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SAY NO TO THE E.E.C.

WE SERVE NEITHER LONDON NOR BRUSSELS

The object of the Republican Movement has always been a Sovereign Independent Republic. This is non-negotiable. It must become a de facto reality.

We object to Britain holding elections or referenda in Ireland. But we reserve the right, as the people did in 1918, to use them for our own purpose, which is to restore the Republic of Easter Week. The E.E.C. referendum

is not a piece of legislation — the decision lies with Westminster. It is more like an opinion poll. The British Government is not bound by the results — neither are we. But it is a chance to show that you do not accept dictation from Brussels any more than from Westminster.

The Referendum on Thursday is about whether Brit-

ain stays in or out of the Common Market. But the votes of the 6 counties will be counted separately.

Your vote matters. The Scottish and Welsh nationalists oppose the E.E.C. So do the Trade Unions and the best of the British Labour Party. We should join with them.

VOTE NO TO THE NEW ACT OF UNION

LOYALISTS HOLDING BRITISH TO RANSOM

While journalists and studios continue to speculate on the future of the Northern Convention, the general disorder being created there by the Loyalist bully-boys and the failure to emerge from there of any new lines of political exploration — little thought is being paid to the very slender precipice on which hangs the military truce in the North. Britain is being blackmailed as before by the Ulster Loyalists, but fewer fear a "blood bath" if Britain were to disengage — only those politicians with vested interests in the British presence. And more evident now, to a degree as never before, is the pressure on the British Government to publicly declare that it will cease maintaining its rule and administration in north-east Ulster, whether in its own interest, or in the interest of the Loyalist community.

Now is the time, it is felt, for the British Government to discontinue its financial and political backing of the Loyalist regime who are virtually in control of the Convention, while insisting upon nothing less than single party rule. Far from persuading them, (Loyalists) to abandon their traditional intolerance towards the minority, which is paramount to any peaceful settlement, the British delay in withdrawing its rule from Ireland is hardening the Loyalist belief that they can continue to hold the British Government to ransom and restore their old exclusive "right" to political power in the North.

NORTHERN CONVENTION IS A FAILURE

It goes without saying that Republicans will not tolerate another Loyalist dominated Stormont. Such is gone forever and every like institution of British fabric is doomed to failure in Ireland. The most recent Northern Convention is already proven to be inconclusive and nothing fresh can flow from it. The British must therefore decide how to face up to the Loyalists for the first time ever and cease to ignore the only possible solution based on a declaration of intent to begin to withdraw on some fixed future date. Such a declaration, categorical and public, would eliminate

Loyalist violence and threats of violence which has as its main political objective, for the past 60 years, the retention of British rule in Ireland.

For too long has Britain delayed and avoided such confrontation with the Loyalists. But there is now no more room to defy or manoeuvre in the face of ever closer prospects of a renewal of the Provisional IRA campaign of resistance to British rule and interference. The deployment of British troops against yet another and more determined generation of resisting Irish would cause revulsion among the British public as never before. The British people must realise that every plan and method used by their government, in the course of the last four years in Ireland, has failed utterly — these included internment without trial, torture and ill-treatment of those arrested and imprisoned and the coalescence of the Southern Irish Government.

BRITAIN MUST NOT DELAY RESPONSIBILITY

What is more, the British Government themselves must realise that even the ruthless, Kitsonian repression and counter-insurgency

techniques of the past five years have failed miserably to frustrate the capacity and the determination of the Provisional IRA to strike again if necessary. Also to be borne in mind is the fact that the discipline that has been shown by the Provisionals' units on the ground during the present long lull in aggressive action is prodigious in the history of guerrilla fighting. The non-Loyalist population of the North have renewed faith in the Provisionals, demonstrated by the recent Convention election in which the boycott policy of the Provisionals drew most support.

This is the stark reality of the situation that can only be met by a radical reversal of British policy towards Ireland which has had such radical reversal of British policy towards Ireland which has had such evil consequences in the country's history. England must no longer put off her responsibility both to Ireland and to her own public, of openly declaring her intention of disengaging. She must declare her intention to withdraw, by a specified date, her entire administration and armed forces, leaving the final settlement to all other parties and organisations involved in the conflict. Irishmen, and Irishmen only, are capable of tending the political future of their country.

Francis Stagg held in solitary confinement

Francis Stagg, serving a ten year sentence in Wakefield Prison, England for alleged I.R.A. activities, has been held in solitary confinement for the past six weeks. In an interview with *The Irish Republican Information Service Bulletin* this week, his brother, Mr. Emmett Stagg, said that the reason for his confinement was his refusal to work for the prison authorities. The work which he was allotted involved making up items, which would later be used by the British Army, but his brother added, as a political prisoner, he refused to do any type of work while imprisoned.

He is allowed only one hour of exercise per day and on Sunday his choice is limited to attending Mass or exercise, but not both. He complains of strain and sleeplessness as a result of being subjected to constant artificial lighting in his cell. The cell in which he is confined has been stripped completely of furniture, with the exception of the bed and as a result he is forced to eat his meals from the floor. Only in the last week has he been allowed a chair. Nor is he allowed any personal belongings whatever, his books, papers and



Frank Stagg

transistor radio have been confiscated. He is permitted only one two-hour visit every three weeks. Despite these harsh conditions, his spirits are said to be excellent and his mood one of determination.

Since his hunger strike last year, for political status, in Albany Prison, Isle of Wight, Frank Stagg has been treated cruelly and vindictively by British prison authorities and has had to resort to hunger and thirst strikes on at least two other occasions in protest against degrading body searches before and after visits from his relatives.

SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT'S NEW BILL OF OPPRESSION

'CRIMINAL JURISDICTION BILL'

The people sought under the new wide ranging so-called 'Criminal Jurisdiction Bill,' proposed by the Southern Government, are in most cases escapees from jails in the North or persons forced to flee from Loyalist gangsterism. Loyalists and the British Army have orchestrated widespread murder over the years while the so-called 'Irish' Government in the South have looked on and now propose to co-operate fully with imperialists against the Irish battle for survival as a nation.

In setting out to co-operate with Northern justice under this new Bill of oppression, let us see what the Southern Government are asking Irish lawyers to do. The following are comments and observations on the Bill by the Dublin Branch of the Association for Legal Justice:-

(1) Violation of the principles of international law in respect of extradition:

In seeking to punish persons for political offences committed in another jurisdiction, this bill effectively denies the right of political asylum and refuses to acknowledge the existence of the accepted concept of political offences. It is to uphold this concept of political offence that we are parties to international agreements on extradition. In effect, therefore, this is extradition by a back door method and it is patently dishonest to pretend otherwise.

(2) The taking of evidence:

The taking and giving of evidence in a criminal court is of paramount importance and is central to the notion of a fair and just trial.

Section 11 of the Bill proposes a method by which evidence may be taken on commission by a Judge of the High Court of Northern Ireland in the presence of members of the Special Criminal Court.

"We submit that this method of taking evidence on commission, in preparation for the trial of the accused at a later date, is contrary to the well-established principles of the criminal law. It is the right of every accused person to demand that he be confronted by his accusers in open court at his trial and thus be given the opportunity to refute their accusations should he wish to do so. This is greatly different from the notion implied in this section that justice and truth can be arrived at in the cosy atmosphere of judges' chambers or wherever this evidence is to be taken.

At the trial proper the evidence of the prosecution witness, got on commission, will be read to the court and there will be no opportunity for the accused person or his lawyers to cross-examine the absent witness or to observe his demeanour while tendering his evidence. This point will not be lost on professional lawyers. It must also be stated that while the Bill makes provision for the accused person to be present at the taking of evidence on commission it only requires a moments thought to realise that the accused person will in most cases be unwilling for reasons of fear to commit himself to the custody of the Royal Ulster Constabulary as the bill requires.

Therefore, in practice, the accused person will not be present while important accusations are made by the prosecution. One of the established

principles of criminal law is that no trial should proceed without the presence of the accused. In effect this is what will be happening.

"It is important to note that in civil cases where the standard of proof is merely that of the 'balance of probabilities,' the court has not the power to hear evidence given on commission where one of the parties to the proceeding bona fide desires the production of a witness for cross-examination. This in accordance with the Rules of the Supreme Court 1962, Order 39, Rule 1. It should be noted that the standard of proof required in a criminal trial is that the prosecution must prove its case 'beyond a reasonable doubt' which is of course a much higher standard.

(3) Credibility of the Royal Ulster Constabulary:

Those giving evidence upon commission would certainly include in their number members of the RUC and the British Army. When internment was introduced in the North of Ireland on 9th August, 1971, it resulted in the arrest and detention of hundreds of men without trial or charge. Following upon these arrests, scores of victims were subjected to 'brutal treatment. It was also at this time that a number of men, initially twelve, were selected for special torture and interrogation methods. This consisted of physical brutality and extreme psychological pressures, known to psychiatrists and psychologists as sensory deprivation. These brutal and dehumanising methods have since that time continued to be used.

