

POGROM!



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THE

THIRD SERVICE

The Provisionals have performed three major services to Imperialism since their formation in late 1969.

The birth of the Provisionals arose from the first service performed by them. As the leadership of the Republican Movement was rejecting an offer by the Fianna Fail Government to engage in a militaristic campaign in the North the present (and past) Provisional leadership eagerly took the money and the task.

The task was to smash the movement created by the Civil Rights Association and which was putting pressure both on the Dublin and British Governments. The bombing campaign marked this stage of their service to Imperialism.

By 1972 the Provisionals were promoted to the direct service of British Imperialism. The British Secretary for State, Mr. William Whitelaw, faced by the anti-internment unity of "No talks and No co-operation" was casting about for a means to dissolve that unity.

Who would talk to him before internment ended? The Republican Movement would not, the Civil Rights Movement would not, the SDLP could not.....but, surprise, surprise....Mr. Mac Stiofain and the Provisionals would!

Following the June 1972 talks between the Provisionals and Mr. Whitelaw the SDLP were free to wheel and deal and anti-internment unity was at an end. Within six months the SDLP were in Cabinet jobs and Mr. Mac Stiofain was in gaol in the South. The second great service to Imperialism was at an end.

This pamphlet concerns the third great service to British Imperialism performed by the Provisionals: the murder campaign unleashed against Republicans in an effort to win the approval of the current British Secretary of State for Her Majesty's Provisional Police Force.

How it came about, why it came about and what exactly happened is all recorded in these pages. It is a classic example of the use of a counter-revolutionary force by an Imperial power.

It is an object lesson which Republicans should never forget. And it is a challenge to those individuals and groups who pretend to see the Provisionals as an "anti-Imperialist" or "potentially anti-Imperialist" force.

In the name of our dead and injured and in the name of the many non-involved people who have suffered during the Provisionals latest bloody service to British Imperialism we challenge the "critical supporters" to speak their piece or forever hold their silence.

Having survived a murderous fascist pogrom we speak of the great political truth of our time.

POGROM !

Wednesday, October 29, 1975. 6.30 p.m.
19 Singleton Street, Belfast. Tommy Flanagan was sitting at home with his young wife.... Then, "I heard a rumpus in the hall and went to get up from the chair when three men rushed at me. One grabbed me by the hair and shouted, 'Don't move...we want you for questioning.' The other two had a sawn off shotgun and a large automatic."

Tommy Flanagan was dragged into the street and into a blue 1968 Vauxhall. "It drove towards Ardoyne...I had no shoes on...They kept the shotgun at my head at all times. They ordered me into the scullery of a house in Farrington Gardens or Estoril Gardens and put me sitting facing the wall."

'GOING TO KILL ME'

"Another man came in and put a hood on my head. They forced me onto the floor, took the socks off me, questioned me about the Republican Clubs' Socialist policies and swore at me for being a vice-chairman and a rotten bastard of a socialist."

"They beat my feet with sticks, put a hot tea pot on my feet, danced on my back, beat me on the head with a pistol. This lasted 15 minutes or so. They then said they were going to kill me."

"They took me into the yard and put a gun to my head and pulled the trigger. They told me if I ran they would shoot me in the back."

"They took me through Ardoyne to Crumlin Road and into another car. This, I think, was a light coloured Oxford."

"A girl and a man were in the car and a gun was given to the girl. The car started off down Crumlin Road and up Oldpark Road."

"It was stopped by a British Army patrol facing Manor Street. The man in the back said if I spoke he would plug me."

'SOLDIER FELT MY FEET'

"The British Army ordered us out of the car and searched everyone except the girl and myself."

"The British Army saw that I had no shoes on. One soldier felt my feet. The British Army took all names except mine and they also took the car number."

"The Provo whispered 'say nothing or we'll get you later' and I said I wasn't getting into the car. I ran down Manor Street and then contacted the Republican Clubs office in Cyprus Street. As I was running I saw the car drive off."

Tommy Flanagan was lucky. Just how lucky he did not fully realise until he had contacted the Republican Clubs office in Cyprus Street. In the hour before the Provisionals burst into his Singleton Street home one of his Republican

Clubs' colleagues had been murdered and more than twenty others wounded.

As the names of his Provisional captors were being taken near Manor Street by a British Army patrol who saw nothing strange in the presence of a barefooted and obviously frightened man, many other British Army patrols throughout the city were making even less pretence at "law enforcement" as the Provisional monster struck again and again.

Even more remarkable than their ignoring of Tommy Flanagan's plight was the British Army's absence from streets in which they are normally almost permanent residents while the Provisional guns spat out their message of terror.

When Jim Millen went to McKennas Bar in the Markets at 5.20 p.m. he was surprised that the soldiers who harass all and sundry who enter and leave this bar were, for once, nowhere to be seen.

Matt Dalton who arrived within minutes also remarked on the Brits "evening off", as did Robbie Elliman who joined his two Republican Club colleagues just before 5.30.

"We were sitting in the corner watching television," says Jim Millen. "There were about ten other people in the bar. Three masked men burst the front door in. One of the gunmen shouted 'Freeze'. He had an armalite."

"He aimed at the three of us but was aiming at Robbie Elliman's chest. He fired six or seven



● Robert Elliman murdered by Provisionals, Oct. 29, 1975.

shots and then the three men ran out. I was lying on the floor and I told the barmaid to call an ambulance. I knew Robbie was dead. "People came running into the bar and someone said that he saw the gunmen running down Stanfield Street. The British Army arrived in about ten minutes."

'COME ON IN'

It was 6.20 p.m. when Mrs. Sue O'Hara left her husband, Dan, and two children in the living room while she answered a knock on the door of 12d Artillery House.

"A man asked for Dan," says Sue. "I went in and told Dan. He went to the door followed by the children. Dan said 'Come on in'. I heard the children screaming and a barrage of shots.

"I ran out screaming. Dan was on top of the children pushing them in front of him. I saw two men run off. I did not know them.

"A neighbour called the ambulance and others helped my husband. A doctor was called to the children and my aunt. Dan was hit in the leg and foot.

