

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

"I can't solve your problems" . . . "The Border is not an issue". Nobody should be taken in by Mr. Callaghan's Pontius Pilate act in Belfast.

People should not forget that Partition was imposed by Britain and that the fifty years persecution of the minority in the North is the direct result of British interference in Irish affairs.

Mr. Callaghan was merely noting the decision of the British Empire in the present crisis. That decision is that it is cheaper for British Imperialism to keep on propping up the Unionist Ascendancy in the North than to take on the task of coercing the majority into giving civil rights to the nationalist minority. And the Unionists will be in a majority as long as the border exists.

Fifty years of bigotry, discrimination in jobs and houses, gerrymandering, B-Specials, R.U.C. and British troops is to be extended for a further unknown period. Not by Stormont — but by Britain who last year invested another £130 million in partition to create artificial differences between Irishmen and who is presently supporting her rule in the North by 6,000 soldiers. By Britain who set up the B-Specials before Stormont came into existence. If Mr. Callaghan cannot solve our problems, he can certainly make them!

Wilson, Callaghan and Co. will only coerce the Unionists on one condition. That they can re-integrate the 26 Counties into the "UNITED KINGDOM" as a result. Such an aim by Britain is not as far-fetched as it appears. It would rid them of the embarrassment of a Unionism that has outlived its use to Imperialism and substantially restore the pre-1916 position.

The Dublin Government's economic policies have already led to a sell-out of economic independence to Britain. A "federal" solution that Jack Lynch could publicise as a step towards the Republic but which, in fact, would lead the South back into the Empire, would seem to be the long-term diplomatic aim of Britain. It would be a solution built on Fianna Fail's Free Trade Agreement and Common Market policies.

The Republican Movement's long-term solution is a 32 County general election under P.R. The short-term aim is to gain a revision of the Government of Ireland Act in the Irish interest. These aims in relation to the situation in the North are outlined in detail on the RESISTANCE page inside and in the lead editorial on page 12.

In the South the aim must be to keep the pressure on the 26 County Government to take a hard line with Westminster and to prosecute the issue to the utmost at the U.N. Another aim must be to point out to the public the contradiction Fianna Fail now finds itself caught up in between its imperialistic economic policies and its anti-imperialistic sabre-rattling on the issue of Partition; to point out the need for a complete re-orientation of the nation's economic policies if ever a real challenge British rule in Ireland is to become a reality.

Towards this end meetings, demonstrations and the collection of funds to help active resistance within the North to British rule, are all necessary.

Joining the Republican Movement is the most effective help members of the public can give.

Unlike Jack Lynch, the Republican Movement refuses to turn its back on history and reality. It refuses to rule our force as a solution. As Zambia pointed out at the U.N., British troops were never used to give freedom but to suppress it. British troops were not sent to Rhodesia, but were sent to the Six Counties. From Wolfe Tone, to Connolly and Pearse and the men of '57 force was a means to an end.

A tyranny that is maintained by force can ultimately be only overthrown by force.

BLAME BRITAIN



Letters to the editor



Bernard Brown, chairman of the Housing Action Committee, addressing a meeting at the G.P.O.

More battles are looming on the Dublin housing front. Bernard Brown, chairman of the committee, is threatened with eviction, committal orders have been issued against the squatters in the Carlton Hotel and action is pending against the squatters in Waterloo Road.

It seems that the Dublin squatters will be battling for the right to shelter just as much as their counterparts in the North this month.

The state machine is being oiled up for another round of jailings and persecution of the Dublin homeless. Everyone who supports the Civil Rights struggle in the North must also give their support to the Dublin squatters.

Ground rent

With regard to ground rents — I believe, and have often said, that there is really no reasonable justification for them. I don't think their abolition is a matter of such moral importance that I should necessarily take a public stand on the question — as a priest. But I'd like to declare support for the attempt to get them abolished.

Another thing — I agree that the time is ripe for a revision of the law as regards ownership of lakes and rivers, and fishing rights on them.

In this connection my I inform you that your paper was wrong in listing my brother — Hugh Sweetman, then of Templemore House on the Blackwater — as a person to beware of in this respect (Feb. 1968). He now lives at Tignoe, Castlehyde, on the same stretch of river. If there is any question of seeking to revise the attitude to river-rights in that district you will, I'm sure, find him friendly rather than hostile to the idea.

With every good wish,
Yours sincerely,
Michael J. Sweetman, S.J.

Which flag?

A chara,
In the August edition of the U.I. Eamonn McCann takes exception to some remarks made about him in previous editions of the paper. As the writer of the 'Northern Letter' I would clear up a couple of points for him.

The first one is, that all material which bears a Northern slant does not emanate from me and in fact, the June critic of the treble-parliament inanity was someone else. However, I am responsible for the July article and my criticism still stands.

The Tricolour, whether we

like it or not, is the national emblem of Ireland, and as such is accepted by all shades of Irish opinion — except of course, those whose allegiance is to England or whose socialism blinds them to realities.

No doubt the flag has often been sullied, but that doesn't mean that we of the working-class shall no longer recognise it and try in our own way to adhere to the principles which the flag represents. To do otherwise is to take away from the greatness of James Connolly for he, well knowing that by so doing he was alienating himself from the vast majority of Protestant workers, did not hesitate to fight under it. His socialism was no starry-eyed idealism but a hard practical realism which showed him that the only way in which his belief in a socialist Ireland could ever be achieved was by first kicking England out.

Lets face realities. Even the milk-and-water socialism of the N.I. Labour Party, which party it must be remembered, pledges full support for Partition, cannot with any real effect, cut the religious divide. Among Catholics there is a genuine fear of socialism with the spectre of religious persecution, rightly or wrongly, being propagated among them. Therefore as I see it, we must combine Republicanism with Socialism to have any hope of the latter succeeding.

Finally, I am only too well aware of Eamonn McCann's part on the streets of Derry prior to October 5, 1968 and if my phrasing of the relevant paragraph in the July 'Letter' is ambiguous, my apologies. What I meant to convey is that since then, Eamonn has been more intent on pushing his own political philosophies than in trying to obtain the broad spectrum of civil rights which are denied in the North. All his writing or talking cannot deny this.

le meas,
Frank Hegarty.

Another seat-grab by Fianna Fail

Death is usually followed by a visit from the undertaker, but if the dead person happens to be a County Councillor the first visitor is often the Fianna Fail party.

Seat-snatching, not body-snatching, is the aim, however. Normally when an independent member of a local body dies, an interested relative or close associate is co-opted by agreement of all parties until the following elections confirm or reject the choice made.

In the past few years, however, in areas where Fianna Fail's grip on County Councils has been endangered, a policy of grab as grab-can has been followed.

During the current County Council term the Fianna Fail majority of one on Galway County Council was used to grab the seat of Peter Sirr (Clann na Talun), Jim Cox (Labour), and the seat held by the late Seosamh Mac an Iomaire (Independent and formerly Clann na Poblachta).

In 1966, a Sinn Fein seat on Leitrim Co. Council fell to Fianna Fail in similar manner and on July 21 last, Longford County Council was the scene of another bare-faced grab.

The late Sean F. Lynch of Aughtnaclyffe in North Longford was first elected a Sinn Fein County Councillor in 1920.

Later in the 1920s he was re-elected as an independent republican to Longford Co. Council and headed the poll and was elected on the first count on every occasion since then including 1967. On May

26th last he died and it was generally felt that his son, Sean junior, who has been an active Republican since 1954, would be co-opted unanimously until the people would choose a successor in two years time.

The Fianna Fail party headed by Mr. Frank Carter, T.D. took a hand however. They tried unsuccessfully to persuade a number of the neighbours of the Lynch family to stand for co-option under their banner, eventually they got a young man named Daniel Mulligan of Rosduff — some miles away — to consent.

The voting resulted in a tie — 9 votes each for Lynch and Mulligan. Fianna Fail could only muster 9 seats in the 1967 election but the chairman, Mr. P. M. Farrell (Independent and formerly Clann na Poblachta) came to their rescue and by a majority of one, the seat was 'grabbed'.

Mr. P. M. Farrell voted with Fianna Fail all along the line and they in turn seconded him for another year in the County Chair.

Seizing on the local indignation, Sean Lynch junior and Rory Brady were at the church gates with protest meetings on the three subsequent Sunday mornings, covering the entire local electoral area.

The people at Purth, Aughtnaclyffe, Moyne, Ligga, Ballinainach and Drumlist heard Sean Lynch declare;

"We will contest this area on the next occasion and we call on the people to give the grabbers their answer".

MALTREATMENT OF PRISONERS

The government of the 6 Counties, because of its weak position, has always intimidated those resolutely opposed to their sectarian policies. Internment is perhaps their most soulless weapon. Men who suffer this fate are arrested and held without trial under the Special Powers Act (The Act Vorster, the South African P.M. would have given his eye teeth for). In many cases these men have been held on several different occasions and often for years on end. Age is no guarantee of safety; Paddy Devlin, M.P. for Falls, was interned at the age of 17.

The conditions at Crumlin are abominable. Men are held in solitary confinement, left to stare for days, weeks and years at four walls, although they do have rudimentary exercise periods. The sanitary arrangements in the cells consist of a bucket. Beating are frequent when any resistance is shown.

Now the Stormont junta have tried this brutal move again. This action can only be an obstacle to the return to peace. In many areas the prominent Republicans forced to flee were those most influential in keeping the peace. But in areas such as Belfast the men who fought to defend their very homes are those who move in fear.