These torture methods were used by members of the British Army and

by members of the RUC. Many of these brutalities have taken place in RUC interrogation centres with the active connivance and involvement of senior members of that force. We find it incomprehensible that the Government are prepared to accept evidence from either of these discredited sources.

This Bill can only further divide the communities in the North as without question the Catholic community and its leaders have consistently refused to recognise the RUC, as at present constituted, as an acceptable police force. They are bound to look upon the Irish Government's proposals in the Bill as an attempt to give the RUC credibility, something which they will not tolerate.

(4) Selective application of the Law:

We wish to draw attention to the extraordinary provisions in Section 4 of the Bill. This section proposes to amend Section 3 of the Explosive Substances Act, 1883 and states:- "A person who in the State or (being an Irish citizen) outside the State unlawfully and maliciously . . ."

This refers to the intent or conspiracy to cause explosions or to the possession of such substances. What is proposed here is to confer power upon our courts to try Irish citizens and only Irish citizens who cause explosions, conspire to cause explosions, or have explosive substances in their possession while outside the state. Clearly there is no power in this section to try persons who are not Irish citizens. Therefore the only persons who when apprehended could be charged under this section are

those who are citizens of Ireland, including those in the Six Counties who have taken out Irish citizenship.

Members of the Loyalist para-military groupings would not be affected by this section as they undoubtedly will hold British citizenship. This is a further demonstration of the selective application of the law proposed by the Government.

(5) Option to be tried in either Jurisdiction:

Section 14 of the Bill proposes to offer an option to the accused to have his trial conducted in Northern Ireland. While on the one hand, it is inconceivable that any members of the Catholic population would choose to exercise this option, due to the discriminatory attitudes of Northern courts towards them as has been demonstrated in recent surveys carried out by our Association in Belfast and reinforced by the recent decision of a Northern Irish Court in the case of Patrick McElhone. On the other hand, members of Loyalist para-military groups would certainly avail of the provision afforded them in the Bill, as the courts have shown themselves to be biased in their favour.

(6) Permanence of Special Criminal Court:

This Bill, if it becomes law, will make the Special 'Criminal' Court a permanent feature of our legal system and it should be remembered that the Judges of that Court are appointed and removed at the will of the Government in accordance with Section 39, subsection 2, of the Offences Against the State Act 1939, meaning that they do not have judicial independence.

Murder Inc. moves on from Vietnam

THE Vinnell Corporation of America is doing business with Saudi Arabia. But this company's business is dirtier than most in the imperialism game.

The Vinnell Corporation is listed as a construction company. It did \$200 million worth of business in Vietnam for the US military establishment. But this business had nothing to do with construction. A Pentagon official remembers that "When I dealt with them in Vietnam, they didn't even own a typewriter. All they were was a list of names on a piece of paper". In fact, the Vinnell Corporation is just cover for a mercenary army. They performed for us what we conveniently termed 'clean-up' the Pentagon official said. "What they 'cleaned up' or how they 'cleaned up' was pretty much up to them... they followed us out of Vietnam and did the dirty work we didn't want to do for ourselves. They had a free hand. They could hit any Vietcong left hanging around the area... When we wanted to pull something quasi-legal, so far as military appropriations was concerned, we used them."

"Now with Vinnell going over to

BRITISH TERROR UNIT TRAINING IN AUSTRALIA

Newspapers and TV cameramen in Western Australia have been given strict orders not to take close-up photographs of a secret British Army force that arrived recently on a special training mission.

A British Government spokesman said that because of the nature of their work, the identity

of the soldiers could be "useful to the enemy" in times of war.

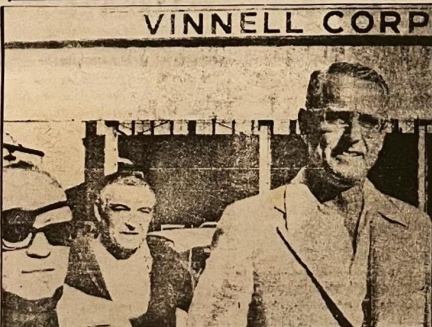
In general, the enemy has very little interest in whether it is Private Bloggs or Corporal Winterbottom that they are taking aim at. But these particular soldiers are members of Britain's notorious undercover Special Air Services. The British spokesman in

Western Australia said that in "times of hostility" the men could be doing dangerous intelligence work. But he hastened to add that the men would not be used in Northern Ireland: which is precisely the place where the SAS has been most visibly deployed in recent years (along with Oman, where they're helping to shore up a feudal dictatorship against rebel forces).

Their training in Australia in unarmed hand-to-hand combat was described as 'routine for commandos'. But they have also been doing demolition work and close quarters armed battle training in the Perth area, pitting their skills against 3 Squadrons of the crack Australian Special Air Service regiment. And in a second stage, a complex operation was mounted to practise infiltration and reconnaissance over long distances by water, vehicle, air and on foot.

In the past, these British troops have trained with the SAS group in Malaysia in jungle warfare techniques - great practice for the "defence" of the Home Counties, no doubt.

Not that British imperialism makes a great secret of its potential as overseas aggressor. But they like to take precautions. The secrecy surrounding the SAS in Perth (where their presence was only announced after they'd been there three days, and where great care was taken that at social events for them, they would not be identified) is simply to help the undercover troops pose as laundymen in Belfast or milkmen in Glasgow, and get away with it.



Saudi, that is nothing less than the US sending over our own mercenary army.

According to official statements, the 1000 men contracted through Vinnell will train Saudi Arabia's 26,000-man national guard. But the 'equus' Pentagon man gave his opinion of that too. "I

don't care what the press releases say. Sure they'll train Faisal's palace guard, but if push comes to shove over the border they'll be in a position to lead his palace guard - the people they'll be sending there are all ex-military men with specialities in the field of counter-insurgency."

'RADIO SAOIRSE— THE VOICE OF FREEDOM'

Derry now has its own radio station: Radio Saoirse, 'The Voice of Freedom.' It is the only free radio station operating in these islands, beyond the hands of British media censorship.

Not only does Radio Saoirse play traditional and folk music and songs of resistance, but it also puts across the aims, objects and policies of the Republican Movement. It uses the freedom to broadcast press releases and statements from all branches of the Republican Movement. It also publicises local issues of importance to the people of Derry.

One of Radio Saoirse's main aims is to promote gaelic culture and a pride in being Irish. The reception has been wildly enthusiastic judging from the stacks of requests etc., handed in to Radio Saoirse.

Radio Saoirse gives the people of Derry an opportunity to have a say in the running of their radio station. Requests, local news, announcements, etc. can be left at any of the 5 Sine Fein Advice and Complaint Centres in the City.

Radio Saoirse broadcasts reach approximately 20,000 homes on the Derry area. Transmitting on 200 metres on the medium waveband, Radio Saoirse operates between the hours of 3 p.m. and 11 p.m., 7 days a week. (Due to British interference, Radio Saoirse will at times be unable to keep strictly to these broadcasting hours).

WALK OUT NOW

I don't think the leaders of the S.D.L.P. will be too happy after reading the article in last week's *Hibernia Magazine* 30/5/75, written by their old friend and party member, Michael McKewen.

The poor S.D.L.P., says Michael, have been schooled to find that the 'loyalists' are turning the Convention from a constitutional think-tank into an organ of loyalist opinion and through the Standing Orders Committee intend taking over the responsibility for the running of the Convention business. The Chairman's job has been so reduced, that any Branch chairman could fill the role. But Michael advises the S.D.L.P., be cautious, don't be provoked. Walking out now would have three very undesirable consequences.

1. They would be discarding their strongest card at far too early a stage in the game.
2. They would be eroding their own credibility at Westminster.
3. They would be presented as endorsing the Provisional strategy of boycott, but from a far weaker moral position.

So, Michael goes on. "They have only one option left. They have got to stay in the Convention to the bitter end - and suffer the indignity of having each of their counter-proposals defeated, either by majority vote, or technical procedures devised by the majority bloc."

Michael even points out the dangers to the carrying out of this option. Each "To the frustrations inherent in such a course is added the danger that each vote taken and each proposal debated welds the S.D.L.P. into a pattern of acquiescence in the procedures and compliance with the end result."

Why should Michael McKewen call on the S.D.L.P. Convention members to carry out this action? Because he believes that the British Government will in the end refuse to accept the Majority Report. That is one thing he is depending on, the other is that the S.D.L.P. is very vulnerable and this should be respected by the British, the Alliance Party and the Faulkner Unionists. The S.D.L.P. "have no further concessions to make." They have given in on such issues as the Rent Strike, Internment, Education, and a diminished Council of Ireland. Their loss of two seats at the last election shows the Catholic vote has to be fought for and won. So Michael suggests that all their friends in the Convention should rally around the S.D.L.P. and help out, otherwise the possibility of the party finishing up like the Nationalists in 1969.

