

An Phoblacht

THE REPUBLIC
Official Organ of the
Republican Movement

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SUPPORT FOR THE I.R.A.

AFTER being fined on September 6 at Finniskillen Court for alleged disorderly conduct, Father Sean McManus C.S.S.R. made the following statement expressing his complete support for the I.R.A. and denying the right of an illegally constituted court to charge him.

Fr McManus said:

"I refused to recognise the court because it has no legitimate authority. But that is only the tip of the iceberg. I do not, I never have and I never will recognise the colonial State of British Occupied Ireland. This State exists because of a (morally and politically) criminal action. It was illegally imposed by force, and it is illegally sustained by force, against the will of the Irish people. Therefore, its institutions, its laws, and its legal and political expressions are invalid.

"The creation and maintenance of this State blatantly violates God's law and the natural law, because its fundamental principle is: "ownership by right of conquest", i.e. ownership through violence and the gun. This State was conceived and born in violence, was imposed by violence and the gun, and by violence and the gun it is maintained. And those who created it, and those who sustain it, are the real men of violence — they are the gunmen; they alone — are the terrorists.

"This terrorist State I reject in its entirety. I reject in particular its judiciary: in principle it is illegitimate; in practice it has a despicable record of injustice, corruption and sectarianism.

"Refusing to recognise the court is the policy of the Irish Republican Army. I will immediately be suspected of being in sympathy with the I.R.A. Well, lets clear up this "suspicion": I want to state publicly and unequivocally that I am in sympathy with the I.R.A., indeed sympathy is too weak a word.

"Many people may wonder why I should want to publicly proclaim my convictions. The answer is simple: My conscience forbids me to be silent; and if I did not now speak out I could never live with myself, because for the rest of my life I would know that I had been a coward — no matter how hard I tried to justify my silence as prudence. I would know that I had been deceitful and treacherous to the patriots who are sacrificing their lives for the freedom of Ireland. I cannot join them in the fight for freedom of my country, but the very least I can do is speak up for them when they are being slandered and vilified by unscrupulously vicious propaganda.

"The oppressors of Irish freedom call the I.R.A. terrorists and murderers, but I call them by their proper titles; I call them freedom fighters, I call them heroes, and I venerate their dead as martyrs for Ireland. And I know that any true Irishman — or indeed any (informed) honest and fair-minded man — thinks and feels the same way.

"I could not live with myself if by my silence I traitorously stabbed these patriots in the back. I abhor the deceit and hypocrisy that condemns these men and women who are sacrificing their lives for the

freedom of Ireland. I could not bear to be even remotely associated and by silence would associate myself, with such deceit and hypocrisy. It is only to be expected that the violent men who are oppressing Irish freedom should condemn the I.R.A. freedom fighters; but it is unforgivable when they are also condemned by many so-called Nationalist spokesmen.

"Yet in the light of history — condemnation from the latter is not surprising, for every struggle for Irish freedom has — traitorously — been condemned by these kind of people. (And yet our patriots, despite "this unkindest cut of all" still fought on because they were, and are, men of courage, integrity and dedication). And of this I am certain; that when our patriots free Ireland and free it they surely will, these very people will be the very first to jump on the band-wagon and salute the men they now condemn. They did it before and they will do it again.

"To praise Tone, Pearse, Connolly, Sean Treacy, Cathal Brugha and all the others, on the one hand while on the other condemning those (and here make no distinctions between the Provisionals and the Officials) is treachery and deceit of the lowest kind. How I detest such chicanry — it revolts and disgusts me, and I will have no part of it.

"I finalised my decision to speak out as I stood a lonely grave. It was the grave of a man who was personification of nobility, courage, and integrity typical member of the I.R.A. He is a man whose memory I honour and of whom I am deeply proud my brother Patrick who died for Ireland in 1958."

IRA statements in September

IRA ASKS BISHOPS 'WHO OWNS IRELAND'

The condemnation by the Roman Catholic Cardinal and Bishops in a recent statement of the war of defence being waged in the Six Counties by the people and Oglagh na hEireann and, by inference, their approval of the acts of aggression against Irish people were answered in a statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau on September 13 last.

The I.R.P.B. statement (signed by P. O'Neill, Ruanai), criticised the "dual standard of morality implied in recent selective clerical condemnations of violence" and also demanded to know if Cardinal Conway and the Bishops would or had it in their power to provide adequate physical defence for the minority population against marauding British forces, partisan police forces and extreme Unionist mobs.

The following is the full text of the I.R.P.B. statement:

"Contrary to what Cardinal Conway and the Roman Catholic Bishops say, the actions of the Irish Republican Movement are a defence - merely a phase in resistance to foreign aggression that has gone on for 800 years; the British Army, on the other hand, is engaged in a war of aggression against Irish people.

"This is not the first time the Roman Catholic Bishops have approved of war of aggression and condemned war of defence. A war of defence is quite justified on the principle of self-defence. The fact that the British Army is already in occupation does not change the validity of this principle.

"The Bishops speak of forcing 1,000,000 Protestants to a united Ireland. Action directed not at the Protestant population but at the British Army and the British administration both military and civil which is based on aggression and the alleged right of conquest. We have heard no condemnation from the Bishops over the past 50 years of 500,000 Nationalist people, mostly members of Cardinal Conway's Church forced to live - not against their will but against the will of 80% of the

people of Ireland - under the British and Stormont regimes.

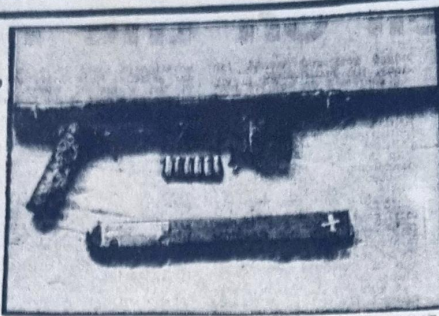
"This would be too much to expect since the role of the Roman Catholic Bishops since 1795 has been, with a few honourable exceptions, to uphold British rule and condemn and even excommunicate Irish Republicans. Even now, the Bishops take as the unit of decision on the national question the artificially created Six-County State instead of the 32 Counties of Ireland.

"Because of this and because of the dual standard of morality implied in recent selective clerical condemnations of violence, the credibility of the Roman Catholic Bishops in this issue is at a low ebb and their statement while it may please the English Government and the Orange bigots of Stormont will not worry the gallant Freedom Fighters of the North. They know that, in the words of Father Sean in the words of Fermanagh "The Six-County state was illegally imposed by force, and it is illegally sustained by force, against the will of the Irish people. Therefore, its institutions, its laws and its legal and political expressions are invalid."

"The basic question is who owns Ireland. We say the Irish people own it and that the very presence of British troops is immoral and that this generation of Irish men and women not only have a right to use arms to expel them, but a duty to do so.

"Will the Cardinal and Bishops provide, or have they in their power to provide adequate physical defence for the minority population against marauding British troops, partisan police forces and extreme Unionist mobs, which have taken such a toll in life, limb and property through their attacks over the past three years?

"The fighting defenders of the North will continue to draw their spiritual consolation from those fearless and honourable ministers of religion of all denominations who have never failed to render spiritual assistance to those who struggle against outrageous odds for justice and the dignity of man."



One of the semi-automatic weapons which the UVF are having manufactured in thousands in Beal Feirste engineering works. The gun photographed here was one of four acquired by the IRA in Beal Feirste and it uses 9mm ammunition which is freely available to former B-Specials.

IRA PROPOSALS FOR PEACE NOT ACCEPTED

Interim proposals for peace in Occupied Ireland made by the Army Council of the I.R.A., and publicised through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, in a statement signed "P. O'Neill, Ruanai, I.R.P.B." on September 5, were not replied to by the British Government.

Acceptance of the proposals by midnight on September 9 would have been reciprocated by a suspension of military operations by the I.R.A.

The following is the full text of the statement which also contains the proposals:

"The Leadership of the Republican Movement, mindful of the terrible plight of the people in Occupied Ireland who for two years have suffered death injury and imprisonment at the hands of the British Forces operating in Ireland, feel that every effort should be made to end the agony of our people. Accordingly we submit the following interim proposals to the British Government and the other interested party:

"Public acceptance of these proposals would, we believe, bring immediate peace to a long suffering people and merit the gratitude of the British and Irish peoples:

1. An immediate cessation to the British Forces campaign of violence against Irish

people.

