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THE IRISH QUESTION

Recently Chichester-Clark in response to Mr. Lynch's speech at the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis said that he was not demanding that they should give up their aspirations for a 32 County Independent Irish Republic. He only demanded that the Unionists' right to remain as part of the United Kingdom should be fully recognised and he stated that any attempt to coerce them into an Irish Republic would be firmly resisted.

Mr. Chichester-Clark knows well that no Irish Parliamentary Party or Constitutional Organisation has the slightest intention of coercing the Six Counties. This is the one point of policy on which all political parties are agreed — namely that force must not be used as an instrument to resolve the National Crisis.

Fianna Fail have stated this unequivocally and Mr. Corish at the Labour Ard Fheis tried to out-do him on his condemnation of violence. Fine Gael have consistently refused to put forward any solution, whatever, while the S.D.L.P. led by Mr. G. Fitt have performed their usual mental gymnastics about this question, with Mr. P. Devlin ap-

pealing for arms from Dublin in August, 1969 and then in February, 1971 speaking as a fraternal delegate at the Ard Fheis of the Labour Party, who adamantly demanded that no arms be sent. Mr. Fitt has of course consistently rejected force as a solution but has just as consistently called himself a follower of James Connolly, an outspoken advocate of physical force.

The politicians are ably supported by the members of the Hierarchy on this matter. In a recent TV appearance Cardinal Conway asserted that he had condemned violence on 23 occasions. (He has so far ignored the R.U.C. brutality outside the Court House on Friday, 26th February, 1971) when 46 members of a Republican Protest March were arrested but not one from a rival counter-demonstration).

He also stated that to work for the preservation of the British connection was a legitimate objective for an Irishman. Dr. Philbin, the Bishop of Down & Connor, has been no less outspoken in his one-sided condemnations of violence. He was also tireless in his efforts to have the defensive barricades removed from

Catholic areas. He was instrumental in having the C.C.D.C. taken over by the Clergy so that its Committee is now dominated by his own secretary Fr. Toner, ably assisted by Frs. Murphy and Taggart and a few toadying laymen. Their only action of note in the midst of all the political upheaval was to publish an expensive full page advertisement in the "Irish News" condemning the violence of their own people.

This then is the background of opposition against which the Republican Forces are working. The most serious aspect of this opposition is the insidious way in which these people give themselves an aura of honesty, intelligence and Christianity. Their positions are such that their every word is listened to with attention and respect. They have ready access to the Press, Radio and TV where their pronouncements are given widespread prominence.

Let us examine their attitude in the dispassionate light of reason.

Unionism as represented by Mr. Chichester-Clark and his

ANOTHER REFORMING JUNTA

Experience suggests that the most dangerous moment for an evil government is usually when it begins to reform itself. The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable, become intolerable, the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable.

The above pertinent observation — however appropriate to the Six-County Unionist Junta — was not coined after the Civil Rights protests and the dastardly persecution of the minority, by the thugs and bully boys which was activated by the inane ramblings of Paisley and Bunting, but was made more than 50 years before the puppet Unionist junta was established by one of the most perceptive of modern political thinkers, Alexis de Tocqueville.

enured patiently, as being in Limited reforms and concessions of course, would never have been voluntarily granted by the Orange dominated sectarian bigots, but for the inevitable intervention of the foreign government which was in itself the original cause of the oppression and injustices that have probably no equal since the dawn of civilisation—may postpone a showdown with the regime, or they may provoke one. The present stalemate is so tense that it is unlikely to endure.

At some point, the British Government will be driven to act. Either it must carry reform far beyond the present half-measures or it must again resort to the tactics of their former Black and Tan thugs (a decision that may already have been decided if one considers the antics and brutality of Her Majesty's Duck Squads in Ballymurphy and New Lodge areas and the nefarious methods used by the Scotland Yard Metropolitan armed auxiliaries to intern suspects without actually invoking a Special Powers Act which is the envy of the second most oppressive government in the civilised world) but one thing is certain both Westminster and their Stormont sectarian puppets must by now realise that the minority will never again passively accept second-class citizenship.

LEAST WE FORGET

In considering our patriot dead in this month of June, we should remember with pride, those brave men of the Connaught Rangers who gave their lives in the mutiny in India, June, 1920.

One does not need to recount the history of these brave men, save to say that they gave their lives in protest against the atrocities inflicted on their own countrymen by England's Black and Tans.

Now they rest in peace under the sod of their homeland.

Contd. on Back Page.

Ballads of the Nation

STONE'S GRAVE

In Bowdenstown churchyard,
there is a green grave,
And wildly around it the
winter winds rave:
Small shelter, I ween are the
ruined walls there,
When the storm sweeps down
on the plains of Kildare.
Once I lay on that sod — it
lies over Wolfe Tone —
And thought how he perished
in prison, alone,
His friends unavenged and his
country unfreed.
"Oh Bitter," said I, "is the
patriot's meed."

"For in him the heart of a
woman combined,
With a heroic life and a
governing mind —
A martyr for Ireland, his
grave has no stone —
His name seldom named, and
his virtue unknown."
I was woke from my dream
by the voices and tread.
Of a band who came into the
home of the dead,
They carried no corpse, and
they carried no stone,
And they stopped when they
came to the grave of Wolfe
Tone.

They were students and
peasants, the wise and the
brave;
And an old man who knew
him from cradle to grave;
And children who thought me
hard-hearted; for they
On that sanctified sod were
forbidden to play.
But the old man, who saw I
was mourning there, said;
"We come sir, to weep where
young Wolfe Tone is laid.
And we're going to raise him
a monument too —
And plain one, yet fit for the
simple and true.

NOTE:

The month of June is the
month in which Wolfe Tone
was born to the Irish nation.
We publish below two ballads
which most vividly personify
the Father of the Irish Repub-
lic.

EDITOR

My heart overflowed, and I
clasped his old hand,
And I blessed him and blessed
every one of his band;
"Sweet, sweet 'tis to find that
such faith can remain
To the cause and the man so
long vanquished and slain."
In Bodenstown churchyard
there is a green grave,
And freely around it let
winter winds rave —
Far better they suit him —
the ruin and the gloom —
Till Ireland, a nation, can
build him a tomb.
Thomas Davis

STONE IS COMING BACK AGAIN

Cheer up brave hearts, to-
morrow's dawn will see us
march again,
Beneath old Erin's flag of
green that ne'er has known
a stain.
And ere our hands the sword
shall yeild, or furled that
banner be —
We swear to make our native
land from the tyrant's
thralldom free!

Chorus:

For Tone is coming back
again with legions o'er the
wave,
The scions of Lord Clare's
Brigade, the dear old land
to save,

For Tone is coming back
again with legions o'er the
wave,
The dear old land, the loved
old land, the brave old land
to save.

Though crouching minions
preach to us to be the
Saxon's slave.
We'll teach them all what
pikes can do when hearts
are true and brave,
Fling freedom's banner to the
breeze, let it float o'er the
land and sea —
We swear to make our native
land from the tyrant's
thralldom free!

Chorus:

Young Dwyer 'mong the
heather-clad hills of
Wicklow leads his men;
And Russell's voice stirs
kindred hearts in many an
Ulster glen:
Brave Father Murphy's men
marched on from the
Barrow to the sea;
We swear to make our native
land from the tyrant's
thralldom free!

Chorus:

Too long we've borne with
smouldering wrath the
cursed alien laws,
That wreck our shrines and
burn our homes and crush
our country's cause.
But now the day has come at
last; Revenge our watch-
word be!
We swear to make our native
land from the tyrant's thralldom
free!

Chorus:

WHO ARE THE VANDALS?

Andersonstown was one of
the latest of the 'no go' Na-
tionalist, Catholic, Republican
call it what you will areas' to
feel the self-righteous pro-es-
tablishment propaganda of the
'Sunday News.' Wholesale
coverage was afforded to the
vandalism in the refugee
chalets on the Glen Road.
What the 'News' failed to re-
port was that the local people
of all political shades could
easily prevent such damage,
if left alone. Why the reluc-
tance? Apparently British
Army patrols felt that people
here should be in bed at a
time apparently decided by
the British Military. After all
they are here to protect us,
and that includes our health,
via beauty sleep. No doubt all
sorts of denials will ensue
from that most reliable source
the British Army Public Re-
lations office.

However, we remember that
members of the Sean O'Car-
roll Sinn Fein Sumann were
'politely interrupted' while
removing painted wall slo-
gans. Encouraging isn't it!

THE WEEK'S COMING ATTRACTIONS

Mr. Faulkner's and Mr.
Bradford's not to mention
others, latest outbursts about
cowardly, shoot-in-the-dark,
etc., thugs and terrorists
(Cyprus, Aden, Israel etc.,
take note) made our corres-
pondent wonder if it would
not be possible for those con-
cerned in such affairs to is-
sue a weekly time table of
their planned events —

MONDAY at 7 p.m.
"Riot in Rathcool."

TUESDAY, at 12 noon
"Ambush at Castle Junction."

WEDNESDAY, at 9 p.m.
Two explosions at Ormeau
Avenue.

THURSDAY, at 10 a.m.
Two incendiaries for the Co-
Op, York Street.

FRIDAY, at 8.30 p.m.
Arms Lecture in Dunmurry.

SATURDAY, at 1 p.m.
Jeep shot up, Duck Squad to
be petrol bombed, Malone
Road.

SUNDAY,
Day of Rest!

29 Seaview Park,
Shankill,
Co. Dublin.
21st May, 1971.

H.E. The British Ambassador,
39 Merrion Square,
Dublin 2.

Dear Ambassador,

I am a British subject hav-
ing been living and working
in this country for the past
fourteen years, during this
time, I have been treated with
kindness and courtesy by the
Irish people, without excep-
tion. Having seen the tele-
vision reports of the brutality
exhibited by my fellow coun-
trymen towards civilians in
Belfast last night, I am now
ashamed to call myself British.
These soldiers behaved like
animals, not like mature ad-
ults.

