

Comóradh ROBERT EMMET agus Éirí Amach 1803



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

Féilire Poblachtach

Republican Resistance

Callendar 2004

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

regarded as normal in Western Europe.

The first 50 years repre-sented 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, sec-tarian police and ultimately the British military. Then for 30 more years the State went through convulsions and upheavals as Irish 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 col-laboration of successive Dublin administrations.

Dublin administrations.

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

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

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 ers". 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 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 impossi-ble once more, because they refuse to face the reality. And

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 coun-ties. The number of Catholics and the number of Protestants were carefully counted, dis-trict by district and county by

A totally artificial State was created, dividing the his-toric 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 artifiunnatural 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

retaind by oringing 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 exclusive state with land, 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

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 suf-fering 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

A free and united Ireland must be our goal, if we are to 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 We need a British declara-tion 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.

would be unthinkable

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

SEÁN SABHAT COMMEMORATION

Sunday, January 4 Mount St Lawrence Limerick

> Assemble: **Bedford Row** 12.45pm

DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL COMMEMORATION January 1, 2003 **New Year's Day**

Assemble: Gates of Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin 12.45pm

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'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 Pobhlachtach 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 deliv-ered 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 mur-der by the British we had a situation in Ireland whereby the native traitors/collaborators ere 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

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 normaliza-tion 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 nath. 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 Killymeal 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.

so 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 politi-cal 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: nifcmem@optonline.net or call



· is committed to supporting prisoners for which CABHAIR is responsible · is generating publicity in support of Irish national independence. We need your support. Our website address is: http://irishfreedom.net

Féin Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach Ainm Tel: Age (if under

I would like to join Republican Sinn

Send to Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 Teil: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757.

or 229 Falls Road, Belfast e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie http://rsf.ie or contact your local paper seller for details

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 . . .

GearrscØalta

CABHAIR denies Special Court allegations

IN A statement on November 28, CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependants' Fund) èaid.

"A report in the Irish Times (November 20) has been brought to the attention of the Central Committee of CAB-HAIR which stated that donations had been demanded from licensed premises in the Dublin area '... to be applied for pris-oners' 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 prison-

Commemoration inPortlaoise Jail

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

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

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 due to 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 Fermangh 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 dur-

Pleanáil ar bhonn teanga

AG labhairt ar cheist na pleanála agus na Gaeilge, duirt Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán Sinn Féin Poblachtach, ar 20ú Samhain, 2003 go n-admhaíonn Sinn Féin Poblachtach go bhfuil deacrachtaí ann maidir le cead pleanála áitiúla ar imeall na Gaeltachta, ach mar sin fèin go seasann Sinn Fèin Poblachtach le prionsabal srianta ar phleanáil ar bhonn teanga a bheith ann.

a bheilir aini.
"D'fhéadfadh cúmhacht an airgid an Ghaeltacht ar fad a
scrios le h-imeacht aimsire dá ligtí le fórsaí an mhargaidh dul i réim gan bac. Beidh lucht an airgid in-uachtar in a dtithe mhóra agus a dtithe samhraidh folamha ar fud na Gaeltachta. "Ar Oileán Mhuir-nlocht, atá fé riail Shasana, tá srianta ar

"Ar Oileán Mhuir-níocht, atá fe riail Shasana, tá srianta ar bhonn cónaithe ar cheannach sealúchais. Sa Bheilg, tír dá-theangach, tá rialacha agus socraithe i bhfeidhm maidir le daoine ón réigiún labhartha Fraincise ag dul ag ceannach tithe nó suíomhanna sa réigiún labhartha Pléimeanaise agus vice

"Ar Oileáin na Corsaice is mionlach iad muintir na Corsaice in a dtír féin anois de bhárr airgead Francach a bheith ag ceannach roimhe leis na blianta. Tá an-chuid de mhuintir an oileáin in a gcónaí i ndeisceart na Fraince thart ar Nice agus Marseilles agus fiú i bPáras in-ionad in a dtír féin.

"Is mar sin a bhéas muintir na Gaeltachta san am atá le teacht má ligtear do lucht an airgid brú ar aghaidh gan chosc gan cheangal. Ní bheidh sé ar chumas na h-óige sa Ghaeltacht suíomhanna nó tithe a cheannach."

National Draw Results 2003

Iú Duais: Ticket no 12066, Two All-Ireland Tickets and €500, N Breslin c/o Ioe O'Neill

2ú Duais: Ticket no 11374, €500, J Hyland, Tallaght, Dublin. 3ú Duais: Ticket no 2589, €300, F Flanagan, Roscommon, 4ú Duais: Ticket no 13178, Framed picture, S McGarvey, London

5ú 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-anda-half years ago that the Agreement was not a settlement and would not work in the medium to long-term.

"Because it was debarred from the election by the political test oath 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 satis-fied 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 beer 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 Illster within a four-province federation, with optimum devolution within the provinces, is the only way forward. It will provide power and decisionmaking to all communities and sections of the people of



At the Boycott Stormont elections press conference in Republican Sinn Fein's Belfast office on November 18 (left to right) Leo Martin, Belfast, Micky McGonigle, Dungwen, Geraldine Taylor, Belfast, Rutair Ó Brádaigh, President and Frank McCarry, Ballycastle.

