

# G L Ó R



# ULADH

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# The ARBOURFIELD

We cull the following from the 'Daily Express' of the 5th November, which paper also carried a facsimile of the headlines of the article as it appeared in the 'United Irishman', November issue.

Ten men carried out the I.R.A. raid on Arborfield Camp, Berkshire, and they trained for it for six weeks before—at a secret camp. The I.R.A. story of the raid on August 13, told "by one of the volunteers who took part in it," was published in Dublin yesterday.

The men trained by night. They were specially briefed and given maps, drawings, and photographs of Arborfield.

A plan of the camp's armoury is also printed in the monthly, the United Irishman.

The unnamed raider's story says the ten men were told how to travel to England and how to contact the officer in charge of the operation on arrival there.

In England the O.C. briefed them again. It was arranged for some members of the expedition to travel the route to and from the objective several times so they would be familiar with the roads.

A car and route map was provided for each man.

### Practice Run

One I.R.A. man on a practice run gave a hitch-hiking soldier from Arborfield a lift outside London.

Near Arborfield he picked up other soldiers returning to the camp and claims they provided him "with some valuable up-to-date information"

Then comes the story of the raid. It began at

2.10 a.m. The guards patrolling the camp—two parties of two men each—had changed at 2 a.m. and the raiders had two hours in which to work before the guard changed again.

The guard commander, a sergeant, was held up at revolver point. So was the sentry at the barrier.

Two I.R.A. men armed with Webley revolvers rounded up the 12 remaining members of the guard.

They were tied hand and foot—some without trousers—gagged with cotton wool and field dressings and made to kneel against the walls in the guard room.

A bogus sentry "complete to the last detail in shoulder flashes and cap badge" was posted at the camp entrance.

2.14. The first I.R.A. van drove into the barrack square and halted at the armoury. Two minutes later a second van arrived.

But the raiders could not find keys No. 45 and 46—the keys to the magazine and armoury. The guard commander's personal keys did not fit. The keys, the story says, had been taken away

## RAID

by the armourer the night before.

The raiders forced the magazine doors.

3.15. The first van left the camp, loaded with ammunition, 50,000 rounds of ammunition and "a number of selected weapons from the armoury."

### Hoodwinked

Three men remained as a covering party "to ensure that the alarm would not be raised till both vans had time to reach their destinations."

4.10. The cover party held up and took prisoner four sentries coming on duty.

4.50. The covering party withdrew.

Three of the raiders, Donal Murphy, of Dublin; Joseph Doyle, of Bray (Co. Wicklow); and James Murphy, of Castledermot (Co. Kildare), were arrested after one of the vans was stopped by a police patrol outside London.

Doyle and Donal Murphy, who were in the first van when it was stopped, by "practising delaying tactics by way of fairy tales and adventure stories succeeded in hoodwinking and delaying the police sufficiently long to give the second van time to get away."

Says the I.R.A. account: "To their bravery and resourcefulness the remainder of the party owe their liberty."

The raider ends: "It is my hope that I may have the privilege of taking part in future operations."

## AN CONNRADH I mBEAL FEIRSDE

"Bíonn barraíocht Gaeilgeoirí ag cainnt ar bhás na teangan agus ar bhás an náisiúin," dúirt Cathal Mac Criostáil Cathaíreach, ag cainnt dó ag cruinniú chinn bliana Choiste Ceanntair Bhéal Feirste, de Chonnradh na Gaeilge, Dia Sathairn, 19adh Samhain. Cuireann an cinéal seo cainte adóchais, ar fhólaimeoirí agus ar bhearlóirí i gcoiteann. Caithfidh muid treoir a thabhairt dóibh agus dóchas a chothú ionntu cionns gur orthú atá aith-bheochaint na Gaeilge ag brath."

Bhí teachtaí ó cheithre Craobhacha de'n Chonnradh i láthair, le tuarascála ar obair na bliana seo a chluinstin agus le obair na bliana seo chugainn a leagadh amach.

In a thuarascáil, dúirt an Rúnaí, Brian Ó Maoileoin, gurbh é an rud a ba tabhachtaí agus a ba phráinní dá rabh le deánamh, obair aith-bheochana na Gaeilge sa' ghalltacht a cheangal le slánú na Gaeltachta. Bhí treoir le fáil, a dúirt sé, ins na foclaí seo de chuid Néill Uí Dhomhnaill:—"Níor léiríodh go grinn an obair mhór atá le deánamh má's linn dáiríre an Ghaeilge a chur i réim."

