

An Phoblacht

Iml. 4 Uimh. 21

5p

29 Meitheamh 1973

PROVOS' PEACE TERMS

WHILE MR. COSGRAVE was thinking of his big sell out of the Irish Nation, while British soldiers were raiding and torturing fellow Irishmen, while the gombeen men were getting ready for the rubber stamp merchants in and out of the Phoenix Park on the tax payers money, while the press and the Bishops were pleading for peace. While Mr John Hume was looking for the pro-British element vote, with his lies and slander

The true Freedom Fighters of this nation made known once again their terms for Peace — the press played it down, the Bishops ignored it, the Cosgraves didn't want to hear it, the Hume's, Fitts and Curries are too busy trying to re-build Stormont and the British don't want to talk — Let every man and woman of the Irish nation back this demand for Peace — Let the newspapers carry banner headlines, day after day pushing the peace plan — let the Bishops of all churches make up their mind whether they are Irish clerics, or British clerics, and if they decide in favour of the Queen let them get out of the Irish nation.

The British hanged William Joyce (Lord Haw Haw) because he spoke in favour of the German enemy and acted as a propaganda machine for Hitler during the last war. How many so-called Irishmen to-day are acting as William Joyces on behalf of the British Murdering Troops, the Whitelaws, the Heaths and the Kitsons — The Freedom Fighters terms are those of Tones, Emmets, Mitchells, Lalors, Pearses, Connollys, McSwineys, Brughas — the connection with England must be broken or as Pearse said at the grave of Rossa

IRELAND UNFREE SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE.

The Provisional I.R.A. has once again declared that its present campaign will not be ended until the five-point "peace plan," originally announced after the breakdown of the 1972 cease-fire, has been met in full by the British Government.

In a detailed worded reply to the appeal from the Central Citizens Defence Committee, which had called for an immediate end to the fighting, the Provisionals claim that peace for this generation must ensure peace for the next.

The Provisionals pointed out in their statement that the C.C.D.C.'s first appeal for talks with them had been on June 4th, just after the local government elections and on the eve of the closing date for nominations for the Assembly elections, while their second had come on June 20th, a week before what they described as "the Assembly elections farce."

"The date of these appeals," the statement continued, "may be mere coincidence. The motives are no doubt sincere

— but any one-sided plea must be suspect. Willing as we are to engage in dialogue with any group or individual who can assist in bringing the present conflict to a just and final settlement we feel that any approach which doesn't also involve the British Government would be futile.

"This is the crux of the present struggle. Reginald Mauding on behalf of the British Government declared war on the I.R.A. To ignore this is to ignore the motives, the reasons and objectives for the present struggle."

TWO MAIN FORCES

There were two main forces involved and any peace plea which omitted one or the other was merely an exercise in futility. It was well known that the I.R.A. had forwarded points for a peaceful settlement, which had been drawn up with the best interest of all the Irish people — Catholic and Protestant, old and young — in mind.

"Because of the reasons so ably enumerated by the C.C.D.C., because the next generation must not suffer in the manner that this, and past generations have suffered — and especially because of Britain's legacy to Ireland of legalised state violence, death and destruction, discrimination and imprisonment, mistrust, and mismanagement — the I.R.A. must fight on.

"Peace at any price is not the answer. Peace at any price built on the bones of Irish and English dead, built on the sacrifices of the Republican people and on the sufferings of both sections of our community, can only sow the seeds for future violence.

"Britain is the cancer in Irish society. Let us remove that cancer and the need for the gun will have passed."

The Provisionals said that the C.C.D.C.'s original plea had been ignored on principle. The C.C.D.C. knew only too well how to get in touch with them, and meetings between the Belfast brigade, I.R.A., and C.C.D.C. members had been held on at least six occasions before and after the British White Paper. The meetings had been lengthy, detailed, frank and constructive, and the C.C.D.C. spokesmen were sincere, vocal and reasonable. The I.R.A. peace terms had been discussed in detail, and on some points those involved had agreed to disagree; on others, broad agreement had been reached.

The meetings, they said, had unfortunately ended there, not because of any ill feeling or misunderstanding but because the C.C.D.C. were not involved as a party in the conflict, and only agreement between those involved could achieve the peace so earnestly desired.

LONGING FOR PEACE

The lines of contact were still open and the C.C.D.C. was well aware of their willingness to talk and their longing for peace. Mere talking, however, could achieve nothing.

"The C.C.D.C. have established a reputation of impartial, outspoken statements. They have appealed to the Republican Army. They realise the need for a negotiated cease-fire. Let the C.C.D.C. make a public appeal to the British to cease their violence. The I.R.A. have indicated their willingness to talk".

The Provisionals said that at Christmas, 1971, and Christmas, 1972, last March and during the bilateral truce last year they had ceased offensive action. They had explored every avenue that might lead to a negotiated cease-fire. "What of the British ideal for Ireland?" they asked. "What of their attitude?"

GUARANTEE PEACE

They added: "If it is a C.C.D.C. responsibility to attempt to bring peace, they must not tarnish their record. By all means let the C.C.D.C. appeal to the I.R.A. But if they are not to be recognised merely as part of Whitelaw's 'peace at any price' offensive, or as a front for the Catholic hierarchy, let their public appeals for peace be unequivocal, impartial and far-seeing. Remember peace for this generation must guarantee peace for the next".

The statement was signed "Sean O'Neill" and issued by the Belfast Republican Press Bureau.

Mr. Tom Conaty said that the C.C.D.C. was studying the Provisionals reply in detail and was taking it "very seriously indeed". Further comment is being withheld until their study of the document is completed.

The demands are

- the withdrawal of British troops to barracks;
- a declaration of Britain's intent to withdraw from Northern Ireland;
- a declaration of the right of the Irish people as a whole to decide their own future; and
- an amnesty for both men on the run and for all prisoners convicted on charges arising out of the present troubles.

