

REPUBLICAN NEWS

THE VOICE OF
REPUBLICAN ULSTER

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper



Vol. 4 No. 24 SATURDAY, 15th June, 1974

PRICE: FIVEPENCE

During February, 1970 a group of Republicans met in downtown Belfast. Three of the group have since died, viz: Seamus Steele, Hugh McAteer and Leo Martin, (Sen.). The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the feasibility of publishing a monthly Republican paper. It was felt there was a great need for such a paper to cater for all who were interested in, or serving in some capacity, the cause of the Irish Republic for which our patriots and martyrs fought, suffered and died in every generation.

The group was following a long tradition of Belfast Republican journals since the United Irishmen published "The Northern Star" almost 200 years ago.

It was remembered that Bulmer Hobson and some of his comrades in the Irish Republican Brotherhood had published "The Republic" from a small office in Royal Avenue, Belfast, prior to 1916. This was followed by splendid little papers such as "An Siol" (1932 - 36), "War News" (1939 - 43), "An t-Oglach" (1940 - 44), "Republican News," "Resurgent Ulster" (1951 - 55), "Glor Uladh" (1955 - 56), "Tir Gradh" (1963 - 65). Most of these papers were eventually banned under Special Powers Acts by various Stormont Ministers of Home Affairs.

The late Seamus Steele wrote for many of the papers mentioned, he had edited some of them. Quite a lot of his writing was done in different prison cells. There was no doubt who the Editor of the proposed paper would be. ... Seamus was the natural, automatic choice.

When the question of a name for the paper came up for discussion, Hugh McAteer proposed that it be called "Republican News." This was agreed unanimously. After a series of meetings were held, the first issue was eventually published in June, 1970, which was sold at six old pence.

In the first editorial, Seamus Steele wrote: "We shall labour to publish and propagate, truthfully and fearlessly the aims and objects of that cause and to counteract the deceitful and false propaganda that we have had to contend with down the years.

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

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

"We shall continue, of course, to give our full support to "An Phoblacht," the official voice of

FOUR YEARS ON

the Republican Movement, and we ask our readers to continue their support in that respect. Nevertheless, we feel, that there is also a necessity to cater for local Republican circles and to scatter the seed of Republicanism wherever possible."

Seamus Steele after a long life of unselfish service to the country and the cause he loved so much, died before the second issue of our paper was published.

"Republican News" since its inception, has been published by the Belfast Republican Press Centre, which issued the following statement on 10th June, 1970:-

"As many Republicans are wondering what their general attitude should be to the British General

Election on 18th June, it is necessary for us to clarify our position.

"The policy of non-attendance at the British Parliament has been accepted as a fundamental part of the Republican code since 1918 when the majority of the Irish people gave a mandate to the successful Sinn Fein candidates to establish Dail Eireann as a 32 counties Republican Parliament.

"This mandate was renewed by the Irish people at the 1921 General Election. The non-attendance policy is still the policy of the Provisional Army Council and the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Fein.

"The British Parliament is a foreign parliament, it is not our parliament. It is regrettable that any Irishman or Irishwoman should seek to sit in the Parliament of the enemy power responsible for so much bloodshed and misery in Ireland.

"This foreign power continues to give economic and military aid to its puppet regime at Stormont in order to maintain partition.

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

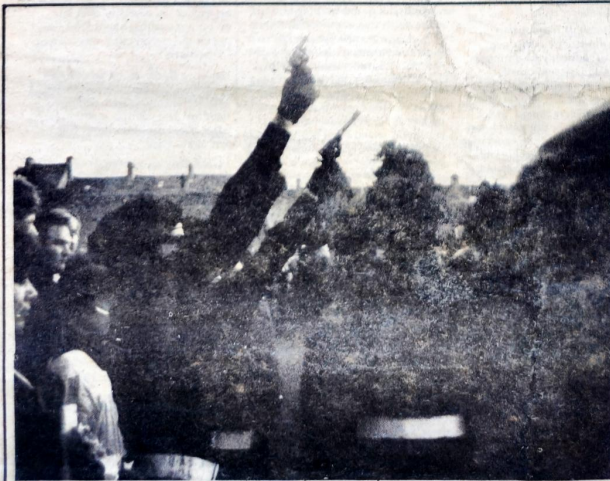
"The priority now at this critical stage is the security and defence of the Nationally-minded people in the Six Counties. We do not propose to squander our energies and resources in futile party political in fighting exercises."

In our first issue, Seamus Steele asked who was out of step, Desmond Fennell, or five generations of Irish Separatists who bravely fought and died, content with Tone's conception of Irish unity.

In answer to Fennell who wrote: "Do we really want to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter?" Seamus Steele replied: "Of course we do, in exactly the same sense as Tone meant when he prefaced his call with the words, the vital words, 'To abolish the memory of past dissensions.'

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

Another writer in our first issue had this to say: "It is the duty of every Republican to assist in the build up of a strong movement of resistance to British interference in Irish affairs. The integrity of the Republican Movement must be preserved. Its identity and aims must not be weakened or lost in a welter of campaigns for limited objectives. There must be an effective, well co-ordinated disciplined national struggle for freedom and nation-



Oglagh na hEireann firing party fire volley over the coffin of Vol. Michael Gaughan, in the grounds of St. Muredach's Cathedral, Ballina, Co. Mayo.

FULL
REPORT
AND
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The prince And The Provos

Some weeks ago I sent a number of books up to a friend in the Kesh with whom I communicate regularly. Two of the books - MEN IN PRISON by Victor Serge and TECHNIQUES OF PERSUASION by J.A.C. Brown - were banned from entering (on what grounds I haven't the slightest clue), and the third slipped in after being evicted from various food parcels passed through on various days to beat the local, imbecile, semi-literate and petty, censor. The book which he passed through was Niccolo Machiavelli's THE PRINCE, written over four and a half centuries ago, which (at last) brings me to the point of my article.

