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SINN FEIN BOYCOTT VINDICATED

THE ELECTION RESULT, the panic reactions in the SDLP and the Dublin government, and the confusion in the media which had backed a 'moderate' victory, have shown that Sinn Fein had a clear understanding of the forces at work in the Convention Elections.

The predictable UUUC landslide victory and the return of an overwhelming majority intent on restoring Loyalist Ascendancy government fully vindicates our Boycott Campaign. We predicted an overbearing intransigent stance on the part of Loyalist Convention men. The whining of the SDLP for Dublin ministers to come to their assistance is indeed self-humiliating for the party. Dr. O'Brien's devastating rebuke to the SDLP while contemptible is an accurate statement of the Dublin's governments indifference to their fellow-countrymen in the six counties. Perhaps if the SDLP had not colluded with the Cosgrave government in its introduction of The Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill and its ruthless implementation of the amended O.A.S.A. it might have secured more respect from Dublin.

LOADED DICE

In a statement, Ruairi O'Bradaigh, President of Sinn Fein, congratulated Sinn Fein workers whose efforts ensured the success of the Sinn Fein boycott. The statement read:

"Sinn Fein considers its active campaign of boycott to have been very effective and congratulates all who worked so hard in it and who supported it loyally.

The boycott and the many spoilt votes of people who feared personation demonstrated support for the Republican Movement and indicates two points:

- (1) People's desire for a 32-county convention which must provide for an Ulster Parliament for the whole province;
- (2) Their complete disgust with the tactics of the SDLP who started off on the people's side and ended up in the enemy camp, e.g. their attitude to the rent and rates strike and to the internees.

The overall majority of the Loyalist coalition was completely to be expected. This is the inevitable result of any poll taken on the artificial six-county basis. Republicans are not prepared to play with loaded dice and abide by the results."

CRUNCH SITUATION

O'Bradaigh said at a Press Conference in Belfast that the Convention election had brought the Six Counties to a "crunch situation," and he urged the British Government to realise that the area was ungovernable.

There were strong denials of allegations that Sinn Fein Workers had intimidated voters

or potential voters. Executive chairman, Mr. Aidan Corrigan said: "We have yet to meet any ordinary voter who says he felt he was intimidated. The party leaders are trying to cover up the effect of our campaign."

The claim that Sinn Fein candidates had been selected but were withdrawn because of lack of grassroots support was also denied.

Referring to a pre-election statement by Cardinal Conway by four bishops, Mr. O'Bradaigh said: "They were telling people to vote in order to rebuild British rule in Ireland."

Questioned about Sinn Fein's attitude in the event of a restoration of the old-style Stormont government, Mr. O'Bradaigh said they would organise the people against this sort of thing."

He said the ball was very much in Britain's court and it remained to be seen whether Britain would be found wanting as they were during the Loyalist strike last year. "In that type of situation we would organise the people and have particular regard to supplies and welfare and see that these areas were not being squeezed and that supplies were getting through and that people were not being completely beleaguered."

Their present strategy, he said, would be to put increased pressure on the British Government. "We can make them aware of their responsibilities as we see things and we have ways of doing that. We have contacts. The lines of communication are open, so we will be able to indicate our view."

"We would say to the British Government that the Six Counties area is ungovernable and that they will have to get down to the root of the trouble which is the British presence." The British presence was the only non-negotiable factor.

"I would say to the British Government and Opposition that they would be wise to heed the message to them that these reformist solutions are not on and that they will just have to face up to the

situation," said Mr. O'Bradaigh. "We want them to make the decision in principle that they have fought their last colonial war."

He said Sinn Fein wanted a federal solution. "We feel that the middle ground will have to be cleared and this is, to some extent what has now happened bringing us into a crunch situation."

Mr. O'Bradaigh said the outcome of the Convention election, which they had predicted, was not something new happening. "It's a repeat of the old serial story."

"People have learned to live with it, but it's not the way they want to live. The people don't want their children to have to repeat this every 10 years of their lives. The people want it settled this time. This accounts for the attitude of those who support us. They are opposed to any kind of patch-up operation."

Mr. Brendan Magill, Irish organiser, said the election showed that the Provisionals represented the minority.

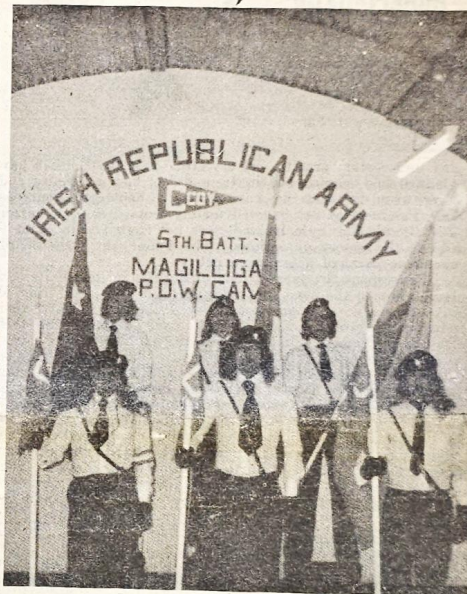
He said: "Our boycott proved that the Provisionals have a tremendous amount of support and that the SDLP no longer speak for the minority."

POLL RESULTS

The fact that only 170,000 voters (SDLP 156,000 Republican Club 14,500) out of a total of at least 380,000 Nationalist voters in Northern Ireland took part in the election shows that only 44% of the Nationalist community voted at all. The Boycott was well supported in every constituency but especially West Belfast, Mid-Ulster, Armagh, Fermanagh, South Tyrone and North Antrim.

The West Belfast Constituency is a crucial constituency, a constituency where the 1969 pogroms occurred, the constituency which has the biggest Nationalist majority in N.I. i.e. 41,000 Nationalist voters and 19,000 Unionists. In 1973 Assembly elections the Sinn Fein Boycott ensured that only 18,000 anti-Unionists voted (SDLP 13,500, Republican Clubs 3,000). However, in the

Patriots of Ireland



Champions of Liberty in All Lands

..... Be strong in hope. Your cause is identical with mine. You are calumniated in your day! I was misrepresented by the Loyalists of my day. Had I failed, the scaffold would have been my doom, but now my enemies do me honour—I stood true to my cause even when victory had fled. In that I merited success. You do likewise

George Washington, Mt. Vernon, New York, 1788.

Our picture shows Magilligan Republican Prisoners at 1975 Easter Commemoration Ceremonies. Freedom lovers the world over are rejoicing at the news of the escape of two 21-year-old Republicans from Magilligan — P.J. O'Hagan, from Creggan in Derry, and Malachy McCann from Randalstown. Both were sentenced to ten years. The enemy are defrauded of their prey.

The prisoners contributed more than anybody else to the success of the Election Boycott by their many statements of support, advertisements and personal letters.

Westminster elections when there was no organised boycott Gerry Fitt polled 19,000 in February 1974 and he increased this vote to 21,000 in October 1974. Our boycott campaign this time cut that SDLP vote of 21,000 back to 13,527 votes on Thursday last or exactly the same vote as that party received in 1973. In other words only two of the four potential anti-Unionist seats have been won due to the boycott.

A similar situation has occurred in Mid-Ulster which has the second largest Nationalist majority in Northern Ireland i.e. 45,000 Nationalists and 35,000 Unionists (See Ivan Cooper's advertisements in Irish News prior to October election in 1974). Here again only two of the four potential Nationalist seats were won by anti-Unionist and 22,000 Nationalists abstained from voting. Bernadette Devlin's poll in

Continued on Page 7

A French writer has paid the English a very well-deserved compliment. He says that they never commit a useless crime. When they hire a man to assassinate an Irish patriot, when they blow a Sepoy from the mouth of a cannon, when they produce a famine in one of their dependencies, they have always an ulterior motive. They do not do it for fun. Humorous as these crimes are, it is not the humour of them, but their utility, that appeals to the English. Unlike Gilbert's Mikado, they would see nothing humorous in boiling oil. If they retained boiling oil in their penal code, they would retain it, as they retain flogging before execution in Egypt, strictly because it has been found useful.

This observation will help one to an understanding of some portions of the English administration of Ireland. The English administration of Ireland has not been marked by

Pearse on Cultural Imperialism

THE MURDER MACHINE

By P.H. PEARSE

1st January, 1916.



any unnecessary cruelty. Every crime that the English have planned and carried out in Ireland has had a definite end. Every absurdity that they have set up has had a grave purpose. The Famine was not enacted merely from a love of horror. The Boards that rule Ireland were not contrived in order to add to the gaiety of nations. The Famine and the Boards are alike parts of a profound policy.

