

It shall be the duty of the government of this Republic to make provision for the physical and mental well being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

(1st Dáil Éireann)

An Phoblacht

Iml. 8. Uimhir.31. 10p. Lúnasa 10, 1977.

BANG GOES CROWN

£1m. blitz interlude

WHY SHOULD the Crown expose itself so spectacularly — and so stupidly, from the propaganda viewpoint — as the colonial oppressor in Ireland, requiring 30,000 troops and thousands more uniformed and secret police to protect the alien, royal visitor?

Why pick a period associated in the Irish mind with Orange triumphalism and the latterday Crown endorsement — internment and the torture of the "hooded men," exposed to the world in Strasbourg this year?

As always in such cases look for the economic motive behind what looks like a gigantic political blunder. The economic motive is galloping unemployment in Ireland's Six and Twenty-Six Counties and in Britain itself.

An insoluble jobs crisis, the creeping reduction in the living standards even of those still at work, the growing truculence of organised labour: This dangerous mixture just might bring loyalist workers to their senses, make them realise that there is no security, no comfort, only disaster in the British connection.

So royalty is thrown in to distract attention, to fan community antagonisms, perhaps to spark a civil war itself, in the hope that where the British army has failed a sudden Orange pogrom might succeed, as on other occasions. But that was when the Republican people were virtually unarmed.

Orange flag

There is still talk in loyalist circles of a Rhodesia-like Orange Free State in the Six Counties. The Orange flag is seen more often than the Union Jack. The Derry Air is being sung as the new 'national anthem' (apparently in ignorance of the reference to "an Ave there for me" in the lyric). The visit may be calculated, also, to end that sort of heresy in the euphoria of all the old jingoism.

Britain is a bankrupt country but continues to pour money down the sinking drain of the Six Counties. In 1969 it cost Britain £1,500,000 to keep troops in Ireland. Here are the figures for following years: 1970, £6,500,000; 1971, £14,000,000; 1972, £29,000,000; 1973, £33,000,000; 1974, £45,000,000; 1975, £60,000,000; 1976, £65,000,000. The total for those eight years is £264,000,000.

These figures cover only the price of military occupation. The figure for bribes and other administrative costs is now more than £603,000,000 a year. This is one of the reasons why more than 60 per cent of Britain's men and women are demanding that Britain should quit Ireland.

But no matter how much Britain spends in the Six Counties, unemployment increases. The figure now is approaching 14 per cent of the population (more than 69,000). In some areas, both loyalist and Republican, the figure is 30 per cent. The unemployment figure has tripled in three years.

Million pound blitz

Unemployment among the school-leavers probably is the establishment's greatest worry. It has increased by 30 per cent within one year. Unemployment in Britain also has reached record proportions and clashes between police and workers are increasing.

We do not know exactly what the Crown's Irish gallivant was supposed to have cost but MPs will ferret it out and the Troops-Out Movement will see that the figure gets the maximum publicity.

(Ar leanúint ar chúl)



THESE PICTURES were taken in the Grafton Street/St. Stephen's Green area of Dublin on the afternoon of Saturday, August 6. Top picture shows a demonstrator held by two Gardaí with a secret policeman, fists clenched, looking on.

The second picture, taken seconds later, shows the secret policeman's boot going in and a uniformed Garda trying to restrain him.

It was merely one example of state brutality as an exercise in civil disobedience — passive resistance — was broken up violently by batonswinging policemen.

The Irish Civil Rights Association demonstrators, men and women, sat down on the roadway, in a brief obstruction of traffic, to draw attention to the barbaric conditions in Port Laoise Jail.

A spokesman told this paper: "Strict instructions were given to all taking part that this was to be observed as passive resistance and nothing more."

"We are satisfied that none of our members were involved in the later bottle and stone-throwing, the work of agents provocateurs or other unbecoming elements. Orders were obeyed."

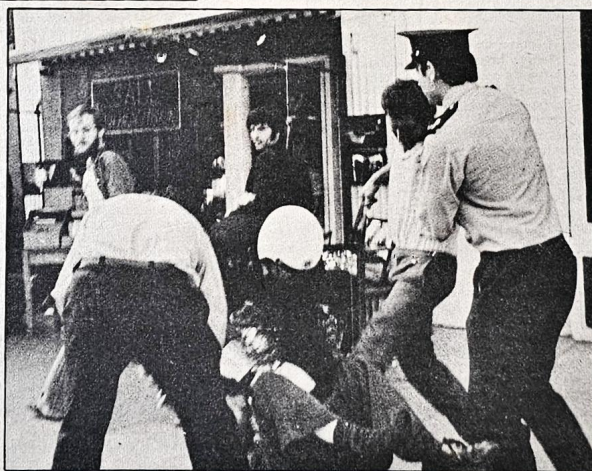
"Nevertheless, our attempt at a Ghandi-like protest was treated in exactly the same way as the Civil Rights demonstrations in the North, the intention being to beat us off the streets, to smear our organisation and to smash it."

"This proves that the state will not tolerate dissent or criticism, will not allow the most passive of protests, can be expected to overreact in the most brutal fashion; and that though the government has changed the repression continues."

These two pictures speak for themselves. A man, on the ground held by two Gardaí, unable to defend himself, is attacked by the boot of a secret policeman. This is the police state in action in public.

It needs little imagination to think what is like away from the public gaze: Forged fingerprints; forged forensic evidence; intimidation of witnesses; torture of political enemies; forced 'confessions'; suspension of the law of evidence; farsical trials; long terms of imprisonment in the concentration camp that is Port Laoise Jail.

Today, the political dissenters are taking the brunt. Tomorrow, as unemployment increases, it will be trade unionists, for the gommei. state has only one answer to its problems: Brutality, even murder itself.



Mason scuttles to IRA bullets

GAULEITER ROY Mason scuttled out of Andersonstown, Belfast, the other day to a hail of high velocity shots from the rifles of the IRA. It happened following what was supposed to have been a 100 per cent security visit to Fort Monagh.

The Crown show of force began at 10.00 hours with some 500 foreign mercenaries lining both sides of the Andersonstown road and occupying streets leading into the area, every civilian being stopped, searched and screened.

At about 11.15 hours an enemy convoy left Musgrave Hospital military wing, entering Andersonstown at Kennedy Way. In the lead was a one-ton Humber

personnel carrier, followed by three Land-Rovers. Close enough behind came the enemy GOC's reinforced Land-Rover with bulletproof windows. Then, behind that, at 20 yard intervals, followed Pigs, Saracens, a lone whipper taking up in the rear.

Inside the reinforced Land-Rover was Gauleiter Mason. The operation — rehearsal for 90 minutes — lasted some 20 minutes, with Andersonstown virtually under curfew. Nothing could penetrate all that 'Security'. Or could it?