To quote from THE PRINCE:-

"It should be borne in mind that there is nothing more difficult to arrange, more doubtful of success, and more dangerous to carry through than initiating changes in a state's constitution. The innovator makes enemies of all those who prospered under the old order, and only lukewarm support is forthcoming from those who would prosper under the new. Their support is lukewarm partly from fear of their adversaries, who have the existing laws on their sides, and partly because men are generally incredulous, never really trusting new things unless they have tested them by experience. In consequence, whenever those who oppose the changes can do so, they attack vigorously, and the defence made by the other is only lukewarm. So both the innovator and his friends are endangered together."

Machiavelli's observations hold true even today, and I think that he succinctly expresses a truth whose relevance should be borne in mind when one attempts to explain or understand the public support - almost always tacit - for the modern Irish Republican Army.

Oglaigh na hEireann (apart from their historical legacy) are mandated in the tacit public support which ensures their existence, which ensures their warfare, and above all, by the hospitality shown to them when the going is good, but especially when

the going is bad.

Another observation made by Machiavelli was that the populace is by nature fickle, and that, "it is easy to persuade them of something, but difficult to confirm them in that persuasion". At any one time northern nationalist support for the I.R.A. may stand at a low percentage of that community but it experiences an overall swing probably right through the WHOLE of the nationalist population in accordance with the propaganda battle, unpopular actions, and the admiration from the public by the bravery, endurance and sacrifice of Republican soldiers, not to mention their justness of cause.

In conclusion I say that the current resurgence in guerrilla activity, particular in Belfast, springs directly from the upsurge in popular support for the freedom fighters. However, this support is by no means lukewarm and indicates that the people are not JUST the people, but that they are the innovators themselves - The Provisionals.

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ENGLISH BOYCOTT URGED

All of us have long pleaded and demonstrated to get the Irish hunger strikers home from Britain's torture dungeons.

Hardship and lingering sufferings are inflicted on the relatives and parents of our patriotic fellow Irishmen, the hard hearts of Rev. Father Fell, are put to extreme hardship and expense in travelling a long distance to visit him in prison; yet all our pleadings for humanitarian treatment for those sufferers has fallen on deaf ears, the stiff necks and stone hard hearts of the British authorities have failed to be moved: our patience is mounting into stronger action than parades and demonstrations;

It appears that the only thing which now would move the British to take action and accede to our requests is:-

THAT WE PUT A BOYCOTT ON EVERYTHING BRITISH - STARTING WITH THEIR NEWSPAPERS, AND LET US NOT EVEN BUY A PACKET OF BRITISH BISCUITS,

NOR EAT THEM EVEN IF WE GET THEM FOR NOTHING!

Should this attitude of ours result in the English boycotting all Irish Manufactured goods in retaliation, well and good; perhaps then, when our Irish exports from this country have fallen as a result, then only will the Free State Government be obliged to act on our behalf and come to some agreement with the British, so let us barter with them:-

THE HUNGER STRIKERS HOME OR WE BOYCOTT EVERYTHING THEY MANUFACTURE... WE WANT THE TORTURE CAMPS AND DUNGEONS OPEN!!!

The Africans threatened a similar boycott of British goods in their country if the British Rugby Team played there, this attitude shook the British government so much that their Ambassador there did not even dare shake the hands of the Lions team nor invite them to dine with him, so a large dose of humble pie was dished out to the British, and it was a great success for the Africans.

The new Labour Government got into power in England on the strength of the Irish votes, yet Wilson has turned out to be no better than Heath in his attitude of continuing to let the tortures be inflicted on the Irish prisoners still.

We hold the STRONG WHIP OF VIGOROUS ACTION AND BOYCOTT OF THEIR GOODS, until we bring British made to a standstill. The Free State Government will be powerless to deal with us in this attitude.

The British soldiers grow fat in Germany by eating our Irish meat at a cost to them of only 4/- a lb. while we here at home have to pay 15/- a lb. if we can afford to buy meat for our dinners. Do the Irish taxpayers realise that it is their money which is being used to subsidise this meat to the Sons of Black and Tans, who then after a few months in Germany may be sent to Northern Ireland and let loose to run riot, torture, harass and gun down our people on their own soil, while the dirty work of S.A.S. spies is carried out by the British unmolested in this entire land. British propaganda is dished out to us daily in our Television, Radio and News media.

Before it is too late we request the

government here, to pressurise the British government to STOP THE TORTURES!!!

WE DEMAND INSTANT ACTION! and never again let any of us cast a vote in favour of our inert government.

ORANGE VICTORY

My Orange relatives have won a victory but they do not know where to go from there. It was also a victory for you and naturally I was pleased to see Sunningdale gone. You will find yourselves in a similar position as my Orange friends. Having achieved so much you will not know where to go from there, so long as you tolerate clowns like the one who wrote "Political Events" last week. At the end of the day you will find yourselves in a hopeless position. Your local clowns will be down here looking for the long departed "Free State." A separated and "shambles" Sinn Fein asking people to join. What will they join, official or non-official? You will have to put up something better than that.

Let us presume that you, at the end, find yourselves in a good position, and you aim to have a republic for all Ireland or for a nine county Ulster. Well then, you will have to deal with the 26 county Republic when England goes. You must acknowledge them a republic and request the Republic to surrender three counties in the general interest.

Make a start by sacking those selling "Free State" clowns. You ask us to try and understand you. Well, I try but I fail. I was ready to help refugees should the necessity arise but we cannot swallow a split Sinn Fein or clowns referring to a non-existent "Free State."