"Na cuspóirí náisiúnta eile a bhí againn, miníodh go beacht iad ar feadh shé scór bliain go dtí go rabh siad uilig ion-tuigte as aon fhocal amháin—POBLAcht."

"Cá h-uair a bhéas cuspóirí na Gaeilge, comh buailfe isteach 'nár n-intinn a's go mbéidh siad uilig ion-tuigte againn as an aon fhocal amháin—GAELTACHT?"

Bhí súil aige go n-éireochadh leis an Ghluais-eacht Ghaelach, céim mhór a thabhairt ionns ar an bharr-shamhail sin sa bhliain atá romhainn.

Thug an Cisteoir, Caoimhín Mag Uidhir cunnas ar chúrsaí airgid na bliana a thaisbean go rabh doigh mhaith ar an chisde agus ghabh an Coisde buíochas leis as a shaothar.

Taoghadh na daoine seo leanaí mar oifigigh i gcóir na bliana 1955-56.

Cathaíreach:— Cathal Mac Criostáil.

Leas Cathaíreach:— Pádraig Mac Giolla Ruaidh.

Rúnaí:— Brian Ó Maoileoin.

Leas Rúnaí:— Seán Ó Cearnaigh.

Cisteoir:— Caoimhín Mag Uidhir.

Leas Chisteoir:— Seán Mac Ghoill.

Taoghadh Cathal Mac Criostáil, Pádraig Mac Giolla Ruaidh, Tomás Ó Monacháin agus Brian Ó Maoileoin le gníomhú mar theachtaí ó'n Choiste Ceanntair ar Chomhaltas Uladh.

Ar na rúin a cuireadh i bhfeidhm bhí ceann amháin a mhol go mbunóadh an Coiste Ceanntair Coiste Gaeltachta, le cuidiú le neartú Ghaeltacht Thír Chonaill. Socrúigheadh fosta go mbunóthfaí fá-choiste bolscaireachta agus go gceapfaí oifigeach le timireacht a dheánamh eadar an Choiste Ceanntair agus Ghaeil uilig na Cath-rach.

I dtaca leis an Choiste Gaeltachta de, dúirt Pádraig Mac Giolla Ruaidh, mar fheargair an an bharúil nach dtiocfadh le Gaeilgeoirí Bhéal Feirste, Gaeltacht Thír Chonaill a shlánú, go rabh Gaélú Chúige Uladh i dtuilleamú ar neart na Gaeltachta sin agus mar gheall ar sin go rabh dualgas orthú chinntuí comh fada agus thiofadh leo chan amháin go slánóthfaí í ach go méadóthadh sí go gasta.

Dúirt León Ó Mairtín, gur de thairbhe na Comhdhála Agóide, fó choiste eile de chuid an Choiste Ceanntair, a bunaíodh "Muinntir na Gaeltachta," agus gur chruthú sin go dtiocfadh le Gaeil Bhéal Feirste cuidiú a thabhairt do'n Ghaeltacht.

Ar na daoine eile a labhair bhí: Tomás Ó h-Eanáin, Seán Ó Labhra, Tomás Ó Monacháin, Seán Ó Cearnaigh, Seán Ó Ceallacháin, Séamus Ó Maolmóna, Liam Ó Dochartaigh agus Séamus Mac Diarmuda.



# President's Inspiring Address

THE following is the text of the address delivered by PADRAIG MAC LOGAIN, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, to the delegates present at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis held in Dublin last month.

"It has fallen to my lot to extend to the delegates and visitors at this Ard Fheis the official welcome of the Ard Comhairle. In doing so I wish to remind those present that it is our privilege to be present at the Ard Fheis which marks the 50th year of the existence of our organisation."

