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PRICE FIVEPENCE

GET RID OF DEAD WOOD

Statement from the LEADERSHIP OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT to the 70th Sinn Fein Ard Fheis. Delivered on 22/9/74 in the Mansion House, Dublin.

"We send greetings to members of Sinn Fein assembled in National Convention. We do so on behalf of the entire Republican Movement. The goodwill and best wishes to the fighting units of Oglach na hEireann and of the men and women in prison camps and jails go out to you in your work to-day. The part you play in the struggle for freedom is of vital importance and it requires of you the same dedication and quality of service which our fallen comrades rendered. One hundred and thirty five (135) of them have given their lives over the last five years and on this occasion we salute their memory and pledge the entire Movement to the successful completion of the task they so nobly served.

"The last year saw significant advances on the road to full freedom. The ability of our fighting youth to withstand the onslaught of British terrorism have given our Movement a credibility and solidity which will never be broken. Our volunteers have demonstrated ingenuity, daring and courage out-classing and outwitting our enemies be they foreign or domestic. The world has seen many examples of the grim determination of this Movement to end foreign rule in our country for all time.

"The fortitude of our comrades in the jails of Ireland, Britain and United States has been one of the great features of the struggle. For the fifth time in the history of the Six County State, men and women, boys and girls have been sent to concentration camps. We shall not easily forget the humiliation, degradation and torture committed on our brothers and sisters by evil and corrupt English minds. While politicians waffle about internment, we shall exact a toll on those who initiated and perpetuated the oppression of our kith and kin.

"The families of those imprisoned bear a tremendous burden to-day. Nothing can substitute for the absent father, mother, brother or sister, but we all have an obligation to ensure that the material necessities of life are adequately provided. With over two thousand families affected, the problem is a gigantic one and while we are conscious and deeply appreciative of the trojan work done by An Cumann Cabhrach and other local committees, we feel that Sinn Fein must play a bigger and better part in providing for the prisoners' dependents. There are so-called Christian Churchmen and politicians who desire to see our families starve, let them be answered by a massive effort by your organisation for the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund.

"We congratulate Sinn Fein on its performance in the local elections. The 100% increase in Republican representation on local bodies was a credible achievement and we trust the elected representatives will play a full and constructive role in serving the needs of local communities. Community politics are assuming an increasing importance in the lives of our people and will, if properly developed, replace the sterile game of 'Party politics.' Our aim of power to the people must be no empty slogan, but a living expression of the best way to advance the welfare of all.

EXCLUSIVE

LONG KESH HELL HOLE -- SEE STORY ON
CENTRE PAGES



"We note that in some areas the electoral performance left a great deal to be desired. This can partly be explained by inexperience and lack of knowledge, but it must be emphasised that there is no place in the Republican Movement for the faint hearted and people who drag their feet. This Movement must have a dynamic well-oiled political machine and the responsibility for building such a machine rests squarely with Sinn Fein. It will be no easy task; it will require clear and decisive leadership at all levels of the organisation and an effort no less equal than that demonstrated by the guerrilla units of the people's army.

"The last twelve months saw the futility and the total collapse of British imposed political solutions. As we predicted, the Sunningdale Agreement came to nothing despite massive support from the churches, S.D.L.P. and Free State political parties. In their haste to secure power and privilege, politicians north and south, forgot their origins, traditions and plain common sense. The betrayal of the oppressed people of the North both within and outside the jails was one of the most shameful happenings of the last year.

"The Movement's programme of securing a British withdrawal and establishing an autonomous Ulster within a federally structured Ireland remains the only solid basis for a just and lasting peace. Ulster belongs to the whole people of Ulster and until the division of that Province is healed there is little prospect of peace and harmony prevailing throughout the island. We welcome the dialogue which has taken place at local level on community problems and trust such a development will lead to a greater understanding of our aims and objects for promoting the welfare of all the Irish people.

"There are some who dream of establishing a Six County Fascist State. We wish to be very explicit with these people; the days of Unionist supremacy are over; if they resort to arms to impose a fascist State in part of Ulster, we shall meet their attack with the full resources at our command on all all-Ireland basis. No puppet government in Dublin will stand in the way of a risen Nation which will not permit the slaughter of its citizens by English motivated sectarian bigots. We desire no conflict with any fellow countryman but we have proved over the last five years our determination, capacity and ability to resist British aggression

irrespective of the form it takes.

"The Dublin Government continues to act as England's apologist and policeman in Ireland. The Government no longer pretends to be anything but a puppet administration of Whitehall. In every sphere of government it has shown itself incompetent and anti-national! We are told its army could not hold the town of Newry; it is not surprising, its forces could not hold nineteen men in Portlaoise prison or guard the skies against the Provo birds.

"Our people are now learning to their cost the great fraud committed on them by political con-men dominating the news media. The E.E.C. was to give us a land of milk and honey instead we have thousands of farmers and workers on the march battling for their livelihoods. Sunningdale was to bring peace; instead it brought the prospect of civil war and death to the streets of Dublin and Monaghan.

"The time was never more opportune for Sinn Fein to expose the utter hypocrisy of the Dublin Government. Leadership must be given to the small farmers and workers, to those in the media who are beginning to resist the suppression of freedom of speech and those who are opposing the sell-out of our mineral and oil resources.

"Such action can run parallel to the military struggle to defeat British terrorism. Unlike other generations, we do not stand alone in the struggle for Irish freedom to-day. We enjoy the goodwill and active support of people in Foreign lands. We envisage that support developing to the stage where a government of a free and independent Ireland can acquire the means to secure rapid development of our natural resources to effect a radical social revolution.

"In conclusion, we take this opportunity of expressing our deepest gratitude to the thousands of people who stood loyally by this Movement over the last year. No words of praise are too high for the splendid people of the North who provide care and for our volunteers on active service. The same goes for the people of the South who helped the escapes from Portlaoise prison. The struggle in the future will be like the past, hard and difficult. We have the strength not alone to withstand the pressures of the enemy but the means and ability to defeat him.

Death, imprisonment and suffering will not deflect us one iota from realising the ideals which motivated the bravest and best of every generation.

MR. COONEY ADMITS MASSIVE SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICANS

By 'reparation', Mr. Cooney was doubtlessly referring to the policy of placating the English in view of the IRA's freedom struggle. He said he was afraid that the people of the 26 counties had 'an ambivalent attitude to the IRA'. He then began to complain about the following 'failings' of his own people:

"I see newspapers propagating IRA ideals being sold openly ... I see them being purchased on a wide scale, and I must wonder. I see posters and slogans of the IRA which are not being pulled down in anger by an outraged people repelled by the evil of the IRA. A gramophone record exalting the escape from

Portlaoise Prison is being bought on such a scale that it has become a chart-topper".

Mr. Cooney continued: "In relation to that escape it has now become increasingly clear that there was enough support in this small and intimate society to provide secure cover for 19 dangerous criminals who are being sought by the entire police force of the country, supported by large numbers of Troops".

This admission 'from the horse's mouth' of massive public support for the Republican escapees is enlightening. Mr. Cooney is beginning to see the ground slip from under him.

IGNORE ENGLISH ELECTION FARCE



liam mac page

VINEGAR HILL

"In the beginning, Australia was largely a convict settlement, but the Irish were political convicts, who came from all classes of society and were endowed with a spirit of revolt. There had been about 30,000 Irish convicts transported altogether for what were described as 'political crimes'. The first arrived about 1792. They fitted in well because they had rural skills, which were necessary in a huge country like Australia."

