

An Phoblacht

Iml. 7. Uimhir 19. 8p. Bealtaine 14, 1976.

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

EXCLUSIVE

Peter Jennings interviews — Professor A.J.P. Taylor and Daithi O Conaill

FOLLOWING HIS controversial RTE Radio interview, the eminent British historian, Professor A.J.P. Taylor, talked to Peter Jennings at Magdalen College in Oxford, where he expanded his views on the crisis in the Six Counties. Then in the first major interview since his release from Portlaoise jail the Vice President of Sinn Féin, Daithi O'Conaill speaking to Peter Jennings in Dublin on the apparent new military role of the R.U.C. said:

"It is a backward step which can only lead to an intensification of the conflict. The R.U.C. are reverting to their old role as the front line troops for defending an untenable situation. It will be remembered that the present phase of the conflict was incited by R.U.C. attacks on the defenceless people of Derry and Belfast. To equip those forces again with high velocity rifles, machine-guns and armoured cars is a criminal act on the part of the British government.

"The re-arming of the R.I.C. coupled with the expansion of the U.D.R. and training its units in England for combat as opposed to static duties is a form of 'Ulsterising' the conflict. It will make no difference to Republican military policy; all Crown Forces are legitimate targets. It is significant that most colonial powers pursue a policy of 'localisation' prior to the withdrawal of its own regular army. Yet it never prevented victory going to the guerrillas."

The following is the full text of the interview of Professor Taylor by Peter Jennings.

Professor Taylor, much of your recent RTE Radio interview gives the impression that you are very out of touch with the present situation in Ireland. Have you not as a historian, just looked back on past events and concluded that there must be inevitable repetition?

A.J.P.T. "No, I look at present events and think there is repetition, that the antagonism between the two communities is still there and hasn't been resolved. What the historian can say and this is where he is influenced by the past, is if men behave in the future as they did in the past so-and-so will happen. It is always possible that they will behave differently, but, in so far as I can tell in Northern Ireland, so far they have not."

Do you visit Northern Ireland frequently?

A.J.P.T. "No I don't. I never visit places, I observe as a historian. I never learn anything by going to the scene of events."

Do you consider your proposals are a workable solution to the Irish problem?

A.J.P.T. "No I don't. All I said was that as long as the British remain in Northern Ireland even the beginning of a solution will not be arrived at. We are now after all in a position of complete deadlock called 'dead rule'."

How do you foresee this deadlock might be broken?

A.J.P.T. "It can only be broken when the two communities in Northern Ireland are faced directly with the problem of having somehow to pacify Northern Ireland and make it an agreeable place for people to live in."

ADVOCATE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

Provisional Sinn Féin agree with you that the British presence in Ireland is the cause of the trouble but they disagree that anyone who was born in Ireland should be

driven out. Provisional Sinn Féin President, Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh reiterated in Dublin during last Sunday's commemoration of the 1916 Easter uprising that there must be co-existence with the Loyalists in order to turn Ireland into a "Federal Socialist Republic". Isn't this likely to produce a more permanent solution to the problem than the one you are advocating?

A.J.P.T. "Let me first of all make quite clear that I do not advocate anything other than British withdrawal. Indeed, if I were to put it more strongly, what I advocate is exactly what Ruairi O Bradaigh does. That the two communities should live together, but judging from the past, I think this is unlikely. I may be wrong, people may change their minds, they may learn from events. If they learn from events, then there is no problem, the two communities will live together. If they don't learn from events then conflicts will follow."

I got the impression from your interview that you were saying the Loyalists had to leave Ireland in order for a solution to come about?

A.J.P.T. "What I have said, it is not a solution, is that if the present antagonisms continue and get worse, then ultimately, and not because I want it, there is likely to be a sorting out. And that either the Loyalists will be pushed out of Northern Ireland or the Catholics will be pushed out and the Protestant will remain, not only dominant but entirely in control of Northern Ireland."

Couldn't you foresee a solution whereby both communities would live together?

A.J.P.T. "Everything is possible but in view of the present position it is not likely. The Protestant majority in Northern Ireland have given no sign whatsoever that they are prepared to co-operate. What they want is a Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland and it seems they are strong enough to get it."

MATTER OF PRINCIPLE

Is it just a British declaration of intent to withdraw from Northern Ireland or do you think the time factor is important?

A.J.P.T. "I think the matter of principle. A British assertion that they are not going on indefinitely waiting for a solution to appear, which is all that direct rule amounts to and therefore that they will ultimately withdraw. The time factor is the inevitable prolongation of a dead-lock. It is like someone who has to face an operation putting it off from day to day and sometimes, very rarely, the operation proves unnecessary. Sometimes, of course, by putting things off the operation is more serious."

"The Provisionals are not a very considerable force" you said during your interview. On what do you base that statement?

A.J.P.T. "Simply on watching the record over the years that they are obviously nothing like such a powerful force as the Protestants, or so it would appear."

The Provisional IRA have emphasised that they regard this campaign as the final phase of the struggle. What is your view?

A.J.P.T. "It doesn't seem so. The situation is not changing. A final phase means a phase preparatory to a decisive victory and I don't think that this is likely."

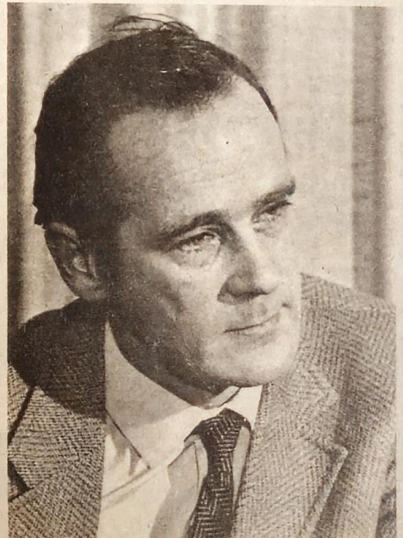
The IRA bomb London to get Britain out of Northern Ireland. Is there any reason why the Loyalists would not do the same to keep Britain in?

A.J.P.T. "No, the situation is quite different. If the

(Ar leanuinn ar lch. 4.)



Professor A.J.P. Taylor, British historian.



Daithi O Conaill, Vice President of Sinn Féin.

SAS men released
Sean McEntee — Brit recruit
See page 5

NOTEBOOK

Undermining law and order

THERE could be no better evidence that Dublin is now ruled by idiosyncrasy and irrationality than the campaign against the influence of Catholic morality which is being waged spasmodically by Conor Cruise O'Brien, Garret Fitzgerald, Fergus Pyle and the RTE hacks. (You have noticed, of course, that every RTE man who deals with the matter from Gay Byrne, Brian Farrell and Proinsias Mac Aonghusa through to Rodney Rice, John Bowman and Kevin O'Kelly has the same streamlined uni-views — no "pluralism" there, no sir, nor any whiff of it.)

I am not referring to the irresponsibility which our rulers and teachers display by going on about such matters while the country is in an economic mess — that is immediately obvious and has been adequately commented on already. I am thinking of a less obvious, much profounder irrationality which this campaign reveals.

Normally a power elite who are also substantial owners of property pursue policies aimed at preserving their power, status and property intact. Consequently, they try to keep the people law-respecting and law-abiding, and, to this end, they harness any religious influence which is available and which can be brought to bear.

They themselves may be, in large measure, sceptics and cynics. They may be persons who believe in nothing much. But they know that the people's traditional religion, like other public pieties such as patriotism, tends to keep the people quiet and law-abiding. So they pay lip-service to the religion of the majority, and they see to it that the laws enshrine key values of the majority religion or at least appear to do so.

I think you get my point. A substantial section of our present establishment, and their most influential propagandists, are doing the very opposite. Faced with a society where violent crime against property and against persons is increasing continuously, and where there is talk of the possible necessity of arming the police, they mount a propaganda campaign against the religion of the majority and urge that it should have less influence, rather than more, on the laws.

This is not the only way in which our present establishment are subversive, nor is this the first time that I have drawn your attention to the fact that reactionary subversion is the joyride of all their policies. We have noted on a previous occasion that, by their own explicit declarations, the present Government are anti-constitutionalists. To use the precise words which their present leader used when he was leader of the Opposition, they wish to "scrap the Constitution".

And we have noted, moreover, that the present Dublin state offers the absurd spectacle of a state making war on the nationalism which established it rather than harnessing that nationalism and using it in its own interests and for the common good.

But the bizarre campaign against Catholic influence on the laws and institutions of the state represents the ultimate limit of absurd political behaviour — the ultimate degree of self-subversion by the state and its ruling class. What it amounts to, in effect, is the ruling oligarchy saying to their subjects: "We believe that the laws and institutions of this state should not reflect your highest moral values and derive some aura of sacredness, sanctity or profound legitimacy from that fact. On the contrary, we believe that the influence of your Christian values on the laws and institutions of this state is an evil which must be ended forthwith".

Whether the religion of the majority be Catholicism, Protestantism or Islam, there is only one logical outcome to such a policy: an increase in disrespect for the laws, an increase in crime and revolutionary subversion, and a corresponding increase in

the numbers of armed men, the amount of violence, and the restrictions on civil liberty, which are required to protect life and property and to keep the oligarchy in power.