An Phoblacht

Imleabhair 4 29 Meitheamh, 1973. Uimhir 21.
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Éire. Guthán: 47611

Threat from right

THIS, according to the British, and those who ape the British, is the "silly season". It comprises the summer months, when people are preparing for holidays, going on holidays or recovering from holidays when, according to the Brits, people are not quite normal: mad dogs and Englishmen go out in the noontday sun.

Being the "silly season", normal news dries up. Monsters have to be found in outlying ponds or lochs. And, of course, inevitably, on some flimsy excuse, a "news" report will appear that Oglaihn na hÉireann are seeking peace, hoping desperately for peace, sending out long, tenuous peace feelers, and so very obviously tiring of the fray, or upset, disheartened, disillusioned because "support is draining away".

Thus it was over the past few weeks. An official statement merely repeated mechanically what has been said so often before, that Oglaihn na hÉireann wants peace and that only the imperialists want war. But this was grasped at by sensation mongers among the mentally impoverished newspapermen who continue to rally so strongly around the tattered banners of the petit bourgeoisie and the "peace" story was concocted.

A newspaperman is supposed to check his facts before going into print. In the case in point a two minute telephone call to contacts in the Republican Movement would have resulted in the clear understanding that there was nothing new ("no story") in the storm stirred up by some loyal servant of the Press Association. But why spoil a "good story" with something so mundane as facts? Why, indeed?

We are given to understand that Oglaihn na hÉireann are satisfied with the progress of the war. For some months now, there have been signs of British morale cracking, the erratic actions of soldiers in Belfast and Derry, the growing pressure from their relatives in Britain to have them withdrawn, and the indication that, bowing to public opinion, the British Labour Party is preparing to disown Heath's policy and to advocate complete British withdrawal from Ireland.

Complete? Well, if they could quit the scene in the political and military senses and remain there economically, why not have a go? The British Labour Party is "labour" only in title. It is a servant of capitalism and imperialism and the only real difference between it and the Heath crowd is that it is rather more forthrightly willing to go back to Labour, so as to get British troops pulled out of Ireland, the Irish in Britain should not allow themselves to be fooled at that party's pretensions to socialism. It's merely a question of pulling the string and flushing out the other crowd.

Imperialists on run

There would be nothing so easy - or irresponsible - for Oglaihn na hÉireann to do than to respond to all the half-baked, emotional appeals to peace and to lay down arms any time the media reach a particularly high pitch of yelling or baying. There might, indeed, be some reason for such action in the face of obvious defeat, to end the sufferings of the working class who pay most dearly in all wars. But the imperialists are the run and the liberation forces are winners. What is needed just now is a political effort to match the initiative and dynamics of the freedom fighters. The need for this will be tragically clear when the Belfast assembly farce has run its course, when it will be obvious (if it were not so months ago) that British solutions do not solve Irish problems and that Irish solutions are needed.

The Republican movement has suggested one solution; but there will be other groups in Ireland soon to suggest other solutions, from the centrist left or the fascist right. Of these, perhaps, the threat from the right is the greatest and a substantial number of clerics, Protestant and Catholic, might be found to support a regime inspired by the Greek colonels. Financial backing would be available, as always. And it is really so very far away, with the 26 Counties army recruiting and indoctrinating "skinheads" and respectable members of the Dublin government party so shameless in discussing final solutions for the problem of the "Irish people".

Rahoon is still alive and kicking. And strict justices, apparently, can give free rein to their sectarian prejudices. Already the "thought police" are a fact and there are enough laws to handcuff the labour movement.

We are under no delusion that the moneybags will not stand and fight to safeguard their interests and those of their masters when it becomes clear that there is no travelling open. As victory comes nearer in the North, the men of property in Dublin and elsewhere throughout Ireland must realise that their reign is threatened. As the economy continues to be mismanaged, as food prices climb and inflation makes nonsense of pay increases the people grow angrier and angrier. The temptation to move against the people could very well become so strong that the moneybags and their friends might be tempted to ape the Greek colonels and abandon all pretence at democracy. The freedom forces must be on their guard against such an eventuality. The remedy is the political education of the working class.

WE would suggest that you publish the enclosed exchange of letters since they will outline to your readers the attitude of the present administration in Dublin

We believe that the public should know that the present administration apparently opposes any reform programmes in the north and is advising Irish Americans such as the writer, that the British government does not discriminate in employment in the Six Counties area.

I enclose a copy of Garret Fitzgerald's letter and my reply letter. You are free to quote either.

James C. Heaney
JAMES C. HEANEY
President
295 Main Street
Buffalo 3, New York

a chara

administration as a democratically elected government" but I must question this in view of the fact that your administration is presently enforcing the provisions of the Offences Against the State Act. As an attorney, I can only condemn your government's action in this area. The Offences Against the State Act is something out of Nazi Germany.

I sincerely regret the attitude outlined in your letter. It is quite obvious that your administration opposes any change in the status quo in Northern Ireland. Such a negative policy can only perpetuate existing injustices and prevent the enactment of reform measures. The apathy of your predecessors has already decimated the tourist industry in Southern Ireland. Your present policy can only serve to discourage American investment in Southern Ireland since the border into the south. Your policies can only serve to perpetuate the present system in the north.

We strongly urge you to re-evaluate the situation before the entire economy in Southern Ireland is destroyed.

Respectfully yours,
JAMES C. HEANEY

FURTHER to our recent correspondence, it has now come to my attention that you have issued letters to various bodies in the United States making a number of allegations about Northern Ireland which are totally unfounded - e.g. that it is Government policy to discriminate against Catholics in hiring, and that you would try to discourage American firms from locating in Northern Ireland, despite the desperate need to improve the employment situation there. In view of the tone and content of these communications, I do not feel that I can enter into any further correspondence with you, as the line you are pursuing is totally at variance with the interests of the Irish people North and South, and diametrically opposed to the policy of the democratically elected Government of the Republic of Ireland.

Garret Fitzgerald
Garret Fitzgerald
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Dublin.

THIS will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 23rd last.

I am stunned by the tone of your letter in which you indicate that because my political views differ from yours, you will not enter into any further correspondence with this organisation. Apparently, you do not tolerate a difference of opinion in political affairs.