2. Abolition of the Stormont parliament.

3. A guarantee of non-interference with a free election to establish a regional parliament for the historic province of Ulster as a first step towards a new Governmental structure for the 32 Counties,

4. A release of all Irish political prisoners tried and untried in England and Ireland.

5. A guarantee of compensation for all those who suffered as a result of direct and indirect British violence.

"Acceptance of the above proposals by midnight, Wednesday, September 9th, 1971 would be reciprocated on the part of the Irish Republican Army by a suspension of military operations.

"Rejection of these proposals will leave the Irish Republican Army with no option but to intensify its campaign of resistance to British military rule in Ireland.

Issued by the Army Council, Oglagh na h-Eireann. Date 5 September 1971."

IRA CONGRATULATES PEOPLE OF COURTBANE

AMONG several statements issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau (and signed P. O'Neill, Ruanai) was one on August 30, congratulating the people of Courtbane, Co Louth on their magnificent stand against intrusions by British Occupation Forces, and interference by Free State army and police. The text of the statement was:

"The leadership of the Republican Movement congratulates the people of Courtbane, Co Louth for their courageous resistance to foreign Occupation troops who intruded upon their townland on Sunday August 29th. By their action the people of Courtbane demonstrated their solidarity with the oppressed people of Derry, North, in Belfast, Newry, Stranaberry, Armagh, Dewey etc. who are subject to brutal attacks from British troops.

"We compliment the local unit of the Oglagh na h-Eireann who efficiently and speedily went into action against the enemy. We repeat that our action by the I.R.A. took place in Co Antrim. The combination of popular resistance by the people backed I.R.A. which was so successful at Courtbane must be repeated everywhere.

"Other operations carried out over the past 48 hours include wounding of British troops in Belfast and extensive sabotage operations in Belfast, Derry, Newry and Co Antrim.

"The struggle must be extended and intensified, we must win this fight, we cannot afford to lose. *Ta te na caithe bhá.*"

CATHOLIC FORCE CRITICISED

I.R.P.B.: 1/9/71

"(1) The leadership of the Republican Movement sharply criticised the reported plans to form a Catholic Ex-Servicemen Association as a counter to a new B-Special Force. There are ample defence organisations in the Six Counties in which all those concerned about the defence of the people can serve, there are Auxiliary units and Defence groups as well as the regular I.R.A. units who have taken successful defensive action time and again over the past 18 months.

"It is into these organisations that people with military experience should come instead of forming a new organisation which could be regarded rightly or wrongly as being of a sectarian nature.

"(2) We, the leadership of the Republican Movement call upon all Irish leaders in the Province of Ulster to play their part in a civil disobedience campaign and to make the scandalous state of the Irish Language in the entire province a live issue in this campaign. This they can only do if they themselves are active in the civil resistance movement."

BANK ROBBERY CONDEMNED

I.R.P.B.: 3/9/71

"(1) The Republican Movement was not in any way involved in the armed robbery at An Liamh, Co Meath today. We strongly condemn this type of activity in the twenty-six counties which is completely contrary to the national interest.

"(2) A British Army spokesman today claimed that an I.R.A. unit from Leitrim was responsible for an attack on Kinawley R.U.C. station in which a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment was killed. This is not correct. The active service unit that carried out this operation is based in Co Fermanagh.

"(3) The public in the Six Counties are advised that... is in their own interest to stay away from the British statement that the gun was killed in crossfire is untrue.

I.R.A. DID NOT KILL CHILD

I.R.P.B.: 4/9/71

"1. The Republican Movement is NOT responsible for the operation in Belfast on Friday evening, 3 September, in which 17 months old Angela Gallagher was killed. We believe that this attempt was part of a deliberate attempt to discredit the Republican Movement. The leadership of the Movement extends their sincerest sympathy to the parents and family of the dead child.

"2. The Republican Movement accepts responsibility for the ambush of a British Army patrol near Beshbrook, Co Down in which a soldier was killed and others wounded, and also for other anti-personnel operations in Belfast which led to the wounding of British soldiers and policemen.

"3. The Republican Movement also carried out extensive sabotage operations throughout the Occupied Area during the last seven days.

"4. The Republican Movement was NOT responsible for the operation at a Newry business premises on Saturday morning, 4th September in which two men lost their lives."

MAIDSTONE PRISONERS STATEMENT

I.R.P.B.: 5/9/71

"The following statement has been issued by the prisoners on the Maidstone prison regarding their attitude to the proposed inquiry into charges of brutality against British Army personnel involved in their arrest and detention.

"1. The so-called inquiry is to be presided over by a high-ranking Stormont official. The other two members are Englishmen. We cannot accept any of these as impartial judges of the barbarous behaviour of British troops.

"2. Witnesses at this so-called inquiry will not be on oath. This would be regarded as a most peculiar provision if there was any genuine desire to establish the truth.

"3. Witnesses cannot be compelled to attend. This, in our view, makes the "inquiry" worthless.

"4. The "inquiry" is to be held in secret, and witnesses will not be allowed the services of a lawyer.

"For all these reasons we refuse to co-operate in this British Army face-saving operation. In the terms of the inquiry are in themselves a clear admission of guilt on the part of the British Army and Government. It emphasises that the torture of the prisoners was no spontaneous outburst of rage against a helpless enemy, but a coldly calculated attempt to break their spirit in preparation for interrogation. Indeed an English paper has stated that such is British Army standard practice in operations against "terrorists".

"It follows that the systematic torture of prisoners had the consent and approval of British Army and Government authorities at the highest level."

BRITISH KILL GIRL

I.R.P.B.: 7/9/71

"British Forces of Occupation killed a young girl in Derry City last night after I.R.A. Volunteers had used nail bombs against them. The British statement that the gun was killed in crossfire is untrue.

IRA CONDEMN NLF LYING STATEMENTS

I.R.P.B.: 26/9/71

1916 and on Christian principles.

Accordingly, we reject the atheistic Marxism propagated by the Goulding-MacGiolla clique, and we are supremely confident that the overwhelming majority of the Irish people will reject this alien philosophy.

We have previously stated, and we again emphatically state, that we have nothing in common with Blayney, Haughey or Boland and his new party.

These people are Free Staters, we are Republicans; they reject force; we say that only by force of arm can the Republic we seek be

established. They, Blayney, Boland and Co., are placemen who seek only personal advancement. We seek a full, happy life for our people - but we seek these things for all our people, not just for some of them.

We seek also the cultural emancipation of our people, the restoration of the Irish language to its proper and rightful place as the principle means of communication between our people.

This aspect of the national objective has apparently been abandoned by the National Liberation Front who insist on referring to Sean MacStiofain by the English form of his name, a form that

he discarded years ago to signify his total commitment to the national ideal.

The actions of the national Liberation Front in continually issuing Black Propaganda is actively assisting the British Occupation forces and the Unionist/Free State political set-up that they claim to oppose. They are, in fact, attempting to obstruct the fight being waged by our forces against British troops in the North and against the Stormont administration. But come what may, we shall continue relentlessly with our struggle until final and complete victory has been achieved."

British Honour.

British Minister on behalf of his government instigates crime

Lstr. 5000 Bribe.

ONE OF the most remarkable documents of modern times, is one which Sir Roger Casement decided to make public. It is a letter, the facsimile of which he furnished a photographic reproduction, written and signed by Mr. M de C. Findlay, British Minister to the Court of Norway, in the name of his Government makes a promise to pay to Adler Christensen, the follower of Sir Roger Casement, the sum of 5,000 pounds sterling, for the capture of his master. Sir Roger, in a letter he addressed to Sir Edward Gray, goes very much further and openly accuses the British Minister in Christiania of criminal attempts to influence his dependent to do away with him. In fact Sir Roger was to disappear and the man who did the deed should remain immune and be given facilities to reach the United States with the aid of the British representative.

Mr. Findlay came quickly to the point. The ignorance, assumed or actual, of the previous day, as to my identity, was now discarded. He confessed that he knew me, but that he did not know where I was going to, what I intended doing, or what might be the specific end I had in view.

It was enough for him that I was an Irish nationalist.

