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There are three kinds of armies — hiring armies, conscripts and volunteers. To the hiring armies the majority of men joining are attracted by the necessity of earning a livelihood. Conscripts are forced to service.

Volunteers join principally from a sense of patriotism. The attraction of military glory plays its part in all. In nobility of purpose and loftiness of ideals a volunteer army is easily first.

The "business" of a man joining any army is to make himself an efficient soldier. And to make himself efficient he must take to heart and act upon the dictum that the first duty of a soldier is obedience; the first principle of an army is discipline. Without obedience from its units an army is split asunder. Without discipline a body of men form merely a mob.

In a Volunteer army insistence upon those two dictums is more necessary than in the other kinds of armies. It is the honour of a man that is appealed to in enforcing obedience and discipline in a Volunteer army. *If men are not upright, honourable, willing to serve, a volunteer army cannot stand.* If the spirit that guides a mass of men in a Volunteer force be a spirit of suspicion, of mistrust, of hatred, then that Volunteer force is doomed; that army will never face an enemy, never meet an attack. The weakest hiring army will beat it.

Things are moving rapidly in Ireland these times. Every day brings new surprises. One of the great questions forced on our attention is "Who will the Volunteers obey?" It is not yet grasped by many that the Irish Volunteers are an Irish army. Were it grasped fully there could be no such question.

The men of the Irish army will, and must, if they are to be true to themselves, true to their country, and honourable men, obey only their own military officers. I am but a private in the ranks. I have not the slightest idea of what opinions my company commander holds on religion, on politics, on social questions, and I do not want to know. I have my own opinions and I mean to hold them. *But when that company commander says "March" I consider it my duty as a man, as a soldier, as an Irish Volunteer, to march at his command wherever he leads me. Having "signed on" for Ireland's service I cannot conceive it possible for me to do otherwise than obey the command.*

But it may be urged, it is not who commands but who controls. Well, if the Irish Volunteers are the army of Ireland who can or should control them but the Irish people. The Volunteers have sprung from the people, spontaneously, magnificently, from the Irish people of all classes and sections and

STEADY, VOLUNTEERS!

By
Liam De Roiste

(Reprinted from "The Irish Volunteer," 13th June, 1914).

parties, and the ultimate control must, of necessity, be vested in the people.

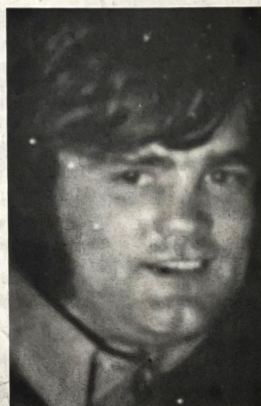
The Volunteers, if anything, are the army of the Irish Nation, and Irishmen of all kinds and parties and classes make up the Irish Nation. A hiring army is the army of the regime in power, the party that pays it; so is a conscript army. At times, no doubt, such armies rebel against control, refuse to obey. But a Volunteer army cannot be permanently the army of a party or a section; it must ultimately, by its very constitution, organisation and terms of service be an army of the people, a National army.

To permanently endure, it must, consequently, have at the head of affairs men of all parties and sections of the nation, men representative of all lines of thought within the nation. *It is a law of human progress that there should be diversity of thought and in*

every progressive nation there are men differing in ideals and differing in opinions. Sometimes those men are bitterly hostile, sometimes for definite purposes they work together.

In most cases, there is also a neutral ground where all may meet, and where the essential unity of the nation is demonstrated to the world. In Ireland that blessed neutral ground whereon all Irishmen may meet should be the Irish Volunteers. For whoever won, and by whatever men won, *there are certain rights and liberties common to us all as Irishmen, rights and liberties belonging to all within the four shores of Ireland which it is the duty and should be the pleasure of all Irishmen to defend.*

Out of the shadows one spirit is rising, the spirit of a people truly united in this — the acknowledgement of an Irish nation — one and indivisible.



All branches of the Republican Movement deeply regret the death of Staff Captain Jim Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Oglaiha na h-Eireann, as a result of gunshot wounds inflicted by the enemy.

Our sincere sympathy goes to his wife, family, and all his relatives and comrades.

Go ndeanfaidh Dia trocaire ar a anam.

In London Town

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
IN LONDON

A march was held on Sunday, 23rd September, in support of Belfast Ten.

200 people marched from Charing Cross to Hyde Park, where various representatives of Republican and left wing groups addressed a meeting of 500 people.

The trial of the Belfast Ten continues at Winchester. It is likely to last several weeks. People wishing to offer support or give assistance to the Belfast Ten should get in touch with Miss Maureen Maguire, Secretary, Belfast Ten Committee, 88 Rosslyn Road, London N.5.

A pamphlet published by the Defence Committee is available for 10p.

This reporter went to Winchester to cover the trial but was refused admittance by the Special Branch.

Due to increased demand for "Republican News" in London, many more sellers are needed. As this newspaper is registered by the Post Office for transmission through the post, any interference with its open sale on the streets or elsewhere is a breach of the rights of COLPORTAGE. It is evident that such interference constitutes an attack on freedom of speech and political expression.

I hope to write an article soon explaining the right of COLPORTAGE if the Special Branch here in London town keep off my back and let me continue with my law abiding activities.

Gerry Bree, 18 Berkshire Gardens, London, N.13 telephone 888 1429 who is London Distributor for "Republican News," asked me to issue an S.O.S. He needs more helpers to counteract British black propaganda in London.

Internment of School Children Slammed

"On behalf of the Sinn Fein Ulster Executive, I call on all to come out now and condemn the internment of mere school children by the Whitelaw regime. At present three young boys are held. Like every other aspect of repressive legislation from England, this latest piece will probably grow if people do not show their abhorrence of it at once.