I have spent the greater part of my life in immediate contemplation of the most grotesque and horrible of the English inventions for the debasement of Ireland. I mean their Dublin Parliament a measure for the castration of all Irish priests who refused to quit Ireland. The proposal was so filthy that, although it duly passed the House and was transmitted to England with the warm recommendation of the Viceroy, it was not eventually adopted. But the English have actually carried out an even filthier thing. They have planned and established an education system which more wickedly does violence to the elementary human rights of Irish children than would an edict for the general castration of Irish males. The system has aimed at the substitution for men and women of the mere Things. It has not been an entire success. There are still a great many thousand men and women in Ireland. But men and women are simply Things. Men and women, however depraved, have kindly human allegiances. But these Things have no allegiance. Like other Things, they are for sale.

When one uses the term education system as the name of the system of schools, colleges, universities, and what not which the English have established in Ireland, one uses it as a convenient label, just as one uses the term government as a convenient label for the system of administration by police which obtains in Ireland instead of a government. There is no education system in Ireland. The English have established the simulacrum of an education system, but its object is the precise contrary of the object of an education system. Education should foster; this education is meant to repress. Education should inspire; this education is meant to tame. Education should harden; this education is meant to enervate. The English are too wise a people to attempt to educate the Irish, in any worthy sense. As well expect them to arm us.

Professor Eoin MacNeill has compared the English education system in Ireland to the systems of slave education which existed in the ancient pagan republics side by side with the systems intended for the education of freemen. To the children of the free were taught all noble and goodly things; from the children of the slaves all such dangerous knowledge was hidden. They were taught not to be strong and proud and valiant, but to be sleek, to be obsequious, to be dexterous: the object was not to make them good men, but to make them good slaves. And so in Ireland. The education system here was designed by our masters in order to make us willing or at least manageable slaves. It has made of some Irishmen not slaves merely, but very enuchs, with the smoothness and softness of enuchs, with the indifference and cruelty of enuchs; kinless beings, who serve for pay a master that they neither love nor hate.

Ireland is not merely in servitude, but in a kind of penal servitude. Certain of the slaves among us are appointed jailors over the common herd of slaves. And they are trained from their youth for this degrading office. The ordinary slaves are trained for their lowly tasks in dingy places called schools; the buildings in which the higher slaves are trained are called colleges and universities. If one may regard Ireland as a nation in penal servitude, the schools and colleges and universities may be looked upon as the symbol of her penal servitude. They are, so to speak, the broad-arrow upon the back of Ireland.

A FEW years ago, when people still believed in the imminence of Home Rule, there were numerous discussions as to the tasks awaiting a Home Rule Parliament and the order in which they should be taken up. Mr. John Dillon declared that one of the first of those tasks was the recasting of the Irish education system, by which he meant the English education system in Ireland. The declaration alarmed the Bishop of Limerick, always suspicious of the Irish Dillon, and he told that statesman in effect that the Irish education system did not need recasting—that all was well and there.

The positions seemed irreconcilable. Yet in the *Irish Review* I quixotically attempted to find common ground between the disputants, and to state in such a way as to command the assent of both the duty of a hypothetical Irish Parliament with regard to education. I put it that that machinery in Ireland needed was less a reconstruction of its education than a regeneration in spirit. The machinery, I said, has doubtless its defects, but what is chiefly wrong with it is that it is mere machinery, a lifeless thing without a soul. Dr. O'Dwyer was probably concerned for the maintenance of portion of the machinery, and I for one was Catholic Bishop, and not without reason; and I for one was (and am) willing to leave that particular portion untouched, (and am) practically so. But the machine as a whole is no more capable of fulfilling the function for which it is needed than would an automaton be capable of fulfilling the function of a living teacher in a school. A soulless thing cannot teach; but it can destroy. A machine cannot make men; but it can break men.

One of the most terrible things about the English education system in Ireland is its ruthlessness. I know no image for that ruthlessness in the natural order. The ruthlessness of a wild beast has in it a certain mercy—it slays. It has in it a certain grandeur of animal force. But this ruthlessness is literally without pity and without passion. It is cold and mechanical, like the ruthlessness of an immensely powerful engine. A machine vast, complicated, with a multitude of far-reaching arms, with many ponderous presses, carrying out mysterious and long-drawn processes of shaping and moulding, is the true image of the Irish education system. It grinds night and day; it obeys immutable and predetermined laws; it is as devoid of understanding, of sympathy, of imagination as is any other piece of machinery that performs an appointed task. Into it is fed all the raw human material in Ireland; it seizes upon it inexorably and rends and compresses and remoulds; and what it cannot refashion after the regulation pattern it ejects with all likeness of its former self crushed from it, a bruised and shapeless thing, thereafter accounted waste.

Our common parlance has become impressed with the conception of education as some sort of manufacturing process. Our children are the "raw material"; we desiderate for their education "modern methods" which must be "efficient" but "cheap"; we send them to Clongowes to be "finished"; when "finished" they are "turned out"; specialists "grind" them for the English Civil Service and the so-called liberal professions; in each of our great colleges there is a department known as the "scrap-heap," though officially called the Fourth Preparatory—the limbo to which the debris ejected by the machine is relegated. The stuff there is either too hard or too soft to be moulded to the pattern required by the Civil Service Commissioners or the Incorporated Law Society.

In our adoption of the standpoint here indicated there is involved a primary blunder as to the nature and functions of education. For education has not to do with the manufacture of things, but with fostering the growth of things. And the conditions we should strive to bring about in our education system are not the conditions favourable to the rapid and cheap manufacture of readymades, but the conditions favourable to the growth of living organisms—the liberty and the light and the gladness of a ploughed field under the spring sunshine.

In particular I would urge that the Irish school system of the future should give freedom—freedom to the individual of school, freedom to the individual teacher, freedom as far as may be to the individual pupil. Without freedom there can be no right growth; and education is properly the fostering of the right growth of a personality. Our school system must bring, too, some gallant inspiration. And with the inspiration it must bring a certain hardening. One scarcely knows whether modern sentimentalism or modern utilitarianism is the more sure sign of modern decadence. I would boldly preach the antique faith that fighting is the only noble thing, and that he only is at peace with God who is at war with the powers of evil.

In a true education system, religion, patriotism, literature, art and science would be brought in such a way into the daily lives of boys and girls as to affect their character and conduct. We may assume that religion is a vital thing in Irish schools, exist. There are no ideas there, no love of beauty, no love of is no room for knowledge, no heroic inspiration. And there heavens, for the earth is cumbered and the heavens are the educators detest the programme. Most of adherents of a dead creed who continue to mumble formulas and to make obeisance before an idol which they have found to be but a spurious divinity.

Mr. Dillon was to be sympathised with, even though pathetically premature, in looking to the then anticipated advent of Home Rule for a chance to make education what it should be. But I doubt if he and the others, who would have needed here is not reform, not even a revolution, but a vastly bigger thing—a creation. It is not a question of pulling machinery asunder and piecing it together again; it is a question of breathing into a dead thing a living soul.

WHAT PRICE JUSTICE?

I challenge the National Liberation Front in Newry to justify the shooting of young Dundalk Men in Newry on April 21st. According to a statement, they referred to these lads as thugs, and being responsible for attacks on their members. I say to them to produce evidence. As far as I am aware none of the Dundalk men are members of any branch of the Republican Movement.

In their statement, they say, that they punished the Dundalk lads in a just manner. I ask them, what was or is their crime? Spell it out to the parents of these lads!

On the Convention Elections, Judging by the percentage of votes for the Republican Clubs, they might as well have joined the boycott. It is becoming more evident that the people are fed up with British controlled Elections.

Any feud which exists between any group of Irishmen is to be regretted.

It is very easy for the Republican clubs to say they were defending themselves, especially when the people concerned are innocent victims.

FRA BROWNE
Member D.U.D.C. and L.C.C.

Pound still sinking

The pound tumbled to yet more record lows on foreign exchanges yesterday amid growing concern over Britain's inflation problems. Its devaluation against the currencies of Britain's major trading partners widened from Friday night's 23.1 per cent. to a worst ever 23.3. Almost £1,300m. was wiped off stock market share values.

VIETNAM AND N.I.

