

# An Phoblacht

Iml.4 Uimh.31 5p 14MEÁN FÓMHAIR 1973.



## S.D.L.P. SURRENDER ON R.U.C. ISSUE?

WILL the Social, Democratic and Labour Party wobble on the police issue? Will the party be persuaded to go back on its leaders' words and agree to accepting the Royal Ulster Constabulary, warts and all, instead of an entirely new force acceptable to the various Northern communities?

This is one of the greatest political talking points today, not only in the North but throughout Ireland. For, if the police obstacle can be overcome by a S.D.L.P. surrender, Brian Faulkner can be forced by Whitelaw to toe the line and Gerry Fitt will have to be taken in as vice-premier (or its Assembly equivalent). And some sort of an executive can be formed and be given the appearance, to far away places, at any rate, of working.

Whitelaw is not the only one leaning on the S.D.L.P. leaders. Cosgrave is adding his weight. So is Corish. And H.M.'s loyal opposition in Leinster House is in full agreement. For, as soon as Fitt and his colleagues renege — as we have no doubt they will, making all sorts of regretful noises and plausible excuses, of course — the Dublin politicians can play their allotted roles in the Heath charade, backed by the captive press, radio and television.

It will be hurrah for unity, **whoop it up for unity**; and, if they can get away with it, Fitt and his boys will have sold the nationally minded people of the North into slavery for another 50 years and put back the liberation of the people of the rest of the country for the same period.

For special Powers and Offences Against the State Act, imprisonment, detention, diplocking, internment, torture, intimidation, murder, mutilation, blackmail and exploitation on an even greater scale will be the order of the day ... every day.

### Take to streets again

The big word is "if." For Fitt and his boys need not be allowed to get away with it. Street politics, regardless of S.D.L.P. wishes and pleas, can still force the issue and keep the people moving forward. Massive street demonstrations, as greeted the second anniversary of internment, can show all Ireland that the nationally minded people do not want the R.U.C. retained under any circumstances and that they repudiate the S.D.L.P. for bowing to Whitelaw.

The police issue is one that everyone understands in the Six Counties though not, perhaps, in the 26 Counties. The police were used by the local, Orange majority, to hound and harass, intimidate, persecute, wound, imprison and murder the political enemies of the regime as police are used in any police state in the world today.

The Unionists retired, after 1920, with an area they thought they could hold against the Irish will, backed as they were, economically and militarily, by Britain. But to achieve their purpose, they thought, they needed a fascist regime, biased courts, a sectarian police force — sectarian not always in the religious sense but inevitably in the political sense, for

### By DARA Mac DARA

Protestant Republicans could not hope to escape because of their faith. Rather they were treated even more harshly, as "lundes".

Today, Orange bigots realise that, without a sectarian, para-military, police force their biased courts system cannot work as planned and the entire structure is in danger. Hence the attitude of Craig and Paisley and even the angry noises of the slippery and adaptable Mr. Faulkner.

The R.U.C. is regarded as an indispensable area which cannot be surrendered. Whitelaw has been manoeuvred into allaying their fears — a temporary tactic, perhaps — by promising no radical changes in the R.U.C.

But if Whitelaw's plans are to mature something must give. As the S.D.L.P. is needed by Whitelaw, one assumes that the S.D.L.P. will have second thoughts on the police, or agree on a postponement of the issue until "after violence has been put down," or some such face saver. But can the North fail to see through such deceit and treachery?

### Tide on the turn

The North began: lead on, the North. And be strengthened in your resolve by the knowledge that, slowly, the tide is turning. Slowly, all reasonable people are being shown the depth of the infamy and deceit by the Wyman-Crinnion-Littlejohn-Fleming-Donovan affairs and by the antics of the politicians who would sell out everything sacred to Ireland and her people for a mess of Brussels potage.

Reasonable people are beginning to see, now, who are the real men of violence; what a savage crowd of lawless men the British soldiers and their police torture aides are; and even to note the clumsy timing of the "ceasefire", announced by that bloodthirsty front for the British army, the "Ulster Freedom Fighters," later cancelled because it was so obvious? Assassinations may be expected to be turned off so as to give the Heath visit to Dublin a better chance. The Brits will try to behave themselves in Belfast and Derry: the order will be for a "low profile." There is to be a whiff of peace, the bully standing by, in the shadows, ready to have another bash if his victims don't play this charade exactly as he wants it.

The bully forgets that the Irish are not a stupid people. They are peace-loving, law-abiding, pleasure-seeking, a bit lazy, very conservative, slow to change, slow, even to see through the evil, the sham, the greed and the lust of the imperialist monster. But the change is coming and let all traitors beware of the wrath of the risen people for they have had enough of treason in high places, of the cynicism of those to whom they entrusted so much, of the mis-management of everything from foreign affairs to the domestic economy.

### HEATH COMING FOR ALL-IRELAND COUNCIL TALKS

Venue for one-day visit to Republic being kept a secret

By Michael McInerney, Our Political Correspondent

### As we were saying...

#### Phoblacht

### FITZGERALD: ALL FORGIVEN, BRITAIN

Littlejohn swept under the carpet

An Phoblacht 24/8/73

### No surrender

In the North, the way to victory is for the people to retain their power, not to hand it over to the politicians, and to show their power by massive demonstrations. Not an inch on the police issue. Not an inch on the internment issue. Not an inch in civil disobedience. And full support for the freedom fighters and their dependents.

In the South, the way to victory is for the people to regain their power, to snatch it out of the hands of the politicians by massive demonstrations. An orderly, roused people can sweep past Cosgrave, Corish and Lynch to the Republic.

The day before the Dublin visit of the butcher of Derry's 13, Edward Heath, Sinn Fein is asking people from all over Ireland to converge on Dublin and to take their places in the greatest demonstration the capital has ever seen to show that the Irish people wants an end to surrender. Amach le Heath. Amach le Mac Cosgair. Amach le Mac Fheorais. Agus ar aghaidh go dtí an Phoblacht Soisialach Daonlathach.

Turn the Heath off by coming by the thousand to Baile Atha Cliath on Sunday night next and proving that the tide has turned against double-dealing, treachery and oppression, for Ireland's honour must be cleansed again by the majority of honest men and women.

## ANSWER THE BUTCHER OF DERRY'S 13

Assemble at Dublin's G.P.O. Sunday next at 8p.m.

# An Phoblacht

Imleabhair 4 14 M. Fomhair 1973. Uimhir 31  
44 Ceornóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Eire, Guthán: 47611

## Sunday's agreement

THE ANNOUNCEMENT on Sunday that agreement had been reached between leaders of the Provisionals and Officials on means of arbitration to prevent open conflict in the streets of Belfast will be welcomed by all except the enemies of the people.

The statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau is as follows: "A meeting took place today between leaders of the Officials and Provisionals. It was agreed that policy differences between the organisations have been exploited by the British, culminating in the murder by the British army of Patrick McEvenna and the serious wounding of Jim Bryson and 'Bimbo' O'Rawe. The Provisionals accept that no one else was involved in the shooting.

"It was agreed to establish machinery designed to prevent friction and hostilities between the two organisations from today, Sunday, September 9, 1973".

A great deal of goodwill, courage and patience will be required to make the agreement work. Previous attempts to eliminate friction have not been very successful; this one must succeed. Nobody but the British will gain from an armed conflict between the two organisations.

Military victory is within the grasp of Ogligh na hEireann and the Republican Movement must be prepared for the playing by the British of the Aden tactic, the objective being to start a civil war.

Repeatedly, the Provisionals have stated and demonstrated clearly that they seek no conflict with fellow countrymen, be they U.V.F., U.D.A. or Officials. Defeating the Crown Forces is the top priority and the Army must not be deflected from securing that end.

That there are clear-cut, policy differences between Provisionals and Officials is obvious. The five major points of disagreement, identified in December, 1969, are as valid now as then. The Provisionals' refusal to give any recognition to London and Dublin government institutions remains unaltered. It is difficult to see what the Officials have gained politically by giving such

recognition. Their performance in recent elections was anything but impressive.

All reasonable people must admit that the Provisionals' policy of using military force to defend the people has been justified by events. The bombing campaign, as well as hitting hard at the weakening British economy and making a farce of British high security zones, as very recently in both Derry and Belfast, ensures the stretching to the maximum of the British war machine. This leaves fewer troops to harass the civilian population, be it Republican or "Loyalist".

But there is more to it than that. The Officials believed a military victory impossible. The Provisionals are proving that a military victory is inevitable: only a civil war could prevent it. To speed that victory political pressure must be continued, at home and abroad; the battle for truth, at home and abroad, must be won; and funds must continue to be collected for the detainees, the prisoners and their dependants.

On the political front, the wisdom of the Provisionals' policy may be seen, also. The Officials wanted Stormont retained, reformed, on a broader base. The Provisionals wanted Stormont destroyed so that the people might see the issue more clearly against direct rule from Westminster or some new puppet administration. The Of-

ficials have failed to gain seats on the new Stormont but the contradictions in the policy, strategy and tactics of the Social, Democratic and Labour Party are such that that party is in the process of destroying itself. It is that party that little can be achieved by establishment politics until such time as the main issue had been decided: the ownership of Ireland and the freedom of its people.

Work on a socio-economic policy for the new Ireland - Eire Nua - has been done and a considerable corpus of material published. The Officials have confined themselves to slogans and clichés which are no substitute for policy. Indeed, the Officials appear to back the concept of the centralist state which is failing the people all over the world at the present time. The Provisionals believe that power should be decentralised as much as possible and that the future lies with community government and co-operativism.