The lecturer mentioned that Peter Lalor, a brother of James Fenton Lalor, led a revolt of miners in Australia. They built a stockade and declared their own Republic and the password was "Vinegar Hill". Within a year the same Peter Lalor became the Speaker of the Houses of Parliament in Victoria. This was a continuous pattern of the Irish "convicts" achieving eminence. Six Prime Ministers of Australia had Irish origins, 40 or 50 local States had Irish Prime Ministers."

Professor Kenneth Knight, University of Queensland, Lecturer at the Merriman Summer School, Cp Clare.

28/8/74.

BISHOP DALY WAS RIGHT

"First it was the Magnificent Seven who escaped from the Maidstone. Then the Crumlin Road Crushers. After that the Helicopter Five. Bishop Cahal Daly was right. Whether we like it or not, it seems impossible to keep the Provos down.

One answer is to negotiate with them. It will have to be done sooner or later. In the light of the present desperate situation are their terms that outlandish?

They want (A) A statement of British intent to withdraw from Northern Ireland.

(B) The British Army off the streets (Not out of Ulster, mind you)

(C) Ending internment.

(D) General amnesty for sentenced prisoners.

If these are granted, the Provos will down arms. It is worth thinking about. A real difficulty is that the British

Army top brass will understandably be reluctant to concede a defeat in the field. But should loss of face be considered a factor when it comes to an arrangement that could end loss of life?

(Sunday Independent 24/8/74).

THEY HAVE TO BE KICKED OUT

"DO you remember Black Mac? That's what the British once called their current darling Archbishop Makarios. Do you remember Jomo the Mau Mau leader who allegedly drank white man's blood? That's the same Jomo Kenyatta who sat beside Queen Elizabeth this year in her coach at Princess Anne's Wedding.

Then there was Bandit Pandit. This was Pandit Nehru who later became Prime Minister of India and head of the Commonwealth Conference.

Why weren't these men listened to in time? Then their countries would not have had to go through the agonies of guerrilla war before they were finally freed.

Alas it seems that the way empires the diplomat of

Alas it seems that the way empires behave. They have to be kicked before they leave Then the rebel of yesterday becomes the diplomat of to-day."

(Sunday Independent 18/8/74).

DROP IT

"In October 1968 I found myself pitch-forked into a bitter Party feud. Already a declared O'Neillite I was impudent enough in an election speech to declare my support for one man, one vote, in local government elections. The cabinet deliberated on my indiscretion and I was politely but firmly told to drop it.

Off the record, Captain O'Neill was said to be secretly delighted but Mr. Brian Faulkner was rumoured to be bitterly antagonistic."

Dick Ferguson, One time Unionist M.P. for S. Antrim (Irish Times 20/1/70).

A.L.J. HAS MORE NEED THAN ELECTIONEERING.

Part of a letter in the Irish News Saturday 21/9/74.

"Let me say one word about the money that is being spent on this election. Thousands of pounds will be spent yet we will not be one bit better of. I cannot help contrasting this pouring out of good money in a profitless action with the near bankruptcy of the Association of Legal Justice. This organisation sent a delegation to the Amnesty International Conference in Europe recently. The delegates had to pay most of their own expenses. The A.L.J. just could not afford to foot the bill."

The truth is that Human Rights leaders like Father Faul are running their publicity campaigns on a shoe string while politicians are squandering money on useless elections. Would it not be better to take money intended for the coming election and with it buy advertising space in foreign newspapers where we could tell the real story of N.I. and the minority's sufferings?"

SMILES AND HANDSHAKES

"The disclosure that Enoch Powell upholder of law and order, met members of the inner council of the paramilitary U.D.A. at a private and unpublicised meeting in Belfast. By all accounts the meeting was a success. During the two-hour meeting he seems to have convinced the U.D.A. men that his economic policy of refusing subsidies for ailing companies would not endanger the shipyard.

Over a cup of tea, he persuaded them of his complete adherence to the Loyalist cause. There were smiles and handshakes as he left the building with promises to meet again."

(Irish Times 21/9/74).

NOBODY BELIEVED HIM

"Paddy O'Hanlon tried to maintain bravely that there had been no victory and no defeat in Newry, at a time when even the town dog-catcher would have known that the Provos had won by a short head."

(Alf McCreary Belfast Telegraph 7/9/74).

The first volume of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's book *The Gulag Archipelago* is now on sale in paperback. The book was written partially as an autobiography partly as a collection of obscure information about Soviet history and partly as a form of life insurance. The seizure of a copy of the book kept in manuscript by a woman in Leningrad and the subsequent suicide of that woman caused the author to panic and authorize the publication of his book in the West. This started the sequence of events that led to the author's own expulsion to Germany. Solzhenitsyn suffers from the complaint common to all writers who are natives of big countries; that is to say he feels compelled to write big big books even when little ones could do. This is a pity.

His first novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was brief and compact and its probably one of the finest things written in the Russian language. Since then his books have got longer and longer and more and more involved. If the present work circulates inside Russia in typescript then a copy of it really must take up every considerable space; particularly in view of the large type-face used on Russian typewriters.

In the early part of the book he describes how the Secret Police arrive out of the blue, knock on the door, give you a few minutes to pack a bag and whisk you away. This illustrates how backward Russia still is. In more advanced countries they come crashing through the door brandishing revolvers and drag you out of bed and cart off wearing whatever you happen to sleep in.

The most interesting part of the book deals with the early years after the revolution. It emerges clearly that from the very start the Soviet system was repressive and vindictive. Lenin himself actively encouraged the growth of the Cheka and placed the evil Dzerzhinski in charge of it. It is often said now that Lenin and or Trotsky were all right it was Stalin who let things go wrong. Solzhenitsyn puts up convincing arguments against this thesis and sees the Soviet system as getting off on a wrong foot right at the start and going from worse to worse still as time passed.

One of the best things in the book is the passage describing forced feeding: which is used in Russia as a means of dealing with hunger strikers. The description makes clear that identical methods to those used in England are used in Russia. Only in very minor details do the procedures differ. As the saying goes there are some things that know no frontier.

THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO BOOK REVIEW



Khrushchev

The writer's own experiences are mixed up with other bits and pieces in this work. He shows great erudition and obviously has a fantastic memory. His great service to history is his research into the early years of Soviet power: about which very little is known nowadays due to the confusion created later by repeated revisions of history. He gives credit to Khrushchev where it is due for the de-Stalinisation effort of the late fifties though he claims it achieved very little.

This is an interesting historical document and a must for those interested in Eastern European affairs: but one feels that it places the crankiness of genius has distorted and embellished reality.

A rubber bullet is fired. According to instructions the bullet should be aimed down at the ground.



ROME HOLY YEAR 1975

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TRAVEL TOWER

QUESTIONS FOR JIM CURRAN

While deplored the record of the English Labour Party since they ousted the Tories at the last English General Election, Irish Republicans in the Luton area, are dismayed at the Irish Civil Rights Association's choice of candidates for the forthcoming "frees".

This so-called Irishman is on record of accusing the local Sinn Fein Cumann of being extremists and terrorists. (we have heard that somewhere before, i.e., recent political trials in England).

