

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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FIAN'S GRAVE DESECRATED

Michael Francis Magee from Ballymurphy was a member of Na Fianna Eireann, aged 15 years, who was accidentally killed on 13th May, 1972 and is buried in Milltown cemetery. A CROSS was made for his grave by his comrades in LONG KESH.

Last Sunday his mother visited the grave and discovered the cross had been stolen. This was the only means of marking the grave at present; we ask the people who stole the cross to return it immediately. The family are heart broken enough without having acts like this added to their suffering.

Father Connolly

The stand taken by Father Connolly against his suspension by the Archbishop of Birmingham is admirable. This suspension was made because Father Connolly referred to Michael Gaughan as a "Great man."

Did not Michael Gaughan work towards his strongly held belief of a 32 county Irish Republic? Did he not give his life for this ideal? Michael Gaughan's actions cannot possibly be seen as selfish, for he had nothing to gain personally except the knowledge that he did all in his power to free his people. These actions are undoubtedly those of a great man and Father Connolly is surely right to say so. The suspension of Father Connolly is ridiculous in the extreme and should be withdrawn forthwith by the Archbishop.

Father Connolly has stated that he will appeal to the Vatican if necessary. We are glad to see that Father Connolly is not going to take this suspension lying down. We wish him well in his efforts to attain justice.

RUMOURS DENIED

The organising committee of the local youth football league in the Dunganannon area say they have found it necessary to issue the following statement regarding malicious rumours being spread by a few ill-intentioned malcontents:-

"We angrily refute the allegations that money generously donated by the residents of local housing estates to buy football gear for the various teams was used for any other purpose."

WHY I ATTENDED MICHAEL GAUGHAN'S FUNERAL

By Rev. Fr. Michael Connolly,
Parish Priest, St. Joseph's,
Willenhall Road, Wolverhampton.

I attended the funeral of Michael Gaughan, not only because he was a young Irishman who gave his life for his conviction that Irish people alone should decide the future of Ireland, but also because he was my cousin and my neighbour's child. Before leaving my parish I requested and was granted leave of absence by my immediate superior, Bishop Cleary.

On the morning that young Michael's body arrived in London (Saturday 8th June), Fr. C. Jenkins, a Benedictine monk of Belmont Abbey, issued a statement through the Times newspaper, calling on all priests to deny hunger strikers not only the last rites of the Church, but also Christian burial. As a priest I had to contradict this statement so opposed to the Catholic tradition. In the Catholic tradition those who die for their conscience, whether they are right or wrong, are deemed to be great men. Even the pagan Romans claimed that no evil should be spoken of the dead: "nihil de mortuis nisi bonum." I have now been convicted of speaking well of the

dead and my bishop, due to pressure from the world of journalism, has been forced to suspend me. My suspension has been due to saying that a man who died for his conscience is a great man. Against such a suspension, on such grounds, I appeal to the whole Christian tradition: no bishop or priest of the Catholic Church can claim that a priest who has opposed the government, like a St. Thomas a Beckett or a St. John Fisher is thereby automatically relieved of his priestly duties.

If what I said is against the teaching of the Catholic Church and is proved in an ecclesiastical court where I have a right to defend myself, I accept the decision of the bishop; if, however, what I have said is not against the teaching of my Church, but only against the present mood of the press, or the present policy of the government, I cannot accept this decision. Like St. Paul before me I appeal to Rome. A parish priest has rights, guaranteed by Church law, and these rights cannot be suspended without due canonical procedures. The fact that I only heard by radio of my bishops decision is sufficient sign that the full process of law was not being invoked against me. As a parish priest I have a right for my case to be examined, not just by the press or TV, but by a canonical court.

Is a priest bound to agree with the government or is he free to say what is in his heart? Is Father Jenkins of Belmont free to say that my cousin should not receive Christian burial, and I am not free to say that because he died for his conscience he is a great man? Is there nobody in Britain today free to say that current British policy in Ireland



may be wrong? If this is so then the Catholic Church can give up all claim to any prophetic role in the world. When the anglican Bishop Bell of Chester accused Winston Churchill of engaging in wrong doing, through carpet bombing of German cities, he stood alone — but he was right. As a Catholic priest, in accusing the British government of being wrong in Ireland, I stand alone, but, like Bishop Bell, I may be right. Thomas Moore and Thomas a Beckett who fell foul of English governments were also right!

FORCED TO TAKE STAND

Christian priests and Christian people have been forced before to take a stand against the policy of their governments. For myself, I am forced to take a stand today. What is new in the situation is not that a priest should be obliged to disagree with a government, but that a bishop should feel obliged to silence a priest because of press reports and because he follows his conscience. Is there any example in history when a priest who spoke against a government met with official policy? Did Jesus Christ himself meet with official approval? Did St. Paul or St. Thomas Moore or Blessed Oliver Plunkett meet with official approval? In bygone days I would have been hanged, drawn and quartered, not only because of what I said but because I was a priest and an Irishman.

Is it a crime to tell the British people today that the policy of their government in Ireland is not the right one? As a priest who has served for twenty five years in England I am convinced that the vast majority of English people agree that British policy in Ireland is no bringing peace and that Britain should declare her intent to withdraw. I believe that the vast majority of English people are beginning to suspect that they are not being told the truth about N. Ireland and that they want to see the army out of Ulster as quickly as possible.

I challenge any agency, whether of Church or state, to put this to the test. I have worked long enough among the ordinary English man and women to know that they have no time for the torture and the imprisonment without trial which is taking place in N. Ireland.

The press and the politicians say that I should not make any comment on Ireland while they continue to distort and conceal the facts. As a priest I have a duty to speak the truth as I know it. As a parish priest I have rights in Church law which cannot be suspended by the arbitrary decree of a bishop. I appeal both to my rights as a citizen to freedom of speech and to my rights as a parish priest against both the attack launched on me in the press and to the action of my bishop. If necessary I appeal to Rome for justice and a fair trial.

ENGLAND WASHING HER HANDS OF LOYALISTS

RETURN OF HUNGER STRIKERS THIS YEAR?

It now seems certain that the Irish Republican Prisoners who came off their hunger strike in English jails, particularly the sisters, Dolores and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly will be repatriated before the end of the year. Despite the British Home Office denial of a deal, it is now accepted that the four gave up their protest only after a firm, although secret promise of transfer to Ireland within a year. In the meanwhile the agitation for their return and the demands that Republican prisoners in British jails be given political status will be continued. It is hoped that pending the agreed transfer there will be concessions similar to those granted to prisoners with political status in Ireland. Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly are now permitted to wear their own clothes. They had refused to wear convict garb and were kept in solitary confinement as a result. Francis Stagg, the fifth hunger striker who gave up his hunger strike after the others is in Parkhurst Prison where Michael Gaughan died last week.

NO STRANGER TO BODENSTOWN

Among those attending Wolfe Tone commemoration ceremony at Bodenstown, was 1916 veteran Joe Clarke, who at 93, is one of the oldest members of Sinn Féin.

Joe, who travelled to Belfast for the Easter ceremonies earlier this year, began his political activity by attending the funeral of Parnell.

This year was the 80th Bodenstown commemoration in which he had taken part.