Clothe the state and its laws in an aura of moral legitimacy derived from the most sacred shared values of 90 per cent of the people, and you get respect for the laws, social repression of criminal behaviours, extensive civil liberties, and an administration of justice which has no need to display guns. Strip the state and its laws of that aura, and you must restrict civil liberties and bring out the guns. It is a simple rule of thumb known to first-year students of politics.

Indeed, it is so obvious a rule that we have seen it operating before our eyes in Dublin these past few years. Step by step with the Irish state's assault on Irish nationalism, the Government's campaign against the Constitution, and the oligarchy's attacks on "Catholic influence", have gone the introduction of political censorship, the suspension of trial by jury, the piling up of repressive laws and the frequent display of state guns.

That is what the "new, liberal Ireland", ushered in with fanfares in the 60s, means in fact, and that is what it will continue to mean, only more so, while it lasts.

Not that Bishop Newman, or any other episcopal proclaimer of "Catholic values", sees it that way. The Catholic bishops' only disagreement with liberal Ireland has to do with its plans for contraception and divorce. This point was well made during the past week. Daithi O'Connell gave a press conference about the inhuman conditions in Portlaoise jail and virtually everything he said on the subject was suppressed by the news media. But no bishop expressed interest, issued a reprimand or spoke a word.

On the same day, and on the following days, the liberal state police rounded up a number of men, stripped them naked and beat them up. No bishop opened his mouth. The only clergyman to speak out in protest was Piaras O'Duill, whom people call "the Provo priest".

He believed — and of course he was right — that for police to treat people this way is offensive to Catholic values. But even then, when Fr. O'Duill had spoken, no episcopal defender of Catholic values and public morality expressed interest or opened his mouth.

Except for its plans with regard to contraceptives and divorce — and its opposition to Catholic schools — the bishops have no quarrel with liberal Ireland. They find its values, its political structure, its legal system, its censorship, its behaviour towards people, all right.

On the face of it, one would have expected Sinn Féin in Donegal and Derry, rather than John Hume and Garret Fitzgerald, to be advocating a development board for West Ulster.

After all, for some years past, Sinn Féin has a plan on paper for the creation of a greater, united Ulster; John Hume and Garret Fitzgerald have published no such policy of plan. And there is no country in Dublin where so many shops are selling Eire Nua literature as in Donegal.

We apologise for the non-appearance of "Freeman" for the past few weeks owing to printing difficulties.

by

FREEMAN



NO CHANGE HERE

THE notoriety of the former, Sinn Féin-controlled, Fermanagh Co. Council spread far from the land of the Erne. For anti-Catholic discrimination in housing and employment, for anti-Nationalist and anti-Irish bias its very name was a by-word.

Following an intense protest campaign mounted by the local Civil Rights and later Civil Resistance Movements (which landed forty men in Crumlin Jail in 1970) the Brooke and Elliott controlled council fell, much to the delight of Nationalist Fermanagh. But what has the change brought?

Today the Fermanagh District Council has a Catholic as Chairman (the first in almost 50 years). He is Mr. Thomas Daly, a publicist from Belock, a member of the fallen convention and brother of Dr. Daly, Bishop of Derry, to some this may seem a great change for the better, but said to say the change is only superficial. Instead of the Nationalist majority of that county having no substance in local Government, they have a weak pro-British native as was shown clearly during the Frank Stage hunger-strike.

At a time when every Christian and every person concerned with justice, when every worthy while and honourable body was protesting to the British Home Secretary to concede the reasonable demands of Frank Stage and spare his life, a motion was proposed in Fermanagh District Council by the Unionist Councillor, J.J. McCusker, that the Council should send a letter to Roy Jenkins asking him to meet the requests of the Hunger Striker then nearing death.

The reaction of the S.D.L.P., members to this suggestion, surprised even the Unionist members. One S.D.L.P. Councillor leapt to his feet shouting: "It is no place for such talk, we should this moment be on our knees praying for the success of the Convention". Mr. Daly quickly ruled the motion out of order.

At this point one of the old hard-line Unionist Councillors rose to say that he wanted to propose the condemning of a recent bomb attack on the local Taxation Offices. Mr. Daly "allowed" a lengthy speech in which "though responsible" got the usual hypocritical condemnation. At the end of this Mr. Daly felt they all agreed with the sentiments expressed.

This very incident only serves as proof that tinkering with a corrupt system or compromising with the enemy class is doing basically. England can give a semblance of freedom by placing a native lackey in control as has happened with the Fermanagh Council. As has been shown so often in the past few years, in the S.D.L.P. she has willing tools and slaves who are ready to sell their birthright, their honour and that of the people they would claim to represent; but their race is run; Ireland saw through Redmond and his band, she now sees through the Humes, the Fitts the Curries and their native gombeen men.

Our picture (above) shows Mr. Tom Daly (right) tucking into a sumptuous repast with warlord Merlyn Rees... No hunger strike here.

WEXFORD REPORT

MR. Nicholas O'Reilly, Vice-chairman, presided at the meeting of the Co. Wexford Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin held last week in the Sinn Féin Clubrooms, Castle Hill, Enniscorthy.

Mr. Jack Dunne (Wexford) appealed to all Republicans to show their solidarity by attending the Easter Commemorations organised by the movement and pointed out that this was the diamond jubilee of 1916.

Mr. Phil Kelly, Secretary (Wexford) said that the present system of paying disability benefits was causing hardship in many areas.

In some cases, it was not paid for some five or six weeks. It was generally felt that the system would work much better if the payments were localised. He felt that it was not generally realised the number of problems created by delays in payment of State benefits and it was imperative that the system be overhauled as soon as possible.

Sean Doyle, U.C., said that even with its extra £107,000,000 taxation, the Budget showed a deficit of £327 million — or £68 million more than in 1975. This meant that £1 out of every £5 of current Government spending was coming from borrowed money.

The statistics of foreign borrowing were frightening. The Dublin Government now owed money in the U.S.A., Britain, Germany, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, to a nominal total of £468 million. Semi-State bodies owed a further +214 million. But, even that was not the whole story. The fall of the pound sterling had added no less than £92 million to the effective repayment costs of Government loans, most of which were repayable in foreign currencies, by the end of 1975.

The effective public sector debt abroad was probably now over £800 million. The cost of servicing their debts alone was likely to rise to over £300 million in the current year. That was the equivalent of 30p in the pound of income tax, just or pay their debts.

NEW IRELAND ENTERPRISES

FOLLOWING are the results of draws held for March and April:

- MARCH**
1st prize (£100) Maire Doherty, Belfast. (No. 3587).
2nd prize (£50) Peter O'Brien, Enniscorthy (No. 7683).
3rd prize (£25) Thomas Convery Maghera. (No. 382).
- APRIL:**
1st prize (£100) J. O'Rawe, Belfast. (No. 8745).
2nd prize (£50) P. Gallagher, The Bungalow, Carnmore, Dungloe, Co. Donegal. (No. 2939).
3rd prize (£25) Michael McManus, Knockraven P.O., Enniskillen. (No. 3295).
4th prize (£25) J. Gallagher, Glasgow. (No. 7964).

* Our picture shows Patricia Davidson handing the winning ticket to John Duffy in the offices of *An Phoblacht*, where the draw took place.



Cooney denies Right to Talk

"IT'S ABOUT time that people started standing up for their civil rights in the 26 Counties", the veteran civil rights campaigner of south Armagh, Paddy Shortt, told "An Phoblacht" last week.

"There is considerable danger for civil liberties", he added, "when the Minister for Justice, Mr. Cooney, denies the right of people to talk in public. And that is what he is quoted as denying in last week's 'Sunday Press'."

"Here is what the paper says", he said, and read out the following: "Pressed as to the reason for proscribing the Provisional Sinn Féin rally" (Pn April 25 in Dublin) the Minister said that it was because the Gardaí believed that it was intended to be a propaganda effort, coupled with the fact that the principal speaker billed in advance was an ex-convict from Portlaoise Prison."

"In other words, a 'propaganda effort' by a political party, or so considered by the Gardaí, cannot be tolerated by the Government and must be banned" (the "propaganda effort", advertised for months by Sinn Féin, incidentally, was for the men of 1916, their sacrifice, their ideals, their objectives); "but, more serious still, if a man has been jailed in Portlaoise Prison, Mr. Cooney is suggesting that he loses his civil right to speak in public, without any specific law, national or international, to back this."

Accurate description

"Also", continued Mr. Shortt, "I believe that the word, 'ex-convict', is not an accurate description of the person concerned, one who was convicted of a political offence."

Obviously, the person to whom Patrick Cooney was referring was the Sinn Féin vice-president, Daithí Ó Conaill, convicted, in the Special Criminal Court, on the sworn "belief" of a high-ranking policeman, but with no other court evidence, of being a member of Oglagh na hÉireann, a political offence.

According to the "Concise Oxford Dictionary", fourth edition, page 263, "convict" is defined as a "condemned criminal undergoing penal servitude". To so describe Daithí Ó Conaill is false, malicious and a libel — and this from the Minister for Justice, himself a lawyer.