"After I returned from hospital I found my house occupied by 12 Brits and 4 RUC. They questioned me and my 5 year old boy about the shooting. I couldn't talk to them.

"I asked why they searched my home. They took some of Dan's clothes. I can't understand it. They wanted to take our Republican Club's money but I wouldn't give it."

LIST COMPILED

Terrified women from every area in Belfast had similar experiences. At Republican Club headquarters the list of casualties was compiled. In the hour between 5.30 and 6.30, 1 Republican Club member had been murdered, three had been critically wounded, 15 others were in hospital with wounds ranging from flesh wounds to one case where the victim had both elbows and kneecaps blown off.

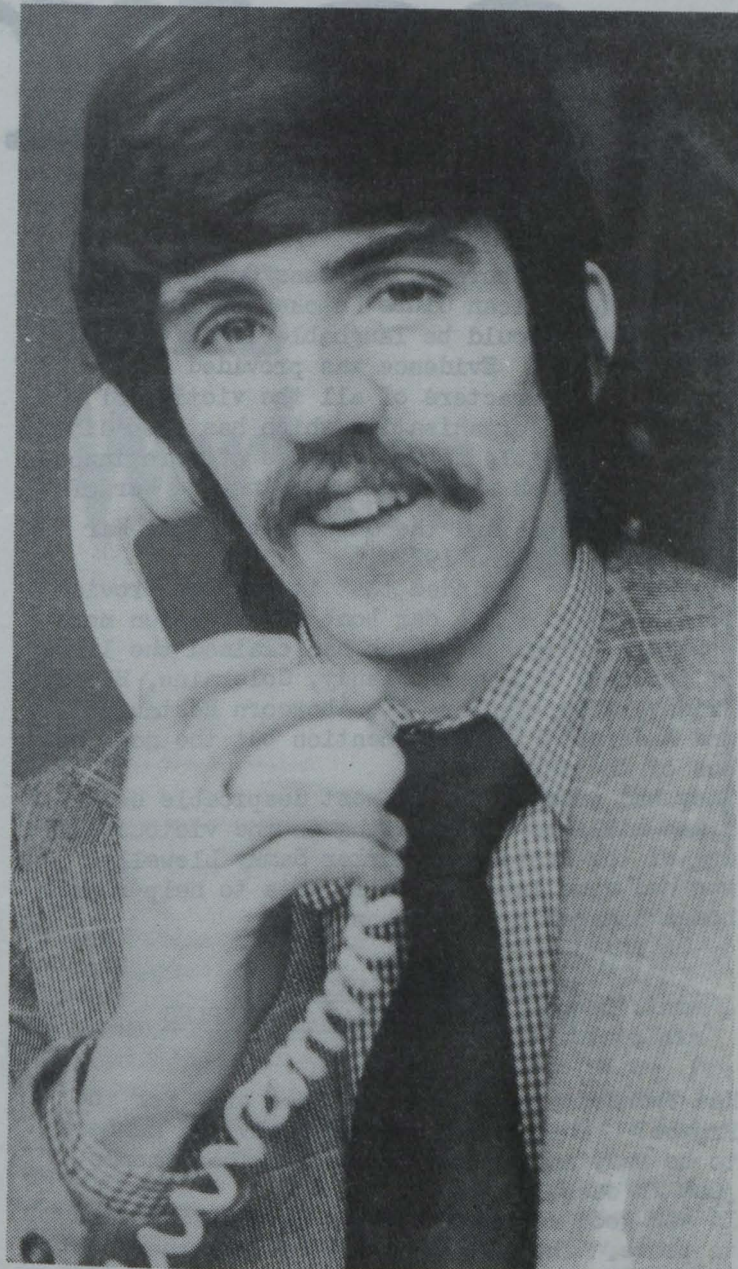
Some thirty other Republicans had miraculous escapes or were not at home when the Provisionals called. The frustrated Provisionals in a few cases released their ire on non-Republicans one of whom, a 78 year old blind man, received a severe beating from men disappointed at not getting his son.

WHY? SPECULATION

Why? was the question being asked at Republican Club headquarters and in many other places that Wednesday night. Newsmen were anxious for the answer and early in the night the Clubs issued a statement listing the casualties up to that time and saying "at this stage it is not clear what the purpose of the Provisional murder campaign is."

However, "the widespread nature of the attacks and their timing would indicate it was a co-ordinated attack which must have received the sanction of the Provisional leadership at national and local level and cannot be explained away as the action of uncontrollable elements in the Provisionals."

The Clubs speculated: "The Provisional leadership have decided to maintain their cease-



KEVIN SMYTH, Secretary 6 County Executive of Republican Clubs - critically wounded in first wave of attacks.

fire with the British Army by allowing their madmen to let off steam by shooting Republicans, or else they see the impact of the anti-sectarian campaign being conducted by Republicans as eroding support for the sectarian stance always adopted by the Provisionals."

The Clubs appealed: "Our earnest wish is that no Republican will be provoked into senseless retaliation for this murderous attack," and defiantly stated, "the Republican Movement has survived too many attacks in the past to be diverted now by Provisional bullets from working towards its goal of a 32 County Socialist Republic."

"CRIMINAL GROUP"

Later that night the Provisionals claimed responsibility for the mass murder attack, explaining that they had "taken action against members of a criminal group whose activities had brought terror to the Nationalist community."

carnage

Next morning (Thursday) a Press Conference was told by Republican Clubs' spokesmen that the Provo claim "would be laughable if it were not so sickening." Evidence was provided of the impeccable characters of all the victims of the attack by "an organisation which has been directly responsible for the deaths of more innocent people than were killed during the War of

of Independence and the subsequent Civil War and pogroms of the 1920s."

Pressmen were reminded that it was the Provisionals' use "of the car bomb and the even more cowardly proxy bomb which has claimed the lives of innocent people in Claudy, Coleraine, Bloody Friday, McGurk's Bar, the Abercorn Restaurant and Anderson Street to mention but the most heinous of their crimes."

They had engaged in the most despicable sectarian killings "culminating in the vicious slaying of the Protestant worker Sammy Llewellyn" who had come into the Falls area to help repair homes damaged by a car bomb.

