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EMMET  
agus  
Éirí  
Amach  
1803



# How to break the deadlock

**So, the elections in the Six Counties have produced another stalemate, another deadlock. Is anybody really surprised?**

Most Irish people have come to accept that instability is inherent in the very structure and nature of the northern State.

From its inception in 1922 the Six-County State has demonstrated time and again that it cannot operate in any manner resembling what is regarded as normal in Western Europe.

The first 50 years represented a period of majority Unionist rule and a denial of the civil rights of nationalists. Discrimination in employment and housing, gerrymandering of electoral boundaries and innumerable other petty inequities and intolerances ensured Unionist supremacy.

The Civil Rights campaign of the late 1960s and early

1970s was met with the violence of loyalist militants, sectarian police and ultimately the British military. Then for 30 more years the State went through convulsions and upheavals as Irish Republicanism asserted itself in a war of national liberation, confronting the might of England and her Irish allies and contending with the collaboration of successive Dublin administrations.

The existence of the Six-County State is guaranteed by the power and might of the Parliament of Westminster in London. Its economy and social services have always been heavily subsidised by all British governments, Conservative and Labour alike.

What is disturbing now is that in the light of the recent failure the public's mind appears to be casting around for another "internal solution", another effort at shuffling the cards of the Six-County State and hoping that good luck or whatever will deal a better hand. Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern are leading off in a new round of talks and negotiations to try once more to square the circle.

When the Stormont Agreement of 1998 was announced we were told it was "Sunningdale for slow learners". What had been produced in Sunningdale in 1973, power-sharing, all-Ireland bodies, etc had been rejected by both Republicans and Unionists at the time.

To consider solving the problem with another "internal settlement" is to continue to go down a road which we all know to be a cul-de-sac, a blind alley, a dead end. What kind of slow learners or dim wits, one can ask, propose to do this again? Are Blair and Ahern, Paisley, Trimble, Adams and Durkan really such dunderheads?

The answer is that they are not. They will try the impossible once more, because they refuse to face the reality. And the reality is this.

The State of "Northern Ireland" came into being in 1922 when the Government of Westminster and the Orange faction in Ulster sat down and carried out a crude sectarian head-count of all nine counties. The number of Catholics and the number of Protestants were carefully counted, district by district and county by county.

A totally artificial State was created, dividing the historic province of Ulster and of course the island-nation of Ireland. A new frontier line cut Antrim, Down, Derry, Armagh, Tyrone and Fermanagh off from the rest of Ireland, with a safe 65%-35% Unionist majority over the nationalists and Republicans.

It was thus that this artificial, unnatural State of Six Counties came into existence. As the 26-County Free State



• *Republican Sinn Féin's boycott call for the Stormont elections, as seen on Clonard Street, west Belfast — analysis on page 3 inside.*

was allowed to secede from direct London rule, England maintained a bridgehead in Ireland by bringing into being a new contrived state based on a sectarian head-count.

Derry City was cut off from its Donegal hinterland, Dundalk was separated from its Armagh and Down hinterland, as a sectarian state, with no basis in history, geography or culture was established. It is an artificial entity, which cannot be made to work.

The answer or solution to the problem is to set about reuniting both Ulster and Ireland, undoing the wrong inflicted on Ireland in the interests of British imperialism. "Ulster has suffered enough," the loyalists tell us. Indeed, Ulster has suffered far too much, and so has all of Ireland and England for that matter.

We must not be led down the cul-de-sac of another amended, dishonest Good Friday Agreement. It is time to face reality and not condemn future generations to more suffering and distress.

The Unionists constitute 18% of the population of Ireland and they should never

have been allowed to exercise a veto over the other 82%. They were the tools of British imperialism in 1922 but are probably an embarrassment now.

A free and united Ireland must be our goal, if we are to end the agony of both Unionist and Nationalist communities. We will be told that "Northern Ireland is a divided society". Of course it is. It was planned, designed and created to be so the very first day.

Completely new structures must be devised for the 32 Counties. Joint authority by London and Dublin would only prolong the instability. And a takeover by Dublin

would be unthinkable.

We need a British declaration of intent to withdraw in an orderly fashion and a constituent assembly representing every county in Ireland to draft a new all-Ireland constitution. Republican Sinn Féin would bring its ÉIRE NUA plan for a federal Ireland of four provinces to that assembly.

In doing all of this, nobody should be humiliated. Irish Republicanism is based on a human generosity and Wolfe Tone's teaching of the common name of Irish man. We need one another, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, to create the New Ireland.

**Féilire Poblachtach  
Republican Resistance  
Calendar 2004**



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**SEÁN  
SABHAT  
COMMEMORATION**

**Sunday, January 4  
Mount St Lawrence  
Limerick**

**Assemble:  
Bedford Row  
12.45pm**

**DAITHÍ  
Ó CONAILL**

**COMMEMORATION  
January 1, 2003**

**New Year's Day  
Assemble:**

**Gates of  
Glasnevin  
Cemetery, Dublin  
12.45pm**

# 'Hold on and stick to the Republic'

REPUBLICANS from Kildare, Dublin, Dundalk, Offaly and Wexford gathered in Rathvilly, Co Carlow on November 16 to pay their respects to Kevin Barry who was murdered by the British on November 1, 1920.

A colour party of Na Fianna Éireann led the parade and Des Dalton, Vice President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach and a candidate for Athy in the forthcoming local elections chaired the proceedings.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of all the areas represented. The oration was delivered by ex-POW Josephine Hayden, Dublin who said that the courage and commitment of Kevin Barry who, at 18 years old and facing the hangman, sent a message to his comrades to "Hold on and stick to the Republic".

She continued "We are still holding on and holding out for the Republic that he and his comrades gave their

lives for. Terence McSwiney, Joseph Murphy and Michael Fitzgerald died on hunger strike just a few weeks prior to Kevin being hanged.

Sixty-one years later 10 more men died on hunger strike for the same ideals. Strange how history repeats itself — how history has to repeat itself when the British establishment cannot bring itself to admit to the wrongs they have inflicted on the Irish people.

"The British have tried every dirty trick in the book to bury the Irish nation. But they have never succeeded in spite of the assistance rendered by the native traitor/collaborator and they never will because there are still those who believe in the Irish Republic



• Josephine Hayden.

and are willing to fight on for that goal.

"The similarities between the 1920s and now are uncanny. A year after Kevin's murder by the British we had a situation in Ireland whereby the native traitors/collaborators were actively assisting the British in murdering Irishmen. Irishmen they had fought side by side with to rid the country of the very invader that they

were now assisting. Today we have the Provos, former Republicans, willing collaborators in upholding, and indeed administering, British rule in Ireland.

"The corrupt system in the Free State is never going to deliver the Irish Republic declared at Easter 1916. Neither is Stormont. Kevin Barry could never have accepted the partitioning of his country. He would never have accepted the normalization of British rule and all that goes with it. I say this with conviction because of his convictions.

"At just 18 years he was willing to give his life for his country. He could have saved himself by informing on his IRA comrades. But no he chose the honourable path — always a hard path. The freedom and independence of our country is not yet won and until it is we must continue on that path."



## British Crown Forces targeted

ON November 24 a 100lb bomb was planted at Killilmale Road British army base in Dungannon, Co Tyrone.

According to the *Irish News* a man who said he was speaking on behalf of the Continuity IRA had earlier phoned a priest saying that a car bomb has been left at the base.

Two RUC/PSNI members were treated for shock when the device partially detonated.

Also on November 24 shots were fired at an RUC/PSNI barracks on the Newry Road in Armagh city. No one was injured.

• (right) Crown Forces at the scene of the attack.

## Ninth Michael Flannery Testimonial Award Dinner

CUMANN na Saoirse Náisiúnta will hold its ninth annual Michael Flannery Testimonial Awards Dinner at the Astorian World Manor in Queens, New York on Friday January 30th 2004.

Brian Mór Ó Baoighill, Veteran Irish Republican leader, will receive the 2004 Michael Flannery Award.

Angela Reilly, a lifelong Irish Republican and humanitarian,

will be honored with the 2004 Pearl Flannery Award.

John Devane from Limerick, one of Ireland's leading political activists' defence lawyers, will deliver the keynote address.

An ad-journal will be produced to commemorate the event. The Theme for the 2004 will be: 'Today's Wild Geese' and 'Ethnic Cleansing'.

For more information go to: nifemem@optonline.net or call 718-326-3359 or 732-441-3679.



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For a full  
British  
withdrawal  
from  
Ireland



### OUR AIMS

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland . . . The establishment of a true 32-County FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC . . . The establishment of a new all-Ireland parliament, completely outside the present partitionist set-up, to oversee the running of the new neutral non-aligned Ireland . . .

### OUR HISTORY

Formed in 1905 . . . We are the oldest political organisation in the country . . . Organised throughout the 32 Counties . . . We have continuously rejected the failed political entities of the Six and 26 Counties in existence since the British partitioned our country . . .

## Gearrscòalta

### CABHAIR denies Special Court allegations

IN A statement on November 28, CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents' Fund) said:

"A report in the *Irish Times* (November 20) has been brought to the attention of the Central Committee of CABHAIR which stated that donations had been demanded from licensed premises in the Dublin area '... to be applied for prisoners' wives and families of prisoners in Portlaoise'.

"We wish to state that no such donations have been received by CABHAIR, nor would such donations be accepted by us under any circumstance. Our funds come solely from functions, raffles and donations from supporters of the prisoners."

### Commemoration in Portlaoise Jail

ON Sunday, November 16 Republican prisoners held a commemoration in the exercise yard of Portlaoise Jail.

An oration was delivered by one of the men recalling the supreme sacrifice made by the Eudemter Martyrs in November 1957 and also by Volunteers Seán Campbell and Jim Loughrie in 1975, but also more recently by Kevin (Kiddo) Murray.

Kevin would have been well known and respected by most of the men present due to the circumstances surrounding his death. Kevin died in November 2001 of an illness he developed whilst incarcerated in Portlaoise Gaol.

He had never received proper medical attention and it was only when his condition worsened to such an extent that he had only weeks to live that he was released and allowed to die in his own home in the company of his family and friends. We do not need to be reminded that this was not an act of compassion but more of a bid to save face by the authorities who did not want him to die while in their care.

After the oration a decade of the rosary was recited in Gaelic and a two minute silence was observed.

### Fermanagh man bailed

REPUBLICAN Mickey Lavelle of Donagh, Co Fermanagh was released on bail from Maghaberry prison on December 1 after nine months in custody.

His wife, Mary and son Emmet are also on bail on trumped-up charges that followed a three-day siege of the Donagh area by Crown Forces last February. Another son, Michael junior, was badly beaten by RUC/PSNI officers during the terror raids.

### Pleanáil ar bhonn teanga

AG labhairt ar chaiste na pleanáil agus na Gaeilge, dúirt Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán Sinn Féin Poblachtach, ar 20ú Samhain, 2003 go n-adhaimhonn Sinn Féin Poblachtach go bhfuil deacrachtaí ann maidir le cead pleanáil áitiúla ar imeall na Gaeilachta, ach nár sin féin go seasann Sinn Féin Poblachtach le prionsabail rianta ar phleanáil ar bhonn teanga a bheith ann.

"D'fhéadfaidh cúlchathair an airgid an Ghaeltacht ar fad a scrios le h-inneacht aimsire dá ligte le fórsaí an mhargaidh dól i réim gan bac. Beidh lucht an airgid in-uachtar in a dtithe mhóra agus a dtithe samhraidh folamha ar fud na Gaeilachta.

"Ar Oileán Mhuir-nocht, tá fé rialí Shasana, tá siantair ar bhonn cónaithe ar cheannach sealálachais, Sa Bheilig, tír dá-bheangach, tá rialachas agus socrathie i bhfeidhm maidir le daoine ón réigiún labhartha Fraincise ag dul ag ceannach tiéide nó suíomhanna sa réigiún labhartha Pleanéinaise agus vice versa.

"Ar Oileáin na Corsáise is miniclaigh iad muintir na Corsáise in a dtír Éire anois de bharr aingeal Fraincise a bheith ag ceannach roimhe leis na blianta. Tá an-chuid de mhuintir an oileáin in a gcónaí i ndeisceart na Fraince thar ar Nice agus Marseilles agus fú i bPáras in-ionad in a dtír Éire.

"Is mar sin a bheith muintir na Gaeilachta san ann atá le teacht na ligtear do lucht an airgid beo ar aghaidh gan chos go ceannach. Ní bheidh sé ar chumas na h-óige sa Ghaeltacht suíomhanna nó tiéide a cheannach."

### National Draw Results 2003

16 Duais: Ticket no 12066. Two All-Ireland Tickets and €500.

N Breslin, c/o Joe O'Neill.

26 Duais: Ticket no 11374, €500, J Hyland, Tallaght, Dublin.

36 Duais: Ticket no 2589, €300, F Flanagan, Roscommon.

46 Duais: Ticket no 13178, Framed picture, S McGarvey, London.

56 Duais: Ticket no 9678, Bodhrán, E Daly, Carnlough, Co Antrim.

### Results of Dublin raffle

NOVEMBER Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 211; 2nd prize 252; 3rd prize 219; 4th prize 368; 5th prize 407; 6th prize 441; 7th prize 61; 8th prize 484.