I feel obliged to communi-
cate to you my absolute hor-
ror and disgust at last night's
happenings and I hope that
the British Government will
take all steps to see that the
regiment from which these
"men" were drawn, is sent
back to Britain where I am
sure they will receive a hero's
welcome.

Yours Very Sincerely

C. H. Thoen

c.c. Mr. J. Lynch T.D.
c.c. Mr. P. Kennedy M.P.
c.c. Mr. Edward Heath.

LEUT. W. REID R.I.P.

Died in Action

15th May, 1971.



Go ndeanaidh Dia trocaire ar
a anam.

ABBELICABLE TODAY?

And now Englishmen listen
to us. Though you were to-
morrow to give us the best
tenures on earth; though you
were to equalise, Presbyter-
ian, Catholic and Episcopalian
though you were to give us
the amplest representation in
your state; though you were
to disencumber us of your
debt and redress, every one of
our fiscal wrongs; and though
in addition to all this, you
plundered the treasures of the
world to lay gold at our feet,
and exhausted the resources

of your genius to do us hon-
our, still we tell you, we tell
you in the name of enthusias-
tic hearts, thoughtful souls
and fearless spirits, we tell
you by the past, the present
and the future — we would
spurn your gifts, if the con-
ditions were that Ireland
should remain a province.

We would tell you and all
whom it may concern, come
what may — bribery, or deceit
justice, policy or war — we
tell you in the name of Ire-
land, that Ireland shall be a
Nation.

Thomas Davis

OUR ANSWER

"We are older than England,
and we are stronger than
England. In every genera-
tion we have renewed the
struggle, and so it shall be
to the end. When 'England'
thinks she has trampled out
our blood in battle, some
brave man rises and rallies
us again; when England
thinks she has purchased us
with a bribe, some good
man redeems us with a sac-
rifice."

P. H. Pearse, 1914.

IRELAND TOMORROW

— AN ECONOMIC REALITY

THE BANKS

Ireland to-day is mis-governed by ideas and practices developed in Britain to suit British conditions and British society, and by political unity with Britain, Ireland is subject to a financial union which operates with disastrous effect on the Irish economy, both north and south of the Border. British financial dictation is the source of all our evils, causing chronic under-employment throughout Ireland, an under-employment which compels the yearly emigrations, the slow starvation of a large proportion of the people and the degeneration in the vitality of the Irish people.

Ireland's dependence on the British economic system is a product of the past which has been carried along by successive native quisling 'governments,' through the difference in the interests of the two countries is obvious. While Britain as a country is a region of heavy industrial development, with a largely neglected agricultural potential, Ireland is primarily an agricultural country, dependent for its prosperity on continuing development of its agricultural potential. Britain's economic policy is aimed at producing manufactured goods for export, and relying on cheap imported food. Ireland in direct competition is permitted, or more accurately forced financially to fill that need. Yet in filling it, in providing for the clearly defined and stagnant English market, Ireland limits itself and, of necessity enforces mass unemployment and emigration.

Such rigid financial control by Britain is preserved more subtly than by military occupation. Briefly, Britain depends on the power of her finance to swamp the Irish market. It will be obvious that those who have money are more powerful than those who have not. This is true whether we are speaking of men or entire countries. In the case of a nation's money or financial resources, it will be clear that those who control money control everything. When foreigners control the finance of a country, it is clear that that country is not really being ruled by its own people. In the case of Ireland, British interests control the resources of the country and as a result

the power of both the so-called Governments is limited. Foreign interests control Ireland through the Banks, all of which are controlled by the Bank of England, which in turn is dependent on powerful international interests. Thus the country as a whole is enslaved by private foreign interests who are not interested in the good of the Irish people and who take no account of their needs, except where they are exploited for profit.

Why does such a situation exist and why does it continue especially in the 26 Counties which are supposedly independent of Britain? Firstly, economic dependence on privately owned banks is a British idea, evolved over the ages to suit the British class-system of money owners and traders.

It was imposed in Ireland, and survived there because of British political government. To-day, it survives in the 26 counties because of the servile insistence of the native government on the economic concepts of the British past, by blindness to the fact that British and Irish interests are widely divergent and by the inability to envisage any alternative system. Full independence from foreign influence will only be achieved when dependence on British Sterling is ended. It is a link prolonged by international financiers for no reason other than its convenience, facilitating the free movement of money from country to country. In short, by preserving parity with sterling, the quisling regimes preserve exploitation of the Irish people. There is no good reason why the Irish Unit of currency should be dependent on anything other than the real value of the goods it is used to exchange, for money is, in reality merely a method of facilitating such exchange. Irish conditions and Irish conditions alone should fix the value of currency.

In short, the main fault of the present monetary policy of both Dublin and Belfast is that banking is regarded as a trade to be conducted for private profit, and not as a public service. The purpose of money is to ensure efficient distribution of produce and to provide for the inter-change of services in the public interest. That private interests

should control this community service and profit therefrom, is criminal.

Such interest, being profit motivated, can only limit the progress of the Irish nation and enslave her people. Thus, when full political freedom is gained, first priority must be given to the institution of a Department of Economic Development which will have as its basic task the setting up of a genuine National Bank, the currency of which would be divorced from sterling and whose value would be based on the level required to maintain a sound economy. Such an economy would exist when maximum employment was available, and the department would further be responsible for enforcing a policy to achieve maximum employment for all Irish people, to eliminate emigration and to secure co-ordinated progress, laying the base for a prosperous country and a flourishing people.

TERROR AND INJUSTICE

The Cry From The Streets

The plaintive cry from the streets of Belfast in recent weeks has been a cry of pain and anguish. The pain is seen in the faces of the Nationalist people of our city as each day and each night they are subjected to the tactics of terror on the part of the occupation forces of the British Army. The anguish of our people is felt in every Nationalist home, as its very foundations are ripped apart for the sake of justice. This 'justice' is demonstrated in the wholesale imprisonment of our young men and women. How much longer are we, who have suffered so much of recent years to endure this harrowing time?

Each Nationalist District of Belfast has seen terror strike cruelly and with venom. We

contd. on Page 10

THE SEPARATIST TRADITION

It will be conceded that the Irish who opposed the English landing in 1169 were Separatists. Else why oppose those who came to annex? Those generations, the mere from 1169 to 1509 approximately, of English State papers were Separatists. Those who brought over Edward Bruce, MacMurrough, who hammered the English for 50 years, turbulent Shane O'Neill, Fitzmaurice, who brought the Spaniards to Smerick Harbour were Separatists.

Separatists are always pro-something, which the English disapprove. O'Neill and O'Donnell in their time, Rory O'More in his, Owen Roe O'Neill at the Kilkenny Confederation, to be followed in later years by Sarsfield. Even the descendants of the Cromwellians and Wellianites became infected with this strange disease, Separation.

The first man who spoke, or seemed to speak, for Ireland and who was not a Separatist was Henry Grattan. And it was against his constitution that Wolfe Tone and the United men rose. Thus the Pale made common cause with the Gael and declared itself separ-

atist. Daniel O'Connell was not a Separatist and young Irishmen revolted against him. After Young Ireland, the Fenians who guarded against future misrepresentation by naming themselves the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The claim of the Separatist tradition has never once snapped during the centuries. Veterans of Rainsale were in 41, veterans of Benburo followed Sarsfield. The poets kept the fires of the nation burning from Limerick to Dungannon.

Napper Landy of the Volunteers was the Napper Landy of the United Irishmen. The Russell of 1803 was the Russell of '98. Robert Holmes of '98 and 1803 lived to be a Young Irelander. Three Young Irelanders founded the Republican Brotherhood. Fenian Veterans, notably Tom Clarke were out in 1916. 16 Veterans fought through the Tan War and on again, through the so-called Civil War. They were there all through the twenties thirties and even in the forties Mr. De Valera executed a 1916 Veteran Paddy McGrath.

The "forty" men took us into the fifties and they with the 50 veterans took us into the sixties. And to-day, in the seventies, we have among us men who served in the "thirties," "forties," "fifties" and the "sixties." The Separatist tradition is not dead yet. It lives on. Indeed as our enemies know it is stronger to-day than at any time since the Tan War.

ILLEGITIMATE?

If we are all British, and the North-East part of this island is an integral part of Britain; just as Brian Faulkner says Birmingham is part of Britain then what are those armed soldiers doing travelling about in a state of war?

When Mr. Faulkner and company are on holiday in a foreign country such as England; do they sign their hotel registers as British or Irish nationals? Major Chichester-Clark the previous leader of the Unionist regime did not know what he was. When he was asked during an interview if he considered himself Irish or British, he replied that he didn't know. Let us face it, for one to say I'm Ulsterish would be ridiculous. One excellent test of identity is to ask an Englishman what nationality is a person who was born in, say, Belfast, or Larne, not to mention Aghadowey. Providing that the person in question's parents are also products of Belfast or thereabouts (say even Dublin) the Englishman will answer that an 'Ulsterman' is an Irishman. So it is very difficult to explain to an Englishman like Mr. Heath or Mr. Wilson that people like Mr. Faulkner or his esteemed friend, Mr. Harry West are British. Mr. West you will remember, had an interest in aeronautics not so long ago.

Does the British Tommy, sitting on the back of his Landrover with his finger on the trigger of his rifle hoping for someone to 'act suspicious' really believe he's in Britain in the middle of Ballymurphy? The British Tommy considers all the people here, be they Shankill or Falls, as 'paddies' — inferior beings. When a British soldier shoots dead a civilian on a Belfast street, does he consider himself committing political fratricide? He does not.

The armed troops in N. East Ireland to-day know that they are an occupying force. They are maintaining the Unionist regime by force of arms. To claim that they are a peace-keeping force is nonsense. They are not preventing sectarian strike, as the politicians say. The only thing that they are preventing (temporarily) is an independent 32 County Irish Republic. An important point to remember is that if we in the six occupied counties are truly British just like the occupying soldier then our fathers and grandfathers were Black and Tans. Where they?

ON PARTITION

To conquer Irish hearts we
schooled,
In patient hope to bide,
By dreams of English
justice fooled,
And English tongues that
lied.
That hour of weak delusion
past,
The empty dream has flown
Our hope and strength we
find at last,
Is in Ourselves Alone.

