

# REPUBLICAN NEWS

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PRICE FIVEPENCE

## THEY SEEK THEM HERE, THEY SEEK THEM THERE

The wonderful 19 are still free (as we go to Press) after their daring escape from Portlaoise Jail shortly after 12.30 p.m. last Sunday. The carefully-executed mass break-out has gripped the imagination of freedom-loving Irishmen and women at home and abroad: "Marvellous," "Terrific," ... "Bloody Great," were a few of the delighted expressions over-heard in Ardyne, during the Fleadh Ceoil.

The escapers and other prisoners were in a recreation yard in the Jail, when at a given signal, a number of warders were quickly over-powered and relieved of their keys. Some of the escapers donned warders uniforms and the group moved smartly to a door in a wall near the Prison Governor's residence. Explosive charges made light work of the door, less than ten minutes after the warders were over-powered.

Seconds later, the prisoners began their final dash to freedom as bullets fired by Free State soldiers from the roof on the main buildings peppered the ground close to the heels of the escapers.

Working to a brilliant pre-arranged plan, the escapers broke into small groups outside the Jail complex and before you could say "Jack Robinson," they were speeding away in a number of commandeered cars leaving behind a trail of confusion and chaos.

English and Free State security forces are now collaborating closely in a massive all-Ireland drag-net for the Wonderful 19. Most Irish people will wish them complete, abject failure in their efforts to capture the daring 19 Irish Republicans who have added another amazing chapter to a long series of jail breaks since the struggle for Irish Freedom began.

HOLE BLOWN  
IN WALL

TOUR

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# GLEN TEN

72 ANDERSONSTOWN ROAD  
BELFAST

## IN MEMORY OF A FRIEND

Francis (FREDDIE) Hall  
Died 30th August, 1973  
Aged 29 years.

I'll tell you a story that's never been known  
Of a fighting young Irishman whose life is now gone  
He didn't want fame nor did he want applause  
His only ambition was to fight for the cause  
But only last August God decided to call  
On our gallant Staff Captain - His name Freddie Hall.  
His rank and position he held with great pride.  
What a dear loss for Ireland now Freddie has died  
But like all Ireland's martyrs his memory won't fade  
For Freddie was one of the Belfast Brigade  
'My sad tale continues with Ann Marie Pettigrew  
His friend and his comrade her life she gave too  
So come and Salute them and remember with pride  
For Ireland they lived and for Ireland they died.

## Irish flag

## amongst evidence

to account for their movements". The five refused to recognise the court. They are John Brady (20); Dermot Cassidy (20); Joe Humphries (22); William Stafford (21); Kevin Ward (21) Sergeant Cornelius Keane, Dublin Castle, gave evidence of stopping a car in Dorset Street, Dublin. The five accused were in the car. On searching the car he found articles of clothing, an Irish Tricolour with a flag pole, two tents, foodstuff and a map of County Kildare and County Wicklow, Chief Supt. Fleming said he knew the five accused to be members of the I.R.A. No further evidence was given.

Five young Dublin men received sentences of 12 months imprisonment on a charge of being members of the I.R.A. A further sentence of four months imprisonment was imposed on each of them for "failing

A section of the massive crowd which attended the Anti-Internment Rally in London recently.



## MY APPEAL BY FATHER PATRICK FELL

Complete and up to date details  
concerning my appeal

By Father Patrick Fell.

Trial Dates. 8th October 1973 -  
1st November 1973.

Convicted. That between 1/1/73 and  
15/4/73 in the Counties of Warwick  
and London and elsewhere I had  
conspired together (with other  
defendants) and other persons un-  
known to damage and destroy  
buildings by fire without lawful  
excuse intending to damage or  
destroy such property i.e. Conspiring  
to commit arson.

2. That between etc. etc. as above -  
and with persons unknown to damage  
and destroy buildings without  
lawful excuse intending to damage  
such property i.e. Conspiring to  
commit criminal damage.

3. Convicted of taking part in the  
control and management of an  
association of persons, namely,  
the Coventry unit of the I.R.A.  
which was organised and trained  
for the purpose of enabling its  
members to be employed for the  
use of physical force in promoting  
a political object.

Sentences.  
Arson 12 years  
Criminal damage 12 years.  
Controlling unit of I.R.A. 12 months.

Within the stated 28 days Mr. Jervis, my  
solicitor, gave notice to the Registrar of  
my intention of applying for leave to  
appeal. Extended time was asked for  
and granted so that the transcripts of  
the case might be studied. Mr. Jervis  
was notified by me of my Proinsias  
Stagg that even if Counsel were un-  
willing to proceed beyond appeal against  
sentence, we would employ other law-  
yers and appeal against conviction.  
It was agreed that a final decision should  
rest until the transcript had arrived.  
That decision was taken in November  
1973 whilst still at Winsor Green  
prison.

March 9th I wrote to Jervis asking about  
the appeal. On March 22nd he replied  
saying "I do of course understand your  
anxiety with regard to the Appeal, but  
would inform you that I have yet still  
to hear from the Registrar of the court,  
with the transcript".

May 21st He replied to my letter of May  
4th. He stated that he now has a copy of  
the transcript of the judges summing up  
and that I have been granted Legal Aid  
to appeal against sentence. He gave no  
dates for the appeal but said he expected  
one soon. The same day, the newspapers  
said it was to be June 20th.

On Tuesday June 4th Jervis visited me  
after repeated phone calls by the prison  
Welfare-Officer and my threat to dismiss  
him.

On Monday June 10th Jervis phoned  
the prison and left verbal messages which  
showed he was still confused as to what  
was happening on June 20th. Thus, the  
same day 10th June, I wrote to him  
formally asking him to withdraw from the  
case. Again he did not reply in writing  
but phoned the prison governor telling

him that he together with Messrs Owen  
and Palmer (the Counsel) would be com-  
ing to see me on Sunday June 16th at  
11.00 a.m. This they did and were accom-  
panied by another lawyer, Mr. P. Duffy  
who had been lending his advice in a private  
capacity.

Mr. Duffy, quote, "I have read the trans-  
cript and in my considered opinion the  
judge was hypocritical, biased, and crafty  
in his summing up".  
Mr. Owen, during his arguments stated  
that he saw no question of law on which  
to base an application for appeal against  
conviction, nor could he in conscience  
pursue the appeal further. The outcome  
of the meeting was that it was agreed  
as follows:-

1. Messrs Owen and Palmer might present  
the application for leave to appeal against  
sentence.

2. Notify the Court that a further applica-  
tion against conviction was intended by  
the defendant.

I wrote to Mr. Jervis on June 17th Monday  
and confirmed those facts and also  
explicitly forbade Counsel to continue to  
act on my behalf if appeal against sentence  
was to be actually heard on the 20th  
June Mr. Jervis replied by return asking  
me to reconsider my decision and to  
notify him by phone if I would do so.  
I did not do so.

On Tuesday, June 18th. I received a visit  
from a new firm of solicitors from Lon-  
don who meeting and a further

On Tuesday, June 18th I received a visit  
from a new firm of solicitors from Lon-  
don who had been instructed by Mr.  
Jervis the previous day to act on my  
behalf. It was preliminary meeting and a  
further session will take place next  
week. I furnished them with a written  
statement of my complaints regarding

the conduct of the trial. The followin  
are the main points.