Unless you drop that kind of much we will have to part. I never agreed with Irishmen who were willing to fight for their country, fighting each other. What can this gain? It will just put us back.

I was on my way to the six counties to continue the fight in 1921. I had to come back to fight my own. What a tragedy! And where are those great patriots? My son is a secretary in Fianna Fail. The policy of his cumann is to shoot all these murderers in the North.

No! Get Sinn Fein together, get all the support you can. Some people I know say they went to Kevin Street to make innocent inquiries and that they were treated in a very hostile manner. I have reason to believe this is true and that they are very hostile to any re-approachment with the officials.

If I see any further references to the "Free State" you may take my name off your mailing list.

So, Slat agat anois agus an bhaile.

Mise le meas,

Seosamh O'Ceannagha,
Baile Atha Cliath

WE ALL NOT BE BOMBED INTO AN ORANGE FASCIST STATE

The political shambles in London, Dublin and Stormont which follows the collapse of the 'Sunningdale Plan' has led to the promotion of a new series of 'solutions' to the 'Irish problem'. The one favoured by the jubilant Orange supremacists and their Ulster Workers' Council front is an Autonomous British Ulster. The concept is so absurd and contradictory that Republicans could well dismiss it as another kite which is bound to fail because of contradictions. But Irishmen should learn the lessons of history. The treaty settlement was sold to Irishmen as a stepping stone to a sovereign 32 county Irish Republic and partition was temporarily accepted by Irishmen either because such an irrational settlement could not survive or it would be made even more untenable by the reduction of the British area in Northern Ireland following the 'imperial' Boundary Commission, (1925).

52 bitter years of oppression, violence and impoverishment have been the price paid by Republicans for the mistaken judgement of the Irish people in those years. The success of the campaign waged by Oglaigh na hEireann against the English occupation of Ireland has brought the whole 1922 settlement with its patch-up, and the great victory which has been achieved by Republican arms and mass struggle it is timely that the basic principles on which there can be no compromise should be re-stated:-

1. There is one primordial Irish problem from which all other economic, political, social and sectarian evils originate. That is the

exploitation of Ireland. The aim of the Republican armed struggle is to force the withdrawal of the English garrison (military, economic, administrative and cultural). Every day that English withdrawal is delayed, is a day more of struggle, violence and instability. Every person who puts forward a plan for the settlement of the Irish struggle based on a continuing British presence over even a period of years and even if it is only in a supervisory capacity is acting in favour of British imperialism and consequently is helping the historic enemy of the Irish people. There is one round of negotiations which must be undertaken before there can be any meaningful talks among Irishmen and that is the settlement of the date and details of English withdrawal between the Westminster government and the legitimate government of Ireland now vested in the Army Council of Oglaigh na hEireann.

2. The 32 county sovereign republic of Ireland must have effective government over the whole territory of Ireland and establish conditions in which the wishes of all the people in Ireland can be taken into account in drawing up a constitution in accord with Republican principles. Meaningful elections can only be held in this context, that is after total English withdrawal has been effected.

Siren voices and mounting pressures are now bearing on Republicans from all quarters with the object of getting

another in some form of English election for the 6 county area. The Ulster Workers' Council have made the holding of such elections their immediate objective and from the Orange supremacist point of view this makes sense. If Republicans participate directly by putting up candidates or indirectly by voting for a bloc of candidates, who seem to broadly share their aims, they will be restoring to the 6 county statelet, the stability which it should now irrevocably lost. The Unionists know this stability can only be restored with the consent of the Irish people who live in the 6 counties and who are bound to be out-voted at the moment and in the foreseeable future. They are putting out five bait:

(a) They describe themselves as 'Ulster Nationalists' rather than as Protestants or Loyalists, or Orangemen (b) They promise to consider sharing power with people who will abandon their Irish and Republican principles (c) They promise to retain proportional representation. (This was written into the 1920 Government of Ireland Act) (d) They promise a Bill of Rights to ensure that Catholics will not be victimised or oppressed. We know how empty such legislation is without the will or power to enforce it. (e) They pretend that they are workers acting in the interests of the workers in Ireland and so appeal to socialists to recognise that they share a common ground with them.

The 'autonomous Ulster solution'

snare that it is by examining the groups who are now actively promoting it. These are most importantly the Orange Order, next the imperialist business interests as exemplified by Sir Frank Catherwood (who adds in the detail that Warrenpoint should be developed to give jobs and houses to these residents of Belfast who will not give their full allegiance to the 'autonomous British Ulster'), the big business press e.g. The Financial Times and the Economist also give their backing to this scheme. In Northern Ireland it has been given its fullest exposition in Fortnight, the organ of the 'moderate middle-class' and their peace at any price counter-insurgency friends in a major article (7th June), the real meaning of the solution is spelled out: "Convinced of the minority on progress towards unification would rule out any chance of success for a new Ulster state without substantial movement of population." In the event of British withdrawal it says "The mass of the existing forces of law and order would be likely to side with the Protestant cause, with a rapid recruitment of a semi-official militia dedicated to stamping out the militant forms of republicanism... The longer term result of such a conflict would almost inevitably be a redrawing of the boundaries of the Protestant and Catholic states of Ireland, with a mass exodus of Catholics from Belfast towards Derry, Newry and the South and a less

CONTINUED ON PAGE THREE

LOYALIST VICTORY THREATENS CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

THE ULSTER LOYALISTS HAVE WON. THE two-week general strike has forced Brian Faulkner, leader of the Unionist Party, to withdraw from the 'power sharing' Northern Ireland Executive, leaving only the SDLP holding the rags and tatters of the Sunningdale agreement.