He actually boasts of preventing the distribution of literature in connection with the force-feeding issue, in the Luton Catholic Club. He has also stated that while he is Secretary of that club, Sinn Fein would never be permitted to distribute literature there.

As far as his connection with Long Kesh goes, he was stationed there when he was a Sergeant in the R.A.F. when it used by them as a base during World War Two. That was long before it was turned by the English Government into the only concentration camp in Europe. This hardly qualifies him to speak on behalf of the political hostages incarcerated there.

Rather I would suggest that the willingness of Irishmen to swell the ranks of H.M. Forces was a direct encouragement to the English Imperialist Government to impose internment on our men, women, boys and girls.

With regards to Jim Curran's policy statement "The Peaceful Way". His statement relating to, and I quote: "terrorism on both sides", I find rather ambiguous. Would Jim Curran qualify that one of these sides was English Army terrorism or has he joined the ranks of the Free State Tories in condemning the Freedom Struggle?

I can tell Mr. Curran that our internees are starving at the present time. The people of the ghettos are outside the gates of Long Kesh protesting on their behalf.

You and the rest of the bandwagon politicians are conspicuous by your absence. Who the hell do you think you are kidding?

PROVO AND PROUD — Luton.

MARTIN WAS A TRUE IRISH PATRIOT

Vol. Martin Patrick Skullen was a member of "D" Company, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglach na h-Eireann. He was 21 years of age when he was killed on active service on 3rd August, 1974 in the Galls Road area, Belfast.

Shortly after he died, a simple but moving little ceremony was held in Armagh Jail among the women Republicans prisoners. This oration was given in the jail by the O.C. "A" Company:

We are gathered here today to honour one of Ireland's brave Volunteers. — Martin Skullen who was killed in action against the British Forces of Occupation. He was a true patriot who died willingly to make Ireland a nation for Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant alike who have the right to rule their own country regardless of what has happened in the past.

"The British tyrant has fostered conflict between Catholic and Protestant for their own ends but we shall overcome this for the good of Ireland.

"Vol. Martin Skullen died for all of us, we should be strengthened by this sorrow, more courageous to fight as he fought gallant and true, more determined to achieve victory so that our brave volunteers will not have died in vain.

"Vol. Martin Skullen died for you and for me, but believe it or not, he also died for those Protestants who are in this jail today. These are the sort of people that we have to convince that our policies are the right ones, that an Ireland united is the only solution to Ireland's problems. It will be a hard job, we all know, to put these people on the right road.

"You and I have the opportunity to do this. To show these people what the Irish Republican Movement stands for and to uphold our cause at all times and all cost."

One of the young Republican prisoners present at the ceremony later wrote to a member of the Skullen family. She wrote: Dear Ann this oration was made at the parade we had in honour of Martin, I thought you and your family would like to have it. It was a beautiful parade and very sad, but Martin would have been proud.

"I am proud to say I know him and that he was a member of 'D' Company 2nd Battalion. I know that you are just as proud as I".

Volunteer Skullen's family live in the Turf Lodge area. During the wake when young friends were calling to the family home to pay their last respects, they were stopped by English Army patrols and asked were they going to the "party" at Skullens.

For several days after the funeral, English soldiers went up the path leading to the Skullen's home, made the Sign of the Cross, lifted their berets and burst out laughing. When they passed the house in jeeps, they would raise their berets and start giggling.

Mr. William Skullen informed us that after his son was buried, English soldiers asked members of his family how Martin was keeping. The same

soldiers, members of the Balck Watch Regiment wrote filthy slogans on the Holy Trinity Catholic Church door in Turf Lodge. One slogan read, "THE POPE IS A B."

All this harassment by members of the foreign army of occupation has not intimidated the Skullen Family who will always remember with pride that Martin was a Republican Volunteer who died in action for the cause of Irish Freedom.

IRISH REPUBLICAN FELONS ASSOCIATION NEW BRANCH FORMED IN THE NEW LODGE AREA

Over 150 patrons attended a Supper and Cabaret in St. Kevin's Hall on 21st September. The function was organised by the recently formed New Lodge Road Branch of the Irish Republican Felons Association.

The entertainment was provided by the "Strangers" Group and the Liam Leid Band from the area delighted the audience with their rendering of National Songs. Guest artiste was John McCann a talented exhibition of Irish Dancing was given by the Fleming Children, Aine and Sean.

A spokesman for the Republican Movement congratulated the New Lodge Branch on the success of their initial venture and wished them every success in their future efforts. Mr. Gerry Loughlin proved a very capable M.C.

The Committee wish to return their sincere thanks to all those voluntary workers who assisted in the catering refreshments.

Applications are invited from those who are eligible for membership of the Branch.

PATRICK
MCADOREY
CUMANN
LUTON
SINN FEIN
(Sasana)



Editor,
Republican News,
170 Falls Road,
BELFAST.

A chara,

I am enclosing separately for your attention some photographs of a beautifully embroidered cloth, which was made by the woman Republican Prisoners in Armagh Gaol for the family of Michael Gaughan.

The Cloth is approximately 4 feet by three and is made of emerald green fabric, on a jet-black background.

It was given to Luton Sinn Fein members recently when they visited Armagh Gaol, and they were asked to present it to the Gaughan parents on behalf of the Armagh Gaol Political Prisoners.

It is now in the possession of the Gaughan family (in Manchester). This may be of interest to 'Republican News'.

Is Misé,
MICHAEL HOLDEN (Rural).

Held by the enemy in Armagh Jail



This attractive young Irish girl is Miss Eileen Delaney, (17) who hails from Ballymurphy, Belfast. She is interned in Armagh Jail since 26th August, 1974. Her sister Maire, (19) is also interned.

Eileen's brother Kevin, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment arising out of the political unrest and her father has also been charged for political reasons.

Eileen stood by her fellow-countrymen and women in their hour of need. Have we not a solemn duty to stand by Eileen and her comrades who are held by the enemy as political hostages? The answer is simple and clear : WE LOVE THEM YET, WE WON'T FORGET, THE FELONS OF OUR LAND".

HEROISM AND DEDICATION WILL SWEEP ENEMY FROM OUR LAND

The Derry Brigade of Oglach na h-Eireann, claimed responsibility for the bomb attack which wrecked the principal shopping block on the strand Road on 24th September. "The British Army fell for a well-planned move to divert them and lower their guard on Strand Road. On Saturday, explosives which were obsolete were moved into the Foyle St. area. These were conveniently found by the British Army as planned. The British Army started a wide-scale search. While that was in progress an active service unit moved into Strand Road and planted six bombs." As in all Republican operations due warning was given. There were no civilian casualties.

A synchronised air and ground attack was mounted by a border unit on the enemy's heavily fortified post at Drummackaval Hill near Crossmaglen on Saturday 28th September. The post came under sustained mortar, machine gun and rifle attack. The enemy were panic stricken and did not relieve their besieged unit for many hours. It is worth noticing that this is the area in which apparently the enemy are planning to bring back the B Specials. When the 45 Marine Commandos are withdrawn at the end of the month they are to be replaced by a redeployment of the R.U.C., the Police Reserve, the sectarian U.D.R. etc.

