

# 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 Enniskillen 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.

Ft 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, let's 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 I make no distinctions between the Provisionals and the Officials) is treachery and deceit of the lowest kind. How I detest such chicanery — it revolts and disgusts me, and I will have no part of it.

"I finalised my decision to speak out as I stood by a lonely grave. It was the grave of a man who was the personification of nobility, courage, and integrity; a 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, Runai), 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 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 not a defence - merely a new 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 a war of aggression and condemned a 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 into a united clerical action is 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 so-called 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 being forced to live not only against their will but against the will of 80% of the

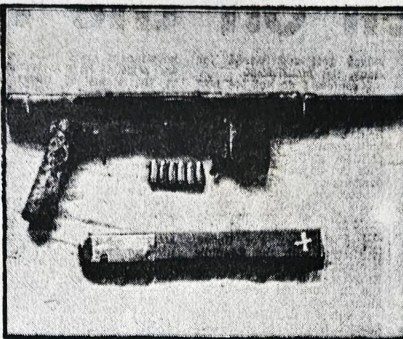
people of Ireland - under the British and Stormont regimes.

"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 to 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 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 McManus 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 it 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 the 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 published through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, in a statement signed "P. O'Neill, Runai, 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:

1. "Public acceptance of those proposals would, we believe, bring immediate peace to a long suffering people and merit the gratitude of the British and Irish peoples:
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 the 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 hEireann, Date 5 September 1971.

AMONG several statements issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau (and signed P O'Neill, Runai) was one on August 30, congratulating the people of Courbane, 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 Courbane, Co Louth for their courageous resistance to foreign Occupation troops who intruded into their townland on Sunday August 29th. By their action the people of Courbane demonstrated their solidarity with the oppressed people of the North, in Belfast, Derry, Strabane, Armagh, Newry etc, who are subject to brutal attacks from British troops.

"We compliment the local unit of Oglagh na hEireann who efficiently and speedily went into action against the enemy. We repeat that armed action by the I.R.A. in Co Armagh. The combination of popular resistance by the people backed up by the armed resistance of the people which was so successful at Courbane 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 Armagh.

"The struggle must be extended and intensified, we must win this fight, we cannot afford to lose. Ta re na cainte thar."

## CATHOLIC FORCE CRITICISED

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

"(1) The leadership of the Republican Movement sharply criticises the reported plans to form a Catholic Ex-Servicemen Association as a counter to a new Special force. There are ample defence organisations in the Six Counties in which all those concerned about the defence of the people should 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 the 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 Irelanders in the Province of Ulster to play their part in the 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 Uainn, 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

## IRA CONGRATULATES PEOPLE OF COURTBANE

from all business premises, hotels, pubs, etc., that are frequented by British troops and as far as possible to stay away from all government offices."

## 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 killing 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 Besbrook, 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 was issued by the prisoners of the Maidstone defining 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 itself, 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. 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, ruthless attempt to break their spirit in preparation for interrogation. It has 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 has 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 girl was killed in crossfire is untrue."

## IRA CONDEMN NLF LYING STATEMENTS

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

"The Leadership of the Republican Movement strongly condemns the Northern Command of the National Liberation Front (so-called 'Officials') for the lying statements issued by them recently in yet another unscrupulous attempt to confuse the public about our objectives, and in a vain attempt to undermine the confidence of our rank and file members in their leaders.

We, the lawful leadership of the Republican Movement, once more publicly declare our objective to be the establishment of a democratic, socialist republic, based on the proclamation of

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."

# PLAIN SPEAKING

What have Jack Lynch, John Hume, Liam Cosgrave, Brendan Corish, Conor Cruise O'Brien, Brian Faulkner, the Orange Order, the Unionist Party, Irish Communist Organisation, Ivan Cooper, Gerry Fitt, a gaggle of bishops of various denominations, Paddy Devlin, Harold Wilson, the National Liberation Front-cum-Movement, and some others and their followers, got in common?

They all concede that a section of the Irish people had the right to opt out of the Irish nation, the right to hold the rest of the country to ransom. By continuously and monotonously cantering the minds of the people with the contention that national unity cannot come about but by the will of that section of the people they are conveniently forgetting or ignoring the facts of partition.

In 1918, the last opportunity they had, the vast majority of the people of Ireland made their will known. They declared they wished an all-Ireland parliament and government; a parliament and government which was free and independent politically, culturally and economically. This was the last thing expected by the imperial overlords and their lackeys in Ireland. It was the last time the people of Ireland — all Ireland — were given a chance to express their democratic will. This they are still being denied.

Hawkish press releases, flowery oratory, political opportunism, "non-sectarian" hogwash, craven weakness disguised as a moderate approach, subservience to British Orders, or the misguided placing of faith in the word of Englishmen will not serve the suffering people in their hour of need.

The Irish people will not accept this. In 1918, five counties out of the nine counties in historic Ulster staked their claim — democratically — to a united Ireland. Twenty-seven counties in full, and large sectors of the remaining four, stated loudly, unequivocally — and, Dr Katanga O'Brien, democratically — that they wished a free, democratic, united Ireland. What they would not be given they were prepared to take, preferably peacefully; alternatively by the bomb and the bullet.

The big mistake, the terrible mistake, the people made was to place their trust in politicians, and the fine words of Englishmen — the very people who together devised partition, who devised and connived at retaining partition, who devised and imposed the means to subdue those who would strive to end partition and all it entails.

To the people, and to the Republican Movement, the ending of partition is not merely the removal of border customs posts, repainting of postboxes and changing the uniform of state personnel. It is not in symbols that the people wish a change. The people in the north have seceded from the tyrannical system which has oppressed them. They wish no truck with a British way of life — call that civil rights, reforms or what you will.

This is all those named at the outset can offer the cycle. This the people do not want. They have looked to you for leadership and have found you wanting. Their instinctive nationalism has come to the forefront — despite your fine semantics. They have declared they are human beings, living people, living Irish people.

They have rediscovered their roots, the same national roots that the majority of the people in the Twenty-six Counties, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, share with them. They know they belong to the historic Irish nation — they are not satisfied to remain simply 'non-Unionists', serving a foreign queen. That is all you have to offer them.

