

IN OCCUPIED IRELAND

In May, 1955 however, the people of Occupied-Ireland, realising that Stormont was designed to subjugate them and that Leinster House in turn was powerless to help them, voted, 152,000 strong, for Sinn Fein and in Mid-Ulster and Fermanagh-South Tyrone elected two prisoner candidates to an All-Ireland Parliament.

This lead was followed-up at the first available opportunity by the people of the 26-Counties. In March, 1957, more than 65,000 first preference votes were cast in 19 contested constituencies for Sinn Fein policy, and Sligo-Leitrim, South Kerry, Monaghan and Longford-Westmeath each elected a representative to an All-Ireland Parliament.

By remaining clear of the entanglements which are inseparable from Leinster House or Stormont, the Sinn Fein representatives *alone* among those chosen at Parliamentary elections, North or South, are *free* to work for and lead the entire Irish people towards an All-Ireland Parliament.

The party politicians by their acceptance of Leinster House and Stormont accept the British laws which created them and acquiesce in the consequent limitations of their sovereignty and jurisdiction. To enter either of these institutions is to bind oneself hand and foot, as politicians of all parties have done, with these "legal and constitutional difficulties."

TO LEAD THE PEOPLE

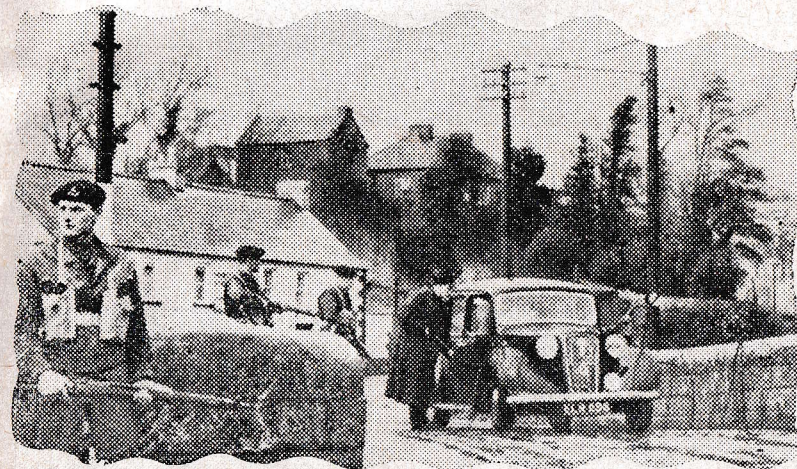
It remains for Sinn Fein to lead our people along the road to freedom. To follow this road to ultimate success, each area must participate in the onward march by electing its own parliamentary representatives to join those already elected to an All-Ireland Dail. Having secured a majority, the Sinn Fein representatives will then :—

1. *Convene the elected representatives of all Ireland as the National Assembly of the Independent Irish Republic.*
2. *Proceed to legislate for **all Ireland.***
3. *Use every means in their power to overcome opposition to the Republic.*
4. *Repudiate all treaties, pacts and laws that in any way curtail the Nation's Independence.*

The responsibility devolves then on each area to follow the lead given in May 1955 and in March 1957 to do its part in the accomplishment of this mighty task.

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BRITISH TROOPS MUST GO



Throughout the towns, villages and countryside of our six occupied counties British Crown Forces move and operate. They are there to maintain a military bridgehead in Britain's Imperial interests. But they are there contrary to the wishes of the Irish people. To-day, as in past generations, the men and women of the Irish Republican Movement are striving to end British occupation and enthrone the Irish Republic.

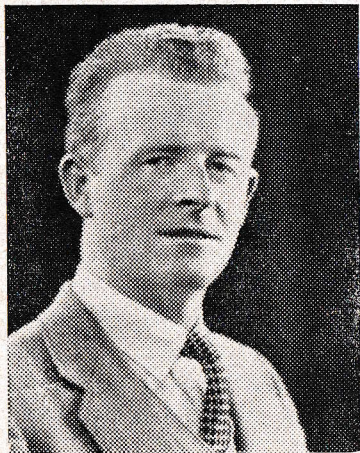
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THEY DIED FOR IRELAND



Oliver Craven, Newry,
Co. Down.



Patrick MacManus, Kinawley,
Co. Fermanagh.



Paul Smith, Bessbrook,
Co. Armagh.

THE NORTH BEGAN . . .