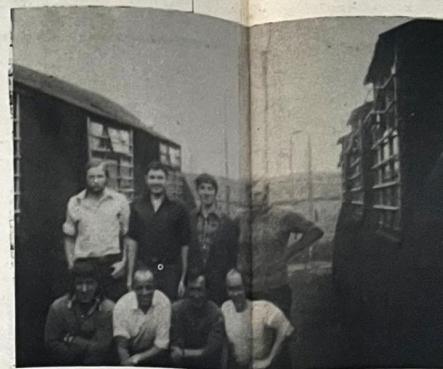
If loyalists allow themselves to be used in this way by a cowardly imperial power who have been militarily beaten out of the area they will suffer even more heavily than has the mercenary professional English army who found themselves powerless in the face of a daring guerrilla army and a united defiant people.

Seventy people were arrested in Ballymurphy on Wednesday 25th September following the shooting of an enemy soldier in the Bullring the previous afternoon. All but one were subsequently released. Though the arrests were reported obliquely in the Irish News the offensive action which provoked the blanked reprisal was not reported by any of the media except this paper. The strike on Ulster Television on which occasionally broke through the B.B.C. stranglehold on information means that the blackout on information about the war will be even greater in the next week.

Fire bombs were planted behind the security barriers in Belfast and in Cooks Road on Friday 27th September over £3 million worth of damage was caused when Wellworth's Northern Ireland depot was gutted. Fire bombs also destroyed a raw rubber store in Armagh and the reconstructed Wellworth's store in Derry. Bombs caused damage in Fermanagh and Castledawson.

At Bellaghy a large booby trap explosion was defused and outside Dungannon a booby trap device exploded between a two vehicle mobile patrol without causing enemy casualties. (Sunday 29th September). Buses were hijacked and roads were blocked in Derry and Belfast during the week in protest against army harassment and brutality in Long Kesh. It is interesting to note that the boycott of the Belfast Corporation bus service by the Republican people has resulted in a net loss of revenue of £1 million.

Three young remand prisoners in Crumlin Road have been forced to go on hunger and thirst strike in protest at being kept naked in solitary confinement without heat or food. Paul McManus, Malachy Crilly and Brendan MacSweeney are showing that they have the spirit of O'Donovan Rossa and Sean MacCaughey. While such heroism and dedication is being shown the Republican movement is assured of the support of the Irish people in triumphantly sweeping the enemies without and within of our country forever.



EXCLUSIVE

"There are people in the Maze who are mentally and physically rotting in harsh, oppressive and sometimes vile conditions. Brutality towards both convicted and detained persons there is a daily occurrence. Not just towards Republicans either. Loyalist prisoners, too, are recipients of the dirty end of the stick, or it might be more accurate to say the dirty end of the truncheon or a rifle butt. It gives me no pleasure to say this, but it is true, and the sooner it is said openly the better."

"Human nature is human nature and in the poisonous environment of what is hardly better than a concentration camp, it will manifest its worst and most primitive facets. . . . The dependents of many prisoners are suffering the cruellest deprivation and hardship because they have been denied the comfort and support of their menfolk. There are areas of our province, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, but principally the former (since it is from there that the majority of the prisoners come), in which a virtual reign of terror exists; in which institutional violence is endemic and habitual."

Thus wrote Stephen Preston, a well-known right-wing journalist in the "Sunday News", September 22nd. And if even right-wing sympathisers in this society can identify such grievances, then the truth of Long Kesh must be indeed deadly difficult to relish.

Long Kesh Concentration Camp. The name is known and feared throughout the Civilised world. A bitter monument to all that is evil and cruel, murderous and repressive, in the Dictators' terminology. The one existing Concentration Camp in Western Europe, a grim reminder of the worst outrages perpetrated by the Nazis in their mad rush to destruction. A nightmare place, surrounded by wire, grey desolate wire, reaching into every corner of one's consciousness, and blinding lights, forever tracking one's every step. A day-time world of drab monotony, a night-time world of piercing brightness and spreading shadows, patrolled by armed British soldiers with vicious war-dogs, observed continuously by soldiers in high towers.



Already in its three short years it has claimed four innocent lives, Frank Dods, Patrick Tear, Teddy Campbell, Patrick Crawford. All done to death by a system brutal beyond repair. All sacrificed to the vengeful blood-lust of British War-lords, and their most infamous lackey, Truesdale, a man who would have been welcomed joyously in Belsen, Dachau, or Buchenwald. A man whose philosophy of life seems a gutter amalgam of Cromwell and Eichmann.

And it is here, at the mercy of such creatures, that 1400 Irishman are condemned to live. Confined in the huts, in tiny cages, with neither facilities nor privacy of any description. Yes of course we have had our VIP visitors, those gullible, spineless innocents who have looked and ran away. Have they ever experienced the sense of loss, the daily deprivation and petty harassment the constant struggle to maintain one's identity, the wearisome lack of individual awareness, which results in each and every minor occurrence becoming the shared experience of everyone? Did they understand the results of this deliberate undermining of personality? Did they understand the Prison Administration not only subjects the prisoners to this hostile environment, but our friends, our loved ones, our families, are degraded equally by these psychological pressures.

Long Kesh is Britain's answer to its political opponents. Cage them, torture them, break their spirit, their will to resist. Forget all those high minded platitudes mouthed by English politicians about Chile, Greece, Russia. Britain is only noble and decent, high-minded and democratic when her own colonial interests are not at stake. We are here because we would oppose British domination, and so every deprivation, every act of cruelty inflicted upon us, is designed to break our will.

Every aspect of administrative policy in Long Kesh is corrupt. Every single facet of life is designed to impose on us. A run-down of our grievances, point by point, may suffice to show the all pervading atmosphere of deprivation, of bureaucratic cruelty and oppression manifesting itself in every instance of our lives, from the most important detail to the most trivial, petty, inconsequential detail.

LIFE IN A CAGE

Our first grievance is our actual living conditions. Eighty or more men are herded into a Compound and left there to exist as best they can. What is this Compound system? How does it operate? The following is a description of a typical Long Kesh Compound, written by a young Republican prisoner. It sums up, simply and straightforwardly, all the frustration, heartache and torment of Cage life.

"This is a typical steel, wired cage jammed tight in with the others, packed within the confines of the camp. To look out through the wire while walking is to see all the other units running across and into each other, all transparent, all see-through, all movement, all the uniform shades of grey, till the eyes hurt with the confusion and you look at the ground or inward to your own spot. And what a home. Forget the years you spend in it for it is as hateful as the first day's sight. No affection grows with familiarity here as it does in your own home.

There are four corrugated-iron huts, tarred black with grey brick facings, three for living in and one for eating in. There are two wooden huts, the larger of which is for washing clothes and body and also acts as a latrine, while the smaller hut is for hobbies, where at the most two men can work at harps. These are the only buildings within the cage. Grouped in a tight cluster the space between them and the wire is the recreation area, which is no more than a narrow tarmac gang-way at the sides and back of the cluster and at its front a space barely manageable for a game of 5-a-side football.

The claustrophobia of the huts can be exchanged for the claustrophobia of the 'yard' – a change of sorts gives a rest of sorts.

Within the living huts are the two-man cubicles, partitioned paper-thin ceilings, with curtained doorways. They run both sides of the hut leaving a thin stretch in the middle which the Authorities call a corridor but which we call the 'rat-run' because of its thinness. The huts are in constant noise against which the cubicles hold no solace.

The cage is 38 yards long by 50 yards wide, the huts are 20 yards long by 6 yards wide and the cubicles are 7ft by 9ft. Ten seconds walk brings you the length of the hut, and less than a minute it takes to walk around the perimeter of the cage. To walk outside the cage to the doctor's is at once peculiar and a God Send.

