

An Phoblacht

Imt. 4 Uimh. 42 5p 30 SAMHNA 1973

BRITISH AGENT AND THE S.D.L.P.

By Conall Ó Cearnaigh

THE S.D.L.P.'s agreement to participate in the executive of the Northern Ireland Assembly represents one of the greatest betrayals of the cause of Irish freedom and of the struggle for which so many have died and suffered during the last four years.

Yet one had come to expect such treachery from those who had founded their careers on the people's struggle and who had, at every hand's turn, betrayed the trust that had been reposed in them.

The S.D.L.P. was founded in the summer of 1970 at the behest of the British Labour Party. Maurice Foley, involved in suspicious deals from Nigeria to Brussels, was the British M.P. who prodded the six opposition M.P.s in the old Stormont into an opportunist alliance.

The involvement of Foley is significant for, through the agencies of various cover organisations, he has acted variously for the American C.I.A. and for British intelligence. It was he, for instance, who acted as "front man" for the funding of an international student organisation by the C.I.A.

Thus, the S.D.L.P.'s very origins are shrouded in suspicion and, though the founding members themselves may have been unaware of the purposes to which they were being used, it would seem that the S.D.L.P. was envisaged from the very outset as an agent of imperialism and repression in Ireland. How far-seeing Foley and his masters now appear in retrospect?

The opportunist motivation of those six M.P.s in coming together is underlined by the manner in which three of them, Fitt, Devlin and Currie, absconded on their previous party commitments without by or leave of their former comrades.

The other three, Hume, Cooper and O'Hanlon, were thrown up by the Civil Rights Movement though they played no part in its initial foundation. Currie boasts of having begun the entire agitation by his sit-in in the council house at Caledon in July, 1968; the fact, however, is that, much against his will he had to be dragged along to the demonstration and that he remained there for a mere token period.

Against instincts

Hume and Cooper first burst on the scene on the day of the famous Civil Rights march in Derry, on Oct. 5, 1968. Again, their involvement in this was very much against their initial instincts. Both at first had refused to partake in the march at all and Hume flatly had turned down a request to become one of the sponsors of the march. O'Hanlon did nothing at all until, cynically, he jumped at an obvious electoral opening in south Armagh, in Feb. 1969.

Fitt's participation in the new party was conditional on his being leader. Hume resented this and the antagonism between them nearly sabotaged the venture at the very beginning but Currie's intervention saved the day.

However the antagonism between Fitt and Hume has remained a divisible force within the party since then and, on several occasions, has nearly wrecked it.

This does not redound to the credit of either for the antagonism is founded not on any ideological or policy difference, merely a personality clash based on petty jealousies about such matters as publicity.

Devlin, of course, had been a member of the N.I.L.P. and, for years, had happily gone along with that Party's brazen acquiescence to sectarianism and refusal to become involved in the cause of civil rights.

However, the change was hardly uncharacteristic of Devlin for he had flirted with several organisations before—even, improbably, with O'Leigh na hÉireann—and clearly had no durable political views at all. His personality has since dogged the Party time and again and his buffoonery and bully-boy tactics have been a continual source of embarrassment.

Always opportunists

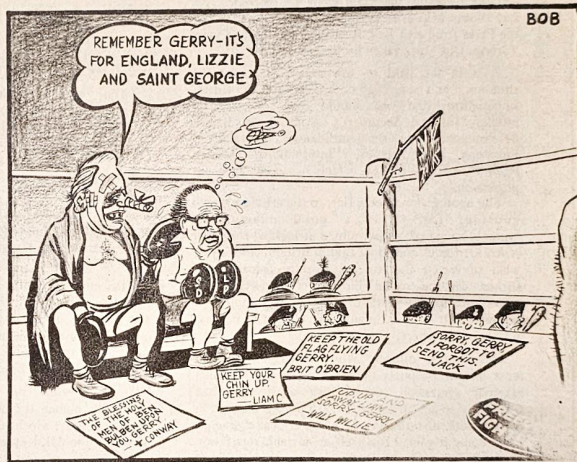
The S.D.L.P. performed as a more effective opposition in Stormont than did the old Nationalist Party. However, their opportunism was always to the fore and it was more than apparent even then that, in a crunch situation, they would react to suit their own self interest rather than that of their constituents. There was much huffing and puffing but little real action. Typical of this was the threat of Ivan Cooper to leave Stormont if Bernadette Devlin was imprisoned. She was jailed but Cooper unashamedly remained on the Stormont benches.

Without any real political direction or purpose, the S.D.L.P. floundered on the opposition benches until June, 1971. They latched on to some passing issues but failed to pursue them and, most significantly, they couldn't seem to make up their minds on their attitude to the statelet of Northern Ireland—whether to accept it and work within its political confines or whether to reject it and get out of Stormont.

The party was more pre-occupied with its internal differences, primarily the clash between Fitt and Hume and the manic outbursts of Devlin. On one occasion in the chamber at Stormont, Devlin told Fitt, in front of the Unionist M.P.s, that he would break his face and then invited him outside the door where he floored him with a body punch. The debate in Stormont on Faulkner's proposals for "power-sharing" in June 1971, represents the key to the S.D.L.P. psyche at the time. These proposals were an entire charade and offered no power whatsoever on the opposition but they did entail the granting of jobs to opposition M.P.s along with attractive salaries and the S.D.L.P. went for them hook, line and sinker.

Faulkner's finest hour

One after another of them, they engulfed Faulkner and Devlin, in one of his craziest moments, commented that this was "Faulkner's finest hour". The session ended soon after this debate and the M.P.s went home in a glow of euphoria. However, events were taking their toll on the streets and, within hours of the conclusion of the session, the British army had murdered two youths in Derry (Cusack and Beattie) and the entire anti-Unionist population rose in revolt.



THE SUBSTITUTE

Hume was the closest to the scene of the happening and panicked. He summoned a meeting of the party at his house on the following day and, in the absence of Fitt, those present declared that they were going to withdraw from Stormont if the British Government didn't institute a full-scale inquiry into the killings. Of course, the British Government refused and the S.D.L.P. withdrew.

Fitt was furious with the ultimatum and endeavoured to get a compromise with Maudling on an ineffectual. This was unacceptable and the ultimatum had to take its course. In its withdrawal statement, the party said that the Derry killings were merely the last straw in a series of events and that they could no longer participate in the system.

This was a brazen lie on their part. Just a few hours prior to the killings they had been participating in a meeting with Faulkner and discussing the prospect of a few jobs for its leaders and had disregarded totally the feelings and interests of the people on the streets who had risen in revolt against the system with which the Opposition was so willingly co-operating.

They panicked once they saw clearly the way things were developing and blustered into the withdrawal, accompanied by one of the most lying and hypocritical statements made by any political party throughout the present crisis.

Conway for Pope

Read Freeman, page six

Once internment was introduced in August 1971, the S.D.L.P. declared unequivocally that they would never enter into negotiations with the British Government on a political settlement prior to the ending of internment: the release of all internees.

Internment pledge

Within months they were equivocating on this point and it was really only a matter of time before they sold out. In June, 1972, they seized cynically on an offer by O'Leigh na hÉireann to talk to Whitelaw and said that this offer let them off the hook and allowed them to enter negotiations.

