



# OPEN LETTER TO CARDINAL

Archbishop John Cardinal Krol,  
Archbishop of Philadelphia,  
222 North 17th Street,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Father,

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 8th relative to statements made by Church leaders about the situation existing in Northern Ireland. My earlier letter made reference to your statements in which you were critical of those attempting to bring about reform measures in Ulster.

No one likes violence but it seems that certain Church leaders are only opposed to violence carried out by Irishmen. When the British army and the British government carry out violence, as on Bloody Sunday, as at the Long Kesh Concentration Camp and elsewhere, the Church remains silent. If concentration camps were wrong for Jews, why are concentration camps right for Irish Catholics? Are not these people members of our own flock?

We believe there is something wrong with a philosophy which condemns violence by individuals but supports violence by the government. Certainly the present government in Northern Ireland is based on violence. It is, in effect, a one man operation conducted by a military dictator who happens to be the Secretary of State for Northern Irish affairs. His government is really the British army which has degraded Irish Catholics from one corner of Ulster to another. Do you not see any violence in placing unarmed men behind the barbed wire of Long Kesh? Do you not see violence against women and children as carried out by the British army on their patrols 24 hours a day during the entire week? Do you not see violence in the operation of the Royal Ulster Constabulary which, only a few weeks ago, shot 2 British soldiers in cold blood because they were thought to be I.R.A. men. R.U.C. orders are to shoot on the spot suspected Irish Republican Army members. Is such a policy to be supported by the Church simply because it is a policy carried out by a supposedly civilised government emanating from the English City of London?

Your suggestion that the present government should receive the respect of the people is difficult to comprehend. Certainly the government was not democratically elected since Republican parties were excluded from participating in the recent elections simply because they were banned under the notorious Special Powers Act. We fail to see where an election can be free when certain individuals have not the right to vote for the party of their choice simply because that party or parties are banned and cannot participate in the election process.

My heart bleeds for the women and little children of Belfast and Derry who have been harassed daily for the last 5 years by the British army, by the police and the Ulster Defence Regiment. I

have visited Belfast on a number of times in the last 5 years and have seen with my own eyes British soldiers kicking and beating old men and 13 year old boys. Certainly your Church cannot speak for Christ when it condones such activities by a so called representative government.

I am not interested in Bishop Philbin's speeches. We would like to see some action come from Bishop Philbin. Rhetoric is not sufficient in these times.

When you visit Belfast again, I would suggest that your visit with the people, not with the ascendancy. A walk through the Lower Falls Road or through Andersonstown might serve to enlighten you as to the facts of life in Ulster today.

Please overlook my frankness and directness. You must understand that you are helping to one but the British government. You are only perpetuating the present misery and destruction. The killing must end but the killing will never end as long as the Catholic Church and other established groups work hand in hand with the British government. After all, we Americans fought and died for our liberty. The British called us terrorists and placed a price on the head of George Washington and his Irish American associates.

Let me add that I am not a Catholic. I am a Unitarian and from my experience, I find that most Church leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, co-operate with the established government. This seems to be a policy of the Catholic Church and is followed out in other areas of the world, especially in Latin America which is now about to fall into the communist orbit.

You cannot bomb 1 million Protestants into a united Ireland but at the same time, you cannot mistreat and bomb and intern one half million Catholics into the United Kingdom. Let us face this fact of life.

In the last 2 years, about 250 Irish Catholics have been victims of political assassinations in the City of Belfast alone. What has the Catholic Church done about this except to remain silent? If this happened in the City of Philadelphia, people would be rioting in the streets. I believe that the Irish Catholic reaction should not be criticised. The present government in Belfast does not have the respect of the population. Even Protestant opposition is mounting.

Your letter states that you seek a government accountable to the "will of the people." Certainly the present government is accountable to no one in Northern Ireland. We note that the Catholic Church in Poland has supported the people in opposing communism. On the other hand, the Catholic Church in Ireland seems to support the same kind of policies carried out by communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain.

In closing, let me say that you do not seem to realise that several Loyalist groups in the United States are presently circulating

various speeches by Catholic priests and bishops in an effort to show that there is no need for reforms in Northern Ireland and Irish Catholics are vicious terrorists. It is strange to see the Catholic Church being used in this fashion by Loyalist groups.

In today's mail, I received a copy of a letter sent to parishioners by Father Aquinas of Belfast to his parishioners dated March 7, 1973. It might interest you to know that copies of this letter are being circulated in the United States by the Ulster American Loyalist Club, Post Office Box 45918, Los Angeles, California 90045. It seems to me that the Catholic Church is in strange company. Another document being circulated by the same group is entitled "The Terror — and the Tears" a publication of the Northern Irish government. I fear that you and your friends have driven the people to a state of frustration where they have taken up arms against the British government. Did you really leave them any other course? Political agitation is still a crime in Northern Ireland. There is nothing left but the gun in the eyes of many. How could the Church have allowed the situation to drift this far?

I will be perfectly frank with you, Cardinal Krol. You and your associates are personally responsible for dozens of the deaths of women and children in Northern Ireland over the last 5 years. I know this statement will incense you but at the same time, it is factual. I have looked into the eyes of hundreds of Irish children in Belfast and Derry and have seen nothing but misery and fear. They have been sold out by the Church and by the Dublin Government and they know it. You also know it. I have known for several years.

The answer is quite simple. The Catholic Church could end the violence in 2 weeks if it insisted that the British Government immediately terminates its military actions. Such an ultimatum delivered to the London government would end all hostilities. Will you take this bold move? Of course you would subject yourself to criticism in various quarters but from the tone of your letter you claim to be interested in saving human life. Is this really true? No one likes violence but we must recognise the fact that as long as the British army continues its violence, all of which was initiated by the British government, there will be counter-violence from organisations like the Irish Republican Army and others.

We call upon you and other Church leaders to issue a statement within the next 10 days demanding that the London government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson terminate all military operations in Northern Ireland and withdraw all military forces from the streets of Belfast, Derry and other areas. Act and you can save the lives of hundreds of people. Failure to act will result in the death of hundreds in the coming months.

I would be interested in learning your views on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,

"AN AMERICAN SOLICITOR"

## BRITAIN CAPITULATES TO MOB RULE

With acknowledgements to the  
"Irish American Reporter"

When Loyalist mobs took to the streets in May and shut down industry in Northern Ireland, Prime Minister Harold Wilson pledged that British "law and order" would prevail, and there would be no negotiations with the so called "Worker's Council" strikers. A few days later, Wilson capitulated to the strikers, without negotiations. During the so called "strike" Wilson ordered the British army to step aside and not interfere with the strikers.

What followed the surrender to mob rule is highly significant. The British government promptly took these steps in response to the strikers' demands:

1. Dismissed the Northern Irish Assembly, putting it out of existence.
2. Cancelled the votes of those electors who had elected Assembly members in the 1973 elections.
3. Set aside the "Constitution Act of 1973," a vital piece of legislation enacted under the British "reform program," so called.

What Harold Wilson really did was to set aside the laws and the government of Northern Ireland because a Loyalist mob told him to do so. The British Parliament did not repeal the law, dismiss the Assembly or vacate the voting rights of hundreds of thousands of voters who had elected the Assembly. The Loyalist mobs did all this. The Northern Irish Assembly created a power sharing government in which Catholics were allowed to participate, for the first time in over 50 years. The British government's actions in surrendering to mob violence now bars Catholic participation in government in Ulster. Mr. Wilson's actions make Catholic rights subject to a veto given to the so called "Loyalist" element of the population. What this means is that Irish Catholics still have no rights in Northern Ireland, and apparently will never have any rights. British laws and order and law enforcement is subject to mob violence. This is now established British policy under the Wilson administration.