And that is what they are rejecting. They want less of the British way of life, not more absorption into it. Since 1922 every effort made to absorb the north more and more into the United Kingdom has failed. This was the pattern even before 1922, but since then the Robber Landlord Ascendancy had its own private powerblock called Stormont, a private army called the Special Constabulary ("B. Specials") and the full financial and military backing of the British Army. It had the means to coerce, divide and exploit Protestant and Catholic working class to their own advantage.

The people of the North are asking for leadership to drive out the ascendancy's financial and military prop. That done, a 32-County Democratic Socialist Republic can be set up to set about providing social justice for all. The people of the North — Catholic, Protestant or Dissenter — do not want a 26-County takeover. Equally for all in a framework designed to bring about national reconstruction, development and progress is what they require.

A leadership which engages in plain speaking backed up by firm action is required north and south. The people of the south must be made aware that the six county struggle is one, not just for the rights of the people there but, for the rights of the people of the whole country. They must realise that the struggle in the north is the spearhead of an

effort to bring Ireland back into one system, with complete control of its own resources and destinies.

Neither the people of the north or the south can exert any enthusiasm for an extension of the "Free" State to the north. If slowly, the realisation that only the trappings of independence exist south of the border is dawning. The economy is still controlled by the City of London and consequentially Westminster influences all political decisions. Intellectually the south is rapidly assimilating with the Anglo-American mass culture. The drift back to total integration with England is well under way.

The leadership required is one which states the facts clearly, faces the issues uncompromisingly, and does not attempt to delude its followers. Look, how, eventually, the SDLP had to follow the advice of the Republican Movement and leave Stormont. Just now Mr Fitt and some of his colleagues cannot wait to get back. One half chance is all they need — Fitt and Devlin were not so moved by the murders of their own constituents in Belfast that they had to leave Stormont; they finally capitulated to the will of the risen people.

Mr Heath and Mr Lynch have agreed that the ground must be prepared so that the "moderate" men can regain the leadership. For "moderate" read "their". The churchmen condemn the "men of violence", but have no word of like advice for Irishmen who would join the British Army but then it is a "security force", verily not "men of violence".

To all these false prophets there can be but one exhortation: Go peddle your blasphemy elsewhere, but do not continue polluting our minds with it.

## GUTTER PRESS SCREAMS

The screams could be heard in Timbuctoo, perhaps even further afield. The poor animal was badly hurt, in person and dignity and in divers other ways too. It is one thing to have the British Lion's tail tweaked well after all I suppose we can take a little bit of a joke, once it does not go too far — but when that tail is being blown apart, and maybe a little more than the tail was feeling the hurt, well, then it is no longer a joke. No sir!

And if the British press in the past eight weeks or so is anything approaching an accurate reflection of society here, then somebody is feeling mighty sore. Yes sir!

It all started around about August 9 when 300 Irishmen were taken into custody by Her Majesty's Forces in Occupied Ireland. The leader writers were very regretful: "When all the circumstances are taken into account, including the deteriorating morale of the Protestant population of Northern Ireland the decision (on internment) can be justified by consideration of prudence, as well as by reference to the virulence of provocation," said the London Times.

The Daily Mirror, that grand darling friend of Ireland and all things Irish, thought that "any measures which reduces the risk of British soldiers being shot, blown up and stoned will be applauded by the British public. Internment could sweep up 'the innocent with the guilty', but it had to be.

Yes, it had to be. The star reporters informed their avid mouthgaping readers that "300 gunmen" were put away out of circulation. The Queen's writ would run again in Her colony. A satisfactory morning's work.

Monday August 10, brought a different story. All hell had broken loose — gunmen were firing on the British boys — bombs were going off — the people kind of reacted in a most nasty violent way — the balloon had gone up — the colony had revolted.

How to explain this. After all, the gunmen were all safely in camps — the British Boys had them interned: "The security forces have defeated the hard core of the gunmen," that funny man Marston Tickell told the much impressed newsmen.

"They have sustained well over 50 casualties, 20 or 30 of whom have been killed," he added.

But just the same, there was something wrong. The Daily Mail demanded that a helicopter be provided for Teddy Heath to get him off his Morning Cloud. But Mr Heath was also in an evening haze — so was Mr Faulkner. The operation was intended to round up the gunmen — well it was; at first — now it was simply to flush them out, he said. It certainly brought them out.

And as the British press became even more confused than their readers, "Public Enemy No 1, as described by the Daily Mail 'brazenly called a press conference', and that 'with soldiers only a few yards down the road'."

The daring cheek, the horror of it all. By now the English gutter press — and now every organ with only slight exception qualifies for this title — just went berserk. In this, this just does not happen in the United Kingdom, old boy!

But still, those little boxes going back across the water were not imagination. No sir! It was time now to call out

the big guns — or big pens and big pictures. "Scorned and spat on... but still keeping calm" screamed the Daily Mail as it told the story of the good job the boys were doing in "Ulster." "There was a soldier, a British soldier," headlined the Daily Mirror. Got to play our part in keeping up recruitment, old boy! Don't want to be nabbed in conscription myself. Nasty operation, Yes sir!

The penny was dropping. Dropping hard with a great big clang. The 'gunmen' were still around. Here and there it was slightly hinted that perhaps the people might be in support of the 'terrorists' — yes that word was back in business, and how. But not to make too much of this — we wouldn't want the folk back home to think we had a rebellious colony.

August 19: "Two gunmen are shot" said the Daily Mirror. This was the climax of day of tougher action by the troops, Mirror readers were told. One of the dead was a pistol-toting deafmute in Strabane. Mirror readers were not told this.

Instead, we now had to find a scapegoat. Something

else to concentrate on: what better than Jack Lynch and the Border.

If only he would take the appropriate action against the gunmen who had run down south (but who for some reason were still going strong up north). The people of Ireland were appalled at the goings on; they did not support this sort of thing at all.

And then came Courtbane: the plain people of Ireland told the British Army to hump off, invited the IRA to come on the scene, told the Free State Army to hump off, told the British press they approved of what happened. That hurt, yes sir.

What do we do now, sez the press barons. "Lark led to killing," "50 IRA involved in border ambush," said the Daily Telegraph, August 31. Their colleagues also larked.

After all, the Irish like not hurt, they do not really mean anything to happen. It was all the fault of the IRA and that stubborn ("pipemoking, mild-mannered moderate, Mr Lynch") premier who would not let them up. No, the people did not really approve. No sir!