As we have said, the differences between Provisionals and Officials are many but there is no reason for these differences to degenerate into the civil war that would suit neither side, only the British. The main difference between Provisionals and Officials is that one has the will to win, the essential to success, and that the other believes that victory is impossible and that, therefore, all that can be hoped for is reform. On paper, reform may appear attractive to many. But the Irish experience shows that every time there has been a mass movement for reform the people have been pushed back and a terrible price in suffering has had to be paid. The only sensible objective today is to get the Brits out and provide the conditions for a new Ireland on the basis of socialism, republicanism and democracy but essentially on the basis of a freedom not known in this island for 1,000 years. Only the Provisionals, and the Republican Movement in general, have the confidence and the ability to achieve British withdrawal and provide a structure to maintain law and order when they do finally get out.

SPEAKING on "Violence and the teaching of the Christian Church" at the Dungarvan Social Studies Conference, Rev. Gabriel Daly suggested a reason why people don't seem to heed what Irish Catholic churchmen say about violence.

He thought it was partly due to the separation in our culture of "politics" and "religion". But I think there is a much more simple reason, namely, that when present-day Irish Catholic churchmen talk about violence, they frequently talk unintelligibly, or offend their hearers' moral sense - or do both.

Father Daly himself is a case in point. He was reported on the radio as saying that "the use of violence in Ireland cannot be justified by recourse to any Christian standards", thus implying that the use of violence elsewhere can be so justified.

Press reports tell us that Father Daly actually said straight out that violence can, in certain circumstances, be justified and referred to "the Christian morality of violence".

Now, with respect to Father Daly, I believe this is literally nonsense. Violence is "excessive, uncontrolled or illegitimate use of force". At least, that is what the word means for most literate people. Consequently, it can never, anywhere or in any circumstances, be justified. There is no more a Christian morality of violence than there is a Christian morality of murder. Violence is immoral by definition.

But wait! In another part of his lecture Father Daly seems to agree. He says: "No reasonably well-informed person can claim not to know the mind of Church leaders in this country on violence..."

The clear implication is that they regard it as evil and that Father Daly supports them in this view. Yet he teaches that violence is not, in itself, evil; that it can be virtuous and good.

In another passage, Father Daly produces a definition of violence. It is not the usual one; it is a very personal one, but it matters. He says the "primary meaning" of violence is "the exercise of physical force so as to inflict injury on, or damage to, persons or property".

In other words, when a Garda hits a rioter on the shoulder, so as to inflict injury, or a Garda is engaging in "violence". Father Daly says this is the Church's teaching.

All in all, does Father Daly think that his lecture amounted to "teaching" which an ordinary intelligent man can heed - or even understand?

Small wonder that "The Irish Times", trying to summarise his message in a headline, wrote: "Force ruled out by theologian". In other words, Father Daly says:

## a chara

"Force (in Ireland) is wrong!" I think it is time that official Catholic spokesmen in Ireland would up what they are doing. Do they want only fools to follow them, people who don't care a damn about the reality, or meaning of what they hear as long as it makes them feel good, reassured, comforted, unchallenged to think...

I didn't go to the Dungarvan conference because, like Caran O Nuallain in "Inniu" I was repelled by the near-silliness of its advance literature. Sample: "Can Christians practise charity and justice without the use of violence?" But I hoped that one at least among the invited lecturers would tell those assembled Catholics that intelligible speech and coherent thought are intrinsic parts of the Christian witness.

—Desmond Fennell, Maoinis, Carna, Iarchoinnait.

\* We asked Caran O Nuallain for permission to republish his "Inniu" article on violence. We regret that permission was refused. We invite further comment on the subject of Mr. Fennell's letter. What a pity Martin is no longer alive - Acting Editor.

**Press freedom**  
OUR editor, E. Mac T., has been arrested and charged under the Offences Against the State Act, and has been jailed. When last was the editor of the "Irish Times" or "Irish Press" or "Irish Independent" arrested? Or even of "Hibernia" or the "Furled Irishman" (admittedly, S. O Tuathail was held in the North).

What do the usurpers of the public have to say about the eight weekly pages of our humble journal? The answer sticks out like a sore thumb: the authentic voice of Republicanism.

For in this paper only does the inherited tradition of that voice, uninhibited by foreign obligations, ring out clearly and unambiguously.

It is a voice that successive powers-that-be have tried to suppress, but, like the eye of Cain

(who slaughtered his brother), it will outlive in their minds. Whether or not it is allowed to be heard in our land or elsewhere, it proclaims itself in the soul of every Irishman.

Woe to the sanity of him who suffers to ignore it! The editor is in chains; long live the editor!

Postscript: Sean Egan, R.T.E., 8.10, July 19, (intimidated, perhaps, by Section 31) makes no mention of our editor's arrest. He speaks only of T.D.'s salaries and of the next person to head the R.U.C. Perhaps this answers the question posed in our second paragraph.

—Stanley Wynne, Tallagh, Baile Atha Cliath.

### T.C.R.A. statement

THE STATEMENT by the Tyrone Civil Rights Association, published recently, plumbed the depth in vilification, lies, calumny and blatant British propaganda.

The statement is a deliberate attempt to character-assassinate the leadership of the Republican Movement and cast aspersions on the intellect, bravery and vision of the volunteers.

The suggestion regarding the recent revelation by the Littlejohns is sickening. The British gutter press didn't make such an outrageous charge; but Willie Whitelaw, in all probability, will cast a very friendly eye on his new-found friends in the Tyrone Association.

—Cathal Mag Leid, 60 Mourne Road, Dringmogh, Baile Atha Cliath.

### Bloody Sunday

THE coroner for Derry, Major Hubert O'Neill's conclusions on the mass murders in Derry on Jan 30, 1972, must justify the calls from the minority in Derry that the British Army's First Battalion of Paratroopers deliberately committed cold-blooded murder on our streets on that sad day.

The Derry Coroner's ignoring of the Widgery Whitehead shows how much relevance that watershed version had to the truth.

Mr. O'Neill's conclusions again bring to the eyes of the world

that those who constructed and committed these atrocities are still at large; but, although the inquests are over, every night-thinking person's efforts must never cease until the time comes for those who carried out these evil actions to be brought to justice.

The speaking out of Mr. O'Neill has horrified certain factions who are now calling for his resignation because they expected that he would follow suite with those who wished to have the case hushed up and whitewashed.

Mr. O'Neill's ignoring of the Widgery whitewash shows that he knew, as we did, that the main reasons for its sifting were partly to clear the British army's name and dampen the hysteria resulting from this callous act.

The non-participation of those responsible for the 13 murders, the First Battalion, Parachute Regiment, shows how real was and is their fear of being indicted.

Therefore, we must reiterate our ceaseless, repetitive demand for an impartial inquiry under an impartial tribunal to look into the happenings of Bloody Sunday and, for once and all, bring out into the light only undiluted, truthful findings.

The only true finding which could result is that the First Battalion of the Parachute Regiment, and all those others who were responsible, committed "sheer, undiluted murder".

—Public Relations Officer, Comhairle Cheannair, Sinn Féin, Doire Cholmáice.

We would be thankful if you would print this in next week's issue.

We wish to express our deepest sympathy to the wife, family and parents of Vol. Seamus Harvey, and to the parents of Vol. Gerry McGlynn, who were killed recently to active service in Co. Tyrone.

Seamus and Gerry, we salute you. —Mrs. Teresa O'Connor, Secretary, Liam Dignam Cumann, Clara, Offaly.

### Irish in Britain

SINN FEIN in Britain unreservedly condemns the

continuing harassment of the Irish community, members of Irish political parties and Civil Rights organisations, by the so-called forces of law and order, i.e., the Special Branch, and the hysterical smear campaign being waged at the present by the press and T.V. the allegations of which are at worst speculative and, at worst malicious.

Certain M.P.'s showed blatant examples of xenophobia and displayed their complete ignorance of their Irish constituents and the organisations to which they belong, by their completely ill-informed statements and unrealistic comments.

Sinn Féin at present is compiling a dossier on harassment and irregularities in police behaviour over the past few weeks, in association with the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Association for Legal Justice, the Irish Civil Rights Association, the Campaign for Social Justice, and various English groups which all have offered their assistance unreservedly.

The Irish Civil Rights Association has engaged a noted member of the legal profession from Dublin to investigate the above complaints. He will present his findings at a press conference in London later this week, to be held by the I.C.R.A.

Birmingham Comhairle Cheannair, the elected executive of Sinn Féin in Birmingham, refuses statements appearing in newspapers recently purporting to emanate from Sinn Féin.

All statements to the press and T.V. come in writing from our P.R.O., Mr. Purdy, or other persons whom we have authority to make statements on behalf of Sinn Féin in Birmingham.

We are convinced that statements made by self-appointed leaders during the past week are unrepresentative of the Irish community in Britain. We invite everyone concerned about recent harassment, and the welfare of Irish political prisoners, to join with us in a mass demonstration to be held in Birmingham on October 7 and 8.

E. Purdy, P.R.O., Sinn Féin, Birmingham.

# VIOLENCE: a word which too many do not understand?

"Unless we have faith in the persistence of our self, our feeling of identity is threatened and we become dependent on other people whose approval then becomes the basis for our feeling of identity" - Erich Fromm, "The Art of Loving".