JOHN O'HAGAN

The origin of partition is not an Irish idea. It is very much the idea of Englishmen. Irish dismemberment of our country has been a pawn in the British party game for well on a hundred and fifty years. The Irish people on a whole or in part have suffered because of this.

England faced with the spirit of the Irish nation knew fine well what could happen to this piece of their empire if this spirit was to get any stronger, decided on the policy of divide and conquer. This then was the starting point of partition. A policy born into the halls of Westminster, used the difference in religion to separate the Irish people. So we go back to men like Sir William Pitt, British Prime Minister. It was he who wrote to the viceroy in Dublin.

"Let there be Parliamentary reforms, but a prudent and temperate reform which may unite the Protestant interest, excluding the Catholics from any stake in the representation or the government of the country." Then on to Sir Robert Peel, British Prime Minister who set down the principle on which Ireland should be governed.

"I hope they may always be disunited, the great art is to keep them so. And yet at peace, or rather not at war, with each other." So was launched in Ireland a movement of pogrom and anarchy, and at a glance it is seen that the religious and physical partition of this country is because England will it.

England knowing that the seeds of hate sown by her had taken root in Irish minds offered a dissident minority in the six North Eastern Counties a privileged position. They who had been a minority are now the majority, and in keeping that majority we see the coercion of the Irish people.

In these six North Eastern

Counties the ascendancy spirit rules. They are the upper crust and it is they who seal their own laws and it is they who uphold all laws except the laws they choose to break. We have no doubt as to what they want. They themselves have set this out. A Protestant House of Peers composed of Protestant Lords, spiritual in Protestant succession, of Protestant Lords temporal with Protestant inheritance, and a Protestant legislature, a Protestant judiciary, a Protestant Executive in all and each of their varieties, degrees and degradation. This then is their ideal. This then is in the minds of men who are supposed to be the Government of all. Not so for Sir James Craig, who stated in 1932,

"Ours is a Protestant Government and I am an Orangeman," and from the same man in 1934, "All I boast is that we are a Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State. I am an Orangeman first and a member of this Parliament afterwards." Then Basil Brook who in July 1933 stated.

"Many in this audience employ Catholics, but I have not one in my place." Catholics are out to destroy Ulster with all their might and power. And later — "I strongly deny that I have never attacked any man because of his religion."

One must point out that these are public utterances from Prime Ministers of this six-county Government. So I finish this paragraph with the general utterance of them all. At an Orange-Unionist meeting in the Ulster Hall in 1935 a speaker said, referring to the terrific cost to the ratepayers in compensation of the 1935 Anti-Catholic Riots. "If it cost a million a week to get rid of the Fenians it would be worth it."

This then is the foundation of their government, HATE. Hate of their Catholic neighbour. This then is their partition, nothing but a Government bound up by the laws of sin and a crudeness so vile that its mark is seen in the faces of the oppressed and in the death masks of all who have fought against it. This is a Government with its tradition of burning houses and the pogrom. So the barricades of 1969 and the pogrom of that year are as much a part of the pogrom of 1875,

the pogroms of 1872, 1886, 1893, 1898, 1921/22 and 1935.

This then is a Government who will always welcome the application of force to maintain partition, who will always welcome the dismemberment of our country, who will always try and divide us, knowing that if they do so they conquer us.

Often we are told by the Unionist Orange spokesmen that the reason for partition is the historical differences in our community. Meaning that Protestants have always differed from their Catholic neighbours in terms of being Irish, or not being Irish. These same spokesmen choose to forget how in the past, the great bulk of the Irish people Protestant, Catholic and dissenter have stood shoulder to shoulder, not as an Irish Protestant or an Irish Catholic, but as Irishmen. Irishmen like John Claudius Beresford, an Orangeman who when writing to Castlereagh stated. "Proud of the name of Irishman, I never hope to exchange it for that of a colonist or to see my country governed by laws enacted by a Parliament over which she can have no control from the small share she will have in the election of it."

There are many such statements. We read of a Dublin Orange Lodge passing a resolution declaring — "As Orangemen, as Freeholders and as Irishmen." Going north to Dungannon in the year 1782 to a meeting of the Ulster section of the Volunteers who passed a famous resolution, "That we hold the right of private judgement in the matters of religion to be equally sacred to others as in ourselves. That as men and as Irishmen, Christian and as Protestants we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow subjects and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and the prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

The words of two men. One who created or helped to create the partition of this country and the other who helped to maintain it are an insight into the way this Ireland of ours has been taken on by England. First, Lord Carson speaking in the House of Lords on 14th December, 1923, as he surveyed the

effects of the Tory use of the Irish question.

"I was in earnest, I was not playing at politics. I believed all this. What a fool I was. I was only a puppet and so was Ulster. And so was Ireland in the political game that was to get the Conservative party into power."

Then Sir James Craig, who while on a visit to Downing Street in 1936, stated privately—"In this island we cannot live always separated from one another. We are too small to be apart or for the border to be there for all time."

(Continued on Page 9)

The Northern Cross-word

Irish and British politicians, public figures, responsible people, and lastly, but most important of all, the people have all of late began to discuss the possibilities of a British withdrawal, and the consequences of this. Some wish the British replaced immediately, others see them depart as the result of a long bitter struggle, others can never see them go. It is not the authors intention to cause an argument between these various groupings, rather the wish is to put on paper some of the points that our people are turning over in their minds. By doing so it is my hope that this question will then be out in the open, and we will then have more discussion, and decisions on the whole issue. No one could deny that a major division exists in the North-East i.e. Protestants and Catholics (Nationalist and Pro-British if you prefer). agree that both sections may Accepting this one must then disagree as to the composition of any prospective peace force indeed even as to the necessity for one at all. The UN is universally recognised at the moment as being the only world-wide force capable of such activities.

However, remember that the UN is made up as the name suggests of various states, including Britain and the 26 County State. To date the British forces have proved unacceptable to one section of our community and indeed at times to the other section as well. We can rest assured that Free State Troops would not be acceptable to the pro-British element, neither would our own local defence forces be acceptable to them. Some suggest that British troops should patrol certain areas, and Free State troops other areas. However, 'Statists' are not acceptable to Republicans (a distinction must be made here between Republicans and Mr. Goulding's group, who accept the 26 County State)

who remember that these people sold us out in 1921 and again in August 1969. What then of troops from neutral states and in this vein could Commonwealth troops claim to be neutral? How about the Swedes etc., who have proved their value in such work. All questions worth thinking about. I believe that one can draw a parallel between the Six Counties and what is now known as the State of Israel, before its inception as such.

The Jews were a large minority, so are we; they lived basically in ghettos so do we.

They formed their own defence forces, so did we in 1969. So successful were they that they went on to defeat the British, and the regular and irregular forces of 5 states. Yet they then allowed the UN to dictate a peace settlement. We had our defence forces in 1969, and it is an indisputable fact that in what came to be called 'no go' areas the crime rate was the lowest since the foundation of this 'state.' Here however, we depart from the Jews, for they went on from success to success, for they and their exiles were organised, under the umbrella of the 'Jewish Agency.' We, the Irish have nothing comparable. The only group that appears to be organised are the Republicans.

I would suggest that we are capable of organising, not only are we capable, but we will go under if we do not. Republicans, therefore should bear the brunt, take the bull by its horns and immediately give the lead to all those who wish to be led. Make us into a well organised, efficient force, capable of not only withstanding onslaughts, but also of leading us onto a sovereign independent state. The world said the Jews would never succeed, yet they did, against all odds. What they did so can we. It is only a matter of will, determination and organisation.

Women of the Republic

PART I

Not one short article, but many volumes would be needed to tell the story of all the women, great and humble, gifted and unlettered, who throughout every generation have suffered death, imprisonment, torture, defamation of character, loss of health and mind, all in the struggle for freedom. The great McSwiney wrote on 'Womenhood' in which he alluded to the young wife of Tone. High praise from one who was so critical, candid, so honest in his opinions, but it was all deserved and countless thousands of other Irish women deserves it as fully. Who can think of Anne Devlin, bayoneted, half hanged, bribed, imprisoned and tortured without feeling a sense of pride. How many mothers in '98 had to watch the murdered bodies of their husbands and sons hanging outside their own doors. Give honour unstinted to the women who cheered on the soldiers of freedom in every generation, to 'Eva' and 'Mary' and 'Speranza of the Nation' to Ellen O'Leary and Fanny Parnell; to Ethna Carbery, and Alice Milligan of the 'Sean Van Vochth in the dark nineties; to Dora Sigeron who sang of the men of Easter Week, and who died heart broken at the betrayal of '21. In 1916 and after, no man was braver than the women and girls, the soldiers of Cumann Na mBan, who were not content to cheer but went into the fight with their men, sharing in all its dangers, rigours, imprisonment and torture. What of the women in each decade of the twenties, thirties and forties who, fought side by side with their menfolk. What of the women of to-day, those at present in Armagh Jail and, those who are shortly to join them there, who have been torn from their homes and children because they dared to be free. What of the Women's Action Committees, are they not among our staunchest supporters, in and out of prison? What of the Women of Sinn Féin who labour unceasingly in the Republican cause. Give honour where honour is due, and to none is it due more than to the women of our own day.



PART II

Ireland, more than most, is a man's country, and for all the feminine grace of its streets and setting, Dublin, is a man's city. Women sit in the Dail it is true, but normally as widows or descendants of former patriots. Now and again newspapers deplore the small part taken by women in public life, and thereby provoke letters from wives and mothers pointing out how little encouragement they are given.

This is the reaction of the clever and the ambitious, the general reaction from women is 'Here the men are Kings.' Perhaps it was always so; certainly Irish history seems to be masculine history until we go back to the legendary Queen Maeve. There is one exception — the cardinal episode which liberated Ireland from English rule. In the Irish Renaissance which took place in the late nineteenth cent-

ury women played a vital part. They wrote, acted and painted alongside their male colleagues as equals. But towering high above even these great women are the political rebels. Two of these are the Countess Markievicz and Maud Gonne. Two women who kept the revolutionary spirit of the 1916 Rising alive while most of their male comrades were languishing in English prisons.