Paddy Shortt also told "An Phoblacht" of his deep concern that, apparently, the official attitude to people from the Six Counties, when found in the 26 Counties, was that they were undesirable aliens, to be subjected to harassment, assault and unjust imprisonment.

Among the cases he quoted was one concerning the group of more than 30 men and women from the Crossmaglen area attacked, assaulted and jailed by police when having an evening out in Castleblayney, more than a year ago.

"There were four young women in that group", he said, "I visited them in their tiny cell and they told me that no Bangharda was present and that, whenever they wished to visit the toilet they were accompanied by a male Garda."

No compensation

"The men and women

were charged with rioting or some such offence. The case was remanded and remanded and remanded. Eventually, it was thrown out of court because, in fact, there was no evidence. All these people — and I know them — are decent, law-abiding citizens. They got no compensation for what they suffered". Not even an apology.

"An Phoblacht" reminded Mr. Shortt that the Association for Legal Justice now is in a strong financial position to help victims of police brutality, and other serious infringements of civil rights, to press their cases as far as Strasbourg, if necessary.

"Yes", he replied, "we have got word of that recently."

He went on to give another example of official hostility to Northern people in the 26 Counties, quoting the case of C. O. Bradlaigh who, when asked by Gardaí about his name, gave the Irish version and was immediately struck in the face and told to speak English. The incident happened, he said, on the Border near Crossmaglen towards the end of last month.

"An Phoblacht" is anxious that all such cases be documented fully and filed with the Association for Legal Justice or some such impartial body; that sworn statements be made to lawyers; that doctors be asked to examine the victims as soon as possible after assault; that, if possible, photographs, preferably in colour, be taken of the outward signs of police brutality; and that these incidents be given the maximum publicity.

Keep us informed

We appeal to members of the Republican Movement to keep us fully informed so that we may do our part in exposing these examples of state terrorism, in this and other Republican publications, in bulletins, and in the foreign press.

Mr. Shortt stressed that he did not wish to be understood as making a blanket condemnation of the Gardaí, many members of whom were "decent and honourable people". He said he wished to complain, in particular, against "those members of the Special Branch, stationed in Monaghan town".

FOOTNOTE: Paddy Shortt has been a member for many years of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. He is recognised throughout these islands, and particularly in the Armagh-Louth-Monaghan-Cavan-Tyrone area for his willingness to help all persons, regardless of religion or politics, with civil rights grievances. In this capacity he has given countless newspaper, magazine, radio and TV interviews to Irish, British and other enterprises. On one occasion, while taking a stand on a civil rights principle, he was shot by a member of the Crown forces, the bullet missing his heart by about an inch. Although respected by members of the Republican Movement he is not a member.



Plight of Kerry Small Farmers

le Donald O'Neill

IN this Cumann area (O'Connor Cumann, Miltown, Co. Kerry) there are sixteen small farmers with an average of twelve to fifteen cows each. Ninety five per cent are dairy and mixed farmers; five per cent are beef producers. In recent years the small farmers lot has improved somewhat, in comparison with the small farmers of fifteen years ago.

Beef producers get a reasonably good price for their stock at marts and markets while the dairy farmer derives his income from the milk supplied to the local creamery.

Not one of these farmers go in for tillage farming — in fact they only produce enough for their own needs and fodder for winter feeding of stock.

Silage has taken over where hay making was once the normal routine, while machinery saves time and labour.

Farmers today whether big or small have to be competent and knowledgeable in the running and management of their farms.

To maintain high milk yields and first class beef these small farmers have to keep their land in condition and improve the quality of their cattle feed. This entails liming and manuring their farms and with the present high cost of lime and fertilisers, this erodes the income of many of the small farmers in this area as in many other parts of the country. If the services of a veterinary surgeon are needed on the farm the cost to the small farmer is colossal.

Improvement to the farm and farm buildings cost the small man money, grants are available, but these are never sufficient to cover the cost.

Help from the E.E.C. is mostly directed towards the big farmer. There is always some prerequisite in the number of herd or flocks the farmer must have so that it excludes the small farmer from getting whatever aid comes from Brussels.

Of course these farmers have their income supplemented by the weekly small farmers' do but this is not sufficient to cover the rising cost of living not to mention inflation certainly the small farmers of this Cumann area don't make any huge profits. In many cases where extra land is available, the monied tycoon takes over and the needy smaller farmer is passed by — a matter which surely needs investigating.

Sinn Féin Councillor opposes "Peace WITHOUT Justice"

A RESOLUTION from Longford Urban Council suggesting a National Day of Prayer for Peace at the beginning of each school year, was adopted by Enniscorthy Urban Council on Monday night.

The resolution was in the following terms: "That because of continuing violence in Ireland, in every form, in the North, on the roads, in families, and as so-called entertainment in cinemas and on television, conditioning our minds to accept violence in every shape and form as the order of the day, we should ask all local authorities to request that at the beginning of each school year, Ireland should designate a day as a National Day of Prayer for Peace."

Could this be construed as a political resolution, asked Mr. Sean Doyle, Sinn Féin, Chairman (Mr. M. Dunne) — I don't think so.

Mr. D. Minnock (Town Clerk) said it was adopted unanimously by the annual Conference of the Municipal Authorities' Association last September.

Mr. S. Sheahan (Fianna Fáil) — We had delegates at that Conference, and I presume they agreed.

Mr. Doyle (Sinn Féin) — I would have to dissent as regards the occupied part of our country, I think it should be peace with justice.

On the motion of Mr. J. Kavanagh (Fine Gael), who said the Longford suggestion was a good one, seconded by Mr. P. Wildes (Independent), the resolution was adopted with Mr. Doyle dissenting.

BALLAD SESSION

At Dowlings, Prosperous, Co. Kildare on Thursday 27th May.

MUSIC BY: The Foundations.
Isteach 50p
8.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m.
Proceeds in aid of An Cumann Cábhrach.

Brits go home is undoubtedly the message from these Belfast kids.

Political Notes by Maren

"You live in a police state", - English visitor

EASTER has come and gone and the usual reports come in from all over the country about harassment by gardai and Special Branch against sellers of Easter Lilies.

In many instances these are accompanied by the actual confiscation, or theft to be realistic, of monies contributed by the ordinary people to help pay for the commemoration of those who died so that the Gardaí Síochána and the Government could exist.

These happenings were the source of much puzzlement to an English acquaintance of mine who watched one such oration with utter amazement.

Afterwards, over a glass of our national beverage, he wondered on the reaction of the British public if Poppy sellers were harassed and jailed and their collections stolen by the Government.

He was even more astounded on Easter Sunday when he saw gardai and their plain-clothes cohorts taking notes of orations being given at a Service of Remembrance.

If such things happened in Britain on the Sunday nearest to 11th. November, he opined, there would be ructions in the House of Commons and calls for the resignations of Chief Constables all over the country.

His next observation was most interesting and I quote it as said: "In a democracy the police and government are the servants of the nation, the people. You people here don't live in a democracy, you live in a police state."

"When you can't even honour the dead who fought for your freedom without harassment from the state their sacrifice brought into being, you have forfeited, in effect, your right to nationhood in the democratic sense."

"You are no better than Franco's Spain, Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany. I never thought I'd live to see such a cowed people. How on earth you won your freedom must be an even greater mystery than the Trinity."

And, believe it or not, this man makes no pretence to being other than a right-wing Conservative — a true-blue Tory!

I tried to reason that everyone was not the same, that there were some who did not crawl on their bellies.

"Oh yes", he replied. "Like the Germans you'll be able to produce millions who did not agree with what was going on when you eventually get your freedom because you are certainly not free now from what I have seen. Where are they now?"

And then he threw me completely. "Send me the newspaper reports of questions asked in your parliament about this", he said. "Then I might believe you."

I then changed the subject because you and I know there will be no questions in the Dáil, any more than to pay homage to a single question about the raids and searches of Sinn Féin helpers at the last County Council elections or the disgraceful hijacking of the body of Frank Stagg.

Or, indeed, against any of the other, too numerous to mention, inroads that have been made into the freedom of the individual in this so-called democratic country.

The Englishman was right. We are more than to pay homage to the brave men and women who gave their blood that we might be free of foreign shackles.

We are more shackled today — by Irishmen who have given cause for an Englishman and a Tory to sneer at us and our conception of freedom.

"Worse than Franco's Spain, Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany", he said. Do we deserve that — think about it!

EXCLUSIVE...

(Ar leanúint ó leh. 1.)

Yalists were to join in, British opinion surely would say now we are being bombed by both sides. We really aren't going to stick it out any more."

What do you think they would do then?
A.J.P.T. "I should have thought Loyalist bombs in England are the most likely way to get us out. When we are being bombed by both the IRA and the Loyalists it would be what is called counter productive. I don't think the Loyalists could conceivably achieve a result of getting us to be more enthusiastic for the Loyalists because we are bombed."

If you really think "people have come to accept" the IRA bombing campaign in London, that means it is no longer effective, so are you suggesting the IRA should try something else?