*O*F the men who have given their lives for Ireland in the latest phase of the fight for freedom, three were natives of the occupied area. Paul Smith, Oliver Craven and Patrick MacManus, were born and reared, lived and worked, under the heel of British aggression in Ireland in the 20th century.

All constitutional means of ending British occupation having been closed to them, they resorted to armed revolt in the tradition of O'Donnell and O'Neill, Orr and MacCracken, MacKelvey and MacCaughey.

They were in the vanguard of this struggle to complete the task left unfinished by another generation. For their fellow-Ulstermen they have died, for all Irishmen and for the generations yet to come.

We are proud that the men of the North, though they bear the brunt of the struggle, are helped by Irish people everywhere, at home and in exile. We are one people, one nation, and this united effort by men and women of Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connacht, must surely be victorious.

To these three then and to the others who have fallen with them in this phase of Ireland's fight for national independence we dedicate this booklet. Seán Sabhat, Limerick; Fearghal Ó h-Anluain, Monaghan; Patrick Parle, Wexford; George Keegan, Enniscorthy; Michael Watters, Edentubber and James Crossan, Cavan.



THE EYES AND EARS OF BRITISH OCCUPATION IN IRELAND: Like the old R.I.C. the R.U.C. of Occupied Ireland are the mainstay of Britain's intelligence. They are Irishmen paid by England to keep their own people in subjection.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN BRITISH-OCCUPIED IRELAND?

What is happening in the Six Counties of North-East Ireland held by Britain as part of the United Kingdom and occupied by her forces?

British Government spokesmen have made their position clear: it is that the Irish people will never, under any circumstances, be allowed sovereign control over Ireland. They insist that the "Irish question," as they choose to call it, ended with the Treaty of 1921 which partitioned the island, established two States there, set up Occupied and Unoccupied zones to tie in with the Belfast and Dublin administrations, guaranteed British political and economic control over Irish affairs as a consequence. Legislative self-rule was granted the Unoccupied 26-County area.

Deputy Prime Minister, R. A. Butler, reinforced and emphasised this dogmatic Imperial position as late as June, 1958, when, during a visit to Occupied Ireland, he said his Government would use the forces at its disposal to maintain the connection between Northern Ireland and Britain and the Imperial constitutional link.

More than 80 per cent of Ireland's people demand the unity and independence of their country. They oppose Partition. They want British Occupation forces withdrawn. They believe all power in this island stems from them and not from British acts of Parliaments. Their national faith finds expression in the revolutionary activities of the Irish Republican Movement—a Movement dedicated to the independence of Ireland and the sovereignty of the Irish people.

This Movement is fighting in British-Occupied Ireland under the slogan: **All British forces must withdraw from Ireland NOW!** There in stark simplicity we have the situation in the Six Counties to-day—the demand of the Irish people for justice being thwarted by foreign Occupation forces while the armed freedom fighters of the Irish Republican Movement actively resist British rule.

This Irish struggle for freedom is hardly new. For centuries we have been pleading, threatening, cajoling, arguing, demanding our right to self-determination. Peaceful agitation has been met by British bayonets and official contempt. Then, too late, we have resorted to armed resistance. And then we learn the bitter, humiliating, historical truth that the conquerer is unmoved by

moral arguments no matter how just and eloquent: he understands only force.

The justice of the Irish case is obvious. The reasonableness of our cause is self-evident. But justice is an abstraction to which Great Powers pursuing Imperialistic aims pay little attention. They play off one section of the community against another. They buy off one group with petty privileges and they stimulate national strife. They allow some to make capital out of oppression and to climb to power as spokesmen of the underprivileged so that they may then play the role of trustees over the rest. Many have climbed to high station by putting themselves forward as advocates of Irish independence. This bitter experience is common to all subject peoples.

The Irish too have discovered that when their plea for liberty is too loud and determined to be ignored it will be by-passed by betrayal.

THE TREATY OF 1921

The Treaty of 1921 embodying Partition was such a betrayal. Like the rest of their fellow-countrymen the Nationalists of North-East Ulster fought bravely against the British regime from 1916 to 1921. Following the British mandate of "immediate and terrible war," which was the prelude to the Treaty, the Nationalists of the North discovered that the Republican position had been scuttled, a British Crown regime was guaranteed in Belfast, permanent partition was accepted. In return the bargain called for a 26-County State to be named the Irish Free State. The name has been changed since; the basis remains. The 1925 Boundary Agreement sealed the betrayal.