Now if this was a game we were playing all the options and theories of the author could be played out without loss, except the money stakes. But this is no game. This is for real and what action the S.D.L.P. takes in the very near future will depend the lives of many of our people.

This past week we have heard the many voices of the ultra-right unionists telling of their plans for a doomsday situation if and when the Brits refuse to accept their proposals for the return of their one-party Fascist state. Will it be good tactics for the S.D.L.P. to continue sitting in a Convention which in McKewen, own words "will weld them into a pattern of acquiescence and compliance with the end result."

My advice to the S.D.L.P. rank and file members is to drag your leaders out of the Convention, now, today. They have no part to play in helping, Paisley and Craig to have respectability as political leaders in the eyes of the anti-unionist people of the six counties.

THE ROOT CAUSE

"On B.B.C. they have done so many programmes on the Middle East that most of the staff should now be able to speak Arabic fluently.

The fact that the British economy is being kept afloat on the oil money of the Sheikhs may have something to do with it. Mid-

week even sent a special unit to produce a documentary on the displaced Palestinian Arabs and patiently explained their aims.

What it did not explain was that these same British were and still are the cause of all the bloodshed since the infamous Mr. Balfour lied to Arab and Jew about the future of Palestine." (Television Column, Sunday Independent 1/6/75):

"A nation of shopkeepers"

Young Michael Hartnett the Irish poet, who won the Irish American Cultural Institute Award and £2,000 has published his new book of verse "Farewell to English."

In it he enunciates his reasons for forsaking English as the language of his poetry. He believes that only the Gaelic medium can express his West Limerick Irishness and the richness of the cultural traditions he has inherited.

The poem involves a scathing onslaught on modern Irish politics with side swipes at William Butler Yeats. It identifies Gaelic as "the language of my people;" and English "a necessary sin - the perfect language to sell pigs in."

LIAM MAC

THE SHERIFF

So the runners are now out for the "Provisional Government of the Orange State" or so all the Sunday papers would have us believe. The Sunday World, who by the way allows Glen Barr to write an occasional column and air his "loyalist" views, stated very definitely on the front page that their list of runners was the correct one. I would suggest that their list just didn't show enough originality to be true, as it merely gave the names of the present executive committee of the U.W.C. with Craig and West added.

What no Paisley? Well they will have to think again. The U.U.U.C. bloc in the Convention not only believe that their mandate allows them to rub the croppies noses in the mud, but also to decate to all other 'loyalist' groupings and armies, how things should be run.

They forget the new sheriff is Ian Paisley and he won't allow them even on the same platform. They won't get rid of him as easily as he helped to oust O'Neill, Chi-Chi Clarke and Faulkner.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Jemmy Hope, one of the Presbyterian leaders of the United Irishmen had this to say about the Orangemen.

"A person called Atkinson, who lived in Belfast, and a Low Church clergyman, called Johnson from Lisburn organised a faction of intolerant turbulent men into lodges, like Freemasons, called the Loyal Orange Institution. It at first consisted of persecuting yeomen, renegade 'croppies', the hangers-on about landlords, and Low-Church clergyman, with their spies

and informers, all over the country, the bullies of certain houses in garrison towns, and those of fairs and markets in the rural districts.

This association, under the nursing care of the magistrates, left no visible protection for either life or property out of its own circle, and its members boasted, that the government protected its institution, and that a judge did not ride the circuit that was not a friend to Orangemen. Their July rites were duly observed by the sacrifice of numerous victims to the memory of King William the Third; and when legal redress was resorted to by the relations and friends of the sufferers the conduct of the authorities fully justified the above assertion. The character of the Orange lodge was such, that no man who had any regard for his character would appear in them."

I must be talking to my friends

It is interesting to note that the S.D.L.P. leadership believe that they can get some concessions from the majority bloc in the Convention on the questions of Power-sharing and the Irish Dimension.

For the benefit of the rank-and-file members of the S.D.L.P. I am quoting some excerpts from Paddy Devlin's book, "The Fall of the N.I. Executive."

CRAIG

"In July 1972, Craig said on a radio programme, *World at One*, "that he welcomed the existence of Protestant assassination squads waiting for civil war to start so that they go into action. Since that statement was made, numerous assassinations have taken place. The vast majority of the victims have been Catholics. One can assume on the basis of that statement alone that a public statement would have been helpful in having these assassinations stopped, or he could at least publicly disassociate himself from them.

"Instead we find him on the 19th October, 1972, saying, "I can tell you without boasting I can mobilise tomorrow 80,000 men who will not see any compromise in Ulster. I am an ex-officer in the Air Force. I am prepared to come out and shoot kill. Let us put the bluff aside. I am prepared to kill and those behind me will have my full support. We will not surrender."

PAISLEY

"Paisley cannot become a rational or reasonable politician. His power base is compounded of mindless mobs and religious fanatics who must be constantly nourished by his polarised emotions. He is and must remain a captive of his power base. He is incapable of moving away from it and why should he? Like certain demagogic figures in the 'thirties he recognises that his present position as leader depends on a constant and clear reiteration to his followers of his gospel of hate. Love, peace and reconciliation are taboo terms that could bring about his downfall.

His inability to use them could bring about that of the North."

WEST

"He is a deeply bigoted man of limited ability and narrow views. He believes in the traditional form of what passes in Co. Fermanagh for politics as being the only worthwhile form and has difficulty in comprehending anything else unless it is motivated by the same primitive impulses that feed political tribalism there."

These are them men who are now leading the U.U.U.C. majority bloc in the Convention. The rank and file members of the S.D.L.P. should ask themselves the question: Is it possible to expect these characters to concede any reforms asked for by the S.D.L.P. leadership? Convince your leaders that now is the time to use their own veto and opt out before it is too late.

MUST THEY DIE IN MAGILLIGAN?

"The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" was a lurid handbook of anti-semitism promoted by Fascist regimes.

This advertisement from Ian Paisley's "Protestant Telegraph," displays the same mentality.



CLIFFORD SMYTH

This paper-back book by Clifford Smyth has had to be reprinted due to popular demand. It is essential reading for everyone who wants to know the root cause of our political troubles.

Sir,

For a considerable time we in Magilligan have patiently awaited the replacement of the existing part-time camp doctor.

While holding nothing personal against this unfortunate individual, we must point out that he has long since past retirement age, and undoubtedly is not as competent as he might have been in his younger days. And with the population of Magilligan now exceeding 600, you can imagine the task facing this person.

We have made the camp authorities aware of our feelings on the matter, and on numerous occasions have been told that they would look into our complaint. In fact, many of the camp medical orderlies have agreed with us, and expressed their concern also.

Recently, however, Arthur McGuigan, a fellow Republican prisoner, was removed to hospital suffering from a serious kidney complaint. Arthur came to Magilligan in October 1974, and

since his condition has steadily deteriorated, to the extent that he was confined to bed many hours of the day.

On visiting the doctor in question for treatment, he was given "pain killers." This situation prevailed since his arrival from Long Kesh 5 months ago, and only ceased when another doctor, called in to alleviate the situation, discovered the true extent of Arthur's illness and immediately ordered that he be removed to hospital. On his arrival at the City Hospital in Belfast, he underwent an operation right away.

As a result of Arthur's serious condition, Mervyn Rees has seen fit to remit the remaining 14 months of his sentence. We see this gesture as an attempt by the Northern Ireland Office to cover up the trial of incompetence and lack of proper medical facilities within Magilligan. By washing their hands of Arthur McGuigan they have proven our case against them. The grim truth of the matter is that no effort has been made, as

yet, by the N.I.O. to ensure there is no repetition.

On top of all this, the intolerable situation still exists, and was further proven, when a fellow Republican prisoner was injured whilst playing football the other day. Although in severe pain, he was forced to wait for over an hour before being taken to the camp sick-bay, where on arrival, he was given "pain-killers" before being sent back to his cage. This treatment was administered by medical orderlies, whose diagnosis was a "torn ligament." And it was not until two days later, when his ankle had swollen all out of proportion, that he was taken to hospital for an X-ray. The X-ray showed that he had a "broken ankle."

Must someone die in Magilligan, as has happened many times in Long Kesh, before proper medical facilities are installed on a permanent basis in this camp?

Seamus O'Donnale, P.R.O.,
Republican Prisoners,
Magilligan Camp.

LIAM MELLOWS ... REPUBLICAN

Opposition to Imperialism

The main reason for opposing the E.E.C. is that it is an attempt to resurrect the old European empires, to make them viable in the modern world. Anti-imperialism was the main reason given by Mellows for opposing the Treaty and the Free State. Like Terence MacSwiney, another great anti-imperialist, he saw that it was hypocritical to fight for Ireland's freedom but deny freedom and prosperity to other subjugated countries. In the Treaty debate he made this clear.