1. The police interfered with exhibits  
before the court to suit their evidence.  
It was done without permission by detective  
inspector Such.

2. A witness for the defence was intim-  
idated into asking to be excused from  
giving evidence on my behalf. He did not  
appear in the witness box.

3. Documents found in my possession  
bare handwriting belonging to a Metropoli-  
tan Police Officer and were actual documen-  
tised in a former London trial by the  
prosecution. These facts, were once reve-  
aled, were not put before the jury. It is  
my contention that these documents were  
passed on by the police and an "Agent  
Provocateur" may have been involved.

4. In open court the judge accused Mr.  
Jervis of smuggling an important document  
"Defence Evidence" into the prison and  
out again. No official apology was made  
before the jury.

5. Security was such surrounding the  
trial that no jury could be left with an  
open mind. We were guilty by implication  
from the start of the trial.

On June 20th, one judge dismissed our  
application to appeal against sentence.  
So at present that is how it stands. Messrs  
Jervis, Owen and Palmer, are all dismissed.  
I have a new firm of solicitors and I  
shall now re-apply to the Three Judges  
for leave to appeal against conviction.

So, as far as Mr. Jervis is concerned, I  
have at present a series of official com-  
plaints against his conduct generally and  
these I have lodged with the Law Society.

I have further officially demanded a  
public apology from the Coventry Even-  
ing Telegraph for certain statements  
made, and unless our demands are full  
mer, an action for deformation of char-  
acter will be taken out against the editor.

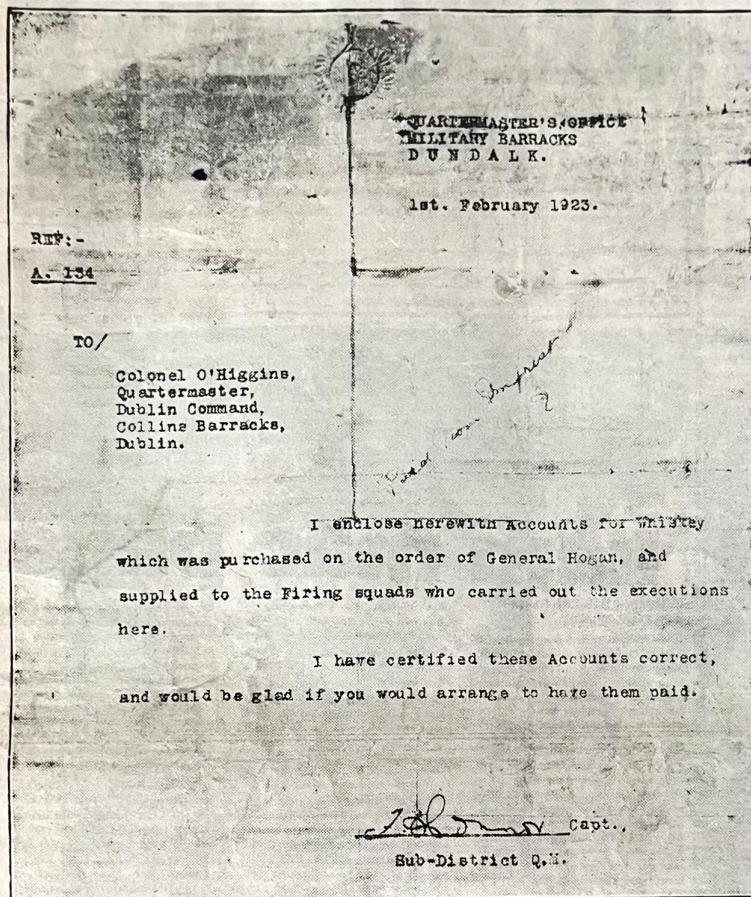
The above statement is to the best of my  
knowledge both accurate and correct in  
every detail.

Signed.

Patrick Fell.  
20th June 1974;

## FLASHBACK

Have you any old documents of historical interest that you would like published in the Republican News?  
(All documents and photographs returned)



The escalation of repression in the Free State against Republicans and the recent turning of guns by Free State troops on fellow Irishmen has induced a veteran Republican in Lurgan to make public a document he has had in his possession, which is self explanatory.

This letter in itself should be a warning to young Irishmen, who through lack of job opportunity or misplaced ideals joined the Free State Army. Some 50 years later in 1974 are young Irishmen again being placed in the unfortunate position of having to murder Republicans — will a bottle of whiskey today still solve their conscience or give them courage for the foul deed.

From Siosin Oh Eacain, P.R.O. Tom Williams Sinn Fein Cumann, Lurgan

# British fake road smashes to cover casualties

## GARAISTE AN PHOBAIL

Upper Springfield Road  
Béal Feirste

SEIRBHIS  
IOMLAN  
GLUAISTEAN

CONFIRMATION that the British Army is faking road accidents of British troops in West Germany to cover their casualties 'in the North' has come in a recent report in a local German newspaper.

Westdeutsches Volksblatt reported that after a road accident in heavy rain last month on the autobahn between the town of Dieleld and the British army of the Rhine base at Hereford, when an army transport lorry overturned, the British issued a statement claiming that ten soldiers had been seriously injured.

In fact, the local German Fire Brigade unit which was called to the scene reported that a total of six soldiers were involved in the crash.

The extra four were added, it is claimed, to help cover the casualties been suffered by the Brits in the North recently.

Republicans and the British 'Out' Movement both

made similar claims several times over the past two years, but this is the first confirmation since The Observer newspaper reported last March that the bodies of British soldiers killed in action abroad had been "flown back to Britain — in some cases listed as traffic casualties".

Early this year, Roy Mason, the British Minister of Defence described their casualties in the North as "horrific".

At the start of this year, almost 3,000 soldiers had been killed or wounded in the North and this was disturbing for recruitment.

Since then there has been a great reduction in British army casualty figures and a mysterious rise in the number of British soldiers killed in German road accidents.

Not surprising then that British army recruitment figures has shown a slight improvement for the first time in the last five years.

ANTI-INTERNMENT RALLY— LONDON  
Photos by courtesy of Wolfe Tone Sinn Fein Cumann, North London



A 'Provo' they won't arrest!



Niall Fagan, Sinn Fein, speaking to the massive crowd at the Anti-Internment Rally, London.



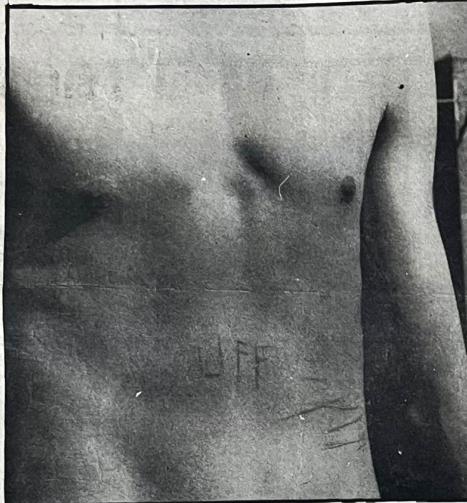
The Tricolour passes through London.

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# TARTAN RULE OK

The English Army continues with its heavy lean policy on Catholics in the Lurgan area by frequent arrests, breaking up groups of Catholic youths, restricting them

"On the 16th August at 8.00 p.m. I was cycling past Lurgan Golf club with a friend. We stopped for a smoke and then proceeded towards the Antrim Road.



access to certain areas in town and threatening them at every opportunity.

