

JOHN KELLY OF BELFAST

THE gun-running debate in Leinster House was highlighted by the leaders and members of all the Political Parties trying to outdo one another in the sordid role of Felon-Setter; and the public witnessed the vengeful parade of the potential "Careys" coming forward unashamedly to play their part in supplying information that might help to send Irishmen to imprisonment.

Of course we did not expect anything else from a government and opposition, who had sent men like Tom Harte, McGrath, Goss, O'Neill, Plant and others to face a firing squad; or who sent for England's Hangman to place the rope around the neck of brave Charlie Keirns, or allowed Darcy McNeela and McCaughey to die on hunger strike. But we did not expect to see the "Republicans" of Gardners Row and their party organ the "United Irishman" join the queue of these blatant accusers and informers.

During the past few months they have been building up a file for the Special Branch, North and South on the activities of John Kelly and his brother, and vilified and accused them of being Fianna Fail agents, involved with Blaney and Co. in procuring arms for the defence of Belfast, and in the Dublin inspired Statement issued by the mythical "Northern Divisional Command," mention was made of these people holding positions on the Provisional Army Council.

Not content with information they also supplied photographs of the Kelly Brothers and others — thus making sure that they could be easily identified.

Just as we were about to finish this article we heard the sad news, that Mr. Lynch's Special Branch men had taken notice of the accusations levelled against John Kelly and had arrested, accused, and charged him with trying to import arms into his own country, so John Kelly goes back to the prison-cell he had known for over seven years in Belfast, and the cravens of Leinster House and Gardners Row will rejoice that they have done a good day's work for British Rule and the British Influence in Ireland.

Someone has posed the question "Why are these so-called Republicans protesting about collaboration between the Fianna Fail Government and the English Special Branch in sending Eamonn Smullen and his comrades to jail in England on the charge of trying to buy and get arms for the defence of the people in the North and then actually criticising John Kelly, and helping the same Fianna Fail Government to send him to jail for the very same thing — helping to procure

arms for the defence of his own people in Belfast and the North.

People all over the country are now referring to the U.I. (United Irishman) as the "United Informers."

UNITY

IN the 26 counties of Ireland, the start of the Nineteen Thirties found the wheel of coercion, persecution imprisonment heading towards its full cycle. Republicans and Republicanism were making a last stand against it with their backs to the wall.

The Cumann na nGaeil or Free State Government under Cosgrave was pulling out all stops to try, as previous English Governments and Coercionists since 1793 had tried to subdue and destroy for all time the cause of freedom and the Republic.

The Special Branch in the service of the Government was given every facility to pursue their vicious, murderous tactics.

De Valera's new compromising political party, Fianna Fail, who had entered Leinster House in 1927 was making political capital out of the coercive measures being used then against Republicans, and had taken an attitude of vigorous defence of both the I.R.A. and Sinn Féin, calling them "the flower of the Nation etc." — protesting both inside and outside of Leinster House and demanding the release of all the Republican prisoners.

Finally the cry went forth for unity among all Republicans — to unite to remove all the coercionists from power — to unite for the restoration of the Republic — to unite to remove all the coercion-prisoners — unite and return Fianna Fail to power for the achievement of these things.

And thus the unity campaign went on, and unfortunately most of the Republican leadership were partially converted by this propa-

REPUBLICAN NEWS

VOL. 1. No. 1. JUNE, 1970 PRICE 6d.

ganda, and the bar on members voting in these elections for other than an Official Abstentionist Republican candidate was lifted for this occasion, to allow them to vote.

On Election Day, Fianna Fail was swept into power — it was a great day for Republicanism, so thought many people — especially the people in the North.

Frank Aiken ex-chief of staff up to 1925, now a Government Minister went in person to meet and shake hands with Republican prisoners as the "Jail Gates flew open" for them.

Alas, one year later many Republicans were back again in the jails under the new management of Fianna Fail — and in the years which followed up to 1946 there was a new trail of little White Crosses denoting new Martyrs graves.

To-day that same unity appeal, in the shadow of more coercive and repressive measures, is being propagated especially in the North. Manufactured political panic stations are being alerted — unite (and damn principles) to get the Unionists out.

Vote only for the Unity candidate no matter where he may lead you to — have your choice.

Westminster, Stormont or Leinster House? Don't rock the Unity boat — or vote!

And once again some Republicans have fallen for that line of propaganda — one may say are in the vanguard urging us to fall in behind these newly converted "United Irishmen" — willing to abandon Republican principles and ideals for which our patriots and martyrs fought and died in exchange for this Mess of Pottage called "Unity." Read what James Connolly had to say about this kind of UNITY.

In a conversation between James Connolly and his daughter Nora on the matter of 'unity' as related by here in her book, "Portrait of a Rebel Father."

Connolly said:—

"We've got a National fetish called 'unity' and a lot of incurable optimists who think we can achieve it. And we'll go to almost any length to persuade ourselves that we can have it. We constantly blind ourselves to the fact that it is merely our reaction to the ancient taunt of our conquerors that we can't unite."

Nora—"What unity can there be between those who believe in complete independence and those who are content with a measure of self-determination? — There can't be."

Connolly—"Not with honesty."

Nora—"Aha! I've got it there — remember what you wrote some-time ago? Wait! See if I've got it right. 'Unity is a good thing, but honesty is better, and if we can only have unity at the expense of honesty, then unity is not worth the price we are asked to pay for it—Isn't that it! . . .

FREEMEN WE WISH TO BE

Men of the North, Thralldom who scorn
Never shall bend the knee.
Defiance we throw at the old foe
Freemen we wish to be.

God of our Sires, Freedom's desire
Ever does Spring from thee,
Be at our side, ever our guide
Lead us to Victory.

Fair are your hills, dear Innisfail
Proud are the Sons you own,
Loved are the Martyred hearts at rest
We make their cross our own.

For Ireland still calls sons to her
cause
We pledge our loyalty,
Freemen we scorn, England we
warn
Freemen we mean to be.

REPUBLICAN POLICY

— THEN AND NOW

FIFTY FOUR years ago the people of Ireland first learned of a document to which seven men had penned their names — a document that became the Charter of our Nation's rightful and legitimate claim to unity, Sovereignty and independence. It was the Proclamation of the Irish Republic issued by the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic in which they declared the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be Sovereign and indecisable.

