

An Phoblacht

Iml.4 Uimh.24 5p 27Iúil 1973



FEAR OF THE PEN



WHEN THE EDITOR of An Phoblacht, Eamonn MacThomais, stood before Cooney's Special Criminal Court he (great historian that he is) put the case in its proper historical context when he said: "I do not recognise this Court. The only thing I recognise is that it is the same Court in which the Sheares brothers, Robert Emmet, O'Donovan Rossa, The Invincibles, Sean MacStiofain and Joe Cahill have been convicted. I am here because British troops are in this country and if this Court was a Court of Justice it would demand the withdrawal of these troops from Ireland. In this very Courthouse, men have gone to the scaffold because of the self-same British troops".

Let us now extend the historical dimension. Eamonn MacThomais is the lawful and legal successor of such great and brave Editors as Samuel Neilson, Editor of the Northern Star, official Organ of the United Irishmen, Charles Gavan Duffy, Editor of The Nation, official Organ of the Young Ireland Movement, John Mitchel, Editor of the United Irishman, successor to The Nation, Thomas Devin Reilly and John Martin, Editors of the Irish Felon, which came after Mitchel's paper had been suppressed, Thomas Clarke Luby, Editor of the Irish People, official Organ of the Fenian Brotherhood, William O'Brien, Editor of the Irishman, official Organ of the Land League, James Connolly, Editor of the Workers' Republic, official Organ of the Irish Citizen Army, Sean McDermott, Editor of Irish Freedom, official Organ of the I.R.B. before the Rising of Easter Week, Arthur Griffith, Editor of Nationality, Scissors and Paste, and Sinn Féin, all suppressed during the War of Independence, Erskine Childers, Editor of Phoblacht na hÉireann during the so-called Civil War, and Frank Ryan, Editor of the old An Phoblacht, official Organ

of Republicans from 1925 till it was suppressed by Fianna Fail in 1939, and of course, Brian O'Higgins, Editor of the Wolfe Tone Weekly, again suppressed by Fianna Fail in 1940.

All these journalists, from Neilson down, have served their country faithfully and as a result, have been the victims of British Imperialistic persecution. They were jailed, transported to the Penal Colonies, hunted throughout the Land and scourged in the British dungeons of Dartmoor and Parkhurst. Sean McDermott gave his life for Ireland in May 1916, when he died on the same morning as the wounded James Connolly, both before a British Firing Squad.

That is the tradition of Journalism which Eamonn MacThomais upholds. He is a credit to Ireland and to the Republican Movement, and he can rest assured that his comrades stand beside him in this struggle for the freedom of the Press and for the freedom of the Nation.

We refuse to be silenced. We will preach the gospel of Republicanism and of Separation from the British Empire as long as we have breath. Like the men who

went before us down the ages, we are committed to telling the truth and despite the George Colleys, the Paddy Cooneys, the Jack Lynchs, or the Liam Cosgraves, we will continue to preach that gospel. They may jail us, they may suppress us, they may even murder us, but they cannot win. Eight hundred years has proved that the spirit of Irish Nationality cannot be crushed. There will always be a voice, and if An Phoblacht disappeared tomorrow it would have a successor. We will go further and say, if we were all dead tomorrow there would still be fighters for Irish freedom. You cannot turn back the current of tradition. The Fenian faith is still a living vital faith, and in that spirit of undefeated Fenianism we salute you, Eamonn MacThomais, and we promise to carry on your work until the day you come back amongst us, for with Pearse we believe "the seeds sown by the young men of one generation ripen and grow to fruit in the hearts of the young men of the next generation". That ripening is evident around us today in the many young people who have rallied to our Cause. You were a sower of the seed, but even you, great sower that you were, will agree with this quotation from Davis:-

"The Tribune's voice, the poet's pen
Can sow the seed in honest men
But 'tis the soldier's sword alone
Can reap the harvest when it's sown."

Again, we salute you.

PROGRESS OF ~ An Phoblacht

We are pleased to announce that we have acquired further accommodation in our Head Office 44, Parnell Square. It is intended to open a Republican Book Shop, which will also sell prints, pictures, and craftsmen's articles manufactured by Republican Prisoners. So tell your friends if they are in Dublin "To pay us a visit".

The official opening will take place early in September. We also intend to convert one of the large rooms — (capacity 100 people) into a Lecture and Exhibition room and this will be available later in September at a modest fee. At present we are cleaning up, renovating and decorating and also compiling old Revolutionary newspapers and Photos which will make up the exhibition. If you have any of these papers or photos that you would care to loan or donate we would be most grateful — all donations to the exhibition will be credited. We have already told the story of this Historic House — The Kevin Barry Hall, 44, Parnell Square, Dublin and it is our intention to make the Lecture and Exhibition Rooms available to all republicans and later perhaps have our own republican library and reading rooms.

"Educate that you may be free" is what An Phoblacht was founded for. We are continuing the same policy and the same republican separatist tradition: "Give us a bob to help the job".

EDITORS
ACCOUNTANTS
& STAFF OFFICES

BOOK SHOP,
LECTURE AND
EXHIBITION ROOMS

GENERAL OFFICE
AND DESPATCH
DEPOT

FUNDS TO THE EDITOR, AN PHOBLAIGHT, 44, PARNELL SQ. DUBLIN 1.



The Concerned in America

Mrs. S. Adler,
1775 Eastburn Avenue,
Bronx, New York, 10457
June '73

Dear Editor

We want to assure all Irish political prisoners that we have not forgotten them. We are aware of the cruel and inhuman treatment being accorded to them, and are doing all in our power to focus world attention on their plight.

We say to the prisoners male and female, in British occupied Ireland, in Long Kesh, Derry, Armagh and Crumlin Road, interned and sentenced, the sacrifices they and their families are making will not be in vain.

In the twenty six counties, the Curragh and Mountjoy, the incarceration is compounded by the fact that it is perpetuated by Irishmen upon Irishmen. We suffer with you for the treachery and blindness of our countrymen.

To the men in English prisons, the heroic Irish prisoners of previous generations are an inspiration, men like Terence McSweeney and Tom Clarke. You men have taken their place in our long struggle against British oppression.

To all the prisoners the gratitude of the Irish people is expressed. You are part of the greatest generation that Ireland has produced, and at the end of this our last fight, when we reach our inevitable victory, the Eire Nua will honour you.

Until final victory,

GOD SAVE IRELAND.

On behalf of the above group,

Mr & Mrs. S. Adler
Mr & Mrs W. Boland
Mr & Mrs. T. Duffy
Mr & Mrs P. McNicholl
Mr & Mrs F. Rooney
Mr & Mrs S. Small
Mr & Mrs M. Spasianté
Mrs B. Reichenberg
Mrs L. Spongberg
Rita Murray

Any prisoners wishing to correspond with any of the above please address all mail to Mrs. Adler, to be forwarded.

I remain,
Very truly yours,
(Mrs) Robina Adler,
Miss B. Brannigan
Miss K. Carmichael
Miss M. Meehan
Miss C. Myers
Miss V. Murphy
Mrs H. Reilly
Mr P. McKeown
Mr P. Quinn
Mr J. Maxwell
Mrs. Spurburn

There was a time when we could have written this letter without switching on the light. There was a time when we could have carried out our daily chores without that 'awful' feeling of being 'watched'. There was a time when we could have hung out our washing to dry. There was a time — when we had time to spare — when we could have sat in our own small back yards, and relaxed in the sun. There was a time when the air was fresh and clean, and peace and quiet prevailed. There was a time when in our old age — after hard lives — things seemed to be "going our way".

You may well ask what has all this got to do with the Planning Act — bear with us a little while please.

We live in a built up residential area. Some months ago, a "builder" backed by financial tycoons moved into a confined space at the back

THE PLANNING ACT

of our houses, and proceeded to erect a three storey structure. The "structure" is nearing completion and — "whisper" — now comes the focal point of this letter — this "builder" has NOT GOT planning approval for the erection of the structure.

You will have gathered from the beginning of this letter what the erection of this "structure" means to us. We are deprived of the natural flow of light and air, the peace and quiet we were accustomed to, and most of all the "privacy" to which we as citizens and ratepayers are entitled to.

We do not know much about the Planning Act, but we did think it was introduced to protect us ordinary citizens from unscrupulous building "speculators". If the Act is

not going to be enforced, why should we as ratepayers and taxpayers contribute to the big salaries of those who are supposed to implement the Planning Act.

We have had meetings with the Galway Corporation — we have actually written to the Minister for Local Government — but all to no avail. From whom can we seek "redress"?