"It appears that every person in the minority areas, regardless of age or sex is a candidate for internment. This latest internment of young boys is a grim reminder to all, of England's notorious record of colonialism. When England first used the weapon of internment without trial (the first country to do so), it was waged against persons regardless of age or sex, during England's plunderous campaign against the Beers in South Africa: Although this episode of English misrule is now many years dated, the grim aspect of then still presents itself to-day. It was wrong then, it is still wrong to-day. It proves that England by her internment of men, women and children in the Beer war and her similar internment of men, women and children in this part of Ireland to-day, is a clear indication of her outdated mode of thinking, as she still holds by the methods of Lord Kitchener of internment fame during the 1890's.

"To England and to her forces in this part of Ireland, I say, "Update your thinking, end internment, end English rule and meddling in Ireland."

"To the Education Authorities, to the teachers of these interned children, I say, it is your duty to see that these boys get properly educated, a thing impossible in a concentration camp. As everyone is aware, the Education Authorities employ persons known as Attendance Officers, whose job it is to see that persons of school age attend school, to these persons I say, "Do your job and see that these boys are allowed to attend school, by demanding their immediate release."

"Finally, I call on everyone to support the forthcoming demonstrations to halt the internment of school children, or indeed any person.

"As for us in Sinn Fein, we demand the immediate ending of internment and the release of all other political hostages, be they man, woman or child.

Swimming in filth

Jeremiah Mealey (30) of Ashton Road, Luton, is one of three Irish men being held on remand at Leicester prison.

He told magistrates at Luton on 21st September: "We are being held in barbarous conditions. The only exercise we are allowed is in a small yard about 4 ft. below ground level."

Mr. Mealey added: "It is swimming in filth thrown by prisoners on upper floors. We have complained to the governor who claimed it was clean. It is just swept around occasionally."

Mr. Mealey, facing conspiracy and weapon charges, was remanded in custody for another week with Philip Sheridan (24) of Elm Park Close, Houghton Regis, Beds, and Sean Campbell (29) of Ashton Road, Luton.

Mr. Campbell is secretary of the Patrick McArdrey Sinn Fein Cumann in Luton.

The numerous Irishmen in England now facing "conspiracy" charges are in fact, victims of a form of internment. They are just as much POLITICAL HOSTAGES as their fellow-countrymen North and South of the British-imposed border in Ireland and must be regarded as such.

WE LOVE THEM YET WE CAN'T FORGET THE FELONS OF OUR LAND.

GAN SOCRU O CHAINTANNA COSGRAVE HEATH.

BHFUIL REITEACH RUNDA NACH FEIDIR A FHOILSIU?

Sean Mac Aodha

Baineadh usaid as gach seift bolscaireachta le "build up" a dheanamh ar agallamh Cosgrave-Heath.

Bhi se socraithe roimhre go leanfai thar an am fograithe leis an agallamh d'fhonn a chur in iul go raibh argoint dian agus margaiocht ar siul.

Ach ni rabh aon cheim ar aghaidh ar bith le fhogairt. Ba sin an fath go raibh feidhim leis na cleasa bolscaireachta go leir le ra go raibh se labh-chlach.

Ba suarach an meid a bhi le ra ag Heath ina phreas agallamh.

Thug R.T.E. masla faoi dho do Bhratach na hEireann nuair a ghlac siad agus thaisbeain siad pictiur abhi ag deallramh an Union Jack nios airde na Brat na hEireann.

D'fhailtiagh Cosgrave roimh Heath leis na focail "Cead Mile Failte," an meid is mo Gaeilge ar bhain se usaid as o chuaidh se in oifig. Ni raibh Gaeilge ar bith aige, beannu no eile ag labhairt leis na nuachtairi ag an Preas Agallamh.

Ce bith a socraiodh ag an agallamh, caithfidh go meastar mach mbeadh se taitneamhach do phobal na hEireann no nior ligeadh amach lideadh ar bith faoi.

Ni raibh aon raiteas agus ni raibh ach buaileam sciath i bpreasagal-lamh Cosgrave agus Heath.

A luaithe a gheofar amach agus a fhoillseofar ceard faoi a raibh an t-agallamh agus ceard a socraiodh aige seadh is fearr don tir seo.

Ta se an-chosuil le socraitheirunda a ndeanamh faoi cheilt agus sin rud a mhinneadh an fath gur coimeadadh mairisceoiri ar shiul ar fea an lae.

Slan don tuairisceoir is tuisce a bhrisfidh an snaidhm runda.

Deplorable record of the RUC

Dear Sir,

That the R.U.C., so long the arm which enforced the unjust laws of Stormont by battering and bullying the political minority into subjection, should now become the centre of a great political storm is no great surprise. People must be surprised, however, that Stormont's other arm, the Northern Ireland Judiciary, some of whose present members have been guilty of sectarian outbursts in the past three years from the Bench to say nothing of their records, biased statements and conduct while serving as Orange Government Ministers, has not come in for the same scrutiny, the same discussion and the same re-assessment.

It should be remembered that the deplorable record of the R.U.C. was often matched by similar conduct by members of the Bench. Besides some of the misconduct of the R.U.C. especially in the matter of selective arrests and charges aimed at harassing and housing the "rebellious minority" could not have been successful without flagrant bias and collusion from the Bench in this squalid campaign which has been the hallmark of Unionist rule for half a century. Any solution, even an interim one, which fails to face fearlessly an overhaul of the judiciary will be as futile as the Callaghan initiative was four years ago.

In 1969, many sincere but misguided anti-Unionists believed that Stormont could be reformed, could be democratised; they sought to affect, to use Austin Currie's own words, "institutional as opposed to constitutional changes." These efforts failed as they had to, given the record, the nature and aspirations of the Unionist Party as well as the wiles, intransigence and gyrations of people like Brian Faulkner. To attempt now the reform of the R.U.C. would be an exercise in similar futility. Too many anti-Unionists have been literally hit over the head by the batons of the R.U.C. too many Catholic homes have been raided and wrecked by R.U.C. in co-operation with the British army; too many people have testified to the torture meted out by the R.U.C. Special Branch to innocent men in custody; too many homes have been left without a father or mother, a son or a daughter, a brother or sister, a husband or wife for the R.U.C. under any guise or in any uniform to ever be accepted by the political minority. By temporising by procrastinating with Stormont the situation deteriorated rapidly. Will the politicians repeat the Stormont blunder with the R.U.C.? Will they leave the Judiciary which has not the confidence of the minority community, which has within its ranks men who made bigoted and sectarian statements, untouched and still hope to succeed in bringing peace?

