be upheld by the Irish Republican Army, the army of the people. The policy of defence and retaliation will be maintained, not as a means of "defensive" politics for the Provisional Alliance, but as a truly defensive operation at all times linked with the political education of the people and the economic and industrial agitation of those engaged in the bitter and-bitter struggle for their rights.

## Our note

The Republican Movement refuses to be distracted from its course of action by emotional appeal or threat of repression. We will continue to be political and organise in defence of the homeless, the exploited, the deprived. We will continue, in the name of the masses, to oppose and resist control by the few for the many. We will continue to expose the ploys of government and Church to keep the people of Ireland divided, whether outside or inside the E.E.C. We repudiate the phoney "internationalism" of those who want to lead the sell-out to the Common Market and declare our support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against imperialism as we continue to work closely with our revolutionary colleagues in every oppressed country in the world.

Much has been said by the forces who have it in their power to put an end to the fighting in the Six Counties of their desire for peace. The responsibility for violence in the Six-County State rests clearly on the Orange/Unionist junta, the Westminster Government and on those who are trying to promote sectarian conflict. We say to them that it is not difficult to achieve peace. There are minimum demands that must be met and we stand by these demands with determination that they must be met.

The Republican Movement insists: there must be an end to internment, political prisoners — tried and untried — must be released, men on the run must be allowed to return to their normal working lives without harassment, 'debts' accumulated by people on rent and rates strikes must be wiped out.

(Continued on page 4)

# INSTRUMENT OF FEAR OIBRE

REPUBLICAN RADIO, during the anti-Market campaign, pointed out that Killen, the director of the Industrial Development Authority, was the perfect example of the sell-out of "professional" standards. Six days before the Referendum he was promising to deliver 11,000 new jobs every year for five years. The broadcast pointed out that he was putting out this propaganda in response to Government pressure and further promised that he would be dispensed with and used as a scapegoat as soon as the Referendum was over.

The broadcast was prophetic. Hardly had the votes been counted when the Confederation of Irish Industry (the managerial class) was castigating Killen and his policies. It is a measure of their hypocrisy that they took nine days to reply to Killen's empty promises. The timing of both management factions shows their contemptible lack of professional integrity. Killen was sent just before the Referendum to promise new jobs. The C.I.I. waits until just after the Referendum to expose him. Between the first lie and the truth delayed, Fianna Fail and the Government have tried to divide the C.I.I. and the IDA who took part in this can be sure of one thing — their names will be remembered.

MULLINGAR WORKERS should take a look at Riversdale Concrete. The highly educated Brian Maloney used the Shift Workers' dispute as an excuse to lay off all the men. Then he re-employed another group of IT&GWU men to make a division between the men. Branch Secretary Jones of the IT&GWU official picket succeeded in bringing Riversdale Concrete to their senses. Dermot Solon involved with the Riversdale Concrete illustrates the ramifications of Irish take-overs and

mergers. He is also director of the Greville Arms Hotel, Mullingar and involved with Wall Units Ltd., Co. Dublin. He farms 300 acres at Killucan, Co. Westmeath, which must be a great privilege for the small farmers around the place. He believes very strongly in TACA, as a way of life, and thinks the Provisionals are doing a great job in the North as long as they stay there. He would like to know if his interest in Imperialism as he hasn't been asked — yet.

THE BAD TACTICS of the Shift workers in the ESB are unworthy of the justice of their cause. Particularly ridiculous were the complaints of the Bernstein & ICO group about an ICTU sell-out, like small boys who have discovered that their mother told lies about finding them under a cabbage leaf. For years the ICTU leaders have collaborated with the CII in the sell-out of Ireland. It is a correct tactic now to devise tactics to deal with this sell-out group — not to engage in slogans about them.

If the object of the Shift Workers was to break the National Wage Agreement the ESB was the wrong battlefield. The ESB controls a service on which working-class families are dependent as the Shift Workers quite rightly found out. The National Wage Agreement can be broken by paralysing essential financial and commercial exchange systems controlled by white collar unions.

Indeed, the disciplined tactics of the IETA in not giving the ESB a chance to turn public opinion against them allowed the recent price increase in electricity to fully damage the ESB in the eyes of the public. The correct tactic now for the ESB unions is to mount a campaign to point out that the recent price increases are meant to pay for the cheap electricity which the ESB supplies to foreign industrialists. Also they could point out that the price increase pays for interest

charged by the gigantic American corporation, EI (Shannon), for loans to Colley's dept. When the working-class consumer grasps the issues and realises that the anti-working class measures introduced by the ESB (the sudden cutting off of electricity) are products of the management system there, the basis for an industrial dispute with mass public support will have been laid.

THE CRANNAC WORKERS have shown great tactical ability in exposing the activities of the small time capitalist, McEIlroy. The Crannac men are to be particularly congratulated on avoiding empty slogans of "workers' control" and concentrating instead on using the dispute to educate all the workers of Navan on the workings of the system.