This is the end of British imperialism's present attempt to reform the reactionary Ulster 'statelet' by cooking up a deal between a section of the political bosses, the capitalist Southern Government, and the pro-imperialist politicians in the Catholic community, designed to leave British domination intact. It is the end of 'the Sunningdale formula.'

The loyalists have seized the initiative. It is not yet clear whether they will continue the strike until the British grant new elections, out of which the return of an ultra-reactionary regime along the lines of the old Stormont Government would be certain. But in any event the loyalists have taken a huge step towards this goal.

British imperialism's plans have collapsed. The Labour Government can now either begin the process of withdrawing from political involvement in Ireland, first of all by withdrawing the troops, or, under the cover of 'direct rule,' it can go on handing out concessions to the loyalists allowing them to reconstruct the sectarian institutions which divide Ireland and the Irish working class.

The loyalists are now more fully mobilised and confident

than ever before. This means that the catholic ghettos in the North of Ireland face the very real threat of vicious sectarian attacks.

The Government will never smash the catholic struggle which has thrown British imperialism into crisis. But by allowing the army to continue their attacks on the armed organisations of the catholic workers, it increases the risk of sectarian attacks by the loyalists all the time.

British workers must step up the fight for 'troops out.' To physically defend the catholic workers, the loyalist workers must be isolated militarily and politically by the combined political force of the Southern Irish republican and workers' movements and the international workers' movement.

The Southern ruling class, tied as it is to British imperialism will not defend the catholic communities in the North. It refuses to even think about sending the Irish Army to the North and locks up those who actually organise the armed defence of the catholic community—the IRA.

Massive mobilisations in the South are needed to lift the repressive laws against the IRA. The rank-and-file of the army should be urged to prepare to defend the northern ghettos, no matter what orders the Government gives them.

The silence of British workers over Ireland is 'taken by loyalists as a sign of support, and can only strengthen their confidence in their reactionary course.'

The British working class must be mobilised to isolate them politically. It must support the republican cause, as well as stepping up the demand for the withdrawal of troops, and it should prepare to send material aid to the catholic ghettos.

We will not be Bombed into an Orange Fascist

CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO

abrupt process of population movement in the rural counties until some kind of stability is reached." Such sentiments have not been heard since the days of Cromwell and it must be repeated that they are not taken from the Protestant Telegraph or some sectarian rag but from the paper of the moderate middle-class *Fortnight*.

All the pressures of British imperialism are now directed towards dropping 'the Irish dimension' from the 'Ulster Problem.' The most subtle is to persuade the resisting people to vote in elections so that there will be 'Republican' negotiators acceptable to the Ulster Fascists. The principled stand of Republicans must be that they unmask this hypocrisy. The Ulster Workers' Council are not an elected or representative body but they are presuming to dictate whom can be present at constitutional talks and that they have a right to keep Ireland in thrall to capitalist imperialism forever. Their Ulster is not the historic 9 county province but the 6 counties which were deliberately carried out to give Unionists a cast-iron overall majority.

Republicans living in the 6 counties must not be diverted from their object of securing English withdrawal by propping up partition in any way. Taking any part in British 6 county elections is under writing the 6 county statelet. At any other time elections could be shrugged off as

Disenchantment of British Soldiers 'On the Ground'

The past year has been fairly disastrous for the British forces in Ireland, not to speak of the enormous damage to the British exchequer. But what of the ordinary British soldier on the ground, the professional military man anxious for advancement in their careers? Here promotion depends on the soldier's proven ability to devise the means of attacking an "invisible army." But, to make things more

irrelevant, or a distraction or an exercise in testing the ballot box support for the leadership's policy. But at this crisis in the history of Ireland any participation would mean surrendering voluntarily what has been won by the heroic sufferings of O'Connell and the mass resistance of the risen people.

Further as was stated in the editorial of *An Phoblacht* (7 June) "For some years we have been listening to the cliché that Protestants would not be 'bombed into an Irish Republic,' never the intention of the Republican movement. . . . It must be made just as clear that Republicans are not going to be bombed or intimidated into any Fascist Orange state and that the opponents of Orange racism will fight with everything in their power any attempt to set up such a state."

difficult for them, their military strategy must encounter the Falls Road or the Bogside stone-throwing youngsters, something which daily elicits derision from the populace rather than respect. In that sort of climate they have succeeded to kill twice as many innocents than inevitable guerrillas. The result is that they have been themselves severely hit in personnel, prestige and morale. That this should be the cause of disenchantment "on the ground" as far as Britain is concerned is not surprising.

Kicking in old ladies' doors in Andersonstown may provide welcome diversion from the dull and boredom of married quarters on the Rhine. But it is a pattern of action which has no good effect on the soldiers' attitude to his work. Shoot-outs against snipers one day, snatch squads against stone-throwers the next, frightening old couples in house-searches and rummaging in car boots at weekends.

Many British soldiers by now have to believe that this is what their army is for. It is a perception of the soldiers role singularly lacking in grandeur, along distance from the traditional idea of "serving the Queen."

Language Organisation Condemns Undemocratic Legislation

A motion condemning internment without trial and Special Courts, North and South, was passed at the Annual General Meeting of "Conradh na Gaeilge" at Navan, Co. Meath on Sunday (May 26). Conradh na Gaeilge is the nationwide Irish language organisation founded in 1894. Since then, it has had great influence in Irish life, and many leading Irish patriots (including the 1916 leaders) were members.

Other motions passed at this year's Annual General Meeting included condemnation of the Southern Government for allowing Irish mineral wealth to be plundered by international corporations, as well as the denial of civil rights to speakers of the Irish language.

The A.G.M. elected as its President Padraigh O'Snodagha, writer and historian, who has written a book entitled "The Hidden Ulster." The book is a study of Irish language and scholarship among both Catholic and Protestant people of Ulster.

