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## THE PEOPLE ARE THE SOURCE OF OUR SUCCESS

"Once again on this Easter day we gather to pay homage to all who died for the freedom of our country. The torch lit in 1916 was carried forward by our own comrades who lie in these graves. Our volunteers endured the hoisted treatment, tortures and murders by Crown forces and other tools of British Imperialism. In spite of the shooting of unarmed prisoners by the British Army and their allies, the Free State Army, amidst betrayal and treachery from so called politicians and former comrades, the members of the Belfast Brigade stood firm and resolute.

By  
Seamus Toomey

Our comrades by their heroism and fighting spirit brought about a situation where the British Army had to admit that it was impossible to defeat Oglach na h-Eireann. But again as always there are native slaves ready to do England's work. The O'Briens, Fitzgeralds, Cosgraves and Co., put their services at the disposal of England. The State Police by harrassment and arrests of Northern Republicans by their passing of photographs and fingerprints to the R.U.C. special branch which in turn are handed over to the sectarian murder squads the Gardai officers who are paid members of the British Secret Service, the Free State Army which stands ready at the Border to go the aid of their British allies when attacked by Republican forces. Leinster House Politicians are doing their damndest to rewrite Irish history so that martyrs who died for Ireland can be portrayed as morons and the Brits depicted as poor maligned innocents.

Witness the murder of an unarmed prisoner by their so called army. This army of the Free State which has never fired a shot for the freedom of Ireland, but has always been used for the murder of Republicans and to help uphold British Law in Ireland. The SDLP

politicians do not care for Ireland or its people. Their only aim is power and self glorification. They are ready to enact any treachery including open co-operation with the British Army and RUC.

In spite of betrayal and treachery the Irish Republican Army after 5 years of hard bitter fighting, stands today stronger and better equipped than at any time in its history. The ideals for which our comrades died and for which thousands languish in prison, will not be bartered for sops of a so-called convention. The volunteers who lie in these graves fought for a free united Ireland. Nothing less will satisfy us.

At this moment in time, when a bilateral truce is in force, but under very severe strain due to the failure of the British army to honour its obligations under their truce. But I tell them here and now that the Republican Army will control them. The sectarian RUC will never again be allowed to patrol any Republican area. These people have not changed. They are the same people who were responsible for the burning of

Nationalists homes, also murder in 1969. They are still in charge. Indeed, as may be seen by the reluctance to take action against sectarian murder squads but by their co-operation with them by providing a safe return to their bases.

In case anyone is in doubt there will be no permanent ceasefire until our main demands are met, namely: A declaration of intent, A general Amnesty for all political prisoners and the withdrawal of British troops to barracks.

I pledge my comrades in prisons that there will be no sell out. There will be no retreating from the demands we have already presented to the British Government. I know that the people of Belfast suffered a lot, particularly Republican families. If we do not get our demands by negotiation then it is back to war.

I know that everyone who has taken part in this struggle since 1969 will not allow final victory to be snatched from them at the negotiation table. My comrades who sleep in these graves did not die so that political gangsters and opportunists would walk over their bones to power.

The members of Belfast Brigade, whose fighting qualities have become world famous, will not allow comrades memory to be debased and sullied by the politicians of violence, whose one object is greed and wordly power.

This Brigade which has been the spearhead of the struggle, whose losses have been the highest of any Brigade, whose soldiers by their courage have become the scourge of the British — will reject any convention where the people of the 32 counties do not have their say.

Let no-one be under any illusion — The Republican army stands ready to fight. In spite of propaganda from lying reporters and others, it has been kept in a state of readiness, not as some would like to believe, turned into a political movement. I know this

### Republican News Seller in Mountjoy Jail

Traolach O Lathain, a well-known Republican News seller in Dublin was arrested at his home last week and taken to Mountjoy Jail where he is still held for selling this newspaper.

A young Belfast girl from the New Lodge district, was flung into a Black Maria by state police as she was selling this newspaper outside the G.P.O. in Dublin, just before Easter.

As an old Republican said to our reporter in Drogheda last week with tears of frustration and anger in his eyes: "How much longer will the Irish people tolerate the Leinster House crowd?" Yes indeed!

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## Belfast Brigade will not tolerate British violations of Truce

The following supplied statement was issued by the Belfast Brigade, Oglach na h-Eireann on Wednesday:-

"This is meant to serve as a warning that further violations of the truce by the British Army will no longer be tolerated.

"We for our part, have completely observed the "No hostilities," pledge given when we entered into a truce with the British Government on February 10, despite extreme provocation from the British Army.

"Our discipline and determination to honour our pledge were strained to the utmost following the wounding of two Sinn Fein members at Ross Street on March 13. Since then our people have been subjected to increasing harassment, arrests, raiding of homes (the latest being the home of Mrs. Manning, Balkan Street, where severe damage was done to the property).

"These so called security forces seem to act with impunity, with a total disregard for guarantees given publicly by Merlyn Rees. We can no longer ignore these excesses."

## EASTER STATEMENT FROM LEADERSHIP

Easter Sunday is the traditional day for commemorating the patriot dead of our country. The occasion has a particular relevance today because the Republican Movement remains the only significant body which sets aside a day of national commemoration for the soldiers of the Irish Republican Army who gave their lives in the fight for freedom. The movement's loyalty, fidelity and service to the ideals of 1916 have been amply demonstrated during the last five years.

Nearly one hundred and fifty of our comrades have died during those years. Most died on the battlefield fighting against our ancient enemy; others died in Free State and British jails upholding the code of honour of soldiers of the Irish Republican Army. We salute their memory today; together with comrades of former generations, they shall remain our inspiration and strength in completing the task they so nobly served.

We have witnessed major developments during the last year. The Assembly of power seekers crashed to the ground and direct British rule was imposed again. Increased enemy pressure was answered by decisive blows to the enemy in its homeland and in the occupied area. The world witnessed the grim determination of the Irish Republican Army to pay any price to smash British Rule in Ireland.

"Our military action had the desired effect. The British Government indicated a willingness to give serious consideration to the three basic demands of the Republican Movement for a lasting peace in our land. This development was assisted by the courageous action of the Feakle Churchmen. The army council of Oglach na h-Eireann decided to negotiate an agreed truce with the forces of the British Crown and thus give the British Government an opportunity to grant justice to the Irish people without further loss of life.

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## TERRORISM AND TERRORISTS

# IRELAND WAS DIVIDED BY TERROR

Over the past six years the words 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' have been used freely by most sections of the press and Government to blacken the people's war of liberation. Some people accept these words, delivering that any person who tries to change the system be it English rule in Ireland or Dublin's sell-out policies, is a terrorist. It seems that if you use the gun or the pen, it makes no difference. Once you refuse to accept things the way they are and try to change them for the better, you then become a subversive and a terrorist.

But who really are the terrorists in Ireland today. The simple fact is that terrorism is a part of the state and is used freely by the English and Dublin Governments alike.