Again, this was a typically deceitful and hypocritical act of political opportunism. Their commitment not to talk with the British government was in no way qualified with what the I.R.A. said or did. Therefore, the I.R.A. initiative in no way mitigated their solemn commitment to the people.

But the S.D.L.P. was not and is not bothered by commitments made or the trust that their constituents place in them. They are and were motivated solely by considerations of their own personal advancement and they will use any situation and any person or people to secure that.

Ar leantúin: cúl-leath.

Portlaoise. Jail protest. SUN. DEC. 2 at 3 p.m.

Ó Brádaigh at Ardfheis

Signed by: Michael Cardinal Logue.
(followed by the names of all the other Catholic bishops of Ireland).

"Our message then is: Stand firm on all fronts; educate ourselves and extend our organisation; we must realise the enormous sacrifices of the past five years; given wise direction and work, work and more work, time can be on our side; but we will get nowhere by standing still; let us return home, then, fired by a new enthusiasm, and get down to work".

THE GREAT HUNGER

Our Editor, still in jail because of his work as managing-editor of this paper, is known throughout Ireland and in many places abroad, as an efficient organiser, a good friend, an expert on old Dublin, a compelling lecturer and an absorbing writer. But in jail he appears to be developing new talents.

Here we reproduce more of his verse.

The Great Hunger

1. In a lonely cell in Mountjoy Jail, A man paced up and down, Till he thought up a darlin' plan, To make his captors frown.

2. The news went out through Dublin town, Through every street and pub: "This winter will be long and hard - O'Hare is off his grub".

3. This news was met with disbelief, By those who knew O'Hare. But a skinny man sighed with relief: Maybe now I'll get my share".

4. And up in dear old Belfast town It nearly caused a riot Till the word came through: - "Don't worry, lads; I'm only on a diet!"

5. And a woman known as Nan O'Hare, Could not believe her ears: "I've been trying to stop him gobbin' for over 30 years!"

6. And down in Hughes's bakery, Men handed in their vans, And many housewives shed a tear Into their empty pans.

7. Grown men stood round in groups and wept Broken by the ordeal: "In 30 years I've never known O'Hare to miss a meal".

8. But up in Mountjoy Jail itself The Special Branch did meet To think up heartless, cruel ways To get O'Hare to eat.

9. They laid out mounds of ham and eggs, With soda furls around them. In better days the young O'Hare Would certainly have downed them.

10. They brought him lettuce and baked beans They brought him fresh tomatoes. He said: "I'm eating this thing, Till I get political stress".

11. They brought him sausage sandwiches, They brought him chicken and chips, Says he: "I will not lick it Nor let it past my lips".

12. They tempted him with good roast beef Laid out on a silver platter. O'Hare roared out: "Away with you Or I'll hit you a dig on the smatter!"

13. He curled his lips at pounds of steak, He laughed at best lamb chops. (But he was sorely tempted When they showed him Hughes's baps).

14. And when they brought him Irish

stew He made a noble stand: "A stew cannot be Irish If made by a quising's hand".

15. The cunning bastards then brought in His favourite kippers, (Manx), Our Gerard smiled disdainfully, And merely said: "No thanks".

16. But the cunning Special Branch At once began to quiver, Correct intelligence for once Informed their acts of hate.

17. For then, those treacherous Dublin men With desperation savage, Stooped to the lowest trick of all: They cooked him ribs and cabbage.

18. The noble nostrils of O'Hare, At once began to quiver, This was the basest torture His captors could deliver.

19. From deep within the kitchens

A JAIL JOURNEY

dark The smell began to rise And by the time the plate arrived The tears rolled from his eyes,

20. From Gerard's trembling lip there came A most distressful moan, To see the ribs sweetly boiled And falling off the bone.

21. And in those steel blue eyes, at last, Was written stark defeat, He crawled across the cold cell floor And raised his hand to eat.

22. But then a look of utter joy, Transformed his look of pain: "Your bloody Branchman's bungling Has once more been in vain!"

23. For in amongst the cabbage green Between the ribs so pink He spied a single bay leaf And smelt its horrid stink.



By Éamonn Mac Thomáis

24. "Put lemonade in brandy And sugar in my tea But bay-leaves in the bacon ribs Is a Saxon travesty!"

25. The Branchman's smiles of triumph Were overlaid with grief To see their aims defeated By a silly bloody leaf!

26. So listen, all you quislings, And warning take from me: You cannot tempt an Irishman With foreign treachery.

27. A lesson here for Irishmen Is very clearly writ: Don't mess up Irish cooking By adding foreign shit.

28. Don't add that sage and onion Don't toy with leaves of bay, Support your local Provost And eat the Irish way!

Rights body growing in strength

THE RESUMED annual meeting of the Irish Civil Rights Association in Liberty Hall, Dublin, adopted a draft Constitution for the organisation and set of rules, under which the organisation will be governed.

These rules may be amended only by an annual meeting. The meeting passed a resolution declaring that denial of civil rights in Ireland flowed primarily from the denial of Ireland's right to independence, and that such new Constitution Bill in the North, under which the State Act and the new coercive legislation as the Offences Against the State Act are held without the right of a trial by jury, are directed specifically against those who would attempt to gain Irish freedom by whatever means are appropriate at the time.

Furthermore, the meeting decided to launch a nation-wide campaign against extradition, common law enforcement and all other British legal devices to curtail the civil and political rights of the Irish people. The first public demonstration to launch this campaign was held last week. All the speakers at that meeting were united in their determination to maintain and consolidate all the legal and civil rights common to the whole people of Ireland. The speakers were from north and south of the Border.

The following permanent officers were appointed by the newly elected executive: Chairman, Capt. James Kelly; hon. secretary, Máiread Moynihan; hon. treasurer, Tomás Mac Anna and Dr. Keyes, F.R.O., Seánus G. O'Kelly; director of organisation, Mary Dempsey.

The Civil Rights Association reports branches in Dublin, Limerick and other Irish cities. Meetings are planned for Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Longford, Roscommon, Clones, Cavan, Dundalk, Drogheda and other centres. All interested in civil rights are invited to contact the I.C.R.A. immediately.

New premises have been acquired at 51, Parnell Square, Dublin, where a member of the executive is in attendance each afternoon, from Monday to Friday. It has been decided also to open a dossier in cases of police brutality, such as happened outside Mountjoy Jail during the recent hunger strike. Those with information on the ill-conduct of the Gardaí on that occasion should send it to the I.C.R.A. at 51, Parnell Square.



BALLYFINAGLE FILE

AT the recent Labour Party Conference in Cork the ancient, seoin-in-fested city of Ballyfinagle was represented by local intellectual, Mr. J.R.A. Glugger. Mr. Glugger (the initials stand for Ramsey McDonald) was especially prominent in the debate on the proposal that workers in the North should be encouraged to defend themselves.

