

Irish Republican Bulletin

JANUARY

1964

Happy New Year to the Forces of Freedom everywhere!

Unity is a magic word. It can be used for good or it can be used for bad. Very often it is a misused word — especially if spoken by those with ulterior motives. It can and has been used as a means to confuse intelligent people and also as a form of compromise between right and wrong. “In the interest of unity” has been used often by those who would substitute untruth for truth. A review of our tragic history would show how wary we should be of such approaches. “In the name of unity” our people and our country have been conditioned and stampeded into a state of national decadence. A case in point, familiar to many, was the ways and means used by the architects of the Treaty. This was the crucial point upon which the criminal offense against our ancient and glorious land was pivoted.

At that time we were told by both the clergy and the politician that if we would only “unite” and accept the “Treaty” we could march forward to freedom under the shiny new banner of the Irish Republic. What a crime in the name of “unity” that was.

Did we benefit from this mistake? No! When Mr. De Valera, elected as an “abstainer” on the Republican ticket got itchy feet and felt that he wanted to get himself and his party into Leinster House he resurrected the old slogan of “unity” once more. He travelled up and down the Country telling the people of all the “goodies” they would receive if he and his Fianna Fail Party could only take their seats in Leinster House. He further promised that as soon as he got a majority in the Parliament he would restore the Irish Republic. Another promise was that there would be only one Army in Ireland and that it would be the Irish Republican Army.

The Army in Ireland and the Clan na Gael in the United States fell for this hogwash all over again. In the Clan na Gael orders were issued — “in the Interest of Unity” that members were not to discuss the new departure at their meetings. They sought not to antagonize the Fianna Fail Party at this time, hoping against past experience that they would keep their word. There were members of the Clan however who saw through this subterfuge and tried to voice their disagreement. These voices were quickly silenced by men who honestly thought at the time that some good might be accomplished — in spite of their grave doubts, to the contrary.

Mr. De Valera and his party entered the Free State Parliament, took the oath of office to the King of England, and that was the last

we heard of their attempts to restore the Irish Republic. Actually a negative voice was heard coming forth from the same lips which had campaigned on the promises aforesaid. These voices now were damning the Republic and executing those who continued to give the Republic their loyalty and allegiance.

History teaches if we wish to learn. Today we face the problem of *disunity* within the ranks of the Republican Movement in Ireland. Let not the domestic and foreign enemies of the Irish Republic take any solace from this temporary condition. The forces of truth will eventually succeed and move forward to strike again for their cherished heritage. "Unity" is the slogan once more and the forces of compromise will try again to get us to follow the illusion.

The basis for unity must be founded on the ideals of our martyred dead. This is the one and only basis for unity. It is that simple. We have all the fundamentals necessary to confront our enemies with a united force. We have the sacred tradition, handed down to us over the generations, the tradition of physical force. If we accept the teachings of Pearse and stay clear of political entanglements, there is no reason whatever to fear the future. Unity is strength. There is no reason whatsoever but that the Republican movement can and will be unified. Built on the sound foundation consistent with the principles and ideals forever eloquent from the muted tongues of our many deceased, it cannot fail. If our new unity is based on any form of compromise, whether open-faced compromise or one of a more subtle and not easily recognized type, then we shall fail as surely as we have failed in the past. This is what history has taught us.

In our earnest desire for unity, we must ever remember that the freedom of Ireland will never come from the political platform. Through the ages and throughout the world freedom has been attained only by the strength of armed men and Ireland is no exception.

We must not confuse patriotism with political ambition, in our attempt to focus attention on our desire for unity. In recent years we have endeavored to point out the detrimental policy being pursued by those in control of the Republican movement in Ireland. We have been advised that some housecleaning in that general direction has taken place. It is essential however that a revision of policy is also very necessary if they wish to maintain the fundamental rights which are theirs if they desire to preserve the traditions of the Irish Republic.

In their attempts to seek unity the leaders of the Republican movement in Ireland would be well advised to do some soul-searching into the tried and true policies of their predecessors and compare them with the illogical policies that have been pursued in recent years. What a contrast! We feel confident that a study of the facts and truths that have emerged since 1916 will lead us back on the road to recovery as well as the only road to freedom. When national survival is at stake the fighting man is our first line of defense. The water will never be clear down-stream while it remains muddy up-stream. Wake up! We are confident that the presentation of all the facts to our fighting youth will eventually lead us to that which is closest to all our hearts; and, then, with truth, facts, and justice on our side, true unity will prevail.

YOUNG IRELAND PROTESTS ENEMY'S VISIT TO GRAVES OF HEROES

To all Irish Republicans and especially to the people of County Cork, the Republican Plot in Saint Finbarr's Cemetery is sacred soil. Within its bosom rests the immortal remains of some of Ireland's greatest sons. Soldiers lie here who have followed in the footsteps of Brugha, MacSwiney, McCurtain, Barrett, and the lion-hearted Liam Lynch.