Taking their stand on that fundamental right, they proclaimed the Irish Republic as a Sovereign independent State wherein Religious and Civil liberty, equal rights and opportunities would be the legitimate and democratic guarantee of every citizen.

To defend that Republic in arms they pledged their lives and the lives and their comrades in arms. Nobly and courageously they fought for one glorious week . . . and then Martyrdom in the prison yard of Kilmainham before the firing squads of England's occupation Forces for 15 of the leaders, and prison exile for hundreds of others.

From his hospital bed Court-martial, one of the signatories of that proclamation — James Connolly, reminded us **why** they fought and **why** they died.

"We went out to break the connection between this country and the British Empire and to establish an Irish Republic."

Two and a half years after Easter Week, the people of Ireland in the General Election of December 1918 by an 80 per cent. majority vote of the entire nation placed the final seal of ratification on the Republic and gave its elected representatives the mandate to set up their legitimately elected Government — the first Dail Eireann. Again in the General Election of 1920 that decision was further endorsed by the people.

England refused to recognise the democratic decision of the people and by terrorism and force sought to suppress the Government of Dail Eireann.

To the defence of the Republic and its Government and the freedom and unity for which it was proclaimed, the youth of the nation rallied and fought. They too had chosen that same path as the men of 1916 and death and imprisonment met many of them on that same Freedom Road. Still they fought, until they had almost

reached the threshold of victory, but somewhere along the line, the curse of compromise was making its way and in the final test, leaders hesitated and faltered before the influence of British diplomacy, and sought an easier path which they believed would eventually lead to victory.

Unfortunately it was a path that led them away from the Republic — a path too that led to disunity in the once united powerful Republican Movement — and also to bloodshed and suffering between those who once had been comrades-in-arms in the struggle . . .

The defenders of the Republic sought to stem that retreat of compromise, desertion and disunity, but they too, were to experience the firing squads, the midnight murders, the Internment Camps, the tortures and death by hunger strike from the ruling Junta of the Fine Gael then named Cumann na nGael. The legitimate Government of the Republic, Dail Eireann, was overthrown by force to be replaced by England's inspired Free State for 26 Counties and the Stormont Junta in the Six Counties.

Four years later many of those defenders of the Republic in 1922 became tired and weary in the struggle down that rugged road to freedom and they too sought an easier and safe path. They would accept and avail themselves of the Institution, Leinster House and its powers of Government which they had once sought by armed force to destroy — merely a tactical move they declared with victory just round the corner.

Thus in 1926 the Political Group known as Fianna Fail was formed to enter Leinster House, and in six years time, to become the new Free State rulers.

Very soon they caught up with their one time enemies — Fine Gael, in using the same repressive and coercive methods against those who had remained loyal to the Republic — weapons and methods that have never changed all down the years.

In 1946 another attempt was made to breach the unity of loyal Republican ranks by former Republican leaders, who too were smitten with the idea that attendance at Leinster House would bring us that unity and freedom for which our martyrs died — hence into this compromising political arena came the Clann naPoblacta Party. To-day that Party is non-existent.

Twice within the periods of 1933-1942 and 1956-1960 the Freedom Fighters took the field in active combat against England's Occupation Forces and their quisling

friends in Ireland — many noble volunteers went to their deaths on the battlefield; or before the firing squads in the prisons; or by hunger strike or the hangman's rope in defence of the Republic and all it stood for — political, economic and cultural freedom as spelt out by Pearse and Connolly and their comrades, believing with Connolly "that we should fight for the freedom of the nation as the first requisite for the free development of the National powers needed."

The end of the campaign came in 1961 to be followed by the release of the Republican prisoners from the jails and camps extending over a couple of years. In the process of the subsequent reorganisation of the Republican Movement, many stood aloof and hesitant, wishing to cling to their principles and ideals, but finding it difficult to face up to future sacrifice, hence they sought an easier and safer way to travel along Freedoms Road. It is a way imprisonment affects some men and history was merely repeating itself.

Year by year, the seeds of compromise were being slowly but systematically sown by a politically hungry group. Traditional and militant Republicans were gradually demoted, phased out or dismissed. Commemoration ceremonies were availed of to preach political objectives under the guise of Connolly's Socialism, but which were akin to Communistic aims of Chairman Mao Tse Tung.

Gradually into executive positions both in the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein the Red agents infiltrated and soon these men became the policy makers. Young men and girls were brainwashed with the teachings and propaganda of the new policymakers, and well trained organisers were sent into different areas to spread the teachings of these Red infiltrators.

The next phase of that policy is soon to be put into effect by them and into the parliaments of Jack Lynch's Green Republic and the Red, White and Blue Institutions of Stormont and Westminster they intend to wage their verbal struggle for Irish freedom with an International flavour.

There is an old song which tells us —

"We've won every Nations battle but our own."

There are some still fighting on the International Front and deserting and neglecting their own National Front.

Since the treaty of 1921 one time Republicans have seceded from the Republican Movement to initiate new policies that they hoped would unite the people in the final achievement of our unity and independence.

In furtherance of their policy they have used the parliaments of Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster. But by the use of such tactics they have widened the cleavage and split the Movement and impeded those who continued

to serve loyally the Republic at the terrible expense of sacrificing our bravest and best who were forced to clash with these defections in maintaining the spirit and continuity of the struggle and the legitimate Republic.

Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, Clann naPoblactha, Irish Labour, etc. all share the guilt and responsibility of this desertion and betrayal of the Republic and particularly for all the blood and suffering that has flowed from it.

EDITORIAL

AS THE NAME of our publication indicates, we shall endeavour through this news-media to cater for all who are interested in or who are serving in some capacity, the cause of the Republic for which our patriots and martyrs fought, suffered and died in every generation.

We shall labour to publish and propagate, truthfully and fearlessly the aims and objects of that cause and to counteract the deceitful and false propaganda that we have had to contend with down the years.

We shall preach the Gospel of Tone in seeking to unite all our people, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter in the common cause of our Nation's unity and independence and we shall condemn and denounce from whatever quarter it may seek to raise its ugly head — the monster of religious bigotry and intolerance.