Your assertion that the British government does not discriminate against Catholics in hiring is ridiculous. We need only refer you to case of employment practices of Harland and Wolff, a corporation owned largely by the British government itself. There are fewer than 100 Catholics employed there although about 10,000 workers are on the employment rolls. We could also point to the case of Siroco Limited, Mackies and many other employers in Northern Ireland whose employment practices are the direct result of governmental policy. The situation will not change as long as your administration opposes reforms and works to promote the interests of the British government to the detriment of the Irish people.

You apparently resent recent brochures we sent to a proximately 2,000 U.S. corporations dealing with the situation in Ulster. As for foreign investment in Northern Ireland which your state is badly needed, the record shows that the British government has purposely channelled foreign investors into Unionist areas in order to create jobs for Unionist workers. It is rare for a Catholic to be employed in these firms. This is a fact of life which your government apparently will not recognise, for reasons known only to itself. Perhaps you can explain why the Catholic unemployment rolls are so high in Catholic areas such as Derry, Newry and Strabane.

The programme of our organisation is not at variance with the interests of the Irish people, though I concede it is at variance with the interests of the British government which seems to be your sole interest.

You refer to your



Not least among them we recite with love and admiration the names of Máire Uí Dhroma, Sean Mac Stiofain and Ruairi Ó Bradraig.

Some have answered the charge in inspiring, flaming speech, some in silence and scorn, no less eloquent.

The words which have had the most profound effect on later generations, without doubt, those of Robert Emmet.

How well those timeless words, in this short extract, fit the circumstances of today. "I appeal to the immaculate God. I swear by the throne of Heaven before which I must shortly appear - by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me - that my conduct has been, through all this peril and through all my purposes, governed only by the conviction which I have uttered and by no other view than that of the emancipation of my country from the superhuman oppression under which she has so long and too patiently travelled; and I confidently hope that, wild and unmerciful as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest of enterprises."

And, who does not recall the conclusion of Emmet's address when, after invoking the memory of his father, in refutation of the malignant imputations of Norway; and a brief reference to the fate which awaited him on the morrow; he concluded with those pregnant words: "When my countrymen take place among the nations of the world then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written?"

Another to step out of the past is that great man of the North, John Mitchell, who was defended in the Green St., Dock by the staunch old Republican, Robert Holmes, the husband of Mary Emmet and who was himself imprisoned after the 1803 Rising.

Against Mitchell, as against Sean Mac Stiofain and the men of today, new procedures were established to secure conviction. A few days before he was sentenced to 14 years transportation he wrote: "For me, I abide my fate joyfully for I know my work is nearly done. Yes; moral force and patience and perseverance are scattered to the wild winds of heaven. The music my countrymen now love best to hear is the rattle of arms and the ring of the rifle. The game is afoot at last. The liberty of Ireland may come sooner or later, by peaceful negotiation or bloody conflict, but it is SURE and wherever between the poles I may chance to be I will hear the crash of the downfall of the thrice-cursed British Empire."

We thrill to recall that scene in Green St., when Mitchell was sentenced and proudly told the partisan judge that hundreds would follow him and his friends in the crowded courtroom

thundered: "Promise for me, Mitchell."

O noble Emmet: a fearless Mitchell. Many have followed your footsteps in the cause of freedom. They are the very flower of our nation and like Emmet, we scorn the baseless imputations against their character.

Now, under God, we face the final struggle. May we not falter till we reach the summit of our hopes and write the epitaph of Emmet in freedom and national honour.

E. O'Neochaidh,
Baile Atha Cliath.

OLD LADY SAID NO

RECENTLY I wrote to The Times of London, as a Republican, protesting against the harassing of Protestants.

It was at a time when some Twenty Six (and Six) Counties politicians were complaining that Republican tactics were too one-sided; the Protestants, they were urging, should get the same treatment as the Catholics.

The point I wanted to make to readers of The Times - and to Britain, generally - was that Republicans do not want any section of the population to be molested; we are neither anti-Protestant nor anti-Catholic. We Irish just want to be left alone, to sort out our own problems among ourselves.

The Times wrote me a courteous letter to say that they did not intend publishing the letter - perhaps on the basis that so many other correspondents have said exactly the same thing? Or ... Regular readers of The Times might care to advise me.

Deasún Breathnach, Páirc Leaca na Scoiche 10, Dun Laoghaire.

Tribute to Connolly

A CHARA - Here a tribute in verse to James Connolly. As it has been a time of Republican ceremonies of late I would publish this poem in "An Phoblacht". Oh, when has he gone, the man the employees feared? Oh, what has been done, to make him disappear?

The man with the power, who always stood up for his right. To look for what he deserved, never giving up day or night.

This man has ceased to be, yet his spirit lives on. Some day it will rise and lead us forth as one.

On that resounding day no obstacle will block our path, for we will get our way. O James Connolly guide our way.

Thomas M. Cullen,
Birr.

WHAT KIND OF AN

WHAT kind of an Eire Nua will be produced by the revolution at present under way? The Sinn Fein view is summarised in a pamphlet now available from the organisation at 10p. We reproduce the cover of the pamphlet at right.

The pamphlet contains also the Structure of the New Ireland, as proposed in June, 1972; the Programme of Social and Economic Development; and the party's Statement on the White Paper, March, 1973.

We publish here this week a few extracts from the first part of the pamphlet.

The Republican aim of creating an independent Ireland of self-governing communities derives from the fundamental belief of Sinn Fein that people should have real and effective control over their own lives at all levels. The development of "alienation" in the population at large is the terrible sense of helplessness and hopelessness which so common in the large cities and also in the declining rural areas of the world today, can best be tackled, we believe, by the creation at local level of real decision-making bodies with real powers.

This problem, which is the crucial one in modern society — and which is seen most clearly at the same problem, rural decline and urban congestion, is inevitably tied up with the development and control of technology and with the protection of the environment.

It is frequently referred to also as the debate about the "quality of life" — a phrase of great importance but which has fallen into misuse. The "quality of life" issue usually leads to long discussions by politicians but rarely to any action. The politicians offer few constructive ideas on how to tackle the problem in a realistic fashion and in a manner in which the citizen feels he has a part to play.