EILEEN KELLY KILLED BOYS SYSTEMATICALLY CRIPPLED

Had Wednesday night been a "once off" for the Provos? The Republican Clubs advised members to be wary and to keep away from their homes, just in case.

It was good advice as events on Thursday were to prove. Thursday also proved that the shooting of some non-members on Wednesday had been no accident. Echos of Listowel in 1920 when RIC men were instructed to "shoot and shoot with effect you are bound to get the right man sometime" rang from Provisional gun barrels.

The RIC men in Listowel mutinied after the 1920 order but no Provisional mutinied when they shot little Eileen Kelly dead in her home in Beechmount early on Thursday night. Or when they systematically crippled with gunfire four young boys playing cards in a flat in the New Lodge Road. Or when a man, suspected of being a Clubs member, and another sitting beside him were shot while having a drink in Newington.

The Provisionals made little comment on their Thursday night attacks except to say that Eileen Kelly (aged 6) had not been their intended victim but that her father, who is not and never has been in the Republican Clubs, was.

TOM BERRY SLAIN

Would public revulsion at the coldblooded slaying of a little child force the Provisionals to think again??

Friday's answer was the slaying of Republican Clubs member, Tom Berry, as he left a GAA club in the Short Strand. This man of impeccable

character whose strong Protestant background equipped him ideally to propagate the anti-sectarianism of Republicanism paid the price for his Republicanism. His companion was wounded.

TWO ATTEMPTS ON MCGURRAN

Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs escaped two attempts on his life - one as he returned from a television studio. The Provisionals passed up an opportunity to face McGurran in front of the television cameras choosing to silence him with guns.

FAMILIES ORDERED OUT

Several other attempted assassinations on members failed on Friday. But an ex-member was shot and wounded in Andersonstown, a girl (also a non member) was shot in Springhill Avenue. The Gem Bar was machine gunned.

The first reports of a major campaign of intimidation also came on Friday night. Republicans and people suspected of being Republicans were ordered to leave their homes in the Clonard and Beechmount areas. British soldiers ignored the gun-toting Provisionals as they ordered helpless families from their homes.



● Tom Berry murdered by Provisionals, Oct. 31, 1975.

The Republican Club members who distributed anti-sectarian leaflets to shoppers on Royal Avenue on Saturday morning (November 1) later had to bury their dead comrade Robert Elliman. A heavy British Army presence on the funeral route did not prevent the Provisionals from making at least one assassination attempt on mourners - a jammed Armalite saved the occupants of one car.

Shortly before the funeral the Gem Bar in North Queen Street was machinegunned for the second time in less than twelve hours. The British Army moved into the area in strength shortly afterwards.. Their task was not, however, to seek the men who gunned the bar but to break into the offices used by the James Connolly Republican Club and to ransack them.

LINK-UP WITH ARMY

Were the Brits co-operating with the Provisionals? The evidence on the ground suggested only one answer...Yes.

Evening brought evidence from another level when the British Secretary of State for the North, Mr. Merlyn Rees, spoke on local radio in Leeds. He had a simple explanation for the killings and maimings which had gone on unabated for almost four days. "A battle for military control of areas in Belfast is in progress," said Mr. Rees.

His attempt to thus rationalise the murder campaign was described as "ludicrous" by the Republican Clubs. Mr. Rees, said the Clubs, should have enough knowledge of the Northern situation "to know that the only battle in which the Republican Clubs have been involved

'NEWS LETTER', Saturday November 1.

'Contract' on Clubs chief



Malachy McGurran — under death threat.

A Provisional IRA murder squad has been ordered to kill Malachy McGurran, the head of the Republican Clubs in Northern Ireland, a Clubs spokesman said last night.

He read a statement which claimed that there had been two attempts on his life during the day after Seamus McCusker, chief of the Provisional Sinn Féin, was shot dead in New Lodge Road, Belfast.

Official republican units had been told to be on the lookout for the murder squad. They had been given the registration number of a red Vauxhall car that the would-be murderers were using.

Sectarianism Kills Workers



Issued by:
Republican Clubs
Secretariat
40 Cyprus Street, Belfast

is the battle for the minds of the working class people in all areas of the North."

"Surely", the Clubs continued, "Mr. Rees' intelligence sources have been able to inform him that this 'battle' has taken the form of an anti-sectarian campaign which has seen Republican Club members armed with nothing more lethal than leaflets and posters calling upon working people of all creeds and none to unite against sectarianism. Does Mr. Rees seriously expect anyone to believe that people involved in such activity merited the savage assault inflicted by the Provos, an assault which he now tries to justify?

"His apologist justification for the Provo murder campaign brings into sharp focus the political dimension of the military collusion between the British Army and the Provisionals which has existed since the Provo assault was launched.

"There can now be an end to speculation on at least one aspect of the dubious agreement which has existed between the British Government and the Provos since early this year. According to the terms of the Provisional ceasefire the one longterm threat to the imperialist domination of the working people of this country is to be removed. The Provisionals and the British Army are now preparing the ground to suppress the Republican Clubs - the only anti-sectarian and socialist opposition to British domination of this country and its people."

CONQUEST-BY-INTIMIDATION

Buttressed by the moral support of Merlyn Rees the Provisionals increased their conquest-by-intimidation campaign on Saturday night and Sunday. British soldiers gleefully stood by as armed, hooded Provos terrified women and children in homes in Bawnmore, New Barnsley, the Falls Road, Ballymurphy and New Lodge.

The 'Last Post' was whistled by Provisionals on Sunday morning (Nov.2) as Mrs. Ann McDonagh of 37 Whiterock Drive passed on her way to Mass. Mrs. McDonagh, wife of a Republican Clubs City Councillor, realised the significance of it but she had to return to her home and to her children. Minutes later a fusillade of shots was fired into her home. All through Sunday the terror was of the same nature, the sadistic gunmen travelling in black taxis being waved merrily through British Army roadblocks.

INCIDENT CENTRES USED AS OPERATIONAL BASES

Sunday evening saw Provisionals leaving their Incident Centre at Dunville Street, shooting at people leaving Republican headquarters in Cyprus Street and returning to the Incident Centre. There could be little doubt now but that the Incident Centres were being used as operational bases for murder attempts with weapons legally held at the Centres.