The Socialism of James Connolly, the idealism of Patrick Pearse, and the unrepentant Republicanism of Tom Clarke we shall try to inculcate into our people — pointing out to them that the rugged Freedom Road which they travelled in that service.

We shall continue of course to give our full support to "An Phoblacht" the official voice of the Republican Movement, and we ask our readers to continue their support in that respect, nevertheless, we feel, that there is also a necessity to cater for local Republican circles and to scatter the seed of Republicanism wherever possible.

We follow a long tradition of Belfast's Republican Journals since the late Bulmer Hobson first issued his monthly booklet named "The Republic" from a Royal Ave. address before 1916 right down the years with such splendid little newspapers as An Siol 1932-1936 War News, and t-Oglac 1939-1943 Republican News; Resurgent Ulster 1951-1955 Glor Uladh 1955-1956 and Tir gradh 1963-65. Most of these papers were finally banned under the Special Powers Act.

Finally we can only hope to succeed with your unqualified support in way of Articles, Poems, Songs, etc

Letters, controversial, critical or with plenty of suggestions, distribution and sale of papers.

This will be **YOUR** own paper — Take pride in it.

The British General Election

The Belfast Republican Press
Centre issued the following
statement on 10th June.

AS MANY REPUBLICANS are wondering what their general attitude should be to the British General Election on 18th June, it is necessary for us to clarify our position.

The policy of non-attendance at the British Parliament has been accepted as a fundamental part of the Republican code since 1916 when the majority of the Irish people gave a mandate to the successful Sinn Féin candidates to establish Dail Éireann as a 32 counties Republican Parliament. This mandate was renewed by the Irish people at the 1921 General Election. The non-attendance policy is still the policy of the Provisional Council and the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.

The British Parliament is a foreign parliament. It is not our

parliament. It is regrettable that any Irishman or Irishwoman should seek to sit in the parliament of the enemy power responsible for so much bloodshed and misery in Ireland. This foreign power continues to give economic and military aid to its puppet regime at Stormont in order to maintain partition.

The British Government has no *de jure* authority to hold elections in any part of Ireland. We deny them any rights at all on Irish soil.

The priority now at this critical stage is the security and defence of the Nationally-minded people in the Six Counties. We do not propose to squander our energies and resources in futile party political in-fighting exercises.

Who is out of Step?

IN the "Sunday Press" of 21st May, columnist Desmond Fennell asks "Does Tone's doctrine really describe the sort of united Ireland we want to-day?" as if the doctrine of Tone was something different from all that has been taught and believed since.

Pearse had no doubt that Tone was in the main stream of Republican philosophy. He declared without ambiguity at Rossa's funeral the true definition of freedom "is Tone's definition, it is Mitchell's definition, it is Rossa's definition." Pearse seemed to be anticipating the hair-splitting Fennells when he condemned those who would give it "Any other name and definition than their name and their definition."

Fennell further asks "Do we really want to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter?" Of course we do, in exactly the same sense as Tone meant when he pre-

pared his call with the words, the vital words, "To abolish the memory of past dissensions". Clearly what Tone meant was that less emphasis should be placed on the divisiveness of religious differences and more on the unifying influence of our common nationality.

Fennell declares he cannot "subscribe to Tone's ideal of Irish Unity". Poor Theobald, sleeping peacefully in his grave at Bodinstown, heedless alike of the activities of the U.V.F.'s grave-wreckers, and the denigrations of Fennell. Just who is out of step, Desmond Fennell or five generations of Irish Separatists who bravely fought and died, content with Tone's conception of Irish unity.

Later generations have amplified the message of Tone, but they have not changed it. It is as relevant today as it was in the 1790's. Irish Separatists may have much to learn, but obviously not nearly so much as columnist Desmond Fennell.

The Work that Lies Ahead

IT is the duty of every Republican to assist in the build up of a strong effective movement of resistance to British interference in Irish affairs.

The integrity of the R.N. must be preserved. Its identity and aims must not be weakened or lost in a welter of campaigns for limited objectives. There must be an effective well co-ordinated disciplined rational struggle for freedom and National re-unification. We must not allow National aims to be relegated to the background.

We must state and re-state that the natural and lawful unit for deciding national issues is the people of All Ireland and not any section in the Six Counties, Political Parties or individuals who state otherwise must be relentlessly condemned and discredited.

The R.N. must be respected. Those who oppose or hamper the Freedom Struggle must be fearlessly exposed.

Lynch and his Government have repudiated their own Constitution by failing to protect Irish Nationals in the Six Counties from armed attacks and by granting unlawful rights to the Pro-British elements here. He has accepted passively the presence of enemy occupation forces on Irish territory and given comfort and support to the British puppet regime here.

We must assert ourselves and have complete faith and confidence in our cause.

We need to be able to define the words 'hooligan' and 'hooliganism'. We need to understand the strains, stresses and frustrations that are affecting our people.

We need realistic tactics for dealing with counter demonstrations. We need to know how to deal with the enemy's tactics of 'containment' and 'dispersal'.

We need to investigate charges of 'hooliganism' and 'sectarian incident'.

We need to know the best type of situation that suits the progress of the Freedom Struggle.

We need to decide on a sensible realistic action programme for Republican Clubs.

There will be resistance to British interference in our affairs

where our people have a spirit of resistance. The stronger the spirit of resistance—the more effective the resistance shall be.

If our morale is better than the morale of the enemy, it will be easier to achieve victory.

We must think in terms of going after victory rather than in terms of 'handing on the torch' to the next generation. If we struggle to win but fail, the torch will be handed on unextinguished in any case.

Doubt and confusion are enemies of good morale. We must know what we want and have a constructive plan of action. We must be able to answer questions with confidence and vigour. The people will not have confidence in us if we don't have confidence in ourselves and in our cause.

The Dublin Government must be discredited as it is a hindrance to the progress of the struggle for Freedom. It can truthfully be regarded as a puppet or at least as a subservient Government fearful of British military and economic power. The courage and integrity of its members should be questioned. This could have a salutary response. We must exploit the grievances of the small farmers and fishermen and explain how their economic position can be improved in a free Ireland.

This means we must study their problems. Ask questions and their opinions. Man does not live by 'bread' alone but he can't live without it. Neither can Republicanism.

Our role is to build up support for our policies and to strengthen the spirit of resistance. It is vital that we should know and understand exactly what our policies are.