The fact that this "builder" is carrying out unauthorised building leads us to believe that he has the "blessings" of the "vested interests" and the "powers that be".

Signed,
Luke O'Connor,
Barbara O'Connor,
14 Prospect Hill.
Patrick and
Kathleen Keating
16 Prospect Hill.

DON'T FORGET THE PRISONERS DEPENDENTS

Send a subscription to :
AN CUMANN CABHRACH,
44 Parnell Square Dublin 1.

THE BRITISH TERRORIST

BY JEFFREY FREED

William Whitelaw, British overlord for Northern Ireland has recently declared that the British were "winning" against the Irish Republican Army freedom fighters. This is a theme the British have been pushing since 1968 when the oppressed people of Northern Ireland rose up demanding their freedom. However, what the British mean by winning isn't too clear and closely resembles the "light at the end of the tunnel" statements Americans were treated to in more than a dozen years of war in Indo-China. The fact is that the British imperialists and their Orange Order allies have won nothing, and in the last two years have been forced to resort to increasing terrorism, murder, and mass killings to try and keep the people of Northern Ireland in line. In fact, the British are losing, but they would like to make people around the world, think otherwise so new moves to oppress the people of Ireland would be able to go over unnoticed.

Part of the British effort to cloud their terrorist role has been the sponsorship of speaking tours, television and radio programmes, and articles in newspapers to present "their side" of the issue. In this effort they have been joined by officials and sympathisers of the Irish Free State government, also pandering around the U.S., trying to convince American supporters of the struggle to end their assistance to the I.R.A. But this year the British have reached a new low by bringing over Brigadier Richard L. Clutterbuck.

Clutterbuck: Terrorist

Clutterbuck toured American cities speaking on the topic of "Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Northern Ireland". He's done this under the pretext that this was a personal lecture tour having nothing to do with the British government, and that he was appearing as an "objective observer" of the situation in Northern Ireland. Depending on the audience he's appearing before he tries to disguise his past by appearing as "professor" or "Dr." but rarely as British Brigadier. The truth is that Clutterbuck is one of the architects of British terrorist policies, having formulated and tested these practices against the people of Malaya, and was rewarded for his services with the Order of the British Empire.

Clutterbuck's career makes his claims of being an "objective observer" an open lie. He has been a long standing specialist for the British Army in suppressing independence movements and national liberation struggles. His main work was carried out in Malaya between 1956-1960, working along with Sir Robert Thompson, another wellknown terrorist who served Richard Nixon as an adviser on Vietnam. Before Malaya, Clutterbuck had worked his bloody skills in the Middle East serving in both Egypt and Palestine. Nor has he restricted his activities to British interests, assisting French colonialism

in Libya, Tunisia and Algeria, and more recently coming out of retirement to work as an adviser in Vietnam and Ireland.

The Big Lie

Clutterbuck's purpose in the United States was made quite clear in his so-called lectures. First, he tries to confuse the issues in Ireland, thereby covering over the British role, and second, he is actively recruiting support for British Terrorism from certain sections of American society such as military personnel, business people, and conservative political and intellectual leaders.

An Old Game

Clutterbuck's appearance in the States is a recent move in an old British game. Recently London de-classified British Foreign Office papers from the period of 1914 - 1922, the time of the last great struggle of the Irish people. These documents revealed a systematic campaign by the British in the U.S. to try to cut-off Irish-American support. The tactics in that British campaign are remarkable similar to recent British activities here.

These British activities included organized speaking tours by pro-British personalities giving lectures like those performed by Clutterbuck. There was intervention with American newspapers; pro-British editors were encouraged to write anti-IRA editorials, while neutral or pro-Irish papers received numerous complaints from British supporters, including the British Consulates and Embassy. While British and Free State officials appear on local and national television and radio programmes. These documents also revealed British deals with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, realizing that the Church had great influence in the Irish community. The deals included favourable treatment and reception of American Catholic missionaries in British colonies, in exchange for the Church's efforts to stop support activities taking place in Irish-American parishes. This kind of activity takes on new meaning when looking at the recent declaration of the Catholic Church in the U.S. along with the Protestant and Jewish hierarchies, appealing to their members not to provide assistance to the IRA, or any other patriotic Irish organization.

It is also important to note that the documents show that the British have always worked closely with American intelligence and police agencies to keep track of harass, and prosecute individuals and groups providing material support to the Irish rebels. Not too surprising after seeing Washington's actions in the cases of the Fort Worth Five, and the Bay Area Three.

THE FOURTH MAN

From ROSEMARY SULLIVAN: Frankfurt-am-Main

The British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) is fighting an up-hill battle here to stop the German press from publishing the name of the "Fourth Man" in the Lambert sex-scandal.

This man, a duke, despite his name has less connection with Devon than with Ireland.

In Northern Ireland, the "Fourth Man" is known as a major financial backer of the pro-imperialist Alliance Party.

For this reason, the S.I.S. is trying to keep his name out of the press.

COME HOME

IT'S TIME for the Government to have a re-think over the involvement of British troops in Ulster. We can only look forward to an ever-increasing casualty list now that the IRA are reportedly using mortars.

As a Dunkirk veteran, I say: Bring our boys home now and let the Irish settle their own problems. — GEORGE J. SMYTH, Hermon Hill, London, E.18.

BRITISH MORALE SUFFERS

"I won't go back, the soldier said. "We're not achieving anything over there".

No, he wasn't an American GI who deserted from Vietnam. He was a British soldier, who recently refused to return for a second tour of guard duty in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Armies whose soldiers die without having understood why face a cancerous morale problem. The Northern Ireland cancer is beginning to eat its way into the morale of the British Troops.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

From Ammo Magazine

Truby's article on the Sten gun in your September issue was a fascinating bit of lore. I was especially interested — and amazed — to discover that the name Sten is a combination of the first two letters of the designers' last names (Shepard and Turpin) plus the first two letters of Enfield Arms. I wonder how many people realize that an earlier Turpin (Dick 1706 — 1738) and Sheppard (Jack 1702 — 1724) — it doesn't matter how you spell that family name, note my own — were probably the most notorious criminals in British history (certainly with Burke and Hare, the body snatchers, the best known). Turpin was a burglar and horse thief, Sheppard a thief and escape artist, before they were hanged. What a coincidence that the same family names should come together again in an identical time slot to put another great dent in English history.

Louis P. Shepherd, fitzburgh, Mass.

WANTED



CLUTTERBUCK ENEMY OF THE IRISH PEOPLE A NOVENA IN HELL

AN American Greek Orthodox Prelate of the Toledo, Ohio, Archdiocese, has described his visit to the detainees in Belfast, etc., as "a novena in hell". He condemned the "Northern Ireland" Special Powers Act as "legislation worthy of the Nazi oppressors". "In all my travels throughout the world," he said, "I have never seen such hardship and suffering brought down on the heads of an innocent population". He went on to say: "If our prisoners during the last war had suffered like the people interned in the North, they would not have stood up to it".

REPLY TO FERMANAGH REPUBLICAN

Dear Friend,

I have studied the letter from "Fermanagh Republican" in your issue dated — 13 July 1973.

This individual has accused me of presenting myself as a Republican at some election meetings, and of using the Republican Movement to further my political ambitions.

I would take this opportunity to deny these untruthful allegations. At no stage in the election campaign

did I use the Republican Movement.

I entered the election and canvassed the votes of the electorate on my consistent record of opposition to the cancerous Unionist Government/Whitelaw regime, and on the policy of the Unity group led by Frank McManus M.P.

In the election contest, I secured 828 first preference votes. There were only 58 persons who abstained. I have no doubts in my mind, that

there were many people who voted for me who are members or supporters of the Republican Movement.

If there were none, then the Republican Movement would have little support in the Kinawley/Florencecourt area, because a large percentage of the 58 who abstained are no more Republican than William Thornton, the successful Unionist candidate who won the seat by a mere 13 votes. To conclude, I wish to

state that I am not licking my wounds; — William Thornton is probably licking his lips and a large percentage of the 58 abstainers are licking their little brown envelopes every week. Anyone living in British occupied Ireland will understand what I mean by this statement.

Yours faithfully,
Patrick McCaffrey

Kinawley,
Co. Fermanagh,
13 July 1973.



ANOTHER BOOK

COLONEL MUAMMAR GADAFI — "call me brother" — the 33-year-old leader of oil-rich Libya, is putting his collective Thoughts into a little green book.

They promise to outdo the revolutionary little red book of the Thoughts of China's Chairman Mao.