Under the Treaty the Irish people would be committed within the British Empire, something they had always opposed. "The British Empire represents to me nothing but the concentrated tyranny of ages," he added. "...It means to me that terrible thing that has spread its tentacles all over the earth, that has crushed the lives out of people and exploited its own when it could not exploit anybody else. That British Empire is the thing that has crushed this country; yet we are told that we are going into it now with our heads up. We are going into the British Empire now to participate in the shame and the crucifixion of India and the degradation of Egypt. Is that what the Irish people fought for freedom for?"

And then:

We are told damn principles. Aye, if Ireland was fighting for nothing only to become as most of the other rich countries of the world have become, this fight should never have been entered upon. We hoped to make this country something the world should have been proud of and we did not enter into the fight to make this country as the other countries, where its word was not its bond, and where a treaty was something to be struggled for. That was not the ideal that inspired men in this cause in every age, and it is not the ideal which inspires us today. We do not seek to make this country a materially great country...

After you get the Free State what will you take on hands, and what do you mean when you talk of something next? The Government of the Free State will, with those who support it now liking it or not, eventually occupy the same relationship towards the people of Ireland as Dublin Castle does today, because it will be the barrier government between the British and the Irish people. And the Irish people before they can struggle on will have to do something to remove that Free State government.

Social Programme

1. A Provisional Republican Government should be set up at once—even if it is unable to function—or to function in a most limited way. This is to be done apart from the question of the *Dail*. The advertisement in today's paper *re* postponement of *Dail* is inserted by Provisional Government. The impression the press and Provisional Government want to create is that the next *Dail* is the "Provisional Parliament" called for by the terms of the Treaty. If at meeting of *Dail* this is not cleared up and it is accepted that it is a "Provisional Parliament" and not the Government of the Republic—then the necessity of a Republican Government is more urgent.

2. The Programme of Democratic control (the social programme) adopted by the *Dail* coincident Declaration of Independence January 1919 should be translated into something definite. This is essential if the great body of workers are to be kept on the side of Independence. This does not require a change of outlook on the part of Republicans, or the adoption of a revolutionary programme as such. The headline is there in the Declaration of 1919. It is already part of the Republican policy. It should be made clear what is meant by it. Would suggest therefore that it be interpreted something like the following which appeared in the *Workers' Republic* of July 22nd last.

Under the Republic all industry will be controlled by the State for the workers' and farmers' benefit.

All transport—railways, canals, etc.—will be operated by the State, the Republican State, for the benefit of the workers and farmers.

All banks will be operated by the State for the benefit of industry and agriculture, not for the purpose of profit-making by loans, mortgages, etc.

That the lands of the aristocracy—who live in luxury in London, and at a distance support the Free State—will be seized and divided amongst those who will and can operate it for the nation's good—

Regarding the last paragraph in above programme—land—it is well to note that the I.R.A. Executive had already taken up the question of the demesnes and ranches and had adopted a scheme for their confiscation and distribution.

This scheme was largely the work of P.J.R. See E. O'M., Tomas O'Dearg and P.J.R. about this. In view of unprincipled attacks of the Labour Party, and because of the landless and homeless Irish Republican soldiers who fought against Britain, it might be well to publish this scheme in whole or in part. We should certainly keep

Irish Labour for the Republic: it will be possibly the biggest factor on our side. Anything that will prevent Irish Labour becoming Imperialist and "respectable" will help the Republic.

As a sidelight on Johnston [sic], O'Brien, O'Shannon and Co. it will interest you to know that when they called on us in the Four Courts last May they (particularly Johnston) remarked that no effort had been made to put the Democratic Programme into execution.

Back to Tone

In our efforts now to win back public support to the Republic we are forced to recognise—whether we like it or not—that the commercial interest, so called, money and the gombeen men are on the side of the Treaty, because the Treaty means Imperialism and England. We are back to Tone—and it is just as well—relying on that great body "the men of no property". The "stake in the country" people were never with the Republic. They are not with it now—and they will always be against it—until it wins. We should recognise that definitely now and base our appeals upon the understanding and needs of those who have always borne Ireland's fight. Even though the decision of the election of 1918 stands; even though the Declaration of Independence remains a fact; even though the election of June 1922 was an "agreed election" at which no issue was put or decided, yet, because of the interpretation put upon it by the Treatyites (and used broadcast by the British) it is essential that the Republic be over again affirmed by the people as soon as possible. When that may be no one can tell, but we cannot look too far ahead. In the meantime the Provisional Republican Government should endeavour to "carry on"

Neo Colonialism

3a. Propaganda. Imperialism. What the rejection of it by Ireland means. What its acceptance by Ireland means. This should be fully explained. What imperialism is, what Empires are—what the British Empire is—its growth. How it exists and maintains itself. Colonies (Irish Free State as a colony)—India, how oppression and possession of it is essential to maintenance of B.E., Money, Trade, Power, etc. (Curzon on India) Extracts Roger Casement's articles on "Ireland Germany and Freedom of the seas", published first in *Irish Review* 1913 or 1914. What Ireland's connection with Imperialism (however much apparent gain) means to her future. No use freeing Ireland to set her up as a State following the footsteps of all the rotten nations of Europe today—what Ireland's rejection of imperialism means etc.

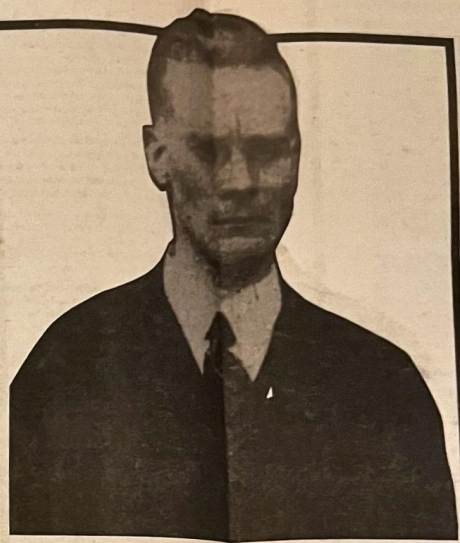
b. Work of the Republic, to show it was—and is—a reality. This is an antidote to the hypocrites who now pretend that it never existed. Some pamphlets have already been published by direction of *Dail* last year, showing how Republic functioned, Courts, land settlement, etc. Decrees. These were sold for 6d. each I think. They could be reproduced or used again. The Bulletin published by D/publicity all through war up to signing of Treaty does, I think, contain heaps of dates.

c. Hierarchy. Invariably wrong in Ireland in their political outlook—against people in '98. Frs. Murphy (2), Roche, Herans excommunicated by the then Bishop of Ferns—against Emmet "condoning outrage"—against Young Ireland, "Godless young men", support of Sadlier and Keogh against Fenians: Dr. Cullen, Bishop Moriarty "Hell not hot enough or eternity long enough", against "Plan of Campaign"—against *Sinn Féin* (early days when it was milk and water) against Irish Volunteers—support England in European war 1914—morally to blame for deaths of thousands of Irish youths in France, Flanders, Mesopotamia, Gallipoli, Macedonia, etc.

Nothing can condone this. European War a hideous holocaust on altar of Mammon; a struggle between Europe for power. Irish Hierarchy blood-guilty. Hierarchy against Easter Rising 1916, denunciation of Pearse, etc. (Pearse the great example of Christian idealism) Hierarchy only opposed conscription when forced to do so by attitude of people. Against I.R.A. during terror. Bishop Cohan's excommunication decree of December 1920. Hierarchy abandonment of principle, justice and honour by support of Treaty. Danger to Catholicism in Ireland from their bad example—their exaltation of deceit and hypocrisy, their attempt to turn the noble aspect of Irish struggle and bring it to level of putrid politics, their admission that religion is something to be preached about from pulpits on Sundays, but never put into practice in the affairs of the nation, their desertion of Ulster, etc.

Free State Puppets

Continuing mine of the 26th inst. (No. 1) Before doing so however I wish to point out that the matter of establishing a Provisional Republican Government has become imperative because of the probability of the English taking a hand sooner or later. No doubt they will continue to make use of Irishmen as long as the latter can be duped or dazzled by the Free State idea; but even to this there will be an end and then the British will, by using the arguments against



Liam Mellows was a member of the IRB, one of the young organisers who built a Fianna, and organiser in Galway for the Irish Volunteers, where he led the Connaught rising in 1916.

As a member of the First *Dail*, he opposed the Treaty and was among those who occupied the Four Courts and was captured by the Free Staters. On 8th December, 1922 at the age of 27, he was judicially murdered in cold blood in Mountjoy Jail by orders of W. T. Cosgrave's Free State Cabinet, along with Rory O'Connor, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey.