The past 800 years of Irish history has been one of terror. The last six years is an excellent example of English terrorism at work to keep the Irish people in subjection. England divided Ireland by terror and has maintained a partition by brutal force and fear. England and her Dublin puppets have in the process denied the Irish people the civil liberties and human rights guaranteed by the European Convention of Human Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is incredible that both England and Ireland can still pretend to support both these charters.

The law operating both North and South are totally opposed to what most of the world knows as basic freedom. Laws like the 1973 Emergency Provisions Act and the Offences Against the State Act are not meant to protect the people, but to terrorise them. For six years, people were arrested and interrogated at centres like Hollywood and Girdwood barracks. The Royal Ulster Constabulary and British Army invaded homes, beat prisoners, blackmailed, denied counsel, tortured by electric fires, electric shocks, drugs, etc.

### SPECIAL COURTS WITH JUSTICE REMOVED LIKE THE JURY, MAKING JUSTICE, NORTH AND SOUTH . . . . A FARCE!

They did not stop there. Next came special courts with justice removed like the jury, making justice, north and south, a farce. Next came the concentration camps and internment of innocent people. The sole purpose of this was to provide political hostages, men, women and children. The people subjected to this form of Government and seeing no peaceful or political and its self armed struggle as a means to defend and change their lives.

They took the same road as other revolutionaries. What choice had they? At first, they tried by peaceful means, only to find that the Government put out its armed thugs to beat them off the streets. The Irish

people have a right to use force if England uses force against them. The object behind 'terror' or 'terrorism' is not to change things but to keep things the way they are. The Irish people wish things to be changed and wish the English would disengage thus giving the people a first chance to join together to achieve real freedom.

The revolutionaries in Ireland are not using terrorism but by the very nature of their struggle are fighting against it with a view to ending English rule. The revolutionary soldiers of the Irish Republican Army are most certainly not terrorists nor do they use terror tactics. They; like all people fighting against the terror of any army of occupation must use force. It is those whom the people see selling out their country and those who would exploit our wealth and our resources who are the real terrorists. This will only end when the revolution that the people have been fighting has been won, and the English leave us to join together thus allaying fears and the exploitation of those fears. Then only will English terrorism and Dublin terrorism be ended.

That victory has not come about yet, but we ourselves have come a long way towards defeating Government efforts to terrorise the people. Their threats and bribes no longer work and the people have learned to resist coercion and exploitation. We have come far, but we must continue until everyone learns that terror and terrorism are the anti-revolutionary weapons of two tottering regimes fighting a losing battle with a popularly supported freedom struggle.

claimed by the IRA as part of a scheme which would enable them to police minority areas.'

### USE OF PRISONERS FOR POLITICAL GAME

On the issue of internment, Dr. Fitzgerald told the English Government that 'perhaps' it might be a good idea to release a few internees, because he said this would contribute to the IRA's propaganda position. 'The present ceasefire,' he said, 'is not easy to interpret. I believe that it has been contributed to by the weakness of the IRA and by the growing erosion of its limited support in Belfast. I welcome the ceasefire, but I would have been happier if the emphasis afterwards had been placed on the release of internees as this would have eroded the Provisional support further, instead of involving contact between them and Government officials.'

### LIBERTY ONLY IMPORTANT AS BARGAINING COUNTER — FITZGERALD

Dr. Fitzgerald only admits that the liberty of men and women interned without trial is only important as a bargaining counter to bolster up English power and his own position. The same, of course, goes for the unfortunate people interned by his own Special Political Courts in the South. The Republican movement demands the release of all political prisoners for the one simple reason that they should never have been interned in the first place.

Dr. Fitzgerald says he would be 'happy' if a few people were released by a clement English Government only because this would promote English policy and that of England under Toms. The Republican movement is concerned with the happiness of people based on the inherent human right of freedom. It is not concerned with whether the scheming Dr. Fitzgerald feels himself 'happy' or otherwise.

### WANTS MORE TROOPS IN NORTH.

Dr. Fitzgerald expressed fears that credibility could be given to the Republican Government by the new incident centres, run by civil servants and by Sinn Fein, when he had talks in London with members of the English Government and with leading members of the Opposition.

He begged the English Government to confine the activities of the incident centres to monitoring the ceasefire. He also cautioned the English to beware of Republicans in negotiations, and asked them to 'deal with the IRA' as his own Government does, 'firmly'. He also assured the English Government that the IRA are now in a state of 'weakness' and called for a greater English presence with increased searches in Catholic areas.

Dr. Fitzgerald lied that 'the establishment of the incident centres was

## 'The Triangle of Death' pamphlet

A PAMPHLET has been published about sectarian murders of Catholics in the Dungannon-Moy Portadown area.

The 15-page booklet, entitled 'The Triangle of death,' is written by Fr. Denis Faul, of Dungannon, and Fr. Raymond Murry, of Armagh.

Criticism is directed at the security forces for failing to

root out most of the sectarian killers. The authors claim that of the 19 murders around Dungannon and Portadown, only two have been solved satisfactorily. Others have been solved, but not to the satisfaction of relatives or Catholic observers, and 14 are unsolved.

The two priests say that many of the sectarian killers have been operating out of the Bonds Plantation Birches, Tullyharrow and Loughgall areas and add: 'The lack of British Army or police activity around these places has been perplexing.'

They go on: 'A combant search and constant surveillance by the Army would have prevented many grisly killings by assassins.'

The authors also say: 'By disguising and covering up murders which are sectarian assassinations, the Government and the RUC hope to conceal from the eyes of the world the fact that there is a second campaign of violence in Northern Ireland which has continued on after the IRA ceasefire, namely the assassination of Catholics, now over 200 of them, completely innocent people killed because they were Catholics—sectarian assassinations.'

Available at the Eire Nua Bookshop, 170 Falls Road, Belfast.  
PRICE: 10p. (Plus 6p. postage).



## "SELL-OUT OF NATIONALITY," SAYS SNN FEIN SPEAKER

Speaking at Easter Commemoration Ceremonies at the Republican Plots in Doonbeg and Crusheen, Co. Clare, Sean O'Bradaigh, Ard-Comhairle Sinn Fein, said that the 26-County state was now abandoning even the symbols of sovereignty. The Fine Gael-Labour Coalition was moving with great haste to bury our Republican heritage.

"The position has now been reached where the state is even ashamed to honour Ireland's dead patriots. All official tributes were cancelled and we were told that there was to be one day in the year for commemoration ceremonies and this would be St. Patrick's Day. Obviously Easter would be too much of an embarrassment for them."

"But when St. Patrick's Day came around just two weeks ago there was no mention of Ireland's dead. Indeed, the state celebrated the occasion by shooting an unarmed prisoner in Portlaoise, thus adding another name to the roll of martyrs."

"We also see the downgrading of the Irish language in the schools and the public service, the re-writing of the history books and the attempt to re-broadcast BBC 1 as RTE 2. It all adds up to a complete sell-out of our nationality and any claim to sovereignty."