We must identify ourselves with the people and make their legitimate struggles akin with ours.

Articles, Pars, Poems, Letters, etc., will be greatly welcomed by the Editor.

Annual Subscription for copies of "Republican News", post free is 10 shillings.

Enquiries to be addressed to "The Secretary".

The Raids

IT'S Monday morning, the men of the New Lodge Road have gone to work, the children to school, and the women go about their business, weary from nowhere, a large convoy of sleep. Suddenly, it seems as if from nowhere, a large convoy of British troops appear. Their 3-ton troop carriers grind to a halt and out jump armed British soldiers in full battle dress, and in a familiar scene in Belfast of the 70's they proceed to block the roads. Accompanying the soldiers are 3 packed R.U.C. Land Rovers which include at least one plain-clothes detective and two women police. The R.U.C. enter by the front door, while the British troops try to get in the rear, breaking down the back door. The search is very thorough, besides the usual and obvious places, beds and between blankets and sheets are searched, clothes taken from the hot-press are all unfolded and put back. Other household effects including washing-machines are expertly searched. Women's personal effects including hand-bags are given a very thorough searching. While this particular raid was taking place, a large number of military scout cars, patrol the side streets, in a vast exhibition of military power and intimidation of the local inhabitants.

The second raid, which was also carried out in the morning time, consisted of four 3-ton troop

carriers, 8 land rovers, which were lined up one side of the New Lodge Road. The entry behind the house which was to be searched, was lined from top to bottom with British armed troops many of them standing on yard walls. Three houses were searched, one of them was vacant, as the owner was at work, but this did not deter the soldiers, they forced an entrance by way of the back. A Betting Office, which was closed, was opened with a key from one of the many sets of keys which the British troops had with them.

To the delight of their Loyalist supporters, who watched and gloated, once again as they had been able to do a few days previous. These raids were an arrogant display of military power, over a people who had the courage and the God-given Right to stand up to these same troops, when they acted with deliberate intent, by the use of tear-gas and riot-squad to intimidate the local residents, who had not moved out off their own area, but instead had repulsed the so-called loyalists, who had invaded them, threatened and stoned families from their homes. Where was this display of armed might when families were intimidated, and had to move all their belongings from the loyalists area, since the confrontation that Saturday on the New Lodge Road. The British Authorities said they were acting "on information received".

BODENSTOWN

14th JUNE, 1970

**"For Tone is coming back again
With Legions o'er the wave
The dear old land, the loved old land
The brave old land to save."**

How often have we heard that grand old song in the Ceili Halls, and at Republican functions and especially on our annual Pilgrimage to the Grave of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown!

Well, at least after witnessing the magnificent parade on Sunday last, 14th June, 1970, we can truthfully and proudly say that the Spirit of Tone was back again with the greatest gathering of sincere Republican followers of Tone since pre-war years.

It was in keeping too with the spirit of Belfast, which Tone knew and loved — that Belfast should provide the greatest contribution — numerically — to the success of the parade. The Belfast of McArts Fort, Cave Hill, where Tone himself sowed the seed of Republicanism and Separatism by solemnly vowing with his comrades.

"Never to desist in their efforts until they had subverted the authority of England over their own land and asserted her independence."

Upwards of one thousand many Belfast "Exiles" living in Dublin were there to greet them. People travelled from Belfast on Saturday and Sunday, whilst All Units of the Republican movement were represented viz: O'laigh na hEireann, Cumann na mBan, Sinn Fein Republican Clubs, Na Fianna Eireann, Cumann na gCailini and National Graves' Association, with three bands accompanying them viz: Tom Williams Pipe Band, Joe McKelvey Pipe Band and St. Patrick's Youth Accordion Band. Let it not be thought that Belfast completely stole the limelight in this Parade — the Boys from the County Armagh were there in force also, with Saint Mary's Pipe Band, Lurgan, Wolfe Tone Band, Newry and Blackwaterstown Pipers and Drummers, and representatives of the various units of the Republican Movement — Particularly impressive were the members of Na Fianna — Every County in Ulster were represented including the heroic unrepentant area of Bogside. From the Provinces of Munster, Leinster, and

— Continued on page 7

Foreign Troops and Bases in the North

MR. CORISH and Mr. O'Leary of the Irish Labour Party, were so much worried about the invasion of Cambodia by American troops, that they sought a full-scale discussion in Leinster House to register their protest.

Mr. O'Tuathail, Editor of 'United Irishman', was listed to speak at a meeting organised by Derry Republican Club to protest against American Policy in Cambodia and also the presence of American Bases in Northern Ireland without the authority of the Irish People North or South, thus involving this country directly in any future U.S. Wars.

Very noble sentiments indeed! Were it not for the fact that charity in the form of such action and protest begins at home, where British Bases and troops are situated in our Northern Territory and which has involved this country of ours in two major wars, and without the authority of the Irish people.

But when we read the comments and opinions of all the political Groups in Leinster House and also of Mr. O'Tuathail, we find that they have already agreed to desert the people of the North and are indifferent to British Bases in their land.

When Mr. O'Tuathail was asked on a Television programme if the Republican Movement was totally against guns brought into Northern Ireland he said:— "Again and again we have said that the people of Northern Ireland must defend themselves."

And in true Fianna Fail tradition also agrees with the leader of that Party when he said, "Again and again we have said we do not want— what he terms a 'Civil War'.

And Conor Cruise O'Brien on behalf of the Labour Party has said— "Leave Law and Order in the North to the British and admit it openly." Whilst Mr. Lynch has said that the defence of the minority in the North is available in the forces sent there by the British Government. The Editor of the 'Irish Press' has written— "This State—meaning the 26 Counties—doesn't need Northerners either coming or being brought to take sides in the Internal Affairs." And someone reminded him of Article No. 2 of the Constitution of his 26 County State which reads, 'The National territory consists of the whole Land of Ireland, its Islands and territorial Seas.

In 1922-25 the Cumann Na nGael party under Mr. Cosgrave's father sold out the North and left us under the loving 'Care and Protection of the British Army of Occupation and rejoiced in the 'Damned Good Bargain' they had made in the sell-out of this Partition issue.