In opposing the motion, which was heavily defeated, Mr. Glugger said: "I find this proposal totally outrageous. It's all very well to say that the workers need guns to defend themselves, but history shows that once they get their hands on the means of doing so they begin to undertake activities prejudicial to the interests of a friendly neighbouring country; by which I mean England, which is famous for its wonderful social services? What does it matter if a few odd people get killed? They are mostly Catholics, anyway, that get done in. The important thing is not to rock the boat. Think of the future of the Party! Think of your career!"

Mr. Glugger came to notice again later in the day. At the solemn moment when Mr. R.G. Hayward, C.B.E., secretary-general of the British Labour Party, came forward to present Mr. Corish with a biography of Mr. Bevan and to pronounce the words, "Go thou and do likewise", Mr. Glugger rushed forward and embraced Mr. Hayward and said: "It is good a Britisher as you are!"

GREAT RESERVES ROBBERY

WE explained in last week's issue how Irish membership in the E.E.C., and the consequent steps being taken towards full monetary union of all nine member states was, in large part, responsible for the escalation of mortgage interest rates.

This week we bring you more startling evidence of how, having surrendered our economic sovereignty to the E.E.C., the Brussels bureaucrats already have laid their plans to empty systematically the Irish Central Bank of its monetary reserves by having them transferred to the European Monetary Fund.

If this strikes the reader as being just too incredible to be

An E.E.C. notebook by E. O'Connell

true, then read on dear reader, read on and weep.

On October 19, 1973, the Common Market Parliament endorsed proposals put to it by the E.E.C. Commission for the pooling of member states' monetary reserves.

The proposals called on member states to deposit 20 per cent. of their monetary reserves in the appropriate proportions of gold, special drawing rights, and foreign currency" with the European Monetary Fund by January next.

This is the first step towards the E.E.C.'s desire for the progressive pooling of all reserves

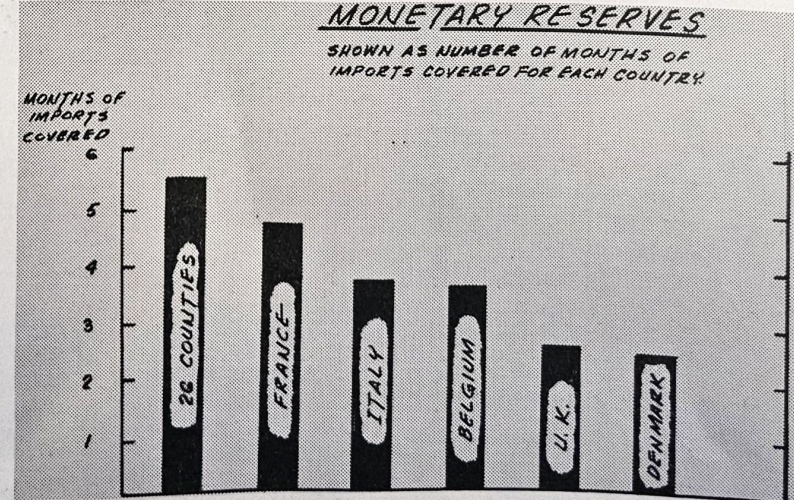
by 1980, when full monetary union will be achieved.

The Commission has called for an automatic continuation of the pooling, 20 per cent each year, until member countries have on deposit in their own countries only the minimum required for working balances, and the main body of funds lie with the E.E.C.

Unopposed by 'Irish'

Now, at first glance, this might appear an attractive proposition from an Irish point of view. For if it is thought that Ireland being a poor country, could benefit only from a pooling of reserves with the rich countries, such a course of action would appear to be in Ireland's favour.

Ar lean ar chúl





Mr. Joe Malone lays a wreath on the grave of Séamus Ó Dálaigh, after the unveiling of the memorial in the Tyrellspass Cemetery.

DIED IN INDIA FOR IRELAND

ON Nov. 4, in Tyrellspass Cemetery, Co. Westmeath, a memorial was unveiled (pictured above) over the grave of Séamus Ó Dálaigh, the Connacht Ranger killed by the British in India because of his declared allegiance to the Irish Republic.

The headstone was commissioned by the James Daly Cumann, Sinn Féin, Westmeath, and an oration was given by Uachtarán Sinn Féin, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. Mr. Joe Clarke, veteran Republican, Dublin, unveiled the memorial.

Before the unveiling units of Fianna Éireann, Cumann na mBan, members of the James Daly Cumann and Sinn Féin supporters marched through Tyrellspass, led by the Tullamore Town Band.

There was a large force of Gardaí at approaches to the village in Tyrellspass and in the cemetery.

Unveiled by Joe

In the rain the marchers arrived in the cemetery where a meeting was chaired by Miss

Miss Malone welcomed everybody and paid a tribute to Joe Clarke "who is still loyal to the cause he fought for in 1916".

Joe Clarke unveiled the memorial and a decade of the rosary was recited.

Wreaths were then laid on the grave by a sister of James Daly, Mrs. Theresa Maher; Joe Malone laid a wreath on behalf of another sister, now living in Manchester, Mrs. Imelda Johnston; Alberta Malone laid a wreath on behalf of Bridie Noone and wreaths were also laid by Mrs. Carmel McCormack and Mr. Bill Malone.

The last post was then sounded.

Mr. Ó Brádaigh said his duty was a simple one, to honour one of Ireland's greatest patriots who gave his life far from his native land 53 years ago.

He outlined the history of James Daly and said: "James Daly decided to mutiny when he heard in far away India of the atrocities of the Black and Tans in Ireland, which could be paralleled with the atrocities of the Paras in the North today".

Daly spirit alive

He went on: "The spirit of James Daly is still alive in the North and it gives hope to those who are still fighting the might of the British empire".

There were still men serving the "undefeated Republic of 1916" and during the week they had rescued three of their comrades from Mountjoy jail.

He also paid tribute to the men in Mountjoy, the Curragh and, especially, to Joe Malone, "who is suffering in Mountjoy today for his country".

The proceedings ended with Rev. Piaras Ó Dúill, Church Street, Dublin, blessing the headstone and Miss Mairéad Malone, reading James Daly's last letter to his mother.



Tomás Bairéad

Sáirséal agus Dill. Leabhar é seo a léifear ó cheann ceann na tíre. Leabhar tráthúil. Litreacha a chuir an réabhlóid, an cinne smaoine, an scríbhneoir mór agus an fear léinn chuig Tomás Bairéad.

D'eile, cé hé ach Máirtín Ó Cadhain. As Campa an Churraigh, "Síséir na hÉireann, an áit is fuaire in Éirinn", a tháinig na litreacha.

Is leor mar bhréith ar Thomás an meas a bhí aige ar Mhairtín, an dúltharachas a bhí eatarthu agus go mba fhíli leis na litreacha a comrair ar feadh 30 bliain.

Tugann an leabhar seo eolas ar an mbeirt fear. An tráth céanna den bhliain a bhásigh siad.

Is boichte an tír a n-imeacht. Is boichte Gluaiseacht na Poblachta agus litreach na Gaeilge a n-imeacht. Nach é an trua Mhuire go mbíonn an imeacht ann. In iothaill Dé go gceastar iad beirt ar a chéile.

-M.B.