The Republican movement is concerned with the "quality of life" in Ireland and all over the world and seeks to tackle the problem in a radical, fundamental way, based on an analytical examination of the root causes and on policies which fit in with the traditional aspirations of Irish Republicanism and the aspirations of anti-imperialist peoples everywhere.

The third world

"In this respect the Irish people have an especially

FIRE NUA?

important role to play. It was Ireland which began the revolution against the greatest empire the world had ever known in this century. Ireland should be to the forefront of the struggle of the "Third World" in this as in other matters. Sinn Fein intends to give the Irish people the leadership that is necessary in this case.

"Sinn Fein believes that the "quality of life" struggle which faces mankind, and the underdeveloped world in particular, is more fundamental than the arguments about the relative merits of the Communist-Capitalist, East-West systems.

"The present situation transcends these issues; it is larger and more urgent than either of them. Sinn Fein believes that both systems have failed to solve the problem and have not really tackled them at the root. Sinn Fein proposes not a compromise between the two but an alternative third solution which is especially relevant to Ireland and to the neo-colonial world.

"Fundamental to Sinn Fein thinking in these matters is a belief in the devolution of power from the top to the peripheral areas, from the "in-groups" to the "have-nots".

"Sinn Fein proposes that there should be a restoration in the balance of power and prestige, between area and area, between country and country, and between the "developed" and "developing" parts of the world. In particular, within each country there will have to be a redistribution of the balance between declining rural areas and over-crowded urban areas — to the mutual benefit of both.

"The basic imbalance in the development of modern society has brought with it gigantic problems on all sides — economic, social, psychological and sociological, cultural and religious. But the most obvious evil result of this imbalance can be seen in the disruption of nature — of the very environment itself.

"Sinn Fein aims to tackle this very issue of life-to-day in the creation of the New Ireland. Its

proposals, and its proposed method of action, we feel, set guidelines which are valid for many other parts of the world.

Control of technology

"One cannot discuss the "quality of life", the danger to the global environment and associated questions without reference to one of the immediate causes of the trouble. This is the growth of technology, or more accurately, the failure to control technology in the public interest.

"Technology, of itself, is not necessarily bad. It has brought many benefits to mankind and has relieved those in a position to use it of huge burdens of labour and toil.

"But technology and especially its side-effects have to be controlled. Its adverse effects have to be anticipated and plans must be made to deal with them. Also, its fruits have to be shared by mankind, all mankind. And it must not be used by men or nations to exploit other men or nations.

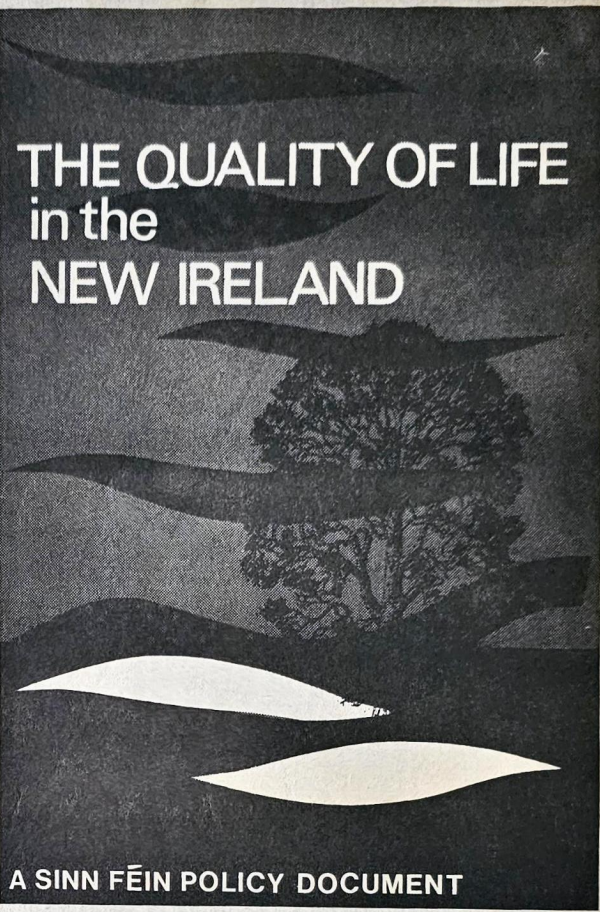
"Sinn Fein believes that the control of technology and the protection of the environment are already pressing problems in Ireland which have been greatly neglected by politicians North and South.

"It will seek to deal with these vital aspects of the "quality of life" debate" by making them open political issues.

"Sinn Fein feels that people are aware, in a general way, of the threat facing them. It will seek to explain this threat while continuing its own research into specific aspects of the situation.

"Sinn Fein believes that we should learn from the mistakes that have been made already in some more technologically advanced nations. We should try to anticipate the problems of the environment in every sphere before they arise. We should closely examine all new technological developments, at home but particularly those from abroad".

* We hope to publish other extracts in future issues — EDITOR.



THE QUALITY OF LIFE in the NEW IRELAND

A SINN FEIN POLICY DOCUMENT

CAMPAIGN HITS RECRUITING

RECRUITING TO the British services recently had been "rather depressing", the British Defence Secretary, Lord Carrington, said in the House of Lords. He added that it could not be put down to any one reason.

"We thought it was partly pay but we have remedied that, as far as is possible under stage two of Government policy".

"Northern Ireland" might have had some effect, not among the soldiers, but among parents who might have discouraged sons from joining the Army with the likelihood of going to "Northern Ireland", he said.

"Then unemployment has come down but one cannot jump to conclusions".

Lord Carrington was replying to Lord Shinwell who had said that it was remarkable that, in spite of better conditions and pay and an expensive advertising campaign, the armed services were failing to get the recruits required.

Lord Carrington told him that a downward trend was evident in the latter part of last year and this had continued.

"We foresaw that raising the school leaving age would have a significant effect on the services, who have to recruit large numbers of young men", he stated.