Dr. Simms attacked

A PRIEST has criticised the Church of Ireland Prime, Dr. G. O. Simms, for saying that now is not the right time for the World Council of Churches to send an international team of members of various denominations to observe the situation in Northern Ireland. Speaking at Mass in the Church of the Virgin Mary, Ballymun, Dublin, Rev. Padraig Mac Cathmhaoil, said that with others he had attempted to have an international peace team sent to the North so that they could "see for themselves what was happening in Girdwood Barracks, Holywood Barracks and Crumlin Road Jail".

He said that, in his view, Dr. Simms was "trying to cover up the facts of the situation as recounted in Government with consensus" by Richard Rose and also a real meaning of the British Army presence on Irish streets, which is clear to anyone who has read "Low Intensity Operations" by Brigadier Frank Kitson, the British terror expert."

Ban on jail research

Prison guards at Crumlin Road jail detained a visiting American researcher for more than four hours, searching her and taking away notes and case papers before releasing her.

Dr. Rhona Field, Clark University, Massachusetts, was investigating the effects of sensory deprivation and psychological ill-treatment of prisoners in the North.

# BRITISH ARREST BOY (3)

A three-year-old child, who threw stones at a British vehicle in Derry, was "lifted" in an incident described by Bogside Community Association organiser, Paddy Doherty, as "a declaration of war by the British Army on the children of the City". The incident occurred when the child threw a few stones at a passing British jeep. The vehicle immediately screeched to a halt. An officer jumped out and seized the boy.

Miss Geraldine Dobbins, who lives across the street from the Harkins (the child's parents), shouted to the soldiers to leave the child alone. One of them said they "were lifting the child" but the officer shouted that if he caught the child throwing stones again, he would have him "taken away for good". As the jeep moved off, one of the soldiers fired a rubber bullet at Miss Dobbins, hitting her in the leg. She is away from work, as a result.

Mr. Doherty said that the frightening implications of the legislation arising from the Diplock Report had been amply demonstrated by the



## FUND DRIVE FOR TAYLOR

ULSTER Defence Association leader Tommy Herron made an appearance on a platform at Limavady during a rally to raise funds for the defence of extradited UDA man Robert Taylor.

Taylor, from Derry is being held in the 26 Counties on charges of murdering a Co. Donegal couple whose bodies were found near Bridge End on New Year's Day.

Taylor was arrested in the North and handed over to the Garda in the South.

Mr. Gordon Hegarty, Derry DUP organiser, and Mr. Glen Barr, Assembly member and a leading figure in the Taylor appeal fund campaign, were on the platform with Mr. Herron.

Before and after a rally in Catherine Street more than 30 young men, wearing hoods and battle dress, marched through the streets of Limavady.

There was no interference from military or R.U.C.

OBSCENE mutilations of victims is one of the more horrible characteristics of the "sectarian" killings, most of which have been sparked, primed, facilitated or actually carried out by units of the Crown Forces.

Savagery on a much lower scale, but one which shocks, is the cutting into people's flesh of the initials UVF, as in the case of these young Belfast girls. Only very sick people act in this manner.



recent arrest and detention of two 14-year-old juveniles in Derry.

"They were arrested by the British Army and detained in police headquarters overnight, before being taken before a special tribunal and subsequently remanded in custody, charged with throwing stones at soldiers", he stated.

### Diabolical law

"It would appear that the legislation introduced out of the Diplock Report has stripped the judiciary of discretionary powers, even when faced with children who should be remanded in the custody of their parents", he added.

"The law now being implemented is the most diabolical since the 19th Century Coercian Acts".

"The fact that these young children are now being held in custody without any proven charge is a sad reflection on police, politicians, judges, the British Army and, in the final analysis, the whole community, whose silence in the face of the introduction of this coercive legislation has been deafening".

The two young people referred to by Mr. Doherty — a boy and a girl — were brought before the special court and remanded in custody for a week.

MEMBERS of Ogligh na hEireann pay tribute to fallen comrades on the way to the Belfast cemetery. The firing party got away safely thanks to the solidarity of the people with the Movement.

## Father kept from funeral

THE Last Post was sounded and a volley of shots fired at the graveside during the funerals of Anne Marie Petticrew and Staff Captain Patrick Mulvenna, at Miltown Cemetery, Belfast.

More than 2,000 people attended. The oration was given by Mrs. Maire Drumm, vice-president of Sinn Féin.

Anne Marie Petticrew (19) died following an explosion in the Stranmillis area of Belfast the previous week, and Patrick Mulvenna (29) was killed in a shooting incident at the Bull Ring, Ballymurphy. His father, Patrick Joseph Mulvenna, awaiting trial on arms charges, was refused bail to attend the funeral.

The Tricolour-draped coffins were carried to Corpus Christi Church in Ballymurphy, for joint Requiem Mass.

In route to the cemetery the cortege was ordered to halt and a firing party in uniform took up positions alongside the hearse and fired three volleys. Then they disappeared into the crowd.

Neighbours comforted the pregnant wife of Patrick Mulvenna, as she walked behind her husband's coffin.

A call for the people of Ireland to "pick up their guns and carry on the struggle was made by Mrs. Drumm at the graveside.

When young people had to lay down their lives for Ireland it emphasized just how important the struggle was. "But never has there been such brave girls as those of Belfast in 1973", she said.

# You're not speaking for Long Kesh, rally told

WHEN Mid-Ulster MP Mrs Bernadette McAliskey and another woman finished addressing an anti-internment rally they were told they did not speak for the detainees in Long Kesh.

The announcement came from a man representing the Political Hostages Release Committee. He read a statement from detainees at an "Official" Republican protest at Irish Street Corner in Armagh.

The statement was from Armagh political prisoners, who said they wished to make it clear

that people speaking at the protest in no way represented them.

"In August these people accused us of keeping internment and repression continuing in Ireland, but now they want to use us as a vehicle for their reformist policies", accused the prisoners.

The prisoners added that they wished to make it crystal clear that the "Official" Republicans and NICRA did not speak for them, for they rejected and abhorred the reformist policies of these organisations.

"We have given our support to the PHRC", said the prisoners adding that "Official"

Republicans and NICRA, by withdrawing support from the committee, had withdrawn support from them.

"It is your privilege to hold meetings if you wish, but we deny the NLF and their fellow travellers the usage of our names to further their own personal aims".

Mrs. McAliskey warned that anti-internment protestors would stay on the streets in the North until the last man and woman prisoner had been released.

She recalled that there were now more than 500 men and 11 women interned.

IN Newcastle court, Co. Down, it was admitted by the R.U.C. that a member of the Special on duty disguised as a priest.

The admission was made when three youths were charged with disorderly or riotous behaviour in the town on March 31st.

Constable McAleer, giving evidence of arrest, agreed, under cross-examination by the defence, that the youths had been forced to stand facing a window with their legs apart and their hands up.

He denied, however, that they were either kicked or struck. Admitting that one of the youths had retched outside the cell in the police station, he added that this was not the result of a severe stomach beating.

During the hearing the defence solicitor, Mr. Malcolm, claimed that his clients had been beaten up by the R.U.C. and had been taken to the police station where they had been allowed to speak to a person in clerical garb who told them they were about to be shot and invited them to pray and make their peace with God.

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# R.U.C. PATROL MAN GLAD AS PRIEST

*the robes were off and, in scarlet, there sat a Yeoman captain with fiery glare.*

*"'Twas a good thought, boy, to come here and shrive. For one short hour is your time to live."*

*At Geneva Barracks that young man died. And at Passage they have his body laid.*

*Good people, who live in peace and joy, Breathe a prayer, shed a tear for the Croppy Boy."*

How little times have changed after all.

— G. Ó D.

## Escaped in pyjamas

BRITISH troops and police are still seeking a 23-year-old detainee who escaped from the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, dressed in his pyjamas and slippers. Police named the wanted man as William McAllister, from new Barnsley Parade.

It is understood that he was transferred from Long Kesh to the hospital for some minor treatment. He was on his way to have a bath when he broke away from his guards and pounded down the corridors towards the exit.

"It happened so quickly no one had time to react", a doctor said.

## Croppy Boy

The details of the case could well have been taken from the '98 ballad, "The Croppy Boy".

This tells of a young rebel who wanted to confess his sins before taking part in a fight to free his native land.

*I bear hate against no living thing but I love my country above the king. Now, father, bless me, so I may go. To die, if God has ordained it so.*

*The priest said naught but a rustling noise made the youth look up in wild surprise.*

## Messenger boy role of R.U.C.

The new Blue Card, issued to the British in the North, degrades the R.U.C. to the role of message boy, according to Rev. William McCrea, chairman of the United Loyalist Front.

Mr. McCrea, who is a Free Presbyterian Church Minister, said in a statement: "We reject the drafting into our local stations of military police. This force from England is to play a major role in the future security of our province to the detriment of the R.U.C."

UNDER MY EYE

# Ecumenical silence

THESE two very highly placed ecclesiastics in Ireland. Each claims to be the true successor of St. Patrick. I refer to Cardinal William Conway, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, and Most Rev. Dr. George Otto Simms, Church of Ireland Archbishop of the same Apostolic See.

Both of them come under my eye this week because of certain happenings in their area which have a bearing on the present war of liberation being waged by Republican forces against the British army of occupation in Ireland.

The first item of news is that at the World Council of Churches, to which Dr. Simms is one of the Irish delegates, and which is at present meeting in Geneva, a suggestion was put forward that the Council send a fact-finding mission into occupied Ireland, to probe the reasons why Christians of different denominations should be "killing each other indiscriminately".