The answer came as Mason left Fort Monagh. An active service unit of Belfast Brigade

fired 11 high velocity shots and Mason's driver put his foot down. The vehicle bumped and swerved, screeched and rumbled, giving Mason an uncomfortable few minutes, until safely inside the Musgrave complex.

FOOTNOTE: A vanguard flag had been flying from Fort Monagh for more than a week before Mason's visit. It was removed shortly before he arrived. Orange Free State flags have been observed flying from enemy vehicles in many areas recently, particularly those controlled by the UDR, in clear breach of Crown regulations.

An Phoblacht

Imleabhar B. Lúnasa 10, 1977. Uimhir 31
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Éire. Guthán: 747611.

From stick to carrot

THE CROWN announcement of another substantial bribe - special subsidies and grants for Ireland's north-east - follows weeks of haphazard arrests in Republican areas, torturing, forced "confessions" and appearances before the sentencing tribunals, the Crown's prompt reply to the Orange demand for "more security".

The big stick is followed by the rather meagre carrot; but it affords yet another opportunity to gild the Crown in its dog-gopher pose.

"Look and see how kind, charitable and helpful we are to these warring tribes", the Crown can twitter softly, neglecting to point out that many of the most populated areas in the same Six Counties are the blackest in western Europe, from the viewpoint of jobs, housing and living conditions generally. There are not many Common Market areas where unemployment reaches 30 per cent, but they will be found in Ireland, north AND south of the Crown-imposed Border.

What a cruel way of going through the motions of administering part of a subject nation in the third quarter of the 20th century. What a futile exercise. Yet the entire sham and hypocrisy can be ended when the working people of these islands awaken and act.

At Bodenstown in June Jimmie Drummond pointed the way to speed the liberation of Ireland: Involve the working people.

On the front page of last week's issue of this paper we published the result of involving an important section of the working people in Britain. Concerned workers selected delegates to visit Ireland and see what is happening. They returned to report on what they had seen, and reached the obvious decision, that the Crown must withdraw from Ireland.

That delegation was what might be termed the advance guard. All over Britain similar groups are meeting to discuss the Irish war, to get the facts about what is being done in their name, with their money, and to demand a similar response from the Crown.

Many Irish people in Britain, of course, are involved in this campaign, having been politicised by the Terrorism Act (which was designed with quite a different objective); but they are in a tiny minority. Most people in Britain seeking the Crown's evacuation of Ireland are British trade-unionists, supported by a few M.P.'s and a sprinkling of the intelligentsia (artists, writers, theatre people).

The fact that they have studied Kitson and have come to realise that what is being done to Ireland today will be done to them tomorrow (or, already, at Grunwick), and that our cause is theirs, is only half the story. The other half is class loyalty. And Ireland is grateful.

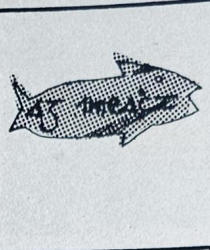
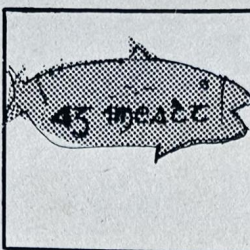
This support is invaluable. It will be more invaluable when the time comes for Crown reparations. But it is not enough. And the tortured Republican people of the Six Counties, grateful though they be, are wondering bitterly about the class (and national) loyalty of the mass of the working people at home. Why, they are asking, has not a similar organisation started work in Dublin, Limerick, Cork and Galway?

That brings us back to Jimmie Drummond's demand, that for imperialism to be defeated and driven out of Ireland the military effort, valiant though it may be, and essential, needs the working people's thrust to complete the task, consolidate the Revolution and guard against a counter-revolution.

The basic message of the Sinn Féin philosophy is contained in those two words from the Irish language, often wrongly translated as "ourselves alone". To regain freedom, however, it is *Sinn Féin*, ourselves, who have the major task. We are not alone but the time has come for our workers to form the vanguard of the final assault.

Every Republican should be a good trade-unionist. Every good trade-unionist must be brought to understand that imperialism is responsible for unemployment and the creeping reduction in living standards; and that the disease covers the entire island.

To cure the disease the cancer that is the Crown must first be cut away from the body of the Six Counties. That is the common-sense economic argument. The others are too well known to need repetition.



Máire, na tincéir... agus na vótaí

NÍL FHIOS again ar raibh Máire Geoghegan Quinn riamh sna Sís Chiontae. Táim cinnte de nach raibh sí i láthair i Léana an Dúin. Béal Feirste, blianta beaga ó shin, nuair a chuir na saighdiúraí gailda deireadh leis an sos chogaidh.

Domhnach bhí ann. Lá brothallach álainn, De thimpist a bhí féin ann an lá sin cé gur mhíoc dom sa chatúir chéanna agus le tamall fada, i bhfad nuá nó thoisigh an cogadh is nuá ar son na soirse.

An uair sin bhí cónaí ag Fir Bhui i Léana an Dúin... agus ag Poblachtóirí. D'fheic sé corbhrathach de chuid na bhFear Bui ag gobadh amach ó na fuinneoga.

Níor bhac na Poblachtóirí leo sin. Bhí a geuid bratacha féin chomh suntasach céanna, mórán.

D'éirigh go maith idir na gnáthdhaoinne. Níor chuir siad isteach ar a chéile.

Ach is amhlaidh a chuir an tsíocháin úd isteach agus go mór ar an UDA. Agus bhagair siad nach mbéidís sásta a thuilleadh Poblachtóirí a cheadú isteach sa cheantar.

Is cuimhneach libh an t-am úd. Bhí sos chogaidh i réim, ceart go leor, ach níor stop sin marí seiceach na bhFear Bui.

Bhí daoine ag teitheadh go dtí áit a mbéidís slán. Bhéidís slán, dar leo, i Léana an Dúin.

Ceard isteach

AR NA heagrais a bhunaigh an Choróin sna Sé Chiontae agus a raibh clú orthu go rabhadar iontráit agus cothrom bhí iontaobhas na Títhchoita (Housing Trust). B'fhéidir gurbh shin an t-iontráir eagraimh d'íobh a bhí d'íreac agus iontráit. Ní fheadar.

Ach is amhlaidh a fuair roinnt bheag daoine cead dhul isteach i dtíthe nua i Léana an Dúin ón iontaobhas. Ionadach amach na cupáisi. Ionadach an cíos Agus fuair na daoine na heochracha.

Crossmaglen organises

A COMMUNITY Association has been formed in Crossmaglen to help advance the social and economic development of the area.

The spokesman said that the primary objective of the Association was to provide a community centre to facilitate all sporting, cultural and social needs in the area.