But the Daily Telegraph

leader writer got it right: "... the deliberate holding of the men by a crowd until IRA gunmen had time to set up an ambush." The Telegraph "wired" "A word to Mr Lynch," and said that war between Ireland and England was "an ultimate possibility which cannot be logically excluded." He seemed to have forgotten that Mr Maulding had previously said there was a war on. This Irish question can be damned confusing.

The following weeks had a series of "Words to Mr Lynch." "What Lynch must be told," "plain and honest speaking between Dublin and London is overdue," et cetera ad nauseum. "Yes well they knew their man.

Their contempt, utter malice, furious hatred, boiled out on nice Jack's head, which would not matter a damn except that by difference 'it' was being showered on the people of Ireland. The press of England taught us one thing here; in the face of the "terrorist" enemy they closed ranks behind the leaders of the country and gave out with their fury and vengeance at their disposal. Food for thought...

# 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 which His Excellency, 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

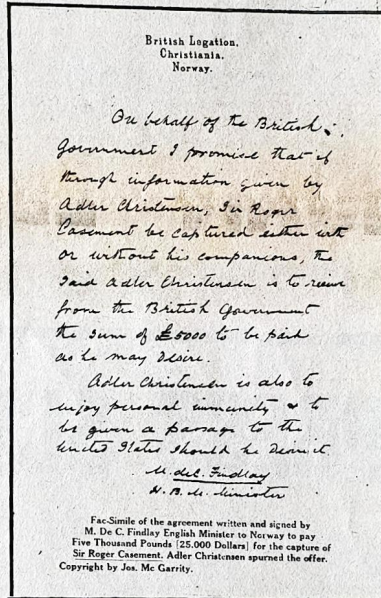
Christensen who has been a sailor and naturally has seen some strange company assured me he was perfectly at home with His Majesty's Representative.

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



Fac-Simile of the agreement written and signed by M. De C. Findlay English Minister to Norway to pay Five Thousand Pounds (25,000 Dollars) for the capture of Sir Roger Casement. Adler Christensen spurned the offer. Copyright by Joe. Mc Garrity.

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 perloining 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, 1915.

# 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 Sweeney 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 Lalor 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."

To His Excellency  
The German Ambassador to the United States

Your Excellency

As Special Envoy to the United States and O. 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 the German people will not be led into believing 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 and other Irish patriots 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!

-Padraic Lagan



JOE CAHILL



RUAIRI O BRADAIGH



SEAN MAC STIOFAIN.

AN CUMA LINN ?

WHO CARES?

# 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 made 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 — Seaford 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 are just 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 to 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 2% 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.

GLUISEACHT na POBLACHTA

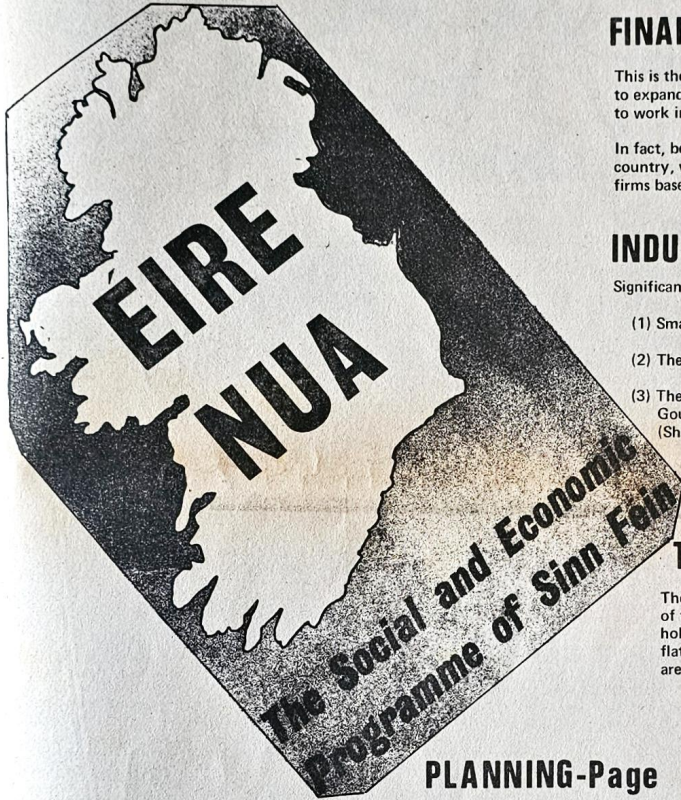
THE REPUBLICAN

WHO CARES?

AN CUMA LINN?

# Eire Nua has the Answer

Ní 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 pholasáí Sinn Féin agus ar an mbealach oibre 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 cream 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.

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

Democratic Programme of Dail Eireann 1919.

## 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 produce between 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.

# 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. New 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, painting, 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 programmes 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.

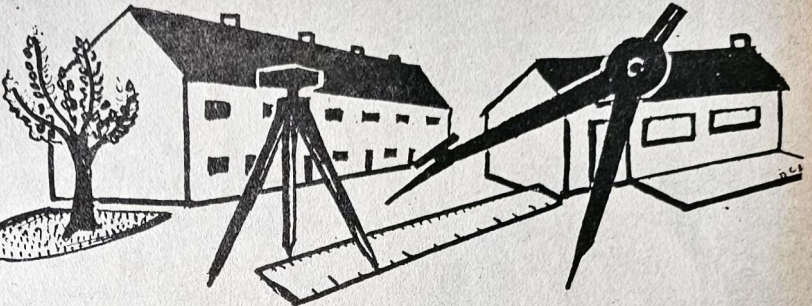
(e) Democratic re-organisation of professional, management and workers' unions and institutes in order to achieve a common goal, more diversification of the professional groupings to be encouraged with a trend towards formation of schools of design.

(f) Maximum development of mechanisation and prefabrication, 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 coordinated 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 related 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 the face 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 his 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 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 distance. Thus, farm houses and buildings 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 basis 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 factories and other major structures as places of employment, to meet transportation needs as 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 and planning standards.

## VILLAGE FOR SALE

Sir,

The village is Leixlip, but I'd like to see Swansboro, Baldoyle, or Talaght, 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 cheque-books waving 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 out 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 Government 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 speculators 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 — Yous, 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:

### Laighin

#### Lu

Deirdre Donnelly,  
83, St Nicholas Avenue,  
Dundalk

#### An Mhi

Jimmy Kinsella,  
Balrath,  
An Uaimh.