His letter to the Hearn is dated 3.00 a.m. 8th December.

Dear John and Mrs. Hearn,

The time draws short. An hour ago I was informed that I was to be shot at eight o'clock this morning—as a reprisal. Well, I shall die for Ireland—for the Republic; for that glorious Cause that has been sanctified by the blood of countless martyrs throughout the ages; the cause of Human Liberty. The Republic stands for truth and honor—for all that is noblest in our race. By Truth and Honor—by Principle and Sacrifice alone will Ireland be free. That this is so—that this is immutable—I am prepared to stake all my hopes of the hereafter.

Ireland must tread the path Our Redeemer trod. She may shrink, as indeed she has shrunk—"Put away this Chalice"—but her faltering feet will find the road again, as indeed she is already finding it. For that road is plain and broad and straight; its signposts are unmistakable. It is the road on which Wolfe Tone, and Emmet and Mitchell, and the Fenians, and Tom Clarke, Pearse, Connolly, Kevin Barry, Terry MacSwiney and Childers were the guides.

I have no regrets, for the future of Ireland is assured. The Republic is assured and before long all Irishmen, including those now unhappily in arms against the Republic, will be united against Imperialist England—the common enemy of Ireland and of the world.

To you and Mary I send my love. I know your prayers will be offered for me, though, with the old Gaelthals I share the belief that those who die for Ireland "have no need of prayer"

God bless you all,

With affectionate regards,
Liam O'Maoliosa

In mBeula, Liam Mellows.

In New York a memorial meeting was held at the Irish Carmelite Hall on December 14. Father Peter E. Magennis, head of the order, paid tribute to his old friend, Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney, widow of Terence MacSwiney, delivered the address. "Rather than that they should turn imperialist, I'd prefer to see them both dead," she said.

Hannah Sheehy Skiffington wrote in the *Irish World* of December 16, 1922:

"He was but 27 and his mind had broadened and deepened through suffering, through silent concentration and through various experiences. He had lost his boyish exuberance and his merry spirits, had grown sadder, but had retained his serenity as of yore. He of all men might have taken James Connolly's place — of late especially he had moved along the paths trodden by Connolly. We have lost in him one of the greatest of our generation. We shall not look upon his like again."

... ANTI-IMPERIALIST



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Republicans that the F.S. now use, cloud the issue greatly. For the British to calumniate Republicans and belittle their cause by besmirching them is one thing; but for F.S. (and supposed potential Republicans) to do it is another, and different and worse thing. Because the British will not use British arguments to cloak their action but Irish ones "out of our own mouths", etc. Therefore an object—a target—must be presented for the enemy (F.S. or British) to hit at—otherwise it becomes a fight (apparently) between individuals. Hence the necessity of getting the Provisional Republican Government established at once.

Principle

Mellows then resumed his discussion of propaganda:

d. Dev's work in America. The time has now come for informing the Irish People what miracles De Valera accomplished there. The attempt to belittle his work for Eire both here and abroad must be defeated. Dealing with America is a stupendous work, and tons of data is needed. But it will be a labour well worth performing. Show how it was the Republic (and the Republic only) that gained such sympathy for us there; that no other cause would have got the slightest hearing—that De V. changed an ignorant and either apathetic or hostile people into genuine sympathisers in two years. He made the name of Ireland respected where it was despised, and the Irish cause an ideal where it had been regarded as political humbug. Fr. Magennis could do a very fine opening chapter describing the state of the Irish movement in America and the attitude generally of America and Americans at the time of Dev's coming.

e. Life of Cathal Brugha. A brief (but not scrappy) account of above would I think do a lot of good. The account in the Bulletin (Catholic) by Scelig is splendid, but not detailed enough. The underlying idea should be that of "Principle", a word that at one time meant everything to (and conveyed everything of) the I.R.A.

f. Cardinal Mercier; as an offset to their Lordships, a fine pamphlet on the example set for Ireland by Cardinal Mercier—his acts and words—could be written.

g. South Africa. The danger to Ireland of Irish allowing their work to be patterned on example of South Africa. After Treaty of Veer and later formation United South Africa (—all Boers still saying they were Republicans at heart) the real Republicans found an obstacle stood between them and the British—their own. Parallel with Ireland, Smuts and Botha, Collins and Griffith, Cathal Brugha, De Wet, etc. "Five years" fallacy of F. S. Rebus.

4. Courts. Except for Supreme Court, the Repub courts should be maintained. Nothing conveyed proof in America of existence of Republic here so much as the establishment and work of Courts.

Na Fianna

5. *Fianna*. We must concentrate on youth—salvation of country lies in this—both boys and girls. *Fianna* never got proper help or encouragement. *Fianna* ideal can save future. The reason for so many young soldiers going wrong is that they never had a proper grasp of fundamentals. They were absorbed into movement and fight—not educated into it. Hence no real convictions.

6. Food Control. Food supply will present a serious problem soon. The obstruction of roads, railways and communications will be intensified. Towns will feel it the worst. Some plan of rationing will have to be thought out and some person (a labour man for preference) put in control. If the Republic is to win out against the Free State and the British, we shall have to face the idea of people suffering many privations. If scheme worked out ahead, it will not be so bad. In fact it would compel a change from present wretched economic outlook and make them rely on their own resources. Many things that are now looked on as necessities would have to be done without—tea, sugar, foreign flour, etc., but oatmeal, oatflour, barley and other wholesome foods would be used. As a matter of fact Ireland has suffered nothing (comparatively speaking) either during Great War or our War. English people (and English women) cheerfully put up with severe deprivations and we Irish think our Cause worth putting up with anything. But do we? Judging by the whines and grumbles one is tempted sometimes to say "certainly not."

7. Communications.

a. Abroad. Routes and men must be sought out and maintained at all costs for the following: England, Scotland, America, Germany, Belgium, France, Russia, Italy.

b. Home. Very essential

8. Foreign: India. Isn't the time approaching when we should be in closest touch?

Labour and the Republic

For Frank Gallagher he prepared a thesis on the role of the Labour Party, part of which runs:

Labour played a tremendous part in the establishment and maintenance of the Republic. Its leaders had it in their power to fashion that Republic as they wished—to make it a workers' and peasants'

Republic. By their acceptance of the Treaty and all that it connotes—recognition of the British monarchy, the British Privy Council, partition of the country and subservience to British capitalism, they have betrayed not only the Irish Republic but the Labour movement in Ireland and the cause of the workers and peasants throughout the world.

It is a fallacy to believe that a Republic of any kind can be won through the shackled Free State. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. The Free State is British-created, British controlled and serves British imperial interests. It is the buffer erected between British capitalism and the Irish Republic.

If the Irish people do not control Irish industries, transport, money and the soil of the country, then foreign or domestic capitalists will. And whoever control the wealth of a country and the processes by which wealth is attained control also its government.

The document reached Gallagher on 4th December. Mellows' mind was ranging widely over the problems raised by the new phase of imperialist domination in Ireland.

DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME

Unanimously Adopted by the First Dail

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, Pádraig Mac Phiarais, we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions, the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation, and with him we reaffirm that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of Government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, and declare it is the duty of the Nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the Nation's labour.

It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as Citizens of a Free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law System, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take such measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the Nation's resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbours, in the interests and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the recreation and invigoration of our industries, and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative and industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish Consular Service, trade with foreign Nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill, and while undertaking the organisation of the Nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall also devolve upon the National Government to seek co-operation of the Governments of other countries in determining a standard of Social and Industrial Legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour.



PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY



The Ireland of the period of the Curragh Mutiny and the Larne gun-running has with justice been referred to as England's Algeria. In this connection, as in that of revolution and regime, England was chronologically in advance of France. But the English solution was characteristically a compromise, and the basic problem is still there. The indignation of the cry "Show that we are masters in our own house" is reminiscent of the fury of the Algerian *colons*. Those who resist reforms demanded by the central government to bring the "province" into line with the rest of the United Kingdom use the slogan "Ulster is British" in much the same way as their Algerian counterparts chanted "Algérie Française", or as the Portuguese claim Angola is part of Portugal.

What is real in this slogan is that the Irish Question is an English question. Northern Ireland is a political reality, the responsibility of Westminster. "Ulster" is an ideological reality, a sectarian state of mind. For anti-Unionists Stormont is the stepmother of Parliaments. It has become fashionable, even obligatory, in Civil Rights circles to argue that Stormont should be kept, to say that the hard-liners and their Nationalist opponents have a common interest in keeping in existence this potential centre of local participatory democracy in the new era of devolution. As long as the Unionist mentality exists this is a delusion.

A modern, thirty-two county state acceptable to Protestants is perfectly feasible. Protestant fears of (Catholic) clerical domination in a country in which they would form over a quarter of the population are unreal.