Others (like Mr. de Valera) who at that time opposed the settlement on England's terms, rose to power later in the Free State and, while loudly denying that they had ever done so, in fact accepted the British-dictated position. The politicians who represented the Nationalists of Ulster in the invader's parliament used three decades and more to prove their thesis that British goodwill would end division and slavery. It didn't. The 26-County statesmen echoed their talk: talk designed to keep the Nationalists pacified. They spun a web of fine words to hide their actions and conceal their bankruptcy. For a time they were successful.

But the tides of the historical process will not be controlled

indefinitely. At the British Imperial elections in 1955 the Nationalists of Ulster voted in block for the Sinn Fein candidates — for candidates who declared that the evil of foreign domination must be met if necessary by armed resistance. Two were elected in areas where Nationalist voting strength is such that the old technique of gerrymandering cannot work. When they were speedily disqualified from representing the people who elected them by British Courts it became obvious that the constitutional approach to the problem of national liberation was a detour to nowhere.

THEY ROSE IN REVOLT

The oppressed people of British-Occupied Ireland then adopted the natural role which all enslaved peoples are forced into eventually if justice is denied them: they rose in revolt. Active resistance to foreign Imperial force became the road to liberation. On December 12, 1956, the active resistance against tyranny and violence opened; oppression and colonial rule were met by force; the Nationalist people of the North were striking for their freedom in the immortal revolutionary tradition of their fathers.

On December 12, 1956, simultaneous attacks occurred throughout the Occupied area. Manifestos proclaimed to the world the decision that the situation in Ireland demanded a fight-to-the-death for freedom. The armed resistance continues. British military installations, British Crown forces, Imperial services and communications have been the targets of the Irish Republican Movement guerrillas. It is obvious that without the aid of the Nationalist population the fight could not be sustained.

The suppressive measures adopted by the regime have been far-reaching and cruel. During the opening phase the enemy claimed to have annihilated the whole Resistance. Since subsequent events exposed this palpable falsehood his claims have been more moderate, but he has struck wildly about him at the non-combatant Nationalist population, implementing to the full the vicious Special Powers Act, jailing hundreds without charge or trial or redress, torturing defenceless prisoners and sentencing captured freedom fighters and others caught in his dragnets to hundreds of years of penal servitude.

No better proof of the failure of these measures is needed

than this statement by Home Affairs Minister, Colonel Topping, to the Stormont Parliament on June 5, 1958:

“It was true that the trouble (Resistance) had diminished largely thanks to the British forces. But the danger had not disappeared. There would be no relaxation of the (security) precautions.”

Area-wise the Six Counties are small in extent—being no more than two-thirds of the ancient Irish Province of Ulster—and do not go beyond a million and a quarter in population, yet it takes more than 20,000 to police. Of course these are not police forces in any normal sense of the word: they are members of various Security forces who get the status of police because under the 1920 British Government of Ireland Act the Six Counties must not maintain an armed force. The armed force clause is overcome by calling them police. They are a military force. And they are heavily armed.

This figure of 20,000 excludes the standing British Army of Occupation and its attendant air and sea units and bases. The police forces (so-called) are sub-divided into many categories: the R.U.C. (the Royal Ulster Constabulary), the R.U.C.-Commandos (an alleged elite terror-force), the B-Specials (a sectarian grouping recruited from the Orange Lodges), the C-Specials (retired B-men for the most part). There has recently been established yet another force, nameless so far, but under War Office control, for the protection of Territorial Army camps and Barracks. The T.A. has been used on occasion against the Resistance but its loyalty is suspect. The Prime Minister of the area—a feudal landlord named Brookeborough—has defended under the cloak of “emergency” all kinds of humiliations heaped on the Nationalist population. The economically depressed and overwhelmingly Nationalist town of Newry was under curfew for a month. The most horrible forms of medieval tortures are practised on prisoners while under interrogation as “suspects.” A “suspect” may be any Nationalist, man or woman, young or old.

The cases of Kevin Mallon and Francis Talbot (brought to trial on capital charges following weeks of brutal ill-treatment) are not exceptional. Their ordeal is described in graphic detail in the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau pamphlet—“British Torture in Ireland” (published December, 1957). At least three

men are in lunatic asylums following “interrogation” at the hands of the security forces.