#### Loch Garman

#### Thuaidh

Diarmaid O Suilleabhain,  
8, Clonee,  
Gorty.

#### Loch Garman

#### Theas

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

#### Cill Chainnigh

#### Thuaidh

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

#### 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

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Sean O'Shea,  
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### Baile Atha Cliath

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2a, Lower Kevin St.,  
Dublin 8.

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#### Corcaigh

John Varian,  
50, Kerryhall Road,  
Fairhill,  
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#### Ciarrai Thuaidh

Liam MacCoitir,  
An Spa,  
Traighli.

#### Ciarrai Theas

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

#### Luimneach

Breandan 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,  
Carriga na Siuire.

### Tiobraid

#### Arann Thuaidh

Dan Gleeson,  
Elm Hill,  
Ballymacej,  
Nenagh.

### Connacht

#### Gaillimh

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,  
Ballinamore.

### Roscomain

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

### Uladh

#### Dun na nGall

Joe O'Neill,  
The Mall,  
Ballyshannon.

#### Dun na nGall

#### Thoir

Frank Morris,  
Convoy.

#### Cabhan

Liam Muimhneach,  
Moyneshall.

#### Muineachain

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Knockatallon P.O.

P. J. McGinn,  
Henry Street,  
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### Thar Lear

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72A, Stafford Road,  
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46, Beach Road,  
Chorlton,  
Manchester 21.

Bernard Walsh,  
42, Woodbridge Lawn,  
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84, City Road,  
Bristol.

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

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

## TADHG BROSNAN 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 invader 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 art 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 in the occupied area at £2 (U.S. 5 dollars) maximum order two per 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. 5 dollars) maximum order two per person.

These items may be obtained at our office in Kevin St., (off Camden St.) or by sending cash with order plus postage (or stamp addressed envelope) to:- An Runai, Irish Republican Philatelic office, 2A Lower Kevin Street, 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
Proinsias McAir	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	Wesford	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 Fein; 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.

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."

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 pedantic 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 use of authority which 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 an 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.

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 are in no way adverse to it in other circumstances. The moral basis for such condemnations would seem to be the contention that English policy is per se moral

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 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 variegated pattern of politics in different countries presents difficulties for myriads. The European partisans of World War II have been welcomed to the English Valhalla. The difficulty is that Irishmen, too unsophisticated to perceive 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."

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.

Scottish or Welsh soldiers, stationed in Ireland, are in no way serving the interests in 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.

This very simple assessment of the role of the Scottish and Welsh soldiers brings us to the militant letter. The attitude of all elements towards the Orangemen gives an indication of the most practical attitude to adopt towards Scottish and Welsh units. The right of any Unionists to opt out of the Irish nation is in no way conceded; for, apart

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 solidly English. French Colonies 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 Divide-and-Conquer rules and allowing England to retain the Orange Card as trump.

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-Irish 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.

As in the case of the Orangemen, action against Scottish or Welsh units is counter-productive. A more practical approach would be that the targets should be 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 miss 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.

-Hamish Campbell

## 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



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

## 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.

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**CUIR**

**COMAOIN**

**AR AR**

**BHFÓGRÓIRÍ**

**BIG ATTENDANCE FOR SINN FEIN ARDFHEIS**

THE SINN FEIN Ard Fheis for 1971 will be held in Liberty Hall, Baile Atha Cliath, on Saturday and Sunday, October 23-24.

Táthar ag súil go mbéidh slua mór teachtaí i láthair ó gach áonad de'n eagrais ag an Ard Fheis seo. Tabharfaidh an h-oifigeigh seála de'n dul chun cinn a dtéanta d'riomhadh ath-eagrú ar Shinn Féin. Tugann an Ard Fheis, freisin, deis do theachtáigh gach áonad páirtíghnách a ghlacadh i mílú polasaí agus ní chóir go ligfeadh an chumann an deis seo tharstu.

Herewith is a short message from the Rúnaíche, Máire Ní Bhaillín and Uaitéar O Loingsigh:

"There are those who would say that there is no time for talking at this critical period in the history of the nation, that this Ard-Fheis should be postponed or cancelled. While we agree for action rather than talk, we believe, nevertheless, that Democracy must have its way. So, the annual Ard-Fheis takes place in the Autumn of the year, just as it has taken place each year since the foundation of the Organisation (except in 1969, when for sinister purposes, individuals who were then in control, pushed the Ard-Fheis back until January 1970). The period since that eventful Ard-Fheis, which

took place in the Intercontinental Hotel, has been one of continual expansion, as a result of which we find it necessary to change the timetable. Since no hall capable of holding the expected attendance is available during the traditional hours, we are forced to commence the Ard-Fheis at 10 a.m. on Saturday and on Sunday, adjourning at 6 p.m. each day.

"Undoubtedly this will place some hardship on people travelling long distances, but we are confident that delegates will make the extra effort to be present for the entire Ard-Fheis.

"Due to recent events in the occupied portion of our country, the eyes of the world have turned towards the Republican Movement. Throughout the summer months, hundreds of foreign journalists and television crews flocked to 2a Lower Kevin Street, and the question most frequently on peoples' lips was, "How strong is this Organisation?"

"Sinn Féin is strong throughout the country, but it is not enough to have strength; we must be seen to have strength. It is imperative therefore, that every Cumann have its delegates at the Ard-Fheis for its full duration.

"An unrepresented Cumann will be a Cumann failing in its duty, in this, the final hour in the fight for full freedom."

**LITREAGHA**

**What say you Mr. Fitt?**

Mr. G. Fitt's bitter outbursts against the Provisional IRA are indicative of his basic lack of any sense of principle or sincerity. They demonstrate too his attitude for political opportunism. It is barely two years since Mr. Fitt was frantically seeking the aid of the local IRA unit in his area to protect his person and his hon. And it is sickeningly sad to reflect that today's "madman" risked life and liberty in order that Mr. Fitt might survive to spew forth his invective.

Were Michael Kane, Danny O'Hagan and Billy Reid madmen too, Mr. Fitt? And what of Jim Saunders and Patrick McAdorey and the others who died that your constituents might be protected against the excesses of the Orange extremists and the British army? How dare you demean the generosity of their deaths with your cheapness of your mean political discourse. How dare you attempt to denigrate their memory in your unprincipled endeavour to regain your petty political fortunes.