I WAS PROUD OF SEAN AND EUGENE

*God bless my brave young Irish friends
Lord keep them by your side,
For they were my only friends
My only love and pride.*

*They took their stand with other men
I was proud of Sean and Eugene
They fought against the enemy
To free their country.*

*But a bomb which they were planting
Blew up and laid them neath the clay,
They lived as soldiers of Ireland
And soldiers they died that night in May.*

*So Lord look after them
Now they have gone to rest
Always keep them near thee Lord
For they were two of the best.*

BY BRIGHD NI FAOITE
(In Remembrance of Sean McKeeney and Eugene Martin)

Michael Gaughan of Mayo has been slowly done to death by forcible feeding in Parkhurst Prison.

No martyrs for any cause have ever shown the heroism and dedication of the Republican volunteers of this generation. Michael Gaughan has proved his sincerity unto death. He has kept his word and proved his faith. How many of the S.D.L.P. politicians can say the same? Or will his memory haunt them when they and their Dublin drinking partners think that by one word they could have saved his life and the unbelievable suffering of the other prisoners. But they did not say that word. And their excuse? That idealism and sincerity can be given no place in politics.

Republican politics are simple, honest and sincere. They are based on the correct analysis of Ireland's position as an English colony. Republicans have always recognised that Ireland will never be free, prosperous and united until the English imperialist presence is removed forever. Because Ireland is England's oldest colony, because England was exploited, planted and divided Ireland for 800 years, layers of interests have developed in Ireland who owe their position and influence to English prestige and protection. One of the most obvious of these layers is the Orange interest which unites most Irish — Protestants. The sole purpose of the Orange Order is to protect and preserve Protestant supremacy over Catholics, that is to serve as the organisation which ensures that the Protestant minority in Ireland will tyrannise over the Catholic majority. It is a hydra-headed beast and the latest head it has sprouted is the Ulster Workers' Council. It is the unifying force which binds Unionists from Craig through to Faulkner. The high command of the British army has always been infiltrated by Orange men so it is no surprise that the generals would not move their troops against Orange para-military terrorism during the 15 day suffocation of 'Ulster'.

The Orange interest which is linked with the interests of the English ruling class does not like to come out into the open. It prefers to shelter behind fronts such as "constitutional" (Faulkner) or "democratic" (Paisley) or "British" (West). But as these masks have each been ripped away by the success of the Republican struggle it has been forced to find a new one: "Ulster Nationalism." A new image for the fascist determination to dismember

Ireland and impose Orange supremacy on the largest section of the Irish people they can safely enslave.

But the Ulster Workers' Council have won a pyrrhic victory. Sunningdale was already in ruins. Their ugly face has frightened the capitalists on whose support their supremacy depends. Even the Tories know that alliance with the Orange element is too high a price to pay for dominating Ireland. They feel the Leinster House collaborators are more pliable and respectable instruments of imperialism. So England is preparing to jettison her "Ulster Loyalists," she is handing out no more prizes for 350 years of keeping the Irish crouching down. Unemployment is already promised on a massive scale as a "reward" for teaching the Fenians a lesson. Carefully West and Paisley are edging themselves back into respectability so they can jettison the workers who did their dirty work for them. Like the S.D.L.P. before them what need will they have to worry about their promises when they have their fat salaries and their sweaty fingers on the levers of power. There will either be deaths by starvation of "Ulster" workers or massive emigration. But even Rhodesia or South Africa will not be too anxious to digest expert sectarian assassins or mass intimidators.

The Republican Movement bases its whole social philosophy on the commitment to cherish the children of the Irish nation equally. Now, when England is washing her hands of the embarrassment of "loyalists" she does not want, is the time for the disowned and disinherited to recognise that Ireland can be their country if they choose it.

Sunningdale

There are a number of questions to which every citizen of Ireland has a right to an answer and now that Sunningdale is dead "officially" there is a growing demand for answers. These are the questions:

1. What happened to the police investigations of the Dublin bombings in December 1972? It is not true that plainclothes British undercover agents were turned over to the R.U.C., after being stopped by Southern police near the border the same evening as the bombings?

2. Has pressure from above been exerted to cover up the trail the police at one time alleged to have uncovered, between a British spy ring in the Republic and acts of violence committed by British agents?

3. Why is Mr. William Craig not under arrest in Belfast now for incitement to murder? According to him sectarian killings are "excusable."

4. What is the full story behind the ludicrously easy escape of Kenneth Littlejohn?

5. Was there an unofficial consensus amongst the politicians that to investigate such matters or publicise the truth would have been to rock the Sunningdale boat? When Mr. Cosgrave spoke of the utility of violence in "furthering political aims" does this include the taking of civilian lives by agents of a foreign power through those well-timed bombs of 1972. This was indeed a highly "political" bomb for those bombs influenced the Southern judicial process along a path followed by few unsavoury dictatorships.

Those who placed the latest bombs in Dublin are not likely to be caught. Those who did not place them are very likely to be punished. Past records and present attitudes suggest that Dublin politicians will rush straight into Britain's arms again with the collapse of the Six County Assembly.

Dirty Cells in Dundalk

A strong condemnation for conditions which exist at Garda stations near the border for the accommodation of persons being interrogated has been made in a statement by a Sinn Féin spokesman in South Armagh.

The statement sharply criticised conditions at Dundalk Garda station and claims that some Sinn Féin members from the Killeen area who were detained at Dundalk became seriously ill on their release as a result of the unsanitary conditions and gross dirt of cells.

THE NEW 'ULSTER NATIONALISM'

The newest journalistic phrase presently in vogue, "the force of Ulster Nationalism," No one is quite sure yet what exactly it means. For example Merlyn Rees, the first person to use the phrase, used it as an excuse to explain the forces which opposed the British government during the recent 'loyalist' strike and made it back down on its

BY 'VINDICATOR'

imposed political solution — Sunningdale. It has even been described as Protestant 'Sinn Féinism', whatever that means. The truth one feels lies in an analysis of the psychology behind the 'loyalist' strike.

The strike was called by the Ulster Workers' Council which had almost complete sectarian control of the trade unions movement. The U.W.C. replaced the discredited Loyalist Association of Workers. The aim of the U.W.C. was not to oppose their bosses on any social issue, or to engage in any way the forces of British imperialism. They claimed that their main objective was to obtain early elections in the North. Since one of their intentions was the abolition of the British Constitution Act 1973, which created the N.I. Assembly, one may well wonder under what constitutional arrangement such elections would have been held, and to what institution the candidates would have been elected, since the Assembly would have been eliminated.

The truth is that not only did the 'loyalists' seek to destroy the N.I. Assembly and its Executive, but their main intention was in fact the destruction of the proportional representation electoral system introduced by the British imperialist government in an attempt to create the illusion of 'democracy' in occupied Ireland. Under that electoral system the 'loyalists' could no longer be guaranteed a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people, or 'Loyalist' rule. If Protestants extremism is to survive it can no longer do so within an electoral system that could not be manipulated in its favour. What in fact the U.W.C. and the 'loyalist' politicians sought was in fact a return to the pre 1969 status quo — Stormont, control over internal security, return of the "B" Specials, a rearmoured para-military R.U.C. and a political system which guaranteed discrimination against Catholics.

green cross

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

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

So what this 'force of Ulster Nationalism' really means is a rejection of both Irish and British citizenship in favour of a system which guaranteed the perpetuation of Protestant Ascendancy government. There is no question of a new Ulster 'State' with co-operation between Catholic and Protestant, Republican and Loyalist. Rather it is more realistic to see the emergence of a Fascist state under 'Loyalist' control, and the attempted extermination of a dissident Republican minority.

A Thought

"When I read day by day in the press that this war is being fought for the rights and liberties of small nations, and I think of my own corner of our country being overrun by British and United States soldiers against the will of the nation, I must confess I find it extremely hard to be patient."