He admitted that the British Government had no evidence of anything wrong done or contemplated by me that empowered them either morally or lawfully to interfere with my movements. But he was bent on doing so. Therefore he boldly invoked lawless methods, and suggested to my dependent that were I to "disappear" it would be "a very good thing for whoever brought it about."

He was careful to point out that nothing could happen to the perpetrator of the crime, since my presence in Christiania was known only to the British Government and that Government would screen and provide for those responsible for my "disappearance."

He indicated, quite plainly, the methods to be employed, by assuring Adler Christensen, that who ever "knocked him on the head need not do any work for the rest of his life," and proceeded to apply the moral by asking Christensen, "I suppose you would not mind having an easy time of it for the rest of your life?"

My faithful follower concealed the anger he felt at this suggestion and continued the conversation in order to become more fully aware of the plot that might be devised against my safety. He pointed out that I had not only been very kind to him but that I "trusted him implicitly."

It was on this "implicit trust" Mr. Findlay then proceeded to build the whole framework of his conspiracy against my life, my liberty, the public law of Norway and the happiness of the young man he sought to tempt by monstrous bribes to the commission of a dastardly crime against his admitted benefactor.

If I could be intercepted, cut off, "disappear," no one would know and no question could be asked, since there was no Government save the British Government knew of my presence in Norway and there was no authority I could appeal to for help, while that Government would shield the individual implicated and provide handsomely for his future. Such, in Mr. Findlay's words (recorded by me) was the proposition put by His Majesty's Minister before the young man who had been enticed for this purpose into the British Legation.

That this man was faithful to me and the law of his country was a triumph of Norwegian integrity over the ignoble inducement proffered him by the richest and most powerful Government in the world to be false to both.

Having thus outlined his project, Mr. Findlay invited Christensen to

"think the matter over and return at 3 o'clock if you are disposed to go on with it."

He handed him in Norwegian paper money twentyfive Kroner "just to pay your taxi-cab fares", and dismissed him.

Feeling a not unnatural interest in these proposals as to how I should be disposed of, I instructed the man it was thus sought to bribe to return to the

British Legation at 3 o'clock and to seemingly fall in with the wishes of your Envoy extraordinary.

I advised him, however, for the sake of appearances to "sell me dear" and to secure the promise of a very respectable sum for so very disreputable an act.

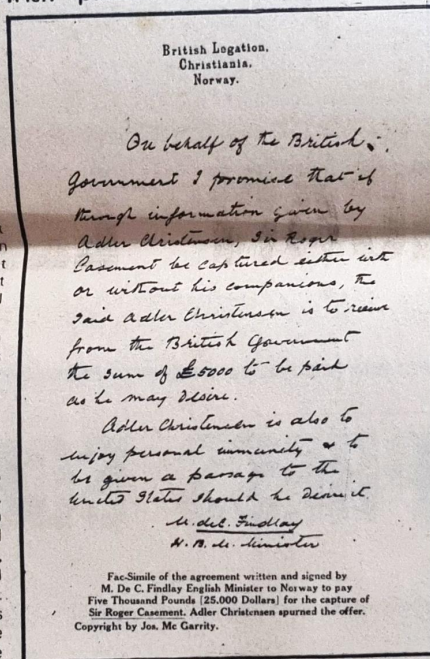
Christensen who has been a sailor and naturally has seen some strange company assured me he was perfectly at home with His Majesty's Representative.

He returned to the Legation at 3 o'clock and remained closeted with Mr. Findlay until nearly 5 p.m. The full record of their conversation will be laid before you, and others, in due course.

My follower pretended to fall in with the British Minister's projects, only stipulating for a good sum to be paid in return for his treachery. Mr. Findlay promised on his "word of honour" (such was the quaint phraseology employed to guarantee this transaction), that Christensen should receive £5,000 sterling whenever he could deliver me into the hands of the British authorities.

If in the course of this kidnapping process I should come to harm or personal injury be done me, then no question would be asked and full immunity guaranteed the kidnapper.

They wanted to do away with the Irish patriot Sir Roger Casement



My follower pointed out that as I was leaving that evening for Copenhagen, having already booked my compartment in the mail train, he would not have any immediate chance of executing the commission.

Mr. Findlay agreed that it would be necessary to defer the attempt until some favourable opportunity offered of decoying me down to the coast "anywhere on the Skaggerack of North Sea" where British warships might be in waiting to seize me.

He entrusted my dependent with the further commission of purloining my correspondence with my supposed associates in America and Ireland, particularly in Ireland, so that they, too, might participate in the "sensible punishment" being devised for me.

I sought not only a guarantee of German goodwill to Ireland, but to relieve my countrymen from the apprehensions this campaign of calumny was designed to provoke and so far as was possible to dissuade them from embarking in an immoral conflict against a people who had never wronged Ireland. That Declaration of the German Government, issued as I know in all sincerity is the justification for my "treason." The justification of the conspiracy of the British Government and its Minister at Christiania, began before I had set foot on German soil, in a country where I had a perfect right to be and

conducted by means of the lowest forms of attempted bribery and corruption I leave you, Sir, to discover.

You will not discover it in the many interviews Mr. Findlay had, during the months of November and December last, at his own seeking, with my faithful follower. The correspondence between them in the cypher the Minister had arranged tells its own story.

These interviews furnished matter that in due course I shall make public. What passed between you agent and mine on these occasions you are fully aware of, for you were the directing power throughout the whole proceedings.

Your object, as Mr Findlay frankly avowed to the man he thought he had bought, was to take my life with public indignity - mine was to expose your design and to do so through the very agent you had

yourself singled out for the purpose and had sought to corrupt to an act of singular infamy.

On one occasion in response to my follower's pretended dissatisfaction with the amount offered for betraying me you authorized your agent to increase the sum to £10,000. I have a full record of the conversations held and of the pledges proffered in your name.

On two occasions, during these prolonged bargainings your Minister gave Adler Christensen gifts of "earnest money." Once it was five hundred crowns in Norwegian currency; the next time a similar sum, partly in Norwegian money and partly in English gold. On one of these occasions, to be precise on the 7th December last, Mr. Findlay handed Adler Christensen the key of the back entrance of the British Legation so that he might go and come unobserved and at all hours.

I propose returning this key in person to the donor and along with it the various sums so anxiously bestowed upon my follower.

The stories told Mr. Findlay at these interviews should not have deceived a schoolboy. All the pretended evidence of my plans and intentions Adler Christensen produced, the bogus letters fictitious maps and charts and other incitements to Mr. Findlay's appetite for the incredible were part of my necessary plan of self-defence to lay bare the conspiracy you were engaged in and to secure that convincing proof of it I now hold.

It was not until the 3rd ultimo that Mr. Findlay committed himself to give my protector the duly signed and formal pledge of reward and immunity in the name of the British Government, for the crime he was being instigated to commit, that is now in my possession.

I transmit you herewith a photograph of this document.

At a date compatible with my own security against the clandestine guarantees and immunities of the British Minister in Norway I shall proceed to lay before the legitimate authorities in that country the original document and the evidence in my possession that throws light on the proceedings of His Majesty's Government.

To that Government, through you, Sir, I now beg to return the insignia of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, the Coronation Medal of His Majesty King George V. and any other medal, honour or distinction conferred upon me by His Majesty's Government, of which it is possible for me to divest myself.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant
Roger Casement

1st February, 1911

BRITISH PRESSURE

The old enemy has not changed, no more than the leopard will ever change his spots. British pressure and influence can be used in the weirdest ways, whatever suits England, which ever way she wishes the wind to blow, she will stoop to the lowest and vilest means to achieve her ends. The American Government bowed to British pressure and barred Joe Cahill, I.R.A. Leader from entering the United States. 56 years ago the British Government guaranteed entry into the United States to a man in the employment of Roger Casement. All the man

had to do to gain entry to the U.S. was to murder Roger Casement. This is not the first time a U.S. Government bowed to her Imperial Majesty. In 1938 Sean Russell I.R.A. Leader was arrested and detained during a visit of the Royal Family but the Clann Na Gael Leader Joseph McGarrity organised such a monster protest of Congressmen, Senators and influential people the authorities were forced to release Russell. British pressure prevented Archbishop Mannix of Australia landing in Ireland during the Black and Tan days and a short

while later barred the remains of Terence Mac Swiney from landing in Dublin. The old British method of barring and deporting is nothing new to Irishmen, the men of '98 were sent to Fort George and then forced to far distant lands. The men of '48 were transported in coffin ships to Van Diemens Land. The Fenians were deported in 1871 and the false black Diaries were invented to try and dishonour Casement. British pressure again forced the puppets of Leinster House to arrest Joe Cahill on his arrival at Dublin Airport. But Irish Republican

pressure, Pickets, Protests, and Outcrys in every section of Irish Life forced the release of one of the greatest leaders that the I.R.A. has ever produced - Joe Cahill of Belfast. Make no mistake British pressure will continue and this pressure must be met with organised resistance. England must be told once and for all that the Irish people will not yield one iota. The words of Fintan Lator are as true to-day as they were in the famine years. "No imperial power will surrender one square yard of colonial territory except at the edge of the sword."