These men faced a planned attack backed by the armed might of the state. The attack aimed at the wholesale destruction of the Falls road area. In the face of this attack the people had only one course, to defend their homes. For this it appears they may still suffer.

Mr. Wilson has promised talks on the Special Powers Act and internment within the next three weeks. There will be little peace and little rest if these men's lives remain in jeopardy.

The Spirit of Crumlin

"After four gates you reach the checkpoint where they strip you of your personal belongings. 'We'll have your f---g glasses' says the screw. you pass through a further 'Airlack' into the inner prison. This is the wrought iron world of the 19th century and in it you will find all that is worst in the iron discipline of 19th century Puritanism.

"Soon you lose your last carefully hidden cigarette, 'We get everything' says the screw, and very soon indeed they have taken even your own clothes and the last vestige of civilisation and humanity departs as you are left in your cell. "If asked for the symbolic moment in a two and three

REPUBLICANS DETAINED UNDER THE SPECIAL POWERS ACT WITHOUT CHARGE OR TRIAL

- Provisional List
- Prionnsias Mac Airt, Liam McMillan, Malachy McGurran, Sean McGuigan, Prionnsias O Donghaile.
 - James Savage, R. J. Fitzpatrick, Dennis Cassidy, Dennis Casson, M. Darity, John McEldowney, Liam McIlvenna (on hunger strike).
 - Seamas Harkey, J. McCann, L. Johnston, F. White, F. L. Campbell, F. McGlenon, M. Toal, P. J. McCusker, D. J. Loy, J. J. Davey, Hugh Mallon, Patrick Duffy.

quarter day stay, I think of the time when I plucked a dandelion in the exercise yard to put in my buttonhole. On the way in a screw leapt forward with a scream of rage to dash it to the ground." — written by one of the 37 remanded to Crumlin after the Enniskillen Affair.

Fianna defiant

As in Dublin, 1916, and through the 1920's, 30's and more recent years the young men of Fianna Eireann were not found wanting in the hour of crisis.

Gerald McAuley 15, was shot in the gun battle of August 14-15 in Belfast. Fianna H.Q. issued the following statement on August 18:

"Our organisation in Belfast reports that the Fianna Boys in that city are manning the barricades against machine-guns, armoured vehicles and heavily-armed Crown Forces, with sticks, stones and petrol bombs."

Already one of our members, fifteen-year-old Gerald McAuley, has been shot dead and many have been wounded in gun battles.

These boys are now asking if this phase of the national independence struggle is to be left to unarmed Fianna Boys. They ask—where is the 26 Co. Army. What are the southerners doing? Will they not send us arms?

On the same day, thousands of people followed the funeral of Gerald McAuley from his home in Colindale Street out along the Falls Roads to the cemetery. Prayers by the graveside were recited in Irish as the coffin was lowered into the grave. The Fianna can be proud of the bravery and dedication of young Gerald McAuley.

Inniu agus na tioranaigh

Fear nuachtan a duirt go raibh na nuachtain lan de thuairimiocht faoi'n a bhi ag tarlu sna Se Chontae, ach go raibh na firici an-ghann orthu. Go fiu an tuairimiocht fein, ni den scoth e de gnath.

Sampla maith an bealach a ghlac na nuachtain leis an raiteas a d'eisigh Oglagh na hEireann. Bhi an sceal ceanna acu uilig — go raibh an "timing" tubaisteach ar fad.

Seo mar bhi ag INNUI: "Thug siad buntaiste mill-teanach do na tioranaigh o thuaidh. Ta Chichester-Clarke agus Paisley buioch diobh. Ta Rialtas Shasana in Eireann bunaithe nios daingne na riamh de bharr raiteas an dreama seo nar theip an utamail riamh orthu" Mac-smaointe. Ach ni chuirfeadh einne uire intinne no samh-laiocht i leith an phaipier ud. Go bhfios dom b'e "TIMES" Londain amhain a thuig bri an "timing" ud. Ach sin sceal eile.

FAISISTEACHAS

Os ag tracht ar "Inniu" ata me, is fiu intinn an dreama bhig seo a leiriu on eagrair ceanna den phaipier. Cuirtear faisisteachas ina leith go minic. Ni haon iontas e. Seo a deir siad faoi'n dream a rinne scrios ar a mbealach go h-Ambasaid na Breataine: "Fealltoiri den tsort is lofa na daoine seo. Ni ceart don Rialtas trocaire ar bith a dhean-

amh leo. Bhi an "IRISH TIMES" ag caoineadh an ionsai a thug na Gardai ar an scrublach seo. Is iontach an t-athru ar an saol e coinsias an naisiuin a bheith i seilbh an naisiuin a bheith i seilbh fheidir gurb e seo an searbhias a d'fhag toradh an olltogh-chain orthu a nochtadh fein? I dtiortha eile, in eigeandail den tsort ata againne sa tior seo faoi lathair, dheanfaí scriosadoiri agus creachadoiri siopa den tsort seo a lamhach, no ar a laghad bhagrosai lamhach orthu".

Ta an t-ath leis na creachadoiri nach bhfuil deachtair-eacht Ghluin na 'Bua i gcrich! Chain Sinn Fein an scrios seo, ach nior bhagair siad lamhach.

EIGEANDAIL?

Ma chreideann INNUI go raibh eigeandail den chineal a deir siad sa tir, ba choir doibh Bobby Molloy a lamhach freisin (seans go dtiocfadh an Ghaeltacht slan ansin!), mar fhaid a bhi an troid ar siul sna Se Chontae bhi Molloy ag fogairit conradh nua le Sasana — ta muinteoiri corpoiliuna na tior seo len a gcuid oiliuna a fhail i Sasana as seo amach! Deanfar "happy little English children" asainn fos!

Bhfuil fonn ar INNUI an Conradh Saor-Thradala le Sasana a chur ar cheal? No an gceapann se gur feidir le Rialtas a dhiol eacnamaiocht na tior le Sasana tada a

dheanamh sna Se Chontae a chuirfeadh Banc Shasana ar buile?

PRIOSUNAIGH

Ni dheineann INNUI aon tagairt do na Poblachtoiri ata i bpriosun i mBeal Feirste gan chuisiu. Ni fheadfadh siad, mar nuair osclofar Campa Geibhinn an Churraigh aris beidh INNUI ar thaobh an Rialtais abhus. Ce'n difriocht ata idir Offences Against the State Act Atha Cliath agus Special Powers Act Stormont?

Agus ni fada go mbeidh Teach Laighean chun tosaigh ar Stormont—nuair a bheidh an Criminal Justice Bill acu. Rud a chuirfeadh athas ar chroi eagarthora INNUI, fear a theastaigh uaidh morshuлта a stopadh i mBaile Atha Cliath ar eagla go mbeadh seisean mall chuig a dhinnear da mbarr.

FUATH

Is fuath le INNUI Gluais-eacht na Poblachta, mar is leir o Eagarfhocal an eagrair seo agus o litir ag Tarlach O hUid in a ionsaionn se Mairtin O Cadhain, duine de na Poblachtoiri is mo riamh a thuill buiochas mhuintir na hEireann. Ta's ag Poblach-tanaigh faoi O-hUid. Is feidir an paipier a mheas d'reir na ndaoine ata ina bhun.

TYRONE "SHOOT-IN"

On the mountains of Tyrone members of the county's Republican Clubs in conjunction with local people carried out a successful protest shoot-in on August 12, first day of the game-shooting season.

Earlier in this century after the divisions of estates among tenants, the landlords retained, among other rights, those of shooting and fishing. Although allowed to destroy vermin, the present owners of these lands dare not shoot the game on them. Game-shooting has been reserved for the aristocracy and those with British Army titles and denied to the working people.

The recent protests were carried out at Broughderg, Co. Tyrone, where the rights are owned by the family of Chichester-Clarke, Prime Minister of the North, and at Mountfield, Omagh which is owned by General Grattan Moore.

A number of grouse were obtained during the days shoot.

BRITAIN AND THE BARRICADE



**BY A REPUBLICAN IN
THE CIVIL RIGHTS
MOVEMENT**

British long-term strategy clearly is to get back control over all Ireland. To do this it must (a) win Catholic support; (b) neutralise extreme-Unionist feeling and disarm the UVF and B-Specials; (c) prevent the build up of nationalist feeling in 26 Counties from undermining the cosy capitulationist, free-trade, property dealing set up that has been carefully nurtured over the years of national defeat.

To achieve this, she must prevent the further development of a pogrom situation, by defending the Catholic population from the Specials successfully enough to prevent a resurgence of popular militancy in the South.

However in order to contain the unionists and prevent militancy spreading to the moderates, she must be seen to attempt to remove such arms as are considered to be available to the Defence Committees.

This she dare not do as long as the Defence committees retain the support of the residents, so that to search for alleged arms would require the assumption of military control.

Thus the defensive organisation of the people in the barricaded areas is a strong card that can be used for bargaining.

Brute force

Clearly in a brute force situation no-one would win. Direct confrontation between British Army, U.V.F. and B-Specials on one hand with Free State Army and I.R.A. on the other would lead to a British victory of a Suez-like character, possibly forestalled by Soviet rocket-rattling and pressure from the U.S. This would lead to considerable bloodshed, hardening of moderate Protestant opinion into Unionist intransigence and possibly a settlement on the basis of a 29 County free state under U.N. supervision, with Cyprus-like enclaves: an unpleasant prospect. Therefore on the whole the situation demands diplomacy rather than force.