A.J.P.T. "I am not an adviser to the IRA but my impression is the people regard bombing as a great nuisance and after a little while adapt to it."

Presumably if the IRA thought like that they would try something else?

A.J.P.T. "I have no idea what tactic they should follow, or rather I have a perfectly clear idea what would be the most effective tactic which is a peaceful resistance and continuing progress against Protestant domination of the North. I think it is far more likely to achieve results and if indeed the IRA or anyone else want British influence to be used in order to bring pressure on the Protestants the best way of doing it is to remain pacific and co-operate with the British and not try and throw them out."

You said during your interview that you "don't accept that withdrawal will necessarily lead to a very bloody civil war"

and that you are "not prepared to accept that it would be far worse than the present level of killing" (about 1,500 people in seven years). On what do you base this view?

A.J.P.T. "Partly on the belief that there would not be a greater mobilisation of Catholic Irish than there is now. That the force of the IRA would not be strengthened by a British withdrawal and that the IRA have shown that they are a very limited force. On the other hand, the Protestants having to take the responsibility, we know they are much more powerful."

How do we know that?

A.J.P.T. "Because within a few days the only time they made a protest during the Workers' Strike, the whole of the British authority was ground to a halt. In a sense we are absolutely at the mercy of the Protestants."

On what do you base your argument that as long as Britain remained in Ireland the number of deaths would increase?

A.J.P.T. "This seems to be the case. All we can say is that all the time we have been British intervention has been ineffective. I doubt whether, but it is possible, that the IRA could be defeated, at any rate for a time, but no solution would be arrived at by this."

How do you equate withdrawal by Britain from a number of different colonial situations with withdrawal from Northern Ireland?

A.J.P.T. "In many cases, in India for instance, we stayed in India on much the same plea that there would be much greater communal violence if we withdrew and indeed there was very great communal violence. Part of that was due to the fact that we should have withdrawn twenty years before when the freedom of India could have been achieved without so much violence. In other colonies we have stayed on with a

similar claim that the inhabitants were not competent to handle their own affairs. Indeed, some of them have proved not highly competent, but I still think, that even in a case like Uganda, it was better that we should withdraw."

You talked in your interview about "this passionate commitment to a, by now, obsolete religion" and mentioned "religious fanatics — Protestant fanatics concentrated in Northern Ireland." Is it not rather tribal loyalties with "religious" label attached?

A.J.P.T. "It is very difficult to sort the two things out I agree. There is a tribal loyalty in the North, on the other hand, in English eyes at any rate, the Protestant inhabitants of Northern Ireland are unmistakably Irish. Going back into history, the first advocates of Irish freedom were Protestants from Belfast. The Great Rebellion of 1798, stemmed so far as it had an effective leadership from Belfast Protestants. Belfast is as much an Irish city as Dublin. You can hear the argument everyday, if the Republic had not shown itself persistently a State dominated by Roman Catholic ideas, the cleavage between North and South would be less."

Do you really believe that it is a "religious" war that is being fought or are these just labels?

A.J.P.T. "No, I think the Protestants in Northern Ireland are genuinely reluctant to be put into a Catholic dominated State and it seems that the Republic is unwilling to give up this position."

ALLOW TO PRESENT CASE

This evening (29 April) Thames Television are showing a programme about the IRA and in it there is an interview with Mr. David O'Connell, former chief of staff of the Provisional IRA. Do you think British television should be used as propaganda for a terrorist organisation?

A.J.P.T. "I don't think that allowing someone to state his case is necessarily having British television used as an instrument of propaganda. If he has a good case then it is right that he should be allowed to speak. If it is a weak case then this will be exposed by television."

Criminal act by Brit Government

THE FOLLOWING is the text of the interview between Peter Jennings and Daithi O Connail, Vice President, Sinn Féin.

Peter Jennings. Do you agree with Professor A.J.P. Taylor that "the antagonism between the two communities in Northern Ireland is still there and hasn't been resolved?"

Daithi O Connail. Of course the antagonism is there and has been for over 500 years. As a historian, Prof. Taylor must be familiar with the origins of the antagonism which can be traced back to the Plantation of Ulster in the mid 17th century. Wolfe Tone did his utmost to overcome the antagonism in the 1790's and almost succeeded until he and his United Irishmen were smashed by English force of arms. From then on the Orange Order made sure that Protestant and Catholic would never again unite to pose a serious threat to English interest in Ireland.

Lord Randolph Churchill "played the Orange card" in the 1880's to defeat Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. Carson and Craig did the same in the early part of this century and their work culminated in the establishment of the Northern Ireland State in 1920. It must not be forgotten that it was the British Government who set up the N.I. State in the face of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland. For fifty years, British support made possible the existence of the most sectarian, degenerate State in Europe which thrived on exploiting an antagonism between Orange and Green. Until British support is withdrawn, there is no hope of overcoming the unnecessary antagonism."

When I asked A.J.P.T. if he believed it was a "religious" war being fought in Ireland or if it was tribal loyalties with "religious" labels attached, he said he thought "the Protestants in Northern Ireland are genuinely reluctant to be put into a Catholic dominated State and it seems that the Republic is unwilling to give up this position." What do you think?

D.O.C. "One can fully understand Protestant reluctance to be put into a Catholic dominated State. The great tragedy of the 1921 settlement was that it established two sectarian States in Ireland. Both States went their own separate ways deepening the hostility and antagonism to which we referred earlier. Extending the Catholic Republic rule over the whole of Ireland would be an utter disaster and it is something the Republican Movement totally opposes."

We advocate the dismantling of both sectarian States and the erection of a new Federal Socialist Ireland. Central to that programme is the creation of an autonomous unified Ulster — the original nine county Province wherein neither Orange nor Green could dominate or terrorise the other. The built-in sectarian imbalance in the Six-County State would be overcome and thus eliminate the cause of perpetual strife. Given a few years, the normal interplay of real politics would banish the memory of past dissension and make the new Ulster the most progressive Province in Ireland.

At Federal level, Republicans would insist on

the complete separation of Church and State. Ireland is a community of communities with different historical, cultural and religious traditions and our aim is to create a pluralist society within which the positive aspects of those traditions can be fostered and respected by all."

Reconciliation between two communities

Does your policy include working for reconciliation between the two communities in Northern Ireland?

D.O.C. "Yes it does but we see little hope of genuine reconciliation while Britain occupies the Six Counties. The British presence is the chief obstacle to reconciliation; every solution tried by Britain, be it military or political, has failed. Wolfe Tone recognised the vital necessity for a British withdrawal; he told his generation to "break the connection with England" and "unite Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter under the common name of Irishmen." Wolfe Tone went to the Court of Bonaparte to get an army to secure those objectives and he had his priorities right.

We recognise also that there are elements in the Loyalist community who are bitterly opposed to reconciliation. Chief among those at the moment are Paisley and Powell. The former is a religious fanatic whose fanaticism wouldn't be so bad if it were restricted to religion and the latter is a rejected English politician whose only hope of entering the House of Commons is through the northern borough of South Down. Both these gentlemen thrive on the English connection; they are its strongest advocates for personal gratification and reward. Remove the British presence and you remove the raison d'être for the antics of the Paisleys and Powells."

Beginning of permanent solution

I think you would agree with A.J.P.T. that "as long as the British remain in Northern Ireland even the beginning of a solution will not be arrived at." Suppose Britain did decide to leave, what happens next?

D.O.C. A declaration by the British Government that it is disengaging from Ireland is the beginning of a permanent and lasting solution. If such an announcement is followed by a general amnesty for all political prisoners in Britain and Ireland, and England places no obstacle in the free expression of the right of the Irish people to determine their own future, three things can happen—

- (1) An immediate end to the war between the Irish Republican Army and British Crown Forces.
- (2) A new climate will be created in which all factions in Ireland will have to face the challenge of reconciliation and reconstruction.
- (3) A democratic mechanism must be devised to make reconciliation and reconstruction possible.

The obvious mechanism to secure number 3 above is the establishment of a Constituent Assembly representative of the whole people of Ireland. That Assembly should be given six months to draft a new Constitution for a pluralist society in a new Ireland. The draft Constitution would then be submitted in a national referendum to the people for acceptance, modification or rejection. Once the new Constitution is adopted, the Irish people can and for the first time in over fifty years, freely choose its central and subsidiary governments.

The need for a forum as outlined above is obvious to any concerned Irish person today. All British solutions have failed; we want no more of them. The failure to draft a Constitution for a Six County State is fresh in everyone's mind and there is widespread recognition that the Free State Constitution should be scrapped. Republicans would welcome the opportunity to take their place in an all Irish forum where our programme for a federally structured Ireland would be presented, discussed and understood. Our proposals are not definitive; they have been drafted over the years taking due cognisance of the diverse elements which constitute the people of Ireland. We shall not be found wanting in reaching out to understand the views and aspirations of those who differed from us in the past. Given that situation and without any British interference, we believe the Irish people can establish a lasting peace based on justice and respect."