AN PROBLACHT, Dornadh Fionnar 1971, Leathnach 5
 To His Excellency
 The German Ambassador to the United States
 Your Excellency
 As Special Envoy to the United States and G. M. G. of the Irish Republican Army whose Chief of Staff is serving a three years sentence in prison in Ireland (at the behest of England) I desire to express to you on behalf of my country men my sincere regrets for the action of a group of men proposing to speak for Ireland in refusing permission to your country to use The Bay of Galway as a temporary base for your country's air mail service to the United States. Your Country the only country of the world who really endeavoured to render military assistance to our countrymen in 1916 when they were struggling to be free.
 On behalf of my countrymen I further deny and repudiate the right of these servants of England to refuse on behalf of Ireland this courtesy to Germany Ireland's true friend while assuming the right to make such a grant to England - Ireland's only enemy.
 We ask of you and your countrymen not to be misled into believing that this action is the will or desire of the Irish people who remember with deepest gratitude the efforts of your countrymen to render us assistance in our deepest need.
 We trust that this shameful action of a small body of men who have proved untrue to their trust is a sign that the standard of an independent Ireland has been hauled down and the blood of Casement has been given in exchange for a sop from the tottering British Empire.
 With esteem for your country and people I beg to remain on behalf of the people of Ireland
 Gratefully yours,
 Sean Russell
 Special Envoy of Ireland
 in the United States
 and OMC of the Irish
 Republican Army.
 Seville Hotel,
 New York.
 Oct 15th, 1936

REPUBLICAN LEADERS YESTERDAY AND TODAY

ON THE HILL OF TARA
 1938



Mr. Sean Russell unveiling the memorial stone, erected by a Conjoint Committee of the I.R.A., to the "Croppies" of '98 on the summit of the Hill of Tara



Jos. McGarrity

IN MEMORIAM
 Joseph P McGarrity
 1874 - 1940

McGarrity! Dynamic and intense!
 He lent no aid to those who would appease
 A wrong through superficial harmonies;
 Nor had he time for those who would dispense
 With Easter Week! Accept as recompense
 The promise of an England on her knees,
 Who promised much to Nationalities,
 When promises had value as defense.

Leader and friend! Why should Death strike so soon
 And take away our one and greatest Ace?
 Why should the sun of Hope go down at noon
 And leave men weeping in this darkened place?

Writ deep and burned in, the name of Joe
 Through Time's eternal corridors will glow!



JOE CAHILL



RUAIRI O BRA



SEAN MAC STIOFA

-Padraic Lagan

REDUNDANCY

IT'S A nasty word, it means you are going to be out of work - the pay packet you have banked on each week won't be there. Redundancy is a new word - it used to be "you got the sack" - now we are in a more enlightened age, abortion is "termination of pregnancy" - it is still murder. The "sack" or here's your cards mate - is now redundancy - but it all comes to the same thing in the end, you and your family are probably going to be hungry - you have to "pound the stones" looking for another job, in the meantime you will get a bite from the "Labour". You may be lucky and perhaps get some redundancy pay - but what about the payments for that carpet you have just put a deposit on! Maybe you have just managed to find the deposit for a house of your own and, of course, the solicitor's fees - you'd be worrying about the mortgage repayments - maybe you are sending money to your parents - will they go short now - your youngest child is not well - it's £1.50 a week for her tablets - yes, all in all it's a great outlook!

For three years now we have seen and read about closures all over Ireland, Laurel Shoes Ltd, Dundalk, Ranks (Ireland) Ltd, Clara, Co Offaly, reduction in Forestry workers - Jute and Milling Industries in Clara, Gaeltara Eireann closures, Shannon Industrial Estate closures - Irish Farmhouse Preserves Co Ltd, Monaghan - Youghals Blackwater Cotton Plant - Seafield Gentex, also Youghal - cut back in Erin Heinz, Sandersons (Newbridge) Ltd, Kildare - Matterson's, Limerick, on and on and on. This year is the worst for redundancies and they are not confined to any one section of industry. Up to June this year, the hardest hit sectors are the food and drink industries followed by clothing and textiles, a close second. Redundancy rates are running at twice the rate of this time last year - the numbers put out of work in the first six months of this year are 3,778 almost up to the total for all of last year! The experts, "never forget them, the whiz kids" tell us that we can expect redundancies at the rate of 3,500 for the next five or six years - their jobs, of course, are secure.

The reasons for all these closures, which is just a modern polite way of saying that a large number of workers have been thrown out on the streets, is not hard to pinpoint. First, the Anglo Irish free trade agreement with its yearly reduction in import tariffs has now reached the stage when many

home Industries simply cannot match price for price with English imported goods manufactured in vast quantities in immense modern factories; secondly, many companies commencing business in Ireland - England - subsidiary branches of a parent company in a foreign country - England - U.S.A. - France - Japan etc, any cold wind of competition felt by the parent company always means the closure of its branches abroad - "Charity starts at home". These two factors are the cause of all these redundancies. The answers: Cancellation of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Treaty - Development of Home Industries on a Co-operative basis, where the worker has a stake in the company and has a feeling of belonging - more support to each person's Unions and the injection into Union thinking and action of a National outlook rather than a Trade or Craft concern - Exploitation of the full of our National resources - the land - minerals - fish, inland and sea etc, to be controlled nationally for the benefit of all not for a few. Two good examples exist of how this can be done: the small but thriving town of Killybegs, Co Donegal (it has the highest marriage rate in Ireland) gives us a great hope for the future - here a natural resource is exploited to the full - FISH - it is carried out by co-operative methods - it has its own boat building yards and its own Fishmeal Factory - thus any portion of catch landed that has a poor commercial value is not dumped back into the sea but sent about 500 yards down the road from the quay to the fishmeal factory. At present four new fishing projects are nearing completion valued at over £400,000. Bord Iascaigh Mhara investment development division is backing all four projects. Currently fishing and allied industries brought into the town £1,000,000 equal to a £1,000 per head for every man, woman and child in the town. Here is an example of the correct exploitation of a natural resource coupled with extensive use of the co-operative technique. Again we read of a substantial profit having been made by Bord na Mona - here again a natural resource correctly exploited and nationally controlled, the brilliant technique of turf "briquettes" production has produced a cheap saleable fuel for heating that is attractive and satisfying.

There need not be closures, nor redundancies, if our natural resources were correctly exploited for the common good and not for the benefit of a few, often foreigners - it is all in Eire Nua - read it - study it - discuss it - work and fight for it, then you will not go hungry nor will your children.

E.E.C.—MORE REDUNDANCY

UNDER Common Market conditions the pattern of closures and redundancies which is now becoming almost an everyday occurrence will be accelerated, and will in fact hit a much wider range of industry and services. Already, under the Anglo Irish Free Trade Agreement, industry and services are beginning to wilt and buckle: where closures have not actually occurred so far, many Irish firms have been bought over by large English combines.

We have seen several cases, such as Sandersons in Droichead Nua; Cerebos in Dublin; Thomond Cabinet Factory in Limerick; Progress International in Shannon, and several more, where production is now to be centred in England. This is due to the lowering of the tariff wall - whereas previously it was uneconomic to import the products ready for sale, now it is necessary only to distribute from a centre in Ireland, needing fewer workers than before.