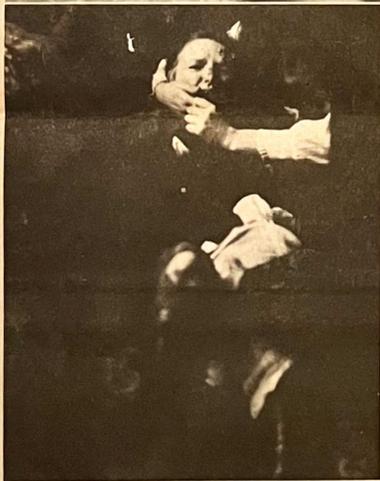
But not only Navan but other capitalist corners were lit up by the Crannac dispute. Gael-Linn, for example, the most "Irish" of the Irish capitalist, had sold Crannac for 114,000. Recently they have sold Ostan John Devoy, in what is obviously a prelude to some further revelation of financial crisis. The process of merger and take-over revealed at Crannac is endless and grips the whole economy. Ultimately, the McEIlroys will be as rare and unlamented as the wolf in Ireland. The last take-over bid will be for the whole of Ireland the discussions on it are now taking place in all the boardrooms.

The only answer to this new slavery is the organised Irish working-class who must wrest their state from the Imperialists. So while we wish the Crannac workers well in their efforts to set up co-operative we have no confidence that it will fully survive the pressures which the enemies of co-operation will bring to bear on it. We would urge them to think about the system that has created their predicament in the first place.

# CIVIL RIGHTS — NOT



**OUR FIGHT IS FOR**  
**PEACE & JUSTICE**



# CIVIL WAR

*The British are the aggressors in Ireland. For they are waging war on the Irish people. A people's fight alone can destroy them. We fight for people's unity in political action.*



# SECTARIANISM AND THE PROVISIONALS

Ireland at the moment is facing the most serious crisis ever. After the defeat suffered by the democratic and radical forces in the EEC referendum the danger of an out and out sectarian civil war is hanging over our heads like the proverbial sword of Damocles. There is a tragic inevitability about the situation, as the Provos bombing campaign continues, sparking off acts of revenge by extremist Protestant groups and spiralling the whole Northern community onto a downward path. The lesson should by now have been learned that sectarianism can only benefit the ruling class, and that civil war between opposing sections of the Irish people can only help British Imperialism.

The Provisional bombing campaign was from its very beginning inspired by right wing elements of the Dublin government. Fianna Fail wanted to divert the democratic struggle in the North away from its correct path and direction and into the sterile backwaters of sectarian conflict. This was because they recognised that a movement, like the Republican Movement, dedicated to putting the power of the state into the hands of ordinary people throughout the whole of Ireland was a most serious danger to the security of the privileged and wealthy. The Provisional Alliance was created, after Fianna Fail's failure to subvert the IRA and Sinn Fein, in order to develop a violent situation in which true Republicanism would be lost.

The anti-people nature of the Provisional campaign was evident from its very beginning. Attacks on the places of work and recreation of ordinary working people were compounded by the openly sectarian nature of the targets chosen. It was Protestant pubs and Protestant workers who were blown up. From the EBN1 to Donegal Street to the shooting of Mackie's workers, all hopes of building a unity of the working people in the North have received deadly blow after deadly blow.

The Provisional Alliance has acted as the agent of reaction. When the Republican Movement, drawing on its experience in the previous military campaigns, realised that freedom could only be achieved as a result of the social struggle and participation of the Irish people as a whole, the Provisionals deliberately set out to subvert these new methods of struggle. The fragile unity created in the West Belfast Democratic Alliance, the hesitant co-operation between housing redevelopment groups on the Shankill and the Falls were blown apart at the behest of government circles in the South.

There can be no doubt that the Provisionals were successful in the aim envisaged for them by Fianna Fail and British Imperialism. After August '69 the British Army and government had been forced by the balance of political circumstances to operate in a progressive way. The Downing Street declaration was extracted from an unwilling (and untrustworthy) Wilson government. The British were drawn into an open



confrontation with right wing Unionist forces and the misguided Protestant workers who supported them. This contradiction between British Imperialism and its former most constant ally was what should have been exploited by those who genuinely sought developments towards greater power for the people. But the Provisionals, as part of their effort to prove how militant they were and as part of Blaney's programme for fighting the Lynch leadership, sabotaged that situation, developed an aggressive campaign (which very soon became more of an anti-civilian than an anti-military campaign) and allowed Britain to escape the hook on which she was caught. The results have been the steady descent into spiralling sectarian violence.

As repression is threatened in the South, now that Lynch feels himself confident after his referendum success, no one should forget that it was the cynical Fianna Fail politicians who created the monster of Provisionalism with which they hoped to discredit genuine Republicanism and which they now use as their excuse for launching attacks against Sinn Fein in the 26 Counties. For Jack Lynch stood idly by while government money was poured into the pockets of Provisionals, fully aware that in the end the Provos must go down. They would go down because basically they had no politics. The unscrupulous alliance between various ultra-leftist elements, the rejects of English Trotskyist parties, and the Provisionals showed this bankruptcy which British Imperialism and its native collaborators hoped to use to drag the genuine official Republican Movement with it.