The founders of the Fianna Fail Party, then members of Sinn Fein, opposed and criticised the 'Damned Good Bargain'. Now they too with the co-operation of Fine Gael led Cosgrave's son and the Irish Labour Party and their fellow travellers have left us to the 'Care and Protection' of Mother England's forces without even a 'Damned Good Bargain'. And as marching protesters shout 'Out—Out' to American Troops—the British Invaders will be by-passed because, whisper it—they are required to 'Protect us Poor Northerners' from ? ? ? ? ?

COLLABORATION

REFERRING to the alleged importation of Arms, the political correspondent of the Sunday Press, 17-5-70, wrote:—

"In an effort to find out where the arms were intended to be delivered in the Six Counties and the names of the supposed recipients, the R.U.C. Special Branch is helping the Gardai."

Mr. Tully, Labour, might be able to help out here as he asked Mr. Lynch in Leinster House:—

"Was he aware that Arms were landed in Drogheda. Rifles without bolts were in the hold of a ship? Was it true that Arms had been landed at a number of places without any control?"

First L.P. by the FLYING COLUMN

THE Flying Column Folk Group, Belfast, under the leadership of Eamon Largy have at last released their first long playing record, called "Folk Time in Ireland" and already there is a big demand for it, price 19/11.

I understand they had some difficulty because of the inclusion of the song "Tom Williams," because they refused to make the record without it, and eventually they won out on it—congratulations Eamon on your stand and on your splendid rendering of the song. You will be delighted too with the lovely haunting voice of Kathleen McCreedy one of our finest singers with rendering of "James Connolly" the "Irish Rebel" and "The Dying Rebel". Whilst Paddy McGoldrick will lift your heart with his lively singing of "Whiskey in the Jar", "Belfast City", "Come to the Bower" and "Banks of the Ohio". Eamon—the lad himself, also sings "Henry Joy", "Boston Burglar" and "When I was Single". Barney Evans with Bass and Guitar, sings hauntingly "Banna Strand". Sean Kelly on the G. Banjo and Benny McKeating on tenor Banjo complete this fine group.

This record is a **must** for all music lovers.

SINN FEIN — REPUBLICAN CUMANN

Six new Sinn Fein — Republican Clubs were set up in Belfast within the past couple of months — viz.

Cumann Fergal O'Hanlon :	St. Patrick's and Unity Flats Area.
" Liam McParland :	Ballymurphy and Whiterock.
" Padraig Pearse :	Clonard Area.
" Sean O'Carroll :	Andersonstown Area
" Sean Martin :	Ballymacarrett and Market Area
" Gerrard O'Callaghan :	Beechmount Area.

All of them along with the existing Cumann Sean McCaughey, Oldpark and Ardoyne area have pledged their allegiance to the Caretaker Executive of the Sinn Fein and Provisional Army Council.

Our Darkest Hour or Our Hour of Glory?

IN THE QUIET HOURS between riot and strife, and God alone knows how the quiet hours are rare, how often does our mind ramble over recent events, dwell on the confusion in our midst and search for the way ahead. Some of us find that way, others do not, yet again others find it and lack the strength to follow it.

To those people who genuinely can not find the way ahead, we must give assistance and guidance so that out of their confusion and doubt will emerge truth, the truth being that the first steps towards peace and prosperity for any country is freedom. To those who know the path of freedom to be the way ahead but lack the strength to take it, mere understanding is not enough, for the battle against fear is universal, and perhaps the first step towards its defeat is the acceptance that fear is natural, an emotion felt by all men great and small and only when it is allowed to dominate does it become cowardice.

Even the problem of cowardice can be fought, it is easy to be a coward among cowards, like most serious ailments it is contagious and unless treated can become an epidemic. The treatment of this ailment lies in the hands of courageous men, because fear is a strange thing and by the actions

of brave men, the fear of being called a coward can become greater than the fear of arrest, intimidation, or indeed of death itself, and so at this hour never has it been more important that men of ideals show their courage and determination putting the medicine of counter-fear to work amidst our people, and as in the world of medicine making the very disease that threatens, work for us. It is in this sphere that the real glory lies, it is in this sphere that the ideals of the Republic stand or fall.

So whilst some might say it is our darkest hour, it is in fact our hour of glory, for brave men are coming forward every hour of the day to commit themselves to the cause of the Republic, brave men whose names shall live in history of our country, when those who turn their backs are but bad memories. This is the real miracle of our dark hour bringing to life the words of our famous song:—

"Night is darkest just before
the dawn,
And from dissension Ireland
is reborn."

The path ahead is not an easy one but to retreat from it is impossible. For to do so would be to say that we have lost the will to survive as a nation, that there never was such a man as Pearse, that August never happened, that British troops are not raiding homes, in short to escape from reality, the terrible reality that we are an occupied and divided country. Retreat, and future generations shall live only to hear the shame of our weakness. Retreat, and future generations shall die on foreign soil, a people without a nation or nationhood. Stand firm and we shall build a nation never again to surrender our people to attack or the exploitation of a greedy world.

Connolly and Partition

the Ulster Volunteer Force was a numerically strong and well armed active organisation — the forerunner of the U.V.F. of to-day.

The arms and military support which Connolly sought from Germany would have been used against the U.V.F. if necessary, because in a reference to Partition in May, 1914 to which Redmond, Devlin, Carson and the Liberal Government had agreed in secret, Connolly wrote:—

"To it, Labour should give the bitterest opposition; against it, Labour in Ulster should fight even to the death if necessary as our fathers fought before us."

Many of those who claim to follow Connolly to-day would denounce Connolly as a fascist or one wanting to cause sectarian strife, because of this militant attitude against Partition.

AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF THE 1st WORLD WAR, JAMES CONNOLLY WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ARRANGING A CONFERENCE OF PEOPLE WHO MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN ORGANISING AN INSURRECTION AGAINST BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND.

At a meeting held on September 9th, 1914 — at which such men as Tom Clark, Pearse, McDermott, etc. were present, Connolly suggested getting in touch with Germany with a view to Military support. Arms etc. At the particular time

DERRY LOYAL YOUNG SOCIALISTS

ABOUT 50 of Derry's Young Socialists staged a protest march to the American Naval Communications Base on the outskirts of Derry to protest against U.S. policy in South East Asia. At the end of the demonstration, 30 counter demonstrators began singing "God Save the Queen" and the Young Socialists joined with them.