In May of this year, Mr William Kiley, Managing Director of Sunbeam Wolsey Ltd, the largest textile manufacturers in this country, told a meeting of the Dublin and Cork/London Liaison Committee of Chambers of Commerce, that economists who spent so much time lauding the Anglo-Irish F.T.A. appeared to have overlooked the simple fact that once a Free Trade Area is established between a country such as Ireland with 2½ million people and a highly industrialised country such as Britain with its 50 m people, "the economy of the smaller party becomes tied to the larger member, and the effects of this are seen every day in Ireland as we are now beginning to feel the full effect of competition - in many instances unfair competition - from U.K. textile producers."

Mr Kiley went on to say that up to 1970 there was still sufficient protection to buffer manufacturers in this country against undue price cutting but that the duty was now so low that British manufacturers with surplus stocks were prepared to sell at an uneconomic price on the Irish market to improve their liquidity, whilst at the same time not damaging their price structures at home.

What he had to say regarding textiles also applies to many other products, as hundreds of workers know to their chagrin. Dumping is particularly difficult to prove. A foreign producer can say he is prepared to sell a stock lot at a low price both on his home market and for export. In the case of the home market he can get rid of a surplus lot to one or more wholesale or retail outlets, which in many cases are associated or even subsidiary firms. Thus, he is not seen to be breaching any anti-dumping legislation that exists.

Irish fishermen have already seen the dangers inherent in the E.E.C. for them. They foresee largescale redundancy in the future when foreign concerns would be given carte blanche to set up here. One measure which has been proposed by Irish fishermen is to combine in large co-operatives.

Despite arguments to the contrary, there is no evidence that foreign firms would set up industry in Ireland under the E.E.C. Already, as shown, in the case of many English concerns, the opposite is happening. Industrialists prefer to stay near large centres of population so that redundant Irish workers would have to join thousands of Italians and other nationalities in the Rhur valley and other intensely industrial areas of Europe. Irish exports to the E.E.C. have increased by almost 75% in the last few years despite the E.E.C. Common External

Tariff. As this is being lowered gradually there is no reason why we could not stay out and do well.

What is happening in Irish industry now was forecast by the Republican Movement several times since 1964. Foreign investment in Ireland is aimed only at reaping profit. While here, the concerns are heavily subsidised by the taxpayers - thus we have the anomaly of the workers in these concerns helping to finance them, and as soon as it suits the firm's backers to pull out, the workers are thrown out.

Even though the workers, through the taxes taken from their paypackets, helped to build the factory in many cases, and even helped to buy the machinery used, so that both the building and the machinery by right belong to the people of the nation, the Leinster House puppets on capitalist strings, have refused on occasions to let the workers take over the concern and try to run it themselves as a workers' co-operative.

Meanwhile what profits were made tax-free profits while the workers' wages were patently NOT tax-free - are taken out of the country and re-invested abroad. In many cases the workers and their families have been forced to emigrate and follow these profits, thus by their labour helping further to add to the profits accrued by their labour here. Under E.E.C. rules no government - either the present puppet-regime or even a truly national government - could take the necessary action to right these scandalous wrongs.

The E.E.C. means absolute destruction for Irish industry - the E.E.C. wants markets for its products, not extra internal competition or new bases for industries.

Eire Nua has the Answer

Ni cuspóir ann féin saoirse agus aontacht na hÉireann. Saoirse iomlán agus atógáil iomlán náisiúnta atá i gceist ag Sinn Féin. Tá léiriú ins an leabhar seo ar pholasai Sinn Féin agus ar an mbealach uibre a mholtar leis an gcuspóir náisiúnta a bhaint amach.



FINANCE-Page 12

This is the major contributory cause of the failure of the 26 County economy to expand up to 1959. The savings of the Irish people, instead of being put to work in Ireland, are syphoned off into Britain.

In fact, between banking, insurance and private investors in both parts of the country, well over £1,000,000,000 is held as foreign assets by persons and firms based in Ireland.

INDUSTRY-Page 17

Significantly, recent growth rates indicate that following trends:—

- (1) Small, nationally owned firms are in decline and are being taken over.
- (2) The larger firms of the state sector are barely holding their own.
- (3) The British associated or dominated sector is growing rapidly — Guinness, Gouldings, Fry-Cadbury, Rank — as are other foreign-owned firms (Shannon Industrial Zone).

TRANSPORT-Page 81

The relative insolvency of the public sector is due to the fact that the cost of the bulk traffic is handled privately, while the public sector caters for holiday peak traffic and small occasional consignments of freight which inflate the manual handling and clerical costs. Some socially desirable services are of course provided, some of them free.

PLANNING-Page 35

It is accepted in all countries that planning and construction are inter-locked. Detailed planning must precede the construction of any building, but in addition, a nation must undertake comprehensive planning of its physical environment of the best use is to be made of natural resources. Natural resources include visual amenity; in other words, the landscape which must be safeguarded for the enjoyment of the citizens as a whole.

In Ireland, the need for physical planning has been grudgingly accepted under the name of 'town planning' owing to the complexity of modern living. Dublin has benefited from the planning which took place in the 18th century, to the extent that the street network laid down then is still usable. Had proper planning been imposed a hundred years ago, our rail system would be of greater use to us. Instead, military and strategic considerations dominated its layout.

TRADE-Page 53

Direct trade links with distant markets barely exist; tropical produce is handled by British firms and transhipped in Liverpool or London. Irish Shipping Ltd spends most of its time carrying foreign goods to and from foreign ports. The means exist for developing direct trade links with the newly-emerging ex-colonial nations but it requires deliberate steps to be taken to break with the imperial structure in order to do this. Recently a Dutch shipping line was blackballed by the other shipping interests for daring to run a direct line from Dublin to Trinidad. Irish manufacturers, to their credit, supported the direct link. Similarly, efforts by Mayo farmers to import basic slag from Belgium through orthodox channels were unsuccessful; finally a direct shipment by Dutch coaster was arranged.

**"IN RETURN FOR WILLING SERVICE
THE NAME OF THE REPUBLIC, DECLARATION OF
RIGHT OF EVERY CITIZEN TO AN
ADEQUATE SHARE OF THE PRODUCT OF
THE NATION'S LABOUR"**

Democratic Programme of Dail Eireann 1971

PLANNING IN IRELAND

We aren't coming up with the right answers in urban planning because we aren't asking the right questions.

Urban planners deal with land uses, densities — even with crime, delinquency and disease. But they almost never begin with the simple question: "How can we best provide for the growth and happiness of a man, his wife and his family?"

James Rouse.

Sinn Fein Policy

It is accepted in all countries that planning and construction are interlocked. Detailed planning must precede the construction of any building, but in addition, a nation must undertake comprehensive planning of its physical environment if the best is to be made of natural resources. Natural resources include 'visual amenity'; in other words, the landscape which must be safeguarded for the enjoyment of the citizens as a whole.

OBSELETE

In Ireland, the need for physical planning has been grudgingly accepted under the name of 'town planning'. Owing to the complexity of modern living, Dublin has benefited from the planning which took place in the 18th century, to the extent that the street network laid down then is still usable. Had proper planning been imposed a hundred years ago, our rail system would be of greater use to us. Instead, military and strategic considerations dominated its layout. If we fail to plan properly now, our roads and industries will be wrongly located in relation to our needs in 20 years time, and our housing will be obsolete. The obsolescence period of houses and buildings is reducing; it is now regarded as about 60 years. Thus, towns can be expected to be continually in a process of change and much wastage will result if far-sighted planning methods are not adopted.

The Irish building industry employs, North and South, about 100,000 men and is organised in about 500 firms, mostly small, but dominated by about six giant firms. There are also a large number of sub-contracting specialist firms for steelwork, flooring, asphaltting, painting, etc. The latter are more stable than the small general contractors. In recent years, a number of firms specialising in civil engineering and harbour works have come into being; these are off-shoots of the big building firms.

Only the largest firms employ a complete range of craftsmen. Traditionally, these are employed and sacked as contracts are secured and completed. On average, building workers receive only eight months pay per annum; holidays are usually unpaid owing to the short service period. Conditions on sites are often primitive.

The boss in a small firm is sometimes himself a worker on the site. At all times he must be on close call. Much time is wasted by lack of continuity of contracts. Sometimes in order to keep going a small man will undertake work at cost. The bankruptcy rate is, therefore, the highest of any industry. The average net profit does not exceed 6%.

Quality of work is variable in both small and large firms. In prosperous times, quality suffers.

RE-ORGANISED

In the 32-County Republic the building industry will be re-organised with the following objectives:

(a) Establishment of a central Planning and Building Authority responsible for all building and construction work.

