

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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CALL TO ULSTER PROTESTANTS

As an Ulsterman who professes both the Catholic and National Faith, I take the liberty of addressing myself to you, my fellow-countrymen who differ from me in both national and religious outlook.

Let me state at the outset, that I believe that my country, Ireland, should be free from foreign rule of any colour; the arbiter of her own destinies; a free united Ireland built on the solid foundations of civil and religious liberty, equal rights and opportunities for all her citizens.

Thus to you I extend the hand of friendship and comradeship with the hope and appeal that you and I may work together henceforth in a nobler spirit of toleration and love which will bring us together as Irish men imbued with a sincere patriotic love for our country - because Ireland is your country as well as mine and as such she is deserving of all the service and sacrifice we can give to her to make her independent, prosperous and happy.

By an accident of birth both of us have been destined to worship at different altars and naturally both of us are proud of the faith we profess.

Almost 300 years ago, the famous Battle of the Boyne was fought in Ireland between two foreign kings of the same religion as you and I. Both kings coveted the Throne of England and they chose Ireland as their battlefield with Irish troops helping both of them. It could not have been a religious war, because the Protestant king William was given the Pope's blessing before setting out on his crusade. Unfortunately, the result of that battle was to sow the

seed of sectarianism, bigotry and religious persecution among our people which has flourished ever since and which unscrupulous politicians on both sides and those with vested interests in our country have never allowed to die out.

You take pride in the heroic deeds and sacrifices of your fighting ancestors and I too am proud of the men in every generation from 1798 to the present day who went out and fought and died for Irish Freedom. Many of these men like Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy McCracken, Rev. Steele Porter, Robert Emmett, Rev. Dickson, William Orr, Thomas Russell, Henry Munroe, etc., were Presbyterians who organised and led their Catholic countrymen in the struggle for Ireland's Freedom.

What a great sight it would be to see the descendants of the men of 1690, 1798 and 1916 marching shoulder to shoulder as Irishmen only in defence of the unity and freedom of Ireland.

You and I are both proud of our Ulster province of nine counties and we take pride also in our industrial North built up by the brains and brawn of our workers - our shipyards, linen mills, rope works, etc., We are Ulster men and proud of it, standing side by side in a free Ireland and making this Ulster of ours more prosperous, we shall be prouder still.

Your leaders have told you that severing the connection with England will mean "Rome Rule" and the destruction of the Protestant religion. Had they told you it would mean

the end of their ascendancy rule and their efforts to keep the flames of bigotry and religious intolerance aflame in the hearts of our people, the end of political privilege and vested interests, they would have been speaking the truth.

In the free Ireland the ugly serpent of bigotry, sectarianism or religious persecution in any form or shape or from any sect or group will not be allowed to raise its head... will not be tolerated.

Ireland needs her Ulster Protestants and Ulster Catholics... everyone of them to help her build up a Christian way of life with a social system that will bring a happy home life, security, peace, comfort, welfare and happiness to all its citizens.

This cannot be achieved for either of us until there is a unity of heart and mind between us coupled with the political unity and freedom of our country.

Will you accept the hand of friendship and toleration and work side by side with your fellow-Irishmen in helping to break down these barriers of religious hate and intolerance this cancer of sectarianism which a foreign power through its agents has inoculated into our people for the sole purpose of weakening us and keeping us divided.

Will you resolve henceforth to march forward as Irishmen only... determined to make our land politically, economically and culturally free?

If your answer to these questions is "yes", Ireland indeed has a bright future but if your answer is "no", woe betide us, your children and our children.

ARE YOU A DESERTER?

Are YOU serving Ireland and her cause today? Or are you one of the many who have become tired or disgruntled in the struggle or who now claim immunity from further service.

Are you content to live in the past; with your record - prison or otherwise as an answer to your critics - looking with scorn or contempt on the men, especially the younger generation, who stepped into the places vacated by you and your friends.

Remember it was your words, your service, your activities and sacrifices that recruited these men into the movement. It was you who sounded the clarion call for youth to take their places in the ranks of the Republican Movement.

Quite a few of these have suffered and are still suffering in that service through imprisonment, etc., Some are among those of our martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice. . . .

But you! You have turned your back on it all - you would hardly like us to class you as a DESERTER but what else can we classify you?

There is no earthly excuse for the inactivity of anyone claiming Republican principles today, providing he or she is physically fit, with no great personal responsibilities. There are organisations within the Republican Movement to suit all - young or old. There is a place for each of you.

AWAY WITH SHAM EXCUSES. AWAY WITH DISUNITY AND BICKERING. REPUBLICAN IRELAND NEEDS YOU ALL NOW!

SUPPORT FOR FR. MICHAEL CONNOLLY

The following letter was read recently outside St. Chads Cathedral Birmingham, and then handed in to the Archbishop's residence by Mr. Dwer, with a petition signed by 2,000 people from St. Joseph's Parish:-

Your Grace,

The above committee, Parishioners and friends in this part of the Diocese have been very deeply hurt, and greatly offended by your public, politically motivated action in suspending Fr. Connolly from all his Parochial Duties, and all Diocesan Duties until further notice.

Are the Catholic people of the Diocese ruled by the Home Office?

Are there two Brands of Catholicism in this country?

The humble Irish have done most of the work here in the building of Churches and Schools etc. Have they no one to stand up and speak for them against prejudice, injustice, discrimination and Racial Hatred? (As we read in the Catholic Universe, and the utterings of St. John Stevas, and Biggs Davison).

Are you a Bishop of the Anglian Persuasion? Or are you Our Catholic Shepherd?

If the latter; Fr. Connolly must be reinstated as Parish Priest of St. Joseph's Wolverhampton, otherwise history will record you as a 'Traitor' to everything the Catholic Church stands for i.e. FREEDOM (including Freedom of Speech which men have died for), DEMOCRACY, CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY.

Priests must have the right, indeed it is their duty, to speak out against all injustices whether in Rhodesia (where Bishop Lamont is being hounded by the government) South Africa, South America or our own back yard Northern Ireland.

Your Grace by your calculated actions in supporting the enemies of the Cath-

olic people in Northern Ireland, have openly declared what you for, OPPRESSION.

Therefore we ask the people of this Diocese, and throughout the country, not to give their Church collections on Sunday's in support of this Brand of Religion, as it is not Catholic, Christian or Democratic.

Awaiting your Grace's response, please do not insult our intelligence with your standard reply to all letters:-

Cháin Mícheál Mac Aonghusa, Coiste Gnó, Conradh na Gaeilge an rud ar a thug se "An Balla Páipéir atá thart timpeall ar Eirinn" agus é ag labhairt le Craobh Liam Bulfin, Rath Maoinis. Oibríonn an balla páipéir seo ar dhá bhealach a dúirt se. "Ar an chéad dul síos cinntíonn sé go ndéantar bréag-thuiriscíú ar fud an domhain ar imeachtaí in Eirinn. An scéal a chraobhscaoiltéar i gcéin is é an scéal gur mian leis na gníomharachtaí nuachta Angla-Mheiriceánacha a chraobhscaoileadh. Ar an taobh eile de scagann na meáin chumaraíde in Eirinn as a stuaim féin an nuacht ón taobh amuigh ar bhonn cing oileánach. Cuirtear tábacht le míon-imeachtaí toisc, is dócha, go dtarlaíonn siad i Sasana ach ceiltéar eolas orainn ar leithéid na coimhlinte teanga sa Bhreatain Bheag. An té go múnlaítear a dhearcadh ag nuachtaí agus teleifís na tíre seo bheadh sé deacair é a lochtú da mbreathnóidh se ar Shasana mar an mhórtóir. Tá plean Chrúis Uí Bhriain ina thoradh nádúrtha ar an múnla seo agus threiseadh sé é.

Rinne an tUas. Mac Aonghusa cur síos ar fheachtas idirnáisiúnta Conradh na Gaeilge. Dúirt sé go raibh teagmháil a dhéanamh le heagrais teanga thar lear d'fhonn aitheantas a bhaint amach do mhionlaigh teanga. Dúirt sé go mbeadh a leithéid ina thaca tábachtach le feachtas Chearta na Gaeilge.

NORTHERN SITUATION

"It has become very apparent in recent weeks that the Dublin Government has lost all ability to formulate any policy in relation to the North. Dr. Cruise O'Brien has emerged as the chief spokesman on the North and his almost daily pronouncements become more imbued with the deep hatred and contempt which he has for the nationally minded people of this island and for the values, ideals and aspirations which have been cherished over centuries.

Dr. O'Brien has stated he is not working for Irish Unity. He could have been more honest by stating that he was working for a civil war, North and South. Under his control, RTE has built up an anti-Northern attitude in the South by censorship, misrepresentation and downright lies. Adolf Hitler used the same tactics against the Jewish race whipping up an anti-semitic feeling which eventually found its

concentration camps.

The sectarian elements in the loyalist community can be well pleased with Dr. O'Brien's statements. Every utterance of his is an incentive to forge ahead in re-establishing a six-county fascist state. The Dublin Government has guaranteed them immunity and the British Government had no difficulty in tolerating one for fifty years. O'Brien's ability to trigger off conflict was demonstrated in the Congo, his agility to opt out when the going gets rough is a well-established fact also.

Hitler believed he has the final solution to the Jewish problem. O'Brien, with his usual arrogance, feels the same way towards the Irish problem. The Irish people would do well to reflect on the merits of both egotists."

This statement was issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau

No Ceasefire

During recent days various individuals and groups have called on Oglagh na h-Eireann to lay down their arms and to cease their military struggle which is aimed at withdrawal of the English garrison from Ireland and the establishment of an independent All-Ireland Republic.

We have noted that these calls have been welcomed by the English Government and the Dublin Government. Have you wondered why?

Derry Brigade, Mid Ulster Brigade and South Down Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann recently issued statements asserting that the military struggle would continue until the English garrison withdraws. It is hoped that an early statement will be forthcoming from the Belfast Brigade making clear their position.