Above all will they be so foolish as to embark on a course of "normal government" when close on two thousand men and women are in prison for their contribution towards changing the political system which obtained here since 1920?

AIDAN CORRIGAN
4 Orpheus Drive, Dungannon.

THE CARDINAL AND VIOLENCE

Cardinal Conway recently claimed that "less than one in every hundred" people in North-Eastern Ireland is engaged in violence.

This statement is extremely interesting for the light it sheds on the Cardinal's (and most of the Hierarchy's) definition of, and attitude to, violence.

For the Cardinal 'violence' apparently means shooting at the 'Security Forces' and planting bombs. This is an absurdly simple view of the situation. Such acts are violent of course. They are DRAMATICALLY violent and capture the headlines. But there are other HIDDEN, more insidious forms of violence. Internment, for example, is violence; torture, brutality and harassment by the 'agents' of the state are violent; as are economic exploitation and social deprivation of the minority. These forms of violence are, however, NOT DRAMATIC. They go practically unnoticed and unmentioned by a biased and hostile news media. (With a few honourable exceptions.)

These hidden forms of violence are perpetrated by more than "one in every hundred" of the population. Anyone who has received, or seen, an Internment order signed by Faulkner or Whitelaw knows that violence is not confined to men shooting guns. Indeed anyone who has acquiesced, or encouraged, state brutality is as guilty of violence as anyone with a rifle or bomb.

The Cardinal, however, ignores all this in his simple analysis of the situation. To him it would seem that only those who use 'dramatic violence' are the 'baddies.' The Cardinal may have a more receptive audience for his views if he would attempt to go to the roots of the violence (British occupation), and would, for once, condemn unequivocally the violence perpetrated by the State and an unjust social system.

(With acknowledgement to The Gerard McAuley, S.F. Cumann).

What depths of obscenity will the establishment ever stop at . . . take the case of the five young girls who they had up in court recently for the "crime of trying to escape" from illegal imprisonment. I was really proud of these youngsters, there they were surrounded by wardresses and policewomen, while armed policemen stood guard with the occupation forces around the courthouse, yet they were not intimidated or afraid, they just ignored the proceedings and kept talking to each other.

The Magistrate, Anderson, got very annoyed at this and warned them but they ignored him, they were then remanded to a later date. Even when they were put into a cell to wait on transport to take them back to prison they kept on singing. What an example to all of us who have still got their freedom . . . we must do all that is necessary to keep their plight in front of the people and to build-up a mass movement that will demand their release. God love them one and all!

AS I WAS SAYING

THE FIXER

Vic Feather who has just retired from being secretary of the British T.U.C. to take up the job of organiser of the European Trade Union Movement, was always known as "The Fixer" so it is not surprising to find out that he was the man Ted Heath sent to America to plead with the American Trade Union Movement not to carry out their threats of blacking British goods when internment was introduced in August 1971.

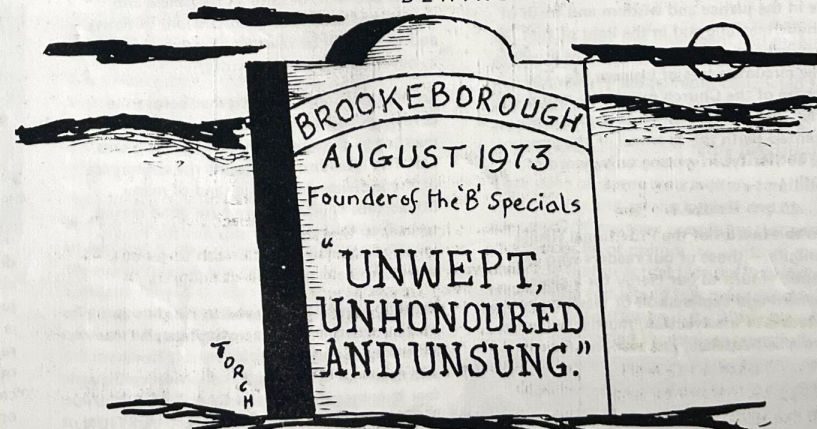
He fixed it alright and Britain was saved from the blockade of her goods.

THE SNEERING LADY

Sandra Chapman the lady who writes a column in the Belfast Telegraph is fortunate in being able to use her column to pass on her petty hates and dislikes. Last week she got very angry about those people outside the Cathedral showing their dislike of Ted Heath. But I am more concerned when she starts sneering at a mother of the Bogside who complained about the troops abusing her three year old son, the mother was backed up in her complaint by the Bogside Community Association. "If the Association are looking for sympathy they will get none, most of the law-abiding public do not like to see the security forces being stoned," wrote Sandra.

I would love the women of Andersonstown to get hold of our Sandra and tell her what happened in the area on Sunday 2nd September when her beloved security forces went stark raving mad they threatened to rape young girls who objected to personal searches from them. When boys of ten years old were thrown into Saracens and beaten. Yes I think this lady would start defending her own children if they came under the attention of her beloved army of occupation.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES



"LEADING ORANGEMAN GOES UNDERGROUND . . ."

CAN THE IRISH PEOPLE

We have already stated that Catholic moral teaching requires five conditions for an insurrection, lawful before Almighty God. (1) The regime is tyrannical, that is grave injustice is so common and continuous that the aim of the government is being radically undermined. (2) Peaceful means have been found wanting. (3) The leaders of the Rising have a mandate from the oppressed, that is they have substantial, manifest support for their actions.

No author approved of by the Bishops of the Catholic Church in any country to our knowledge requires that the leaders of the Rising should be elected representatives of the people and some explicitly say the opposite.

We have already dealt with these three points, arguing that the Provisional Guerilla Campaign quite obviously meets each of them, indeed much more obviously than most such campaigns. In another issue we will explain what the Church requires in the way of a sense of proportion where methods are concerned; in this article we will argue that the Provisionals, fighting as we have already shown on the part of the Nationalist people, but with the common good of all citizens fully in mind, have a very well founded hope indeed of eventual success.