"The very good recruiting we have achieved over the last two or three years has also reduced the size of the pool but these factors chiefly affect the Army, because it has to recruit the largest numbers.

"The Royal Navy and the R.A.F. also face problems but recruiting for these two services remains adequate".

Lord Shinwell suggested: "Perhaps the Defence Secretary, or even the Prime Minister might go on television and relate the international facts about defence;

that the Soviet Union and East Germany have more than 100 combat divisions, that the Warsaw Pact countries have another 60 divisions, and that there are nuclear submarines".

Lord Carrington said he disagreed with none of that, and

would think about Lord Shinwell's suggestion.

"We are under no illusions as to the difficulty in recruiting soldiers. Too many are being shot in Ireland and this scares prospective recruits. There then is the withdrawal campaign.

Past Policy On Extradition

SINN Fein, in a statement, refers to a speech by the then Taoiseach, Mr. John A. Costello, following an armed attack on the R.U.C. barracks at Roslea, Co. Fermanagh, on November 26, 1965, and says his views on the fact that an extradition should be upheld by the Coalition Government now.

The statement adds: "Despite the fact that an extradition agreement has since been made between the Westminster and Dublin Governments, Sinn Fein is of the opinion that Mr. Costello's remarks on this subject are worth reading today.

"Shortly afterwards Mr. Costello's Government did use the Offences Against the State Act against Republicans, and went out

of office as a result, but their attitude on the extradition of Republicans was determined and clear. They would not do it.

"Mr. Costello's party, Fine Gael, is now the major partner in another Coalition Government which is busily executing British extradition warrants. Persons already arrested on these warrants include a Belfast mother, a priest and a Belfast man on whose behalf the 26-Counties Government has accused the British of torture at the European Court of Human Rights.

"To crown it all, the Attorney-General who is implementing this policy is Mr. John A. Costello's son, Mr. Declan Costello".



What kind of an Ireland will it be when these youngsters are grown up? Polluted? Industrial jungle as savage as Washington D.C. after dark? The Republican Movement looks ahead to what must form British withdrawal if victory is to be consolidated.



Michael Wilson, Tommy Heron's brother-in-law, who is in bed.

ANOTHER VICTIM OF

British intelligence?



Tommy Heron... de-throned vice president of the U.D.A.

WHO are the "Ulster Freedom Fighters"? What connection is there between the Ulster Defence Association and British intelligence in one of its many forms?

To find a clue, all that is necessary is to read Kitson's "Gangs and Pseudogangs," and to have a rough idea as to what happened over the years in Palestine, Kenya, Aden, Cyprus and all the rest.

The funny thing about it all is that not only do the same kind of events "happen" but that the same people turn up to make them happen, as even a casual onlooker on the Belfast and Derry scene is so much aware.

British pretence

The thing requires little explanation: the fire must be poked now and then lest it go out. There is a British pretence surrounding the fact that the British are occupying Ireland to keep the Irish from wiping each other out (the same story was told about Kenya, Palestine, Cyprus, etc.).

So, according to Hill's master cook Kitson, the recipe is: kill a Catholic and make it look like a Protestant job; kill a Protestant and make it look like a Catholic job. Then hope for the best, that somebody will take it from there. Now and then add a Catholic or a Protestant and keep on the boil.

Another reason for the Kitson-style intervention is to make people not directly involved in the liberation struggle sick and tired of "violence".

You kill and give the impression that the thing is getting out of hand. You blow up or foul up a warning and give the impression that the thing is getting out of control. Now and then you have a go outside the immediate area. If possible, you move a few pawns so that rival anti-imperialists start fighting among themselves.

One peace

But, of course, there is only one kind of peace possible in these circumstances: unconditional surrender for the

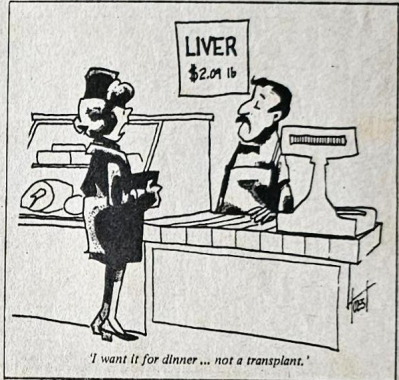
forces of liberation. Until, one day, a leading politician suddenly announces that talks have taken place, an agreement has been reached, the British are withdrawing, etc. And to hell with whoever is left holding the can, be he white or black, Catholic, Protestant or Dissenter.

No Republican killed Tommy Heron's brother-in-law in the first place: that was British killing. The "Ulster Freedom Fighters" are members of a pseudogang of their leaders are under Kitson orders.

The Ulster Defence Association is riddled with British spies as is any other "open" organisation of any merit in the Six of Twenty-Six Counties, including the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. The only difference is that they are rather more numerous - and, to the trained observer, rather more obvious - in the U.D.A.

How long can they survive and continue to act so stupidly?

Lenar dTuairisceoir



From "The Militant".

German audiences hear Irish case

By Gunter Minnerup

BRUNSWICK, Federal Germany - The current speaking tour with Gerry O'Hare of Belfast and Gery Lawless of the I.M.G. is meeting with enthusiastic support. So far meetings have been held in Frankfurt, Dortmund, Cologne, Alsdorf, and Aachen. The tour will continue with meetings in Braunschweig, Wolfsburg, Bremen and Hamburg.

The politics of British imperialism and, especially, the "carrot and stick" strategy of Whitelaw were the topic of Gery Lawless's speeches while Gerry O'Hare explained the aims of the I.R.A. military campaign, the origins of the Provisionals and the problem of the pro-imperialist Orange workers.

Questions from the floor showed that knowledge about the Irish liberation struggle in Germany has increased since the last German tour with Gerry O'Hare and Bob Purdie a year ago.

The German student and anti-imperialist movement is beginning to realise that it must not just be a spectator in relation to the Irish struggle but that it can actually be a participant in it by contributing to the defeat of British imperialism through giving political and material support to those forces fighting for national liberation and socialism in Ireland today.