The book was recently mentioned in favourable terms in "Combat," organ of the U.V.F.

EX-S.A.S. MEN

'LIVING IN THE SOUTH'

Claim by Former

British Soldier

A number of British Army veterans with records of S.A.S. service during one of the bloodiest chapters of the undercover units activities, are now resident in the South. Source of the information is another ex-British soldier, now a businessman in the West of Ireland, who, in his travels through the South, has recognised one man whom he knew to be an S.A.S. officer during his service days. He has also evidence pointing towards the presence of at least two others. (The informant was a regular soldier).

These men's service records date back to World Two and, subsequently, to the jungle war in Malaya beginning in the summer of 1948.

At that time the S.A.S. units, based at Kuala Lumpur, were employed as a strike force against terrorism in remote areas of the Malayan jungle. They left a bloody trail behind them. These are hard men. They never bother to bring anyone back alive. They have their own ways of extracting information from those they capture.

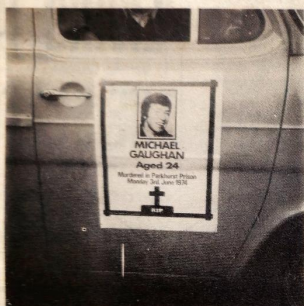
It is men of this vintage whom the informant says are now resident in the South of Ireland. Information which he has, shows that none of them are believed to have been resident in the South before 1969.

The situation, as he describes it, is that the men are all involved in various businesses in Munster towns and cities. All of which enable them to travel through the region. They say that they are ex-soldiers.

The source, who does not wish to be identified, offers the further information that one of the men about past S.A.S. record is positive, still has a British-based bank account. He believes, in view of the classic intelligence technique of planting "Sleepers"—personnel kept inactive for long periods and only activated when required—that the extent and nature of the "ex-S.A.S. Unit" in Munster should be investigated further. He has expressed his willingness to aid the authorities in this if required.

The source is interested in the presence of the men in Munster because, from constant viewing of newspaper photographs from the North, and of T.V., he is certain that contemporaries of theirs, far from being out of active service, are now operating in the North.

VOLUNTEER MICHAEL GAUGHAN SOLDIER PATRIOT MARTYR WE SALUTE YOU



Three uniformed volunteers of Ogligh na hEireann, stepped from the crowd outside St. Muredach's Cathedral, Ballina, Co. Mayo, last Sunday and fired three volleys with revolvers over the coffin draped in the Tricolour, of Vol. Michael Gaughan, who had died on hunger strike in Parkhurst Jail. Their action was greeted with loud cheers and many people shouted: "Up the Provos."

The funeral was due to arrive at the railway station at 4 p.m. and many people were waiting there before that. The cortege did not arrive until shortly after 6.30 p.m. after a seven hour journey from Dublin.

Over 1,200 cars were in the cortege from Dublin to Ballina. It is calculated that over 5,000 people travelled in it. At least 20,000 including spectators, joined together in emotional scenes of respect and honour in Ballina.

The Requiem Mass was celebrated by the Rev. Michael Keane, with Fr. Michael Connolly and Fr. Piaras O Duill, O.F.M., assisting. Fr. Connolly, a Tipperary man, is Parish Priest of St. Joseph's parish, Wolverhampton. He has since been suspended by the Archbishop of Birmingham, for paying tribute to Vol. Michael Gaughan.

Father Deane said that Michael Gaughan died for what he believed in. He said he was prepared to make sacrifices in an age where many people shirked a hard way of life.

But when he said: "England is always seen as our enemy. But we may think how good a country it has been to us in the past, giving us work, opportunity and money," a man in the body of the cathedral stood up and shouted: "This is not the sermon to offer a true Irish soldier. It is an offence and an insult. You should try living in the North and see what it is like."

This resulted in general uproar among the congregation, many of whom, including Daithi O'Connell, walked out in protest.

An Ogligh na hEireann colour party carrying a furred flag, led the coffin to the cemetery, about two miles from the cathedral. After prayers were said and a decade of the Rosary recited, the open grave of the young Republican Volunteer was covered by planks on which a large number of wreaths was heaped.

Mr. Brendan Magill, Sinn Fein organiser in Britain, was loudly cheered when he was introduced as a close friend of Michael Gaughan. Mr. Magill said he had little to say except that the Republican Movement would leave no stone unturned until they had achieved what Michael Gaughan died for.

Daithi O'Connell was greeted with prolonged cheers as he stepped from the crowd to the platform to deliver the oration. He said: "We stand around the grave of this brave Irish soldier who, like many other Irish boys from other Irish families, had gone out to die amid the scorn of men. There was no scorn now but respect. The thousands of people who had lined the route to Ballina had taken him into their hearts."

Addressing the spirit of Michael Gaughan, he said: "You breathed new life into the hearts of the Irish people."

Daithi O'Connell told the vast throng packed into the cemetery that the agonies suffered by Gaughan had given a new dimension to the people's struggle for their ancient rights, rights which could not be won without sacrifice.

He continued: "Michael Gaughan had taken up the struggle against British oppressors, the well-heeled politicians of the South, the hired scribes and venal churchmen.

"He had been tortured in prison by the vampires of a discredited empire, who were joined by decrepit politicians who were a disgrace to the name of Irishmen. They could rest assured that justice would be done. The manner of Gaughan's death had given purpose to the struggles of all people throughout the world. No longer would perverted English minds revile the Irish race and avoid the consequences.

Michael Gaughan's supreme act of protest and resistance had a profound, emotional effect on the Irish people. This was clearly evident along the funeral route from Parkhurst, via London and Dublin. The Republican Movement has a strong tradition for honouring its fallen comrades in a special manner. This was displayed in an exceptional degree for Michael Gaughan.