Sir, — Had the Americans declared their intention to withdraw from the affairs of Vietnam some years ago and proceeded to do so responsibly over a specified period of time, that unfortunate country could have been spared the untold suffering and destruction of an atrocious civil war and there would now be a better balance in political affairs. The standing of the U.S.A. in world politics would be immeasurably higher. Those prepared to accept her dollar and hold her enclave would not have been filled with false hopes, only to be inevitably betrayed.

If the British Government were even at this late hour to declare her intention to finally withdraw from Irish affairs (she will inevitably do) she would be affording to those whom she has induced to hold her enclave the opportunity to find their rightful place in the New Ireland which must emerge. It will be less costly for Britain both economically and politically to face reality now and to subsidise the transition rather than face the shame and chaos which will follow her sudden withdrawal when the British people refuse, as the American people did, further involvement in what to them is a sordid affair.

The British presence is divisive in Ulster and Anglo-Irish affairs. It is inevitable that the British Army should, as it is, by use of agents provocateurs, set Loyalists against Loyalist and Republican against Republican and both groups against each other. This is the classical and most economical military method of dealing with insurgents. Meanwhile, politics are powerless in the political vacuum which the British Government has created by obscuring her final intention. Yours, etc.,

HUGO FLINN.

Greystones,
Co. Wicklow.



Troops Out Movement

The war continues. It is five years now since Harold Wilson and the Labour Government first sent extensive reinforcements of British troops to the North of Ireland to join the garrisons which already existed there. We were informed then and many, many times since that the crisis would soon be over and that the 'Irish Problem' would at last be solved. Instead the conflict continues, with the death toll well over 1,000 and still no solution in sight.

For the army this situation is nothing new; since 1945 British soldiers have been involved in many campaigns like the present one in Ireland. Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus and Aden are examples which spring readily to mind, where the British Government used the troops to try to suppress freedom movements of the peoples of British Colonies who wanted to secure the basic democratic right of ruling their countries by themselves. In all these cases, the troops were withdrawn in the end, usually leaving the people whom the army had directly opposed as the new Government of those countries.

In Ireland the Army, in futile attempts to achieve the impossible objectives they have been set, have used increasingly desperate tactics: mass arrests followed by concentration camps and the use of brutal interrogation techniques, the use of 'Special' units like the Military Reaction Force and the secret and sinister men of the SAS, even the use of special criminal agents like the Littlejohns. All these solutions have failed. Britain cannot solve the problems that exist in Ireland, only the Irish people can do that, so let us leave them in peace to do just that.

We call on the broad Labour Movement in Britain to mobilise to force the Labour Party to break from its bi-partisan role on Ireland with the Tories. Labour can solve the 'Irish Problem', but only by withdrawing British troops and allowing the Irish people to settle their own affairs.

Commission on repression in Ireland

Jean-Paul Sartre and Noam Chomsky have announced the constitution in Venice of an "International Commission for the Study of Oppression in Ireland." Also involved in this initiative are members of the 'Bertrand Russell Tribunal' who investigated American war crimes in Vietnam.

The sponsors invite all men and women of conscience in Ireland and Britain to contribute to the tasks of the commission as experts or witnesses. Eight special committees of experts will be set up to investigate different aspects of oppression in Ireland including, for example, "Cultural genocide by the English establishment" and "Ireland as a training ground for British imperialism."

For information, literature, activities and Speakers send to T.O.M. 103 Hammersmith Road, London W14.

The creation of Northern Ireland

After the Anglo-Irish War 1920-21, control of 26 counties was reluctantly ceded to the IRISH GOVERNMENT, but in deference to a MINORITY UNIONIST group round Belfast, a separate Administration was set up for SIX of the NINE counties of ULSTER, but supreme overall authority was retained by the then BRITISH IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

The division of Ireland into two separate states was imposed by England under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. No Irish person from any part of Ireland voted for this Statute. Northern Ireland had never existed before as an entity in history or politics or economics, containing six of the nine counties of Ulster, it was a completely artificial state. The idea was to keep as large an area as possible, but with a safe Unionist majority.

The six Ulster counties which now made up the new Northern Ireland state had no natural boundaries or internal unity. The Unionists had a majority only in an unbroken area smaller than two counties. Of the one-and-a-quarter million people of the six counties at the time of Partition, more than half were concentrated in the city of Belfast, in County Antrim and the northern half of County Down. In this area there were 552,000 Unionists and 149,000 Nationalists. In the four and a half remaining counties, there were 281,000 Nationalists and 268,000 Unionists.

Democracy in the 6 counties

Thus although the people of the largest area of the state, if given the choice, would have declared for unity with the rest of Ireland, they would always be outvoted by the numerical strength of the Unionists in the other one-and-a-half counties (which on their own would be a totally unviable state).

It is the need to maintain this precarious situation which explains the notoriously undemocratic nature of the state in Northern Ireland — with its gerrymandering i.e. fixing of electoral boundaries to produce a desired result, discriminating against the Catholic population, and its police-state apparatus for enforcing "law and order".

A pattern of discrimination against Catholics laid down by the Stormont Government was reinforced by the local authorities. The discrimination, particularly in housing and jobs, preserved the relatively privileged status of the Protestant working class. It was part of the 'Orange ideology' which through the Orange Lodges tied the Protestant working people to the Protestant middle and upper classes. They were united by two main aspirations — the maintenance of the Union with Britain, and the maintenance of Protestant domination over Catholics, the 'Ascendancy'.

With more than one-third of the population continuously alienated from the state, Northern Ireland could only take the form of a prison state. It was, effectively, a police state disguised as a parliamentary democracy. The Special Powers Act gave the police sweeping powers of arrest and detention, powers which were admired by the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Vorster. Internment without trial was used as a sanction against the Catholic population as a whole whenever there was any sign of rebellion against their condition.

In more than fifty-four years, there has been no democracy in the north of Ireland.

British 'solutions' to 'the Irish problem'

For the past fifty-four years, successive British Governments have pursued a policy of maintaining Northern Ireland as

part of the United Kingdom.

Throughout this whole period there has been no stability in the north of Ireland and the situation has come to be known in Britain as "The Irish Problem".

All attempts at solving the crisis in the North of Ireland in the last five years have had one factor in common — they accepted as beyond question the existing Northern Ireland state as the framework for the solution. That this is the basis for British policy was confirmed by the decision of the then Conservative Government to conduct a poll of the Northern Ireland electorate in March 1973 on the question of the border. In our view, the question of the Partition of Ireland is one for the whole Irish people — and not for less than one-third of that people. The result of the Poll — in favour of the Border — was a foregone conclusion; but it did enable the Government to maintain that the policy was fundamentally democratic, which was the real purpose of the Poll.

What we question is whether democracy, and therefore peace and reconciliation is at all possible within the framework of Northern Ireland.

The right of self-determination

The essence of democracy in any nation is the right of the People as a whole to freely determine how they are to be governed.

As long as the British Government continue to seek solutions which maintain the existence of the Northern state, the conditions for sectarianism will remain, and the sectarian conflict will continue. There will also be no end to the war bet-

ween the Catholic community and the British Army. As a result of these conflicts, thousands of families have been uprooted from their homes since 1969. More than one thousand people have been killed. That is the existing blood-bath which must be stopped. If the British Army remains in Ireland to ensure the continued existence of Northern Ireland, the blood-bath will continue.

In our view, warnings about the dire consequences of a British withdrawal are hypocritical, because they are made by a Government which is pursuing a policy that makes anti-Catholic sectarian violence a continuing possibility. It is simply the latest example of a number of such warnings which have been advanced to justify

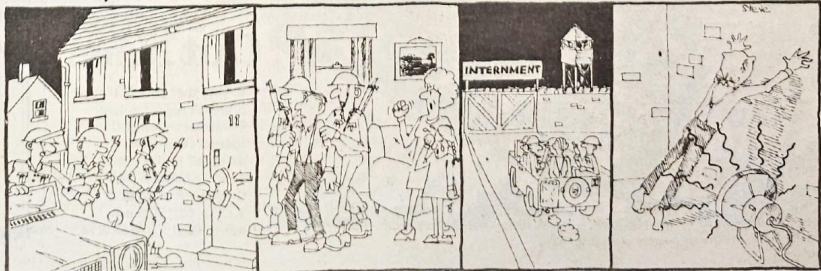


the intervention of the British Army in a colonial situation.

We do not claim that there will be no sectarian violence in Ireland following the British withdrawal. It is our view, however, that the preconditions for the long-term disappearance of sectarian violence in Ireland can only be created by ending the British presence and by granting to the Irish people as a whole the right of self-determination. In our view, this would lead to the ending of the existence of the separate Northern Ireland state, which has fostered that sectarianism. When that happens, there will no longer be any material basis for bigotry, and sectarianism will slowly fade away.