Fifteen members were elected to the committee: Eugene Donaghy, chairman; Pat Hearty, vice-chairman; Clare Quigley, secretary; Ann Rodgers, asst. secretary; Jim Hastings and Paddy Short, treasurers.

Committee: Peter Murtagh, Patsy McKeown, Terence McShane, Christina Rogers, Fr. K. Moran, Patsy Cassidy, Mary McEntegart. Rev. D. Sweeney and Bernard Murphy.

Ach go hobann tháinig na saighdiúraí, lena ngunnaí, lena gearraín, lena mífúscar agus lena mbeithil féin.

Ní ligfeadh daoine bochta eile, daoine atá beagán, ach gan ach beagán, níos fearr as ná na tincéir, beagán na Críostaithe seo, na hÉireannaigh seo, a gcomhchríostaithe, a gcomhÉireannaigh, seach a fháil ar theach nua, mar ealú ó bhagairt ar an dó sa champa.

Cinnla

gcuimhne na ndaoine, faoi theachtairacht an Stábla i mBeithil féin.

Ní ligfeadh daoine bochta eile, daoine atá beagán, ach gan ach beagán, níos fearr as ná na tincéir, beagán na Críostaithe seo, na hÉireannaigh seo, a gcomhchríostaithe, a gcomhÉireannaigh, seach a fháil ar theach nua, mar ealú ó bhagairt ar an dó sa champa.

Stair i ndearmad

M'RAIBH na tincéir sách maith dóibh. Gléin nó dhó nó faide siar fuair tuistí nó seanathaireacha agus seannhíreacha na ndaoine maith seo na naimhdéas céanna rompu nuair a phléidigh siad isteach i nGaillimh, ag ealú ó bhochtannas Chonamara, dearóil Mhaigh Eó, éadachas na bportach is na sídeibh.

Go deimhin, nach mar a chéile an scéal i mbosáin Theas an t-úir inniu ann, agus Éireannaigh ag cur in éadan na ndaoine gorma, nach bhéil sách maith do na daoine uaisle geala tí chomh glórach faoina geuid Críostaithe Dé Domhnaigh sa séipéal?

Ní mórán colais again faoi Máire Geoghegan Quinn. Is eol dom nach ar an ngeannchuid a tógadh í. Bhí aigeid ag a muintir agus, gach seans, ag a muintir roimhe sí.

Ach tá cuimhne an bhochtannais ar an tíarna tuáin, ar an aol dearóil, sa champa. Agus lena linn féin chonara Máire Geoghegan Quinn bochtannas thairt timpeall uirthi féin.

Ina ainneoin sin uilig, tá Máire Geoghegan Quinn sásta ina crof istigh nár chóir ligean do na tincéir a fuair títhe go deilthach agus go disteanach ó Bhárda na Gaillimhe dúl isteach sna títhe sin, gan cead ó Bhóthar Mór.

Mogall na vótaí

DE RÉIR cósúlachta, tá na húdaráis i nGaillimh, idir chléir is thuatach, ag seasamh le díl nua seo na lámhe Bídre. Agus níor thug son údaráis an t-ordú cáif do na Gardáí ndiúite a dhéanamh (mar a deir an btearláir) nó bheith d'fíis dá ndualgais.

Cén fáth gur chuir Máire a ladair isteach anseo? Vótaí. Tá tógacháin áitíúil romhainn. Is mó na vótaí tá ag na bligéidí tá ag cur stop leis na tincéir ná vótaí na tincéir.

Ó thabhairt áirgid de, is sibhne na bligéidí tá ag síúil an dlí ná na tincéir.

I Léana an Dúin, an Domhnach aobhinn úd, ba f, an tomhas dhéanna f. Is mó vótaí na bhFear Bui ná vótaí na Poblachtóirí.

Is sibhne na Fir Bhui ná na Poblachtóirí. Is cimbachtáir aicme na bhFear Bui agus na mbigéid i nGaillimh ná aicme na Poblachtóirí thuaidh agus aicme na dtincéir thiar.

Tá Fianna Fáil i nGaillimh tar éis a chur in úigo sóiléir cén áit a sheasann sé ach tá Sinn Féin i nGaillimh ina thost go fóill. An beo dó? An beo dá choinníst? An beo don cháis?

YOUR DAILY PAPER?

THE DEMAND for a daily paper, putting forward the Republican-Socialist viewpoint, is growing among our people, at home and abroad. They realise that until we have such a paper the truth will be suffocated and lies will prosper. IF YOU want a daily Republican-Socialist paper help to build our circulation as a weekly to 100,000 sold copies. Circulation is rising but not quickly enough.

TODAY, some 63,000 people read "An Phoblacht" every week. Make this 80,000 by Christmas. Then, when we see YOU are in earnest, we can start planning for the daily.

MEANWHILE, help to build the publication fund by ADVERTISING WITH US instead of in the enemy, gombeen press. ADVERTISING RATES: Classified, 5p per word (minimum 50p); display, £150 per column inch. Deadline: Thursday before publication.

HELP BUILD circulation by sending "An Phoblacht" to friends and relatives at home and abroad. Rates: Europe: one year, £8.00; half-year, £4.00; three months, £2.00; elsewhere (U.S. dollars or equivalent), one year, 20; half-year, 10; three months, five.

COMPLETE this form today, cut it out and send it to: Circulation Manager, "An Phoblacht", 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, Éire.

Do not send money in the post. Cross all cheques or money orders. Make them payable to "An Phoblacht".

KNOW YOUR ÉIRE NUA

le Christene
Elias,
Comhairle
Chuige
Laignean

THE REPUBLICAN Movement is well aware that the implementation of our proposed regional government programme inevitably will give rise to completely new and, at times, very serious difficulties. It would be dangerously unrealistic, to assume that it is possible to revolutionise political activity and structures in Ireland, to replace the present centralised undemocratic creations of colonialism and neo-colonialism with our proposed decentralised self-governing communities without encountering problems.

Members of Sinn Fein have examined carefully the decentralised federal-type regimes of many other countries and meticulously have noted their strengths and weaknesses.

In this work, we have not been motivated by a desire to copy the structures of another country or to attempt to superimpose solutions reached by other nations on our own situation.

Our close observance of other multi-level structures has widened our experience of the principles involved and alerted us to possible problems.

For example: Are we Irish capable of governing ourselves? Have we become too complacent in the centralised regimes of today? Are we too used to having others make the decisions for them? In the New Ireland, will the Irish people be reluctant to accept the power that our system would bestow on them?

The Republican Movement repeatedly emphasises that our structures would give power back to the Irish people but, it must be remembered, this also implies giving responsibility for that power to the people as well.