The prayers at the graveside were recited in Irish by Father Keane. A decade of the Rosary, also in Irish, was led by Father Piaras O Duill, O.F.M., Three buglers sounded the Last Post.

As the poignant ceremony came to a close, the mourners were asked to leave the cemetery with charity in their hearts. They were also asked to disperse peacefully.

Sunday, June 9, 1974 will be remembered for many years to some in Ballina. Those who travelled there from all parts of Ireland and from abroad, will always remember the day the mortal remains of Michael Gaughan, Irish soldier, patriot, and martyr was laid to rest. Go ndeachaidh Dia trocaire ar a anam uasal.



MICHAEL GAUGHAN HAS BEEN TAKEN TO THE HEARTS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE AND LIVES THERE FOREVER. A QUARTER OF A MILLION PEOPLE TURNED OUT TO HONOUR HIM ON HIS LAST JOURNEY THROUGH IRELAND FROM DUBLIN TO BALLINA.

Michael Gaughan showed that this generation of Irishmen possesses noble souls of the same heroic stature as Terence MacSwiney, Thomas Ashe and Sean McCaughey.

He is deeply mourned by the whole Republican Movement and by all Irishmen in whom a single spark of his nobility still survives. May we bring to reality the ideal for which he died.

Ar dheis De go rabh a n-am uasal.

OUR PICTURES:

On the opposite page, the poster shown on the side of a van, was very much in evidence all along the funeral route from Dublin to Ballina.

The mortal remains of Vol. Michael Gaughan, being carried from St. Muredach's Cathedral, to his last resting place. The coffin was draped by the same national flag that covered the coffin of Vol. Terence MacSwiney, Oglai na h-Eireann, Lord Mayor of Cork and O/C, Cork Brigade, who died on hunger strike in Brixton Prison.

Picture number one on this page shows only a small section of the enormous gathering of over 20,000 who travelled to Ballina, from all parts of Ireland and abroad to pay their respects and to honour the young Irish Republican soldier, patriot and martyr. Pictures 2, 4 and 5 show sections of the crowd who followed the cortege. Picture 3: The funeral cortege headed by Ruairi O'Bradaigh, President Sinn Feinn, and Brendan Magill, National Organiser, for England, leaving the railway station, Ballina, heading towards the Cathedral.

Picture 6: Scene at the graveside as Daithi O'Connell gave the oration. There were loud cheers as he was introduced to the vast throng.



WHY SUNNINGDALE COLLAPSED

THE SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT has collapsed of its own contradictions. It consisted of a series of intricately linked illusions, and when one of these was seriously challenged its downfall was inevitable.

Wilson and his Irish Secretary Merlyn Rees had based their strategy on the assumption that what was happening was just a rough patch in the implementation of Sunningdale, and that if they balanced delicately enough between the contending forces it would pull through.

For this reason they were reluctant to take decisive action against the loyalist strike, only being pushed into half-measures by the SDLP. This reluctance was most clearly demonstrated in Derry when workers were trying to get to work without the benefit of Len Murray, and his TV cameras. The Army refused to dismantle loyalist barricades, and even fired rubber bullets at the

workers can only act within the terms of reference set by one of the two main bourgeois blocs. It was their almost inevitable support for the anti-Sunningdale forces which doomed the plan from the start.

At the Assembly elections the Faulkner Unionists, on an ambiguous platform, won about 50% of the identifiable protestant votes. But as the implications of the British White Paper on the future of the North became clear, and the power-sharing Executive was formed, Faulkner's support crumbled. He lost control of the Unionist Party, and then had a general election thrust upon him by the crisis in Britain. He won a mere 20% of the protestant vote.

Meanwhile, at the grass roots the loyalists were re-organising, and a new tougher leadership was emerging. In February 1973 the Loyalist Association of Workers had called a one-day strike against the White Paper. In a confrontation with the British

Defence Association. With the 'moral' victory of the general election the loyalist workers were ready for bold action.

The current general strike was initiated by the loyalist workers, but in a close alliance with loyalist middle-class and bourgeois forces. When it became clear that the protestant middle class was behind the strike, Faulkner had little choice but to resign.

Catholic opposition to Sunningdale had also grown steadily. The SDLP, in the absence of any substantial Republican challenge at the polls, won 83% of the catholic vote at the Assembly elections, representing 22% of the total poll. They won 23.2% of the total poll at the general election, but they received a substantial proportion of middle-class, pro-Sunningdale, votes. Their electoral support amongst catholics actually declined.

But the real politics of the catholics are expressed in the streets. They voted SDLP only because they hoped for immediate relief from the British Army and internment.

BLATANT REPRESSION

Instead the repression has never relaxed, and the efforts of the Army to root out the IRA have succeeded in uniting the catholics behind the Republican Movement.

The capitulation of the SDLP on the question of the full implementation of the Council of Ireland was probably their last fatal mistake. It was presented as a concession to the loyalists, but it was nothing of the kind. Faulkner was never in favour of the full Council. He wanted to maintain as much of the old set-up in the North as the British Government would accept.

The Dublin Government knows that it cannot solve the crisis in the North and will strenuously oppose a British pull-out. Despite the bombings in Dublin and Monaghan, the increased repression against Republicans and the broad popular resentment over such issues as the Price sisters, there is no significant opposition to the pro-British policies of the Coalition and the main opposition party Fianna Fail.

If there is a pogrom against the catholic ghettos in the North, there could be broad mobilisations, demanding that the Government assist the catholics. But it is unlikely that this would seriously undermine the Coalition's strategy.

By BOB PURDIE

workers when they refused to disperse!