"Yet again the artificial

means to copper-fasten

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 (7.94%), South Bann 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 cour with the media being excluded from the actual count cen-tres. Also the numbers of spoiled votes in each constituency were not published. Free and fair elections? Don't think so.

Provo attempted intimidation in Armagh, Newry

RHAIRÍ Óg Ó Publicity Brádaigh. 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.

Ireland

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 Fein members afraid that these young people would not vote, claimed that they would know whether they voted and

ramps in Clarina Avenue

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 Fein 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 Fein 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

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 proposal 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."

Urgent action needed for Limerick estate provision of traffic slowing

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 Ballinacurra 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

the Council is allowing the area to slide towards becom-ing 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

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 onen nark area

slammed



CIRA honour north Belfast Volunteer

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

Rent Allowance cuts

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

warned on November 14.

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

"There can be no great savings from this decision not

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

to pay rent allowance for at et eix monthe - it will only add to the hardship and suffer ing of already deprived and socially marginalized people. "It is a backward decision

father-of-four was said to be a respected member of the Republican organization In a statement the CIRA it must be overturned. said: "Desmond McCormick

American military is using Shannon Airport therefore we are joining in the protest and urging local people to come out and express their con-cern," hesaid.

organisation.

Desmond McCormick

from north Belfast died in

October. The 41-year-old

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

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.

A spokesperson for the CIRA added: "On behalf of the leadership of the CIRA

"Desmond repudiated we offer our deepest condo-lences to his family." English rule in his

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

and stood firm on the funda-

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.

mental Republican position.

Support Shannon Airport protest

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

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 Féin and informed delegates of the new nerve gas being used in the Occupied Territories

"The Israeli forces are being backed by American military and the take people away to prison. 'She said she could not

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

stand by and do nothing and when the 26 County Administration gave permis-sion 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

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.

accounts tell us that after his execution on September 20, 1803 the Kilmainham Gaol authorities buried him in Bully'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

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 comtradiction, they collaborate in maintaining English rule 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

writer bought €20 This 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 multicolour 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 sepa-ratists 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 vear 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 aftermath

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

name it Anne Devlin Bridge The response was a refusal.





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

any of our readers seen 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 that 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 inter

esting 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 meet-

ing that the LUAS people and Séamus Brennan, 26-County Minister for Transport, had been asked to name the St Stephen's Green terminus of LUAS line from Sandyford, 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

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

The French have for many vears 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 CIÉ in 1966. But an Emmet Station, NO is the official answer.

A lot has changed since 1966 of course. We could mention the demotion 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 else whoever represents wnoever else repr English rule in Ireland.

The façade or pretence of

Republicanism is maintained by minimalism and tokenism just a little nod in the direc-tion 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 "phoney".

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 distri-bution. 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 léitheoirí, 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

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

just outside the village where L1 Carmody was shot dead by the BJack and Tans during the War of Independence.

The oration was given by Emmet Walsh from Tullamore, County Offlay 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 how dishonal this Parablicanism" have dishonoured Irish Republicanism."



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

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Bígí 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 its north Belfast area project

Jim Potts was one of the most prominent and leading figures in the loyalist blockade 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 blasted the BELB.

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 aasist 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; liase between local community groups; assist in the development of outreach work; support local community work and work with young people, articularly young people at risk'.

Ardone Youth worker

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

Monday, November 3, 2003: There are claims today that staff working in Dunnes Stores on the Crumlin Road in north Belfast have been ordered by management not to wear poppies. In a statement Dunnes 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 Dunnes 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

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.

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,

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 Spm.

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 parent 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 Wednesdays.

A claim was made to a Belfast newsroom 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

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

Shoukri, once one of Johnny Adair's right hand men before the loyalist feud, was caught red handed with a gun and 30 rounds of ammunition in north Belfast in September 2002.

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 loyal-ist East Belfast, during an RUC/PSNI raid. One man is believed to have been arrested

ed.

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.

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 advocation of the second bomb attack within a mile in four days. The first attack was carried out in Ardoyne and was claimed by in the first attack was 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 loy-alists 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 paramili-

Cont. on page 6.

larsma

IS IAD na ceantair ina bhíonn daoine caite ródhlúth lena chéile na cinn is boichte, agus is mó atá tugtha do mhí-úsáid drugaí "siamsacha", mar a thugtar orthu ar na saolta seo. Mar atá sé faiseanta a rá, tá "spás" de dhíth ar an duine daonna ó am go chéile, agus is dóigh liomsa gur fior sin.

Blianta fada ó b'amhlaidh a thug an mheánscoil a rabhas ag freastal uirthi deis dúinne, scoláirí, páirt a ghlacadh in obair Naomh U de Pól, mar dhul ar thuairisc na mbocht. Agus tabhair bocht orthu, iad ina gcónaí i dtithe a bhíodh ag titim as a chéile, iad céasta ag tiarnaí talún gan taise gan trua. Táimse féin fiorbhuíoch den scoil chéanna as an gcleachtadh sin, nó measaim gur cuid thábhachtach dár gcuid oideachais a bhí ann.