As we have said in each article we repeat here that the individual Catholic is clearly taught, not only by his own natural intelligence, but by the authority of the Church as well, that he must form his own judgement and make his own decision on whether the present Rising is in the circumstances morally justified or not.

As a Catholic he must have absolute confidence in the justice and wisdom and truth of Catholic teaching and in the light of that teaching he must take the decisions arising in the circumstances of his own life. The teaching of the Church means the moral PRINCIPLES and their clear explanation presented (with the approval of the appropriate authority) in writing or by word of mouth.

So in this matter of the Provisional Rising we should — those of our readers who are Catholic — turn to our clergy for a clear statement and explanation of teaching on the nature of insurrection, murder, violence, torture, self-defence, just war and the rest — but the decision as to whether THIS Rising is lawful, a Catholic is obliged to take for himself.

The clergy are, of course, entitled to their

individual opinions and their opinions should not lightly be rejected, but on the contrary treated with thoughtful respect.

Hope of success

The expression, "a well-founded hope of eventual success," requires no technical explanation, but all the same it is important to clarify in advance what is involved in the success of an insurrection as distinct from what is involved in other kinds of success. The word "success" conjures up for us instinctively the sort of success there might be in a conventional war or even in a football match or examination. It means an agreeable ENDING to something. Success is an insurrection would in fact be much more like a stumbling, confused and weary BEGINNING of something. In an insurrection the front line is in your home town or countryside, the suffering is all around you, the bands will not be welcoming home conquering heroes, large numbers of people in most localities will be displeased and will probably not acknowledge any victory or success at all.

We may well be approaching success at this very moment and in order that we may be able to recognise success, even the possibility of success, it is well not to have any starry-eyed illusions as to its nature. THE FINAL EVACUATION OF THE BRITISH FORCES IS THE KERNEL OF THE MATTER.

All Irish Nationalists agree that if the British get out it will immediately become easier to preserve the Irish way of life, its values and culture, to end emigration and develop our economy, to promote religious and social harmony.

From the moment of the British departure, we believe that, despite all weariness and confusion, constructive discussion, initiative and virtue will be rewarded by achievement as never before in our history.

So the question is not whether before the British go Irishmen can be found in agreement as to the solution of all our problems. No! The question here facing the conscience of the individual Catholic (and of many others too) is whether we have good reason to believe that with our support the Provisionals can persuade the British to get out and state their intention of doing so.

Nothing should be allowed to blind us to that question, no matter what hysteria the news media under British control, North and South, may whip up as the victory they fear becomes more likely. CAN THE PROVISIONALS WIN? THAT IS THE QUESTION.

It is a matter of common sense, not even

military science, that a guerilla force does not expect to defeat a regular army in an open, conventional confrontation of one or two battles. Where the regular army is basically foreign and it and the local "security" forces it are fighting in a foreign interest, commercial, economic and imperial then the aim of the guerillas will be over a period of time to make the cost of the imperial presence too high in prestige, personnel and property to be worthwhile.

BRITISH HERE FOR LOOT

Foreign invaders remain as long as the loot of imperialism can be got at a reasonable price. When guerillas are attacked in establishment media for subverting government, the real truth is they are rendering it too costly and difficult to get the loot out. Despite the strongly pro-British all-party establishment in Ireland, the Provisionals can persuade the British they will never be accepted by the Irish people and their milking of Ireland is from now on going to cost them far too much in military personnel, money and exposure before their own man in the street and before the whole world.

A well-founded hope of success can be seen by any fair-minded man to be a just condition for approval of an insurrection in the eyes of the Church. Even a tyranny so terrible as that of the British in Ireland could become worse. It would be wrong to inflict additional short term bloodshed and suffering upon our people if there was no real hope of success. All that is simply SQUARE ONE to any mature Republican, never mind any Republican leader.

It must be the considered opinion of a Republican activist or supporter that each of the five conditions for a lawful insurrection are verified to-day. It is no great difficulty or obstacle to a sound judgement on this matter that the Catholic (or other) man in the street doesn't put these matters to himself with the careful, correct language of a theologian — he doesn't do that in regard to many other moral problems either.

We have indicated already that on gentle, insistent request of a priest he can get light and strength where he feels the need of it and we hope these articles have helped already. There is, however, a much more real difficulty facing the average, busy, harassed citizen in forming his own practical moral judgement about this particular matter. It is this. An insurrection is unique in one respect, that if it is really necessary and morally justified then and only then is it certain that every organ and voice of public opinion will be opposed to it; every single establishment voice in Church and State, whether government or "opposition" will

E WIN

Another article in the series based on discussions among a group of Catholic priests

by Father Art O'Neill

proclaim loudly that it is not morally justified, it is unpopular, has no mandate, no sense of proportion and no hope of success and indeed that the main problem facing the people of "this country" (province) is not the tyrant but those really opposed to him, "the men of violence."

Why is this so, why must it be so? The whole essence and kernel of a situation justifying an insurrection is that NO effective means of reform are tolerated, NO organ of opinion or person of standing is allowed to suggest publicly and continuously the rightness of a rising.

We have to reflect long and hard on this matter until it becomes transparently obvious and we can begin to form the habit of ignoring what the establishment media and voices call public opinion, sane and moderate opinion and the like. We can then begin to reflect responsibly ourselves.

Most Irish want the British out

For example, we will with dogged perseverance, knowing our children's lives are at stake, think out systematically not WHAT the media and politicians are saying, true or false, but why they are saying it, true or false. But much more important and much more likely to bring us to the truth is earnest TALK and more TALK with those of our neighbours whom we can see are serious, unselfish and honest. The most important and significant facts are large and broad and readily available, they crop up inevitably in good discussion, no matter what lies the media tell. The important facts must be faced and all particular events and incidents examined in the bright light of those facts honestly analysed.