Gadafi's Thoughts are important to Britain as he controls 20 per cent. of their oil supplies. East revolutionaries.

Gadafi is regarded as potentially one of the world's most powerful men.

He is known even to fellow Arabs as The Man Most Likely to Exceed.

I will continue to support the IRA as they are people struggling for freedom. If the British people are ever colonised then we will stand by them, too. The Ulster war is retaliation and retribution from God for Britain's colonial past.

COLONEL MUAMMAR GADAFI

BRITISH BLACK PROPAGANDA -

"What will they think of next"

SUNDAY EXPRESS

How the Pope could crush the IRA

LOOK UP AND LIVE FOR ENGLAND

June 6, 1973.

There is not the slightest sign of an early end to the strife. Does that mean that there is not even the remotest prospect of a settlement in Ulster, no hope of a lasting peace?

When the politicians have tried for so long, and have failed, is there no other card left to play?

I believe there is one more card - and a powerful card indeed.

I suggest that the time has come for the Roman Catholic Church to take a direct, effective hand in the crisis of Ireland.

By that I do not mean Irish bishops raising their voices in chorus to deplore violence. That would be as useless today as it has been in the past. Nor will it serve any purpose for the Pope to condemn the gunmen and the bombers, to plead for peace and good will. Alas, such exhortations, however pious and however heartfelt, will never be heard above the noise of gunfire and explosion.

The time for words has long since passed; as a Catholic myself, I say this is surely the time for action.

There is one extreme and fateful step which only the Pope himself can take - a step that could do more to end Ulster's agony than any other measure so far adopted or proposed. And that is to place an Interdict on Ireland - not just Ulster but the whole land - which would not be lifted until the Holy Father satisfied himself that the L.R.A. had laid down its arms for ever.

An Interdict on a country means in effect mass excommunication. It deprives every Catholic of the sacraments. Not a couple can be married in church, not a baby baptised, not a dying person given the last rites. There can be no child confirmed, no priest ordained, no absolution for the sinner, no Holy Communion for the devout.

Such a dire penalty, plunging as it must a whole people into anguish and despair, could never be lightly nor wantonly imposed. Indeed, it has rarely been employed, and not at all for centuries past.

The last notable occasion was probably in 1207, when England itself was ostracised from the Church. It happened because King John and Pope Innocent III quarrelled over the appointment of a new Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope nominated Cardinal Langton.

Very Rev. Joseph L. Kerins, C.S.S.R.
Provincial Superior
Provincial Residence
7509 Shore Road
Brooklyn, New York 11209

Dear Father Kerins:

Pax Christi. On May 27 last, I spent an hour in the morning with Father Hugh Bennett, C.S.S.R., Superior of the Clonard Monastery off the Falls Road in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The occasion was my eight visit to Belfast in the last two years, on work of reconciliation for the National Council of Churches and the U.S. Bishops' Conference. I work out of 475 Riverside Drive, Father, and also for Bishop John Dougherty, Auxiliary of Newark, chairman of the USCC Commission on World Justice and Peace.

This is a delicate matter, I know, since it involves a Redemptorist priest whom I know only occasionally, but whose present influence in America seems to me to be disastrous. He is Father Sean McManus, C.S.S.R., who is working out of Baltimore, as of this year.

Father Bennett spoke very strongly about the bad influence that Father McManus has had both in Northern Ireland and the Republic, and was not at all surprised to hear that he is continuing in the same quite fanatical manner in the United States. Granted that his brother Patrick was killed by the British in 1958, and granted that the Catholic people in Ireland have suffered abysmally from discrimination and misrule for hundreds of years; and granted that the last fifty years in Northern Ireland have been a terrible experience for so many of the minority, still Father Sean is misrepresenting the real situation in Belfast. And he is doing serious harm to the poor in Belfast, according to the judgment of Father Bennet as well as Canon Padraic Murphy, pastor of St. John's Parish on the Falls Road, to whom I showed a couple of copies of "The Irish People", which lionizes Father Sean's appearances at numerous Irish events in America.

Father Bennett suggested that I write to you, since Father McManus belongs to the English Province, and ask you whether some word might be sent to Father Shepherd, C.S.S.R., to acquaint him with the situation in America. I would very much like to hear from you, and would gladly follow whatever direction you may give me. I hope that this letter does not seem out of order, Father. Father Sean has, in my judgment, seriously misled many Americans about the real situation in great deal of publicity for himself in America. Canon Padraic Murphy denounced Murphy was no less vigorous in declaring Father McManus' ideas destructive of peace in the Catholic ghettos when he talked about it on May 26, 1973. I have a view of it. It brought together Archbishop Simms, Primate of the Church of Ireland, Ireland, and Canon Murphy as Cardinal Conway's representative.

I would be at your service in any way you choose, including coming to that you would think best. He represents a facet of the situation, but only one of that his opinions represent perhaps one per cent of the people. The vast majority very much reduced British presence if that is the best they can do. They definitely do not want the continued gun-battles of the Provos against the British troops. Two weeks ago, a fourteen year old Catholic girl was killed by the Provos in while he played in the front yard of his house. Such atrocities have been commonplace, and are due to the Provo gunmen without any doubt. Father McManus would of course allege that they are due to the British presence alone; disagree with him. I would like to hope that you can enable Father McManus to go into low-profile for a time.

Hoping to hear from you soon, Father, and to see you soon after that, I remain

Yours in our Lord,
David J. Bowman, S.J.



THE COLLABORATORS

A PROTESTANT EVALUATION OF A REBEL PRIEST

by FRED BURNS O'BRIEN, AB, MS, JD.

In my first encounter with Father Sean McManus at a debate on Northern Ireland, he spoke words which placed the justification of the entire eight hundred year struggle for freedom and equality in Ireland and its proper perspective. Father McManus stated: "To make men live on a subhuman level against their will, to constrain them in such a way that they have no hope of escaping their condition, is an unjust exercise of force. Those who in some way concur in the oppression — and perhaps profit by it — are exercising violence even though they may be preaching pacifism. And their supposedly peaceful laws, which maintain this spurious kind of order, are in fact instruments of violence and oppression. If the oppressed try to resist by force — which is their right — theology has no right preaching non-violence to them ... Theology cannot afford edifying generalities about charity, while identifying "peace" with mere established power and legalized violence against the oppressed. A theology of love cannot be allowed merely to serve the interests of the rich and powerful, justifying their wars, their violence and their bombs, while exhorting the poor and underprivileged to practice patience, meekness, long suffering and to solve their problems, if at all, nonviolently ... Theology does not exist merely to appease the already too untroubled conscience of the powerful and the established". Father McManus stated that these words were written by a Carthusian Monk, Father Thomas Merton. When I heard Sean McManus utter these words, I thought to myself about those in the Irish Catholic Hierarchy and how they have denied so much to their own flock for the sake of an unjust and meaningless peace. I would only hope that a Cardinal Conway or a Bishop Daly could digest the meaning of these words and divest themselves of the Catholic Hierarchical role of Anglophile.

Men like Cardinal Conway could be so immensely useful if they believed in the freedom of their people. It escapes me that throughout Irish history, the Bishops of the church of Rome have played into the hands of the British Government only to prolong the day when all Ireland is free and united and to prolong the violent struggle. If the Catholic Hierarchy stood behind their members and others as well, Ireland could demand its total freedom from British domination, but they remain so expediently dormant. A word from Cardinal Conway could carry quite a bit of weight in Westminster that now loves to quote him in his pro-British statements.

The acquisition of a fundamental awareness of the concepts involved in the War in Northern Ireland was a slow process in the United States, but has been enhanced over the past nine months by the presence of Father Sean McManus, a Catholic priest, born and bred in the Six County British Colony located in the Historic Irish Province of Ulster. The expertise of Father McManus on the Northern question is presented by him in a clear, calm and straightforward manner and has served to broaden the insight of many of us seeking a first-hand account of the crisis.

The deluded perspective given to Northern Ireland in the United States centered on the theory that it was a religious war among rival Irish factions with the British humanely attempting to part the adversaries. Father McManus has transposed that delusion into a proper theoretical definition of the conflict. He has stated that the true conflict is one of national self-determination of Ireland as a united state; the establishment of an Irish culture, which would include Protestant and Catholic traditions; the final expulsion of the foreign power — Britain — and the proper re-evaluation of the economic status of the Irish people in which sphere religion is infused to draw attention from the deplorable poverty of both Catholics and Protestants.

