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"IRELAND UNFREE SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE"

No. 142

Saturday, 15th June (De Sathairn, 15 Meitheamh), 1974

RETURN OF A HERO

ON Sunday evening last, 9th June, the body of Michael Gaughan was laid to rest forever in the soil he loved so dearly. The ways of God are indeed strange: for little did this poor immigrant boy leaving his home in Ballina eight years ago know he would return a hero. How little did his poor mother, who watched over his childhood, guiding his steps, listening to his childish requests, enjoying his childish laughter and kissing away his little tears, ever realise that her son would, within the space of a few short years by his great will power, strength of character and great sacrifice in the cause of the land he loved, be spoken of with love and admiration by millions of people of all races in God's creation.

UPHEAVAL

Little could this poor Irish mother have foreseen that Michael, her eldest child, would by his greatness cause such upheaval in such places as Leinster House, the House of Commons in England, and in the English hierarchy of the church to which he belonged. Even before his tortured and wasted body was cold in the gloom of the British hell-hole in which he spent his last days, the old campaign of vilification used against all Irish patriots by England and her minions was put in motion. Like Casement and McSwiney, Michael Gaughan is feared most in death. His enemies, both native and foreign, did not even wait until his burial was over to launch their campaign of vicious hate.

THE DUBLIN QUISLINGS

History will be hard on the quisling crew who now hold power in Dublin claiming (falsely) to be the Government of the Irish Republic. Not one word was spoken on behalf of Michael Gaughan and his fellow hunger-strikers by that cowardly bunch and their fellow travellers in the Six Counties, the SDLP. Once the Foreign Minister Fitzgerald was requested to intervene on their behalf, but he refused.

Then when Michael Gaughan died Cosgrave found his voice to say: "No military style funeral will be allowed"; and Minister for Justice Cooney attempted to discourage people from attending the funeral. And in the Six Counties the SDLP suddenly realised there were other hunger-strikers, so Gerry Fitt (who has been accused by a British Labour MP of opposing the return of the prisoners), John Hume (who said "it's the Price sisters and their comrades who are responsible

for Long Kesh") and Paddy Devlin (who with the others wine and dined and sang all night at Sunningdale for the amusement of the British murderers of his people, while a few miles away the Price sisters and their comrades were undergoing a form of torture that defies description) all suddenly took a great interest in the remaining hunger strikers. Seemingly they believe most of the people can be fooled all of the time.

REACTION IN ENGLAND

No one will be surprised at the fuming, puffing British MPs spitting out hatred, ranting and raving in the English House of Commons over the funeral procession through the Irish part of London. From every corner of that iniquitous den come howls for more Irish blood—the blood of his comrades who braved the hostility of England's partial security forces to ensure Michael Gaughan got a funeral worthy of a soldier of the Irish Republic.

Demands are being made for arrests and prosecutions, demands that a funeral such as Gaughan's will never be allowed in England again, demands for action against the priest who officiated at the funeral and the church that allowed his body to rest within its walls for one night.

CLOSED THEIR EYES

The hypocrites who kept their eyes and mouths closed during the mass parades of cudgel wielding thugs dressed in para-military uniform on the streets of Belfast and other Six County towns a few weeks ago are now screaming over the wearing of dark dress by a few dignified Irish Republicans at a hero's funeral in London.

The reason for the ranting in the "Mother of Parliaments" is clear indeed. The British vampires are angered and annoyed by the massive funeral of Michael Gaughan. In spite of police intimidation beforehand, 10,000 people travelled behind the remains at Cricklewood Broadway and from there to Kilburn, a distance of approximately 11 miles, 20,000 followed his remains (figures given by a senior police officer), and almost every business premises on Kilburn High Road closed as the funeral passed. Is it any wonder that the imperialists of England with his blood on their hands are seething with rage?

VICTIMISATION OF FR. CONNOLLY

At least action has been taken on one of the

demands by the devil's crew. Father Connolly, who attended the funeral on its long journey from Parkhurst to the final resting place in Ballina, has been suspended from his duties as parish priest at Wolverhampton.