Two women, though divided by personality differences and characters, yet united by one common factor. A devotion to something bigger than themselves and their immediate circles. One could say that they were both passionate, champions of the oppressed and the suffering, both dedicated to the freedom of the Irish people.

Maud Gonne was the most beautiful woman of her day. Her extraordinary beauty, her beautifully modulated voice, exquisite sense of dress, all

made her conspicuous in Dublin. "When one met her walking in a Dublin Street," writes Kathleen Tynan "one felt as if a goddess had come to earth." Yet physical perfection alone could not have done it. She had also the glamour of the dedicated being; she was Kathleen ni Houlihan, personification of the Irish cause.

She was born in Aldershot in 1866 where her father, a British officer, was stationed.

The Gonne's claimed Mayo descent but had been English for several generations. Her mother died when she was four, and her sister Kathleen two. Thomas Gonne did not remarry but had his daughters brought up by a nurse in Ireland, and then by a governess on the French riveria. Her early youth was spent in Ireland until her father's death of typhoid in the Dublin outbreak in the 1880's. She was forced to live with her uncle a narrow-minded bigot, who left her with an intense dislike

and hatred of England for the rest of her life.

On her return to Ireland she astonished everyone. Her only important task in life was to find her place in the Nationalist struggle. She immediately came up against the blank wall of Irish anti-fenianism. Nothing daunted, she pursued her aim until some few years later she was being called "The Women of the Sidhe" by the people of Donegal.

It was there that her last scruples about violence vanished. She witnessed a particularly brutal eviction campaign. Old people, mothers, and small babies put out to lie under hedges or herded into workhouses. "A thousand Irishmen and women were left homeless," she writes "and how many of them died that winter I do not know." I have always hated war and am by nature and philosophy a pacifist, but it is the English who forced war on us, and it is the first principle of war to kill the enemy."

Henceforth, her life was devoted completely to fighting oppression and fear. Before she died in 1953 she was to suffer imprisonment, starvation and great physical deprivation for her principles.

She was not an originator, nor a thinker, nor a planner, or in the long run even a leader. But she was an inspiration, a flame. She brought to what looked like hopeless causes a courage and generosity which was her own, and wealth and position, which she was the first to acknowledge, were sheer good luck. But other young women blessed with with similar good luck never thought of sharing it with those less fortunate. It is infinitely to her credit that at every turn when Maud Gonne could have had an easy and cherished existence, she chose instead to make it hard.

The second of our rebel women, Countess Constance Markievicz was another 'outsider' to the Irish scene, in the sense that she was born of the landed gentry, Constance Georgina Gore-Booth of Lis-sadel, ten miles north of Sligo.



contd. n Page 8.

Theobald Wolfe Tone



Theobald Wolfe one was the Irish Separatist par excellence. There have been Irishmen who began as constitutional agitators, and ended up as rebels. There were such men among Tone's own colleagues in the United Irish Movement. Such men are there today. But Tone began and ended up as a rebel? He was a formidable rebel at that. The Duke of Wellington had this to say of him — "Wolfe Tone was a most extraordinary man, and his history is the most curious history of these times." What moulded him to this greatness, what ancestry gave him these qualities?

He was born, according to his own memoirs on the 20th June, 1763, in Dublin. His father was a successful coachmaker, the son of a farmer near Naas, in County Kildare. His mother was the daughter of a merchant marine captain in the West Indies Trade. He had three brothers and a sister, all like himself, adventurous by nature. Peter Tone, his father was a Protestant, his mother a Catholic. His mother's early influence was probably the reason that Theobald's mind was never open to sectarian prejudice. He went first to a classical school and then into Trinity College. At first he was indolent and lazy, but eventually applied his great mind to serious study. He was highly

romantic and fell in love with the grand-daughter of a rich clergyman named Witherington, who lived in Grafton Street. The lady was 16 and "as beautiful as an angel" in Tone's eyes. She reciprocated his affection. They knew neither parents would agree to their marriage in view of their youth and financial position, so they settled the matter for themselves by running off and getting married. All through Tone's troubled career, the love of his wife and children was his great strength in the times of darkness and despair.

When he ultimately left the University he entered the Middle Temple with the idea of becoming a barrister. This proved of little interest to him "I have no great affection for study in general, but that of the law I particularly disliked." Instead, he wrote several reviews for the *European Magazine*, an occupation that brought him in £50 in two years, a very welcome addition to his slender resources.

The practice of law he describes himself as 'more and more disgusting' so eventually his mind turned to politics. One can imagine the type of politics then prevalent in Ireland, with its utterly corrupt and farcical system of elections and essentially English outlook in all elements of Irish life. The colonial parliament of 1782 was in being; but the great mass of the Irish

people had neither votes nor representation in it. England was the 'Mother Country.'

Tone with his upbringing might have been excused for taking a similar view, but he soon made (to quote his own words) 'a great discovery ... that the influence of England was the radical vice of our Government. Ireland would never be happy, free or prosperous until she was independent. That independence was unattainable whilst the connection with England existed. This theory ... has ever since been invariably directed by political conduct — and is one to which I have sacrificed everything and am ready to sacrifice my life if necessary.'

At that time there were 3 principal religions in Ireland. The Catholics, the great mass of the nation, who were leaderless and crushed under the infamies and cruelties of the Penal Laws. The Protestants, who were the chief instruments in retaining the English connection in exchange for places of power and profit, and the Dissenters, who were more moderate in outlook and who were chiefly responsible for the success of the Volunteer movement of 1782. Tone planned to unite all three as a preliminary to breaking the English connection. The French revolution had kindled fresh interest in men's minds. He therefore wrote a pamphlet addressed to the Dissenters entitled — 'An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland,' stressing that both bodies had one interest in common, and one enemy too, England. He appealed to them to forget all past feuds and to unite as one people claiming the independence of their country. This pamphlet was widely circulated particularly in the North of Ireland and was very well received. The volunteers of Belfast made Tone an honorary member of their corps and invited him to spend a few days in Belfast. He did, and drew up the declaration of the first club of the United Irishmen Club with Simon Butler as Chairman, and James Napper Tandy, secretary.

The Catholic community had been deserted by its lead-

ers. Lord Kininane their supposed chief had solemnly assured the government in the name of Catholics that they had no wish to be restored to their rights. Tone's job at this time was to travel all over the country stirring up the Catholics, allaying fears of Dissenters and gradually welding the two together.

In 1792 the Catholic committee met in Dublin with all the forms of a legislative assembly. Their audacity reduced the Government to 'awe and stupefaction.' All they actually sought at this stage was the repeal of the Penal Laws and their admittance to full rights of citizenship. Tone the only Protestant in the whole assembly drew up their claim for their rights and accompanied the deputation to the King. He then believed it possible to secure the emancipation of Ireland by 'legal and constitutional means'. Without revolutions or bloodshed. He was not long mistaken.

The Government quickly recovered from their dismay. They brought into play all the familiar weapons — military display, treason laws, bribery, the playing of class against class, the appeal to the cupidity of the avaricious and the fears of the timid, wholesale arrests and private interrogation. The Catholic leaders weakened and missed their opportunity. The Government began from that moment on to act on the infernal system of goading the people to desperation and open insurrection, in order to justify their means and harshness.

The results on people lacking in political discipline was obvious. Quarrels broke out among them, and Tone, dispirited, made up his mind to leave the country. He made up his mind to go to America and from there to write to the French Minister asking the help of France. Before he left Ireland, Tone went to Belfast and there, on the Summit of McArt's Fort, Cavehill, he in company with Russell, Neillson, Simms and McCracken took a solemn vow never to desist in their efforts until they had

overthrown the authority of England in their land. Tone and his family eventually arrived in Philadelphia and he succeeded in getting in touch with the French Minister. He then set sail for France, where he landed at Havre on February 1st 1796.

It was seven months before he secured an assurance of help. Not that he, by any means, got what he set out for. His own ideas when he landed were an army of 20,000 men, adequately equipped with guns for another 20,000, a skilled and trusted general and generous artillery support. But many of the men with whom he had to deal sought the same and with less expense, men and arms.

At last on 17th September, 1796, he left Paris to join the French Army at Reimes. The expedition was under the command of General Hoche, a famous young and deservedly popular officer. After a further series of delays, they finally set sail on December 15th. Their destination was Bantry Bay, and they had with them a force of 13,975 men. Tragedy struck, bad weather resulted in the loss of General Hoche's ship with all hands lost and ships blown out to sea. By January 1st, Tone was back, nothing accomplished. There followed two more attempts one with Dutch forces and one once again with the French. Both failed. The third attempt saw Tone with General Hardy with a mere 3,000 men and nine ships. He knew from the start that it was doomed to failure. The fleet encountered British ships in Lough Swilly. The French Admiral had but four ships left. He ordered all but his own battleship to retreat since they had no chance against the much heavier armed British. Tone commanded one of the 'Hoche's' batteries during the action and fought with the utmost desperation. She was at last taken, but Tone escaped. He was not recognised as he now had the appearance and language of a Frenchman. At least to the English officers. It was left to a former fellow of Trinity to betray him — Sir George Hill. He was arrested

whilst having breakfast with other French Officers at the home of the Earl of Cavan.

Tried by court martial on November 18th 1798 he acknowledged that the accusations against him were true and asked to be shot as a soldier, but this was denied. He was sentenced to death as a traitor on 12th November.

John Philbot Curran took it upon himself to delay the execution in the hope that some sort of exchange could be worked out between the English and French officers. This delay was granted, but when the sheriff went to the prison to inform Tone, he found him in a strange condition. The jailers informed the sheriff that Tone had inflicted a severe wound in his throat with a pen knife and was severely ill. A surgeon was called to close the wound and it was thought he might live since the artery had not been cut. For four days he lay, with his head tilted to the left, a jailer standing over him constantly. On the fourth day he died. So ended the life of Tone at the age of 35.