We are encouraged by the development of true community spirit and self-reliance in many parts of the Six Counties over the last few years. The people of the north-east have their own community.

Nevertheless, apart from this exception, an unwillingness to take advantage of the new levels of authority could be a real problem. In some areas, it could result in local power falling into the hands of a few people.

Destruction of West

The present disastrous imbalance in economic development between the east and west of this country could give rise to problems in the new regionalised Ireland. Many areas in the west are being allowed to deteriorate at an appalling rate.

Republicans are adamant that this deterioration must stop. But in order to correct this imbalance, it will be necessary for the richer regions of Ulster, Munster and Connaught to subsidise initially the development of their weaker

regions, for the richer provinces to assist the less developed provinces.

Will this result in inter-provincial and inter-regional friction, as it did in Yugoslavia, where the more industrialised Croats were asked to subsidise the Serbs and Macedonians; in Czechoslovakia, where the richest Czechs resented a proportion of the wealth created by their labour being used to help the poorer Slovaks and Moravians; and in Canada, where the rich central provinces must give aid to the more underdeveloped eastern seaboard?

In the New Ireland, we must be conscious of the possibility of this type of dissension arising and do our utmost to avoid it.

The introduction of a system of government based on four separate levels of power and the creation of a society that will allow Irish people of differing traditions to live in peace together will almost inevitably result in disagreements and disputes between the various levels of authority as to exactly which functions are the responsibility of which level, what degree of interference of one level in the workings of another will be tolerated, where is the delicate line between helpful assistance and overbearing encroachment.

Foreign examples

This type of problem has arisen in many countries such as the U.S.A., where the states versus federal rights controversy reach drastic proportions and in Canada, where we are still made aware of the tensions resulting from the determination of French Canadians and English Canadians to live together.

We must avoid a situation where provincial levels will come in conflict with the national level or district levels developing unhealthy relationships with regional levels.

In formulating the proposed new Constitution, we must ensure that the responsibilities of each level of government are defined clearly.

The lack of defined constitutional guidelines has been the basic cause of these type of difficulties in other countries. As a safeguard, the Republican Movement advocates an intricate system of checks and balances and the setting up of a Constitutional Court to deal with problems between different levels of authority.

The notion that our proposed four-tier system of government will result in the creation of a veritable army of bureaucrats is a fallacy. We need only recall that one of the most fundamental principles of our system is subsidiarity of function (a service will be administered at the lowest possible level).

Power at base

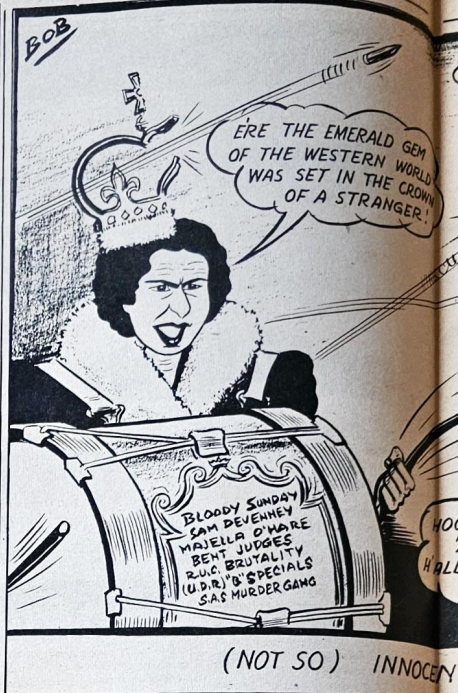
Thus, it is obvious that the vast majority of decisions will be taken at the district level and will avoid today's situation, where most bureaucrats spend their time conveying the queries of a lower level to a higher level and then forwarding the decisions of the higher level back down to the lower level.

This system has reached ridiculous proportions where purely local problems cannot be solved without reference to Dublin or Belfast or London and even Brussels.

Yes, there will be problems in revolutionising the political structures of Ireland. Our regional government programme will seem rather complicated at first. There will be an initial confusion until people become familiar with the system and learn how to take

(Ar leanúint ar chúil)

Problems of these new structures



VISIT THE CRAFT CENTRE 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath

It took more than a good eye for and a can of paint to put these enemy patrols are frequent. It took attention — and the knowledge that the last colonial war. The slogans were come to us courtesy "Republican N

US lawyers condemn Crown courts as 'another form of internment'

THE TRIAL of criminal cases in Six Counties Crown courts has been described as a "farce" by the Attorney's Committee of the National Council of Irish Americans in Buffalo.

The committee, in a special report, also described the remand system as "another form of internment", carried out with the apparent approval of the judiciary.

The report, published by Michael McLoughlin, states in part: "Our examination of the criminal justice system in Northern Ireland shows an alarming rate of convictions based solely on the testimony of a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)."

"The proof in all these cases fits the same pattern, and consists solely of the policeman's testimony that the accused orally stated to him that he was, in fact,

a member of the IRA, and committed the acts of violence contained in the charges.

No witnesses

"There is no other proof offered. No witnesses are produced, nor is documentary evidence offered.

"We find it incredible that 90 per cent. of all convictions involving violent crimes rests solely on the testimony of an RUC officer. It is indeed strange to find such a high percentage of accused persons admitting the commission of crimes to their interrogators.

"Such confessions, are rare in the United States, England, Scotland, Wales and other jurisdictions.

"These facts lead us to the obvious conclusion that such trials are tainted with fraud and collusion on the part of the police.

"The system allows the RUC to be

the accuser, prosecutor, judge and jury, all at the same time. It is an unhealthy and unwholesome system that calls for immediate reform.

"The Strasbourg Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe has already referred to many other objectionable practices of the RUC.

Clear abuse

"The courts' practice of 'remanding' or adjourning criminal cases in the early stages, at the request of the police or the prosecutor, is a clear abuse of due process. We find that adjournment after adjournment is granted, as a matter of course, with the result that many accused persons are jailed from 12 to 16 months without a hearing or trial.

"This is a clear abuse of the judicial process and is not tolerated by the courts in England, Scotland or Wales. In reality,

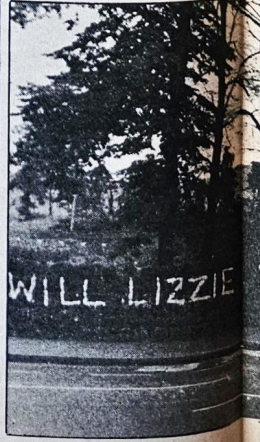
such practices constitute another form of internment without charge or trial. However, the system is now cloaked with the dignity of a court proceeding due to the judiciary's cooperation."

The attorney report of the National Council of Irish Americans is based on an examination of court records dating back to 1971.