The indecent haste with which this took place is indeed an indication of the attitude of the English Catholic towards the Irish claim for freedom and justice and all who would dare support it. Not waiting for his return, a letter was handed to him at the funeral in Ballina from his Bishop stating that he had been relieved of his duties in his parish.

PRIEST'S "CRIME"

Father Connolly's crime is that he attended the funeral of his cousin and at that funeral he praised the faith and courage of the dead man, stating that the cause he served was a noble and just one. But then Fr. Connolly was speaking over the remains of an Irish hero and patriot and apparently this is not allowed by the English Bishops and Cardinal.

It is fine for a Bishop Tickle to come over here and praise the British garrison of soldiers and in particular the Paras, whose members mass murdered defenceless civilians in Derry, or for Cardinal Heenan himself to come and visit the different bands of British soldiers who terrorise the Catholic ghettos of the North.

TREATMENT NOT NEW

The treatment meted out to Fr. Connolly is not new to Irish priests who take the side of justice for Ireland. We can recall the enforced exile of Father Albert and Father Dominic and of hundreds more. Their cross was indeed a heavy one, and was made no lighter by the great love they bore for the land of their birth.

But when duty called, as in the case of Father Connolly, they answered and bore true witness to Christ's teaching by taking a stand on the side of right and justice. They have not been forgotten, nor will Father Connolly. Lovingly will he be remembered and associated with the name and memory of Michael Gaughan forever in Ireland.

A full account of the funeral of Michael Gaughan will appear in next week's issue.

Bought with British Bribes

THE freedom fighters, by their campaign over the last five years, succeeded where no generation had succeeded before. They abolished and pulled down in ruins the puppet English regime at Stormont, headed by that arch-terrorist and murderer, Prime Minister Brian Faulkner.

This removal of the Stormont parliament, erected and consolidated by the surrender of 1921, was but the removal of the first roadblock on the road to Irish independence. But it was a very important road-block for it could be said to be the foundation stone of the British imperial edifice in Ireland.

Through their Constitution Act, the British set out to reconstruct the Stormont parliament, acting on the belief that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet".

They sent over that arch fraud and hypocrite, William Whitelaw, to mouth fine-sounding phrases about democracy and power-sharing and freedom for all sections of the community.

Even whilst he was mouthing these platitudes, Willie Whitelaw, to mouth fine-sounding phrases of terror, worse even than the reign of terror unleashed by the Black and Tans.

Prisoners were tortured. Men, women and children were murdered. Civilians were beaten up in their homes and on the streets. And internment without trial was continued under a new name.

But Whitelaw could not succeed. He was faced with the angry might of innocent people united in their determination to wring freedom from the reluctant hands of their overlords.

NATIVE COLLABORATORS

Whitelaw was faced with a blank wall. He could not succeed unless he could find some naive Catholic Irish collaborators. Once he realised that he bent his whole energies in that direction.

Sad to relate, he succeeded only too well after some initial failures. First, he tried to persuade and cajole the IRA leadership of Ogligh na hEireann. But the IRA leaders insisted upon a declaration by the British of their intent to withdraw their troops from Ireland, to cease interfering in the internal affairs of the Irish nation.

This Whitelaw absolutely refused to do. As a consequence the truce of that short period of negotiations broke down and the War of Independence was resumed with renewed vigour.

Whitelaw had to look elsewhere for Irish stooges.

He knew, of course, that he had willing tools amongst all the political leaders of the Dublin assembly. These men, in order to secure their own jobs, were quite willing to help the British to rebuild the status quo.

They wanted to see Stormont rebuilt because a united Ireland, as far as they were concerned, meant only one thing: the end of their political domination.

Whitelaw was quite sure of his ground as far as the Dublin politicians were concerned.

Their support, however, was not enough to carry the deal through. If the new Stormont were to be credible at all it would have to have a proportion of Catholic politicians in it who would appear to have some say in the governing process of the occupied territory.

So Whitelaw turned his attention to the leaders of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP).

Whitelaw was shrewd. He knew exactly what he was doing. He knew that men such as Hume, Currie, Cooper and O'Hanlon were hungry for personal power and on that hunger he relied.

Eventually he offered bribes in the form of salaries of about £8,000 per year. These men would take part in a new, so-called power-sharing Stormont and become ministers of the Crown.