It may be said that Tone's life was a life of mistakes, that he did not achieve much. If he did not in his lifetime

achieve greatness, he started much. Without him Republicanism in Ireland would virtually have no traditions. For though he was not the only Republican Ireland, had he, was the first, and he was the only one who had the mark of genius. Without him, it is hard to imagine what that century would have given to the Irish National Tradition. The United Irishman would have remained a vague body without some man to personify them: the romantic figure of Lord Edward; the rising of '98; Emmet's speech from the dock — these too would have fostered only empty idealism. And it would have been an easy task for any subsequent political party to defuse this through a process of eliminating Tone. Tone, however, is not easily eliminated. And if there was about him none of the easy romanticism of Emmet, of Lord Edward, he gets the reward of his hard realism by being remembered with greater clarity. More than that the greater vigour of his personality enfolds these lesser men so that they are remembered and defined by him.

What, on the other hand, would have happened to Tone had his great autobiography been captured and suppressed by the British Court? The indisputable answer emphasises

the unique quality of the man and his work. He could indeed have been remembered and revered. Those three expeditions would have seen to that, And even though his impact on the popular imagination might have become thereby even more powerful than it is — yet it would all have been the impact not of a real man but a figure removed from reality. He would have come down to us wrapped in the romantic atmosphere which has melted Emmet. Fitzgerald O'Brien and O'Leary even so recent a figure at Pearse, into greater falsities. A truly recent a figure as Pearse, into wretched fate for Tone, most luminous and human of men to shimmer through the sentimental dimness in which pietism wraps the great — especially the oratorical great. From this fate he is saved by his diaries. His drinking, his temper, his flute playing, lack of self-dignity, all so frankly talked about. These qualities make us feel that humanity is safe in his hands. That he is sincere, that revolution to him was a serious matter and not a form of self-glorification.

By that humanity the truth of what Tone was, and of what he stood for, is preserved intact. His personality the man himself, is a definition of Irish Republicanism. It is the only sensible definition that exists.

Intimidation Why the Delay?

Mr. Jim Malley could be excused for his first 'explanation' of the penalties that any person would be liable to for refusing to complete the Census forms. However, since his first utterance on the subject the public have been subjected to to date an unending stream of statements and TV interviews, each relating to the same theme, the penalties that could be incurred. One must now wonder has Mr. Malley left himself open to a charge of intimidation in this respect. Those who refused to do fill in their forms and have reiterated their refusal to do so, could, it is suggested, now be the victims of a subtle attempt on the part of the 'Government' to induce them to do so, by the threat of fines or imprisonment. Perhaps all those who refused to take part in the Government's census could form an association.

The position being (a) to determine the number of refusals involved and (b) to present this figure to Mr. Malley, with the explanation that any attempt to bring selective prosecutions on his part would be met with a determined effort to balk him on the part of all those concerned. Worth while don't you think?

Condemnations

Condemnation has been a much-used word of late, as any reader of the daily papers or viewer of television already knows. Condemnations have poured in from the Unionist party, in all its shades and varieties. Then followed the Alliance Party, close on its heels being the N.U.M. Just after them came P.A.C.E. with the S.D.L.P. the Labour Party, Republican Labour, Nationalists, P.D., Churches of all denominations, also our dear 'Idle' Jack, seminars etc. British politicians were of course horrified to an extent that only they are capable of. The strange thing about all this furore is that it has all been heard so many times before. The answer is there for all to see, though there are none so blind as those who will not see.

Over fifty years ago one man stated what has proved to be so very prophetic indeed. He said — "Ireland unfree, shall NEVER be at peace." But there are still those too blind to see.

Numerous motorists in the 6 Counties are at the moment victims of a new style victimisation. Hundreds of them, exact figures would be known only to the British authorities have been involved in one way or the other in road accidents with British Military vehicles. But when it comes to the matter of compensation it would appear that the authorities concerned are to say the least dragging their heels. Such a situation is intolerable why should the motorist, so often the victim of Governments in one way or the other have to now bear this added victimisation of being unable to have the damage done to their vehicles paid for. Perhaps the British gentlemen responsible are afraid of the appalling record of bad driving by their troops becoming public knowledge. The car owners involved would be foolish to allow this state of affairs to be swept under the carpet, they should demand their rights now.

BOYCOTT IN PROGRESS?

The story goes that it originated in the New Lodge Road area after the 'Poisoned Dwarfs' blood brothers, brutally tried to suppress the feelings of the local people over the alleged discrimination in Gallahers. From there we are told that it has since spread to various other places in Belfast. 'It' being a 'boycott' of all brands of cigarettes and varieties. Then followed the Alliance Party, close on its heels being the N.U.M. Just after them came P.A.C.E. with the S.D.L.P. the Labour Party, Republican Labour, Nationalists, P.D., Churches of all denominations, also our dear 'Idle' Jack, seminars etc. British politicians were of course horrified to an extent that only they are capable of. The strange thing about all this furore is that it has all been heard so many times before. The answer is there for all to see, though there are none so blind as those who will not see.

While on the subject of Gallahers, our thoughts go back to a TV interview in which one of the spokesmen stated that he did not know the ratio of Catholic and Protestant employees. We are asked to inform him that at the moment in their York Street Factory, there are approximately 30 Catholic employees one of which is a male. While not vouching for the authenticity of this report, we would like to know what Gallahers have to say about it.



REPUBLICAN PLOT MILLTOWN CEMETERY

Derry's Women

The formation of a Womens Action Committee in Derry City has been followed with great interest by their comrades in Belfast, also by their common enemy! Women here are, to say the least delighted, not only at the formation of the Committee, but also at the

speed with which they have moved into 'action.' The response they received in their initial venture, over three hundred ladies, proves to us in Belfast, and more to Derry that not only is there interest and enthusiasm in the women of Derry, but more than anything else that they are full of determination. In common with ourselves, they are saying

we are a risen people. Be ware. Our Action Committees in Belfast can only take heart from this latest success, let it spur them on to greater efforts no more talk, no defeatism, no climb down or feelings of despair. Some of your fellow women are in jail. Action, the word that inspired your formation, Action is what is needed, NOW.

Women of the Republic
contd. on Page 5.

Her life was easy and pleasant. There was no need for her to reproach herself on her attitude to the poorer classes. Her family did what they could to help their neighbours were welcome in the cottages and adored by the house servants. As Constance puts it herself "Though Irish in all one's innermost feelings, one's superficial outlook was aloof and vague." She read some papers and the real purpose of her life unfolded. She was a society hostess, forty years of age, married to a Polish Count and the mother of a stepson and a daughter.

As though to make up for her lost time, she rose quickly in her chosen society. By 1909 she was on the Sinn Féin Council which was at that time a pacifist movement. Although she did not agree with Arthur Griffith she still followed her own inspirations and ideas. The previous year Baden-Powell had founded the Boy Scouts Movement and she heard with indignation that the Dublin Troop had paraded before the English Viceroy. It was after this that she suggested the formation of a rebel boy scouts movement, with the openly avowed purpose of laying the foundations of an Irish Army to fight for freedom. The idea was not received enthusiastically. Nevertheless, she went ahead and with some support from Jim Larkin, the great Trade Union leader held the first meeting in the Trade Union Offices. She christened her boys the Fianna — after Finn's legendary warrior band and with its programme and her vivid personality made an instant appeal. This is perhaps her greatest work and the most permanent monument to her memory.

What happened in the years which followed is known to all. In the Easter Rising of 1916, Constance was the only uniformed woman officer. The slouch hat with its plume feather must have been an easy target for British Soldiers. Like the other rebels, she was taken prisoner, tried and sentenced to death. She received the verdict radiantly not knowing it was to be commuted to life imprisonment. The prison system, designed to kill her spirit, made her more determined to see Ireland free. She was there to see this dream fulfilled, and more unhappily the terrible Civil War which is such a slur

on our history, with wholesale slaughter of Republicans. Countess Markievicz was not liked by all and her memory even yet is not totally a happy one. In a sense she is a victim of her foremost position as a woman in an almost totally male army.

But let this be understood. Without the unspectacular courage of Republican women in their thousands, freedom could not have been won. Whether these two spectacular women had a decisive influence on the course of Irish history still remains to be seen.

What they were and still are is beacon fires. They remind us all, especially Irish women, that there is a greater good than hearth and home. Whatever one's views on Irish politics, or women's place in society, it should be possible to contemplate these two lives with the emotion aroused in the pacifist Eva Gore-Booth by the executions after the Rising of 1916.

"Grief for the dead,
Of one who did not share
their strife,

And mourned that any
blood was shed,

Yet felt the broken glory
of their state,

Their strange heroic question-
ing of fate,

Ribbon with gold those
rays of this our life."

As Simple As That!

"We went out to break the connection between this country, and the British Empire and to establish an Irish Republic"

JAMES CONNOLLY 1916

What could be more simple, sound and basic a phrase than this, spoken by James Connolly during the Easter Rising of 1916. Yet all can not clearly see that this struggle we are waging is to make a reality out of those few words?

No doubt the ideals of the above sentence are close to the hearts and minds of all those who cherish the cause of freedom. But only practice can turn the theory of words into action. The past 55 years of foreign rule and dictatorship have demonstrated clearly that the task defined by the men of 1916 was not, and still is not an easy one. However, the situation which existed then, though somewhat similar to-day, was really entirely hopeless. Those brave men knew that their immediate cause was lost, before they set out. The people, a necessary commodity, in the terms of revolution were not sympathetic. The ideals and beliefs of these patriots fell on deaf ears.

Let us now consider the latest attempt at the severance of the British connection and the establishment of the Irish Republic? In our day Republicanism is the in thing among our youth. The injustices being meted out by the hirings of the Government of Stormont is doing more than anything else to rekindle a fire in the minds of a suppressed Nationalist people. The terror tactics of the British Forces of Occupation are playing an intricate part in the cultivation of an Irish nation bent on its freedom. The stirring in the minds of the people of the only cause that will prevail is clearly seen in the recent outbursts of discontent from all corners of our society.