"Partition is a grievous injustice against the whole nation — one of the oldest in Europe. It is a flagrant and intolerable injustice against Catholics banned to live under the narrow and unjust domination of the Belfast Parliament and Executive."

Hard hitting down to earth words against the partition of our country are contained in the above speech. From a politician? From a political correspondent? No, from a speech made by his Eminence Cardinal McRory in 1942 in reply to an address of welcome to him on the dedication of the new Cathedral of Kilmore, Co. Cavan.

True words the words of an Irishman, the words of a leader, the words of a dedicated Prince of the Church. How long is it since any of the Church leaders of today in our own war torn Province have had the courage to speak thus? Thirty one years after this speech was made we find ourselves in the midst of a campaign to end the evil of partition. Of course we must remember that Cardinal McRory was a man of the people for the people.

We are always delighted to publish your letters on any subject, even though we may not always agree with your point of view. So why not make use of our letters page.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, Republican News, 170 Falls Road, Belfast. Deadline for publication is Tuesday mid-day.

Letters Letters Letters Your Letters

FATHER PEARSE DOYLE WRITES AN OPEN LETTER TO DECLAN COSTELLO

Dear Sir,

It is essentially right that people should express their feelings openly at a time of tragedy. The massacre in Dublin and Monaghan was horrific beyond words. With Derry and Claudy it ranks high in the calendar of national disasters. Political leaders have a duty to strongly refuse such outrages, reflecting the disproof and revulsion of the people they represent. Also, few will deny them the right to seek to guide the nation in perceiving the moral and intellectual depravity of such terrible deeds.

The exercise of such a right, however presumes impartiality towards the political views of others and a scrupulous regard for the truth. This is of paramount importance for anyone who purports to pass moral judgement on another, especially when attributing responsibility for such a serious matter as taking innocent human life.

I have read you in the papers as having very strongly implied during an RTE interview, that the moral responsibility of the Dublin and Monaghan bombings rests with the Provisional I.R.A. The Taoiseach, Mr. Cosgrave has intimated the same view. Such a conclusion, I submit, is bias towards your own and the present Government's political interests. Furthermore, just as the bombs in Dublin in December 1972 were used by the Southern government to pass the Special Powers Amendment Bill, similarly last Friday's bombings are now being used by you (and Mr. Cosgrave's government) to denigrate the aims and the legitimate POLITICAL beliefs of Republicans. (Anyone who has read their pamphlets "The Quality of Life in the New Ireland" and "Mining and Energy" will agree that the observations and aims associated therein are commendable.)

Drop in the Ocean!

Dear Editor,

Our budget day on the Radio, the TV and in the Press we got the news that lone widows as I would get £1.20p increased pension in July coming in the Free State.

At least three times since budget day, whole pages in the newspapers were taken up with repeating this "good will" message — this is "killing us with kindness" harping on this substantial increase, which is really only a drop in the ocean of rising prices — more than that sum is taken weekly from us in rising costs.

We are not "Rip Van Winkle" we are awake and very alert and nothing that this Government has done has escaped our notice, so harp no more to us on welfare benefit!

Perhaps the Government imagines we need so many warnings so that we may think up means of how to spend such luxury. They were the first beggars we met at the Church gates this morning with their collection plates — who gave them street traders permit to beg, I didn't see the Garda hounding them off the streets like the travelling people are moved on!

Give us now whole pages of advertisements relating to the increases the politicians are to get, we could tolerate the cost of 7p for that information and add that their farms and stud farms are tax free. Fair is fair!

UNA TOAL
3 St. Kevin's Terrace,
Newry Road,
Dundalk.

The use of so tragic an occasion to score political points is hard to accept as anything but despicable. The truth of the matter is that there is immeasurably weightier evidence to suggest that the bombings were a loyalist protest against the enforcement of Sunningdale than against I.R.A. strategy in the North.

If in fact we must apportion responsibility for such outrages to any persons other than those who plant the bombs, then the moral responsibility must surely lie heaviest on the shoulders of successive Southern governments and politicians. The callous trading by these on every aspiration of our

nation has, down the years, resulted in some of the most patriotic of our people spending the greater part of their lives in prisons and internment camps and many other driven to make the supreme sacrifice of their lives.

Your regard it as hypocrisy "to hear the Provisionals condemn the Southern bombings." That may well be your opinion. But I myself know of Provisionals who have died sooner than put civilian life in danger.

May I suggest that if Monaghan happened to be on the other side of the border, southern politicians would be

as little concerned about the bombings there as they were about McGurk's bar in Belfast (16 killed) or the Abercorn Restaurant, where, in both cases, the intention of killing can now be seen to have been the work of British agents or pro-British elements. In these instances the 26 county politicians implied that the killings were the work of the I.R.A. and gave British officers and soldiers the full scope of RTE to put this over as their propaganda. People who adopt this attitude are the last people who should speak of hypocrisy.

An tAth. Piaras O Duill,
DUBLIN, 7.

From Fr. Sean McManus

Dear Sir,

I send the enclosed letter of Lord Clifford in case it may be of interest to you.

I do not know why he should write to me at this particular time.

It occurred to me that you may wish to publish it. Please feel free. It may help to convince the Loyalists all the more about the attitudes of English lords towards ALL the Irish.

Good Luck,

(Fr.) Sean McManus,
Sacred Heart Church,
600 South Conkling Street,
Baltimore, Maryland 21224.

P.S. His speech, to which he refers in his letter, was about Republicans being bastards.

What a lot of hogwash you talk on a subject you know, obviously nothing about; and to call yourself a Catholic priest is the epitome of prejudice.

Sorry State

A chara,

Things have reached a sorry state in the 26 counties when the provos that be boast of their alleged successes against the Republican Movement. The number of people that have appeared before their Special Courts etc. and the steps that they have taken to harass and intimidate Republicans with the promise of further measures of oppression and all of this in answer to allegations from Englishmen and their supporters in both parts of the country that enough is not being done.

Partition lasted for well over 50 years. The English have been here for over 800 years. It is now becoming quite clear that they want to get out. Is this the only answer Mr. Cosgrave has to the present situation — complete co-operation with the Crown Forces and the stab in the back to the Freedom Fighters.

Nationally minded people in this part of the country must oppose this attempt to please the only enemy Ireland ever had. They should demand the phased withdrawal of the forces of occupation from our country. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

Is mise le meas,
CHARLIE MCGLADE,

I am a Catholic: my son is a Catholic: my son, one of the soldiers you attack, has had three tours of duty in Northern Ireland. He was in Londonderry on the so-called "Bloody Sunday" when six Catholic (bog Irish) so-called priests perjured themselves as to what happened.

Let it be known that the British people and British Army did not and do not want to be in Northern Ireland. The British exchequer pays up to £500 million a year to repair and rebuild the damage you Irish do to each other in that part of the world.

Let it be known that the British people and Army have complained, not only at being in Northern Ireland but the army having been sent in has had to tackle the things with its hands tied behind its back.

Since you profess to be a Catholic priest, why do you condone the brutal murders of Catholics like Marcus Macauley and Tony Pollen; alright by your standards because they had served in the British Army. The army that saved the world in 1940.

We want to get our boys out but as your Southern Irish Premier has publicly stated there would be a blood bath in the whole country if we did withdraw them.

Not surprising with sections represented by such birds of a feather as the REV. Ian Paisley and the Rev. Sean McManus. You are representing the murderous bigots.

If a Frenchman set off bombs, maimed and killed people in Washington, would you send him back to France for his sentence?