"...H.M Government will secure a guaranteed permanent role... for the Catholics..."

R. MAUDLING



The division of Ireland into two separate states was imposed by England under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. No Irish person from any part of Ireland voted for this Statute. Northern Ireland had never existed before as an entity in history or politics or economics, containing six of the nine counties of Ulster, it was a completely artificial state. The idea was to keep as large an area as possible, but with a safe Unionist majority.



In four of these six counties there was, and still is, a Nationalist majority, which is only outvoted by the numerical strength of the Unionists in the other two counties.

After the Anglo-Irish War 1920-21, control of 26 counties was reluctantly ceded to the IRISH GOVERNMENT, but in deference to a MINORITY UNIONIST group round Belfast, a separate Administration was set up for SIX of the NINE counties of ULSTER, but supreme overall authority was retained by the then BRITISH IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT. The myth of geographic and ethnic unity with Britain was fostered only to deceive the uninformed. It is revealing to hear the refutation of this absurdity from the lips of no fewer than three contemporary British Prime Ministers

Asquith — Hansard vol. xxxix col. 787

"You can no more split Ireland into two parts than you can split England or Scotland into parts. Ireland is a nation; not two nations, but one nation. There are few cases in history, and, as a student of history in a humble way, I myself know none, of a nationality at once so distinct, so persistent, and so assimilative as the Irish."

Ramsay MacDonald — Hansard vol. xlix col. 938

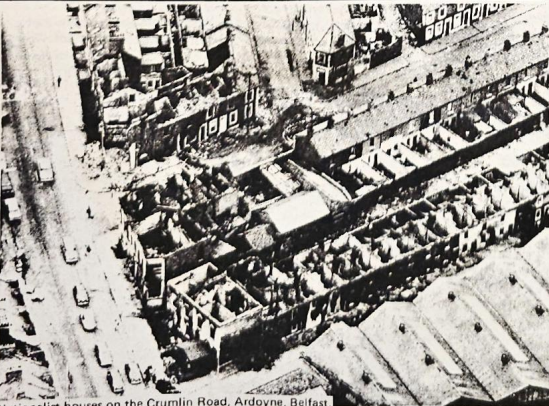
"The first question is: Is Ulster to deny the rights of the rest of Ireland to self-Government? We say, 'No, emphatically not.' Arising out of that, and a somewhat narrower question, is this: Is Ulster going to deny the right of Ireland ever to speak and act and govern itself as a UNITED NATIONALITY? We say, 'No, emphatically not.'"

Lloyd George — Hansard vol. cxxvii col. 1322

"If you asked the people of Ireland what plan they would accept, by an emphatic majority they would say — 'We want independence and an Irish Republic.' There is absolutely no doubt about that. THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF IRELAND, NOW BY A CLEAR MAJORITY, HAVE DECLARED IN FAVOUR OF INDEPENDENCE."

"... So far as Ireland itself and Irish affairs are concerned, the Labour Party is unequivocally prepared to allow Ireland to assume whatever form of self-determination the great mass of the Irish people desire, with whatever constitution, under whatever designation and with whatever arrangements for local autonomy, and thereby allow Ireland to face its own difficulties in its own way."

— Passage from Labour Commission report on Ireland presented at the Labour Party Special Conference on December 29th, 1921



Nationalist houses on the Crumlin Road, Ardoyne, Belfast, burnt out in the Orange pogrom of August, '69

CONFERENCE ON THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT AND IRELAND

Saturday, May 24th, 1975
Collegiate Theatre,
Gordon St., London WC1
10 a.m./5.30 p.m.

SESSION ONE

Role of the British Army in Ireland and its projected role in Britain; repression in Ireland developments in the Labour Movements and in the Army.

SESSION TWO

Ireland's right to self-determination; why the British Labour movement should support this right; towards a lasting solution.



SPEAKERS

The following speakers have been invited:-
Joan Maynard, MP;
Dr. Tim Shallice from the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science; Harry McShane; Michael Knowles, Secretary Hackney Trades Council; a leading member of the Association for legal Justice in Belfast; a prominent member of the Irish Labour Movement.



Troops Out Now!

Ensure that your T.U. branch/Trades Council/Students' Union etc. sponsors and sends delegates to this Conference. For details and Credentials—Contact: T.O.M. 103, Hammer-smith Road, London W14.

B Specials to be recalled



EX-B SPECIALS in Portadown, Co. Armagh, are 'cautiously optimistic' that their sectarian armed force will be re-established soon.

They have had an encouraging letter from Tory spokesman on Northern Ireland, Airey Neave.

Vigilantes

The Ulster Special Constabulary Association (USCA) branch of ex-B Specials at Portadown said

that when force was restored they would 'put an end to the horror, destruction and atrocities which have beset Ulster for the past five years'.

The role of the B Specials before they were officially disbanded in 1970 was that of Orange vigilante gangs, which terrorized the minority ghetto areas for decades.

Many of the thugs who were in the Specials joined the Ulster Defence Regiment, the reserve which replaced them, while others became the backbone of para-military Loyalist groups.

They have continued to campaign for the

refound and have by the United Council. Last cabinet para-military launch campaign. According to their recent statement, the role played by men of the Constabulary years. A special force Neave well in

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH LABOUR

EVENTS IN N. IRELAND ARE NOW MOVING RAPIDLY TO AN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS CLIMAX. THE ELECTIONS ARE LIKELY TO RESULT IN THE ELECTION OF THE UNITED ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL. WITH A CHOICE BETWEEN HANDING OVER PORTADOWN OR CONTINUING WITH DIRECT RULE. EITHER REPRESSION.

A CHANGE IN POLICY IS ESSENTIAL. THE CURRENT POLITICAL APPROACH OF BRITAIN TO IRELAND. LEGISLATION WILL NOT WORK. THERE CAN BE NO SOLUTION. THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND MUST DECIDE THEIR FUTURE.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR IN IRELAND, CALLED BY THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT, IS A CALL TO SECTIONS OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO DISMISSTROOPS FROM IRELAND, AND THE WAY FORWARD TO A JUST AND RIGHT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

WE THEREFORE URGE THE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO

Signed by:
William Wilson MP (Coventry SE), Joan Maynard MP (Southall), Jeff Rooker (Birmingham Perry Barr), (Northampton North); Jo Richardson MP (Barnsley), Frank McGuire MP (Fermanagh & S. Tyrone), (Lambeth Central), Leo Aulsebrook (Pontypool), L. H. (Lab. Dail Eireann), John O'Connell TD (Lab. Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

hope called

refounding of the force, and have been backed up by the ultra-rights of the United Ulster Unionist Council.

Last year the Labour cabinet retreated under para-military threats and launched a major recruiting campaign for the UDR.

According to the USCA statement, Neave wrote to them recently that he was conscious of the 'valuable role played by the gallant men of the Special Constabulary down the years'.

A spokesman for the ex-B Specials said that Neave was 'apparently well informed'.

N LETTER TO THE OUR MOVEMENT

MOVING RAPIDLY TOWARDS A NEW AND POTENTIALLY THE ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. THE ELECTION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS COUNCIL. THE GOVERNMENT WILL THEN BE FACED OVER POWER TO MESSRS. PAISLEY, CRAIG AND WEST. EITHER WAY MEANS CONTINUED VIOLENCE AND

L. THE GOVERNMENT MUST BREAK WITH THE TRAD- IRELAND. MILITARY REPRESSION AND REPRESSIVE RE CAN BE NO MORE BRITISH-MADE "SOLUTIONS". IDE THEIR OWN FUTURE.

LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATES ON MAY 24TH. MOVEMENT, IS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL TO DISCUSS THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN TO A JUST AND LASTING PEACE BASED ON THE SELF-DETERMINATION.

OUR MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT THIS CONFERENCE.

Maynard MP (Sheffield Brightside); Sydney Bidwell MP (Ealing, am Perry Barr); Stan Thorne MP (Preston S.); Maureen Colquhoun MP (Barking); Dennis Canavan MP (Stirlingshire West); S. Tyrone; Andrew Bennet (Stockport N.); Marcus Lipton MP (Stockport); L.P. O'Connor (G.L.C. Alderman); David Thornley TD (Lab. Dail Eireann); Michael Mullen, General Secretary, ers' Union.