No return

A.J.P.T. said "if the present antagonisms continue and get worse, then ultimately, there is likely to be a sorting out and if the Catholics were pushed out the Protestants will remain, not only dominant but entirely in control of Northern Ireland." He continued "the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland have given no sign whatsoever that they are prepared to co-operate. What they want is a Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland" and he suggests "they are strong enough to get it." A.J.P.T. also made the point that "the only time the Protestants made a protest during the Ulster Workers' Strike, the whole of the British authority ground to a halt."

Do you think they are strong enough to get a Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland and are you sufficiently cohesive as a Movement to stop them?

D.O.C. "There will no return to the pre '69 situation when a Unionist dominated Northern Ireland treated Irish people as 2nd and 3rd class citizens in their own country. The Stormont regime which pursued that policy were smashed by Republican armed action and the people's resistance. The politicians who coerced, jailed and terrorised are forgotten men in Ulster today. The visible military strength of the Republican Army is being demonstrated week after week."

Do you regard this present campaign as the final phase of the struggle? A.J.P.T. said "It doesn't seem so."



D.O.C. "The Republican Movement will make it the final phase in the long struggle for Irish freedom. The resources of the Movement are greater now than they ever were; a new generation is coming up, tougher, more skilled and more determined to end British rule once and for all. We owe it to those who have died; we owe it even more so to our children that they may never experience the strife and turmoil of the last seven years."

Not negotiable

Is it the principle of British withdrawal or is the time factor important to you?

D.O.C. The principle of British withdrawal is the important factor. It is not negotiable. The time scale can be negotiated; many factors have to be taken into consideration including the actual conditions at the time of the announcement and the form of the phased withdrawal from Republican areas."

If Britain said she would withdraw from Northern Ireland in five years time, would the violence stop now?

D.O.C. "Please see no. 7 above."

If Britain said in ten years time, would your answer still be the same?

D.O.C. "Please see no. 7 above."

Do you believe that the present troop reductions in Northern Ireland are the start of a British withdrawal?

D.O.C. "No. The redeployment of troops is viewed as one of no change in the overall military policy of the British Government."

Do you regard the replacing of British troops by the RUC as a step forward or not?

D.O.C. "It is a backward step which can only lead to an intensification of the conflict. The RUC are reverting to their old role as the front line troops for defending an untenable situation. It will be remembered that the present phase of the conflict was incited by R.U.C. attacks on the defenceless people of Derry and Belfast. To equip those forces again with high velocity rifles, machine-guns and armoured cars is a criminal act on the part of the British Government."

The re-arming of the R.U.C. coupled with the

(Ar leanúint ó leh. 5.)

Criminal act ...

(Ar leanuint ó ch. 4.)

expansion of the U.D.R. and training its units in England for combat as opposed to static duties is a form of "Ulsterising" the conflict. It will make no difference to Republican military policy; all Crown Forces are legitimate targets. It is significant that most colonial powers pursue a policy of "Localisation" prior to the withdrawal of its own regular army. Yet it never prevented victory going to the guerrillas.

Is your policy to step up violence to speed up British withdrawal or is it to keep the climate as it is at the present time?

D. O. C. "Tactical military policy is dictated by the circumstances prevailing at a given time; the strategic aim of the IRA is to secure a public commitment to withdrawal from the British Government."

If you could convince Britain that a civil war would not follow a withdrawal she would have much less force of argument for staying. A.J.P.T. mentioned the situation following British withdrawal from India and Uganda. One could also mention Cyprus, Aden and Palestine. What if anything, are you doing to make sure civil war and great loss of life would not follow British withdrawal from Northern Ireland?



D. O. C. "We do not accept the British army is in Ireland to prevent a civil war. That army has engaged in war of aggression against Irish people; hundreds have been killed by British military. Hundreds more have been assassinated by Loyalist sectarian killers who operated in many instances with connivance and protection of the regular army."

The Republican Movement has assured and assures again the Loyalist people that it has no intention of engaging in a civil war in a post withdrawal period. The policy we visualise for that period is outlined in answer number four. It

is a policy of peace and reconciliation and not war. If Loyalist elements reject peace and opt for war, then the IRA will have no option but to meet such an attack and defeat it.

A.J.P.T. said he didn't accept that a British withdrawal would lead to a civil war and that "there would not be a greater mobilisation of Catholic Irish than there is now." Do you think there would or not and for what reasons?

D. O. C. "See reply no. 13."

As the Protestants see Britain begin to withdraw don't you think they will begin to build up their forces and if they did resort to violence then surely the troops would come back?



D. O. C. "Loyalist sectarian killers, including members of the U.D.R. have been killing innocent people, both Catholic and Protestant, for the last seven years despite the presence of 15,000 to 20,000 British troops. The harsh reality is that those same troops prevented the IRA from providing an effective defence network against the hit and run killers. The areas from which the killers operated have been denuded of British military while Republican areas are saturated with troops harassing the people and gunning for the guerrillas."

A.J.P.T. said "The Provisionals are not a very strong force." Is this true?

D. O. C. "Strength is a relative thing. A guerrilla army can never match the enemy in firepower and manpower. But a successful guerrilla force surpasses the conventional army in courage, daring, resourcefulness and the tactical use of its equipment. Above all, the guerrilla is superior in moral fibre because he fights for a cause dear to his people. The regular soldier is a mercenary fighting for a wage packet. Any objective observer would admit that the IRA is not short of the above mentioned qualities. Therein lies its

superiority over the British army of occupation."

You have no mandate from the Irish people to do what you are doing, so do you not believe in democracy?

D. O. C. "The Irish people never surrendered their right to national freedom and sovereignty. In every generation the right has been asserted and on many occasions it has been asserted in arms. We stand by that fundamental right and it is our duty as citizens of Ireland to establish it. When the Irish people as a unit did exercise their democratic to vote in a free election in 1918, they voted overwhelmingly for a sovereign, Independent State. The British Government refused to accept the free decision of the people of Ireland, the Black and Tans were sent over and Dail Eireann, the national assembly, was declared illegal. After two years of conflict, the 1921 solution was imposed with the disastrous results of today. We do not just believe in democracy; we fight to win it for our people."

A.J.P.T. said "The most effective tactic is a peaceful resistance and continuing progress against Protestant domination of the North." He goes on "I think it is far more likely to achieve results and if indeed the IRA or anyone else want British influence to be used in order to bring pressure on the Protestants the best way of doing it is to remain pacific and co-operate with the British and not try and throw them out." What is your comment to this suggestion?



D. O. C. The Irish people were relatively quiescent about the rotten State of N.I. for fifty years. What happened to British influence on the Protestants during that time? The IRA called a Truce in 1972 and the scale of sectarian killings escalated. For the major part of last year the IRA was in a Truce situation again. The extent of British influence can be gauged by the utter failure of its foredoomed Convention and the death of over 80 innocent people at the hands of loyalist killers. We do not need British influence to solve the conflict in Ireland; we need a British withdrawal to begin a lasting solution."

How much influence do you think the British Government has over the Irish Government?

D. O. C. Almost complete influence which will

be the cause of its downfall. The Dublin regime is fulfilling the role devised for it under the 1921 settlement. The scarce resources of the South are being used to expand and equip an army to defend England's created border, enlarge a police force to act as England's jailers and, in general, maintain British rule. However, the people of the South are waking up and a new spirit prevails the land."

During the Thames Television programme "This Week", Mr. Charles Haughey, T.D., said he regarded "1916 as unfinished business". In view of this, do you think the situation would change if Fianna Fail were in power?



D. O. C. No. Fianna Fail would pursue the same pro-British policies of the present junta. They did so when previously in government and there is no reason to believe there is any change of heart in the Fianna Fail party."

During the programme, Mr. Sean MacEntee said it was blasphemous to mention Pearse and the Provos together; the Provos, he added, have disgraced everything the IRA stood for. What is your comment to this statement?

D. O. C. "Mr. MacEntee is an old man in the winter of his life who should be more concerned with his rosary beads than political pronouncements. He fought in the 1916 Rising, apologised to his British courtmartial for having done so, initially opposed the settlement of 1921, then accepted it and never lifted a finger when he was a Minister of State to help his betrayed people in the North."

What did you think of the programme?

D. O. C. "Only repeat what I said at the G.P.O. on April 25. Every supporter of the Republican Movement is a leader in his/her right. You have a clear cut message for the people of Ireland: Put your faith in the Provos. Give it meaning by spreading our policies and programmes into every town and village of the land. The people are crying out for leadership; they are seeing through British duplicity and insincerity and the

commenship of the "government of the youngest talents." There is a country to be won, a people to lead, a nation to be rebuilt. Let us get to work and win."



The scene in Bow Street, Lisburn, last week after a local unit had successfully breached the Brit security ring.

Financial facts: Sterling in collapse

BY the end of 1975 the National Debt of the Irish Republic was the rather enormous total of £1,975 millions. The gross national product was only 1,744 millions. Total income £461 millions, leaving a gap of £1,283 millions. For the same period the Hire Purchase Debt was £231 millions.