These plans failed in their overall strategy of diverting the Republican Movement from its policy of mass struggle by the people in their own organisations. In the South, activities on the industrial and social economic front culminated in the

anti-EEC campaign, which although lost showed the tremendous growth of the Republican Organisation. In the North the civil rights movement reasserted itself and successfully brought the situation back to one of political confrontation with the British.

The last stand of the reactionaries was to try and plunge Ireland into vicious sectarian conflict. Direct rule was brought in, with great pomp and circumstance. It changed nothing in the situation; it kept the Internees as hostages for the people's good behaviour, and merely freed Britain's hands for accomplishing the federal deal already worked out with Jack Lynch. But the inability of Whitelaw to confuse the solidarity of the majority of the anti-unionist population necessitated the development of more serious intercommunal violence. This was given by the Provisionals. A re-escalation of the bombing campaign and the shooting of Protestant civilians played right into the hands of the reactionaries. The SAS of course played their part in stirring things up but the ultimate responsibility must lie with those who conceived this disastrous policy in the first place. The IRA, in a statement published on page 5, made clear its total opposition and condemnation of the sectarian activities whose only result and purpose could be to prevent any progress being made to the achievement of civil rights and democracy.

We are now on the brink of the precipice. Overwhelmed by EEC on one side, violence and death face us on the other. At all costs civil war between Irish workers must be avoided and the course of political activity returned to the democratic struggle for civil rights.

What we need to be constantly reminding ourselves is that the national liberation phase proper of the fight in Ireland has not yet been reached. More emphatically a socialist victory is clearly not round

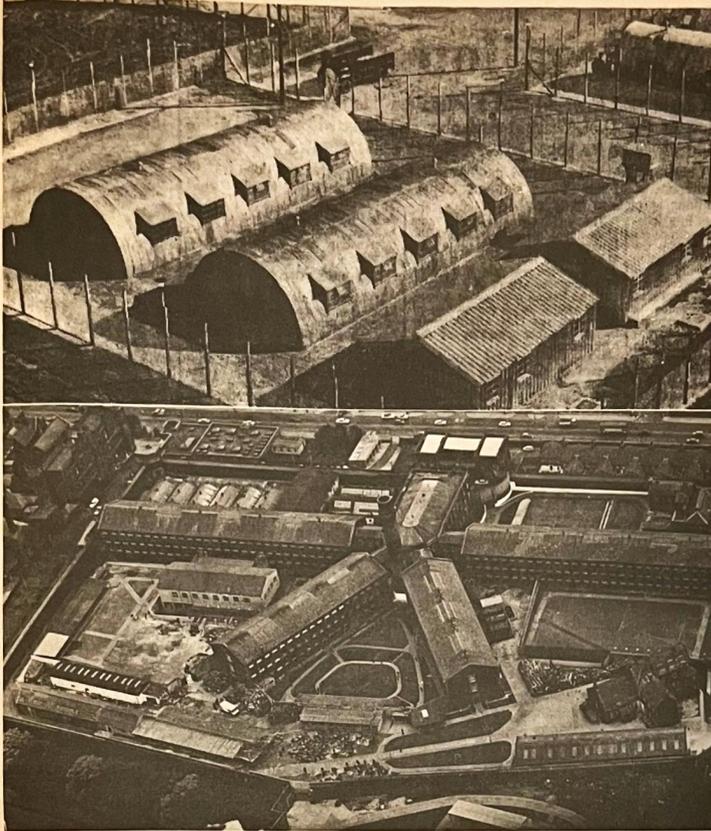
the immediate corner. Whatever else the EEC referendum signifies, we must accept that we have a long way to go before we convince the Irish people of the necessity and the desirability of the socialist system. But what we can do, and what must be done, if all the suffering endured by the Irish people — Catholic and Protestant — over the last two years is not to be for nothing, is to ensure that steps are taken forward to winning genuine democracy both North and South.

Let us be quite clear. Socialism cannot be built in isolation behind the barricades of Free Derry. It can only be built on victories of the people in their basic struggles. Free Derry is important as an area from which democratic organisations of the people can grow, and which can play thereby a decisive part in making sure that democracy cannot be continually denied by Whitelaw and his mandarinates. This is the attitude which the official Republican Movement has always adopted to the so-called "no-go" areas. We realise that capitalist exploitation is still going on outside the barricades, and that the system can only be ended when the democratic organisations of the Irish people themselves — Catholic and Protestant — are able to end it.

The Republican Movement has consistently upheld the demand for civil rights over the last three years. We realise that these demands are still the ones to make now. What we want immediately is an unconditional end to internment, to the jailing of men arrested as a result of political activities, for the release of sentenced men and an amnesty for all offences and debts arising out of the civil disobedience campaign or resistance to British aggression.

We want a demilitarisation of the situation in the North by the withdrawal of British troops from the streets back to barracks pending their ultimate withdrawal from the whole country. As a concomitant of this there must also be immediately and unconditionally an end to all sectarian aggressive actions, such as the Provos' bombing campaign or the shooting of civilians on the grounds of their suspected religious affiliation. We want firm and constitutional guarantees against discrimination and the political use of sectarianism and religious differences. We want an ending of all repression and repressive laws such as the notorious Special Powers Act. We want the passing of a Bill of Rights for the North to guarantee the democratic rights of all sections of the community.