The Council was anxious to gather first-hand information on the situation in the Six Counties area. To their great surprise, the Irish delegation, led by Dr. Simms (who, incidentally supported interment) objected to the immediate dispatch of such a delegation and suggested that it should be postponed until after the Ecumenical Meeting in October, when the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland will meet in conference with the representatives of the three main Protestant groupings in the country, — the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and the Methodist Church in Ireland.

## Bomb outside church

Naturally, the Council was inclined to take the advice of the Irish delegates but the situation has changed somewhat in the last few days. What changed it? The change came about after the news filtered through that 600 lb. of explosives had been placed outside a Catholic church during Mass, with the obvious intent of blowing half the congregation to smithereens as they emerged.

Fortunately, Mass was delayed that morning because of a special collection. The bomb went off too early and nobody was killed. But the World Council now is very uneasy in case a full-scale sectarian massacre is in the offing. I don't blame them; but their fears, in my opinion are unfounded.

I am convinced that no Orange or Protestant group of Ulstermen was responsible for the placing of that bomb. The most extreme Orange leader in the North, the Rev. Ian Paisley, already had condemned the bombing of two Catholic churches the previous week.

Let's face it frankly. The S.A.S. are up to their dirty tricks again. Sectarian warfare in the North suits Britain and those who place the bomb outside Liberty Hall and in Marlborough Street, Dublin, killing three Dublin busmen, are not above bombing places of worship if it suits British interests. The Kitson theory is being followed out to its logical conclusion.

## Dossier now ready

The second news item of importance is that Father Des. Wilson, the Belfast priest who has charged the British army with using its chaplains as intelligence agents, now has completed his dossier on this matter, and has by-passed his own diocesan authorities and sent the dossier straight to Cardinal Conway.

As we all know, the Cardinal has been very vocal in his condemnation of what is called "I.R.A. or Republican violence"; but he has been strangely silent for most of the time whilst the British army ran riot, murdering, pillaging, torturing and harassing the entire Catholic population in the hope of goading them into sectarian warfare against their Protestant fellow countrymen.

A certain Dublin newspaper columnist, "Backbencher" of "The Irish Times", in his usual smart-alec way, continually refers to Cardinal Conway as "Big Bill".

I wonder if "Big Bill" will make any forceful statement on Father Wilson's dossier, or will he make any statements on the fact that a 15-year-old niece of Joe Cahill was arrested on the Falls Road and kept for hours in a place of detention with no women present, being put through the usual torturous examination by the R.U.C. Special Branch.

It seems to me that, as far as Dr. Simms and Cardinal Conway are concerned, there is absolute ecumenical silence upon British terrorism in the North.

Certainly, Dr. Simms, by his delaying tactics, is attempting to prevent European Protestation from finding out the truth of what is happening in the Six Counties area. This is a strange role, the role of the strong, silent men, for the two Archbishops who claim to be successors of St. Patrick, to be playing at this particular time in our history.

## MacRory's example

I would refer Cardinal Conway to the actions of one of his illustrious predecessors, the late Cardinal MacRory, who, during the difficult years of World War II, was man enough to stand up against the British Government terror, and to demand fair treatment for the I.R.A. men interned in Crumlin Road jail and on the prison ship, Orlada in Belfast Lough.

Cardinal MacRory was also a frequent visitor to the Republican women's prison in Armagh jail, and it was he who challenged the De Valera Government after the Tyrone man, Sean McCaughey, had been sentenced to death.

As a result of that challenge, De Valera did reprieve McCaughey, who afterwards died on a hunger and thirst strike in Portlaoise Prison, where he had been in solitary confinement for five years.

Cardinal Conway certainly could take an example from the late Cardinal MacRory, who was a great churchman, but who never forgot that he was also an Irishman. Cardinal MacRory did not believe in the dictum that "silence is golden" as far as his country's cause was concerned.

**CORMAC MAC AIRT**

# PADRE-PRELATE SILENCE BY P.A. COOPER

## British intelligence blunders again

THE BRITS tried to use a Roman Catholic Archbishop to bludgeon a Belfast curate and counteract the "unadulterated murder" comment of the Derry Coroner regarding Bloody Sunday — and once again made a

### Nuremberg Trials

They did more: they angered many of the journalists called to listen to and question Archbishop G.W. Tickle, the B.A.'s top padre, who was fair enough when reading his carefully prepared statement but fumbled badly under pressure of questions on conscience, just war, morality and ethics.

The story of what happened must do considerable damage all around the world but more particularly among the masses of the Irish people through only one paper, "The Irish Press", gave a full account of the British blunder.

So bad was the fumbling that the show's producer, Col. Warren Sillitoe, had to reprimand journalists for asking such questions, then, having failed at that, had to ring down the curtains.

### Bloody Sunday

The show opened in British Headquarters in Lisburn and the Padre-Archbishop said the Derry's Coroner's remarks on Bloody Sunday were "out of order".

He added that the killings were "not murder" and that those killed had carried weapons.

He denied charges made recently by Rev. Desmond Wilson of Ballymurphy that B.A. chaplains had abused the secrecy of the confessional by passing on information to British intelligence.

### Just war

Asked if O'Leigh na hÉireann could be said to be fighting "a just war" by the standards of the Catholic Church, Bishop Tickle replied that the normal definition of a just war insisted that there should be no other way to settle the situation.

"Many people feel that a political settlement is the only thing that can work here. If there was no possibility of discussion they could argue that it was a just war, but I think that, in the present circumstances, it would be impossible to prove that their action constituted a just war which they may feel this".

But Sinn Féin is banned in the North.

"Sometimes, in the pursuit of justice, extreme measures have to be taken, but if soldiers have killed, it has been in their own self-defence or in the defence of the civilian population, or in the belief that in no other way could terrorists be prevented from doing their evil work", he added.

All went well until somebody mentioned conscience.

Asked whether a soldier serving in the North should examine his own conscience before firing if an officer ordered him to shoot someone, the bishop said: "If every soldier questioned himself before carrying out an order where would we be?"

When it was put to him that the defence of acting under orders had not been accepted at the Nuremberg Trials, he said that he did not know anything about that.

Colonel Sillitoe then told the questioning reporter to stop asking such questions. He claimed they were only wasting time.

When reporters continued to press the bishop on the moral dilemma facing British soldiers, Colonel Sillitoe said abruptly that the press conference was at an end. The prelate had to leave to catch a plane.

Asked about Father Wilson's allegations, Bishop Tickle said: "I didn't take these allegations very seriously. They did not get much publicity in England except in the Catholic Papers."

### In confessional

But, he urged, that under no circumstances would any chaplain divulge anything told to him in the Confessional.

He denied that his visit to the North was planned to counteract Father Wilson's allegations.

He said that among the troops he talked to, he did not find any against the Catholic community,

although he said that, back in England, among Catholics, there was a feeling that there was more activity against the Catholic element than against the Protestant element.

"I don't think the image of the Catholic Church among Catholic soldiers is improved by their being over here. I think some of them are a bit disillusioned", he said.

### Heated note

Reporters had asked if the bishop would be willing to answer any questions on the North and were assured that Bishop Tickle had been there for nine days and would be willing to discuss all aspects of the Northern situation.

The conference ended on a heated note with the bishop saying he was willing to answer any questions but being hustled away by the top British army press officer in the north.

Journalists were furious about the military's interference with the discussion. Over the previous week, British press officers had asked reporters in Belfast many times if they would be attending the press conference.

Obviously they anticipated a major coup for British propaganda among the "priest-ridden Irish".

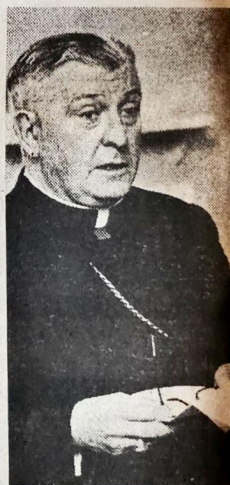
### Our Military Correspondent comments:

"It is difficult to understand the gross stage mismanagement of the British."

If they had been in doubt about the padre's efficiency, and if they had been unable to get him to rehearse his role properly under stiff questioning, it is surprising that they did not get one of their better trained men into clerical garb to play it out in a more professional way, as in the "Croppie Boy tradition" (see also page three).

"There is only one explanation: they must be losing their grip".

Archbishop General William Tickle, Roman Catholic Bishop in Ordinary to the British Army, chatting to soldiers in Belfast.



# Father Wilson's courage

THE Ballymurphy priest who spoke out against British crimes against his people and exposed the Catholic chaplains in the British Army for what they are — spies and touts playing on the confidence of a trusting minority held in a grip of steel and terror by the same army — is now being challenged and castigated not by Whitelaw or the British Army but by one of his superiors, Monsignor P.J. Mullaney of Down and Connor.

Father Wilson is well known for his great work among the poor of Belfast, and Ballymurphy, in particular. He has forsaken the comfort of the "big house" to live in an ordinary council house in the midst of his suffering parishioners. His great work for the internees and their dependents is well known.

But what of Father Mullaney? Have any of our readers heard of him? The answer is

surely NO. If this priest took the care and trouble to look after his flock the way Father Wilson has, he would not need proof of the subtle activities of the English Catholic chaplains. It might open the eyes of Father Mullaney if he would seek the opinion of other Belfast curates on this subject and get some of their views on the activities of Father Weston (RIP), killed in the Aldershot explosion.