Policy for defence areas

The key to the whole crisis is to concentrate on raising the political understanding of the defence areas and using them as educators for the nation at large.

The political analysis among the leadership of the defence areas would possibly evolve as follows:

(1) Unionism by its 'hard-line' on civil rights has shown that its ascendancy leader-

ship realises that its very existence under C.R. conditions would be threatened by loss of control by patronage of its protestant working-class basis. If they relied on religion alone, why should they worry?

(2) The Catholics however are insisting that Civil Rights be granted and are prepared to establish well-defended enclaves until this occurs, realising that this is the only way that they can defend themselves against armed extremists.

(3) Within the Stormont framework these are inconceivable. Some therefore say 'rule from Westminster'

(4) Under a Tory Government in London, Westminster rule could re-impose the Specials, as they originally imposed them in 1920 before Stormont existed. Such indeed would be a likely backlash from a Tory Government

advised by the Orangemen.

(5) Therefore some strengthening of Irish control over the situation must be the objective. The demand now for direct rule from Dublin however presents difficulties.

Successive Dublin Governments have a record of neglect of the Six County people, to the extent that they are in some way as remote as Westminster. Nor is the existing Dublin Government capable of putting up strong and sustained pressure, as its 'economic survival is based on selling out the country to (mainly British) investors.

(6) How then to strengthen the Irish basis of Northern politics and use it as a lever for transforming the position of Ireland as a whole in the direction of independence?

(7) If Stormont is abolished it will need to be replaced by

something more positive than 'direct rule'. Remember that in the 1790's, the United Irishmen did not want to abolish the landlords parliament in Dublin, their revolutionary demand was to reform it.

(8) Catholics in the North, if they are to survive, will need a buffer between them and whatever regime the Tories (possibly under Powellite influence), advised by their extreme-unionist Belfast aristocratic friends, choose to impose on them.

(9) Parliamentary reform therefore in the North means the replacement of the present structure by a new one within which Catholics will be protected from discrimination and the advocacy of the politics of national unity will not be subversion.

The civil rights demands: (a) One man, One vote of equal value;

- (b) Outlawing of discrimination in jobs and housing;
- (c) Disarming and disbanding of the Specials and the disarming of the R.U.C.;
- (d) Abolition of the Special Powers Act., therefore need to be augmented by the democratic political demands.

Twenty six county reforms

Corresponding parliamentary reforms in the 26 counties must include:

- (1) Abolition of those articles in the Constitution which show special regard for the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church.
- (2) Northern elected representatives to have the right to sit as observers in Leinster House and to participate in All-Ireland constitutional consultation.

As referred to above, a period of all Ireland constitutional consultation is necessary; in this the Northern Protestant should have a voice. Since none of their elected representatives are fit to speak for them, depending as they do for their election on lies, terror and patronage, it would be necessary to find a provisional electoral framework within which independent Protestant spokesmen can come forward, on a genuine democratic basis. Such a provisional framework can perhaps be constructed out of the trade union movement and local tenants and residents associations.

Revolution or training-ground?

The defense-enclave must not be regarded as control or revolution in themselves: they are far from it. They are however powerful educators, catalysts whereby the political situation can be transformed in a direction beneficial to the mass of the Irish people. The political solution which emerges must retain as much power in Ireland as possible, and must make possible the development of an all-Ireland consciousness among the people. Note that this is already beginning via the relief work. The mode of organisation of relief work is the key: it must be used to build up contact between like organisations, north and south. The pattern has been set by the Dublin Trades Council, which has started a fund which is to be administered by the Belfast Trades Council, thus emphasising the 32-county nature of the Trade Union Movement, and also involving Protestant trade unionists in the relief work.

The present situation is a training-ground for revolution. It is likely that the radical organisations will emerge from it strengthened, with some minor but significant victories. Let those who think that this is the revolution beware; to act on this belief prematurely could lead to the smashing of all radical organisation for years to come; a further fifty years 'carnival of reaction.'

Labour's Border Bungle

The rift between the Republican Movement and the Irish Labour Party was never more clearly seen by the public than when the Bold Conor and Co. went off to London to see their fellow-Socialists in the British Imperial Government.

One of Conor's keenest admirers, young Brendan Corish, comes out saying that the British Government should take responsibility for the preservation of law and order in the Six Counties.

Republicans

That very night, this in effect, was done by Harold Wilson himself. Sound man, Brendan. But soft, the Learned One speaketh: "We have urged most strongly that a delegation from the British Labour Party should visit the area now, to talk to the people, Protestants and Catholics alike. This is not the Amazon nor the Congo, but a very near part of the United Kingdom and not to visit it would be wrong," said Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien at a press conference in London on August 19th 1969. This, even from a college boy, is hard to take.

The Republican Movement has had its differences in the past with the exponents of the New Republic. Genuine Republicans disagreed strongly with the new republicans' acquiescence to the Free Trade sell-out; with their shameless 'wait and see'

policy on the E.E.C.; with their co-operation in the sacrilege of the 1916 and First Dail "celebrations"; with their two-faced tactics at the recent election which fully earned them their crushing defeat; genuine Republicans condemn the new republicans for their utter failure to give a lead in the Dublin housing crisis; and they do not like it when he who purports to be their leader, he of the wavy golden locks and the gorgeous sideburns, says that we should arrange our population along the east coast so as to be nice and handy for the British market. But this is too much. They have gone too far now.

That the integrity of the national territory means nothing to Conor and the boys is now obvious; but that they should actively be encouraging British imperialists to increase and entrench their power in the Six Counties, this becomes interesting. The mind of one who can condemn imperialism in Vietnam and uphold and encourage it in his own country must indeed be an interesting one. The positions that the Irish Labour Party finds itself adopting are many and varied.

Democracy

Let us be quite clear about the trouble in the North. Its source is a lack of democracy and it therefore follows that what is needed is more democracy, not less. The interests of British imperialism in the

Six Counties have long been served through its Stormont agents. Now, this becomes inconvenient with the Catholic uprising. Britain likes to do things nicely if she can. Home Rule looks good; but if the natives start getting unruly, to the detriment of British interests, she has no scruples about doing away with whatever semblance of democracy once existed. Whatever the deficiencies of Stormont, it cannot be but preferable to direct, naked British imperialist rule in the North.

Home rule

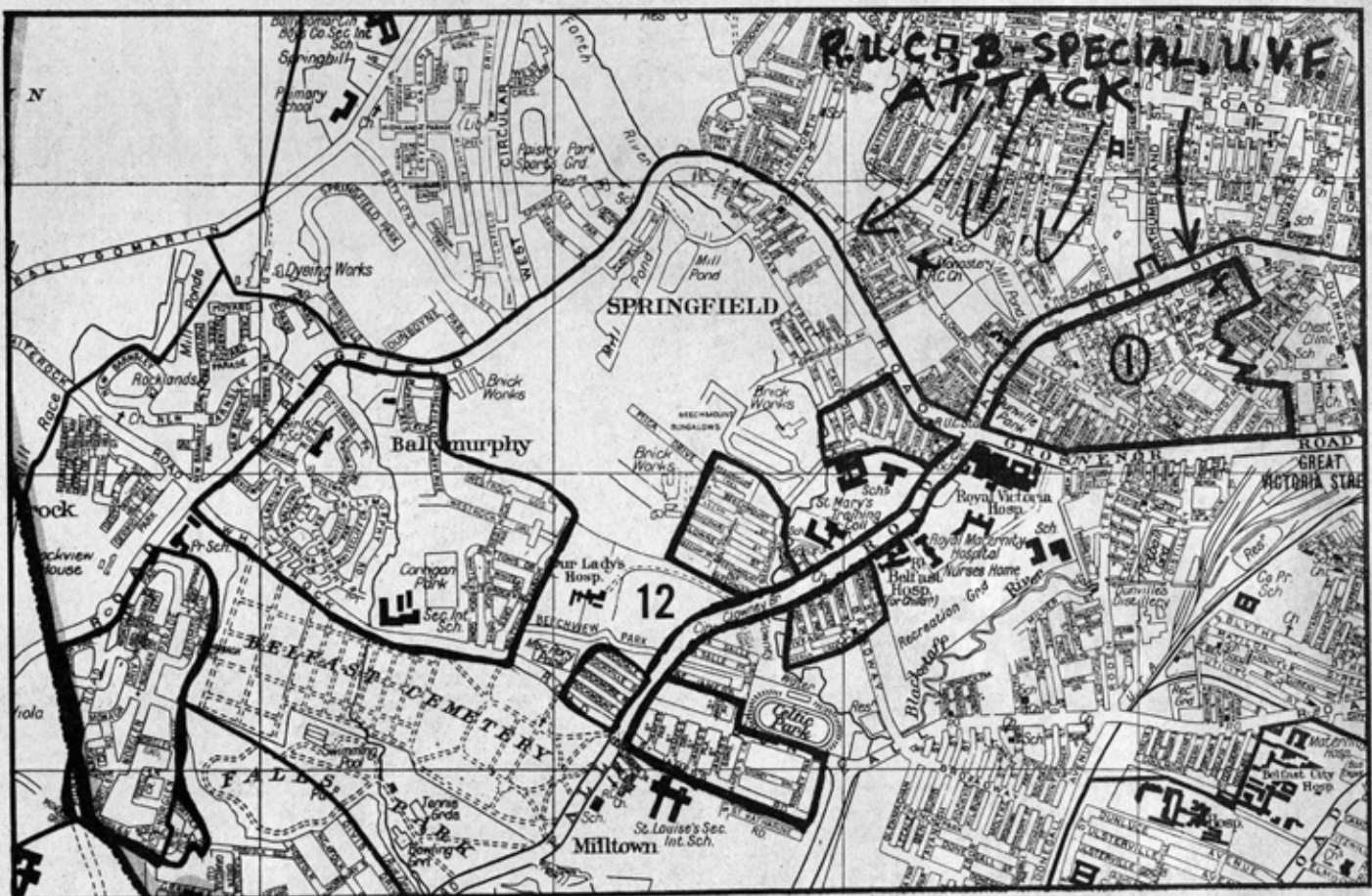
Now, just as Conor is Brendan's political hero, Charles Stewart Parnell is Conor's. Parnell, you remember, was the man who fought most of his life for Home Rule, the freedom to achieve freedom. Conor seems to have learnt little from his studies of the erstwhile Chief. I do not know what Conor and Brendan think about Pádraic Pearse but I do know that they would do well to ponder the words of an article written by him for *Irish Freedom* in November 1913 and reprinted in his *Political Writings and Speeches* (Pages 181-189). To take but a small sample: "The Editor of *Sinn Fein* wrote the other day that when the Orangemen fire upon the King of England's troops it will become the duty of every Nationalist in Ireland to join them: there is a deal of wisdom in the thought . . .