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The actions of the British authorities in Occupied Ireland are clearly a violation of the Human Rights Convention, which Britain has signed. However, she has specifically exempted Occupied Ireland (or Northern Ireland as it is called) from its clauses. Human rights may therefore with impunity be ignored—as they are—in that part of the United Kingdom.

The British Crown authorities insist on labelling the Irish fighters for freedom as terrorists and common criminals. They ignore the Hague Convention on the treatment of guerrillas and partisans. The Irish Republican guerrillas wear uniform or insignia where possible. They fight in organised Flying Columns under responsible officers of their own choosing. They have their chain of command and regular control. Their insignia of the tricolour flash is worn on the left sleeve arm of military uniform dress following no set regular pattern—as is the case with all guerrilla armies.

Finally, they abide by another provision of the Convention by carrying their arms openly.

As is to be expected the Crown argument in Occupied Ireland is that all they are doing is maintaining law and order. This carries little weight with the Irish people. Knowing traditionally the type of law and order Britain has brought to Ireland they are apt to be suspicious of such pleas—excepting, of course, the minority among them who stand to gain by the maintenance of the British-style law and order.

Morally and legally Irish Republican freedom fighters are carrying out the mandate of the Irish people in actively resisting British Occupation. Ireland belongs to the Irish. The Charter of the United Nations accepts the principle that all peoples are entitled to self-determination. The Irish claim has been internationally established and to a great extent recognised.

The sovereignty of the Irish people is denied by the armed forces of Imperial Britain. To enforce this claim of the Irish to Ireland is the mission of the Irish Republican Movement. It takes its stand on the Proclamation of 1916 which declared the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the control of Irish destinies.



searching the Fathom Wood area of Newry for guerrillas and arms dumps. The officer in charge is a member of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment from Ballykinlar Camp, Co. Down, giving instructions to a dispatch rider.

THE RESISTANCE TO BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND TO-DAY

WITHIN six of the nine Counties of Ulster, Ireland's northern Province, there are strong garrisons of British troops. They are there in defiance of the will of the Irish people.

Within the Occupied area young Irish men in arms are actively engaged in harrying this Army of Occupation. They are members of a Resistance Movement which demands that British armed forces shall withdraw from Ireland.

The activities of the Resistance Movement are not directed against any Irish man or woman or against any section of the Irish people. By carefully fostered religious and other differences a substantial section of our people in North-East Ulster have been estranged from the majority of their fellow-countrymen. But the Republican policy of force is not directed against them. It is directed against British Crown Forces only.

Within the Occupied area there is a puppet Government which endeavours to interpose a militarised police force between the armed Resistance Movement and the British garrisons in an effort to make a case for British Occupation before the world.

This is the stereotyped British approach to the problem of holding weak countries in bondage. Some are intimidated, others corrupted. British Imperialism calls on this minority of collaborators for a police force to maintain what it calls law and order—and to hide behind them.

SANCTIONED BY IRISH HISTORY

MEN who take up arms against British garrisons in Ireland, be they few or many, have the sanction of Irish history. Armed revolts against British rule in Ireland have always been local efforts, initially.

The pattern is repeating itself in British-Occupied Ireland since December 12, 1956. Nothing that can be said against the Resistance changes that fact.

Leading spokesmen of the 26-County regime make the point that in to-day's circumstances any renewal of the centuries-old armed struggle is a matter to be determined by a Government freely chosen by the people.

Such a Government is, of course, impossible while this country

is arbitrarily divided by British Imperial Acts of Parliament and its people segregated in Occupied and Unoccupied zones.

These same spokesmen say that in to-day's circumstances no armed forces other than those under the control of their (the de Valera) Government can be permitted.

WHILE IRELAND IS UNFREE

NOW it is a right doctrine that the armed forces of a country shall be subject to the lawfully-elected Government of the people. The British Army in Occupied Ireland and its kindred Crown Forces can hardly be said to be subject to the lawfully-elected Government of the Irish people. Indeed while they remain there can be no lawfully-elected Government of the Irish people.

To what Government are the young men in arms in British-Occupied Ireland to give allegiance? How can Dublin Governmental spokesmen engage in high-sounding legalistic arguments about one Irish Government and one Irish Army when their jurisdiction is limited by British Act of Parliament to part of this country and when they have never attempted to extend their authority—if they believe they have that authority—into the British-Occupied area?

Have they not in fact refused to accept representatives from the Occupied area into their councils? When did they last speak out in defence of the oppressed Nationalist population of North-East Ulster? When did they protest against the Special Powers Act, the wholesale arrests, the raids on homes, the torture of young Irishmen by British Crown Forces in Occupied Ireland?