I enclose a copy of a report of a speech of mine from an Australian paper which shows my views.

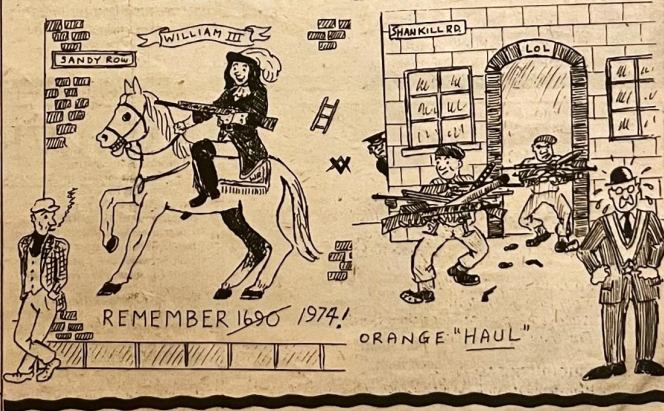
We agree on one point — take our boys from Northern Ireland and let the bigots like you and Paisley murder each other for a change.

LORD CLIFFORD,
Clifford Estate Office,
Ugbrooke Park,
Chudleigh,
Devon, TQ13 0AD

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

Views expressed here, by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

TWO VIEWS OF THE NEWS BY TORCH



Nurses

Dear Sir,

On Monday, 24th April, nurses in many parts were protesting about their rate of pay. Here in Armagh, the following incident happened during our protest.

While marching to the town centre, we observed R.U.C., Special Branch men and British soldiers taking photographs of our march.

Do we nurses pose a threat to the security of our country? Perhaps Bernadette was right when she spoke about a class war with the rich robbing the poor.

Yours faithfully,
"A Poor Disgusted Nurse."

Protest

TONY HENDERSON SINN FEIN (LENADOON) CUMAN

A Protest Rally in support of all Political Hostages, against the injustices at the Courts, and in support of the Rents and Rates Striker's will be held in the centre of Lenadon on Sunday the 23rd of June at 3.00 p.m.

We ask everyone to give their full support to this rally.

WE NEED MORE SELLERS

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

Please send me copies every week.

Name

Address

Post or leave at:
170 Falls Road, Belfast.

Bodenstown in pictures

Michael Gaughan

In the early hours of the afternoon of Friday 7th June, the body of Volunteer Michael Gaughan was released by the authorities on the Isle of Wight — so started his journey to the Republican plot in Ballina.

The police had stated that only six people would be allowed to approach the mortuary to receive the remains. This flagrant interference was condemned by Brendan Magill, National Organiser of Sinn Féin in England. Mr. Magill said it was an attempt to lessen the impact of the funeral and it would not be acceptable. Thus, in the afternoon, the tri-colour draped coffin was borne from the mortuary, preceded by an advance guard of men wearing black berets and marching in military formation. Some fifty mourners followed the coffin and a piper played a lament. The coffin was borne by the dead man's father, Mr. Patrick Gaughan, and two of his brothers.

The coffin was piped aboard the ferry and a guard of honour was maintained during the crossing. On reaching Portsmouth, the coffin was piped ashore and the mourners marched through the streets, past scores of cameramen and reporters. As the cortege passed a church on the main road, a priest came out and gave the dead man his blessing. The coffin was then put into the hearse and the journey to London started.

On reaching Cricklewood, the hearse moved through the massive crowds and the remains were accepted by a local priest. A guard of honour of eight uniformed Volunteers preceded the hearse on its journey to Kilburn, followed by a parade which virtually defied description. Even those who normally give conservative estimates were taking in terms of 8,000 to 10,000 — and that did not take into account the crowds which lined the route, watched from windows and roofs and crowded the church and surrounding grounds.

As a mark of respect to the dead man, all public houses along the route of the march were closed.

The coffin was taken into the church and placed before the altar, a guard of honour being maintained whilst a priest read the service in Irish. At the conclusion of the service the crowds were given the opportunity of paying their respects as they filed slowly past the coffin. The church was left open until eleven o'clock to give as many as possible the chance to honour the dead Volunteer.

At 10 o'clock on Saturday morning, there was a concelebrated requiem Mass in the church, the church of the Sacred Heart in Quex Road. The church was once more filled to capacity, with large crowds on the streets. At the conclusion of the service, the coffin left the church preceded once more by slow-marching uniformed Volunteers and members of Fianna Éireann, and made its way through Kilburn to the point where a motor cavalcade was formed to escort the remains to London Airport. At 4.15 p.m. the aircraft took off for Dublin, where the body lay in state overnight before the final journey to Ballina.

(With acknowledgement to the P.R.O. Sinn Féin London C.C.)



Young Ireland on the march. "Truth on our lips, purity in our hearts and strength in our arms."



Mrs. Maura Lyone (in centre), who has been a tower of strength for REPUBLICAN NEWS since the first issue was published, on the road to Bodenstown with members of Clann na nGael.



Fianna Éireann contingent headed by Ard Taoiseach Varrian step out.



"Heads erect, eyes in front, step together, boldly tread."



Fian Sean Lynch, Birmingham Slua, Fianna Éireann, in Sallins. Sean's father, George Lynch, is a Sinn Féin organiser in the English Midlands.



Newry, Co. Down, was well represented by the Peter Shields Sinn Féin Cumann and others.



We met this charming little miss in the field before the parade.

MICHAEL GAUGHAN

BY Thomas Bracken

Here's to the memory of Michael Gaughan
A patriot from Mayo
Who bravely stood to carry on
The fight against the foe
The fight that has been Erin's fight
Right down the centuries
Against England's cruel might
For justice and for peace.
To give one's life for that ideal
"No truer love hath man,"
So when the bell's of freedom peal
We'll remember Michael Gaughan.

INVOLVEMENT DREADED

The quislings in the Southern Government and the shattered Northern Assembly are even more opposed to I.R.A. involvement in discussion than the British Government itself. They want no recognition given to the Republican Movement. They dread Republican involvement in a final solution, because they know that this would sound their own death-knell. In a final solution, the concentration camps North and South would have to be closed, freedom of speech would have to be allowed and people would have to be allowed to organise politically

and freely contest elections. The quislings could not survive long in such an atmosphere. The corrupt system of wealth and patronage would crumble under the influence of the new democratic structures proposed by the Republicans. This explains the fear and hatred of Coghane, Faulkner, Cruise O'Brien Fitzgerald, Pitt and Napier for the Republicans.

The present situation is a critical one for these politicians. Faced with a growing resurgence in emotion and spirit of resistance against British oppression throughout Ireland, they have had to do some fast thinking. They are rushing madly

for what they call an "antidote" to this "poison of Irish nationalism." Their antidote has been found — it operates on various levels. Or one level increased military and police strength North and South, more prisons and concentration camps, more repressive legislation. This they see as "the short term solution." Their long term solution is more subtle — the denial of the communications media to all brands of Republican thought, the misrepresentation of Irish nationalism, the preventing of Irish history in schools, banning of anti-government publications and a full scale brain-washing campaign using all state facilities.



Some Fianna members in Hyde Park, prior to parade.



Chris Maguire demanding the return of Republican prisoners to Ireland. Chris attended the funeral of Vol. Michael Gaughan to Ballina, and has just returned to London from Bodens-town.



Mrs. Maureen Maguire, (Secretary, I.P.H.C.), hails from Co. Cork. She is greatly respected among the Irish community in London, for her services to Ireland.