Father McManus has appeared on many radio and television programmes as well as given many speeches on the North to various organizations. The news media in the States is biasedly anglophile and never portrays the British in a bad light. This served to create a false impression of the continuing Irish War of Independence in the minds of Americans and it has been Father McManus' task to present the truth to the American people. On each programme appearance, Sean McManus has never flaunted his Roman collar as a protective device, nor did he use religion in a presentation of his arguments, in fact, he went out of his way to adhere to the politics of the Northern crisis, divesting it of religious overtones. Others he has faced in debate have time and again attempted to infuse religion as a basis of approaching the conversation on the North, but Father McManus has not fallen into the sectarian trap. This was particularly significant to a non-catholic such as myself,

because I then viewed Father McManus in his role as spokesman for his people in the North and not as a representative of the Catholic Church which when he speaks on the crisis in Ireland he is not representing. When he appeared on television or radio or in person, he was a non-sectarian Irishman speaking his political views, distinct from his role of priest which he restricts to his church duties and activities.

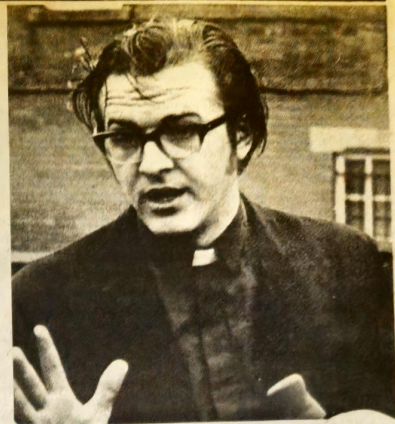
Having read quite a bit of Irish history, I realize that the concern for Ireland espoused by Sean McManus is one carried throughout the historical Irish struggle by the ordinary (in rank not stature) priest, which on most occasions put him in conflict with the majority of the Catholic Hierarchy that had a tendency to reject the cause of Irish Nationalism for the more expedient role of acquiescence to the power of structure presently in control of governmental jurisdiction in Ireland. This has served to confuse loyal Catholics who are given a divided church structure from which to choose. Historically, as stated, the Hierarchy always chose to support the established government during a time of crisis, while the majority of priests would overwhelmingly support the efforts of their people who they live with and serve on a daily basis and in whose cause they believe with conviction for it is their own. To the Protestant eye, we view the Irish Catholic Church as one of priests in control on a grassroots level yet the Bishops are in control publicly as they appear to be a part of the governing structure with their influence. To the Northern Protestant, this gives the illusion of "Catholic Rule" and needs a clarification that the Hierarchy do not necessarily represent the views of the great number of Catholics. The Hierarchy has supported the British in 1916, then the Free Staters in 1922, the Fianna Fail when they achieved power and now they support the British in the North of Ireland. Such support without regard to principle cannot be admired by any of the Irish people.

On the other hand, the priests out of principle and a sincere belief in Irish Nationalism remain true to the cause of Irish Freedom. The Hierarchy have status and a good life and need not be troubled by the abject poverty around them which they pay lip service, but a priest can see it daily and when his people suffer so does he. I recall the pictures of the Derry Massacre in 1972 and the first person to be seen was a Catholic priest carrying a wounded victim dodging British bullets to carry the person to safety. This was typical behaviour for a priest, but no Bishop could be found on the firing line.

It seems that throughout Irish history the Hierarchy reacted in a way to make one wonder if they had a politically inspired position to protect. It has fallen upon the parish priest to clarify the Catholic Churches involvement in Irish politics so as not to create false impressions in Protestant minds that would be detrimental to the entire Catholic image. This has been futile at times because of the access the Hierarchy can gain to the media.

THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE BEST BRITISH AGENT IN IRELAND BECAUSE THEY WILL SIDE WITH THE POWER BROKERS AND WHEN PRIESTS PROTEST, THEY ARE SILENCED IN ONE MANNER OR ANOTHER. THIS WAS OF COURSE THE CASE WITH FATHER SEAN MC MANUS WHOSE WORDS IN SUPPORT OF IRISH FREEDOM CAUSED SUCH CONSTERNATION AMONG THE HIERARCHICAL ELITE. THAT HE WAS TWICE TRANSFERRED IN AN EFFORT TO SILENCE HIS OPINIONS ON BEHALF OF THE IRISH PEOPLE. I ask myself — Why do the Hierarchy feel so threatened by a sincere priest who speaks not only to assist people suffering, never saying a word in derogation of his church? If Father McManus was interfering in their domain then he should be silenced, but he speaks in the political arena and to my knowledge this is not the domain of Bishops unless they speak only as citizens not in a clerical role. But this is the problem, they cannot distinguish their roles as Bishop and citizen and they wonder why Protestants can become confused.

The latest transfer of Sean McManus to the United States was meant to quash any influence he might infuse into the Irish Republican movement, but this action of his superiors has consequently backfired. Instead of being silenced, Father McManus has served to educate the American public on the truth about conditions in Ireland, North and South. He has initiated an interest in Ireland that was present before he came, but it was scattered and fragmented.



When I think of the battle Father McManus has had with his ecclesiastical superiors, it brings to mind other periods in Irish History and especially to me the Era of the Fenian Movement. It was during this time of struggle that priests like Sean McManus were confronted by similar consequences and instead of Cardinal Conway there was the likes of Archbishop Cullen of Dublin and Bishop Moriarty of Kerry who condemned the Fenians as an occult society disregarding their highly principled intent to free Ireland from the British stranglehold. The Hierarchy claimed that it was sinful to hold membership in a society such as the Fenians, but here they infused religion into politics when the two are separate and distinct. The Sean McManus of his day was a Catholic priest named Father Lavelle who supported the concerted efforts of the Fenians. During this era in 1861 Archbishop Cullen refused to allow a lying-in-state in the Pro-Cathedral for the body of Terence Bellew MacManus, the '48 leader of the Irish Nationalists who had died in the United States. Dr. Cullen regarded the whole affair as a Fenian publicity stunt. Father Lavelle publicly attacked the Archbishop and those clergymen who supported the Archbishop and he travelled to Dublin himself to preach the funeral oration. Father Lavelle argued that Fenianism was in full accord with the Catholic Church and he insisted that preparation for resistance to a tyrannical government was not only justified but the duty of all Irish people. He also argued logically that the papal bull against secret societies applied only to those aimed at the overthrow of the church and state, and not to those like the Fenian Brotherhood which aimed only at the overthrow of tyrannical government. Bishops, he felt, were no more competent to pronounce views on politics as any other men. He felt that where politics began, church jurisdiction ended and this was acceptable logic.

There are many priests dedicated to the Irish cause, but in the United States Father McManus has been the most effective speaker. He has infused a pride of Ireland in many priests in the United States by his own outspoken example. He has been a benefit to the Irish cause of freedom and we Irish living in the States offer our heartfelt gratitude to his ecclesiastical superiors to attempted to silence Sean McManus by exiling him to Baltimore, Maryland, but he has done them one better. He is a credit to both Ireland and to his church.

Perhaps it is easier for me as a non-believer in Catholicism to offer opinions on my view of the role of the Catholic clergy in Ireland's long struggle for complete emancipation. Father McManus is a prime example, at least to me, of the ability to separate the two roles that he possesses. He can speak as the concerned citizen about the plight of his countrymen, yet, he is still the priest to his congregation. He does not mix religion into his politically oriented speeches. This is significant for this is where the Catholic Hierarchy fails; they cannot distinguish between the two distinct areas and it is they who are responsible for the fearful attitudes developed in Protestant minds. They fear "rule from Rome" in the advent of a united Ireland.

Personally, I admire and respect Sean McManus, yet, I reserve the right to totally disagree with him over religious principles. Our conflict and disagreement over religion are irrelevant, for more important, is our shared concern over the future of Ireland. If one of us is not free then none of us can truly be free. It irritates me to think of those not working for their co-religionists in the North, when there are those of us who disagree with Catholicism coming to the defence of Catholics.

I profusely hope the Irish people are aware of the concern for the cause of Irish freedom on this side of the Atlantic and our concern has been heightened by the presence of Father Sean McManus who has been educational in his endeavour on behalf of his people. It is the example and determination in Ireland that sustain our efforts here. Ireland can only start to be free when Britain is gone and at that point in time both nations can be rightful neighbours on the basis of equality which is of necessity if nations are to initiate a centuries postponed friendship. Until such a time as this might occur, we will continue our support here for our countrymen in Ireland and Sean McManus will speak out tirelessly on behalf of Irish freedom.