The absence of rational dialogue has been central to the political and social corruption of the North of Ireland which has had fifty years of UDI without paying the price — financially at least; spiritually it has. It is necessary to emphasise that what is in question is a system, bigger and more powerful than any of the individuals who support or have to go along with it. Individual persons are kind and sympathetic, and there is no one except the psychotic who cannot be reached and addressed at a level where common humanity casts out ideology. But those who want peace and harmony to flourish must not only encourage and themselves pursue these individual relationships; they must utterly change the system. And they cannot use the excuse that it is only the working class who are bigoted or violent. Brookeborough recently reiterated his reason for deliberate discrimination against Catholics with the rhetorical question "Would you put your enemies in a position to destroy you?" And on a more hilarious but no less serious level, the Etonian Captain O'Neill revealed the outrageous assumptions behind middle and upper-class Protestant thinking in his deathless performance:

"It is frightfully hard to explain to Protestants that if you give Roman Catholics a good job and a good house, they will live like Protestants, because they will see neighbours with cars and television sets.

"They will refuse to have eighteen children, but if a Roman Catholic is jobless, and lives in the most ghastly house, he will rear eighteen children on National Assistance.

"If you treat Roman Catholics with due (!) consideration and kindness, they will live like Protestants in spite of the authoritative nature of their Church."

Two Castes

There are two well defined castes in the society, "Protestant" and "Catholic". The religious differences are not the main issues in this situation. The crisis in Ulster is not, as many naive commentators think, a continuation of the religious controversies of the 17th century. The theological arguments of that time are meaningless to the vast majority of Ulster people today. This is not to deny that there are socially significant religious aspects to the cult of Orangism, but this must be clearly distinguished from Protestantism. It is best to consider the terms "Protestant" and "Catholic" as convenient labels for two distinct social groups, where the relations between the groups have little to do with the content of their religious beliefs. If all Catholics in Ulster were to turn Protestant tomorrow the social structure would not change and the reformed Catholics would probably now be called "New Protestants" to distinguish them as a social group.

Each caste has its own fully developed class structure; that is, its own middle class, which includes a wide range of occupations, wealth and social strata, and its own working class. In addition, the Protestant caste has a small group of landed gentry which has considerable political influence. In so far as there is any formal social relationship between the castes the Protestant is the dominant group. In fact we define the difference between the two groups as one of caste because the distribution of power is rigidly prescribed; in principle, at each class level, Catholics cannot enter into positions of power or authority over Protestants. This of course is the ideal. In the concrete it would not be true to say that in every stable social relationship Catholics are subject to Protestant domination. The rules are applied rigorously only in cases where they are regarded as essential for the maintenance of the caste structure. At working class level this means that preference is given to Protestants in recruitment to skills, and the entry of Catholics into skilled trades is very strictly controlled. The promotion of a Catholic to a supervisory grade over Protestant workers is almost impossible. At the middle-class level, Catholics can advance in the independent professions or in private business, without much difficulty. In fact there is considerable upward social mobility among middle-class Catholics, which makes the social situation much more tolerable for them than for the working-class. But a middle-class Catholic will find it almost impossible to reach a position of authority in a statutory body controlled by Stormont, or in other public or private institutions controlled by Protestants.

This kind of discrimination is not always, or even typically, a free decision on the part of the individual Protestants. Although it is doubtful if the majority of Protestants would voluntarily abandon the caste system entirely, there have been signs in the recent past that many Protestants would welcome some degree of liberalization, if only for practical economic reasons. But these liberals are discovering that they are even more effectively imprisoned and determined by the caste structure than Catholics; because the Protestant caste is so well integrated that social control is at the maximum possible effectiveness.

It is significant that few Ulster Protestants have ever tried to deny that they discriminate against Catholics. In fact, their frankness in this respect is very embarrassing for the British Government.

The majority of Ulster Protestants are firmly convinced that they are a distinct and superior race; the Scots-Irish, or Ulster Scots. The mere Irish are not inferior because they are Catholics; they are Catholics because they are inferior. This ideology derives from an unresolved opposition between a conquered and a

conquering people, and was once general throughout Ireland. These oppositions were overcome in the rest of the country by a slow process of assimilation which accelerated after the acquisition of independence.

Possibly because of the relatively higher concentration of colonizers in the North, the assimilation process was slower and less successful there than elsewhere. By the end of the nineteenth century Ulster Protestants were beginning to think of themselves as the last defenders of civilization in Ireland, and of Ulster as the last line of defence against the spread of a "native" Irish state. It was, however, the leaders of the Orange Order who exploited the fears and directed the spontaneous enthusiasm of Ulster Protestants which led to the carving out of the new state of Northern Ireland, in such a way as to ensure Protestant domination. However, it was recognised that since societies change and the future is full of unexpected events, such domination could not go on for ever without some form of planned control. In the circumstances it was natural that the Orange Order should undertake this function and Protestants were willing enough at the beginning to submit to the discipline of the Order for the sake of the new society and the new state. By degrees the Orange Order acquired very extensive powers both at grass-roots level and in the highest offices of the state. Eventually the leaders of the Order became the real policy makers in the state and the source of all legitimacy. They acquired almost absolute power over all the major institutions and over local communities. Until very recently they were careful to exercise this power only to regulate and control relationships between the castes, and to maintain the cohesiveness of the Protestant group. They were not interested in controlling or organising Catholics or even in exploiting them, but simply in excluding them from positions of power. They were not worried about threats from the Catholic minority, the I.R.A. or from the Southern Irish Government, because they assumed that Britain would always defend them against any attack. This guarantee was given by every British Government since the foundation of the Ulster State.

In general, we can say that the leaders of the Orange Order welcomed I.R.A. attacks and the continuous threat from the South as these served to keep Protestant fears alive, thus maintaining the cohesiveness of the group and increasing the power and control of the Order. Many middle-class Protestants have lately begun to feel that the Orange Order has become too powerful, but there is little they can do about it because, ultimately, the power of the Orange Order rests on the support of the working and lower middle-class Protestants.

It is not easy to explain to an outsider what Orangism means to the Protestant masses. It is made more difficult by the fact that most Orangemen and women confess to some form of Protestantism and express many of their Orange beliefs in Christian terms.

For example, William of Orange, the hero of Orangism, has little to do with the historical character. A few incidents from his life are used as the basis of an elaborate mythology. William of Orange is really the God of Light in disguise; the law giver and the bringer of communal peace, which includes his role as the protector of the community against the forces of darkness. The Papacy represents the kingdom of darkness, of death and evil; the underworld. The Pope is the prince of the underworld and Catholics are his minions; the bearers of death and destruction, the enemies of communal order, who cannot be fully incorporated in the life of the community because they are the agents of a destructive power. Yet their presence is necessary as being the *raison d'être* of Orange beliefs. Of course, the educated Protestant does not share these beliefs but he pays lip service to them for the sake of preserving the social order, in much the same way as an educated Roman might have burnt incense before the statue of Jupiter or even of the Emperor.

One-Sided Repression

Far from being lawless, Irish Catholics have a natural instinct for equity, and serious crime such as rape, murder or fraud is seldom committed. They resent laws which give them an inferior position in their own country and appeal from statutes to principles of liberty and humanity. From 1536, the Protestant minority were given a privileged legal position in the regions in which the King of England and Ireland could enforce his authority. Protestants were built up into an Ascendancy whose members were superior, not because of race, because many Gaels became Protestants, nor because of property, for some were poor men and there have always been affluent Catholics, not lineage nor public service, but because of their religion, which was regarded as the test of loyalty to the Crown. The settlers who came to Ireland under the various Plantation Acts were lured by a promise of ascendancy. Out-numbered in the country as a whole, they relied on law, their exclusive right to bear arms and the prestige of ascendancy to guarantee their security against a majority who were forced by legal, economic and psychological pressures into an inferior status. The Act of Union was passed to ensure the ascendancy of the Protestant element in the country, though at the time many Protestants opposed it and Catholics were indifferent. As the nineteenth century progressed, Catholics realised that the Union was the instrument which perpetuated their inferior status despite the efficiency with which they had forged weapons to secure equal political and civil rights. Protestants concurred in this analysis and as a group threw themselves into the defence of the Union.