Some of the more than 8,000 people who attended the recent Eidentubber Commemoration Ceremony at which Seán Ó Cianáin presided and at which Michael Foots delivered the oration (on another page in this issue).

Bairéad: dílis go deireadh

FEAR ciúin mána. Comhráiteach breá. Glór caoin símh aige. Súile meabhreacha. É gan dochar gan gangaid. Is beag eolas a bhí ar a bhfeair ag pobal na Gaeilge féin. Ní thráchtadh sé féin ar a shaothar mar scríbhneoir. Ní inéadh sé gur throdáí tréan a bhí ann, i mBrathreachas Éireantach na Poblachta (I.R.B.) agus in Óglagha na hÉireann.

Ná go raith sé go maith at stóiriú luíchna, ag gabháil bearráde, ag seasamh an thóid. Ní fear é a mhóidh é féin. Ní cúir a cheilt go raibh díomá air faoi throdáí na tróda, faoi chogadh na gearrad, faoi mharú na Gaeilge agus faoi ghalú na tíre.

Is tráthúil an t-am ar ghlaigh Dia air sula nbeadh deis ar an saol tuilleadh dúirín a chur ar a bhfeair goiliúnach seo. Solas na bhliantaíe dá anam uasal.

Scoth scríbhneora

Scríbhneoir Gaeilge nach bhfuair a dhóthain aitheantas le fada. Dattá meánseolaí ag foghlaim aochime a chuid scéalta agus fíoch acu go mnic cé a scríobh fíad.

An saibhreas cúlachtach Gaeilge a bhí ag an bhfeair! An teanga sin aige mar a bhí sí á labhairt le linn a óige. Teanga nach bhfuil fanta di inniu ach scéile caol cing in a cheantar

Cara le Máirtín

Tá leabhar eile a raibh dúlthbhaint aige leis, follaithe ag

UNDER MY EYE



LABOUR BETRAYED AGAIN

THERE ARE two gentlemen who have not appear here until now. This week they have arrived. They don't stand up to much penetration, for they are shallow and hollow, as far as their expressed principles are concerned.

I refer to the two Ministers in the Cosgrave cabinet. When they were in opposition, they were supposed to represent the extreme left wing of the Labour Party and to be the prime architects of the Labour Policy document, "Socialism in the Seventies". Justin Keating, Minister for Industry and Commerce; and Michael O'Leary, Minister for Labour.

Justin Keating was brought up on Socialism. I knew his late mother very well. She was a most courageous woman, prepared to take an unpopular stand whenever she had to. This she proved conclusively during the early stages of the Spanish Civil War, when the Blueshirt Christian Front Movement was rampant in Ireland, and when the late Eoin O'Duffy, leader of the Blueshirts, was preparing and recruiting his Irish Brigade to fight on the side of Franco.

Republican left regime

Most Irish Republicans at the time, including myself, were sympathetic to the Republican Government of Spain. That Government was a coalition of the Republican Left, and contained many deputies who were members of various Liberal and Socialist parties.

It is now history that more than 100 Irish Republicans, some of them ex-members of the L.R.A. and others, serving members, went to Spain under the leadership of Frank Ryan and formed the Connolly Battalion of the International Brigade which spearheaded Republican resistance at Barcelona.

It is also history that any serving I.R.A. man who did so was expelled from Oglagha na hÉireann, not because of his political or socialist views, but because he took part in a foreign war whilst the job of freeing Ireland remained unfinished.

Many of my personal friends were killed fighting on the Republican side in Spain, amongst them Charlie Donnelly, a medical student from U.C.D. Before he left Ireland he was developing into a major poet. These men were all a loss to the Republican Movement at home.

Justin Keating's mother championed the cause of the Republicans who went to Spain to fight against Franco. On many platforms she described herself as an Irish Republican and an Irish Socialist, and she collected money for the dependants of the men who had gone to war. It took great moral courage to champion Republican Spain from 1936 until 1938.

Leading reactionary

Today her son, Justin Keating who, for years before he took office in the Cosgrave administration, proclaimed himself to be a Socialist of the extreme left, has become a leading reactionary in one of the most right-wing governments in Europe.

Conveniently he has forgotten his socialism, when he went to America to invite American capitalists to set up industry in Ireland. Conveniently he has forgotten the speeches he made against the Common Market, which he described as "the biggest capitalist cartel in the world", when he went to Brussels to work out social policies along Common Market capitalistic lines.

By his silence in the cabinet and in Leinster House he has given sanction to the operation of the infamous Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act which he denounced in opposition, and even voted against on the night of its passage through the Dublin parliament.

Labour turncoat

Next we come to the brave Michael O'Leary himself who, before he took office as Minister for Labour, was a top official of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Michael O'Leary was also very fond of proclaiming his extreme socialism; but, to give him his due, he never set himself up as a separatist or a Republican.

In that famous Leinster House debate, O'Leary stood up and said that he stood for the right of a prisoner to be presumed innocent of any crime, political or otherwise, until he had been proven guilty. He said also that every citizen had a right to trial by a jury of his peers and that it was the negation of democracy for anyone to be tried before a star chamber court, set up and operated by their political enemies. That was his second reason for voting against the Act.

Since he became a minister, however, many men have been sentenced by the Fianna Fáil-inspired Special Criminal Court and they have been sentenced on the mere word and opinion of the State's political police. They include the Editor of this paper, who got the savage sentence of 15 months for doing his duty as a journalist, and Mr. O'Leary has remained silent. The great democrat, the loud-mouthed socialist, has sung dumb.

CORMAC MAC AIRT

Freeman says

PUSHED, shoved, urged and threatened (in private) by Northern priests; embarrassed by a group of Catholic laypeople from Andersonstown, demonstrating outside Catholic churches in Armagh and Belfast; scarified by bitter letters from Catholics in the "Andersonstown News"; Cardinal Conway at last sat down and, after laborious draftings, crossings out, insertions and redraftings, issued a "carefully-worded statement", rebuking the Whitelaw administration for its lack of zeal in dealing with the assassination of 200 of his dearly beloved brethren.

Not, indeed, said the Cardinal, that the authorities were called to account or lacked concern. Not at all – he could vouch for that. It was simply that their earnest and real concern of which he was well aware, was not being made publicly evident in words and deeds.

Nor again was he for one minute defending – indeed, how often had he not condemned? – the "vile deeds" and "the base deeds" of the I.R.A., the callous, evil, brutal sons and daughters of his native Falls.

It was simply that one evil did not justify public tolerance of another, and so on ...

Wasteful polemics

Much has been said, polemically, about Cardinal Conway's behaviour towards the freedom-fighters and the prisoners of war. But warning his polemics with polemics is a waste of energy and time.

All that is needed is to see the man for what he is, to grieve at the spectacle, and to get on with building an Ireland in which Irishmen will cease to be like that.

Here are the facts. He speaks of the actions of his people at war as "vile" and "base"; and he has many times used similar and even more vituperative language, not in "carefully-worded statements" but in raw gushes from the heart.

He does this during the war, and addressing himself to his people's enemies.

The men and women whose characters he reviles risk their lives and freedom daily, of their free will, not for personal gain, but for love of their people. By ordinary pagan judgment, let alone Christian judgment, this is noble.