One great source of misunderstanding has now disappeared: it has become clear within the last few years that the Orangeman is no more loyal to England than we are. He wants the Union because he imagines that it secures his prosperity; but he is ready to fire on the Union flag the moment it threatens his prosperity. The position is perfectly plain and understandable. Foolish notions of loyalty to England being eliminated, it is a matter for business-like negotiation . . ."

Solution

While British troops remain on Irish soil it is clear that Britain is still the real enemy. When they have been expelled, Irishmen must get together and work out a solution to the great problems of identity and status which affect our people. There will have to be give and take. Each must recognise and respect the other's cultural and religious heritage. Guarantees of full civil and religious liberty will, of course, be given to all. It will not be easy but, when it is fully realised that the problem is one for the Irish people and not for the British government, we will have advanced just a little in understanding. The English, "they are the real difficulty: their presence here the real incongruity." Nothing can be done until they go, or are forced to go.

HOW BELFAST FOUGHT



The pogrom in Belfast started about 10.30 p.m. on the night of Thursday, August 14 and the fighting, looting and burning died out after the arrival of the British troops at 7.30 p.m. on the evening of the next day, Friday, August 15.

In the fighting seven people had died, 427 were treated in hospital, 108 with gunshot wounds, and at least 400 houses lay in smoking ruins.

The fighting started just about 10.30 when people from Shankill Road, the Protestant area, led by men wearing white armbands, moved north onto the Crumlin Road at Ardoyne and south onto the Falls Road. Closely behind followed squads of R.U.C. and B-Specials.

As the Paisleyites moved down the approach roads to the Falls Road they stopped at the first Catholic houses on their line of march and began systematically to fire them as the inhabitants fled.

Citizens Defence Associations that had formed during the fortnight previous as the tide of intimidation and eviction had risen reacted very effectively to the situation. Groups of them advanced from the Falls down the approach roads from the Shankill Road where the Paisleyite mobs had already commenced the burning of houses. Dover St., Percy St., Northumberland St., Boundary St., North Howard St., Cupar St., and Conway St. were the scene of fierce fighting as Defence Associations fought a holding action with the Orange mobs in order to give people time to evacuate.

In the meantime a Belfast

Corporation bus depot was held up at gun point and more than forty buses commandeered to help build barricades on the Falls Road. Furniture, cars, lorries and beds were all pressed into service as the battle raged in the approach roads and streams of refugees flowed across the Falls into the protection of the growing barricades.

When it was obvious that the Orange mob had been checked by the defenders they were told to withdraw and leave the way for the hundreds of R.U.C. and B-Specials advancing on the Falls. Supported by armoured cars and firing indiscriminately with automatic rifles and machine guns, the combined forces of R.U.C. and Specials forced the Catholics back behind the newly erected barricades on the Falls. Behind them the Paisleyites burned and looted and the whole area blazed until there was nothing left to burn.

As the R.U.C. and Specials launched attacks on the barricades guarding the Falls area gunfire was returned for the first time from within the Catholic area.

I.R.A. firing continued until all ammunition was spent, according to reports. Weak though it was in comparison to that of the combined U.V.F., R.U.C. and B-Special forces, the I.R.A. firepower slowed up the advance of the rampaging mobs and helped to hold vital barricades and refugee centres. The full story of the I.R.A. part in the defence has yet to be told, however.

B-Specials anxious to loot handed over their weapons to

Paisleyites and started smashing windows in Townsend St.

The chairman of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, Mr. Frank Gogarty, appealed at 2 a.m.: "For Christ's sake tell someone to intervene. Tell someone in Dublin. There will be another four hours of murder here."

He said that the B-Specials were on the Shankill road handing out rifles and revolvers to civilians.

"There must be immediate intervention if more people are not to be killed by B-Specials and the Paisleyites they are leading through the Falls," Mr. Gogarty said.

"They are driving through the streets in tenders, shooting indiscriminately, firing into homes and shooting at anyone they see."

By 5 a.m. five people had died. The miracle was that hundreds had not died as people faced machine guns with bricks and petrol bombs in order to prevent a massacre.

Throughout the day sporadic shooting continued and refugees flowed in increasing numbers from the atmosphere of terror that gripped the Falls during the day. British troops, waiting outside the city, were held back until the last possible moment in order to ensure a welcome from the terrified populace.

The troops' entry to the riot-torn areas came simultaneously at 7.30 p.m. About 400 troops, drawn from the Second Battalion, Queen's Regiment, in Holywood, Co. Down, and from the First Battalion, Royal Regiment of Wales, Ballykinlar, advanced

with rifles ready up the Falls and Shankill roads.

Buildings blazed about them as they marched. Gunfire, however, which had echoed throughout Falls Road, Springfield Road, Divis Towers and Percy Street all day, gradually reduced.

The dead included Mr. Herbert Roy, a prominent member of the U.V.F., in Belfast, Mr. David Linton, 48, whose funeral was later

attended by the Rev. Ian Paisley; a soldier (Catholic), home on leave from the British Army, who was caught in a burst of machine-gun fire on the top of Divis St. Towers; and two Catholic youths, nine year old Patrick Rooney, killed by a bullet which pierced three walls of his home in Divis St. Towers and fifteen year old Gerald McCauley, a member of Na Fianna Eireann.

ABOVE: The map above shows the barricaded areas surrounded in black. The arrows marking the main line of attack between the Shankill and Falls Road mark the approach roads that were completely burned out by the mobs.

BELOW: A grim-faced Ian Paisley later attended the funeral of Mr. David Linton who was killed during the riots.



notes and comments

WHY did Jack act? In other words, what precipitated the dramatic chain of events that started with his television broadcast on August 13, calling on Britain to permit a U.N. peace-keeping force in the Six Counties, setting up field hospitals along the border, and so on?

It would be easy to reply — and into Jack's political barrow — that humanitarian feelings for the down-trodden people of the Six Counties spurred him to action. My comment on that is this: why did he not act sooner — last October, for example, when the first civil rights marchers were bludgeoned in the streets? Or when the R.U.C. invaded Derry's Bogside in that night of terror a little later?

No, we will have to look elsewhere for the god that drove Jack to take such action — action with which, I must say here and now, most of us fully agree, albeit a bit futile and much too late. I can now reveal that an undelivered speech which Neil Blaney, fire-eating would-be leader of

Fianna Fail the erstwhile Republican Party, threatened to make was the thing that did the trick.

State of war

ON August 12, with Derry in a state of war and Bogside besieged, Mr. Blaney, his eye on the main political chance, had a sabre-rattling speech prepared by his script-writer. A copy was forwarded to Jack Lynch for vetting and passing for delivery. Jack refused to allow Blaney to make the speech. Blaney threatened to ignore Lynch's ban.

Lynch was forced to call an emergency Cabinet meeting, at which the whole northern situation was debated — heatedly at times — and eventually Lynch and the "play-it-safe" members of the Cabinet were outvoted by the Blaney faction and agreed that something would have to be done.

The result was Jack's T.V. broadcast announcing a tepid, middle-of-the-road approach

to Britain (which was certain to be rebuffed from the outset), the setting up of field hospitals along the border (the twin purpose of which was to give the Free State Army something useful to do and to keep their minds off dangerous things like intervention in Derry AND to give the people of Derry the impression that the Leinster House crowd were doing something) and stating also that it was his (Lynch's) intention to seek talks with Britain on the constitutional position of the Six Counties. (Your guess is as good as mine as to when these talks will take place).

The risen people

BUT Jack did not realise at the time that events were already passing him by. By their magnificent stand in Bogside and their defiance in other parts of the Six Counties the risen people of the north had set the chain in motion. Whether Jack had made his

gesture or not, it is now certain that Britain would have sent in her troops, as she did on August 14, and anything that happened after that would have occurred without Lynch's television appearance.

To the risen people of the north, then, we owe this remarkable turn of events. Let us salute them, aid them in whatever way we can, and pray that the day of their delivery is at hand. Who would have thought last October when a few hundred brave men and women took to the streets that their ultimate victory would have been so great?

Once again, as it did in the years 1956 to '62, the spirit and force of republicanism has lighted the way to final victory, which cannot now be far off.