**SAOIRSE January edition**  
published 7/1/2004

# RSF satisfied with election outcome — time to consider alternatives

**IN A statement on November 28, President, Republican Sinn Féin said that the final outcome of the Stormont assembly election indicates a deadlock as far as the Agreement is concerned. Republican Sinn Féin said at the outset five-and-a-half years ago that the Agreement was not a settlement and would not work in the medium to long-term.**

"Because it was debarrd from the election by the political test out required of candidates for nomination, Republican Sinn Féin called for either a boycott of the polls or a spoiling of votes.

"We would not (a) disown publicly the organisations of the Republican Movement and (b) deny the right of the Irish people to resist English rule in Ireland and were therefore excluded from what was not a free and fair election.

"For our part we are satisfied that 170,000 voters did not register and at that the turnout was significantly down throughout the Six Counties while the number of

spoiled votes has not been revealed.

"Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed by our members and hundreds of posters displayed as well as slogans painted. An Agreement which is based on a sectarian headcount and is an artificially contrived method to govern an artificial statelet cannot survive in the long run.

"A nine-county Ulster within a four-province federation, with optimum devolution within the provinces, is the only way forward. It will provide power and decision-making to all communities and sections of the people of



**•At the Boycott Stormont elections press conference in Republican Sinn Féin's Belfast office on November 18 (left to right) Leo Martin, Belfast, Mick McGonigle, Dungiven, Geraldine Taylor, Belfast, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President and Frank McCurry, Ballycastle.**

Ireland.

"Yet again the artificial means to copper-fasten

indeed how they voted," a spokesperson for the Willie Stewart/Joe Conway Cumann said.

"While they may keep record of who does/does not enter polling stations the claim that information regarding how people vote is available to the Provos is ridiculous.

"The young people involved were scared to come forward individually, but in making the situation known to Republican Sinn Féin have shown that they are not prepared to accept this treatment. We would like to commend

them for their ability to think for themselves, to take a stand against this intimidation and to recognise that such behaviour is unacceptable.

"We in Republican Sinn Féin condemn this attempt by the Provos to take advantage of the youth and perceived vulnerability of members of the community. We would appeal to the youth to reject the partitionist institution at Stormont, to reject the repackaged RUC and to reject the false claims that the Stormont Agreement is the only way forward.

"The truth is that it is no

English rule here has met with failure. It is time to consider other alternatives."

The largest percentage drops in turnout for the Stormont election across the 18 constituencies on November 26 were in Mid-Ulster (9.19% down), Foyle (8.34%), Upper Bann (7.94%), South Down (7.66%), Newry and Armagh (6.73%), Fermanagh (6.32%), West Tyrone (5.58%). This decrease in the number of people turning out to vote was on a much smaller register, as 170,000 voters did not register, despite the production of a late, amended register.

There was news management of the election counts with the media being excluded from the actual count centres. Also the numbers of spoiled votes in each constituency were not published. Free and fair elections? Don't think so.

way forward at all; it is reform of the present British set-up in the North of Ireland and will never secure a lasting and just peace.

"We in the true Republican Movement have an alternative in our Eire Nua programme, a four province Federal Socialist Republic of Ireland with real power vested in the people. Our proposals offers equality and justice for all, but most importantly it offers freedom and secures the right of the Irish people to govern Ireland and control their own destiny."

## Provo attempted intimidation in Armagh, Newry

**RUAIRÍ Óg Ó Brádaigh, Publicity Officer, Republican Sinn Féin said on November 20 that a Republican Sinn Féin**

**supporter in Armagh city was threatened at his home by two members of the Provisionals on November 18.**

A 19-year-old youth was at home with his mother when two men knocked on his door, accused him of pulling down Provisional election posters and warned him "they would be back". The men have been identified as two Provisionals from the Dungannon area.

"Republican Sinn Féin will not be intimidated by these bullyboy tactics, neither

will we be deterred in calling for people to reject this undemocratic Stormont election by boycotting the polls or spoiling their vote," he said.

Meanwhile, it was brought to the attention of Republican Sinn Féin in Newry in the week coming up to the British elections that the Provisionals had been intimidating Nationalist youth in the Newry area in order to secure their votes.

"Provisional Sinn Féin members, afraid that these young people would not vote, claimed that they would know whether they voted and

provision of traffic slowing ramps in Clarina Avenue — the traffic must be slowed in order to avoid danger to young children and elderly residents.

"The whole area adjacent to Clarina Park which is now almost a derelict site — must be developed as a park for young children. It could be turned into an ideal play area.

"These measures can be undertaken for very little cost and in return the Council would have a showpiece estate where children could play in safety and resident enjoy a new open park area.



## Urgent action needed for Limerick estate

**A New improvement plan involving traffic management and the provision of playing facilities for children must be devised for the Clarina Park area of the city if the locality is to be saved from becoming an urban eyesore, the Limerick Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin stated on November 21.**

Local election candidate Seán O'Neill from Prospect said that Clarina Park in Ballincurra Weston area of the city has the potential to become a showpiece estate with the assistance of the Limerick City Council.

"The estate is ideally placed to become a showpiece for the city but a lack of inter-

est by the powers that be in the Council is allowing the area to slide towards becoming an eyesore," he said.

"We are now calling for urgent remedial action to ensure that Clarina Park is maintained as an estate where the children can play in safety.

"In order to ensure their safety, we are calling for the

## Rent Allowance cuts slammed

**THE decision to withhold rent payments for eligible people for up to six months will cost lives, especially those who are vulnerable, separated or who have barring orders against them, the Tipperary Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin warned on November 14.**

Geraldine McNamara, Ard Comhairle, from Tipperary town, said that the proposal, while aimed at single parents, will instead affect

a wide range of vulnerable people who depend on rent subsidy.

"There can be no great savings from this decision not

to pay rent allowance for at least six months — it will only add to the hardship and suffering of already deprived and socially marginalized people.

"It is a backward decision taken by an uncaring and out of touch Administration more interested in making the rich richer at the expense of the most deprived and vulnerable section of the community and it must be overturned."

Ard Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin and informed delegates of the new nerve gas being used in the Occupied Territories.

"The Israeli forces are being backed by the American military and the

**THE Continuity IRA fired a volley of shots over a picture of a recently-deceased north Belfast Volunteer in a public show of strength for the organisation.**

Desmond McCormick from north Belfast died in October. The 41-year-old father-of-four was said to be a respected member of the Republican organization.

In a statement the CIRA said: "Desmond McCormick

was a committed Republican, but more importantly, he was a faithful Republican. His sudden death was a shock to his comrades and his many friends in Ireland.

"Desmond repudiated English rule in his country

and stood firm on the fundamental Republican position."

Desmond McCormick's funeral took place in Sacred Heart Church and he was buried in Milltown Cemetery. He is survived by his wife Karen and four children.

A spokesperson for the CIRA added: "On behalf of the leadership of the CIRA we offer our deepest condolences to his family."

## Support Shannon Airport protest

On November 27 Des Long, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin said in a statement that a new style nerve gas that does not cause any lasting physical harm but produces internal body pain was being used by Israeli forces against

Palestinians and called on people to turn out for the weekend protest at Shannon Airport.

Des Long from Shannon Banks in Corbally said that anti-war peace activist Mary Kelly addressed the recent

American military is using Shannon Airport therefore we are joining in the protest and urging local people to come out and express their concern," he said.

"In her address Mary Kelly told of her experiences as a nurse in the Palestinian territory and how Israeli forces raid the hospitals and

take people away to prison.

"She said she could not stand by and do nothing and when the 26 County Administration gave permission for the American military to use Shannon Airport she felt moved to protest by invading the Airport and making a stand against what America is doing across the

globe.

"We wish to stress that we are conscious that there is a wide difference between the American people and their current leaders and we are not anti-American, but it is American imperialism that we object to and how it is turning many parts of the world into a war zone."

## Another Emmet mystery Where are all the stamps?

ONE of the great mysteries surrounding Robert Emmet is that we do not know where his body lies. We cannot pay our grateful respects at his grave.

The contemporary accounts tell us that after his execution on September 20, 1803 the Kilmainham Gaol authorities buried him in Bull's Acre, where paupers and criminals were laid. Some time later, the body was exhumed and buried elsewhere.

Throughout the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth century, members of the Emmet family and several historians tried to locate his last resting place. But it is still a mystery.

The bicentenary of Robert Emmet, "the darling of Erin", has revealed a lot about people's attitudes to the man and his ideals.

The 26-County State in particular, led by the "Republican Party" of Fianna Fáil, has shown just how adept they are at imitation and tokenism. They will do a certain minimal amount by way of commemoration, just enough for them to get by, while, all the time, in contradiction, they collaborate in maintaining English rule in the Six Counties.

The 26-County Post Office, An Post, issued a series of three Emmet commemorative postage stamps on July 29 last. Their *Collectors News*, issue 4/03, lists three denominations, 41 cent with a portrait of Robert Emmet, 50 cent with a portrait of Thomas Russell and 57 cent with a portrait of Anne Devlin.

This writer bought €20 worth of these stamps in the Philatelic Office in the Dublin GPO and has been using them since. The designs by Robert Ballagh are striking and beautiful. Each of the multicoloured portraits is set against an appropriate background, Dublin Castle, Downpatrick Gaol, etc. The legend says "Rebellion of 1803". I have a problem with the word "Rebellion" which means an

armed revolt against legitimate authority. Irish separatists have always used the word "Rising", and in this case the legend should read "Éirí Amach 1803".

But then the Irish language has been downgraded and almost totally obliterated from our postage stamps. We just have the token "Nollaig" on the Christmas stamps each year or the almost indecipherable names of some of our native birds.

Now for the mystery. Where are all the stamps? Where have they gone? Have

in the last few months. On each occasion I have asked the audience if they have seen these stamps. All told, I have addressed hundreds of people, people who are obviously interested in the subject, and not one person has noticed one of these stamps. When I ask the question the response is not merely in the negative; it is also one of surprise and mystification.

There was one exception to this. On November 11, I attended an outstanding lecture by Mary Cullen in Dublin on the subject of Anne Devlin. The Chairman was Brian Ó Cléirigh of the Robert Emmet Society. There were 30-40 people present. From the floor I asked the

## Chronology of the Rising of 1803 and its aftermath

**14 December:** Michael Dwyer accepts terms of surrender (deported as free man on Tellicherry, along with Hugh 'Vest' Byrne, John Mernagh, 'Big' Arthur Devlin and Martin Burke).

name it Anne Devlin Bridge. The response was a refusal.

is just inside the railings of the Green. The station will stand between house and statue.

The French have for many years named stations on the Paris Métro after famous artists, writers, statesmen, philosophers and soldiers — eg Pasteur, Zola, Lenoir, Clemenceau, De Gaulle. We already have precedents in Dublin, with railway stations named in honour of Pearse, Connolly and Heuston, thanks to Todd Andrews, Chairman of CIE in 1966. But an Emmet Station, NO is the official answer.

A lot has changed since 1966 of course. We could mention the demolition of the teaching of Irish and history in our schools. We have the failure to honour in any meaningful way our patriot dead. Foreigners ask what day is the day when we officially honour our patriot dead, as other countries do, on their own special day. Nobody seems to know the answer, except true Republicans who know it as Easter Sunday and who pay their respects in their own small way, closely observed by note-taking Special police.

Just as the English Prime Minister Tony Blair cosies up to the American President George Bush, the 26-County Administration cosies up to John Major, Tony Blair or whoever else represents English rule in Ireland.

The façade or pretence of

Republicanism is maintained by minimalism and tokenism, just a little nod in the direction of our illustrious patriots, but no more, in case it might upset England's designs for us or "ripen in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation" (Pearse at O'Donovan Rossa's funeral). The sham Republicans and their spin doctors are dab hands in the art of pretence and humbug. They can claim they issued commemorative postage stamps, but who has ever seen them? It is all what the Americans call "phony".

So, back to the postage stamps and here is the really big revelation. According to An Post's *Collectors News*, one million of these stamps were printed. But they do not appear to be on general distribution. On enquiry at the Philatelic Office a few days ago I was told that the Robert Emmet stamps will be on sale until the end of the year. After that, they could possibly be pulped.

A léitheoir, a chairde,

those of you who live in the 26 Counties, for your Christmas mail, please go to your local Post Office and look for these Emmet stamps, Product Code 0312 FDC: Emmet Abú.

— Seán Ó Brádaigh

### • The missing stamps of the 1803 Rising — have you seen them?

any of our readers see them? They are as scarce as the white blackbird. Yet, there are people in senior positions who know the answer to this mystery.

Plenty of post comes into our house, five days a week. Apart from one First Day Cover sent to me by Richard Behal of Killarney, I have never seen one of these stamps in use, other than is, from what I have used myself.

Furthermore, I have given numerous lectures and presentations on Robert Emmet

same, by now almost routine, question about the stamps. There was the same silent, bewildered pause — nobody knew anything about them.

Brian Ó Cléirigh was the exception. He acknowledged that, like myself, he had seen one First Day Cover, but had not laid eyes on them since.

It was not the only interesting thing he had to say. He told us that the Railway Procurement Agency, which has built the fine new LUAS bridge in Dundrum, Co Dublin, had been asked to

But a statue of Anne Devlin is to be unveiled in Rathfarnham shortly. We must be grateful for small mercies.

I was able to tell the meeting that the LUAS people and Seamus Brennan, 26-County Minister for Transport, had been asked to name the St Stephen's Green terminus of the LUAS line from Sandycroft, Emmet Station/Stáisiún Emmet. The actual station is being built just opposite the spot where stood the house where Emmet was born. A statue of Emmet

## Eddie Carmody commemoration

ONE of the largest Republican crowds ever to turn out in Kerry gathered in Ballylongford on November 22 for the 83rd annual commemoration for Lt Eddie Carmody, an IRA quartermaster murdered by the British Crown forces in 1920.