In addition, these men and women have conducted their warfare in a more scrupulous, ethical and disciplined fashion than any other army in this century, regular or guerrilla.

Possibly their only equal, in this respect, are the guerrilla fighters in our own so-called War of Independence.

In His footsteps?

These facts make their own comment on Cardinal Conway. But to complete the picture, imagine the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, during the German occupation, addressing the German authorities and speaking about "the vile deeds" and "the base deeds" of the French Resistance.

Indeed, imagine any prominent Frenchman doing the same.

Or imagine Jesus Christ speaking in similar terms to the Roman authorities about the Jewish freedom-fighters of his time. What would you think of him?

"Slavish and worldly prelates"; the phrase sticks in my mind from somewhere; perhaps from John Doherty's "Felon's Track". Those two adjectives,

Birmingham raffle

Winning ticket for raffle held on Oct. 7; Green ticket numbered K53617. The prize, as exhibited at the Sinn Féin social, is a large Celtic cross made in Long Kesh Concentration Camp and may be claimed by forwarding the corresponding ticket, plus name and address, to: E. Purdy, 123 Princess Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham 5, Sasana.

Slavish, worldly prelates

NOTEBOOK

"Slavish" and "worldly", describe Cardinal Conway's trouble exactly.

Not that his slavishness is a special failing of Irish prelates. It is an Irish Catholic vice, our most characteristic inherited vice, and the principal one which prevents us from being Christians, that is to say, freemen.

Young Willie Conway on the Falls suffered from it, as did many of those around him. And at he got on in life, and rose to high station, it has not left him.

It is the John Healy syndrome. It fills you with an agonising self-contempt or self-hatred which is the very opposite of Christian freedom.

Currying favour

You are heartily ashamed of yourself and want to be rid of yourself. And to divert this lethal urge away from yourself, you aim its venom at your kith and kin, at their culture and habits, at their values and enthusiasms, at everything dear to them.

By doing this you achieve two things – or think you do. On the one hand, you disown and annihilate your youthful self – all that has gone to make you. On the other, you win the favour of your people's powerful enemies, so that they accept you among their ranks and give you a new, redeemed self which you can live with – in the comforting illusion that it is you.

So in a sense, as you get on in life, the slavishness leads directly to worldliness – to the betrayal of self for power. But Cardinal Conway's worldliness has also a concrete aim and motive.

He wants to become Pope; and it is accepted in Church political circles that he is a front-runner.

Sound, political sense

He knows, as everyone knows, that, when a Pope is being chosen and the likely candidates become clear, the Vatican inquires discreetly of their respective secular governments whether such a choice would be politically acceptable.

In Cardinal Conway's case, as things now stand in these islands, the government which will be asked for its opinion of him is the Government of the U.K. So there is a basis of sound political sense to his recent political behaviour.

I think you see my point now. When you take a calm, factual view of the Conway phenomenon, it turns out to be rather banal and not really interesting.

Where Republicans often go wrong is to generalise from Cardinal Conway, or from Conway, Daly and Philbin put together, and to make wild statements about "the Catholic bishops" or "the clergy" or, actually, "the Church" being "against the Irish fight for freedom".

There was some of this wild talk at the recent Sinn Féin Ardheils.

Such statements are unworthy of Republicans for the reason that they are unreflected and untruthful. Equally untruthful is that other vulgar Republican cliché that, in Irish history, "the bishops have always taken the English side".

What a contrast

This is not merely untrue; tactically, it is a very foolish statement. For it makes it impossible to contrast the attitude of the leading Northern bishops today with, say, the attitude of all the Irish Catholic bishops, including the Cardinal at Armagh, during the First War of Independence, 50 years ago.

On October 19, 1920, at the height of the Anglo-Irish War, all the Catholic Bishops of Ireland issued a joint statement. It began:

"It is not easy for the Pastors of the Flock to uphold the Law of God and secure its observance when oppression is rampant in a country. Where terrorism, and failure to apply the principles which its members have proclaimed, are the characteristics of government, the task is rendered well-nigh impossible. And, unhappily, by such means as these, in a most aggravated form, Ireland is now reduced to a state of anarchy".

Read it again. Your eyes are not deceiving you, nor am I. From the beginning of the statement to the end, the word "terrorism" is used only to characterise the activities of the English government. And the "state of anarchy" in Ireland is consistently blamed on England and on England alone.

Turn to page three to read the full text. Note, in the second half, this paragraph:

"Not by inhuman oppression will the Irish question be settled, but by the recognition of the indefeasible right of Ireland, as of every other nation, to choose the form of Government under which its people are to live".

Does that help to put the present leadership of the Catholic Church in perspective?

Would you accept that Cardinal Logue, Cardinal Conway's predecessor, was a patriotic Irishman? I do.

When you've noted the contents of the document, look again at the title: "Issued by the Cardinal Primate and the Archbishop and Bishops of Ireland on the present condition of their Church".

Those men didn't need Vatican-Two to tell them what "Church" means. (Cardinal Conway's phrase in his statement is "the Catholic population".)

I think it is high time that Sinn Féin issued this bishops' statement as a pamphlet, without comment, and distributed it throughout Ulster and throughout Ireland.

No one more fitted than their predecessors to answer our contemporary slave-bishops. Nothing more need be said.



Border already is being pushed back

Ag Éadantobair, labhraíonn Seán O Giannín, Doire Chóim Cille, bainisteoir ar an bpáipéar seo, ós comhair na mílte Poblachtánach.

Oration by Michael Foots, joint Sinn Féin secretary, at Edintubber.

REPUBLICANS, today we are gathered on this hillside in Ireland to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the deaths of five heroic sons of Ireland, who died whilst preparing to further the cause of Irish freedom.

Their deaths, although tragic, brought to the eyes of the world, once more, that Ireland, whilst brought by England, and aided by gommeen men, can never be at peace.

Patrick Parle, Oliver Craven, Paul Smith, George Keegan and Michael Watters rekindled freedoms light, and which, by the Republicans of this campaign, has been a bright guiding light for all who tread their holy path on the road to freedom.

Their five glorious names live on in the annals of our people. The flame of freedom burns within us.

Today, throughout British-occupied Ireland, freedom fighters of the calibre of the Edintubber martyrs and in the mould of true Republicans, wage the olden fight for the right to be free – free from British rule and British repression.

We stand here today a matter of yards from the thing that must be erased from our land forever. It is line surrounding the six northeastern counties: the Border. I say we are only yards from the Border: but, in reality due to the magnificent push by Óglaigh Na hÉireann, the Border is pushed along with the depleted ranks of the British army out of Ireland.

Long struggle

It is a mammoth task which this generation have undertaken. It has been a long hard struggle which has been borne admirably by Republicans. By the sturdy strength of resolve we have shown the world that we will not deviate from the task of seeing our land truly a nation once again.

Ireland free is now within our grasp.

By Cromwellian-type terror, England has hoped to extinguish the hopes and aspirations of the

Irish people. The suffering at the hands of England has been terrible.

Faulkner and Heath thought internment would crush our aims. They unleashed the unholy terror of the British army, which has wrecked homes by day and night. Men, women and now, even children, have been thrown into the concentration camps without charge or trial.