ALTERNATIVE WHITE PAPER ON IRELAND

Troops Out Movement 15p



The Troops Out Movement organises support in Britain for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army from Ireland and the right of the Irish people to self-determination. In this booklet the T.O.M. gives an interpretation of Irish history and of Anglo-Irish relations in the past and present which supports its demands. To this reviewer the account given in this booklet seems to be, in the main, plain common sense about the subject and its attitudes founded in plain common decency. But common sense and common decency are not common commodities, and it is good to see them here.

The main argument of the book is that the British Army is in Ireland in its traditional role, of repression. This is because the British are supporting the Loyalists in insisting on a solution in terms of the six county state. This State requires a sectarian basis and violence to keep it in its precarious existence. It was undemocratically foisted on the Irish people, undemocratically maintained, and is now being undemocratically defended. There will be no end to violence in Ireland until Britain ceases to maintain partition by force, and allows the entire Irish people to determine their future.

The authors document fully their claim that the British Army never acted in a peace-keeping role, but to contain the Nationalist resistance to Stormont after the RUC and B-Specials role shown to be incapable of defeating the Catholic protest. Various attempted solutions to IRA campaign are well analysed and the booklet is full of interesting and thought-provoking items such as the following.

"The SDLP, while winning the overwhelming majority of Catholic votes, by no means enjoyed political dominance in the Catholic areas. The Catholic community showed itself to be quite capable of giving its votes to the S.D.L.P., while giving the Provisional I.R.A. the degree of support necessary to allow it to continue the guerrilla warfare."

There is an excellent account of the undemocratic and anti-working class nature of the U.W.C. strike, including the fact that it was not run by the U.W.C. but by a co-ordinating committee which included Ian Paisley and Bill Craig. The gradual rise in Protestant support for the strike is seen as resulting from the total capitulation of the British Government to the strikers, mainly due to pressure from the British Army, which refused to curb Protestant violence.

The hypocritical talk of "preventing a bloodbath" is exposed. The author shows up the irony that the British Army is supposed to be here to prevent Protestants from massacring Catholics, yet they are only prepared to conduct a war against the Catholics. The only way to prevent sectarianism from continuing would be to destroy the basis of the sectarian six county state.

"ALTERNATIVE WHITE PAPER ON IRELAND"

Single copies 15p (10 for £1.)
Available: Eire Nua Bookshop,
170 Falls Road, Belfast.



A British Army snatch squad in action

Major General A.J. Deane-Drummond had his book "Riot Control" published recently. The book deals with the possibility that troops might have to be used to maintain "civil order" on the British mainland and expounds on the themes already introduced into army hierarchy thinking by Brigadier Frank Kitson with his "Low Intensity Operations". The new book concludes by the General writing that sev-

eral new methods of riot control must be considered for the future. "One might be to increase the effectiveness of the limited police manpower by improving their non-lethal equipment ... the only alternative would be to make use of regular army units, if they were available and well trained in riot control. This should present no problem so long as the situation in Northern Ireland continues."

Did you notice that U.T.V. thought so little of the election results that a mere fifty minutes after starting on Friday afternoon they switched over to televise the Newmarket races — which didn't show up due to stable boys strike. Back to the studios for more results and discussion of the election? Not on your life. They showed instead an old movie film of Abbott and Costello.

The B.B.C. on the other hand only became bored at Seven o'clock when they went west with that hero and Indian fighter Randolph Scott. That was how important the media thought the Convention Elections results were.

Before the elections — "The Boycott is a joke — We will have greater representation than ever — The U.U.U.C. will not even get a majority." (Paddy Devlin).

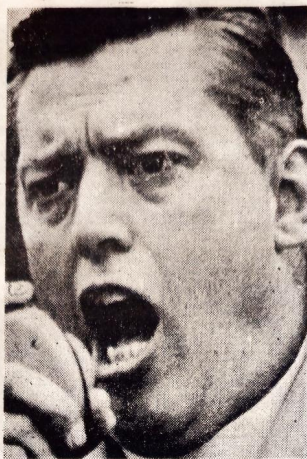
After the elections — "The Unionists have adopted a hard line attitude following the election — They have shown no charity and will give no mercy. The terrible realisation is dawning among the nationalist people that it will be useless to look for protection from the Dublin government." (Paddy Devlin, Sunday World, 4th May, 1975).

"The S.D.L.P. is placed in a difficult position. For it risks arousing the disapproval of the British Government by behaving intransigently in the Convention and risks electoral decimation by compromising too much. However, as one S.D.L.P. leader said this weekend, in the end they will have little alternative but to accept whatever they get from the Loyalists, for if they were to opt out of the political process entirely they would be handing the initiative back to the Provisional I.R.A. — who now move to a more central role on the N.I. scene than they have occupied since the fall of Stormont. They are certainly to reject any Loyalist prescription for the future of N.I. and they have the ability at least to ensure that no political stability ensues from any form of political arrangement that is agreed between the U.U.U.C. and the British Government." (Vincent Browne Sunday Independent 4/5/75).

One of the many boasts of Paisley is that thousands of Catholics vote for him in his North Antrim area — one of the good points of the P.R. system shows this is a lie — because only 24 of his votes were transferred to the SDLP candidate.

The Northern Ireland Labour Party issued a pamphlet costing 15 pence explaining their policy for the elections. If they were going to sell their souls politically they would have to explain with the help of their **Ulster Workers Association friends** why they deserved support from the Unionist voters. So they asked the first question — Why do we need a pro-union Labour Party? and their answer — The traditional unionist parties have all proved inadequate to the task of defending the Union — the N.I.L.P. can and will succeed where the reactionary unionists have failed — The N.I.L.P. is determined to secure the maximum possible labour representation in the Convention from which we can expand. The author of this pamphlet Alan Carr lecturer in the Coleraine University stood for Derry. Result — 328 votes against his friend of the U.W.C. strike days Glenn Barr who received 7883. Remember Carr was a member of publicity committee during the strike.

LIAM MAC



A Message for Ulster Today

The powers that be are ordained of God; whoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. Rom. 13.1. 2.
READ YOUR BIBLE DAILY

"The recent mouthings of Ulster's arch-enemy, Wilson, can be traced to their true source. He speaks for those who voted him into parliament — the papist electorate of his Liverpool division. In the ultimate, the apparent arbiters of Northern Ireland's fate is this same popes colony for which Wilson is the mouthpiece, and by the courtesy of which he holds his Parliamentary seat." (Protestant Telegraph 16/12/72).

"When the Republican Clubs decided to participate in the Convention elections, they had in mind to acknowledge the de facto existence of two states in Ireland." (Stephen Preston, Sunday News 4/5/75).

I have very little sympathy for the kidnapped U.D.A. leader Hugh McVeigh. I have been hearing things about this character's background.

Away back in 1966 on the 50th Anniversary of Easter Week, a well-known Protestant trade unionist was one of those who took part in the parade on the Falls Road. He was also a shop steward of the A.T.G.W. union in the Aircraft Factory. When it became known that he had taken part in the Republican Parade, his life was made a misery by the one and only Hugh McVeigh who started a campaign against the lad. So much so that he lost not only his position as a shop steward, but had to apply for another job in the factory hoping that he could have peace.

Hugh McVeigh in turn became the shop steward, but he was so stupid in the job that he was also soon replaced — and now he has been promoted to captain of the UDA.

"The plantation myth is as dangerous as it is inaccurate. The Protestants of Ulster are no mere planters of the 16th century. Our history stems back to St. Patrick, and beyond. Ulster is ours by right." (Protestant Telegraph 20/1/73).

Paddy O'Hanlon of the S.D.L.P. still keeps crying about the poor chances of his party getting a share of the spoils in any new set-up in the six counties, through the refusal of Paisley-Craig-West to even consider power-sharing.

He is quoted as saying "Their refusal demonstrates that little has changed the Loyalist attitude in the North since 1968. Their refusal to recognise the right of the anti-unionist population in the North since 1968, to an Irish aspiration, clearly demonstrates the blatantly fascist nature of their policies."

And Paddy goes on "The ceasefire has exposed the cynical machinations of Loyalist politicians, Loyalist para-military groups, and the British Government. Loyalist groups have assassinated hundreds of innocent Catholics over the past few years, and since the cease-fire came into being, the stark barbarity of these thugs has become chillingly clear."

And yet knowing all this, our Paddy along with the rest of the S.D.L.P. carpet-baggers want to help those same thugs in the setting up of a Convention from which they will proclaim their right to rule for another generation.

Poor Paddy won't even get the chance of sharing the crumbs — the people chased him.