The "Ulster Worker's Council" was not a group of union strikers, but rather a front affording a new name for the Ulster Defence Association (U.D.A.), a heavily armed Loyalist para-military group which has terrorised Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants for over 3 years. The U.D.A. has publicly taken credit for the political assassinations of several Irish Catholics in the Belfast area where over 300 Catholics have been shot, butchered and mutilated in the last 2 years. Since the U.D.A. supports union with Britain, these political assassinations were rarely investigated, and almost never prosecuted. Unlike the I.R.A. which is illegal under British law, the U.D.A. is almost completely disarmed and at the total mercy of "Loyalist" groups.

Observers believe that the British government's recent actions are certain to mean more trouble at home, in the Council of Europe and in NATO. Prime Minister Wilson's actions were a clear violation of the Human Rights Convention of the Council of Europe and intervention by the Council of Europe in Ulster affairs is now rated a definite possibility by political observers.

Since the advent of the British Labour Party to power, the exercise of the Special Powers Act, succeeded by the present Emergency Provisions Act has not lessened in intensity of its application, Unknown to the general public, "suspects" are still being taken from the privacy of their homes and irrespective of sex, or ensuring hardships to family or dependents are incarcerated for long periods of time. This famous Act makes no allowance for compensation claims for loss of earnings when, and if, the person involved can establish the level of innocence required.

The authorities concerned would have us believe that screening of suspects is necessary in the interests of law and order, but put in its proper perspective, it would be informative to know the Security Forces definition of "suspect," taking into account the number of undisclosed arrests made daily under the varying sections of this Act.

Surely it's not too much to ask the elected politicians who professed to be fully sympathetic to the

minority concerned would have us believe that screening of suspects is necessary in the interests of law and order, but put in its proper perspective, it would be informative to know the Security Forces definition of "suspect," taking into account the number of undisclosed arrests made daily under the varying sections of this Act.

Bearing in mind the undisputed continued repression of the minority by the Security Forces, it is pathetic to realise that an apparent disinterest exists towards the plight of the internees, and the suffering and deprivation of liberty entailed to them. Expressions of sympathy are insufficient to combat the evils of this minority. Special emphasis should be placed on the need for more positive action, could and should be taken through properly constituted procedures to remove one of the most repressive measures ever passed by any Government.

Would it be too much to ask the authorities to give, to date, the number of arrests and releases, as against the number of detentions without trial since 1969, or from 9th August 1971? Maybe our politicians could pursue this query. Political imposition of a limited freedom for the minority over a decade of time has inevitably culminated in a heroic struggle for equal rights, and in honour of those courageous people whose dedication has ended in the supreme sacrifice, it is imperative that their purpose has not been in vain.

Yours sincerely

JOSEPH RIGBY,  
109 Stratheden Street,  
Belfast 15.

# Are you Active?

(This article was published in REPUBLICAN NEWS on 30th June 1972. We believe it is still valid - Editor).

I was in Kilkelty recently and when I suggested to some people there that a Sinn Fein Cumann should be formed in the town, I was asked a straight forward question, namely: "What could the members of a cumann do here?"

The question may appear simple, but if you had been in my position, how would you have answered it?

Let's face it, a lot of hard work is required to make Sinn Fein into a really effective political organisation. There is scope for a great increase in membership; there are many towns in Ireland without a cumann. We must admit that the organisation has many critics, even among dedicated Republicans.

It would be foolish to dismiss these criticisms without giving them at least a careful examination.

However, we must remember that Sinn Fein is the political wing of the Republican Movement. Its members should ensure that they are not regarded or treated as second class members of the movement.

Let all Republicans clearly understand that the National Leadership of the movement in their address to the last Sinn Fein Ard Fheis stated: "Sinn Fein can and must play a vital part in the struggle for National Freedom."

Every member should have a copy of the Constitution of Sinn Fein and a copy of its Social and Economic Programme. It is the duty of the Officer Board of each cumann to ensure that this is the position and that their members have studied these documents.

Let each member realise that he or she has a voice and a vote in the running of the organisation and that this should be used to the best possible effect.

There is no point in staying quiet at the cumann meeting and then criticising afterwards the views expressed or the decisions taken at the meeting. Members must be prepared to accept responsibility, but they should not take on a job unless they are willing to do it properly.

EVERY CUMANN SHOULD BE PUSHING THE SALES OF "AN PHOBLAICHT" AND "REPUBLICAN NEWS". HOW MANY COPIES OF THESE PAPERS ARE SOLD BY THE MEMBERS OF YOUR CUMANN?

What are you doing to increase the sales in your area? These papers are capable educators, agitators and organisers for the movement. Are you doing all that can be done to assist them to spread Republicanism in your area?

People still tell us that they cannot buy Republican papers as sellers are not calling with them. Can this be said by people in your area?

There is no valid reason why each cumann could not organise a team of sellers to sell our papers in another district not already covered as well as their own.

So what about it? Banbridge, Coshendall, Portaferry, to mention but a few places, should get early attention . . .

# Will Englishmen Be Allowed To Write Irish History?

## DON'T MOVE A MUSCLE!

BY CHARLES E. P. RAFFERTY,  
Internee in Long Kesh  
Concentration Camp.

On Tuesday May 14th, I was awakened by soldiers running into the hut, screaming and throwing lockers on the floor. They then told us to stay in our beds and to put our arms out from the blankets and to hold them straight down by our sides. Then they told us not to move a muscle.

One at a time they told us to get up, dress, and then to lie straight down on our backs and to keep our eyes on the corrugated sheeting above us.

I was lying fully dressed and following this procedure I heard a commotion going on down the hut. I looked down and I saw a soldier beating my brother Brian on the legs and shouting at him to get his legs straight. My brother answered him telling him they were as straight as a stick. The soldier then started to baton him. Then more soldiers started pulling him off the bed. At this stage my vision was obstructed owing to a few lockers which were situated beside my bed, so I made a move to get off my bed because I was concerned for the welfare of my brother.

When I jumped off the bed, I was immediately batoned by a soldier so I hit the ground. I must state that the blow I struck him was just a reflex action on my behalf. As soon as I had hit that soldier I was attacked by about eight more soldiers who continually batoned and kicked me about the back, head and neck. I was dragged out by the hair of my head and outside the hut I was run off my feet by two British soldiers and rammed head first against the wire which surrounds the compound. There I saw my brother who was standing there naked except for underpants. They told us to get against the wire. As I turned round I felt myself going faint and I must have gone unconscious for I woke up later in a small canteen. I was lying on the flat of my back on the floor. The British soldiers were standing over me. Then the officer in charge brought in a Medical Officer. After seeing me the medical officer went out and came back with two other prison warders and a stretcher. They then carried me down to the camp hospital. I was laid out on the flat hardback couch in the "surgery." There I lay for four full hours in pain without any medical assistance. The only treatment I was offered was two pain killers which I refused.