Could they do any of these things and be consistent? Have they not themselves passed an Offences Against the State Act? Have they not also jailed Irish Republicans? And have they not boasted of their defences along the Border so that the British-drawn line might be maintained and British garrisons in Ireland protected?

REPUBLICANS IN ARMS

IRISH Republicans in arms against British forces in North-East Ulster are not in arms against an Irish Government or the Irish people. If young men from the Unoccupied area choose then to go into Occupied Ireland to join those others, on what grounds can Mr. de Valera's Government jail them on their return?

During World War II, thousands of young Irishmen went out openly from Unoccupied Ireland—which was neutral—to join Britain's armed forces. Nobody bothered them going out or when they were coming back.

Has Mr. de Valera a better right to prevent Irishmen in the area under his jurisdiction from joining in a struggle against British rule in Ireland?

If Mr. de Valera respected the wishes of those who went out to fight for England in the last war cannot he respect equally the principles that guide young men who go from the area of his jurisdiction into Flying Columns that attack British forces in Ireland?

THEY DO NOT CARRY ARMS

THE British propaganda case is that in the area under the jurisdiction of the Dublin Government (the 26-Counties) members of the Resistance assemble in arms and make raids into Occupied Ireland, returning later for shelter. On this the Resistance has proved over and over again that the fight is carried on within Occupied Ireland; that it is no part of its policy to carry or use arms in the Unoccupied area.

The Resistance further points out that where groups of armed men are suddenly shut in by powerful British forces along Border areas and cross into Unoccupied Ireland, they have surrendered to the State authorities here on challenge. They do not carry arms with them into the 26-County State.

REPUBLICANS ARRESTED

BUT the 26-County authorities have not confined themselves to arresting and interned members of the Resistance who have been driven on to its patrols by such chances. They have arrested and interned people whose only crime is that they proclaim their support for the young men in arms in Occupied Ireland.

In this Mr. de Valera has not the sanction of the Irish people. If the Resistance Movement has not campaigned more strongly against him on this issue it is simply because it has no desire to raise any slogan but that on which its members act in their attacks on British garrisons in North-East Ulster:

BRITISH TROOPS MUST GO!

NO REVOLT IS PREMATURE

It is also put forward as an argument by some that the Rising of December 12, 1956, was premature. In reply the Resistance Movement would say that the first steps in every armed Rising against British forces in Ireland have been premature, dangerous and even reckless. Men who ask for safe first steps are surely defeated men who put forward a weak excuse for going back on their own beliefs.

But the Resistance Movement could have no quarrel with anyone questioning the adequacy of its strength to carry out the tasks it has set itself. *It protests only against any attempt to question its right to act as it does now against Britain's Crown Forces in Ireland.*

The Resistance Movement is sanctioned by the tradition that sanctioned Tone, Emmet, the Young Irelanders, the Fenians, the 1916 Rising, the War of Independence, and the fight in defence of the Irish Republic 1922-23.

BEST OF GENERATION

THE Resistance Movement attracts the most enlightened and the most courageous of the young Irish of its generation. Its policy springs from that enlightened courage. As policy makers Irish Republicans are realistic for they judge the tasks they would set themselves in full knowledge of the forces that oppose them and the forces at their disposal.

The policy of the Resistance Movement is made by the Movement itself. It is dictated by principle and one aim: *the freedom of our country.* It takes help from no one but the Irish people *in carrying out this mandate of history.*

Its funds are drawn from the Irish people at home and abroad. Among our emigrants are many devoted men and women who share every aspiration of the Resistance Movement and who force on themselves very great privations without expecting that their sacrifices will either be noted or known.

The young men in arms against British occupation to-day are in direct succession to the freedom fighters of all other generations of Irishmen who followed the same proud road.

The young men who gave their lives in this period of struggle are of the great brotherhood of heroes and martyrs that mark the 700 odd years of struggle to drive British armed forces out of Ireland. They deserve the support of all our people. It should be our task to see that they get it.

THE IMPERIAL IDEA

IRELAND is one country and the Irish are one people. That is the traditional Irish attitude to the questions of national unity and independence. England has persistently refused to recognise the political unity of Ireland or the political sovereignty of the Irish people. The situation obtains to the present day.