The crisis of Sunningdale reflected the split in Unionism based on the conflict of deep-rooted economic interests. The sections of the bourgeoisie whose investments are most tied up with British capital support Britain's attempts to reform the State, and move towards a new deal with the South of Ireland. But there is a vast social layer based on small capital, tied up in family businesses and small farms. They oppose reform, and want to maintain the old status quo.

PROTESTANT WORKERS

Separate from these two groups is the protestant working class, which holds a virtual monopoly on the skilled jobs, and has benefited from the privileges dispensed by the protestant ascendancy. Their domination by sectarianism, and total lack of any independent working class political tradition means that these

Army five men were killed, one of them a protestant fireman. The protestant population sank back in disarray—they were not prepared for such a confrontation with the Army.

BOLD ACTION

At this point the pro-Sunningdale forces had their most favourable opportunity to win over the protestant workers. But they did nothing, apart from a weak appeal during the General Election, by Sandy Scott of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. He urged the protestant workers to give up part of the ascendancy, in return for the British patronage necessary to maintain Northern Irish heavy industry.

But it was far too late. The Ulster Workers Council had already arisen from the ashes of LAW, and 'hard men' of the clandestine Ulster Volunteer Force had stiffened the backbone of the open para-military organisations such as the Ulster

PRO-BRITISH GROUPS IMMUNE FROM SEARCHES

The most striking aspect of police and military activity in the South for the past few weeks, is the fact that no raids took place on the homes of known British supporters. Taken in the context of known facts, as well as statements by some of the politicians themselves, this is astounding.

On the day after the Dublin bombings, the police stated at a press conference that they believed the bombers were still in Dublin, and that they may have support in Dublin itself. Yet no raids, no questioning, were carried out on well known supporters of British overlordship in Ireland. For example, a Dublin-based group has for the past two years, in published statements, given full support to the loyalist cause, and proclaimed the right of loyalist paramilitary groups to carry the war to the South. This group is known as "The British and Irish Communist Organisation," and has branches in Dublin, Cork, Galway and Donegal as well as in Belfast.

The group is fanatically anti-nationalist in sentiment, and uses socialism as a tag under which all types of pro-British ideas are synchronised into a policy. It is known to have supported certain members of the Southern Government. It is known to have support among certain members of the Southern Government, particularly Ministers Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien and Mr. Justin Keating. On one occasion, two years ago, members of this fanatical group occupied Government buildings in Dublin, calling for increased collaboration with the British.

When charged in court they were bailed out by Dr. O'Brien and subsequently the charges petered out. Since then, their publications have continually lauded O'Brien's political philosophy, which is of a decidedly loyalist nature. The group have simultaneously championed the causes and actions of para-military loyalist groups in the North.

Yet not one member of this group was questioned in the police searches. Nor was any other pro-British group in any part of the 26 counties. Immunity from police inquiries is guaranteed to friends of Government Ministers in the South, even if they support and encourage the bombers. As in the North, British and pro-British violence is approved of.

Ruins of Sunningdale:

The Social and Democratic Labour Party have gambled and lost. By agreeing to serve under Faulkner in the first place, they showed an alarming lack of principle. Given his duplicity and self interest, it was an extremely stupid thing to do. By his use of internment as a political weapon, he was responsible for starting the shooting war in the North. His reputation as a sectarian bigot made him anathema to the Nationalist population. He was not trusted by anybody, least of all by Unionists. For the S.D.L.P. to serve under him was a bad tactical error, apart from the fact that it smacked badly of political expediency. By backing down on the Council of Ireland issue their credibility with their own supporters foundered. They failed to deliver on their promises to those who voted them in, and they now stand in the ruins of a misguided policy of political horse-trading. They never had the remotest chance of 'delivering the goods' by co-operating with British policy in the North, via Sunningdale. It will be interesting to see what political convolutions Gerry Fitt and Co. indulge in next, to try and retrieve their position. Their chances are not good.

Dublin Priest Criticises Southern Attorney General

In an open letter to Mr. Declan Costello, the South's Attorney General, a Dublin priest, Father Piaras O'Duill, O.F.M., Cap. accused him and the Southern Prime Minister, Mr. Cosgrave, of being politically biased when they accused the I.R.A. of moral responsibility for the bombings in the South which killed 31 people. In the course of his letter Father O'Duill said that political leaders have a duty to refute such outrages as the Dublin and Monaghan bombings which were set off in crowded streets without warnings or safeguards for civilian lives. Few will deny them the right "to seek to guide the nation in perceiving the moral and intellectual depravity of such terrible deeds."

"But such a right," he said, "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 judgment on another, especially when attributing responsibility for such a serious matter as taking innocent human life."

Fr. O'Duill continued: "I have read you as having very strongly implied that moral responsibility of the Dublin and Monaghan bombings rests with the 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 the latest bombings in the South are 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 aim enunciated therein are highly commendable.

"It is use of tragic 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 others driven to make the supreme sacrifice of their lives.

"You regard it as hypocrisy to hear the Republican Movement condemn the Southern bombings. That may well be your opinion. But I myself know of Republican Volunteers who have died sooner than put civilians 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 be now 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 radio and television to put this over as their propaganda. People who adopt this attitude are the last people who should speak of hypocrisy."

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

5. - NÁMÁ DO CORMAC DOB 6. - DÁCAD BLIAIN A CAIT COR- 7. - CAIT CORMAC A LÁN DÁ 8. - AGUS CORMAC I ROS NA 9. - LÁ, LE LINN DÓ BÉIT AG-
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al re-unification. We must not allow nou national aims to be relegated to the background."