Led by a colour party and a strong unit of Na Fianna the march set off from the Carmody Memorial Hall to the memorial at Rusheen just outside the village where Lt Carmody was shot dead by the Black and Tans during the War of Independence.

The oration was given by Emmet Walsh from Tullamore, County Offaly who told the gathering that the people of the Six Counties are being fooled by the lies of the Provos.

"The fact is the Provos have sold out on the ideal of a new and united Ireland and they are now administering British rule in Ireland and they have left the nationalist people dismayed and in a state of confusion," he said. "The Provos and their smug self-satisfied leaders have dishonoured Irish Republicanism."

# For The Record

Due to lack of space, 'For the Record' is deferred until January.

## SPONSORED SWIM

CHRISTMAS DAY  
12 NOON

Grand Canal  
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Bígfí Linn!



December is Republican Prisoners month — please give generously to your local committee or to the Central Committee, CABHAIR, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1.

# ONE DEAD, FIVE INJURED IN WEEK OF ATTACKS

## A Belfast Chronology

**Wednesday, October 29, 2003:** Reports coming in that screws in Maghaberry prison are to step up an overtime ban claiming that prisoners are better treated than they are. They also claim that the action that they are taking is in protest at attacks on their homes believed to be carried out by the UDA.

**Thursday, October 30, 2003:** Paint bomb attacks were carried in Newtownabbey, just outside north Belfast, on a number of homes; red and blue paint was used in the attacks that lasted only a matter of minutes.

On house hit in the attack is the home of a 75-year-old widow Ellen Denvir. It is believed the attack was the work of the loyalists from the Rathcoole area.

Not far from here on the Mill Road a shop was attacked by petrol bombers, a car was also burned out.

**Friday, October 31, 2003:** The *North Belfast News* carried a front page story that the Belfast Education and Library Board (BELB) has employed Jim Potts, a former Glenbryn Community worker, as an Outreach Worker to do cross-community youth work in the north Belfast area project.

Jim Potts was one of the most prominent and leading figures in the loyalist blockades of the Holy Cross Girls Primary School in 2001 in north Belfast.

Potts, along with five other men was charged on September 3, 2001 with unlawfully fighting and making an affray, the day the children went back to school. Potts was ordered to stay away from the protest.

However all charges against him were later dropped. The paper went on: [but] the allocation of the former worker in the offices of the so-called concerned residents of upper Ardoyne (CRUA) has outraged youth workers from Nationalist areas of north Belfast who have blamed the UDA.

Jim Potts yesterday confirmed he would be starting his new job on Monday. But added he did not know what the job entailed yet.

The BELB also confirmed the controversial decision.

The Board added "We can confirm that Jim Potts has recently been appointed to the post of Outreach Detached Worker for the North Belfast area project. This is a temporary training post held until August 2004."

The *North Belfast News* went on to say: "We understand the members of the North Belfast Providers Forum held an emergency meeting on Thursday evening to discuss the issue and are expected to make a statement. The job, with a salary of between £13,665 to £14,295, carries in its description to

'work with young people and assist in enabling them to develop a suitable range of personal and social skills'. It continues, 'With the assigned geographical area, the trainee will assist in the assessment of needs; provide advice and support; liaise between local community groups; assist in the development of outreach work; support local community work and work with young people, particularly young people at risk'.

Ardoyne Youth worker Stephen Hughes said he could not believe the BELB's appointment and threatened to withdraw from BELB events.

"How does this demonstrate the BELB commitment to best practices and best value youth provision?" he said.

Friday night was Halloween night and loyalist youths used the cover of hundreds of fireworks going off to target nationalist houses in Alliance Avenue. Fireworks were fired over the so-called peace line. One man had a lucky escape when a firework struck him in the chest as he stood at his door. This type of activity carried on all night.

**Saturday, November 1, 2003:** On Saturday night the RUC/PSNI claimed to have found a handgun in a flat in a loyalist area of York Road in north Belfast.

**Sunday, November 2, 2003:** A statement from the UDA today has claimed they had nothing to do with attacks on the homes of screws.

There are also reports that screws at Maghaberry prison have threatened to walk out of the prison within the next few days claiming that the prisoners are better treated than they are.

**Monday, November 3, 2003:** There are claims today that staff working in Dunes Stores on the Crumlin Road in north Belfast have been ordered by management not to wear poppies. In a statement Dunes Stores have said that 'as a matter of company policy wearing of any political symbol by members of staff at work is not permitted'.

The Store has only been opened for two months and has witnessed confrontations between loyalists and nationalists shopping there!

Loyalists have demanded that nationalists shopping there should shop instead in the Dunes Stores at the Park Centre in west Belfast.

A firebomb attack on a house in the early hours of this morning has turned out to be an attack on the home of a former screw. The attack took place in the Newtownabbey area just outside north Belfast. Damage was caused to the front door.

Monday afternoon was witness to screws at Maghaberry calling off their threatened walkout. It's believed the screws backed



• The funeral of JamesMcMahon on November 26 pauses near the spot where he was killed on the banks of the Lagan River in Lisburn, Co Antrim.

down after a letter from Brit Minister Jane Kennedy that threatened them with legal action.

**Wednesday, November 5, 2003:** There were reports on Wednesday night of yet more trouble within Maghaberry prison.

It's believed a number of non-political prisoners wrecked their cells and fires were started for the second time in as many days.

**Thursday, November 6, 2003:** Maghaberry prison screws have stated this afternoon that after a meeting with Brit Minister of occupation Jane Kennedy this morning nothing has changed.

A spokesman said later no one wants to know about the plight of "Prison Officers-Screws" and their families. It is not known at this stage what action the screws will take next. It should be remembered that the screws would, without doubt, target Republican POWs for what they see as payback.

**Friday, November 7, 2003:** Republican POWs in Maghaberry prison today said claims made by some members of the press that prisoners aligned to Republican POWs had wrecked their cells in recent days were not true.

In a phone call to the Belfast Office of Republican

Sinn Féin today the spokesperson for the POWs stated that they had not taken part in the recent protest carried out within the prison. He also added 'its clear the press have set out to mislead or they themselves have been misled'.

It was reported earlier this week that prisoners had wrecked their cells and the unjust regime at Maghaberry seemed to point the finger at Republican POWs. No cells were wrecked in Lagan where Republican prisoners are now held.

**Sunday, November 9, 2003:** There are reports tonight of a shooting near the upper Springfield Road in west Belfast. It is believed that a number of people were injured in the shooting that took place in a loyalist area of the upper Springfield Road around 8pm.

**Monday, November 10, 2003:** It has become clear that loyalists carried out the shooting in the Springfield Road in west Belfast last night. It is believed that four men were shot in the legs in the loyalist Highfield area.

**Wednesday, November 12, 2003:** A pipe bomb was found at the home of Tina Gallagher, who lives in the Kerrera Street in Ardoyne. Mother of three, Tina is a par-

ent of pupils of Holy Cross Primary Girls School.

There is no doubt that Tina's home and family were targeted by loyalists that would know her from walking to the Holy Cross school on the Ardoyne Road, with other parents.

The Gallagher home is close to the Crumlin Road and it's believed at this stage that the pipe bomb was thrown at the house late on Tuesday night or in the early hours of Wednesday morning. The bomb was not found until around 9.30am on Wednesday.

A claim was made to a Belfast newswoman in which it was stated that the Red Hand Defenders (RHD) carried out the attack.

RHD has very often been a cover name for most loyalist groups, but mostly in recent times by the UDA. Once again loyalists have set out to kill or injure the parents of Holy Cross children and their family members.

**Thursday, November 13, 2003:** Thursday was witness to Andre Shoukri, the so-called UDA Brigadier in north Belfast, winning his appeal against an arms charge.

Shoukri, once one of Johnny Adair's right hand men before the loyalist feed,

was caught red handed with a gun and 30 rounds of ammunition in north Belfast in September 2002.

Although caught red handed, there is no doubt Shoukri will now walk free in the next few weeks. This will come as no surprise to Republicans who know only too well that if Shoukri was a Republican he would now be lying in a prison cell for many, many years, but, this is British justice, and so unjust.

**Friday, November 14, 2003:** There were reports on Friday of a number of pipe bombs, bomb parts and a shotgun as well as drugs and documents relating to the LVF (Loyalist Volunteer Force) being found in a house in Glenbrooke Avenue in loyalist East Belfast, during an RUC/PSNI raid. One man is believed to have been arrested.

**Saturday, November 15, 2003:** A man living in Saundersons Court in the nationalist Bone area of Old Park in north Belfast was shocked to discover that a firebomb had damaged his home during the night. It's believed at this stage that only part of it went off, causing damage to windows and a door.

The damage wasn't discovered until 7.30am on Saturday morning. As yet there is no claim as to who carried out this attack, but it is the second bomb attack within a mile in four days. The first attack was carried out in Ardoyne and was claimed by the cover name of RHD, leaving little doubt in anyone's mind that this attack is also the work of loyalists; no doubt the UDA.

**Sunday, November 16, 2003:** There were reports of a nationalist man being attacked and a baby was also injured by a number of men who jumped out of a car near the Boundary Bar on the Shore Road. The Boundary Bar is a nationalist-owned bar and has been the target of loyalists many times down the years.

At this stage it is believed the nationalist man who was attacked was beaten with hammers and machetes. Once again nationalists in north Belfast are living under the terrible fear of sectarian loyalist attack.

**Monday, November 17, 2003:** There were reports of a bomb scare in St. Anne's Square in Belfast city centre. It's believed the scare was centred round a bag, which it claimed had two replica guns in it. Also on Monday, a group calling itself the Loyalist Action Force claimed in a phone call it had carried out a murder bid on a Catholic man as he left the Boundary Bar on Sunday night. It is clear that the name Loyalist Action Force is being used as a cover for the local loyalist paramilitaries.

Cont. on page 6.

# Iarsmaí

IS IAD na ceantair ina bhíonn daoine caite ró-dídean lena chéile na cin is boichte, agus is mó atá tugtha do mhí-éadóir drugaí "siansaacha", mar a thugtar orthu ar na saolta seo. Mar atá fáisceannta a rá, thá "spás" de dhíth ar an duine daonna ó am go chéile, agus is dóigh lionsa gur fíor sin.

Blianta fada ó shin, b'amliaidh a thug an mhéasóir cáil a rabhas ag freastal uirthi deis dúinne, scoláirí, pírlí a ghlacadh in obair Naomh U de Pól, mar dhúir ar thuirais na mbocht. Agus tabhairt bocht orthu, iad ina gceonai i dtithe a bhíodh ag titim a chéile, iad céasta ag thairm talún gan taise gan trua. Táime féin fhorbairt den scoil chéanna as an gceachtadh sin, nó meaisim gur cuid thubhachtach dar gcuid oideachais a bhí ann.

## NA SLOMAÍ

Sna tríoicháid den aois seo caite cuireadh deirceadh de na "hiarsmaí" de dhrochriail na Sasanach", mar a deirte, go háirithe na slomai i mBaile Átha Cliath agus i nDún Dealgan. Ach súl ná tharla sin bhi deis agnaine colas



• Vincent Browne.

maith a chur ar na tithe uafásacha sin, agus a bhl sin den Chumann.

Ar na mallabhai, bhi deis cuairte ar Luimneach ag an iriseoir de chuid nuachtan an domhain, nó cuid mhéid díobh, mar atá Vincent Browne, agus ar fhilleadh ar Cho Dhin Laoghaire-Ráth an Duin dó, d'éile ach aiste breise a scríobh don Sunday

Business Post, a d'fhoilsigh i gclár dhéirde na Samhna.

Cúrsaí titheochta in áiteanna i gCathair Luimneach a bhi faoi thrácht agais. Tithe scríosta. Tithe déirde. Radharc den chineál a d'fheictear tar éis na déirde, agus gan amháin ar an scéal ach déirdeachtach.

De réir dealrainh, níl spéis dá laghad ag na hídaráis áitúla sna cúrsaí seo. Nó cá bhfuil an lámh chunta?

## IARSMÁI DE DHROCHRIAIL

I mBaile Átha Cliath, agus sna bailte móra eile ar fud na tíre, tá a gceolachtaí ar fáil, faraoi, agus is dócha go gceitfidh muid "Iarsmaí de dhrochriail an tSiorstait" a thabairt orthu, mar go deimhin níor fhoighlain na maithhe beaga fáil na frídó dhrochriail na Sasanach sa tír seo.

An chúis? Toisc gur cuireadh stop bródúil leis an reabhlóid náisiúnta sa mbliain 1921. An Éire s'a-gainne imnu, níl cosúlacht dá bhfad aici leis an bpeictiúr a rinneadh sa bhFórsaí, 1916.

Mar a scríobhas an mhí seo caite, níl féidir linn idir geoinais féin éalo ó shainmhíniú ar shaoire, ar dhuan-

lathas, agus teachtaireacht uilig de chuid Reabhlóid na Fraince agus, anseo, cúrsaí 1798, 1803, agus 1916, chomh fada agus bhfuil libéiré, égalité, fraternité i bhfeidhm.

An argóint láidir a rinne Vincent san aiste úd rime na ceantair sin, atá chomh uafásach bocht, chomh deoráil, gan dóchas ar bith, atá ag fáil as cuime, mí-úsáid na ndrúgal, coirpeacht, na cipit coirúla, agus an t-ainéil i gceitim.