NA SLOMAÍ

Sna tríochaidí den aois seo caite cuireadh deireadh de na "hiarsmaí úd de dhrochriail na Sasanach", mar a deirtí,



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

Ar na mallaibh bhí deis cuairte ar Luimneach ag an iriseoir de chuid nuachtán an domhain, nó cuid mhaith díobh, mar atá Vincent Browne, agus ar fhilleadh ar Cho Dhún Laoghaire-Ráth an Dúin dó, d'eile ach aiste bhreá scríobh don Sunday

Business Post, a d'fhoilsigh í faoi dheireadh na Samhna.

Cúrsaí tithíochta in áiteanna i gCathair Luimnigh a bhí faoi thrácht aige. Tithe scriosta. Tithe dóite. Radharc den chineál a d'fheicfeá tar éis buamála, crith talún, nó a leithéid, agus gan aon mhíniú ar an scéal ach díchoisctheacht.

De réir dealraimh, níl spéis dá laghad ag na húdaráis áitiúla sna cúrsaí seo. Nó cá bhfuil an lámh chúnta?

IARSMAÍ DE DHROCHRIAIL

I mBaile Átha Cliath, agus sna bailte móra eile ar fud na tíre, tá a gcosúlachtaí ar fáil faraoir agus is dócha go gcaithfidh muid "iarsmaí de dhrochriail an tSaorstáit" a thabairt orthu, mar go deimhin níor fhoghlaim na maithe beaga faic na fríde ó dhrochriail na Sasanach sa tír

An chúis? Toisc gur cuireadh stop go bródúil leis an réabhlóid náisiúnta sa mbliain 1921. An Éire s'againne inniu, níl cosúlacht dá laghad aici leis an bpictiúr a rinneadh sa bhForógra, 1916

Mar a scríobhas an mhí seo caite, ní féidir linn inár gcoinias féin éalú ó shainmhiniú ar shaoirse, ar dhaonlathas, agus teachtaireacht uilig de chuid Réabhlóid na Fraince agus, anseo, cúrsaí 1798, 1803, agus 1916, chomh fada agus nach bhfuil liberté, égalité, fraternité i bhfeidhm.

An argóint láidir a rinne An argonn taitur a inne Vincent san aiste úd gur sna ceantair sin, atá chomh uafásach bocht, chomh dearóil, gan dóchas ar bith, atá ag fás as cuimse, mí-úsáid na ndrugaí, coirpeacht, na cipí coiriúla, agus an t-aindlí i gcoitinne

GASÚIR GAN SMACHT

Agus mise ag tiomáint abhaile tar éis seal a chaitheamh ag éisteacht le scoth an cheoil Tigh Hughes, Baile Átha Cliath, teach táb hairne in aice leis na Ceithre Cúirteanna, feicim go déanach san oíche páistí idir cúig agus 10 mbliana d'aois ag rith thart, iad i bhfad ó smacht a dtuistí.

smacht a dtuisti.

Cá bhfuilid siúd, na
tuistí? Cén fáth nach
bhféachann said chuige go
mbí a gcúram slán sa mbaile, iad ina gcodladh sa leaba mar go gcaithfidh said a bheith ina suí go moch an mhaidin dar gcionn, le bricfeasta a ithe, agus a bheith in am don scoil?

Ach cá bhfuil na tuistí in? An amhlaidh a rinne na Gardaí riamh na cúrsaí seo a chioradh? Nach bhfuil na tuistí freagarthach as a gcúram de réir dlí?

Nach dtuigeann gach éinne na contúirtí? Is iomaí saol coiriúil a thosaigh le briseadh isteach i gcarr, nó mála láimhe a sciobadh, nó a bheith gafa in achrann is ag bruíon agus. Dia linn, i marú

EOCHAIR FAIDHRE

Nuair a bheas 'chuile chúinne scrúdaithe, agus gach aon fhocal ráite acu siúd a thuigeann gach rud, dar leo, cén fáth nach gcloiseann muid ceo dá laghad faoi thábhacht an oideachais, le heochair na faidhbe a chasadh inár dtreo?

Más fior do na saineolaithe, is é atá i gceist in oideachas an duine a thabhairt chun blátha, nó, len é a rá bealach eile, gach cumas, gach scil, gach talann, a fhorbairt ann, de réir a chéile. Is cóir sin a dhéanamh chomh luath agus is féidir. De gnáth, is muide, na tuistí, a thugann faoina leithéid, agus an náiste dár mbrú, minic go leor.

Má theineann ar na tuistí ní féidir leis na húdaráis, de ghnáth, ach fanacht go dtí go ndéanann an páiste freastal ar an réamhscoil, an rud ab mholta, nó, de ghnáth, a theacht isteach doras na bunscoile Ach dáiríre an amhlaidh atá córas na bunscoile oiriúnach faoi láthair le déileáil leis an bhfadhb sna ceantair úd, neadrachaí na coiriúlachta?