UNDER MY EYE



le CORMAC MAC AIRT

When we started this column I promised that we would continually expose the hidden enemies of Irish freedom, whether they were to be found in high places or in low places, in Church or State, or amongst the business tycoons, whose interest it is to maintain the status quo in Ireland.

We will continue this policy week after week until the Irish people know the hidden enemies with whom they have to deal.

First on my list this week is Mr. Patrick O'Hehir, Editor of the Fermanagh Herald, ex-Senator at Stormont and a well known collaborator with the Northern Regime. O'Hehir is a journalist, born and reared in Newry. He came to Enniskillen to take over the Fermanagh Herald after the death of its former Editor, the late Pat McManus, father of Mr. Tom McManus, Features Editor of the Irish Independent, and grandfather of Don McManus of Radio Eireann Reporting Staff. Old Pat was a decent little man who never used his journalistic ability to raise himself into the seats of the Mighty. Not so with his successor, as you will soon see.

At the moment, O'Hehir is running a vicious column in the Fermanagh Herald under the heading: — "Erne Sense", and it is believed locally, and I am personally of the opinion that he is the author of the column himself. Be that as it may, as Editor he is responsible for the column and I can say that it is one of the most slanderous and vicious anti-Republican Features appearing in any newspaper in Ireland.

In the issue dated July 7th "Erne Sense" makes a violent attack on Mr. Frank McManus M.P. and charges him with losing a Seat for "Republicanism" in the Fermanagh/South Tyrone area at the recent Assembly Elections by advising the people of that area not to take part in the Election. According to "Erne Sense", the S.D.L.P. expected to get three Seats in the area and because the people at the Fermanagh end abstained practically en bloc, Harry West, anti-White Paper Unionist got a Seat. Said "Erne Sense": — "A large share of the blame must be placed fairly and squarely on the shoulders of Frank McManus M.P. It is just over three years since McManus got a mandate to act on behalf of the anti-Unionist voters of this Constituency. He has consistently ridden his own particular hobby horse and ignored the will of the majority of the people". Further on, the column states: — "The Sunday World suggested that they (meaning Frank McManus and his followers) got their orders from the Provo Leadership in Dublin to keep out of the fray in case of defeat". And then "Erne Sense" goes on to sneer at the Republican Movement by stating: "It is one thing to get elected to high Office in a spurious Body like Dail Uladh. It is another thing to present oneself to the ordinary Irish people for election in a really democratic election".

Ex-Senator Paddy O'Hehir should remember that Dail Uladh has not yet come into being, but the machinery for bringing it into being has been set up. It is true that Frank McManus is part of that machinery, but Dail Uladh, when it does come into being, will be an Irish Assembly, not something forced down the people's throats at the point of a gun by Willie Whitelaw's Paratroopers. So much for the democratic Election. That suits O'Hehir all right. After all, as a Stormont Senator he had enjoyed nearly 30 years of a good fat salary since he first got the King's Shilling and swallowed the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown. Between himself and the late Cahir Healy, they got away with murder by coddling the people of Fermanagh that they were Nationalists and Republicans. The Provos that Paddy doesn't like blew the lid off. The so-called Nationalist Party crumbled. The Unionist Party cracked and split. Stormont collapsed and it seemed as if the end of the world had come as far as O'Hehir was concerned. Then he saw a gleam of light. He jumped on to the S.D.L.P. band wagon, although he knew damn well that the S.D.L.P. counted for nothing in Co. Fermanagh after Frank McManus beat Austin Curry for the Nomination to the last Westminster Election, and the I.R.A. in Co. Fermanagh taught the British a lesson that they won't forget.

I am holding no brief here for Frank McManus, or anyone else who sits in the British Parliament, but at least it can be said of him that he has not attempted to re-build Stormont, as Gerry Fitt, Curry and John Hume are doing.

"Erne Sense" refers to the S.D.L.P. as a Republican Party. This would make a cat laugh. After all, we had a "Republican Party" in the South, and it was in Office for nearly 36 years and its contribution to Republicanism was jails, concentration camps, execution squads, and British hangmen. The S.D.L.P. "Republican Party" won't be much better. After all, the Leader, Gerry Fitt has rather a vested interest in maintaining the Border. What about his Westminster salary of £6,000 a year and his free plane rides from Belfast to London and back, not to talk of his future expectations of £2,500 as a member of Whitelaw's Assembly, and perhaps another £5,000 if he joins the Cabinet to share power with Brian Faulkner, architect of internment, the man who ordered the Derry massacre on Bloody Sunday, and the torture and ill-treatment at Long Kesh and Hollywood Barracks. What a record for a leader of a "Republican Party". There is no doubt about it, Paddy O'Hehir is on the ball again. He wants the new Assembly, and he wants it badly, for there he sees place and power for himself and his ilk. This time, however, he has backed the wrong horse. The Republican people of Fermanagh have awakened from 50 years of slumber. It will take more than the journalistic ability of the boyo from Newry to pull the wool over their eyes again. Ask any Nationalist or Republican in Newtownbutler, Lisnaskea, Belleek or Enniskillen town what they think of ex-Senator O'Hehir and you will soon get your answer. The chips are down, Paddy. Your day is over.

NEW DISPENSATION

On Sunday morning, July 8th, the Sunday Independent carried a front page story telling us of "The New Dispensation at R.T.E.", where the staffs are to be given more say at Management level and there is to be "power sharing".

Power sharing seems to be the in word since Whitelaw set out to build his new Assembly. It is a good word too, for it explains how dissidents can be quietened down and fittened nicely into the Establishment set-up. If the R.T.E. staffs fall for this one they are as big fools as are the S.D.L.P. in the North. Of course, some of the bought-off journalists (notably the so-called Political Correspondents) at R.T.E. will be all in favour of "The new Dispensation". Power-sharing will suit them down to the ground, and the goose that lays the golden egg in the form of fine, fat salaries, will continue to lay, even in the off-season. And why not? for after all the political boys are doing a good job. Take for example, last Sunday's lunch time programme on Radio, "This Week". We had 20 minutes of Garret FitzGerald being interviewed in Helsinki, in which he explained how reasonable Britain was in her attempts to settle "The Irish Question". Indeed, Garret pointed out that the Dublin and Westminster Governments were setting an example to all other Government as how best to settle Frontier problems in a friendly manner. Garret, of course, forgot to mention the rape of the Falls, Bloody Sunday in Derry, the terror of Long Kesh and Hollywood, the Orange Assassination gangs, etc., etc. But then, that sort of thing would not be nice on Irish Radio. It might only encourage the Men of Violence.

After Garret, we had another 20 minutes of nice, persuasive talk from that great Christian gentleman and Apostle of Peace, Rev. Martin Smith, Grandmaster of the Orange Order. The Rev. Martin was in great form. He told us that the Order had only one main objective, to preserve the Reformation, but that in order to do that they had to have a certain amount of political control, so that they could force their views on to the rest of the population, and for that reason they felt that they must dominate any future Government in Northern Ireland. What the Rev. Martin forgot was that Wolfe Tone and Emmet and Mitchell and Davis and

Sinn Féin Statements

1. SIX COUNTY ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Following the collapse of the old Stormont Parliament before the resistance of the people in the Six Counties, Britain has devised in her White Paper new institutions through which to stabilise the situation and perpetuate her own control over the area.

This was followed by elections to the new Stormont Assembly which were not free as far as Sinn Féin was concerned. Our organisation is banned under British law, many of our members imprisoned and interned and our supporters are harassed and subjected to intimidation day and night by a brutal soldiery. Furthermore, our members in going before the people in an all-out campaign would be marked down for future "attention" and possible internment by the same forces of British terror.

Rather than enter an unequal contest under such circumstances Sinn Féin did not attempt to nominate candidates but instead called on its supporters to either boycott the polls or spoil their votes as local conditions indicated. This stand was responsible for the comparatively low poll (63%) and high rate of spoiled votes (6%) in West Belfast, where Sinn Féin in the teeth of all the disadvantages could have won a seat. It is reasonable to deduce also that only a Sinn Féin or Dail Uladh-type candidate could have taken a further seat from the Unionists in Fermanagh-South Tyrone.

Reduced polls and invalidated ballot papers were a feature of the count in the other ten constituencies but on a diminished scale and indicate the widespread nature of the "boycott or spoil" stand. It is important to realise that in contested constituencies in the past a poll of approximately 90% was usual rather than the exception. Intense psychological pressure was asserted on voters to the effect that not to conform would "allow the Unionists to win" and resulted in the electors often choosing a second-best by default since their first choice was denied free participation in the contest.