This blatant sectarian policy by Brits is exposed in the treatment meted out to the Tartan gangs who appear to rule the town centre of Lurgan. The Tartans can be seen strutting around the town centre during the day and it is now accepted that after 8.00 p.m. no Catholic dare enter what is regarded as Tartan territory.

When excursions of these young strong force of RUC is in attendance backed up by the English Army. On these occasions the second class Catholic citizen gets an earful of first class anti-Catholic hate to beginn smiles from the RUC. Vicious attacks on Catholics in isolated spots is a common 'occurrence' and in fact, almost becoming an accepted way of life for the Lurgan Catholic we show a photograph and a statement from the victim of one such attack.

Patrick Scullion Age 17

"At this stage, I noticed my trouser leg was catching in the chain of my bike. I stopped to fix it - my friend rode on not realising I had stopped. When I was fixing my trouser leg, I was suddenly attacked by a gang of six or seven youths of about my own age.

"They punched and kicked me to the ground, where I was then held.

"One of them produced some sort of blade and began to cut my arms, hands and carved UFF on my stomach. I was shouting for help and when my friend returned the youth ran off - they must have thought my friend was getting help. I made way to the Antrim Rd., where a car stopped and brought me to my friends house.

"I did not go to the R.U.C. barracks that night as it is in Union St., but saw a solicitor and made a statement at the barracks later. I had to attend hospital for X rays and treatment for the cuts and bruises.

Patrick Scullion

The English Army continues to blow-up the roads of the Irish people. The southern Army gathers on the south side whenever the English Army is engaged in blowing up a road. The purpose of this is to shoot any Republican who may try to intervene. The South's Minister for 'Defence' Mr. Paddy Donegan has given orders to his soldiers to shoot Republicans attacking English units.

# REPUBLICAN NEWS

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## liam mac page

### COMMUNISTS & THE ULSTER WORKERS COUNCIL

It is now well known that the British Labour Government through Merlyn Rees and the English Army through their acceptance of the 'right to strike' helped the Ulster Workers Council to have such a complete victory instead of the failure it seemed to going to be after the first few days, when even the 'Loyalist' workers in the engineering factories such as Mackie, Sirocco Works, Harlands and the Aircraft Factory stayed at their work in spite of their being no power. The strong armed gangsters from the U.D.A. and other groups of 'Loyalists' forced the workers out on to the streets and kept them in their estates by means of manned barricades.

Thus when the workers who wanted to go to work in spite of all the pressures against them were forced to stay at home they shifted their attitudes from passive resistance, when they watched the manouevres of Wilson Rees and the Brits to keep out of trouble. To the point of accepting the strike when they realised they would be paid social benefits for the duration plus a further week's benefit after the strike terminated. Thus it became a paid holiday.

By the way, the Civil Servants dealing with this pay-out were so enthusiastic and eager to make sure the boys got enough that they gave the U.D.A. the right to issue the forms to be signed for benefit....what a contrast for those people in West Belfast living on Supplementary Benefit who could not be paid because the Department would not issue any because of the strike also involved postal workers?? [For story see Sunday Press 11/8/74]

Since the strike, the Workers Council has become the centre-point of power politics and every one and every group even Garner Street's NLF Comrades, Paisley/Craig/West. The British Fascist National Front and last but not least Chairman Mao's Local Communist Workers Association from 10 Atholl Street.

As of now, the Communists have won the struggle over their other competitors and to keep their position strong inside the Workers Council they decided to drop their Communist label and be known as the Workers Association...to keep the Rev. Martin Smith and his pals in the U.V.F. from getting too suspicious about Communist influence inside the U.W.C. is such that their man Boyd Black, has fought against the Co-ordinating Committee on which is represented all the loyalist groups from accepting the decision of both the U.D.A. and the U.V.F. to fight against internment as a matter

of principle.....Harry Murray the Chairman of the Belfast U.W.C. has already signed the Hibernia Magazine anti-Internment Campaign....to one of fighting merely for the freedom of all 'Loyalists'

It is over two years since, in this column we suggested that it would not be long before an attack on the trade union movement would take place. The gangsters in the then Loyalist Association of Workers, needed to control the members of the unions, as the narrow base of only controlling the power workers was not enough. Of course the L.A.W. has disappeared but the new organisation, the U.W.C. is the same gang without Billy Hull and the others who walked off with the funds. They still have their dream of complete control of the unions by courtesy of the Workers Association who published a pamphlet for their benefits showing how this can be done.

The pamphlet....I got my copy free, as all literature issued by the Communist Association is given free to the members of the Workers Council and freely distributed by them. Yes I am on their list and some funny stuff they issue....but it all has one theme; that there are two nations in Ireland and that 'Ulster' is one of them, therefore the 'State of Ulster' has nothing in common with the rest of the island. The Catholic people have brought all their troubles on their own heads because they have been disloyal members of the Six County State'.....John Taylor's language so it is easy to understand why the Communist Association can get away with the rest of their tripe.

The case they put forward in the pamphlet for the dismantling of the trade unions linked with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is that people in the leadership are all Republicans, and they are trying to smash the "Six County State" in contrast with their members who are all loyalist'. The cure for this is that once you get rid of the Andy Barr's the Sinclair's the Harkins and fill their jobs with good loyalists, then they can form an 'Ulster' Trade Union Congress affiliated to the British Congress and disassociated from the I.C.T.U. Then and only then will they have true blue trade unions.

One of the tragedies of our struggle against the Brits has been that not one union leader has been able to exploit his position in the Union to get sympathy for the present struggle. All the one-time revolutionaries who took part in political activity when they were working inside the union as shop stewards or active members

became hog-tied once they took office and leaned over backwards not to infringe the rule book. In actual fact they became part of the establishment. Take Brendan Harkin. When he was working in the shipyard as an electrician he was such a revolutionary that he was sacked and blacked from ever working again...his mates in the union paid his wages for twelve months while he walked the streets unemployed.

But our Brendan - a big mouth on television - has become so much a part of the Establishment that he fought against his members taking part in the recent Civil Service strike which were taking place in England. He along with Please have been real 'Loyal' to the various Six County Governments since they were recognised by O'Neill. They were for the Chichester Clarke Government. Who sung the praises of wee man Faulkner more, even when he brought in internment.

I am against the present trade union leadership, not because of their disloyalty to any of the plane dreamt up by a Nations Communist Organisation changing their tactics because they have not faced up to why trade unions exist. That is to help change society and allow the workers to own control the wealth of the Nation which is Ireland.

But I must finish with a joke from the pamphlet on trade unions issued by the Communist boys of the Workers Association.

Away back in 1967 when they decided to open shop. Their only basis for existing as they then claimed was to get the Irish workers educated in the understanding of James Connolly. They churned out his writing continuously..... I bought them all and enjoyed them, then passed them on to my friends on the Shankill Rd. being a good Shankill man myself I wanted to make them all Republicans. But when the going got tough in 1968 the organisation pulled in their horns and very little was heard of them. They sat in small back rooms and theorised and theorised until almost dead with boredom they began to wish they had never started getting involved in Irish politics.