"If the whole of the Short Strand were attacked, I do not say that the Army would not go to the aid of the beleaguered inhabitants. But if the Saracens happened to run out of petrol on the way, would you really be all that surprised?" (Stephen Preston, Sunday News 20/4/75).

THE PETER ARNLIS COLUMN

At least 20lbs of commercial jealousy was used in one of the most dastardly attacks on Sinn Féin during the whole boycott campaign. A statement from the Alliance Party stressed that none of their units was involved. Spokesman, Oliver Napier, said that the fact that the attack was launched from a vehicle in West Eelfast and not Cromwell Road where most — if not all of their support is based indicated that the middle class were not this time involved. The BBC in Belfast received a telephone call purporting to come from the Young Sycophants (a group which has close ties with the SDLP). They accepted responsibility and stated that further attacks could not be ruled out. The British Army said that there were no casualties apart from the occupants of the vehicle who were later arrested very drunk and very nervous. They split the beans.

The attack last Wednesday evening occurred as Sinn Féin workers were sticking up posters on a wall at Greenan, Andersonstown. Local residents said that at approximately 7.30 p.m. a red cortina with three male occupants entered the district. A loudspeaker was produced and aimed at the workers as the car passed by. The foul language of the

jittery voice missed and the car then sped out of the estate avoiding the wrath of the locals.

Conor O'Clery of the Irish Times reports this isn't the first instance of an attack of this nature. Just last Friday Councillor Paddy Grant who has in the past been occasionally mistaken as an onion seller, claimed to journalists that he had come under similar attack as he left Ladas Drive. Asked if he had identified his attackers as members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Mr. Grant replied to the Pressman, "How did you know?"

The apparent departure in SDLP strategy has worried many party members. At a special Press Conference party leader, Gerry Brit, denying that he was as inconsistent as a weathercock, clarified the party's aims and launched its new emblem. He confirmed that the SDLP had accepted protection from the Young Sycophants. The party's aims, he said, were now identical to the se of the UPNI and he emphasised the need for a strong link with Britain. The new emblem was an insignia of a large dove bearing an olive branch (their ostensible aims) trampling on and smashing

to smithereens an Irish tricolour (their actual aims).

When the results of Thursday's election were published and the three Stick candidates were asked to explain the low number of votes cast for themselves in West Belfast, Mr. Bertie McDonagh said with great conviction and apparent credibility, "Great Scott, what a mistake to make. We thought the election wasn't until Friday!"

In a dramatic development immediately following the UUUC election victory Mr. Brian Faulkner, leader of the UPNI, was arrested and detained in a dawn swoop by Security Forces. It is believed that traces of commercial jealousy were found on documents hidden below floorboards in one of the twelve bedrooms in his Co. Down Flat. And on Saturday morning Mr. Faulkner was transferred by helicopter to Long Kesh where he will be held under an Interim Custody Order. A loud cheer heard in the Moira district the same afternoon was not for West Ham winning the cup but came from Cages 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of Long Kesh where the lads gathered to welcome the new arrival.

They were shot in fairly large D.M.'s and all were smiling. Mr. Faulkner's immediate request for parole was refused. Reports from the grapevine suggest that Mr. Faulkner fell for every trick in the book, including that when the boys sent him to the Cage gate to ask the Scraws for a bar of Cadbury's fruit and nut

and half a pound of dolly mixtures please.

The leader of the SDLP upon hearing the news of the ex-premier's internment called for a rent and rates strike and said that his party would not engage in talk until Mr. Faulkner was released. Mr. Faulkner's chances of release are now very slim, and he could spend up to four years in Long Kesh. In a letter to the Irish News, Mr. Faulkner publicly disavowed the efforts of the SDLP to gain his release, saying that they were opportunistic and wouldn't climb on his back to gain votes. It had worked in the past mused Mr. Brit, who, realising that this fish wasn't going to catch a whale, quickly abandoned the Civil Disobedience campaign.

THE SQUIRM

Conor Cruise O'Brien's fait accompli analysis (that power-sharing isn't on, the majority say so, and the SDLP should accept it) threatened to rupture any rapport which may have existed between the SDLP and the Free State Government. Almost immediately Paddy Devlin issued a statement dropping his size 10's in the middle of it — for although there was no deliberate subterfuge Devlin revealed a logic which leads inevitably toward a certain dependence for protection upon armed Republicans in ghetto areas in the event of civil war; "We are being abandoned by the only element that would cancel out overwhelming Loyalist elements. The Free Staters abandoned the North in 1921! Unlike the United Ulster Unionist Coalition, which is interwoven from the echelons of the paramilitaries, the RUC,

the Reservists and UDR to their hierarchies, the SDLP, the RUC, hierarchies, the SDLP (so-called representatives of the minority) have held on brief with the real protectors (the IRA) of the minority community. When the minority community is in difficulty the SDLP's aren't to be seen.

It was always in the minds of Fitt, Hume and Devlin that the mere threat of Free State intervention would make the Loyalists amenable and that actual aid in the event of a crisis would make everything above board, respectable and would preserve their political careers throughout the resulting crisis. That they believed in the Free State as a guarantor demonstrates their naivety. They thought they were prepared for either event.

Now with the intransigence of the UUUC, a British evacuation looming close, and the withdrawal of support for themselves from the Free State government they have started to panic. Devlin whinges about getting "stabbed in the back." For who now is going to protect the minority community?

The Republican Movement, who have shown great foresight and who have suffered in the past from SDLP repression, are now poised for any crisis and are confident of success. Discrimination, inequality, State violence and Repression are all inevitabilities of the Six county colony. Resistance and the socialist political ideal — both inspired by the tradition of Irish Republicanism — were the response of the People when repression became intolerable. The SDLP need not attempt to renegotiate their treachery or qualify their support for us.

Paddy Devlin should take a leaf out of Gerry Fitt's book and buy himself a house in London with a view to becoming demised.



CHIVALRY by Roger Casement

CHIVALRY DIES when Imperialism begins. The one must kill the other. A chivalrous people must respect in others what they strive to maintain in themselves. Hence it comes that when the age of empire begins the age of chivalry dies. So it has ever been. Rome the Republic, Rome the Nation, had her knights and knighthood, and the ideals of knighthood are the laws of chivalry. But Rome the Empire lost her ideals as she extended her frontiers, and when an Augustus or Claudius replaced a Cincinnatus or Horatius, Rome, the emporium of the world, had all things but knighthood and chivalry. That, the pearl of great price, had been lost when the pure heart of a warrior people, fighting for an ideal, was changed by the touch of wealth into base metal. The buckler of gold replaced the sword of defence, when the heart had lost all worth guarding. Rome was the first great illustration, but not the last in history, that where wealth accumulates men must decay. To be chivalrous we need not to be poor but we must cost money a poorer thing than honour. Love of money will surely kill all that is brave and chivalrous, all that is pitiful and pure in a man's heart. Hence it was that the young man was told to "sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." And the command, mark you, was given to a "young man". Better still if we plant it in the boy's heart. It will already be a tree bearing fruit when he, too, is a young man. Christianity did not beget chivalry, but it codified it. Probably the two most chivalrous races in the world have been two non-Christian races—the Irish before the coming of Patrick, and the Japanese.

Na Fianna Eireann, long before Christianity came to our island, revealed in their conduct the very virtues that Christian chivalry, in later ages, inculcated as essential to the order of knighthood. So, too, "Bushido" inspired in the Japanese a spirit of sacrifice, of daring, and of unselfish devotion to chief and clan that in our own day has made the armies of the Mikado more powerful than the mighty hosts of Imperial Russia. But the doom of "Bushido" is sure and certain when imperialism replaces patriotism in the Japanese heart. The chivalry of the sons of the Samurai that filled the trenches of Port Arthur with bodies for their comrades to scale over will be buried in the ravaged valleys of Formosa and in the desecrated homes of the Koreans. For a nation can only retain its chivalry by retaining its nationality; and it destroys this when it assails the national life of another people.



It is because Ireland is guiltless in this, above all other lands, that we may hope to revive in her, as national life revives, the guiding impulse of her earlier years. "When Ireland at last emerges, standing out clear on the world's horizon, her conscience will be Irish indeed—that will never fail—but it will be also the conscience of the earth. None can hate her, none ever will, or can. Because of her own millennium-enduring tragedy she will love this suffering world, and because of her sufferings, her patience, her faith, her hope and her heroic and unconquerable resolve, the world will love her." (Standish O'Grady, in *The Gates of the North*).