Another Disclosure

WHILE we're in the mood for disclosures, I might as well let you in on another little secret. You may recall

that, back during those years of the military campaign of 1956 to '62, and again during the telephonist's dispute of 1965, the Leinster House Government imposed a form of censorship on the press.

The newspapers, radio and television were "requested" to play down the activities of the I.R.A. in the north, to refuse to publish Republican statements and, in the case of the telephonists, to give no prominence to the progress of their strike and the gestures of help and sympathy which they were receiving.

The papers, radio and television duly obliged, the Irish reading and listening public were denied the facts, interest in the events proscribed died a natural death, and eventually the Government won a hollow victory.

Land owners

FOLLOWING recent actions against alien land-owners in several parts of the country, the Fianna Fail Government again became worried. Some-

one was again stealing their thunder. Someone was taking action on a national problem, and that wouldn't do at all, particularly since it was that darn I.R.A. again (We were all told that IT too had died a natural death after the 1956-62 campaign).

So, once again, the Taoiseach duly invited the editors and radio and TV chiefs to his office early in August and, once again, duly "requested" them to play down all I.R.A. activities, mentioning in passing that the publication of I.R.A. statements was illegal, etc., etc. It was all very familiar to the journalists present, so familiar that several I'm told, were inclined to treat the whole thing with the contempt it deserved.

Time will tell, of course, whether the newspapers will knuckle down once again. Anyway, if my readers miss some of their favourite news items from the papers and radio and television, they'll know whom to blame. It's that Fianna Fail crowd again.

song of the barricade

(Air: *God Save Ireland*)

In the factory farm and mill,
Connolly's spirit lives on still,
For to guide us on the road we
have to tread.
So unite you workers all,
Its to you our mother calls,
For to guide us on the road from
slavery.

CHORUS

All you young men stand together,
United man the barricades,
March together, soon you'll see,
Ireland one and Ireland free,
Our people—we want peace and
liberty.

II

Unemployment here is rife,
We have lost our Civil Rights,
Emigration, Exploitation, rule the
land.
Let's throw off the British yoke,
The connection must be broke,
We must make our land a Nation
free again.

CHORUS

erin go bragh

(Air: "Master McGrath")

I'll sing you a song of a row in
the town,
When the Green Flag went up
and the Crown Rag came down.
'Twas the neatest and sweetest
thing ever you saw,
And they played the best game
played in Erin go Bragh.

II

God rest gallant Pearse and his
comrades who died,
Tom Clarke, McDonagh, McDer-
mott, McBride,
And here's to Jim Connolly who
gave one hurrah!
As he faced the machine guns in
Erin go Bragh.

III

Judas Iscariot was down in
Ringsend,
For the honour of Ireland to hold
and defend.
He had no veteran soldiers but
volunteers raw,
Playing sweet Mauser music in
Erin go Bragh!

IV

A brave English Captain was
spoofing that day,
Saying "give me one hour and I'll
blow them away".
But a big Mauser bullet got stuck
in his craw,
And he died of lead poison in
Erin go Bragh!

V

Bold Ceannt and his comrades
like lions at bay,
From the South Dublin Union
poured death and dismay,
And what was her wrath — when
England she saw,
All her dead khaki soldiers in
Erin go Bragh!

VI

All glory to Dublin, to her the
renown,
In the long generations her fame
will go down.
And the children will tell how
their forefathers saw,
The Red Blaze of Freedom in
Erin go Bragh!

sean south of garryowen

(Air: *Roddy McCorley*)

(In memory of Sean South of
Limerick, who died for Ireland on
January 1st, 1957)
'Twas on a dreary New Year's
Day as the shades of night
came down,



A lorry load of Volunteers
approached a Border town!
There were men from Dublin and
from Cork, Fermanagh and
Tyrone,
But the leader was a Limerick man,
Sean South of Garryowen.

II

And as they moved along the
street up to the barrack door,
They scorned the danger they
would meet, the fate that lay
in store.
They were fighting for old
Ireland's cause, to claim their
very own.
And the foremost of that gallant
band was South of Garryowen.

III

But the sergeant foiled their daring
plan, he spied them thro' the
door;
Then the Sten guns and the rifles,
a hail of death did pour;
And when that awful night was
past, two men were cold as
stone,
There was one from near the
Border and one from Garryowen.

IV

No more he'll hear the seagull cry
o'er the murmuring Shannon
tide;
For he fell beneath the Northern
sky, brave Hanlon at his side.
He had gone to join that gallant
band of Plunkett, Pearse and
Tone,
A martyr for old Ireland,
Sean South of Garryowen.
—S.C.

antoine o dalaigh

Trathnóna Aoine an Cheasta,
Bhí na Gaeil faoi mhéirse ag na
Gail,
Cothrom an lae chéanna,
Do bhí Aon-Mhac Mhuire ins
an gcrann.
Ta suil le Mac De 'gam,
'Sé mo léan! is gan maith ar bith
dhó ann,
'S gurb é Cullen 's a cheile
Chroch Daly, is go dtugaid díol
ann.

II

Ach a bhean óg, le m'rae
Cuirim éag ar an mbaile
'mbeidhir ann
Aicid agus eag air,
I's go n-eirí an tuile ós a cheann,
Ní peaca ar bith an méid sin,
A Dhia ghléigil, 'sé guim le fonn
Ar an bhfear do chroch Daly
'S d'fhaga a ghaolta ag gol 's a
chlann.

III

Ó síneadh do gheaga
Ta an t-aer ina mhúirt ós ar
gcionn

THE REBEL BALLAD SHEET

Ní lasann na réalta
Is na h-éisc, ní phreabann ar
tuinn.
Ní thagann drucht ar an bhféar
Is na h-cánlaith, ní labhraid go
binn,
Le cumha 'do dhiaidh, Daly,
Go h-éag ní thig toradh ar
chroinn.

IV

Is siúd é an firéan
Nár umhlaigh 's ná ísligh do
Ghail,
Antoine Ó Dálaigh, a Mhic Dé,
Gan bhreig do bhíodh againn
gach am.
Ach d'éag sé in a Ghael mhaith
Agus d'aon fhear níor chlaon
sé a cheann,
Is gur teann-mhionnai éithigh
Chroch Daly, agus neart cloinne
Gall.

The song Antoine O Dalaigh was com-
posed about a captain of the White Boys
or Buachaillí Bana who was hanged at Cnoc
Sui Finn in Co. Galway in 1820. Antoine
O Dalaigh is buried in Cill Ríacail, four
miles from Loughrea.

The song was composed by Raftery, the
poet, who was present at the hanging and
in it he curses the people who betrayed
O Dalaigh.

the patriot game

Dominic Behan

Come all you young rebels and
list while I sing,
For the love of one's country is a
terrible thing.
It banishes fear, with the speed
of a flame,
And it makes us all part of the
Patriot Game.

II

My name is O'Hanlon and I'm
just gone sixteen,

My home is in Monaghan where
I was weaned.
I have learned all my life cruel
England to blame,
And so I'm part of the Patriot
Game.

III

It's barely two years since I
wandered away,
With a local battalion of the bold
I.R.A.
I've read of our heroes and I
wanted the same,
To play my own part in the
Patriot Game.

IV

They told me how Connolly was
shot in the chair,
His wounds from the battle all
bleeding and bare,
His fine body twisted, all battered
and lame,
That soon made me part of the
Patriot Game.

V

This island of ours has for long
been half free,
Six Counties are under John Bull's
tyranny.
So I gave up my boyhood to drill
and to train,
To play my own part in the
Patriot Game.

VI

I don't give a damn if I shoot
down police,
They're lackeys of war, never
guardians of peace,
And yet De Valera is greatly to
blame
For shirking his part in the Patriot
Game.

VII

And now as I lie here my body
all holes,
I think of those traitors who
bargained and sold.
I wish that my rifle had given the
same,
To those quislings who sold out
the Patriot Game.

the belfast brigade

(Air: *Glory, Glory, Halleluiah*)

When the Orange mobs from
Shankill came to shoot the
people down,
They thought the I.R.A. was dead
in dear old Belfast town,
But Paisley's bloody gangsters were
with bombs and bullets faced,
When they met the brave
battalions of the Belfast Brigade.

CHORUS

Glory, glory, to old Ireland, glory,
glory, to our sireland,
Glory to the memory of the men
who fought and fell —
"No surrender" is the warcry of
the Belfast Brigade.

II

They bombed us in the Shankill,
in White Rock and Ardoyne,
They bombed us on the Falls Road
and we bombed them back again,
They used their deadly tear-gas
and we threw our petrol-bombs,
"No surrender" is the warcry of
the Belfast Brigade.

CHORUS

III

We have no fancy uniforms, no
Sam-Browne belts to show,
We have no water cannons nor
Whippets on the go
We're out for a Republic and to
hell with your Free State,
"No surrender" is the warcry of
the Belfast Brigade.

CHORUS

The Army Council of the Irish Republican Army, acting in its capacity as the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic proclaimed in arms in 1916, and ratified by the universal suffrage of the Irish people in 1918, hereby calls on all Irishmen and Irishwomen, both at home and in exile, to forget all divisions and differences of the past and to stand in unity against the forces of British imperialism.

Already Northern units of the Irish Republican Army have been in action in defence of the lives and homes of the people which have been attacked by deliberately fomented sectarian forces, backed up by the B-Specials, with the aim of destroy-

local Defence Committees, Citizens' Action Groups and other popular organisations which are at present the only recourse of the people of the North in the face of terrorist attacks from sectarian Unionist gangs.