Holidays

REPUBLICAN NEWS will not be published on 20th or 27th July. Our next issue (No. 29) will be published on 3rd August.

OPEN LETTER TO CARDINAL

Archbishop John Cardinal Krol,
Archbishop of Philadelphia,
222 North 17th Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Father,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 8th relative to statements made by Church leaders about the situation existing in Northern Ireland. My earlier letter made reference to your statements in which you were critical of those attempting to bring about reform measures in Ulster.

No one likes violence but it seems that certain Church leaders are only opposed to violence carried out by Irishmen. When the British army and the British government carry out violence, as on Bloody Sunday, as at the Long Kesh Concentration Camp and elsewhere, the Church remains silent. If concentration camps were wrong for Jews, why are concentration camps right for Irish Catholics? Are not these people members of your own flock?

We believe there is something wrong with a philosophy which condemns violence by individuals but supports violence by the government. Certainly the present government in Northern Ireland is based on violence. It is, in effect, a one man operation conducted by a military dictator who happens to be the Secretary of State for Northern Irish affairs. His government is really the British army which has degraded Irish Catholics from one corner of Ulster to another. Do you not see any violence in placing untried men behind the barbed wire of Long Kesh? Do you not see violence against women and children as carried out by the British army on their patrols 24 hours a day during the entire week? Do you not see violence in the operation of the Royal Ulster Constabulary which, only a few weeks ago, shot 2 British soldiers in cold blood because they were thought to be I.R.A. men. R.U.C. orders are to shoot on the spot suspected Irish Republican Army members. Is such a policy to be supported by the Church simply because it is a policy carried out by a supposedly civilised government emanating from the English City of London?

Your suggestion that the present government should receive the respect of the people is difficult to comprehend. Certainly the government was not democratically elected since Republican parties were excluded from participating in the recent elections simply because they were banned under the notorious Special Powers Act. We fail to see where an election can be free when certain individuals have not the right to vote for the party of their choice simply because that party or parties are banned and cannot participate in the election process.

It fully bleeds for the women and little children of Belfast and Derry who have been harassed daily for the last 5 years by the British army, by the police and the Ulster Defence Regiment. I

have visited Belfast on a number of times in the last 5 years and have seen with my own eyes British soldiers kicking and beating old men and 13 year old boys. Certainly your Church cannot speak for Christ when it condones such activities by a so called representative government.

I am not interested in Bishop Philbin's speeches. We would like to see some action come from Bishop Philbin. Rhetoric is not sufficient in these times.

When you visit Belfast again, I would suggest that your visit with the people, not with the ascendancy. A walk through the Lower Falls Road or through Andersonstown might serve to enlighten you as to the facts of life in Ulster today.

Please overlook my frankness and directness. You must understand that you are helping no one but the British government. Your actions only perpetuate the present misery and destruction. The killing must end but the killing will never end as long as the Catholic Church and other established groups work hand in hand with the British government. After all, we Americans fought and died for our liberty. The British called us terrorists and placed a price on the head of George Washington and his Irish American associates.

Let me add that I am not a Catholic. I am a Unitarian and from my experience, I find that most Church leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, co-operate with the established government. This seems to be a policy of the Catholic Church and is followed out in other areas of the world, especially in Latin America which is now about to fall into the communist orbit.

You cannot bomb 1 million Protestants into a united Ireland but at the same time, you cannot mistreat and bomb and intern one half million Catholics into the United Kingdom. Let us face this fact of life!

In the last 2 years, about 250 Irish Catholics have been victims of political assassinations in the City of Belfast alone. What has the Catholic Church done about this except to remain silent! If this happened in the City of Philadelphia, people would be rioting in the streets. I believe that the Irish Catholic reaction should not be criticised. The present government in Belfast does not have the respect of the population. Even Protestant opposition is mounting.

Your letter states that you seek a government accountable to the "will of the people." Certainly the present government is accountable to no one in Northern Ireland. We note that the Catholic Church in Poland has supported the people in opposing communism. On the other hand, the Catholic Church in Ireland seem to support the same kind of policies carried out by communist regimes behind the iron curtain.

In closing, let me say that you do not seem to realise that several Loyalist groups in the United States are presently circulating

various speeches by Catholic priests and bishops in an effort to show that there is no need for reforms in Northern Ireland and Irish Catholics are vicious terrorists. It is strange to see the Catholic Church being used in this fashion by Loyalist groups.

In today's mail, I received a copy of a letter sent to parishioners by Father Aquinas of Belfast to his parishioners dated March 7, 1973. It might interest you to know that copies of this letter are being circulated in the United States by the Ulster American Loyalist Club, Post Office Box 45918, Los Angeles, California 90045. It seems to me that the Catholic Church is in strange company. Another document being circulated by the same group is entitled "The Terror — and the Tears" a publication of the Northern Irish government. I fear that you and your friends have driven the people to a state of frustration where they have taken up bombs against the British government. Did you really leave them any other course? Political agitation is still a crime in Northern Ireland. There is nothing left but the gun in the eyes of many. How could the Church have allowed the situation to drift this far?

I will be perfectly frank with you, Cardinal Krol. You and your associates are personally responsible for dozens of the deaths of women and children in Northern Ireland over the last 5 years. I know this statement will incense you but at the same time, it is factual. I have looked into the eyes of hundreds of Irish children in Belfast and Derry and have seen nothing but misery and fear. They have been sold out by the Church and by the Dublin Government and they know it. You know it also. I have known it for several years.

The answer is quite simple. The Catholic Church could end the violence in 2 weeks if it insisted that the British Government immediately terminate its military actions. Such an ultimatum delivered to the London government would end all hostilities. Will you take this bold move? Of course you would subject yourself to criticism in various quarters but from the tone of your letter you claim to be interested in saving human life. Is this really true? No one likes violence but we must recognise the fact that as long as the British army continues its violence, all of which was initiated by the British government, there will be counter-violence from organisations like the Irish Republican Army and others.

We call upon you and other Church leaders to issue a statement within the next 10 days demanding that the London government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson terminate all military operations in Northern Ireland and withdraw all military forces from the streets of Belfast, Derry and other areas. Act and you can save the lives of hundreds of people. Failure to act will result in the death of hundreds in the coming months.

I would be interested in learning your views on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,
"AN AMERICAN SOLICITOR"

BRITAIN CAPITULATES TO

MOB RULE

With acknowledgements to the "Irish American Reporter"

When Loyalist mobs took to the streets in May and shut down industry in Northern Ireland, Prime Minister Harold Wilson pledged that British "law and order" would prevail, and there would be no negotiations with the so called "Worker's Council" strikers. A few days later, Wilson capitulated to the strikers, without negotiations. During the so called "strike" Wilson ordered the British army to step aside and not interfere with the strikers.

What followed the surrender to mob rule is highly significant. The British government promptly took these steps in response to the strikers' demands:

1. Dismissed the Northern Irish Assembly, putting it out of existence.
2. Cancelled the votes of those electors who had elected Assembly members in the 1973 elections.
3. Set aside the "Constitution Act of 1973," a vital piece of legislation enacted under the British "reform program," so called.

What Harold Wilson really did was to set aside the laws and the government of Northern Ireland because a Loyalist mob told him to do so. The British Parliament did not repeal the law, dismiss the Assembly or vacate the voting rights of hundreds of thousands of voters who had elected the Assembly. The Loyalist mobs did all this. The Northern Irish Assembly created a power sharing government in which Catholics were allowed to participate, for the first time in over 50 years. The British government's actions in surrendering to mob violence now bars Catholic participation in government in Ulster. Mr. Wilson's actions make Catholic rights subject to a veto given to the so called "Loyalist" element of the population. What this means is that Irish Catholics still have no rights in Northern Ireland, and apparently will never have any rights. British laws and order and law enforcement is subject to mob violence. This is now established British policy under the Wilson administration.

The "Ulster Worker's Council" was not a group of union strikers, but rather a front affording a new name for the Ulster Defence Association (U.D.A.), a heavily armed Loyalist para-military group which has terrorised Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants for over 3 years. The U.D.A. has publicly taken credit for the political assassinations of several Irish Catholics in the Belfast area where over 300 Catholics have been shot, butchered and mutilated in the last 2 years. Since the U.D.A. supports union with Britain, these political assassinations were rarely investigated, and almost never prosecuted. Unlike the I.R.A. which is illegal under British law, the U.D.A. is legal.

The "strikers" approach by the U.D.A. was the direct result of the 1973 Assembly (Parliamentary) elections which resulted in Catholics winning several seats and Catholic participation in the Ulster government. The elections displeased the more radical "Loyalists" whose mob leaders demanded new elections and an end to the Assembly. Prime Minister Wilson's capitulation met the U.D.A. demands and he promptly dissolved the Assembly and repealed the 1973 Constitution Act. New elections will be scheduled shortly as demanded by the U.D.A. If the results do not please the U.D.A. further mob violence is certain to follow with strikes, attacks on shop keepers and workers who refuse to bow to U.D.A. intimidation, Irish Catholics have pointed out that the British army actually co-operated with the strikers by firing rubber bullets at Catholic workers who tried to go to work in defiance of U.D.A. threats.

Britain's threat of a "bloodbath" in Northern Ireland is a reference to the U.D.A. which is heavily armed and trained, in part, by the British army. In addition to imported arms, the U.D.A. members hold almost all of the 107,000 gun permits issued by the British Government in Ulster. Gun permits are rarely issued to Irish Catholics. Irish Catholics are almost completely disarmed and at the total mercy of "Loyalist" groups.

Observers believe that the British government's recent actions are certain to mean more trouble at home, in the Council of Europe and in NATO. Prime Minister Wilson's actions were a clear violation of the Human Rights Convention of the Council of Europe and intervention by the Council of Europe in Ulster affairs is now rated a definite possibility by political observers.