It is obvious that people are realising that the solution to the 'Irish Question' lies in the restoration of the Irish nation to the Irish people.

James Connolly and his brave comrades in 1916 knew they would not win. They were certain that victory in its literal sense would elude them. However, to-day, we Republicans can see the winds of change sweeping o'er this land. Our fight is yet to come but our victory is assured for in this generation.....

"We will break the connection with Britain and we establish an Irish Republic."

It is as simple as that..... Then Connolly and those brave men who died in 1916 will be vindicated.

In Two Words

It was reported recently in a book review that Ernest Blythe has written a new book on the Irish language. Reference is made in the review that he spent time in the native speaking areas of Kerry solely because of his great love of the language and the people.

If Ernest Blythe's love was so deep why did he remain a prominent member of the Free State Government — responsible for the wholesale murder of Republicans of whom a good percentage were Kerry men, probably some from the self-same Gaeltacht for which he had so much regard.

How can he find it so easy, or should it be convenient to forget Ballyseedy, Countess Bridge, Drumbo and Mountjoy to name but a few. The Kerry people have a long memory and so have the Northern men. Being one himself how could he forget Joe McKelvey. Of course he does not forget these Republicans for he assisted in their murder — 77 in all.

Not long ago on a television interview-debate he stated that he did not regret these actions and would not hesitate to take the same action again.

The Free State employed a hangman from England to take the life of Charlie Kerins from Kerry, the same hangman executed young Tom Williams in Belfast, but I do not suppose Blythe would consider writing a book about these men in Irish or for that matter, in English.

He stated in TWO WORDS in a debate on Telefís Éireann concerning Republicans that what they said was NONE-SENSE AND RUBBISH.

Padraig Pearse summed up Ernest Blythe's type in TWO WORDS also — LIARS AND HYPOCRITES .



"He was about to stick something through your letter-boxand you know what BRIAN said....."

The Proclamation 1916-1971

Now many among us have actually read each line of that illustrious document, THE PROCLAMATION, penned in 1916 and read aloud from the steps of that now historic GPO by our own President and poet, Padraig Pearse? Now many of us really know what this document was meant to convey to the Irish people? What did it symbolise then and now? What was its message?

Consider the introduction . . . "Irishmen and Irishwomen . . . here the authors of this document are calling the attention and support of the whole Irish nation. They asked them in the name of God and the dead generations to assist them in their fight for the freedom of Ireland. The Proclamation openly proclaims all those movements which pressed for freedom down the ages. It states clearly the assistance given by exiles in America and in Europe to their bid for freedom.

However, the patriots state clearly that they rely firstly on their own strength and that in striking forth, they strike in full confidence of victory. So too should we strike forth in full confidence of our assured victory.

The signatories of the Proclamation went on to . . . "declare the right of the Irish people to the ownership of Ireland . . ." This right as we all know is still being denied us, but in our understanding of what will soon be required of us all, that right will soon be ours to claim.

The patriots of 1916 saw vividly as was evidenced in the lines of this document, that a foreign government has not extinguished that right and indeed only the destruction of the Irish people can ever do this. We can see clearly to-day that so much of what was written so long ago is true of our own way of life. We will never allow that right to be threatened or destroyed by the foreign gun or bullet.

The uprising of 1916 was not the first time a people had risen in Ireland. Indeed, the

Proclamation speaks of 6 times.

The Irish Republican Movement of 1916 asserted the right to freedom by force of arms in the face of the world. It declared the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State. When it is our time, we will do likewise repeating the same utterance. We too, will pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades to the exaltation of the Irish nation among the nations of the world.

As in 1916, we also claim the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. Only in the name of God can we attain our aim. Only in the name of this Republic can we secure civil liberty, equal rights and opportunities for all. These are denied us now as indeed in 1916. We too, in 1971 declare our resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation. We too will dissolve those differences among ourselves created by the whims of a foreign government. Minority will join majority for the benefit of all our people.

Until the day of our rebirth as a whole nation and the establishment of a National Government our faith and trust for the future must lie with those people who will fight and who may die with that aim in view. Here in 1971 as in 1916 that body is the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic represented as the Irish Republican Army, the true custodians of the Irish nation. They are the body who will administer all civil and military affairs in trust for the people.

In concluding this illustrious document the signatories of same place the Irish Republican cause in the hands of God. They invoke the blessing of God upon their arms. We also invoke this blessing for it is more than prevalent now in this OUR hour of need.

We too call in our supreme hour in this modern day for the readiness of our children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, for the Irish nation to prove itself worthy of the august destiny for which it may soon be called . . .

It is true that this was a heaven-sent script, to be revered and blessed by the Irish people. Such a document, at such a time must show the true belief of those men of long ago who sat and wrote, with the inspiration of the most high God, those words of faith and hope for the Irish people.

The Proclamation of 1916 holds so much truth when applied to our present day environment. So much of this writing applies to the situation in which Ireland finds herself today.

It is almost as though Thomas J. Clarke, Sean Mac Diarmada, Thomas McDonagh, Padraig Pearse, Eamonn Ceannt, James Connolly, Joseph Plunkett penned their declaration with 1971 in mind. For this reason we must never let them down.

—ON PARTITION

Continued from Page 4

The change will come, not in my time, but it will come.

This, then, is the division between Irishmen and Irishwomen. This division is an English Act passed in an English Parliament. The outcome being that the Irish people remain disunited because of the wants of power-hungry men in a foreign parliament. Yet the working-class Protestant is no better than the working-class Catholic. They live in the same type of small house and earn the same low wages. They both have the same hard struggle and they all hear the same lies. So awake the Irish men and women and transfer what was thought to be a religious struggle into a National struggle for it is time we came out and when the only strife of the rat holes of conspiracy amongst them shall be, who shall remember the whole of shall serve their country best.

the nation is national territory and when Ireland is free our nationhood will awake.

What we as Republicans want to see is what 43 prominent citizens of Belfast wanted in the year 1792. For on the 23rd January of that year they issued this address.

"We wish to see all distinction on account of religion abolished — all narrow, partial maxims of policy done away with. We anxiously wish to see the day when every Irishman will be a citizen — when Catholic and Protestant equally interested in their country's welfare possessing freedom and equal privileges shall be cordially united and shall learn to look upon each other as brethren, the children of the same God, the natives of the same land — for it is time we came out and when the only strife of the rat holes of conspiracy amongst them shall be, who shall remember the whole of shall serve their country best."

THE VETERANS



In this issue we are honoured to reproduce a photograph taken recently at the "Associated Irish Societies Easter Commemoration Dinner" in New York. Guest speaker at the function was Daithi O'Connally, Donegal. The guests he was addressing bear the honoured title of Veteran. In their youth and again in later years they fought and suffered for their

freedom, even to the extent of enforced exile. Many would say they have done enough, indeed even more than their share, many would but not they. Here are some of our exiles that we have written of in other issues. The friends who have done so much through the Irish Northern Aid Society, working for us day and night, ever propagating our cause across

the length and breadth of America. One of them seventy stood in a picket for hours in the freezing snow, another travels America regularly on our behalf, over here we would call them old age pensioners. Would to God that some of elders here had the same spirit, we marvel at them, at their dedication and purpose, and while marvelling we pay honour where honour is due.

Get in step Mad Mitch

This was the heading of 'Opinion' News of the World, May, 16, 1971, and the reason for it?

Lieut.-Col. Colin Mitchell, MP for West Aberdeenshire was complaining against sentences given to 6 soldiers, by a High Court in England. 'Mad Mitch' used to be CO of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. During this time his soldiers picked a fight with Chinese Naval Ratings in a Plymouth N.A.A.F.I.

These Chinese made out to the streets of Plymouth, but were followed by the Scots and hunted down in the streets, brutally beaten and cut up. One Chinese had his throat slashed by a broken bottle. Some of the soldiers were arrested and tried. Mr. Justice Lawton sentenced one to seven years and 5 others to three years.

He said they were Cowardly Bestial, Brutal and a disgrace to the Army.

Col. 'Mad Mitch' told a Commons Committee that a court martial would have given them three months detention.

The News of the World answered him thus — "Three Months in the Glass-House Mitch?" "Come off it."

But what about the people of Ballymurphy, Unity Flats, Ardoyne, and last but by no means least, New Lodge Area — has any English newspaper condemned the Cowardly, Bestial, Brutal attacks on innocent people, young and old. No word of condemnation against the Scottish soldiers who burst into peoples homes smashing down doors, breaking furniture and wrecking all around them. They went Berserk, beating with batons and rifle butts, Men, Women and Children. They dragged scores of them to prison on trumped-up charges. Some of them badly beaten up, could not appear in the dock answer the charges as they were in hospital.

Lieut.-Col. 'Mad' Colin Mitchell, M.P. has the consolation of knowing that his Cowardly, Brutal, Bestial Scots soldiers can carry on here, the murdering campaign he carried out in Aden. No Judge in Northern Ireland will condemn them.

Sinn Fein Policies on Planning and Building

A nation must undertake planning of its physical environment if the best use is to be made of natural resources. The Irish landscape must be safeguarded for the enjoyment of the Irish people as a whole.

The Sinn Fein Government will implement proper planning so that housing, industries and roads will not be located in the wrong places in relation to our needs in a united free Ireland in 20 years time.

The Irish building industry employs, North and South, about 10,000 men and is organised in about 500 firms, mostly small, but dominated by about six giant firms. There are also a large number of sub-contracting specialist firms for steelwork, flooring, asphaltting, painting, etc. The latter are more stable than the small general contractors. In recent years, a number of firms specialising in civil engineering and harbour works have come into being; these are offshoots of the big building firms.

In the 32 County Republic the building industry will be re-organised with the following objectives:—

(a) Establishment of a central Planning and Building Authority responsible for all building and construction work.

(b) To meet the social and economic objectives of the developing Irish economy.

(c) To provide secure employment and proper working conditions for those engaged in it.

These objectives may be obtained by the following means:—

(a) An alive top-level and long-term direction; building needs should be programmed for ten years and projected in broad terms for another five, investment in it being planned accordingly.