For a time the SDLP leaders played the cute political game of appearing to negotiate with Faulkner and the Alliance Party on the best terms

of the power-sharing agreement.

They gave up all claims for the immediate ending of internment and they agreed to become part of a new, British-controlled administration.

In due course, Whitelaw appointed them members of the executive (ministers of the Crown), and the stage was set for the final betrayal, which took place on Sunday, 9th December at Sunningdale in England.

On that night Gerry Fitt appeared on BBC TV and radio advocating the extension of British law to the whole island of Ireland through common security measures, common law enforcement, special courts, or whatever legal apparatus... and civil service of the Dublin and Westminster regimes eventually would work out for the purpose of crushing the freedom struggle.

Fitt and his SDLP colleagues have given up all claims to Irish unity. They express now only a mere hope that, some day, it will be achieved with the consent of the British garrison in Ireland.

They have been a party to a suggestion that a document recognising English overlordship in Ireland be deposited as a legal agreement with the

United Nations.

All of them have accepted the Queen's shilling and until the Executive fell, were guarded by the gun bullies of the Special Branch of the RUC.

It is a far cry from 5th October, 1968, when Fitt, Hume and Ivan Cooper marched at the head of a Civil Rights demonstration in Derry, or when Fitt appeared on British and Irish TV screens, streaming blood from wounds received after the crack of an RUC baton.

It is a far cry from the days when the British Minister, Paddy Devlin, was a Republican prisoner in the Crumlin Road Jail (1940) at the time Joe Cahill was there.

The wheel has gone full circle, Whitelaw's gold did the trick. The SDLP leaders sold themselves and their people to the master race.

They became the instruments of colonial oppression. They have committed national treason openly and they dared to advocate repressive measures against those who would continue the fight for freedom.

Treachery never pays. This time the dividends were smaller because they were of shorter duration.

THE PRICE OF JUSTICE

Mammy cried again last night,
I miss you Daddy too,
Won't you come back home again,
All we need is you,
The soldiers called again last night,
They searched the whole house through,
They said they'd catch you out one day,
And you'd know it when they do.

Sit upon my knee my son and try to understand,
It's not an easy task to choose to fight and free your land,
And sacrifices must be made,
And God we've made a few,
I cry myself to sleep some nights when I lie and think of you;
And how I miss your Mother and holding her so near,
And how I pray for peace to come,
But the price of peace is dear.

Then Daddy put away your gun and you can come back home,
And you can comfort mammy when she is all alone,
For some are crying out for peace.
So daddy why fight on
Why fight a war for thankless ones who look on you with scorn.

Hold me close my little son and listen while I say,
'Tis you and your's I'm fighting for,
You'll rule this land one day,
So hold your head up high my boy,
For you'll be proud to say,
Your father fought and won the war in the good old I.R.A.

No, we will not put down our guns,
Till Ireland is free,
Till all the wrongs now on the run are granted Amnesty,
Till British soldiers leave our land,
And give it back again,
Until the result of Justice, our army must remain,
But once this rotten system is smashed complete in two,
Then and only then my love, can I come home to you.

The Concept of Law

Offences Against the State Act

IN 1939, the Government of Mr. de Valera introduced the Offences Against the State Act. This Act was introduced in the wake of renewed activity by the IRA both in Ireland and in Britain. However, it is important to note that the Act, nowhere refers to the IRA by name. Part 3, section 18, seeks "to regulate and control in the public interest the exercise of the constitutional right of citizens to form associations".

From the practical standpoint the important aspect of this is that an organisation which comes into conflict with the provisions of the section will not simply be amenable to the sanctions of the law by way of fines or imprisonment of its members for breaches of the legal code, but will "if and whenever the Government are of opinion" that an organisation is unlawful it shall be lawful for the Government to make a suppression order against such an organisation. Here we have the extraordinary power conferred upon the Government to take an arbitrary decision without reference to any court of law in a matter which involves the citizen's constitutional right to form associations. Section 19, sub-section 4: "A suppression order shall be conclusive evidence for all purposes... that the organisation to which it relates is an unlawful organisation."