"The Republican Movement regards the Proclamation of 1916 as its foundation-stone; the Republic we seek to create is that of Pearse and Connolly; and like them we believe that the fundamental question is the removal of the British presence from Ireland. In short, we regard all as Irish men and women, irrespective of class or creed, and we wish to put them in control of the affairs and resources of this island, in a true democracy."

"When Conor Cruise O'Brien says that he will not see a united Ireland in his lifetime, he is really saying that he does not want to see a united Ireland. He is typical of all the Leinster House parties, which have no organisation in the Six Counties, and who are terrified lest the British pull out and leave them to survive as best they can in a 32-County state where the population would be 1 million greater than that of the 26 Counties."

"The selfish interests of party politicians must not be allowed to stand in the way of Irish freedom, no matter how many troops or baton-wielding police they have at their disposal, or how many threats are made to beat Republicans into the ground."

## Easter Statement 1975

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That position obtains today. Its continuance depends on the willingness and sincerity of the British Government to withdraw its forces from Ireland. The Irish Republican Army will settle for no permanent agreement which does not include a programme of planned and orderly withdrawal of the English establishment from our country. The Republican Movement has been unflinching, in war and in peace, in demanding the withdrawal of the British presence and to that basic tenet of Republicanism, the Leadership of today remains completely committed.

Britain experienced our determination in war to secure a declaration of intent; today we witness our control, discipline and patience in securing the same objective. There is a limit to our patience and if it becomes war again, the responsibility will rest firmly with the British Government.

It will stand to the eternal shame of the Irish elements who did their utmost to wreck the present truce. Foremost amongst them is the Dublin regime who did everything possible to get the British Government to renege on the truce agreement. History has given us many traitors but few would equal the fascists who rule in Dublin today. The Dublin Government does not want peace in our land; it is determined to create toil and strife across the island in a blind orgy of attempting to destroy Republicanism.

The Dublin Government is assisted by the power seeking politicians of the S.D.L.P. Those politicians of violence fear the day when genuine peace pervades our land. There will be no future in the New Ireland for men who grew wealthy and treacherous on the backs of a suffering people. Despite the actions of disestablished politicians and gangsters who masquerade under various labels, the peace initiative of the Republican Movement was held and brought a glimmer of hope to the thousands who bear the brunt of our struggle for freedom.

That freedom will be secured and with it a new society will evolve in our country. The responsibility for creating new institutions of Government rests solely with the Irish people alone. It is no concern whatsoever of any outside power. For that reason, the Army Council endorse the decision of Sinn Fein to ignore the forthcoming Convention elections. It is an arrogance on England's part to summon any Convention in Ireland and exercise an absolute veto over the results. Irish sovereignty belongs to the Irish people; it does not rest with any British parliament.

It is futile also to expect normal political development while the jails, North and South, are full with political prisoners. The hardship which these comrades endure was borne out recently by the murder of one of them in Portlaoise. The courage of the prisoners and their tremendous loyalty to their Movement is one of the outstanding features of this struggle. Until all the political prisoners regain their freedom, there is no question of a permanent ceasefire.

Finally, the Army Council takes this opportunity of expressing sincere thanks to all those who have played a part in the war of liberation. We salute those who have borne the loss of their kith and kin in this war. We express our admiration for the volunteer soldiers of the Army whose discipline during the last few weeks has been an example to all. To the people of Ireland we pledge the loyalty and service of the Republican Movement in the pursuit of our national freedom.

ISSUED BY THE ARMY COUNCIL, OGLAIGH NA h-EIREANN.

## NA FIANNA AT NEWRY

Above: The Republican Plot, at Newry. Left: Smart turn-out by Na Fianna aroused very favourable comment. Below: Na Fianna Eireann honour their fallen comrades, Noel Madden and Edward Grant.

Photographs by Sarah Hollywood.

REPORTS ON EASTER  
COMMEMORATIONS  
WILL BE CARRIED IN  
OUR NEXT ISSUE.



## BELFAST SNN FEIN REJECT CONVENTION FARCE

The following statement was issued on Easter Sunday by Belfast Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Fein:—

"Belfast Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Fein, calls for a total boycott of everything to do with the forthcoming six county convention elections. Only the people of the thirty two counties have the right to decide the future of the Irish people. Britain and her colonial-minded allies the loyalists, never had and still do not have the right to partition and control any part of our country."

"The terms of the convention are confined to the six counties. Its findings will be submitted to the British parliament which has first and last say on the results. To submit to this process would be abject slavery."

"The convention is an elaborate piece of comandism. It is widely recognised as a futile exercise, whose outcome is a foregone conclusion — a loyalists takeover."

The British are using it to postpone this solution until it can be given a spurious air of democracy.

An argument that 'moderates' use is that this is a meeting of Ulstermen. The term Ulstermen means anti-Irish, anti-National, as far as the loyalists are concerned.

"There is no Ulster identity — only an orange ascendancy in the six counties which some erstwhile nationalists such as the SDLP are prepared to submit to."

We say: Be Irish, reject this British and Loyalist convention boycott it in every way."

BOYCOTT THE  
6-COUNTY  
CONVENTION  
ELECTION  
FARCE

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Price — £1.00

Eire Nua Bookshop,  
170 Falls Road, Belfast  
BT12 4PY.

## FIAN ROBERT ALLSOPP

We are gathered here today to bury another young Irishman, Fian Robert Allsopp of "C" Company, 3rd Battalion, Na Fianna Eireann, who was only 15 years of age when he died in the flower of his youth.

Fian Robert Allsopp was a loyal, capable member of Na Fianna, He was held in high regard by his young comrades and by members of other branches of the Republican Movement who valued his aid, always willingly given, and efficiently carried out.

Fian Allsopp died as the result of an accident. It is for the powers that be to enquire and decide if his death could have been avoided and how accidents of this nature can be avoided in the future. It is easy to be wise after an event. One thing is certain, accidents will happen in the future, no matter how careful people are and it is not possible to put old heads on young shoulders.

Before Fian Allsopp died in hospital, it is said he expressed the wish to receive a Republican funeral. His wish was granted. From the moment his remains arrived at his home from the hospital until now, his body was guarded, day and night by his young comrades of Na Fianna by a Guard of Honour.

Robert was proud to be a member of Na Fianna Eireann. He loved Ireland, loved the people in his local area and did his utmost to secure the Republican Movement and to defend his area.

Although Fian Robert Allsopp was only a boy in years, he was very mature in his thinking, in his ideals and in his actions.

His early death is a grave loss to his mother, sister and family circle. To his young comrades in Na Fianna and other organisations within the Republican Movement. His death is a loss to the people of his area and to Ireland.

On behalf of the Republican Movement, I offer our most sincere sympathy to his mother and sister and all the family circle. Your loss is also our loss — your sorrow is our sorrow and your pride is also our pride.

Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him.