Ambassadors of Ireland in London

These pictures were taken, courtesy Wolfe Tone Sinn Fein Cumann, North London, at a recent march and demonstration in London, organised by the Irish Political Hostages Campaign and Sinn Fein.

The demonstrators marched from Hyde Park to the home of the English Home Secretary. The march was led by a Fianna Eireann colour party and the meeting was addressed by Brendan Magill, (National Organiser, Sinn Fein), Chris and Maureen Maguire, (I.P.H.C.), Bob Purdie, (I.M.G.) and Sean Carson, a veteran Republican.



Fianna Eireann colour party leading march from Hyde Park. Brendan Magill, can be seen on left.



Mr. Bob Purdie can be seen on the right. He is a regular writer whose talents are clearly evident in his lucid, penetrating articles on Irish affairs. Bob, a Scotsman, is a formidable foe of English Imperialism.



Brendan Magill, a tireless worker for the cause of Irish freedom.

Death

TENNYSON, David, May 25th 1974 at St. Chad's Hospital, Birmingham. President of Leighlin na hEireann (Birmingham Branch) for past 2 years. Native of Armagh. Veteran of War of Independence.

"One and only warning"

South Down Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, issued the following statement:-

"During the month of May, our active service units caused extensive damage to economic targets and inflicted severe casualties to enemy forces in our operational area.

1. We claim responsibility for incendiaries in Newcastle, Killeel, Banbridge and Downpatrick.
2. Car bomb in Castlewellsan.
3. British Army patrol ambushed in Castlewellsan.
4. R.U.C. car ambushed in Castlewellsan.
5. Damage to Inniskeen Hotel, Newcastle.
6. British foot patrol ambushed in Kilcoo.
7. Bomb and incendiaries in Rostrevor.
8. U.D.R. officer ambushed in Dundrum.
9. U.D.R. ambushed in Newcastle.
10. Landmine in Kilcoo.

Casualties inflicted:- Landmine — 2 soldiers killed, 7 seriously injured.

Castlewellsan:- 2 soldiers injured and 1 R.U.C. sergeant seriously injured. 1 soldier injured by our sniper in Kilcoo.

The 200lb. car bomb in Castlewellsan caused extensive damage to a hardware shop and surrounding property.

"We have no option but to take retaliatory action against R.U.C. and U.D.R. families. We have no desire to cause any harm to women and children but the savage brutality carried out by British controlled forces in South and East Down must cease immediately. This is the one and only warning we will give.

Press Release

BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS CENTRE

We have received the following report from the Patrick McAdurey Sinn Fein Cumann, Luton, Bedfordshire:-

"Mrs. Mary Sheridan has received a letter from her husband (Phil Sheridan) Luton 3 member, he tells her he has been seen by his solicitors in Gartree.

"They have told him the Luton 3 are to have their cases reviewed in the light of the 'Lennon Confession.' The case is for hearing on Monday, 10th June in the Appeal Court, London.

"However, there is a drawback. Phil says that the prison authorities informed him that they have been instructed by the English Home Office not to allow him to see his solicitors in PRIVATE and that a prison guard will be present during the interview.

"Luton Sinn Fein are of the opinion that this is a travesty of justice, an illegal act. The Cumann Secretary has been instructed to contact the N.C.C.L. and I.C.R.A. in London to ask them to take the matter up on behalf of Mr. Phil Sheridan."

IRELANDS PROBLEMS WILL BE SOLVED BY IRISHMEN

"Se an doigh is fearr onoir a thabhairt do Wolfe Tone leanaidh ar aghaidh leis an obair go mbeidh an saighdiuir Sasanach deireannach scalpthe amach as an tír seo ar fad. Na deasaimid dearmad ar na daoine eile i bpriosún na tíre seo, i Sasana in Albain agus sna Stáit Aontaithe," dúirt Sean Keenan, an Chathaoirleach, ag Bodenkstown Dia Domhnail seo caite.

"We are gathered at Wolfe Tone's grave knowing that despite the wailing protests of Leinster House and the drive of the S.D.L.P. the days of the British Army in Ireland are numbered," declared Mr. Sean Keenan of Derry, Chairman of the Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodenkstown, last Sunday.

Mr. Keenan told his listeners that they had witnessed the death of Volunteer Michael Gaughan, the unimaginable suffering of the Price sisters, of Feeney, Kelly and Stagg. He said that the seoinins who gloved with admiration of everything English must realise that the ruthless savagery of the past was still their only way of dealing with Irishmen and Irishwomen today.

"I would like to take Liam Cosgrave to the Creggan, to Belfast, to any of the Six Counties, to discover the harassment that went on daily," Mr. Keenan said. "When Mrs. Thompson of Derry was shot in her own yard, there was no protest from the Free State Government or from Mrs. Lynch who protested when a British soldier died, a soldier who had no right to be in any part of Ireland."

"The fight is almost over. The British troops are ready to withdraw. When the Minister of Defence in England said that the troops could not stay for ever, Fitt and Fitzgerald flew to London pleading for them to remain. The only reason there is trouble in Ireland is the presence of the British troops. Take them out and Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic and Dissenter, will come together and solve their problems," Mr. Keenan added that these problems can only be solved by Irishmen.

The massive parade of at least 18,000 people from Ballins to Bodenkstown cemetery, was led by a uniformed colour party provided by Ogligh na hEireann. The Cumann na mBan contingent made an impressive sight with their smart bearing and obvious discipline. So also Na Fianna Eireann, who drew admiring remarks from large numbers of spectators.

After Sean Keenan read messages of support from prisoners in Long Kesh; from women in Armagh Jail; from Portlaoise and from Republican prisoners in Britain,

who thanked all those who took part in demonstrations and protests on behalf of the hunger strikers, he condemned the Dublin Justice Minister, Cooney, for asking people not to buy Republican papers.

"The only place to find the truth about the Six Counties was in AN PHOBLACHT, REPUBLICAN NEWS and THE VOLUNTEER," Mr. Keenan observed.

Mr. Seamus Loughran, the well known Northern Republican was the principal speaker. He said that they were gathered in Bodenkstown to commemorate the glory that was 1798 and the leader who tried to rid Ireland of the might of the British Empire.

"Last week in Ballins, in the area near Killa where the French fleet was driven ashore, they had another opportunity to understand why generation after generation of Irishmen and women took up arms in the holy cause of freedom and justice," Mr. Loughran declared. "Like Tone, Volunteer Michael Gaughan paid the ultimate price."

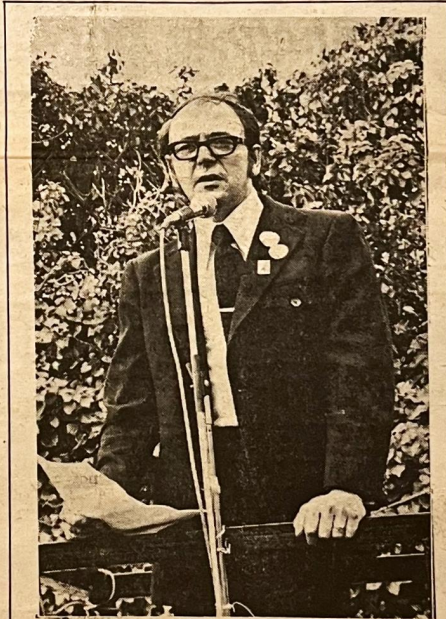
"The Irish race had more than their fair share of spirit blood, death, sorrow and destruction. Over five years we have witnessed continued oppression of our people. We remember Derry's Bloody Sunday, the murders in the New Lodge and Ballymurphy. We have seen young men tortured and maimed in Hollywood, Ballykinlar and Girdwood. We have the abomination of Long Kesh Concentration Camp and had to watch while two young girls were tortured in Brixton Jail and the force feeding of four young Irishmen.