These forces of the I.R.A. are being used in a defensive capacity wherever the people are being terrorised by Unionist mobs, backed up by armed B-Specials. Control will rest with local leadership and the instructions given to Volunteers are that they must co-operate fully with all local popular organisations, living with and merging themselves with the people they are called upon to defend.

At this vital juncture

Government and Parliament have divided in order to serve the interests of the imperialist monopolies, financiers and aristocrats who are a curse to the people of England, Scotland and Wales, as they have been a curse to Ireland.

We warn you that if you allow yourselves to be used to suppress the legitimate attempts of the people to defend themselves against the B-Specials and the sectarian Orange murder gangs, then you will have to take the consequences.

To the Dublin Government we say this: You must immediately use the Irish Army to defend the persecuted people of the Six Counties. You must then call an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council, followed by a meeting of the General Assembly, in order to expose the British claim that what is happening in the Irish cities of Belfast, Derry, Newry and elsewhere is Britain's own "internal" affair, for the insolent and ludicrous lie that it is. Britain must be exposed to the searchlight of world opinion for the mess she has made of the Six Counties, which she has tried to hide from the world for so long. The Irish delegation at the United Nations must talk about Ireland for a change, after years of talk about Tibet and Peru.

We recognise that a political solution to the present crisis in the North will have to be found in time. The only solution acceptable to Republicans and to the Irish people as a whole is one in which Britain gets out of our country altogether, withdraws her troops, and control over the whole of Ireland passes to a 32-County Irish Parliament, elected from among all the people of Ireland, North and South, on the proportional representation system of election, the only fair system which will be just to both Catholics and Protestants, under United Nations supervision. For a united, independent, democratic Republic is the only possible constitution within which Protestants and Catholics can live together in friendship under the common name of Irishmen, in which civil rights will be guaranteed to all, the Irish working class be reunited in one political community, and the way opened up for progressive advance in all fields of our national life, leading to the establishment of a socialist workers' and farmers' Republic for the whole country.

Pressure

Irish people in the 26 Counties . . . Put every pressure you can on the Dublin Government to support the victimised people of the North. Make Dublin justify its claim to sovereignty over the whole of the national territory. Contribute generously to the relief funds being set up to relieve Catholics and Protestants turned out of the homes. Organise rallies, meetings, demonstrations of support within the coming period. Trade Unionists, farmers, students, people of all political views . . . let us stand together in this hour of crisis.

The soldiers of the Republic are in the field to serve the people. Let all Irishmen support them so that we may build in our time a united Ireland and lay the basis for democracy and socialism in our country.

(Signed) Cathal Goulding,
Chief of Staff,
Irish Republican Army.

MEAN FOMHAIR What game is Britain playing?

Many people in the Six Counties are puzzled about the intentions of the British Government. Statements made on different occasions, by different spokesmen, seem to contradict one another. One morning the *Irish Press* proclaimed that the B-Specials were being disbanded; but by mid-afternoon, the *Evening Press* was complaining in dismay that their arms were not being taken away at all. Mr. Wilson announces the force is to be 'phased out'; Mr. Faulkner denies this categorically; no clarification is forthcoming. Nobody seems sure of the exact standing of the British civil servants sent to Stormont: is Westminster really taking control? What was the purpose of Jim Callaghan's visit?

And so on. Nobody knows what is happening, and at times the confusion is so complete that it seems almost to be deliberate. Mystery is heaped upon mystery; ambiguous gestures follow each other like snowflakes until the hard soil of reality has almost disappeared.

Status quo

This is no accident. A careful reading of the more authoritative sections of the British press—the *Times*, the *Financial Times*, the *Economist* — shows clearly what is happening. The crisis in the North is an embarrassment to the British government, both economically and politically. Its first interest is to restore peace, on terms as close to the status quo as possible. But clearly the time has come when changes are necessary in order to protect the British interest — in order to avert the possibility of greater changes. The fascist methods which have preserved Ulster 'democracy' for half a century are no longer necessary or desirable. The time has come, now that a substantial section of the Catholic population is reconciled to the Union, for a passage to ordinary Parliamentary 'democracy'.

In order to bring about such a passage, the extreme right wing of the Unionist Party must be broken.

In practical terms, this means breaking the military basis of their rule: that is, disarming the B-Specials. But it would be no advantage to Westminster to damage Stormont's credibility so severely that a period of direct rule would be necessary. It is always an advantage if subject people can be persuaded to govern themselves — within certain limits, of course. Absentee landlords, local bailiffs. It's the old story again.

British economy

It was an Ulster Unionist, F. E. Smith, who told the Westminster Parliament in 1922 that the Anglo-Irish Treaty would safeguard all important British interests while making possible 'an economy of British lives'.

An editorial in the *Financial Times* for August 21 makes the British position particularly clear. It concludes as follows:

'It is possible to see the motives of both parties in this dispute (about the B-Specials) and even to hope, for the sake of political peace, that the issue can be judged as long as possible. But in the last resort real decisions have to be taken and real measures put into effect. If long-term confidence is to be restored, the B-Specials must either be disbanded or must be so radically reformed in terms of training, armament and control, that they are virtually unrecognisable. If this reform can be presented to the Protestants as a continuation of the old regime and to the Catholics as a radical concession to them, so much the better.' (italics ours).

Did we hear somebody talking about perfidious Albion?



● When the gagging stops, the gassing begins.

DEVLIN BREAKS

By far the most energetic member of the Six Counties Labour Party is Paddy Devlin. Chairman of the party and M.P. for Falls, Paddy was interned at the age of 17 and is now the 43-year-old father of five. Dubliners will remember him from the impassioned speech he made from the G.P.O. platform and from his appearance on R.T.E. "We want guns", was Paddy Devlin's unashamed cry to the people of the 26-Counties; "Don't abandon us", his anguished appeal.

Dublin trip

It is not hard to explain the deadly earnestness and the utter desperation which Paddy Devlin showed during his Dublin visit when one remembers that, in his own constituency, during the recent flare-up of violence there, six people died, 127 had been injured and 5,000 people bombed or forced to flee from their homes.

To Dublin, at any rate, looking for help—any help—came the chairman of the party which has in its constitution the words: "The Labour Party firmly supports the basic constitutional relationship between Ulster and the rest of the United Kingdom." Naturally enough, the party keenly resented their chairman's trip south and rumours are rife about an imminent split between Paddy Devlin and the all but defunct Six Counties Labour Party.

Declining poll

If Mr. Devlin does decide to resign from the party he will have the support of all progressive people. It will be remembered that Mr. Devlin unseated the veteran Republican Labour man, Harry Diamond (an M.P. for over 25 years), in the last Stormont election in the Falls constituency. In this predominantly Republican area it is obvious that Paddy's vote was a personal, not a party one; and that few Falls constituents will mourn if Paddy Devlin removes his allegiance from the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

Closely identified with London's Transport House, and with the affiliation of the Six Counties' most reactionary trade unions, the N.I.L.P. can

best be shown to be moribund by the steady decline of their total poll in the last three Stormont elections: 1962, 76,842; 1965, 60,177; 1969, 45,113.

This anti-Irish, Pro-imperialist party has consistently refused to call for an end to the pernicious Special Powers Act and is quite content that the Six Counties should remain the miserable statelet that it is, subordinate in all things to Imperial Britain.

REACTION IN THE SOUTH

The August events in the North produced a big upsurge of national feeling throughout the 26 Counties.

In Dublin, massive demonstrations were held at the GPO every night for over a week. The mood of the people was one of anger at the atrocities committed by the RUC and B Specials mixed with frustration from watching the battles in Derry and Belfast from the sidelines.

The Gardai, never very good at crowd control, panicked on several occasions and brutally attacked crowds at the British Embassy on August 16, and at the Garden of Remembrance on August 17. For this they were rebuked by both the IRISH TIMES and IRISH INDEPENDENT.

Tralee

Republicans organised meetings in many areas of the country; Cork, Galway, Sligo, Roscommon, Longford, Leitrim, Wicklow, Waterford, all had large meetings. In Tralee the newly formed Republican Club held one of the largest meetings ever seen in the town. These demonstrations were essential to show solidarity with the struggle for democracy in the North, and must be continued in the future so as to prevent any political deals between Fianna Fail and Wilson.

UNITS OF THE IRA...

ing the natural solidarity and unity of working class people. These units have played their part in defensive operations in Bogside, Derry, where they have put their discipline and experience at the disposal of the Citizens' Defence Association. In Belfast in the recent period the I.R.A. and other Republican Organisations have co-operated with the Citizens' Defence Groups and used their all-too-limited resources in the attempt to hold off the terrorist forces of reaction which have been unleashed upon peaceful men, women and children. The people of the Falls Road area have gratefully acknowledged this assistance in the past few days and have contrasted it bitterly with the failure of the Dublin Government to act in their defence.

Violence

For a number of years past the Republican Movement has been committed to support of the moderate demands of the Civil Rights Movement in the genuine hope that reforms obtained by constitutional agitation would provide a framework within which a peaceful settlement might be arrived at to the outstanding problems of our people. Unfortunately, however, because of the intransigent stand of right-wing Unionism, and their meeting of moderate demands with terrorism and violence, we have been reluctantly compelled into military action to defend the lives and homes of the people in the Six County area.