"In the years that have passed since its inception, members of Sinn Féin have passed through many vicissitudes and many sacrifices have been called for so that the role of our organisation in the struggle for Ireland's freedom might be maintained. The sacrifices made by its members, with true devotion to the principles for which Sinn Féin always stood, and for which it stands today, places Sinn Féin in the front ranks of those organisations that battle to obtain for Irishmen those rights to freedom and independence which are forcibly withheld from them. In the history of our organisation and in the part played by its members to secure freedom for Ireland there is nothing of which we may feel ashamed. Rather is there reason for feeling justly proud of the fact that despite all opposition, despite all defections and desertions from its ranks, Sinn Féin survives and emerges true and faithful to the principles and cause by which it has always stood. And a matter for further gratification: not alone does it survive, it shows unmistakable signs of progressing from strength to strength. Because of this an assurance can be given to the people of Ireland and to kindred organisations, both at home and overseas, that Sinn Féin will forge ahead with its part of this united effort to drive British forces of occupation from Irish soil and to obtain and secure the sovereign freedom and independence of Ireland."

"Faced as the people of Ireland are today with the task of continuing the struggle to rid Ireland of the foreign troops that occupy Irish territory, to free our country from the evils that stem from the economic and social links that still bind her to Britain and to end British interference of any kind in the internal affairs of our nation unity of purpose and effort becomes a first essential and a fundamental necessity. To this end citizens of Ireland at home and members of the Irish race abroad must realise the urgent necessity of making an all-out effort now to eliminate the root causes of what in the main are artificially created differences and dissensions among our people. The bickering of party and professional politicians has never served, and they can never be made to serve, the true interests of our country and its people. And neither can political party manoeuvres, essentially designed as they are to serve sectional or party interests alone, play any worthwhile part in the promotion of freedom for Ireland or in achieving conditions of peace, prosperity and happiness within her shores. Wishful thinking nor empty talk will not carry us far along the path that must be followed if present trends towards national disintegration and destruction are to be halted. The facts of the national position with which we are now confronted must be faced. Either we face these facts with a will, with courage and determination and with resolute action in an effort to remedy the evils that threaten the survival of the nation, or we accept the alternative of national defeat in cowering acquiescence to the naked force and influence of British imperialism.

In 1918 the programme of Sinn Féin was not

before the people of Ireland and they were asked to choose between electing representatives to a National Parliament pledged to serve the cause of freedom for Ireland, or alternatively, to give their support to the Irish Parliamentary and other parties and thus endorse their political manoeuvres. In a very definite manner the people of Ireland responded to the call of Sinn Féin and their choice was clear-cut and distinct. To-day the Republican Movement, of which Sinn Féin is an integral part, puts a programme before the Irish people and asks them to choose between electing representatives to British imposed institutes of partition Government in Ireland or alternatively to elect representatives to a national Parliament accepting as a primary and immediate task the smashing of the political and economic links that bind Ireland in serfdom to British domination and British interests. Further, in putting its programme before the people, the Republican movement asks them to choose between continuing to give support to the disruptive tactics and political manoeuvres of political and sectarian leaders that cause only party and sectarian bitterness and strife, or alternatively to give their full support to the Republican Movement, pledged as it is to the making of an all-out effort to supplant warring political parties and sectarian groups with a nation-wide movement, whose ranks are open to Irishmen of goodwill irrespective of creed or class and whose objective it is to serve the common interests of the nation and all its citizens. Will the people of Ireland respond to this clarion call now as the generation of 1918 responded? Will they unite now, as the people united in 1918, to complete successfully the phase of Ireland's struggle for freedom initiated in 1916? A courageous and nationally-inspired answer now will provide the essentials of unity and a worthwhile alternative to party and sectarian cleavages.

It may well be that upon the choice now made by the people of this generation will depend whether the Irish nation emerges united and triumphant from the rut of party politics, from the demoralising influence of sectarian and sectional strife, or wallowing as at present in the trough of confusion and dissension sinks into complete national degeneration, apathy and final extinction as a national entity.

If one is to judge from the welter of party policies and from the various and varying statements that, from time to time issue forth from advocates of party and sectarian politics, the true concept of Christian Nationality is either misunderstood or deliberately misrepresented, whilst the most convenient form of spurious Nationalism is paraded and accepted as the real genuine substance. Extending this line opponents of the Republican Movement assail its members on every conceivable opportunity and accuse them of being extremists because they demand, and make an effort to secure for the Irish people those natural rights that are theirs and that are withheld from them. Amongst others there is the deliberately false accusation made against the Republican Movement that it is promoting Civil War.