Miners applaud

Although most of the meetings takes place at universities and have a predominantly student audience, there are exceptions.

In Alsdorf, a small mining community near Aachen, for instance, Gery Lawless and Gery O'Hare addressed a miner's meeting in a local pub.

The enthusiastic response proved that already sectors of the German working class, if still small, begin to see the link between their struggle and that of the Irish people and are ready to solidarize with the I.R.A., despite all the propaganda in the capitalist press.

There was also a lively discussion of the last year's British miner's strike and Gery O'Hare received much applause when he told the audience about how the I.R.A. dealt with scab lorries during the strike.

Prisoners in Mountjoy: a statement

WE have been asked to publish the following statement from Republican prisoners in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin.

"The promises made, the pledges given, and the principles enunciated in 1971 by the Anti-Unionist, M.P.s, Senators, and Councillors have all been jettisoned from their various platforms. A new set of promises, a new set of pledges, a new set of principles have been taken on. Nothing has changed except their hypocrisy. It has become more refined.

"In 1971 they told the minority community that until the British Army's unprovoked murder of unarmed civilians ended, they would withdraw from the political system.

"In 1972 they tell the minority community that the only way to end the continuing British Army's murdering of unarmed civilians is to work the political system. The ghosts of Thornton, Beattie and Cusack accuse them.

"In 1973 they tell the minority community that the only way to end internment is to work the political system, the political system that is enforcing internment, albeit under a different name.

"In 1971 they told the people they were opposing the political system until the Special Powers' Act was abolished.

"In 1973 they are telling the people that they must co-operate with the political system until the Special Powers' Act, albeit under a different name, is abolished.

"The list of unredemmed pledges, broken promises and prostituted principles is long and the sacrifices, aspirations and legitimate demands of the people are being sold out by the political opportunists and place seekers.

"The servants of personal power and position are chasing the ghosts of the dead, and are climbing the dark side of betrayal on the back of a harassed and long suffering community.

In consideration of these facts - and they are facts as surely as internment is a fact - we, the Republican prisoners in Mountjoy, who come from Armagh, Belfast, Derry, Fermanagh, Newry and Tyrone,

appeal to the minority population to reject the green coated Faulkners. Reject them, whatever the brand of political treachery they are peddling. And, in particular, reject those who have been so politically bankrupt that they would try to make themselves solvent by claiming some personal or organisational association with the Provisional I.R.A."

NO CHANCE FOR THIS TEENAGER

A DUBLIN Garda said in court recently he was being put in a very embarrassing position because there was no place of detention for a 12-year-old girl who appeared on four charges arising out of the taking of property in the Dun Laoghaire area, at the Children's Court.

Garda John P. Anders told Justice Kennedy that the girl before the court had been convicted on seven charges relating to housebreaking and stealing in the Sallynoggin area only days ago.

He had four cases against her that morning. St. Ann's refused to take her, she was being chased out of houses and schools in Sallynoggin.

"It's got to the stage where teachers cannot leave their handbags down when she is around. No place will take her and I am in a very embarrassing position", the Garda said.

"NEEDS TREATMENT"

Justice - The court is also very embarrassed as it can do absolutely nothing with this child. She is very disturbed and needs treatment.

Two brothers (aged 10 and 11) appeared on some of the charges with the girl. Justice Kennedy remanded the younger of the brothers to St. Laurence's for a full investigation but had to let the girl go free. She remained her back to the Children's Court for a later hearing.

Justice Kennedy was embarrassed and rightly so. The state she serves spends millions playing the sticky role to Britain's aggression in Ireland but begrudges the few thousand pounds necessary to set up a system to help this girl and others.

St. John of God's does invariable work in Ireland and, no doubt, would help here, too, if provision were made by the State.

At present, as far as we know, the only way of helping this girl would be through the national school's medical scheme in which Justice Kennedy has no say.

EDITOR



leabhal

Maelúin

DIARMAID Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN

leabúlaí tréimh de bhailiú gCluB

SÁIRSEAL AGUS DILL

37 Bli Ardálachá Ath Chláir 6

AN tseacht seo leagan an t-údar b'fear gearr annas ar Bhaleabaic, áir h'ardgairne agus dhacamarachmaoirt, agus ar 'amhúchóir sháinúil' a g'áid d'áir. Os a g'áinne sin mhóir na síoraíochta dó, a g'áinne ar an tré tháir. Ar an tré tháir is an woyar bóichí, Sualí, casta ina chuid uaigne dó. Ar phlána eile tá sampla t'ire i Meáidin gona galar, gona Bosc Mhóra, gona Whizráic, gona sodar...

Tá iarracht chruithaithe déanta anseo ag an údar breith ar an t'ambail bhonaid agus ar na beatha a scráid. Beith, dar líon, tráid ar an leabhar seo fós.

Sáir seacht seo tá cuid den scríbhneoireacht is fearr dar ías sa chomórtaí agus tá ceasúchóir neamhchóilaithe le feiceáil in áiteanna - Molteir Oweas

urus E.08 ps 12p.

Father and son on arms charges

A FARMER and his son were accused at a special court in Newtownhamilton of having ammunition on a South Armagh farm. John Walsh (59) and John Martin Walsh (19), Carrowmannon, Belleek, both were remanded until July 3. They were charged with having 48 rounds of .303 ammunition and six rounds of .30 ammunition for an unlawful object on June 6.

A detective said he had seen both men at Newry on June 6. He had told them he was inquiring into the finding of ammunition and of Cortex fuse found in a drain pipe on the farm.

When charged, John Walsh replied: "I am not satisfied with that, as I know nothing about it". His son, Martin, replied: "No". Mr. Brendan McNamee, defending, alleged that soldiers deliberately had planted ammunition and fuse wire on the farm.

Attempted murder

These accusations are seen in a new and more sinister light when one remembers that it is less than three months since British Paratroopers attempted to murder Mr. Martin Walsh in front of witnesses.

Several people saw the Paras push Martin's head into a pond, keep it submerged and, on telling him to get going, shoot him in the back of the neck.