After internment was introduced in August, 1971, some members of our Editorial Board were imprisoned and the remaining members took the bold decision to publish the paper on a weekly basis. It is fair to say that the heavy burden of writing, editing and distributing the paper for the first seven months of internment fell on the shoulders of two dedicated people.

In June 1972, Belfast Republican Press Centre was re-organised to meet a fresh onslaught of British black propaganda. The Press Centre stated in Issue No. 38: "The British Government in recent weeks, faced with the courage and determination of a risen people, are pouring large sums of money into their publicity machine in order to confuse our people and to discredit the Republican Movement.

"REPUBLICAN NEWS now in existence for two years, is sold all over Ireland and in many places abroad," continued the Press Centre statement. "This has been achieved by a hard-working band of

dedicated workers in the face of internment, widespread searches, arrests, phone tapping, letter censorship, British Army, U.D.R. and R.U.C. road blocks. Our writers, distributors and sellers faced various risks and dangers to produce and bring to you this voice of Irish Republicanism. This was done in spite of Stormont's Special Powers Acts.

"Our team had a particularly difficult period since internment commenced in August 1971. The Republican Movement therefore wishes to express thanks and appreciation for a job well done. The REPUBLICAN NEWS could not have survived without the co-operation of our printers and readers. To you also we say, 'Thank you.' With your continued support we will always strive to organise, educate and agitate in the cause of Irish national freedom as an authentic Irish Republican organ."

Now in the month of June, 1974, we are moving

FOUR YEARS ON

Continued from Page 1

into our fifth year of publication. The spirits and example of our dead comrades who attended that meeting in February, 1970, hover over us. We think of Seamus Steele still writing for this paper on the day before he died. We can hear his words: "Do not worry if you are not able to do as much as you would like. This is a team effort. Do your little bit, if we all do that, we will be alright."

We think of the calm influence exercised by Hugh McAteer, quietly smoking his pipe at our meetings and we think of his wise counsel. And Leo Martin, (Sen.) . . . calm, wise, unruffled. These three men of integrity were listened to with respect & they spoke with voices of experience.

We think of the others who attended that first meeting . . . their names cannot yet be mentioned. They all played a part in launching REPUBLICAN NEWS.

What does the future hold for Ireland and the Irish people? We can, if we will, build up a people self-contained, self-centred, self-reliant — a people not looking for the repeal of an English Act, nor for the permission of England to exist and develop to its highest and fullest capacity.

It is only with free political institutions that our people can develop their genius and power. At the back of every evil that infests our land, over and above them all, and responsible for all, is the government of Ireland by England.

England governs this country against the wishes of its people. Ethically her occupation of Ireland is immoral and indefensible — but John Bull is not worried with points of ethics or conscience. But so long as he governs this land against the will of its people, he has got to expect the utmost opposition from the people he insists on governing.

In the struggle between England and Ireland, our opponents have got an efficient weapon of attack in the form of their Government. We must create one as speedily as may be. England may not recognise it as representative of the people, but her recognition is of little importance.

A national organisation that is going to cope with injustice established for such a length of time and so firmly established in this country as England, must possess and assume the features and attributes of a governing body.

It must have the great mass of the people not only enrolled in its books of membership, but working strenuously in full and active support of it. It must form the central point of the national life, from which the country may with confidence expect, and with certainty receive guidance, direction and competent leadership, and from which men fighting in isolated outposts may receive the help of the entire force of the nation.

IT CAN BE DONE IF THE PEOPLE WILL, AND IT MUST, OR THEY PERISH.



CLIFTON STREET DEMONSTRATION

1. Parade headed by a young man carrying a Cross, marching down the New Lodge Road, towards Clifton Street.
2. Marchers passing North Queen Street, British Army /R.U.C. post. This post has been used as a torture centre for dealing with men and boys from the area seized by British troops and brought there.
3. R.U.C. block road at Unity Flats, prior to start of meeting.
4. Section of crowd of over 2,000 listening to speaker. The demonstration was organised by the Political Hostages Release Committee, in support of Republican prisoners in English jails campaigning for political status and transfer to jails in Ireland.
5. Mike Farrell, (P.D. Leader), addressing the large gathering. Mrs. Maire Drumm, (Vice-President, Sinn Féin), also spoke. Many people went to St. Patrick's Catholic Church, after the meeting ended to say the Rosary for the hunger strikers and all Irish Republican prisoners.



O'ER NEPHIN BEG

They brought him home to Ballina
It was his wish,
To rest where Nephin Beg
Would guard his sleep
And he had earned his sleep.

When he was lonely in an island jail,
His company the English torturers
With the tools of their trade
The jug, the tube, and the vomiting pail
He dreamt of Nephin Beg.

From Dublin Town, a long, long line,
a mourning motecade
Set out for Ballina,
And all along the way, the hawthorn
white mixed with the black, and
the women's tears o'er flowed in
Longford,

Where rushing up, they would embrace
their son,
But being met with wood,
Embraced McSwiney's flag
Thinking it fitting and good.

The silence thickened up the air
'neath Nephin Beg,
Some shots rang out!
Applause re-echoed!
Joyous shout!
The spirit of Michael Gaughan hears
And cannot rest,
Soars over Nephin Beg
To rouse the West!

SORCA NI MHURCHU

HARRY THORNTON'S WIDOW AWARDED DAMAGES

On the 7th August, 1971 Harry Thornton, 30-year-old father of six children from Tullydonnell Cottages, near Newtownhamilton, South Armagh, was shot dead while driving his van past Springfield Road Army Barracks. He was on his way to work.

The British Army claimed that 2 shots had been fired from the van. No guns or explosives were found when the van was searched by Special Branch detectives

Last week in the Belfast High Court agreed damages of £27,500 was awarded to Mrs. Mary Thornton against the British Ministry of Defence.