Section 2 provides for an appeal to be made against a suppression order to the High Court and ultimately to the Supreme Court. The effects of Section 20 are, however, in our opinion, cancelled out by the provisions of Section 21, Sub-Section 4. This Section gives power to the authorities to hold in custody any person who has been charged with membership of an illegal organisation notwithstanding that the person concerned is, through the courts, seeking to establish that the organisation to which he belongs is in fact legal. It is easy to envisage an innocent person being detained in custody for months pending the determination of court proceedings.

The powers conferred upon the authorities by this Section reverse the proposition of the common law—that a person is presumed innocent until proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. A victim of this Section must first prove his innocence and while seeking to do so may continue to suffer imprisonment. This is all the more heinous when one reflects that the Government need only be "of opinion" that an organisation is in fact illegal.

It should be remembered that in ordinary cases where criminal acts are alleged against an accused person mere opinion of the prosecution would not be tolerated by the court of first instance if that were all that the prosecution offered in its efforts to establish a prima facie case.

Section 34: This Section provides for dismissal from their employment of persons convicted of a "scheduled offence" by the Special Criminal Court. This, of course, adds further hardship and suffering to the person concerned and to his innocent dependants. It is the function of the courts to mete out whatever punishment the law permits to convicted wrongdoers. But we are happy to be able to say that in cases where mandatory sentences are not demanded by law, compassion is invariably exercised, regard almost always being shown for the convicted person's family and dependants and the likely consequences a prison sentence would have upon a breadwinner. However, this Section gives the Government power to supplement the punishment of the courts with its own punishment. Recently we had an example of this power being exercised in a most savage manner against the headmaster of a Waterford school, Mr. Donald Whelan. We submit that the punishment of a offender is the business of the courts

and that the Government's actions are at variance with the provisions of the constitution. We acknowledge that in certain cases involving persons employed by State or semi-State bodies that difficulties could arise having regard to the nature of the person's office or employment, and we advance the following proposition for consideration.

If in a proper case it was felt by the Government that a person due to his conviction was unsuited to continue in State or semi-State sponsored employment, then the way to determine the issue would be to have the case placed before a properly constituted judicial inquiry made up of lawyers and presided over by a judge of Superior Courts and at which both parties could be professionally represented.

The Special Criminal Court was set up under the Offences Against the State Act and in accordance with the provisions of Article 37, sub-section 6 of the Constitution. The present Court was brought into being to deal with the activities of illegal organisations, but it is notable that it has been used to try persons who have no connection with such organisations and against whom the Garda authorities had prepared no case.

In a host of cases where no political motive was being produced by the Garda, the political motivation for a crime the consent of the Attorney General had still to be obtained to have these cases tried by the ordinary courts. The salient point being that on the instructions of the Attorney General the accused person might be deprived of his right to trial by jury.

In 1972 the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act was placed upon the statute book. This gave further teeth to the parent Act of 1939, if such were needed.

Section 3, Sub-Section 2 of this Amendment Act states: "Where an officer of the Garda Síochána not below the rank of Chief Superintendent, in giving evidence in proceedings relating to an offence under the said Section 21, states that he believes that the accused was at a material time a member of an unlawful organisation, the statement shall be evidence that he was then such a member."

This Section confers upon the Chief Superintendent the unique privilege of having his belief in respect of the accused given the force of an evidential fact. He is not obliged to furnish reasons for his belief. It places upon the accused person the burden of proving that he is not a member of an illegal organisation. A moment's thought will leave no one in doubt as to the almost impossible task set him. We feel it fair to say that no jury would accept as evidence the mere belief of a Garda officer. They would require something a great deal more substantial, whatever the direction of the presiding judge might be as to the state of the law in the matter. But judges are bound to take note of the law in arriving at their decisions, thus Section 3, Sub-Section 2, gives formidable power to the Gardaí in trials of accused persons before judges only, as of course happens in the Special Criminal Court.

We wish to conclude this article with a quotation from "Freedom at Stake" by Peter Archer and Lord Reay, the former a barrister, the latter a political scientist: "From the moment when the first regulation treats a human being as something less, the whole framework of democracy is in danger. For one oppressive law will in time require to be supplemented by another. And each new provision will add a further term to the vocabulary of oppression. Worse, it will further inoculate the public conscience."