(b) Re-organisation within the industry permitting the introduction of state owned and co-operative firms alongside those which still choose to operate as members of the private sector. The policy of the state firms will be to think in terms of the industry as a co-operative enterprise for which they will bear the major responsibility. They will employ a full range of trades.

(c) An extension of schemes of education for those planning to enter the industry

and development of the apprenticeship system in conjunction with education in such a way as to raise the general level of skill.

(d) Constant employment at a high basic wage supported by productivity incentives dry site conditions, mobile kitchens and toilet facilities.

(e) Democratic re-organisation of professional, management and workers unions and institutes in order to achieve a common goal; more diversification of the professional groupings to be encouraged with a trend towards formation of schools of design.

(f) Maximum development of mechanisation and prefabrication, with use of standard modules and a computer control of scheduling, material allocation, and stocking.

(g) Encouragement of craft work where a particular standard or a one-off type of building is involved.

The industrialisation of building will proceed rapidly making use of the potentialities of Belfast shipyard and aircraft industry, where skills exist easily adaptable to this end. Building raw materials will come increasingly under state control cement and steel already are in part) in order to insure co-ordinated expansion of the industry. The metric system will be adopted throughout and fittings will be standardised.

The state owned firms will operate mainly on major works and on export building. It is estimated that at present money value, we could export in the form of materials, system buildings, and site constructed building and heavy engineering work to the value of £30 million.

Co-operatives of building worker firms will be encouraged. This can start now; no need to wait until we have National Freedom. The co-operative project on Shaws Road by a group of Gaelic speakers and the other project in the Serpentine Road area are highly commendable. Private firms will also be encouraged on condition that they conform to national rates and standards.

Sinn Fein members in Belfast, Lurgan, Derry and Newry, should be thinking now in terms of how this plan can be implemented in their own areas. MAKE A START NOW!

NA FIANNA EIREANN

Every organisation has, or necessity, its own set rules and regulations, these being, or reflecting the very ideals for which the particular organisation stands for. And so it is with Na Fianna. Still, it has become necessary to use this opportunity to address ourselves to you, to ask you to examine your conscience. One rule relates to alcoholic drink; indeed, this is clearly forbidden to members of Na Fianna. Do you abide by this, or are you trying to kid yourself, and others, that though you do drink you are as good a Fian as anyone else; that you are maintaining the Fianna code. Would Con Colbert agree with you, do you think? He was the youngest to be executed in 1916. Do you smoke, if so how do you expect to be athletic of body and clear in mind. Any gone been can smoke. But it takes a man, will power, or someone on the threshold of manhood to say I will not smoke. I will not be a slave to tobacco or any other thing. Language is another point, and it is not the Gaelic tongue that is relevant, but that which one associates with the khaki-clad dregs who now strut about our streets, the descendants of the Black and Tans. Is your language more suited to their associates? Na Fianna has always been noted for its extremely high standards of membership. Even the enemy has on more than one occasion been forced to admit this indisputable fact; are you now going to be the destructor of this proud heritage, a very fifth columnist, in fact, for the N.L.F. and its dubious counterparts? You are one of the people to whom Liam Mel-Towes addressed himself a few hours before his execution when he stated: "The future is safe in the Fianna ideals." Are you making a mockery of that man and of his supreme sacrifice. Did he make a mistake in you? You who are supposed to be training for coming manhood; you who are supposed to be training for coming manhood; you who are supposed to be training your mind and body by partaking in clean, healthy outdoor activities, rather than frequenting some half-lit, smoke-filled, drinking den.

Is it you that the future of this country depends on? Are you the future men? A big

question is it not? No one can force you, all we can do is state that the way forward has been clearly laid down by those of former generations, like Jimmy Steele, a man of whom no-one could speak evil not even his enemies. It is in your hands, in your power to either break or make Na Fianna Eireann. There it is, clear and simple, the only thing is are you man enough to see it through. Are you big enough to be able to follow in the footsteps of those who led the way. In short are you or are you not worthy of being a Fian. The answer is up to you.

TERROR AND INJUSTICE

contd. from Page 3.

all know of the 'Duck Squads'. Ballymurphy has suffered more than most from this vicious manoeuvre. A manoeuvre I would add which is directed towards the provocation of our people. There is no-one who has not heard or seen our young people being stopped, searched and beaten by these monsters of the crown. Nightly they are on the rampage, spreading their seeds of terror in their wake. The day has come when it is deemed a crime and a means for recourse to violence, for our young people to move about in their own areas. Young boys are being stopped three and four times per night. Any refusal to be searched, or any retaliation to this violence will send these young people to jail cells. How much longer are we to endure these barbaric measures?

Our privacy, a thing to be reversed and upheld is being invaded and harassed by these so-called 'duck squads'. Their disgusting language, their foul behaviour and their vicious manners are being condoned by our so-called forces of law and order. Their words are never doubted and any Nationalist who suffers at their hands is always guilty. 'Even the law of averages is against these odds.'

The 'Duck Squads' are now in operation in every area. Men and boys who may be on the streets after dark may well be subjected to their heinous behaviour. I would ask our people to exercise restraint. However, this is very hard, it prevails on that human dignity which makes the Irish the race they are, our pride. It is very hard to remain mute when black-faced British soldiers provoke us.

GUINEA PIGS?

Apparently, you the people if you are soft enough, are about to have tested, on you, the latest, the ultimate in riot control weapons. The Sunday Times, May, 30th, 1971, carried an article on a weapon, 10 of which were lately acquired from the U.S.A. by Britain. Now it is rather unlikely that this weapon is for use in England, Scotland or Wales. No race riot in London is likely to be deemed serious enough for its use. That leaves only us, the Paddies, of any religious brand, as the guinea pigs for the STUN GUN. This invention of some evil genius is 30 inches long, and weighs 4 ounces. When fired, its bullet a bag, leaves the barrel at 110 mph, then flattens out and travels in a spinning motion through the air. Approximate range of this device is 350 feet very effective up to 100 feet. It can also fire gas, flares, dyes and 'noise confusion' rounds, as well as being used as a baton.

The "little innocents," of the British Army must be delighted at the prospects of receiving the STUNNER, the latest of the Ministry of Defence's little bag of tricks, reserved especially for our Irish gombens. Ah, well, to be forewarned is to be forearmed, is it not.

TURNING

FULL CIRCLE

Newspaper Correspondents described the processionists as marching with a military step and with the appearance of drilled men." This report of course alarmed the British Government. Readers will be forgiven for thinking that the quote above alludes to any of the recent Republican funerals in Belfast.

They are, however, reprinted from an article describing the funeral of Terence Bellew McManus, the Young Ireland leader (The Phoenix Flame, Page 84). Coincidence? Or is it that newspaper phraseology then and now is the same, also that McManus' funeral took place approximately 2 years after the foundation of Fenianism. What used to be called, (newspapers etc. still use the term) the 'Provisional Republican Movement, is not yet two years old, and again the British Government is worried. Coincidence

IRISH FAMILY NAMES

O'Suilleabain, O'Suilleabhain, O'Sullivan, Sullivan, Sullevan etc., des. of Suillebhaine, i.e. Suil duibhan, (black eyed)

The name of a well known Munster Family of the same stock as the McCarthy's and O'Callaghan's. The original patrimony of the Sullivan's lay along the River Suire, in the present Co. Tipperary and their principal seat was at Knockgraffon, about two miles north of Cahir, Co. Tipperary. In the year 1192, they were forced by the progress

of the Anglo-Norman invasion to exchange the fertile plains of Tipperary for the mountains of Cork and Kerry. In their new homes on the shores of Bantry and Kenmare they acquired extensive possessions and became one of the most powerful families in Munster, and one of the most numerous in all Ireland.

They divided into several branches, the heads of which were known respectively as O'Sullivan More, who possessed the barony of Dunkerron and had his castle at Dunkerron near Kenmare; O'Sullivan Beare, who owned the territory of Beare now the Baron-

ies of Beare and Bantry; O'Sullivan Maol; Mac Finghin Dubh etc. Notwithstanding the confiscation of a respectable family, and the name is everywhere famous.

It has been honoured "abroad," writes O'Callaghan "in Spain, Belgium and Germany, with the titles of Count and Baron. It contributed its proportion of officers to the National regiments of Clare, Dillon, Bulkeley etc. in France. It was one of note in the service of Naples. It has also attained high military, administrative and diplomatic position in the service of the United States of America.

An Ath-bheochaint Naisiunta agus An Chaisc, 1916

Tar eis aimsir Pharnell, deirigh spiorad nua sna daoine in Eirinn. Chreid neart daoine go raibh ceart ag muintir na h-Eireann stiuru a Naisiunta fein, ar mhaith le feid. Mar sin, bhunaigh Art O'Gríofa Sinn Féin I mBaile Atha Cliath sa mbliain 1905. Bhí cumann ann fosta ar ar tugadh Braithreachas Phoblacht Na h-Eireann (I.R.B.) agus bhí intinn ag na baill an ceangal le Sasana a bhriseadh da gcaithfidis eiri amach fein chuige sin. Annsin, sa bhliain 1912,

bhunaíodh U.V.F. faoi Carson chun cur i gcoinne Home Rule agus fuair siad gunnaí on nGearmain. Ní dhearna na Sasanaigh dada agus mar sin, bhunaíodh oiglaigh na h-Eireann Bheartaigh taoisi na nOglach eiri amach i gcoinne Shasana agus sa bhliain 1916, nuair a bhí an cogadh mor ar suil fos, thainigh long, an Aud on nGearmain go hEirinn le h-airm.

Ach stop na Sasanaigh agus gabhadh Ruairi MacAsmuint ina dhiadh sin Ansin, mheas

cuid de na h-Oiglaigh gur fearr gan eiri amach ach chuaigh neart acu ar aghaidh Luan Casca, 1916, agus cuireadh tus leis an Eiri Amach nuair a gabhadh Ard-Oifig an Phoist i mBaile Atha Cliath. Gabhadh aiteanna eile san chath air fosta ach níor eirigh an mhór cuid de na h-Oiglaigh agus ce gur troid na Gael go calma, ní Raibh acu ach a gheilleadh sa deireadh. Gheill Padraig MacPiarais, chun Ath Cliath agus a muintir a shabhair. Trialadh na taosigh agus daoradh chun bais 15 acu (an Piarasach ina measc). Gearradh termair fada prionsantachta ar na milne eile.