The Committee has been conducting a continuous examination of the Crown's judicial system in Ireland and further reports will be forthcoming, according to the Council.

The Council also reported that their attorneys' report is based, in part, on observations made by American attorneys who attended court sessions in Belfast.

Further information may be had from: National Council of Irish Americans, Ellicott Square Buildings, Buffalo, 3, New York, U.S.A.





Where does the blame lie for the

FEUD DEATHS ?

FOLLOWING shootings in Belfast early this month a statement, explaining in detail what had happened and who was responsible, was issued by Brigadier Bheal Feriste (Belfast Brigade), Oglaiha na hEireann (I.R.A.). This paper's efforts to get the full statement failed, due to circumstances beyond our control, before going to press last week.

Garbled or incomplete versions of the statement appeared in the kept press and only the "Republican News" carried it in full. No copies of that paper reached Dublin before the weekend and, because of the bank holiday, we had to go to press earlier than usual, as we announced in the previous issue, and were unable to carry the statement because of arrangements with our printers.

We reproduce from the "Republican News" the full statement. A reference also is made to the feud in Jimmie Drumm's oration at the graveside of one of the victims, Vol. Tommy Toland (see page six for full text and picture).

Here is the Bridage statement which we have been asked to publish:

"The Republican Club's statement last night concerning 'mediation' is a complete lie. The sequence of events are as follows:

"Prior to yesterday, the last incident of hostility logged by the I.R.A. was a murder attempt by Republican Clubs' members on one of our sympathisers - Mr. Thomas McLoughlin - in the Bawnmore Estate last weekend. The man was shot in his home and remains critically ill. Following this cowardly murder bid the I.R.A. immediately contacted Republican Clubs to have the situation defused.

"A parallel must be drawn between this incident, into which we entered mediation,

and yesterday's incident, involving the shooting of Mr. Trevor McNulty. The shooting of Mr. McNulty at 3 p.m. took us by surprise, and we ordered an immediate investigation. We contacted mediators. Early yesterday evening they told a priest in contact with them, at our request, that they weren't prepared to talk.

Innocent victims

"Instead they launched a series of vicious attacks on Republicans and Republican sympathisers. During this concerted effort a number of totally innocent and unarmed people were shot dead.

"They include Mr. James Foots, whose father was also seriously injured; Mr. Danny

Cowan, whose only crime against Republican Clubs' members was that he lived in a house formerly owned by one of our sympathisers, Mr. Tommy Tolan, as he walked through Ballymurphy. Mr. Tolan was married only two weeks ago.

"They also opened fire on Mr. Pat McVeigh, who was standing outside a bookmaker's shop. During the evening they wounded 11 people, including one woman, an 11-year-old child and a 15-year-old girl.

"Three times yesterday evening mediators acceptable to both sides were in contact with the R.V.H. in Belfast. At all times the Clubs refused to halt hostilities, with the excuse that they could not contact their leadership. "Shortly after nine o'clock two prominent Clubs representatives met representatives from the Republican Movement. Again they stated that they were not authorised to stop the shooting and that we would have to wait until their leadership was contacted.

Out of control

"Mr. McGurran, in the meantime, was pouring forth his repulsive tissue of lies. Despite the picture of innocence presented by him the fact which emerged from yesterday's disastrous shooting was that the Republican Clubs have created a monster, a lie, which they cannot control. "Since March, 1972, they have been involved in five feuds. Yesterday, the people of the

(Ar leamaint ar chúil)

ABHAR CAINTE le 'Dealg'

The R.V.H. is not known; but the blatant politics of the worthy, or rather unworthy chairman exposes not only the unfortunate patients to extreme danger but the medical members of the R.V.H. are themselves placed at hazard.

Demand removal

More and more "security" is not the answer to the problems of the Royal Victoria; There is a much more simple solution and an easier way, if the R.V.H. staff is serious about concern for the patients under its care.

If the politics reflect those of Brown, that's another matter. In that case, the interests of the armed forces would take precedence over and above the sick and injured, which should be the prime concern.

Then, the R.V.H. is, in fact, not a hospital at all. That is what the Geneva Convention states. That is what the Red Cross is all about!

The chief medical officer of the R.V.H. should demand, forthwith, the removal of all armed members of the British forces, army police and U.D.R. in or out of uniform; Special Branch to cease interrogating sick and injured and arresting patients; and prevent all those men from roaming the corridors of the hospital hourly, seven days a week, 365 days a year.

Behind skirts

Next, hoist the Red Cross flag over the R.V.H. and issue Red Cross armlets to all medical staff - repeat - medical staff. Before doing all of the above, it might, perhaps, be possible to search around for a Sir Thomas Myles first.

Much is made in the British (and Irish) yellow press about Republicans "putting children in the front line"; but never do they

Royal Victoria and the Geneva Convention

CURIOUS occurrences turn up in history to be related later in pubs and at firesides but none so curious or so coincidental as one particular event linking two men of some eminence, both with British knightships and members of the medical profession.

More curious still, both men, addressed as "Sir Thomas", are linked with famous hospitals but separated in time by 61 years and the two hospitals by some 120 miles. One is in Dublin; the other in Belfast.

The North King Street - Church Street areas of Dublin saw some of the fiercest fighting of Easter Week, 1916. There, right in the centre, sat, and still sits, the Richmond Hospital.

Hundreds of casualties, combatant and non-combatant, were unloaded on the Richmond where the staff worked around the clock without cease during that historic week.

Sacred ground

At one stage of the fighting the Richmond was occupied by the Republican volunteers primarily for its telephone facilities. Within minutes the commander was approached by the first Sir

Thomas, who made it clear that the hospital was under the protection of the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross, was sacred ground, neutral, its facilities available to all, whether enemy or friend; and that the Convention forbade the occupation of a hospital, or part of it, by armed forces.

The Richmond was evacuated immediately by the volunteers. The man who protested was Sir Thomas Myles, a visiting surgeon at the hospital.

Later, when the fighting had ceased, Sir Thomas again refused to allow the Brits to arrest wounded volunteers who were patients, and for the same reasons as were given to the volunteer commander; but that's another story.

The reasons given by Myles form, basically, the terms of the Geneva Convention to which all civilised states now subscribe, with the accent on the word "civilised".

Hospitals are out of bounds to armed troops even when the area in which the hospital stands is in territory held by troops.

Both sides

Medical facilities must be provided, equally, to both sides of the divide. Troops or wounded civilians, patients in the hospital, are guaranteed immunity under the Geneva Convention.

Troops of the enemy side - doctors, nurses, medical orderlies, stretcher bearers, ambulance drivers and even cleaners - are under the protection of the Red Cross.

This applies, also, to private houses where wounded or injured troops or non-combatants are being treated; and the residents of such houses are also guaranteed immunity from any penalties or restrictions imposed by the occupying forces.