# O'BRADAIGH: Longfordian

NOT SINCE the great General Sean MacEoin era has any Longford man been so prominent in the political affairs of this country as Ruairí O Bradaigh, President of Sinn Féin (Kevin St.) now is. A native of Battery Road, Longford town, and educated in St. Mel's College before going to U.C.D., O Bradaigh is seen by politicians and people alike, both here and in Britain and by the world's media, as the key 'go-between' figure in the continuation of the present Northern Ireland truce between the Provisional I.R.A. and the British forces. In this 'Face to Face' interview, O Bradaigh talks about his native county; his plans for a new Ireland of four federal states; how difficult life is for his wife and family; about the bravery of the clergymen at Finkle; and how the extension of the I.R.A. ceasefire depends on the sincerity of the British.

Ruairí O Bradaigh (formerly known as Rory Bratty) has been 25 years in the Republican movement. He graduated in Commerce from U.C.D. in 1954 and then took up a career as a vocational teacher in Roscommon, where he still lives.

While serving a sentence under the Offences Against the State Act, he was elected Sinn Féin U.D. for Longford Westmeath in March 1957. On expiry of his sentence he was interned at the Curragh, from where he escaped in September 1958.

In January 1970, he was elected Chairman of the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin (Kevin St.), when Sinn Féin split into two groups. In October of the same year, he became President of Kevin St. Sinn Féin, also known as Provisional Sinn Féin.

In January 1973, he was convicted of IRA membership solely on the 'belief' of a Chief Superintendent of the Gardaí, and was released in May 1973.

O Bradaigh aged 43 believes that the two Sinn Féin parties now have little in common: that his party is more concerned with devolution of power to the local community while the other Sinn Féin (Gardiner Place) is aiming more at a totalitarian state.

His party, he says, stands for a "self governing community of communities," responding to all

the people behind us. "A lot of us who are criticising us, all the established parties who were decent to us for conducting the guerilla war, are now criticising us for conducting the peace because it puts their future at risk.

"The SDLP are coming down to the Dublin Government saying that the incident centres be closed down. The U.D.A. are on to the British Government saying the same; and it's suddenly in a way because it makes one wonder do these people genuinely want peace or do they want to go back to what we had before."

"In a way some of them are acting, especially the Loyalists, one gets the feeling that they want to burst this truce and to get the British and the Republicans back at war again. The Republicans are determined that they are not going to be trapped in this situation and we hope that the British Government won't be trapped either. Every time this Orange card has played the British came down on the side of the Loyalists and this hasn't brought peace. They'll have to make up their minds this time."

The brave new Ireland of O Bradaigh would respect all traditions but we asked the Sinn Féin chief how hard it was to convince the Loyalists of this.

**"People never vote for war or trouble. What we are planning for is an honourable conclusion to the physical conflict, maximising our credibility. Then it would be the time to approach the people"**

traditions; and for ownership of the wealth of Ireland by the people of Ireland: "We're aiming at everyone owning something and this makes for the greatest fulfillment of the individual person. There are immense imperialistic forces which would resist this. Modern colonialism doesn't consist of occupation by a foreign army. It is more economic and social and cultural and that's the type of society we have in the 26 counties. We have in the Six Counties an old style colony which is crumbling and breaking up and what we hope to do is to harness the political forces that are being thrown up by the Northern struggle. This would be the dynamic which would be harnessed to transform the whole of Ireland."

"In other words what Sinn Féin is striving to do is to get the British out, or on the way out, become a creditable force North of the border, and then to build on our base line South of the Border with local councils and interest in local issues and problems to become the major political force in Ireland."

O Bradaigh is very conscious of the new importance his party has taken on since the IRA ceasefire: "We are now operating a bi-lateral truce with the British Government and it puts us in a very commanding situation. We are operating what we call 'incident centres' and what they call 'truce supervisory offices', as well as having advice centres and this has joined

He believed that as long as Britain backed the Loyalists up they were prepared to "stick it out" but if Britain gave a declaration of intent whether in words or in deeds, indicating that she was "out" in this way then that would bring about "the ultimate reality" and they would all have to sit around the conference table and decide where they would have to live together.

"The terms being offered by the Republican movement are the most generous ever offered by a Nationalist Ireland the sense that we see four self-governing provinces in a federal model, and that would mean that an all-Ireland level the Nationalists would rule, while at Ulster level the Loyalists would rule. But then beneath that we would have regional government: West Ulster, East Ulster, etc., but at local district level rule would go according to the majorities. Andersonstown and Falls would be Republican councils, while Shankill, etc., would be Loyalist ones."

Mr. O'Bradaigh further explained that the services would be carried out at whatever level it could be most efficiently done

with maximum community participation, making for "natural power-sharing" as against enforced power-sharing as was the case in the Sunningdale agreement.

"The Ulster Protestants would rule themselves and the Ulster-Catholics would also rule themselves. Tyranny is prevented by a system of checks and the Loyalists say that down on their list of priorities, this is pretty



On Longford's Battery Road, O'Bradaigh points to the house where he spent the first decade of his life.

high up. They sometimes ask us can we guarantee that this will last into the third and fourth generation but we say this is no transitional stage, this is our final system and this is a point we made in Finkle and we showed them similar plans for Munster and Connacht which showed them even if of structural importance this still believed that in this type of structure and wanted this form of government. That was inclined to bring them along.

"We believe this system would last because it has the natural thing on its side and it's the whole movement now around the world. Society in both the East and the West is against the all-powerful state,

where the individual counts for nothing, and it's towards devolution and towards the local communities that we're moving. Man now wants more say in government and decision-making because he's become more conscious of his role through education."

O Bradaigh believes that the greatest fear the Northern Protestant has in becoming involved with Southern Ireland is

that he might be submerged, swamped and ultimately dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. "They fear change. One hopeful aspect is that they're realising that they've been conned by the professional politicians, first the landed gentry then the O'Neills and Brookbournes, and then by the commercial barons like Faulkner, who just used the working people as voting fodder and in fact divided the Protestants and the Catholics and subjected both working classes to the same wretched housing conditions."

"The only thing was that the Protestant community felt that whatever was going, they were at the head of the queue or that they had access to whatever privilege was going. So even in their better state, they were still better than the fellows down the way (the Catholics) just like the poor 'whites' and the negroes in America."

The middle class in the North were happy enough. They played bridge and golf together. The Catholic solicitor got his clients and the Protestant solicitor the same. O'Bradaigh believes that the working classes on both sides are realising the state of the situation, but how fast progress was being made was the big question. He then went on to slam the main political parties in the South: He accused them of not caring about the North because they had "a cosy set" without it. "They don't want a new political factor introduced. They don't want the North any more than they want a new potato. They want the British in there and clean it up. Indeed one Minister down here is quoted privately as saying during the Christmas and New Year truce that if the Provisionals and the British came to an agreement, Sinn Féin would emerge as a significant political force in the South of Ireland and that upsets the whole balance of power and politics as we've known it."