It is the priests such as Father Wilson who are saving the Church in Belfast and are living witness to Christ's teaching by their care for the poor and oppressed rather than the men who are completely out of touch, like Father Mullaney. The friendship and confidence of the victims of British terror are with Father Wilson — what a great reward for his work. Christ himself was found with the poor.

— Reproduced from "Concerned".



# HOW FAULKNER DESTROYED THE UNIONISTS

*'For 50 years, Ireland, both North and South, has been governed under virtual martial law. McGuffin states and he backs it up with arguments in relation to the Special Powers Act, in the North, and the Offences Against the State Act in the South.'*

*'The rights of the individual have been constantly trampled underfoot in the sacred name of expediency and 'emergency'! If the plethora of laws as detailed are necessary to preserve the State, then the State is not worth preserving. It is nonsense of the North to talk of 'preserving the traditional British way of life' if its permanent laws flout every cardinal tenet of British law. The State cannot exist to ensure a better life for its citizens if it terrorises them by maintaining corrupting and degrading laws. To do so is to emulate the American major in South Vietnam who said of the village of Ben Tre, 'in order to save the village we had to destroy it ...' The Special Powers Act, and, in particular, internment without trial, have helped to destroy the Stormont Parliament. It is not conceivable that the Offences Against the State Act may do the same for the Dail'*

Anyone who knows Brian Faulkner would never believe that he was an inveterate gambler. He doesn't take a drink but, away back, somewhere in the family, there must have been a gambler from whom Brian contracted the habit that was to bring him down - the habit of political gambling.

Like most gamblers today, Brian was taking no chances and backed the favourite in the Irish Freedom Stakes - a horse by the name of "Internment". On form it was a hot favourite for it had won all its previous races and Brian gambled all his resources on it. But, as has happened so often in the recent past, the favourite was nowhere in the field and Brian, as a result, is penniless, politically.

Any gambler would have backed this horse, particularly if he had read the history of internment as compiled by John McGuffin in his book "Internment", lately released. But there is a difference in a gambler and a student of political history, especially one such as Faulkner, who must have seen in the years prior to internment just that slight difference.

It was the difference between the immediate past political climate in Ireland and that which preceded the former pre-internment years; but then a man completely taken up with political power, as Faulkner was, could be excused for overlooking such a trivium.

Brian Faulkner, the architect of modern day internment in the North, comes from an influential Co. Down industrial family, the head of which decreed that Brian would not enter the family business, but would bring lustre to the family name by being a Stormont Prime Minister.

Not for him a captaincy in the British army, like so many Northern Unionist politicians; a premiership or nothing. Being from such an influential Unionist family it was comparatively easy to get Brian selected as East Down Unionist candidate for Stormont, and even easier to have him elected, as Unionists have never been known to split - that is, until Brian became Premier. It was this one big gamble that finally wrecked the party, the membership of which was to realise his and his family's dearest wish.

John McGuffin does not go into Faulkner's part in the great gamble very deeply. He is concerned with the effects of this terrible weapon on its unfortunate victims.

Do not purchase this book if you think it is a restatement of all the press reports you have read of the sufferings of internees in the North. It is no such thing. Rather it is a book for the student of Irish history, a history that is taken up so much with wrongful arrest and imprisonment, of torture, intimidation, of jail escapes, dramatic, exciting affairs, of the firing squad and of the hangman's noose. It is all here in John McGuffin's "Internment".

"In the early hours of Monday, 9th August, 1971, I was kidnapped from my bed by armed men, taken away and held for five and a half weeks in a cage not in Uganda, Beirut, Greece or Russia. I was in the United Kingdom, an hour's flight from London. I was in Belfast."

A simple statement of fact but only those who have had experience of their loved ones being taken from their beds in the dead hours of night realise the horror of what's contained in those words. I have some slight idea, as I was a witness; John McGuffin has a deeper realisation, as he was a victim.

But, while he was a victim for only two and a half weeks, there are men, some of them innocent of anything but an interest in the achievement of political freedom, who were arrested on the same fateful morning and who are still languishing behind bars, thanks to Faulkner's reckless gamble.

"Internment" traces what happened to those men in the various military establishments throughout the North and I am not going to spoil the book for the reader by trying to give any adequate idea of the sufferings of those men in the short space of a review.

Much of it is taken up, naturally with internment of the present time but it caters for the student of Irish history by tracing internment right down the years, successful internment, the sort of history that must have influenced Brian Faulkner in his decision to re-introduce it in 1971.

It is not a dull statistical account of numbers and dates. It is, in part, an exciting book, particularly in those escape episodes: the tunnelling that led to the mass escape from Derry; the cold war of Belfast Lough that brought the "Magnificent Seven" to shore; the eventual safety from the prison ship Maststone; and the numerous escapes from Crumlin Road Jail that have made headlines in the world press and are still making them.

It was the spirit that prompted these escapes that Faulkner overlooked when he introduced what he thought was his unbeatable favourite for the Freedom Stakes in Ireland, a favourite on which he plumped all his political resources and which has left him in a political workhouse today.

John McGuffin tells the most memorable story of this race, a race on which one man gambled for political power at the expense of the sufferings of hundreds of human beings - and lost.

"Internment" is a book for the student of Irish history as well as those who merely wish to read about what this terrible political weapon is all about and should find a place on the bookshelf of everyone who wishes to be on terms with what the struggle in Ireland is all about.

As Phil Ochs says:

In many a time, in many a land,  
With many a gun in many a hand,  
They came by the night, they came by the day  
They came with their guns to take us away  
With their knock on the door, knock on the door  
Here they come to take one more.

— Clanny



At the press conference: the Archbishop and the Colonel who silenced him lest he say too much ... albeit unwittingly.

## WE REGRET.

WE regret that we are unable to publish a contribution from Eamonn Mac Thomais this week. Either the courier got the 'flu or Eamonn writers' cramp or the Governor a fit but no copy reached us.

Next week - b'heidir le Dia ...



Desmond Wilson . . . . . Calls for inquiry on spying.

# OLDFIELD an old trick

From ROSEMARY SULLIVAN in London

THE recent press revelations of the name of Sir Maurice Oldfield, the new head of the Secret Intelligence Service, were organised by the British Secret Service.

One of the few departments of the British Secret Service which maintains any vestige of its old reputation for superiority and efficiency is the Department of Misinformation.

Proof of this was seen recently in the gigantic smokescreen launched by means of controlled leaks to the press of the name of the new head of the S.I.S. by this department, in a so far successful operation to cover up the recent reorganisation of the Secret Service.

Traditionally, the Security Service (formerly MI 5) reported to the Home Secretary who, through a junior minister at the Home Office, was responsible for this agency. The S.I.S. (sometimes MI 6 or DI 6) was responsible to the Foreign Secretary through a junior minister.

## British way

This division of the Secret Service had long been proclaimed as part of the uniquely British way of solving the age-old problem - how to keep a secret police without letting it grow too powerful.

But a reorganisation, ordered by Edward Heath shortly after he became Prime Minister, does away with these checks and balances.

Heath ordered the appointment of a new Secret Service Supremo, Sir Peter Wilkinson.

Wilkinson, as co-ordinator of Security and Intelligence, operates from Number 10

Downing Street and takes overall responsibility for both the Security Service and the Secret Intelligence Service, under the direct guidance of Heath himself. In other words, Heath has become the first modern British Premier to be himself the political head of the Secret Service.

## Controlled leak

It was to cover this fact that we had the controlled leak of the name of the successor to Jack Rennie as head of the S.I.S.

The fact that Sir Maurice Oldfield had succeeded Rennie first appeared in the U.S. magazine Newsweek, and was picked up in the Beaverbrook paper, "The Daily Express".

The first photograph on Oldfield to be published appeared in the German magazine, "Stern", and was picked up by the Beaverbrook establishment, acting at the request of the Secret Service.

In fact I can reveal that in both cases, the leak originated with a senior member of the Beaverbrook establishment, acting at the request of the Secret Service.

Magazines such as "Time Out", "Private Eye", and even some sections of the Irish newspapers then jumped on the story, not realising that the diet they were lapping up had been prepared and served by the S.I.S.



# Fennell joins the team

ONE notices something. Among intelligent men and women in the 26 Counties a shocked contempt is spreading. It is directed at the men of the present Dublin Government and, retrospectively, at their Fianna Fáil predecessors.

The Littlejohn affair, the new light shed on the Wyman-Crinnion affair, and the light gradually being shed on the Dublin bombings and other bombings, have shocked many moderate, unfanatical people who would never have described themselves even as "nationalists".

The cringing inactivity and speechlessness of the Cosgrave cabinet in the face of these revelations, and continuing Brins in arrogance, have induced in these self-respecting Irish men and women — from all walks of life and in every part of the country — a head-shaking, incredulous, absolute contempt.

"What a crowd of spineless nincompoops!" they say and — from deep inside themselves: "Those men do not represent me!"

It is very natural. People, even Irish people, expect the men whom they appoint to govern them to defend their interests and their honour before the world, to be strong and proud on their behalf, and to draw a line beyond which no foreign bully may venture with impunity.

But the awful truth has now dawned that, for the men of the Dublin Government, no such line exists. Ask the Gardaí who, after arresting armed British soldiers in Monaghan and Louth, have been told by their superiors to escort them back across the Border with no charges preferred, no protest made.

## Subversion of state

Here, certainly, is subversion of the State, of that Irish State and sovereignty which De Valera built, such as it was, it is a subversion carried out from the top, irresponsibly and cynically. By men ensconced in the institutions of the State and using those institutions to subvert their very meaning.