The whole structure is jerry-built of the cheapest materials except for the wire which cages us in. From top to bottom everything creaks, leaks, and is inefficient. Because of the slight slope of the yard at the front of the cluster of buildings, rain-water runs to the back of the cage behind the huts and builds up until it floods in.

Above the rain everywhere drips in and we need plenty of buckets and tins to prepare for this. When it rains everything is damp, uncomfortable and infuriating so the best thing is to take to bed wrapped up in blankets. As for heat we have hot, dry air blown out by rattling, antique machines which leave us puffed and dry faced yet with our feet still wet. The cage, like any other, may find the mildness of summer manageable but falls down disastrously with winter and winter is approaching disarmingly fast."

So a comrade describes compound life in Long Kesh. And that's the way it is. Here we are, cooped up constantly, at times even unable to leave our huts. Watching the monotonous dreary soul-destroying days drag slowly, endlessly by. And the stresses created by enforced confinement in such cramped conditions lead to an ever increasing heightening of tensions – Men of widely differing approaches to life – young men, elderly men, old men, all thrown together haphazardly, at times with little else in common but the shared fate of suffering in Long Kesh.

Another complaint frequently voiced in Long Kesh is the complete lack of Educational facilities. There are of course a couple of overworked lecturers who, to their credit, have given up a few hours of their time to voluntarily teach the men caged here. Unfortunately, due to the truculent attitude of Truesdale and his security men, these lecturers must work

under the most exacting conditions, constantly harassed and intimidated when they arrive at Long Kesh. As short summary of actual educational facilities granted, or more frequently, denied, may be of assistance. This survey was conducted by a Republican Educational spokesman in Long Kesh: –

"Since political status was won in June 1972 by imprisoned Republicans continuous and vigorous efforts have been made to have some form of academic and practical education programme accepted by the prison authorities. Repeated excuses were made on the grounds of security, etc, and no programme whatsoever was instituted until February 1974 when the Open University courses started. A very limited number of students were accepted, and these only through strenuous efforts by the prisoners themselves and extremely hard work by the Open University representatives, who were often harassed and almost bullied into giving up the effort altogether."

"After similar negotiations had been undergone, the use of a 'Study Hub' was granted. This is situated beside the prison gymnasium and football field, such as they are, which are used daily, depriving the students of the quietness which is conducive to effective study. Even so, this had to be accepted, as there is no better accommodation available in the Compound being, as they were, constructed to cage men like animals, with little thought of welfare, recreational or educational facilities.

"It must be realised that the Open University is an external organisation to the prison authority and, as such, had to be 'forced' on the prison management, as has all subsequent forms of education. Repeated requests were made to have courses of G.C.E. matric and of City and Guilds type started within the Cages, with the help of visiting, professional, tutors for a few hours each week.

The 'practical' or 'trades' type education was turned down immediately because, according to the authorities, it would present severe security problems. The academic type education was set aside, being 'locked in'. There would be problems getting teachers, etc.

"After several months of inaction by the authorities, we asked them to step aside and to let us organise the education system ourselves, including getting teachers who would be willing to spend some of their free time teaching in Long Kesh. 'Voluntarily' of course. This was also immediately turned down by the prison management on 'security' grounds, even after we suggested (not that it would have been done, anyway) that all prospective tutors be vetted and their history scrutinised = by the authorities themselves. To counteract this suggestion, the authorities 'hired' several teachers to teach different subjects in different Cages, amounting to a few hours each week. We, naturally, welcomed this innovation and thought that things were progressing but we were soon brought back to earth when we realised that most of these teachers had been previously teaching in Primary Schools and had tried to teach similar subjects, in a manner, to adults in Long Kesh. Naturally, this failed (through no fault of the teachers themselves, who were primarily, engaged under false pretences) to achieve any educational progression, as very few of the inmates in Long Kesh are seeking education = of this low standard, but require some thing more advanced.

"Since the collapse of this system, we have been promised = another, better qualified teachers and tutors. In the meantime, all men seeking education have been forced to apply through correspondences courses of which have not been ratified yet, = and those that have are finding difficulty in obtaining course material and background reading from the authorities. We have also made representations, lately to cater for the willing to pursue trades and professions in industry – even if the work is only theoretical, it is a step in the right direction. 'Promises' have been made, of course, by the authorities, but, as usual, nothing is forthcoming.

"Putting aside all the promises and schemes that are being looked into and speaking in terms of the existing educational facilities = libraries, etc, although there is a considerably section of educational facilities it consists mainly of novels, Twelve men (out of 450) are attending the Open University (there were no spaces allocated for any more) and a few others are studying through correspondence courses. Voluntary tutors provide the most stable form of education, by giving up some of their free time in order to come and give lectures."

That is a picture of the extremely limited Educational facilities allowed to the prisoners in Long Kesh. There are hundreds of men eager and willing to pursue further Education courses and the Administrators refuse point-blank to even consider them. So again, conflict is needed, created by the Authorities.

Look at the Recreational facilities. We have two football pitches to play on for almost 900 men in the Sentenced end of the camp. Two football pitches. And they don't even use both. Everything is determined by Truesdale's great God Security. The football pitch. This is the one and only recreational amenity, and if you even look twice at a screw here the ball is immediately banned.

DEGRADING OF VISITORS

One of the most degrading, demeaning aspects of the hell-hole of Long Kesh is the system of visits. A prisoner is entitled to a 30 minute visit per week. No great privilege when you consider the surroundings. During the actual visit, your people must wait for periods of up to 5 or 6 hours in dirty, insanitary huts in the Prison car park, with little chance of food or refreshment. The visiting boxes are dirty, filthy places where no one can sit down. The walls are scribbled over with obscenities partly pencilled in by assiduous, dirty-minded screws. A table divides

prisoner from his visitor. Before the visit both Prisoner and visitor are subjected to a degrading body-search conducted by British and Scottish soldiers over here for the large bounty the dirty job carries.

In the visiting box a film of dust covers everything, table, chairs, windows, floor. And it is in such filthy, disgusting conditions that the prisoner is expected to greet his visitors — to discuss family problems, perhaps, private personal matters, within earshot of a staring screw who, during the entire visit, remains at the entrance of the visiting box. There isn't even a door to give an illusion of privacy.

All these conditions are deliberately designed to degrade both prisoner and visitor. Peeping Toms at every door, raucous cruel laughter of foreign screws pervades the long dark hall-ways. Men deprived of love and affection see their families forced to suffer such indignities week after week — and must remain silent. Imagine the hatred that grows in men's hearts. The terrible anger that such bureaucratic inhumanity inspires in captured soldiers. And just as the Nazi commanders and guards who glibly looked on as degradation was heaped — on outcasts and hunted, so in time to come and maybe not such a long time as all that, the Prison warders who officiated over the mental and physical torture of REPUBLICAN prisoners will be hunted as remorselessly as the Nazis.

INFESTED WITH MAGGOTS.

Another aspect of administrative repression is evidenced by the operation of the Parole Board. Only six months ago a hunger-strike lasting 35 days was conducted by Republican prisoners protesting at the decision of the Administration to refuse Compensation Parole to a Dublin man whose mother had died, and demanding an immediate improvement in Compassionate Parole regulations. At present we are demanding an increase in time allowed. At least 24 hours, and more if the situation requires it, seems a reasonable request, yet as usual the Authorities are dragging their feet.