"So when they fear loss of votes, loss of office, and ultimately loss of influence, therefore, they are continuing to criticise the incident centres, criticising the peace the same time as they criticised the war, and it's because at raw political level they feel threatened."

Asked if he felt that the power gained by Kevin St. Sinn Féin was purely because they were able to engineer the cease fire by their military wing, the IRA, he replied that the whole thing had started through the Civil Rights struggle and had escalated through the rent and rates strike, internment and the involvement of the people at ground level.

"It was the extreme loyalist element and the R.U.C. and the intervention of the British army that forced the pace and created it that way. No matter how long the struggle goes on, I think the British authorities know this is a war no one can win. We have always said the

**"They (the government) are criticising the incident centres and the peace the same as they criticised the war because at raw political level, they fell threatened".**

O'Bradaigh pictured outside

# British, Republican and key role in Northern peace

British are slipping deeper and deeper into the Irish bog and whether it's now or in six months' time, or in 12 months' time, it still ends up that the British and the Irish Republican Army have to talk across the table. And whether that's done through Sinn Fein or done direct, that's ultimately the situation because it's a war no one can win and I think Britain is beginning to realise that she's fought her last colonial war and she doesn't want to go on with this type of situation. And she wants to wriggle out, we will help her and we'll strengthen her path in every way possible.

"We want a situation to come about where political prisoners can take the place of guerrilla warfare. That can only be achieved when the British have made up their mind in principle to the idea of winding down their 800 year-old occupation. So, we're in a very interesting period at the moment."

The Sinn Fein leader added that real progress could now be made "depending on the sincerity of the British". He said that he could guarantee the sincerity of the Republicans. "There appears to be sincerity on the part of the British but we have to see what comes out. We don't want to do a deal over the heads of the Loyalists. What we see is an honourable accommodation with the British combined with an honourable accommodation with the Loyalists."

O'Briadaigh believes that the Fada talks changed the whole situation in the North. He said loud in praise of the clergymen who took part—"they met not just the political leadership of the Republican movement but the military wing as well. They were prepared to deal directly with the people who took the decisions and this showed remarkable courage. It wouldn't

have become public but for the Gardai and Special Branch, and even when it did, they stood their ground when a lot of other people were pontificating and bargeing at it through the newspaper columns."

Quite understandably, O'Briadaigh was reluctant to talk about the personal dangers involved in being leader of the political wing of the Provisionals—if he talked about it, he said it would be inviting trouble.

One gets the impression, though, that he moves around without many persons even in his own organisation knowing of his whereabouts. He clocks up 30,000 miles yearly on his own car and this doesn't include the many trips he makes as a passenger in other vehicles. Life for his family has been difficult. "My wife has been forced to be mother and father to the children many times," he says. Now that he is leader of Sinn Fein, he sees little of Roscommon, "except the house, the

**"With regard to Longford the thing that strikes me most even in my own lifetime is the massive depletion of the rural population. The late Fr. Philip McGee was terribly aware of this and I think he is a great loss to North Longford".**

garage and the church."

He rings home every day asking his wife what messages there are: interviewers, pressmen, etc., who have been on looking for him. "It has taken a lot of courage on her part to put up with this. It's not every woman who would do so," he says.

The 'bra'n-drain' from rural areas such as Longford, Leitrim



On the steps of Longford Courthouse — this time free.

and Roscommon, with the resultant massive reduction in population, saddens O'Briadaigh. He blames successive Governments here for failing to develop the regions and for making Dublin into a 'concrete jungle' with enormous housing problems.

O'Briadaigh paid tribute to the late Father Philip McGee, who was Principal of the North Longford Community School at

Moyno, a man "born and reared there who saw the communities breaking up around him". Fr. McGee would be a great loss, he felt.

ON RTE CENSORSHIP, he lashed out at Posts and Telegraphs Minister, Conor Cruise O'Brien. While the Minister was in opposition, he told O'Briadaigh that the Provisional IRA should appear on T.V. and radio. Now that he was in power, he consented to appear even by the political wing—something that was in complete contradiction to what I.T.V. and B.B.C. were doing. O'Briadaigh felt this was a deliberate attempt to "misrepresent and blackguard" the Republican movement while denying it the right of reply. Also it made the growth of the party impossible since it was denied access to the media.

ON MINING, O'Briadaigh said he was disappointed with the Tara mines settlement made by Justin Keating. He felt it was a sell-out, that the Irish people should have at least 5 per cent stake in all the nation's mineral wealth. He added that the ore should stay put in the ground until this country was able to reap the maximum benefits from it. As it was, we could end up with nothing only holes in the ground in a few years, while the mining companies would have got rich quick.

ON ELECTIONS, O'Briadaigh believed that becoming a credible party of the North of the Border was essential. Facing the ballot box successfully little had been achieved by the Nationalist Party, who had sat in opposition for 50 years, or by the SDLP of recent years. Progress was made by people taking direct action on the streets.

"People never vote for war or trouble. After we have gained an honorable solution and maximised our credibility, it will then be the right time to face the people." In the South, O'Briadaigh believes there is little to be achieved by working within the 'system', though he does point to successes in the 1974 local elections.



Reprinted from the Longford Leader,  
Friday, March 7, 1975

"We joke about our councillors when they came to Kevin as our parliamentary headquarter. We refer to party."

Supporters of O'Briadaigh can expect the Longfordman to contest national elections again. He believes that the whole country is facing a new era, one of peace with justice, a land for all men and all religions; in Ireland for the Irish ruled by them, with maybe this quiet spoken Sinn Fein leader at the helm.

**"With the British gone out of Ireland, we see a community of self-governing communities to respect all traditions — the Ulster Protestants, the Ulster Catholics, the people of the Gaeltacht, the Dublin Liberties and so on".**



outside his 'alma Mater', St. Mel's College, Longford.

## PATRICK COONEY

Dear Editor,

Quite by accident a very short time ago I happened to see on RTE a competition being run by some Galway men — it was to find out 'Who could Tell The Biggest Lie?' I listened to some of the tales of those competing in the competition — I regret I did not see the final — however I am now hoping that the final has not yet been reached — I would like to know what the winner stands to gain? May I be allowed to propose a likely winner. His name Patrick Cooney, Minister for Justice — firstly because he is anything but just as his name is associated with injustice and oppression and suppression of the truth.

His recent inquiry into the riot at Portlaoise jail following the hunger strike there — was said to be completed yet the outcome of the inquiry was to be kept secret. This is proof that Mr. Cooney had definitely quite a lot to hide. He stated that because of circumstances at the prison it was not clear how many were refusing solid food. Why was it necessary, therefore, to have so many security men on duty at the prison when they were not able to inform the public on the number of men who were not taking solid food?

On another occasion Mr. Cooney accused teachers of giving their pupils Republican indoctrination —

— and so by this not carrying out the duties for which they were employed.