We have already said that there is inescapable evidence, century after century, decade after decade, year after year, day after day, in Ireland that — despite the establishment Irish voice at every instant of the past few centuries — the Provisionals are right, that there is a solid, permanent block of Irish people wanting the British out and wanting the price, the very small price indeed as war goes, paid in this generation, now.

Only a mind of extreme prejudice could deny that throughout modern Irish history there has been vast discontent with every British regime, in particular that of the past 50 years in the Six County statelet, that the National issue is and has been in one expression or other central to Irish life.

Our history shows an immense, persistent individuality refusing to call ourselves English or British or to accept foreign dominat-

ion under any pretext whatever. The very day to day items reported no matter how dishonestly in the Irish establishment media for centuries show the British thing and what it entails in exploitation has always been seen for what it is and has always been rejected violently by many.

A common sense reading of Irish history shows that there must be to-day, North and South, in this country — whatever the media say — a vast opposition to Britain's continued presence anywhere in Ireland. That vast opposition — confused and baffled by propaganda though it may be — is the source of the Republican Movement and the measure of its strength and the sure hope of its success.

The members of this Committee have read many authors dealing with insurrection in modern times. It is a fact — verifiable by any reader willing to read a few authors in his local library — that students of guerilla warfare consider that the keeping of a campaign GOING merely for a certain length of time, no matter what the media say about that campaign, is a sure sign that it has a mandate, large support and will eventually win.

We would suggest to any reader that he take up the independence story of a few of the 50 or so countries that have won their freedom in this century. Some authors say that if the campaign has kept going for even six months everything necessary for a successful campaign has been proved and the only further essential is an iron will in the leadership.

PROPAGANDA IS IMPORTANT

Where a foreign imperialism is in occupation of a country to exploit it, in the very nature of things and to keep down the cost of exploitation, propaganda is a major imperialist weapon. A permanent aim of that propaganda and political strategy is to keep the nationalism of the subject people split. Any imperialist rightly takes the existence of such a nationalism among the people for granted knowing quite well that if he rules and exploits, somebody else must suffer unjustly and object to it.

"Divide and conquer" is a motto as obvious and ancient as human avarice. Any imperialist will divide his victims by selecting some to receive favours and privileges of a sort. Similarly he will divide those showing markedly nationalist tendencies by giving salaried careers and prestige and the paid freedom of the media to those politicians who have enough savvy and cuteness (and unscrupulousness) to play peaceful means opposition to him while condemning without logical or moral necessity anybody opposing him by more forceful means.

A tyrant welcomes mere condemnation from time to time coming from one who thus deceives his own people and then accepts a salary for keeping the nationalist strength divided.

A great intensity of imperialist propaganda to keep nationalism and any sort of opposition split, to show that an insurrection would be completely unjustified, hopeless, unpopular and the rest is a clear sign that the imperialist is afraid his days are numbered if he cannot lie his way out of difficulties.

CAMPAIGN OF BRITISH LIES

Empires and tyrannies are always built upon the lies and treachery, brutality and cowardice of the imperialists and upon the peaceful means of their victims. The present campaign of lies in the Irish media against the I.R.A., their ceaselessly repeated lies about further loss of support for them (a support which they always claimed was zero and never once said is NOW growing), the continued reports of the end being near daily, weekly, month after month, year after year, the lauding of crumbs thrown to the Peaceful Means politicians by a British regime of ordinary gumption and intelligence, all these and other political and propaganda stratagems may well be interpreted as a sound imperialist reaction (common in the past and in other places before defeat) to what THEY are convinced is a Provisional Campaign that DEFINITELY will win if the determination to keep going can't be weakened somehow.

BRITS ARE BADLY RATTLED

Terrorism and intimidation of the non-combatant nationalist people together with shows of respect for the Peaceful Means men and great political shufflings and rearrangements of all sorts are signs that an Empire recognises a real enemy and is badly rattled.

We believe that any intelligent and mature observer who thinks about realities himself and not merely the opinions concocted for him to discuss and compare by the editors and the chosen politicians can see that a guerilla campaign MUST rattle the British.

That same observer then looking carefully at the media and asking himself and his friends WHY are they presenting this particular fact or lie or opinion or politician must conclude that in actual fact the Provisionals are winning and would win more quickly and with less suffering if the wavering supporters committed themselves more fully.

We believe that a serious discussion of this article will bring other Irish Nationalists to our conclusion, that the Provisionals can and will win and are morally worthy of our reader's full support.

comment corner

le G. O'Danachair

our celtic heritage

The Celtic League has three basic aims — to promote the establishment of a league of independent Celtic nations, to encourage inter-Celtic solidarity and to foster co-operation between the six Celtic peoples in political, cultural, social and economical matters.

The obvious question which arises out of this must be "why stress the Celtic element?" Last week, we observed that "Pan-Celticism" with its emphasis on national and racial pride might well be out of place our present day world of "inter-nationalism."

This is easily dealt with. Inter-nationalism is a praise-worthy objective but friendly relations between independent nations need not and should not be bought at the expense of national and racial identity.

This, however, is the interpretation of inter-nationalism adopted and propagated by the United States of America, an interpretation which, therefore, has powerful support. It is easy to see why this is so — the U.S. is not a nation itself; it is still a collection of varied national background. Nationalism is a threat to its existence, as is racial pride. So instead of a nationalism, the U.S. cultivates a warped inter-nationalism and racial pride is usurped by a brutish "white over black" racism.

But the problems of the U.S. are not our problems. We have national cultures, which com-

bined from the over all Celtic culture. It is our culture which gives us our separate identity — without it national and racial distinctions diminish in importance. To lose or to allow die our cultures would not be to deprive ourselves and our children of an extremely rich heritage but would also involve the destruction of part of our very soul.

Politically, the Celtic element should be stressed because it is expedient for us to do so. Our great racial failure has been a failure to act together, to act for one another; a failure which has cost us all our political independence and as a result severely endangered our cultural identities.

There is no great imaginative process required to see that inter-Celtic solidarity and co-operation would be a powerful weapon in the quest for the independence of our Six Counties. The Celtic countries have been kept in a state of subjugation because they have always had to stand alone against more powerful enemies. But acting together and in a concerted way, they would be able to throw off their British shackles and force France to cede independence to Brittany as well.