At this most crucial time we would again appeal to the organised trade union movement to stand firm against the bigots of the Vanguard and the sectarians of the Provisional Alliance. We would call on them to institute an anti-sectarian force to help build up the confidence of both communities in their security and to isolate and expose all those guilty of sectarian actions. The only alternative to a concerted attack on sectarianism now is open civil war. We want neither civil war nor sectarianism but civil rights and justice.



In the concentration camp of Long Kesh, in the Curragh, in Crumlin Road jail, in Armagh prison, in Mountjoy jail, in Portlaoise, in Cork, in Limerick, in various jails and prisons in England, Republicans and other political prisoners are held because of their political views or the actions they took as part of their political beliefs. These men are the defenceless hostages being held by the British Imperialist establishment; they are subject to the arbitrary cruelty and savagery of their captors: they have no privacy and alone and unarmed they have to fight British Imperialism in its most stark and savage appearance.

Conditions in jails are never good. The capitalist system does not try to make jails places where human beings can live human lives and be reintegrated into human society; because the only reintegration which capitalism wants is one of total surrender and acceptance of the system. Trustees, turncoats, informers will be given privileges denied the rest. There is the case with the ordinary prisoners who are in jail for straightforward criminal offences unconnected with the political turbulence and the fight for democracy that is currently agitating Ireland. In the case of men who have fought the state machine with their politics, who have attempted to subvert and overthrow the corruption and exploitation of the colonial system that operates in Ireland, the reaction of the so-called forces of law and order is even stronger.

This reaction shows itself in the petty and unnecessary cruelties inflicted on men behind bars. In Armagh jail, for instance, after an unsuccessful attempt by political prisoners held there to obtain release the British military were unleashed upon them. The men were savagely beaten unconscious with the butts of rubber bullet guns. When the military had finished, the warders got their turn. Heroes like warders Larry Johnston and Sam Wright ensured that each man who had taken part in the release attempt was systematically beaten again; Warder Wright even got so carried away that he gave each man a second beating. These men were beaten unconscious; they fought their fight alone and unheard in Armagh jail.

In Long Kesh, the British military resorted to the most petty provocations in order to get an excuse to attack the men there. 500 men herded in cages in conditions worse than animals, which if applied to animals would have the RSPCA and even Dr. Cruise O'Brien raging about the savagery. On one occasion,

# THE PRISONERS ARE SUFFERING FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL — REMEMBER THEM AND LET NO POLITICIAN BARGAIN WITH HOSTAGES!

## “CABHAIR”

Coiste Foirtint na bPhríosunach Poblachtach

Please give as generously as you can to help the wives and dependents of interned men and of those on the run. These people face great hardships as a result of Britain's policy of repression, and we all have a duty to stand by them. Because of the large numbers who have subscribed so generously already, it is impossible to publish a full list of acknowledgements, but the committees will receipt all monies received.

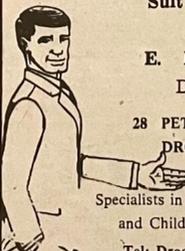
IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS DEFENCE AND AID FUND  
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**KEVIN BARRY SOCIAL**

A Social is held on the last Saturday of every month in the Kevin Barry Hall, 44 Parnell Sq., to raise funds for the Prisoners' Defence and Aid Fund. Cead Isteach 20p.

CS gas was poured into a cage for over an hour. The men had no protection, and were all overcome by it. Then it was that the bold British Army waded in. They are all great heroes when it comes to beating semi-conscious men.

At the Curragh, the well fed and pampered officers of Her Majesty's loyal Irish Defence Forces have growled threats against the prisoners held there. "They should all be shot", declared one gristled defender of the Imperialist faith while a working-class boy from Ballyfermot served him his soup and asked him if he would like his second courses immediately. Food rations of the prisoners held there have been cut down and the same story of provocations is to be heard.

The prisoners who suffer the worst are clearly those who languish alone in prisons in England. Men like Pat O'Sullivan, Conor Lynch and Eamonn Smullen who have nearly been forgotten as the numbers of prisoners have risen so high. These men are in jail because of their attempts to help people in the North under threat of aggressive military attack. They remembered the people; the people should remember them.

Then what of those connected with no organisation? Who thinks of them except their own relatives? It is those unconnected who endure most. What of the three Irishmen picked up by British police and now being framed for the Aldershot explosion? Picked up for no other reason other than they are Irishmen. Clann na hEireann is standing by these men. Are You?

The prisoners are suffering for their commitment to the cause of us all. They are the hostages of fortune with which Whitelaw and the British administration together with its hiring agents would make us surrender. These men have suffered because they fought for what was right. They have wives and children. They have relatives and friends. They have feelings and hopes. Let them go free.