A Para then was heard to ask: "Will I finish him off now?" The officer in charge replied: "No, there are too many people watching".

When Martin Walsh refused to suppress the true story of his ordeal, a campaign of terror against both him and his family was begun by the "security forces". He was assaulted again; his younger brother, Donal, sustained a severe eye injury when beaten up; and his mother was abused when their house was ransacked.

Not content with this toll of revenge, Whiteclaw's terrorists now intend to frame the breadwinners of the Walsh family and to have them sent to jail on falsified evidence.

Let it be remembered that the S.D.L.P. M.P.'s such as Paddy O'Hanlon, who exploited the plight of the Walsh family before as a platform to gain support, are silent now.

Three young Coalisland men were jailed for a total of 26 years at the Tyrone Assizes, in Omagh. They are Patrick Gerald Quinn (21), Glen Cottages; Leo McGrath, (23), Knockmoy Park; and Paul Campbell (19), Melissa Terrace. They had been arraigned on arms charges. Quinn and McGrath both were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and

Cambell, to six years jail.

Jailed for self-defence

A 19-year-old Catholic youth who fired at a Tartan gang who menaced him in the Antrim Road area was jailed for seven years by Mr. Justice Kelly at the City Commission recently.

The young man, Michael Linehan, Marsden Gardens, was walking home when accosted by a gang whom the justice admitted "intended physical injury".

Linehan, in an attempt to frighten them off, fired several shots over their heads, accidentally hitting one of them. He had acquired the gun for self protection following several sectarian murders in the area.

Judge Kelly, is becoming prominent in Belfast. He jails Republicans and Catholics for offences for which "loyalists" and Protestants are fined or left off lightly. In recent weeks we have highlighted some of the injustices perpetrated by this individual.

Magnificent seven

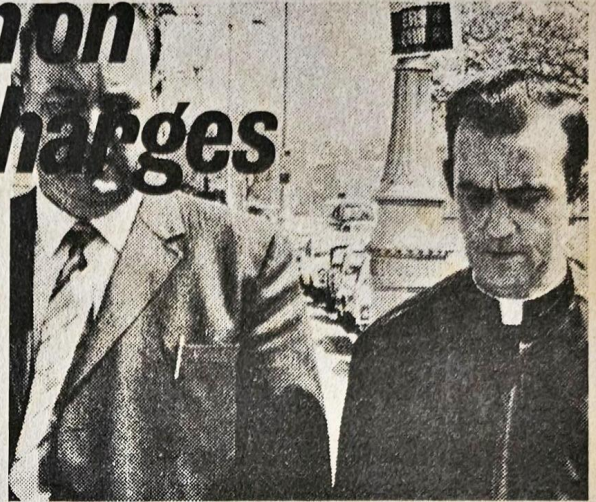
James Bryson, the man the British could not keep locked up, is to be extradited to the Six Counties, if Cosgrave's regime has its way.

At a sitting in Dundalk, Mr. Justice Dunleavy granted an order for his extradition and handing over to the R.U.C.

Bryson already has escaped twice from British concentration camps. He was one of the "magnificent seven" who swam to freedom from the Middstone and, after being recaptured, he escaped from Long Kesh.

There is every reason to believe that if the R.U.C. Special Branch gets its hands on him, its members will ensure that Jim Bryson will never escape again.

Bryson was arrested on May 22 on charges of "tampering with a car". These were sufficient to have him remanded in custody, until the R.U.C. was able to issue an extradition warrant. The



Rev. Bartholomew Burns (37), Sneem, Co. Kerry, and captor, entering the Four Courts, Dublin. The Dublin regime seeks to send him to Scotland for questioning by police in connection with alleged arms offences.

original charge then was dismissed in order to facilitate a speedy deal with the British.

Bryson already has suffered torture at the hands of the "security forces" controlled by Whiteclaw. He was one of the men concerned in a case brought by the Dublin regime against the British at the Human Rights Court in Strasbourg, alleging "inhuman treatment, brutality, degradation of the individual and grievous torture". These charges are still pending.

Mr. Con Lehane, for Bryson, in opposing the extradition order, referred to the Strasbourg case and said it shocked him to find that an "Irish" government was now collaborating with the authorities against whom they had brought such serious charges in Bryson's case.

"It would be like extraditing a person of Jewish faith to Nazi Germany, knowing of the gas

chambers and the fate that would be in store for such a person", said Mr. Lehane.

Jim Bryson is one of several people awaiting extradition from the 26 Counties to the concentration camps set up by Faulkner and extended under Whiteclaw. Others include Belfast housewife and mother, Mrs. Roisin McLoughlin and, Rev. Bartholomew Burns (pictured right).

There can be no doubt as to what awaits these Irish men and women if they are handed over to the murderers of Derry, the torturers of Long Kesh and Hollywood Barracks, and the assassins of Tony McDowell, Brian Smith or Eddie O'Rawe.

Fight Extradition
Fight it Now

REVOLUTION BEGINS WITH A THOUGHT

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Keep abreast of Irish revolutionary thought.

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Cash must accompany all orders.

No literature will be supplied on credit.

AVAILABLE
TODAY
FROM

SINN FEIN

Roinn na Poiblíochta,
Sráid Chaoimhín 2a,
Baile Átha Cliath, ÉIRE.