Her noble sons have ever been in the vanguard of the fight for Irish Freedom against the foreign and domestic enemies of the Irish Nation. Let us meditate a moment on a few of these hallowed names — names that were borne by those patriots who have illuminated the path for us to trod, if we would be true followers of Tone and Pearse.

NAME	DATE	COMMENT
Terence MacSwiney	October 1920	Murdered by the British for his Fidelity to the Irish Republic.
Dick Barrett	December 8th, 1922	Murdered without trial by the Irish Free State Government because of his fidelity to the Irish Republic.
John Joe Kavanagh	August 1940	Murdered by De Valera's Free State Gestapo, because of his fidelity to the Irish Republic.
Tomas McCurtain	March 1920	Murdered by the British because of his fidelity to the Irish Republic.

Let no man desecrate their sacred ashes by falsifying the issue. Let no man speak in their name — if he speaks of anything short of a complete Irish Republic.

In 1959 a committee was formed in Cork for the purpose of erecting a memorial. It has come to light that some members of this committee were very far removed in their personal beliefs from the sacred goals for which the above men died. By the very action of inviting England's Crown Jewel from the Viceregal Lodge, Mr. De Valera, they have given additional agony and pain to the already tortured and revered remains of Terence MacSwiney. Betrayal of one's comrades and one's country is a deed too infamous to write about. Mr. De Valera is guilty of these crimes. His very presence at the Republican Plot in Cork City is enough to make one's blood run cold. His hypocritical presence at the graveside of John Joe Kavanagh (murdered by De Valera's own secret police) is sacrilege. He who was responsible for inviting Mr. De Valera to partake in such ceremonies cannot be absolved of responsibility for its consequences.

It is difficult to understand the silence of the Cork Republican Movement at this invasion of its heritage and traditions.

Youth will be served! Youth will yet save the nation if they are but granted an opportunity. Youth will never bow its head to the oppres-

sor — be he foreign or domestic. This is exactly what happened in Cork City on March 17th, 1963. Two young volunteers from Cork, Desmond Swanton and Jeremiah Madden, decided that they were going to protest the visit to their sacred burial grounds by the arch enemy of Irish Republicanism. They refused to be manouvered into a position tantamount to surrender — surrender to the might of the British Government so valiantly fought by Terence MacSwiney in Brixton Prison forty-four years ago.

After careful consideration these two young men decided to blow up the memorial to protest the De Valera visit. The mine exploded prematurely, taking the life of Volunteer Swanton and seriously injuring his comrade, Volunteer Jeremiah Madden.

Just as MacSwiney gave his life protesting the rule of the enemy in Ireland, so, too, did Desmond Swanton in St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork City, on March 17th, 1963. The magnificent protest made by Swanton and Madden has been heard around the world. It echoes and re-echoes throughout the Irish Hills and reminds us to thank Almighty God that Ireland still has her soldier-youth ever ready to sacrifice their lives for love of dear, dark Rosaleen.

In reviewing reports of the tragic death of Volunteer Swanton, we found the statements issued by the Republican movement rather confusing, indecisive and incomplete. In keeping with our traditional policy of presenting only the facts to our readers, we refrained in recent issues from commenting on any of the conflicting reports that had been circulated. To present the truth and follow wherever it might lead has ever been our goal. At times we have found ourselves at variance with what is termed the "popular", or current, trend of thought. As we are primarily concerned only with principles, truths, and facts, popularity is not one of our ambitions. When an organization does not have the courage of its convictions, or is unwilling to stand up for what is right, that organization is no longer capable of functioning as a force of influence, nor can it lay claim to the blessings of freedom.

As our fact-finding committee was already in Ireland investigating matters vital to our organization, we asked them to proceed to the Cork area and furnish us with a report of their findings. This task was undertaken with dispatch and complete lack of bias. The investigating committee is to be complimented on its factual report accompanied by written evidence. Documentary proof is not easily obtainable but we have it from our committee in the form of a written statement from the surviving volunteer, Jerry Madden, which is published herewith. In concluding our commentary on this incident, we should like our readers to observe that although Ireland has lost another soldier in the never-ending fight for our freedom, Heaven has gained another Martyr. May it be a source of comfort to his family to know that the name of Desmond Swanton will be remembered forever along with that of Terence MacSwiney. (The surviving Volunteer's Statement follows.)

Statement from Survivor:

"On March 17th, 1963, Volunteer Swanton gave his life for the Cause of Irish Republicanism and by so doing preserved the right of

Irishmen to bear arms against the foreign army of occupation as well as against those who defend either of the British satellites in this country.