When we consider that the total population of the State is just under 4 millions; and when we have subtracted from the small population the aged, incapable, the unemployed and the school going children the gravity of the above figures becomes more apparent and disheartening. Not to be too delicately-minded about stating the truth — the State is bankrupt. We have reached the end of our credit, even with the International Monetary Fund, of which we are a member State.

HEAVY BORROWING

In a speech in Nenagh on 15/8/75, Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, T.D. (F.F.) said in reference to Ritchie Ryan's "horrifying consequences" which would result if the economy decline were not checked. Those were strong words which could not be ignored; the Minister knew the precise state of the 26-County's finances, but was it not disgusting to learn from the Minister that

one-fifth of the Government's tax revenue was swallowed-up in paying the interest on money borrowed abroad, and that creditors were reluctant to advance further loans?

All very good, and true, as far as it went; but when Mr. O'Kennedy's Party were in power, it kept the Irish £ tied to ailing British Sterling, and indulged in heavy borrowing abroad.

But the greatest swindle in connection with the people's money occurred on 15/2/71. It was officially stated that in view of preparations for entering the EEC it was necessary to change over to Decimal currency. On Decimal Monday a man entered his bank, holding an Irish £ note. Handing it to the cashier, saying: "Here is an Irish £ Note, I want it changed into one Pound decimal currency?". Smilingly the cashier took the Irish note, handed it back instantly saying: "This is now one Decimal £ Note". Wait a minute requested the customer: "The Sterling or Irish £ note I gave you was value for 240 pennies, on Decimal £ Note". Wait a minute requested the customer: "The Sterling or Irish £ note I gave you was value for 240 pennies. The same £ when you handed it back to me and called a Decimal £, is only worth 100 pennies. I want to know where my 140 pennies have gone to?" "Oh, the pound decimal has the same purchasing power as the pound Sterling". We are not talking about purchasing power. Neither of us are buying or selling anything to each other; what we are talking about is exchange value. Every £ I now possess has lost 140 pennies in Value to me".

DEVALUATION

What really happened that Decimal morning was a wilful and deliberate devaluation of the Irish peoples money. So far from 100 pennies being able to buy as much goods as 140, the decimal currency, with a rising scale of prices was daily losing purchasing power. A statistician has estimated that the total value of our daily currency is around £400 millions. If we imagine that each single-£ in that total lost 140 pennies in value some idea may be formed of the enormous loss in their money the Irish people had to suffer — and go on suffering.

It is the Free State's professional politicians who have landed us in the mess we are in today. Back in 1926 we had the right and power to set up our own independent currency here in the 26 Counties keeping our capital money at home, and creating a real Capital Market in Dublin to aid our industrial development. But the pro-British W.T. Cosgrave and his Finance Minister, preferred to tie us up with the ailing Sterling; and the channelling of our capital money to London, via the banking system, has gone on gaily ever since, thereby ensuring that day by day we grow ever poorer and dependent on foreign loans to maintain our standard of living — such as it is.

The factual position of Great Britain is however, financially and economically, much worse than that of the Republic. Her Gross National Debt amounts to £45,950,000. On this colossal sum she is paying in interest

£5.75 millions yearly. Her rising unemployment figures are expected to top the million mark by mid-summer. The Cambridge University report on the state of the economy has shocked even the most pessimistic of the national Jeremiahs.

Lord Rothschild, of the great international banking family, and who is also head of the Central Financial Staff, which advised every British government on national finance on the occasion of a visit to the Agricultural Research Laboratory, said: "I take this opportunity to ventilate a fear I have of this country. If there is not a restraint to the spending policies England will be a poverty-stricken island by 1985". Well, England hasn't shown and restraint on the contrary she has been spending borrowed money in a vain effort to shore and her collapse may come well ahead of Rothschild's date.

COLLAPSE

British Sterling currency, to which our own political parties have tied us, has been in distress for many years; and the signs were there for any one who wished to see and read them. Today, as every newspaper reader knows sterling has sunk to the lowest level ever reached in her whole history. Yet our professional politicians pathetically cling to it, hoping for a miracle. Today the prevailing opinion in the great Financial Control Centre is that by the autumn Sterling will be down to one £1 Sterling for one American Dollar. That will be collapse.

Sinn Fein Notes

High Wycombe S.F. Meeting

A MEETING of the Fitzsimmons O'Hanlon Sinn Fein Cumann, High Wycombe was held on Wednesday, April 21st.

The main purpose of the meeting was to elect new officers which are as follows: Chairperson: J. Sealy; Secretary, J. Keagan; Treasurer, F. Duffy; P.R.O. S. Painter.

Members present pledged to give greater support in the future, so that we may have a far more active and successful Cumann.

The Cumann is holding a dance on May 21st and a large-scale raffle is being organised. Other Cumann in England will be asked to help in by selling raffle tickets. Their support will be much appreciated.

R epublican Wedding

The members of the Patrick Dawton Cumann, Sinn Fein, Glin, Co. Limerick wish to congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Martin

Henderson on their recent marriage. Mrs. Henderson, formerly Miss Breda O'Connor, a member of the Cumann. During a stay in the U.S. she also worked for Irish Northern Aid.

The couple first became penfriends when Breda began writing to internices in Magilligan and Long Kesh, in order to cheer them and encourage them in their ordeal. One of these was Martin. They met after Martin was released having spent three years in prison camps without charge or trial.

The wedding took place in Belfast where the couple are planning to make their home.

Vote of Sympathy

At a meeting of the George Plant/Tony Aherne Cumann, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny, a vote of sympathy was passed with the widow and other relatives of the late Joe Clarke (R.I.P.).

A Mass will be offered up for the repose of his soul at the Dominican Priory Waterford at

The Happy Provo



ABOVE: A helluva happy Provo at the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of Eire Amach na Casca in Dublin.

Sean Mac Diarmada Commemoration 1916 1976

The Sean Mac Diarmada Commemoration will be held in Killydogher on Sunday, 16th May. Parade starts at Straduffly Cross at 3 p.m. Bands in attendance.

Ruairi O Bradaigh, President, Sinn Fein, will give the oration.

"Damn your concessions, English; we want our country" — Sean Mac Diarmada.

ANYONE wishing to join Sinn Fein in the North Dublin area, please return the application form below to: An Ruairi, Nth. Dublin C.C., Sinn Fein, 5 Blessington Street, B.A.C. I.

Aim: Phone:
Seoladh:

Fianna Walk

THE Fianna Eireann Walk will take place on July 30th from Parnell Square, Dublin and end in Cork on August 5th.

Overnight stops along the way will include:

1. Newbridge, 30th — 31st.
2. Portlaoise 31st — 1st.
3. Urlingford, 1st — 2nd;
4. Cashel, 2nd — 3rd.
5. Caher, 3rd — 4th.
6. Fermoy, 4th — 5th.

Will be in Cork overnight 5th — 6th and return to Dublin on the 6th. Checkers would be appreciated in these areas.

Whatever money may be made as a result of the walk will be given in donation to An Cumann Cábhrach, Na Fianna Eireann (Ard Oifig).

Cards are available at a cost of 6p each or 60p a doz. For further information write Na Fianna Eireann, 44, Parnell Square, Dublin 1; or call in person.

OFFICE HOURS: Wednesday, Friday and Saturday 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. Tuesday 8 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Please support our sponsored walk.

1916 ————— 1976

COMMEMORATIVE FILM SHOW

George Morrison's

MISE EIRE and SAOIRSE

Epic documentaries of the Easter Rising and the War of Independence

LIBERTY HALL — 7.00 p.m. (sharp)
TUESDAY, MAY 18

Advance Booking:

ADULTS—50p. SCHOOL CHILDREN—30p.

At Door:

ADULTS—60p. SCHOOL CHILDREN—40p

Advance tickets available from the Organisers, The Irish Sovereignty Movement, 24 Belgrave Road, Dublin 6, Telephone: 973154.

Joe Clarke: South Kilkenny's Tribute

JOE Clarke will be long remembered in South Kilkenny, where news of his death though coming in the fullness of years caused the deepest regret.

His smiling face graced many a gathering of Republicans in South Kilkenny. As late as last November twelve months he appeared on the platform to honour the Manchester at Hugginstown. A few years ago he unveiled a plaque to the memory of the late Patrick Doody at Kilmacow — Patrick who had been an untiring worker for that which he and Joe loved and cherished until they were called to the land of the Free.

I am sure Joe got a big Cead Mile Failte from all his South Kilkenny friends that had passed on — Ted Moore and the Walsh brothers, to name but a few of his many former friends from Mooncoin and Kilmacow where he was known and loved so well.

To these of us who are left to carry on the struggle, he was a shining example of dedication to the cause he fought for in 1916 and for that matter up to the time of his last illness.

"May the sod rest lightly on you, Joe" is the wish of your South Kilkenny friends and admirers. R.I.P.