The Geneva Convention is absolutely clear about this, provided that the hospital flies the symbol of the Convention, the Red Cross flag, and that all

medical staff wear the armband bearing the Red Cross.

Under no circumstances may armed men enter the hospital where wounded and sick combatants or non-combatants are undergoing medical care.

Furthermore, it is made clear that the onus for ensuring that the conditions of the Geneva Convention are observed lies with the medical staff.

Any breach of any one of the above conditions means that the hospital loses its status as a hospital, its sacredness and its neutrality.

Its patients, and all of the medical staff, thus are exposed to all the hazards of war and the responsibility rests with the medical staff who permitted the breaches of the rules of the Convention in the first place.

It is a terrible responsibility. In the Richmond Hospital in Dublin Sir Thomas Myles placed the interests of the patients under his care before his politics and with success, which is more than the second of our two Sir Thomases did on Monday July 25, following the 1.30 p.m. news bulletin on RE.

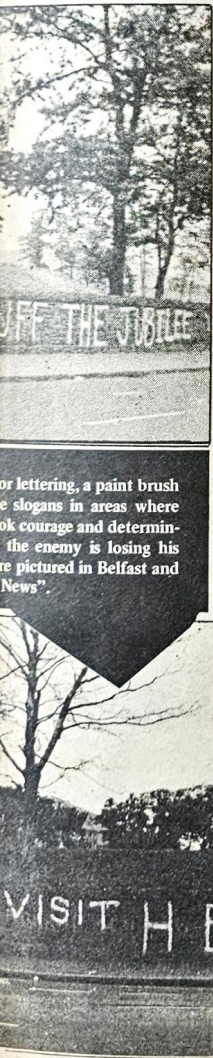
Ignorant of Convention

During an interview by a radio reporter on the question of new "security" measures Sir Thomas Brown, chairman of the Eastern Health Board in the Six Counties, which administers the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, referred to Republicans who attack Crown Forces of the British occupying army, as "enemies of the state".

The fact that the British army is in breach of the Geneva Convention seems never to have entered his head.

As everybody knows, despite denials, the hospital is occupied as a fortress by armed men and, in view of the statement quoted above, the Royal Victoria Hospital is far removed from being neutral, nor is it sacred ground.

Whether Sir Thomas Brown consulted the medical staff of



Cúrsaí eachtracha Foreign affairs

ON THE front page of last week's issue we carried two reports which illustrate clearly that the Irish struggle for freedom is part of a wider world struggle. One of them told the brutal background of the new leader of the foreign mercenaries in the Six Counties. The other indicated a South African

link in Crown oppression of the Irish people: The "Sneeze machine", developed by the South African white supremacists, apparently is to be used against the Irish as a substitute for tear-gas. These are merely two of the most recent outstanding examples of the point we are making. In the

following article the Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle member in charge of the Foreign Affairs Bureau informs our readers on other reasons for liaison between the Republican Movement and foreign resistance groups, the relevance of his Bureau and its contributions to this paper in this page every week.



Maidstone escaper murdered

Our picture shows the firing party in Ballymurry, Belfast, at the funeral of Vol. Tommy Tolan, murdered recently during the feud. Tommy was one of the men who escaped from the prison ship Maidstone in February, 1972.

Vol. Tolan also made two attempted escapes from Long Kesh, once dressed as a British soldier on foot patrol, with several other Republican prisoners. He was released from Long Kesh last summer.

Of the seven men who escaped only four are still alive. Jim Bryson was killed in similar circumstances to that of Tommy Tolan, in August, 1973. After recapture in early 1973 he escaped again from Crumlin Road Jail after dressing as a warder.

The third Maidstone escaper to die, in late 1976, in an accident, was "Tucker" Kane.

Risteárd Behal explains

Republican external links

THE PURPOSE of the Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau principally is to develop links with political departments of other liberation movements and independent nations with forward-looking progressive policies, all of which could be useful to Ireland now, while in a position of struggle, and, equally important, to maintain contacts which would be useful in terms of trade to a FREE IRELAND.

If these links are not maintained, economic sanctions and pressures from powerful Western European countries could prove disastrous.

FAB is also, through its many contacts, trying to develop the Irish Republican Movement's awareness that the present Irish struggle has much in common with other similar struggles throughout the world. No nation or organisation can struggle effectively on its own. Much can be learnt and many pitfalls avoided by having good foreign links which also help to boost morale.

Italy, and which gave them an insight into the value of having a foreign affairs bureau.

In 1976, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Seán Keenan spent some time at the Habitat Conference in Canada, a meeting people and making useful contacts for the Movement.

Research work

At present FAB does not have any full time staff as such. Various people help by writing articles and doing research. Much information about similar struggles is gleaned from foreign journals and periodicals.

Though FAB is in contact with many other groups around the world it has at yet no full time representatives abroad. Countries of particular interest are non-aligned ones such as the newly independent African nations.

On the Continent the Bureau now has representation in Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, France, Germany and Belgium. Contact is also maintained with African national liberation movements.

FAB would very much like to establish and maintain permanent bureaux in such places as Brussels, Paris and Rome, as do SWAPO (South West African Peoples Army) and PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation).

However, this is not possible because of the huge financial outlay involved. The 26 Counties is a member of the EEC and, as the Dublin regime already has representatives in these places, it would be difficult to envisage any sort of formal office being allowed to function freely.

The war situation does not allow as much time, personnel or money to be devoted to foreign affairs as would be available if there was not an intensive struggle in progress.

Well disposed

FAB is not directly involved in the United States because there are well organised links between that country and the various departments of the Republican Movement.

It is not part of the function of FAB to deal in military matters — outlets are political and propaganda — though any revolutionary socialist non-aligned nation is of interest.

Economically, these non-aligned newly independent nations of the world are very well disposed towards Ireland.

FAB needs to expand and also to be taken more seriously as an important part of the struggle. It should not be seen just as a propaganda department but as a department for education and political awareness because liberation struggles however good, do not just succeed within their own confines.

The help, support and encouragement received from other similar groups do have an effect on the final outcome.

London is not acting alone in her policy towards Ireland. Strategically the Six Counties is a very important part of NATO, especially with the huge build-up of Soviet sea power and the North Atlantic becoming increasingly important because of nuclear submarines.

Withdrawal of British forces from the Six Counties would mean that an extreme flank of NATO would be left unguarded.

Consequently, high level pressure is being put on the Dublin regime to join NATO or a Common European Defence Organisation.

One also needs to remember that British withdrawal from Ireland is only just beginning and is not the magic key for solving everything.

There is much work to be done and new structures to be built. In this respect connections with other countries are of vital importance.