"In 1959, four years prior to the death of Volunteer Swanton, Requiescat in Pace, a committee was set up whose members were selected from a group which gave its allegiance to the Free State. The Committee included ex-members of the Free State cult. The names of the members of this committee were published.

"Despite several approaches to the O/C (IRA) by volunteers this condition was allowed to continue.

"The planned memorial was to be unveiled on March 17th and the Free State President was selected to be the guest of honour. The fact that this was published in all the national papers (informing the public of the memorial to our fallen comrades) the task of doing anything constructive to prevent the Free State ceremony from taking place was made all the more difficult especially as it was to take place over the graves of our dead patriots, who had fought and died for the Irish Republic as proclaimed by Pearse, Easter 1916.

"The O/C of the area was again contacted and was told that if he did not face-up to his responsibility in preventing this unveiling that there were men who were prepared to act. The cause for which Terence MacSwiney and John Joe Kavanagh died must not be used as a political football by those who have sold our nation.

"After carefully considering several courses open to us, Volunteer Swanton and myself decided that at this late stage in the proceedings there was only one alternative open to us and that was to blow up the memorial to prevent the desecration of our patriots' graves by those who had sold out the Irish Republic.

"On the night prior to St. Patrick's Day, Volunteer Swanton and myself were engaged in preparing a mine when two members of the Army (IRA) came upon us. They were looking for a useless revolver which we gave to them. These men were very obviously under most terrific pressure at the time. Members of the Staff were aware of this and had supplied them with a car to collect the weapon. This interruption delayed us an hour and also endangered the security of the operation. Apart from this interruption, everything went according to plan, up to the time of the premature explosion in which Volunteer Swanton lost his life.

"The morning following the tragedy, the Swanton family were visited by the O/C and told that the operation was OFFICIAL, but some time later, these same men claimed that it was UNOFFICIAL.

"The Swanton Family received abuse from the Free State element who were gripped by panic at the time. The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau issued a statement in which it said,

'It is not the Movement's policy to carry out such incidents — as is well known.'

"This statement proved not only evasive but revealed complete ignorance of the significance of the situation and of Irish History as well.

"In 1922, a similar attempt was made to degrade the cause for which the men in the Republican plot had given their lives. The Prime Minister at that time came to lay a wreath on the Republican plot but was stopped by an armed guard of the IRA. They warned him that if he were to enter the plot it would be desecration. The Prime Minister returned to his car.

"Compare this action with what happened at Volunteer Swanton's funeral. The Tomas Ashe Hall (Sinn Fein) was closed for two days and the band equipment and uniforms were collected and locked away. This was done in order to prevent their use for Swanton's funeral. Several people were dismissed for attending the funeral. Others resigned in protest over the action taken by the political element in smashing a printing press which had produced pamphlets that contained an article on Volunteer Swanton's death.

"A statement was issued by a spokesman from Cork for the Republican Publicity Bureau to the effect that those who remained faithful to the teachings of Tone and gave military honour to Volunteer Swanton came only to pay their own, personal, and individual respects.

"In 1957, after the funerals of Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon, a similar statement was issued by the then Free State Prime Minister, Mr. Costello, in a radio broadcast to the nation when he stated that the large crowds which attended the funerals were only a show of sympathy and could not be accepted as support for their action. However, this attitude that has been adopted by those who control the Republican movement in Cork cannot come as any surprise to us, since it is only two years ago that all delegates from Cork to the Sinn Fein Ard Feis, with the exception of myself, voted in favour of entering Leinster House, the Free State Parliament. The same semi-Free State element in the movement has kept the situation stagnant in Cork for years and those who tried to remedy this serious condition were blacklisted. Several approaches were made to G. H. Q. concerning this matter and as late as last year the vast majority of the volunteers in Cork wrote to G. H. Q. and made charges against the staff in Cork but the only satisfaction we received was negligible.

"If we look back in our history and take example from men like Sean Tracey, Cathal Brugha, Rory, Liam, Dick, and Joe, we will find the answer to all our problems.

"It is the responsibility of every Republican worthy of the name to do his duty in his area and rid the movement of the type of men who believe in co-existence between the Free State Satellite and those within our Movement who preach the decadent policy that we should not take action against fellow Irishmen, even though they wear the uniform of the Crown in the North or that of the Free State.

"I was only one month out of hospital after this incident when I reported to the Army (IRA) and asked them to clarify my position. As of this date, I have had no reply."

(Signed) JEREMIAH MADDEN

GOOD RIDDANCE — TITO AND LEMASS

The United States State Department can breathe more easily now that these two renegades have gone back to where they belong — one to Yugoslavia, the other to the Irish Free State. It is quite a coincidence that two such individuals should arrive in the United States at the same time. Both of these so-called gentlemen hold numerous people in prison in their respective countries. There people are imprisoned because they are lovers of freedom — this is their crime. Neither Lemass nor Tito would face an audience of their own people, even with tremendous police protection, here in the United States. The similarity of the missions of the two men ends right there. Tito came to the United States to see what he could get for nothing. Lemass came to see what additional Irish territory which might be given away, for use later as military bases, for the protection of Churchill's sagging empire.