"One of them had since died and 1,200 lie in prison. Those who went through the jails and concentration camps thirsted for justice and an end to oppression.

"We are faced with enemies on all sides. The gommeen men of the Free State have passed legislation more infamous than the Special Powers Act. These traitors, like Judas Iscariot, have sold their principles and honour for a handful of gold.

"The men of the Coalition and Fianna Fáil who watched people suffer, then went home to count their immoral earnings; Lynch who said he would not stand idly by — who were they fooling?

"The slanderous attacks on Republicans by the British and Anglo-Irishmen had opened up a new phase in the war. But not only are we winning the fighting war, we are also winning the war of words. We are responsible for England spending millions on black propa-



Mr. Seamus Loughran giving the oration at the Wolfe Tone Commemoration at Bodenkstown, last Sunday.

ganda which has been proved false so often that even the British do not believe it.

"Republicans are harassed in the 26 Counties because the Free State Government, like the British Government, were completely barren of ideas on how to settle the Irish question. The day of big business and exploitation were at an end because the people had risen from their knees and intended to stay free and so to it that what they had seen for the past three or 803 years would never recur.

"We will not forget the traitors in the 26 Counties who tried to sell their own people. We shall remember the Fitts, the Humes and the Curries, the people who pledged repeatedly that they would never actively participate in a political agreement until internment ended, and then talked to and with Faulkner, finishing up on their knees talking for him.

"Our people will never again put any faith in the S.D.L.P. They have destroyed any credibility they had. They, like Cosgrave and his cronies, are no friends of the Irish people. Power sharing, for them, was nothing less than profit-sharing.

"Republicans have taken the 'Great' out of 'Great Britain' and the Protestant people must take their place in the permanent solution of the Irish problem. No organisation was more prepared to meet all sections on the future of the country than the Republican Movement.

"HEATH, WILSON AND THORPE COULD BE SURE THAT THIS WAS THE LAST FIGHT AND IT WOULD NOT CEASE UNTIL THE LAST DEMANDS ARE GRANTED

"Republicans will not be found wanting when it comes to negotiate, provided it is among Irishmen and women for a new Ireland, a new

society, a new way of life. We recognise different traditions. We recognise facts. We are not short-sighted, narrow-minded or bigoted. Tone did not want that, nor Pearse, Emmett, Lalor or Connolly.

"The British Government must announce its intention to withdraw, and recognise the right of the Irish people to decide their own destiny. We will settle for nothing less.

"Ireland is a wealthy country. It has untapped sources of oil and gas. There is no reason why it cannot produce food for 30 million people. For too long the people of this garden of Eden have been exploited and mistreated. The Republican Movement will change all that.

"Negotiating the new Ireland will not be easy. Our Protestant fellow-countrymen should help to build the community in which they would have an honoured place. It is not merely a Northern problem, it is an Irish problem. It can only be solved by the whole of the Irish people. It is not a question of how men worship God. That is a matter between the individual and his Maker, but of shaping their own destiny with dignity and resolution, of the sovereignty of the Irish nation, of an end to domination and discrimination, of recognition that man is entitled to enjoy the fruits of his labour with all the dignity of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights bestows.

"I can foresee the beginning of a new nation where the State will ensure the rights of men and women, where there will be no more strife because justice is supreme. Where man can live with his fellow men in peace and security guaranteed by a State controlled by the people. This is ours by right. It will be obtained one way or another. No one wants war. The onus is on Britain to fulfil the preconditions of the Republican Movement and declare willingness to talk, but if they squander that opportunity they can talk of elections for as long as they like.

"THE MINORITY IN THE NORTH WILL NOT PARTICIPATE UNTIL LONG KESH CONCENTRATION CAMP IS A FIELD AGAIN, UNTIL OUR COMRADES ARE HOME.

"We would welcome a contest for political power if discrimination and domination were ended but the terms must be right and the atmosphere must be right. England has her chance, she would be well advised to take it.

"The interests of the British people could best be served by a phased orderly withdrawal. Then the Irish people could shape the governmental institutions they desired and a way of life thoroughly acceptable to all. "Let us go from the grave of the patriot to a new society which he would have loved and for which he as a Protestant gave his life."

The dignity and atmosphere of the day of commemoration was marred by unpleasant scenes in Ballins caused by people, many of them quite young, who had too much to drink.

The vast majority of the people who travelled to Bodenkstown, acted in a dignified, good natured manner. But those who spent most of their time in the vicinity of the local pubs were more interested in drinking than in honouring Wolfe Tone. Perhaps the organisers of the commemoration might be able to reach agreement with local publicans to keep their bars closed next year, at least until the parade has returned from the cemetery and the marchers have dispersed.

Intimidation on massive scale

Massive intimidation continued all week during the local election campaign in Southern Ireland (26 counties). Sinn Féin has over 100 candidates contesting the elections throughout the state.

Southern police and soldiers are continually interfering with the Sinn Féin candidates. Homes of candidates are being raided — their election workers are being arrested and intimidated by police and a general campaign of scaring off the voters from Sinn Féin is in full swing. The nature of the intimidation, extending as it does to every area in which Sinn Féin candidates are standing, proves conclusively that the whole police and army campaign is centrally organised by the authorities. Sinn Féin is the only group experiencing the intimidation and harassment — the three conservative groupings, Fine Gael and Labour (i.e. Coalition Government) and Fianna Fáil, are campaigning freely with full facilities and, of course, huge financial backing from big business.

EXAMPLES OF INTIMIDATION:

A few random examples display the ferocity of the intimidation:-

Padraig MacSuidhne, a candidate in Co. Louth arrested and brought before the Special Criminal Court; in Dublin the home of the candidate — for Dublin Corporation, Seamus Johnston was raided by the political police; Irish speaking and other Donegal areas, where candidates are standing, were raided by police supported by troops; the home of candidate Aidan Tinsley (Sligo Corporation) was raided; Longford candidate Michael Nevin's home was raided as was that of director of elections Tom Hayden.

While one of the Longford houses was being raided, a helicopter hovered overhead. Troops in firing positions "covered" the house while the police with tracker dogs carried out the search. Nothing incriminating was found.

The following day, the local police sergeant went to the house and apologised. He requested the family to give the matter of the search no publicity. In Roscommon, a number of election workers returning home at night found troops in firing positions in their driveways.

Other areas where large-scale intimidation has been taking place are Kerry, Clare, Tipperary, Wexford and Offaly. Door to door canvassers in many areas have had to suffer the indignity of being accompanied from door to door by police. While canvassers speak to householders, police sit in their cars staring at the householder. Likewise, election motorcars with loudhailers are openly accompanied by police cars.

Learn your National Language

An Irish Class for beginners will be held every Wednesday, from 8 p.m. — 10 p.m., in the Eire Nua Bookshop, 170 Falls Road, Belfast.



FOR the Sunday morning stroller at Hyde Park it was a very nasty sight: serried ranks of pinned-striped, bowler-hatted, umbrella-carrying gents. They could have been

City of London lemmings marching towards some distant cliff-top to get away from the business and broking failures which are hitting the financial world. No, they were ex-

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

cavalry officers at a 50th anniversary parade. The Prince of Wales took the salute as the grim-faced hordes swept by. It is no accident that

the ruling class is making such a big event out of these parades. Last year all ex-cavalrymen, ex-Guards officers and ex-Territorial Army personnel were recontacted by the army and asked to

rejoice because of the 'unstable political and industrial situation'. Some of these old Colonel Blimps have been polishing their medals and sabres ever since.

ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

After all the effort the Ulster Volunteer Force has spent this past year of trying to build up an image that they were against intimidation of Catholics living in Protestant areas, such as Rathcoole and in spite of their efforts when Catholic homes were burned and the families had to leave through intimidation they kept on shedding tears at the tragedies, the editor of their newsheet, 'Comber' (No. 10), really went to town and showed the real face of the U.V.F. . . . the face of bigotry and hate not only against the Catholic people but also against the official trade union movement. In an article on the brutality of the British Army against some of their members in Carrickfergus, who were arrested on suspicion of being involv-

ed in the recent sectarian killings in the area, instead of standing up to the Brits and organising the people to fight on behalf of their 'innocent' members, they take the usual sectarian road and blame the Catholic people of Carrickfergus.

They suggest the local priest Father Beeson along with his chapel committee, plus a local school teacher Mr. Hubert McKeown were all at a private meeting with the local Roman Catholic R.U.C. Inspector — it was on their instructions that the arrests took place. By the way I forgot to mention it, but the article also states they know that this Catholic group blew up the local British Legion hut attempted to murder one of their members last year, and believe it or not are all

members of the Greencastle Unit of the Provisional I.R.A.

You know of course that this type of propaganda is merely an excuse for all the local psychopaths to take action against the local Catholic population.

In a second article dealing with the arrest of 32 characters who were returning from Ballymena after intimidating shop keepers and especially murdering two brothers who refused to close their pub. These characters were caught in cars and vans on their way home to Rathcoole and Shore Road. But the U.V.F. have a different story. The article describes these characters as honest trade unionists who were only arrested as an excuse to break

the recent strike . . . and wait for it . . . the list of names was made out by Mr. Len Murray secretary of the British T.U.C. and Mr. Andy Barr, of the I.C.T.U. who assured the Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees, that the strike would end if the men on the 'detention list' were put out of the way.

So it seems that the U.V.F. has at last dropped its mask and shows itself merely as a another bigoted loyalist organisation who have now decided it can openly carry on its war against the Roman Catholic community, and that anyone who supports the official trade union movement must be dealt with and they intend to start the war against the trade unions at the top by dealing with the leaders.

YOUR CREDIT UNION

DUE TO NUMEROUS REQUESTS FROM OUR READERS, WE WILL BE PUBLISHING A SERIES ON THE CREDIT UNION

Are Minors Admitted To Membership?

Yes; and with all the rights and privileges of members except that a person under age 21 is not usually eligible to be a member of the Board of Directors, the Credit or Supervisory Committee, or be appointed trustee, manager or treasurer of a credit union. Discretion should be exercised in doing business with minors as any contract made with a minor may be repudiated.

May Persons Be Admitted To Joint Membership?

Yes. On the death of one or more of the joint-members, ownership of the shares is vested in the survivor or survivors. If the credit union buys group life savings insurance, it is the first-named joint-member who is insured.

What Is Group Life Savings Insurance?

The credit union may pay for insurance on all the savings of the members so that, in the case where any member dies, his family or heirs will receive double what he saved before the age of 55. After his death, both his savings and the insurance money will be given to his family or heirs.

There are three restrictions: —

- 1) Amount. The total savings of any one member that can be covered by the life savings insurance is approximately £714.
- 2) Health. The money must be saved in the credit union while the member is in normal health.
- 3) The money saved must be left in the credit union till the death of the member.

For each pound saved from age 55 to the end of age 69 the insurance money for his heirs will be less. Once a member reaches 70 years of age, no insurance will be paid on money saved after that time. But still the insurance will be paid on all the money he had saved earlier in his life — and this will be done no matter how old he is when he dies.

Are Shares Withdrawable?

Yes. All shares are withdrawable, but we shall see later that it is better to take a loan when you need money than to withdraw your savings. If a member has a considerable sum paid in on shares, the sudden withdrawal of which would embarrass the credit union, the member may be required to give up to 90 days notice of such withdrawal. If the member owes the credit union money or is guarantor of any loan, he may not withdraw shares below such amounts until the debt is paid.

What Protection Is Offered To The Shareholder?

- a) The treasurer and all other persons handling money are bonded.
- b) All cash receipts must be deposited regularly in a bank.
- c) Payments and withdrawals are made by cheque, and all cheques must be signed by the treasurer and countersigned by the President or an authorized officer of the Board of Directors.
- d) All record books are examined regularly by the Supervisory Committee of the credit union, as well as once a year by an outside examiner, if necessary.

How Is The Share Capital Used?

All the funds of the credit union are available for making loans to members for provident or productive purposes, thereby helping each member to help himself. Excess funds may be invested or loaned to other credit unions.

LOANS

Who May Borrow?

Only members in good standing.

For What Purposes Are Loans Made?

For any purpose which, in the best judgment of the credit committee, promises to be of real benefit to the borrower. The purpose is important and must be stated on the loan application.

"PEACE" INITIATIVES AND TALKS

The Irish people were subjected to a sustained barrage of propaganda last week-end about a supposed dramatic new break through in the 'Ulster' problem. The U.V.F., U.D.A., Red Hand Commandos, Vanguard Service Corps, Down Orange Welfare, Ulster Special Constabulary Association and all the other fronts for our old familiar armed Orange supremacists were prepared to consider talks with Republicans. The 'success' of the constitutional stoppage 'organised' by the Ulster Workers' Council was presented as indicating a significant change in the mentality of the Orange colonists who have for 180 years been the major agents in upholding English imperialism in Ireland.

It is important to remember that it was the Quaker Denis Davis and his 'peace at any price' capitalist friends who first gave a semblance of respectability to the Ulster Workers' Council when he and a group of other 'interested persons' made a dash to Westminster to see Wilson. Their mission was to persuade the Labour government not to confront the unlovely Orange alliance that was choking the people to death by cutting off their power and food supplies and threatening their very survival by promising to flood the streets of their beloved 'Ulster' with untreated sewage.

These professional 'peace makers' were successful. Wilson backed down from a confrontation with the Orange supremacists. The moderate Unionists, the Alliance and the collaborationist S.D.L.P. were thrown to the wolves. Rees and the media 'discovered' that a new phenomenon had appeared that completely changed the political situation. This new all conquering force was 'Ulster Protestant Nationalism'.

But to Republicans and people with the most superficial acquaintance with modern Irish history it was apparent that England's collaborationist colonists were merely putting on a new mask to give respectability to the naked thuggery, assassination, burnings and intimidation which are their historic methods for preventing the emergence of a sovereign united Irish nation.

Republicans have always known that their enemy was English imperialism. They have never had any quarrel with a man because of his ethnicity or cultural heritage. They have laboured long and suffered much to make 'Tone's' dream of all who live in Ireland accepting a common identity as Irishmen a reality. Religious affiliation is a matter of indifference provided the full right of conscience of every man in so far as it does not interfere with the public interest is respected. They have fought and are fighting a war against the enemy forces in Ireland. Volunteers have willingly given their lives in the interest of reducing the number of civilian casualties. They are not one faction among others, but the guardians of the Irish nation and as such their only relationship with sectarian terror gangs and murder squads could be one of correction and reproof.