## GASÚIR GAN SMACHT

Agus mise ag tiomáint abhairte tar éis seall a chaitheamh ag éisteacht le scoth an cheoil Thig Hughes, Baile Átha Cliath, teach tábhairne in aice leis na Ceitirhe Cúirtéanna, feicim go déanach san oíche pírlí idir cúig agus 10 mbliana d'aois ag rith thart, iad i bhfad ó smacht a dtuist.

Cá bhfuilid stúd, na tuist? Cén fáth nach bhféachann seall chughe go mbi a gcéim slán sa mbaile, iad ina gceoladha sa leaba, mar go gceitfidh seall a bheith ina súl go moch an mhaidín dar gcionn, le bricefaiste a tiú, agus a bheith in am don scoil?

Ach cá bhfuil na tuist sin? An amháin a rinne na Gardai rianb na cúrsaí seo a chioradh? Nach bhfuil na tuistí fearaghartha as a gcéim de réir dlí?

Nach dtuigeanm gach éime na coirúil? Is ionaí saol coirúil a thoshaigh le briceadach isteach i gcear, nó má láimhe a sciobadh, nó a bheith gafa in achrann is ag brúion agus, Dia linn, i marú.

## EOCHAR FAIDHIBE

Nuair a bheas 'chulle chúnine scrúdaí, agus gach aon fhocal ráite acu stúd a thuigeanm gach rud, dar leo, cén fáth nach gceolseann muid ceo dá laghad faoi thabhairt an oideachais, le heochair na faidhibe a chasadh ináid droce?

Más fíor do na saineo-laithe, is é atá i gceist in oideachas an duine a thabhairt chun blianta, nó, len é a rá bealach eile, gach cumas, gach scil, gach talam, a fhorbairt ann, de réir a chéile. Is cóir sin a dhéanamh chomh luath agus is féidir. De gnáth, is muidhe, na tuist, a thugann faoina leithde, agus an páiste dar mbrú, minic go leor.

Má theipneann ar na tuistí níl féidir leis na hídaráis, de gnáth, ach fanacht go dtí go

ndéanam an páiste freastal ar an réimsíocht, an rud ab mholta, nó, de gnáth, a theacht isteach doras na bun-scoile. Ach, dáiríre, an amháin atá córas na bun-scoile oiriúnach faoi láthair le déileáil leis an bhfadach na ceantair úd, neadrachai na coirúlaíocht?

## FÁILTE ROIMH CHÁCH

An mhí seo chugainn, más áil le Dia, agus má oireann sé don Eagarthóir, ba mhaith liom péil éigin a thosair ar pháirt a ba chóir, dar liomsa, a bheith ag am mbunscóil i réiteach na faidhibe, agus muid ann ar bith do mhó chuid éistoir, nó léitheoir, ba bheist liom go mbéidís stúd páirtach san argóint.

Idir an dá linn, tabhairt fáil deirne, a léitheoir, an dhíocht a rinne Gaelcoisil i Baile Munná i bhúabhsa an tsaoil sa gceantar sin, agus mágair.

Is fíor go bhfuil go leor in easnann ar an ceantar bhochtá d'heoráil. Is fíor go bhfuil a lán lán eile le dhéanamh seachas córas na bun-scoile a theabhsá. Ach tús, a dhúine!

— Deasún Breatach

## A Belfast Chronology

Cont. from page 5.  
taries, UDA or UVF.

The victim, named as Paul Derive, is very lucky to be alive. He lost his left eye in the attack and suffered a number of long deep cuts to most of his face, his skin was cut right through to the bone when he was hit countless times on the head and face with a machete. He also had to have a tooth removed from his throat.

For the most this murder bid has been played down and once again the Catholic/Nationalist community suffer at the hands of sectarian loyalism.

**Tuesday, November 18, 2003:** Republican Sinn Féin held a press conference in their Belfast office on the Falls Road. The press conference was called to outline RSF's campaign against the undemocratic Stormont elections that will take place on November 26. Republican Sinn Féin called for a boycott as well as a spoil your vote policy. Tuesday was also witness to a bomb scare near Donegall Street and Royal Avenue in Belfast city centre. The scare that later turned out to be a hoax started around 3.15pm.

**Thursday, November 20, 2003:** Reports on Thursday brought news of two more attacks by loyalists

on nationalist men in Belfast. The latest now brings the number of sectarian attacks to three. But, one of the attacks that saw a west Belfast man badly beaten, started when he was arrested by the RUC/PSNI, the 19-year-old told the *Andersonstown News* that he left a city centre nightclub and started to make his way home when he was stopped by the RUC/PSNI, who told him he fitted the description of a man they were looking for. He went on "I was told to get into the jeep, they closed the doors and started driving. They asked me where was I going. I told them I was going to the Glen Road. After driving for about five minutes they said it was ok, I was free to go."

"When they opened the back doors of the jeep I was in an estate I didn't know or recognise. A crowd of about five or six men came running around the corner towards me. I ran and tried knocking on a few doors but no one answered. That is about all I remember, apart from waking up in hospital. I have fractured skull and 10 staples to my head and I am covered in bruises, my clothes were torn off me. I just want to warn people to be careful."

The man's solicitor Michael Flanagan said that he would be contacting the Ombudsman with a view to

taking a civil action against the RUC/PSNI.

Another man, Lee McCandless was found badly beaten on Sunday night near the interface on the Springfield Road at Lanark Way, in west Belfast. It's believed that 33-year-old Lee McCandless suffered horrific head injuries and had to undergo emergency surgery. McCandless, from Forfar Street, also had to have part of his brain removed after a massive haemorrhage, resulting from his injuries.

The RUC/PSNI later arrested four people in connection with the attack on Lee McCandless, but all were released without charge.

**Friday, November 21, 2003:** Yet another attack by loyalists has seen a young nationalist man beaten to death. This time the attack took place in the Lisburn area and the victim James McMahon was targeted in the Hancock Street area, close to his home, after a night out with friends. Up to three masked men with baseball bats beat the 21-year-old to the ground and then beat him around the head. This was on Thursday night; James McMahon lost his fight for life on Friday afternoon. His two friends escaped and ran for help. As with all such attacks on the nationalist community, this attack too was played down.

**Saturday, November 22,**

**2003:** A woman and man who had just left a Club on the Crumlin Road to walk to their home in the Mountain View area, were attacked and beaten near the Ardoyne shops, by a number of men who got out of two cars.

On hearing the cries for help, a number of nationalists went to the couple's aid, as they got to the front of the shops, the men jumped back into the cars and drove off down the loyalist Woodvale estate towards the Shankill Road.

Once again nationalists making their way home after a night out have fallen victim to loyalists, out looking for murder. There is little doubt that all these attacks are organised and those carrying them are out using the name "Loyalist Action Force" (LAF).

The question is which one of the loyalist groups is using this cover name. The answer nationalists will tell you is take your pick! Tension in nationalist areas is high; the fear in the air is very real, the dark nights adding to their fears.

**Sunday, November 23, 2003:** Sunday passed without any reports of trouble although the tension and fear in the air stayed very heavy over the nationalist community. Little surprise after a week that saw one nationalist murdered and another five injured.

# IMEACHTAI

## CHARLIE KERINS COMMEMORATION

TRALEE, CO KERRY  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5,  
Assemble: Pikeman Monument, Denny Street,  
Tralee, 7.30pm

\*\*\*\*

## PICKET FOR POLITICAL STATUS

GPO, DUBLIN  
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 12.45-1.45pm  
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Leinster

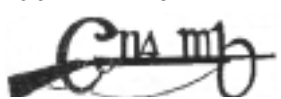
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# Risteard Ó Glaisne

FUAIR Risteard Ó Glaisne, Corcaioch, Gaeilgeoir, Scríbhneoir agus Tír-ghráthóir bás i mí na Samhna.

Rugadh agus tógadh é i nDroichead na Bandan agus ba bhall dílis den Eaglais Mhíodach. D'fuar é arís i bhliain 1982. D'fuar é arís i bhliain 1982. D'fuar é arís i bhliain 1982.

D'fheic sé a bheith crosta na gceinteach linn i amann, go háirithe má bhionar falldha sa Ghaeilge nó i gceir ar cheann se go raibh ruime ar bith den

seicteachas ag baint lenár n-iompar. Nílimid dan locht, agus ní fheadaí a rá nach raibh an ceart aige ó am go chéile.

Thar aon ní eile, chuir an t-éineach agus an cur i gceill fearg air. Thug sé díaireacht na Glaisneachta agus mhóil sé ÉIRE. NUA go hard. Bhi Ruairí Ó Braigháil i láthair ar a shochraid.

Solas solas na bhfáltheachas go léir ar Risteard. Gaeil a raibh uaisleacht anama ó nádúr ann.

• Risteard Ó Glaisne



# 99<sup>th</sup> Ard-Fheis of Republican SINN F IN Poblachtach Focus opposition to British rule and support for a New Ireland

**OVER 200 delegates attended the 99th Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin which took place in Dublin on the weekend of November 8/9. Cumann from all over Ireland as well as Scotland and England took part in the deliberations as well as representatives from Cumann na Saoirse in the USA.**

The first session on Saturday consisted of workshops, in a return to the format which was dropped the previous year so that delegates could vote in the Nice referendum. There was a good attendance at each of the workshops on Political Policy, Social & Economic, Prisoners, International Affairs, Organisation, Activities and the Constitution & Rules and SAOIRSE, Education and Culture. The workshop formula allows delegates to examine the Ard-Fheis's Clar and propose amendments to the Clar, showing the deep commitment many Republicans have to Gaelic Games and the disappointment felt in some of the decisions the GAA have made in recent years, diluting their stand on the National Question and Irish nationhood.

Before the first plenary session, in a private session of the Ard-Fheis, the Secretary's Report, financial report from Ard-Ofis, SAOIRSE and Irish Freedom Press were given to the Ard-Fheis by Peig King, John O'Connor, Lita Ni Chathainn and Josephine Hayden respectively. This was followed by addresses from other Republican organizations, **CABHAIR** (Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund), Cumann na mBian and Na Fianna Éireann.

Following these the plenary session on Political Policy, chaired by Mary Ward, Donegal got underway and delegates passed motions reaffirming the commitment of the Republican Sinn Féin "to the re-establishment of the All-Ireland Republic proclaimed in 1916, and asserts the right of the Irish people to full freedom and nationhood and denies any English claim to rule in any part of Ireland". The motion, which was submitted by the Wolfe Tone Cumann, Dublin and the Joe Conway-Willie Stewart Cumann, Newry/Dundalk also called on the British government to "remove its military, civil and political establishments from our country and this enable the people of Ireland to live in peace and harmony".

A motion supporting the right of the Irish people to use controlled and disciplined force to achieve Irish freedom from Comhairle Uladh and the Dáithí Ó Conaill Cumann, Monaghan was also passed unanimously and delegates instructed the incoming Ard-Ofis to continue to support and strengthen a campaign highlighting the continued occupation of Ireland by British military and political personnel.

A motion from the Carroll/O'Donovan Cumann, Dublin called for the "naming and shaming" of members of the British Police Partnership Boards in the Six Counties, especially those coming from nationalist areas in the Occupied area was passed as was another from the Seán Sabhat Cumann, Omagh urged Republicans to treat the District Policing Partnership and Policing Boards "with the contempt they deserve, as arms of the British colonial police force".

The McKelvey-Steele Cumann, Belfast proposed a motion calling on Republican Sinn Féin to "highlight our policy documents and to promote the EIRE NUA document as the only home to the important Stormont Agreement" and Geraldine Taylor, Belfast Ard Comhairle member reminded delegates of the importance of this policy and said that not enough was being done nationally to bring it

to the attention of the Irish people.

The Ard-Fheis passed a Comhairle Uladh motion opposing any proposed visit to Ireland of the British Queen and one from Comhairle Laighean and the Joe McDonnell Cumann, Dublin castigating RTE as the 26-County State broadcaster for carrying recruitment ads for the British Occupation Forces, ie for the British colonial police force, the RUC/PSNI.

A number of motions concerning the GAA were on the Clar, showing the deep commitment many Republicans have to Gaelic Games and the disappointment felt in some of the decisions the GAA have made in recent years, diluting their stand on the National Question and Irish nationhood.

One from Kildare Comhairle Ceantair expressed "unequivocal opposition to the staging of Gaelic football matches between the forces of the British Crown and the 26-County police and army, which are held in an attempt to normalize the British military and policing presence in Ireland". The motion went on to call on Croke Park to state publicly if the "so-called 'British Combined Services' football team is an affiliated club of the GAA".

A motion from the McKelvey-Steele Cumann, Belfast and the Wolfe Tone Cumann, Dublin depicting the actions of the Armagh and Tyrone football teams in bringing the Sam Maguire Cup to the British colonial institution at Stormont and called on all future winners in the Six Counties to refrain from doing so. This was passed by delegates as was a motion from the Seán Sabhat Cumann, Omagh condemning the decision of the GAA to drop Rule 21.

A motion from the Joe Conway-Willie Stewart Cumann, Newry-Dundalk instructing the incoming Ard Comhairle to contact the GAA HQ and appeal to them to refrain from organising matches on Easter Sunday so that GAA members could attend commemorations to the British patriot dead was passed.

Several motions on the Anglo-American war in Iraq were discussed. A Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath motion denouncing the handing over of Shamoon Airport to the British and British warmongers" and calling on the US and Britain to withdraw from Iraq without delay was passed.

The Ard-Fheis passed a resolution supporting Mary Kelly who was present, and the other anti-war demonstrators "who gave a practical demonstration of the people's opposition to the US/British-led imperialist invasion of Iraq".