Socialist Republic

Torture, internment, SAS and "loyalist" extremists have not deterred our people from their task. Victory will be ours in the end. To these enduring the hardship for Ireland, in the jails and concentration camps throughout Ireland, England and Scotland, we extend fraternal greetings, and may God speed the day when they will stand proud and erect as witness to Ireland free: Free from the evils of foreign speculation and rule, free from the draining of our national resources.

We have to establish the ownership and control of Ireland by the Irish people. To implement these ideals, first we must end forever interference in our internal workings by a foreign power, whether it be by England or the E.E.C. power-bloc.

Then, then let us see to the establishment of our New Ireland, a truly democratic socialist Republic. With the help and dedication of you who are gathered here today, and with the support of the Irish people, we will achieve our goal.

One major achievement in the present campaign has been the abolishment of Stormont. At the time it was abolished the S.D.L.P. leaders were most vociferous along with other opportunists politicians in stating how they brought down Stormont.

Yes, the S.D.L.P. claimed this. Now, on seeing that the people saw through them, knowing too well it was the Republican Movement which shattered Stormont, the S.D.L.P. leaders are busying themselves through active collusion and membership to rebuild Stormont.

We would say to them: You will fail. Stormont and British rule is at the end of its tether in Ireland. The days of the partitionist politicians, both in the six and twenty six counties, are numbered.

The puppet Assembly of Stormont does not represent the people but, rather, the capitalist junta of Toryism.

It has been sustained and upheld by Partition and sectarianism – and now by these two evils it has been destroyed. Partition and sectarianism can only be termed temporary foundations.

By our present campaign in the political field we have laid solid foundations for the future of Ireland, and state confidently of the implementation in the not too distant future.

Stand by us. We have come so far. The end of the long tunnel of British rule and terror is within sight.

Don't be fooled

But we would warn you; do not be fooled by the political tickery of British-manipulated politicians in Stormont and Leinster House. Their interests are not your interests. Their interests are in the interest of England.

Do not allow yourself to become such a puppet. Support the revolutionary movement. Support the Republican Movement. Now.

Ar lean ar chúl

October 'atrocities' Mountjoy Jail

Y'AM SURE your readers will be interested in the events and atrocities that took place in A wing of Mountjoy Prison on Saturday, October 16, 1973. At approximately 12.30 p.m. myself, three other Prison Union leaders and 15 numbers climbed to a ledge about 60 ft. above the ground. We were unable to reach our goal due to baton-wielding prison warders stationed within the attic.

We decided to stay on the 18-inch perilous ledge, and to hold our protest there. We spoke to the Governor, Mr. Frawley, and listed our demands which were as follows: dietary punishment e.g. bread and water, to be abolished, also solitary confinement; visiting time to be extended from the present half-hour to two hours; also visits to be allowed on Sundays. One-third remission to be implemented immediately, instead of the present quarter; to bring us in line with other E.E.C. countries; a proper rehabilitation and parole system to be introduced instead of the present farce, which is a mockery. All prisoners to be allowed their own radios. Long-term prisoners to be allowed conjugal visits periodically. A public enquiry to be made as to why continuous brutality is being used against prisoners, a proper psychiatric and medical unit with trained nurses to be provided immediately.

We stressed that we were totally peaceful and would stay where we were until we spoke to an official from the Department and that we would not interfere with the running of the prison in any way.

At the request of the Chief Officer, we passed down two pieces of piping that had been used to remove five bricks from

the attic wall. The main body of the prisoners were allowed to go to recreation.

At about 4.30 the administrators allowed the other prisoners to pass food and tea up to us on the ledge. This in itself shows how peaceful we were. At about 7.30 p.m. the prison chaplain Father Farrell, came, spoke to me and advised me to speak to the men, that we were not going to be allowed to stay on the ledge overnight, and that, in all probability, we would be removed.

There was a possibility that life could be lost, as the position we were in was most dangerous, due to the height and size of the ledge.

I spoke to the men and the other five who had joined us at tea time, and we agreed to descend.

Many of the men were really terrified at the attitude of the warders, who were in riot gear and wielding batons, and uttering gutter-type remarks about our wives and families.

Two of the men asked the chaplain for the last rites of the Church. He agreed to hear confessions. I sent for the Chief Officer, Ralph Lee, and told him it was our desire to come down and would he guarantee that no violence would be used towards us.

He said that he could not take it upon himself. He would convey the message to the Governor's office. He returned and said "no guarantee", that the situation was beyond control. I could plainly see by the expression on his face that he was as shocked as I was.

High pressure hoses, supplied by the army, were then turned on me as I was still talking to the Chief Officer. The hoses were so powerful that I had to step back, moving along the ledge. Naturally, they followed and tried to hose me to the granite corridor below. I stepped on to the wire caging in an effort to get a steadier grip. The wire was pulled from beneath me and I fell to the tier about 12 ft. below.

I was immediately set upon by five prison warders and dragged along the tier, being kicked, beaten and punched. At the top of the stairs, I was spreadeagled of the stairs, and thrown head first down the first flight of stairs.

At this stage I lost consciousness and awoke, still being dragged by the hair and being beaten. At this stage, we were approaching the prison circle, where a large number of warders and Gardaí were gathered.

I was thrown into the middle of this blood-thirsty mob, who beat, kicked, punched and spat upon me. I was rescued by the Chief Officer, who had to fight his way through to pull me free.

I was taken to the dungeon, where I was stripped naked and placed in a stripped cell, with just two filthy blankets for coverage.

I could hear the screams of agony and pain as the other lads were brought down to the dungeon. Deputy Governor Byrne witnessed everything that occurred in the dungeon.

I could hear somebody admonishing the Deputy Governor and saying that this brutality must be stopped. Doctor Moynihan of Cabra Road had to be called to attend to the wounds on my back, legs and head.

He had to be recalled later that night to attend to the head wounds again, also on following days. At a later stage we were disciplined by the Governor and received loss of remission and a deprivation of privileges for 90 days.

a chara

This, in Mountjoy, is a very very mild punishment considering the false statements issued by the Department of Justice that there was a "riot".

At no stage was violence used towards the staff or Gardaí but each and every one of the 24 protesters was badly beaten and injured. Also the statements of the P.O.A., that hot tea was served after 4.45 p.m. at the latest, is not available at 9 p.m.

It is untrue that bottles were thrown at the warders. In Mountjoy it is a strict rule that no bottles be allowed into the prison.

It strikes me as strange also that an official of the P.O.A. was himself dishing out brutality to the prisoners and directing his members to do likewise.

Through your esteemed newspaper, I call upon the various organisation throughout Ireland to demand a public enquiry into the brutality and torture that was used towards peaceful protesters on that terrifying Saturday.

I would like to thank Chief Officer Lee for his courage and bravery in saving my life and also to condemn those who tried to kill and maim and the Sunday Christians who stood idly by, watching the blood-thirsty mob do the dirty work of the Department of Justice.

—Pat Beirnes, Chairman, Mountjoy Prisoners' Union.

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican, the Irish Bureau and the Leadership of 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.