In the first two days of the murder attacks the Republican Clubs had some difficulty in convincing media people that they were inaccurate in describing what was happening as a "feud". But events on Sunday night brought a new description to what was happening. Intimidation reached a scale in Ballymurphy and other areas that night which made few people doubt that what was in progress was a "pogrom". Evictions were commonplace and houses were daubed with paint to identify them as targets for the murder squads.

BRADY COMES TO TOWN

But Sunday night also saw the first manifestation that the general public were realising the true nature of the pogrom. Women marched and called for a cessation by the Provos. But the attacks continued.

Monday (November 3) saw Rory Brady arriving from Dublin to give his personal blessing to the Provisional onslaught. Public disgust was mounting. Public protest was directed at the Provisionals. 'Mediators' were reportedly approaching them. But the Provos retaliated by issuing a warning that anyone supporting the Clubs would not be tolerated and backed up these threats by escalating evictions, intimidation and by another killing.



Frank McGlade, veteran Republican.

BRITS 'FINGER' MURDER VICTIM?

Three minutes before 6.30 p.m. a British Army patrol stood outside a home in Beechmount. Inside were Jim Fogarty, an ex-internee who had left the Republican Clubs three years ago, and his family.

At 6.30 Provisionals burst through the door and shot Jim Fogarty dead. It is difficult not to see some justification for the allegation later made by his brother that "the Brits 'fingered' Jim for the Provisionals".

Frank McGlade, a man with experience of the pogroms of the 'twenties and 'thirties, used the word pogrom more than once in his oration over the grave of Tom Berry on Tuesday morning (November 4). "The Provisionals are cutting themselves a niche in history beside the Free State Army of the 'twenties", said McGlade.

While Frank was speaking and while the Provisional gunmen were attempting to waylay mourners attending the funeral, Rory Brady and some cronies were busy. Brady was feeling the breeze of public opinion; an effort must be made to justify the pogrom. A list was com-



The coffin of six-year-old Eileen Kelly—who was shot dead when gunmen burst into her Belfast home and opened fire on her father, John (nearest camera carrying coffin)—is carried from her home at the start of yesterday's funeral to Milltown Cemetery, Falls Road. The Provisional I.R.A. later admitted responsibility for the shooting.



Mr. Jim Fogarty . . . shot dead at his home.

piled. The crimes of the "criminals" were enumerated at a Press Conference later that day. The newsmen who turned up were unimpressed, McGurran had little difficulty in refuting the charges on TV that night.

Rory Brady felt that the action taken by the Provisionals was "justified" and "has my full support" although "pretty drastic". The killing of Eileen Kelly was "inexcusable" because her father had been the target! Malachy McGurran described Mr. Brady's performance as an exhibition of "callous hypocrisy." On TV at 6 p.m. Brady said that if "people of standing" came forward to offer as "mediators" he would put them in touch with the Provisionals. As he spoke his law enforcers were busy, particularly in the Beechmount area.

From 6 p.m. onwards Republican Club headquarters in Cyprus Street were deluged by a stream of women and children evicted from their homes at gunpoint. For some it was the first taste of Provisional intimidation. For others, like Mrs. Olive O'Neill the 'flight' to Cyprus Street was the culmination of almost a week of terror.

'ALONE WITH MY NEWBORN BABY'

Here in Mrs. O'Neill's own words is an account of just part of what she had to put up with. "I was at home on Monday night alone with my newborn baby. Due to the previous attempts on my husband's life I had sent the other children to stay with a neighbour. My husband has not been staying at home since Wednesday night. At approximately 10.40 an object, which looked like part of a lawnmower was thrown through my living room window which is at the back of the house.

"At the same time there were bursts of fire which seemed to be coming from all directions. I lifted my baby and ran to the door and out into the street. Two armed men ran past me into the house and up the stairs. They fired out of my back bedroom window as I was running to a neighbour's house.

"On Tuesday morning I went back into my house to see what damage had been done. The walls of my living room are covered with bullet holes and my bedroom and living room windows are all broken."

WOMEN SEEK BRADY IN DUBLIN

What were Merlyn Rees' law enforcers doing while all this was going on?

Mrs. O'Neill: "At approximately 11.30 a.m. on Tuesday the British Army arrived and said they had got a report on some shooting. They were reluctant to come into the house. When they finally came in they said nothing and didn't even ask for a statement."

Mrs. O'Neill and other women described their experiences to a Press Conference held on Wednesday morning (Nov. 5). Could they put up with much more? What could they do to end it?

Perhaps Mr. Rory Brady who only yesterday had indicated that his influence could be used if approached by "people of standing" might be willing to listen to the women and the children themselves.

Some of them, including Mrs. Ethel McAllister travelled to Dublin and went to see Mr. Brady at his Kevin Street headquarters. But Mr. Brady was "not in" and accused the women of indulging in a "political gimmick". The intimidation continued but so did the growth of public indignation at the continuing pogrom. Despite the Provisional threats people opened their homes to accommodate victims of the pogrom. The pogrom had gone on for a week now - could it last much longer?

ANOTHER BOMBING CAMPAIGN

Gelignite was the Provisional answer. Blast bombs were thrown indiscriminately at a community centre in the New Lodge and at a private house in Beechmount Grove. Bars were levelled in a manner reminiscent of the Provos "economic war" which reached a peak on Bloody Friday, 1972. The target this time was not "British Imperialism" but Republicans and those suspected of giving them support.

"We can't get the Club members...shootings and beatings haven't succeeded in intimidating enough of their women and children...surely the bomb will work," appears to have been the Provo logic.

The gelignite had not the desired effect... Friday (November 7) brought a strange statement from the Provisionals. A three day "amnesty" was offered during which people were "invited" to disassociate themselves from the Republican Clubs.

Just what was this?? A face saving formula of words to end the attacks? Or a ploy? The Republican Clubs were cautious in their response. "We see the Provisional statement as possibly the beginning of a retreat from their ten day old openly fascist pogrom. As far as it goes it represents a victory for all those who put pressure on the Provisionals to end their murder campaign and for the discipline of Republicans in Belfast," read the opening paragraph of a Clubs' statement.