—Issued by the Association for Legal Justice (Dublin Branch)

SAS GROUP IS ACTIVE HERE

A GROUP of four SAS men, spotted in Dublin and Bray recently, could be involved in a plot to assassinate a major political figure in the 26 Counties in such a way as to lay blame on Oglaiha na hÉireann and pacify the Dublin regime into introducing massive internment measures.

The fact is expressed by an Irish-born former United Nations official in the Middle East. He recognised the SAS group from briefing interviews given in New York before he was sent to the Persian Gulf on a secret mission.

The ex-UN man, now directing a security operation at a multi-million pound drug-making firm in Munster, said that he had been briefed about SAS activities in Persian Gulf protectorates and other Arabian states.

"These SAS men operate frequently with civilian jobs for cover," he said. "Their chief role is assassination of politicians and guerrilla leaders resisting colonial rule in such British-dominated centres as South Yemen."

"The SAS group here is known to the Gardaí, but no apparent action has been taken against them," added the ex-UN man, whose family comes from Co. Tipperary.

By political assassination here, the SAS could frighten off support in the South for the defence of Catholic ghettos in the event of British-inspired sectarian attacks, he stated.

He would not reveal his identity for fear of reprisals against his family.

FR. FAUL NOTE TO ENGLISH JAIL CHIEF

FATHER Denis Faul, of Dungannon, has written to the Governor of Wakefield Prison, Yorkshire, about the "alleged inhuman ill-treatment" of a Tyrone-born man on hunger strike in the jail.

Sean Campbell (28), a native of Mountjoy, Coalisland, is believed to have been on hunger strike since last Wednesday in protest against visiting regulations at the prison. He is not allowed any contact with relatives, during visits and is separated from them by a "screen".

Campbell was one of the "Luton Three" jailed last December for conspiracy to rob. He was given a 10-year sentence, but Fr. Faul said that the statement given by Kenneth Lennon to the National Council for Civil Liberties suggested that the three men were "set up" by the English Special Branch.

Father Faul said Campbell told his Irish wife, Mary, and three young children not to visit him under the present regulations. Since beginning his fast he has been removed to punishment cells and is being kept in solitary confinement.

Fr. Faul visited Campbell while he was awaiting trial, but was refused visits on two occasions after the trial.

Campbell was subjected to a great deal of abuse about the other Irish hunger strikers in England, Fr. Faul said, and he also claimed that he had been refused proper facilities to enable him to continue with his studies.

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Sister of Frank Stagg writes to —

MRS. JOAN FELL

— Mother of Fr. Patrick Fell

THE following is a letter sent to Mrs. Joan Fell, mother of Father Patrick Fell, from a sister of Frank Stagg:

"Dear Joan,

Many thanks for your welcome letter received this morning. These are the true facts as I know them and as I have already reported them to a reporter in England. Proinnias was convicted on November 1st and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He was held in Winslow Green until the Tuesday before Christmas and then he was sent to the Albany, Isle of Wight. He received his first visit on the Saturday after Christmas. This was a closed visit. He remained in one room and his visitors had to shout down a grill from another room. The grill was so placed that he had to put his ear to it and listen; therefore, he could not look through the glass at his wife or his sisters whilst holding conversation. Three warders remained with Proinnias throughout the visit, and three policemen were with his visitors throughout. They were searched, and all personal belongings locked away before being allowed into this room for the visit. Everyone concerned with this visit was most distressed, and Proinnias then vowed he would not allow his wife or family or himself to be subjected to this harassment any more, and so he refused any further visits until such time as he was allowed similar visits to fellow inmates, namely the great train robbers, etc., who are allowed open visits with their families in a common visiting room where many prisoners have their visits at one time. They are allowed to have tea and cigarettes together and talk freely on all pressing problems which arise within a family at such a time as this. This without prison officers listening in. He was then offered sewing of mail bags as work, but this he refused to do on the grounds of being a political prisoner. He is convicted of being a Commanding Officer of an IRA Unit in Coventry.