Exercise of the Emergency Provisions Act

Since the advent of the British Labour Party to power, the exercise of the Special Powers Act, superseded by the present Emergency Provisions Act has not lessened in intensity of its application. Unknown to the general public, "suspects" are still being taken from the privacy of their homes and, irrespective of sex, or ensuing hardship to family or dependants, are incarcerated for varying periods of time. This infamous Act makes no allowance for compensatory claims for loss of earnings when, and if, the person involved can establish the level of innocence required.

The authorities concerned would have us believe that screening of suspects is necessary in the interests of law and order, but put in its proper perspective, it would be informative to know the Security Forces definition of "suspect," taking into account the number of undisclosed arrests made daily under the varying sections of this Act.

Surely it's not too much to ask the elected politicians who professed to be fully sympathetic to the injustices of the minority, to quickly bring pressure to bear on those responsible, to have these intrusions of privacy nullified, no matter under what guise they are done. So little has been said by the authorities about these raids and arrests that the public have become too complacent and the Security Forces too, that only those people directly and innocently involved in these two prevalent arrests and "interim detentions," fully realise the terror and hardship these incidents involve.

The increased harassment of Sinn Fein members since its "legality" is a typical example of the attitude adopted by the authorities responsible for the implementation of this repressive Act. As a wholly political

body concerned solely with the ultimate re-unification of Ireland on a Political basis and the subsequent economical well being and prosperity of the Irish working class, irrespective of religious beliefs, is being continually subjected to the closest scrutiny and unwarranted harassment by the Security Forces, which is in stark contrast to the abnormal attitude adopted by the authorities by their inexplicable lack of action against those who recently held the North to ransom to achieve their desired aims.

Bearing in mind the undisputed continued repression of the minority by the Security Forces, it is pathetic to realise that an apparent disinterest exists towards the plight of the internees, and the suffering and deprivation of liberty entailed to them. Expressions of sympathy are insufficient to combat the evils of internment without trial and emphasis should be made that more positive action, could and should be taken through properly constituted procedures to remove one of the most repressive measures ever passed by any Government.

Would it be too much to ask the authorities to give, to date, the number of arrests and releases, as against the number of detentions without trial since 1969, or from 9th August 1971? Maybe our politicians could pursue this query. Political imposition of a limited freedom for the minority over a decade of time has inevitably culminated in a heroic struggle for equal rights, and in honour of those courageous people whose dedication has ended in the supreme sacrifice, it is imperative that their purpose has not been in vain.

Yours sincerely

JOSEPH RIGBY,
109 Stratheden Street
Belfast 15.

Are you Active?

(This article was published in REPUBLICAN NEWS on 30th June 1972. We believe it is still valid - Editor).

I was in Kilkeel recently and when I suggested to some people there that a Sinn Fein Cumann should be formed in the town, I was asked a straight forward question, namely: "What could the members of a cumann do here?"

The question may appear simple, but if you had been in my position, how would you have answered it?

Let's face it, a lot of hard work is required to make Sinn Fein into a really effective political organisation. There is scope for a great increase in membership; there are many towns in Ireland without a cumann. We must admit that the organisation has many critics, even among dedicated Republicans.

It would be foolish to dismiss these criticisms without giving them at least a careful examination.

However, we must remember that Sinn Fein is the political wing of the Republican Movement. Its members should ensure that they are not regarded or treated as second class members of the movement.

Let all Republicans clearly understand that the National Leadership of the movement in their address to the last Sinn Fein Ard Fheis stated: "Sinn Fein can and must play a vital part in the struggle for National Freedom."

Every member should have a copy of the Constitution of Sinn Fein and a copy of its Social and Economic Programme. It is the duty of the Officer Board of each cumann to ensure that this is the position and that their members have studied these documents.

Let each member realise that he or she has a voice and a vote in the running of the organisation and that this should be used to the best possible effect.

There is no point in staying quiet at the cumann meeting and then criticising afterwards the views expressed or the decisions taken at the meeting. Members must be prepared to accept responsibility, but they should not take on a job unless they are willing to do it properly.

EVERY CUMANN SHOULD BE PUSHING THE SALES OF "AN PHOBLAcht" AND "REPUBLICAN NEWS". HOW MANY COPIES OF THESE PAPERS ARE SOLD BY THE MEMBERS OF YOUR CUMANN?

What are you doing to increase the sales in your area? These papers are capable educators, agitators and organisers for the movement. Are you doing all that can be done to assist them to spread Republicanism in your area?

People still tell us that they cannot buy Republican papers as sellers are not calling with them. Can this be said by people in your area?

There is no valid reason why each cumann could not organise a team of sellers to sell our papers in another district not already covered as well as their own.

So what about it? Banbridge, Cushendall, Portaferry, to mention but a few places, should get early attention . . .

Will Englishmen Be Allowed To Write Irish History?

DON'T MOVE A MUSCLE!

BY CHARLES E. P. RAFFERTY, Internee in Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

On Tuesday May 14th, I was awakened by soldiers running into the hut, screaming and throwing lockers on the floor. They then told us to stay in our beds and to put our arms out from the blankets and to hold them straight down by our sides. Then they told us not to move a muscle.

One at a time they told us to get up, dress, and then to lie straight down on our backs and to keep our eyes on the corrugated sheeting above us.

I was lying fully dressed and following this procedure I heard a commotion going on down the hut. I looked down and I saw a soldier beating my brother Brian on the legs and shouting to him to keep his legs straight. My brother answered him telling him they were as straight as a stick. The soldier then started to baton him more furiously on the legs and three more soldiers started pulling him off the bed. At this stage my vision was obstructed owing to a few lockers which were situated beside my bed, so I made a move to get off my bed because I was concerned for the welfare of my brother.

When I jumped off the bed, I was immediately batoned by a soldier so I hit him back (I must state that the blow I struck him was just a reflex action on my behalf). As soon as I had hit the soldier I was attacked by about eight more soldiers who continually batoned and kicked me about the back, head and neck. I was dragged out by the hair of my head and once outside the hut I was run off my feet by two British soldiers and rammed head first against the wire which surrounds the compound. There I saw my brother who was standing there naked except for underpants. They told us to get against the wire. As I turned round I felt myself going faint and I must have gone unconscious for I woke up later in a small canteen. I was lying on the flat of my back on a table. The British soldiers were standing over me. Then the officer in charge brought in a Medical Officer. After seeing me the medical officer went out and came back with two other prison warders and a stretcher. They then carried me down to the camp hospital. I was laid out on the flat hardback couch in the "surgery." There I lay for four full hours in pain without any medical assistance. The only treatment I was offered was two pain killers which I refused.

After four hours the camp doctor who is normally on duty came and examined my back. He said that to his knowledge nothing was broken but I would have to be taken out for back, neck and head X-rays. When I was taken out I was handcuffed to a detective (to my knowledge) and also in the car was the medical officer and to what I understand there was another detective driving the car. In front was a police landrover with armed policemen and military policemen inside. Behind was a military police landrover with armed M.P.'s inside. The convoy and the car I was in then drove to Lagan Valley Hospital where I was X-rayed. On my return to the camp the medical officer got out of the car and walked into the guard-house (main security). When he came out he told the man I was handcuffed to, to take me over to the cells. Upon my protest about being put in the cells he told me that he did not know the reason for it but was only obeying orders.

On the second day of my solitary confinement, I was taken out of my cell and led to a table. Here a policeman sat, he told me I was being charged and cautioned me. When I told the prison officer that I was entitled to the rights of a remand prisoner, the policeman on hearing this said then that I was not being formally charged and that it was just an allegation at this time. When the policeman left, my brother who was also in the cells at the time, was led back to the cage along with me.

English Smoke Screen

"The recent sham furore by the British Government at the wearing of uniforms by Republicans in London, was nothing more than a deliberate attempt by English politicians to smokescreen the reality of their guilt regarding the death of Volunteer Michael Gaughan," declared Malachy Foots, spokesman for the Sinn Fein Ulster Executive.

"English condemnation of Ogligh na hEireann, and the calling for sterner measures, was nothing more than a timely manoeuvre to try and shift the world's media attention from the sinister circumstances surrounding Gaughan's death in Parkhurst to the more simpler affair of wearing uniform, Mr. Foots explained.

He added that it was timely to point out that the British Government played a "major part in the death of Michael Gaughan . . . this fact stands supreme no matter what England's attitude is to Ogligh na hEireann."

Every powerful man who rose to the Hall of Fame, we were led to believe, was an Englishman; everybody loves us, was Britain's proud boast. Britain is renowned for heroic deeds of justice! Some of us were wondering, was there something wrong with our reasoning when we considered how Britain nightly showered thousands of tons of bombs on Dresden and other German Cities.

These targets were not military ones, for by a strange coincidence British interests in Germany were never bombed! We were almost led to imagine that our race had down trodden the poor British Empire, our childhood history books stated: "There was none more noble or more distinguished than that of Duke William, Nelson, and their likes were lavished with praise. British JUSTICE was incompatible with any other in the wide world!!!

General Amin of Uganda stated on the B.B.C. how he admired the British, and to show his interests in them he offered to help out their economy by sending them shiploads of Bananas to help nourish them, today we hear that Britain is biting the hand that fed her. They are accusing him of atrocities during the war in his country. This is the KETTLE CALLING THE POT BLACK!!! Considering that at present the Court of Human Rights are hearing the cases of torture carried on in Concentration camps by the British, who came to our island as a "Peace-keeping" force . . . They carried out their tortures on untried Irishmen, while the Southern Government had

their army on foreign shores serving as peace-keepers where they never once fired a shot. How unjust was this to allow the might of the British Empire to carry out cruelties on defenceless prisoners, and atrocities similar to those of Nazi Germany in Hitler's days.

So how has Irish patriotism enacted by the government of the 26 counties here, that now Englishmen are being called to write the history books for future education of Irish youth, so wise is the Minister of Education. How are they to gloss over the horrors committed in the days of the Black and Tans, some of us were school children in those days and until we are all gone the memories will live on of those frightful days, in our minds.