Members of the Republican Movement have no quarrel, and neither do they seek one with brother Irishmen because of class or creed distinctions. Republicans now, as in the past, oppose the tyrannies that thrive and flourish on class and creed domination, in the same way and for the same reasons that they endeavour to obtain freedom from the tyranny of foreign occupation. Their main objective is to secure and maintain for the people of Ireland those rights and privileges that are the lot and enjoyment of a free and

independent citizenry. It is no part of Republican policy or purpose to merely rid the country of the forms of tyranny now endured by our people and substitute therefor a different, but nonetheless reprehensible and objectionable form. The question the Republican Movement has, and will continue to have, is with those who are responsible for the presence of British occupying forces on Irish soil. For such occupation no justifiable plea can be sustained. It is symbolic of, it is the essence of, the credo that might is right. The Republican Movement organises its forces and seeks the support of all Irishmen to the end that Britain be compelled to withdraw, and otherwise bring to an end, those forces which she now employs to support and maintain her unjust denial of Ireland's right to full sovereign independence. Simply because Britain employs Irishmen in her forces, because such are prepared to serve in her forces, the charge that Republicans are promoting civil war is no more sustainable, no more factual, than the present conditions, than were similar charges made in the years say from 1916 onwards, when Irishmen served Britain in her Army, R.I.C., Black and Tans, Auxiliaries and in her secret police class planted within the shores of Ireland. In Ireland, as in every other land where her yoke of oppression has floated in domination over its inhabitants, and where she ruled ruthlessly in her own selfish interests, Britain entrenches her forces behind a shield of native-born and planted citizens, fully conscious of the fact, and secure in the knowledge, that should her security and interests be challenged by force, the canard of civil war could be, and would be, inveighed as an additional obstruction in the path of all who would venture to assert the rights of their native land and fight to secure its freedom. In selecting the material for this shield, rulers of Britain have sedulously followed the line of seizing upon any internal differences, such as class or creed alignments. These differences they then enlarge, injecting into the people the deadly germs of class and creed hatreds. Employment of such ruthless methods enables Britain to maintain its stranglehold over a part of Ireland and to compel Irishmen and Irishwomen to choose between docile submission to British domination, alternatively to face the unjust and baseless charge of promoting civil war, if and when Britain compels the use of force, to break the shackles of their bondage. Such tactics should not be allowed to deter our people, should not be permitted to divert them, from pursuit of their legitimate and just rights. If the people of this generation allow themselves to be thus hoodwinked, if they allow such tactics to succeed, then it merely requires that Britain maintains a token force of armed marauders entrenched behind an armed force of native-born recruited from a small minority of Irishmen whose first allegiance is given to the foreign usurper of their country's rights.

Britain has compelled Irishmen to wage a long and a hard struggle for the freedom of the Motherland. That freedom she still withholds, and in withholding it she still employs the methods of old. Time and time again, almost in every generation for centuries, Irishmen, in the face of every obstacle that Britain could erect, have recourse to whatever means became available to them and which they could honourably use in an effort to free their country. Many who are eager to condemn and deride, and who outstrip even themselves in denunciation of the men and women fighting Ireland's battles, lived to applaud and even endorse the righteousness of the cause and the means they used to achieve their objective. The simple logic of the situation in which Britain confronts Irishmen to-day is this: either you slavishly accept the status quo which binds Ireland in subjection, or you face the dictum of creating civil war if you employ whatever means may be necessary to achieve your freedom.

This indictment is but one of a number against members of the Republican movement from time to time. Taking them by and by, they are mere reiterations, rebashes of similar charges previously made against members of the movement. The sources from which they emerge today are similar to the sources from which they sprang in by-gone years. In their

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## HYPOCRISY

The British Foreign Office accused Marshal Bulganin of being thoroughly hypocritical because of a speech he delivered before the Indian Parliament on Monday, 21st November. The Marshall said that Soviet policy was based on non-interference in the affairs of other states and that the solution to the German problem was to be found in leaving matters to the Germans themselves.

How often have we heard the insincere leaders of the Great Powers speak in such terms about small and weaker nations? There is a marked similarity between the attitudes of the Soviet and Britain to their respective partitioning of Germany and Ireland.

The disunity of Germany, the British Foreign Office cogently pointed out through a spokesman (since removed) was due exclusively to Soviet interference in the affairs of Germany, without which the East German regime would not have been set up and would not today continue to exist. Every word of what the Foreign Office said about Russian interference in Germany could, with equal force, apply to British interference in Ireland and we had intended to prove that in this article. But since the East Berlin newspaper "Neue Deutschland" has answered the British Foreign Office by stating Ireland's case and we now quote from it:—

"Look at your nearest neighbour, Mr. Macmillan (British Foreign Secretary). Look at that green island, Ireland. For centuries the Irish people were enslaved and oppressed."