Economically, the Celtic element is important as all Six Celtic countries are now in the E.E.C.

Geographically, they are all sited at the periphery of the community and it is the un-

written law of both politics and economics, that in such power blocs all wealth and influence are drawn to the political and economical centers. These in the case of the E.E.C. are Brussels and the Rhine and Po valleys.

The results of this are already becoming apparent — and are naturally further developed in Brittany than any of the other five Celtic countries. They include decimation of the rural population and a huge migration of worker's abroad. Capital and industry are attracted to the already heavily populated and highly industrialised centre areas. In practical terms, this means that the long term future for peripheral areas holds only the prospect of a food producing — ranching social structure.

It also means the death blow for our separate, cultural, national and Celtic identities.

Of course it can be argued that on their own, none of the Celtic countries could hope to survive in a Europe dominated by the community. This questionable but it cannot be denied that outside the E.E.C., each Celtic country would suffer huge drops in its standard of living — if acting as a free-lancer.

But the League of self-governing Celtic nations proposed by the C.C.L. would counter this. A Celtic League would not be as large or as wealthy or as powerful as the E.E.C., but it would be able to survive as a smaller but viable competitor

with the E.E.C.

A Celtic League could be formed once one Celtic country attained independence and was prepared to act in conjunction with Celtic nationalists from the other five countries. It would play a very important role in obtaining the independence of all six countries because like a snowball rolling downhill, the independence of one country could be utilised in achieving the independence of the others.

And culturally, such a League is the only visible means of guaranteeing the survival and revival of our Celtic heritage.

And perhaps most important of all, the establishment of the League would give us an opportunity to build a new society, a society based not on dogmatic versions of capitalism, socialism or communism, but on justice. With justice for all as its foundation, any new social structure could not go far wrong.

In theory, it is all very well but despite an upsurge of support for the C.L. in recent years, popular backing is still missing. The theory is a good one but it needs support. That is why we urge our readers to join the "Celtic League" and to lend YOUR support. Information can be obtained by writing to —

ALAN HEUSAFF,
9, BR. CNOC SION,
B.A.C.9, EIRE.

And needless to add, donations to help meet the League's publicity expenses would be appreciated.

Ian's Friend

Three weeks ago we printed the information that a new loyalist grouping in East Antrim had links with the National Fascist Front Movement in England.

Since then one of the four founder members has cried off and said publicly that he hadn't known of the link.

Councillor McKee is of course a member of Paisleys D.U.P. and in his statement to the Press he said he did not want anything to do with a lunatic party as the National Front . . . In last week's East Antrim Times newspaper, a defender of the front points out to Cllr. McKee that his boss Ian Paisley is a good friend of the Rev. Brian Green, who is one of the leaders of the Front . . . he asks the question: Why disagree with the Front's policy when it is in fact the same policy as being pushed by Ian himself in the Six Counties?

Will there be a third coffin?

The Terry McDermott Sinn Fein condemn the deplorable medical facilities in Long Kesh. We have now had coffin No. 2 brought from the camp and would ask, how many more are there to be?

At present there are several men in the camp in need of medical treatment which is constantly denied to them. One man in particular from Gransha was due to have an operation on August 9th 1971, when he was arrested leaving his home for the hospital.

Two years have passed, the man is still in Long Kesh and still hasn't had any treatment. How much longer must he wait?

Visits by Red Cross teams are no longer sufficient. We demand that the medical profession make it their business to see that each internee or prisoner has proper medical care. They can no longer stand idly by and wait for a third coffin.

PAUL WILSON P. R.O.

Alex Murphy is 15, his family live at Balkan St., Falls Road. Alex should be at school, Saint Peter's Secondary, Whiterock Road, the summer holidays have finished and the first term of the school year has commenced. Alex is unable to attend school . . . not because he is ill, or because he does not want to. No, it is because Alex Murphy is INTERNED, at Long Kesh Concentration Camp, and has been since the 15th July this year.

At present the Central Belfast Sinn Fein Comhairle Ceanntair is engaged in an intensive campaign to have Alex freed. Their activities have been extensive, ranging from 'adverts' in the local press, to the printing of wall posters and the distribution of hand leaflets, through to the call to all schools in the Central Belfast area, for a one day protest strike on Monday 24th September.

Their activity has been in marked contrast to the non-activity of the S.D.L.P. and the local Lower Falls

WHO IS ALEX MURPHY?

councillor. While they have been engaging in academic discussions on the non-events of a 'Council of Ireland' and 'reform' of the R.U.C. Alex Murphy has been lingering in Long Kesh and has had the 'distinction' of becoming the first 15 year old INTERNEE under 'Diplock'.

It is now three months since the 'Assembly' elections. Who, among those who asked that politics be given a chance, can now say that ANYTHING has changed. MORE men have been interned, MORE women have been interned, and

now we are witnessing the beginning of internment of CHILDREN. In fact the only people YET to be interned from the minority community are members of the clergy.

The question is "Where do we go from here?" The Central Belfast Comhairle Ceanntair call on you to support them in their protests and to display that solidarity which freed Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan during their heroic hunger-strike. If we do not succeed in freeing Alex Murphy, who can say whose child will be next?



the liam mac page

THE TRUTH

"Perhaps, by comparison to John Laird, Ian Paisley, John McKeague and William Douglas, he can be made to appear a moderate. But it is just another mask of a man with as many masks as are necessary to him at any given time. He has succeeded in persuading the southern Irish press and television, and that of Britain and the Commonwealth, that he is a man of a decency, honour and moderation, totally suitable to lead a New Ulster.

It is a false image Brian Faulkner is in every sense of the word a scoundrel, a hypocrite and a deceiver who will do anything necessary to advance himself. His career shows him to be thoroughly without principle, compassion or soul."

(Profile Magazine September 1973).

The above remarks sum up Wee man Brian correctly.