The Clubs wanted to know from the Provisionals if the statement "means, as it implies, that in three days time they will renew their murder campaign against Republicans in Belfast? We will watch closely the reply to this question."

The Clubs warned "all members to maintain the high level of security precautions in force since the first attack" as it was "not clear if the Provisionals mean to ceasefire over the three day period which they describe as an amnesty", and speculated whether "this layoff from their pogrom activity is merely a breather before a renewed attack is launched".

'DEATH NOTICE' IN LIVING ROOM

Hopes that relief was on the way were quickly shattered. Within four hours of the announcement of the "amnesty" two Club members narrowly escaped when a hail of machinegun fire was directed at them in the Markets area.

The wife of a Republican Club member was beaten up by a Provisional after leaving a "Falls taxi"; a brick with a 'death notice' attached was thrown into the living room of a house in New

savagery

Lodge, a blast bomb was thrown at the home of Anne McCann, widow of the late Joe McCann, in Monagh Crescent and a Republican Club member was fired on near his home on the Cavehill Road.

The situation remained apparently hopeless but a message from the Royal Victoria Hospital greatly boosted morale. "We the Republican Club members in the Royal Victoria Hospital who have suffered from gunshot wounds inflicted by the neo-fascist battalions of the Provisional Alliance wish to pledge our full solidarity with the Republican Movement on the outside who continue to suffer attack," said the message.

Day two of the "amnesty" brought no let up. Seamus Kelly, a Club member, was shot and seriously wounded at his home in Bawnmore Estate. Shots were fired into a home at Ballymurphy Road, a home was wrecked in the Antrim Road, window smashing and other forms of intimidation continued. A British Army patrol entered the home of a Republican Club member in White-rock with a "tip off" that the Provos "intended to put seven families out of the area on Monday if the 'amnesty' was not signed."

On Sunday (November 9) the attacks continued. A man, not a Republican Club member, was shot in the head in Cape Street. John Kelly, a member, was shot dead as he went to meet his girlfriend in Newington.

Monday (November 10) differed little from the previous Monday. Paint daubing of homes, the intimidation of women and children, armed bands roaming unmolested through housing estates. Fifty women attending a 'Mothers Night' at the Sean Martin GAA Club were made to line up and watch Provos burn down their social centre.

PLEADED FOR HIS LIFE

But a weary people still had not seen the peak of their suffering. Ethel McAllister from Ballymurphy who, on the previous Wednesday, had travelled fruitlessly to Dublin to appeal to Rory Brady to end the torture was to be greeted on Tuesday morning (Nov. 11) with the news that her son, Jackie, had been murdered while he waited for a bus to take him to work. Jackie was not a Club member, he died because his mother had the courage to speak.

Later a former member of the Clubs was shot and when going to a Labour Exchange to sign for unemployment benefit. The home of Mrs. Olive O'Neill in Beechmount (already mentioned in this report) was again entered and wrecked.

McKennas Bar, where Robert Elliman had been murdered, was again fired at - the gunmen's car stalled but was ignored by two British Army patrols fifty yards away. Another Club was



MRS. ETHEL McALLISTER AND HER
MURDERED SON, JACKIE.

partially destroyed by a bomb - the British Army moved in to complete the destruction ensuring that the people of Twinbrook no longer had a social centre. Intimidation was reaching new peaks. The pogrom was worse than ever.

Young Colm Casey, a member of the Republican Clubs until a year ago, was at work in Andersonstown. Provisionals, as he pleaded for his life, made him kneel on the ground and shot him dead in front of his workmates.

LAST REPUBLICAN TO DIE

John Brown, a Club member, was shot dead on Tuesday night on his own doorstep. His younger brother was wounded. His pregnant wife and child narrowly escaped injury.

John Brown, whose sportmanship and ability as an amateur boxer had brought honour to his city, his province and his country, was the last Republican to die in Ireland's first political pogrom.

Wednesday morning (November 12) brought an announcement from Merlyn Rees that the Incident Centres would no longer function and messages almost immediately began to filter through to the Republican Clubs that the Provisional attacks were to cease. Was it a mere coincidence that the operation of the Incident Centres and the prosecution of the pogrom ended at the same time?

THEY HAD FAILED

Had the successful prosecution of the pogrom been Merlyn Rees' price for keeping the Provos in his bed? They had a fortnight, the full co-operation of the British Army, the public moral support of Merlyn Rees. Yet they had failed.

The writing on Merlyn Rees' wall when he hung up the phone on the Provos was "Republicanism still lives".

WHY THE DOGROM?

Why did the Provisionals launch their extermination attack on Republicans on October 29? There will be arguments about the real reason for a long time to come. Some will put it down to the fact that because of their ceasefire with the British Army the young Provos needed to be blooded and see a little action to distract their attention from internal squabbling. Others will cite the numbers recently released from Long Kesh returning home to discover that the Republican Clubs had a strong political presence in their areas. Others still will cite the black hatred of the likes of Billy McKee, Frank Card and Leo Martin for the Republican Movement which they have failed to destroy since they became agents of Fianna Fail policy in 1969.

THE REAL REASON

Undoubtedly, all of these strands enter into the motivation which the Provisionals felt as they set about organising their October massacre. The hostility of the Provisionals to Republicans is long standing and draws continual nourishment from our criticism of their sectarian killings and bombing campaign. The recently launched anti-sectarian campaign was felt by them - quite correctly - as a criticism of their sectarian acts. It was also a criticism of their P.D. and I.R.S.P. allies who offer them "critical support" in their hopes for an all-out sectarian civil war as well as being a criticism of the U.V.F. and other forces making for such a holocaust.

But all these motivations have existed over the years and had never led to such a determined pogrom approach by the Provisionals. What was the real reason?

The real reason begins to appear when the true dimensions of the attack on Republicans is laid bare. It was not a Belfast attack: the attack took place in Belfast, the Provisional stronghold area, but it was decided upon at national level.