Brutality file

I WISH to draw the attention of your readers to the fact that the Irish Civil Rights Association has opened a file on the denial of civil rights in Ireland, with particular reference to police brutality and harassment of individual citizens. We would ask any citizen who has any grievance on this score to contact us at the above address and we promise to do everything possible to see that justice is done. Where court proceedings are necessary in order to secure justice, our Association will provide legal advice and aid, and we will also endeavour to publicise the said injustice.

Please write direct to the address below or call to our offices any evening between 2.30 and 4.30 p.m. Monday to Friday, or any night, between 8 and 10.00 p.m.

—Seamus G. O'Kelly, P.R.O., Irish Civil Rights Association, 51 Leeson Square, Dublin 1.

Prisoner ill-treated

THE Dublin Committee, Irish Civil Rights Association, wishes to draw attention to the appalling manner in which Patrick Beirne, a Mountjoy Prisoners' Union leader, has been treated by the authorities.

This man has been held in solitary confinement in Mountjoy Jail for two months and, during this time, his wife and children have been refused permission to see him.

He has now been transferred, along with the leaders of the Portlaoise Prisoners' Union, to military custody in the Curragh Detention Camp.

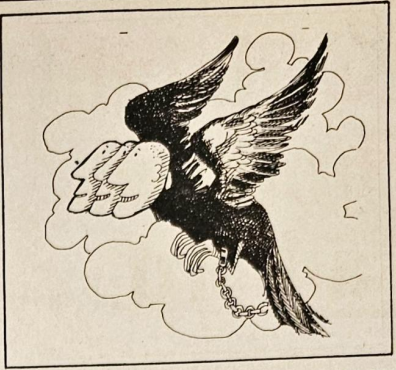
This detention of civilian prisoners under military guard is not alone a infringement of these men's civil rights but a threat to the liberty of all citizens when military suppression is used against civilians. Fascism is on the march and it becomes time for the people to take notice.

Half fascism now, before it takes a hold. —Tomás Fay, P.R.O., Dublin Committee, Irish Civil Rights Association.

Bus drivers

I WAS amazed to read that C.I.F.E. bus drivers are being used once more in ferrying Republican prisoners to and from prisons in the 26 Counties.

In view of the stand taken by the trade union movement on the operation of the Offences Against the State Act, it is lamentable that the unions allow their members to participate in the



How Socialist Paris viewed the Mountjoy escape: the cartoon is reproduced from "Libération", the director of which is Jean-Paul Sartre. The cartoon is accompanied by a detailed report, favourable to the Irish struggle. C'est la même lutte, en Irlande, dans la France.

movement of political prisoners, the vast majority of whom are imprisoned under this same Act.

The Thomas Ashe Cumann, Cabra West, Sinn Féin, calls on the I.C.T.U. to ensure that workers be absolved from these tasks which have brought dishonour on the Movement which James Connolly and Jim Larkin founded.

—Jim Lacey, P.R.O. Thomas Ashe Cumann, 35 N.C.R., Baile Átha Cliath.

Fennell's concept

IN HIS article, published in "An Phoblacht", Desmond Fennell outlines his concept of a system of government for the whole of Ireland which would further a "good human life".

To suggest, as Mr. Fennell does, that a new governmental structure is the key to shaping a new society in which Irish people are free to develop their creative abilities is to display ignorance of the largest fundamental obstacle to the growth of such a society. It is capitalism that presents the main barrier to a society in which people are free to realise their personalities. Contrary to what Mr. Fennell implies, it is not the present political system, in itself, that prevents us from enhancing our lives.

The present political system is simply the means for maintaining and protecting the capitalist mode of production, distribution and exchange which is the real barrier to a qualitatively higher life.

It follows from what I have said that if a "New Ireland" is to be built we must smash the political states, North and South of the Border and replace them with political structures geared towards destroying the capitalist mode of production.

—Paddy Hackett, Dublin, 14.

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Wanted: used motorcycles and scooters in "needing repair" condition. Any year. Price must be reasonable. Write: M. O'Brien, Dillondowns, Blessington, Co. Chill Mhainn.

PEN-FRIEND

American boy, aged 18, wishes to correspond with boys or girls of about the same age. He is interested in Ireland, especially current events, the history of the country, its culture, etc.

Replies to Box 126, An Phoblacht Office, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Children of the Prisoners

Help to give the children of Derry Republican Prisoners a happy Christmas.

Send a donation, however small, to Seán Carr, 30 Blucher St., Derry City.
Big financial

Derry Prisoners' Dependents' Fund

The demand on the above fund is increasing weekly with the ever growing number of arrests.

We would appeal to the Irish people for subscriptions to help the families of internees, detainees, remand and sentenced Republican prisoners.

Subscriptions should be sent to: B. McFadden, The Cottage, Stanley's Walk, Derry;

or to: Sean Koenan, C/O 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, 1.

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THE GREAT AIM in life of our editor, Éamonn Mac Thomáis, 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 Éamonn. 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 men who are suffering for you: Éamonn Mac Thomáis and Gerry O'Hare.

WHY NOT ADVERTISE WITH US?

Why support the organs of the enemies of Éire Nua by giving them your advertising? Why support capitalism when, by giving US your advertisements, you can speed the day when "An Phoblacht" will appear daily?

We hope to fill a page with small advertisements — articles sought, articles for sale, in memoriam, death notices, greetings, the lot — with YOUR help. Our rate: £1 per inch. Copy must reach us one week before publication date.

Óglaigh honour a hero

THREE revolver volleys were fired by Óglaigh over the grave of the Provo hero, Michael McVerry (23) from Skeriff, Co. Armagh.

Reserves robbery

Ar lean, ón lár

Indeed, such must have been the conclusion drawn by the Irish representatives, all 10 of them, in the E.E.C. Parliament, for not one word was spoken by them against the proposal.

Closer examination of the Commission's plan will show, however, that the proposed pooling of reserves will have quite the opposite effect.

As the attached graph clearly indicates, after taking into account the total amount of each country's reserves, in relation to its monthly import bill, the 26 Countries ends up subsidizing the far wealthier economies of Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Denmark.

High reserves

Why this is so is closely bound up with the necessity for under-developed countries, such as Ireland, to maintain unusually high monetary reserves in order to finance the higher degree of imports needed to industrialize her economy, while those countries, having already achieved industrial power, can afford to run down their reserves without undue worry.

The pooling of reserves between developed countries and under-developed countries leads, therefore, to the poor subsidizing the rich, which really is not all that surprising as it again underlines the basic economic and social philosophy of the Common Market trade block.

By 1980, having emptied the Irish Central Bank of all its monetary reserves, it will have made it virtually impossible for any future Irish Government either to withdraw from the trade block, or refuse to go along with any of its economic, political, or military undertakings.

That is why the Irish people, through their political, cultural and trade union bodies, must object now to the Dublin government's continued co-operation with the E.E.C. Commission's programme for monetary union and the pooling of reserves.

A group of Óglaigh na hÉireann wearing combat jackets and dark glasses formed a guard of honour inside St. Patrick's Catholic Church at Cullyhanna and, at the grave in the nearby cemetery.