Mr. Cooney insisted that the prisoners had no rights. This is a denial of what Ireland committed herself to when she signed the Convention On Human Rights along with other Nations of the World — he therefore is denying prisoners the respect due to them while they are interned.

Again this week again we hear that a Republican prisoner shot dead at that penitentiary was not shot by a bullet — but the Free State soldiers went in armed — their intention was to shoot and they did use bullets — not rubber ones this time but live ammunition — resulting from a prisoner being shot DEAD during the flames at Long Kesh the British shot a Republican prisoner dead for attempting to escape — but they didn't deny shooting him. Who authorised the use of live ammunition on prisoners at Portlaoise jail? Mr. Cooney is responsible for the Garda and Free State soldiers at the Portlaoise prison.

The Galway competition and whatever prize it donates should be given to Cooney he has surpassed every other competitor — others were just jesting.

## UNA TOAL.

that he was denied a jury hearing, the man's basic human rights and his rights as a prisoner cannot be altered. Nor should his family and friends be denied the right to accord him the funeral service they consider to be appropriate, bearing in mind that it is part of the Gaelic tradition, Christian attitude of the Gael, to inter or bury the dead according to the manner most befitting the deceased. I happen to know that by reason of this the funeral you scoff at and scorn gave much succour to the mother and family of Thomas Smith.

What was difficult to accept, however, was the distasteful and very provocative presence of a 2,000-strong weapon-rigged police force, some wielding batons on the hallowed ground of the cemetery, some rejecting family or appeal by the officiating clergyman to respectfully stand back from the graveside, to allow the mourners their rightful place.

"To me, the authority that has treated a Christian burial in the unsavoury way witnessed by me that day has indeed reached the lowest possible depths of 'brazen indecency'."

## Treatment of funeral 'indecent'



The R.U.C. — unacceptable in any form

killers. In addition 116 Catholics were injured in sectarian attacks, and 31 of the 36 bombings have been directed against Catholics and their property.

What has been the response of the RUC and Mr. Rees to this sectarian campaign against Catholics? They believe in internment as a means of combating violence and have used it mercilessly against the Catholic community. Yet during the past 6 weeks the RUC have not asked Mr. Rees to sign Inter-Catholic agreements. Protestant assassins and bombers. Moreover, Mr. Rees has released 100 of the remaining UVF/UDA internees. At the same time only 24% of

the internees who are alleged to belong to the Provisional IRA have been released despite the ceasefire which has held.

The only conclusion one can come to is that the murder of Catholics doesn't matter and that internment is a security device to be used solely against Catholics (apart from a temporary aberration begun under Mr. Whitelaw). Is it any wonder that the RUC is an unacceptable body to many Catholics?

REV. BRIAN J. BRADY  
St. Joseph's College of  
Education,  
Trench House,  
Belfast. BT11

## ACKNOWLEDGED WITH THANKS

£20 per ANON from County Down for Green Cross.

## EASTER GREETINGS

To all the girls "A" Company Armagh Gaol. Hoping you'll be home soon.

Biu i gcoinn ag smaoiut oraibh From Ann and all the Walsh family.

LOST—Solitaire engagement ring on Thursday, 27th March, between Ballyclare Street and Etina Drive. Would finder please return to 8, Ballyclare Street.

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A section of the massive attendance at the unveiling ceremony on Tuesday in memory of all who lost their lives in Ardoyne since August '69. The ceremony was organised by the Sean McCaughey/Jim Saunders Sinn Fein Cumann. Speakers included Charlie McGlade, Liam Mulholland, Seamus Mac Oscar and Mary McGuigan.

Favourable comments were made on the smart appearance of Na Fianna Eireann and Cumann na gCathla during the parade and ceremony.

Please keep your letters as brief as possible. We welcome your views and criticisms. Post them to 170 Falls Road, Belfast.

What has been concealed by the RUC since the beginning of the present troubles and is still being concealed is that the vast majority of attacks have been directed against civilians in their homes, at work and places of recreation such as bars, are attacks by Protestant extremist organisations against innocent Catholics, for the sole reason that they are Catholics.

This sectarian campaign of murder, bombing and arson began in August 1969 when 8 persons were killed and 400 Catholic homes attacked by the combined forces of the RUC, B Specials and Protestant extremist organisations. It has been continued over almost 6 years by the UVF/UDA operating under various flags of convenience. In the first 6 weeks of the ceasefire at least 11 Catholics were murdered by these sectarian

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement.

Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Fáilte ar leith roimh Ghaeilge.

## Easter Ceremony in Downpatrick

For the first time in many years, a Republican Commemoration Ceremony was held in Downpatrick on Easter Sunday. Much of the credit for this must go to Mr. Joe Finlay, who has been very active trying to spread the Republican message in the Downpatrick area.

Joe Finlay presided during the ceremony. Jerry Hodgetts read the 1916 Proclamation. The oration was given by Mr. Liam Mulholland, veteran Belfast Republican. Over 200 attended the ceremony. A wreath was laid on the grave of Thomas Russell, (the man from God knows where) at 10 a.m. on Easter Sunday. This was followed by another wreath laid at 11 a.m. on the grave of Jim Carlin who is buried at Tyconnacht.

At 12 noon, another wreath was laid on the grave of Leo O'Hanlon who is buried in an unmarked grave at Ardglass.

The oration was given near the graves of Vivienne Fitzsimmons, Dickie Cummins and Seamus Blaney.



How do others see us? The following is a French view of British democracy in Northern Ireland as recorded in Camille Bourniquel's book, 'Ireland' published in 1960 by Vista Books (Longacre Press Ltd.). What the author recorded is a record of the present for nothing has really changed in English controlled 'Ulster.'

## A FRENCH VIEW OF "BRITISH ULSTER"

By BRIAN GAFFNEY

From a geographical point of view, the territorial unity of the Six Counties is far less sure. To avoid having a majority of Catholics, Ulster had to cut off from itself the three counties on the edge of the Atlantic (Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan). The counties near the border, Tyrone and

Politically at least, Ulster is something like a sheep with five legs. It has a Parliament which gives advice and a Governor who supervises. But the building is there, four square, thoroughly Greek in all its aspects, in Stormont Park - a little in quarantine, all the same, with its iron gates, its lawns, and its prophylactic remoteness, as if Hitler were in the League of Nations Palace! You remember the sadness but also the beauty derived from the ideal which it once represented. However, this organization really works, and is the opposite of an abstraction. As regards the essentials, war and peace, the army, finance, diplomacy, trade, duties, taxes, customs, weights and measures, cable services, patents and titles of nobility, it is Westminster that decides. (Northern Ireland is represented there by twelve members.) 'The independence of Northern Ireland', wrote Rivaillon, 'is confined in most cases to the functions which in France are exercised by a consul general.'

A Protestant parliament for a Protestant people,' Lord Craigavon, the former Captain Craig, said. It is here that the yoke rubs. More than a third of the population is not included among the Protestant people. Here is no arithmetic - not even parliamentary arithmetic.