Sadder still, to think you, Mr. Fitt, would push yourself forward as the leading

minority spokesmen when your convenient absences from your constituency in times of danger and hardship are in shameful contrast to the politically secure noises you are making today. How hypocritical of you Mr. Fitt, publicly to condemn an internment when you are on record as privately agreeing with Unionist spokesmen of the need to intern members of the Republican Movement. In the Unionist Party's attempt to split the SDLP, Mr. Faulkner has found in you a willing ally. Your singular act of treachery in betraying your colleagues on the occasion of the confidence debate on B. Kelly, the Six County Attorney General, is but one example of your frustrated bewilderment at finding yourself in a political wilderness.

You have chosen sides badly, Mr. Fitt, and you have just completed your isolation from your own constituents. We challenge you now to resign your Stormont and Westminster seats and to contest them against a Republican pledged to the concept of Dail Eilinn.

John Kelly, Donmhach Broc, Baile Atha Cliath 4.

**Clarification on statement**

In a statement the nature of which appeared over my name and address in An Phoblacht of 'Mean Fomhair' it is usual journalistic practise to check with the author and to make clear to possible readers how and where the statement originated. This you omitted to do.

This account was written by me for use by the Association for Legal Justice, and although I fully concurred with them in having it made available for publication by the Press, it

can be interpreted by your handling of it as having been specially written for An Phoblacht. Your clarification on this issue is thus requested and courtesy shown to the A.L.J. for their tremendous work on behalf of the Northern people.

Fred Heatley, Rivendale Park West, Andersonstown, Belfast Feirste 11.

We published the statement bona fide and did it from the A.L.J., Egarrathoir.

Tá Craobh na hUaimhí de Chomradh na Gaeilge ag tarraingt ar chluie eagrais náisiúnta bheith páirteach i bhfeachtas náisiúnta chun bhéalaí a chur ar na húdaráis áitiúla agus na comhlachtait áití lonnínneacha, cearta Gaeilge a ghairmhadh an bhlaíche na hÉireann.

D'iarr an chraobh ar Choiste Gnó an Chomradh tús a chur leis an bhfeachtas seo agus tá siad ag súil go nglacfaidh eagrais náisiúnta eile páirt ann. Tá seála ceirthe go dtí Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin ina thaobh freisin.

**CRAOBH GHAELTACHTA**

Bunáidh craobh nua de Chomradh na Gaeilge i Rath Cairn i nGaeltacht na Mí le deireannas, Craobh Cearta Rath Cairn an t-ainm air agus tabharfaidh sé aghaidh ar chur chun cinn leas eacnamaíochta agus sóiséalta an chéantair.

Baill de'n chraobh, thar chéim muintir na háite atá mar aonadail na ar na cruinnithe le SFADCO agus Comhairle na Gaeilge. Tá láthair nuair a bunóidh an chraobh bhí Seán MacStiofáin (Timira), agus An tAthair Micheál MacGréil, S.J. a thug óráid spreagúil uaidh.

**CUMANN CABHRACH ANNUAL ANOACH**

A committee has been formed to organise the Annual Anocht of An Cumann Cabhrach which will be held in first week in December. Members or friends willing to help should contact the committee, c/o 24 Lr. Kevin Street, B.A.C.S. The following subscriptions were recently received:

**CABHAIN**

B O'Donoghue.....	£2.00
M Brady.....	£0.30
Anon.....	£0.75
J Cunningham.....	£17.00

**AN CLAIR**

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Loughnane Bros Cumann.....	£2.15
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M Boyle Collection.....	£20.23
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**PORTLAOISE**

Andy Molloy.....	£41
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**LU**

Goss & Goughran Cumann.....	£14.50
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**GAILLIMH**

Frank Glynn.....	£20.00
B Gormley, Tuam.....	£3.50

**AN MHI**

P Hanway.....	£10.00
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**MUINEACHAN**

E O'Hanlon.....	£1.00
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**MAIGH EO**

T Howley, Balla.....	£0.50
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**TIOBRAD ARANN**

M Fogarty.....	£51.50
M Keeney, Borrisokane.....	£25.00

**CORCAIGH**

D O'Sullivan.....	£2.55
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**WALES**

J McSwiney.....	£3.50
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**LONDON**

L McDonnell per J Clarke.....	£50.00
Campaign for Social Justice.....	70.00
M Holden.....	£2.00

**U.S.A.**

Mrs Griffin, San Francisco.....	\$200
Jack Lynch, New York.....	\$ 30
C F Malone.....	\$ 96

**MAN REFUSES TO ACT AS INFORMER**

An unsuccessful attempt by a Garda sergeant in Athl (Co Chille Dara) to get an informer into the I.R.A. was publicly exposed in the presence and hearing of the sergeant at a recent meeting called to protest against internment.

Several hundred were present when Mr George Reilly told the story of the attempt by Sergeant Shorte to induce a young man to act as his informer. Sgt Shorte was observing the meeting from a street corner as Mr Reilly spoke.

Mr Reilly said: Sgt Shorte recently approached a young man in the town, a young Irishman, whom he asked to join the local unit of the I.R.A. for the purpose of becoming a police informer.

"He said that if the man did this, certain charges that were pending against him would be dropped and he (Shorte) would see him alright in every way. If he informed the Sgt would see he was well paid.

"Instead of becoming an informer, this young man approached us and told us what Sgt Shorte had asked of him. We informed the sergeant that we thoroughly and completely satisfied ourselves that what this person had told us was true."

Mr Reilly then challenged Sgt Shorte to come up on the platform and deny what had been charged against him. The Sergeant

made no response and began directing traffic.

Resuming, Mr Reilly said that if the young man had been foolish enough to accept the offer and had later been found out as an informer, Sgt Shorte would be indifferent to his fate.

Mr Reilly concluded: "We have been here in Athl in the north, I.R.A. and I am not ashamed to say it here openly. If we are ever called upon to go north and stand side by side with our fellow countrymen and women in the fight against the British oppressors, we will go.

"To you who are listening to me now, who are sincere and dedicated to Ireland, and who wish to join the Republican Movement I say: If you join, we will protect you from Sgt Shorte and his likes. If, however, Sgt Shorte leaves us alone we will leave him alone. Our fight at the moment is in the north. Sgt Shorte should not try to bring it south."