**UNITED WE STAND
FOR THE BRITISH
MONARCHY**

BOYCOTT THE BRITISH ELECTION

THE LONDON BRANCH of the United Ireland Association has sent out a statement to four million people of Irish extraction living in Britain to boycott the British Election.

THEY POINT OUT that England has no right to legislate in any way for any part of the 32 Counties of Ireland, and it deplores Britain's action in using C.S. gas, guns, armoured cars and "Blatant Brutality" against the "Defenceless People" in the Six Counties.

Sean MacDiarmada

IN A SMALL kitchen house in Butler Street, Belfast, almost opposite Hooker Street — two streets at Ardoyne which were much in the news during the August troubles of 1968 — Sean MacDiarmada, Signatory to the Proclamation of 1916 and one of the executed leaders — used to sit and talk of Ireland and her coming struggle for freedom.

Almost opposite the Catholic Club in Royal Avenue, Sean and a few comrades rented a small upstairs office. It was from this office that the late Bulmer Hobson issued his little journal called, "The Republic." It was here that Sean — when others were wont to talk of Irish literature, Irish industry and economics, etc. — would say:—

"Get us guns and ammo first and get England out, and we shall have plenty of time and facilities to build up the Country."

He believed that Ireland's first duty was to fight. Eventually, public meetings were organised to propagate the new policy of Sinn Féin. One of the first was held at Elmfield Street, Ardoyne. It was not altogether peaceful as many of those present objected to the Movement. However, as the old wagonette was leaving amid a chorus of boos, an old man approached Sean and put a piece of paper into his hand. In it was wrapped a gold sovereign. Sean said it was a Godsend as the driver of the wagon had to be paid.

On their way back Sean used to insist on them singing National songs as they passed down Donegall Street and York Street to Greenacres, which was another

favourite meeting place. He hated the sight of the police at his meetings. One night one of his friends said to him:— "Wouldn't it be grand if we could win those fine Bobbys' over to our side," to which Sean replied: "Let us get strong enough to take them as prisoners and then they will back us."

The friend with whom he stayed was asked by Sean what prayers he said every night and when he told him, Sean said very feelingly, "Since I was a young boy I have always said three Hail Mary's each morning that there would be a rebellion in Ireland in my time, and three Hail Mary's every night, that I would be in it."

He believed that the freedom of Ireland could only be achieved by a blood-sacrifice and often he would repeat, "Someone must die to rouse the nation to its duty." To save Dark Rosaleen many must die and he who is called upon to make the sacrifice shall also receive the strength."

Crippled with pain, he stepped out proudly on that Easter Morn. 1916 to fulfil that prophecy, and sixteen days later, May 12th, 1916 as he stood before the rifles of that British firing squad in the prison yard of Kilmainham he proudly showed that he had received that strength to make the supreme sacrifice for Ireland.

National Graves' Association

Hereunder we publish some extracts from a statement issued to the Press by the National Graves' Association, Dublin, outlining various projects undertaken by the Association.

WOLFE TONE MEMORIAL

THE MONUMENT AND GRAVE of Wolfe Tone at Bodinstown was badly damaged by explosives on the night of the 1st November, 1969. Immediately the National Graves' Association acted and accepted responsibility for its restoration. The appeals which went out for friends met with a generous response, the first being a sum of money from a Protestant minister in Dublin, and a 2s. 6d. Postal Order from a school-girl in Derry.

The subscription list will remain open until the day of the unveiling which it is hoped will take place in September, 1970.

Theobald Wolfe Tone was, and still is a National figure; the father of the Republic, a leader, a teacher, a guide, a martyr. He is respected by all creeds. He symbolises Ireland. With all due respect to our great men of the past, Tone towers over them all, and is the beacon which lights the way for all Irishmen towards their ideal of a free United Ireland. This Nationwide regard for Tone has been amply manifested down through the years by the countless thousands who visited his little cell-grave every June. It was a Pilgrimage. They came to honour him and went away renewed with the Spirit of Republicanism.

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS MARTYRS

Four members of the Connaught Rangers lost their lives in India during the Mutiny in June 1920 and were buried in India.

The Mutiny was a protest by these Irishmen, serving in the British Army, against the atrocities being then committed in Ireland by England's Black and Tans. Jim Daly from Tyrrelspass was executed on the 2nd November, 1920 for his part in the Mutiny, whilst Smythe from Drogheda, and Sears from Mayo, died from bullet wounds and Mirandae from Liverpool died from the effects of hunger-strike.

The Indian Government has now decided to allow the body of Jim Daly to be brought back to Ireland for reburial. It is believed that they will also agree to the reinterment of his three comrades from their burial place in India, if application is made by their relatives.

Jim Daly's two sisters have requested the National Graves' Association to take charge of the funeral arrangements. The Committee agreed and it is now planned to have him buried in Tyrrelspass, on Sunday, 1st Nov., 1970.

If it is possible to have the other three bodies, they will be buried in Glasnevin Cemetery at the same time, which will be the 50th Anniversary of the execution of Jim Daly.

KEVIN BARRY and EDWARD DALY

The erection of a Memorial Stone to the memories of Kevin Barry and Edward Daly at the corner of Church Street and North King Street. The memorial plaque will be erected on a site in front of the new flats which replaced the house where Barry was captured.

This area had such close connections with Edward Daly and his men who fought so gallantly there in 1916 that it was decided the memorial should be a joint one to both their memories.

"THE LAST POST"

The publishing of the Second Edition of the Association's publication "The Last Post". The first Edition was published in 1932 on a limited way, gave particulars of graves, memorials, way-side crosses commemorating our country's martyred dead.

This hoped that the 2nd Edition will be much more comprehensive and will include particulars of all who died in the cause of the Irish Republic from 1913 to the present time. It is hoped to have it ready by the end of the year.

The Common Market

AMIDST ALL OUR PRESENT TROUBLES the E.E.C (European Economic Community) seems a rather vague possibility because political developments in the Six Counties are so turbulent that they are determined by days rather than weeks, months or years and serve to enshroud even greater the already dark chasm of E.E.C. commitment, a chasm one feels too dark and too deep to venture into, guided only by the questionable motives of commercial politicians who sell themselves and their products and concealing the fact that all the products are turned out by the same company. The Position and Power Co. Ltd. The working class having been exposed to such tactics for generations are now almost numb. To them the greatest tragedy of all is that they now almost expect to be taken on as they were in the pursuance of an Empire and two World Wars.