FÁILTE ROIMH CHÁCH

An mhí seo chugainn, más áil le Dia, agus má oireann sé don Eagarthóir, ba mhaith liom plé éigin a thosú ar pháirt a ba chóir, dar liomsa, a bheith ag an mbunscoil i réiteach na faidhbe, agus más ann ar hith do mo chuid éisteoirí, nó léitheoirí, ba bhreá liom go mbeidis siúd páirteach san argóint.

Idir an dá linn, tabhair faoi deara, a léitheoir, an difríocht a rinne Gaelscoil i Baile Munna i bhfeabhsú an tsaoil sa gceantar sin, agus máguaird.

máguaird.

Is fior go bhfuil go leor in
easnamh ar na ceantair
bhochta dhearóla. Is fior go
bhfuil a lán lán eile le bhochta dhearola. Is 110r go bhfuil a lán lán eile le déanamh seachas córas na bunscoile a fheabhsú. Ach tús, a dhuine! — Deasún Breatnach

go háirithe na slomaí i mBaile go háirithe na slomaí i mBaile Átha Cliath agus i Luimneach. Ach sul má thar-la sin bhí deis againne eolas

A Belfast Chronology

taries. UDA or UVF The victim, named as Paul Dervir, is very lucky to be alive. He lost his left eve 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 lovalism.

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 hoay started around

Thursday, November 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 arrested 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

> 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 frac-tured 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."

told them I was going to the

Clen Road. After driving for

about five minutes they said it

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 have to undergo emergency surgery. McCandles, from Forfar McCandles, 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 nationalists 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 Wood Vale 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 nem out are using the name 'Lovalist Action Force'

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

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 injured.

IMEACHTAÍ

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

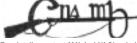
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Risteard O Glaisne FUAIR Risteard Ó Glaisne, Corcaíoch, Gaeilgeoir, Scríbhneoir agus Tír-ghráthóir bás i mí na Samhna.

Rugadh agus tógadh é i nDroichead na Bandan agus ba bhall dílis den Eaglais Mhodhach é. Duine fior-uasal i bhí i Risteard, Gael go smior, agus is minic a roinn sé a chríonnacht agus a intleacht linne i nGluaiseacht na Poblachta.
D'fhéadfadh sé a bheith cros-

ta agus cáinteach linn in amanna. go háirithe má bhíomar faillíoch sa Ghaeilge nó i gcás gur cheap sé go raibh ruainne ar bith den

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

Thar aon ní eile, chuir an t-

éitheach agus an cur i gcéill fearg air. Thuig sé dáiríreacht na Gluaiseachta agus mhol sé ÉIRE NUA go hard. Bhí Ruairí Ó Brádaigh i láthair ar a shochraid.

Solas síoraí na bhFlaitheas go lonraí ar Risteard, Gael a raibh uaisleacht anama ó nádúr ann.



Risteard Ó Glaisne

99ce 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. Cumainn from all over Ireland as well as Scotland and England took part in the delibera-tions as well as representatives from Cumann na Saoirse in

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 work-shops 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 Clár and propose amendments to the ple-nary session later on and gives an opportunity to young delegates to contribute to the discussion and build up their confidence to address the plenary sessions.

Before the first plenary session,

in a private session of the Ard-Fheis the Secretary's Report, financial reports from Ard-Oifig, SAOIRSE and Irish Freedom Press were given to the Ard-Fheis by Peig King, John O'Connor, Lita Ni Chathmhaoil and Josephine Hayden respectively. This was followed by addresses from other Republican organizations, CAB-HAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependants Fund), Cumann na mBan and Na Fianna Éireann

Following these the plenary ses-ion on Political Policy, chaired by Mary Ward, Donegal got underway and delegates passed motions reaf-firming the commitment of Republican Sinn Féin "to the re-establishment of the All-Ireland Republic proclaimed in 1916, and rts the right of the Irish people to 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 Combairle Illadh and the Dáithí Ó Conaill Cumann, Monaghan was also passed unanimously and delegates instructed the incoming Ard Chomhairle to "continue and strengthen a campaign highlighting the continued occupation of Ireland by British military and political per-

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 colo-

nial 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 alternative to the Stormont Agreement" and Geraldine Taylor, Agreement and Geraldine Laylor, Belfast Ard Chomhairle 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 RTÉ 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 Clár, 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 McKelvev-Steele Cumann, Belfast and the Wolfe Tone Cumann, Dublin deplored 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 was passed by delegates as was a motion from the Seán Sabhat Cumann, Omagh condemning the decision of the GAA to

A motion from the Joe Conway-Willie Stewart Cumann, Newry-Dundalk instructing the incoming Ard Chomhairle 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 Ireland's patriot dead was passed.

Several motions on the Anglo-American war in Iraq were discussed.

A Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath a Comnaire Ceantair Aria Chain motion denouncing the handing over of Shannon Airport "to American and British warmongers" and calling on the US and Britain to withdraw from Iraq without delay was passed.

traq without delay was passed.