Drumm's tribute to Tommy Tolan

JIMMY DRUMM gave the oration at the funeral of Vol. Tommy Tolan and, speaking in Irish and English, told how the murdered man had offered his services to B Company, Second Battalion, Óglaigh na hÉireann, in the early days of the resumption of the armed struggle in the north-east for Irish freedom. Here is what Jimmie Drumm said:

"As fate decreed, it was his life-long friend and our sorely missed comrade, Jim Bryson, who was instrumental in assisting 'Todler' to join the IRA. Since then the names Jim Bryson and Tommy Tolan have been linked; each a committed revolutionary; together, a combination feared by the British army". He concluded, "The Republican people of Ballymurry need no reminder of the part 'Todler' played in the resistance in that area. Each one of you could tell a different story. From B Company, 'Todler' moved to the Second Battalion staff and was actively engaged there until his arrest.

"The Maidstone prison ship proved no deterrent and all of you here and, indeed, people throughout Ireland and throughout the world, have heard through the people of the Magnificent Seven.

"Then Tommy was back on active-service again; this time in the south Down area. From there he returned again to his home base, Ballymurry, the area he loved so well. Arrested many months later, his stay in prison was punctuated by many escape efforts. In fact, sentenced for an escape bid while interned, he was among the last handful of internees to be released, months after interment was allegedly ended.

Loyal girlfriend

"Back again on the outside 'Todler' went on active-service once more, this time without Jim Bryson, who had been killed in circumstances similar to those in which Tommy himself was killed. "Throughout his involvement in the Republican Movement Maureen, who became his wife just four weeks ago, stood by him. For six years while he was on the run or in prison, she, in or prison camp, she devoted herself to him and was both a source of inspiration and comfort.

"Those of us who were honoured to know 'Todler' as a friend and a comrade know that he had a fine appreciation of where our efforts and energies should be devoted to get the Brits out of Ireland; and, as if the struggle isn't complicated enough, we have been distracted many times from our main objective.

"Feuding we know, both from past experience and our present estimation, certainly isn't in the people's interests nor ours. So, where did this recent pogrom begin and why did it end? What

was the nature of the forces that struck down Volunteer Tommy Tolan? "Despite the murderous attempt on one of our supporters in Bawnmore Estate last Sunday night, we immediately entered into meditation and defused the situation, once in contact with the Republican Clubs. We were aware, and they had assured us, that an explanation would follow.

By surprise

"Now, to reiterate the statement issued by the Belfast Brigade: they said the shooting of Mr. Trevor McAnulty on Wednesday afternoon took them completely by surprise. An immediate investigation was ordered and the machinery for meditation was enacted. Father Toner, the Bishop's secretary, can confirm that overtures were made by the Republican Movement earlier in the evening.

"Our investigation was obstructed by the Republican Clubs' refusal to mediate on two separate occasions. Republican Clubs' growth, even not noted for their prowess, even up until March, 1972, embarked on a 24-hour period of slaughter, killing Mr. James Foote, critically wounding his father, killing Mr. Daniel Cowan; and killing our comrade, Tommy Tolan.

"Before they had stopped shooting they had added to the list of casualties 15 people, which included a 10-year-old boy and a 15-year-old girl. During the same period peace overtures were made by us, both in the interests of peace in the ghettos and because internecine feuding is a major distraction from the war against British imperialism forces.

"So why did this feud flare? "The 'Sticks', in English newspapers, which gave them wide and favourable coverage, stated that the feud flared because they were, they would like to believe, having successes in the ghettos, which we resented.

Major split

"No. The reason for the Republican Clubs' madness lies elsewhere. There is a major split in their leadership at Dublin, of which the resignation of Máirín de Bréca and Tony Heffernan last Monday is only the tip of the iceberg.

"There is a major internal breakdown in communications which was typified by Tomás

MacGiolla's appeal on Thursday, from the safety of a Dublin suburb, that social organisations and leading personalities put pressure on us to cease our 'murderous activities'. He couldn't understand that it was the 'Workers' Party' who held the monopoly on the murderous attacks.

"It was the contradictions within their organisation, and the people's rejection of their pogrom, which brought them to mediation last Thursday afternoon. And by then, as you know, we had lost a hero and a comrade.

"Besides lacking a revolutionary leadership the Republican Clubs lack a proper estimation of the priorities in a national liberation struggle. Their reformism has led them into dispute since 1970; and their whole history since 1972 has been five feuds inside the ghettos, which have scared the people and pleased the Brits.

"The tragedy of last Easter Sunday occurred after they failed to see the significance of the timing of the Beechmont bombing, for which they blamed us, but which was the responsibility of British loyalist agents.

McGurk's Bar

"They blamed the Republican Movement for the deaths of 15 people in the McGurk's Bar explosion six years ago. I see now that a loyalist has admitted to the explosion, and was charged with that bombing just yesterday.

"The Republican Clubs lack judgement and it has been their policies, their courting of British imperialism, which have brought upon us five feuds and have brought the Belfast people to the verge of demoralisation.

"I am sorry for laboursing so much over this history, while we stand on this holy ground, in the presence of the mortal remains of our dead comrade. But this needed to be said.

"Todler's death shall prove not to have been in vain. We take from him the example of his courage, the courage that will, in the end, force the Brits out of Ireland.

"To his wife, Maureen, who has been with 'Todler' throughout these last years, in thick and thin, on behalf of the Republican Movement I offer sincere condolences and sympathies". Jimmie Drumm concluded.

Lecture tours

The Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau officially was set up during the 1976 Ardtheis but as far back as the early 1970s members of the Republican Movement have been travelling abroad on lecture tours.

I spent a period living in Belgium. In 1974 Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and I went to an international conference of 20 European minorities in Trieste,

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Reproduced above is the front page of the bulletin of our friends in the Netherlands. They show Ireland dominated by Britain and America and quote from the 1916 martyr, James Connolly.

Crown blows gaff on the peacewomen

NOW IT IS official, what Republicans have stated virtually from the beginning, that the "Peace Women" movement of Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan, Tomas Mac Giolla and Malachy McGurran, is part and parcel of the Crown's war effort in Ireland's north-east.

Queen Elizabeth of England will be giving her official stamp of approval for their efforts on the movement's first birthday.

It will take place in her yacht, Britannia, or so the official schedule lays down. Betty and Mairead are to be present, for tea, crumpets and a chat, along with other ladies with stern faces.

But the captains and the kings — McKeown, Mac Giolla and McGurran — are not listed. However, there are possibilities of a mention in the next honours list, along with Betty and Mairead.

An informant close to Gauleiter Mason told this paper that the reason for dropping the camouflage was that the secret was out, anyway (didn't the two women boast of a coming "royal honour" in America?) and that the flagging "peace movement" needed a boost and a strong hint to loyalist women that OBEs and the like were on the cards for the right kind of "co-operation".