Every patriotic effort which we raise to keep the spark of love of our land alive is being managed by every means and dictatorial pronouncements! But too much has happened which has opened the minds and eyes of men of today who keep the spirit of our forefathers living on in spite of dungeon, fire and sword from whatever source. This is OUR LAND from shore to shore and too much sufferings endured by our forefathers has paid for OUR ownership to it, Britain has created the sorry mess which now exists in Ulster and would like now to skulk away from the whip which they made and which is lashing their hack hard and heavy. The "Bobby" is of their making from the days of the planters, down to the "Workers Seige."

A Prayer From My Prison Cell

O, Sacred Heart of Jesus
We pray to Thee today,
To aid our suffering Motherland
Upon her bloodstained way.
For loyalty to serve her,
For strength to set her free,
O, Sacred Heart of Jesus!
We send our prayers to Thee.

O, Sacred Heart of Jesus,
Look down on us today,
Make us strong, fearless soldiers,
Ever ready for the fray,
'Gainst Thine and Ireland's enemies,
Wherever they may be,
O, Sacred Heart of Jesus!
We put our trust in Thee.

By the late Seamus Steele, Belfast Prison. 18th June, 1936.

holidays

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TWICE A LOSER

I am beginning to believe that Austin Currie is a born loser. You remember in June 1971, when wee man Brian made his suggestion to the S.D.L.P. that he would like them to accept the chairmanship of two of the five committees he intended forming to suggest to the Stormont Government new legislation for better government. To Austin, and of course, to the rest of the leadership of the S.D.L.P. this was a breakthrough they had longed for . . . to be part of the establishment. But within a few weeks they were boy-cotting Stormont by demand from the people who had seen two innocent people murdered by the British Army in Derry.

On the 1st January 1974, Austin really became part of the establishment as Minister of Housing. To prove his loyalty to his new masters, he passed a law to take effect on May 20th increasing the deductions taken from social security benefits to pay arrears for those still on the Rent and Rates Scheme, and a levy of 25 pence per week as an addition. Poor Austin once again found the new Stormont falling around his ears and knowing he would have to depend on the people, revoked his own law. It was his last act as Minister of Housing.

Just to show how stupid our Austin can be. The day he introduced his Levy Bill at Stormont, his excuse for it was: "We are now well started on a new road forward, the road of partnership." (Irish Times 3/5/74).

I WONDER WHY

"I remember when very young, being fascinated by a study of the advertisements in a well known evangelical Protestant periodical. It contained an extraordinary high proportion of advertisements of cures for constipation. Here is another wide field for valuable research." (John Morrison, columnist in the Sunday News, 9/6/74).

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

Away back before the christian era, one of the most feared fighting men was the Spartan Hoplite. From his boyhood days he was inured to hardship among the mountains of his native Grecia. When a Spartan Phalanx moved into do battle, the blood of their enemies ran cold from the sight of them, for their reputation had gone ahead before them.

The Spartans were strong muscular men; they needed to be, to carry all the weight of their armour on their long marches. A Spartan Phalanx bore a strong resemblance to a human tank as it moved in well disciplined lines into the slaughter.

One day an event without parallel in military history took place. A Spartan column was wiped out by a small body of men wearing no armour, and only lightly armed. The shock of the Spartans defeat reverberated around the ancient world, and made it necessary to study this new form of warfare which had been introduced into society.

The basic tactics of this new form of warfare was evasiveness - fluidity. As the heavily armoured Spartan column moved into the enemy territory, they were suddenly stopped and drawn into a pitched battle. Their leaders recognised the folly of attempting to defeat the disciplined Spartans, who were trained in conventional warfare. Instead, they hung on the tail of the Spartan column for many days. Like a pack of hungry wolves they would sweep down swiftly and suddenly, kill off a few Hoplites, and retreat before the Spartans could muster their strength effectively to oppose them. The Spartans, being loaded with heavy armour, could not pursue these swift footed warriors. So it went on, attack, kill a few, retreat; always in sight of the column, but out with their reach and frustrated rage.

The lightly clad enemy, knowing the country like the back of their hands - for it was their country, the land of their birth - set up ambushments for the Spartans. Because they had the people - their people - on their side, the Spartans were unable to get food or water. Whenever the Spartans stopped to gain rest, their adversaries were on them, hurrying them, giving them no time to recover their strength. Since it is a well known maxim that an army marches on its stomach, the Spartan discipline started to disintegrate, as they saw their fearsome fighting force being bled and cut to pieces all around them. As long as their opponer is refused to engage them in outright battle, they were assured of victory.

Robert Taber in his excellent book, "The War of the Flea," asserts guerrilla warfare is "the political phenomenon of the 20th century." but it is an old, tried and proven form of warfare. It was usually adopted by primitive peoples to enable them to overcome a highly disciplined, more effectively armed enemy!

In my own native land of Scotland, it was used ultimately with great effect by the caledonians against the might and discipline of the Roman Empire. Tacitus, the roman historian, tell us the roman legions fought an outright battle with the Caledonians, and massacred over ten thousand of them, for the loss of only three hundred and sixty men. Even allowing for partisanship and exaggeration in the account of the battle given by tacitus; the Caledonians must have suffered a devastating defeat. It taught them a well needed lesson, for when the Roman Emperor severus came with a massive army to do battle with the Caledonians many years later, they refused to engage in a pitched battle with the disciplined legions. The Roman historians Dion and Herodian relate that, although severus never engaged the Caledonians in a pitched battle he lost over fifty thousand men "cut off" as Tytler the Scottish Historian says. "By the Caledonians, who harassed the invaders on their march, though they cautiously avoided a general action."

Taber contends that a people "who realise their worth and capabilities can no longer be exploited by force or intimidation, nor can their aspirations be denied. They have found a counter strategy against the tyranny of wealth and the tyranny of power." The strategy of guerrilla warfare; waging the war of the flea. The importance of Taber's findings is seen in the fact that the first printing of his book "was bought in its entirety by the united States armed services," and has now become "required reading for U.S. Special Forces Officers.

The basic strategy of the guerrilla fighter is to stay alive and keep fighting. To coin a rather hackneyed saying: "He who fights and runs away, lives to fight another day." In order to accomplish this feat, the guerrilla fighter needs to win the support of the people, and avoid a direct confrontation with an enemy superior in numbers, fire, power and discipline.

Since the guerrilla fighter needs the support of the populace in order to survive, he requires to have some political aim which will win their sympathy. The guerrilla fighter is thus a propagandist; one who sows

the seeds of the revolutionary idea. Since no revolution can succeed unless the populace are alienated from the regime in power, it is obvious that this propoganda work is of primary importance in guerrilla activity.

One of the most famous guerrilla fighters of modern times if the Chinese leader Mao Tse-Tung. Because of his communist political beliefs, much of his work has been denigrated by his opponents. But none can deny that his knowledge of guerrilla warfare brought him success. In his "selected military writings," which are really an historical analyses of the campaigns of the Chinese red army, Mao states: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." As Robert Taber says: "But then, why not? The policy of hitting the enemy when he is weak, evading him when his is strong, taking the offensive when he falls back, circling around him when he advances - all of this is only common sense."

In Ireland today the I.R.A. is waging a fierce guerrilla war against the British army. They have learned well that fluidity and evasiveness are more successful tactics then engaging a vastly superior enemy in direct confrontation.

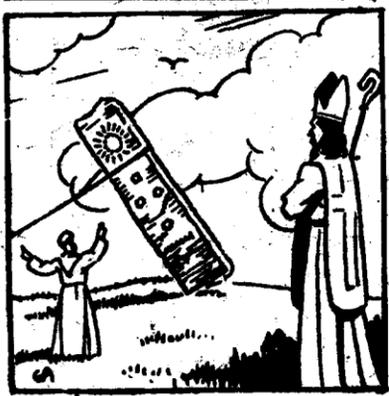
The early proponents of Irish Republicanism did not possess the knowledge and experience of warfare such as their sons of today. When the famous Easter Rising took place in Dublin in 1916, the leaders adopted the conventional forms of warfare practised at that time. Had they taken the trouble to study (perhaps some of them did, I don't know) the works of someone like Blanqui, the French revolutionary, they would have known their bold action was fore-doomed to failure. Indeed, according to sources I have read, some did realise their rising would not be a success. Possibly they hoped that their deaths would stir Irishmen to desire independence from the weight of the English yoke. In this last endeavour they succeeded beyond their expectations, for Irishmen began to fight for freedom but not with the same tactics of the men of Easter 1916. They learned a lesson from that pitched battle, just as the old Caledonians learned a lesson from their defeat.

The new I.R.A. adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare. Since then their success has become assured. They have been able to make the British attempts to hold onto Ireland so expensive that the Imperialists have reluctantly been forced to relinquish their covetous hands from three

LOYALISTS' FUTURE WITH FELLOW IRISHMEN

Strange and contradictory sounds come from the Loyalist side, which seem to indicate a certain divergence of views within that camp. Some of them seem to hanker after an even greater Protestant ascendancy than existed under the Old Stormont. They were condescendingly state that they would allow Nationalists or Republican M.P.s. to serve on Parliamentary committees, but that is as far as they are prepared to go. This indicates such a fundamental inability to understand the political realities of their position, that they obviously need some further shocks before they come down from their ivory towers. They obviously cannot realise that the days when they could tell the Croppies to lie down and behave like good second class citizens are gone forever.

On the other hand there are others in the Loyalist camp who have a better grasp of realities. They seem to be prepared to sit down and talk with other representative groups and try and work out an agreed solution. However, they appear to see such a solution purely in the context of an independent Six Counties or within the United Kingdom. On this basis they still have a distance to come for fruitful talks with Republicans. Nevertheless, their complete disillusionment with Britain encourages the hope that they will follow such disillusionment to its logical conclusions and see that their only real future lies with their fellow Irishmen. A declaration of intent to withdraw by Britain would accelerate this process and hasten a solution.