Two motions on electoral strategy were also debated, the first from the Ard Comhairle and Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair called for maximum support to be forthcoming from all areas in the local elections in the 26 Counties in 2004 and the second from Kildare Comhairle Ceantair and Comhairle Laighean which called on all areas to select candidates and make preparations for the forthcoming local elections. Both resolutions were passed and speakers hammered home the importance of the work involved with local communities and working for local people.

The Ard-Fheis adjourned for the night and a most enjoyable social function was held that evening.



**\* Ard-Fheis delegates called on Republicans to treat the RUC/PSNI District Policing Boards "as arms of the British colonial police force".**

The first session on Sunday was private. Chaired by Josephine Hayden, motions on Organisation and Activities and Constitution and Rules were discussed and some changes made which must be implemented in the coming year. The Ard-Fheis agreed to launch a recruitment drive

Iraq. Motions of solidarity were sent to the Iraqi people, to the Kurds, to Basque and Breton prisoners in jails in France and Spain and to the Palestinian people "in their struggle to regain their homeland in the face of a brutal Israeli military regime". Greetings were also sent to the Cuban

and economic programme, SAOL NUA, in the past year and called on Cumann to implement its policies in the coming year. The Ard-Fheis noted that the policies contained in it had stood the test of time and needed only to be put in the context of a new century and a changed social climate.

A motion from the Ard Comhairle calling on Republican Sinn Féin to support current campaigns against the introduction of "stealth taxes" by the Dublin Administration was passed. Motions condemning massive cuts in public spending and the privatisation of the State and semi-State sectors from Comhairle Laighean and the Joe McDonnell Cumann, Dublin were passed as was a motion from the Carroll/O'Donovan Cumann, Dublin calling on all members to campaign for the restoration of all local services back to the control of local authorities.

Delegates also called for access to a high quality health service for everyone "regardless of his or her economic circumstances" and deplored the cutbacks in the health service in Ireland generally.

The Ard-Fheis passed a resolution from the Dáithí Ó Conaill Cumann, Monaghan opposing incineration as a solution to the problem of waste disposal and also backed a Comhairle na Mumhan resolution which called on Republicans to campaign against incinerators and "push for environmentally-friendly alternatives to waste disposal".

The Ard-Fheis called for the reopening of the Ennis to Sligo railway line and condemned "An Bórd Pleanála restrictions on the planning appeals on environment and health" and also strongly condemned the transfer of powers from councillors to unelected county managers.

The National Draw took place following the end of the plenary sessions and the Ard-Fheis concluded with the singing of Amhrán na bhFiann, led by Ard-Fheis Chairperson Joe O'Neill, Donegal.

The Officer Board elected for the coming year are as follows: Uachtarán, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh; Leas-Uachtarán, Des Long and Des Dalton; Ard-Ráthaire, Lita Ni Chathainn and Peig King; Ard-Cisteoirí, Joe O'Neill and Seán Ó Conaill; OCP, Ruairí Og Ó Brádaigh.

## Political status campaign continues

MOTIONS applauding the partial victory achieved by Republican prisoners in Magherry prison were sent in by many Cumann from all over Ireland and a commitment was made by Republican Sinn Féin to support the ongoing struggle there for the political status which was sold out by the Stormont Agreement, "a right for which ten H-Block hunger strikers gave their lives". The Ard-Fheis also endorsed a motion sent in by a number of Cumann sending solidarity greetings to Republican prisoners in Magherry, Magilligan and Portlaoise jails. A statement from the Republican prisoners in Portlaoise jail was read to the Ard-Fheis by Peig King.

The statement read: "On the occasion of Republican Sinn Féin's 99th Ard-Fheis we take this opportunity to extend our greetings and solidarity, as you gather in national conference. We also reaffirm our rejection of British rule in Ireland and pledge our unwavering loyalty and commitment to the All-Ireland Republic, proclaimed in Easter Week, ratified by the Irish people in 1918 and established by the First Dáil Éireann in 1919. We wish to state publicly that we are imprisoned simply because we refused to compromise on the Irish people's right to national sovereignty and independence. Our cause is the cause of Ireland. Long live the All-Ireland Republic! An Phoblacht Abú!"

in the coming year to further the growth and development of the organisation, "providing a credible focal point for opposition to the Stormont Agreement and in support of a New Ireland free of British rule".

The Ard-Fheis also agreed a motion from the McKelvey-Steele Cumann, Belfast to initiate a poster and leaflet campaign to discourage nationalist youth "from joining the armed British police force, the PSNI, who are the RUC by another name". A resolution from the Comhairle Ceantair in England, Scotland and Wales calling for the memory of Anne Devlin to be commemorated was passed.

A number of motions on international affairs were discussed in a session chaired by Des Dalton. One from the Ard Comhairle called for the release of the political prisoners, "some as young as 13, currently being held by the US government at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba" was passed by delegates as were several motions condemning the US-British war on

people and to oppressed peoples throughout the world.

Anti-war campaigner Mary Kelly who is facing a retrial on charges of damaging an American warplane at Shamoon Airport early in the year addressed the Ard-Fheis.

Messages of support were received from the Ireland Information Group in Sweden, from Sardigna Nazione Indipendentia, Sardinia, from the Celtic League and Solidarité Irlandaise in France. The Ard-Fheis was addressed by John McDonagh of the National Irish Freedom Committee in the USA, who pledged the support of that organisation to the freedom struggle in Ireland.

The Presidential Address (carried on pages 8 and 9) was delivered by An t-Uachtarán Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to a packed hall and was greeted by tumultuous applause.

The afternoon session was devoted to Social and Economic motions and was chaired by Seán Ó Brádaigh. The Ard-Fheis welcomed the updating of Republican Sinn Féin's social

99<sup>æ</sup> Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn F IN Poblachtach

# Republican Sinn opposition to

**AN edited version of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh's Presidential Address to the 99th Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin in Dublin on November 9 is printed below. (Full version is available at rsf.ie.)**

A Chathaoirigh, a theachtai is a chárdaí ar fad.

Céad míle fáilte romhaibh ag an Ard-Fheis seo, an 99<sup>ú</sup> ceann de chuid Shinn Féin.

When last we met in national convention the restored Stormont had just been suspended — for the fourth time in as many years and the seventh occasion since 1972. All of this demonstrates the chronic instability of English rule in Ireland. More than a year later it has still not been re-assembled — the artificial means cobbled together to administer an artificial statelet remains in crisis.

The past year has been marked by the stepping up of repression on both sides of the British-made Border in Ireland. During February last the Donagh area of Co. Fermanagh was subjected to a three-day siege by large numbers of heavily-armoured Crown Forces. Homes were ordered to be evacuated and one Republican family in particular was singled out for special attention. Mickey and Mary Lavelle were arrested by the RUC on the first day, Mickey's brother Jimmy the following day and on the third the couple's son Emmet was taken into custody.

Another son, Michael junior was viciously set upon by members of the RUC and badly beaten — also on the third day — as part of the terror tactics. Two other children still in their teens were ordered from their home at twelve midnight without anywhere for them to go. This was to allow the attackers to smash in the rear door of the house the following morning and to conduct a search without the knowledge, consent or most importantly the presence of any family member or independent observer. Was this tactic used to allow alleged incriminating evidence to be planted?

Nine months later Mary Lavelle is still on bail, while Emmet was given bail eight months subsequent to his arrest. Mickey Lavelle remains on remand in Maghaberry Prison, Co Antrim. All of them face what we believe are politically-motivated trumped up charges.

Although the nationalist community was outraged the local SDLP representatives and spokespersons were conspicuous by their silence possibly because of their membership of an RUC liaison board and a district police partnership committee? One clergyman did speak out publicly to the press on the question of bail for Mary Lavelle, the mother of eight children.

Throughout the year, nationalist families were terrorised in their

homes by loyalist gangs and in many cases forced out of them, especially in the Larne, Antrim town, Coleraine and North Belfast areas. All the while British forces harassed nationalists but loyalists were given a free hand.

Meanwhile, south of the border the trial took place in the Special Non-jury Court in Dublin's Green St. of the Limerick Eight who had spent a year and a half on remand since before Christmas 2001. The proceedings took three months and cost the 26-County State several million Euro. Seven of the eight were acquitted while Pat O Shea was sentenced to four years. He was a victim of the ongoing campaign of State harassment directed against Republican Sinn Féin, a campaign aimed at criminalising anyone who rejects the Stormont Agreement of 1998 and opposes English rule in Ireland.

This campaign of harassment, smearing and felon-setting, with occasional show-trials, has as its purpose the retarding of the growth and development of Republican Sinn Féin. Both the British government and the Dublin administration have stated publicly their intention to crush all opposition to the re-juggled Stormont set-up, which is sectarian in nature and has failed to date.

Our members and supporters will not be intimidated by this campaign of coercion, but will continue to organise and recruit throughout Ireland, putting forward unashamedly the Irish Republican agenda of ending British rule and creating a New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves. We wish to complement all the Limerick Eight on their uncompromising and unflinching stand over the eighteen months.

During July and August another well-publicised show-trial resulted in Michael Mc Keivitt being sentenced to 20 years on the word of a paid agent provocateur employed by the FBI and the British Security Services.

The occasion was availed of to slander members of the national leadership of Republican Sinn Féin. The truth is that Mr Rupert made political demands on us promising an unlimited supply of dollars on condition that we amalgamated with the 32-County Sovereignty Committee. Republican Sinn Féin feels vindicated in its decision, on ideological grounds, to reject Mr. Rupert's demands and his money, and to have nothing to do with him.

Meanwhile, meetings during the year between the British Supreme for the Six Counties and the 26-County Minister for Justice included the drafting of yet further draconian legislation aimed at coercing Republicans.

The presence at these meetings of the RUC/PSNI Chief Hugh Orde and the 26-County Commissioner only reinforces the view that the real agenda behind the sectarian Stormont Agreement is the bedding down of English rule here by means of increased collaboration between the British forces of occupation and those of the 26-County State. It is becoming clearer that if the ailing Agreement is again

patched up the hammer will once more fall on true Irish Republicans who refuse to accept British rule in Ireland.

While Republican prisoners in Maghaberry struggle for political status, the proprietors and managers of premises across the Six Counties who agree to host functions in aid of the prisoners' dependants are intimidated by former comrades and forced to refuse bookings.

What will the situation be when the Provos don the uniform of the British police in Ireland? The example of de Valera's Broy Harriers, who consisted in the main of former IRA Volunteers, gives us a clear indication of what to expect. They will enforce British rule with gusto as they bound former comrades who continue the struggle.

When young people see these roles acted out in public, they will come to realise who is on England's side in all of this and who stands for the freedom of Ireland. Many older people have come to realise the position already, but coming events will clarify it for all. Republican Sinn Féin must be there to give the lead.

During this summer the Republican prisoners in Maghaberry escalated their protests in support of their demand for segregation from loyalist and ordinary prisoners. This limited demand was won and the prisoners were moved to separate accommodation. We here at this Ard-Fheis congratulate them on their partial victory on the well-worn road to restore political status.

The attitude of many of the prison staff in implementing this gain has been grudging, to say the least. The questions still needing to be resolved include the continuation of closed or screened visits, the use of sniffer dogs, the lack of education facilities in the Republican prisoners' own area, the minuscule size of the exercise yard and the despicable attitude of prison warders towards families.

The most immediate and pressing problem is the matter of securing separated visits. Families have to travel from the gate to the visiting area and back again with loyalists. This has exposed them to harassment even to the extent of being pursued by loyalists on the journey home from the prison. It is a subject that needs priority and speedy resolution. The prisoners and their families require constant support and with the coming of Christmas fund-raising must be stepped up.

During the year our members took part in protests against the imperialist war launched by the Bush administration in Washington and the Blair government in London against the people of Iraq. This was done contrary to the United Nations Charter and we marked it out as the first of the 'resistance acts of the 21st Century' forecast by Jacques Delors a decade ago. Control of the supply of oil was the real issue here.

We participated under our own banners and with our own literature with the 100,000 people who demonstrated in the centre of Dublin. We opposed at Shannon and other centres the action of the 26-County Administration in allowing US war-

planes to refuel at that Airport and to overtly Irish airspace.

Such action was a slavish and flagrant breach of Irish neutrality and had to be opposed. Now the White House and Downing Street want the world, including Ireland to supply bodies to police their occupation of Iraq and funds to reconstruct that country. The responsibility for these tasks rests with those who waged a horrific war of conquest on the people of Iraq.

## SDLP/PROVISIONAL HYPOCRISY

George Bush came to Belfast in the middle of that war to be greeted by — among others — the SDLP and the Provisionals who had publicly opposed this war. This exercise in hypocrisy was engaged in to lend weight to the US support of the imposition of a civil rights type solution under British rule in the Six Counties.

Nelson Mandela condemned the unilateral action against Iraq by what he called "people without a vision, without a depth of thinking". Speaking at NUI Galway, where he received an honorary degree last year, he put the issue clearly without naming the US specifically: "Any country which went to war outside the remit of the United Nations represented a danger to the world." No weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, neither were any links to Al-Qaeda.

The recent World Trade Organisation conference at Cancun, Mexico where the US and the EU joined forces to face down the Third World was a failure because the one remaining superpower and its ally could not impose their will on the billions on this planet who survive in abject poverty.

The words of Johann Hari writing in the *Sunday Tribune* of September 14 deserve to be quoted: "A concerted global effort to deal with poverty could yield amazing results."