(b) To meet the social and economic objectives of the developing Irish economy.

(c) To provide secure employment and proper working conditions for those engaged in it.

These objectives may be obtained by the following means:—

(a) An alive top-level and long-term direction; building needs should be programmed for ten years and projected in broad terms for another five, investment being planned accordingly.

(b) Re-organisation with the industry permitting the introduction of state-owned and co-operative firms alongside those which still choose to operate as members of the private sector. The policy of the state firms will be to think in terms of the industry as a co-operative enterprise for which they will bear the major responsibility. They will employ a full range of trades.

(c) An extension of schemes of education for those planning to enter the industry, and development of the apprenticeship system in conjunction with education in such a way as to raise the general level of skill.

(d) Constant employment at a high basic wage supported by productivity incentives; dry site conditions, mobile kitchens and toilet facilities.

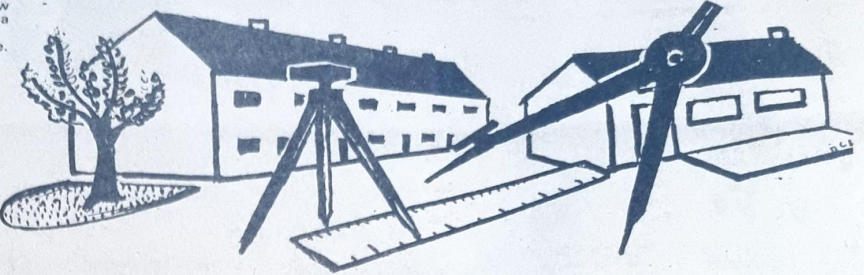
(e) Democratic re-organisation of professional, management and workers' unions and institutes in order to achieve a common goal, more diversification of the professional groupings to be encouraged, with a trend towards formation of schools of design.

(f) Maximum development of mechanisation and pre-fabrication, with use of standard modules and a computer control of scheduling, material allocation, and stocking.

(g) Encouragement of craft work where a particular standard or a one-off type building is involved.

The industrialisation of building will proceed rapidly, making use of the potentialities of the Belfast shipyard and aircraft industry, where skills exist easily adaptable to this end. Building raw materials will come increasingly under State control (cement and steel already are in part) in order to ensure co-ordinated expansion of the industry. The metric system will be adopted throughout and fittings will be standardised.

The State-owned firms will operate mainly on major works and on export building. It is estimated that at present money value we



could export in the form of materials system buildings, and site constructed building and heavy engineering work to the value of £30 million.

Co-operatives of building worker firms will be encouraged. Private firms will also be encouraged on condition that they conform to national rates and standards.

TRADE UNIONS

The existing trade union structure is not adapted to defend its members' security in thylace of advancing techniques, without the introduction of restrictive practices. Due to the introduction of power tools, dry building techniques and other methods, trades become redundant, new trades emerge, while the skill required of the so-called

'labourer' is increasing. This latter category, once considered the lowest element in the industry is now often a trained machinery operator or an expert in the technology of concrete. It will, therefore, be necessary to initiate the re-organisation of the building trade unions, with the maximum of democratic discussion and participation of the membership, into a single union covering all trades and professions. The improved apprenticeship scheme will be integrated with the educational system, which will include Schools of Building Technology in the four major cities.

These will be of university status and will be linked with a Building Materials and Methods Research Institute. The ordinary trained building worker would enjoy an

educational level equivalent to the present graduate of the Secondary educational system. Thus, the building trade unionist of the future will be a highly skilled and versatile technician and will need an organisation of a rather different nature from those which have grown up historically, the objective of the Union will, of course, be unchanged, but it will be considerably easier to attain it.

WORKERS COURSES

The higher grade of building professional would include within its scope the present-day architect's, specialist engineers' and surveyor's qualifications, but he would be given opportunity to develop his talents beyond the design of individual buildings.

The Schools of Building Technology will be linked with the Building Materials and Methods Research Institute, the objective of which will be continually to improve the quality of refresher courses, all workers would be kept up to date on building technology.

Building land at present is subject to speculative purchase and sale and ground rents constitute an increasing fraction of the cost of new housing developments.

Under the Sinn Fein government, building land will not be the means of enrichment of private individuals. It will instead be the subject of compulsory purchase by the State or the municipality concerned, at a price related to its agricultural value. The land will then be transferred by the state to the individual or body developing it. The owner will be compensated or given an option on an equivalent holding elsewhere. Ground Rent will be abolished.

In accordance with the policy of using the interest rate on capital as a social planning device, the rate for capital invested in housing developments will be set at a maximum of 5%. Instead of the occupier of a house paying 50% of his outgoings in the form of interest on a loan from a building society, local loan fund, or insurance group, he will now pay only a small fraction of that sum.

It will be open to anyone to build his own house on land purchased from the state or municipality.

NATIONAL PROGRAMME

The national housing programme will be planned in such a way as to create traffic-free environments where amenity is conserved and essential facilities conveniently placed. Village, small-town, city-central and city-suburban areas will be approached differently. Common to all will be the idea of a Community; a unit which provides the maximum of all types of amenity within convenient distances.

will be grouped in hamlets along one or two roads; cities will consist of noise-free and traffic-free groups of communities, served by adequate highways and rapid urban public transportation.

High-rise flats of adequate area with lifts will form the basis of central city renewal.

The creation of linked parklands in valleys and along river banks will be a natural corollary of such planning. Standard flat and house plans of a sufficient number of types to cater for community needs will be developed and built on a large scale using layouts prepared in competition by young urbanists. Standard buildings and all types including outbuildings would be available for setting on free professional advice in rural areas.

Floor space areas inside houses will be increased; houses will be fully fitted with built-in storage and equipment including cookers and refrigerators. They will be planned for easy extension; for flexibility in room use to meet the changing needs of growing families.

Industry will be located with the intention of creating convenient and functional structures and other major employment, to meet transportation needs, a part of an export building programme.

Rational planning of industry will ensure the fullest development of port towns — especially those on our western coastline — and major inland towns. As far as possible export industries will be located in port towns.

Industrial building will be supported financially by the National Development Authority which will maintain staff competent to uphold environmental planning standards.

VILLAGE FOR SALE

Sir,
The village is Leixlip, but if I lived in Swords or Baldoyle, or Tallaght, I would refer to them in similar terms. The ruthless speculation that is taking place in the Dublin area is a national disgrace. It's ruthless, because the process is as follows: Some faceless men produce a cheque-book, and a few dozen acres are bought at a figure ten times the 1961 value (at least). For approximately £2,000 an acre, the site is developed. Then the house-sites (about 9

per acre) are flogged for up to £1,500 each. After fees, a clear profit of £200,000 can be made, almost overnight, on an investment of £15,000.

The houses are sold with airy assurances that they are convenient to Church, Schools, Shops, Playing fields, etc." Rubbish. No reference to the fact, as here in Leixlip, that the Church is a little village Church, that the school is a tiny village school, that the same speculators have their mouths watering and their cueque boots waaing to get at the local GAA field. No reference to the fact that it is the people of Leixlip, old and new, who will have to foot the bill for new schools, churches, community facilities, and not a brass penny from the speculators towards the facilities they so glibly and cynically boast of.

Your recent article by Hugh Munro on the nationalisation of land made me laugh. He suggests that only a Communist regime could introduce such land control. Meet Ireland's first Communist priest! If that's Communism, I'll buy it. A government which can control to the fraction of a penny what the farmers get for milk, what I pay for petrol, and what we all must pay in taxes could surely control the exploitation of villages such as Leixlip, and the needs of those who must have homes.

This is not a criticism of the people who are coming over here. They need homes. We all do. And they are more than welcome in Leixlip. But it is a criticism of a Government which will not govern in this most vital sphere. It is a criticism of a Co. Council which grants unlimited planning permission, and then sheds crocodile tears at the problems created in Leixlip by the unplanned expansion of Dublin, and it is a criticism of those ruthless profiteers who have the cheek to march all over this country building houses and more houses, but not contributing one iota to the quality of life in the communities they ravage, or the new communities they so cruelly deceive. Yours, etc.,

FR PAUL FREENEY
Leixlip,
Co Kildare.

(From The Irish Times)

JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

It is no longer sufficient to be a passive Republican.