Le linn do pádrais boit as taiseoal na tíre leas sé ceann de na déite pásánaea, crom cruac - Deinci crom cruac d'atrab ar maš sleact, liaf droim.



Caie sé daeab lá ar troscad ar mullaç cruaiçe i sconnaceta. Ó sin i leie eugcar cruac pádrais ar an gcnoc. Céann na sluaice ar oileacae ann.



9.—Caie pádrais 30 bliain as leacab an creidim in éirinn. Dunaiz sé timpeall 300 easlais, an ceann ba mó acu in ard maça. D'as sé i saball timpeall 461.

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The RUC Will Be Out To Get You

BY DONAL BOYLE

I was with my wife at the Suffolk Inn on Friday night the 10th of May. We usually go here every Friday night around 9 p.m. to about 11 or 11.30 p.m. We were sitting near where the T.V. is located when four soldiers came in. They went round every table viewing everyone. Then they left for about five minutes. But they came in again, this time seven of them. They proceeded to walk around all the tables and walked out again. Four or five minutes later soldiers came in again and took up firing positions. One standing at the door gave a hand signal to the other soldiers and just at that shots were fired. Immediately after this women started screaming and some bottles were thrown. The windows were then broken in from outside and the soldiers started firing rubber bullets and also live rounds. One of the rubber bullets hit me on the head. The blood was running from the wound in my head but after about ten minutes the army let me go outside. I was taken behind a garage and some soldiers were there. As soon as I got behind the garage one of these soldiers hit me on the chest with his gun. Then I was hit on the head with a baton from another soldier. I was also kicked by another soldier. I went over to the Major in charge and I asked him who was the Scottish soldier that hit me with the baton and he said it was his driver. I was told by this Major that the R.U.C. would be out on Wednesday 15th May, to see me about the complaint. But up to now none of the R.U.C. have appeared. A chap drove me in my own car to the Royal Victoria Hospital where I received stitches to the wound in my head and I was also X-Rayed. I was in the hospital from around midnight 10th May, to 6 a.m. on the 11th May. I have not been able to work since the incident because my injuries are still very painful. It was a lady doctor who treated me in the Royal.

WE NEED MORE SELLERS

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LEGAL RIGHTS OF THOSE DETAINED

1. When brought in say "I want my solicitor" and name him, "Patrick O'Neill of O'Neill Street."

If they say "He is not available" say "I want Sean Quinn, of Quinn Street."

Every person should carry in his head or on a piece of paper the names of two solicitors who are willing and not afraid of the R.U.C.

2. When they ask you any question, say "I want that question in writing. And when my legal representative is present I shall answer your question in writing, when my solicitor has checked it."

3. Do not sign your name to any piece of paper for the full 72 hours unless you are advised to do so by the solicitor of your choice.

4. Always get yourself medically examined by your own doctor during your detention and always after the 72 hours is up. As a general rule, do not trust Army or Police doctors.

5. Ignore all documents presented to you as confessions or your friends implicating you. These are usually forgeries. Ignore threats and suffer patiently when they beat you up. Do not accept bribes or promises. Do not trust them.

6. Be patient for 72 hours; sit and

think good thoughts; they cannot deprive you of your legal rights or liberty any longer.

7. Do not hold any conversation with them on politics, the 'troubles' civil rights, etc. It is all being taken down and will be produced in court against you.

A careful reading of Sections 10 and 16 of the Emergency Provisions Act 1973, reveals that the police have no legal right to hold a person "incommunicado" for 72 hours; they must admit his solicitor, his doctor and his relatives. The Act does not say:

"The prisoner is to be detained and his solicitor is not to be admitted for 72 hours or until the police see fit" Therefore you have the right to demand a solicitor and the police must get him.

If they refuse, make sure when the 72 hours are up, that you complain to your solicitor, to the Police Authority and to the Commissioner of the Garda, Stochan.

Remember, in CHIT CHAT, if a policeman asks you "Was it raining last night?" say: "I want that question in writing and when it has been examined by my legal representative I shall answer it in writing."

With the daily increase of men and women being imprisoned and the resultant pressure in the amount of money needed for their dependents, many more collectors are needed for this worthy cause.

If you are willing to help, please contact An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Parnell Sq., Dublin, Green Cross, c/o An Ard Scoil, 25 Divis Street, Belfast or The Secretary of the local P.D.F. Committee for your area.

Mr. Sean O'Riordan is the most distinguished writer in Irish today. He is also a poet in the best European tradition. Recently he was censored on political grounds on the (so-called) National Television network. It shows how sinister and insidious is political censorship in Ireland. The following is his views on politicians in Ireland today.

I often refer to the custom, practised by politicians, of renegeing on their word. They inform the public of certain principles which they hold. Then, when the occasion arises they completely deny these very principles. From there on, the denial is commendable, the principle is shameful. If they are in power — and these people usually are — they imprison anyone who praises that principle. No need to give example — the most outstanding are known to all by now (if not there is a list above).

To make such a denial is no longer a blot on one's honour. On the contrary, one is deemed mature, one has reached the age of reason. "Ours deeds according to our word" is no longer commendable. Another "virtue" replaces it and that is compromise. The practise of this virtue if not of recent origin with us — our desertion of the Irish Language in the 19th Century is a classical example of compromise. Compromise is based on the understanding that necessity knows no law or the old crone runs when the going is hard; other examples are the Treaty of 1922, the Boundary (Partition) settlement of 1925, De Valera's entrance to the Dail in 1927, not to talk of Sunningdale.

Compromise has been given such a high-standing importance for four years now that it reminds of Padraig O Riain's essay entitled "Regal Prey." This "preying" was an institutionalised act. Every newly elected leader or king had first to prove his qualities by going to war. This first warriorship was essential to get the backing of the people. The old poem, addressed to a leader, says:-

THE YEAR WORDS LOST MEANING

"The people who support you multiply From hearing of your first raid."

The first deceiving act is the important thing. The first raid of old, like the first deceit now, was a type of pre-inaugural event.

Nowadays, compromise is something more yielding to necessity. It is a virtue per se. I believe today's politicians scrutinise all their previous statements to find that with which to falsify themselves at the most frightful level. He who can deceive the most attains the Mammon's Paradise.

Or is there some solid foundation in this compromising. I suppose it could be said that it is an acceptance of that which is rather than a continuous searching for that which might be. Compromise is presented as an escape from a narrow, righteous, unrealistic, difficult outlook to something that is broad, realistic, nonrighteous and smooth.

In political matters, I sense that compromise is becoming more fashionable every day. Political movements grow from some doctrine or philosophy. Karl Marx had to precede the Russian Revolution. Rousseau and others had

to precede the French Revolution. Douglas Hyde and Pearse had to come before 1916. Certain theologians (whom I confess, I cannot name) came before Vatican II.

But the sowers of the seed had to be falsified in some way. Literature grows from folklore. But folklore must be deserted before literature commences, or that is the accepted understanding or misunderstanding. Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins deserted the folklore of Nationalism in 1921 and took up the literature of politics. In the same way, De Valera deserted the folklore of Republicanism and Stalin the folklore of Marxism. For the sake of Power? According to this line of reasoning the two Sinn Fein, the two I.R.A., Paisley, Craig, U.D.A. etc. are folklore or material for politics, Niall Blaney, Kevin Boland reverted to folklore. As for the Irish Language, it was made the folklore of the English language. This wheel is still turning.

What have Churchmen done with the Teaching of Christ? Compromised? Deserted? Is Christ folklore or literature? What was it He said of the Children of Light and the Children of the World?

SINN FEIN ELECTION SUCCESS

Despite all our efforts at intimidation and unprecedented harassment, Sinn Fein have secured a resounding victory in the Local Government Elections. Party representation has been increased by 100% on County, Urban and Town Councils.

Notable features of the voting pattern was the high vote recorded by the Sinn Fein candidates in the border counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan, and Louth. In Leitrim in particular, history was made, by the election of an internee, John Joe McGirl to the Council. Councillor McGirl is at present lodged in Long Kesh Concentration Camp. He was arrested on his way to give the oration at the Easter Commemoration in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

In Dublin city the Sinn Fein vote was almost trebled. In many areas the Sinn Fein vote surpassed that of the so called 'Labour' Party (Crúise O'Brien's Party in the right-wing Coalition Government).

Ruairi O'Bradaigh, President of Sinn Fein, speaking in County Longford following the success of two local candidates said:

"We asked the people to vote for our candidates and support has been forthcoming. I am delighted to see outgoing candidates being returned and a break through in so many areas throughout the country. I look forward to seeing the Sinn Fein councillors putting Eire Nua before the people. I regard their achievements as a victory for the small man over the all-consumer society of big business and the gigantic forces of the E.E.C."

"I am glad to see that counties like Longford, Leitrim, Galway and Mayo have the resilience to re-assert themselves under Sinn Fein leadership and I believe that if given full access to the media, Sinn Fein would have won a lot more seats."

For Republicans this was not a free election. The Sinn Fein victory followed a massive campaign of postering, public meetings and door-to-door canvassing, which was accompanied by unrelenting harassment by "Free" State security forces. In an obvious attempt to smash the Sinn Fein election machine, Gardai Special Branch and armed troops swooped on Republican homes — in some areas twice during the course of the election campaign — carrying off candidates and election workers for interrogation.

In many urban areas police and Special Branch detectives harried, hounded and threatened election workers, and in some places, posters had a short life as Branch thugs moved around furtively in the night tearing them down.

On polling day itself and during the counting of the votes, several Sinn Fein candidates were arrested. In Ballina, Co. Mayo, Councillor Ginty and Jackie Clarke were arrested and charged in the Special no-jury Court in Dublin. In County Cavan, Anthony Fox, the Sinn Fein candidate and two of his helpers, Joseph Ennis and Patrick Féx were also arrested and brought before the no-jury court. They were later released when the Assistant Chief State Solicitor claimed that it was all a misunderstanding. The Sinn Fein candidate for the Mullingar Town Commissioners, Mr. Thomas Kilmurry was also arrested. The 1974 election campaign is also noted for the total denial of access of R.T.E. to Republicans to put across their policies.