INFESTED WITH MAGGOTS

INFESTED WITH MAGGOTS
One horrible development, unfortunately becoming more common as time goes by is the way in which maggots have infested the huts here. What happens is that mice and rats crawl in between the tins of the huts and die there. Then the maggots appear, and soon are dropping in clusters onto men's bedding, into their food, on their bodies. The whole situation is revolting — yet the Administration refuse to admit that any problems exists. What in the name of God can men do. Truesdale knows the situation — he has seen the maggot-infested huts. Perhaps he considers it a refinement of torture. It is even possible that Truesdale takes delight from knowing that Republicans are crucified in such a disgusting belly-truning way.

Medical practices and facilities in Long Kesh are abysmal. Doctors who care nothing for the prisoner dispense tablets, usually of the Aspro variety for every complaint. On most occasions we do not even have the dubious benefit of a doctor but must make do with Prison Officers in white coats a symbol which seems to take the place of professional medical qualifications. Cheefully they lash handfuls of tablets about them — it is all the same to them — as they cant distinguish one tablet from another unless colouring is a distinguishing characteristic. Tragedies have happened in Long Kesh through this massive medical carelessness and neglect. Frank Dodds from Belfast dropped dead in Gage 18 only one year ago. He had been suffering for a considerable time after repeating beatings from British soldiers, and yet no medical treatment was forthcoming.

PROTEST IN EVERY CAGE

PROTEST IN EVERY CAGE
Today, within every Compound in Long Kesh there is a protest being conducted against the state of the food supplied and the unclean linens so graciously provided. We have not had a sheet on = our beds now for almost three months. The rags which Trueblood calls laundered are always stained and torn and even in their so-called 'clean' state obviously constitute a health hazard. The food arrangements here have been referred to on many occasions. And many spokespersons for various political organizations have commented on them, including Faulkner Unionists. When the food reaches the compound it is cold, the potatoes are always dirty and grubby, the meat is often rancid, and the food is unbelieveable. We are getting fancy hotel-food as Rees' Civil Servants would have the public believe. Those wonderful men given to the press would be comical if the real situation were not so desperate. For over three weeks now every prisoner in this

camp has done without food. We have refused prison food and in turn The Prison Administration banned our food parcels and prevented us from using the Prison Tuck Shop. The men are growing progressively weaker, and with the approach of winter the consequences of this are extremely unpleasant. Any outbreak of infection like a flu or worse, will seize many victims. This one important fact that must be faced. But remember the Prison Administration is completely to blame. Our requests are genuine, they are neither excessive nor exorbitant. What is so wrong in men asking for an improvement in food and linen conditions. Does there exist some strange secret reason which prevents the British Government's representatives from granting us our just demands? Do they take some strange sadistic delight in depriving men of food. They have taken away our freedom, now they wish to starve us into submission. Is the preparation and distribution of food so difficult, so politically controversial, that by acceding to our demands the whole structure of British domination in Long Kesh is brought into doubt.

That is a short description of conditions in Long Kesh. The examples quoted are only the most glaring in the whole range of repression practised by the Administration in Long Kesh. Of course there are many other examples—Niggling, petty restrictions, small-minded decisions, callous indifferences, all designed to erode already assaulted dignity. Letter Censorship, Inter-compound visits. Collective systems of punishment, and so on. The list is endless.

A CONSTANT REPROACH TO SILENT AND SELFISH

This Concentration Camp is a deliberate affront to the dignity and aspirations of the Irish people. Every man in the camp is a constant reproach to the silent and the selfish the self-seeking and the cynical. We are not criminals. We sought, and fought to liberate our country, to make it a place fit for the people if we possess a fault then it must lie in the excess of love we bear for the Gael, as Patrick Pearse described it.

We do not want pity. We know what conditions are like here, We don't need Bishop Daly nor S.D.L.P. representatives, after their flying visits, to pity us or use our plight as an excuse to make political capital. We already know all about our terrible conditions. We unlike the V.I.P.'s have to live here. And conditions here are damnable. But it is useless to talk of conditions. Talk of the system which perpetuates them. Long Kesh is the Six County's in microcosm. We are all of us, the people of the Six Counties engaged in a huge concentration camp. Break the British connection and you break Long Kesh.



LONG KESH HELL HOLE

June 1972 by imprisoned Republicans, it has been made to have some form of programme accepted by the prison made on the grounds of security, which was instituted until February 1974 started. A very limited number of only through strenuous efforts by the hard work by the Open University passed and almost bullied into giving

undergone, the use of a 'Study Hut' in the prison gymnasium and football pitch daily, depriving the students of the opportunity for study. Even so, this had to be a modicum available in the Compound cage men like animals, with little educational facilities.

University is an external organisation, had to be 'forced on the prison forms of education. Repeated requests, nature and of City and Guilds, the help of visiting, professional,

ation was turned down immediately, it would present severe security problems. The application was set aside, being 'looked into'. Teachers, etc., the molding of brains, etc.

by the authorities, we asked them to

education system ourselves, including to spend some of their free time of course. This was also immediately termed 'security' grounds, even though it had been done, anyway! that all history scrutinised by the author-suggestion, the authorities 'hired' people in different Capes, amounting equally, welcomed this innovation and but we were soon brought back of these teachers had been previously and tried to teach similar subjects, in a similar way, this failed (through no fault were primarily engaged under false pretences in Capetown, therefore, but require some

we have been promised is another, with the meantime, all men seeking through correspondence courses, most and those that have are finding difficult and background reading from the estimations lately to cater for those in industry - even if the work is in direction. 'Promises' have been but, as usual, nothing is forthcoming schemes that are being looked into, educational facilities. A library section of educational facilities, men (out of 450) are attending the

ces allocated for any more) and a
responsible courses. Voluntary lec-
ture of education, by giving up some of
the give lectures."

We have two football pitches to cater end of the camp. Two football pitch. Everything is determined by football pitch. This is the one available and look twice at a screw here the foot-

ing aspects of the hell-hole of Long
Island is entitled to a 30 minute visit
if you consider the surroundings. Before
you leave wait for periods of up to 5 or 6 hours in
the car park, with little chance of food.
are dirty, filthy places where no privacy
is guaranteed over with obscenities painstakingly
imbedded in the mind. A table divides the
marked streets.

TROOPS OUT
MOVEMENT

Editor,
Republican News, 170A Falls Road,
Belfast. Ireland.

Dear Friend,

We very much regret your decision to print without comment an attack on the Troops Out Movement in your edition of 24th August.

The article "Neither Fish Nor Fowl" was presented in "The Republican News" as an authoritative and independent analysis of the Movement. In fact it was neither. You failed to point out to readers that the article originally appeared as a partisan attack on the Troops Out Movement in the June issue of "Workers' Fight" — a small British revolutionary group which, for reasons of its own, has been consistently critical of the T.O.M. Consequently this article can in no way be taken as an accurate account of the aims, policies and achievements of the T.O.M.

The whole basis for their attack is that:

1. The Troops Out Movement has not made its position clear on the question of self-determination for Ireland.
2. The Movement has achieved little and that "if the pro-withdrawal M.P.s were to go so far as organizing some action, then the T.O.M. would largely be by-passed."