The Ard-Fheis passed a resolution saluting 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 [frog"]

invasion of Iraq".

Two motions on electoral strategy were also debated, the first from the Ard Chomhairle 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 forthcom-ing local elections. Both resolutions were passed and speakers hammered home the importance of being involved with local communities and

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 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 Cumainn 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 cen-

to be put in the context of a new cen-tury and a changed social climate.

A motion from the Ard
Chomhairle 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 authori-

Delegates also called for access 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 resolu-tion from the Dáithi Ó Conaill Cumann, Monaghan opposing incin-eration 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 alterna-tives to waste disposal".

The Ard-Fheis called for the reopening of the Ennis to Sligo rail-way 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 ses-sions and the Ard-Fheis concluded with the singing of Amhráin 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-Uachtaráin, Des Long and Des Des Long and Des d-Rúnaithe. Líta Ní Dalton; Ard-Rúnaithe, Líta Ní Chathmhaoil and Peig King; Ard-Cisteoirí, Joe O'Neill and Seán Ó Conchúir; OCP, Ruairí Óg Ó

Political status campaign continues

MOTIONS applauding the partial victory achieved by Republican prisoners in Maghaberry prison were sent in by many Cumainn from all over Ireland and a commitment was made by Republican Sinn Fein to support the ongoing struggle there for the political status which was sold out by the Storment 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 Cumainn sending solidarity greetings to Republican prisoners in Maghaberry, Magilligan and Portlaosigials. A statement from the Republican prisoners in Portlaosic gail 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 realfirm our rejection of British rule in Ireland and pledge our unswerving loyal and commitment to the All-Ireland Republic; proclaimed in Easter Week, ratified by the Irish people in 1918 and established by the Frisch people in difference. Our cause is the cause of Ireland. Long live the All-Ireland Republic! An Phoblacht Abd¹² in the coming years to further the neotle and to openesse peoples with the prison of the prison people in the coming years to further the neotle and to openesse peoples with the prison people in the coming years to further the neotle and to openesse peoples with the prison people in the coming years to further the neotle and to openesse peoples with the prison people in the coming years to further the neotle and to openesse peoples with the properties and the prison people in the coming years to further the people and to openesse peoples with the prison people in the prison people in the coming years to further the neotle and to openesse the prison people in the people and to openesse peoples the prison people in the people and to openesse MOTIONS applauding the partial victory achieved by Republican

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 interna-A number of motions on interna-tional affairs were discussed in a ses-sion chaired by Des Dalton. One from the Ard Chomhairle 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 Shannon Airport early in the year addressed the Ard-Fheis.

Messages of support were received from the Ireland Information Group in Sweden, from Sardigna Natzione Indipendentzia, Sardinia, from the Celtic League and Solidarité Irlande 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 devot-

ed to Social and Economic motions and was chaired by Seán Ó Brádaigh. The Ard-Fheis welcomed the updat-ing of Republican Sinn Féin's social

99cm 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 Chathaoirligh, a theachtaí is a áirde ar fad,

Céad míle fáilte romhaibh ag an Ard-Fheis seo, an 99ú 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. Fernanagh was subjected to a three-day siege by large numbers of heavily-armed 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

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

Our members and supporters will be a considered 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 compliment all of 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 Kevitt 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

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 Supremo for the Six Counties and the 26-County Minister for Justice indicate 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 police 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 ailine 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 politics 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 Harries, 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 hound former cornades 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 Magabherry 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 them on their partial victory on the well-wom 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 miniscule 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 harassent
even to the extent of being pursued
by loyalists on the journey home
from the prison. It is a subject that
meets priority and speedy resolution.
The prisoners and their families
require constant support and with
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 "resource wars of the 21st Century" forcests 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-



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

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

Such action was a slavish and fland 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 the 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 Melson Mandela condemned the maniferial action against Iran by what may be a support of the Indiang. Speaking at NUI Galway, where he received an honorary degree last June, he put the issue clearly without aming 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-Ozeda.

The recent World Trade Organisation conference at Cancún, 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 writ-

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-

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Féin must lead **British rule**



ás Ó Clérigh 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



An Armagh delegate nails his political colours to the mast at the Republiacn Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis.

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 ticle 1. 10.1. says: "The Article 1. 10.1. says: "The Constitution adopted by the Union's Institutions in exercising compe-tences 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 sover-eign 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 fèidir cúis a chur in aghaidh chomhlacht poiblí má déanann sé faillí ina dhualgas an scéim a chur i bhfeidhim. Tig le duine é sin a dhéanamh go pearsanta nó ligint don Chomisinéir Teanga an

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 thiocfaidh an t-Acht í bhfeidhm go cionn trí bhliain eile. Deirtear gur mhithid an mhoill seo chun am a thúirt do na comhlachtaí poiblí a chuid scéimeanna a dhréachtadh agus dul in oiriúint don scéim. Ba leór bhlian amháin leis an ngnó sin a dhéanamh

Braitheann éifeacht an Achta ar an Aire Ghaeltachta agus an Aire Airgeadais chun é a chur i bhfeidhm. Muna mbíonn dóthain airgid ar fáil ní éireoidh leis an dlí nua seo. De réir Alt 1 (5) den chéad sceideal den Bhille is féidir scóp an Achta a leath-nú do rannóga eile den eacnamaíocht, mar shampla, comhlachtaí teileachumarsaide, bancanna 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. Feicfear 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-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

'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

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+RI 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 literary 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

"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.