Viewed against this background of repression and denial of democratic rights, the Sinn Fein achievement is all the greater.

These great persons produced an enrichment, not an impoverishment. The compromisers impoverish. But, not every bush produces a Roncalli or an O Riada.

Michael Gaughan

CONSPIRACY TO MURDER

The death of Michael Gaughan brought swift reaction in Belfast, many thousands turned out for a silent protest on the Falls Road. Yet those of us who marched must surely have asked ourselves the question: "Why was he allowed to die."

The first reaction is to take refuge in the obvious answer: "Michael Gaughan died for political expediency." Roy Jenkins in company with the cabinet, of alleged socialist and humanitarian views, decided that Gaughan and his comrades, could die in order to appease the Tories. Socialist principles and a humanitarian outlook have never been characteristic of England in her dealings with Ireland or the Irish Just as MacSweeney was allowed to die so too was Gaughan and indeed, if necessary others would be allowed to die.

But surely there is another side to the murder of Michael Gaughan and that is the part played by the thousands of accomplices here in Ireland,

those of us like myself who didn't do enough to protest, publicise and try to end the torture of Michael Gaughan and his comrades. True we did not murder with a length of rubber tube via forced feeding, but rather we perpetrated our act with the implement of INDIFFERENCE. As Graham Greene the novelist points out: "Violence can be the expression of love, indifference never."

"The expression of love" - a more apt description of the motivation of a volunteer army one would find hard to imagine. The volunteers of the Irish Republican Army fight not for mercenary gain but to express their love of the ideal, of the Irish Republic, a Republic which will embrace and cherish all children of the nation equally.

It may well be that you and I do not cherish this ideal so highly, but this does not prevent us from recognising the commitment of people like Michael Gaughan and the many others to this ideal.

Beside such commitment our INDIFFERENCE must stand in sharp contrast, indifference is the antithesis of charity and our indifference contributed in no small way to the death of Michael Gaughan - it is so easy to forget a lonely figure in a prison cell.

Harder to understand perhaps is the attitude of the hierarchy. The attitude of this group of exalted men stands in sharp contrast with that of their fellow clerics in other countries like Spain and Brazil, who have fearlessly fought the government on behalf of their people. How ignoble does Cardinal Conway's back door intrigue look when viewed against the stand of these priests.

More painful however, was the sight of S.D.L.P. representatives, Paddy Devlin as he scurried back and forth (with maximum publicity of course) between the Price sisters and Jenkins. This act or antics does not atone for the indifference of party leaders to a torture

of some two hundred days duration. Fitt's despicable pilate-like washing of hands on R.T.E. will not be readily forgotten, a strange attitude for one who claims to be a socialist.

In our INDIFFERENCE, then we conspired in the murder of Michael Gaughan, but let us conspire now and in the future to end injustice. Any of us who read Kevin Myers report from Belfast in the "Observer" 30/6/74, saw how on completely spurious evidence, Mary Kennedy, wife of an internee was herself interned and thus as Myer's headline read: "Long Kesh orphans six children."

The spurious nature of the evidence, the callous "indifference" to the children, must concern us - will we again become apathetic, will these children suffer from our indifference. This is a question we must ask ourselves. What is needed is not a fanatical commitment, but a genuine concern for others and desire to alleviate suffering.



We Are In Here For You

You Are Out There For Us

Keep Fighting!

LOVE OF COUNTRY

At the annual Commemoration Mass for James Connolly held recently at the request of the Trade Unions, the celebrating priest, Fr. Piaras O Duill, O.F.M. Cap. who said the Mass in Irish, spoke during the course of his sermon on true love of country!

"Love of country," he said, "is part of the love of God. That is, love of one's people, of their characteristics and the various elements of traditions. James Connolly loved his country. But his love of Ireland must not be confused with that moral weakness and slavish cowardice that so easily finds refuge under various titles of "Peace" in these morally retrograde times. Connolly had much the same obstacles and the same opposition as have the true lovers of Ireland today. To a back-ground of loyalist ascendancy - slogans like the oft repeated "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right," and the background threats of outright sectarian war, James Connolly while still maintaining the right to fight the enemy, spoke of uniting the main traditions of our nation by uniting the Protestant and Catholic working classes. In his thesis "Labour in Irish History," he ended the book with the wish: "In our movement (that is, of Socialism), the North and South will again

clasp hands: again will be demonstrated as in '98, that the pressure of a common exploitation can make enthusiastic rebels out of a Protestant working class, earnest champions of civil and religious liberty out of Catholics and out of both a United Socialist democracy."

Fr. O Duill continued: "So James Connolly was truly aware, not only of the common heritage, common necessities and the common plight of Protestant and Catholic working classes in Ireland - he wanted above all to bring all these factions together, bring them together to fight their common enemy leaving no doubt as to whom or to what that enemy was (and remember Connolly was not a Dublin centered politician, not Southern orientated, but the city nearest his heart was Belfast). He knew the common enemy. He said so in no uncertain terms that even if "you remove the English Army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic, your efforts will be in vain. England will still rule. She will rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and industrial institutions she has planted in this

country - England will still rule you to your ruin."

"How appropriate today," said Fr. O Duill. "Too bad that we have FEARED the philosophy of James Connolly. But if we have feared the philosophy of the man it is too much to hope that we have not altogether and forever rejected that philosophy." For who today can reject the idea that we are ruled by a whole array of monetary considerations and intricacies, commercial and industrial institutions. Our cities are in fact polluted with them and governments North and South continue to invite the worst of them to further pollute our countryside.

James Connolly was a true revolutionary and like a true revolutionary, (who was rejected by the complacent), his ultimate aim and ultimate ideal was freedom and peace. He said, "We believe that in time of peace we should work along the line of peace to strengthen our nation and we believe that whatever strengthens and elevates the working classes, strengthens the nation. But we also believe that in time of war we should act as in war . . . (believe that our enemies have no right and can never have any right and believe that the presence in any generation of Irishmen of even a respectable minority

ready to affirm that truth, makes that enemy forever a crime against human progress)."

"These are the words," said Fr. O Duill, "of the man you are commemorating today. And my contention is that the man IS his philosophy and when you commemorate the man you commemorate that man's philosophy. James Connolly like his compatriots should be admired and not only should he be admired he should be commemorated by the whole Irish nation though this has to be said in difference with the views of present day political leaders.

"Looking back," said Dr. O Duill, "to the Easter Rising and the intervening years and comparing the state of Ireland in 1974 with the objectives of 1916, I think one has to admit that not much change has taken place because too few have striven to emulate the ideals of Connolly and the leaders of his time."

SUPPORT THE GREEN CROSS

HARASSMENT

Mrs. McIlhatton, 59 Glenveagh Drive, Andersonstown.

I remained in bed on 16th January because I hadn't been feeling well. My daughter aged 15 years was looking after the baby. The soldiers came in to raid the house (Devon and Dorset Regiment). As they came into the house my daughter said "Wipe your feet" and they replied that they could bring as much muck and dirt in our houses as they liked.

The soldiers entered my bedroom while I was still in bed. They had been told by my daughter that I was not well, but nevertheless they proceeded to turn up my mattress and search under it. I got up after this and went on down the stairs. My daughter was in the hall at the time, and the soldiers were with her. My daughter said to me then that the soldiers wanted to take her to the military post for questioning. I said "Hold on there and I will go with you, but I have to get dressed. I went in the saracen with Geraldine. We were brought into the office. I was then told to go out to the gate but I protested and said I had a right to be with my daughter while she was being questioned but nevertheless I was ordered out.

My daughter was interrogated, photographed three times and weighed asked questions like -

1. Where she had been the previous night;
2. Had she been with the rest of her friends at the disco;
3. What time they arrived, what time did they leave;
4. Was she with at the disco, what time did she arrive and what time did she leave.

About an hour later they released her.

LOST

A black purse containing money, receipts and a medal was lost on 5th June between Joe's fruit shop and Sevastopol Street. Would finder please return to Mrs Murphy, 5 Sevastopol Street, Belfast. Green Cross Collector.

Let Us Make An Honourable Agreement

"The coalition of Faulkner Unionists and S.D.L.P. has inevitably collapsed, as we in Sinn Fein predicted at the outset," claims Long Kesh Comhairle Ceantair, in a recent statement.

"Its basic defect and the principal reason for its collapse, was that it was not a solution arrived at by Irishmen consulting alone, but was conjured up by England and her capitalist ally, the Dublin Coalition and imposed with British troops and Southern connivance.

"It represented a life-belt for the Protestant and Catholic upper and middle-classes, who saw in it their common salvation, and a vehicle whereby they could continue their hegemony over the financial and social life of this province.

"It excluded the voice of authentic Protestant working class feelings and aspirations, and on the minority side it excluded those who truly spring from the Catholic working class who have expressed over the

years, the desire for a solution to our problems which excludes any foreign interference. No solution which does not have as its principal ingredients the two groups mentioned will be able to sustain itself in this country. It will be doomed to failure as indeed the late coalition has so clearly proved.

"The landed gentry and the big business types who have exploited for their own ends the heartfelt beliefs of the Protestant people of this province, have reaped the whirlwind of their self-seeking and duplicity.

"They must now, those who have not already done so, leave the political scene and allow the ordinary men and women to come forward to give voice to the hopes and aspirations of their class. Those are the only people who can achieve a lasting and just understanding with their fellow-citizens, unfettered by the strictures of any outside interference, financial or otherwise.

"The fears of the Protestant people of Ulster are deep-felt and genuinely held. They spring from a history of suspicion and mistrust.

"The Catholic people for their part, must have as their spokesmen, in this coming hour of our, perhaps, ultimate destiny, those men and women, who have been excluded from affairs of state in the past, because their views were completely at variance with the British interest and with those self-seekers who connived with the foreigner for their own gain.