The principle of the Pale has been the traditional English weapon in the domination of Ireland. The Pale was a 13th century development which had as its object the control of this country and its affairs by means of an English established enclave or base. Originally it consisted of the area around Dublin. The Pale has now shifted its geographical location to the Six Counties of North-East Ulster but its purpose is still the same. It is a British base in Ireland.

By virtue of the Pale, Britain continues to dominate the affairs of Ireland and her people. Through it, and because of it, Britain holds this land by force. To think that she will withdraw **voluntarily** this force on which her Imperial control rests would be foolish in the extreme.

COLLABORATIONIST ROLE

HISTORY demonstrates the validity of the above simple proposition. It is all the more surprising then to find the exact opposite advocated by 26-County Governmental spokesmen and to discover Mr. de Valera in the act of attempting to rewrite history.

We must thank the "New York Times" for telling us about Mr. de Valera's new interpretation of history and British Imperialism for none of this was published in the Irish newspapers. Apparently on April 29, Mr. de Valera met some 15 American newsmen and in the course of a long interview told them that "the solution of the Partition problem is strictly an Irish problem, one that must be worked out between the Irish people in the South and the North . . . Thereafter the question of Commonwealth affiliation probably would be discussed between a united Ireland and the Commonwealth." He spoke of it at one time as an "external association."

According to the "New York Times" Mr. de Valera indicated "He would favour such an association under the circumstances which he spelled out very clearly."

All of which sheds a new light on the collaborationist role played by the 26-County authorities since the Campaign of Resistance opened in Occupied Ireland on December 12, 1956.

The force on which Partition rests was not mentioned. No point was made about Britain's Army of Occupation. The critical state of our economy because of this continued subjugation was passed over in silence. There was, of course, a purpose behind these omissions. Mr. de Valera now belongs to the school of Irish political thought which believes that because Britain **delegated** internal legislative authority following the Treaty, this makes Ireland automatically free.

The truth is that fundamentally the British position **vis-a-vis** Ireland is unaltered: Her rulers still do not recognise the political unity of Ireland or the political sovereignty of the Irish people. The 1937 Constitution changed nothing basically. Britain continues to deny the Irish people national independence.

This is no less a truth because Republicans may be jailed for saying so.

MAINTAINING THE BORDER

COLONEL TOPPING, the Stormont junta's Home Affairs Minister, is wiser in his generation than Mr. de Valera. Mr. de Valera's paternal interest in the Empire and his Government's anti-national and collaborationist policies have not mollified Brookeborough or Topping.

They acknowledge ungracefully the help they have received in battling the Resistance but they continue to insist that the jail sentences should be heavier, the penalties greater (for saying that the Irish people have a right to freedom), and that the "United Irishman" should be banned.

They place Mr. de Valera and his colleagues in a difficult position. He has said that he has done all he can to stop the Resistance. Mr. Traynor has said that the State has had "considerable success in maintaining the line along the Border from use by illegal forces." The illegal forces referred to were not the soldiers of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth of England. **They** have, in fact, been guided across the Border by Mr. Traynor's men complete with their equipment and tracker dogs.

Indeed the line along the Border has been maintained!

ALL THE PEOPLE

BUT there is hope for Ireland yet and it is being provided by the men and women of the Resistance, by the 300 jailed in Belfast, by the men in the Curragh Concentration Camp by the 6 in English jails—and by the mass of the Irish people who have not spoken yet.

The unpleasant facts we have enumerated are kept hidden. Our daily Press has always been notoriously anti-national. It would be foolish to expect them to suffer a change of heart at this late stage. To a great extent our professional and intellectual classes, reared on a diet of Anglicisation and taught to ape English cultural standards and ideas, are provincial in the British sense rather than Irish in the national sense. It may be their fault or it may be their misfortune.

Which brings us back to the mass of the people who remain unbought and unsubdued. It is their children who have to search the hiring markets of the world in search of work. They are the victims of Ireland's economic backwardness. But although everything they read and everything they hear is based on British standards of value (debased standards at that), they have not been anglicised.

Our people want no association with British Imperialism—external or otherwise. They will not be a party to deals. They have a right to national sovereignty and they want Britain to recognise this fact. Their demand will continue to be that British troops must go!

Only a strong national movement can lead us along the road to freedom and unity. Irish Republicanism is such a movement. Under its banner our people can march together towards victory. And the sacrifices of all the generations will not have been in vain for Ireland will emerge a nation united and free.

The United Irishman

VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

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