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Now, from a purely Republican point of view we would see that we entered into, as you would say, a marriage and that marriage is not working out, basically due to British difficulties. We have done our best to understand British difficulties; we've got to the stage where we're no longer interested in understanding British difficulties. We had the referendum, we have Mr Jenkins, we had his difficulties in the Cabinet, we have the difficulties in (it): next it'll be the difficulties with by-elections and so forth and onward. The Republican Movement finds it impossible to continue on at this particular reason because basically we want the British out of Northern Ireland and if we have to go back to a ... violence to achieve that we will do so. If that means that we will plant bombs in England, we will do that too. Planting bombs in England will be determined ... the level of the bombing in England will be determined by the nature of various responses and the last response we'd be interested in is the propaganda response which we would assume is totally controlled, directly or indirectly, by Her Majesty's Government. We are sick of the continual concessions to the Loyalists. We are tired with the development of sectarian police reserves, we are tired with UDA/UDR people in various parts of the country acting as they have always acted as bully-boys, we have consistently refrained from using any of the propaganda outlets that we could do, we have not had protest marches about internment or various things of that nature. Now, we have decided that there is a lacking in spirit of the British government, that there's a lacking in generosity - this we would accept might be due, almost entirely due, to their own political

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C. problems and conditions which exist in the House of Commons or in Westminster. That we do not deny. What we're saying is we don't give one damn about them, we're fed up with them, the British can solve their own problems in England, we will attempt to solve them here in Northern Ireland. We are quite indifferent to the reaction of public opinion - we have lived with the public opinion of the Catholic Church whipped up by the Bishops, we will exist with that again. We are indifferent to the Criminal Jurisdiction Law coming out in the South of Ireland - we have friends in every corner and every hamlet of Ireland. We have got the weapons, we've always had the weapons. We entered into this type of situation on the basis of a partnership; it rapidly has become a one-sided affair. All of this, we feel, is no longer tolerable. In relation to timing, we said five weeks ago, four weeks ago that we needed some sort of assistance - we couldn't get it. We don't like to talk about internment: politically we feel that your attitude towards internment is beyond belief. We accept that the Loyalists are not going to do anything between now until September when they present their report. Nevertheless, you're still dribbling on internment. In terms of a Northern Ireland solution we see a British attempt to restructure - we won't have it. We don't care if we leave Northern Ireland barren, we don't care if unemployment raises a much higher level because the unemployment basically is the Catholic population who are suffering anyway. We've had something like 200 to 300 people killed by assassinations; assassinations are put into one category, people in Long Kesh are put into a separate

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category. We would prefer to fight and die and, if needs be, be defeated in this generation. We will keep 15,000 or 16,000 of your soldiers here in Northern Ireland; we will change the campaign from bombing grocers' shops into hitting at all forms of British interests in Northern Ireland; we will also hit at industrial concerns in Northern Ireland which we have left vacant up to this particular moment due to safeguarding of employment: all of that will go. We are determined that the struggle for Irish freedom will, on this particular occasion, be finished or we will if necessary die in doing it. All of it emotional, all of it is what the Republican Movement feel, and all of it is what the Republican Movement are saying, "This is it". Now in terms of changing that, it is not good enough to say we will let 10 or 15 or 20 or 50 or 100 internees out of Long Kesh. What is needed is a realisation from the British government that this is a mess and it cannot be solved by tiptoeing through it from one section to another, by making sure that they can never do anything which will displease the Loyalists. Now, in terms of the Loyalist population we appreciate that they are in the majority, we appreciate that they have got interests and that these interests must be safeguarded. We say that over the last 200 years the British government has done nothing else but safeguard these Loyalist interests, and we're fed up with it. And we feel, rightly or wrongly, that we can hold our own, not only in the various parts of Northern Ireland, but if needs be in the Belfast area as well, and we're quite prepared to enter into an unholy war, either to attempt that or to lose. We have gone along with your version of politics, we have gone along with