HAROLD SOREF - PATRIOT

The recent campaign by the Daily Mail and the right-wing Tory M.P. Mr. Harold Soref against the action of the British Home Secretary in allowing the young girl Hilary Creek, a member of the Angry Brigade, serving 10 years for conspiring to cause explosions, to have treatment in an outside hospital for a wasting disease she is suffering from, must be the most brutal and sadistic from such a source.

We all know the record of the Daily Mail over the years and with the Daily Telegraph are the newspapers who have shown their hate for everything Irish and are against anything or anybody who even queries the right of the English to rule the world.

And who is the Tory Harold Soref apart from being the M.P. for Ormskirk?

He is the most right-wing member of the Tories and has shown his hate for many years of the struggle of the Irish people for civil rights in the Six Counties. . . . right from 1968 this character has tried by hysterical shouting inside and outside Westminster to prove that the struggle in the North has been a communist and international campaign to bring Britain to her knees and has waved the flag to prove his patriotism.

But in reality this true-blue-blooded Englishman is a son of a Polish Jew who emigrated to South Africa and before the First World War started a small business as a middleman who fixed things such as taking care off transport Customs and other paperwork for manufacturers and buyers.

Harold although now a full-true-blue-Englishman has still love for the old country of South Africa having worked there and even served in the South African Army. Since he became an English member of parliament our Harold has shown his love in aligning himself with the racial policies of South African and Rhodesia and has fought damned

hard against sanctions against Ian Smyth's policy.

Harold has paid quite a few trips to the Six Counties telling his Orange-Hall audiences how world communism started all the trouble here . . . and why, to be able to get control of his beloved England.

By the way, patriot and all that he calims he is . . . the Sunday Times Insight team last February found out that he was involved in some very shady transactions in currency deals in his import and export tradings . . . his excuse just a few mistakes.

FRINGE BENEFITS

Speaking off Westminster M.P's. I found some very interesting figures from the pages of the Financial Times regarding the outside interests of those same M.P's.

Did you know that out of the 330 Tories at Westminster . . . They hold 343 chairmanships of various companies . . . 780 directorships . . . and 123 Executive jobs.

The Liberal M.P's. are even more deeply involved with four such jobs as above per member.

And the party who tells the electorate that they intend to change the capitalist system the British Labour Party hold 162 top business posts between their 290 members of parliament.

As Dennis Healy has said another popular method of avoiding taxation among the members is the device of setting up Family Trusts.

Writing in the Unionist Review (September 1973), a columnist explaining the necessity of the Standing Order Committee making sure they get all the rules straightened out to cover extreme situations such as "the need to ensure that all debates are conducted in English for which provision should be made. Otherwise certain Hon. Members might succumb to the temptation to speak in Irish."

PROGRESS?

We are sure making progress when one can read the following remarks in the columns of a Sunday newspaper . . .

"What do we want from the English? Quite simple: A declaration of their intention to withdraw, politically and militarily, from Ireland at a stated date. And a declaration that Britain has no further claim to rule any part of our country. Without such declarations little progress can be made. Every Orangeman and Unionist has every bit as much right in Ireland as any Republican or Fine

Gael or Fianna Failer. Every Protestant has every bit as much right as every Catholic and every Jew in this country.

The one group in this country with no rights, good, bad or indifferent, comprises British soldiers representing the British Government and enforcing its claim to rule part of Ireland."

(Sunday World. The Senator 16/9/73).

"There is more to Ted Heath than the absurd image of laughing teeth and shaking shoulders so humourously created by Mike Yarwood on his weekly T.V. programme."

(Paddy Devlin, Sunday Press 16/9/73).

For the benefit of our readers we have made a list of those Assembly members who visited all the main European capital cities to see the seating arrangements of the various parliaments. The list is good to have for reference, they were - Minford (Presiding Officer), Ivan Cooper, (S.D.L.P.), Captain Ardill (Unionist), H. Kirk (Unionist), J. Storge (Unionist), Basil Glass (Alliance), Ian Paisley (D.U.P.).

In passing it is interesting to note that a few Alliance Party branches passed resolutions condemning such a visit . . . of course they didn't know their own sweet wee Basil was in party.

BRITISH "JUSTICE"

As the trial of the "Belfast Ten" gets underway at Winchester Courthouse, and the press and television have made up their minds that they are guilty, it is interesting to read the very detailed article by Jacqueline Kaye of the Prisoners Aid Committee in England, in the magazine New Society (6/9/73).

Miss Kaye shows up the contradictions of British Justice as applied to Irishmen and women unfortunate to find themselves on trial. The fact that Britain does not recognise political offences, and tries the case as a criminal offence, then in order to get a conviction the political beliefs of the accused is introduced.

"Over the last four years at least 70 Irishmen have stood trial before English and Scottish courts accused of crimes which arose from their disagreement with the British role in the Six Counties of Ireland. Since 1969 there have been 30 cases of the kind I am discussing, some involving more than one defendant. Over half of these cases involved conspiracy charges at some stage.

The last annual general meeting of the National Council for Civil Liberties in London in May this year passed a resolution which called for immediate legislation to restrict the use of conspiracy charges, and to "provide procedural protection" for the accused, to prevent

the prosecution from introducing evidence and making allegations not normally permitted in criminal trials, particularly evidence and allegations of the accused, political beliefs. In the Irish trials over the last few years, the prosecution has used material of a political nature.

A bizarre element in these trials has been the revival of little used statutes. Three men charged in June 1972 under the Treason Felony Act of 1848 spent seven months in Brixton before charges were dropped. They were actually charged with "compassing and intending" to deprive and depose the Queen from the style, honour and Royal Name of the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and to raise and train military forces to go to Northern Ireland and there to wage civil war against the forces of the Crown."

Later in the charge there were references to an attempt to intimidate or overawe either or both Houses of Parliament. The three men had committed these offences in the course of speeches made at Speakers Corner.

CONNED

When Bob Johnston of the Newtownabbey Labour Party along with a few other sincere people formed the Friendship Group, two years ago, to fight against intimidation of Catholics in Rathcoole, they found the going very difficult and although they had some success they still had to stand by and watch the R.U.C. and U.D.A. co-operate in forcing many hundreds of Catholic families to leave the area.