Regional problems

(Ar leantúin ó lch a 4)

advantage of what it offers to them and to their community.

But surely these initial difficulties and teething problems will be well worth overcoming for the sake of a system that will allow the people of Ireland — all the people of Ireland — to live together in peace?

The Republican Movement accepts that it will not be easy to implement our new structures and that many problems will beset us; but we are confident that the possible disadvantages of our system are far outweighed by the tremendous advantages and that any weaknesses and difficulties that arise can be overcome by the Irish people and will not detract from the inherent strengths of the system and the opportunities for fulfilment and prosperity that it offers the people of this land.

"To the families of those killed or injured we convey our sincere condolences and sympathies. We did our utmost to ensure that yesterday's shooting would not escalate. Unfortunately, we were successful only after your relatives were shot. Today we will continue with our efforts to prevent any further aggression," the statement concluded.

Gaeilge: essence of our nationality



This is one of the most spectacular Sinn Fein slogans yet pictured in Dublin. Is there a competitor?

D.J. who forgot RTE ban

AT A recent court session in Rathfarham, Dublin, Wolfe Tone Sinn Fein Cumann, Tallight, members Brian McCormack, Peter Cunningham and Tony Flannery were charged with having painted slogans on walls.

On the first charge, concerning a slogan on the Priory Wall, the Prior was on holidays and the case was dropped. The second concerned a wall in Old Bawn.

The owner, a Mr Norton, denied that his costs were £100. It had cost him nothing to attend. No evidence was given as to costs by the Co. Council. The judge wondered who was the "Scarlet Pimpernel" who had removed the slogans.

Judge Wynn then delivered a lecture, that the state was a member of the EEC. We should try to live in harmony with our neighbouring partners! In view of the way the men had met the case he would place them on probation.

Jack McCarton

THE SHOOTING dead of Jack McCartan outside the club he managed in Andersonstown, Belfast, has robbed the community of one of its greatest defenders and champions.

Those who had the pleasure to know Jack over the years will be the first to appreciate what his absence will mean. At any time of the day or night Jack willingly would have rushed to any part of the estate to offer assistance and comfort to any family who had suffered the loss of a son or daughter, be it into the hands of the Brits or the other enemies of Republicans.

He worked ceaselessly for the dependants of the political prisoners and is well remembered for driving relatives in the early days of internment to Long Kesh or Armagh.

The present writer of this inadequate tribute has called to remember many of Jack's deeds which, some day, will be in a more lasting form. Jack never asked for any thanks. I suppose most of us began to take his goodwill for granted. His loss is hard to comprehend.

His death will be a greater loss to his family, one that he loved and about whom he never tired of speaking.

One can only hope that they will be sustained in Jack's tragic passing by the countless callers to their home, those who attended the funeral and the many expressions of sympathy from the jails.

Unfortunately, there were a few who could not attend. I speak for them all when I express to Mrs. McCartan our heartfelt sympathy at the death of Jack.

G O h E.

As lár an chogaidh

FROM THE WAR ZONE

AS THE news of the British royal visit and schedule was scooped by our sister paper, "Republican News," there was the proverbial lull before the storm in the war zone. On Sunday night, a seven-year-old boy was shot by a 'robot bullet'.

Sinn Fein, New Lodge area, Belfast, stated that the shot had gone off accidentally as a bomb disposal squad was dealing with a suspect car.

The following day, August 1st, a British soldier shot himself in the Grand Central Hotel. Tuesday saw an attempt on the lives of a well known family in Belfast.

Frank Bannon was about to open the door of his home in Waterloo Gardens when his daughter shouted a warning that there were armed men at the door.

The Bannon family dropped to the floor as the men opened fire. There were no injuries.

Recently, the son of the owner of the house was released from prison after a judge had stated that he had been tortured by the RUC.

THURSDAY, AUG. 4

BELFAST: Jack McCartan, popular manager of the Andersonstown Social Club, was shot dead by a British soldier as he was about to enter his car at about 01.00 hours. The Brits claimed their usual 'phantom gunmen' as the excuse for opening fire.

The Briogaidh Bheal Feristil issued a statement denying that any volunteer had been involved in any operation against the Brits in that area.

In a statement, Sinn Fein Belfast, repudiated the "continuing lies being put out by the British army and the RUC over the death of Mr Jack McCartan.

"It is very clear to the Republican people that the British army, helped by the RUC are attempting, once again, to hide the true facts relating to a murder committed by her majesty's

occupation forces," the statement added.

"The facts are straight forward concerning Mr Mc Cartan's death. The British army shot him dead and, at the same time, fired a shot into a tree, hoping it would give them an alibi. The Republican people were not fooled by such acts," the statement concluded.

FRIDAY, AUG. 5

The following statement was issued through the Republican Press Centre, Belfast: "Belfast-Brigade, Irish Republican Army, claim responsibility for the disruption in Belfast today, Friday, August 5.

"Belfast Brigade claims responsibility for Thursday, August 4th fire-bomb attacks. The operations were encouraged by and the timing of them directly related to the proposed visit of Elizabeth here next Wednesday".

SUNDAY, AUG. 7

CO. DOWN: The Slieve Donard Hotel in Newcastle was blasted by a bomb. It was the sixth such attack in recent years. Eight people were injured but none seriously.

BELFAST: An active

BANG GOES CROWN

(Ar leantúin ó leathanach 1)

Neither is it easy to calculate what it will have cost when all the smoke blows away. But already one fire-bomb blitz has set the Crown back £1,000,000. TOM may be relied upon to publicise the final figure, also, at a time when British workers are being forced to take a cut in their wages on the basis that the state can't afford to let them have a few pounds extra per week.

The longer the Crown stays in Ireland, the more it will cost. The resistance will see to that. Eventually, the Crown will have to cut its losses and quit, hoping to salvage something through the sort of neo-colonialism that operates in the rest of Ireland.

But already it is almost too late for that to be any more than a dream, with the Dublin economy in ruins (Dublin faces massive unemployment this winter) and state repression increasing in proportion to the worry of the goombenmen of the banks and the employers and their front-men, the professional politicians.

Somebody in Whitehall would appear to have miscalculated rather badly and to have hastened the day of retribution rather than postpone it. The Republican people have rallied magnificently to their leaders, especially the valiant womenfolk.

The pressure must be maintained when all the vulgar displays of loyalty and its minions have ended. The national resistance is stronger now than it has been for years. Power to the people! An Phoblacht Abú!



STARTING IN NEXT ISSUE THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AGAINST BRITISH RULE - SINCE 1916

Support the Prisoners' Dependants