The division between the supporters of Home Rule and the Unionists was not simply drawn on religious grounds. Protestants who were confident of their social status and who wielded economic power or enjoyed superior ability (this describes most southern Protestants and a few northern ones), feeling that their ascendancy position would be secure in an independent Ireland, were prepared to risk Home Rule to avoid the destruction of a country they deeply loved and which was their home. But poor Protestants (and they were the majority in the north) had been bred in an ascendancy culture and had no confidence that they could maintain an ascendancy position in a free, united Ireland in which they would be in a minority. Rather than risk equality with their fellow-Irishmen, they armed and fought for the Union. They failed to maintain it and got instead a separate State in which they had a two-thirds majority and a tiny area in which they could exercise their ascendancy over the Catholics. The latter had to accept minority status where heretofore they had always been part of the majority of Irishmen. The Protestants had to be contented with half a loaf and they compensated by determining to make their ascendancy within it secure for all time. The principal legal instrument they used was the Special Powers Act. The Irish are not naturally disorderly, but they have an historic and immediate sense of their dignity as human beings and rightly refuse allegiance to laws which contravene the Charter of Human Rights and tend to perpetuate the myth that they are inferior in their own country. Lately there has been a lot of discussion of Protestant fears, but the continual affront offered to Catholic pride has not been mentioned.



angelo

The Ian and Gerry Show

Ian is very happy now. You see he always wanted a little puppy to amuse him. To sit or stand, fetch or run, just as he might order. Now he has such a pet in the form of the S.D.L.P. Convention group.

This little animal is very tame now indeed. But sure they've got no choice. The whole show at Stormont is a farce from start to finish. No matter how many times the S.D.L.P. ask for crumbs, the U.U.U.C. will refuse any. And why not, after all when you've got such a large majority, on a pledge of intransigence, you might as well be uncompromising.

At any rate, Big Bad Ian knows that the lads in the S.D.L.P. are far too self-interested and position conscious to show the slightest trace of integrity by leaving the farce to itself.

Even now that the U.U.U.C. have flexed their muscles and have shown their total control of the Hack Judge Robert Lowry, the S.D.L.P. still don't want to take the hint. No, this puppy will continue to lick the boots of its master, even if rejected repeatedly.

What a sick, obedient, docile creature this S.D.L.P. is.

TRUSTIES

Every radical group (not to mention the unradical ones) in Northern Ireland, has come out in opposition to Ireland's membership of the E.E.C. Even the watered-down, bought-men of the I.C.T.U. Northern Committee have stated clearly that we are being leached right, left and centre by Brussels.

The whole purpose of the Treaty of Rome (on which the E.E.C. is based) is directly antagonistic to the progressive development of the interests of the Northern and Southern working class. This rich man's club is a pretext for high prices; large, no tariff markets; and unhindered exploitation of labour.

You, the workers, have enjoyed some of the benefits of membership already, namely the rocketing rate of inflation as we are pushed towards the European Level of Prices by Brussels civil-servants.

Yet that fine party of James Connolly socialists, those elite standard-bearers of Irish working class interests, the S.D.L.P. advise you to vote YES to continued membership. Now where does this decision come from.

Well, an indication is given by the sources of the S.D.L.P. party funds. The hand that gives the money, drafts the policies. In the case of the S.D.L.P. the money is derived largely from contributions from — (1) the Rowntree Trust of which you have read a lot. This Trust is maintained by a British group whose interests include buying-off of influences prejudicial to British Capitalists.

(2) From the Fianna Fail money machine TACA. These men are: amongst the most reactionary and viciously anti-working class, political schools in Europe. So their proteges will not push forward many socialist policies.

(3) From their own membership. The control of the S.D.L.P. lies in the hands of a group of wealthy Catholics, such as Solicitors and big businessmen. Hardly the type to want to benefit you or me too much.

Our answer to the S.D.L.P. must be No E.E.C. for Ireland.

Fraternal Greetings

If you've got a pinch of salt handy, then you may, if you like, take a look at the May copy of the United Irishman, (the fairy tale book by Hans Christian O'Hagan). Amongst other little gems is an article on the Czechoslovakian Uprising of 1968.

Now you and I may have been duped into believing that the Czechoslovakian workers were then in the process of shaking off the shackles of Stalinist repression and had begun to build a socialist country. However, the stickies assure us that the actual role of events was this—

The Warsaw pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia at the request of the Czech workers, in order to put

down certain right wing rumblings. The stickies further tell us that so pleased were the Czech people at this help from Russia that they came out to welcome the Russian tanks. Now that maybe as the stickies like to see it and tell it, but I have a memory of Molotov Cocktails (petrol bombs to you and me), being flung at those Russian tanks by Czech students and workers for 2 weeks after the invasion — until they were ruthlessly and totally put down by sheer Russian Military might.

A thought occurs; do young Republican Club paper sellers ever read the United Irishman? If they did, they might learn how Stalinist and blatantly dishonest the N.L.F. has become. The process of Degeneracy has completed itself.

TIT FOR TAT

Question, why do the loyalist murder squads appoint no press officer?

Answer. Because there's no need to, the R.U.C. do all that sort of work for them.

Example. ? Well last week a member of the U.W.C. was killed in Tyrone near Gortin. His name was Anthony Ballantine. He was, of course, a protestant and an Orangeman to boot.

The next day a Catholic lorry driver was murdered as he stepped from his lorry at a crossroads. He was Patrick Reilly, married, four children and a widow he left. He came from Ballinamallard. The most Loyalist townland in the whole of Ireland. Worse even than Shankill road or Sandy Row. There was only one Catholic family in Ballinamallard — Patrick Reilly's. However, the R.U.C. described his killing as "obvious retaliation for Ballantine's murder." (Isn't this tit for tat killing between Protestants and Catholics just dreadful).

But surprise surprise! In Omagh last week 2 characters were both charged with Ballantines murder and they both turn out to be Orangemen.

This sort of incident happens frequently. An internal Loyalist death is blamed, by the R.U.C., on a fictitious Catholic murder squad. That way the campaign against the Catholic population of Northern Ireland doesn't seem so bad.

DERRY CLERGY CONDEMNED

A Chas.

I would like to issue a strong condemnation of the recent behaviour of certain members of the clergy in Derry. The following are only a few examples of this behaviour but they are completely characteristic.

On October 16, 1974, the day after the burning of this camp, the Rev. Desmond Mullan was sent here by Dr. Daly to weigh up the situation. He stood outside Cage 22 and watched men being beaten by the British army and men already unconscious lying sprawled on the ground. After viewing these scenes of brutality and degradation, the Rev. Mullan returned to Derry and reported that no one had been injured during the riot here. This statement could only have been made by a hypocrite.

In January of this year, a young Derry intern, Jim Moyné, who had a case history of chronic asthma, died in

Long Kesh because of neglect. A few days later while this man's family was still in mourning, Dr. Daly and Marilyn Rees could be seen on the front page of the Derry Journal shaking hands. How Dr. Daly could shake the hand of the man directly responsible for Jim Moyné's death defies understanding. Why did Dr. Daly not issue a statement condemning all those responsible for Jim Moyné's death?

During this year, over fifty Catholics have been brutally murdered by Loyalist paramilitary groups who seem to be operating without hindrance from the R.U.C. or British army, whose attitude seems to be, "why worry, they are only Catholics."

Neither Dr. Daly or the Rev. Mullan are as forthcoming in their condemnations of these sectarian assassinations as they are in condemning acts carried out by the Republican Movement. Could it be because the victims are not from Derry?

On Saturday, May 10, when a member of the R.U.C. was shot in Derry, Dr. Daly and Rev. Mullan both immediately issued statements in condemnation of the incident. Yet on the same day there was an attempt at a mass murder of Catholics in Belfast. Why did these two not issue a statement condemning that attack?

O'Donovan Rosse's opinion of the Irish clergy in 1865 still rings true to this very day: "The faith and the spirit of the people in liberty was not crushed, and in the growing enlightenment of the present century, England — for the purpose of maintaining her dominion — has thought proper to change her policy. She now patronises the Church — hugs to her bosom its dignitaries and trusts that they, having influence over the people — will keep them from rebellion."

Is mise le meas,
SEAN KEENAN,
Cage 3, Long Kesh.

MICHAEL GAUGHAN

Died on hunger strike in an English prison, 3rd June, 1974.

Men of the stature of Michael Gaughan stand in a long succession, stretching back through recorded time, of men who gave up their lives for their friends, for their country; greater love no man has. Two thousand four hundred years ago Pericles spoke to those whose sons had died for Athens, the beloved city, words that we can borrow here:



"Such an end as we have here seems indeed to show us what a good life is, from its first signs of power to its final consummation. . . . They chose rather to suffer the utmost than to win life by weakness. So their memory has escaped the reproaches of men's lips. . . . Such were the men who lie here and such the city that inspired them. We survivors may pray to be spared their bitter hour, but must disdain to meet the foe with a spirit less triumphant. Let us draw strength, not merely from twice-told arguments—how fair and noble a thing it is to show courage in battle—but from the busy spectacle of our great-city's life as we have it before us day by day, falling in love with her as we see her, and remembering that this greatness she owes to men with the fighter's daring, the wiseman's understanding of his duty, and the good man's self-discipline in its performance—to men who sacrificed their lives as the best offerings on her behalf. So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only in stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives. For you now it remains to rival what they have done."