If I was a 'Loyalist' inside any of the organisations that have been infiltrated by the Communist Workers Association, I would get suspicious of a people willing to bring out of history, a poor specimen like Willie Walker, to prove their own loyalty. I would soon realise that I was being taken for a ride, because not even the N.I. Labour party likes to be reminded of William Walker.

**ON THE ROAD  
with  
REPUBLICAN  
NEWS**

THE VOICE OF  
REPUBLICAN ULSTER  
Registered at the GPO as a Newspaper



Republican News Mobile Unit on the Andersonstown Road last Saturday. The Mobile Unit is parked on different sites in Belfast, Monday to Friday from 11 a.m. until 5 p.m.



"I don't know what all the fuss is about but it is a lovely day," Lorraine Crawford must have been thinking, at Ardyne Flead Ceoil. Her aunt Geraldine is a Republican Remand Prisoner in Armagh.



Another satisfied customer! Taken during Ardyne Flead Ceoil. Readers in Birmingham and Ballymurphy will recognise our customer . . .



Young and old lapped it up last weekend at Ardyne Flead Ceoil. Bunting go leor and beautiful weather made it a weekend to be remembered with groups, games, matches and competitions.

# REPLY TO THE REV. B. CAHAL DALY

## Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois on his recent speech at London Longford.

"The most Rev. Cahal Daly, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois, has taken another opportunity to air his views publicly on the Northern situation. The occasion was the Annual Dinner of the Longford Association of London in Longford last weekend. His Lordship, in a follow up to his speech of last March '74 where he called on the Republican Leaders to stop the campaign, chose to speak on I.R.A. "violence" and the sufferings it brings to the people we "claim to defend".

"While hoping to impress his doubly captive audience by his chosen theme, his Lordship's misplaced condemnation of "violence" is of little value except to the English and to the Irishmen who apologise for being Irish. When Dr. Daly like many of the Irish Hierarchy, choose to speak of the general issue of Irish Freedom, he put forward the inevitable one sided and totally inadequate treatment of the moral problem arising from armed force in politics.

Like most Irish churchmen, Bishop Daly recognises only one type of armed force to be condemned that is the armed force of the weaker side which they blanket as "violence". He turns a blind eye not only to the institutional violence of governments in Ireland North and South, but to the naked militaristic aggression of the English Army. People who take such a line, be they clergy or otherwise, can only be described as agents of English Imperialism. Bishop Daly is well aware of our stated conditions in order to cease hostilities."

P. O'Neill, Runai 9th August, 1974

## Pobal Gaelach Bheal Feirsde

Ag tógáil pobal le nasc na Gaeilge—sin direach an obair atá idir lamhaibh ag muintir Br. Shaw, Béal Feirsde faoi láthair.

Tá a cháil féin ar an Ghaelacht beag seo de ocht teaghlacha atá ina chónaí ar aon suiomh, i dtíthe a thógaíodh féin faoi scath an Chomhar-chumhainn a bhunaíodar.

Is dócha gur chuala gach aoinne iomradh ar an scol, beag atá aon lastair des na tithe agus ar an sior obair chun airgead a bhailí lena haghaidh.

Anois caithfidh siad múinteoirí eile a fhostú agus dul i mbun oibre tógála mar go bhfuil pleán galanta acu do scol agus ionad phobail in áit an foirgneamh réamh déanta atá acu faoi láthair.

Ca as a thiocephadh an t-airgead? Nil fhios acu ach mar adúirt Seamus Mac Seán "Ni bheadh a gath ar bith againn dí a gcaithfeadh muid an t-am uile aigle pár cártaí aigred. Bhí an fhadhb agus againn is muid ag tóist amach agus ní rabbhamar riam i bhfachta go dtí seo." Sin spriodar do-chlaiteadh Béal Feirsde—spriodar atá lonnaíthe ina chreidimh féin agus ina mhiseach féin agus a curtar i bhfocla san raitéas "Ná habar é, déan é".

Ach tá seans nár eol do dhaoine an obair eile atá dhéanamh ag muintir na Ghaelach seo, mar go bhfuil siopa breá leabhair acu aon i Bhaile Andarsain. Díoltar leabhair Gaeilge agus ní hirisí agus roint des na pláiceanna (plaques) a chuireann Whiterock Co-Operative Enterprises amach:

Tá figiúirí agus dearrfáil ó Leabhair Ceannáinns, mar shampla le fáil, iad daite agus bawn agus is deas an maoisíodh iad ar aon báin ní móinteach. Is féidir pictiúir ná learáid do chuid féin a chur chug an Comhar-chumhainn seo agus beidh sé faighe agus agat ar bonn daingean.

Tá Forógra na Cásca le fáil fosta agus is féidir an teolas a

fada agus a bhaineann se léis na Gaeil ón scéim titiúchta agus an scoil. Ar ndóigh bhi baint mór acu le ath-togáil Sr. Bombay agus is cintíte go bhfuil na trioblóidí taréis go leor des na daoin a cur ag macnamh. Toradh ar seo ná an fonn chun a shaol fírin a riarradh le chéile agus ar mhaithle lena chéile. Táid braon des na hudaráis "do-heicicthe" a shocráidh an saghas modh bheatha a bhéadach acu agus a bhí i gcoinal sasta go dtíreachadh an choisimhuintir ar son pé cuis ní cuiseanna abh láthair leis na "cinnairí" seo.

Idir an dí iinn beidh fadhbanna airgid ag pobal Br. Shaw agus ní chuirfeadh aon Gael airgead amu dí dtábharradh sé taclach fíal d'ibh. Tá an méid sin tuille go maith acu.

## STATE OF "LIMBO" FOR POLITICIANS

With the dissolution of the Northern Assembly the professional politicians are languishing in a Limbo-like state. The Social and Democratic Labour Party are making painfully obvious attempts to rally some of their lost support by strong criticism of the British government, and Merlyn Rees, in particular. Of course, they were always very good with the words but were rather badly deficient in principle and tenacity of purpose.

Their present role fits them rather well. Hard-line statements are relatively easy to make when they are not accompanied by any obligation to deliver the goods.

West, Paisley and Craig's position is rather more complex. At the moment they are engaged in an exceedingly delicate balancing act. On the one hand, they are obliged to engage in just enough hell-raising to retain the support of the more militant section of the Loyalist support. On the other hand, they must be extremely careful not to frighten the middle-class, conservative Loyalist element by excessive militancy, which they don't sincerely feel, anyway.

A further pressing difficulty for them arises in the United Loyalist Council. The Ulster Workers Council and the U.D.A. etc. have made it pretty clear that they will choose their own political representatives, and, consequently, are threatening to steal the clothes off the established political demagogues such as Messrs. West, Paisley and Craig.

## Convictions Continue Under Repressive Laws

Special Branch evidence or lack of it continues to "put away" young men into the prison of the South. Portlaoise Prison is full to the brim. The court merely bolsters its decision by in effect, transferring the onus of proof to the accused by pointing that they had failed to cross-examine the Special Branch "witness" on a relevant point or to deny his membership of the I.R.A. Republicans will not accept the onus of proof and continue to point out that they are "innocent until PROVEN guilty".

# postbag

## MEN IN MAGILLIGAN FORGOTTEN?

Could you do anything through your paper to draw attention to the plight of Republican prisoners in Magilligan Concentration Camp regarding visits?