On the first point, T.O.M. has made its position absolutely clear time and time again. In our Constitution we make two demands: Immediate withdrawal of all British Armed Forces from Ireland and Self-determination for the Irish People as a whole. We think that is plain enough: we believe that the whole 32 Counties is the unit for deciding Ireland's future. That is the position we have always taken, and always will take.

On the second point, it is perhaps worth saying that T.O.M. has been in existence for less than one year. In that time it has grown from being a single group of people working in West London, to a national organization with twenty four groups in Wales, Scotland and England. Despite harassment by the police, and despite the many difficulties caused by the notorious chauvinism of sections of the British population, the Troops out Movement has held meetings up and down Britain attacking the presence and actions of the British Army in Ireland.

Our aim has been to build a progressive movement in Britain, based on British people primarily, demanding immediate withdrawal of the troops on the basis of self-determination for the Irish People — and we believe that such a movement can only be built around the Working Class, and in particular, the Labour Movement. Consequently we were the only British group which, during the last election consistently attempted to make Ireland an issue — particularly for the Labour M.P.s. This we shall be doing again, with even more force, in the current Election campaign.



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Besides all this, in January we held a very successful national demonstration and in May we held a major Conference on Ireland which was attended by more than 700 people (more were turned away). This was the first occasion in Britain when a sizeable body of trade union delegates had been brought into a forum where they could learn about the struggle against British Imperialism in Ireland. It is, perhaps, also worth mentioning that we have run a campaign against Army recruiting, and have supported all demonstration in London against internment and in support of Irish political prisoners in British gaols.

We have been campaigning in this way precisely because no independent initiatives have been forthcoming from "pro-withdrawal" M.P.s. As "Workers' Fight" should know, M.P.s rarely do anything without the force of a mass movement to project them forwards. On Ireland that is even more the case.

The only independent initiative on Ireland which has come from the Palace of Westminster is the "Bring the Boys Back Home" campaign of Labour M.P. James Wellbeloved. Even the "Guardian" newspaper described the founding meeting of this campaign as "racist", anti-Irish and grossly chauvinistic. In this situation our attempts both to win Labour M.P.s to our position (which we are succeeding in doing), and to build the Troops Out Movement are even more urgent. It is for this reason that we, together with the British Peace Committee, are organizing a United Left mass demonstration for October 27th calling on Labour to immediately implement a policy of political and military withdrawal from Ireland. The demonstration will be the first national protest after the election, and it has already been sponsored by 5 Labour M.P.s.

There is a growing feeling in Britain to pull out the troops. As the article says "The task remains to organise at least some of the mass feeling for withdrawal — to compress the steam into an engine for use against the Government to play a role of real solidarity by undermining the capacity of the British state to pursue its policies in Ireland". That is what the Troops Out Movement is attempting to do. It is not helped in that difficult task by inaccurate, misleading and muddled articles which can do nothing but cause confusion and lower morale.

Fraternally,
Press Officer ANDREW CARR
National Co-ordinating Committee
Troops Out Movement London NW6
We hope that our publication of Mr. Carr's letter will help to scatter confusion and restore morale. We wish T.O.M. every success with their Mass Demonstration on October 27—
EdTor.

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Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fhíos

"A chathairligh, a sheachtaí's a chairfe,
Fearainm cead failte rombalbhar ar fad
ag an Ard-Fhíos seo,
comhthionol atá nios mó fós na
crinniúin oll-mhor na bliana seo caite,

RECORD NUMBER OF DELEGATES:

"It is at once my duty and my privilege to welcome you all, both delegates and visitors to this 70th annual Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. The steady increase in attendance at each successive Ard-Fheis since 1970 has been maintained and the General Secretaries report a new record in the number of delegates assembled on this occasion.

"The great struggle in which we of this generation have been engaged has reached a new intensity over the past twelve months. While the heroism of the ordinary people — men and women, boys and girls — in every one of the Six British-occupied counties continued to respond to the worst excesses of the British troops and sectarian killers, the fight was carried to the enemy on a new level by the Republican prisoners within the jails and concentration camps. Within ten days of the close of our last Ard-Fheis the helicopter escape of three leading Republicans from Mountjoy Jail electrified the nation, next day, however, Father Patrick Fell, Proinsias Stagg and their comrades received long and savage sentences at Birmingham on alleged conspiracy charges and were subsequently subjected to humiliating and degrading treatment well-known to all of you.

VENGEANCE AND FORCE— FEEDING:

"A fortnight later the Winchester prisoners were handed down British justice with a vengeance and Dolours and Marion Price, Gerald Kelly and Hugh Feeney began their epic fast which had reverberations around the world. Three weeks straightforward hunger strike was compounded by the barbarity of forced feeding of women and men which lasted for over six months and gathered behind the prisoners the opinions of fair minded people the world over, in support of the simple demand for transfer to a British prison in Ireland to serve their sentences.

"In March Proinsias Stagg and Michael Gaughan joined the strike; 66 days later on June 3 Michael Gaughan became the first to die on hunger strike in prison in England since Terence MacSwiney's sacrifice in 1920. The tens of thousands of the plain people of Ireland — and indeed of many nationalities — who paid their respects to Michael Gaughan's remains, all the way from his lonely prison cell on the Isle of Wight to the Republican Plot at Ballina, Co. Mayo demonstrated conclusively that Republicans have it within their power to touch the hearts of the Irish people. This was proved again in equally dramatic fashion in August last when a large party of Republican Prisoners broke their way out of Portlaoise Jail and threw themselves at random on the mercy of the ordinary people. Six weeks later all remain free with the single exception of a young Crossmaglen man who was captured only when British bullets stopped him in his tracks in his native district.

REPORT CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

THEN AND NOW

Sir. — With reference to the article by Conor O'Cleary entitled "Killings of judge and magistrate indicate seriousness of conflict" (September 21st), I enclose, firmly, as to whether this implies that Mr. O'Cleary believes that there is such a thing as a conflict (i.e., a war) which is not ugly. All wars — because they necessarily involve the loss of life — are ugly affairs, but this does not mean that all wars are unjustifiable.

It is generally accepted by the broad mass of Irish people and political parties that the Fine Gael, Fianna Fail or Labour that the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence represented the justifiable attempts of the Irish people to obtain freedom and justice. Mr. O'Cleary would also appear to accept this premise in his article, attempting to show that the shooting of Justice Conaghan and Resident Magistrate McBurine last week "underline the difference between the I.R.A. campaign of the 1920s and that being conducted today by the Provisional I.R.A. brigade staff in Belfast."

He continues: "In the early 1920s, the judiciary was not considered legitimate targets for I.R.A. operations." Sir, already he is excluding those who fought on the Republican side from 1922 to 1923, from his analysis.

Normally, one might not attach too much significance to any one particular article on the Northern situation today, but Mr. O'Cleary's report is of extreme interest in so far as it summarises a very prevalent attitude in the South, carefully nurtured by the politicians (particularly the Fine Gael Fall variety) which can still be seen in the minds and honour the memories of the men who fought against British rule in Ireland in 1916 and 1919-21 (or '23, depending on background) but condemn the Provisional I.R.A. today as "terrorists", "murderers", "anarchists", etc.

Who were considered "legitimate" targets by the I.R.A. during the Tan war?