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Cont. from page 9.

"Meanwhile, family farms are being eliminated and the rural econmy is collapsing. There is a lot of real poverty, inadequate health and education services and increasing unemployment as foreign capitalism pull out of Ireland. This in turn produces grave social problems and peroand misery for thousands of individuals and families. Emigration 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 he majority relatively worse off. Selfishness and individualism are replacing the old firish traditions of neighbourliness and social responsibility.

"In this regard, two quotations from commentators are significant:

" 'Ours is a time of patented locks, burglar alarms, barbed-wire fences, neighbourhood watch and vigilantes!" — Zygmunt Banman 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

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 filching of our natural resources another step was taken by the EU in October when the socalled Irish Box to protect fisherie off our coast for 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 westem, north-westem, 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 lascaigh Mhara (the Irish Seafisheries 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 Udarás 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 concurrent 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 exprisoners committee, Coiste na narachimi, 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 Bradley 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, mainty 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 baruse and the street of the property of

Kepundicans have for rong borner he brunt of a concerted campaign of intimidation. In many cases young people have been arrested and released without change as often as well as being a soften as well as being a soften extra the soften and the soften and the soften and the soften and the soften are soften as well as being a soften extra the soften and the soften and the soften are soften as well as being a soften as well as soften as soften as well as soften as well as soften as well as soften as soften as well as soften as well as soften as well as soften as soften as well as soften as well as soften as well as soften as soften as well as soften

'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 many 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 flashpoint. 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-bin charges camnaion

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 EIRE NUA and SAOI. NUA state, effective change can only be brought about by local communities taking control of their own affairs, true democracy in service.

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 by at least C12 for a single person and C20 for a couple. CORI recommends among other things that income tax should not be increased, but that corporating agains 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

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% shead of its permitted CO2 emissions agreed in the Kyot protect, 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 filter.

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 Bord 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 fo energy from wind to operators large small, which will ensure that wind farms to be economicallyviable, 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

WASTE INCINERATORS

The year that has passed has seen parting permission granted by An Bord Pleanfal for the country's first large-scale waste incinerator near Duleck 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 slick-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 9% 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, transport, housing policy, and most importantly, planning including County Development Plans and Spatial planning

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 carlier. We warned that it would only further entrench the artificial divisions created among our people by Britain, as it was based on a sectarian head-count.

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 Roboto of the University of Ulster School of Policy Studies "The indiscipation of the University of Ulster School of Policy Studies". The indiscipation of the University of the University of University and School of the University of the University of the University of the University of University of the University of Universi

APPEAL

In that same month of February Republican Sinn Fein launched in Belfast An Address to the People of Preland with a special appeal to the people of the Unionist persuasion. If pointed out: "We believe that neither London nor Dublin can guarantee the future welfare of the people of Ulster. Only the people of Ulster. Only the people of Ulster themselves can do that — and they can best achieve it by taking their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rightful place, as equals, in the historic Irish nation, where their rightful place, as equals, and the proposed to the p

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

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

The Address continues: "The ingithmare 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 attached statement to be a 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 tents of Irish Republicanism.

We added that we considered that we considered the Address worthy of notice and call study and appealed to the media to treat it accordingly. Apart from the Irish News (Belfast), Carn. (the quarterly journal of the Cell League), the BBC Radio Ulster Talkhack Show which did a lier radio interview with the Republican Sinn Fein President in recent weeks, the media appeared to ignore our initiative to Unionists.

EDITORIAL LINE

It seems as though an editorial line to promote the Stormout Agreement at all costs and to reject all appearance of an alternative is being strictly enforced. However there have been some 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 purposes"."

Now, Republican Sinn Fein

Now, Republican Sinn Fein bases instand 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 princip. We state further that there will be no "fall 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 trail and forever. We reject Mr Adams's statement

As has been stated already, this is the bicentenary year of Robert Emmer'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 Irishman which will, 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 Jow Cracken and others took on Cave Hill, overlooking Belfast:

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

An Phoblacht Abú! Victory to theAll-Ireland Republic!

WHAT THEY SAID

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

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

ired. Irish Times editorial, r 3, 2003.

October 3, 2003.

He (Adams) delivered,
word for word, the 201word passage he had agreed
with the Ulster Unionist
Party leader, David Trimble over the previous four weeks of intense face-to-face negotiations.

— Irish Times Weekend

Person Times Weekend
Review, October 25, 2003.
He (Adams) said the
implementation of the
Belfast Agreement "provides the context in which
Irish republicans (sic) and
unjonists will as equals purunionists will, as equals purfully, thus providing full and final closure of the conflict".

He added: "We are opposed to any use of force or threat of force for any

political purpose."