"There is no mystery. The checklist is well known: End agricultural subsidies in the rich world. Open our markets to products from poor nations. Allow developing economies to protect themselves, as we did when we were emerging from poverty. Allow the poor to manufacture life-saving drugs. Cancel all poor world debt."

"Just as the global anti-apartheid campaign delegitimised that system, we may need another vast movement to transform the systems that are betraying the poor." The Fortress Europe that Republican Sinn Féin warned thirty years ago would be built by the EEC against the Third World has indeed come to pass.

About this time last year the second referendum on the Nice Treaty was pushed through, having failed the first time. One reality needs to be borne in mind in this regard. That is that more than half a million peo-



(left to right) Peig King, Ard-Rúnaí; Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán; Tomás Ó Cléirigh



# 99œ Ard-Fheis of Republican SINN F IN Poblachtach

# n Féin must lead o British rule



ús Ó Cléirigh and Dan Donohue, Ard Chomhairle.

ple have consistently opposed the militarisation, centralisation and domination by the larger states in the EU. The big lie proclaimed by the Establishment about Nice was that it was about enlargement, when in fact it was about making internal arrangements in the EU prior to enlargement, to the disadvantage of smaller states.

Right on the heels of Nice comes the EU draft constitution from the Intergovernmental Conference. This

will not be a permanent settlement for the European Union or any permanent or lasting balance between the powers of Brussels and those of its member states. The practice of an EU Treaty escalator, carrying the people of Europe's nations further and further into an ever closer union, with new powers for Brussels constantly emerging, is to continue. It is set to roll on relentlessly.

This draft EU constitution in Article 40 obliges the 26-County

State to spend more money on defence, and commits the State to mutual defence thus destroying Irish Neutrality. In practice this neutrality no longer exists since the current administration participated in the illegal conquest of Iraq by turning Shannon Airport into a US airbase. We must oppose the emerging EU nuclear armed superstate.

The proposed constitution in Article 1. 10.1. says: "The Constitution adopted by the Union's Institutions in exercising competences conferred on it, shall have primacy over the law of the Member States." Clearly States that put themselves under a Constitution with such an article can no longer regard themselves as independent or sovereign in the way the world's other 170 or so States are. EU Members will come closer to being subordinate states or provinces within a superior European Federal State. We must oppose this move as never before and build on the half a million voters who have steadily and constantly rejected the tightening of the EU grip.

Having been more than 30 years in the making, an Irish Language Act has at last been enacted in the 26-County State. It is a first step in moving towards guaranteeing the rights of Irish speakers. Is féidir cúis a chur in aghaidh chomhlacht poiblí má déanann sé failli ina dhualgas an scéim a chur i bhfeidhm. Tig le duine é sin a dhéanamh go gearananta nó ligint don Chomisióinéir Teanga an cás a chur.

You may have your case heard in Irish in court, but still the judge can waive the right in criminal cases. This is not good; in fact it is the worst aspect of the legislation.

Ní thiofaidh an t-Acht i bhfeidhm go ciomn trí bhliain eile. Deirtear gur mhíthid an mhóil seo chun an t-ádh do na comhlachtaí poiblí a chuid scéimanna a dhírleachtadh agus dul in oiriúint don scéim. Ba léor bhliain anáhn leis an ngnó sin a dhéanamh.

Braitheann éifeacht an Achta ar an Aire Ghaelachta agus an Aire Aireagdais chun é a chur i bhfeidhm. Muna mbíonn dothain airgid ar fáil ní éireoidh leis an dlí nua seo. De réir Alt 1 (5) den chéad scéideal den Bhille is féidir scóp an Achta a leathnú do rannóga eile den eacnamaíocht, mar shampla, comhlachtaí teileachumarsaíde, bancaimne agus comhlachtaí árachais. Dá luaithe a déantar é sin sea is fearr.

Most Irish language bodies are satisfied with this Irish Language Act. It is a start but it needs to be amended to ensure effectiveness. Feicfead le h-imeacht aimsire cén toradh a bhéas air.

At our Ard-Fheis of 1992, SAOL NUA — A New Way of Life, our Social and Economic Programme was finalised. It was published at the end of January 1993, a time when unemployment in the 26 Counties reached the all-time high mark of 300 000. At last year's Ard-Fheis a resolution from Belfast was adopted instructing "An Ard-Chomhairle to 'review, update and publish SAOL NUA'. A lot had happened in the intervening ten years since the "New Way of Life"

policy document was first published. Over the past year the work has been completed, as directed by the Ard-Fheis. It remains to be published. To give you just a flavour of the new updated text the following passages are quoted:

"For nine decades of the twentieth century, one out of every two persons born in Ireland was forced to

'United Kingdom', which includes the Six Counties, is ranked fifteenth, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands have the lowest level of poverty.

"The substantial increase in employment opportunities which came with the Celtic Tiger was brought about by the arrival of EU structural funds and the encourage-



emigrate. Those who remained experienced unemployment rates of up to 20% in the 26 Counties and 15% in the Six Counties at various times.

"Even during the period of the Celtic Tiger, one in every four households and one in every five people in the 26 Counties were living in poverty. These figures are from Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) data and are based on the EST+R1 50% poverty line. This poverty line, which is used in many European studies, is a line which is half average income, adjusted for family size and composition. On this basis, the ESRI figures show a substantial increase in poverty between 1987 and 2000.

"The United Nations Human Development Report, launched in Dublin in July 2003, contains some shocking statistics for the 26 Counties:

"9.3% of those born today are not expected to survive the age of 60;

"22.6% of adults lack functional literacy skills;

"12.3% live below the poverty line, as defined by the UN.

## UNEQUAL SOCIETY

"This means that the 26-County State is second only to the United States as being the most unequal society in what is known as the Developed World, that is second worst out of 17 countries. The

ment of foreign, mainly US, capital investment by reducing tax on corporate profits. A lot of the new employment is in low-paid service jobs. A significant price has been and will be paid for this strategy.

"Irish sea fisheries have already been decimated by the fleets of other EU states and tens of thousands of farmers have been driven off the land. Indigenous industry has been neglected. Housing accommodation is outrageously expensive. The tax base has been narrowed in such a way that our spending on Social Protection Expenditure has become the lowest in the EU. This expenditure includes spending on healthcare, unemployment, disability, old age, family/children and initiatives to deal with social exclusion.

"The advent of the Euro currency has deprived us of one of the pillars of national sovereignty, a national currency and the right to set our own interest and exchange rates. All of these developments place us in a precarious position whenever the foreign capitalists begin to pull out and locate elsewhere in the world wherever they can find cheaper labour.

"All of this free movement of capital has produced a real danger that the Irish banking system will fall completely into foreign ownership.

Cont. on page 10.



\* An Armagh delegate nails his political colours to the mast at the Republican Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis.

# 99œ Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Cont. from page 9.

"Meanwhile, family farms are being eliminated and the rural economy is collapsing. There is a lot of real poverty, inadequate health and education services and increasing unemployment as foreign capitalists pull out of Ireland. This in turn produces grave social problems and personal misery for thousands of individuals and families. Emigration, the safety valve which let politicians off the hook for generations, could well return.

"But quick-fix solutions, based on a sell-out of national sovereignty, natural resources and national identity is a poor substitute for developing our own resources according to the needs of our own people.

"The economic growth of recent years has been based on production and consumption, the consumer society, and has been achieved at the expense of many positive values. In financial terms, it has enriched the elite and left the majority relatively worse off. Selfishness and individualism are replacing the old Irish traditions of neighbourliness and social responsibility.

"In this regard, two quotations from commentators are significant: "Ours is a time of patented locks, burglar alarms, burgled fences, neighbourhood watch and vigilantes!" — Zygmunt Bauman in *Globalisation: The Human Consequences* (1998).

"A regime which provides human beings no deep reasons to care about one another cannot long preserve its legitimacy." — Richard Sennett in *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (1998).

## SPECULATORS

The Programme of Immediate Action lists sixteen issues. Some will be deleted and some amended but at least one will be added as follows: "Campaigning against the exorbitant price being demanded for building land by a small number of speculators who have managed to acquire large tracts and the campaigning for the implementation of the Kenny Report."

That ends the extracts from the updated **SAOL NUA**. It remains to have it printed and published and to put it before the people. The sixteen points for Immediate Action can be implemented on the ground straight away.

As part of the fishing of our natural resources another step was taken by the EU in October when the so-called Irish Box to protect fisheries off our coast of 50 miles was replaced by a "conservation area" of one third its size. The new area stretches a little further south than the Irish Box but it excludes the western, north-western, eastern and south-eastern waters entirely. The Irish Box was introduced when Spain and Portugal joined the EEC in 1985.

The cod-fish is gone from many areas of the world due to over-fishing and if the spawning grounds off the Irish coastline are not preserved, other species, for example hake, are in danger of being fished out entirely. Under the new arrangements even big foreign factory ships will be permitted to fish right up to most of the Irish coastline.

Another step backwards for the fishing industry is the taking over of the marketing functions of Bord Iascaigh Mhara (the Irish Fisheries Board) by An Bord Bia and An Bord Glas of the Dublin Department of Agriculture. These matters of importance to coastal communities can be raised at next

year's local elections in the 26 Counties and the following year's Urdáras na Gaeltachta elections.

The Vice-chair of the RUC/PSNI policing board Denis Bradley put a question to those opposed to the Stormont Agreement: "Do they or do they not accept the sovereignty of the Irish people?" The response is that the two concerned referenda held under duress in geographical fragments of Ireland purported to cede or surrender sovereignty over the Six Occupied Counties to England. The answer is No; we do not accept such a surrender.

Similarly when the Provo ex-prisoners' committee, Coiste na nIarlach, called for the lifting of the bans preventing its members from serving in the British police in Ireland or joining "district policing partnerships" they — like Mr Brophy and his kind — accept and surrender to British sovereignty in the Six Counties.

The findings of a delegation from the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture, published in September, serve only to confirm what many Irish Republicans, mainly young people, have experienced at the hands of the 26-County police, whether on the street, at work or in custody. Following visits to a number of police barracks and detention centres, the delegation found that there was credibility to allegations of abuse made by people who have been in police custody.

Republicans have for long borne the brunt of a concerted campaign of intimidation. In many cases young people have been arrested and released without charge as often as five times in a twelve month period, as well as being subjected to raids on their homes and random body searches. We welcome these findings but we feel that while the 26-County police remain unaccountable and have recourse to some of the most draconian legislation in western Europe, for example the Offences Against the State Acts, human and civil rights will never be secure within the 26-County State.

## 'STEALTH' TAXES

Also in the 26 Counties the official policy in recent years of keeping general taxation down has resulted in "stealth" taxes, i.e. charges on services, both centrally and locally administered. The recent imposition of refuse charges in Dublin is but another example of this policy in action and it has proved to be a flash-point. In general these imposts do not take into account the ability of the taxpayer to pay. We commend our members and supporters, and all involved in the anti-ban charges campaign.

However we would enter a caveat in this connection: the last thing that the most vulnerable in society want is the privatisation of the refuse service with its spiralling charges and absence of waivers for the unemployed and the destitute. We would point out that as our policy documents **ÉIRE NUA** and **SAOL NUA** state, effective change can only be brought about by local communities taking control of their own affairs, true democracy in action.

The Justice Commission of the Conference of Religious in Ireland (CORI) in its interesting pre-budget submission issued during October called for an increase in the lowest social welfare payment from the least £12 for a single person and £20 for a couple. CORI recommends among other things that income tax should not be increased, but that corporation tax should be to 17%, that capital gains tax be raised and that the levy on financial institutions be added to.

CORI has always championed the least well off in our society whom unjust taxation has always hit the hardest.

Ireland has perhaps the largest wind resource in Europe, and could be a net exporter of electricity if even a small portion of this resource was harnessed. Ireland is also over 90% dependent on imported energy sources, a figure which is increasing rapidly as our native peat resources deplete. The 26-County State is already 30% ahead of its permitted CO2 emissions agreed in the Kyoto protocol, under which emissions taxes over €1 BN per annum could be charged in 2008. The building of wind farms will help reduce these fines in the future.

Governments on both sides of the Border have completely failed to develop this wind resource to supply the country with a clean and secure energy supply. The recent AER 6 renewables contracts resulted in over



• **Delegates Donal Varian, Cork (top) and Des Dalton, Vice-President, Kildare, speaking at the Ard-Fheis.**

80% of the renewable energy contracts going to the ESB and Bórd na Móna, leaving many small-scale operators out in the cold. Republican Sinn Féin recognises that community and small-scale ownership of wind farms has been the hallmark of the highly-successful wind energy regimes in Denmark and Germany. We call on the 26-County government to pay a higher price for energy from wind to operators large and small, which will ensure that wind farms to be economically-viable, need not be placed only on high mountains, where they are in conflict with delicate eco-systems, as was seen in the last week in Co Galway.

## WASTE INCINERATORS

The year that has passed has seen planning permission granted by An Bord Pleanála for the country's first large-scale waste incinerator near Duleek in Co. Meath. Despite increasing waste separation, reaching over 50% in at least one city, the Dublin government is pushing ahead with its policy of building the large "cancer-factories", despite opposition by tens of thousands of local people. Republicans must oppose Environment Minister Cullen's plans to include waste incinerators among the fast-track planning route for critical infrastructure.

The sick-horror waste advertisements on television urging people to re-use, reduce and recycle are undermined by the fact that, apart from one paper mill in Dublin and one glass factory in Fermanagh, the country has no significant recycling facilities. The ordinary people are not the problem — they will recycle when given the opportunity to do so — but Governments must encourage the recycling industry here, and thus provide jobs in Ireland from our waste resources. Over 90% of the materials separated by citizens is being exported to the Third World rather than being recycled here in Ireland.