After four hours the camp doctor who is normally on duty came and examined me back. He said that to his knowledge nothing was broken but I would have to be taken out for back, neck and head X-rays. When I was taken out I was handed over to a detective (to my knowledge) and also in the car was the medical officer and to what I understand there was another detective driving the car. In front was a police landrover with armed policemen and military policemen inside. Behind was a military police landrover with armed M.P.'s inside. The convoy and the car I was in then drove to Lagan Valley Hospital where I was X-rayed. On my return to the camp the medical officer got out of the car and walked into the guard-house (main security). When he came out he told the man I was handcuffed to, to take me over to the cells. Upon my protest about being put in the cells he told me that he did not know the reason for it but was only obeying orders.

On the second day of my solitary confinement, I was taken out of my cell and led to a table. Here a policeman set, he told me I was being charged and cautioned me. When I told the prison officer that I was entitled to the rights of a remand prisoner, the policeman on hearing this said then that I was not being formally charged and that it was just an allegation at this time. When the policeman left, my brother who was also in the cells at the time, was led back to the cage along with me.

## English Smoke Screen

"The recent sham furore by the British Government at the wearing of uniform by Republicans in London, was nothing more than a deliberate attempt by English politicians to smokescreen the reality of their guilt regarding the death of Volunteer Michael Gaughan," declared Malachy Fooths, spokesman for the Sinn Fein Ulster Executive.

"English condemnation of Oglaisigh na hÉireann and the calling for stern measures, was nothing more than a timely manoeuvre to try and shift the world's media attention from the sinister circumstances surrounding Gaughan's death in Parkhurst to the more simpler affair of wearing uniform," Mr. Fooths explained.

He added that it was timely to point out that the British Government played a "major part in the death of Michael Gaughan . . . this fact stands supreme no matter what English's attitude is to Oglaisigh na hÉireann."

Every powerful man who rose to the Hall of Fame, we were led to believe, was an Englishman; everybody loves us, was Britain's proud boast. Britain is renowned for heroic deeds of justice! Some of us were wondering, was there something wrong with our reasoning when we considered how Britain nightly showered thousands of tons of bombs on Dresden and other German cities.

These targets were not military ones, for by a strange coincidence British interests in Germany were never bombed! We were almost led to imagine that our race had down trodden the poor British Empire, our childhood history books stated: "There was none more noble or more distinguished than that of Duke William, Nelson, and their likes were lavished with praise. British JUSTICE was incomparable with any other in the wide world!!

General Amin of Uganda stated on the B.B.C. that he admired the British, and to show his interests in them he offered to help out their economy by sending them shiploads of Bananas to help nourish them, today we hear that Britain is biting the hand that fed her. They are accusing him of atrocities during the war in his country. This is the KETTLE CALLING THE POT BLACK!!! Considering that at present the Court of Human Rights are hearing the cases of torture carried on in Concentration camps by the British, who came to our island as a "Peace-keeping" force . . . They carried out their tortures on untried Irishmen, while the Southern Government had

## A Prayer From My Prison Cell

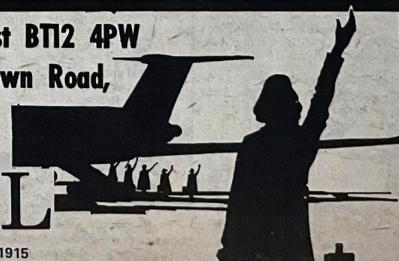
O, Sacred Heart of Jesus  
We pray to Thee today,  
To aid our suffering Motherland  
Upon her bloodstained way.  
For loyalty to serve her,  
For strength to set her free,  
O, Sacred Heart of Jesus!  
We send our prayers to Thee.

O, Sacred Heart of Jesus,  
Look down on us today,  
Make us strong, fearless soldiers,  
Ever ready for the fray,  
'Gainst Thine and Ireland's enemies,  
Wherever they may be,  
O, Sacred Heart of Jesus!  
We put our trust in Thee.

By the late Seamus Steele, Belfast Prison. 18th June, 1936.

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# GUERRILLA WARFARE

BY THOMAS NELIS  
MAN IN GLASGOW

Away back before the Christian era, one of the most feared fighting men was the Spartan Hoplites. From his boyhood days he was inured to hardship among the mountains of his native Greece. When a Spartan Phalanx moved into battle, the blood of their enemies ran cold from the sight of them, for their reputation had gone ahead before them.

The Spartans were strong muscular men; they needed to be, to carry all the weight of their armour on their long marches. A Spartan Phalanx bore a strong resemblance to a human tank as it moved in disciplined lines into the slaughter.

One day an event without parallel in military history took place. A Spartan column was wiped out by a small body of men wearing no armour, and only lightly armed. The shock of the Spartans' defeat reverberated around the ancient world, and made it necessary to study this new form of warfare which had been introduced into society.

The basic tactics of this new form of warfare was evasiveness - fluidity. As the heavily armoured Spartan column moved into the enemy territory, their lightly clad opponents refused to be drawn into a pitched battle. Their leaders recognised the folly of attempting to defeat the disciplined Spartans, who were trained in conventional warfare. Instead, they hung on the tail of the Spartan column for many days.

Like a pack of hungry wolves they would sweep down swiftly and suddenly, kill off a few Hoplites, and retreat before the Spartans could muster their strength effectively to oppose them. The Spartans, being loaded with heavy armour, could not pursue these swift footed warriors. So it went on, attack, kill a few, retreat; always in sight of the column, but out with their reach and frustrated rage.

The lightly clad enemy, knowing the command of the back of their hands - for it was their country, the land of their birth - set up ambushes for the Spartans.

Because they had the people, their people - on their side, the Spartans were unable to get food or water. Whenever the Spartans stopped to gain rest, their adversaries were on them, hurrying them, giving them no time to recover their strength.

Since it is a well known maxim that an army marches on its stomach, the Spartan discipline started to disintegrate, as they saw their fearsome fighting force being bled and cut to pieces all around them. As long as their opponents refused to engage them in outright battle, they were assured of victory.

Robert Taber in his excellent book, "The War of the Flea," asserts guerrilla warfare is "the political phenomenon of the 20th century," but it is an old, tried and proven form of warfare. It was usually adopted by primitive peoples to enable them to overcome a highly disciplined, more effectively armed enemy.

In my own native land of Scotland, it was used ultimately with great effect by the Caledonians against the might and discipline of the Roman Empire. Tacitus, the Roman historian, tells us the Roman legions fought an outright battle with the Caledonians, and massacred over ten thousand of them, for the loss of only three hundred and sixty men. Even allowing for partisanship and exaggeration in the account of the battle given by Tacitus, the Caledonians must have suffered a devastating defeat. It taught them a well needed lesson, for when the Roman Emperor severus engaged the Caledonians in a pitched battle he lost over fifty thousand men "cut off" as Tyller the Scottish Historian says, "By the Caledonians, who harassed the invaders on their march, though they cautiously avoided a general action."

Taber contends that a people "who realise their worth and capabilities can no longer be exploited by force or intimidation, nor can their aspirations be denied. They have found a counter strategy against the tyranny of wealth and the tyranny of power." The strategy of guerrilla warfare: waging the war of the flea. The importance of Taber's findings is seen in the fact that the first printing of his book "was bought in its entirety by the United States armed services," and has now become "required reading for U.S. Special Forces Officers."

The basic strategy of the guerrilla fighter is to stay alive and keep fighting. To coin a rather hackneyed saying: "He who fights and runs away, lives to fight another day." In order to accomplish this feat, the guerrilla fighter needs to win the support of the people, and avoid a direct confrontation with an enemy superior in numbers, fire, power and discipline.