# STATEMENTS ISSUED BY SINN FEIN

## SHANNON SOLD OUT

The recent press speculation that a compromise had been reached between the United States Government and the Dublin Government on the American demand for landing rights in Dublin Airport is well founded. It can be categorically stated that a firm decision to accede to the American demand was reached at the meeting of the Government held immediately before Easter. The decision was as follows:

- 1) Pan American is to be accorded the right to land at Dublin Airport.
- 2) They may only do so subject to a prior touch-down at Shannon.
- 3) This decision was not to be announced before May 12th.
- 4) The decision was to be conveyed to the top management in Aer Lingus but they were informed

that the decision was not to be disclosed until after the Government announcement had been made.

It is believed that the decision to withhold the information from the people was made at the request of Dr. Hillery who subsequently expressed the view that such a disclosure would have disastrous effects on the Government's referendum campaign. Fine Gael, the Government's allies in the campaign, were not to be informed of the decision. Senior Aer Lingus officials are apprehensive that this is the thin end of the wedge and that Pan American will subsequently be accorded facilities for flights from Dublin to the European mainland. The decision already taken does not entitle them to do this — it only entitles Pan American to fly into Dublin and turn around, but the view ex-

pressed by concerned people in Aer Lingus is that it is only a matter of time until the further facilities are given to the American Company.

The granting of landing rights to Pan American, to the exclusion of TWA is not of any real significance at Shannon. They share common staff to a large extent. The government desire to conceal from the electorate, particularly from the people of the South and West, that a decision has been taken which may well be vital to the economy of the whole of the area is an indication of the length to which they are prepared to go in their efforts to sell the referendum gold-brick to the people.

Signed, Mairin de Burca  
Tony Heffernan,  
Ard Runalthea.

## SECTARIANISM CONDEMNED

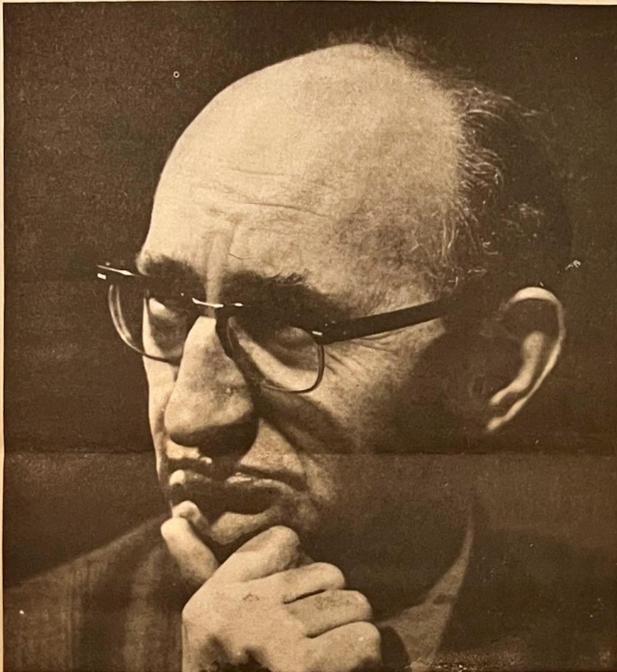
May 18th, 1972.  
The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein condemns utterly the recent escalation of sectarian conflict in the 8 Counties, particularly the inexcusable destruction of the Belfast Co-Op and the shooting of workers at the Mackies factory on Tuesday. On many occasions in the past Sinn Fein has condemned the Provisional bombing campaign as being sectarian and anti-social. We have repeatedly pointed out that it would inevitably result in the escalation of sectarian warfare. At last month's convention of Republican Clubs in Belfast, following a long discussion on

sectarianism, a resolution condemning the civilian bombing campaign was passed unanimously.

Whether or not the purpose of the campaign was to provoke sectarian strife, it has always been obvious that this would be its result. The events of the last few days have borne out our foreboding.

Leading members of the Provisional Alliance protest their innocence of any sectarian bias but such protestations carry little weight beside their record of attacks on the civilian population. Whatever the provocation, and we recognise that there have been attacks from the Protestant side, the Catholics must recognise that their enemy is not the Protestant workers.

Signed: Mairin de Burca  
Tony Heffernan,  
Ard Runalthea.



<p>Clann na hEireann</p> <p><b>EMIGRANTS RALLY</b></p> <p>G.P.O., 3.00 p.m., Saturday, 17 June.</p> <p>Speakers: Tomas MacGiolla (S.F.) Bernadette Devlin Gerry Doherty (Clann na hEireann)</p> <p>Fight for your right to live and work in Ireland</p>	<p><b>JOE McCANN</b></p> <p><b>MEMORIAL BAND</b></p> <p>Turf Lodge, Belfast</p> <p>Donations for a Band in honour of Joe McCann can be sent to 30, Gardiner Pl.</p>
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## HEADQUARTERS FUND

30 Plas Gardnar is in the process of being bought by the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Fein. The acquisition of a proper headquarters will greatly increase our opportunities for expansion of library and research facilities, as well as providing a social centre for political lectures and cultural events.