On 7th April Veronica was informed by phone that Proinnias had been on hunger strike for eight days and was then very weak and in low spirits. Next day we rang the prison and after lengthy conversations with the assistant governor we were informed he had not taken any solid food for eight days, but he was in very good condition. On 11th April he was removed from the Albany and taken to the hospital wing of Parkhurst prison because of his deteriorating condition. We got in touch with Mr. William Wilson, MP for Coventry South. He contacted the Home Office, and after much ado Frank's wife and Veronica got an open visit with him on Wednesday, 17th April. The usual searching took place and all bags and belongings locked away.

Frank was in a state of hysteria on seeing them and kept talking about the dreadful conditions he had been held under in the Albany for three months and three weeks. He was constantly held in the punishment block. He had to wash, eat, sleep and go to the toilet in his cell which measured eight feet by eight feet. His toilet was rarely cleaned out. It was left in his cell for days on end. He was sleeping on planks, even in his weak condition after ten days' hunger strike. There were rats in his cell, and this is not denied by the Home Office. Veronica and Bridie had both to be treated by a doctor on their arrival home from this visit. I then decided to go back to Coventry and went on the next visit to Parkhurst on Saturday, 20th April.

On seeing Frank I thought my eyes were deceiving me. He was a typical looking man on the last stage of cancer, and the smell from the thrush in his mouth would make a lesser trained person ill. Of course I said nothing to Frank about this smell, but he kept on referring to it himself, and asking us if we had a spray he could put on himself. No mouth wash was given to him. He told us over and over again of the conditions in the Albany. He was extremely weak and his mind seemed muddled at times. He kept on pulling the dry skin off his lips. He was barely able to shuffle

along. Oh, poor Frank, I could just not believe it. I drove from Coventry, 120 miles, then went by ferry to Cowes from Southampton. This takes one hour, then by taxi to the prison. He contrived to beg us to get something done for him as his belongings were being held in the Albany and was thinking he would be sent back there. We kissed him and made our dreary way back to Coventry.

The one horror I had at this stage was he was too weak to drink water to keep his kidneys out and that he would die. He asked to see somebody in charge before leaving that day. We did see one person, who said he knew nothing of Frank's condition or what fluid intake he had. On Monday, 22nd April his wife was rung at her place of work in Coventry and asked to come and see Frank on Wednesday, 24th April. I again accompanied Bridie. Maureen also came with us on this visit. On arrival in the yard of the prison the chaplain was waiting for us, and made reassuring noises that everything was alright. We continued into the hospital wing and instead of going to the visiting room we were shown into the cell where Frank lay, unable even to sit up in bed. His face was all swollen and bruised and his lips bleeding, and one of his front teeth was loose. On seeing him, Maureen fainted and had to be taken to another cell and the doctor and the priest brought to her. Frank told us of the savage attack that was made on him by four warders on Monday at 10 a.m. They thought to pour a thick liquid from a mug down his throat and in the struggle that ensued he was injured to the extent I have already described above. This again took place on the Tuesday morning, and with growing weaker all the time he became unconscious and remained in this state until the Wednesday morning when a kidney specialist was called in, and he was then fed by a tube without struggle as he had no longer the strength to do battle with them. Doctor Cooper was a party to this inhuman treatment of a dying man. There was blood spattered on the wall and

skid marks on the tiled floor for all to see. Maureen recovered after one and a half hours in the other cell and coaxed back in to see him again as he was really worrying about her. On Saturday, 4th May I went again to see him only to learn he had not had a feed since 29th April. This was to weaken him so much that there would be no resistance to the feeding, or so Doctor Cooper said. I think, and I am a trained nurse, it is to damage him beyond repair, either his kidneys or brain. Since then he has only been fed on three occasions, namely the 15th, 16th and 17th May. In God's name, what do they mean to do this to a man who has never harmed anyone or damaged anything? I worked in the hospitals in England for eighteen years, but I have now retired to Ireland to live, because I found myself being unable to be kind, even to the old and infirm. My Mum and Dad do not know the full extent of the barbaric treatment being meted out to their beloved Proinnias, and this leaves a further burden on us to try and keep a brave face to them. I am sure that in this, our greatest hour of need, God will come to our assistance.

Thanking you, Joan, for your welcome help.

—Bridie"

RELEASE THE PRISONERS

"IF YOU WANNA DANCE, YOU
GOTTA PAY THE
PIPER!"