Since the guerrilla fighter needs the support of the populace in order to survive, he requires to have some political aim which will win their sympathy. The guerrilla fighter is thus a propagandist; one who sows

the seeds of the revolutionary idea. Since no revolution can succeed unless the populace are alienated from the regime in power, it is obvious that this propaganda work is of primary importance in guerrilla activity.

One of the most famous guerrilla fighters of modern times is the Chinese leader Mao Tse-Tung. Because of his communist political beliefs, much of his work has been denigrated by his opponents. But none can deny that his knowledge of guerrilla warfare brought him success. In his "selected military writings," which are really an historical analysis of the campaign of the Chinese red army, Mao states: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." As Robert Taber says: "But then, why not? The policy of hitting the enemy when he is weak, evading him when he is strong, taking the offensive when he falls back, circling around him when he advances - all of this is only common sense."

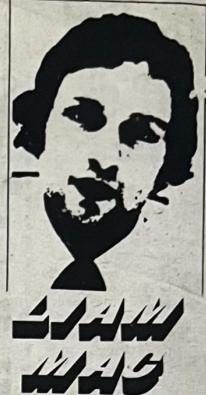
In Ireland today the I.R.A. is waging a fierce guerrilla war against the British army. They have learned well that fluidity and evasiveness are more successful tactics than engaging a vastly superior enemy in direct confrontation.

The early proponents of Irish independence did not possess the knowledge and experience of warfare such as their sons of today. When the famous Easter Rising took place in Dublin in 1916, the leaders adopted the conventional forms of warfare practised at that time. Had they taken the trouble to study (perhaps some of them did, I don't know) the works of someone like Blanqui, the French revolutionary, they would have known their bold action was foredoomed to failure. Indeed, according to sources I have read, some did realise their rising would not be a success. Possibly they hoped that their deaths would stir Irishmen to desire independence from the weight of the English yoke. In this last endeavour they succeeded beyond their expectations, for Irishmen began to fight for freedom.

But not with the same tactics of the men of Easter 1916. They learned a lesson from that pitched battle, just as the old Caledonians learned a lesson from their defeat.

The new I.R.A. adopted the tactics of guerrilla warfare. Since then their success has become assured. They have been able to make the British attempts to hold onto Ireland so expensive that the Imperialists have reluctantly been forced to relinquish their covetous hands from three

quarters of Irish soil. Yet still the Westminster Government retains a foot-hold in Ireland's Ulster province. But even here they appear to be finding the cost of remaining too expensive. Recent utterances suggest that British politicians are longing to find some political solution, which will enable them to make a compromise with the forces of Republicanism. The I.R.A. appear to be winning, if only they can hold onto their resolve, and continue to get the support of the Irish people.



TWICE A LOSER

I am beginning to believe that Austin Currie is a born loser.

You remember in June 1971, when wee man Brian made his suggestion to the S.D.L.P. that he would like them to accept the chairmanship of two of the five committees he intended forming to support to the Stormont Government new legislation for better government. To Austin, and of course, to the rest of the leadership of the S.D.L.P. this was a break-through they had longed for ... to be part of the establishment. But within a few weeks they were boy-cotting Stormont by demand from the people who had seen two innocent people murdered by the British Army in Derry.

On the 1st January 1974, Austin really became part of the establishment as Minister of Housing. To prove his loyalty to his new masters he passed a law to take effect on May 20th increasing the deductions taken from social security benefits to pay arrears for those still on the Rent and Rates Strike ... plus a levy of 25 pence per week as an addition. Poor Austin once again found the new Stormont falling around his ears and knowing he would have to depend on the people, revoked his own law. It was his last act as Minister of Housing.

Just to show how stupid our Austin can be. The day he introduced his Levy Bill at Stormont, his excuse for it was: "We are now well started on a new road forward, the road of partnership." (Irish Times 3/5/74).

## LOYALISTS' FUTURE WITH FELLOW IRISHMEN

Strange and contradictory sounds come from the Loyalist side, which seems to indicate a certain divergence of views within that camp. Some of them seem to hanker after an even greater Protestant ascendancy than existed under the Old Stormont. They were condescendingly state that they would allow Nationalists or Republican M.P.s, to serve on Parliamentary committees, but that is as far as they are prepared to go. This indicates such a fundamental inability to understand the political realities of their position, that they obviously need some further shocks before they come down from their ivory towers. They obviously cannot realise that the days when they could tell the Croppies to lie down and behave like good second class citizens are gone forever.

On the other hand there are others in the Loyalist camp who have a better grasp of realities. These seem to be prepared to sit down and talk with other representative groups and try and work out an agreed solution. However, they appear to see such a solution purely in the context of an independent Six Counties or within the United Kingdom. On this basis they still have a distance to come for fruitful talks with Republicans. Nevertheless, their complete disillusionment with Britain encourages the hope that they will follow such disillusionment to its logical conclusions and see that their only real future lies with their fellow Irishmen. A declaration of intent to withdraw by Britain would accelerate this process and hasten a solution.

### I WONDER WHY

"I remember when very young, being fascinated by a study of the advertisements in a well known evangelical Protestant periodical. It contained an extraordinary high proportion of advertisements of cures for constipation. Here is another wide field for valuable research."

(John Morrison, columnist in the Sunday News, 9/6/74).

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the Leadership of Republican Movement.

## Learn your National Language

AN IRISH LANGUAGE CLASS FOR BEGINNERS WILL BE HELD EVERY WEDNESDAY, FROM 9.00 p.m./10.00 p.m. IN THE EIRE NUA BOOKSHOP, 170 Falls Road Belfast.



Le Léinn do Pádrais beirteas ag taistíl na círe leas sé ceann de na deise págánaí, Crom Cruaíc. Deinntí Crom Cruaíc d'atráid ar an Sleaacht, Líaf droim.

Cáit sé daicéad lá ar troscáid ar mhillac cruáice i Connacht. Ó sin i leití cugáil an Cruaíc Pádraig ar an scuad. Ceann da suaithe ar oiliúinte ann.

9. Cáit Pádraig 30 bliain as teacáid an Credomh in Éirinn. Bunaíodh sé timpeall 300 easlaí, an ceann da mó agu in Ard Mháca. D'éag sé i Saball timpeall 461.

# The RUC Will Be Out To Get You

BY DONAL BOYLE

I was with my wife at the Suffolk Inn on Friday night the 10th of May. We usually go here every Friday night around 9 p.m. to about 11 or 11.30 p.m. We were sitting near where the T.V. is located when four soldiers came in. They went round every table viewing everyone. Then they left for about five minutes. But they came in again, this time seven of them. They proceeded to walk around all the tables and walked out again. Four or five minutes later soldiers came in again and took up firing positions. One standing at the door gave a hand signal to the other soldiers and just at that shot was fired. Immediately after this we heard不断的 screaming and some bottlebombs thrown. The windows were then broken in from outside and the soldiers started firing rubber bullets and also live rounds. One of the rubber bullets hit me on the head. The blood was running from the wound in my head but after about ten minutes the army let me go outside. I was taken behind a saracen and some soldiers were there. As soon as I got behind the saracen one of these soldiers hit me on the chest with his gun. Then I was hit on the head with a baton from another soldier. I was also kicked by another soldier. I went over to the Major in charge and I asked him who was the Scottish soldier that hit me with the baton and he said it was his driver. I was told by this Major that the R.U.C. would be out on Wednesday 15th May, to see me about the complaint. But up to now none of the R.U.C. have appeared. A chap drove me in my own car to the Royal Victoria Hospital where I received stitches to the wound in my head and I was also X-rayed. I was in the hospital from around midnight 10th May, to 6 a.m. on the 11th May. I have not been able to work since the incident because my injuries are still very painful. It was a lady doctor who treated me. It was the Royal.