—Irish Times Weekend
Review. The Provisional IRA
immediately said that these
words accurately reflected its

Gerry Adams in his statement appealed to the wider republican family. Someone like Ruairí Ö Brádaigh has influence that might help bring much of the remaining republican dissident paramilitary activ-ity 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

Adams's [Provo] IRA-

endorsed speech talked about "full and final closure of the conflict" being pro-vided 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

• **Irish Times,** October 003 article by Steven 25 2003 King, political adviser to David Trimble.

David Trimble.

If power sharing can't be made to work, Dublin and London may be forced to opt for joint rule of the North.

North.

Sunday Business
Post, October 26, 2003 article
by Seán Mac Cárthaigh, political correspondent.
David Trimble has
reflected the fact that the
majority of unionists are
anti-Agreement, using every
opportunity to avoid sharing power, with last week's
surrym avordecominist's

ing power, with last week's tantrum overdecommission-ing the latest.

— Seán Mac Cárthaigh, political correspondent.

Why did the Provisional JIRA seek confidentiality? One would not have to be a political rocket scientist to understand why. In the first place, the Provoj IRA believed that its enemies were seeking to its enemies were seeking to use decommissioning as a public act of surrender and humiliation.

Second, such a proposi-tion would tear the political cohesion of the [Provol IRA apart, particularly at a moment when the RIRA was beginning to emerge as a potential rival.

a potential rival.

-- Sunday Business Post,
October 26, 2003, Tom
McGurk column.

And third there was hardly a better prospect for recreating the conditions for violence to return, were units of the (Provo) IRA still holding weapons then to break away at the prospect of any public act of decommissioning.

— Tom McGurk column

— Tom McGurk column.
The political notion
under which the [Provo]
IRA have laboured to date,
that they could influence by
proxy the defunctioning
position of unionist politics,
must now be seen for what it
is: a terrible mistake.

— Tom McGurk column.

Tom McGurk column The [Provisional] IRA has no intention of going back to war, and I reckon that there's hardly anyone in the country more convinced of that reality than the Army Council of the (Provo) IRA itself.

— Sunday Business Post, November 2, 2003, Tom McGurk column.

Since the [Provisional] movement has now put all its eggs in the peace process basket, what is the point of some continuing to pretend

Tom McGurk column. The DUP is following the same tactical strategy



· No 'Plan A' for the Stormont Agreement, never mind a 'Plan B' (see quotes, November 30, 2003, below).

that (Provisional) Sinn Féin did with regard to its closest rival, the SDLP. The DUP

rival, the SDLP. The DUP has moved progressively closer to the style and the content of the UUP.

— Sunday Business Post, November 2, 2003 article by Paul T Colgan.

A new report from the Irish Offshore Operators' Association claims that indigenous sources of gas have the canactiv to deliver have the capacity to deliver up to 70% of gas demand over the coming decade or so.

- Irish Independent,

November 2, 2003. Corrib, which it is now hoped will come on stream sometime in 2006, is project-ed to meet the bulk, 60% of national demand from 2007 out until about 2022. Seven Heads will supply another 10%, the report claims.

— Irish Independent.

— Irish Independent.
Under the Kyoto
Protocol by the year 2010
Irish is expected to restrict
greenhouse gas emissions to
13% above the 1990 level, a target of 60 million tones

per annum. Already the country is on course to over-run this target by 10% or six million tones of greenhouse gas emissions. (The state) could face penalties of €600 mil-lion a year from 2010. — Irish Independent.

— Irish Independent. It is easier to open an Irish language primary school under Tony Blairs government than in this

country (sic).

The rule here require schools to enroll a minimum of 17 pupils a years for the first three years in order to achieve recognition. But the criteria are more relaxed in the North, where the num-

with others - Des Cox (RIP)

ber of children required for temporary recognition is 12 outside Derry and Belfast and 15 in the two cities.

 Irish Independent.
 Another independent candidate described the new [Provisional] Sinn Féin as nationalist party reminis-cent of Fianna Fáil emerg-ing from the civil war and ing from the civil war and being in power within ten vears. Irish Indenendent

The Catholic Primate, Archbishop Seán Brady, has Archisholp scalled on the Northern electorate to vote for pro-Belfast Agreement parties in the Assembly elec-tions on November 26th.

— Irish Times,
November 3, 2003.
"I unapologetically call

for continued support of the agreement and for its implementation since, quite frankly, I cannot see what this time."

— Irish Times report on Dr Brady's address.

Times

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that Judge Henry Barron had also recommended ar inquiry into the Dublininquiry into the Dublin-Monaghan bombings of 1974 in which 33 people were killed. It is alleged that there was British security force collusion with loyalist paramilitaries in attacks

- Irish Times, November 3, 2003. The success of this pure-

military operation is and to boost the morale of all resistance elements, encouraging them to press home their attacks and escalate their struggle.

— Irish Times article by

Michael Jansen. November 3. 2003, referring to the shoot-ing down of the US Chinook

helicopter.
Iraqi analysts believe
the Bush administration
clings to its line because it wants to discredit and minimize the resistance by por-traying it as the efforts of traying in "terrorists".