The only glass factory in the 26 Counties, the Irish Glass Bottle Company in Dublin which engaged in large-scale recycling of glass, was allowed to be sold off while the Dublin Administration stood idly by. Many of the issues mentioned here can be raised in the local election of next summer and it is encouraging to note that candidates have already been selected in Limerick and Galway. For them the campaign has got under way.

We look to other areas to follow suit. All areas must contribute in one way or another and the sooner the better. Issues include energy from our natural resources, (wind, gas and possibly oil), fishing, waste disposal, quarrying, housing policy, and most importantly, planning — including County Development Plans and Spatial planning.

In the Six Occupied Counties a survey carried out last March by the University of Ulster confirmed Republican Sinn Féin's analysis of the Stormont Agreement five years earlier. We warned that it would only further entrench the artificial divisions created among our people by Britain, as it was based on a sectarian basis of religious identity.

That it has fostered sectarianism is borne out by the figures. In the period 1996 to 2001 the proportion of people who believed that relations between the two communities had improved fell by 22%, backing for mixed areas fell by more than 20% among Unionists from 81% to 59%, whilst among Nationalists it fell from 85% to 72%; support for mixed workplaces has also fallen substantially among both communities.

According to Dr Gillian Robinson of the University of Ulster School of Policy Studies: "The indicators suggest a marked deterioration in community relations and a distinct retreat towards single-identity communities since 1996." Similarly, a poll conducted in February by Queen's University and the Belfast Telegraph highlighted the growing frustration of powerlessness felt by the Unionist population.

## APPEAL

In that same month of February Republican Sinn Féin launched in *Ireland An Address to the People of Belfast* with a special appeal to the people of the Unionist persuasion. It pointed out: "We believe that neither London nor Dublin can guarantee the future welfare of the people of Ulster. Only the people of Ulster themselves can do that — and they must do it by taking their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rights would be guaranteed by a new constitution and they would have access to real power."

As opponents continue to patch together what is a fatally flawed and sectarian Agreement it is time to look again at what is the only credible alternative to ongoing conflict and division. With trust foundering on all sides, we ask everybody to consider again our **ÉIRE NUA** pro-

gramme for a four-province federal Ireland, with optimum devolution of powers down to community level.

The Address continues: "The nightmare of the Nationalist community still endures: watchtowers, patrols and checkpoints still operate, prisoners are denied political status and sectarian attacks and killings continue. Now, the Unionist community also experiences a sense of apprehension and insecurity, as the certainties of the past give way to uncertainty, confusion and bewilderment."

Our Address was stated in an attack on the current clear statement of Irish Republicanism as we had inherited it from our predecessors over two centuries. We had taken a positive attitude in it and hoped for reciprocation to it. Other parties were engaged in a never-ending wrangle towards a short-term solution which was bound to fail in the medium to long-term. We believed — and we still believe — that the framework of an enduring, inclusive and just solution lies in the tenets of Irish Republicanism.

We added that we considered the Address worthy of notice and careful study and appealed to the media to treat it accordingly. Apart from the *Irish News* (Belfast), *Carm*, (the quarterly journal of the Celtic League), the BBC Radio Ulster *Talkback* Show which did a live radio interview with the Republican Sinn Féin President in recent weeks, the media appear to ignore our initiative.

## EDITORIAL LINE

It seems as though an editorial line to promote the Stormont Agreement at all costs and to reject all appearance of an alternative is being strictly enforced. However there have been notable responses from individuals and these are being followed up on and contact is being maintained.

Also in recent weeks — on October 21 — Mr Adams stated that the Agreement "provides the context" in which the Provos and the Unionists "will, as equals, pursue their objectives peacefully, thus providing full and final closure of the conflict". He added: "We are opposed to any use or threat of force for any political purpose."

Now, Republican Sinn Féin bases its stand on the fact that Ireland is a sovereign nation, and sovereign nations the world over have the right to defend themselves and to resist foreign aggression. We state that Ireland is no exception to this principle. We state further that there will be no "full and final closure to the conflict" between Irish Republicanism and English imperialism and colonialism until the British government signals to the world its intention of leaving Ireland forever. We reject Mr Adams's statement.

As has been stated already, this is the bicentenary year of Robert Emmet's Rising in 1803. He, with the men and women of 1798, set a course for the Irish nation with their appeal to Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter under the common name of Irishmen, which we believe, eventually bear abundant fruit. In conclusion, then, let us repeat the "solemn obligation" which Thomas Russell, hanged in Downpatrick in 1803, Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy McCracken and others took on Cave Hill, overlooking Belfast.

"Never to desist in our efforts until we have subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted our independence."

An Phoblacht Abh! Victory to theAll-Ireland Republic!

# WHAT THEY SAID

The National (sic) Development Plan (NDP) was to have discriminated in favour of the BMW (Border, Midland and West) region. The Taoiseach, Mr. Adams, and the Minister for Finance, Mr. McCreery, gave firm commitments in that regard.

But, in the first three years of the plan, there was a 41% shortfall in spending on infrastructural projects in the most deprived regions, while work in the developed areas went ahead. The economic gap between east and west has continued to widen, following the downturn of the economy. Aggressive remedial action is required.

*Irish Times editorial, October 3, 2003.*

He (Adams) delivered, for word, the 101-word passage he had agreed with the Ulster Independent Party leader, David Trimble. The provision for four weeks of intense face-to-face negotiations.

*Irish Times Weekend Review, October 25, 2003.*

He (Adams) said the implementation of the Belfast Agreement "provides the context in which Irish republicans (sic) and unionists will, as equals pursue their objectives peacefully, thus providing final and final closure of the conflict". He added: "We are opposed to any use of force against any political purpose."

*Irish Times Weekend Review, The Provisional IRA (sic) said and they could have used words accurately reflected its position.*

Gerry Adams in his statement appealed to the wider republican family. Someone like Ruairi Ó Brádaigh has influence that might help bring about the remaining republican dissident paramilitary activity to an end, and in that context his party's model for the future could at least have an acceptable place in political discussion.

*Irish Times, October 25, 2003 article by Martin Mansergh.*

Adams's [Provo] IRA-endorsed speech talked about "full and final closure of the conflict" being provided by mere implementation of the Belfast Agreement, an agreement

which on its first page describes the constitutional status quo as legitimate. A united Ireland has been reduced to an aspiration.

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*Michael Jansen, November 3, 2003, referring to the shooting down of the US Chinook helicopter.*

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## Remember The 22 Republican Prisoners at Christmas

A chara  
On behalf of the Central Committee of CBAHRA, we wish to thank each and every one for their support throughout the year.

As you know there has been quite a number of prisoners during this month of months though thankfully many are now back with loved ones. However there are still Republican prisoners to be cared for. Don't believe former Republicans who claim there are no political prisoners. Just visit the prisons, read SAOIRSE and find out for yourselves. The media will not be of help here.

There are 12 men awaiting trial who are out on bail in Portlaoise and Maghaberry prisons; six on remand and four sentenced prisoners.

CBAHRA is grateful for your continued support. The Christmas Annual Swim run by the Dublin CBAHRA Committee under the direction of the Dublin Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin takes place as usual this year on

Christmas Day and sponsorship cards are available from 22 Parnell Street, Dublin 1. Please take a card and collect donations for the prisoners and take part in any other fund-raising activities such as collections and functions during 'Prisoners' Month' - December.

PEIG KING  
CBAHRA Chair  
Committee

## Amhrán Na bhFiann

A chara  
The name of the Irish National Anthem is *Amhrán na bhFiann* or *A Soldiers Song*. It was written by Peadar Kearney (an uncle of Brendan Behan).

The IRFU have dropped the anthem from their repertoire. In Landsdowne Road, British army World War dead are remembered but, as far as I know, there is no plaque to Kevin Barry (who played rugby).

The GAA would never drop the National Anthem. Imagine the recent All-Ireland final between Tyrone and Armagh without the National Anthem. It would be completely out of the question. In Croke Park there is a plaque to Bloody Sunday (1920) and the Hogan Stand



is named after Michael Hogan who was killed by Occupation Forces on that day.

"Fé mhóid bheith saor." This means 'what a day'. BRENDAN TUBIN Co Wexford

## Nearer To the Abyss

A chara  
In their attempt to get the Six-County junta working again, Gerry Adams and the leadership of the Provo Alliance have taken another step nearer to the yawning abyss that lies before them. By their action they have proved beyond doubt that their goal is Privilege, Power and of course Stairs.

It is a big change from the time the "Battle Cry" was "Tíocfaid ár Lá. Alas we don't hear that call anymore, not a word about Ireland free.

A puppet assembly will do them where they will work as loyal and well-paid servants of the English Queen. PEADAR A MAC SAMHRAIN Co an Chabhán

## The Power Of Propaganda

A chara  
Since Ireland became a member of the EU over thirty years ago our identity, freedoms and cultures seem to be becoming eroded daily while Ireland is becoming more of a high-powered rat-race society. One would wonder where all this is leaving us.

We are constantly brainwashed by the right-wing Establishment media — "Sir" Tony O'Reilly of the pro-British press he controls, one of England's top propagandists in Ireland, Kevin Myers,

the West Brit from Dublin 4, not to mention RTE who are never done mimicking the BBC.

DUBLIN READER  
(name and address with Editor)

## Back Door Internment

A chara  
In August I was arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act and charged before the Special Court in Dublin.

I applied for bail which was granted eventually. The amount of bail demanded was over €50,000, a sum way beyond my means as an unemployed person and beyond the means of anyone I know who would otherwise raise a guarantee for me.

This practice of police superintendents demanding huge bail bonds as a condition of bail for Republicans when they know very well the accused can't afford anything like the sums demanded is a blatant denial of an accused person's fundamental rights, resulting in many Republicans, myself included, who are innocent until proven otherwise, being subjected to a State policy of back-door internment for up to two years on the word and whim of the police.

When the accused finally gets to the Special Court the judges are already under departmental pressure to convict and hand down heavy sentences to try to justify the State's corrupt back-door internment policy.

THOMAS BARRY  
Political Prisoner  
E4 Portlaoise jail

**Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written or typed in double-spacing on one side of the page.**

**Name and address must be included, but on request will not be published.**

**Letters printed do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of SAOIRSE. Postal address: 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1. Letters may also be faxed to Dublin 872 9757 or by e-mail to saoirse@ei.ie**

# Beannachtaí na Nollag

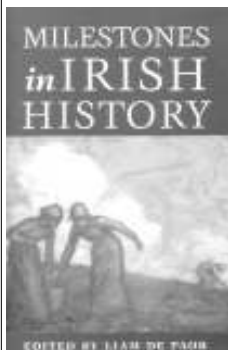
CHRISTMAS greetings to the families of the true Republican POWs. From CBAHRA (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund).  
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CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Cumann na nÉireann.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Larry McMahon and best wishes for a speedy recovery. From Peig, Lita and all at Ard-Oifig.  
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to all Republican POWs. From Liam.  
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to all Republican POWs. From Pigeon.  
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to the Daly family, Co Tyrone. From Kevin and Kate.  
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to Stiofán Ó Dálaigh. From Alan, Síndia and Sorcha.  
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to Stiofán Ó Dálaigh. From Colin, Mary and girls.  
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to Stiofán Ó Dálaigh and all the POWs. From John and Winnie Daly.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican prisoners in Maghaberry, Portlaoise and Magilligan, who kept the faith. In a matter of principle, there can be no compromise. From Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican POWs. Portlaoise jail. From Mick Hanly and family, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Republican POWs, Portlaoise jail. "It is not those who can inflict the most, it is those that can endure the most is stronger." From Joe Benson and the O'Callaghan-Clancy-Cumann, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all uncompromising Republican POWs, Portlaoise jail. From the Republican Movement, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all uncompromising Republican POWs, Portlaoise jail. From Christy Duffy.  
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all true Republican POWs, Portlaoise jail. From Ger Bronnmeil and Mick Ryan, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs, Portlaoise, who kept their Republican principles. From Joe, Denise and Rachel, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Joe Conway/Wesley Stewart, Dundalk & Newry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Eddie Heaney, Portlaoise jail. From your man, sisters and brothers.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Comhairle Laidhne.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Tommie Canam, Tamlacht, BAC.  
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to Malachy Maguire, Portlaoise jail. From John, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all Republican POWs, Portlaoise, who kept their Republican principles. From Cork, Republican.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Continuity POWs, Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Tommie Canam, Tamlacht, BAC.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Brian Galvin and Tom Barry. Portlaoise jail. From Joe Lynch and Des Long, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican POWs, Portlaoise jail. From Clare Republican.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From David Cleary, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Colum King, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Johny Keogh, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Wesley Fitzgerald, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Christy Moran, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry

*Please Remember the Prisoners  
and their families this Xmas*

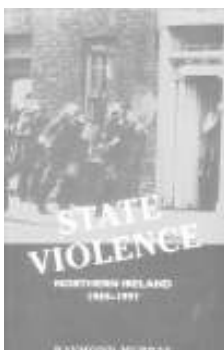
and Magilligan prisons. From Eddy Connery, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Johnny O'Brien, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Ken O'Reilly, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Teresa and Melanie O'Meara, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Na Fianna Éireann, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Brendan Killy, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Majella Reddan, Limerick.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Wendy and Cian.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Cathy, Shane and Craig.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, Portlaoise jail. From Carmody O'Rahilly Cumann, Ballingford, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From John O'Shea, Ballingford, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From Liam and Bill.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From Liam Cronin

and Tom Costello.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From John Moran, Mike Hogan and John Moriarty.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Maghaberry prison. From the Carmody/O'Rahilly Cumann, Ballingford, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Johnathan Bermingham, POW, Portlaoise jail. From all the lads at Fincane's Bar, Ballingford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Johnathan Bermingham, POW, Portlaoise jail. From John O'Shea, Ballingford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Johnathan Bermingham, POW, Portlaoise jail. From Bill and Liam O'Shea, Tom Costello, Liam Cronin, John Moriarty and John Moran.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, Portlaoise jail. From west Waterford Republican Sinn Féin.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, Portlaoise jail. From Jim and Tommy and all true Republicans in Cappquin, Co Waterford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery and all Republican prisoners in Portlaoise and Maghaberry jails. From John and Ruairi, New York.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Tom and Benny, Portlaoise jail. From Comhairle na nÉireann.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From the Munster area of Na Fianna Éireann.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From Republican Sinn Féin, Listowel.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, and all POWs in Portlaoise jail and in English jails. From Michael Church and Tim Cork.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Republican prisoners in Portlaoise and Maghaberry jails. From Lita Ní Chathmháil.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, and all true Republicans in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan jails. From Kathleen, Laura and Brenda in Kilmacshannon, Co Waterford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, and all Republican POWs in Portlaoise and Maghaberry jails. From the west Waterford Republican Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. Keep your spirits up Dad. I will be waiting for you when you come out. Your son Cathal.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy, Brian and Tom, Portlaoise jail. From Brian and Maurice, Bonmahon, Co Waterford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the lads in Abbeyside, Co Waterford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From Ginger, Baldy, Skinny, Shorpy, Portlaw, Co Waterford.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Deery family, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Donaghy family, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Gormley family, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Nicholas family, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Devine family, Co. Tyrone.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From Alison and all the family.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Conway family, Co. Kerry.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs. From the Republican Movement, Belfast.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs. From comrades in north Belfast.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs. From Muff, Johnny, Conal, Martin, Paul, Jo and Paula, Belfast.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to the Waterford lads in Portlaoise prison. From Alison and all the family.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs. From your friends in west Belfast, Ballinacorney, the Markets and the Strand and Adorney.  
CHRISTMAS greetings to the Paddy Deery, Brian Galvin, Tom Barry in Portlaoise prison and all Republican prisoners. From Kathleen.

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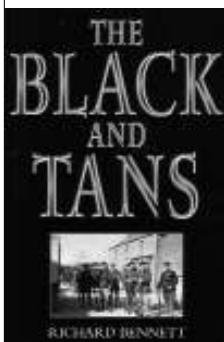
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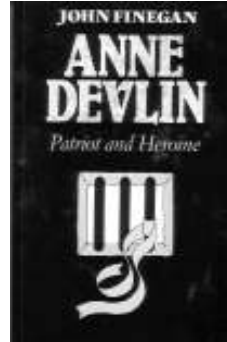
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# 'THE MONTH OF THE PRISONERS'

## 50 Years Ago

DECEMBER 1953 was dedicated to the support of the Republican prisoners and their dependants. Every December for the next ten

years was to be so devoted.

The campaign of the Republican Aid Committee started within days of the sentencing of the three Irishmen in England on October 7. The following weekend a three-inch double column advertisement was placed in the *Sunday Press* newspaper of October 11.

Headed "Eight Years Penal Servitude!" it made a direct appeal for assistance for the prisoners and their dependants. The text read as follows:

"Eight long years out of a man's life! What a dreadful thought, but more dreadful still to the man himself is the fear that during those eight years his wife and children, his dependants, may be in want.

"Last week three young Irishmen were sentenced to eight years' penal servitude in England. Already there are four others imprisoned in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, one of whom is serving five years' penal servitude.

"We can help those prisoners most effectively by helping to provide for their wives and children while they are in prison. Help them by subscribing to the Republican Aid Committee.

"Subscriptions, large or small, should be sent to: An Rinnal, Tomás Ó Dubhghaill, c/o United Irishman office, 94 Seán Treacy Street, Dublin."

An *t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* of December 1953 carried on its front page photographs of Seán Mac Stíofáin, Manus Canning and Joe Campbell, all prisoners of the Crown. A photo of Cathal Goulding had been carried on the front page of the November issue.

The paper, under its page one headline "A Striking Contrast" also carried a photo of a British soldiers marching under the shadow of the GPO in Dublin with Lieut-General J Hartigan taking the salute on Sunday, November 8 (Poppy Day).

"It is a sad paradox that one page can contain such conflicting photographs," the lead story said. "All Irishmen — one body of them marching, in effect, to honour the enemy which has imprisoned the other three.

"And sad, too, that they are marching under the protection of a government which pays lip-service to Anti-Fatigue and the like and acts simultaneously in the service of England.

"Seeing such imperialist demonstrations on the streets of Cork, Belfast or Dublin might deter many, inclined to say, 'What can be done if, in fact, the Occupations Forces can parade freely in Ireland?'"

"That philosophy could have been aptly applied to our history for hundreds of years now; but it took clear-sighted, high-principled men to rise above it and in so doing, lift the mass of the people with them.

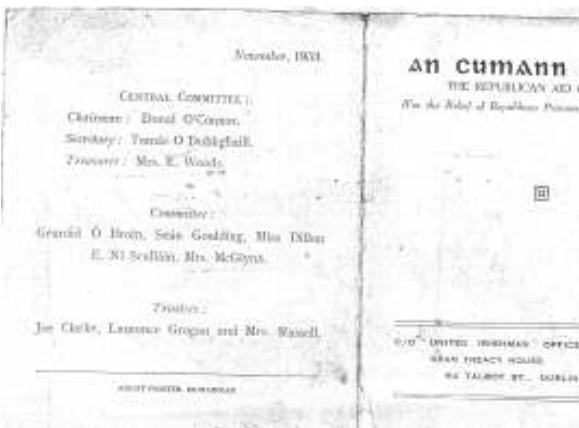
"Such men are not lacking today. . . [the prisoners] are the men, and it is fitting that they should demonstrate fully the spiritual unity of Republican Ireland, representing — as they do — the Six Counties, the 26 Counties and the Exiles.

"Fortunately their imprisonment by England is helping in a magnificent way to lift us once again the mass of our people out of the depressing philosophy of defeatism and despair.

"They do not ask for votes of sympathy or in deep resolution. What they do require is your support; real, live support which alone can help to realize the objectives for which they are now spending their young lives in England's prisons. Join the Republican Movement."

A "strap" at the bottom of the page repeats the message to join the Movement and adds "Full Details: G Ó Broin, c/o The United Irishman, Seán Treacy House, 94 Talbot Street, Dublin."

Meanwhile, in Belfast on December 4 a British court sentenced the abstentionist



### • An Cumann Cabhrac/Republican Aid Committee's constitution, November 1953.

Stormont MP for Mid-Tyrone Liam Kelly to 12 months imprisonment for sedition.

It was alleged by RUC witnesses that during an election meeting the previous October he had said from a public platform: "I will not give allegiance to the bastard Queen of a bastard nation. Do I believe in force? The answer is Yes, the more the better and the sooner the better."

If true it appeared as if he sought to be arrested and jailed for remarks which were deliberately provocative. He said he would not recognise any court set up in Ireland by the British Crown.

Kelly who had been imprisoned in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast during the 1940s, had splintered from the Republican Movement about 1950, he set up a political organisation confined to the Six Counties called Fianna Uladh. In court he stated that he "accepted and upheld" the 1937 Constitution of the 26 Counties.

### POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS

Since 1933 when Pádraig Mac Lógaín, later President of Sinn Féin, was elected for South Armagh as an abstentionist in the Stormont elections of that year, a political restriction was imposed on candidates in order to secure unionism.

They were required to give a solemn public undertaking that if elected they would sit in Stormont. The unionist regime was taking a leaf out of the Free State's book. In 1927 they had brought into law a similar undertaking for candidates in 26-County parliamentary elections.

Both partitionist assemblies, North and South, had now driven and excluded Sinn Féin and other Republican candidates from public life. Liam Kelly had signed such a political test oath to secure unionism.

His address to the court was believed at the time to have been written for him by Seán Mac Bride, then a TD for Leinster House:

"It is not sedition for an Irishman to say that Ireland belongs to the Irish people and that no foreign monarch or country has a right to claim or exercise jurisdiction in any part of Ireland."

"Very good, but he went on to say: '... I accept and am prepared to uphold to the best of my ability the Constitution which the Irish people adopted by referendum of the 1st July, 1937.' He should have said 'The people of the 26 Counties' and that this Constitution confirmed its writ to 26 Counties only.

An *t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* in its October 1953 editorial headed "All Ireland" stated: "Elections for Stormont are being held and each candidate must declare that if elected he (sic) will take his seat and with it the Oath of Allegiance [to the Crown of England].

"There is only one fitting answer — to refuse to make this oath, in fact, to boycott this election. Surely it is obvious by now that we will never get rid of this galling imposition by submitting to it.

"But when one of those Nationalist MPs

refused to enter Stormont and sought instead to attend at Leinster House he was told he could not be admitted there. He was representing an area outside the 26 Counties and to admit him would raise 'legal and constitutional difficulties' it would be a breach of the sacred agreement of 1922.

"There is only one solution — the Sinn Féin solution: To set up a Parliament for all 32 Counties to scrap both Leinster House and Stormont and supplant them by the All-Ireland Republican Parliament.

"It is a job which must be carried by all the Irish people, requiring the co-operation and active energetic support of North and South, East and West."

The editorials in the Republican newspaper in its November and December issues continue to clarify the position regarding Liam Kelly.

His election manifesto said: "I have no quarrel with constitutional government as it exists in the 26 Counties. My aim is the de facto extension of the Constitution enacted in Dublin a few years ago to all the land of Ireland."

The December editorial said: "... its [the Southern statelet] successive governments have vied with each other in co-operation with our national enemy and this co-operation has been even more complete and blatant since the adoption of the new Free State Constitution in 1937."

It went on to mention that the "Southern statelet was founded to undermine the Government of the Republic [the All-Ireland Dáil] and that its [Free State] army has acted as the first line of defence of the continued British control (it has never yet fired a shot against the invaders)."

The death of Seán MacCaughy on hunger and thirst strike, the rounding up of escapees from Derry jail when they crossed into Donegal and their internment in the Curragh, the hanging over of Harry White and Mick Quill by Stormont to the 26-County police in the expectation that they would be executed were all examples of the cross-border collaboration of the 1940s.

Republicans agreed with Liam Kelly on the points of abstention from Stormont and the use of force against British occupation but rejected acceptance of the collaborationist state in the 26 Counties.

Fianna Uladh was never organised outside a small area of Co Tyrone. It developed contacts in Belfast and along the 26-County side of the British-Irish border. An army body called Saor Uladh emerged. Both organisations had faded by 1960.

The Republican paper noted the jailing of four young Scottish men charged with having conspired to overthrow British rule in Scotland. They were sentenced to 12 months imprisonment each, having been found not guilty on some charges and guilty on others. "But their trial has certainly caught public imagination in Scotland. Many who previously would not have dreamt of breaking the connection with England are beginning to think and the trial has been a wonderful morale

boost for Scottish Nationalists.

"Certainly by all accounts the police stooge 'Cullen' is not very popular today in Edinburgh," the report concludes.

The activities of the British occupation forces in Kenya are also covered. "Captain Griffiths of the King's African Rifles, charged with murdering two Africans who he said, 'were trying to escape', admitted to having shot them in the back with a Bren gun.

"He returned half-an-hour later and finding one of them still alive, he confessed to having shot him in the temple 'to put him out of agony'.

### BOUNTY

"In evidence it was stated that there was competition between the various battalions as to the number of Africans they had killed or wounded — a bounty of five shillings or 10 shillings was paid by the officer to successful marksmen, while a scoreboard was kept in the barracks.

"Capt Griffiths' unit was due to leave soon for Malaya so he was anxious to increase his score as 'Cullen' has been before leaving, so his men were told 'to shoot anything as long as it is black'.

"So we have the people of Kenya faced with heavy bombers, machine-guns and rifles, while they depend on knives or the few guns they have managed to commandeer. But it is the Kenyans who are the terrorists!"

The Barnes and McCormack Memorial project is also reported on. A local committee was formed at a meeting in Banagher, Co Offaly — home to Peter Barnes — some time previously. Tom Keena, chair of the County Committee, attended.

The purpose of the committee is to raise funds for the erection of a suitable memorial in Banagher to Peter Barnes and James McCormack, who were executed in England in 1940.

"Mr M Verney, Birt, said that the GAA Central Council presented a football and hurling shield to the Offaly County Board some years ago for competition amongst football and hurling teams in the county, the gate proceeds of which were to raise funds for this purpose.

"The County Board had at present about £70 in the fund, and he proposed to get the Board to re-start the competition in the coming year. It was decided also to hold cèils and concerts in various centres.

"The following committee was elected: Chair: PK Egan, Co C; Hon Secretary, Seán Hynes; Treasurer, K Kenny; Committee: F McIntyre, W Burke, H Johnston, J Kelly, P McNally and M McIntyre."

It took nine years to complete the work.

(More next month. *ReIs An t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, October, November, December 1953; *The Sunday Press*, October 11, 1953 and *Songs of the Fighting North*, published 1956.)