The number of seats gained by the S.D.L.P. in these circumstances means that they will in a short time be called to account for the unconditional release of the internees, a general amnesty for all political prisoners and the securing of their "declaration of intent" from the British Government. Notwithstanding the outcome of this unfree election, it is difficult to see the new Stormont Assembly working at all since all democratic processes have to be bent to allow it to function. This is of course dictated by the artificial and undemocratic basis of the Six-County State which divides Protestant from Catholic and effectively prevents reconciliation based on justice.

In the likely event of the new Stormont going the way of its predecessor — it has been given nine months to get working — Britain will be forced to face reality and consider winding up her centuries-old intervention in Irish affairs. Towards forcing Britain to plan and put into effect a phased and orderly withdrawal from Ireland over a period of years the energies of the Republican Movement are directed. To render the new British institution unworkable is therefore of paramount importance at this time.

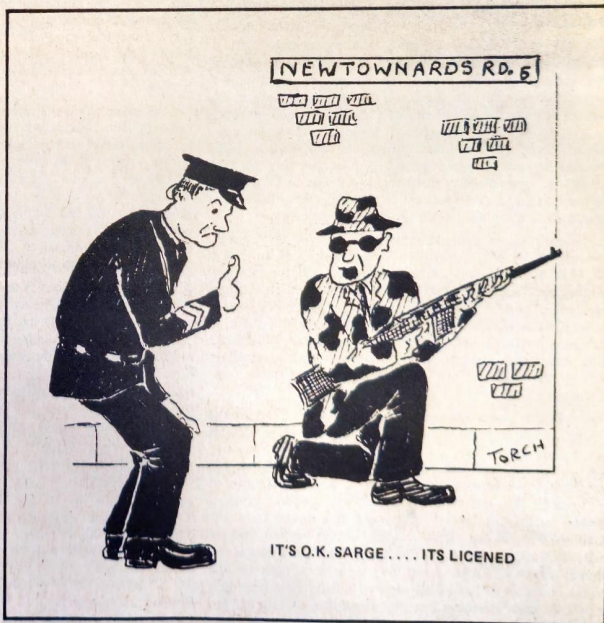
2. AN GHAELGE SNA HOSPIDEIL

Tá tuairisc ar an eagrán reatha den Irish Medical Times ar bhás buachaill Gaeltachta in ospidéal agus ar an gcaoi nár thuig na daoine a bhí ag tabhairt aise do d'chuid Gaeilge nuair a d'iarr sé "doech uisce". Tá tuairisc ann freisin ar chásanna eile den chineál céanna.

Is mór an scannal é nach bhfuil cóir leighis ar fáil mar ba chóir do chainteoirí Gaeilge. Dá mba chuirteoir ná maccinn ón iasacht an té a bhí ar leaba a bháis is dóigh go gcuirfí fóir ar thangaire a d'aistreadh a raibh le ráige. Níl ach an díspéadadh i ndán do lucht na Gaeilge, araoir.

Ba cheart go mbeadh dóthain dochtúirí agus banaitrí ar fáil in aon ospidéal chun freastal ar lucht na Gaeilge, agus go hairithe in áiteacha cosúil le hOspidéal Réigiúnach na Gaillimhe.

Dá mbeadh féin-riail réigiúnach ag an nGaeilge, mar a theastaíonn ó Shinn Féin, d'fhéadfaí na seirbhísí seo uilig a chur ar fáil i nGaeilge. Ach ní theastaíonn a leithéid ó na poiticeoirí mar go dtabharfaid sé an iomarca féin-mhuine den phobal.



Parnell, all believed in the Reformation just as much as he does, but they were Irish Nationalists, and they got the same treatment from the British Government as any Papist Nationalist. Martin also forgot that quite a few Imperialists, like Garret FitzGerald and Liam Cosgrave and Jack Lynch, and some of the Judges and Higher Civil Servants at Stormont are all very good Papists, but are as loyal to the British connection as any Orangeman. What the British fear most in Ireland is the unity of Catholic and Protestant in the cause of Irish freedom, and the Radio Eireann boys, by providing the like of Martin Smith with a platform, are doing all that they can to prevent that day coming. But they won't succeed, for the words of Davis will one day come true . . .

"England fools us,
Landlords rule us,
William and James are turned to clay,
But in their spite, the Irish unite,
And, Orange and Green will carry the day".

When that day comes, as come it will, all the paid hacks of the media will have to face charges of treason against the people and the Nation they are so cruelly betraying today, and it won't matter then whether they can stick Senator on to their name or not.

Free State Mentality OR The Whole Northern Thing

"A typical dimension is the growing distaste of so many people in the Republic for the whole northern thing" words taken fellow Irishmen from the editorial of a recent issue of the "Irish Times". The said editor was either entirely blasé or amazingly honest. His choice of words can leave us in no doubt as to what our "Fleet Street" thinks of the North betimes — "the whole northern thing".

Certainly there is more than a grain of truth in what this editor has so crudely said. We have grown smug and selfish in the fifty odd years we've had of Free Stater. We too have become highly materialistic, possibly the most mammon-minded people in Europe. A true saying — "we know the price of everything, and the value of nothing". The "stepping-stone" has been to the bank not to the nation. We have hoarded, and borrowed ad nauseam, thinking that all the riches of life came from foreign parts. In many ways it would appear we've nurtured a pathological hatred of ourselves, all that was Us, and is should be Us. We are like unto a great sponge in the North Atlantic. Unlike a quarter million Icelanders we haven't spine enough left to win a codwar!

A mass schizophrenia has taken hold of our people in the South and its root-cause may well be worth tracing. This split-personality we have developed manifests itself in many ways but none perhaps as dramatic as that of our attitude to words used to designate the island Ireland. The mind-splitting probably begins in the realm of language(s) and semantics. Not everybody is entirely clear when they refer to "Ireland" and to the words "nation" and "country". "Free State" is explicit enough and means 26 Counties though the adjective "Free" is decidedly unhappy especially under the most draconian Special Powers Act in western civilisation.

Similarly when we say "Ulster" the same stumbling-block is rolled out. Do we mean "The North" i.e. "Six Counties" "Northern Ireland" (this immediately infers a "Southern Ireland") alias "Occupied Ireland" or could we possibly mean ancient Ulaidh (Ulster) all nine counties thereof, roughly-speaking. So it becomes patently obvious that the first step to rationalising foreign occupation of ones country is one of manipulation in terms of the political map and the consequent searing of a dividing line on the ethos or race-mind.

Nevertheless should you ask the average Southerner (sic) whether he considers himself a native of Ireland or of the officially designated "Republic of Ireland" you will most likely receive a rather sharp answer. In this instance there would appear to be no question of that "growing distaste" or "typical dimension". Similarly the Loyalist and/or Unionist population are equally definitive about their own "Free State" — they say they live in Northern Ireland. Strangely though they rarely if ever refer to the 'nation' or even 'country' — these political concepts being in the main confused with the United Kingdom. Perhaps a back-door colony, with all the trappings such status confers, is close enough to the 'majority' mentality. (Religion unfortunately creates its own political schisms here and the fusion is such that it is almost impossible to identify cause and effect).

Then of course there is the London line. This orientation caters for such terms as the "British Isles", the "United Kingdom" and by extension the "British Lions", though in fairness this pride has of late been labelled "British and Irish". Derry or Doire is very solemnly given the full B.B.C. syllabic treatment and is never anything else old boy short of "Londonderry", yeah and "County Londonderry".

To top all this "nationalism" has become a dirty word. The English have no time for it, neither of course have the French,

the Danes, the Belgians (sic) the Dutch or for that matter the Germans! In short the most secure and powerful nations in the Bankers' Club seem horrified at the idea of little Paddyland becoming one of them — a nation — especially now in 1973. What tongue in pluck! Yet so schizoid are we that we have fallen for it, and naively believe the great European denationalisation is on the way, the gentile Diaspora — mostly Irish spailpíns!

Now to more immediate and concrete forms of the North-South axes of schizophrenia (I use the plural form bearing in mind the South-North line of alienation). It is along this dissector that the Brits have been most successful though not of course in the military sense. So well has the psychological approach been made by London that Whitelaw could openly flout the right of Ireland to her own sovereignty recently when playing host to Fitzgerald. (Comm Bacach O'Neill had a little advice to give to Garrett on this matter) "Will ye nay say ye have no right laddie?". Of course over the past three years or so we have made it look as if we had no right to sovereignty and were only mere impostors. The Quisling-Leval parallels to puppet states and open admission of partition made by Lynch and Cosgrave has surrendered the psychological initiative to Britain. Dublin has almost managed to "unprint" the very word "partition" by total acceptance of what it stands for. It is only by rejection that words such as "Border" and "Partition" are given their full stark measure of reality.