## WE NEED MORE SELLERS

I would like to become a REPUBLICAN NEWS seller and help to spread the gospel of Irish Republicanism.

Please send me ..... copies  
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Name .....  
Address .....

Post or leave at:  
170 Falls Road, Belfast.

# LEGAL RIGHTS OF THOSE DETAINED

1. When brought in say "I want my solicitor" and name him, "Patrick O'Neill Street."

If they say "He is not available" say "I want Sean Quinn, of Quinn Street."

Every person should carry in his head or on a piece of paper the name of two solicitors who are willing and not afraid of the R.U.C.

2. When they ask you any question, say "I want that question in writing. And when my legal representative is present I shall answer your question in writing, when my solicitor has checked it.

3. Do not sign your name to any piece of paper for the full 72 hours unless you are advised to do so by the solicitor of your choice.

4. Always get yourself medically examined by your own doctor during your detention and always after the 72 hours is up. As a general rule, do not trust Army or Police doctors.

5. Ignore all documents presented to you as confessions of your friends implicating you. These are usually forgeries. Ignore threats and suffer patiently when they beat you up. Do not accept bribes or promises. Do not trust them.

6. Be patient for 72 hours; sit and

think good thoughts; they cannot deprive you of your legal rights or liberty any longer.

7. Do not hold any conversation with them on police, the 'troubles', civil rights etc. If it is all being taken down and will be produced in court against you.

A careful reading of Sections 10 and 16 of the Emergency Provisions Act 1973, reveals that the police have no legal right to hold a person "incommunicado" for 72 hours; they must admit his solicitor, his doctor and his relatives. The Act does not say:

"The prisoner is to be detained and his solicitor is not to be admitted for 72 hours or until the police see fit" Therefore you have the right to demand a solicitor and the police must get him.

If they refuse, make sure when the 72 hours are up, that you complain to your solicitor, to the Police Authority and to the Commissioner of the Garda Siochana.

Remember, no CHIT CHAT. If a policeman asks you "Was it raining last night?" say "I want that question in writing and when it has been examined by my legal representative I shall answer it in writing."

*With the daily increase of men and women being imprisoned and the resultant pressure in the amount of money needed for their dependents, many more collectors are needed for this worthy cause.*

Mr. Sean O'Riordan is the most distinguished writer in Irish today. He is also a leader of the best European tradition. Recently he was censored on political grounds on the (so-called) National Television network. It shows how sinister and insidious is political censorship in Ireland. The following is his views on politicians in Ireland today.

I often refer to the custom, practised by politicians, of renegeing on their word. They inform the public of certain principles which they hold. Then, when the occasion arises they completely deny these very principles. From there on, the denial is commendable, the principle is shameful. If they are in power – and these people usually are – they imprison anyone who praises that principle. No need to give example – the most outstanding are known to all by now (if not there is a list above).

To make such a denial is no longer a blot on one's honour. On the contrary, one is deemed mature, one has reached the age of reason. "Our deeds according to our word" is no longer commendable. Another "virtue" replaces it and that is compromise. The practise of this virtue if not of recent origin with us – our desertion of the Irish Language in the 19th Century is a classical example of compromise. Compromise is based on the understanding that necessity knows no law or the old crone runs when the going is hard; other examples are the Treaty of 1922, the Boundary (Partition) settlement of 1925, De Valera's entrance to the Dail in 1927, not to talk of Sunningdale.

Compromise has been given such a high-standing importance for four years now that it reminds of Padraig O Ríain's essay entitled "Regal Prey." This "preying" was an institutionalised act. Every newly elected leader or king had first to prove his qualities by going to war. This first warriorship was essential to get the backing of the people. The old poem, addressed to a leader, says:-

*If you are willing to help, please contact An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Parnell Sq., Dublin, Green Cross, c/o An Ard Scoil, 25 Divis Street, Belfast or The Secretary of the local P.D.F. Committee for your area.*

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# THE YEAR WORDS LOST MEANING

"The people who support you multiply From hearing of your first raid."

The first deceiving act is the important first. The first raid of old, like the first decree now, was a type of pre-inaugural event.

Nowadays, compromise is something more yielding to necessity. It is a virtue per se. I believe today's politicians scrutinise all their previous statements to find that with which to falsify themselves at the most frightful level. He who can deceive the most attains the Mammon's Paradise.

Or is there some solid foundation in this compromising. I suppose it could be said that it is an acceptance of that which is rather than a continuous searching for that which might be. Compromise is presented as an escape from a narrow, righteous, unrealistic, difficult outlook to something that is broad, realistic, nonrighteous and smooth.

In political matters, I sense that compromise is becoming more fashionable every day. Political movements grow from some doctrine or philosophy. Karl Marx had to proceed the Russian Revolution. Rousseau and others had

# SINN FEIN ELECTION SUCCESS

Despite all our efforts at intimidation and unprecedented harassment, Sinn Fein have secured a resounding victory in the Local Government Election. Party representation has been increased by 100% on County, Urban and Town Councils.

Notable features of the voting pattern was the high vote recorded by the Sinn Fein candidates in the border counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan, and Louth. In Leitrim in particular, history was made, by the election of an internee, John Joe McGirr to the Council. Councillor McGirr is at present lodged in Long Kesh Concentration Camp. He was arrested on his way to give the oration at the Easter Commemoration in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

In Dublin city the Sinn Fein vote was almost doubled in many areas. The Sinn Fein vote surpassed the so called "Labour" Party (O'Riordan's Party in the right-wing Coalition Government).

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Sinn Fein, speaking in County Longford following the success of two local candidates said:-

"We asked the people to vote for our candidates and support has been forthcoming. I am delighted to see outgoing candidates being returned and a break-through in so many areas throughout the country. I look forward to seeing the Sinn Fein councillors putting Eire Nua before the people. I regard their achievements as a victory for the small man over the all-consumer society of big business and its gigantic forces of EEC."

"I am glad to see that counties like Longford, Leitrim, Galway and Mayo have the resilience to re-assert themselves under Sinn Fein leadership and I believe that if given full access to the media, Sinn Fein would have won a lot more seats."

For Republicans this was not a free election. The Sinn Fein victory followed a massive campaign of intimidation, pure and simple and door-to-door canvassing, which was accompanied by relentless harassment by "Free" State security forces. In an obvious attempt to smash the Sinn Fein election machine, Garda Special Branch and armed troops swooped on Republican homes – in some areas twice during the course of the election campaign – carrying off candidates and election workers for interrogation.

In many urban areas police and Special Branch detectives harried, hounded and threatened election workers, and in some places, posters had a short life. Branch thugs moved around furiously in the night tearing them down.

On polling day itself and during the counting of the votes, several Sinn Fein candidates were arrested. In Ballina, Co. Mayo, Councillor Ginty and Jackie Clarke were arrested and charged in the Special no-jury Court in Dublin. In County Cavan, Anthony Fox, the Sinn Fein candidate and two of his helpers, Joseph Ennis and Patrick Fox were also arrested and brought before the no-jury court. They were later released when the Assistant Chief State Prosecutor claimed that the Sinn Fein candidate was the Sinn Fein candidate for the Mullingar Town Commissioners, Mr. Thomas Kilmurry was also arrested. The 1974 election campaign is also noted for the total denial of access of R.T.E. to Republicans to put across their policies.