"The Republican Movement has long-suffered the wrath of the English and those among the minority who saw it as the proverbial 'fly in the ointment,' to all their grandiose schemes for power and manipulation. We have been scorned from pillar to post as the arch-enemy of peace. Now that all we have said about English imposed 'solutions,' have come true, we can only repeat that only a solution arrived at by

Irishmen and women, in the light of an English declaration of withdrawal, will achieve a lasting peace for this province of Ulster and indeed, for the whole of Ireland.

"The Nationalist people of this province must now be realistic, for their own ultimate assurance of peace and stability, and put forward the men and women of the Republican Movement to represent them in the talks which must inevitably take place with their fellow-country folk.

"Only then, acting in concert with each other, free from any outside interference, can we come to an honourable agreement. The so called loyalists have been led and forced up political blind alleys in the past. This was due, partly to English connivance and a longing for peace which clouded their better judgement. We ask you not to let it happen again. Support the Republican Movement who alone can safeguard the aspirations of genuine peace-loving people in this island!"

English Tax Payer Writes

Dear Sir,

I received a copy of the issue containing my letter (May 4th) and a copy of 'Andersonstown News,' sent by a person in (presumably) Belfast, who wishes to remain anonymous. Both papers contain hand-written references to the behaviour of the British Army and asks for my comments. My anonymous correspondent has asked me to reply to him through the medium of your paper and this I now do.

I would say to my anonymous friend that while I was never very enamoured of the British Army, since learning of the true facts of their behaviour through the medium of papers such as 'Republican News' I have become ashamed and disgusted with them. It revolts me to think that I am having to pay taxes to keep these thugs going. Then we have the shameful spectacle of the 'Sun' organising a collection among its readers to send T.V. sets to the 'brave soldiers' — the thugs! The whole thing just sickens me.

I was very interested to read the articles by Thomas Nelis, the British soldier who 'saw the light'; I wish a few more would. Of course these soldiers are 'heroes,' while they are of use. When they are of no further use, they will be forgotten, unwanted. In two world wars, soldiers have been told they would come back to a land fit for heroes etc. etc. They still fall for it.

I served in the R.A.F. in the second world war and I began to have doubts about what we were really fighting for as far back as 1943. I was on the troopship crossing the Atlantic (we ended up in Canada), when we were given a little booklet telling us a little of the local customs etc. All very interesting. Then it came to those countries where the local population happens to be non-white. There, we were advised do not make social contact with these people, only to give them orders. The exact words, as far as I can remember, after over 30 years — . . . there should be none of this 'hail fellow, well met . . .' In other words, the black man must be kept down.

Up to then I had been under the impression that we were fighting against that sort of thing, the Hitler nazi theory of racial superiority, the master race etc. Now I was not so sure. The war finished two years after that. We were supposed to have defeated fascism, driven that foul creed into the earth where it belonged, never to rear its ugly head again. What a joke. Fascism defeated? Tell it to the black community here in Britain. Tell it to the suffering and oppressed Catholic workers in Northern Ireland. If Hitler is viewing the world scene from the 'spirit world,' he must be congratulating himself.

Best wishes and God's blessing on the brave soldiers and people of Northern Ireland as they continue the struggle for a free and independent country. Incidentally, I refer to the brave soldiers of the Republican Army, not the British invaders.

Yours sincerely,
T. R. MacLACHLAN

We are always delighted to publish your letters on any subject, even though we may not always agree with your point of view. So why not make use of our letters page.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, Republican News, 170 Falls Road, Belfast. Deadline for publication is Tuesday mid-day.

Letters
Letters
Letters
Your Letters

Promised Garden Of Eden

A chara,

To all those men and women sickened and frustrated by the continuing and seemingly never-ending violence and strife, we humbly address ourselves today. To all those men and women, who feel hopeless and despairing, when they remember all the fine pledges and promises that have been made to them, by various politicians hungry for their vote, we humbly address ourselves. To all of you patient and long-suffering people, reeling from the hypocrisy and incapacity of those legislators in whom you placed your despairing trust, in various elections this past two years, we humbly and hopefully address ourselves. What we are about to say we have said many times before, but you did not hear us clearly, because our voice has been drowned by the massed forces of British propaganda, and the high-pitched whines of those amongst ourselves, who, through fear or complacency, have been telling you that the Republican ideas and policies, are not for you, and are impossible. These people are telling you blatant lies, and are misrepresenting all the courses of action and initiative, which the Republican Movement believes are possible and practicable.

Today, you, the Nationalist people of this Province of Ulster, stand betrayed and alone, facing the combined might of Orange intransigence, and English publicity and connivance. You have been promised a Garden of Eden, but when your equal citizenship was challenged by the forces of bigotry and fear, the British politicians deserted you, and scampered back to their lineal bed fellows, the Protestant Nationalists of Ulster. And a queer sort of Nationalism this is too, that is willing to offer every vestige of Nationalism, as the world knows it, in order to perpetuate bigotry and discrimination. Make no mistake about it, our fellow Ulstermen, did not rise up in their indignation because of a fear of a United Ireland, since even the wretched parchment that was Sunningdale, implicitly guaranteed them this, but rather because of a realisation that any form of co-operation in Government with their fellow-citizens, would mean that the Protestant State for a Protestant people would disappear. This they could not abide. You, the Nationalist people of Ulster, flirt at times, with the aims and objects of the Republican Movement, until through weariness or despair, you allow yourselves to listen to the voice of men who promise an easier path. Naturally you follow them, believing that this is what is reasonable and best for everyone. When a man stands up and says that we must live in peace and harmony with our fellows, then we listen to him, and rightly so, since this is the Christian way. You

thought you saw in Sunningdale, the means whereby we could all live in peace, but as has been proved, this document did not have the substance to withstand the forces of Orange fears and British connivance. So it fell to these forces. It also fell to Republican forces and rightly so, since this movement believed that the agreement was undemocratic and unsound and did not contain the proper elements and aspirations within our national structure, that could have ensured its success. Simply this, it did not satisfy the forces of Protestantism, which require certain specific guarantees and constitutional specifications, and it in no way assured the legality of the minority to their aspirations. In simple terms, it was a paper, dreamed up by people who did not represent the two extremes in our society. It was like several architects attempting to design a building without consulting the builders. The British cannot construct a plan for Ulster or Ireland.

Only Irishmen sitting down to negotiate freely with one another can ever produce a plan that will endure. For those amongst the minority who retain hopes of being equal British citizens in a power-sharing Ulster, we offer this heartfelt advice. Forger it. Go to Mother England if you must, and there discover, not equality but that you are just another stupid Paddy. Only in an Ulster outside of England's dictates can you find your true provincial and national identity.

Yes indeed, you the Nationalist minority of Ulster, stand failed and betrayed. England will not ensure your rights. Ulster facism in the form of Loyalist bigotry, is under no pressure to do so, and your Southern cousins do not want to know you, and the S.D.L.P. are incapable of it, as you saw the other week. You stand alone as you have done so magnificently countless times in history. The Orangeman is not the only one who can shout "For God and Ulster." We were shouting it before him. Remember that.

The Republican Movement is the only Party that you must have debating on your behalf, with our fellow-Irishmen when the time comes. It is the only body that can ensure your protection and your rights, as you will be the first to admit it has always done so. Through natural inclination you may have strayed away from us, under England's jackboot and self-seeking politicians, but we have never left you. We stand today as always ready to await your call and your bidding, and please God you will make that call and that bidding. God bless you all.

Is mise le meas,
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THE ALTERNATIVE - ENGLISH WITHDRAWAL OR WAR

THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT REJECTED THE ENGLISH WHITE PAPER ON THE N.I. CONSTITUTION, IN A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE IRISH REPUBLICAN PUBLICITY BUREAU ON MONDAY NIGHT

The full text of the statement is:—

"The recent British Government White Paper offers little in the way of resolving the conflict in the North. The proposals contain nothing which could bring an end to the armed conflict between British and Republican forces and little success can be envisaged for the proposed Constitutional convention due to the artificial basis of the whole scheme.
"The Republican movement has repeatedly called on the British Government to declare a policy of disengagement. Only such a declaration will create the suitable climate in which a lasting and just solution can be found to a complex and old problem.
"The experience of the last five years has demonstrated the futility of British Government proposals, which do not include a declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland. Eight hundred years of history has shown the Irish people that British rule and peace in Ireland are incompatible. Until the British Government clearly and unequivocally commits itself to a planned programme of withdrawal, any proposals are meaningless and have no prospect of securing a lasting peace.
"The artificial basis of the Six County State will be highlighted if and whenever the Constitutional Convention is held. The State was initially created by a British Government without the consent of any section of the Irish people and the brutal fascist methods employed to maintain it ever since have been major causes of violence.
"Republicans have shown no reluctance to engage in talks and dialogue with representatives of various elements irrespective of class or creed, but we have been consistent in pointing out that the welfare of all the people of this island can only be advanced by the recognition that we are a nation of interdependent communities. We have stressed that fact, particularly in relation to the province of Ulster, the surrendering of which has resulted in political, economic and cultural stagnation on both sides of the Border.

UNTOLD SUFFERING

"It is futile to believe that any worthwhile political advances can be made while British Army repression continues unabated. The evil of internment has caused untold suffering to thousands of families and the British Government's decision to extend the policy of detention makes a mockery of their hollow claim to see peace established.

"We have repeatedly demanded a total amnesty for all political prisoners and the refusal of the British Government to initiate such an amnesty by immediately ending internment simply ensures the continuance of resistance.

"Responsibility for prolonging the war rests squarely with the British Government. Only that authority can provide the three basic requirements which will lead to a cessation of hostilities. Until the British Government acknowledges the right of the Irish people to self-determination, makes a commitment to withdraw from Ireland and grants an amnesty to the thousands of political prisoners, the Irish Republican Army has no option but to continue the war of armed resistance."

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MICHAEL GAUGHAN AND OURSELVE BY FATHER ART O'NEILL

When Volunteer Michael Gaughan (24), died on hunger strike on the 3rd June, 1974, in Parkhurst Prison, on the Isle of Wight, he was virtually unknown to the Irish Nation.