In response to urgent calls for help from an almost defenceless people and because of the failure to date of the Dublin Government to use the forces at its disposal for the defence of the nation and its people, the Army Council has placed all volunteers on full alert and has already sent a

number of fully equipped units to the aid of their comrades in the Six Counties and to assist the in Irish history we repudiate the British Government's political confidence trick of trying to represent her military forces as saviours of the people and arbiters between Irishmen. The sectarian B-Specials rampaging through the streets of the North of Ireland are as much the responsibility of the British Government which permitted their establishment in the first place as they are of the bigoted Unionists in Stormont.

Warning

In this connection we issue a warning to the young British soldiers who now find themselves patrolling Irish streets and towns because of the Unionist Government's refusal to grant the just demands of the Civil Rights Movement and the criminal misgovernment and incompetence of the British Parliament at Westminster which has persisted in turning a blind eye to the situation in the Six Counties for so long.

As a result of your Government's continued interference in Irish affairs and its refusal over the years to insist that the North of Ireland be ruled with fairness and democracy, you now find yourselves caught between the terrorised Catholic minority on the one hand and the Orange mobs, supported by thousands of armed and uniformed "Specials," on the other. Irishmen have no quarrel with you as individuals, but we warn you that until the Westminster Government disarms and disbands the B-Specials, legislates for all the Civil Rights demands, and indeed removes you from the country altogether, you are in a very perilous situation. For this is not your country. It is our country, which your

POLITE RITUAL

— BUT LITTLE PROGRESS

For the first time since the state was admitted to the UNO in 1955, the 26 County government raised the issue of Partition there on last August 18.

The August events in the North, and the strong public reaction to them in the 26 Counties drove the Government, in the space of a few days, from a policy of appeasement and integration with Britain to a policy of direct confrontation with the British government at the UN. It is clear that the force of public opinion as expressed in the demonstrations in Dublin and elsewhere jolted the government into action. It may be remembered that in his television statement on the North Mr. Lynch had only gone as far as sending a request to Britain to ask for UN intervention.

Rebuff

When Dr. Hillery went to London in pursuance of this request the British officials he met made it clear what they thought of the 26 County government's UN plan. The rebuff suffered by Hillery in London is a measure of the "gratitude" shown by British Imperialism to its clients in Ireland. The government had then no option but to yield to public pressure and go direct to the UN.

The Security Council of the United Nations consisting of five permanent members, USA, Soviet Union, France, Britain and China (Taiwan) and ten other countries in rotation, met on Wednesday, August 20, to consider the Irish request that the Six County crisis be put on the agenda.

The very formal atmosphere of the Security Council and the rigging of the procedure, beforehand was probably a surprise to many. The fact

that Dr. Hillery was allowed to make a statement to the Council though, was a success of sorts for the Irish delegation, but even if the item had been placed on the agenda and the Council agreed to take action on the North, Britain could use her veto to prevent any action being carried out.

In his address to the council Dr. Hillery made an issue of partition in a way which Fianna Fail have not done for more than ten years. "The claim of the Irish nation" he declared, "to control the totality of Ireland has been asserted over centuries by successive generations of Irishmen and women and it is one which no spokesman for the Irish nation could ever renounce"—words to remember when Anglo-Irish federal solutions and Federal United Kingdoms are being proposed even in such staunchly nationalist journals as the "Evening Herald".

Lord Caradon, the British delegate, insisted that the Six Counties were an integral part of the UK and as such the UN could not discuss events there or intervene in the area without the permission of the British government.

Tea parties

Caradon rejected Hillery's claim of 26 County jurisdiction in the North by offering the Lemass/Lynch-O'Neill tea parties at Stormont as proof that the Dublin Government had recognised "the constitution of Northern Ireland". Terence O'Neill had stated this on numerous occasions but both Lemass and Lynch denied that any such thing was implied. This Fianna Fail policy of 'hands across the border' had certainly rebounded, with a vengeance.



● When British law collapses, British troops move in . . . Belfast, 7.25 p.m., August 16.

WHO ARE THE B-SPECIALS?

Who are the B-Specials? How are they organised?

The B-Specials were established in 1921. The first companies were formed in County Fermanagh by Sir Basil Brooke and South Derry by the Clark family, relatives of Chichester-Clark. In South Derry their main job was to guard the factories and houses

of the Clarks and they formed a businessman's private army. Terence O'Neill stated that no Catholic would be allowed to join the Specials. In a recent book called "Why Orangeism?" the Reverend N. W. Dewar boasted that the vast majority of B-men were recruited from the Orange Lodges. To become a B-man all that is necessary is to

approach the local sub-district commandant who was usually an official in the local Orange Lodge.

Specials are issued with a rifle, revolver, sub machine gun and ammunition which they can take home and use for whatever purpose they wish. No prior training is required, no check is made of what the Special does with his weapons.

So loose is the organisation of this force that no definite figure can be put on their numbers — it is in the region of 10,500.

Porter, the Minister of Home Affairs, was unable to furnish a list of B-men or even give accurate information about when named people joined or whether they were still members when he was asked by Paddy Devlin M.P. in May. Porter also doesn't know what weapons have been issued to any in-

dividual B-man or local company.

The B's have always been militant Unionist extremists and a large number took part in the Burntollet ambush in January.

Several B-men were also arrested with guns on their way to occupy Armagh in November. No disciplinary action was taken against these thugs. Recently, Paisley appealed to all his supporters to join the Specials.

Between 1956 and 1962, the Specials repeatedly fired at innocent people at road blocks and several people were killed. They were constantly shooting at each other.

With this record of bigotry, thuggery and indiscipline it is hardly surprising that the full scale mobilisation of the B-men on Thursday led to the orgy of bloodshed and terrorism which resulted.

Extradition for "Crimes" in the North?

The legal saga over the return of Sean Bourke to the English police has almost ended; at the beginning of last month the Supreme Court ordered Bourke's release while it reserved, until October, giving the reasons why it so ordered.

However, of much more concern for Republicans is another case also decided on the same day as Bourke's. Again it was before the Supreme Court on appeal by the Twenty Six County Attorney General and concerned extradition for a "political" offence.

The second case involved a Mr. Geoffrey George Magee, a former Six County Special Powers detainee. Mr. Magee's return was being sought by the R.U.C. for an alleged criminal offence. (A District Court order was made that he be handed over). He told the court that he had been detained on several occasions under the Special Powers Act, and in addition had been arrested on a possession of arms charge in Belfast. He claimed that in reality his return to the Six Counties was being sought for the purpose of charging him with conspiracy for a raid on Hollywood Military Barracks and that the R.U.C. were in possession of photographic evidence to prove it.

Like Bourke, Mr. Magee was released. This then raises some hope for Republicans in answering such questions as — if Six County citizens presently being sought, or soon to be sought, by the R.U.C. arising out of recent disturbances escape over the Border will the Gardai automatically hand them back (as has been known to happen in the past)?—and will Republicans, as distinct from civil rights workers be treated with any difference should they escape

(assuming that a Twenty Six County internment camp doesn't await them—as was hinted at recently in the *Irish Press*)?

THINGS THAT THEY SAY...

Sir Basil Brooke (later Viscount Brookeborough) Minister of Agriculture 1933/41, Minister of Commerce 1941/43, Prime Minister 1943/63.

"There were a great number of Protestants and Orangemen who employed Roman Catholics. He felt he could speak freely on this subject as he had not a Roman Catholic about his own place . . . He would appeal to Loyalists, therefore, wherever possible, to employ good Protestant lads and lassies." (Fermanagh Times, 13th July, 1933).

E. C. Ferguson M.P. (resigned from Parliament in October 1949 to become Crown Solicitor for Co. Fermanagh).

"The Nationalist majority in the county i.e. Fermanagh, notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,684. We must ultimately reduce and liquidate that majority. This county, I think it can be safely said, is a Unionist county. The atmosphere is Unionist. The Boards and properties are nearly all controlled by Unionists. But there is still this millstone around our necks." (Irish News, 13th April, 1948).

*At the present time the majority is down to about 200.

Brian Faulkner, M.P. Minister of Home Affairs, 1959-63, Minister of Commerce, 1953, '69, Minister of Development, 1969.

"There is no reason why Orangemen individually and collectively should not interest themselves in the economic welfare of the community. I mean by that statement we should be anxious to find employment for our brethren." (County Down Spectator 17th July, 1954).

Captain Terence O'Neill, Prime Minister 1963/69.

"A protestant girl required for housework. Apply to the Hon. Mrs. Terence O'Neill, Glebe House, Ahoghill, Co. Antrim." (Advertisement in Belfast Telegraph, November, 1959. Quoted by Sunday Times, London, 2nd March 1969).

"It is frightfully hard to explain to Protestants that if you give Roman Catholics a good job and a good house, they will live like Protestants, because they will see neighbours with cars and television sets.

"They will refuse to have 18 children, but if a Roman Catholic is jobless, and lives in the most ghastly hovel, he will rear 18 children on National Assistance."

"If you treat Roman Catholics with due consideration and kindness, they will live like Protestants in spite of the authoritative nature of their Church." (Belfast Telegraph, 10th May, 1969).

Major J. Chichester-Clark, Prime Minister, 1969.

"Indeed I am proud to be in the (Orange) Order and

those criticising it know nothing about it." (Irish Weekly, 31st May 1969).

Taken from THE PLAIN TRUTH as issued by THE CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, June 1969.

B-Special murder

The police have denied that any police were present when John Gallagher was shot and killed in Armagh on Thursday night, August 14.