Viewed against this background of repression and denial of democratic rights, the Sinn Fein achievement is all the greater.

The Catholics of Ireland refused to change their Faith though this mitigated against their material good. The Penal Laws were enacted against them – believed to be the severest religious persecution ever instituted. Did the Catholics of Ireland make a mistake at that time? Could they not have made a Sunning-deal?

What martyrs who suffered death for their religion? Are they to be condemned because they did not compromise? Today would they be called subversives?

I believe compromise to be a short-term solution. Sooner or later, the root cause of division must be sought. Right must be pur right. Everyone will recognise the true source, and charity and understanding will spread. Twice during our lifetime, there was a return to our roots. The two examples: (1) Pope John went back to the well-spring of our Faith and Charity spread all over the world. Every one recognised his voice and no one was in doubt.

(2) O Riada went back to the well-spring of our music and such a renewal resulted as was unknown in living memory.

These great persons produced an enrichment, not an impoverishment. The compromisers impoverish. But, not every bush produces a Roncalli or an O Riada.

# Michael Gaughan

## CONSPIRACY TO MURDER

The death of Michael Gaughan brought swift reaction in Belfast, many thousands turned out for a silent protest on the Falls Road. Yet those of us who marched must surely have asked ourselves the question: "Why was he allowed to die?"

The first reaction is to take refuge in the obvious answer: "Michael Gaughan died for political expediency." Roy Jenkins in company with the cabinet, of alleged socialist and humanitarian views, decided that Gaughan and his comrades, could die in order to appease the Tories. Socialist principles and a humanitarian outlook have never been characteristic of England in her dealings with Ireland or the Irish. Just as MacSweeney was allowed to die so too was Gaughan and indeed, if necessary others would be allowed to die.

But surely there is another side to the murder of Michael Gaughan and that is the part played by the thousands of accomplices here in Ireland,

those of us like myself who didn't do enough to protest, publicise and try to end the torture of Michael Gaughan and his comrades. True we did not murder with the length of rubber tube via forced feeding, but rather we perpetrated our act with the implement of INDIFFERENCE. As Graham Greene the novelist points out: "Violence can be the expression of love, indifference never."

"The expression of love" — a more apt description of the motivation of a volunteer army one would find hard to imagine. The volunteers of the Irish Republican Army fight not for mercenary gain but to express their love of the ideal, of the Irish Republic, a Republic which will embrace and cherish all children of the nation equally.

It may well be that you and I do not cherish this ideal so highly, but this does not prevent us from recognising the commitment of people like Michael Gaughan and the many others to this ideal.

Beside such commitment our INDIFFERENCE must stand in sharp contrast, indifference is the antithesis of charity and our indifference contributed in no small way to the death of Michael Gaughan — it is so easy to forget a lonely figure in a prison cell.

Harder to understand perhaps is the attitude of the hierarchy. The attitude of this group of exalted men stands in sharp contrast with that of their fellow clerics in other countries like Spain and Brazil, who have fearlessly fought the tyrants on behalf of their people. How ignoble was Cardinal Conway's back door intrigue look when viewed against the stand of these priests.

More painful however, was the sight of S.D.L.P. representatives, Paddy Devlin as he scurried back and forth (with maximum publicity of course) between the Price sisters and Jenkins. This act or antics does not stand for the indifference of party leaders to a torture

of some two hundred days duration. Fitt's despotic pilate-like washing of hands on R.T.E. will not be readily forgotten, a strange attitude for one who claims to be a socialist.

In our INDIFFERENCE, then we conspired in the murder of Michael Gaughan, but let us conspire now and in the future to end injustice. Any of us who read Kevin Myers' report from Belfast in the "Observer" 30/6/74, saw how on completely spurious evidence, Mary Kennedy, wife of an internee was herself interned and that as Myers' headline read, "Long Kesh orphans six children."

The spurious nature of the evidence, the callous "indifference" to the children, must concern us — will we again become apathetic, will these children suffer from our indifference. This is a question we must ask ourselves. What is needed is not a fanatical commitment, but a genuine concern for others and desire to alleviate suffering.



We Are In  
Here For You  
You Are Out  
There  
For Us  
Keep  
 Fighting!

## LOVE OF COUNTRY

At the annual Commemoration Mass for James Connolly held recently at the request of the Trade Unions, the celebrating priest, Fr. Piaras O Duill, O.F.M. Cap., who said the Mass in Irish, spoke during the course of his sermon on true love of country!

"Love of country," he said, "is part of the love of God. That is, love of one's people, of their characteristics and the various elements of traditions, James Connolly loved his country. But his love of Ireland must not be confused with that moral weakness and slavish cowardice that so easily finds refuge under various titles of "Peace"; in these morally retrograde times, Connolly had much the same obstacles and the same opposition as have the true lovers of Ireland today. To a back-ground of loyalist ascendancy — slogans like the oft repeated "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right," and the background threats of outright sectarian war, James Connolly while still maintaining the right to fight the enemy, spoke of uniting the main traditions of our nation by uniting the Protestant and Catholic working classes. In his thesis "Labour in Irish History," he ended the book with the wish: "In our movement (that is, of Socialism), the North and South will again

clasp hands: again will he demonstrate, as in '98, that the pressure of a common exploitation can make enthusiastic rebels out of a Protestant working class, earnest champions of civil and religious liberty out of Catholics and out of both a United Socialist democracy."

Fr. O Duill continued: "So James Connolly was truly aware, not only of the common heritage, common necessities and the common plight of Protestant and Catholic working classes in Ireland — he wanted above all to bring all these factions together, bring them together to fight the common enemy leaving no doubt as to whom or to what that enemy was (and remember Connolly was not a Dublin centered politician, not South Oriented, but the city nearest his heart was Belfast). He knew the common enemy. He said so in no uncertain terms that even if "you remove the English Army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic, your efforts will be in vain. England will still rule. She will rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and industrial institutions she has planted in this

country — England will still rule you to your ruin."

"How appropriate today," said Fr. O Duill. "Too bad that we have FEARED the philosophy of James Connolly. But if we have feared the philosophy of the man it is too much to hope that we have not altogether and forever rejected that philosophy. For who today can reject the idea that there is a place in which a variety of money-tarned corporations and intracies, commercial and industrial institutions, our cities are in fact polluted with them and governments North and South continue to invite the worst of them to further pollute our countryside.

James Connolly was a true revolutionary and like a true revolutionary, (who was rejected by the complacent), his ultimate aim and ultimate ideal was freedom and peace. He said, "We believe that in time of peace we should work along the line of peace to strengthen our nation and we believe that whatever strengthens and elevates the working classes, strengthens the nation. But we also believe that in time of war we should act as in war . . . (believe that our enemies have no rights and can never have any right and believe that the presence in any generation of Irishmen of even a respectable minority

ready to affirm that truth, makes that enemy forever a crime against human progress.)"

"These are the words," said Fr. O Duill, "of the man you are commemorating today. And my contention is that the man IS his philosophy and the man you commemorate — that man's philosophy. James Connolly like his compatriots should be admired and not only should he be admired he should be commemorated by the whole Irish nation though this has to be said in difference with the views of present day political leaders."