Michael McVerry was shot in a gun battle at Keady RUC station. British troops stayed away from the vicinity of the church where the funeral service was attended by more than 2000 Republicans, many of whom travelled from the 26 Counties.

In a graveside oration, Maoliosa Ó hAnluain, Monaghan, a brother of the late Fergal Ó hAnluain, an I.R.A. volunteer shot in 1957, said: "The Provisionals want the same peace as the British Army would want in its own country but this will not come so long as a part of Ireland is ruled by Britain-Republicans must fight on."

Next week we will publish tributes to this outstanding officer, the O.C., First Battalion, South Armagh.

Sinn Féin rejects council

SINN Féin, in a statement on the agreement on a Northern Executive, compared the proposed Council of Ireland to the Boundary Commission of 1921 and said it was not acceptable and would never achieve anything.

Just as we opposed the settlement of 1921 we will organise and lead the Irish people in total opposition to the new British arrangement for maintaining their grip on our country," the statement said. The Executive was based on British aggression and on a denial of the right of the whole Irish people, acting as a unit, to sovereignty and freedom.

"Sinn Féin rejects any such arrangement because it will not bring about a just and lasting peace."

"The S.D.L.P. have now accepted office under the crown and are now part of the British colonial system which divides Ireland and maintains a reign of terror in the Six Counties."

It added that the internees in Long Kesh now knew who their friends were and hoped that the S.D.L.P. understood the consequences of its treachery.



'THE BOG'

Edintubber oration

ó ich. 6

We call on you to speak out against Leinster House which is being wooed by England to extradite Republicans. Demand the ending of this active collusion. Demand the end to extradition proceedings against persons in the 26 Counties. Call for the release of all political prisoners.

The Free State army and Gardaí have recently taken another step to align themselves with the British terror machine, with constant raids, harassment and arrest of Republicans.

The 26 Counties minister of defence, Mr. Donegan, is playing an active part with his invitation to the British to land their helicopters within the 26 Counties area.

We demand the ending of this open-armed, collusion. If it continues unabated, the 26 Counties populous may well find the Cosgrave government inviting these same British in to raid homes.

We say: Protest now, End this collusion. And whilst we are on the subject of helicopters, I would wish bon voyage to that magnificent one from Mountjoy. That flight to freedom mirrors clearly the determination with which the Republican Movement is moving to achieve national independence.

The task ahead must be made clear. We demand that England withdraw her forces out of

Lights out in Derry

Last week electricians erected a new street light in William St. and repaired damaged street lights in Chamberlain St. That was in the afternoon.

However, at 11 p.m. on that night, the British came on the scene and, after breaking open the meter boxes on the standards, ripped out the new meters. Who are the real vandals in Derry? Who can do their dirty work best in the dark?

occupation out of Ireland. When this is complete the people will settle the affairs of Ireland in that lasting peace based on justice.

Sectionarianism, the weapon of British imperialism, must also cease. Study of our policies must show and teach those misguided people that, in the new Ireland, equal rights and opportunities for ALL our citizens will be assured.

Irish people will then be united for the well-being of Ireland and for its prosperity. God speed the day.

This, then, is the task the Republican Movement has set

This is an approved picture of the recreation hall in Portlaoise Prison. Next week, Gerry O'Hare will fill in the gaps left by the journalists during their conducted tour.

itself. So we call on you, the people, you who have suffered so much and endured many hardships in the past for lending support to the Movement.

We say that this suffering is almost at an end. Resolve now, before you move away from this hallowed spot, to stand behind the freedom fighters in this, the final chapter on the road to freedom. Victory will be ours.

BRITAIN'S S.D.L.P.

Ar lean, ó ich. a 1

The recent Assembly elections and their aftermath are another instance of S.D.L.P. treachery. They fought the elections on the undertaking that they would agree to no settlement which didn't involve the abandonment of the R.U.C. and the setting up of a new police force responsible either to joint Dublin-London control or to the Council of Ireland, a Council with real powers, and built into an evolutionary process towards a united Ireland; and thirdly, the ending of internment.

The most important of these commitments was that related to a united Ireland. The S.D.L.P., for the purposes of the election, abandoned the notion that a united Ireland would come about only with the consent of the majority of the population of Northern Ireland: they were saying that, irrespective of the views of the Northern majority, progress would have to be made towards a united Ireland and within a time scale set. In fact, what the S.D.L.P. was doing was fighting the election on the basis of the I.R.A. programme.

Betrayed promises

It was not surprising, therefore, that the S.D.L.P. did well in the elections, though not as well as their spokesmen claimed. An analysis of their "mandate" will appear in another issue of An Phoblacht. But immediately on "winning" the elections on the basis of this policy they proceeded to betray it.

The S.D.L.P. claims to have a mandate from the minority population in the north-east and, in so far as this is true at all, they have a mandate to do what

they said they would do prior to the elections. They do not have a mandate to do what they like and certainly not to do precisely what they said they wouldn't do.

On each of their electoral commitments, the S.D.L.P. has reneged. They have agreed on a settlement which includes none of the preconditions for a settlement which they themselves set. The R.U.C. is to remain essentially intact and controlled neither jointly by London and Dublin nor the Council of Ireland. They even have the audacity to accept "protection" from that very body they so reviled and which they said they were determined to destroy.

Internment has worsened rather than been abolished. It is clear, too, that the Council of Ireland will be a mere talking shop with no powers and carefully protected against the "dangerous" insinuation that it might lead to a united Ireland.

Brash affirmation

Even commitments the S.D.L.P. made on going into the negotiations on the morning of the final negotiations have been broken. Devlin said, in his usual blustering, incoherent manner, that a six-four-one breakdown of the executive was not on; but this is precisely what emerged some hours later.

By their actions in the last week, the S.D.L.P. has aligned itself with the enemies of the Irish people and of the struggle for Irish freedom. Previously, their actions could be dismissed as maverick and typical of the political dross that surrounds any revolutionary struggle; but that has now changed.

Judge refuses to free boys

MR. JUSTICE O'DONNELL in the High Court in Belfast refused to release two juveniles detained in the Maze Prison since last July on suspicion that they were I.R.A. Members.

One is now 16, the other 15.

Ballad session

A great night of ballads in aid of prisoners and dependents will be held on Thursday, November 29. Bifinne, Dublin City Ramblers and other guest artists.

Time: 8.30 p.m. Taille: 50p

Under the auspices of the Casement and Nolan Sinn Féin Cumann, Dun Laoghaire.

Old Shieling Hotel, Raheny, B.A.C.

Helicopter Song

"Up and Away", recorded by the Wolfe Tones, is available at the Craft Centre, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, at 50p.

Ballad of Joe Cahill—50p.

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AN PHOBLACHT

HELP FREE OUR PRISONERS

A Ghaela, a Phoblachtánaigh: bí linn Dé Domhanigh, Nollaig 2, ar a 3 a chlog.

Republicans are asked to mass outside Portlaoise Jail at 3 p.m. on Sun. Dec. 2 to show Ireland's support for the political prisoners.

PORTLAOISE JAIL Sun. 3p.m.

Gluaiseacht na Poblachta