It is tragic that people who could be good Irishmen continue to let themselves be brainwashed into serving their English masters who have shown themselves prepared to jettison their most loyal servants, when they cause England embarrassment or inconvenience. Expediency and self-interest govern every decision that England makes about Ireland and her Irish collaborators. Some of the 'loyalists' working class seem at last to be dimly perceiving this reality. So the English 'peace-makers' have jumped in again, determined that this must not lead to a strong United Ireland. Hence the sudden discovery and promotion by the big business interests and the media of the 'solution' of an autonomous Protestant British Ulster.

The loyalists had two major advantages to get from talks with Republicans: first they could promote an image as reasonable men and also ensure that Oglagh na hEireann were reduced in significance to the same level as the murderous Red Hand Commandos etc. Secondly, they would get some recognition however tenuous of the validity of their claim to speak for 'Ulster'. Hence the Republicans should be represented as underwriting partition and conceding the right of a group to impede Irish unity. The big business and Tory interests want stability and peace at any price so they can get on with their class interest of making profits and exploiting Ireland. They recognise that it would be much more difficult to do this after English withdrawal which should lead to a united sovereign Ireland. They recognise the difficulty England is having in maintaining an ever more repressive military presence in Ireland and so they are promoting the United Ulster idea to secure their interests should the pressure for the withdrawal of English forces from Ireland become intolerable.

The hired 'peace makers' of the capitalist interest, backed by 'peace foundations' (such as the Quaker Rowntree Trust) and armed with the latest counter-insurgency techniques rushed in to the confusion that followed the collapse of the Executive with another 'instant solution'. Get the para-military groups talking, above all get a truce, build up the concept of a United Ulster. Let the paramilitarists put forward a solution: and then when the whole house of cards comes tumbling down traditional principled Republicanism would be discredited forever.

It would be a high price to pay for a 'truce', which on their own admission, the paramilitarists could not deliver, as they say they know nothing about the U.F.F. who have been anti-personnel bomb outrages and the vilest random murders. This was a clever scheme but then the

Rowntree Trust who finance the paramilitarists 'seminars' in the Vanguard headquarters are noted for hiring the cleverest brains and their allied satellite institutions have been pumping top class academics into Northern Ireland to 'research' the 'Ulster problem' for over five years.

As soon as it became clear that for Republicans there can be neither negotiation nor compromise on the basic principle of the sovereignty and unity of Ireland the 'seminars' collapsed. The much publicised scorn for elected politicians was set aside and the association between the Ulster Unionist politicians and the Orange para-militarists (which was always there) was made public.

Once again it has been shown that there is only one way towards lasting peace in Ireland. The whole Republican resistance campaign

is based on it. England must withdraw from Ireland and following that institutions suitable to the needs and wishes of the Irish people must be forged and agreed to by the people of Ireland.

The 'professional peace makers' have joined the S.D.L.P. and the Dublin collaborators in prolonging violence. The Republican summer offensive will prove that England's presence is the only Irish problem.

I liked the conclusion of a letter in the Belfast Telegraph (8/6/74):

"I hope the fullest recognition is taken of General King, the G.O.C. in refusing to allow the troops to be dragged into a clash with their greatest friends, past and present. I appeal to all Loyalists: act likewise. Let not one shot be fired against the Army, the men who fought for and defended us."

'Disgusted Loyalist'.

The letter had a good point there. The one and only job the Brits intend to carry out is to harass the native Irish and keep them in their ghettos, always hoping to break the spirit of Irish nationalism. But the big problem facing King is the faith of the people in their Republican Army. He finds no solution to that problem:

In the Belfast Telegraph (3/5/74) in an interview with Ail McCreeady who asked him:

Q. You seem to a 'remots' General. Why?

King This is partly by design. When one talks, one is going to stress that things are getting better. This leaves one a hostage to fortune, because it is an invitation to the I.R.A. to let off ten bombs the next day to show that one is talking nonsense.

What the general meant was:

In other words what the hell is the use of being made a bloody fool every time I open my big mouth.

ONLY ONE PENNY A WORD

Please insert the following advert . . . insertions, I enclose P.O./Cheque for £ (Classified rate, 1p per word). Can be left at 170 Falls Road, Belfast. Business Hours: Tuesday to Saturday 10 a.m. — 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. — 5 p.m.

1p					
2p					
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6p					

THE LAST REPORT

BY MICHAEL TOBIN —
OUR MAN IN AMSTERDAM

This is the last report of mine from Amsterdam — at least for a while. For I am on the eve of returning to my native land. The call of Ireland has proven too strong for me. And go back I must.

All my reports so far have dealt with political or economic matters — about the way our country has been exploited by England, about the current struggle of our people against British imperialism, and about the making of a New Ireland. But in this final report I want to write in a lighter vein and say something briefly about Holland — not about its politics or its economic affairs, but about the image which those of us in Ireland have of it.

During my sojourn here I have sent postcards to many people. And the pictures on these postcards have mostly depicted the tourist aspect of Holland as a land of windmills and wooden shoes. But how true is this image? Does it reflect reality? Is it just a carry-over from the long dead past? Or does it contain an element of truth about the Netherlands of today?

What can be answered at once is that Holland does indeed have plenty of windmills dotting much of her flat countryside like great lone sentinels standing guard over expanses of rich land won by centuries of hard-fought struggle against the might of the North Sea. And there is also no end to the number of wooden shoes to be had — made as they are in their tens of thousands in workshops and small factories scattered up and down the length of this picturesque little country.

Not alone this, but one can even buy bread here, as I myself do, which has been made from flour ground in windmills. While out in the rural areas it is a common sight to meet a farmer wearing his mud-covered wooden shoes or klompen, as they are called in Dutch, and he will tell you that there is no more practical kind of footwear to be had for ground criss-crossed by ditches and canals whose waters are very often just below the level of the land.

All this is true. But in many ways it presents a totally false picture. Because for every mill grinding corn there are fifty standing idle. And for every Dutch man or woman wearing wooden shoes there are thousands who don't, as the foreign visitor with an eye on the footwear of the passers-by in any Dutch town will find out.

In spite of this, however, the image of Holland as the land of windmills and wooden shoes continued to prevail and even grow with the passage of time. Much of this is due to the industrious Dutch people themselves who in recent decades have plucked their little land into the burgeoning world tourist trade in a very big way. Amsterdam, the capital city, is now one of the world's top tourist centres with many facilities, including scores of shops, catering solely for the foreign visitor. Tourist-oriented stores are packed with specially-made goods of every conceivable kind varying from children's toys to ordinary household items; and many of the things on sale are either shaped like a windmill or a wooden shoe or have drawings or etchings of these objects carved on them. But the Dutch go even further than this in their drive to cultivate the traditional picture of Holland. For in some places whole communities wear not only wooden shoes but the full traditional Dutch dress as well. The fishing villages of Marken and Volendam on the shores of the old Zuider Zee are probably the best known of these; and their inhabitants in their colourful costumes provide a richness of material for the clicking and whirring cameras of the never-ending streams of tourists.

But then again these are only survivals of Old Holland whose life has been artificially extended — elements of Dutch tradition and culture which, except for the extra dollars and marks and pounds they bring in, have nothing in common with the bustling life of the modern Netherlands and its go-ahead people, most of whom think that the tourist oriented image of their country is quaint to the point of being almost funny.

Yes, the Dutch are certainly very good at attracting the tourists. But if we Irish had all these old windmills we would probably do even better. Because if these mechanical workhorses had been part of traditional life in Ireland it is almost certain that our rich imaginations would have filled them with ghosts. And what is almost just as likely: these ghosts would all have been seen wearing wooden shoes.

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