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## SINN FEIN LEGAL

April 14th, 1972.  
For the benefit of Mr. O'Malley, Minister of Justice, we would point out that the premises at 30 Gardiner Place are occupied by Sinn Fein; our newspaper, the "United Irishman", and Clo Naisiunta, none of which is an illegal organisation. Sinn Fein is a duly registered political party and as such is recognised by the Oireachtas, of which Mr. O'Malley is a member, as being a legally constituted organisation.  
Mr. O'Malley appears to be preparing the ground for a general proscription of Sinn Fein and all genuine left-wing groups in the 26 Counties because of the growing support for our policies and the growing rejection of his. Such a course of action on his part would be entirely consistent with his policies of enacting laws against the homeless, to give aid and comfort to the exploiting landlords; his attempts to suppress legitimate trade union activity and the general trend of government policy to place the onus on the accused to prove their innocence and not on the accusers to prove their guilt. The introduction of Special Military Courts is part of this movement away from democracy. Such a trend is entirely against the rule of law, which Flanna Fail claim is the guiding principle of their system of justice.

The fact that convictions were obtained against republicans, on trumped up charges, in the past was due, not to the possession of any evidence by the State, but to the fact that Republicans refused to recognise the courts. Obviously, Mr. O'Malley would like us to return to that policy, for when the "evidence" is contested in court, it is shown to be flimsy, superficial and lacking in any substance. We will not accommodate him, for we have nothing to hide. We openly declare our objective of a 32-County Socialist Republic. We have openly worked and continue to openly work for that goal.  
The current wave of Special Branch activity against our organisation and the Republican Movement in general stems from our wholehearted opposition to entry into the EEC. The Minister has made serious accusations against us and has hidden behind the curtain of parliamentary privilege to do so. We challenge the Minister to repeat his accusations outside Leinster House and then to defend his accusations in the courts administered by his Department. Or perhaps he will rush a bill of personal indemnity through the Dail, and thus place himself outside the law he professes to uphold, before he takes courage to openly face those he maligns.  
Signed: Mairin de Burca  
Tony Heffernan,  
Ard Runalthea.

## CRANNAC FACTORY TAKE-OVER?

A David and Goliath struggle has developed in An Uaimh where 43 workers employed by Crannac Teoranta were locked out by the liquidator of the firm on May 1. The lock-out took place without any formal notification to the workers that the factory was closing. In fact, the first they knew of the closure was when they arrived for work to find the gates closed.  
As a result they decided to occupy the factory and demand adequate safeguards for their future. The sit-in was supported by the public of An Uaimh who generously gave a collection to assist the workers in their fight to keep Crannac open.  
The closure came after weeks of speculation and talk about redundancy. Only three days earlier, on April 28, at a meeting of creditors, it was revealed that the debts of Crannac exceeded assets by a mere £1,800 and that the main creditor was Mr. Edward McIlroy, whose firm, McIlroy Brothers of Castleblaney, had taken over Crannac a year earlier.  
So sudden was the decision to actually close the plant that even the manager, Mr. Rogerson, was not informed. McIlroy's had taken over Crannac for £14,000 from Gael Linn. Under the terms of the takeover, McIlroy's agreed that there would be no redundancies for at least 12 months. In addition, McIlroy's took over all assets of Crannac which included a reported £20,000 grant from the government.

One of the fears of the Crannac workers was that the orders still to be completed would be switched to Castleblaney, where McIlroy Brothers have a factory on the Monaghan Road. At the time of the closure, Crannac's had orders from the P. V. Doyle group and also one worth £30,000 from the Tara Hotel in London.  
Several days after the closure, part of the order for the Tara Hotel was switched to an English firm called Merridew, which is a subsidiary of Bond Worth. This latter firm has considerable furniture interests in Ireland, owning O'Dea and Co., whose workers in Walkinstown, Co. Dublin are also threatened with redundancy. Kinora Carpets and Irish Interior Furnishings, IIF are reported to be furnishing advisers to Aer Rianta, who own the new Tara Hotel in London.  
Mr. Edward McIlroy, in addition to being joint managing director of McIlroy Brothers, is also a director of Home Comforts and the Furniture Manufacturing Group.  
The workers at Crannac point out the firm had an annual turnover of £180,000 and exported 35 per cent of its output. The decision to close the plant, they felt, had little to do with its profitability.  
The workers' committee expressed great resentment at the manner in which the plant was shut. A decision must have been made before the weekend of April 29/30 but

they knew nothing of the closure until the Monday morning when they were locked out. This lock out, they claim, was against recognised trade procedures.  
In the R.T.E. programme, "Enterprise", Mr. Seamus Geraghty, a trade unionist, supported the principle of the sit-in. He pointed out that since the government was giving grants to the factory, the men, as taxpayers, were shareholders and had a moral right to decide the future of the factory.  
On the same programme, Mr. Joe "Dole" Brennan, the Minister for Labour, could say little to refute his argument. Indeed, on the whole question of sit-ins and the application of the Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Act the Minister hedged.  
Several prospective buyers have been to An Uaimh to see the workers. While they are prepared to see another firm take over the plant, many of them feel that greater guarantees should be obtained to safeguard their future than were got by Gael Linn. In the event of no buyer coming forward, the workers are prepared to continue the factory as a workers' co-operative, on much the same lines as that started by shoe workers in Dundalk about 18 months ago.  
The Dundalk co-operative made a profit of £4,000 in its first year of operation, which demonstrates that the workers are capable of running enterprises that the big businessmen cannot.