The heroes are coming. That is the word to Ireland. Have you ever looked upon the face of Ireland, that strangely beautiful face, and asked yourself the question, "When will the sleeper awaken?" And if so, have you not seen, oh! frail of vision, that she you thought sleeping was all the time asking you a question? Ireland is always asking a question. She asks it of every Irish boy when he comes "to the age of arms". She asks it of every daughter of Erin when the women's heart begins to beat in her bosom.

That question? We all know it. The answer is what we do not yet know. The heart of the boy you must find it; the strong arm of the man deliver it. And the purpose of chivalry is to fit the boy to be this man. The Irish knight of to-morrow, the boy of to-day, must train himself in patient self-sacrifice, in physical and mental discipline, and walk in the footsteps of Fionn and his boy knights to answer this question Ireland puts to so many of her children. And in this answer the daughters of Ireland too must share.

"Rise from your knees, oh daughters, rise.
Our mother still is young and fair:
Let the world look into your eyes
And see her beauty shining there.
Grant of that beauty but one ray,
Heroes shall spring from every hill.
To-day shall be as yesterday—
The red blood flows in Ireland still."

The boys of to-day, if they bend them to the holy task, shall be the chosen men of to-morrow to prove that the red blood flows in Ireland still.

"Within thousands of those 'small curly heads' thoughts have been kindled that Dr. Whately wots not of. Under many a thin, poor little jacket, who can tell what a world of noble passion has been set aglow, what haughty aspirations for them and their ancient land:

what infinite pity; what hot shame for their trampled country and the dishonoured name of their fathers: what honest wistful rage." Thus John Mitchel in 1848.

It is the task of our school of chivalry to arm and equip this "honest wistful rage" to accomplish the great task set before the unarmed boys of Ireland.

The spirit of chivalry it was that called Fionn Mac Cumhail and his Fianna Eireann to guard the coasts of Ireland near two thousand years ago; and it was the self-same spirit, manifesting itself in the self-same way, that inspired the Fenians of fifty years ago.

What an inspiration of chivalry was theirs after seven hundred years of the most ruthless tyranny the world has ever known, their far-off memory awakened in their remote descendants, among the young men of Ireland in 1860, the self-same spirit of self-sacrifice, the self-same determination to achieve, through trained and daring manhood, the freeing of the shores of Erin. Although the Fenians of the nineteenth century failed against the imperialism of a later day, they did not strive, they did not suffer, they did not die in vain. Inheritors of a chivalrous past, they have handed on the torch to us.

Would you have a picture of true knighthood, you will find it in the prison cell of the Fenian soldiers of 1866. And would you have a picture of the dastard and liar, of him against whom the laws of chivalry were aimed, you will find it in the conduct of those "officers and gentlemen" who tried the Fenian soldiers by court-martial and doomed them to the gallows, the branding iron, the convict's cell and the convict hulk. Here are the two types—Irish chivalry personified in the convicted soldier-felon, and felony personified in their judges.

The heroes are coming. I quoted just now: nay, the heroes have come, the heroes are with us now.

The boys of Ireland will keep green the graves of the Fenians and will keep their memories in their hearts, their example ever before them. The inheritance of chivalry is with us still—a motherland to serve, a fair country to be freed. For this we shall need all the chivalry of the Irish heart, all the training and manhood of the Irish body, all the service, devotion, and self-sacrifice of our boys and young men. The true knight is he who keeps the boy's heart in the trained body of the man.

FIANNA HANDBOOK, 1914.

The above article 'Chivalry' by Roger Casement is interesting and in some ways prophetic, when one considers the fate that overtook the Japanese when they became infected with Imperialism. He had rejected Imperialism and had espoused the cause of Ireland in ringing words:—

"The cause of Ireland is greater than the cause of any party; higher than the worth of any man; richer in its poverty than all the riches of Empire." No wonder he hastened to the assistance of Countess Markievicz and Bulmer Hobson and when sending them money in 1911 gloried in the thought of going to inspect the Fianna. He was anxious that the young men (and women) of Ireland should be directed into the pathways that led to service for the nation, that England would no longer be able to absorb them into her armies, navies and police forces.

"There are two parties in Ireland," he wrote, "—the Irish people and the English Garrison. To tighten her hold on the life of her hold on the life of the Irish people — to keep them in subjection — to keep them poor and uneducated and miserable, that they may serve her interests better and their own worse, England keeps the Garrison in our country."

"England has always sought to get the young men of our nation into her police force, her navy and her army. They make soldiers second to none in the world. And by enlisting them in her service she not only falls the ranks of her own fighters, but takes away the young and the strong from Ireland and leaves this land weak and defenceless." With the formation of Na Fianna Eireann he realised Ireland would no longer be defenceless, hence his support was immediately forthcoming.

The young men of Na Fianna Eireann must have been present in his mind when speaking from the dock on the conclusion of his trial, he expressed himself thus:—

"Ireland has outlived the failure of all her hopes — and yet she still hopes. Ireland has seen her sons — aye, and her daughters, too — suffer from generation to generation always for the same cause, meeting always a cause, meeting always the fate, and always at the hands of the same power; and always a fresh generation has passed on to withstand the same oppression. For if English authority be omnipotent — a poorer, as Mr. Gladstone phrased it, that reaches to the very ends of the earth — Irish hopes exceed the dimensions of that power, excel its authority, and renews with each generation the claims of the last." And should not the Free Staters and Fitt and his S.D.L.P. and others be warned as he uttered these words: — "The cause that begets this indomitable persistency, the faculty of preserving the ough centuries of misery the remembrance of lost liberty, this surely is the noblest cause men ever strove for, ever lived for, ever died for." And he testified to the truth of his speech.

The cause so dear to his heart which so many Fianna espoused in the years of strife through which we have been passing, because of their striving, we may be, hopefully, passing into a glorious tomorrow.

1970 elections was twice the SDLP vote on last Thursday).

Only 17,000 of the 42,000 anti-Unionist voters of Armagh supported the SDLP on Thursday while 3,730 supported the Republican Clubs. Here again we have clear evidence of massive support for our boycott. In Fermanagh-South Tyrone the combined anti-Unionist vote was down by almost 11,000 votes from Frank Maguire's poll in October last year. In South Down 23,664 of the 42,000 Nationalist voters supported the SDLP which is a drop of 6,000 from Sean Holywood's 30,000 votes last October.

The following report of the Sinn Féin Ulster Executive Research Department was given at a Press Conference after the boycott campaign:

In Derry 30,000 voters did not cast their votes at all. In the 1974 February election Hugh Logue obtained 23,000 and Mickie Montgomery, 4,000 or 27,000 votes entirely. On 6th October, 1974 John Hume issued a statement in the Sunday Press and Independent that his research team had found that in the February elections 18,000 Nationalist voters had not gone to the polls. He outlined where these voters lived i.e. 2,500 in Bogside, Brandywell and asked them to come out for him so that he could defeat Unionist Ross. In fact they did not oblige. Hume did however take a couple of thousand votes from Montgomery. Our campaign has increased those 18,000 abstainees to 21,000 votes or approximately half of the anti-Unionist vote. Eddie McAteer and Eamon McCann between them polled 37,000 votes in June 1970.

It is agreed that the North Antrim Constituency of 100,000 electorate is 25% Nationalist (See Irish Times article by O'Connor O'Leary on last June's bye-election a few days prior to the contest). Of these 25,000 only 10,000 of them voted SDLP and it is well known that very few in the Toombridge Moneyglass area have exercised the franchise in the past six elections.

There was also a very effective campaign in North Belfast, especially in the New Lodge Road and Ardoyne areas. All in all the campaign was waged very vigorously, very extensively. Every area in Northern Ireland was covered from Portlough to Lough Erne, from Killeel to Derry City and above all every area reacted — some massively like Carrickmore, South Derry and Crossmaglen but all effectively, like North Belfast and North Antrim.

INTIMIDATION

Sinn Féin workers were really intimidated by the British Army of occupation. An ex-internee who was handing out boycott leaflets was questioned and publicly held by the British Army for two hours outside La Salle station.

The chairman of the Belfast Comhairle Ceannair had to stand by for that length of time until his work was released.

An hour later when a group of men Sinn Féin members relieved two women observers outside the same school the British Army again swooped on them, searched their car, checked their identity, ripped off their posters etc.

Such incidents happened in every constituency in the six counties in the last four weeks

NATIONAL GRAVES
ASSOCIATION
(Moy Branch)

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VOL. EUGENE MARTIN

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Michael Gaughan Commemoration



MICHAEL GAUGHAN
BALLINA, MAYO.
Died on Hunger Strike
Parkhurst Prison
June, 1974

Sunday, 1st June

IN BALLINA, CO. MAYO

Oration by Joe Cahill, Belfast.