"After the first world war it won its independence only to be betrayed again. London could not keep the entire island under its domination. That's why it supported with force of arms a handful of North Irish separatists and made them master of a part of Ireland. The motive was the same as with the division of Germany. It was the profit interests of British investors and strategic sea considerations. For more than 30 years Ireland has been divided. Here is some room for your alleged love of unification, Mr. Macmillan."

"We can even tell you how to do it. Give up the British military bases in Northern Ireland. Free the Irish from the powerful economic pressure of foreign owners. Give the Irish their freedom in Northern Ireland, too, to advocate freedom for their fatherland. Free the patriots in the Northern Ireland prisons. When you do that, we will take seriously your words about unification."

## Sinn Fein Ard Fheis

There was a large attendance of delegates from all parts of the 32-counties, also from London and Glasgow at the fiftieth Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein, which was held in the O'Connell Hall, Dublin, on Saturday and Sunday, 12th and 13th November. The following was one of the resolutions which was passed unanimously:—

That in order to re-assert the right of the Irish People to be a free people, their right to govern themselves without let or hindrance by a Foreign Power, and to re-assert the right of their motherland to Sovereign Independence.

That as the Stormont Parliament is one of two such devices designed and constituted by Britain to legislate for Ireland through Partition Institutions of Government.

That since all candidates entering the contest of Stormont Elections must sign a declaration that if elected they will take their seats.

That in view of the fact that the democratic right of citizens of Ireland to choose their Parliamentary representatives has been flagrantly violated, and the will of the two British appointed High Court judges substituted therefor.

That in view of the absolute futility of a nationally-minded minority of representatives taking part in the functions and deliberations of an assembly subject to the will of, and controlled by, adherents of the British Imperial regime.

That taking cognisance of the fact that attendance at Stormont of elected representatives styled 'Nationalists' or 'Anti-Partitionists', each of whom has on Oath solemnly attested his loyalty and

St. Mary's Hall, Belfast, was well filled on Friday, 25th November, for a ceilidhe under the auspices of the Belfast Comhairle Ceannair to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Sinn Fein. A very pleasing programme of dances, songs and a Manchester Martyrs' scene was enjoyed by all present. Tomás O Dubhghaill, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Fein, delivered an oration in the course of which he said:—

"This is the Golden Jubilee Year of Sinn Fein. During the past 50 years, Sinn Fein has seen many changes both in the outlook and purpose of its own organisation, but also in the political structure of the country in bringing about which Sinn Fein has played a very important part. We all know that when originally founded, Sinn Fein was more a Home Rule movement with some vague idea about dual monarchies and so on. It did not become Republican until 1916. The baptism of fire of Easter Week gave the organisation a new impetus and, on the General Amnesty, the prisoners coming home were welcomed into its branches and became its leading figures. It now had its Charter—the Proclamation of Easter Week.

"The national fervour which followed the executions brought a rapid growth of the organisation throughout the country, while the threat of conscription brought it mass support from many people who had only the haziest ideas of what Sinn Fein stood for. It quickly swept aside the Redmondites and other parties until it could boast of 80 per cent support by the people of the 1918 elections, and secured the establishment of Dail Eireann; but the very rapidity of its growth was the ultimate weakness of Sinn Fein, when the crisis came in 1921, when the organisation was faced with standing firmly on the independence of the country or accepting a compromise, then we saw the divided counsels, then we saw that many members in the organisation were still more Home Rulers than Republicans, that they were prepared to accept what was called 'a stepping stone to the Republic', and to abandon the Republic itself. This gives us cause for very serious thought on the present phase of the struggle. It shows clearly that we must educate our people step by step, so that they will understand fully the policy and programme of Sinn Fein, and thus be able to ensure that in any future crisis there will be no more acceptance of half-measures, that we will stand firmly on the demand for national unity and independence for the whole country and will accept nothing less."

"But the principle argument used for acceptance of the compromise was that it would enable us to prosper economically. The two states,

allegiance to British Royalty, may be construed as, and in essential respects is, a recognition of England's unjust claim to a right to rule over Irish territory.

This Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein, voicing the wishes of the entire Republican Movement

(a) States that Sinn Fein, denying the right of the Stormont Institution to function in Ireland shall not send representatives to sit in that assembly nor shall Sinn Fein seek to have candidates nominated at any election held by Stormont, since to do so would entail the giving of an untruthful and dishonest declaration.

(b) Calls for the withdrawal from Stormont of such representatives as were elected by the votes and through the support of Irish citizens who are opposed to Foreign Rule in Ireland and who stand firmly by Ireland's right to full Nationhood.

(c) Instructs the incoming Ard Comhairle to devise means whereby, instead of electing representatives to the Stormont Institution or supporting those who have signed the declaration, the elections in the Six Counties will be provided with an opportunity of electing or selecting representatives pledged to attend none other than the National Parliament of a 32-counties Irish Republic.

## Golden Jubilee Ceilidhe

Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland, would develop their resources and vie with each other in their care for their respective sections of our people. What has been the result? We know that in Southern Ireland, there has been a continuous roll of unemployment ranging from 50 to 80,000, with an annual emigration rate of 25 to 30,000. Here in Northern Ireland, you have had recurring depressions with unemployed ranging from 20 to as high as 40,000, while there is a constant outflow of 15,000 emigrants. This is the picture which the division of our country and its continued economic dependence on England presents, and this will continue to be the case as long as we allow the division to last, as long as we remain docile under the control of the English money lords."

Last week Lord Brookeborough said that he was not sure if Irish unity came about that he would remain in Ireland. What a mentality. Does it not clearly show that he believes he is in Ireland but not of it—that he is still one of the garrison in the country and has no part or place with her people? With that mentality, we can only say of him that we would be well rid of him."

"But this week we read of a scheme for mass migration of Belfast and Northern Ireland workers to Canada. This scheme may or may not have the blessing of the Stormont Government, but it certainly shows the economic position to which we have been reduced. We need all our workers here at home. Whether they be Protestant or Catholic, whether they be Orange or Green, these people are precious to the Irish Nation. The people who gave us Jimmy Hope, Samuel Neilson and Henry Joy are not for export like cattle. If the economic system is such that these people are unemployed, let us tackle the system, let us take control of our financial affairs into our own hands and direct them so as to benefit our own people, so as to provide them with employment here at home. This is the real solution, indeed it is the only solution. Pleas with English financiers for help, offers to facilitate them in further exploiting our people for their own profits are merely begging the question. Until we tackle the financial question, the root of the trouble, we will not make any worthwhile change in the position."

"One final point, I am a native of Dublin city. I am very proud of that city and of the part she has played in our nation's revival. But I am well aware of the fact that for hundreds of years that city was the strong point of the invader's control in our country—for hundreds of years it was the hub of the Pale, the English occupied zone from which the rest of the country was dominated and controlled. Today, the enemy forces have withdrawn from Dublin. Though she still bears many marks of her long occupation, Dublin can at least say that she has got rid of the enemy occupation forces. Today, the English Pale in Ireland has shifted; today, the occupation zone is centred, not round Dublin, but round this city of Belfast. But I want to point out that English influence is of much more recent growth in this area than in Dublin; that it is for that reason much weaker here than in the original English Pale. The very place names in this city clearly show their Irish origin. The very stones in the road proclaim their nationality. This city of Belfast is Irish, this city of Jimmy Hope and Henry Joy belongs to the Irish Nation—it needs the Irish Nation for its support and the Irish Nation needs it. If Ireland prospers, Belfast will prosper; if Ireland fails to prosper, then Belfast cannot prosper; no matter what promises or efforts may be made by Lord Chandon and his ilk."

"The essential first step is to break out of the English Pale, to get rid of the occupation forces still in Ireland, to unite our people of all creeds and classes, to enthronise the independent Republic of all Ireland, 'cherishing our people equally'. That is our goal, and, please God, we of Sinn Fein in co-operation with the other branches of the Republican movement, will do our utmost to achieve that goal in the very near future."



# Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe

The morning of 8th Dec., 1922, dawned bright and clear. In the still air of the morning, the chapel bells were ringing for the early Masses. Here and there small groups of young and old wended their way to early worship. It was the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Little did one think that blood could be shed on such a day. For those knots of people passing Mountjoy Jail, the quietness of the morning was suddenly shattered by a burst of rifle fire. They hurried on, and many a silent prayer was said on their way, for the souls of those who had offered up their lives before an execution squad in the Jail that morning. The official announcement of that execution came as a shock to the people of Ireland, North and South. Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught, each mourned a beloved son. Rory O'Connor, Joe McKelvey, Richard Barrett and Liam Mellowes had gone down that road trodden by Pearse, Clarke and their forbears, down the years. Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe were to take their place in the hearts of the people, and the history of our race. In their sacrifice they have become inseparable. Inseparable in life in the love for Ireland which was the guiding principle of their existence, and inseparable in death, in the fulfilment of that love, and their sacrifice.

The Four were outstanding in their day and age. Each, in early youth formed a strong attachment to the all National and Gaelic pursuits. The Football and Hurling pitches were familiar and loved places to them. The Language classes and Ceilidhe knew them intimately. Each of them had their own characteristic. Rory with a deep and abiding interest in arms and explosives and the best manner in which Irish manhood be trained to free their native land. Joe, full of fun and the sheer zest for living, yet with a determination and purpose underlying his ready smile. Liam, with his serious air of study, continually thinking of the people and planning at all times to ease the hardships they endured in their economic struggles against poverty. His guiding principle was indeed that of Tone—break the chains of slavery and become free men from foreign domination. Dick, likable and a great favourite of games and dancing. Yet serious in his serving of that one Ideal. Eager to learn and serious in its application, the Drill hall became his second home. In the preparation for the struggle they were apt pupils. The dawn of 1916 saw them lined side by side with Pearse and the soldiers of Ireland. The internment camps

knew their light-hearted chaff and laughter.

Release to them, only meant that one phase of the struggle lay in the past. Not for laurels had they worked and studied whilst in prison, but with a view to equip themselves in every manner possible to carry on the struggle. Release saw them back again with a determination stronger than ever, and the torch of freedom, lit in 1916, burned brighter than ever. Now they realised that work had to be done. The people were roused from their apathy and must be organised into one cohesive whole. That Torch of Freedom must be carried into every village and hamlet throughout the country. The people's will must be hardened, to contend against British Terror Tactics when Ireland again made her bid for freedom. From dawn to dusk the Four were to be found throughout the country. They travelled the roads in sun and storm, each taking the good with the bad, sleeping wherever night found them, under a roof or in the heather of some glen. Side by side with this, the organising and training of the men of Ireland became a task of primary importance. Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe threw themselves into the work with all the fervour they commanded, and in their role of organisers, found themselves on their keeping. Their work soon came to fruition. Ireland again came to grips with her ancient enemy. Britain unleashed her terror. Burnings of homesteads, creameries and sackings of whole towns became common. Murder and torture by British forces and their Auxiliary Police Forces became the order of the day. Britain in her attempts to quench the will of the people, stopped at nothing. It was to no avail. The people, thanks to that hard work and untiring efforts, put in by the organisers, stood firm. Ireland fought with all that spirit and courage which gained the acclamation of the world. Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe had at last come to that day, for which they had laboured and prepared. With that unquenchable fire in their hearts, they threw themselves into the fight with courage and tenacity. In Belfast Joe with his comrades in all walks of life, not only had to face their ancient enemy, but also found themselves battling against the furious onslaughts of the Orange mobs in their attempts, at Britain's behest, to emulate Cromwell.

Each of the Four fought hard and valiantly. Came the Treaty and the country was riven in two. Comrades-in-arms found themselves ranged against each other. The prisons became full and the fight became bitter and venomous. The situation became tragic. The best of our race, who

had stood shoulder to shoulder in their courageous struggle as a bulwark against British Terrorism, now died on the hills and roads in the prisons in the bitter battles of internment and strife.

The Four, loyal to that dream of youth, again found themselves in the conflict and in the struggle and capitulation of the Four Courts, because the prisoners and were lodged in Mountjoy Jail. On the morning of the 8th December, they were each awakened and told without Justice of Ireland that they would be executed at 8 a.m. Each took the news calmly and courageously and their last hour was spent in writing their last letters and in prayer and meditation. Their comrades, knowing at Mass at 8 a.m. and knowing nothing of the proceedings of the morning, were startled when a sudden burst of rifle fire broke in upon their prayers. The news seeped through. Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe were no more. Their souls had gone to join that long line of Irish Martyrs who, in every generation, had given their lives for the Freedom of their Country.