Within days of the October 29 attack when the totally inexcusable nature of the operation was clear to Provisional supporters throughout Ireland the Provisional Ard Chomhairle issued a statement publicly supporting the Belfast pogrom.

Immediately following that Provisional President Ruairi O Bradaigh (Rory Brady) travelled to Belfast to hold a press conference at which he publicly encouraged and supported the Provisional campaign. At this time (November 4) there were 25 in hospital, four of them critical, and Robert Elliman, Tom Berry and six year old Eileen Kelly lay dead. O Bradaigh repeated the pathetic "gangster" accusations and when questioned on the Eileen



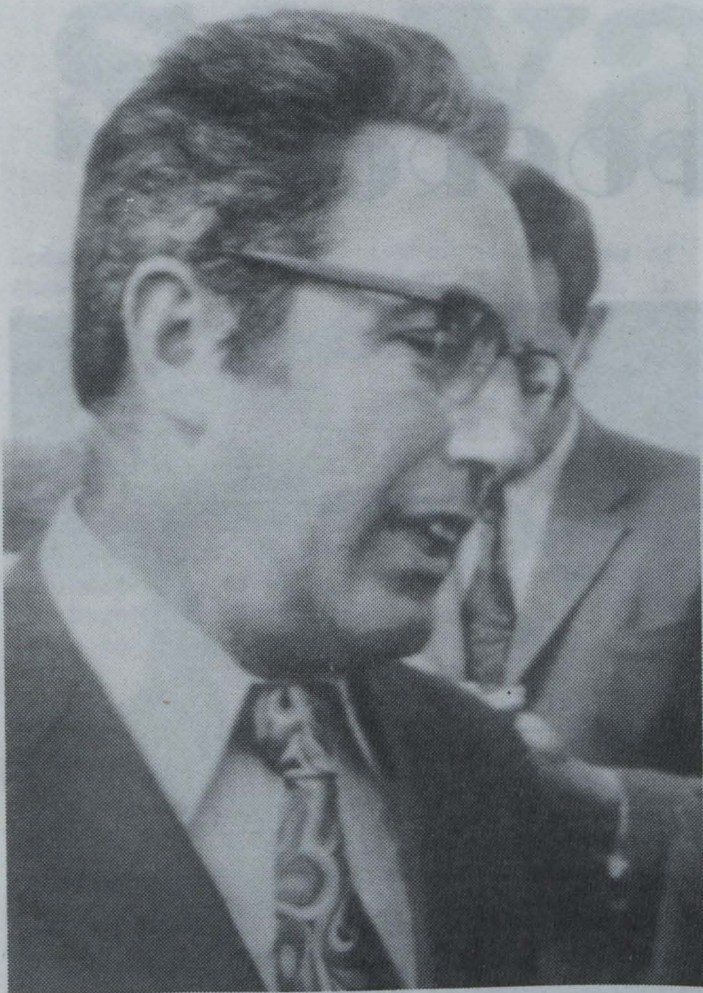
MR. MERLYN REES encouraged Provos to think in terms of control of areas.

Kelly shooting gave a hypocritical "Oops, sorry! We meant to kill her father".

Ruairi O Bradaigh had begun to speak like a policeman. He had been thinking like one since the Provisional ceasefire in February, 1975. In fact, the whole Provisional leadership had been taught to think and act like policemen since the establishment of the Incident Centres. The Centres were allegedly to solve problems arising from the ceasefire of the Provisionals but were actually an encouragement by the British to make them think in terms of control of areas. The British must have been amazed and delighted by the aptitude of the Provisionals to adopt fully their counter-revolutionary role.

BOUGHT OFF BY GRANTS

Slowly over the months since the ceasefire the British had manoeuvred the Provisionals into wanting to be policemen in their own areas. The more militant Provisional leadership were bought off by grants from the Government to help them establish various enterprises and even get into the retail grocery and butcher trade. Paralell with this development the idea of pol- 8



MR. RUAIRI O BRADAIGH...thinking and speaking like a policeman.

icing areas and using the Incident Centres to consolidate their position arising from their understanding with the British Government and Army began to form. This was encouraged by the British Army and R.U.C. Now in a position to view their political opposition through policemen's eyes it was an easy step to manoeuvre the Provisionals into describing Republican Clubs as 'criminal' as the pretext for an all-out attack. The final pressure which marched the Provisionals into the British-laid trap was exerted at the Stormont meeting of two months ago between Incident Centre heads and Stormont officials.

At this meeting it was intimated to the Provisionals that the Secretary for State was thinking of closing down the Incident Centres. Their usefulness in controlling areas was not proved and the Secretary for State was no longer impressed with their ability in this direction.

Desperately anxious to impress Mr. Rees with the need to retain the Incident Centres the Provisionals decided on the Belfast pogrom during their Ard Fheis in Dublin. If the Incident Centres were to close then the Provisional leadership would have a tough time explaining to their Volunteers that the ceasefire had any meaning whatever. Was it for grocery shops and taxi fleets that the many Volunteers had died over the years?

A strong "policing action" that would wipe out Republicanism in Belfast and impress Mr. Rees would kill two birds with the one stone. In the short time needed to do the job the words 'criminal' and 'gangster' would be used as an effective smoke screen covering the operation.

On October 28 the Provo murder squads were assembled at the Belfast Incident Centres and told to report the following evening for an operation. Many of them felt that the ceasefire was over.

At 3.30 p.m. the following evening the orders were handed out. All the attacks were to be against Republicans in Belfast between 5.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.

As more than thirty murder gangs fanned out across the City the British Army looked the other way: one of the greatest coups ever pulled by the British Army Intelligence Section was in operation.

What happened that evening is now history - a monument to the political stupidity of the Provisionals and to the success of the British in manipulating their leadership from the top down.

EXPOSED AS A TOOL OF BRITISH STRATEGY IN IRELAND

The Republican Clubs immediately called for an end to hostilities against its members and asked that no senseless retaliation take place. The Clubs retained this policy position until the cessation of hostilities against its members on Thursday, November 13.

From trying to wipe out the Republican Movement in Belfast by murder and massive intimidation the Provisionals attempted to impose conditions on the Clubs leadership. When the envelope containing the conditions was returned unopened through the messenger the Provisionals redoubled the fury of their murder campaign.