Unorganised individuals cannot bring about the freedom of Ireland.

YOU MUST BE ACTIVE

You can become an active member by joining your local Sinn Fein Cumann

CONTACT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING:

For obvious reasons we are not listing names of republicans in occupied Ireland. There are active cumainn in every area and all those who wish to become members should write to:
Oifig an Ard-Runai,
2a, Lr. Kevin Street,
Dublin 8.

Laighin

Lu

Deirdre Donnelly,
83, St Nicholas Avenue,
Dundalk

An Mhi

Jimmy Kinsella,
Balrath,
An Uaimh.

Loch Garman

Thuaidh

Diarmuid O Suilleabhain,
8, Clonee,
Gorey.

Loch Garman

Theas

Jack Dunne T.C.,
45, Abbey St.,
Wexford.

Cill Chainnigh

Thuaidh

Veronica O'Neill,
4, Mellows Park,
Callan.

Cill Chainnigh

Theas agus

Port Lairge

Jimmy Carroll,
Narabone,
Kilmacow.

Laois

Ned Bailey,
Cappakeel,
Emo.

Ua bhFaile

D Hensey,
1, O'Molloy Street,
Tullamore.

Cill Dara Theas

agus Ceatharlach

Plunkett Corr,
10, Butler's Row,
Athy.

Cill Dara

Thuaidh

Sean O'Shea,
Tumings,
Stratton.

Cill Mantain

Pat Power,
13, Lr. Main St.,
Arklow.

Jar Mhi

Colman O Muimhneachain
28, Oliver Plunkett St.,
Mullingar.

Longfort

Sean O Loingsigh,
Clecnrath,
Aughnaciliffe

Baile Atha Cliath

An Runai,
2a, Lower Kevin St.,
Dublin 8.

Mumhain

Corcaigh

John Varian,
50, Kerryhall Road,
Fairhill,
Cork City.

Ciarrai Thuaidh

Liam MacCoitir,
An Spa,
Traighli.

Ciarrai Theas

Eamonn Sheehan,
c/o Moriarty,
The Square,
Killarney.

Luimneach

Brandan de Nais,
3, Donnellan's Buildings,
Rosbrien,
Limerick.

An Clár

Denis McInerney,
9, Shannon Park,
Ennis.

Tiobraid

Arann Theas

Eamonn O Dochartaigh,
8, Naomh Molleraín,
Carraig na Stiúre.

Tiobraid

Arann Thuaidh

Dan Gleeson,
Elm Hill,
Ballymacey,
Nenagh.

Connacht

Gallimh

Bart Gormley,
27, St. Joseph's Park,
Tuam.

Maigh Eo

Tadhg O hOistin,
Doire Mhor,
Dromainn,
Cathair-na-Mart.

Sligeach

Eamonn Healy,
The Mall,
Sligo.

Liatroim

Mrs. Mary Mulvihill,
Ballynamore.

Roscomain

Mr. John A. Beirne,
Main Street,
Elphin.

Uladh

Dun na nGall

Joe O'Neill,
The Mall,
Ballyshannon.

Dun na nGall

Thoir

Frank Morris,
Convoy.

Cabhan

Liam Muimhneach,
Moynhall.

Muineachain

J McElwaine, M.C.C.,
Knockatallon P.O.

P. J. McGinn,
Henry Street,
Castleblaney.

Thar Lear

Tony Kearns,
72A, Stafford Road,
Kilburn,
London N.W. 6.

Mrs. Gerard,
46, Beach Road,
Chorlton,
Manchester 21.

Bernard Walsh,
42, Woodbridge Lawn,
Leeds, L56 3LU,
Yorkshire.

T. Brosnan,
84, City Road,
Bristol.

Tom Cashin,
93, Harpe Inge,
Dalton,
Huddesfield,
Yorkshire.

Mrs. Renehan,
14, Crosbie St.,
Maryhill,
Glasgow N.M.

TADHG BROSAN FUNERAL ORATION

NOEL LYNCH, a member of the Chicago Irish Northern Aid Committee, speaking at the graveside of Tadhg Brosnan at Calvary Cemetery in New York on Friday, August 6, 1971, said:

"Friends, a cloud has darkened the horizon. One of the truly great Irishmen of this century has passed from among us. His history and his deeds are known to most of you; so, it is sufficient here to merely touch upon them. He sprang from a Fenian Heritage; joining the Volunteers early in life; was arrested in 1916 and subsequently served time in several British jails. He was released from prison in 1917 and his work for Ireland from then until 1923 was one of

the greatest efforts in man's fight for liberty and justice. "He never gave up that struggle, during his many years in the United States. Until his passing a few days ago, he supported, with all the energy at his disposal, the men who are today making that same fight against the British invaders in the streets of Belfast and Derry.

"His love for the country that bore and nurtured him was something holy to behold. He loved her language; he loved her sports; he loved her culture and, in this dedication, he found a purity of purpose.

"For those of us who were close to him, his passing leaves a deep wound; but we also find a joy in knowing that the flame kindled by his

example and inspiration will remain aglow.

"This man was closest to, my conception of Jesus Christ, than any person I have known in life. He epitomized Christ in his magnanimity and charity, in his humility and in his deep concern for his fellowman — regardless of creed, race or colour.

"He was without malice or hatred towards any man but had the capacity to vigorously hate a system; a system such as the one which still holds the land he loved so deeply in subjugation.

"... he could but now communicate with us from that great and mysterious beyond, his message would ring out loud and clear. Irishmen, unite and continue the fight; continue until the work of Tone is done;

continue until the work of Emmet, Lawlor, Pearse, Connolly and the thousands of other martyrs is done."

"From the graveside, we would echo that message and cry out again and again... Irishmen unite and continue until the work of Tadhg Brosnan is done.

"He is now with the ages and we will close these words of homage with a few lines from antiquity. They were written by a poet over 2,500 years ago upon his learning of the death of his friend, and philosopher, Heraclitus. We choose these lines because we feel they are symbolic of the universality of the man and also symbolic of the fact that, though dead, he will continue to live for us, his family and friends and will continue to

live in the heart and soul of the Irish Nation.

"They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead, They brought me bitter news to hear and bitter tears to shed,

And now that thou are lying, my dear old Carian guest, A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago at rest, Still, are thy pleasant voices the nightingales, awake, For Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take."

As a tribute to Tadhg's deeds and actions for the cause of Irish Freedom, a special Flag to cover the casket was sent by his old comrade, Joe Clark of Dublin, the 1916 Veteran.

A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Seamus Dowd.

IRISH REPUBLICAN PHILATELIC OFFICE

- List of stamps on sale from office:
1. "Saoirse Eireann etc" overprint stamp, mint (unused) at 10p (U.S. 25c).
 2. "Saoirse Eireann etc" overprint stamp used — sold out.
 3. "Support Sinn Fein" overprint stamp mint (unused) at 10p (U.S. 25c).
 4. "Support Sinn Fein" stamp used on envelope post marked the occupied area at £2 (U.S. dollars) maximum order two person.
 5. "Dail Uladh 1971" overprint stamp mint (unused) at 10p (U.S. 25c).
 6. "Dail Uladh 1971" overprint stamp used on envelope postmarked in the occupied area at £2 (U.S. dollars) maximum order two person.
- These items may be obtained at our office in Kevin St., Camden St. or by sending with order plus postage (or addressed envelope) to: Runai, Irish Republican Phil. Office, 2A Lower Kevin St., Dublin.

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

To date 275 interned without trial or charge

Tony O'Kane	Crumlin Road	15 years
Robert Campbell	Crumlin Road	11 years
George O'Hara	Crumlin Road	10 years
Seamus Drain	Crumlin Road	10 years
John Magee	Crumlin Road	8 years
Thomas McDonald	Crumlin Road	8 years
Malachi Cullen	Crumlin Road	6 years
Praisias McAirt	Crumlin Road	5 years
William McKee	Crumlin Road	5 years
Patrick Monaghan	Crumlin Road	5 years
Malachy Leonard	Crumlin Road	5 years
Brian McCann	Crumlin Road	5 years
Barry Burton	Maidstone	4 years
J McFadden	Maidstone	2 years
Alex McHaverty	Maidstone	5 years
Richard McHaverty	Maidstone	5 years
James George	Wandsworth	3 years
James Monaghan	Wormwood Scrubs	7 years
James McBrinn	Wormwood Scrubs	2 years
P. C. O'Sullivan	Wormwood Scrubs	7 years
Gerry Doherty	Lancaster	4 years
Conor Lynch	Wakefield	7 years
Eamonn Smullen	Gortree	5 years
Brendan Magill	Albany	2 years
Seamus McGarrigle	Chelmsford	7 years
J. A. Roche	Westford	1½ years

Twenty-six prisoners serving sentences of 1 to 15 years. Short term prisoners: Number unknown but believed to be over 850 on various political charges.