It should be of particular interest to the Irish taxpayers to learn the amount of their hard-earned money the Free State spent for its propaganda machine to pretend, not only to the world, but to the Irish people as well, the warm receptions and cordial hospitality given Lemass on this recent trip. **NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH.** The fact of the matter is the propaganda adventure fell flat on its face. The American people, especially those of Irish descent, completely ignored this man who had betrayed both comrades and country.

We were told that he attended some "captive audiences" in remote areas where admission was by invitation only. No Irish Republicans were invited. (The silence of their disappointment could be heard for miles.) However, one of the functions he did attend was in Philadelphia. The guest could not have been very encouraged by an incident which took place there — just previous to his arrival. A young man and a young woman had gone through the small audience distributing Easter Lilies. Need anyone be reminded that the Easter Lily is the emblem commemorating Easter Week 1916 and its distribution is forbidden by the Irish Free State? **A MOST EMBARRASSING MOMENT FOR MR. LEMASS!** Here he was facing his own invited guests and each one of them wearing an Easter Lily. The Easter Lily that his own son-in-law, Mr. Haughey, has banned in the Free State, and for which men are serving time in prison because they dared distribute them.

New York City was not impressed with his visit. Significant, wouldn't you say, considering the large population of Irishmen or their descendants? The only visit Lemass made to New York City was to visit the United Nations and this visit was under the protection of the United States Government. An interesting sidelight on this visit to the U. N. was that while Mr. Lemass was addressing this body a visitor in the third row turned to the gentleman in the seat beside him and inquired of him whether the speaker was the new Prime Minister from England? Need we comment further?

The reason Lemass did not receive any invitation to any functions in New York is quite apparent. Those charged with his protection were doubtful of their ability to prevent the ghosts from his prisons and con-

centration camps from haunting his presence. The proper description of his visit to the United States might be best reported as that of a man in "protective custody."

Those who heard him speak report that during his speech, he feebly and reluctantly mentioned the partition of Ireland. Why? We repeat our question more explicitly as to why, at this late date, does it dawn on you, Mr. Lemass, to mention, however feebly, the partition of your country? Is it not because you expect an election very soon and you are beginning to realize that the people are aware of your incompetency and are determined not to be further exploited? Can it be that you are not too sure of your deal going through? Mr. O'Neill in the Satellite Six Counties is not cooperating with you, is he? You have asked the American Ambassador in Dublin to visit Belfast on your behalf. Sean, you are making the same old mistake. You are not going to fool all the people this time. Freedom is what the people want and regardless of all your boondoggling nothing short of Freedom will be accepted. **REMOVAL OF THE TREATY IS WHAT OUR MEN HAVE DIED TO ATTAIN AND NOT REMOVAL OF ANY BORDER LINE! LET EVERYONE GET THIS THROUGH HIS THICK SKULL! !** With Removal of the Treaty there is hope for the Irish Nation and its people. Mr. Lemass — you are aware that such is the goal of the Irish Republican Army.

There is one more word which we have on the Lemass visit to our beloved shores of America. It would be amusing if it were not so nauseating how utterly futile your Satellite State tactics were, Mr. Lemass, in your Trojan Horse attempts at intimidating our people here in the United States. It is but a sign, another blot on your character, shall we say, of your utter contempt of the laws that exist in a free country. We love freedom. We are realists. We view with utter disgust such tactics as were used by men who try to keep their own people subservient to a foreign power. Need you be reminded that a man named George Washington not only drove the British Colonial Forces from America but the British Colonial System as well? Most of us know that intimidation is one of the main pillars of your existence as a Government in Ireland. We wonder that you have not learned by this time that such measures could never exist under a democratic form of Government as is practiced in the United States of America.

A PRAYER

Grant us the will to fashion as we feel,
 Grant us the strength to labor as we know,
 Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel,
TO STRIKE THE BLOW.

FROM REALISM SPRINGS VICTORY

Over the past few years Clan na Gael has found itself compelled to maintain a strenuous crusade against those backsliding and compromising policies which are synonymous with prevailing organized Republican action in Ireland. We have endeavored to transmit a clear and

precise appraisal of the Republican Separatist position to the youth of Ireland; hoping, with ever constant hope, that our message will eventually sear through that cloud of confused and diffused thinking, within which the republican question would appear to be deliberately enveloped by its own leadership.