# Two tributes to Joe McCann

Long Kesh Concentration Camp, Saturday, 15/4/72. 6.30.

I was lying on my bunk, just finishing a book, when someone came into the hut and said: "The soldiers have shot Joe McCann". I sat bolt upright when I heard the name. I was shocked for a minute, but then I thought of my number one rule, not to listen to rumours. There was a noisy hum of voices as I lay back, they were all discussing the pros and cons of the latest news or rumours.

Although I did not take the latest seriously, I was uneasy and not a little worried, for I knew Joe was back in town and I knew that the Special Branch and the soldiers made no secret of their plans for "Big Joe" as he was known to all. They told Republicans, who they had in Holywood Barracks torture chamber, when questioning them about Joe, that he would never see the inside of Long Kesh for he would be shot on sight. But still, "Big Joe" dead: never, I guess I didn't want to believe it.

Just then, the news came on TV and my worst fears were confirmed, the announcer was saying: "Joseph McCann, shot dead by . . .", and so on, but I heard no more, I just lay there stunned, shocked into immobility, the words kept repeating in my mind. Joe, Big Joe, the Pastry Man, all these names mean the same thing to us, they meant Joe McCann.

Joe McCann whose hero was Sean Treacy, and I thought of him singing the song about his hero, and the

words, "Shot down in Talbot Street". Joe was a happy-go-lucky sort of fellow, one you couldn't help but like; he was fair-minded, honest, sincere; he loved his country and her people, regardless of creed.

He was a socialist at heart and a Republican by choice; he had a burning desire to see his country and her people free, not only politically free, but financially free as well, and to these ends he worked tirelessly. He was a dedicated enemy of the exploiter, a true revolutionary, a colourful character in the mould of Che Guevera and James Connolly, for he did not think only of the repressed people of Ireland, but of the repressed throughout the world. He was well read and intelligent, he was a family man, the father of four young children. He loved animals, especially dogs, and he loved people, all people. He was a man.

He was also a soldier in the Army of the People. He was a clever and courageous guerrilla fighter, and he was feared by the Special Branch and the British soldiers, so feared by them that they would not try to take him alive. So they murdered him in cold blood, shot down on sight just like they said, just like his hero Sean Treacy shot down in the street, and his death has left me poorer, for he was my friend, and a man cannot afford to lose a friend like Big Joe. He was also one of Ireland's bravest soldiers and Ireland will also feel the loss, for men like Joe McCann are very few.

Gerry Campbell, Long Kesh.

You were my friend and my comrade. Faithful and true to me, Your own fine smile and your laughter Shine in my memory. With your courage untainted, Joe, you died as you lived, like a man. I'll never forget, though my tears linger yet, Big Joe, the Pastryman.

It's hard to believe that you've gone, Joe. My grief's more than I can stand, Though you're still alive with your cherished smile And that old .38 gun in your hand. Yet you were much more than a gunman, I remember your socialist stand. Forget! Who forgets? — For his call goes out yet, It's Big Joe, the Pastryman.

Joe, you died in your own dear Markets, There you raised the Starry Plough. Now mourn your friends of all creeds, But your will still succeeds And calls us as volunteers now. You were a great revolutionary, A Soldier / A Worker / A Man. Comrades in all lands, salute with raised hands, Big Joe, the Pastryman.

I remember your unique sense of humour, Your courage in action and on the run. Yet Connolly, Ireland and her Workers Were the only masters of your cool, deadly gun, Unite now, all Workers of Ireland, That's why this great struggle began. That's the tribute we'll pay, in our own Irish way To Big Joe, the Pastryman.

No hatred lay in your heart, dear Comrade, Religion gave no cause for division. While in prison your mind thought of ways to find The downfall of Imperialism. The day will come when people see, From Bogside, Shankill and Falls. Only when people unite, to seize their economic rights, Will Ireland truly be Free. Soldier! Worker! Comrade! The fight goes on, it's true — Inspired by a brave, brave man. There are soldiers yet — will we ever get Another Joe McCann? . . .

RONNIE BUNTING.

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# LAW AND ORDER IS THE ISSUE

North. While the Provisional Alliance can be justly condemned for their deliberately sectarian activities, the overwhelming burden of the guilt for violence lies firmly at the feet of the British Army and the British administration.

It is the British who have denied law and order to the anti-unionist population in the North. By their continual and repeated assaults on the citizens of the Northern state, the British have effectively prevented any progress being made to a normalisation of relations between the two exploited communities there: the Catholic workers and the Protestant workers.