Loud applause and cheering greeted Mr Reilly's remarks and at the end of the meeting, the chairman, Mr Plunkett Corr, said that Sgt Shorte would do better to follow the example of his colleagues who refused to guard the British Embassy than to be involved in the type of dirty work he had attempted.

**DUNDALK RALLIES TO CALL**

Every household in Dun Dealgan was approached by members of the local Goss and Gaughran Cumann, Sinn Féin and a tremendous response was reported to appeals for money, clothing and foodstuffs to aid suffering people in Occupied Ireland. Tenants Associations and G.A.A. clubs also gave assistance.

Reporting on activities since internment was unleashed, Sinn Cumann P.R.O. Proinsias de Brun states that members of the cumann canvassed all shops in the town, and held collections in Carlingford and Omagh. Up to 1,500 people attended a meeting at the Market Square in Dun Dealgan.

The Dun Dealgan meeting, which was addressed by Mr Tom Concanon, Ard-Chomhairle, Sinn Féin, Mr Frank McGeogh (Kilsaran, Co Louth), an ex-internee, Mr Paddy Duffy (Cavan), and Mr John Kelly (Belfast), brought many new members to the Republican Movement.

The Cumann extends its sincerest thanks to the people of Dun Dealgan and Cullagee

for the magnificent support given by them to their brethren in British Occupied Ireland in recent times.



A victim of internment: Speaking at the Richard Goss and Liam Gaughran Commemoration in Dun Dealgan, just one week before internment in Occupied Ireland is Mr John McKenna, of Newry.

**HOW MANY MORE?**

Two members of the British Army were wounded in Doire by sniper fire at Eastway on Saturday September 11. This incident was not reported in any newspaper or news media, Republicans in the 6 Counties are in fact much higher than admitted.

This incident in Doire states their view. We ask how many more British servicemen have been killed or injured in the North in addition to the 24 admitted fatal casualties and the almost seven hundred

wounded, by the British War Office.

**LONDON**

An Anti-Internment League has been formed in London composing delegates from Irish organisations in London. Chairman: Dermot Kelly, N.I.C.R.A.; Vice-Chairman: Michael O'Kane, Strabane. Irish people in London should note that the Clann na nGael organisation in London is not affiliated or connected with the Republican Movement.

**SINN FEIN Ard Fheis 1971**

CONNOLLY AUDITORIUM LIBERTY HALL, BAILE ATHA CLIATH

SAT & SUN OCTOBER 23/24 10.00 a.m. - 6.00 p.m. gach la

President of Sinn Fein will address Ard Fheis at 12 noon on Sunday.

CEILI - SATURDAY NIGHT

AN PHOBLAcht ABU I

# An Phoblacht

IMLEABHAR 2 UIMHIR 10 (Sraith Nua)

## DONT BE FOOLED!

OUR MESSAGE to the Irish people this month is clear and concise, do not be fooled by the New Free-Staters in Kevin Boland's Aontacht Eireann. If Boland was back in power to-morrow he would not hesitate to use measures against the Irish Republican Army that he himself describes as distasteful but necessary. Mr Boland is a politician - a Free-State politician and Free-State politicians do not change their spots. Power and the privileges that go with power are the real objectives of the founders of Aontacht Eireann, an extended Free State gomben Republic would satisfy them - but not genuine Republicans. We stand for a "Nua Eite" with a new revolutionary political structure in place of the foreign imposed system that has brought so much misery, poverty and violence to our people. The way ahead is clear, the path to freedom does not lie through Leinster House or through Gerry Fitt's talking house in Droire, but through the sacrifice of the men and women, boys and girls of the resistance movement who alone by their armed struggle will bring about the conditions that will make possible a political solution consistent with the National aspirations of our people. Ar ghla leis an troid.

## BAS NO BEATHA

Ar tráthóna Dé Luan, Meán Fomhair 4, ar dhúl amach di le'n a cáirde, ní raibh fhios ag Annette McGavain go raibh uair na cinnta buaite léi. Ba mhian léi piléar rubéar a fháil ón tsráid - bíonn neart díobh thar na laetha seo - agus bhí piosa uachtar roite á na aicé.

Ní raibh sí ag smaoineamh ar an mbás. Ghlac sí leis go raibh a saol ag síneadh roimpe amach. Is ar éigin gur smaoineigh sí, nó go raibh fhios aici fú, go raibh 99 dhúine eile básaithe roimpe i dtíoblaíodh an tuaiscirt le 99 bhliain aruas.

Dhúnmarraigh saighdiúir Sásanach go fealltach fuilteach i gar dá teach féin. Ní raibh ní lamh aici ach piosa uachtar roite. Chonachtas an saighdiúir ag cromadh ar a ghúln, ag árdú: is ag dírú a ghunna; chonachtas ag cáitheadh piléar luadhe, ní piléar rubéar chonachtas ag títim í. Bhí sí marbh ar an toirt.

Leádh an saol ma nuachtáin, chracladh ar radio is telefís é. "In Deireadh Cholmille maraigh saighdiúir 14 bhliain déag arís. O' thoisí na tréibh léi i dtuaiscear Eireann dhá bhliain ó shin mearhadh 100 dhúine."

Seo, 100 dhúine básaithe le dhá bhliain. Ach c'á ní méid atá básaithe le 100 bliain? Le 800 bliain? Céard uair ar feidir le saighdiúirí Sásanacha muinín na hEireann a mhárú in Eirinn fós sa bhliain seo 1971? Céard dúirt Jack Lynch ina thaobh? Céard dúirt William Cardinal Conway nó George Otto Simms ina thaobh? Céard dúirt siad, agus Liam Cosgrave, Brendan Corish, Conor "Katanga" Crúise O'Brien, ina thaobh? Céard dúirt siad i dtáobh an bhuaichtráir trí bhliain d'ois a mharáigh lórlá d'Arm Shásana ar shraideanna Dhoire Colmille dóra lá ina dhiaidh sin?

Tadál B'shin a dúirt siad ina thaobh. Ach céard a bhí le rá acu nuair a mharáigh O'glaigh na hEireann saighdiúir na Banríona ar shraideanna Dhoire Colmille agus áiteacha eile ó thaobh? Chuir na sibhíní seoiríníacha combhrón in iúl do Shásana. Déanaimís an t-ádh ceard. Déanaimís dírú ar rubric, d'áir an diplomachais. I tortha cáilíocht ar conrad "Eire" agus An Ríocht Aontaithe.