There is a word, 'gerrymandering,' which signifies the deliberate cutting up of electoral areas. Webster's International Dictionary gives the following definition: 'Gerrymander: to divide (a state, country, etc.) into election districts or other civil divisions in an unnatural and unfair way with a view to giving a political party an advantage over its opponent or for some other improper purpose.' The North possesses experts in the art of gerrymandering.

In the general election of February 1949 in Fermanagh, the Nationalists had 15,000 votes but got one seat. The Tories had 13,000 votes but were awarded two seats.

But the most obvious case is that of Derry. The city originally had a substantial Nationalist majority (29,000 votes against 18,000). But it was split up into two areas, one of which was merged with an area extending eight miles into the country in order to counterbalance the Nationalists.

It is above all in the county councils, the town councils, and the rural districts that the game works best. Thus for:

Tyrone County Council	70,595 nationalists	12 seats
	56,991 Tories	23 -
Enniskillen Borough Council	2,780 nationalists	7 -
	2,100 Tories	14 -
Omagh Urban Council	3,573 nationalists	9 -
	2,168 Tories	12 -
Strabane Rural Council	50,9% nationalists	8 -
	49,1% Tories	20 -

These proceedings are no more consistent with a free democracy than are the 'special powers' aimed at practical restraints on the individual liberties of the opposition. If a balance can be maintained only at this price, is it really necessary to resort to the fiction that the people are represented? It would be better to admit that keeping the Six Counties outside the Irish community requires a state of emergency for an indefinite period.

## 'Mud-slinging' court

### row

A MAJOR legal row has blown up over remarks made at the end of the Old Bailey bombs trial by the judge, Mr Justice Melford Stevenson.

In a speech to the court after jailing eight IRA men for 30 years each, Stevenson accused three defence QC's of conducting a 'mud-slinging' defence.

The three counsels, Mr John Platoff Mills, Mr Peter Dow and Mr David Turner-Samuels, referred the judge's outburst in the Senate of the Inns of Court, which regulates lawyers' professional conduct.

In a strongly-worded statement, the Bar Council said it would staunchly defend the right and duty of barristers to put forward what might be considered

unpopular defences on behalf of their clients.

The Council wishes to make it clear beyond any doubt that the Bar will continue to carry out its duty as counsels for the defence and whatever the nature of the crime alleged against them, it said.

The Council said it would be 'a sad day for the Bar of England and Wales when any barrister is deterred from doing his duty by any fear of official displeasure or hope for personal advantage.'

### OUTBURST

The Council added that the rules of the profession require a barrister to advance a client's case in cross-examination 'provided that these matters are part of the case and that he has no reason to believe that they are put

forward solely to attack a witness.'

Stevenson's outburst against the barristers in the Old Bailey case comes only two days after the speech by Sir Robert Mark, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner.

He complained that lawyers were putting forward dubious defences and making unjustified attacks on police witnesses in court.

A section of the police and the judiciary quite clearly want to muzzle barristers and rule out attacks on police witnesses in court.

It is in line with the campaign for the abolition of the right of silence and with the move at strengthening the hand of the prosecution by abolishing traditional legal rights and giving increased powers to the police.

## THE SOUTH'S SPECIAL POLITICAL COURTS

It may still come as a surprise to some abroad that oppressive legislation exists under the 'native' Government of the South in order to protect the English administration in the North and to thwart efforts to end English interference in Irish affairs. The following is a sample of such legislation.

The Special Criminal Court derives its authority from Article 38, section 3 of the Irish Constitution 1937. The reason for the Courts existence, now, as in the past, has been taken to be the need to combat the activities of subversive organisations. However, there is no evidence to show how any government arrived at its conclusion that the bringing into being of such a court was necessary, nor is the government under any obligation to inform either House of Parliament of the extent or nature of such evidence. It is sufficient that in accordance with the provisions in Part 5, Section 35, of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939, the government makes or publishes a proclamation to the effect that it is satisfied that the ordinary courts are inadequate to secure the administration of justice. We wish to discuss several aspects of this court with a view to demonstrating the inherent threat it poses to the Rule of Law.

### Gardai prevent P.D. march to Mansion House

Gardai in Dublin prevented about 100 demonstrators from marching to the Mansion House, where the Fine Gael ard-fheis was in session on Saturday afternoon, to protest against the death of Thomas Smith. The march, which was organised by the Dublin branch of People's Democracy, was held to demand a public, independent inquiry into the murder of Thomas Smith.

The protesters were not allowed to enter Dawson Street from either end, after they had paraded from Parnell Square.

Scuffles broke out in O'Connell Street, it is believed that at least one man was arrested.

The organisers of the protest, who complained of 'harassment' because of the strong Garda escort throughout, also condemned the Government's security system.

### WIDE POWERS OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

It is within the power of the Attorney-General to transfer the trial of all offences, whether scheduled or non-scheduled, to the Special Criminal Court. He is given this power under Section 45 and 46 of the Offences Against the State Act 1939. The only difference in the treatment of non-scheduled offences is that in their case the Attorney-General must state in writing that in his opinion the ordinary courts are inadequate to secure the effective administration of justice. Thus the right to try by jury of persons accused of crimes is dependent upon the fiat of the Attorney-General. Thus, we submit, that the Rule of Law as expounded by Dicey and adhered to in all other Common Law Countries, does not exist in Ireland.

### THE MANNER OF APPOINTMENT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COURT

In accordance with Section 39, subsection 2, of the Offences Against the State Act - 'each member of a Special Criminal Court shall be appointed and be removable at will, by the Government.' In practice, this means that each defendant who appears before the court in the absence of a jury by judges who carry out judicial functions but who have not got judicial independence, and can be dismissed at the whim of the government. This, we submit, is a grave state of affairs both for the accused person and for the judges who sit in judgement upon him. But further it has serious implications for the Irish legal system as a whole. Article 35, Section 2 of the Constitution states 'all judges shall be independent in the exercise of their judicial functions and subject only to this Constitution and the law.'

Article 35, Section, subsection 1, 'a judge of the Supreme Court or the High Court shall not be removed from office except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity, and then only upon resolutions passed by the Dail Eireann (government) and by Seanad Eireann (senate) calling for his removal.'

Thus the judges of the Special Criminal Court have not got the protection and independence guaranteed by the above article of the Constitution.

### INEQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

Article 40, Section 1 of the Constitution states 'all citizens shall as

human persons, be held equal before the law.' It appears that in the 'Orwellian' sense all citizens are equal before the law but some citizens are more equal than others. Let us have a hypothetical case. A and B commit substantially the same type of criminal offence. A is sent for trial to the General Criminal Court before a judge and jury. The judge in this court is completely independent in respect of his judicial functions and is protected in his office by the guarantees of the Constitution which is the supreme law of the State. His function, in his summing up to the jury, is to instruct them as what the law requires before they are entitled to reach a verdict whether of guilty or not guilty. The jury's task is to evaluate the evidence on the basis of proven facts.