The chapel bells of Dublin calling the people to early Mass on that clear December morning played their requiem for Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe.

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teadency, and in whatever evidence is added to an effort to sustain them, they are reminiscent of the general line of British propaganda, designed and otherwise used to promote the interests of Britain in Ireland. Seldom, if ever, is the flimsy evidence, adduced to bolster up the case of the accuser, sifted or checked with a view to ascertaining the measure of its veracity. More often than otherwise whenever Republicans seek an opportunity of putting their side of the case of tendering evidence in their defence and of establishing the baseness of some of the charges made, they are denied the right that in common justice would be conceded to criminals.

In this respect, as in many others, history repeats itself. If the Republican movement in this generation is to pursue the struggle for freedom, if it is to live and act in conformity with the Republican ideal of Christian Nationality it inherits from past generations, then its members must be prepared, amongst other sacrifices, to suffer, perhaps in silence for a time, the odium of misrepresentation and false accusations. This they may, and if needs be will do, secure in the knowledge that they serve in a good cause by helping to eradicate and banish for ever the hated and hateful evil that British rule represents in Ireland.

The measure of progress made since our last Ard Fheis is a matter of particular and significant interest to members of the Republican movement and to our friends and sympathisers. For the progress made our thanks are due, and without reservation are given to all who helped to make the advance possible. For the manner in which they worked and co-operated in the elections which our candidates contested during the past year, particularly within the Six Counties we sincerely thank all our supporters. To all those who contributed to the funds, provision of which made contest of these elections feasible we express our gratitude. To our exiled friends in U.S.A., in Australia, in South Africa, in Britain and elsewhere, we say thanks a lot for your support in the past and for your assurances of co-operation in the future. To Tom Mitchell, to Phil Clarke and to the other men in jail for Ireland, we send greetings and an expression of our keen appreciation for their services in the cause of her freedom. Deliberately I have withheld mention of their names until last because I wish to conclude on this note. I want to give them an assurance on behalf of those present at this Ard Fheis, and I feel I may extend the assurance to include all members of the Republican Movement, that although they man the first-line trench in the advance of the movement towards achievement of its objective, they do not stand, or serve alone, either now or for the future. In their hearts all Irishmen who share with the prisoners a love for Ireland and the ideal of her freedom, stand foursquare behind the cause they serve and thus its survival and ultimate victory are assured.

## “Ulster Under Home Rule”

A LABOUR REVIEW

“BEHIND the assertion that they are the preservers of Northern Ireland's unity with the United Kingdom, the Ulster Unionist Party has for the past 34 years been carrying out an unrelenting Tory policy on Social, economic and political matters.” Mr Andrew Boyd, organizer of the Council of Labour Colleges, asserted when he gave a lecture-review of “Ulster Under Home Rule” (Published last week by the Oxford University Press) in the Bakers' Hall, Belfast, on Sunday, 27th November.

“For this reason the economic development of the Six Counties has been retarded and unemployment remains very high, while the standards of living and of social services—particularly housing and National Assistance—and the level of income per head of the population are much lower than in Great Britain,” he went on.

“The Unionist claim to credit because Northern Ireland's social services are better than Eire's is dishonest propaganda,” Mr. Boyd continued. “The record of the Ulster Unionists shows their long standing antipathy to improved social services for the working population. Between 1946 and 1949 they were forced to follow the new social service legislation introduced by the British

Labour Party or forfeit their right to be considered part of the United Kingdom.”

“The present-day administration of these services in Northern Ireland and especially the inhuman treatment of the unemployed, whose plight is the result of Unionist Party rule, betrays the Unionists' basic hostility to the welfare state.”

“With an administrative record such as theirs the Unionist Party would not survive if Partition ceased to be an issue in Northern Ireland's elections.”

“One or two recent events, such as the speed with which the Ulster Unionists introduced the Rent Restrictions (Amendment) Act, 1953, many months before the Tories had the courage to put a similar act before the Westminster Parliament, and the continued opposition to the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act (Northern Ireland) prove that the Ulster Unionists are often more to the right than the British Conservatives.”

After referring to the economic sections written by Professors Isles and Cuthbert, Mr. Boyd said: “According to the evidence published in this book the people of Northern Ireland lose economically more than they gain by their connexion with the United Kingdom. Those who really gain are the leaders of the Ulster Unionist Party.”