This tragedy must never be allowed to repeat itself and the best way to avoid it is for the working class of Ireland to unite, to replace commercial politics with vocational politics, to become a people rather than a raw material to be shuttled on to conveyor belts that lead only to the war zones of the world sorted and graded on a basis best suited to the interest of the Position and Power Co. Ltd.

If the E.E.C. as the name suggests were purely economic and balanced in the interests of the Irish people then we could look at it in the terms of cold cash but this is not the case, it goes much further than that, it is complete political integration with Europe, the consequences of which are far reaching and in several respects far from being in the interests of Ireland, and Irish freedom, it could destroy it beyond all hope of redemption, for rather than unite Ireland it will tend to re-unite the UK. It must be made clear that at any time the border could have been abolished simply by the whole of the country becoming part of Britain. If we did not choose to be a province of Britain, why then be a province of Europe? Is it because they are all such nice people to know, a people who have never waged war on half the world, or

are they really old Imperialists struggling to regain a voice lost in the world wide demand for freedom, a freedom won only by the bitter struggle of the people in the country they occupied and suppressed.

Ireland is not yet free, not beaten, nor has the time come or likely to, when we will sell our country to the highest bidder or accept an old Imperialist club as a substitute for freedom.

There are those who would point out that a united Europe would be a sound defence against Communism, but there again a common defence agreement such as N.A.T.O. could do this, and anyway Communism is by no means the only threat, for whilst there might be troops in Czechoslovakia they aren't exactly boy scouts in the Six Counties. Those who are crying about the Communist threat should put their own house in order before doing so, for the stink of their Empires and all their fostered divisions still remain.

The pursuit of an independent foreign policy could not and would not be practical in such a community, in a world of conflict and change the surrender of such a right is suicidal where the Irish people would be no more than a voice in the wilderness. A wilderness of unemployment with industry concentrated in the industrial centres of Europe, an agricultural wilderness in a community already over-producing, a cultural wilderness in a community geared only to the pursuit of financial gain. For the overlords of the new structure, it would be a structure in which Ireland would exist in name only.

from 1922 or an alternative of a gratuity.

They were being disbanded at this time, and Sir James Craig — later to become Lord Craigavon — who had previously described them as the "Flower of Ulster" had now suggested to them that they should go to the Dominions.

When asked how they would hold out with this protest one of them said, "We have plenty of stores, machine-guns, rifles, revolvers and ammunition and we will resist any attempt to dispossess us of them."

LOUGH NEAGH

SEAMUS O'NEILL in an article in the "Irish Press" referring to the just claim of the fishermen to the fish in the Lough, states that this Right goes back to the Brehon Laws.

He refers to the 'Feinches' which states the Right of every tribe and people to these things.

The quick drawing of a net from each stream.

The Sea wrack of each strand.

The Dulse of each rock.

The produce of each wave outside the Rock going into a boat.

This is one Phase of the Conquest that can be remedied. It is the Inch before the Saw that counts, no doubt we can soon find many others.

These things may mean little to the people of a city but to those of our people who live by the lakes and streams of Ireland they mean a great lot.

Bodenstown (continued from p. 4)

Connaught they came in large numbers accompanied by five bands to swell the crowd of almost seven thousand people.

It was a colourful scene as the Colour Party heading the parade with the National Flag of the 32 Counties and the Starry Plough — the flag of the Citizen Army, followed by the flags representative of all units of the Republican movement and of the different periods in the struggle viz.: The Flag of the United Irishmen of 1798; the Flag of the Fenian Period of 1867; the Flag of Sinn Fein, Na Fianna Eireann, etc. Wreaths were laid on the mutilated headstone by Sean MacStiofain on behalf of the Republican Movement; by Deasun O'Maille on behalf of Sinn Fein. Britain, and Mr. James Conaty on behalf of Clann na Gael, America. Rory O'Bradaigh, Longford, proved a capable Chief Marshal. Seamus Steele, Belfast, as Chairman, speaking in Gaelic and English on behalf of the Commemoration Committee, welcomed the huge gathering. He referred to the efforts of this great Protestant patriot on behalf of his down-trodden, persecuted fellow-Irish men and women then suffering

under England's infamous penal laws because of their National and religious beliefs — and pointed out how a similar position existed in the Six Counties to-day — a situation which could only be solved as Tone then had believed by breaking completely the connection with England.

One of the best orations heard at the graveside of Tone since Pearse last spoke there was delivered by Daithi O'Connell, Cork, in which a very lucid and remarkable analysis of the situation in Ireland during the past year was given. Placing the entire blame on the British Government and her collaborators in the Six and Twenty-six County Governments. He also referred to the part played by those "Republicans" who were intent on following the political line of the different political groups in Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster.

To the Northern Protestant he said: "The man we honour to-day was of your creed. He proved that Catholic and Protestant could work together for their mutual benefit. We believe the same can be done again. **We do NOT ask you to renounce your religion or forsake your way of life.** We do not ask you to join the South. We simply ask that you come into the politics of the 20th Century and work with us for the creation of a new Ireland worthy of Wolfe Tone." And to the politicians of Leinster House, he said:

"You have sold our Country body and soul, physically and morally. You tell us it is our duty to defend Europe but a **crime to defend our own kith and kin.** You led Irish soldiers to their deaths in the Congo in the name of World Peace, but you will not face the realities of a just and lasting Irish Peace. You preach law and order forgetting that law is not stronger than life or man's desire to be free. You can no longer contain the spirit which arose from the ashes of Bombay Street, you could never understand it either."

And to the British Government, he said:—

"You stand indicted before the world for the wrongs you have done to Ireland. You never had any right to be in our Country and never will. You sent your troops to keep, what you call, the peace. You forget that peace must be based on justice; it cannot be founded on British bayonets. The more your troops impose their will, the nearer you bring the day of open confrontation. If you sincerely desire peace, then withdraw your armed forces and the weapons of destruction you so lavishly supplied to the Stormont junta over the last fifty years. In a nutshell, get the hell out of our country; you never brought us anything but strife and war."