"Looking back," said Dr. O Duill, "to the Easter Rising and the intervening years and comparing the state of Ireland in 1974 with the objectives of 1916, I think one has to admit that not much change has taken place because too few have striven to emulate the ideals of Connolly and the leaders of his time."

### SUPPORT THE GREEN CROSS

## HARASSMENT

Mrs. McIlhatten,  
59 Glenveagh Drive,  
Anderston, N.

I remained in bed on 16th January because I hadn't been feeling well. My daughter aged 15 years was looking after the baby. The soldiers came in to raid the house (Devon and Dorset Regiment). As they came into the house my daughter said "Wipe your feet" and they replied that they could bring a much muck and dirt in our houses as they liked.

The soldiers entered my bedroom while I was still in bed. They had been told by my daughter that I was not well, but nevertheless they proceeded to turn up my mattress and search under it. I got up after this and went down the stairs. My daughter was in the hall at the time, and the soldiers were with her. My daughter said to me then that the soldiers wanted to take her to the military post for questioning. I said "Hold on there and I will go with you, but I have to get dressed. I went in the sarcon with Geraldine. We were brought into the office. I was then told to go out to the gate but I protested and said I had a right to be with my daughter while she was being questioned but nevertheless I was ordered out.

My daughter was interrogated, photographed three times and weighed asked questions like —

1. Where she had been the previous night;
2. Had she been with the rest of her friends at the disco;
3. What time they arrived, what time did they leave;
4. Who she was with . . . at the disco, what time did she arrive and what time did she leave.

About an hour later they released her.

LOST  
A black purse containing money, receipts and a medal was lost on 5th June between Joe's fruit shop and Seaveston Street. Would finder please return to Mrs Murphy, 5 Seaveston Street, Belfast. Green Cross Collector.

## Let Us Make An Honourable Agreement

"The coalition of Faulkner Unionists and S.D.L.P. has inevitably collapsed, as we in Sinn Féin predicted at the outset," claims Long Kesh Comhairle Ceantair, in a recent statement.

"Its basic defect and the principal reason for its collapse, was that it was not a solution arrived at by Irishmen consulting alone, but was conjured up by England and her capitalist ally, the Dublin Capiation and imposed with British troops and Southern connivance.

"It represented a life-belt for the Protestant and Catholic upper and middle classes, who saw in it their common salvation, and a vehicle whereby they could continue their hegemony over the financial and social life of this province.

"It excluded the voice of authentic Protestant working class feelings and aspirations, and on the minority side it excluded those who truly spring from the Catholic working class who have expressed over the

years, the desire for a solution to our problems which excludes any foreign interference. No solution which does not have as its principal ingredients the two groups mentioned will be able to sustain itself in this country. It will be doomed to failure as indeed the last coalition has so clearly proved.

"The landed gentry and the big business types who have exploited for their own ends the heartfelt beliefs of the Protestant people of this province, have resisted the whirlwind of their self-seeking and duplicity.

"They must now, those who have not already done so, leave the political scene and allow the ordinary men and women to come forward to give voice to the hopes and aspirations of their class. Those are the only people who can achieve a lasting and just understanding with their fellow-citizens, unfettered by the strictures of any outside interference, financial or otherwise.

"The fears of the Protestant people of Ulster are deep-felt and genuinely held. They spring from a history of suspicion and mistrust.

"The Catholic people for their part, must have as their spokesmen, in this coming hour of our, perhaps, ultimate destiny, those men and women, who have been excluded from affairs of state in the past, because their views were completely at variance with the British interest and with those self-seekers who connived with the foreigner for their own gain.

"The Republican Movement has long-suffered the wrath of the English and those among the minority who saw it as the proverbial 'fly in the ointment', to all their grandiose schemes for power and manipulation. We have been scorned from pillar to post as the arch-enemy of peace. Now that all we have said about English imposed 'solutions', have come true, we can only repeat that only a solution arrived at by

Irishmen and women, in the light of an English declaration of withdrawal, must achieve a lasting peace for this province of Ulster and indeed, for the whole of Ireland.

"The Nationalist people of this province must now be realistic, for their own ultimate assurance of peace and stability, and put forward the men and women of the Republican Movement to represent them in the talks which must inevitably take place with their fellow-country folk.

"Only then, acting in concert with each other, free from any outside interference, can we come to an honourable agreement. The so-called loyalists have been lied and forced up political blind alleys in the past. This was due, partly to English connivance and a longing for peace which clouded their better judgement. We ask you not to let it happen again. Support the Republican Movement who alone can safeguard the aspirations of genuine peace-loving people in this island."



# MICHAEL GAUGHAN AND OURSELVE BY FATHER ART O'NEILL

When Volunteer Michael Gaughan (24), died on hunger strike on the 3rd June, 1974, in Parkhurst Prison, on the Isle of Wight, he was virtually unknown to the Irish Nation.

The Dublin Government, RTE, the National dailies, the local Press, the Catholic and other weeklies had kept his imprisonment and hunger strike an almost perfect secret, despite the many times his people and friends had brought it to their attention.

By the time the young Irish Republican Army Volunteer was buried in Leigias Cemetery near his home, of his youth in Bellina, Co. Mayo, on June 9th, his name was known all over Ireland, and to many in other lands.

Even the most determined effort of censorship could prevent the long slow journey home from receiving some attention in the media. But nevertheless, those officially and unofficially responsible for censorship in the 26-Counties, saw to it that the death of Vol. Michael Gaughan would be forgotten as quickly as possible and that its message, which it would be impossible to misrepresent effectively, would be brought to our attention and reflected upon as little as possible.

There can be no doubt that the message has not reached and been spelt out to the Irish Nation at home and abroad in England, America and elsewhere.

Michael Gaughan was a practising Catholic as well as being a Volunteer member of Oglach na h-Eireann. The point must be made then for other practising Catholics that the Catholic Church teaches that there are such things as Insurrection, lawful before God, and that Michael Gaughan believed he was a participant in such an insurrection . . . a conviction the Catholic Church teaches he was entitled to before he was born, his Bishop agreed personally with it or not.

And more specifically, the point must be made that the Catholic Church has never condemned death on hunger strike as being suicide. No priest dealing with the individual is allowed by the Church to intervene with his complete freedom.

For some decisions in life, very specific enlightenment makes it easier for a sincere Catholic to make up his mind for some other decisions, only a more general direction is offered. There are some things which, when looked at and defined carefully, the Church tells us may never in any circumstances be done, such things as blasphemy, contraception, lies, perjury. But to undertake a hunger strike and risk one's life on it is not one of these. Some authors have opposed it as others argued in favour. It is a matter in which the individual must think and pray hard and give serious consideration to the circumstances as a whole.

To risk the loss of one's own life is a thing one should not readily do. A man of informed and sound conscience who goes on hunger strike will see very clearly that he is using the weapon of starvation to protest against the world and drawing attention to grave injustice affecting ultimately, not just himself, but the common good of many.

To abstain from food is obviously not an action intrinsically evil in all circumstances. The intention of a hunger striker is not to die, but to win a moral victory over a tyrant by means of the pressure of public opinion and he has judged that there are solid reasons to hope for such a victory.

To win that victory for a just cause he is willing to risk the loss of his own life if need be. Vol. Michael Gaughan did not commit suicide. One who commits that sin rejects God and the hardships that Almighty God in His wisdom allows us to suffer sometimes in this life; he rejects the mercy of God and the possibility of virtue in his own life.