A Proud Mother & A Great Irish Lady

JOE CAHILL'S MOTHER is dead, the words came as a sudden shock, yet only a few days before I had heard there was no hope and everyone was waiting for the end - But still the shock came with thoughts of Joe in Mountjoy Jail, his brothers and sisters and his father Joseph. I thought of the early days, the Republican House in Divis Street, the kind, gentle lady that Susan Cahill really was - the Mother waiting, the worry, the torture, the sleepless nights - the time of Tom Williams execution, the trips to Crumlin Road Jail, the prison ships, the concentration camps, the hours at Frank's bedside in a Belfast hospital - the British raids, the RUC - and yet to look at Susan Cahill you would think she never knew a moments worry - calm and dignified, gentle spoken, always ready to help others with their burdens. Divis Street was an open house and known to Irish Republicans all over the world - Susan Cahill was proud of her tradition, proud of her family, and proud of her son Joe's leadership in the struggle for Irish freedom. Her own worries were pushed aside as she listened to other peoples worries, and tried to comfort and inspire confidence - I can see her now sitting for long hours in the caravan outside Mountjoy Jail, a sad smile on her lips an nod of her head now and again, a few gentle words and then listening to the others, always listening and listening. A beautiful humility and a ready willingness to assist anyone



The late Mrs. Susan Cahill with Mai Nolan's (Liverpool) grandson David outside Mountjoy Prison where her son Joe and the O Braidraigh brothers were on hunger strike.

who came her way - "Oh I couldn't leave Belfast without calling on Mrs Cahill." I have heard those words more than a thousand times - "she's the prisoners

best friend, she brings them fruit, she brings them books, what would we do without her, did you ever think what would the prisoners do without Mrs Cahill?"

I like to think of Susan Cahill as being the Eleanor Bond of our times, Eleanor Bond (nee Jackson) was the first lady in 1796 to start the Prisoners' Dependents Fund and to visit prisoners in Kilmainham and Newgate jails, she also kept her house open to the prisoners families when they came to Dublin to visit their loved ones - Susan Cahill in Divis Street, Belfast, filled that role for people from the South and North in the 1940's, 1950's, 1960's and 1970's. I think the shock of her death meant to me that an end had come to a lifetime of service in the Republican cause, and the words of Mrs Boyce in the fifties kept drumming in my mind - "Did you ever think what would the prisoners do, what would we all do without Mrs Cahill" - Her last hours were no different from her lifetime. British raids around her death bed - British guns around her coffin and British spies in her funeral procession.

A great lady has passed away - let us not be sorrowful, but let us shout with joy, that we were chosen, to know and to call her our friend, our comrade and to some of us our mother in the fight for Irish Freedom - if membership of the Republican Movement brought us nothing else, other than contact and friendship with Susan Cahill then membership of the Republican Movement was not in vain.

Prominent Limerick Republican Arrested



DESMOND LONG, 10 Foyle Park, Shannon, who was arrested on Monday the 11th of June by the Free State "collaborator" forces.



To Na Fianna O/Cs

A MEETING OF all Na Fianna Eireann O/Cs (or representative from slua) will be held in 44 Parnell Sq, Dublin, on Sunday July 8th, at 1.30 p.m. sharp.

It is important that every slua in the 32 counties be represented. Business Urgent.

Ar son na Fianna.
Donal Varian,
Ard-Taoiseach.

Cosgrave Forgets

HIS OWN WORDS AFTER DERRY'S BLOODY SUNDAY

MR. COSGRAVE'S IMPLIED recognition of a new Stormont comes as no surprise to the Republican Movement. The recent pattern of intensified collaboration with British forces, the spate of extradition cases and the increased harassment of Republicans in the south were bound to reach the inevitable climax of betraying the national ideal of ending British rule for all time. The complete capitulation to Unionist demands for recognition of permanent supremacy, dooms over half a million Irish people to a life of misery against which they have struggled so much.

Mr. Cosgrave referred to the "authors of violence" without any reference whatsoever to the British Army of occupation in Ireland. Does he not know who authorised the pogrom of August 1969; the killing of Cusack and Beattie in 1970; internment in 1971; the Derry Massacre of 1972; the New Lodge Road Massacre of 1973?

Is he aware that British terrorists bludgeon, baton and kill Irish men, women and children? Does he forget his own words after Derry's Bloody Sunday when he called for the withdrawal of British troops? Does Mr. Cosgrave need a Bloody Sunday every Sunday to remind him

of the stark reality that British troops are terrorists in our country?

Does he think that Northern people will accept a new Stormont when it costs so much in lives, liberties and suffering to bring down the old one? If he does, he is living in a fool's paradise.

The IRA will not accept any new Stormont. We vowed in 1969 to destroy the old one and we did it. We pledge to meet British force with Irish force and we are doing it. No polite meaningless words will deflect us in our determination to defeat British terrorism. We are well on the road to beating the British Army; our offensive of the last few days with opera-

tions in every area of the Six Counties was a demonstration of our capacity to strike hard at the enemy. Our motor attacks on Derry, Omagh and Ballykinkar military camps have been played down in the news media, so as not to embarrass the British Army and Government.

It is futile for Cosgrave and others to talk of reconciliation before evacuation. British troops must leave our streets, and eventually our country. Their Government must recognise the right of the Irish people to be the sole arbiters of the future of this island. England may try as many elections as she likes, set up as many assemblies as she pleases, but, in the long

I. R. P. B. STATEMENT

run, they will be as meaningless as the Downing Street Declaration, the Heath Initiative and the Darlington Conference.

There is but one solution to the present conflict: England must publicly declare she is ending her presence in Ireland. When that is done, there will be peace in our land. The IRA can lay aside its arms confident in the knowledge that Irish people, without foreign interference, can settle their differences without resort to arms.

We look forward to that day, to completing the shaping of a New Ireland. We know what war is, and all it entails. Cosgrave does not. Our yearning for a just and lasting peace is all the more genuine and greater. We shall not rest until we have secured it.

(Signed) P. O'Neill
Runai, IRPB

REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT BALLAD SESSION

IN EMBANKMENT, TALLAGHT TUESDAY 3rd JULY

AUCTION OF LONG KESH HANDWORK WILL TAKE PLACE

Your Acts Are Acts Of War

I
Let me ask you British soldier,
As you plunder through my land
Do you think that you belong here,
With your rifle in your hand?
Do you think that you are welcome,
Ah but surely you have seen
That we want no British soldiers
In our lovely isle of green

"The Irish People", America.

II
Go on home, now, British soldiers,
Your acts are acts of war
Like Cromwell's men you plunder,
Our weary hearts you scar
Your presence here defiles the graves
Of Pearse and Connolly,
Go home, go home, invaders,
You keep my land unfree.

Evelyn Byer, Baltimore, MD.

DEMAND RELEASE

OF ALL Political Prisoners