Republican Post Bag

BUIOCHAS

ON behalf of the "James Connolly" Republican Flute Band, Glasgow, I would like to thank the "Casement-Nolan Cumann Dun Laoghaire for the accommodation, hospitality, and the wonderful weekend; that we enjoyed on our recent stay in Dublin. Thanks are also accorded to the Commemoration Committee for the wonderful evening laid on in the Clare Manor Hotel after the parade. The band would dearly love to attend all Republican parades, all over Ireland, but it costs a great deal of money to bring the band from Scotland, but we will try to attend as many as possible. Anyone wishing the band to attend parades or commemorations, can contact us through "An Phoblacht". Finally to the "Sinn Féin" members that we met from the "Derrybeg" housing estate in Newry, we say "see you're all in November for Edentubber, so I will close now, see you're all at Bodenstown."

GERRY COLL
(Bandmaster)
42, Annbank St., Glasgow, Alba.

BUIOCHAS

THE South Dublin Comhairle Cheantair would, through the medium of *An Phoblacht* express their sincere thanks to those people who provided food and accommodation for the many people from the occupied part of our country who came to Dublin for the Easter Commemoration ceremonies.

The response to the appeal for accommodation was fantastic and it is hoped will remain so for future functions. Any person who thinks they may be of assistance for the future should contact the Welfare Officer in either the North or Southside Comhairle Cheantair.

—P.R.O.
South Dublin, Comhairle Cheantair, Sinn Féin.

DISCRIMINATION IN BURGERLAND

I was having a meal in Burgerland Cafe in O'Connell Street, Dublin after last Sundays Easter Parade. Three youths entered, but having a Northern Ireland accent were ordered out. We made inquiries as to what they had done and were told "nothing". So we left the cafe in protest. If this isn't discrimination, what is? It is like South Africa with apartheid Ireland 1976; so much for their hand of welcome to the north!

—P.O'Connor,
Corcaigh.

ANNIVERSARY IGNORED

As expected the 60th anniversary of the 1916 rising was ignored completely by the blue-shirt fascists of Leinster House.

For just as the quisting politicians of 1916 collaborated shamelessly with Butler, Maxwell and condemned Pearse and his comrades as "gun-men", so Cosgrave, Cooney and their cohorts are openly collaborating with the butchers of Derry and

Belfast in their attempts to crush the republican movement to-day.

Many of these have been down the years who have tried to crush the Republican Movement. They have tortured and hanged and shot out bravest, but always they failed in their vile attempts.

Where Maxwell, Cosgrave senior, and De Valera failed, Cooney, Donegan and Cosgrave junior will hardly succeed.

The names of our patriot dead will be remembered when those of the Power-hungry politicians and their hirelings will have disappeared into well deserved oblivion.

—Hugh Boyle,
Alt an Chorrain.

GARDA TORTURE

AFTER reading the Garda torture article in *An Phoblacht* of April 23, 1976 in regards to Mr. Kershaw, I must say that I am shocked and disgusted at the treatment meted out to Mr. Kershaw by some of Mr. Cooney's animals.

Indeed, it sounds to me as if Mr. Cooney has reached the bottom of the barrel as far as the Gardai are concerned. They don't sound civilised to me, and they don't seem to have any shame or self-respect or respect for anyone else. I have sent a photostat copy of your article to the American Police Chiefs' Association for them to get a law down on Cosgrave's Gardai.

I am enclosing 10 dollars to help in a small way to support the prisoners.

—Patrick Cosgrave.

PROPAGANDA "QUOTES" BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT

THE British Government must surely be up against it when they dare to use the glorious date of 1916 in their propaganda. They who took out the leaders and shot them would now like to use the names of these men for their own vile purposes.

Of course they are helped by Sean McIntee. If your readers can remember a few years ago after the attack on St. Matthew's Church, this same Sean McIntee announced that the few thousand Catholics in East Belfast rose up to attack the forty-thousand Protestants surrounding them. So much for Sean McIntee's views.

No doubt the next effort emanating from the N.I. Office will quote from that giant against anti-Irish Irishmen and McIntee's son-in-law, Conor Cruise O'Brien.

—Fear Flair,
Beal Feiste.

FIGURES PLEASE MR. COONEY

MR. DONEGAN (Itinerant Extremist) in his outburst a few weeks ago blamed the loss of jobs in Cavan and Monaghan on the "Men of Violence". Would he be good enough to supply the figures giving the job losses in these two counties and also the number who have lost their jobs in each of the other 24 counties of this State.

I am sure without any figures to guide me that more have lost their jobs in the other 24 counties through Government bungling and trying to make a diving system survive than in either Cavan or Monaghan.

Are the "Men of Violence" so responsible for the sorry state of this Nation or are the Ministers

free to say what they wish in order to further their propaganda on England's behalf?

Would some Deputy have the courage to ask the above question and get figures for each county. Then we will see what Ministers statements are worth.

—Seosamh O'Maolain,
Luis, Co. An Chlhair.

STANCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

HERE in the United States very many supporters of the struggle in Ireland are concerned with the stance of the Catholic Bishops both in Northern Ireland in England.

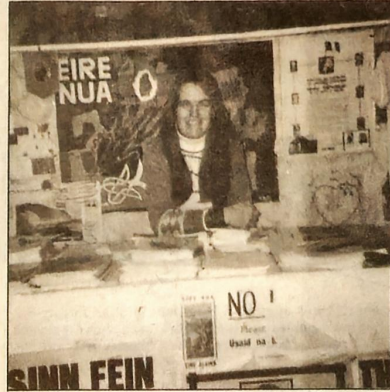
The horrific treatment of a young Irishman who had the courage to fight for freedom with the only means available to him, that is, the Hunger Strike, was in sharp contrast to the teaching of the Catholic Church — we all know Jesus taught compassion, kindness and mercy. I have carefully studied the statements and "non" statements of the Church leaders in Ireland and also in England. Nowhere did I note a single word of compassion for their suffering flock. During the past five years, Cardinal Conway, Bishop Phibbin, and two Bishops Daily have uttered condemnation of their people and many a single denunciation in the same terms of the SAS and other assassin gangs terrorising the Irish Nationalist (Catholic) people. Only once did I ever hear of the Cardinal ever visiting one of the prison camps, and then he stressed the fact that the visit was purely pastoral — meaning of course, he had no personal sympathy with any of the prisoners.

If we look back to the Black and Tan War of Independence 1919-1921 there were examples of patriotism exemplified by several Irish Bishops of whom three immediately came to mind: the noble and kindly but steadfast Dr. Michael Fogarty of Killaloe, of blessed memory (who confirmed me), the great Bishop Mannix who was arrested by the British Navy on the high seas and the dauntless Bishop Dwyer of Limerick, all of whom bravely stood up to their British enemies. Could it be the present Cardinal and Bishops in Northern Ireland are more Unionist than the avowed Unionists?

Relative to the matter of the late Frank Stagg who endured inhuman torture in the Wakefield prison where he suffered solitary confinement in a cell with only a blanket for clothing and with filth all around him many of us here in America protested to both the British Government and to the Bishop of Leeds. The Home Secretary's ridiculous reply stated Mr. Stagg had no connection with Northern Ireland. Has a Londoner no connection with Northern Ireland? The most disturbing reply came from the Bishop of Leeds whose subhuman bypass of all the pertinent facts must leave every avowed Christian gasping. He referred us to a cutting from the "Guardian" in which one Baden Hickman becomes the Bishop's spokesman as he wrote an alleged anti-Stagg and anti-Irish version of the tragic event saying in part that the IRA tried to trap the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and for the Bishop to accede could be interpreted as an expression of sympathy.

Furthermore, Bishop Moverly's "new theologian", Mr. Hickman, goes on to state that the words exchanged between the Bishop, Frank Stagg and the Chaplain are obvious confidential and whether Mr. Stagg had received Sacraments comes under the seal of the Confessional. This seems to be the new theology of Bishop Moverly

BELOW: Dun na nGall Eire Nua shop, Carrigart, Co. Donegal.



FOR A NEW IRELAND

Join Sinn Féin

CONTACT YOUR AREA ORGANISERS:—
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SEAN McBRIDE, KNOCKASTOLLER,
BUNBEG, GWEEDORE,
OR THE EIRE NUA BOOKSHOPS IN
CARRIGART, BUNBEG, BUNCRANA
AND BUNDORAN.

as expressed by theologian Hickman. Perhaps a word or two from the Encyclical of Pope John XXIII might be beneficial to the Bishop who seems to have completely forgotten that there is such a thing as human dignity, and when he allies himself with the state against a persecuted member of his flock he has abandoned his Christianity to the state.

The Encyclicals states "Every man has the right to life, to bodily integrity, the right to respect for his person, the right to freedom in expressing his opinions. The dignity of the Human person involves the right to an active participation in public affairs".

I submit Frank Stagg was a participant in public affairs. He was engaged, allegedly, in the Irish Republican Army, with connection with Northern Ireland. His work was the freedom of his people from foreign political domination, and his cause is just. Perhaps this concerned Bishop could be a little bit compassionate and Christian and the Bishops in Ireland be a bit more Christian, and a lot more Irish.

—Timothy B. Brennan,
Hicksville, New York.

Greetings

FLYNN: Many happy returns to my dear son, Albert. Keep your pecker up — Love Mum.

FLYNN: Albert (Port Laiose jail). Happy birthday, Albert. All our love and best wishes.