"Shoot to kill" an polasaí oifigiúil ó thuaiscear. Polasaí na Banríona é. Le feachtáin go ríthífidh "the Queen's writ" ar shraideanna Dhoire Colmille is ar shraideanna na mbaile eile sa chúid sin d'Eirinn atá faoi chois i dtuaiscear Shásana. Ní mór ceacht a mhúineadh dos na "Fenian B's" seo. Tá ag éirigh ró-mháth leo; bris a meannán; buail secon ina gcoirthe; tabhair orthu éirigh as bheith ag cuidiú le ag cothú na "terrorists". "Shoot to kill" an polasaí agus is cuma fear, bean nó páiste.

Is cuma freisin an bráig. Tugadh le fios go raibh O'glaigh na hEireann ag cáitheadh nuair a dhúnmarraigh Annette McGavain. Bhí an tseán an go ceaptáid muinín Dhoire Colmille agus muinín uilig na hEireann, agus an mhúinín uilig a dhéanfaidh an seol ar fud an domhain, gurbh íad na "terrorists" agus an tseán an go ceaptáid muinín d'Arm Shásana. Mar a chuir O'glaigh na hEireann in iúl go poiblí, agus mar a chuir na daoine a bhí ag bréathnú ar an dromhóir, ba bhliain d'Arm Shásana a rinne an feall thábhach seo.

Polasaí oifigiúil trídúlachta atá curtha roimpe ag Sásana le déanaí leis an t-ádh. Is mian le Sásana go mbráifear meannán na tíre, go n-impóidh pobal na tíre in aghaidh arm na poblachtaí, O'glaigh na hEireann. Léirigh an eacshra ag Cúirt Bhán, Co Ard Macha do'n domhan go raibh pobal na tíre na thaobh O'glaigh na hEireann. San áit sin thug an pobal drom laimhe d'arm agus poiblí an tSaorstáit. Chuir siad an rualóg orthu agus chuir fíos agus fáilte roimh arm na poblachtaí.

Sa tuaiscear tá t-Árm Shásana a dhéanadh ag iarraidh greim a choinneáil ar dhéanadh dá mháistir Impiríochlanna. Sna Sé Chonntaí Fícheá tá na máistir Impiríochlanna dána i gcomhacht tr'n gheim atá acu ar eacnamaíocht na tíre, agus tr'n tionscru atá ag cultúir Shásana agus go h-áitíne tr'n chomhacht atá ag Sacs-Bhéarla an seano.

Bás no beatha an máistir Eireannaigh atá á chinnadh thuiscear. An bás a bhí in ann d'Annette sa troid ó thaobh. Cinnfear bás no beatha an máistir d'áir a dhéanfaidh gach mac mathar againn, thuaidh thosa, sa tréimhe amach anseo romhainn. Ná bíodh sé le maíomh ag na glúnta atá romhainn gurh rogha linn glacadh le bealach na hpolaiticeoirí: "Sellout" eile.

"These are times that try men's souls; the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country."

Thomas Paine.

Once again the Irish nation faces in arms the British Army. It may seem that, at the moment, this army is only operative in the north eastern (six counties) of our land, let it be clearly understood that if Westminster thought that the six counties might become part of a United Ireland, which of course they will, it would not hesitate to fit troops in the 26-Counties to ensure that this last small portion of their decaying Empire would not be lost to them. Those who doubt this possibility have only to re-call Clutch Hill's "Operation Eire" which was to take them from Ireland in the early 40s, the first year of the second World War.

When power and privilege are threatened the British Establishment will stop at nothing to secure their position. As Arthur Bevan said (and as a working miner he should have known) "The British Ruling Authority" may seem smooth and easy going but, in point of fact, when they see their privilege and position threatened, no greater bunch of bloody-minded thugs have ever existed; when so threatened there is literally no limit to their treachery and viciousness. They would, without hesitation, hand their daughters into the hands of a madman in a brothel - as indeed they did when they tried to break the First Labour Government.

If they felt that such action would secure their position, usually they would, boys, without tith, not 300 Irishmen but 1,000,000 of them they would like, clear and false, the truth, murder, bribe, anything to secure their position.

The Irish nation now stands on call to arms against the century-old enemy, England. At a time like this it is well to assess the enemy forces, neither overestimating their ability nor under-rating their ability. A professional is, after all, a professional. However, it must be borne in mind that where the British Army is concerned the English media has a clear cut job to do, it must portray the British army as always victorious.

This is a carefully cultivated image, and by Fleet Street standards must never be tarnished. It is very akin to Arthur Griffith's complaint that the world never knew what was really going on in Ireland because Ireland was surrounded by Paper Wall, (Fleet Street). As a brilliant journalist, he knew what he was talking about.

Of course, this illusion of British Army invincibility, so carefully fostered, is without any factual foundation. The British Army has been beaten into the ground, out-gunned, out-maneuvred and generally decisively defeated in many occasions - it is simply that no one ever told you.

As a mark of respect to those fighting Irishmen and women now facing this same British Army in occupied Ireland, a brief description of a major British Army and Navy defeat in the southern campaigns of the American War of Independence should prove heartening, and indeed instructive.

To investigate the successful emergence of a nation from the slavery of colonial exploitation to full and free nationhood, is always worth while, when the colonial power was Britain, it is doubly important from an Irish point of view.

The southern campaigns of the American War of Independence ended in the utter defeat of the British land forces and of the British Navy. We are told verbally, and we read in great detail, of the professional ability of the present

# From Yorktown to Belfast

day British Army. "Firepower freedom" has given us chapter after chapter in this "free propaganda" directed at us is just part of the British gimmick - "that their boys are the best." For this reason let us see what happened to equally well equipped and trained men from the back woods and swamps, from the shacks in the hills, the shores of lakes and rivers - more often hungry than not rarely possessing sound footwear - resting when they could with a single blanket for cover.

The British, who did not lack courage, were beaten in the most absolute sense, beaten until, under the eyes of General Washington, they marched past, regiment by regiment, to stack their arms as ordered and hand in their Regimental Colours; many of the regiments had seen service in Ireland against our own people.

They were beaten by a hastily raised army of backwoodsmen, small farmers, clerks, boys, Indians and militia, the latter only agreeing to serve for short periods. All these men possessed one great characteristic: they loved America in the sense that they could live their lives as they wished.