From the outset the Clubs appealed to public opinion and to existing political parties to take its side in the face of the developing fascist pogrom.

Despite the insistence of the BBC and RTE in describing the one-sided fascist pogrom as a "feud" the truth slowly began to percolate the press and the media..

Provisional sympathisers and supporters in America, England, the Free State and throughout the North in areas outside Belfast began to ask what the attack was all about.

The Clubs repeatedly challenged Ruairi O Bradaigh to speak out and call off the murderous pogrom. O Bradaigh, following his Belfast press conference, remained silent.

How could he publicly defend a pogrom which exposed him as a tool of British strategy in Ireland? There was no answer to the questions: there is no answer to the questions..

And the question mark of October 29 can never be removed by a Provisional leadership that was outthought, outwitted and finally outflanked by the enemy they purported to be fighting. Ruairi O Bradaigh, Joe Cahill, Jimmy Drumm, Frank Card, Billy McKee and Leo Martin murdered Republicans at the behest of a British Secretary for State.



MR. MALACHY MCGURRAN predicted Rees plan to close down the Incident Centres.

In the propaganda battle which followed the Clubs consistently pointed out the connection between the Incident Centres and the pogrom. Malachy McGurran predicted that when the Provisionals were well into their ruinous campaign against

Republicans and the general public of Belfast Mr. Rees would hang up the phone on the Incident Centres.

On November 11, McGurran repeated the prediction that the Centres would be closed now that the Provisionals had paved the way back for the RUC. On the following day the announcement was made public that the Incident Centres were closed down.

Almost immediately the Provisional campaign slackened off. No Republican Clubs member was shot following the click at Mr. Rees' end of the line.

Within hours the Republican Clubs began receiving assurances that their members would no longer come under attack. On the very next day a firm assurance was received.

MONUMENTAL FOLLY

The Provisionals had seen their total campaign backfiring in their faces and wanted out. How they can now explain their monumental folly to their followers and fellow-travellers is a question for them.

To date they have not attempted any explanations - but tried desperately to prevent the Clubs from speaking out and exposing them in all their fascist nakedness. Having suffered terribly in terms of members shot dead and injured the Clubs were not going to surrender the rights of free speech and existence maintained at such cost.

A statement issued following the cessation of hostilities against its members pointed out that the Clubs had been subjected to Ireland's first political pogrom by a Provisional Movement under the direction of British strategists.

THE SILENCE OF THE SDLP

One of the most significant features of the Provisional campaign was the silence of established political parties. Repeatedly, the Clubs called for expressions of solidarity with a party which accepted the democratic process in the face of an all-out fascist attack. While the right of a party to exist was called in doubt by the Provisional pogrom, existing political parties said little and did less. What explains the silence of the SDLP? Self-interest and opportunism. The SDLP, almost as if they were in on the game, kept silent from the outset in a situation where silence was consent. They were joined in their silence by the normally vocal Bishops of all denominations.

A GLORIOUS CHANCE

For the SDLP it represented a glorious chance to unhook themselves from the latest position they adopted vis a vis the RUC. The SDLP want to drop their stance of not accepting the RUC without first achieving their goal of a power-sharing Executive.

Here was a glorious opportunity with the Provisionals spreading terror in the ghetto areas at the expense of Republicans. The SDLP realised, as Republican Clubs pointed out, that Rees was manoeuvring the Provisionals into an ambush position. When they had created enough fear and terror in areas of West Belfast then people might be more willing to accept the RUC. Hence the silence. Only the Alliance Party spoke out in any public fashion and then on only two occasions.

SHAMEFUL SILENCE

Had the Provisionals succeeded with the Republican Clubs then their next target would have been the SDLP. A mixture of fear and opportunism helped the SDLP maintain their silence at the expense of the lives of members of the Republican Clubs.

Gerry Fitt and Paddy Devlin joined Brian Faulkner and William Craig in significant and shameful silence.

THE MEDIA BATTLE

From the news of the first all-out attack on the evening of October 29 the media battle was on. For the Provisionals it became necessary to publish their excuses for an attempt to wipe out the Republican Movement in Belfast. For the Republican Clubs it became an even more urgent task, as its members were under attack, to mobilise public opinion in opposition to the Provisional pogrom.

From the outset the BBC and RTE labelled the Provisional attack as a "feud". Neither the BBC or RTE, despite repeated protests, budged from that word throughout - a description which served the Provisionals well and helped for a long period to cover and thus extend their murder campaign against out members. To that extent both the BBC and RTE newsrooms and news staffs actually became apologists for the Provisionals.

HELPED FUDGE THE ISSUE

From any objective viewpoint the events of October 29 and 30 constituted an all-out attack by Provisionals on our members. Any doubts there might have been were cleared up when the Provisionals themselves admitted the attacks. However, in service to the political hierarchies in Britain and in Dublin the self-censoring reporters and sub-editors stuck rigidly to the "feud" description. It suited the British Secretary for State and the SDLP that the description "feud" persisted just as it suited the Dublin Government to hear the same phrase which effectively helped fudge the issue at stake in the Provisional attack. The main casualty - if we can except those who died and were injured because of the inaccurate "feud" description - was the truth of the matter. BBC and RTE proved a lot more fair in magazine programmes where in-depth probing of the Belfast events were undertaken.

INFLAMMATORY WORDS

Among the newspapers, the paper which was in a position to know most of what was going on said the least - the 'Irish News'. Partly through being intimidated and partly through the comforting business approach of saying nothing to upset trade the 'Irish News' continued to "feud" as long as the Provisional attack kept going.

Then, in an editorial which paraphrased Ruairi O Bradaigh's call for an end to the 'war of words', it asked that no inflammatory words be used. As an exercise in total hypocrisy the 'Irish News' appeal took the biscuit! Already the 'Irish News' had made a handsome profit from Provisional sources by printing the most inflammatory advertisements.



MRS. KELLY of Springhill Avenue shows the bullets fired during one of the Provo attempts to evict her.