The position is as follows: There are 8 cages to accommodate 80 men each. Four of the cages are only newly erected inside the past few months, and are not fully completed. They won't be inhabited for at least one month. Of the other four, two are occupied by Republicans, one with 80 men and 65, a third contains 25 U.D.A. men and the other is occupied by a small number of Criminals. The authorities have allotted a maximum of 20 visits any one day for each cage.

This arrangement is no use because most people can only manage to come to visit a prisoner on a Saturday. The arrangement at present means each prisoner only gets one Saturday visit per month.

To accommodate all the men they would need at least 35 visits for each cage for a Saturday. There is a lot of time wasted for visitors waiting, they could have twice as many if they had a better bus service inside the Concentration Camp. I hope you could help to make this public. I don't know why but they seem to be the forgotten ones by the Belfast people. Thank you.

S. Ni Neill

(We are pleased to receive this letter from a reader in the Antrim Glens.

As we have pointed out in previous issues, we wish to expose conditions of the political hostages as much as possible. This is why we invited friends of the hostages and the hostages themselves to send us news items for publication. — Editor

Dear Comrade,

I read with interest the article on the B & ICO pro-imperialists (Liam Mac Page, 29 June). However, I feel that one inaccuracy should be pointed out, viz. that Stalin had held the view that there were two nations in Ireland. Only the B & ICO could give this entirely false impression and get away with it.

J.V. Stalin, who was the first to scientifically define the historical phenomenon known as 'the nation' held the view that Ireland was oppressed by imperialism. And by Ireland he made it clear that he was referring to the whole of Ireland. He wrote

"If England, America and Ireland - constitute three distinct nations, it is in

no small measure due to the peculiar psychological make-up which they developed conditions of existence" ('Marxism and the National Question', 1913 in Stalin Collected Works, Vol. II p306)

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, great scientific socialists that they were, always treated Ireland as a single entity and refused to indulge in Luxemburgist theories which are nothing but 'theoretical' apologies for the imperialist division of Ireland.

I would be obliged if you would bring this to the attention of your readers who might otherwise gain a false impression as to the position of Stalin on the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland.

Fraternally

E. Hardin

A chara

What I am about to write is perhaps a bit disjointed and muddled, this is because of the events that have just taken place. I will now explain as best I can. When you publish it I hope you will edit it accordingly.

On Sunday 11th August, Sinn Fein, IPMC, P.D., I.M.C. is, and various other groups held an Anti-Internment rally setting off from Hyde Park. Before we started we were warned by the police, who outnumbered us 2-1 (a fair indication of what they expected) that anybody wearing a 'Political uniform', i.e. a black beret etc. would be arrested and charged accordingly. There were about 12 men in berets carrying flags and banners.

After the march started the pigs moved in and dragged away the National flag bearer, and others wearing berets. These men were attacked and beaten by the pigs.

Soon afterwards three women were also set upon by the pigs and subsequently arrested. I was busily taking photographs of these incidents when I myself was threatened. My camera was smashed into my face, but I managed to get away before they could arrest me.

After those arrested were driven off to the police station the march refused to move until our National Flag was returned. This had previously been taken by the pigs and they said was to be used in evidence. Anyway, after about 45 minutes, the flag was returned, although the flag had to be signed for. The march set off to Waterloo where a public meeting was held, in front of over 3,000 people.

After the meeting about 17 people decided to go to Paddington Green

Police Station, where the people who had been arrested earlier on were being kept.

We got there at about 6 p.m. and soon afterwards they were released one by one. They were all charged (17 men and 3 women) with wearing a uniform associated with a political party, i.e. Sinn Fein.

Less than half these people weren't wearing berets of any kind.

After a while all the people who had been arrested were asked to leave the police station. (We were waiting for some more who had not been released) We left peacefully, but as we were standing outside, complaining about harassment of the Irish here in London, a pig officer attacked Mrs. Margaret O'Brien, (Sec. of ICRA, Britain) grabbed her by the throat, and told her to "clear off" in an uncertain terms.

We immediately sprang to Margaret's defence, whereupon about 20 uniformed and plain clothes pigs set upon us, five people were arrested. At the time there was 6 men (over 21) 8 women and young girls and 3 children.

The five arrested were: Mrs. Margaret O'Brien (ICRA); Mrs. Sally Carson, wife of veteran Republican, Sean Carson. Miss Margaret Crowley (22) who is Secretary of the London Comhairle Chantair, and her younger sister Kathleen (14) also arrested was the London Chairman T. H. Carson.

Up the Provos.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor at 170A Falls Road, Belfast.

## Whose memory will live on . . . you are the judge

A chara,

A series of articles appeared recently in the Irish Times in what I suppose could be termed the life story of Mr. Sean McEntee. They were written by Mr. Michael McInerney, the well known "Provo Hater". The man who never misses a chance to blacken and slander those who dare to oppose the forces of the Crown in the Six Counties.

Who is this Mr. Michael McInerney? I met him first in 1938 in London. At that time, as far as I can remember, he was the Editor of a monthly paper published by the Connolly Association which was and probably still is closely attached to the English Communist Party.

I had been sent by the Leadership of the Republican Movement to obtain the maximum publicity about events in the Six Counties and particularly to highlight the operation of the Special Powers Act there and the number of prisoners lying in Crumlin Rd. Prison under this infamous Act. I was also to encourage people to start collecting for the P.D.F., so you can see that my work concerned conditions in the Six Counties at that time. What of Mr. McInerney, was he worried or concerned at what was happening in the occupied part of our country? not at all - his sole concern at that time was the Civil War in Spain. He asked me what my attitude to this was, I countered by asking him what his attitude was to events in the Six Counties etc. He seemed confused and appeared to know very little about it. In fact, his sole concern appeared to be Spain. He did not seem to care or want to discuss the Six Counties.

This is the man who now wants us to read what he has to say about the Six Counties and to be influenced by his writings on such subjects as peace (at any price), violence (other than English Army violence, etc etc. Quite recently he wrote a series of articles in the Irish Times on Mr. Sean McEntee, a former prominent Cabinet Minister under Mr. De Valera. He quoted Mr. McEntee as saying:

"As a 1916 man myself, I would point out that our leaders ended the Rising to spare further loss of life.... the madmen of 1974 seem to be utterly indifferent to the safety of men, women or children...."

It struck me immediately on reading the above it's similarity to statements made by the "States" during what is now known as the Civil War - were the men who stood fast for the Republic madmen when they did not call off the war in defence of the Republics earlier?

Should the War of Independence have been called off sooner - especially in view of the slaughter of Catholics particularly in Belfast.

Did Mr. McEntee, a Belfastman, call for an end to the Civil war to enable the people of the South to come to the aid of the people of Belfast - particularly in 1922 when the slaughter, burnings, looting etc. were at their height?

In 1946 we had the death on hunger and thirst strike of Sean McCaughey in Portlaoise Prison. Sean was born in Auchincloy, Co. Tyrone in the early part of 1916. His father had been prominent in the Sinn Fein movement from its inception. The family moved to Belfast when Sean was five years old and he was reared in the Ardoyne district of the city. He was a member of the G.A.A. and he taught Irish and Irish dancing in the Glens of Antrim.

He was man of courage and integrity and in 1941 he headed the wanted list of the hated R.U.C.