It is doubtful if many had any great ideas of democracy - but they practised democracy in their daily lives, helping each other and always willing to change the

of most of the "Rebel Army" allowed its generals to undertake actions involving long marches and independent thinking that would have been impossible in a conventional army.

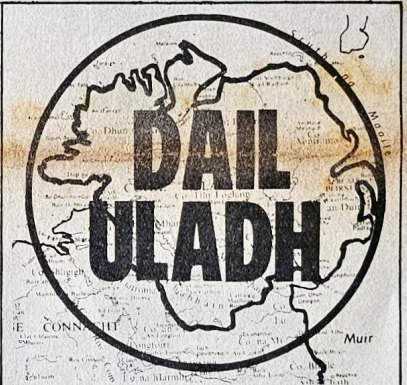
There are some interesting parallels that bring us right up to this day.

When Sir Henry Clinton landed with 10,000 veteran troops at Savannah and, by superior numbers and fire power, captured the area, the prisoners taken were put in prison hulks to rot, starve or go insane. "Leopards do not change their spots" - Republicans are aboard a prison ship at this moment.

Blood money was paid to the Indians fighting with the British for enemy scalps - 5-7 dollars if the ears were included. Many of our men were recently offered money to betray their comrades.

Colonel Banastre Tarleton (Butcher Tarleton), having accepted the surrender of all American troops under Colonel Abraham Beauford's command at Richmond, had them all massacred. Our own civilians are shot daily by the so-called British marksmen - usually at about 25 yards range. Some marksmen.

The American War of Independence lasted for just over 6 years, bitter years. It was a straightforward revolt by the colonial people of the inhabited



DAIL ULADH is proposed by the Army Council of the I.R.A. as a step towards a political solution of the Six Counties problem. A report known as Comhairle Uladh is at present investigating the action to be taken for formally setting up Dail Uladh. The first moves towards forming Dail Chonachta will be taken shortly.

unknown, moving westwards, but their log cabins and a carving by sheer courage and tenacity a girl living from a virgin territory. These same people, usually of no property, often unable to read or write, when faced by the possibility of having to be controlled and regimented by a British Governor thousands of miles away, took arms to secure what little they had so that it might become more for their children, if not for themselves.

This war proved that it is only necessary to defeat a part of an invading Army to terminate the struggle, if the defeat is so decisive as to break the navy. When Cornwallis surrendered in Yorktown there was still a considerable British Army in America, supported by the remains of the British Fleet in New York harbour. Yet, for all that the English defeat at Yorktown, coupled with the partial destruction of the English Fleet by the French allies of the Americans, proved sufficient to induce the English Government to capitulate.

Most of the American generals lacked formal military knowledge but they knew two important things: they knew their men and they knew the land. Time and again the correct use of ground brought local British defeats at small cost to the Americans. Again, the independence of mind

The men that mattered: General Washington; 47 yrs., no formal military training, no great talker; detestation of politicians; a superb understanding of human nature.

General Greene: a disciplinarian; great mixer with his men; could out-march or out-ride any man under his command.

Francis Marion (The Swamp Fox): a skilled guerilla leader; striking at the British lines of communication.

Daniel Morgan: a clever tactician and natural leader.

Marquis de Lafayette: professional French soldier; Army Commander at 23 years of age; a good man could load and fire 5 times in 4 minutes. All these men gathered together by a few pages of paper called the King's writ, the new Nation, and yet for which few came to fight for. The Tories (some 60% of the colonists) wanted the King and a good man could load and fire 5 times in 4 minutes. All these men gathered together by a few pages of paper called the King's writ, the new Nation, and yet for which few came to fight for. The Tories (some 60% of the colonists) wanted the King and a good man could load and fire 5 times in 4 minutes. All these men gathered together by a few pages of paper called the King's writ, the new Nation, and yet for which few came to fight for. The Tories (some 60% of the colonists) wanted the King and a good man could load and fire 5 times in 4 minutes.

The general British policy in the War against the colonists was to let American fight American. They were recruited from among colonists sympathetic to the British Crown. In British controlled areas all Church of England Ministers were conscripted.

Bishop of Rochester: "All that common people have to do with laws is obey them." All dissenters were burnt out as rebels.

In the southern area of the war the British held most of the coast line from New York to Savannah. They built a chain of forts based on the coast town of Charleston going north-west to the Smokey Mountains. The American policy was to harass the lines of communication between forts. By the year 1780, (the war had been in progress for nearly 6 years), Sir Henry Clinton, based at New York, was carrying out an indifferent tactical plan. The British Fleet was in New York harbour.

Lord Cornwallis was in command of all British forces in the south. General Washington moved from guerilla tactics to direct confrontation with the British, splitting his forces in two. One was General Greene and the other under General Daniel Morgan. It was winter, bitterly cold and wet. General Greene moved north-east to join General Washington, who was moving south with his French allies. General Daniel Morgan captured the British Forces at Cowpens in southern Carolina, inflicting a crushing defeat on the British, eventually forcing Cornwallis to fall back on Yorktown. Three key forts in the British chain were captured by the Americans - Fort Granby, Forte Motte and Fort Wagon, New Washington. The French allies, joined later by Generals Greene and Morgan, closed in on Yorktown and after a prolonged campaign reduced the British to complete surrender. No reinforcements could reach Cornwallis, due to the naval action of the French who blockaded north and south Carolina, so here the British Fleet was severely beaten in a five days and nights haul, and retired to New York harbour.

"Our citizenship in any particular State is only our local distinction, our great title is that of being AMERICANS" - Thomas Paine.

Perhaps we could re-write this for ourselves.

"Our Province is our local distinction, our religion a personal choice, our great title is that of being IRISH."

Descriptions of wars can be boring, especially if we recall our school days where dates, kings, wars, were facts to be assimilated so that we could pass exams. The descriptions given in our school books bore no relation to real causes or conditions of fighting. Set below is, it is hoped, a brief but factual account of the final phases of the American War of Independence which ended in the utter and complete defeat of the British Army.

Area of conflict: (This area is roughly three times the land area of Ireland). Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, mountains, hills, valleys, rivers and streams; equally bitter winters, often with excess

The defeat of Cornwallis, though only a part of the British army, was sufficient to influence the British Government to sue for peace. This was born the U.S.A.

Let us, as a generous nation, present the British with a second "Yorktown" - Beal Feiste!