On Monday, November 10, the 'Irish News' carried a Provisional advertisement which purported to refer to members of the Clubs as "terrorists", "gangsters" and "thugs" and which spoke of "ridding them from the midst of the people". And these very same adjectives appeared in the news columns without even the saving grace of inverted commas in the days following the first massive attacks.

Having thus set on the hounds by printing inaccurate and libellous statements about the dead and injured the hypocritical proprietors of the 'Irish News' then calmly appealed for an end to the 'war of words'!!

SHINING EXAMPLE

English papers like the 'Express', 'Morning Star' and even the 'Daily Mirror' showed more perspicience in reporting the facts. The shining example in terms of reporting facts and seeing clearly turned out to be the 'News Letter'. Here both the news columns and editorial columns reported facts and commented on facts. While

not agreeing with everything the 'News Letter' said or what it stands for it is nevertheless a fact that the 'News Letter' proved more effective in helping to end the attacks than the 'Irish News'.

The 'Irish Press', 'Irish Times', 'Irish Independent' and 'Belfast Telegraph' did much to publish the facts and expose the nature of the Provisional pogrom.

Honest reporting of the facts was essential to the Clubs' policy of relying on public opinion to help pressurise the Provisionals into calling off their murderous rampage. Hence the keen interest in how the media dealt with the issue: it was literally a matter of life and death.

A BAD MAULING

It is now admitted that the Provisionals got a bad mauling in all areas of public opinion and it is reckoned by the Republican Clubs that the Provisionals in Dublin had to pick up the phone and ask Belfast to knock it off, so bad was the general opinion. Indeed, the main point in the aftermath was the Provisional attempt to have the Clubs cease from all publicity about the matter.

To this extent Republican Clubs acknowledge a debt to all reporters and journalists who tried to get at the facts and publish the truth of the situation. Throughout the height of the Provisional pogrom the Clubs were in constant contact with the media, issuing incident sheets, eye-witness accounts and confirming or denying rumours.

THE BELFAST COMHAIRLE CEANTAIR SINN FEIN

Pledges its full support for the activities of the Leadership of the Republican Movement in ridding the Fascist N.L.F. terrorists and gangsters from the midst of the people.

To our fellow members who are suffering wounds inflicted by these thugs we extend our wholehearted wishes for a speedy recovery.

Above is reproduced the Provisional advertisement which appeared in the 'Irish News' of Monday, November 10, presaging the following day's escalated murder campaign when four people died.

The advertisement is a direct incitement to murder Republicans and the 'Irish News' which printed it was at the same time expressing horror in the editorial columns at the bloodshed.

It is clear from this and other similar advertisements which appeared during the height of the pogrom that the jingle in the till was more important to the proprietors of the 'Irish News' than the sounds being made in the editorial columns.

In a letter to the 'Irish News', Malachy McGurran stated that legal action under the Incitement to Hatred Act would have been considered if that Act had any teeth.



MORNING VIEW

Saturday,
November 1, 1975

PLAYING THE GREEN CARD

The fact that the latest Provo offensive began on Wednesday night, when the Fianna Fail Party in Dublin were reverting to hard-line Republicanism, is a curious coincidence.

It is well-known that when Official Sinn Fein and the Official IRA began to move towards Left-wing revolutionary policy, a number of politicians in the then Fianna Fail Government became alarmed.

The best way to avert the growth of revolution at home is to stir up a foreign war, and the Fianna Fail Right-wingers did just this, by helping to form the Provisional IRA.

The Provisional IRA was then encouraged to open an offensive in Northern Ireland, which so far has cost 1,348 lives, and has resulted in vast destruction of property, by over 4,500 bombs.

Mr. Jack Lynch, then Prime Minister, had to dismiss several members of his Government for activi-

ties in support of the Provisional movement they had created, as a sort of Irish Frankenstein.

The return some time ago of Mr. Charles Haughey to the shadow front bench of Fianna Fail, now in Opposition in the Dail, was an evil portent that Mr. Lynch's cautious policy would be jettisoned and that the Party would adopt the hard-line.

This has now happened, and as we have remarked, it is a grim coincidence, and perhaps more than a coincidence, that the Provo Frankenstein was, the same night, launched against Left-wing Republicans, who are feared as the greatest long-term threat to the whole political and financial set up in the "gombeen" southern State, where those who pull the strings in the patriot game live very comfortably.

- 'NEWS LETTER'

As well as the bomb, boot and bullet other methods of intimidation were used.

A particularly sick example can be seen below - a bogus death notice inserted in the 'Irish News'..

MILLWAINE - October 29, 1975 (as result of gunshot wounds). The Members and Staff of Cyprus Street Hall wish to extend their deepest sympathy to the wife and family of the late Danny (Tub) Millwaime and call on all members to attend the funeral. May he Rest in Peace.

BELFAST VICTIM FUND

APPEAL

The Republican Clubs Executive has set up a fund to help members and sympathisers whose homes were damaged or wrecked in the attacks which erupted on the evening of October 29 and which ended recently. Apart from the number of people who had their homes damaged a considerable number suffered financial loss through being unable to go to their place of work. Immediate and essential aid has already been disbursed to many of the people worst-hit by the violence and intimidation. Your help can be critical at this point. The task of giving even minimal help to temporary disabled bread-winners and others affected will be eased by your contributions to this fund. All contributions will be gratefully accepted and immediately receipted.

All donations to be sent to —

**SIX COUNTY SECRETARIAT OF
REPUBLICAN CLUBS,
40 CYPRUS STREET, BELFAST 12.**

THANK YOU

The Six County Executive of Republican Clubs wishes to express heartfelt thanks to all those who halped the organisation triumph over the fascist attack launched by the Provisionals. To the branches of our own Movement who sent help and encouragement to Belfast in the darkest hours, to countless individuals who risked life to give a helping hand, to all the Republicans in Long Kesh and Crumlin Road Gaol who were with us in spirit every inch of the way, we express our thanks. Comrades all - we salute you. The fight goes on! We will neither bargain nor settle with Empire. We shall overcome.

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This pamphlet is published and printed by the Six County Executive of Republican Clubs.  
Proceeds from its sale (20p per copy) are being donated to the BELFAST VICTIMS FUND.