The above system is not perfect but it's wide acceptance in Common Law Countries over centuries has shown it to be the fairest system and the most likely to serve the cause of justice and truth.

B is sent to the Special Criminal Court. He is tried by three judges in this court, there being no jury. These judges act as both judges and jury. Thus B is at a grave disadvantage and is being discriminated against when compared with A.

A and B are not treated as equals before the law. The treatment of B is in flagrant violation of Article 40 of the Constitution and leads to only one conclusion - that the desire for convictions on the part of the State holds precedence over any concept of justice or law.

## PRAISE INDEED!

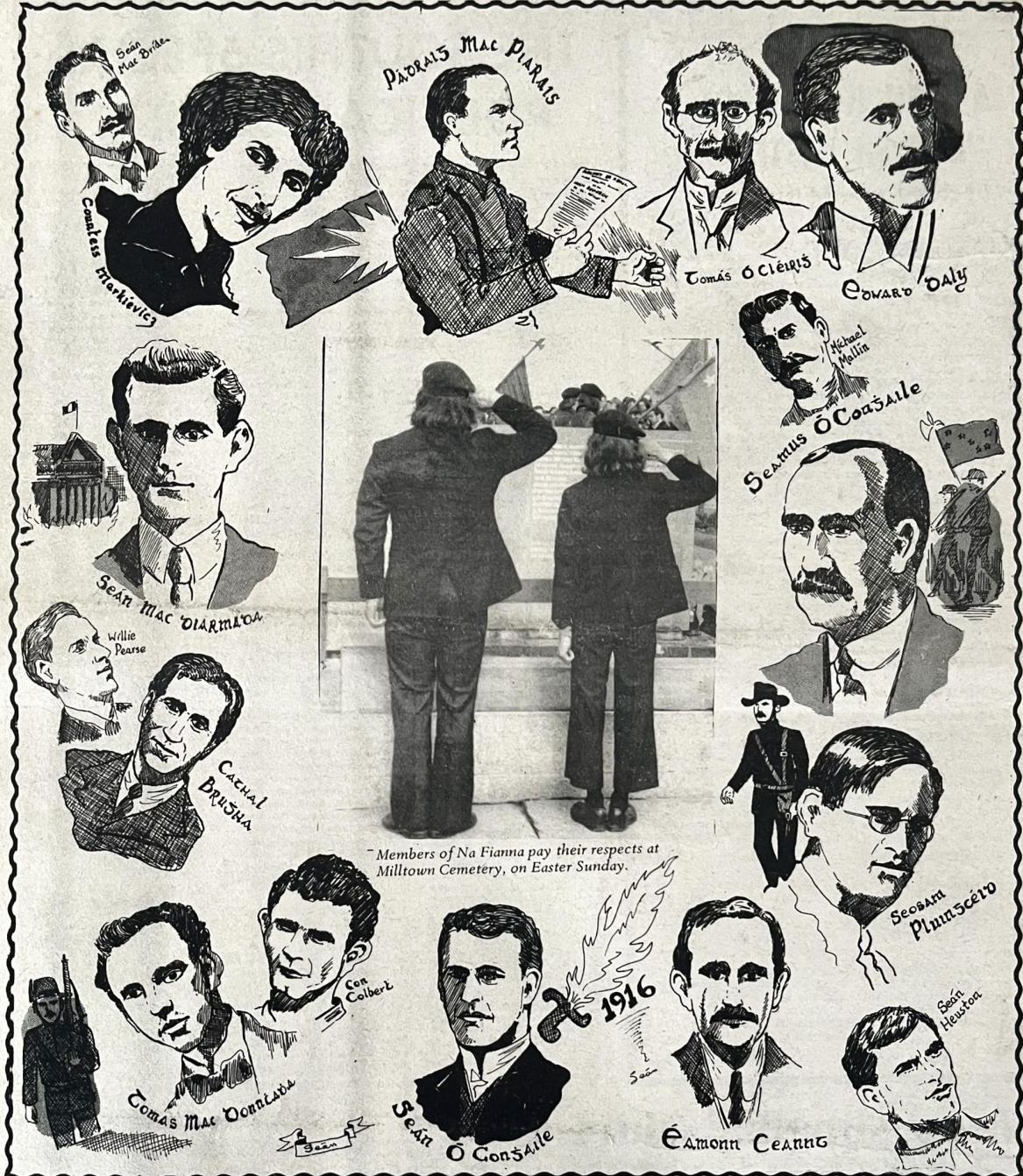
### Viewpoint

Belfast Telegraph, Monday, 24th March.

## Law and disorder

THE TOUGH action by the Gardai in making sure that the funeral of Thomas Smith did not become an occasion for Provisional ceremonial has lessons for the North. A Vanguard councillor has already drawn some, saying that similar tough security action here would solve our problems.





CONTINUED FROM

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graveyard is a place of peace where bitterness has no part and where words of comfort are usually spoken, but while British occupation forces and British laws are in force in any part of Ireland, there can never be any words spoken other than the harsh words of fighting and war.

The so-called peace movements sponsored by Free State Ministers or others in the North, whose only objective is total victory for the British Army, will stand disappointed that their plans have come to

naught. The bishops who act as P.R.O. for the SDLP and whose silence is deafening, when as happened in Dublin. A dead body can be desecrated by the politicians of violence of the Free State Government. Their whimsers are never heard against the sectarian assassins. They have forfeited any right to speak in any matters whatsoever, relating to the struggle for Irish freedom

In spite of all these slaves, touts, and collaborators, we stand strong in the knowledge that our people in the North will always support the Republican Army in their struggle to break

the English connection. It is the people who are the source of our success. It is the people who billet us. Feed us, store our weapons, who have helped to finance us, who give their sons and daughters to the Republican Movement.

We will keep faith with the people of the North. The present members of the Belfast Brigade have a duty to perform to their dead comrades and their comrades in prison. That is to be on the alert at all times. They must be ready at all times to defend the people against all foes, foreign and domestic. When in battle they must never disgrace the name of

the Belfast Brigade by cowardice.

Remember this brigade has never been eaten in battle and please God never will be!

As long as the army never allows itself to become divorced from the people, then no British Government, or their Free State allies can defeat us. Let me tell you, the reality of this situation is the politicians of violence both North and South who will do all in their power to sabotage any British withdrawal as they themselves would then be left out in the cold. It is this fear of loss of standing that makes them want the British Government to stay in the North at all costs.

When the history of this conflict is written, the people who shall stand condemned by history will be the politicians who sold their country to the invader for a pat on the head.

Today we say, as was said by many patriots of the past, damn your concessions England. We want our country. Until that day dawns everyone in the Republican Movement and its supporters must be prepared for further sacrifices.

It was on the Cave Hill that the oath to smash the connection with England was taken. It will be in the streets of Belfast that the final breaking of that connection will take place.