"They do not represent me!" "They have no mandate to sell out my interests, to lick-spittle to the British, or to

collaborate with the British army, British Intelligence and the R.U.C."

When ever thinking man or woman you meet is feeling and saying something like that, it can mean only one thing. There is no longer "representative government" in this State. The speechless men in Dublin have no mandate.

The whole set-up remains in place, instead of toppling, merely because money, party machines and the mass media are keeping it there — and because most people fear what would happen if it went or don't know how to set about replacing it with leadership and government would restore their self-respect.

So it is likely the charade will continue for some time; and we waste our time being shocked by it, feeling contempt for it or directing our attention to it in any way.

We waste our time combating it, since it has defeated itself better than any opponents could defeat it and is merely a propped-up ruin waiting for a builder to remove it.

Above all, we waste our time and waste Ireland's that is to say, our nation's time, by allowing our shock, contempt, confusion or sense of betrayal to paralyse us. The essential, political issue is now revealed for all to see and it calls for clear personal decisions throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

It is a very old issue, now burningly urgent again: *Is Irish policy or British policy to shape the affairs of Ireland? Do you want Irish policy or British policy to shape the affairs of Ireland?* Choose.



From North to South, from sea to sea, the whole and every part. That is our right and we assert that right."

## A beginning

Needless to say, this resolution is only the beginning of a long haul. But a long haul comes naturally to a people with 2,000 years of history. We are no novices in the world, we Irish. We have another 2,000 years ahead of us.

The re-making of our will to hold firm even if we are only, for the time being (it has happened before) the nucleus and living remnant of the nation, is the most important thing we can do now.

Only if that will is there — shared by a few hundred or a few thousand — can we get through this present tunnel and carry Ireland, living in us, to another resurrection and another, ever brighter day. But if that will is there, we can do it.

And it is there, believe me. I speak for myself and for others I know. Join your will to it and make it stronger. It is there not only in the jails — Armagh and Belfast, Long Kesh, Mountjoy and the Curragh — but in groups of two, three, four and five men and women talking to each other at this moment throughout Ireland.

If you haven't done so already, face up to the present national crisis by searching us out and joining us, even if it is to argue with us.

Your confusion will evaporate; you'll relax and laugh again; you won't feel lonely any longer. We mean to carry through.

Thirty years ago, Daniel

Desmond Fennell is pictured here with sparring partners encountered in An Sciarbh, Co. An Chairn, during the Merriman Summer School. An Phoblacht welcomes Desmond Fennell but gives notice that it is unlikely to agree with him all the time while allowing him full rein within the usual limits. He will be writing for us occasionally without censorship. Readers' comments are invited.

Corkery foresaw what's happening now and described the remedy. He wrote:

"It was not Goethe, of course, but Lessing who did a man's part in giving the German nation confidence in itself and in its star ... Ireland's present condition is incomparably worse than Germany's ever was; and not one but a whole battalion of Lessings would be needed to establish a normal state of mind among us. What we need is not one Lessing nor a succession of them, but rather a succession of nationalistic movements, rising and falling, each dissolving into a period of reaction, of provincialism, yet each for all that leaving the nation a little more sturdy, a little more normal, a little less provincial than before.

Mao-tse-tung, speaking of the same thing, called it "continuous revolution". That's what I have been talking about, too.

# 'THOUSAND SHARE YOUR DISGUST'

## London's mind

You know now that British policy — the mind and will of the London Government — has been shaping the affairs of Ireland and is at present determining what the Dublin politicians, the 26 Counties Army and the Gardaí do.

You know that our criminal judicial system and our laws are shaped by London's mind and will, supported by London's bombs in Dublin and the subsequent collapse of resistance in Leinster House.

The White Paper for the North is London's mind and will for that part of Ireland and it is being pushed through there, regardless of Irish counter-proposals or Irish wishes.

No trace of Irish mind or will went into the making of that document or into the British Acts of Parliament which are implementing it.

It is being pushed through with the mindless support of the Dublin Government, Fianna Fáil, RTE, "The Irish Times", Independent Newspapers, Cardinal Conway, Bishop Daly, etc., etc.

"Lie down", they tell us and our brothers in the North, "and do everything you can to accommodate nice Mr Whitelaw, your friendly British Tory. The piled-up corpses at his feet, the muffled screams from the Belfast torture-chambers, these are not of his doing and he can do nothing about them."

"He deeply regrets them as do we. See how gentle and sorrowful his eyes are on television; hear how earnestly he talks about doing 'what is right'. He knows what's best for you. Trust him

and, like us, harden your hearts".

## How to win

If, deep inside you, you say "No" to all of this, don't imagine that you are helpless to do anything about it.

If you say, deep inside yourself: "No. I want Irish mind and will, the will of my people, to shape the affairs of Ireland", you have defeated it.

It has not conquered you and you have set yourself facing in another direction in the company of all those Irish men and women who today are saying the same thing with you.

Search them out and you will find them easily. In Ballyfermot and the Dublin Liberties and City Quay, where people are saying: "We want to shape our own life here and not have it determined for us by impersonal, outside forces"; in Andersonstown, where 92 per cent of the people have said: "We wish to police ourselves and to control our own police force"; in the Gaeltacht, where young men and women are saying: "Tá muid tuirseach den deiríneacht agus de bheith ag brath ar dhaoine eile le muid a shabhal — is mian linn smacht a bheith againn ar ar gcursai agus ar saol féin"; in Ulster, where men are saying: "We want neither London government nor Dublin government but Ulster self-government in a new Ireland"; in Wexford, Cork, Mayo and Kerry, where men and girls are saying: "Britain get out, this is our country".

In all these places and in all of these and many other ways, people are saying: "We want Irish mind and will to shape Irish life

# Ballyfinagle file

Julian O'Flannell, editor of the magazine Hispaniola, has apologised to the Minister for Justice for the telegram sent him after the seizure by Gardaí of 10,000 copies of the booklet, *Freedom Struggle*.

While on holiday in Italy I heard reports of the incident. Naturally, the first thought that came to my mind was that the seized booklets must be obscene, he stated. As vice-president of the Association for Selective Indignation (one of the few genuinely all-Ireland bodies we have) I felt it my duty to send a strongly-worded protest to the minister at once.

"Upon returning to Ireland I have discovered that, in fact, the booklet was being published by persons of whose views I strongly disapprove. I therefore unreservedly withdraw my criticism and offer the minister my sincerest apologies."

BRIAN Witless, the noted Ballyfinagle intellectual, has called for the setting up of an impartial, international tribunal to investigate reports of mass shooting of civilians by Portuguese forces in Mozambique.

In a letter published in all three national morning papers he suggests that there is at present only one state sufficiently possessed of moral stature to be able to undertake

such an investigation. Fortunately, the said state has available specialists skilled in this type of activity, having recently undertaken a bout of it on their own behalf "without having to call on assistance from anybody".

Mr. Witless declined to name the country he had in mind but says in his letter that most of his readers would know which one is meant.

Mr. Witless is press officer (and sole member) of the Ballyfinagle branch of the "Workers' Association for an Imperial Victory in Northern Ireland".

THE ANNUAL general meeting of the Anti-Freehold Society of Ireland will be held in Royal Windsor Hotel, Victoria Square, Ballyfinagle, on Wednesday next.

A large attendance of Ground Landlords, rent collectors, land agents and gombenmen is expected. Three major items are on the agenda: a motion calling on the government to make non-payment of ground rent a criminal offence; a similar motion making incitement to withhold rent a criminal offence (the opinion of a rent-collector being sufficient to secure a conviction); and a resolution deploring the fact that the five per cent of the population "represented at this meeting" owns only 71 per cent of the wealth of the country.

# OUR MILLION SHILLING FUND

## Support Éamonn Mac Thomáis

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

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

Send us that bob, and send it now.

## WHY NOT ADVERTISE WITH US?

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We hope to fill this page with small advertisements — articles sought, articles for sale — with YOUR help. Our opening rate: £1 per inch. Copy must reach us at latest one week before publication date.

# Only a few reasons it out

By "Tomás"

AS situations develop within the general context attitudes must be struck, conclusions drawn, tactics changed, advice given and the overall pressure maintained. In any given situation consideration must be given to three main points: the ultimate aim, Republican principle and public support.

Public support depends on the identification of the ultimate aim and the recognition of the Republican principle involved. The general apathy would seem to indicate that the aim has not been clearly identified or that Republican thought and principle are not understood generally.

Those who are committed personally, voluntarily accept the decisions of the executive because they identify the ultimate aim and are well versed in Republican thought. However, support from the general mass depends on how much the individual is adversely affected by any particular action, or to what degree the institutions which he holds dear are criticised.

Any attack, verbal or otherwise, on the institutions he respects or regards as necessary, urge him to withdraw his support or generate antagonism towards the source and the cause espoused. The individual reaction depends on the interpretation that each individual has of the cause and his understanding of the situation.

Those who endeavour to educate themselves on the pros and cons are greatly in the minority. Most people accept without question the interpretations offered by the newspapers and the media. Presuming that there is a concerted, propaganda effort to distort the ideals and the aims it behoves those espoused to the cause to present the case in the most clear-cut and unambiguous terms so that the ultimate aim stands out bright and clear.

Apathy abounds because there is no general identification of the aim. The confusion could have arisen from statements or actions of those who emphasised some facet of the problem to the exclusion of the ultimate aim.