The competent authority of Clan na Gael shall continue in its efforts to bring about these constructive policy changes so necessary for the realization of republican aspirations. For this we offer no apology. The Clan holds the principles and objectives of the Republican philosophy more sacred than those petty claims of ascendancy and infallibility which some organizations tend to assert under the banner of Irish Separatism.

In contrast to the incredible and evasive tactics inherent in Sinn Fein's Independence Program, Clan na Gael believes in giving to the youth of Ireland a down-to-earth and positive picture of the problems and implications concerning Ireland's fight for freedom. The policy of compromise which now emanates from Sinn Fein stands as an irrefutable surrender to that devilish cunning which formulated the idea of partition to facilitate a profitable division in Republicanism's offensive front. The moguls of Sinn Fein may style their evasive manouverings on the Free State problems as they wish. However, time and events have proved conclusively the fallacy of their reasoning.

The results of a Sinn Fein oriented policy exists for all activist Republicans to appraise. A dispassionate review of such a program will illustrate its stupidity or its moral cowardice. It is no longer permissible to view this policy with tolerance — more especially when it becomes apparent that the costly lessons of the recent campaign are blatantly ignored. This persistence in upholding a reactionary policy tends to alienate any leniency towards the republican leadership: Political ignorance can be condoned only for so long. Unless constructive change developes, the political climate swings dangerously close to a condition of treason to the Republican Cause.

There can be little excuse at this time for a misunderstanding of the operational principles and practices of a war of liberation. The past forty years have seen revolutionary warfare emerge in well-established and adequate form. Historically, we know that the I. R. A. introduced this particular concept of politico-military offensive. It is also appreciated that others have since tempered and honed it to greater perfection. However, despite the many variations which diverse situations have dictated, at no time since its inception has it been proved feasible to align within its scope such totally dissimilar modes of action as those presently attempted by the Republican Movement. It is on this crucial point of interpretation that present differences primarily arise. It is because of the dogmatic manner in which the leadership of the Republican Movement defiantly pursue their erroneous policies, that Clan na Gael finds it necessary to protract its present course of action.

Clan na Gael is readily aware of the vital necessity for a unification of all activist efforts because it knows well that it is only through such

cooperation that victory shall be ours. However, its leadership is fully cognizant of the basic conditions which make such unity possible, practical, and capable of a productive continuity throughout the rigors of a protracted struggle. Hence the persistent crusade to bring about changes in those policies which have, over the past decade, rent asunder the structure of organized republicanism. So long as such destructive policies exist — and they destroy the offensive power of republicanism — it is sheer folly to talk of unity. A correlation of Republican efforts is impossible until the Republican Movement either reconsiders its *modus operandi*, or, withdraws from the field of republican leadership to make way for a more virile directorship.

Consequently, Clan na Gael is convinced that under prevailing conditions, the first requisite for Republican Unity lies in combating that which breeds *disunity* — Sinn Fein dominated policies. This objective is pursued in a manner completely impersonal. The Clan desires to see changes in republican policies because it has become quite apparent that such are necessary for the continuity of our political philosophy. No desire exists to insert any trace of vindictiveness towards personalities; but if some should feel to the contrary, and the cap fits, so be it.

In our constant demand for a return to a revolutionary mode of action, we are met with the acclamation from Sinn Fein that such a course is both impossible and impractical because of the existence of the Free State. The persistence with which they uphold the idea that Leinster House can be deposed by the power of the vote alone, has, on numerous occasions prompted the question: "Where then is the logic in an abstentionist policy, if it is emphatically believed that all that stands between the Irish people and freedom is a Sinn Fein majority in Leinster House?"

During its fifteen odd years of existence, "The United Irishman" has failed to come up with a straight answer to that question. Instead, we receive continual drivel about abstentionism being a basic principle of republican doctrine. This particular brand of republican separatist teaching is news to many of us. Our history tells us that abstentionism as a constitutional tactic — and for that matter the Sinn Fein concept of nationalism in its entirety — sprang from the brain of Arthur Griffith. Now, even Griffith himself maintained he was never a Separatist; and, that historical doublecross which he perpetuated on republican activists, who were far too trusting in their acceptance of his integrity, proves that on this point he was indeed telling the truth.

Therefore, we would like to know how a constitutional tactic conceived by a renegade politician has suddenly acquired the status of a dogmatic principle within the body of basic republican separatist teachings. Viewed in its politico-historical context, the tactic of abstentionism was adopted by the Republican Front in 1916, when it was deemed a suitable medium to beneficially exploit a prevailing enemy weakness. Now, it shall always remain debatable as to whether the alliance which motivated the adoption of the abstentionist tactic — that is, the one between Sinn Fein Constitutionalists and Republican Separatists — and the implementation of the tactic itself, were in fact beneficial to Repub-

licanism, despite the initial propaganda value produced. A retrospective analysis from the revolutionary point of view tends to show it as a grave and far reaching error. However, be that as it may, the indisputable fact still remains that abstentionism and its associated activity in parliamentary politics were initially viewed as but a simple tactic applied within a diversified strategic offensive. No one ever conceived it as representing an irrevocable principal of republican doctrine — that is until the appearance of the present republican leadership. We concur with the idea that as a tactic abstentionism could, under certain rare circumstances, prove productive to a revolutionary effort such as ours.