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useless meetings, we have listened to our representatives coming back where all sorts of difficulties have been placed in their way. You have a sectarian RUC police force; we put forward suggestions which might alter this - the British government can't alter the police force. The British government can't control the Special Branch. The British government can't control the RUC reserve. The British government turn their blind eye to the fact that there's open collusion between the UDR and the Loyalists, and we say, "Why bother?" "Why carry on? What's the point? What are we getting out of it? - Nothing." ... That's it ... Basically Republicans are saying either the British government waken up to the difficulties in Ireland, face up to them, or we're prepared as Republicans to physically fight to try and alter them. Distasteful, unpleasant, all the things that it may be. Mr Twomey 15 years in jail, Mr McKee 15 years in jail, Mr O'Brady 25 years, so forth. All of them - so what? They go to jail - who cares? They don't care, the people coming beneath them don't care, none of them care. The whole purpose of the initial bringings about of this situation was to prove to the Republican Movement that there was more to be gained by peaceful, generous, loving, moving forward, understanding one's problems. No sooner had they stopped bombing and shooting until the British government initially said, "Fine, we can't do this for that reason". All the other reasons began to come into play. Now, if I might alter from that Republican stance I've given you into what I would feel personally I would say that the whole theory, the whole thesis behind what I was trying to do, and worked at for the last 4 years, was to produce a new form of Republicanism, a responsible form of

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Republicanism. Now that was based on the theory that we would have a hand in hand, step by step situation. Now, in my own opinion 8, 10 weeks, 12, 14 weeks ago that stopped. We haven't had a hand by hand. The British government took out of what I was trying to do what was suitable to the British government and ignored the things which I considered absolutely necessary. Now I want to take internment, and this is me personally speaking, I'll take internment first of all. Internment is the one currency which the British government could have paid in Northern Ireland and been joyously welcomed by every section of the Northern Ireland population. They didn't use it, it was essential that it should have been used. I cried to the heavens for it to be used - ignored. For what reason? Because possibly the British government or the British Army were saying things like "these are bad men" and so forth. Of course they're bad men, but there are hundreds, there are thousands of other bad men walking (on them). That was the first thing that went wrong. Second of all, the prisoners in England. I accept, I understand that the British government has got its internal problems, that the police service in England are objecting, and that ... Mr Jenkins and the Police Federation, and that there's all sorts of difficulties. Of course, but Mr Jenkins has to play his Cabinet responsibility as well as everyone else. And if it means war in Ireland, and if that is the price which the British Cabinet is prepared to pay for it, then it's not going along with the overall balance of things. These are the type of things which were essential to the type of plan which I had persuaded the Republicans to accept. It has become a one-sided traffic. Now the fact that the people, the representatives which you meet are more than anxious, it cannot be denied that they're crying to, they're begging each time you meet them,

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- C. for some way out, some method in which they can go forth and keep this thing peaceful. Now, what's more is, I have no doubt in my mind that when this thing bangs up and when people are beginning to get murdered and killed that the politicians will then begin to say, "Why don't you do something about it". The essential thing, the one thing which is not going to happen in this, and I want to state this very expressly and categorically, the Republican Movement will not again come to the negotiating table.
- B. You could be wrong.
- C. Of course I could be wrong. They will not come to the negotiating table on the conditions that they came to the negotiating table in the last six months - quietly, privately and sensibly.
- B. They could be beaten to their knees again, as they were then.
- C. That is an interesting suggestion, and what I would say to you is this. If this generation of Republicans are beaten to their knees, the sophistication of the next generation will create even more problems and more havoc. They could be beaten, yes, but they'll be beaten at the cost of a thousand men in detention, two thousand men .... and two extra thousand men in prisons, three to four hundred people dead, and the opening to mayhem in England, to anarchy, to leftist trade unionists who at the moment wouldn't dream of planting a bomb: by the time they've had 18 months of Republican tradition behind them you'll have bombs being chucked around in England. The whole quality of life in the British Isles will begin to deteriorate. Why? Because we've kept "X" amount



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of people in Long Kesh which the British government has said time and time again it wants finished with. Now, getting back to Republican stance, if you're sitting in a PAC meeting and time after time Mr O'Brady and company come back and say, "We have nothing because Mr A... and Mr B..... say there's a lot of difficulties. you must understand our problems etc. etc" it doesn't ... people don't want to live with that any longer. They don't want to live with it, they say, "We don't care, those are British government problems, and they're one-sided ... when it comes to the Loyalists and the Convention and so forth, other sections." Now, anything I say from now on is just a repetition of that.