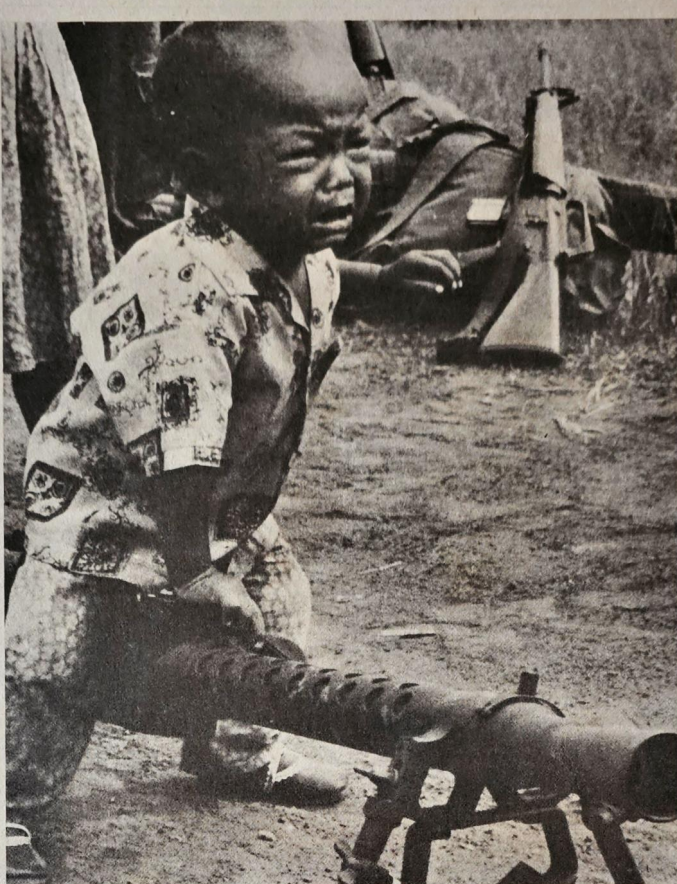
This fact was grabbed by the media, interpreted in the light of propaganda and digested by the general public as a statement of fact. How else could the ultimate aim be interpreted as the downfall of the Dublin government or the establishment of a Marxist, socialist-inspired, Irish state?

Some even fear that any change in the status quo would have a detrimental effect on their own personal condition. Others have been led to believe that the final result is a bloodbath or civil war.

Admittedly, mistakes can be made and allowance made for the volatile supporters, but, permitting a situation to arise which endangers cherished institutions furthers no cause but injures it. It leaves the genuine supporter with the task of justifying a critics action that he himself disapproves of in principle.

Political emphasis may be the prime cause of apathy towards the Northern fight for freedom. There have been many political programmes drawn up suggesting what a New Ireland should be. All these have been meritorious efforts, showing at least that someone has a genuine interest in people. But there could be one basic flaw in them all.

Each has been drawn up, no matter how prophetic, in an



ALL the horror of war is expressed in this picture from Cambodia where a child sits on his father's machine gun ... and cries for his father may never return alive. Young as he is he knows that as clearly as any child in the Bogside, Andersonstown, Dungannon, Armagh or whatever.

The working people of the world must take up arms to end all war: that is the only remedy. The burden cannot be passed on, like a buck, to the next generation.

atmosphere of conquest, and in a tradition of political diuinity. There seems to be a fundamental plank that is aimed at loyalists who have to be inveigled into a system in which there is a suspicion that they would get preferential treatment.

In other words, carrots are dangled before their eyes. Carrots have been dangled before our eyes for 50 years and we did not bite. We cannot expect Loyalists, products of the same environment as ourselves, to bite. The only carrot is their equality as Irishmen.

Whether we are conscious of the fact or not, our thinking is influenced by the fact that politics in the "South" is still governed by attitudes to the Border and England. Politics in the "North" is still dominated by the British presence. It is a useful academic exercise to dabble in political programmes now but what is really required is an education course in Republican thought and its application in the present situation.

In a free Ireland without the interference of England the basic premise of all Irish politics will be removed. There will be a complete change in outlook.

Everyone will have the opportunity at his leisure to study the various systems and cast his vote for the one most suitable to the untrammelled Irish people. Presentation of political systems and programmes at this present time could easily be misunderstood and cloud the

ultimate aim, for the general public.

The emphasis now should be on an effort to show the greatest advertisement for the cause for which they strive. Respect for just law and order is the greatest advertisement for their integrity. No matter what political system is in vogue or what political party is in government, there are certain laws which are fundamental to the common good.

The sense of responsibility shown by men of integrity is the greatest advertisement for the cause for which they strive. Respect for just law and order is the greatest advertisement for their integrity. No matter what political system is in vogue or what political party is in government, there are certain laws which are fundamental to the common good.

The general public in the North understand the operations that are officially sanctioned, but they can also condemn the freelance activities. This is not a criticism of leadership - it is an argument in favour of a greater emphasis on the Republican principle of the individual freedom from the external and devious influence of England and the physical pressures of the British Army.

When the general public realises that the fight for freedom in the Six Counties is directed against England, the British army and its fifth column, and poses no threat to the existing institutions of the southern Irish state, nor aspires to any political power in the future, each action will be seen in perspective as part of the general plan of campaign.

Any mistake that should occur will be recognised for what it is and will not be levelled at the movement as an accusation of terror tactics or irresponsibility.

Conditions of internecine, brutality of the Crown Forces, partial application of the legal process and all other consequences of British rule will be recognised.

Any co-operation by act or word with the prolongation of the British presence will be identified as co-operation in action against the Irish people and a unified voice will soon resound for the expulsion of the British presence and the British Army.

## ICELAND & IRELAND: BRITAIN'S TWO WARS

From Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien in the U.S.

FROM the latest reports on the "COD WAR" between Britain and Iceland, it is apparent that the British Government once again is attempting to intimidate a small, struggling people, in a power squeeze over the right to fish for cod.

The Irish people throughout the world can offer sympathy to the Icelandic people as they know full well the harassment that can be perpetrated upon a small group of people by a more populated and militarily superior state.

The Irish people can only admire the courage shown by Iceland in standing up to Britain in defence of what they rightfully believe to be theirs, just as the Irish people of the North have withstood the British army who have persisted in denying the Irish people their freedom.

The Irish dispute with Britain is over a piece of their island still maintained by force of arms and retained under British domination.

The Icelandic dispute is over territorial sea that the Government of Iceland claims is vital to the continued economic sustenance of Iceland.

In both instances emerges the bullying attitude of Britain in denying to each what they claim to be theirs by right.

Iceland has declared a 50-mile territorial sea around its island domain to protect its fishermen from foreign intrusion as the fishing industry is so essential to Iceland's economy.

The British have refused to recognize this extension of the limit of 12, normally recognized as a territorial sea in contradiction to what is maintained as international waters.

It is my opinion that a state has the inherent right to extend its territorial sea limit in instances

where this is necessitated on behalf of the well-being of the entire nation as is the case with Iceland.

Other nations might seek to follow Iceland's example to protect vital fishing industries such as the case of lobster fishermen in the State of Maine in the United States.

The lobster industry perpetuates many a village in Maine and a greater limit is needed to afford protection to other nation's fishermen.

To return to a parallel with the Irish war against Britain for self-determination, a few examples are offered from the Icelandic situation.

Britain has sought international assistance to alleviate her plight in a similar manner that was utilized by the Dublin Government against British policies in the North at a time when sympathy with the freedom fighters was widespread.

The British Government has pursued three outlets of opinion to settle the international dispute over the right to fish in the waters surrounding Iceland.

They have brought the dispute to the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to use his good offices to mediate the confrontation between its two members.

The Norwegian Government has offered its good offices in the role of the third party arbitrator and Britain also raised the issue in the Security Council of the United Nations in pursuance of negotiation of the matter.

Britain expects results on the international level and, more than likely, will be granted her wishes

## Loyalists complain of jail brutality

THREE Loyalist murder charge prisoners complained at Belfast Magistrate's Court last week of British Army brutality against them in Crumlin Road Jail.

One of them was carried into the dock by the other two prisoners but walked out unassisted after his comrades had been removed, struggling, by police and warders.

The three men, who are charged with the murder of a publican, Mr. Leonard Rossborough, on July 21, were remanded in custody for a further week.

They are Brian Moorehouse (19), plumber, Woodvale Avenue; John Edward McFadden (21), textile worker, Silvio Street, and Thomas William Taggart (19), an electrician, Glencainr Way.

The prisoner who was carried in removed his coat to display a red mark on his arm. His father was removed from the court shouting allegations about British Army brutality.

One of the prisoners appealed to Catholics for their support in their protests against British Army behaviour.

## TENTH EXPERT KILLED

THE British staff-sergeant killed while trying to defuse a bomb in a Fermanagh border village was the tenth explosives expert to die during the liberation struggle.

He died instantly when a 20lb. bomb exploded in a post office at Tullyhormone, on the Fermanagh-Donegal border.

The victim was Staff-Sgt. Ronald Beckett, of Hereford, a 36-year-old married man with two young daughters.

A member of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps, he was attached to Lisanelly Barracks, Omagh.

in one of the three aforesaid methods of arbitration; yet she would ignore such international avenues when applied to her own self-created discrepancy with regard to Ireland.

Certainly, all peoples, including the British, are entitled to justice on an international level, but to expect justice received one must be prepared to devolve justice in a given situation.

There is the impending need of a balance of equities, in the instance of Ireland, the Republic sought these same three methods of arbitration to terminate the northern crisis, yet it was Britain herself that shut the door to bargaining, which has prolonged the agonizing military conflict in the north.