Dublin is spoke to London's hub. Never before has the so-called capital been seen for what it really is — "Londublin" or the Irish "Hong Kong". The old House of Parliament at College Green is still the true Leinster House, indeed has always been the true Leinster House despite Easter charades, hypocritical commemorations and greenbannery not to mention belted eais, Green Belts and Sweepstakery — 50 years of firing blanks. London liked that sound — all was well with the bill. Dublin liked the sound too — it was good for the favoured sons out to make the fast buck and to hell with that "patriotic nonsense". The purr of a Jensen or a Merck was as good a sound as any to lull to sleep the national consciousness. Republicans were "dangerous men" — they meant what they said. The only good republican was a dead or dying one and preferably behind bars. This national (sic) schizophrenia easily accommodated the anomaly of the "Republican" party just as it did empty formulae. You had two types of licensed "republicans" or Soldiers of Gael and Destiny, one blueshirted the other greenbacked (Taca means "back"). Again the "Free" State cum "Republic" admitted of such schizoid performances as a 1916 commemoration in 1966 election "Freedom Speeches" and pious allusions to "our beleaguered brethren in the North". The Irish language presents the classical example of a "double-think", a gross psychotic pretence bordering on political chicanery and prostitution. The call-girl's name is always the same — Kathleen, Roisin or Eire. Do remember the prefix is 20 and multiples of 20... 100; 1000; 10,000; 1,000,000 ... In other countries such national prostitution of country usually ends in a putsch.

When the nearest thing we've had to a putsch began in British Occupied Ireland eyes were raised in the South. How dare "they" take on "Law and Order". Those of us whose ears are honest heard what was said: "Bloody blackguards out to ruin the country (sic) ... The tourist trade would suffer ... we don't want to know about that crowd down here ... We have our own problems (so we have!) ... Sure now we're all the same in the Common Market". Yes that is what we said "down here". Of course the schizoid side of us would protest our innocence. "We didn't mean it that way ... what could we do sure? ... Anyway they were best left to sort it out amongst themselves". And all the while the lousy schizophrenia in us allowed us sing "Kevin Barry"; "The Four Green Fields"; and mind you "The Men Behind the Wire"; between gulp of Guinness when not acting the glass-tiger we could blank-out on Soccer, Gay Byrne or the Common Market — the Lynch kipper. (It is dangerous in the land of the Greenback to even mention "red-herding")

And never let it be said that our mental 'splits' were not dutifully annointed and blessed, "peace be to you" being the order of the day. The British Army has been twice blessed, the Royal and Emeral Navy thrice, the R.A.F. and sidewings, Paras and S.A.S. included, have got a "plover" (Pilibin in Erse mate) of pardon. Mother Church has been prodigious in her pardons to the little venial "misdemeanours" of the "guests" or "Security Forces". We've had a "Father Murphy" in another fight for the Queen again, an "Aquinas" who couldn't differentiate between cause and effect. Then of course there was William with one cardinal point to his compass — East (by South East) and perhaps a little bit of wheel trowel and hammer too thrown in for good measure. Another faithful son deserves honourable mention that great "Nobel" Gael Conor

Cruise who knows his Trafalgar if not his Tyburn. This great "liberal" (like "socialist" Keating) has learned very quickly indeed how best to compromise ones principles when it comes to working in the ways that best suit a Fascist regime. O'Brien's Section 31 of the "Special Powers" is almost as good as Keating's cap-in-hand visit to "capitalist" America. Shaw had something when he referred to politicians as being half-reformed criminals dressed up as gentlemen by a some bespoke tailor. (Of course after "Double-barrel" O'Brien's casementing of the late Hammarskjöld we should not have expected too much: the character is in the face). It is small wonder then that the obsequiously schizoid side of Free Staters expect the Six County minority to keep turning the other cheek. The pharisees were a fine people by comparison.

This 'cheek-turning' was not to be. A day came and there was Burntollit and Bombay Street. True to that half-century rebel cycle which embraces 1798, 1848, 1867, 1916, war was waged on Saxon rule in Ireland. For well over 50 years of cruel nepotism, criminal Stormont misrule pogrom and "Fenian Bastards" wall-daubing the minority in the North somehow subsisted in their well defined ghettos. Now they had taken enough. What was more they felt that it was morally wrong for them to acquiesce any further since this would mean handing down that dreadful legacy to the next generation. England had bolstered up the Brookborough line for long enough. The plush seat halls of power by the Thames had also long enough to introduce some semblance of decency and civil rights in the face of "not an inch". The truth was she did not really want to: everything was under control and they could afford to be smug. Were there not armed B-Specials on the streets of Belfast and Londonderry?

Yes revolution had to come to bring England to her senses. Words without action never impressed the Mother of Parliaments for some strange reason. At first the streets themselves provided the ammunition — bricks and paving stones, just as in Paris and Budapest. A people had risen just as they had risen in 1916 and 1918 and no words or palaver by Free State quislings bloated by 50 years of graft and subservience, could deny those people Freedom or change their course one whit. From Cave Hill once again came the shout of Tone: "Break the connection!"

At first it was thought in London and Dublin that this rising would fall into the category of "Republican Gestures" as in the 40's and 50's, sporadic raids on barracks, some scattered shootings and bombings, then the inevitable petering out as the flame failed to catch. Gradually it was realised in the South that the Six County freedom-fighters were going it alone if needs be this time. The great "Republican" party tradition bluff was called for Fianna Fail!

Soon signs of the Fifty Fatted Years began to appear and with a naivety that under other circumstances would be truly laughable. The fat was in the fire! Now signs of "double think" became apparent as the chief warrior of destiny began to welch and run for cover, shouting all the time that he "would not stand idly by!". The rest is history. A re-actionary Free State took on the role of Quisling Norway and Vichy France. Even the sons of Childers and Brugha had become oh so "Regular"! Co-operation with London not to mention open police and army collaboration became the order of the day. So grovelling and abject had the Free Staters become in the face of their London masters that they even banned all national ballads from the radio/television networks. "Who fears to speak of '98. Who blushes at the name?" Obviously the Minister responsible did, a West Limerick man called Collins for which he has earned the sobriquet "Ballads" Collins — a doubtful credential in the light of future history books. Their 50 years of bluff called Fianna Fail and Fianna Gael were all the same — nice lackey-boys for London shouting "Law and Order". Very soon even the Home Office propaganda bilge began to spew forth from the renegades in Leinster House. They too called the brave freedom fighters of Occupied Ireland "men of violence" "terrorists" "evil men" while the Forces of the Crown were none less than "Security Forces" How Brugha and Treacy would have liked it!

It was a clear case of power and pocket first — to hell with a 32 county Ireland! The pocket all too often finds you Free Stater out. It is that certain choice between a man's honour and his pocket that makes for a good man and true when it comes to putting his country's cause before personal gain. Such men are very rare this day in the Duke of Leinster's House. There cringe men of dubious honour and little loyalty save to their Tory master Edward Heath and his minion Whitelaw. The pale is once again the pale with Castle and Dungeon dominating but those Pierre Levals and Quislings would do well to remember that the pale was never Ireland.

Rossa —

An Phoblacht

Imleabhair 4

27 Iul 1973.

Uimhir 24

44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire.

Guthán: 47611

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

THE SEIZURE OF the publication 'Freedom Struggle' by the Free State Authorities is an indication of the fear which the Dublin Government has of the Republican viewpoint and policy. Over the last four years, the Republican Movement has been consistent in its policy and deadily effective in resisting British terror in the North. These two points come across very clearly in 'Freedom Struggle' and contrast sharply with the deceit, hypocrisy and treachery of the Dublin Government in their dealings with the Northern people. The exposure of this treachery in 'Freedom Struggle' was the real reason why the booklet was suppressed.

The seizure of the books was both stupid and silly. Over two thousand copies had been distributed and due to widespread public demand, arrangements are being made for the production of a further 25,000 copies. Enquiries have been received from the United States, Britain and the Continent and arrangements are being made for the publication of the booklet in those countries.