It must be pointed out, however, that the elements on which it relies for success are almost entirely psychological. With respect to this there is good reason to believe that one of the underlying British motives, which condoned the establishment of a puppet government in Dublin, rested on a belief that this would nullify abstentionism by denuding it of its psychological appeal. In practice this has proved to be the case. Common sense shows the stupidity of abstentionism: and while Sinn Fein expends the greater portion of republican energies in its promotion, a somewhat bemused world sees the whole sad mess as something **QUAINTLY IRISH**. In the final analysis it is little wonder that the Irish people fail to take present-day Republicanism seriously inasmuch as the serious task of survival under prevailing partitionist conditions leaves little time for such tomfoolery in political action.

Insofar as the six-counties are concerned, it is whimsical to think that they can be treated as an entity, and that sporadic forays against its occupational forces will, of themselves, help to solve any basic issues involved. The pseudo-government of the six-county area is as reliant on its compatriot administration in Dublin for its perpetuation as it is on Britain itself. The events of the past few years alone have proved this beyond dispute.

The Republican leadership has acknowledged the existence of a well-oiled, cross-border collusion between the two regimes. Nonetheless and despite the fact that this collusion sealed the fate of the recent campaign in the Six Counties, the Republican leadership has shown no signs of moderating its policies to the dictates of this intelligence. In other words, the lessons which were learned at the price of hundreds of imprisonments, as well as the price of death itself, are being contemptuously ignored by an arrogant leadership. This is borne out by a comparison between the pre-1956 policies and those of the post campaign period.

An elementary knowledge of revolutionary warfare is adequate for an appreciation of the difficulties of waging a campaign in the Six County area, while a state of relative tranquility is accorded to the administration of the Free State zone. The crux of the matter rests on the fact that the intrinsic values of revolutionary warfare can in no way be equated to those of its conventional counterpart. Guerilla war is not conventional war applied in miniature, although it would now appear that some of those commanding the I. R. A. feel that such is the case. The successful guerilla is a highly trained revolutionary political soldier, and

of more significance, he is the personification of mass opposition towards the enemy. This association between guerilla and popular active support has, by way of analogy, been equated to a fish in water — with the latter symbolic of the people. Without sufficient water, no fish can survive, regardless of its constitution. So also is the case of the guerilla.

Transferring such abstract values to the realities of the situation in the Six Counties, one is confronted with the following problem. If the area is to be isolated policy-wise, the composition of the population — as insured by the partition — favors the status quo. This is undeniable. Hence, the guerilla is deprived of any hope of a mass support. The drafting of volunteers from the Twenty Six counties into the Six County area cannot solve the problem, since the establishment of Base Areas there under such conditions is almost an impossibility. On the other hand, such Base Areas could be established within operational radii of British forces provided a diversified pressure was maintained on a national basis. In a word, republican policy must avoid any correlation with the quasi-divisions perpetuated on the political scene by Partition, if it desires to initiate a successful guerilla war against British forces.

All of this points to the fact that there is no easy way to national unity and independence — no way by which it can be acquired on the installment plan. It would be very convenient if the I. R. A. could segmentate the Nation, and then proceed to liberate each part separately, and, at its own convenience. Unfortunately, the enemy has never shown such an accomodating spirit. Partition was conceived as a weapon profitable to the maintenance of vested British interests. Hence, any opposition which falls in line with its general structure can hardly be construed as likely to do the system it upholds great damage. Over the past decade the Republican Movement has accepted Partition by virtue of the dissimilar policies it applies on either side of the Border. Such a course can hardly be deemed in the best interests of Republicanism, nor can any headway be expected until this condition is rectified. A republican revival today demands strong, clearcut, and determined policies from its leadership. We shall continue to strive for such a revival and, in the process combat *all* weakness, on *all* sides!

NOTICE

As stated in a previous issue, the Irish Republican Bulletin is a non-profit project. Its purpose is to provide our members and their friends with the truth and to lay bare the facts concerning the enemies of the Irish Republic, so that the whole world might see. We seek the assistance of our readers and their friends in the form of contributions so that we may be able to keep the Bulletin going to you in its present form, ever striving to maintain its high standards while providing the friends of Ireland with the necessary confidence to help them in their age-old struggle of safeguarding their national heritage.