He spent four and a half years in Portlaoise Prison. He refused to wear prison clothes. He was left naked with nothing to cover him but a blanket. For three and a half of those years he was left in solitary confinement and not allowed to speak to any of his

fellow prisoners. Nor was he allowed to go to Mass because, as the Prison Governor said: "He was not properly dressed". Dr. Duane, Prison Doctor, at the inquest admitted under cross-examination by Mr. Sean McBride that he would not treat a dog in that fashion, he also admitted that during the four and a half years that he was never out in the fresh air or sunlight.

Sean McCaughey died after a hunger strike of 22 days, the last 17 days were on hunger and thirst strike. He died on May 11th 1946.

Mr. McEntee was a very prominent member of Mr. De Valera's cabinet during these dreadful happenings - where was his compassion then? He also adds the fascinating information as Mr. McInerney puts it, that he himself was pro-American, pro-British and Anti-Nazi. Would I be correct in saying today that he is still pro-British?

Sean McCaughey is remembered and honoured in Belfast and his name will live on in that city. What of Mr. McEntee, a Belfastman, will his name live on in his native city? I leave it to your readers to judge.

Is mise le meas,  
Charlie McClaude,  
60 Mourne Rd.,  
Drimnagh,  
Dublin 12;



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## U.S. Attorneys

### "Surprised" at Our Law

A large number of elected District Attorneys from the United States are visiting a number of countries to study systems of criminal justice. Thirty seven of these District Justices visited Ireland and viewed the "trial" of a number of young Irishmen appearing on political charges in Dublin's Special Juryless Courts. These young men were, without exception, charged with I.R.A. membership and duly sentenced quite rightly categorised this particular court as having been "Bombed into existence by British bombs". (This was in reference to the Dublin bombing in December '72 which killed two people and injured 127 others. When it appeared that the Southern Government's new oppressive measures against Republicans would be defeated in Parliament, the deputies "half-dazed with drink" according to reporter, voted almost an bloc for the Nazi-type law which would further eliminate the civil and human rights of Irish citizens).

In a week which saw further dithering in the Dublin Parliament on the question of Family Planning Legislation one recalls that neither Government nor Opposition was slow to pass an Act that effectively contravened Justice within their jurisdiction; indeed the Act that was aided by British bombs and which among other penal clauses allows unsubstantiated evidence from a Chief Superintendent that he "believed" a person to be a member of the I.R.A. not only contravenes Justice but abdicates the high ideals of the 1916 Charter of the Irish Republic which guaranteed to cherish all the children of the Nation equally".

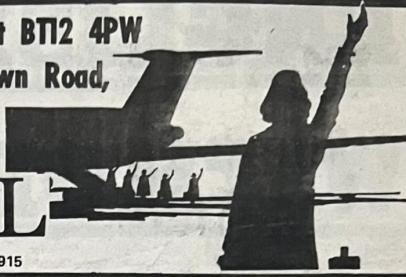
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# NEITHER FISH NOR FOWL

**SINCE** the reactionary Orange general strike in northern Ireland, a broad mood in favour of a British pull-out has grown enormously. This mood had existed below the surface for a long time — but now it is a matter for open discussion in the pages of the capitalist press. Papers like the Mirror, the Mail and the Observer are seriously discussing withdrawal of troops. What does this mean for the 'Troops Out' movement?

Is withdrawal of troops in fact likely soon? All the press take for granted that the British Army is a benevolent peacekeeping force. So they see withdrawal as a matter of dropping a peacekeeping responsibility — because the results in terms of peacekeeping are not worth the effort.

But it is not true that the British Army is a peacekeeper. That is the opposite of the truth. The Army is there to safeguard the interests of British imperialism. In the long term the British ruling class aims to de-sectarianise the Orange state and normalise Britain's relation of economic exploitation of the whole of Ireland. In the short term they aim to suppress the insurgent nationalist minority in the north.

What this means is that Britain will withdraw either when driven out or if it becomes too feeble to be able to care any longer about safeguarding its interests in Ireland. That stage has not quite been reached yet.

Despite the revival of the IRA campaign since the "United Kingdom" general election, the British ruling class are not beaten yet. To pretend that they are will only lessen our effectiveness in aiding those trying to defeat the British Army in northern Ireland. And the British ruling class would have to be seriously threatened by the working class at home to feebly relax its grip on Ireland.

To get the British army out of Ireland will take more than a vague mass feeling of (largely chauvinistic) exasperation. It will need organised mass pressure.

### Lunatic

The significance of the present 'troops out' mood should therefore be coldly assessed. It is cloudy, not an organised force, and in terms of press comment may be no more than a passing spasm. The pro-withdrawal Labour MPs are possibly a more serious factor. But will they fight, especially against a Labour Government?

### AN ANALYSIS OF THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Much of the 'bring the troops home' mood accepts the idea of the troops' peacekeeping role, and says simply "Enough — why are the Green and Orange lunatics our responsibility?" It thus lines up, fundamentally, with the British ruling class; it is no basis for a serious fight against the government to force withdrawal.

The task remains to organise at least some of the mass feeling for withdrawal — to compress the steam into an engine for use against the Government, to play a role of real solidarity by undermining the capacity of the British state to pursue its policies in Ireland.

Some of the people who lead the 'Troops Out' Movement are apt to make rather wishful comparisons with the mass movement in the USA against the Vietnam war. But here there is not the mass conscription, nor the mass casualties, of the war in Vietnam. This absence makes all the difference between a gaseous cloud of indignation and an organised movement like the American anti-war movement, which actually materially restricted the options of the US ruling class and aided the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

More important, no-one could see the US Army in Vietnam as keeping the peace. Opposition to the US presence in Vietnam could be formed only on an anti-US government basis, which

ruling class propaganda about the peacekeeping role of the troops, and some understanding of the aims of the Republican movement. We do not mean such a movement need have the most explicit and clear-cut position of full and outspoken solidarity with the IRA which is demanded of revolutionaries: but it must have the rudiments of that position if it is not to be paralysed by ambiguities.

A movement round that spine of solidarity could not hope to harness all the discontent with British involvement in Ireland; but it could harness that part of it which is capable of playing a progressive role.

### Solidarity

The need for solidarity as a binding element is the lesson we draw from the whole experience of over five years of work in Britain on the Irish question. It has, for example, been impossible to argue against internment without facing the fact that it makes sense to most people. Better lock people up on any pretext, the argument goes, rather than allow slaughter to continue. This is why the Anti-Internment League, based on a purely liberal approach, collapsed. Only by explaining the basic justice of the IRA cause can the issues be clarified.

The 'Troops Out' Movement was founded by a hard core of

would be largely by-passed.

### Chorus

It bears the stigma of being a pro-IRA tendency (because of the people who make it up and speak for it), yet deprives itself of the political framework to separate out the progressive, anti-Government elements from the reactionary chauvinists and racists who form a large part of the 'troops out' chorus.

Even the T.O.M.'s espousal of "self-determination for Ireland" as an aim resolves no confusion. At the recent T.O.M. conference someone asked exactly what did self-determination mean. No-one could answer officially for the T.O.M. Fred Halliday, of New Left Review, gave a

personal opinion from the platform. Self-determination, for him, meant that the Six Counties should continue as a separate entity until the majority in the Six Counties wanted otherwise.