— From your brothers and sisters.

McMAHON: Birthday greetings to Phil McMahon, Happy birthday, Phil. It won't be long now!
— From all the gang.

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the Republican Movement. Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

Letters to the Editor will have a better chance of publication if short, typewritten on one side of paper and well spaced. Fáilte ar leith roimh Ghaeilge.

We regret that advertisements cannot be accepted for publication later than the Wednesday prior to day of printing.

Sympathy

East Mayo Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin expresses deep sympathy with Mrs. Eilish Clarke, and family, on the recent death of Mr. Joe Clarke, R.I.P.; and with Mr. Sean M. McGoldrick, Riverstown, Co. Sligo, on the recent death of his father Mr. Martin McGoldrick, R.I.P. Masses offered.

AT a recent meeting of the North Kerry Comhairle Cheantair, Sinn Féin, a vote of sympathy was passed with the relatives of Joe Clarke, R.I.P.

Buiochas

North Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin wish to thank Peter McGrath and Michael O'Shea for cleaning Republican Monuments in the North Kerry area.

I gCuimhe

In Memory of Volunteer Tony Ahern — Cork Command, Ogligh-na-Eireann who died in action on May 10th 1973 at Rosslea, Co. Fermanagh. Aged 17½ years.

Always remembered by the Tony Ahern S.F. Cumann, Cork.



Vol. Tony Ahern R.I.P.

Ballina

Sunday, 30th May, 1976

SECOND ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

VOL. MICHAEL GAUGHAN

(Murdered Parkhurst Jail, 3rd June, 1974)

ASSEMBLY CATHEDRAL ROAD, BALLINA.

3.00p.m.

— PARADE TO LEIGUE CEMETERY. —

PROMINENT REPUBLICAN SPEAKERS

SAS men released



Gardaí and 'Free State' troops take precautions as eight SAS men were being brought to the Special Criminal Court in Dublin.

TIME AND AGAIN this paper has reported upon SAS incursions into the Twenty-Six Counties. Only a few of them received much publicity, including the "tea and buns" welcome to a group of such persons by the Gardaí in Monaghan and their escorted return to the Border. But there have been many others.

One of the most notorious took place also in Co. Louth when a SAS group kidnapped the son of an ex-internee, Sean McKenna, who died as a result of his torture at the hands of the Crown forces, one of the subjects of the Dublin regime's Strasbourg case against the British government.

In view of the tremendous hullabaloo created by all concerned, including the media, one would have expected some sustained reaction at the kidnapping of this man — if one were particularly naive.

The absence of such publicity, and the absence of sustained protest on behalf of the Dublin regime, strips naked once again the "Republican" pretences to sovereignty.

But the SAS also have killed people on the Border or near to it, north and south. They have terrorised farmers, north and south. They have robbed isolated households, north and south. This is part of their operation, to create a "terror" image. And they have taken part in operations designed to discredit the freedom fighters.

What happened?

Whatever happened that the SAS squads were arrested, taken to Dundalk Garda Station and later to Dublin, where they were charged, bailed and freed?

The answer is, that members of the secret police were not present at the time to have sent back over the Border with the minimum of fuss and publicity. The secret policemen were drinking when they should have been on duty, a not uncommon practice.

The Gardaí merely followed their orders, as did the "Free State" military. Neither force has any love for the SAS. Given their actions, Dublin, though embarrassed, had to go through with the charade.

Three of the SAS group arrested in Omagh are believed to be natives of the Six Counties, recruited initially by the ill-famed Ulster Defence Regiment, to which members of the gang which murdered the Miami Showband members also belonged.

One member of the SAS group, believed to be a Captain, was not captured. It is believed that he slipped out of the car when it was challenged at the Garda checkpoint and escaped across the Border to warn his commanding officer in Bessbrook.

The former British premier, Harold Wilson, when announcing that the SAS was about to be sent into South Armagh (readers of this paper will remember documented cases of SAS activity long before the Wilson announcement) stated that all SAS men would operate in uniform.

Not in uniform

The Republican Movement has ample evidence that the SAS seldom operates in uniform; that in the famous episode when the SAS came off worse from a gunfight with the RUC some years ago, its members were not in uniform; that when the recent kidnapping took place, its members changed into uniform only after crossing the Border; and that when Mr. Wilson

made his peculiar announcement he was telling a deliberate lie — and knew it.

The SAS in the seventies is the equivalent of the Black and Tans, just as unscrupulous, just as lethal but just as vulnerable. Ireland defeated the Black and Tans. Just as surely as Daithí O Conaill forecast at the Dublin G.P.O. on April 25, Ireland will destroy the SAS.

Dublin collaboration

Meanwhile, the Dublin regime stands betrayed by its own shameless collaboration. Incidents such as the Omagh arrest of the SAS terrorist gang, and its release on bail, help to make it clear to even the most politically naive on whose side justice lies and on whose side deceit, terrorism, treachery, collaboration and disgrace.

The quislings are condemning themselves before the people and before much longer the people's verdict — guilty — will ring out across the length and breadth of Ireland. The shouts of the Dundalk crowd, as the SAS terrorists were taken to Dublin for the show trial, are only the beginning.

IRISH INDEPENDENT

in civilian dress, it confirmed, with no cast grave doubts on the credibility of future official assurances in the British House of Commons in view of the promise earlier that the S.A.S. would only do so in uniform. Again suspicions will be aroused that the S.A.S. may be operating under cover squads prepared to conduct clandestine raids over the border in search of suspected British men on the run there. The incursion into Co. Louth

from "Irish Independent", May 7, 1976.

McEntee and that T.V. programme

by Gerry O'Hare

VIEWERS to the recent I.T.V. programme about the 1916 men of violence, (their words) were treated to Sean McEntee's "repudiation" of the men of 1976 (my words). McEntee was portrayed as a comrade-in-arms of Pearse and Connolly, and during the discussion he was asked: "are the men of 1976 in the same mould as Pearse, etc?"

McEntee replied: "It is blasphemous to mention the name of Pearse and the Provos together."

Court Martials

Now somewhere in my memory I recalled reading the various court martials of the Volunteers of 1916 and I vaguely remembered that I was not impressed by McEntee. It occurred to me that whilst his fellow Volunteers were proud, defiant and unafraid of their captors, McEntee offered a cringing defence. So with the help of two veteran Republicans, we set about investigating. True to their word the two veterans came up with a priceless book which gave all the details of the Court Martials and there on pages 111 and 112 of the "Irish Rebellion 1916" (published by the Irish Times) was McEntee's case.

On reading the trial I felt my first impressions were confirmed. I am quite sure the Television Interviewer was unaware of McEntee's case as I personally know the reporter concerned. He always impressed me as a man of integrity who tries to present an honest balanced programme. It would be unfair to say he erred in choosing McEntee.

However, it occurred to me

(as I am sure it did everybody else) that McEntee and his son-in-law, Conor Brit O'Brien both shared the same view. After all didn't the Cruiser in answer to the question, "Are you sorry 1916 happened?" say "Yes, I am" and, isn't the Cruiser a follower of Connolly and a mate of his son Roddy?

True, every word I say is true; makes you wonder, don't it? Well, back to McEntee and the guts of this wee parable. Here for your own reading, and making up your own minds is his unedited, uncensored (in this office) statement at the trial.

Mind you, I did underline a few wee bits. But that was in case you missed my point, and you wouldn't do that, would you?

McEntee Statement

"John McEntee, one of the accused, here read to the Court a statement which he had prepared since the trial began. At the outset he positively denied the charge of murder. In obedience to the order of his commander, he stopped the constable and searched him. He took from him one envelope, which he brought to his commander. The constable received no abuse from him, and he lamented his death; the constable was his fellow countryman, discharging his duty. He saw Danville sink to the ground, and would have gone to assist him but that their commander thought it imperative, from information which he had received, that they should no longer remain there. He was charged with having given assistance to the King's enemies. He absolutely denied

that he had given, directly or indirectly, assistance to the King's enemies. Anything he did was done out of love for Ireland, and not to assist the King's enemies in any way. Such an idea never occurred to him. He admitted that for some months, up to April 24, he was an active and enthusiastic Volunteer; and he was a Volunteer, first of all, because, being an Irishman, he thought that the economic and industrial future of his country could only be assured by such government as was enjoyed by the Empire's free Dominions. He recognised that the Home Rule Act was such a measure, and he thought he saw the promise of an Amending Bill a proposal whereby Ulster should be cut off and separated from the Ireland which he loved. He saw his hopes falsified by the promise of an Amending Bill, and he saw no protection against it but some such organisation as the Ulster Volunteer Force. He admitted that he took part in events which he afterwards discovered were a rebellion; but his sole aim and object was to resist the suppression of the organisation whose maintenance he regarded as a great safeguard against the repeal of Home Rule. Throughout the whole proceedings he had no idea or desire to assist the enemy. When General Parsons was raising the 16th Division he applied to him for a Commission, but owing to the difficulty of getting to Mallow the application fell through, and he then decided to devote himself to his profession. In conclusion, he said he was not aware of any of the plans for the late unfortunate insurrection."

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