JERRY MADDEN RECOVERY FUND

The Clan na Gael and I. R. A. Veterans of America, Inc. have authorized The Irish Republican Bulletin to launch an appeal for Funds to help defray some of the current and future expenses incurred by Jeremiah Madden, on the morning of March 17, 1963, during the premature explosion at the Republican Plot in Cork City. It is our duty to prove now that we are willing to share this young soldier's burden by generous contributions to the Fund. To expediate returns, a stamped envelope is enclosed for you convenience.

Contributions from the United States may be sent to the Treasurer, James J. Conaty, 102 West 73rd Street, New York 23, N. Y.

Contributions in Ireland may be sent to Jim Lane, 79 Earwood Estates, Togher Rd., Cork City, Ireland, Co-Treasurer.

Names of all donors will be published in the next issue of The Bulletin. This appeal is urgent. Please give generously.

We wish to call the attention of our readers to the Gaelic Athletic Association's Banquet to be held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, 33rd Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, on February 1st, 1964. John "Kerry" O'Donnell will be the guest of honor. The Clan na Gael urges all its friends to support this worthy function.

Organizations or individuals may obtain additional Bulletins by writing to Michael Corliss, 390 Columbus Avenue, New York 24, N. Y.

CONFESSION OF A SPY (THE STEPHEN HAYES CONFESSION) Cont.

Members of the Free State Cabinet who participated in this disgraceful conspiracy were: (1) Dr. James Ryan, Former Minister of Agriculture. (2) Thomas Derrig, T. D., Minister of Education. (3) Senator Chris Byrne. (4) Most important to the execution of the plot, Larry De Lacy, (Brother-in-law of Stephen Hayes). It is imperative that the movement in Ireland today be on the alert for such conspirators. There is evidence that a similar degrading act is at this moment being directed once more by the miserable gang in Leinster House in the hope of undermining the Physical Force Movement in Ireland.

Government Suggests Magazine Fort Raid

'My next meeting with Dr. Ryan was in November, 1939, in the Gresham Hotel. Senator Byrne was with him. The principal matter for discussion was the Hunger Strike and the proposed Habeas Corpus

proceedings. Dr. Ryan pointed out to me that if the Habeas Corpus action was proceeded with and was successful it would be a big blow to Government prestige and efficiency. It would also mean letting loose the most dangerous men in the organization with the probability that they would not be caught again.

“He said if the Army decided to go ahead with the proceedings and proved successful the Government would need a very good excuse and plenty of justification to amend the Act and throw them back in jail again. He said in such an eventuality the Army would want to raid a military barracks or something similar in order to create the necessary excuse and the right atmosphere. He said he would be seeing De Lacy in the meantime and would let him have suggestions if they were necessary. He said the Magazine Fort would be an easy job to do and would entail little risk for the Government, provided he got details of the plans, etc. This would serve a dual purpose, it would give them an excuse for the amending of the Coercion Act and it would also enable them to get rid of men like Brennan, Curran, and Magoram. (Major General M. Brennan, former Chief of Staff, Free State Army. Captain Joseph Curran who was Officer in Charge of the Magazine Fort at the time of the Raid. Colonel James Magoram, O/C Eastern Command.) These men were not inclined to fall in line with their ideas of things. He said he would let me have the final view of it per De Lacy, as in the meantime he would want to see Mr. Aiken and Mr. De Valera.

“Under pressure from . . . I agreed to Habeas Corpus proceedings being gone on with. They were successful and all the lads were released including the four men on Hunger Strike. A few days after plans were made for the raid on the Magazine Fort.

“Dr. Ryan then mentioned the Broadcasting and said it was beginning to attract a pretty large number of listeners. He said he would want to know its location very shortly as they could not allow such a strong weapon to develop against the Government. The location of the Station was sent to Dr. Ryan via De Lacy after Christmas. It was captured in December, 1939, (At Ashgrove House, on December 29th, 1939, and Jack McNeela, Jack Plunkett, James Byrne, and Seamus Mongen were arrested.)

“After this meeting I asked the Quartermaster-General if he could get any maps or information about the Magazine Fort as I heard that all the Thompson ammunition was stored there. He said that he could. The idea of being able to procure a couple of hundred thousand rounds was enthusiastically taken up by the Quartermaster General and the Adjutant General. At a subsequent staff meeting other members of the staff, the Director of Training, Director of Publicity, and the Director of Engineering, were of the opinion that the Magazine should not be raided until the Army was ready to move into action.