The Free State Government has made a laughing-stock of itself before the world by banning the book. The move has not alone generated world-wide interest in the book, but it has exposed Dublin politicians as petty-minded people, hell bent on outdated censorship. The imbecile comments of Cooney and O'Malley illustrated the poverty of their thinking and the futility of their actions. O'Malley's hysterical call for the jailing of Republicans is entirely in keeping with his pro-British policy on the North.

It is now obvious that the Government is not content in physically assisting the British in their terrorising the Northern people, but they are determined that only the British Army black propaganda viewpoint will be heard. The truth offends the British be it in Strasbourg or Ireland and therefore it must be suppressed. The new Irish paper wall will be ripped aside and with it will go the lick-spittle so-called Irish politicians who serve England so well.

OBITUARY

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE P.J. DALY

REPUBLICANS NATIONWIDE were saddened at the recent sudden death of P.J. Daly, manager of the Glencolmille co-operative, Co. Donegal. His burial took place in his native Monaghan after Requiem Mass in Glencolmille. Before the departure from Glencolmille to Monaghan Sean Keenan delivered the oration. Speaking in Irish and English Sean Keenan said the Republican life of P.J. Daly was an example to all. He remembered P.J. working for Sinn Féin in England, and upon his return to Ireland he had continued his labours for the cause. He was deeply interested in the Co-Operative movement and it was a worthy tribute to P.J. that Rev Father McDyer PP should eulogise his endeavours. He had travelled annually to speak at the Manchester Martyrs Commemoration, and with his passing the Republican Movement has suffered a great loss. The Tricolour draped coffin cortege was escorted to the outskirts of the town by members of the South-West Donegal Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin who also placed a wreath.

In Monaghan, amid a large attendance, Joe O'Neill from Bundoran a member of the Ard Comhairle delivered the final verbal tributes over this sincere and great Republican.

The Republican Movement extends its sympathy to the wife and family of the late Patrick Joseph Daly. R.I.P.

Members of the South West Donegal Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin also laid a wreath on the grave of the late Rory McTeague in Killybegs. Rory McTeague a teacher at the Glenties Comprehensive School was in his mid thirties when he died suddenly recently.

Anthony O'Malley Daly
Secretary
Sinn Féin,
Ballyshannon.

I.R.A. STRIKE BACK

THE BRITISH ARMY exultation over the capturing of a number of leading Republicans in Belfast last week was short lived when I.R.A. units struck back with deadly effect. Before the week was over, three soldiers, including a Major, were killed and at least ten others were critically injured. Thousands of pounds worth of damage was caused by strikes at economic targets in Derry, Belfast and major towns throughout the North.

DIVIS FLATS

One of the most skillful operations executed was the killing of two soldiers and the seriously wounding of two others in Divis Flats. All civilians, including a number of children were cleared from the area prior to the placing of the charge. A ten man British patrol was decoyed into position and suffered the casualties listed

above. The residents of the Flats shed no tears at the elimination of two British terrorists who had hounded the people of that area for the last four months.

Other Belfast A.S.U.'s hit economic targets in the city centre penetrating the much vaunted 'security ring'. Thousands of troops are still tied down in the city centre protecting the property of the Unionist and Tory bosses.

DERRY

The skill and daring of the Derry units continues to grow as was evident from a number of attacks in the city during the week. Despite the saturation of the area by troops, A.S.U.'s operated frequently with bombing and sniping attacks on the enemy. The morale of the British army is falling rapidly and the soldiers' anger and frustration is being vented on the people. The Tommies reacted violently to the seriously wounding of one of their men in a sniping attack. Social clubs were raided and Paddy Doherty of the Bogside Community Association was brutally beaten by troops. The more the soldiers abuse the people the greater grows the support for the local I.R.A. units. The days of Derry bowing down to British terror are gone forever.

WARNING TO CIVILIANS.

The 1st Batt. West Tyrone Command warned civilians during the week not to interfere with charges once placed. Anti-handling devices are being fitted to all future bombs. Recently, a civilian removed a charge which was a foolish and stupid thing to do. Hence the British forces is not alone treacherous but it can prove very costly to the people involved.

Several targets were hit in Strabane during the week. A unit involved returned safely to base. This experienced unit ambushed a patrol near Castlebridge on July 1st and blew an A.P.C. off the road. A fierce gunbattle ensued for fifteen minutes with the British using G.P. machine-guns. Though the British admitted no casualties, an ambulance was brought to the scene and locals reported two bodies being taken away. A Wessex helicopter landed and took more injured soldiers away. The I.R.A. unit watched the removal of the dead and injured and then withdrew safely to base.

MAJOR KILLED.

A dud mine in a culvert enticed an enemy patrol into an ambush on Thursday, near Keady, Co. Armagh. Fire was opened on the patrol and when the troops scattered, a major and a soldier took cover in a nearby shed. A booby trap exploded killing the major outright and critically injuring his subordinate.

Earlier near Newtownhamilton, six soldiers were wounded when a series of mines exploded. As in the Castlebridge operation, the Brits played down their casualties but local people reported on six being injured. British patrols in the South Armagh area are becoming very scarce due to the heavy fatalities they have sustained.

The North Armagh units struck at the U.D.R. in Armagh

city on Saturday. A pram bomb was used in the city and caused extensive damage. Recruiting to the U.D.R. has almost ceased but most members still serve as the eyes and ears of the enemy forces. Action against them was also taken in Co. Fermanagh when one member was seriously wounded.

ENNISKILLEN.

A car bomb exploded in Enniskillen causing widespread damage. The Security forces were baffled, as to how the car passed through the steel gates leading into the town centre. No injuries were caused as ample warning had been given to clear the area.

The scale of operations during the last week was ample proof of the skill, capacity and courage of the I.R.A. fighting units. British and Free State press, television and radio hailed the arrest of Gerry Adams and his comrades and implied a mortal blow had been struck at the I.R.A. While not underestimating the loss of Gerry and his comrades to the Movement, it is none the less obvious that the I.R.A. structure is firmly established and flexible enough to replace losses and move forward to a stronger position. The enemy, on the other hand becomes demoralised each day with the growing desire on the part of the soldiers and their families to quit Ireland, increased pressure on the enemy is now the order of the day.

DON'T
FORGET
THE
MEN &
WOMEN
INSIDE
PRISON
WALLS

Curragh Report

WE ARE NOW in the nineteenth (19) week of our letter and visit strike. To date, we are unable to report any change in the attitude of the authorities in regard to visiting conditions. This is the sole issue of the original demands of the strike that remains to be solved. Perhaps our jailers think that over a period of time our resolve to maintain our attitude in relation to the visits will weaken. We, however, will not contemplate doing so as we will never permit our relatives and friends to be submitted to such degrading conditions, the like of which exist only behind the Iron Curtain.

DENTAL TREATMENT

This is totally inadequate. A number of men are awaiting treatment since Oct. 1972. Indeed, men have completed sentences without receiving dental treatment at all.

OPTICAL TREATMENT

Men are now waiting almost five months to get their eyes tested. It is believed that the close confinement of the men is gradually affecting their eyesight.

HYGIENE

It has proved impossible to date to acquire from the authorities the means to retain the most elementary standards of hygiene.

We wish to state publicly that we are prepared to accept deputations from interested bodies or groups concerned with prisons and the reform of the conditions

therein. It has been publicly acknowledged that conditions in 26-County prisons are the worst in Europe. Therefore deputations from community organisations, prison reform groups, Irish Civil Rights and political organisations - provided they are of a mixed nature and religious groups will be welcome.

Despite the conditions under which we are imprisoned we are all in high spirits and morale if of an excellent standard. We remember our comrades in other prisons, especially those held in Curragh Jail. Particularly, our thoughts are on our families, and those who daily risk their lives striving to achieve the freedom of our country.

SIGNED BY:

Padraig Leo Martin
P.R.O. Republican Political Prisoners,
Curragh Military Detention Barracks,
Co. Kildare.

OUR MILLION SHILLING FUND
Support Eamonn Mac Thomais

THE GREAT AIM in life of our Editor, Eamonn Mac Thomais, was to make An Phoblacht a Daily paper. One of his last acts before being whipped up by Cooney's Special Branch, was to launch "A Million Shilling Fund" for the purpose of getting the £50,000 necessary to make that dream come true. You remember the announcement in a recent issue. The Fund was launched under the heading: "GIVE US A BOB".

Well, will you give us that Bob? That is the best way of showing support for Eamonn. Make sure that your paper, An Phoblacht, comes out daily. Make sure that the voice of Republicanism becomes stronger and clearer. You owe it to the man who is suffering for you.

Send us that Bob, and send it now.

YOU Demand Release of all Political Prisoners