The hunger striker believes in a moral order ordained by God and protests against its' violation by a tyrant; with heroic fortitude he endures hardship and even death for the love of his fellowmen who suffer the same injustices as himself.

"No greater love can a man have than that he lay down his own life for his friends."

By the moral protest which ended only with his death, Michael Gaughan enlightened and inspired and encouraged

many sincere and bewildered Irishmen. Only widespread, vicious censorship by the Dublin Government, RTE and the commercial news media in Ireland, prevented the great majority of Irishmen being effected in a way that would have undermined gravely English power in this island.

The key for a sincere man seeking a sound moral and political judgement of incidents and events, movements and men which he cannot inspect and know personally, is to consider at greater length and with total honesty exclusively those matters which are public and open to inspection, e.g., the state of the law, the exact list of deputies who have voted for or against measures he himself has studied fully, the way a public figure reacts in the media to an incident he himself witnessed.

For in these matters, the media cannot easily deceive a sincere and correct thinker. The true moral worth of what is fully public and known can be seen, but it is quite the contrary with most matters which are very widely reported and commented upon in the media.

The sincere thinker will go from the known to the unknown; he will come to certain conclusions from reflecting upon what he does definitely know, and in the hard, clear, unswerving light of those conclusions, he will treat with the most extreme caution "facts," moderate opinion, public opinion, the reaction of all reasonable men in this country, etc., etc., presented to him.

This applies to the media, especially the most deceptive of all, front-line tapes shown on television news. The ordinary man could not possibly own or control or influence such a costly undertaking as even a local newspaper . . . much less a television network.

Of their nature, the mass news media everywhere tend to speak and to control the moral judgement (and voting power) of vast numbers but to answer to only a few—a few who are very wealthy and very closely affiliated with top politicians (the particular party mattering only very little).

The people of Ireland and of other countries should be easy about the lack of love of truth and the love of justice in the hearts of those who control the media. The conscience of the rich AS A WHOLE is, of absolute necessity, always corrupt and vicious in comparison with that of those of moderate means or the poor; the appearance and pretensions of the rich are usually so respectable and they so easily enjoy the personal friendship of the clergy that Our Blessed Lord Himself warned men that "It is easier to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

The mass news media in Ireland will sweep the wonderful story of Michael Gaughan under the carpet as fast as possible because the rich and established know that its message is too obvious and too dangerous since it provides the key for a sincere Irishman to understand and judge rightly the Irish Republican Rising against English Power in Ireland.

Would a Movement unworthy in its aims or methods or its leadership or Volunteers be likely to produce men who go on hunger-strike? It just might but is it likely?

Would it be sincere and serious to pass by without comment the life and death of Michael Gaughan (24) who died on hunger strike protesting against the denial of his political rights and against the toleration of English power in Ireland in any shape or form, today or ever?

Could a man read the Bible on Sunday, attend a Service or go to Mass and Holy Communion and in all sincerity say there was nothing to cause an Irishman in the 26-Counties any uneasiness about the death of Michael Gaughan and the attitude of the Dublin Government and parties towards it?

There are so many things that could be done to persuade the English to leave Ireland by those politicians who claim to oppose English rule but say only peaceful means may morally be taken.

The pressure of propaganda at home and abroad, of making the truth known to ordinary Englishmen and Americans and Europeans. Economic pressure, repeated protests to U.N. Is it not possible for the Dublin Government to do SOMETHING peaceful but publicly and unmistakably embarrassing to English rule in Ireland? Are any of the TDs prepared

to go on hunger strike? What more peaceful or embarrassing protest can there be?

Manifestly Michael Gaughan's death on hunger strike proves he was not pretending to be but actually was sincerely opposed to English rule here. It must strike a fair-minded Irishman that, right or wrong in their methods, it looks as if only the "men of violence" are sincerely, unmistakably opposed to English Rule.

The moral duty of the Parliamentarians, the peaceful means men, must surely be to take the situation as it stands—that others, deplorably, are using force—and take all due peaceful means themselves to persuade the English to leave, thus ending the violence and not, as they are doing at present, to persuade the English to stay at least for the time being and help them by both peaceful and forceful means to defeat the "men of violence" whose children they know will take up again where they left off.

It is manifest that a hunger strike is an act of virtue and that it follows from love of one's people and devotion to a just cause.

Is it not to be suspected that maybe the media are not telling the whole truth about the campaign by the Irish Republican Movement, for fear the obvious might be seen by the people of the 26-Counties and the campaign which has been conducted with such meticulous and effective care to safe-guard non-combattant life, and so rightly in the eyes of Catholic teaching on war, concentrated upon property rather than upon enemy personnel, might be as a result more quickly and with less bloodshed brought to a successful conclusion.

There is something about the death of Thomas Ashe, Sean McCaughey, Terence MacSweeney and Michael Gaughan that is HOLY. That holiness beyond any doubt, must have touched also their lives and the Cause they worked for.

There can be no escape for a group of Catholic priests together in discussion, from the fact of the central place of a devotion to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the leading Fathers of the Provincials, a devotion far beyond what is of obligation. There is no way of getting around that fact.

A catholic is obliged to accept loyalty from his Bishop moral principals; moral teaching when that Bishop speaks in union with the Holy See, as indeed Irish Bishops are accustomed to do; but a Catholic—and no Irish Bishop has ever denied this—is equally obliged when acting in conformity with that teaching to follow his own judgement of circumstances and not that of his bishop.

Thus a Bishop is entitled to declare his opposition to an insurrection because he believes our circumstances would not justify it, but a Republican is not merely entitled to, but obliged to follow his own judgement that it IS morally justified in our circumstances. Catholics and the much smaller number of Protestants who have a leading role in the struggle for Ireland for Irish Freedom were and are seen to be in other aspects of their lives exemplary Christians in nearly every case.

Let the Irish people remember the holy life of Seamus Steele, God Rest Him, an elderly man and a daily Communicant of a life-time, who disagreed with his Bishop on this matter and who is the inspiration of every leading Irish Republican in Ireland today.

Seamus Steele lived through 1916. He worked for and suffered in every campaign since, totalling between them 20 solid years in prison when he might have been out in five minutes by putting his signature to the right document. There is a continuity in all these campaigns by the one so fittingly opened by Patrick Pearse after the Feast of the Resurrection.

The death of Volunteer Michael Gaughan recalls to the mind and to the memory of not a few, those other deaths that were so noble . . . Thomas Ashe, Terence, MacSweeney and Sean McCaughey . . . the same cause, the same struggle, the same men.



Mr. Malachy Foot, P.R.O. for the Ulster Executive Sinn Fein, addressing the crowd at the Anti-Internment Meeting held in the Bull Ring, Ballymurphy last Sunday, the meeting was held under the auspices of the Liam McParland Sinn Fein Cumann.

We see here a few of the large Sinn Fein contingent from Birmingham who marched to Bodenstown recently. Sinn Fein members sell 1,000 copies of REPUBLICAN NEWS in the Birmingham Area every week.



This little boy, Johnny Lynch, travelled from Birmingham, for the recent Wolfe Tone Commemoration at Bodenstown. His father recently received a summons, by direction of the English Attorney General. He is charged with wearing a "political uniform" on the occasion of Vol. Michael Gaughan's funeral in London.