The Need for Education

The heart-break and outcry following the announcement of the 11 plus results underlines the shortcoming of the present educational system. We have reprinted Pearse's Murder Machine in recent issues, and his comments are as relevant today as they were in 1916.

Nevertheless boys and girls will need to acquire the basic skills of literacy and numeracy. Great efforts have been made by past generations to pro-

vide independent schools in which young people can for a Christian upbringing.

The present attack on Catholic Schools shows that even their partial independence from state control is not acceptable to the enemies of Irish freedom.

Young people should go to school and learn as many skills as they can, to develop themselves and to serve the Irish people. Working for the Republican Movement cannot be used as an excuse for non-

attendance at school.

In fact young people who use this excuse are covering up for their own idleness and lack of purpose.

One of the best ways of serving the movement is to acquire as good an education as the circumstances permit. Lack of education can only harm the Movement and the people. Education is not all indoctrination; it also provides the means for criticising, questioning and changing our society.

DON'T BE ENSLAVED BY THE NEW EMPIRE

What is good for international big business is bad for Ireland. Small farmers are being driven off the land and their incomes are falling. The lie is being told that they are unproductive but the facts show that per acre small farms produce more than large farms and 6 county farmers are among the most efficient in the world.

The E.E.C. takes away our power to stop foreigners buying up our land. We can't stop capitalists stealing

our wealth. We lose the power in the E.E.C. to encourage factories to open in our area. We can no longer protect our jobs or our farmers' livelihood. The planners of the E.E.C. want your children to emigrate to jobs the Europeans won't take — such as digging swers in Munich.

Fight for your jobs and your homes and your children. The Europeans grow rich by making Ireland poorer.

The economic experts are hired by the capitalists to trick the people. Their prophecies are always wrong. Their predictions don't come true. They can't manage their own businesses. The only truth they know is that under the present system, the rich get richer and the poor poorer. Keep control of Ireland's wealth and your lives. Don't be at the mercy of Bankers and Brokers and Bureaucrats. Don't be bullied by big business and the media.

VOTE NO TO A NEW ACT OF UNION

INTERNAL RESISTANCE IN LONG KESH

Long Kesh. The very sound of those two words immediately conjures up images of wire, war dogs, armed British troops in watch towers, and men held in conditions that would not be suitable for housing pigs. These facts are known in every country of the world; from Brazil to Alaska, from Melbourne to Moscow, and details of life in the camp are reported in every language on earth, with emphasis on the repression and brutality which occur in the camp with alarming regularity. In this short article, I would like to illustrate to the reader how the men in Long Kesh are able to cope with the situation, despite the physical and psychological pressures which are pressed upon them day in and day out, year after year; and of how boys become men, and men become better men, due to the fact that everyone in the camp must adapt and resist. How this resistance is carried out is the all important question, and it will be seen that we here in Long Kesh have an attitude of resistance which is geared to cope with any situation, no matter how serious.

By virtue of the fact that we, in the sentenced end of the camp, are serving prison sentences, we have established one important quality which will be called upon time and time again. That quality is that we have risen from our knees, never again to bow before the British invader or his agents, and never again to accept what is less than ours by right. Armed with that quality we can, and do, face anything that our captors may throw at us and even though we are beaten and brutalised at times, we come back stronger in determination than before. This attitude and frame of mind ensures that we never weaken or lose sight of our objective at any time. Here we have only to look around us to see the enemy and his weapons and watch towers on all sides, so the commitment to carry on the struggle is made daily by every Provo in the camp.

The Republican Movement within the camp is highly organised and disciplined and the men live and work within a total military frame-



The huts of Long Kesh which houses up to 1,400 political hostages. Roofs leak and the wind whistles through holes and ill-fitting doors.

work. This organisation insures that every man in the camp can identify with both the Movement and with the internal resistance struggle, while belonging to what has long been recognised as the most disciplined and ordered Peoples Army in the world today. This identification is the means by which the prisoner throws the gauntlet back into the face of the oppressor. The Republican Movement in prison is, in a way, the example by which the British judge the Irish people as a whole. Those imprisoned here are acutely aware

of this and the self imposed disciplines are rigidly enforced at all times, showing the British the best of the Irish way of life, and displaying the qualities which make us different from other races. The Movement, acting in the best interests of the men under its command assesses every situation as it arises, countering the pressures imposed by the British regime and frustrating the attempts by the British to break the morale and resolve of the Provos in the camp.

This resistance has proven successful for the past few years and the Administration are aware that they can not defeat the Republicans inside the prison, so what chance have they of defeating them on the outside? You could, if you were that way inclined, pity a once powerful nation of Britons who had seized a third of the worlds land mass and kept the inhabitants in a total state of subjection, but who now can not break the will of those Irishmen who have dared to defy them. If you did pity the British (and few would), you should

feel equally proud of the Republican Movement, the most determined of those groups who have faced up to the British, but who in this case have declared an intention to fight on towards the day when the British pack up and leave this green land. That very basic and elementary principle is the one by which we here in Long Kesh live. We do not cease the struggle when arrested and imprisoned. We are disarmed and have no military weapons, but we have the greatest weapon of all, against which there is no secure defence; that is our determination to fight on behalf of the Irish peoples, and our deep and undying love for the land our forefathers fought and died for — Ireland above all.

Those of you who have sons and daughters, mothers and fathers, or even friends and relatives imprisoned, should feel justly proud of those behind the wire. In the world spotlight which is focused on Long Kesh and other prisons where the Soldiers of Ireland are held, the Volunteers of Oglagh na hEireann conduct themselves in the very best traditions of the Irish race. They are shut away from you, but never in mind and spirit. They are caged like animals, but never lose their dignity. They are the example by which you on the outside should live and behave, never giving in and never accepting the British or their institutions or agents as the dominant ruler. In a situation such as exists in Long Kesh, where guns are trained on the prisoners 24 hours a day, the Republicans have closed ranks and are standing face forward against the British Administration. With the qualities mentioned above we can not lose and can count on the attitudes illustrated to carry us through to the final Victory, scornfully ignoring the pathetic attempts to subject us and have us confirm. We will never conform for the British because we are Republicans; proud, resourceful, and above all, determined to resist no matter what the odds.

That then is what resistance does for us here in Long Kesh. We are the representatives of a noble and honourable Nation which is known and respected the world over. The qualities which give the Irish that reputation are self same qualities which will see us through the barbed wire jungle which is Long Kesh, to liberation and Freedom which the British will soon be forced to concede.

DAVID MORLEY,
Compound 10, Long Kesh.

How to get a stake in Irish oil

Reprinted from the Tory Businessmen's paper, the Sunday Telegraph. The advice — Invest in Silvermines.



Senator G. E. Russell, chairman of Silvermines.

Silvermines' shares are now selling at 72p, having reached 83p last week and risen from a low of 25p earlier this year. In two weeks in May their price rose 75%.

THE Irish Government is said to be parrelling out leases off the south coast. There must be a share which provides a way in, just as there was in the North Sea. Can you suggest one?

Silvermines is currently the London market favourite. The shares rose 10p on Friday to close at 80p which compares with a low of 27p at one stage this year.

Analysts value the company's lead/zinc interests in Tipperary at perhaps 50p and on these

alone the shares, given the usual discount, would probably sell at around 30p-40p.

The excitement which has sent the shares blazing is not over minerals, but oil. Soon the offshore areas southwest of Ireland will take some of the attention off the North Sea.

The Irish government is about to grant exclusive prospecting licences on 24 blocks formerly kept back for a special allocation.

Silvermines has a 25 p.c. stake in Arran Energy which in turn has a 25 p.c. in a consortium in which B.P. is the main partner. The hopes behind last week's rise were based on the consortium's getting at least one block adjacent to the Esso/Marathon areas.

Thus it is a speculation at present. But, with a market capitalisation of £8.5 million, an income of £1 million a year from its 25 p.c. stake in Mogul of Ireland and the oil prospects, it is an interesting one.

HONOUR WOLFE TONE

Bodenstown Sunday 15th. June

Oration — Prionnsias Mac Airt

Chairman — John Joe McGilr

Chief Marshall — Gearóid Mac Carthaigh

PARADE ASSEMBLES, SALLINS
at 2.15 p.m.

This year it is hoped that all present will co-operate with the Stewards to ensure that the occasion is a worthy and dignified tribute to Tone. Buses leave 170 Falls Road, Belfast. Tickets must be obtained and paid for in advance.

BUSES FROM BELFAST, LURGAN, PORTADOWN, ARMAGH AND OTHER CENTRES.

Gaelige:

essence of

our nationality

A 'No' vote campaign

The members of Newry and District Trades Union Council decided at their monthly meeting to campaign for a 'No' vote in the referendum on the REC.

In a statement the Council said that they viewed the EEC as a direct threat to workers, many of whom were already unemployed. The Newry area had the highest rate of unemployment in the North, with almost weekly closures of factories and short-time working.