This position, of course, is in total contradiction to self-determination for Ireland as a whole, which means that 32 counties is the unit for majorities and minorities. It is even in logical contradiction to getting the troops out, for the Six County majority fundamentally (despite tensions) wants the Army in Ireland. This position also implicitly condemns the whole IRA struggle for trying to subvert this 6-County unit.

The T.O.M. is simply a hodge-podge, neither fish nor fowl. Nor is the muddle confined to the 'broader' elements of T.O.M. It affects the International Marxist Group, the main organised faction in T.O.M.

Recently Red Weekly, the IMG's paper, openly attacked those demanding an explicit solidarity position (in response, it seems, to a Workers Fight leaflet given out at the last T.O.M. conference). "The T.O.M. will win more people to solidarity with the IRA in six months" it stated "than the 'solidarity first' merchants have done in four years."

In fact, the main result of more than six months' work of the T.O.M. has been the silencing of the solidarity position where before it appeared most stridently — in the press of the IMG! Where once 'Victory to the IRA' was their badge of honour, they now, in their own paper, attack open advocacy of solidarity.

The organisation of a troops-withdrawal movement objectively playing a solidarity role is, if conditions allow, a legitimate aim for revolutionaries. The US Socialist Workers Party

played a great and progressive role in building the anti-Vietnam war movement.

But the revolutionary organisation itself must maintain an uncompromising position in its own press of conscious, vocal solidarity with those fighting imperialism and for the defeat of the imperialist army. The legitimate criticism of the Socialist Workers Party was that it did not do that sufficiently and consistently.

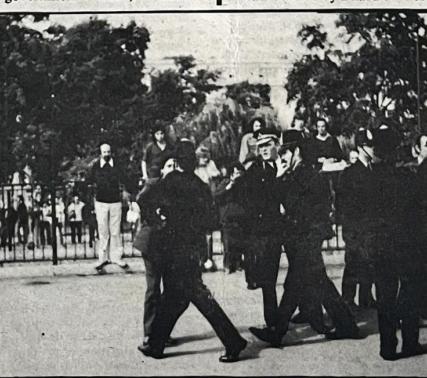
In conditions offering infinitely less excuse (and even less opportunity) the IMG now repeats this mistake. Watching this latest preposterous gyration of the IMG is like watching the frantic dance of a circus clown turning somersaults on a trampoline — a clown decked out not in the traditional spangled stars but the misappropriated hammer and sickle emblem.

That we criticise the IMG and the T.O.M. does not mean that the rest of the British left is less guilty. Just the opposite. The I.S. group and the W.R.P. simply do not concern themselves with any solidarity or 'troops out' movement at all. In the Labour Party Young Socialists a campaign has been organised over Ireland. But this campaign, dominated by the scab 'Militant' tendency, owes its separation from the Troops Out Movement only to its straightforward capitulation to British imperialism. It links the withdrawal of troops to the purely mythical cure-all of a non-sectarian Trade Union Defence Force. Until the long-to-be-awaited arrival of this panacea, the British Army must (so 'Militant' spokesmen say) stay in Ireland.

This 'Militant' campaign, then, accepts the lie that the troops are 'peacekeepers'. And it accepts — and 'Militant' eagerly promotes — the disgusting propaganda that the IRA fighters are murderous psychopaths.

Revolutionaries must, then, take part in the Troops Out Movement. But in order to use the Troops Out feeling to build in objective solidarity with the Republican struggle, we must fight to differentiate and crystallise out those who could play an active role against the British ruling class and British Army from the reactionaries. This means fighting clearly for self-determination for Ireland, against any nonsense about the democratic validity of the Six Counties, and openly explaining the justice of the IRA's cause.

And within any broader movement, revolutionaries must fight for the sharpest and most explicit solidarity with those who fight the British Army in Ireland.



Yet another arrest, for wearing a black beret!

became more and more openly and consciously pro-NLF.

In Britain, the only binding element which could form the spine of a movement — as opposed to an amorphous mood — is some explicit belief in Ireland right to self-determination, a denial of the

people who held a solidarity position, with the perspective of forming a broad campaign. Ironically it has played no part in the present development of a 'troops out' feeling. In fact, if the pro-withdrawal Labour MPs were to go so far as organising some action, then the T.O.M.

# ENGLISH

# WITHDRAWAL ANY WEEK NOW

Heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy army of occupation during the last week. The English Army eventually admitted that Sergeant Seth Apcar of the Intelligence Corps had been shot dead in an army post in Belfast. On Tuesday 13th August a command detonated bomb destroyed an enemy observation post at Drummacavall near Crossmaglen.

Two soldiers of the 45th Royal Marine Commandos were killed and two more seriously wounded. The same day another border observation post came under heavy fire near Anghacloy.

In Derry two soldiers were wounded in a booby-trap explosion (15th August) and the next day a soldier was critically wounded when a two vehicle patrol was ambushed in the Creggan. During the week Belfast again rang to the crack of gunfire as enemy troops came under sustained fire in the Lower Falls, St. James's and Antrim Road (14th), and again in the Lower Falls (20th). There were also sustained attacks on the enemy at Armagh, Crossmaglen, and Derry. The punishing nature of this fire was confirmed by the English Army's decision to 'withdraw from its post at the Fire Station on Ardyone and in Derry's Brandywell'. The fury of the enemy forces was demonstrated by their murder of Paul Magorrian, Adjutant of the South Down Brigade. They had suffered heavy losses at the hands of this Brigade in the past six months so when he was spotted by joint police/army patrol walking near his home at Castlewellan they did not bother to arrest him, rather they murdered him with a shot in the back and then alleged that he was 'engaging' the enemy forces at the time. Oighlaigh na h-Eireann lost a brave and skillful volunteer but his life has brought the dream of Irish freedom to hand and his example and bravery have set the fire of rebellion afame in another corner of occupied Ireland.

The infamous Black Watch regiment have tried to cover their discomfiture at being attacked in their 'safe' Fort Monagh base by rocket fire in which there was one direct hit by launching a despicable black propaganda campaign in the Andersonstown area. Republican slogans have been carefully overpainted, houses have been leafleted and the words of the parish priest of St. Teresa's distorted in an effort to whitewash their own campaign of terror and sectarian

insult against the defiant people. The First Battalion of the Belfast Brigade put them firmly in their place in a statement which pointed out that many premeditated murder attempts had been carried out by English agents in and out of uniform. They point out that the English Army uses the church of St. Teresa's and its schools for cover and warn that they will continue to attack the compound at every opportunity until England announces her plans to withdraw from Irish soil. We can assure both Canon Mac Namara and the mercenary soldiers of the Black Watch that all future attacks on Fort Monagh will culminate within the confines of the compound."

The devastation of economic targets continued. The bus depot, and two banks were attacked by fire bombs at Dungannon. The exposure of the tyranny of the enemy in blocking out Newry was effectively backed by the people despite the S.D.L.P.'s attempts to whip up a hysterical anti-Republican campaign. The seriousness of the confrontation with the English Army over their control of power was re-inforced by a 300lb explosion which devastated the Newry Electricity offices 50 yards away from the R.U.C. head-quarters. (14th August). There were two major fires in Newry the same day. In Belfast the Roneo-Victors works were destroyed at Whitehouse by fire-bombs and another destroyed the Neon Signs warehouse in South Belfast. In Castlederg a 300lb bomb destroyed business premises and on 15th August a petrol station was destroyed at Enniskillen.