MUTINY BY 'A' SPECIALS

IN DECEMBER, 1925, the 'A' Specials all over the Six Counties mutinied and took over and barricaded some of the barracks in which they were stationed. In some cases they placed their officers under arrest. They were claiming 3s per day

Draw your own conclusion

THE "BELFAST TELEGRAPH" reported on 29th May last that in spite of a strong application for bail John Patrick Gilligan a young married man who lives in Clondara Street in the Falls Road area was remanded in custody for a week at Belfast magistrates court charged with illegal possession of 1,000 rounds of ammunition. His two-year-old daughter had died a short time earlier from a gunshot wound.

Mr. Bernard Turkington applying for bail said, "There are humanitarian reasons for letting this man out on bail." He handed Mr. Long, the magistrate, a medical certificate on the distressed condition of Mr. Gilligan's young wife.

Mr. Henry Nelson, Crown Solicitor objected to bail.

At the same court, two men charged with possessing a revolver were released on bail until June 12th.

The men, Samuel Murray (30) of Highgate Terrace and Robert McMenamy (27) of Winchester St., are charged with possessing the gun in Ohio Street (a pro-British district) on March 21st.

BOMBAY STREET SEARCH

On Sunday, 14th June, some voluntary workers were taking advantage of the good weather putting finishing touches to the new houses in Bombay Street when they were approached by a party of British soldiers who wanted to search the houses for arms.

The British soldiers were told by the workers that they had given up their leisure time so that the unfortunate people who lost their homes last August could be rehoused as quickly as possible, and that an unnecessary prolonged search would only hamper this important humanitarian work.

The British officer in charge told his men to search the perimeter around the houses and then told the workers that he would be back at his convenience after daylight to complete the search of the houses.

THE JOURNEY WAS NOT IN VAIN

It was quite clear at Bodinstown on Sunday, 14th June, that the spirit of resistance to British rule in Ireland was not dead but still very much alive. This in spite of almost 900 years of foreign domination by British forces on Irish soil. In spite of anti-National brainwashing, the scaffold, imprisonment, bribes and soup kitchens, Irishmen and Irishwomen had journeyed from the four provinces of Ireland to renew their allegiance to Irish Republicanism and to honour Tone and his brave comrades who have left us a priceless legacy. The men of Ulster did not let Tone down.

I mentally saluted those unselfish, patriotic men of principle and honour who by their labours, without fanfare or headlines since last August made this day of Republican renewal possible.

I sensed a difference in the morale and bearing of the men in the ranks as they marched back to Sallins village after the ceremony. They seemed to march with greater discipline, determination and vigour. They had come to "the holiest spot in Ireland" for inspiration. Tone did not let them down and they did not let Tone down. Their journey to Bodinstown and Tone's sacrifice had not been in vain.

PLEDGE ON McARTS FORT

In the year 1915 on the occasion of Tone's Anniversary, the Belfast Fianna marched to McArts Fort on Cave Hill. Mr. Ernest Blythe delivered the oration. After speaking on the aims, etc., of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, he asked all present to hold up their right hands and pledge themselves to fight for the independence of Ireland and never to cease from their efforts till Ireland was free. The boys and young men of Na Fianna raised their hands and repeated after him the words of the pledge.

In 1922 the same Mr. Blythe was a member of the Free State Government which sent some of these young men of Na Fianna — like Joe McKelvey and Liam Mellows to martyrdom in the prison yard of Mountjoy without charge or trial because they had remained true to that pledge to fight for the independence of Ireland and never to cease from their efforts till Ireland was free.

AN PHOBLACHT ABU

(Air: O'Donnell Abu)

Loudly the roar of the guns over Dublin

Fiercely the fighting twist Gall and the Gael

All round the City the buildings are burning

The Tricolour floating over each Bearn Baoghail

There from those flaming cells comes forth in mighty swells

A song of defiance by brave men and true.

Only a handful then, sincere, determined men

Raising their war-cry "An Phoblacht Abu.

Into the Prisons the Struggle is carried

Leaders face proudly the guns of the foe

There in the lime-pits our martyrs lie buried
Shedding their blood in a Cause that will grow
Soon comes that Call again
For Ireland's fighting men
Freedom with honour our young men pursue
Treading the soldier's way —
Making the enemy pay
Victory is dawning — An Phoblacht Abu.

In city and country our soldiers now resting
Hopeful of earning the fruits of their toil

Now for our leaders comes the time of testing

To win Freedom's fight for our people and soil.

Alas such hopes are gone
Comes now a treacherous dawn

Soldiers outnumbered, the struggle renew.

War must be faced once more
Blood flow from shore to shore

Raise again our war-cry — "An Phoblacht Abu."

STOP FRATERNISING

ON Friday, 12th June, the "Irish News" carried a photograph of a number of Scottish soldiers among a group of school-children, with an added report which read:—

"An enjoyable day's outing for 56 pupils of St. John's Girls' Primary School Colinpark Street, Belfast, was provided on Wednesday, by members of "A" Company of the Royal Scots. The children were brought to Lough Neagh where they took part in games and had trips on the lough."

Week by week we have evidence of this peaceful penetration being carried out by England's Occupation Forces on our soil, with a view to instilling into these youthful minds acceptance of their slavish state — acceptance of British rule and protection of the British usurpers

are willing collaborators in this case.

It is time that all kinds of fraternisation with foreign occupation forces stopped. Is it not possible for Nationally-minded parents to organise their own outings for their children without allowing them to come into unwholesome contact with the armed forces of the foreign power that continues to give economic and military support to the puppet Stormont regime whose Prime Minister only a short time ago mobilised the B Specials in an effort to intimidate those seeking fundamental civil rights in our own country.

One cannot blame the children under the circumstances, and I suppose one cannot blame the individual British soldiers because they are only responding to their higher authorities — but the fault lies with the parents and in some cases, the teachers, both of whom

Roddy McCorley Memorial Committee

GRAND DRAW FOR VOLKSWAGEN 1200

Draw will take place at a Dinner in
THE HOTEL, TOOMEBRIDGE.
on 6th August, 1970

Proceeds in aid of Monument Re-Erection Fund
Voluntary Subscription — — — £1