Planning the Raid

“on the first Saturday of December the prisoners were released and

the next day the Director of Training and four Northern Officers were arrested returning from a Lewis Gun class in the Dublin mountains. I had sent word on Friday evening with De Lacy to Dr. Ryan giving him particulars of the car, destination and the time class would take place. Two days after, De Lacy called out to me in 99 St. Helen's Road, and told me I should go ahead with the Magazine job. Whilst he was there the Adjutant-General and the Quartermaster-General arrived and we discussed the possibilities of it. De Lacy pointed out to them that he could procure all the information needed and he believed it would be an easy job to do. The procuring of the ammunition he said, would be worth any risks to be taken. The Adjutant-General and the Quartermaster-General were to get on the job immediately and select men, lorries, etc. It was agreed that the Counties Meath, Louth and Kildare be selected to dump the stuff in as they were convenient to the city.

"De Lacy said we should fix the date for Saturday, December 23rd, as there would be a certain amount of laxity in military circles around Christmas time. After the Quartermaster-General and the Adjutant-General left, De Lacy told me Dr. Ryan had seen Mr. Aiken and Mr. De Valera and they were satisfied with the suggestion provided that the ammunition or the major portion of it would be recovered. They did not mind losing a few thousand rounds as they would be compensated for by the results achieved. He told me that the job would be made easy as there would be an inexperienced guard put on that week and that discipline in that place would be relaxed, i. e. fewer inspections, etc. He told me that he believed McKenna and McNeill (Colonel D. McKenna, native of Maghera, County Derry, then Deputy Quartermaster-General, succeeded Major-General Brennan as Chief of Staff, Free State Army. Is now Lieutenant-General McKenna. Major-General Hugo McNeill son of Eoin McNeill, and late Asst. Chief of Staff) were the two men in the Free State Army who were being used to fix up the Military end. Both men were promised promotion as the result of the vacancies created by dismissals after the raid. McKenna, he said, was ambitious and was prepared to play up to any Government as long as he gained promotion. McNeill along with being ambitious was hopelessly in debt and was desperate for money.

"The Quartermaster-General and the Adjutant-General reported regularly to De Lacy in the meantime and discussed the plans for the raid. It was originally intended to use only six lorries on the job, two from Louth, two from Meath and two from Kildare. On the night of the raid three or four extra lorries turned up, one from Meath and one from Kildare and one or two from Louth. The Louth lorries were to be met by a man at the main Northern entrance to the Park, the Meath lorries at Castleknock entrance and the Kildare lorries at Island Bridge entrance. The lorries were to arrive between 8:30 p.m. at their appointed places and they would then receive their instructions from the man selected to meet them. Dr. Ryan arranged for men of his to take particulars of the lorries when they arrived at the selected spots. He had already been informed of the other arrangements made and the Counties in which ammunition would be dumped. As the time of preparation for the raid

was so short no ample or secure dump could be provided and most of the ammunition was left in the open country, so the government ran no risk of losing any stuff.

"The raid took place according to plan and no opposition was encountered (MAGAZINE FORT, PHOENIX PARK, RAIDED BY THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY ON 23rd DECEMBER, 1939, and 28 TONS OF AMMUNITION REMOVED IN THIRTEEN LORRIES). The vast bulk of the ammunition was recovered in the space of a week or so. This raid caused consternation amongst Republican supporters and they felt that the Army had departed from the policy of preserving and maintaining peace at home at all costs. It created the necessary atmosphere for the Government to use more aggressive measures against the Army without fear of arousing public opinion which up to this was convinced and satisfied that the Army did not intend to start trouble at home. It also gave the Government the chance they wanted to get rid of Free State Army men who would not do their bidding and replace them with men who were more pliable. Brennan the Chief of Staff was the chief obstacle. He was retired and replaced by McKenna. McNeill was also promoted. Magoram and McCorley were got rid of (Colonel Magoram was formerly O/C Eastern Command and Colonel Felix McCorley Deputy O/C Eastern Command. Both are natives of the six counties). They were agitating invasion of the six counties. Curran, the man in charge of the Magazine, was a friend of theirs and was also in agreement with their ideas. This man was very popular both inside and outside the Free State Army as he had a long and honourable record in the "Tan Trouble." He was also dismissed.

Ensuring the Execution of Barnes and McCormick

At my next meeting with Dr. Ryan and Senator Byrne in Shelbourne Hotel at the end of January, 1940, both expressed satisfaction with the results of the Magazine job. They also were convinced that the capture of the Radio and the arrest of the Director of Publicity would effectively smother propaganda for a long time.

"The question of Barnes and McCormick was then discussed. Dr. Ryan pointed out to me that the British Government were keen on making an example of those men as they were very bitter over the Coventry job. The Government here were not keen on using their influence to try to have them reprieved in case they were condemned to death. The Government knew that the people of all shades of opinion would register their protest strongly against any such executions and that it would arouse strong anti-British feeling amongst the Irish at home and abroad. In such a situation the Government would have to make some show of registering a protest. If the men were reprieved they would claim credit for it, but if they were not the blame would have to be laid in the shoulders of the Army. He believed that a few explosions on the eve of the executions would have the desired effect.

(To be continued)

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