The main issue at the moment in the North is still as it has been for the last few years the civil rights issue. We have firmly and repeatedly stated over the years that the achievement of civil rights and basic democracy is necessary if we are to make real progress towards winning our aim of a united independent socialist democratic republic. We understand that such a republic can only be built upon the combined efforts of all Irish workers, North and South, Catholic and Protestant. To achieve this unity of workers it is essential to overcome the vicious divisions which have been carefully fostered by the alien British regime. Without the unity of Irish workers socialism is impossible. That is why we have so firmly and definitely announced our policy to be one of support for the programme of civil rights drawn up by the NICRA.

This does not mean that the Republican Movement has no views about the possibilities of progress in Ireland excepting those which are meant by civil rights. Quite the reverse. Our policy is to organise the Irish people to resist the attacks being made on their living standards as well as the attacks on their political rights. We have over the years actively campaigned on all the social and economic issues that affect the people. We have led small farmers and fishermen in their agitations against the large ranchers and the landlords. We have spearheaded the demands for the co-operative take-over of large estates and inland fisheries. We have upheld the rights of Irish workers to take over the running of the factories in which they work, and to appropriate the profits of their work to themselves.

The entry of Ireland into the EEC means that the necessity for our organisation is larger than ever. As prices rise, as factories close, as farmers are driven off the land the Irish people more than ever will need the defence which only an organised political movement

like ours can give. We have proved our worth and our validity in the past struggles. Based on that confidence which we have built up with the people we will proceed to create new forces to totally overthrow the system of corruption and exploitation that is at the root of all the troubles that afflict the Irish people at this time.

But while we will continue to press on with our campaigns in defence of the social and economic rights of the Irish people, the Republican Movement recognises that the most important area of Ireland and the Irish struggle is in the North. It is for this reason that over the coming weeks we intend to bring back the whole question in the North to its basics.

The IRA's suspension of hostilities is an occasion of joy, because once again it shows the real concern of the IRA for the political developments in the North. There are some, noticeably in the Provisional Alliance, who maintain that the role of the IRA is to kill British soldiers. This is not so. The IRA will kill British soldiers and will be right and justified in killing when such killings are necessary parts of the whole revolutionary struggle which we are organising the Irish people to wage. The IRA has correctly stated that it is no elitist military organisation, but an armed weapon of the masses of Irish workers in their struggle for the historic Reconquest of Ireland.

The major question, therefore, continues to be the democratic question. By their suspension of armed actions the IRA has effectively re-emphasised that it is the political struggle which is the main arena in which we must fight now. If the Republican Clubs can regain the initiative, if we can avoid the dreadful dangers of sectarian civil war, which have been pressing hard in the last few weeks, the opportunities will then be opened to the Irish people to make important advances.

The central point, and the issue to be hammered hardest, is that it is the British who are the aggressors in the situation. Not merely are they imposing their constitutional settlement on the Irish people by the force of the British Army, but in their efforts to divert the democratic struggle they have resorted to all the well-worn barbarities of which British Imperialism is renowned throughout the world.

We want the perpetrators of the tortures, and the murderers in the British Army brought to justice. We want law and order for the oppressed people, and not what the reactionaries bellow about. Civil rights now is still the slogan.

It is a common cry of reactionaries throughout the world, and in Ireland in particular, to demand the enforcement of law and order. But law and order can and should mean more than the reactionaries have in mind. When men are kept in concentration camps, subject to the whimsical brutalities of their captors, without charge or trial, law cannot be said to be operative. One of the major demands of the civil rights campaign over the last two years has been for a complete reform and overhaul of the legal system. Law in a capitalist state is a system that keeps the poor poor and helps the rich to get richer. When unjust laws are challenged by an oppressed people demanding elementary rights order will inevitably disappear.

The last vestiges of order and law disappeared in the North when the British government brought in Internment without trial back in August '71. It continued to be missing as men were brutally tortured in the interrogation centres of Palace Barracks, Holywood under the direction and supervision of Brigadier Frank Kitson, now removed from the North and sent "upstairs" to a desk job at a training school in England. It was lacking when Paratroopers, acting under the deliberate orders of the Westminster government, opened fire upon an unarmed crowd of demonstrators killing thirteen. Law and order has two sides.

The immediate necessity in the North at the moment is to end the spiralling descent into sectarian violence and inter-communal conflict. The suspension of hostilities announced by the IRA and carried on page one is an invaluable contribution to the hopes of progress. But the IRA is not and never was the aggressor. It was not the IRA which fired the first shots, it was not the IRA which launched a war against the people in the

18  
JUNE

## National Commemoration Committee BODENSTOWN 1972 Annual WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION

Sunday, June 18.

Speaker: Sean Garland, Dublin

Parade forms up at 2.30p.m.

Chairman: Gerry Doherty, Glasgow

No flags, other than those carried by the official Colour Parties, will be carried. Organisations wishing to participate under their own banners should inform the Secretary, National Commemoration Committee, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, to facilitate the organisation of the parade.

Stewards should be in the assembly field at 12 noon.

A Special Train will leave Heuston Station at 12.45 p.m. Arr. Sallins 13.20.

Depart Sallins 18.30. Arr. Heuston 18.55. Fare 50p. Children 25p.