The Dublin Government, RTE, the National dailies, the local Press, the Catholic and other weeklies had kept his imprisonment and hunger strike an almost perfect secret, despite the many times his people and friends had brought it to their attention.

By the time the young Irish Republican Army Volunteer was buried in Leigue Cemetery near his home, of his youth in Ballina, Co. Mayo, on June 9th, his name was known all over Ireland, and to many in other lands.

Not even the most determined efforts of censorship could prevent the long, slow journey home from receiving some attention in the media. But nevertheless, those officially and unofficially responsible for censorship in the 26-Counties, saw to it that the death of Vol. Michael Gaughan would be forgotten as quickly as possible and that its message, which it would be impossible to misrepresent effectively, would be brought to our attention and reflected upon as little as possible.

There can be no doubt that the message has not reached and been spelt out to the Irish Nation at home and abroad in England, America and elsewhere.

Michael Gaughan was a practising Catholic as well as being a Volunteer member of Ogligh na h-Eireann. The point must be made then for other practising Catholics that the Catholic Church teaches that there are such things as insurrection, lawful before God, and that Michael Gaughan believed he was a participant in such an insurrection . . . a conviction the Catholic Church teaches he was entitled to before God, whether his Bishop agreed personally with it or not.

And more specifically, the point must be made that the Catholic Church has never condemned death on hunger strike as being suicide. No priest dealing with the individual is allowed by the Church to intervene with his complete freedom of conscience.

For some decisions in life, very specific enlightenment makes it easier for a sincere Catholic to make up his mind; for some other decisions, only a more general direction is offered. There are some things which, when looked at and defined carefully, the Church tells us may never in any circumstances be done, such things as blasphemy, contraception, lies, perjury. But to undertake a hunger strike and risk one's life on it is not one of these. Some authors have opposed it as others argued in favour. It is a matter in which the individual must think and pray hard and give serious consideration to the circumstances as a whole.

To risk the loss of one's own life is a thing one should not readily do. A man of informed and sound conscience who goes on hunger strike will see very clearly that he is using the weapon of strong moral protest before the world and drawing attention to grave injustice affecting ultimately, not just himself, but the common good of many.

To abstain from food is obviously not an action intrinsically evil in all circumstances. The intention of a hunger striker is not to die, but to win a moral victory over a tyrant by means of the pressure of public opinion and he has judged that there are solid reasons to hope for such a victory.

To win that victory for a just cause he is willing to risk the loss of his own life if need be. Vol. Michael Gaughan did not commit suicide. One who commits that sin rejects God and the hardships that Almighty God in His wisdom allows us to suffer sometimes in this life; he rejects the mercy of God and the possibility of virtue in his own life.

The hunger striker believes in a moral order ordained by God and protests against its violation by a tyrant; with heroic fortitude he endures hardship and even death for the love of his fellowmen who suffer the same injustices as himself.

"No greater love can a man have than that he lay down his own life for his friends."

By the moral protest which ended only with his death, Michael Gaughan enlightened and inspired and encouraged

many sincere and bewildered Irishmen. Only widespread, vicious censorship by the Dublin Government, RTE and the commercial news media in Ireland, prevented the great majority of Irishmen being effected in a way that would have undermined gravely English power in this island.

The key for a sincere man seeking a sound moral and political judgement of incidents and events, movements and men which he cannot inspect and know personally, is to consider at greater length and with total honesty exclusively those matters which are public and open to inspection, e.g., the state of the law, the exact list of deputies who have voted for or against measures he himself has studied fully, the way a public figure reacts in the media to an incident he himself witnessed.

For in these matters, the media cannot easily deceive a sincere and correct thinker. The true moral worth of what is fully public and known can be seen, but it is quite the contrary with most matters which are very widely reported and commented upon in the media.

The sincere thinker will go from the known to the unknown; he will come to certain conclusions from reflecting upon what he does definitely know, and in the hard, clear, unwavering light of those conclusions, he will treat with the most extreme caution "facts," moderate opinion, public opinion, the reaction of all reasonable men in this country, etc., etc., presented to him.

This applies to the media, especially the most deceptive of all, front-line tapes shown on television news. The ordinary man could not possibly own or control or influence such a costly undertaking as even a local newspaper . . . much less a television network.

Of their nature, the mass news media everywhere tend to speak to and control the moral judgement (and voting power) of vast numbers but to answer to only a few — a few who are very wealthy and very closely affiliated with top politicians (the particular party mattering only very little).

The people of Ireland and of other countries should be uneasy about the lack of love of truth and the love of justice in the hearts of those who control the media. The conscience of the rich AS A WHOLE is, of absolute necessity, always corrupt and vicious in comparison with that of those of moderate means or the poor; the appearance and pretensions of the rich are usually so respectable and they so easily enjoy the personal friendship of the clergy that Our Blessed Lord Himself warned men that "it is easier to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

The mass news media in Ireland will sweep the wonderful story of Michael Gaughan under the carpet as fast as possible because the rich and established know that its message is too obvious and too dangerous since it provides the key for a sincere Irishman to understand and judge rightly the Irish Republican Rising against English Power in Ireland.

Would a Movement unworthy in its aims or methods or its leadership or Volunteers be likely to produce men who go on hunger-strike? It just might but is it likely?

Would it be sincere and serious to pass by without comment the life and death of Michael Gaughan (24) who died on hunger strike protesting against the denial of his political rights and against the toleration of English power in Ireland in any shape or form, today or ever?

Could a man read the Bible on Sunday, attend a Service or go to Mass and Holy Communion and in all sincerity say there was nothing to cause an Irishman in the 26-Counties any uneasiness about the death of Michael Gaughan and the attitude of the Dublin Government and parties towards it?

There are so many things that could be done to persuade the English to leave Ireland by those politicians who claim to oppose English rule but say only peaceful means may morally be taken.

The pressure of propaganda at home and abroad, of making the truth known to ordinary Englishmen and Americans and Europeans. Economic pressure, repeated protests to U.N. Is it not possible for the Dublin Government to do SOMETHING peaceful but publicly and unmistakably embarrassing to English rule in Ireland? Are any of the TDs prepared

to go on hunger strike? What more peaceful or embarrassing protest can there be?

Manifestly Michael Gaughan's death on hunger strike proves he was not pretending to be but actually was sincerely opposed to English rule here. It must strike a fair-minded Irishman that, right or wrong in their methods, it looks as if only the "men of violence" are sincerely, unmistakably opposed to English Rule.

The moral duty of the Parliamentarians, the peaceful means men, must surely be to take the situation as it stands — that others, deplorably, are using force — and take all due peaceful means themselves to persuade the English to leave, thus ending the violence and not, as they are doing at present, to persuade the English to stay at least for the time being and help them by both peaceful and forceful means to defeat the "men of violence" whose children they know will take-up again where they left off.

It is manifest that a hunger strike is an act of virtue and that it follows from love of one's people and devotion to a just cause.

Is it not to be suspected that maybe the media are not telling the whole truth about the campaign by the Irish Republican Movement, for fear the obvious might be seen by the people of the 26-Counties and the campaign which has been conducted with such meticulous and effective care to safe-guard non-combatant life, and so rightly in the eyes of Catholic teaching on war, concentrated upon property rather than upon enemy personnel, might be as a result more quickly and with less bloodshed brought to a successful conclusion.

There is something about the death of Thomas Ashe, Sean McCaughey, Terence MacSweeney and Michael Gaughan that is HOLY. That holiness beyond any doubt, must have touched also their lives and the Cause they worked for.

There can be no escape for a group of Catholic priests together in discussion, from the fact of the central place of a devotion to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the Founding Fathers of the Provisionals, a devotion far beyond what is of obligation. There is no way of getting around that fact.

A Catholic is obliged to accept loyally from his Bishop moral principals; moral teaching when that Bishop speaks in union with the Holy See, as indeed Irish Bishops are accustomed to do; but a Catholic — and no Irish Bishop has ever denied this — is equally obliged when acting in conformity with that teaching to follow his own judgement of circumstances and not that of his bishop.

Thus a Bishop is entitled to declare his opposition to an insurrection because he believes our circumstances would not justify it, but a Republican is not merely entitled to, but obliged to follow his own judgement that it IS morally justified in our circumstances. Catholics and the much smaller number of Protestants who have a leading role in the struggle today for Irish Freedom were and are seen to be in other aspects of their lives exemplary Christians in nearly every case.

Let the Irish people remember the holy life of Seamus Steele, God Rest Him, an elderly man and a daily Communicant of a life-time, who disagreed with his Bishop on this matter and who is the inspiration of every leading Irish Republican in Ireland today.

Seamus Steele lived through 1916. He worked for and suffered in every campaign since, totalling between them 20 solid years in prison when he might have been out in five minutes by putting his signature to the right document. There is a continuity in all these campaigns by the one so fittingly opened by Patrick Pearse after the Feast of the Resurrection.

The death of Volunteer Michael Gaughan recalls to the mind and to the memory of not a few, those other deaths that were so noble . . . Thomas Ashe, Terence, McSweeney and Sean McCaughey . . . the same cause, the same struggle, the same men.

This little boy, Johnny Lynch, travelled from Birmingham, for the recent Wolfe Tone Commemoration at Bodenstown. His father recently received a summons, by direction of the English Attorney General. He is charged with wearing a "political uniform" on the occasion of Vol. Michael Gaughan's funeral in London.



We see here a few of the large Sinn Fein contingent from Birmingham who marched to Bodenstown recently. Sinn Fein members sell 1,000 copies of REPUBLICAN NEWS in the Birmingham Area every week.



Mr. Malachy Foots, P.R.O. for the Ulster Executive Sinn Fein, addressing the crowd at the Anti-Internment Meeting held in the Bull Ring, Ballymurphy last Sunday, the meeting was held under the auspices of the Liam McParland Sinn Fein Cumann.

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