Ac ba chuma leo. Bhí an tine beo, gluaiseacht na saoirse, lasta arís!

SINN FEIN

The people of Ireland never relinquished the claim to separate Nationhood. The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, at Easter 1916, in the name of the Irish people, continuing the fight made by previous generations, re-asserted the inalienable right of the Irish people to Sovereign Independence, and re-affirmed their determination to achieve it.

The Proclamation of the Irish Republic, Easter 1916, and the supreme courage and glorious sacrifices of the men who gave their lives to maintain it, united the people of Ireland under the flag of the Irish Republic.

Following the General Election of December, 1918, the duly elected representatives of the Irish people assembled in National Parliament on 21st January, 1919, to proclaim the Independence of Ireland and to ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916. The Republic was thus founded on the democratic basis of the free votes of the people of Ireland with Dail Tíreann as their National Parliament.

Sinn Féin is based on two fundamental principles:—

(a) That the allegiance of Irishmen and Irishwomen is due to the Sovereign Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916.

(b) That the sovereignty and unity of the Republic are inalienable and non-indicable. The aims of Sinn Féin include:— the overthrow of British rule in Ireland. The establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on the 1916 Proclamation. Social justice based on Christian principles. The restoration of the Irish language and Irish culture.

Sinn Féin will organise the Irish people into a united and disciplined body to achieve these aims. The Movement will under the direction of the Ard-Chomhairle (Executive) assist other organisations working for the same objects.

You are invited to join Sinn Féin if you are 16 years of age or over, accept its Constitution and policy: are prepared to work for the attainment of its objects. This applies irrespective of your sex, class or creed.



THE IRISH QUESTION

contd. from Page one.

successor, Mr. Brian Faulkner cries out continually for an end to violence but at the same time spends millions of pounds in the formation of a new regiment — the Ulster Defence Regiment — with one express purpose, viz. to perpetuate the Partition of our Country by violence, is this consistent? Mr. Callaghan the British Home Secretary visited this country in 1969 ostensibly to look for a solution to our problems he issued one short statement to reporters awaiting him at the airport — "The border is not an issue." In other words he came here with a closed mind. Was this the attitude of a statesman genuinely concerned with a just solution?

The Unionists are joined by the other Political Parties both North and South of the border in their attitude that they must not be forced into a United Ireland. But is this line of approach really as reasonable as our "moderates" imply? Is it logical or consistent? If a minority of our whole national population can not accept the will of the majority where is Democracy? But this minority was determined to resist and so they had their way. And so Lord Brookeborough could truthfully claim in Stormont that his party were the only successful revolutionaries in this island. The Unionists adopted the words of Randolph Churchill that "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." If Britain had used the same tactics then as she proposes to do now then the Unionists would have been forced to bow to the will of the majority of the Irish people and to the authority of the Westminster Government which they accepted as the legal authority for Ireland. But the Unionists were actually assisted by the British in their rejection of democracy. The Six County Statelet was established and there were no appeals from Unionist Statesmen or Churchmen or other "responsible" people not to resort to violence in pursuit of their objective on the grounds that it would lead to widespread violence and even Civil War. But now the Unionist Politicians and all "decent" people and "right thinking" people and "responsible" people want an end to violence. What they mean of course, is

an end to anti-Unionist violence. All Unionists however "moderate" or "radical" or "democratic" they may be, fully support the principle of maintaining this state of theirs by armed force. British politicians are fond of stating that the Irish question must be settled by the Irish. But by the "Ireland Act" of 1949 they guarantee that no change can take place without the consent of the Stormont Parliament. So they condone the actions of their predecessors who engineered Partition in the first place.

So wherein lies the Unionists' "rights" which we are asked to recognise. The only right they have to these six counties of ours is the "right" of the robber, the "right" of the aggressors, the "right" of superior force and stronger allies.

Let us take next the attitude of our Hierarchy. History teaches us that the Fenians were condemned by the Catholic Church in Ireland. Church sanctions were imposed on the I.R.B. and later on the I.R.A. The same Hierarchy tacitly condoned the atrocities of the "Free State" Government during the Civil War. Was this reasonable?

But let us come now to our own generation. In the nineteen fifties the Unionist Press began a campaign to have the I.R.A. condemned by the Church. The Irish Hierarchy obliged and issued a pronouncement of excommunication against the I.R.A. and its supporters. The vast majority of Priests refused to recognise this order as valid and continued to give the Sacraments to active Republicans. The funeral of Sean South was a moving tribute to the idealism of this Irish Soldier and showed the scant regard in which the Hierarchy's statement was held by both the Clergy and Laity. They knew that the Irish Church had no more right to condemn South than they had to condemn Connolly. They knew Connolly and his comrades of 1916 once condemned unjustly by their own bishops were later accorded their rightful acknowledgement as Patriots and Martyrs both by Church and State. Where was the consistency in all this?

At the time of that I.R.A. campaign the Vatican Paper "Osservatore Romano" issued an authoritative statement that a person joining a foreign army as a mercenary was guilty of Mortal Sin.

This statement was never echoed by our Irish Church leaders even though it was very relevant in our country where hundreds were joining the British Army to take part in their campaigns in Cyprus, Kenya and Suez.

A few months ago Bishop Philbin obviously hinted at the I.R.A. when he talked of men taking immoral orders unknown leaders in secret organisations.

Yet when the U.D.R. was formed the former County Commandants of the notorious "B" Specials were enlisted as officers. It is common knowledge that these men were thugs and murders, yet Bishop Philbin has no objections to Catholics taking orders from these men. It is this sort of "double standard" which has destroyed any credibility which Dr. Conway and Dr. Philbin once had. Unfortunately this attitude is driving people from the Church as there are some who fail to distinguish between the infallibility of the Church and the expediency of the Irish Hierarchy.

Regarding the Political Parties it is only necessary to point out that both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail were exponents of physical force before they seceded from Sinn Féin. Fine Gael as the party that formed the first "Free State" Government were guilty of crimes worse than the Black and Tans in their repression of their Republican opponents. So their condemnation of violence and their expressed interest in the re-unification of Ireland have a very hollow ring about them. But the hypocrisy of Fianna Fail is even more obvious. They rejected the treaty and fought against the Government of the 26 counties as an "illegal authority." Yet now because they became the party in power they expect us to regard the same assembly as being a legal government. The Labour Party with its minute following is scarcely worth considering, especially since in the past, they formed a coalition with Fine Gael, and are planning to do so again. Could a party capable of such political dishonesty expect anyone to listen to them.

All of these parties agree that 1,000,000 Unionists cannot be coerced into a Republic of approximately 4,000,000 people, but they completely endorse the coercion of 500,000 non-Unionists into an Orange State of 1,500,000.

Is this reasonable or consistent?

Let us look at it from another angle. The government of "pure" claims jurisdiction over 32 counties since their constitution defines their territory as all Ireland. At the same time they blame Republicans for attacking the lawful authority in the Six Counties, namely, the Unionist administration. How logical is that? And the Hierarchy recognise both governments as lawful even though the Southern one claims that the northern one has no moral right to exist. How reasonable is that?

To sum up, it can be honestly stated that in spite of all their pious platitudes, the "responsible" leaders of our community have NO reason for their peculiar stand on the national question. They live in fear, an unreasonable and unreasoning fear, that blood may be shed once again in this country. And that, to them, is the worst calamity that could possibly befall us. In any other country they would be mocked, scorned and derided out of office. Alas! In Ireland they are allowed to remain to undermine the natural idealism of our Irish youth, substituting the pursuit of doubtful material pleasures for the loftier inclinations towards national and social justice.

The Republican Answer

Quite simply, we believe that injustice must be removed from our society. We believe that any Government which owes its very existence to injustice is incapable of doing this. We believe this Government must be removed. We would dearly love to achieve our objective without resort to violence but we believe that at some stage physical force will have to be used. We believe that it will be fully justified and fully in accord with Christian teaching. Therefore unlike the professional politicians and the Hierarchy we will not shirk our duty merely because it is unpleasant and contrary to our natural inclinations. Painful surgery is almost always necessary to cure a malignant disease. And who can deny that partition has been a cancer destroying all that is best in our people so that only now

are they beginning to discard their slavish mentality, their abject despondency, their meek acceptance of their inferior status and are learning to stand erect and demand their rights. We advocate meaningful and purposeful violence when necessary. We believe every Irishman has a moral duty to assist us in this.

The Republican Movement is mainly a working class organisation. This is because the Hierarchy has succeeded in making it not "quite respectable." Because of this the expert help and advice, which any national resistance movement has a right to expect, has not been available to us in sufficient quantity. This is the reason behind some of the inept planning and amateur execution of its policies. How different it could be, and would be, if "responsible" leaders lived up to their responsibilities.

If the Clergy at the direction of their Bishops, carried out the command of St. Paul to be "constant in season and out of season in their zeal for Justice." What a change could be wrought in our people. If the schools which are supposed to be Irish schools were really Irish schools then the youth would be inspired with the noble ideals of patriotism, imbued with a desire for social justice and fired with an ambition to make their country a great nation not a powerful nation or a rich nation in the accepted sense, but powerful and rich in the contentment and happiness of its citizens, in its Social philosophy and in its cultural heritage.

These objectives are worthy of the support of all classes. They are "respectable," decent and totally Christian. They are the only answer to the modern concepts of decadent Western Capitalism which our youth accept today only because they are frustrated with a sense of not belonging, of living in a vacuum, with no city to fill them with pride, no country, no culture and no language of their own.

For those who wish to see the road is clear. The ideals and objectives of the Republican Movement are the only ones that fully accord with justice. The organising of a political and military campaign to make them a reality requires all that is best in our manhood — intelligence, experience, physique and moral fibre.

WILL YOU HELP?