Women prisoners: Mrs Mary McGuigan and Maire Drumm, Ard-Comhairle Sinn Féin; Rose Smith and others, 6 months to 1 year, Armagh Jail.

OPEN LETTER TO THE SCOTS AND WELSH

Scots, unfamiliar with Ireland, are puzzled that acts of violence have become normal in what is described as being as much a part of Britain as Birmingham or Manchester. The explanation could, perhaps, be found by phrasing the comparison in a different way, such as "as much a part of Britain as Gibraltar." In each generation Irishmen have repudiated foreign control of Ireland. Whether in small or large numbers, some have been ready to oppose that control by all means at their disposal.

and opposition to English policy is per se immoral.

England has played on the cupidity and fears of one section of the Irish people and has ruled that the English are a law unto themselves. That section, which is assured of English backing, has been conditioned into regarding itself in a similar light to the Algerie Francaise colons prior to De Gaulle's, Fourth Republic. In truth, the success of such conditioning among, for instance, the people of the Belfast Shankill area, was no mean achievement. But the archived pattern of politics in different countries presents difficulties for mythmakers. The European partisans of World War II have been welcomed to the English Valhalla. The difficulty is that Irishmen, too unsophisticated to perceive that the pseudo-morality of an action hinges on its relation to English policy, are prone to view themselves in a similar role to the European Freedom Fighters.

From anything else, they are aware that McCracken's and Mitchell's people are authentic Irishmen who have been the victims of systematic brainwashing over not years, but generations. (Henry Joy McCracken was a Presbyterian who led the insurrection of 1798 in County Antrim and was hanged; John Mitchell, author of the revolutionary classic "Jail Journal" was a Unitarian. He was transported to Van Diemen's Land, from where he escaped to the United States. Clashes with Unionist Ulstermen are to be studiously avoided, except to the extent of defence if attacked. It could well appeal to those with tidy legal minds to regard the Orangemen as being equivalent to the French Colons who were once so numerous in Algeria. Acceptance of such a view would, in fact, be a betrayal of Irish Republicanism, the historic roots of which are almost solidly "Protestant." It would be playing the game according to the English allowing England to retain the Orange Card as trump.

All reasonable individuals accept the need for law and order. This truism becomes complicated when the question: "Whose law? Whose order?" can be put. When young men without any criminal tendencies deliberately challenge the system of law and order it is convenient for the authorities to insist that they are mere criminals, but it begs the question. In a political context, law can be a convenient weapon. "And who were your fellow conspirators?" a French revolutionary was asked; and he answered: "If I had succeeded, the whole of France!" At a more recent stage of French history, law and order were well maintained under the Vichy government in one part of France as they were under direct German rule in the other part. Once the Germans had evacuated, virtually everyone was claiming to have been a "terrorist."

As an occupying force, the British (or, more aptly, the English) Army in "Northern Ireland" has always been aware that not all the natives are friendly. Granted that many people rejected their moral or legal right to be on Irish soil, there was always a likelihood that the soldiers would be regarded as a legitimate target by those of the natives who feel a justifiable enmity towards them. While the occupying force has an overwhelming logistic advantage, its opponents have inevitably to make the fullest use of the element of surprise and to avoid becoming embroiled in any sustained engagement.

Similar reasoning applies to the Scottish and Welsh soldiers in Ireland. Theoretically, it is possible to class them as hirelings of England. As such it may be argued that they can expect no more consideration than their genuinely English colleagues. In fact, like the Ulster Unionists, they have each been conditioned into accepting the necessity of their own nation's betrayal and decay in the interest of "Progress" (English version). But although they are performing an English function, they do not cease to be Scots or Welsh. Fatalities or casualties among them will inevitably generate anti-Scottish sentiment in Scotland and Wales. In turn, their own strong-arm exploits will generate anti-Scottish or anti-Welsh feeling among republicans. The more serious the clashes with non-English hirelings, the more successful will be England's divide-and-rule tactics.

The fact that it is now fifty years since the truce ending Anglo-Irish hostilities was signed has not radically altered the abnormalities of the Irish situation. The greater part of Ireland is an independent state, even if the more partial would describe it as a neo-colonialist dependency. England still has a foothold on Irish soil, with a majority anxious to maintain the status quo in that area. Is the continuing Irish violence due to an inherent Irish unreasonableness? Not necessarily. The violence of authority triggered off the violence of revolt in the present sequence of unrest. But to continue with the "British" analogy, it would strain credence to visualise the hypothetical case of the English people acquiescing in a majority vote of the people of East Anglia to join with Denmark. In much the same way the right of the Six-County majority to opt out of the Irish nation is here repudiated.

Scottish or Welsh soldiers, stationed in Ireland, are in no way serving the interests of Scotland or Wales. On the contrary, being utilised in the service of English power politics, they are actively undermining the interests of their own countries which are also victims of those policies. Being volunteers and not conscripts they cannot plead that they are unwilling victims of circumstances, except in so far as lack of employment opportunities at home has a close relationship with recruiting. So it can be contended that they are mercenary soldiers with no more right to be in Ireland than the French Foreign Legion had in what was French Indo-China or Algeria.

As in the case of the Orangemen, action against Scottish or Welsh units is counter-productive. A more practical approach would be that these soldiers should be the targets for missiles no more lethal than political leaflets. Doubtless, there are legal provisions against suborning the troops of Her Britannic Majesty. Even so, the application of such measures would merely have the effect of spotlighting what they are designed to suppress. The leaflets should bring home that, like Ireland, Scotland and Wales are the first as well as the last bastions of England's Empire. All three bastions can be guaranteed to crumble when it ceases to be possible to hold them with a minimum of English lives.

Objections to violence by convinced pacifists have a logical validity; but most condemnations of the use of force by Irish republicans have been made by people who use in no way adverse to its use in other circumstances. The moral basis for such condemnations would seem to be the contention that English policy is per se moral.

Is Mise, Edward C Shields.

Casements Brigade 1916



THEY ARE AWAITING "THE DAY"

Non-Commissioned Officers of 'The Irish Brigade' in Germany who discarded the red and donned the Green.

1971

Francis Sheehy Skeffington

From "Naomh Eanna", 19 Kildowan Rd., Goodmayes, Ilford, Essex.

A Cara, I am writing a biography of Sir Francis Fletcher Vane (1861-1934) and considered the possibility of some of your older readers having reminiscences or records relating to him.

Sir Francis is of course best remembered for his courageous exposure of the murder of Francis Sheehy Skeffington which resulted in his virtual dismissal from the British Army and the attempt at a vicious campaign which aimed to represent Vane as an incompetent officer and a person of unsound moral character.

Vane's subsequent efforts to present an unprejudiced view of events in Ireland at Easter 1916 to the English people, many of whom were genuinely bewildered at the time, have so far escaped attention. Between February and March 1917, Sir Francis returned to Ireland with the intention of gathering material for a book he planned to write on the insurrection. In the course of

his three week visit, he called upon the relatives of a number of the leaders among whom was Mrs Pearse who is thought to have given him certain documents, the property of Padraig Pearse.

Although this book reached proof stage, its publication was obstructed by the British Censor's Office (a further foolishly vindictive attempt at humiliating its author). At about the same time, action was taken to prevent him leaving for America where he intended to join Mrs Hannah Sheehy Skeffington on a lecture tour.

Because Sir Francis Vane followed the dictates of his heart instead of the conventions of his class, he was misrepresented by his enemies as a charlatan and a person of unsavoury morals. Ireland owes this brave and chivalrous aristocrat a debt which can be repaid by giving him the position in her history he deserves.

Is Mise, Edward C Shields.

Private Desmond Pearson, the British Army soldier who has deserted because he was "sickened" at the way internees were being treated in the North.

-Hamish Campbell