The spectacular escape of 19 Republican prisoners from the top-security Portlaoise gaol in the 26 counties was greeted by two huge fires in Belfast one on the Lagan embankment destroyed an electrical warehouse whilst Corry's timber yard was also damaged. In Lurgan over £1 million worth of damage was caused by three fire-bombs. The North Armagh Battalion said 'We will continue to attack the enemy both economically and physically until our demands are met. On 20th August fire destroyed the Co-op on Crumlin Road and the security forces were harried by hoax bombs. But there was a major explosion in the Docks and as it hit a military target the media have not reported it though it rocked Belfast. As the military campaign brings the withdrawal of the English Army nearer the collaborationist politicians north and south are in total disarray and finally the Irish people are beginning to see the correctness of the Republican analysis of Ireland's political and economic problems and that they can only be solved by the military defeat of English imperialism in Ireland.

All North  
Armagh  
IRA Units  
On Active  
Service

The North Armagh Battalion Ogleigh na h-Eirann have claimed responsibility for the incendiary attacks on economic targets in Lurgan Sat. 17th August. "We again reiterate our position that all our units are on active service and will continue to attack the enemy, economically and physically, until our just demands are met.

"The hysterical emotional outburst from Hugh News concerning these attacks is in sharp contrast to his silence on the massive arbitrary arrests, torture and internment which has occurred in the North Armagh area over this past two months.

"It at least lets the Republican people of North Armagh know where this British Army's PRO's real interests lie."

V.A. O'Neill  
North Armagh  
Battalion Ogleigh Na h-Eirann.

rentless struggle against England, never against the Protestant people. Yet the old Orange interest resorts to the old Orange methods, and hundreds of innocent Irishmen have died gruesome deaths at the hands of the loyal sons of Erin, for being Irish, or for being Catholic. Every Irish Republican wishes to see the unity of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter against the common imperialist enemy. But no Republican can settle for less than complete economic political social and cultural freedom from England and unfettered control of our own destinies; or for less than genuine democracy and equality among Irishmen. The last five — the last fifty five years have shown this is not possible, in the context of a Six County State.

This last five years of heroic determination on the part of the risen people of the six occupied counties of Ireland, and, I would add, particularly of Belfast, has led to several abortive schemes on the part of English Free State and Stormont governments, "for the better government of Ireland". The intransigence of Republicans has brought all reformist and compromise plans, with all the repression they would have entailed, to naught. We have refused to be divided and conquered. In this we have followed our own martyrs, among them our fifteen year old Gerard McAuley.

We will follow still, God grant his eternal rest; and God grant our arms victory, in the just fight of an oppressed people against age-old enemies.

Republican News is printed and published by the Belfast Republican Press Centre, 170a Falls Road Belfast.

## OUT OF THE ASHES

Oration by P.R.O. Gerard McAuley at a commemoration held on Sunday 18th August at the grave-side of Liam Gerard McAuley who died in the defence of Bombay St. on 15 August 1969.

A recent television programme was called "Five Years On". They have been five of the most momentous years in the history of the Irish people. And they began where Gerard McAuley's life ended — in the ashes of Bombay Street on 15 August 1969.

On Loyalist gable walls you can often see two dates side by side — 1690 and 1969. Nothing could be more ironic. 1690 represents the decisive victory over the Native Irish by England and her settlers — the Williamite conquest. It must have been hoped that 1969 was a repeat of that victory.

Such a hope has proved very wide of the mark. "Out of the ashes of 1969 rose the Provisonalists" goes a motto which can be seen on the handkerchiefs and wallets sent out from Long Kesh as our freedom fighters message of defiance. The motto is surmounted by a crest — the phoenix.

The phoenix is a fitting symbol of our new Irish hope. In the nineteenth century the symbol of Ireland was a grief-stricken woman weeping over the Irish harp. The woman represented the sad plight of the Irish people, decimated by massacre, exploitation,

and famine. The harp represented Ireland's glorious past when she was the island of saints and scholars; the only place in Europe where the all-important Greek language was kept in the monasteries to which people came for education from all the rest of Europe, and from which Ireland's monks and wandering scholars brought civilization to the farthest corners of the known world.

Ireland was a prosperous country, rich in agriculture and trade, and a constant threat to England's ambition. For this reason England set about methodically and systematically to destroy her rival. Wave after wave of invasion failed, and the Normans came to terms with the Gael, intermarried and became more Irish than the Irish themselves. Henry VII and Elizabeth saw them all as enemies, potential allies of France and Spain, and pursued a war of no quarter against the Irish. The result in spite of attempted genocide was not a foregone conclusion. The conquest was not secure until after Elizabeth's death, when Francis Bacon proposed a scientific scheme for the plantation of Ulster, which had not been conquered in war but was now settled by people who built their houses as stone stockades.

An advertisement of the time promises "good sport hunting the wood-kerne". The Kerns were the native Irish. The hunting has never ceased.

Ireland was a source of wealth to England not least as a way of paying for England's Civil War and paying off Cromwell's soldiers. But English

greed was such that even the settlers and Protestant Ascendancy landlords rebelled against her execrable tyranny. Dissenters who were penalised for not belonging to the Established Church of England and who wanted economic freedom from England to develop their own economy, joined forces with "the men of no property", the Catholic tenants, in a rising against the English throne to set up an Irish Republic, based on Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood. This was put down again with a savagery which seems demonic in its intensity. This was when the Orange Order arose, as a local militia to help the big battalions make the Croppies lie down. It is a rule the Order has never lost.

The tune "Croppies lie down" begins "We loyal Sons of Erin". These Orange men recognised themselves as Irish but as Irishmen loyal to the Crown, and the Empire. From Cork to Belfast, from Dublin to Londonderry, from Duke to landless labourer, from Viceroy of India to shipyard worker, they united to keep Ireland loyal to the Crown, and the rebels in their place.

The English government, of course, was not always loyal to the Orange men. The trauma the loyalists are going through now has been gone through before; the Orange Order was banned when its sectarian violence was not necessary to keep democracy, nationalism and socialism down. But it was always easily revived when the English had a job for it. And when the many attempts at a national

democratic rising against the English looked like finally having some success at the beginning of this century, the Orange Card was played again. Casement was hanged, the Orangemen Sir Henry Wilson was considered as a possible British dictator, the finance capitalist of the City of London backed the Ulster Volunteers, the officers of the English Army mutinied at the suggestion of a show of strength against the Carsonites. Defeated in 26 Counties Orangism retreated to the limit it could hold — six.

In 1969 the demand for civil rights

— equality, dignity and decency were met with the age-old savagery and stupidity which James Connolly experienced, hated and denounced.

The "Carnival of reaction" he predicted was beginning again. If the Irish people had lain down under it, England would have breathed a sigh of relief and gone on.

But the five heroic years had begun. Gerard McAuley was on of those who died in that sectarian onslaught. His death, and those of the other victims of England and her colonists that night, kindled a flame in the hearts of the Irish people which has been fanned to a steady glow of determination to throw off the yoke for ever. Reformist plans were thrown away. Republicans arose who swore to free Ireland now. Since Gerard McAuley's death the gun has been taken up by the risen people, and in spite of imprisonment, torture and death it has not been laid down. Those five years have been years of