Listeners to police radios know differently. They heard men at police headquarters, in the convenient absence of the County Inspector, order a scare force of seventeen B-Specials to attack the Civil Rights supporters.

These men approached the Civil Rights crowd by back roads in five cars and fired a fusillade of shots into the midst of the retreating crowd. Gallagher died.

Members of this murder gang are known to the Civil Rights Movement. Many were involved in Paisley's forcible occupation of Armagh last year. Others formed the core of the group who harassed and attacked opposition candidates in the last Stormont election.

The name of the B-Special who shot Gallagher has already been forwarded to the R.U.C., he is nonetheless still on active service.

THE RELIEF BATTLE

Relief for the victims of the latest example of Unionist government-by-terror is being organised in the 26 Counties by an ever increasing number of groups and committees.

The first and, so far, most successful efforts in this field were begun by the Northern Relief Centre at Kevin Barry Hall in Parnell Square. Set up the day following the Belfast shootings, by Mrs. Mary Dempsey and Mrs. Molly O'Neill and supporters, this centre has been more successful than any other in getting supplies through to the stricken areas of Belfast and to the Bogside, in Derry.

26 Co. Red Cross

In the days following the initial explosion in the North a number of other groups set up relief organisations and committees and it was not long before we had a statement from Leslie Bean de Barra, head of the 26 County Red Cross (implying that any aid not channelled through her organisation was falling into dishonest hands.

Inspired, no doubt, by Charlie Haughey this statement was challenged by the Northern Relief Centre and by An Cumann Cabhach (Republicans Prisoners Dependents Fund). Bean de Barra was asked to state how her group proposed to get supplies to the North except through the British Red Cross as the Geneva Rules on International Red Cross activity prevented them from operating outside the 26 Counties.

An Cumann Cabhach pointed out that Republicans are bearing the brunt of the Unionist savagery and that 35, mostly Republican, people had been detained under the Special Powers Act. An Cumann Cabhach inquired of Bean de Barra if funds would

be available to help the dependants of Republican Prisoners not only in the present crisis, but as is quite possible, their breadwinners are still detained in six or nine months time.

Bean de Barra, in a letter to the Irish Press, August 23, stated that the policy of the Red Cross was "to give individual and group help to all citizens irrespective of race, creed or colour." No mention of political persuasion here. And, further; "the society has considerable support, resources and personnel to carry this work to success". No mention of operations being confined to 26 Counties only.

In a letter sent out by the Correspondence Secretary of "Tuairim" to members, informing them of a meeting in Liberty Hall of relief groups whose intention was "to keep relief out of the hands of extremist organisations" it was also stated that Northern Relief was "beyond the ability of the Red Cross."

DEFENCE FUND REPLY

In reply to a Government statement concerning the "Northern Defence Fund" the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau has issued the following statement:

"The Northern Defence Fund is being collected by the Republican Movement to assist in every manner possible the defence of the barricaded areas in occupied Ireland."

"The money collected is being used solely for the purpose of providing equipment for this defence and is not being put to any other use."

An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

Published by Republican Publications,
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Fon: 41045 Mean Fomhair, 1969
Is í An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir.

Republican demands

These are the demands made by the Republican Movement in the North to the Home Secretary, Mr. Callaghan, and through him to the British Government.

- 1) The B-Specials must be disarmed and disbanded.
- 2) The R.U.C. must be disarmed.
- 3) A general amnesty for all those involved in defending their homes and the defence of the barricades.
- 4) All political prisoners must be released.
- 5) The Special Powers Act must go. If Britain refuses to abolish it, is she going to allow British troops to be used to implement it?
- 6) The demands of the Civil Rights Movement must be granted. These include (a) One Man One Vote at 18 in all elections (b) Religious discrimination and incitement to discrimination must be outlawed (c) An impartial boundary commission to draw up fair electoral areas (d) Proportional Representation in elections.
- 7) As a basis for a fundamental settlement, the British Government must recognise that they have no right to be in Ireland at all, other than the "right" conferred by power and trickery in the past. The 1920 "settlement" must be revised in the Irish interest. Whatever short-term steps are taken by Britain now must be such as to advance and not retard the aspirations of the Irish people to unity and independence.

Republicans oppose the demand being made by some that there should be direct and total rule of the Six Counties by Westminster. This demand is essentially the same as that made by Carson and Bonar Law in 1912. Republicans want less Westminster rule, not more. Direct rule would be a return to the 19th century position and would make the solution of the partition question in the Irish interest more difficult in the long run. Britain must agree to disengage itself from Ireland altogether so that our country can be run, all 32 Counties of it, by a national Government, elected by all the people, Protestants and Catholics, which would ensure civil rights and social justice for all.

- 8) Westminster must pay for all the damage that has been caused the North in recent times. Westminster is responsible, therefore Westminster must pay. It is Britain's duty, moreover, as long as she keeps control of the North, to pour into it the millions of pounds that are necessary to remove the unemployment and bad housing conditions which are at the root of much of the present crisis.

Vital

It is of vital importance that the Republican Movement does not lose its identity in the present crisis. The fact that the 26 County Government has adopted the policy of the Republican Movement on Partition under pressure from the people proves not only the correctness of the policy but also the need to maintain that pressure and give it direction.

The idea must be to force the Dublin Government to maintain the present political stand and to harden its position rather than do any deal with the English. It can usefully be pointed out that the failure of Leinster House to take a more forceful stand during the recent crisis and its hopeless position at the United Nations stems directly from its economic policies at home and its blind support of the Anglo-American bloc in the U.N.

The Free Trade Agreement with Britain and the policy of entry to the Common Market in Britain's back pocket will have to be reversed if an independent stand is to prove possible. You cannot help a compatriot who is being bludgeoned by an enemy if the same enemy controls your economy.

The very threat of economic sanctions by Britain was sufficient to open the Curragh Concentration Camp in 1957. Any real intention to use Irish troops to defend the lives of Irish people in the north of our country would be met by similar threat.

That is why the policy of the Republican Movement in opposing British Imperialism in the South should be stepped up. The campaign for the public ownership of rivers and the campaign against ground rent are two examples of this policy. How can a Government that supports both these manifestations of Empire be truly anti-Imperialist?

Fianna Fail is caught in the contradiction between the national instinct on the question of Partition and its own policies of sell-out to Britain on the economic front. The Republican policy is the answer and the immediate task is to bring it to the people.

The Christian thing

The Republican Movement took more than its doctrine of separatism from Wolfe Tone: it took too Tone's principle of non-sectarianism.

It may be hard for the man in the street not to harbour some anti-Protestant feelings. But now is the time to state clearly Republican attitudes on such matters.

The burning of a Protestant Church in Arklow and the attempt to set fire to St. Annes in Dawson St., Dublin, (where, incidentally, Wolfe Tone was married), and the attacks on Protestants in Monaghan are equally to be condemned. These were the actions of criminal lunatics.

To the Republican Movement the notion of a Catholic Parliament for a Catholic people is as abhorrent as the notion of a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people. Both ideas negative the Republican ideal.

We demand now, as we have demanded in the past, the repeal of all clauses in the 1937 Constitution which may be seen to favour of sectarianism. These clauses serve only as ammunition to the Unionist Party in its pro-Partitionist stance; they should never have been included... they have no place in any Republican Constitution.

There are many Protestants who have recently declared that they are ashamed to be called Protestant following the Six County atrocities committed in the name of "Protestantism". We welcome their support. We congratulate the Dean of Derry on his public stand. We say shame to Dr. Simms on his pathetic display of "neo-unionism".

To all Protestants we say—as Uachtaran Sinn Fein, Tomas Mac Giolla, said at last year's Ard Fheis—"Republican's don't stand for the 26 County status quo". Join us in creating a new state, with all-Ireland elections held under P.R. . . . this is now the only Christian thing for Protestants to do.



DOVER STREET, BELFAST, AUGUST 14

Thursday night, August 14. A lady trapped in her home with her aged mother. Outside armed B-Specials rampage. They fire shots. Behind them follows a Paisleyite crowd. With them is John McQuade, M.P., who carries a large sheet of paper. He issues orders. He brings an element of discipline to the unruly scene. "Obey the rules, remember lads follow the peelers", he shouts.

Soon after a figure more fearful by far hoves in sights. John McKeague, Chairman of the Shankill Defence Committee, armed with dustbin lid and axe. Soon all is chaos and the flames are rising higher and higher.

FOGRA

● ALL REGULAR features have been suspended this month to allow maximum coverage of events in the North.

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APPEAL TO AMERICA

In accordance with the Resistance page inside (Irishmen and Irishwomen section at bottom) — concerned Americans wishing to answer this call should make contact with

The National Association for Irish Justice,
210 East 23rd Street, New York N.Y.
(212) 989-2448

THE DYNAMITE FUND

People living in America will not be surprised that the Government of the 26 Counties have declared illegal a defence fund to help the barricaded areas in the North. Bandages and elastoplast is as far as the Government is itself prepared to go and its intention is to prevent any organisation going further.

Americans will remember that in the closing decades of the last century O Donovan Rossa launched what he called a "Dynamite Fund" to help his fellow countrymen.

Republicanism is the dynamite that will eventually blow British rule in Ireland sky-high. The British know this. The Unionists know this. The Leinster House politicians know this. That is why the Republicans are bearing the brunt of the British terror whether in the loss of jobs, the burning of their houses and persecution of their families, or their detention without charge or trial under the Special Powers Act.

All this is happening now. Bandages are not enough. Defence is needed.
Help the UNITED IRISHMAN help the North.

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