Writing in the *New York American* in 1922, Michael Collins commented on this very question as follows: "England could always reinforce her garrisons. She could replace every soldier that she lost. But there were others who were not so easily replaced. To paralyse the British machine, it was necessary to strike at individuals . . ."

Nor was this policy confined to spies and informers — 73 of whom were executed between January and April 30th, 1921, alone — but as the case of Alan Bell would indicate, the I.R.A.'s policy was to break the back of British rule in Ireland, and this obviously meant regarding more than the British military as legitimate targets. Alan Bell — like Martin McBurine — was a Resident Magistrate, who was involved in the British Government's attempt to discover the relations between

Sinn Féin and certain Irish banks. He was dragged from a tramcar in Ballybride on March 16th, 1920, and shot in the street.

Reporting this occurrence, your paper (*Irish Times*, 27/3/1921) carried a heading: "A shocking crime in Dublin" — and then proceeded to describe the killing as "murder," "an awful crime," etc. In *The Irish Times* (17/9/1974), the shooting of the two judges last week was described — wait for it — as "murder," "terrible crime" and so on.

My point is that while your editorially consistent and consistently pro-British and anti-Republican as it was in 1921, I doubt if you are any more honest than Jack Lynch or Liam Cosgrave (incorporating Brendan Corish) in extending your point of view to say that the I.R.A. may be no better and no worse than their counterparts of fifty years ago.

But no doubt Mr. O'Cleary would reply to this by pointing to his article, where he states that the "killings last week were all the 'uglier,' by virtue of such circumstances as the witnessing of Judge Conaghan's death by his young daughter. Well, in 1920 the I.R.A. executed 14 British agents on November 20th — 13 of them not only in front of their wives but in bed with them. Other cases included a 70-year-old Cork woman, Mrs. Lindsay, and in May, 1921, a Miss Barrington and a Mrs. Blake were killed when travelling with R.I.C. men whose cars were ambushed.

And should anyone say that the "difference" between the I.R.A. today and the centres around the existence of a democratically-elected Dail which endorsed these actions, one has only to point to refute this.

What mandate did Pearse have when he proclaimed the Republic and thus began a conflict which resulted in hundreds of civilian casualties? He had no mandate to have the mantle of justice and freedom. The Republicans claimed in 1916 has yet to be re-established and the I.R.A. of today have the same fundamental aims, use the same methods, and therefore must be judged on the same basis as the men of the Tan war, 1916, the Fenians and right back to Emmet and 1798.

So should your editorial policy be to continue to refer to the "Provisionals as being 'terrorists,' at least have the courage of your convictions and describe Pearse and Connolly similarly — if you think that such would be acceptable to the Irish people. But as honesty and integrity would appear to be sadly lacking in both journalistic and political circles today, I doubt if you would. Yours, etc.,

GERRY O DANAHIR,
25 Harlech Crescent,
Clonskeagh,
Dublin 14.

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SOUTHERN SUPREMOS DISTRACT OWN POLICE

A sensational development following
on the great Portlaoise Prison escape
is causing extreme friction within
the southern Government, police
and army. This is an order given by
the Justice Minister Mr. Cooney,
that all policemen and warders
entering the prison are to be thor-
oughly searched. Reports have leaked
out indicating great unrest and
dissatisfaction among the police and
prison warders. A strike was threat-
ened for a time at Portlaoise police
station, where hundreds of police-
men have been drafted in. Meanwhile,
the searching of the persons of all
prison guards continues. An indication that
the Government now fears that,
even its own men have been 'infected'
by Republicanism.

A NATIONWIDE APPEAL TO IRISH VOTERS IN BRITAIN.

"In the few months since February
1974, the Labour Government, in its
dealings with Northern Ireland, has
shown itself to be weak to the extreme,
dishonest and totally incompetent.



"WE COULD NOT TRUST THE IRISH NATIVES TO RUN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS."

ENGLISH MUST GET OUT

On Wednesday 25th September 80 people heard Geoff Rooker a Labour M.P. now candidate for Perry Barr and Pat Hickey, U.C.A.T.T. convenor and Birmingham Troops Out speak on the English Government's White Paper on Ireland.

Geoff Rooker started off by saying he viewed with dismay the attitude of the previous two governments and was

filled with despair on reading the disgraceful White Paper and on hearing Merlyn Rees:

It was a national issue, a national question and the only thing England could do was to do what she had done in her other colonies - get out.

The army was not playing a peace-keeping role and many army officers relished Northern Ireland as a training ground which could be used against the British working class.

He said he wanted to push for English withdrawal and for the Irish people to solve Ireland's problems themselves.

Pat Hickey outlined Britain's new strategy which was to go for a short term solution by making concessions to loyalism e.g. consultative assembly in which Loyalists had a guaranteed majority.

England was not playing a peacekeeping role and the English presence was the problem. By making concessions to Loyalism, England was increasing the tendency towards a civil war and an old Stormont-type solution. The way to minimise the bloodbath was by ensuring that the Protestants have no place of success in maintaining their privileges via the link with England. The presence of troops was therefore not progressive but was in fact increasing the tendencies towards civil war by giving the Loyalists the possibility of a return to the Protestant ascendancy.

The British working class should support the demands of Troops Out Now and self determination for the Irish people not solely because of internationalist principles but because of the danger from the extreme right. Reactionary Loyalist working class were an excellent base for intervention for such fascist groups or the National Front and racists like Powell. It was in the interests of the British working class to prevent the extreme right from consolidating such a base by supporting the two demands of Troops Out Now and self determination for the Irish people.

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Desert Labour SPOIL YOUR VOTE

1. They promised to end Internment
- the number of internees in Long
Kesh has INCREASED; the number of
women interned in Armagh jail has
DOUBLED.

2. They renewed the tyrannical
Emergency Provisions Act, thereby
condoning the hounding and abuse
of our people.

3. They neglected to protect the
Catholics during the U.W.C. strike
by allowing the British Army Command
to dictate N.I. policy.

4. Not only have they failed to
reform the R.U.C. they have now made
the alarming suggestion that a 3rd force
be recruited. This inevitably means the
re-arming of all the old B. Specials
who already have a list of 33,000
volunteers.

5. They coldly ignored the plight
of young Michael Gaughan, allowing
him to die a solitary and terrible
death.

"Over the years Labour has been able
to take for granted six out of every
seven Irish votes. We, the Irish
in Britain, have parted with our votes all
too lightly in the past. We have been
grossly negligent in our responsibility

towards our people's rights. We hereby
call on every Irish voter in Britain
to UNITE in staging a massive
protest through the legal process of
the ballot box.

WITHDRAW YOUR SUPPORT FROM LABOUR - SPOIL YOUR VOTE:

"To withdraw our support from Labour
and give it blindly to their opponents
defeats the whole object of protest.

A VOTE FOR THE OPPOSING
CANDIDATE WILL NOT BE REGIS-
TERED AS A PROTEST AGAINST
BRITAIN'S BUNGLING OF THE
NORTHERN IRELAND CRISIS.
To spoil your vote simply put line
through your ballot paper and write
"Irish" at the bottom. Remember
your vote is CONFIDENTIAL, to
SPOIL IT.

We especially appeal to those of you
who don't usually vote at all. Your
vote is ESSENTIAL - SPOIL IT.

Issued by Tomas MacCurtain Sinn
Fein Cumann, Harrow.

(It is understood that this statement
is intended for voters in areas which
do not have I.C.R.A. candidates
standing - Editor.)