All enquiries to:
G. GINTY, U.D.C., Ballina,
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Joe McKelvey Pipe Band)

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Anyone who has watched the history of the O'Hare family from Belfast, can only be disgusted with the way they have been systematically victimised by the agents of British Imperialism in this country, both North and South. Most people will be aware of the story of how Gerry O'Hare was interned, how his wife Rita was shot and critically injured by British soldiers and that the family then moved South.

The account of the way this family has been harassed continues in the Free State. The Special Branch never let up in their efforts to make life miserable for the O'Hares. Rita was forced to make several court appearances on a result of an R.U.C. attempt to have her extradited and soon after that long process had ended and the extradition attempt had failed, her husband Gerry, who was a journalist with "An Phoblacht" was arrested, tried and convicted of membership of the I.R.A. by the non-jury Special Criminal Court. While he was serving his sentence he was given another 12 months - a blatant case on internment with trial. Let it be remembered that while all this was going on, the Special Branch were still at work, badgering Rita night and day.

One could be forgiven for thinking that after Gerry was released from Portlaoise Prison the family might have been able to expect some peace but it was only then that the Free State repressive machine dealt out its most cruel blow. In a court case in which no evidence of any account was produced against her, Rita was sentenced to 3 years penal servitude in Limerick Prison by the Special Criminal Court. She was charged with possession of explosives at Portlaoise Prison and the court proceedings in her case are a prime example of why so many Republicans are incarcerated in Southern prisons today. The verdict of the 3 judges, O'Hagan, Ryan and Pringle gives the lie to the myth can one expect anything remotely resembling a fair trial from the Special Criminal Court. This is a summary of the evidence produced: (1) Two female warders swore that Rita was thoroughly searched on entering the prison and that an explosives detector had registered a negative when used on her.

(2) One prison warder said he saw an object being passed at the visit but could not be sure that it was Rita's hand that passed it. Two other warders said they saw Rita's hand meet that of Peter Lynch but they saw no object being passed. Evidence was given that among the objects passed around were cigarettes, matches, sweets, a signet ring and a tin of "roll-your-own" tobacco.

(3) No fingerprints were found on the explosives which is strange when you consider that Rita was convicted of possession.

(4) Rita O'Hare swore that she had not passed the explosives to Peter Lynch (who got 6 years for the same charge as she did), and he swore that Rita had not passed them to him.

The defence barrister, in his summing up, said to the judges that 'no Irish jury could convict on such evidence' which he also described as 'outlandish' and while the judges were considering their verdict (or supposed to be) everyone thought that Rita would be acquitted. You can imagine the disbelief, the anger, the sadness and the disgust when Pringle announced the verdict of guilty and, just to close off all the loopholes, he refused to appeal. If ever an example was needed to show that the Special Criminal Court is simply an instrument of repression and completely under the control of the Free State Government, then Rita O'Hare's case is just that.

The tale does not end here. Limerick Prison is one of the oldest prisons in Ireland and conditions in it are very bad. To condemn a young mother of 3 children to spend 3 years in a hell-hole like it takes a callousness and a cruelty not normally found in human beings, and the attitude of the prison staff shows the same mentality at work. This attitude is shown by the way they have treated Rita since she arrived at the prison. Letters sent to her are not being given to her and some of the letters she has

DUBLIN GOVERNMENT'S BRUTAL TREATMENT OF RITA O'HARE



sent out of the prison have been stopped. Her husband, Gerry took the 3 children down to visit her a fortnight ago. Firstly he was left waiting in the street in Limerick for 2 hours and when he was finally admitted he saw his wife in a glass cage with 6 little holes drilled in it. Naturally enough she refused the visit but as she hadn't seen the children for a month, Gerry left them in the visiting room to let them see their mother for a while. Five minutes later the children were ejected hysterical onto the street, having been manhandled by warders, and Rita also was grabbed by the throat by a male warder and flung to the ground where she hurt her hand. The Governor of the prison has later suggested to Gerry that his 8-year-old child "assaulted" a warder 6'4" in height - laughable if it wasn't so tragic. Rita is only allowed visits from her immediate family, supposedly because she is considered to be a high security prisoner but in reality because the intention of all that has been done to her in the last 3 years has been to break her spirit and restricting her visits and making them unbearable is just the logical extension of this. However repression has not broken her spirit and what is more, it never will.

It is worth remembering that Rose Dugdale is suffering the same treatment and that she has been sentenced to 9 years of it. In different parts of the country groups are getting together to defend Rita O'Hare and women political prisoners in general for example in Dun Laoghaire where Rita has lived for the past 3 years a group has been formed calling itself the "Committee for the Defence of Women Political Prisoners." It is to be hoped that these groups will get together and organise demonstrations, etc., and anyone who reads the facts of her treatment listed above will surely give support if he or she as a conscience. If the disgusting treatment which has been meted out to Rita O'Hare is highlighted by demonstrations etc. the Free State authorities will quickly become very ashamed of their actions, but this can only be done by hard work. So give what support you can to the campaign to "Defend Rita O'Hare."

FOOT NOTE: On a lighter note - during Rita's trial, evidence was given by Dan Hoban a Republican prisoner from Westport. Dan mentioned that he was making a model of a ship. The reason for this he said, was that as Republicans had already escaped from prison by helicopter and by car; next time, Dan reckoned, they would be escaping by ship!

TORIES RETHINK POLICIES ON SIX COUNTIES

Mr Aairey Neave, Conservative spokesman for Northern Ireland, said last night he believed "it is no longer possible to talk in terms of enforcing power sharing with people who do not want to share power."

His statement alone marks a significant shift in Conservative policy. It is known that he has the agreement in making it of Mr William Whitelaw, the party's deputy leader who, when Northern Ireland Secretary in the last Conservative Government introduced the power sharing concept to the Province. The view among Shadow Cabinet members is that power sharing died when the loyalist workers strike brought down the Ulster Assembly and Executive. They see Convention elections as clear proof that it cannot be resurrected against the wish of loyalist coalition.

Mr Neave said "We shall be reviewing the position which arises from the Convention elections as soon as possible." The review will be carried out by the Shadow Cabinet and the party's Northern Ireland Committee.

Mr Neave is going to Dublin next Monday for talks with Dr 'Fitzgerald, Foreign Minister. He is also to have talks with all the political parties in the Convention.

Significance is being attached to the weekend statement by Dr

Cruise O'Brien, Minister of Posts in Dublin, that the question now was not of reaching a power-sharing Executive in the North but of excluding a unilateral declaration of independence.

The Unionists' links with the Conservatives are strengthening again. The outcome of the Opposition's review could well be a policy of "full integration" of Northern Ireland with the United Kingdom, with an increase in the number of Ulster MPs at Westminster.

One issue on which the Opposition does look like clashing with the Government is over the release of detainees. Mr Neave called yesterday for a halt in releases.

Indicating that he was afraid there could be conflict between released IRA men and Protestant paramilitary forces, he said that the situation was "too explosive" for more releases to be made.

This shows that the Tories are again in full alliance with Army Chiefs like Sir Frank King who see their job as securing military victory over the IRA and leaving Loyalist terrorist gangs to assassinate and bomb at will.

The following statement has been issued by the N'Monaghan S'Fermanagh Comhairle Ceanntair Sinn Féin:

"The Cumann feel duty bound to comment on the late sectarian atrocity in which three young people from the Clara parish lost their lives. This antagonism fostered against Catholics by the British Colonial system, is proof of the continued virulence of policy being actively supported on both sides of

the Border in various ways—collaboration, harassment, etc. It is likely that such heinous acts will continue until the government in Dublin live up to their promise of being second guarantor—a promise given in 1969 and since conveniently shelved. Why the continued silence from the politicians? What are they afraid of? Imagine the outcry if Republicans had been responsible! "The Comhairle Ceanntair extend their deepest sympathy to the relatives of the deceased

McKEARNEY/MARTIN (1st Anniversary)



In Proud and Loving Memory of our Dear Sons, Sean and Eugene, Killed on Active Service, 13th May, 1974. (aged 18 years) Rest in Peace.

"Will those who think of them today, a little prayer to Jesus say. "Mary, Queen of Ireland, intercede for them." Always remembered by their sorrowing Parents, Brothers and Sisters, Moy, Co. Tyrone.