But the little success the group had was just too much for the U.D.A. gangsters so they began to infiltrate by becoming members, so, that at the last general meeting they were able to get rid of the old committee and take over complete control of the Group. A fortnight ago the local U.D.A. chief was up in court facing a charge of having a gun and ammunition on his person when arrested. But Judge Topping got a surprise when the secretary of the Friendship Group went into the witness box and pleaded with him to be lenient with the 'chief' as he was her right-hand man in safeguarding the few Catholic families still left in Rathcoole.

Well we know Topping and he believed Mrs. Betty Brown - always a good list ener is the Judge when it comes from the right source - so he was lenient with Billy Meek, the 'Chief' and gave him the minimum sentence of 12 months. What's the betting he will get off at appeal?

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IF YOU PLAY WITH FIRE

"The leadership of Oglagh na hEireann, have always encouraged members of the Republican Movement to support community organisations of all kinds," said a statement issued by the First Battalion, Belfast Brigade, during the week.

"Tenant's Associations have taken pride of place in developing and fostering a spirit of self-reliance, thus we have always given them our full backing."

"West Belfast," the statement says, "Has always led the way in implementing programmes of self-help within the ghettos. The Tenant's Associations in this area are perhaps the most active and advanced organisations of their kind in Ireland."

The Republican Army statement continues: "We therefore take no pleasure in having to hand out a warning to a group who claim to represent a 'Tenant's Association' in one of the new ghettos.

This group, the Twinbrook Tenant's Association, have been guilty of a very serious crime against the very people they claim to represent."

"They recently served drink to a British Army patrol in the Community Hall, which is the only facility available to the people of Twinbrook," the statement claims. It says that: "shortly after this patrol left the hall they launched an unwarranted attack on two youths. The victims of the attack can verify that the soldiers concerned were drunk."

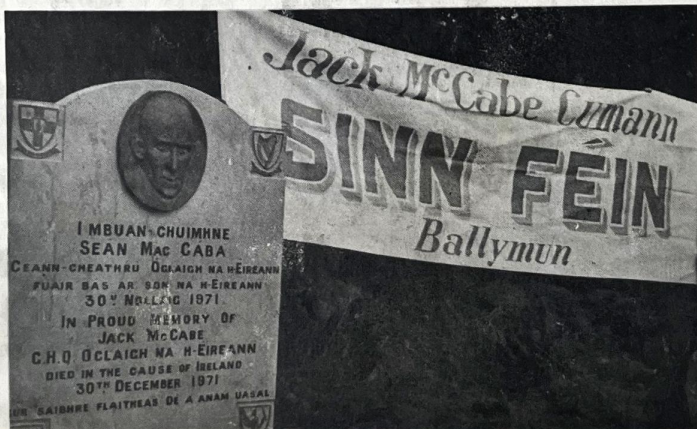
The statement concludes by warning: "If the lackeys connected with the Twinbrook Tenant's Association are found guilty of any further acts of collaboration with the British Army, they will have to face the inevitable consequences . . . people who play with fire must expect to get burned."

SORRY, IT WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING

The organisers of the function which was to be held in St. James Blackthorn Folk Group has now been cleared up. They regret any inconvenience caused to the group and wish them every success for the future.

Our top picture shows the funeral of STAFF CAPT. JIM BRYSON, held last Tuesday. Dáithí Ó Conaill, vice-president, Sinn Féin, Tony Ruane, National Treasurer, and Walter Lynch, General Secretary, were among the mourners.

Bottom Picture: This fine monument to JACK McCABE, G.H.Q. Oglagh na hEireann was recently unveiled as reported in last week's issue



LETTERS

OPEN LETTER TO BISHOP TICKLE CHAPLAIN TO BRITISH ARMY

Your Lordship,

It was with disgust that I read the report in "Irish News" and "Belfast Telegraph" on your Press Conference at British Army Headquarters in Lisburn. From start to finish you did nothing but put a slur on the Catholic population of Northern Ireland. You seem very concerned about the plight of English Catholic soldiers, but never do you sympathise with Catholic families nearly all of whom have lost some loved one due to the actions of some of these soldiers. These same soldiers you talk about can't have much faith when they can fire rubber bullets into a Catholic Church, namely St. Agnes's, Andersonstown Road, while a funeral service is being held. We are not saying that all these soldiers were Catholics, but at your Conference you say that "Roman Catholics would do well to reflect that a significant proportion of soldiers are Roman Catholics themselves" so we will assume that these same soldiers took part in these atrocious activities never giving a damn about their churches or religion.

When internment was introduced how many Catholic soldiers not only stood by and watched but themselves administered dreadful torture and degradation on Co. religionists. Catholics in Northern Ireland cannot tell what religion any particular soldier is, but the soldiers DO KNOW from certain districts i.e. Andersonstown, Ardoyne, Ballymurphy and Turf Lodge etc., that the people here are almost 100% Catholic and still these same Catholic soldiers search and degrade the people of these districts while they are coming and going from Mass, not to mention when they are being married or buried. Let me make it clear now that all atrocities committed in this province are not being done by Catholics.

You say that the British Army deals with restraint and compassion towards the innocent mass of people. Let us ask you. Does restraint mean blinding an innocent woman with a rubber bullet? Does restraint mean rounding up children between eleven and fifteen years, bringing them to some barracks for interrogation and holding them for hours? Does restraint mean breaking into peoples homes, destroying furniture and possessions and frightening half to death young babies and old folk?

Finally Bishop, a recent report in our newspapers did something to discredit the activities of some British Army Chaplains, who while supposedly doing their priestly duties use their influence to extract information from Catholics and then turn these same confidences over to British Army Intelligence.

If this is what men of God are doing what else can we expect from the Catholic soldier who would supposedly take guidance from his Chaplain.

"CONCERNED"

The views expressed by letter writers to the Editor are not to be taken as always representative of Republican policy and opinion. Our readers are encouraged to write to us expressing their opinions. We will try, when possible, to publish such letters.