What she seeks in the Icelandic dispute, she conversely denies in the Irish situation. In the Irish case, she has had complete control over the disputed domain but, in regard to Iceland, she seeks to extend herself in the waters surrounding that country, so, in the latter instance, she is willing to bargain.

The imperial designs of Britain are to establish a "cod empire" at the expense of Iceland. Some nations may need only the arbitrary "12-mile limit" of ocean jurisdiction; but Iceland, a fishing state, the livelihood of which is the sea, must have a 50-mile limit for survival.

Understanding full well that Britain can gain by arbitration because compromise means diminishing the 50-mile limit, Iceland should protect its domain with arms if necessary but the intruder.

In Iceland, the prize sought is fish; in Ireland, the subject of the margin are human, but, to an aloof, self-serving government, no distinction is made.

# Heath visit a 'studied insult'



THE Dublin visit by the British Tory Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, is a studied insult to the Irish people at this

time. His recent three visits to occupied Ireland, behind a massive security screen of British troops, was ignored by the ordinary, nationally-minded people and made the occasion for jeers and boos by Unionists, according to a statement from the Sinn Féin president, Ruairi Ó Bradaigh.

The visit to the old-style colony in the North is being quietly followed up this time by paying a call to the neo-colony. The object of this exercise is clear to attempt to fasten the new British structure for governing Ireland firmly around the necks of the Irish people.

This is being attempted in collaboration with the servile Dublin politicians who have excelled themselves in recent times in their efforts to please their British Masters.

Coming in the wake of the Bloody Sunday verdict of "sheer, unadulterated murder" by British paratroopers, it is in very poor taste: following on the Dublin car bombs, the Crimmon-Wyman and Littlejohn affairs, it betrays an attitude of slavery.

While viewed from the standpoint of the suffering people in the North, a Dublin welcome for Mr. Heath is national treachery.

Sinn Féin calls on the Irish people to make known their objections to this latest attempt to perpetuate British rule in Ireland.

Protests will commence with a mass rally at the G.P.O., Dublin, on Sunday night next at 8.00 p.m.

## Five die in landmine blast

ACCORDING to a statement from Oglaiagh na hÉireann in south Down, an active service unit was responsible for the deaths of at least five soldiers in an explosion caused by a landmine.

Here is the full statement: "On Aug. 28 an active service unit of Oglaiagh na hÉireann claimed responsibility for the operation against the British army patrol on the north Lough border at Flagstaff.

The patrol was about to set up a road check when one of its vehicles was blown 10ft. into the air, by a land mine which cratered the road 25ft. deep by 10yds. wide.

According to British Army reports, only four soldiers were injured. Eye witness, however, say that at least five soldiers were killed.

"Unit reports say that all members returned safely. We would like to let the British army know that the I.R.A. is still capable of hitting as hard now as any time during the campaign. This we are sure they already know," the statement concludes.

## I.R.P.B. denial

All knowledge of the "so-called interrogation of U.D.A. members" alleged to have been carried out recently at Arklow, Co. Wicklow, is denied in a statement from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

## Beaten up in garda station

Accusations have been made that a number of Republicans, questioned in connection with the recent shooting of R.U.C. men in Co. Mayo, were badly beaten up by members of the Special Branch.

We asked the Dublin Justice Department to comment. The Department was to "make inquiries." No reply was received. Foreign papers: please copy.

## Condolences

Robert Emmet Cumann, Inchicore, Baile Atha Cliath, passed a vote of condolence with the relatives of the late Christy Dolan of Drimnagh, a life-long member of the Republican Movement. A similar vote was passed to the family of the late William Finnegan of Inchicore. Go n-áirde na Dia trócaire ar a n-anamacha.

## Séan Ó Díghe dár mealladh aríst

TÁ laghdú tubaisteach ar líon na ndaoine atá ag dul isteach in arm na Breataine ó chuath an troid sna Sé Chontae i ngeire. Tá titim 54 faoin gcéad ar líon na n-ógánach atá ag clárú le haís 1971 agus tá na fiúgúir ag titim i gcónaí.

Omaigh. Ní feasach duinn cén fáth nach dtugann léitheoirí fogha caoi.

### Mac Stiofáin

Chait Séan Mac Stiofáin cúlpla ián Oileán Chéire, amach ó chósta Chorcaí, le déanaí. Chait sé cúlpla mháid dá chuid ama ag plé le dhaoine atá ag iarraidh an t-oileán Gaeltachta a fhorbairt agus go háirithe leo síd atá gntomhach an iarrachtaí an Chomharchumáin. Dúirt sé lenár dtuarisceoir go raibh an-mheas aige ar a raibh déanta le blianta beaga anuas agus go háirithe ar an troid a bhí déanta ag an Athair Tomás Ó Murchú ar mhaith le pobal an oileáin.

Dar leis go bhfuil Chéire ina shampalla an-mhaith den mhéid is féidir le Gaeltacht bheag a dhéanamh trí mhúinín a chur ina neart féin agus go bhféadfaid Gaeltachtaí beaga eile ceachtanna a fhoghlaim an.

D'admhaigh an tUasal Mac Stiofáin go raibh "glaonna lofa tacaíocht" a ndéanamh ag dtí a theach i nG.C. na Mí i gcónaí.

"Uaireanta is é a bhíonn ann ná duine a ligean saith malachtaí as nuair a fheargraítear an fón", a dúirt sé.

"Ach uaireanta eile bíonn níos mó i gceist, dar liom. Mar shampla, an tseachtain seo caite fuair mé féin glaoch agus d'arr an fear a rinne é orm liom sán a chaoi a bhífair sé umhíor - nach bhfuil sa leabhar glaoch. Dúirt sé go bhfuair sé óna athair é, ach ní raibh mé sísta leis a dúirt sé.

"Dar liom, cibé dream a rinne an glaoch seo, bhí sé ag iarraidh mé a mhealladh amach ar an mbóthar mór liom féin. Ach níor eirigh leis an geallas.

"Tá gearán déanta agus leis an Roinn i ngeall ar na glaoanna seo atá ag teacht ó dhaoine nór cheart umhíor mar seo, nach bhfuil sa leabhar glaoch, a bhíit asa, ach deirtear gur beag is féidir a dhéanamh i gduibh an seclí".

● Tá Debe ar saoire faoi láthair ach tá síil agann go mbeidh aiste le fáil naidh an tseachtain seo chugainn.



The bomb squad has penetrated successfully another top security zone. The explosion took place at the Bottle Gas and Equipment Plant, York Street, Belfast.

## Liam Lynch honoured

MAURICE Twomey, iar-Chéannasáí Oglaiagh na hÉireann, had a statement read at the Liam Lynch Memorial, Knockmealdown Mountain, on Sunday last. The occasion was the unveiling of a memorial.

"Moss" Twomey made a fervent appeal to the surviving veterans of the Army which General Lynch commanded: "Stand today, as you stood under Liam Lynch, ready to sacrifice all, give all, even your lives, for the ideals for which Lynch and you then fought, to defend and uphold the sovereignty of the Republic."

"I appeal to you, you gallant survivors, to stand solidly behind your disciples and Lynch's, the women and girls as well as men and boys who are in the forefront of the battle in north-east Ulster.

"They are waging what we confidently and proudly hope will be the very last and successful phase of the War of National Liberation.

"Defend them when they are libelled and calumniated, as were you yourselves in 1922-'23. Defend them against the British black propaganda machine. Give them your support, moral and financial, to the extent you can afford."

We hope to publish more of "Moss" Twomey's address in next week's issue.

## Get fresh over Spike?

Lenar d'Uaireascóir

ACCORDING to rumour, the political prisoners in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, all are to be moved to Spike Island.

This was denied, we understand, by Governor Kelly, when questioned by a prisoners' representative. But then the rumour had it that Governor Kelly was to retire this week and that the man to replace him, from Port Laoise, has refused to take over until the politicals were shifted.

Believing that rumours are dangerous (they could result in riots, perhaps even in deaths) we sought official denial or confirmation from the Dublin Government's Information Bureau.

This institution was unable to do business with us in Irish and suggested we try Justice. We did so. They promised to phone us back the official reply. We are still waiting.



Seamus Twomey is a prominent Belfast Republican, 54 years old, married and the father of three boys and three girls. He was deported in 1938 from England and, in 1939, in Belfast, was arrested, interned in Derry Jail, and, later, transferred to the Al-Rawda in Strangford Lough, and in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. It was not until 1945 that he was released.

All his life he has been an activist. He has been on the run in the North since 1971. His arrest by the servants of the Crown in the South underlines the extent of the treachery of the Dublin government.

## TARGET: 50,000 BY CHRISTMAS

OUR circulation target is 50,000 copies sold per week by Christmas. At present we are a bit over the half-way mark. Sales are increasing slowly but not anything like fast enough to reach our target according to plan.

IF every member of the Republican Movement sells only one dozen copies per week - a half hour's work in town or city - our target can be reached well before Christmas. Much the same result can be achieved if existing sellers double their sales.

There are hundreds of parishes where the paper is never seen, where the voice of Republicanism is never heard, where only enemy propaganda gets a chance, where the truth is unknown. To win our war the voice of Republicanism must be heard clearly throughout the land. Revolutions begin with thoughts; the thoughts are clothed with words; and the roar of the people soon heralds their victory;

Strengthen the voice of the Republic today by helping in the circulation drive at home and abroad and dealing a telling blow to British propaganda and that of its lackeys. Help smash imperialism and speed the revolution by spreading the truth and pinning the lies.