Recalling Iraq's 42-year struggle against British occupation, Iraq's find the claim insulting.

— Michael Jansen.

Thave has always been a

There has always been a high level of apathy [in Britain and the 26 Counties]

where Northern Ireland (sic) is concerned. But, and I think this is where the difference lies, in the past there was a large the past there was a large degree of sympathy as well. Sympathy for people who seemed forever trapped by their won history with no their won history with no obvious means of escape. Since the Good Friday

Agreement, when hope Agreement, when hopes were raised and interest was rekindled, that sympathy has all but disappeared.

— Irish Times, November 21, 2003, David

November 21, 2003, David Adams column.

A SIPTU spokesman, Mr Pádraig Campbell, last night accused Dr Cowley (May Independent TD) of doing a volte-face on the planning issue (new applica-tion for Corrib gas field terminal).
"Dr Cowley had sup-

ported an offshore termina which would have provided thousands of jobs and now he wants to add to environmental chaos with this plan. No area should be jeopardized for corporate profit." Mr Campbell said.

"Dr Cowley should be demanding that Mayo gets the maximum benefit for the gas, instead of having a load of sludge and a few jobs to show for it.

— Irish Times, November 22, 2003. Mrs Maura Harrington, spokeswomen for the Erris residents who had lodged the appeal with An Bord Pleanála described the new plan as "environmental suicide"

Transferred peat would be in the form of slurry which could pose a serious pollution risk, as had already been demonstrated in the landslide at Derrybrien in Galway, she said. — Irish Times.

He [David Trimble] continues: "If republicans are abandoning the terrorist campaign to participate in peaceful politics where the outcome is determined by a unionist majority - are the republicans really gaining?

"Are not the unionists to

gain? This is the difference between seeing something and seeing what the signifi-cance of it is going to be in

cance of it is going to be in the longer term".

- Irish Times, November 20, 2003, David Trimble in interview with Dan Keenan. So George Redmond (former Dublin assistant city manager) is convicted of city manager) is convicted of corruption through accept-ing monetary bribes. What about those who offered him

me pribes?

— Irish Times,
November 22, 2003 letter to
editor from Noel Clarke,
Athlone.

Turnout in the Northern Irrland (sic) Assembly elec-tions appeared likely to be around 60% as polls closed last night. This would be a drop of 9 percentage points on the last Assembly elec-

Irish
November 27, 2003.
The two The two governments (London and Dublin) used to say about the Good Friday agreement that there was "no Plan B". The truth is now there is no Plan A either. Around the empty marbled halls of Stormont, frosty winds are making

— Sunday Tribune, November 30, 2003 article by Susan McKay.

As for weapons there As for weapons, there are three reasons why they will be gone. The first is that politically (Provisional) Sinn Féin needs them gone for further political progress both in the north and the

u. The second is that a dis banded (Provisional) IRA has no use for weapons. The third has to do with policing.

 Sunday Business
 Post, November 30, 2003. Vincent Browne column.

It is in the area of police

ing that most progress is likely to be made in the next likely to be made in the next year. [Provo] Sinn Féin has imposed realizable precon-ditions on policing (the dis-bandment of the Special Branch, more accountabili-ty generally) for its engage-ment in the policing board.

Once that happens, irre-spective of what occurs oth-erwise, the [Provo] IRA is no more, and arms have to be surrendered or disabled.

 Vincent Browne.

So after a bit of shouting. - probably quite a lot of shouting - a deal will be done between the DUP and (Provo) Sinn Féin, and it will be more durable and robust than any deal that might have been done by (Provo) Sinn Féin and David Trimble, who always was and would be unsettled by the baying voices to his right.

. _ Vincent Rrowne

Hughie Trainor

ANOTHER of the 'old brigade' has passed on to Valhalla. Friends, family and representatives of Republican Ireland gathered recently to say farewell to veteran activist and one of Armagh's best-known characters, Hugh (Hughie) Trainor, who passed away on November 13. Though 83 years old and

in ill-health of late, many will have been surprised by news of the demise of larger-thanlife Hughie, who led a full and active life right up until several weeks before his passing. Born in the historic year of

1920 in Lisburn, Co Antrim, Hughie came to Armagh at an early age after his family were burned out of their home by loyalists following the assassination of RUC District Inspector Swanzy. Hughie soon developed a deep interest in Irish history and politics and it wasn't long before he became converted to 'the Cause'. His aunt, Cumann na mRan member Mary McGarry, was a big influence.

Hughie was there during the lean years of the 1940s and 1950s, attending commemorations and keeping the flame alight. And he was there again during the late 1960s, as a new generation prepared to take the fight to England. He, along

Jim Fields (RIP), Cathal McOuade and Willy Reilly were members of a committee who defied a ban and organised a march through the streets of Armagh to com-memorate the heroes of 1916 in 1969, for which he served a iail sentence. Like most, Hughie and his

family suffered for their beliefs. There was routine harassment and arrests. He was deported from England along with his son Emmett (RIP) in the 1970s. Emmett and his son Dermot were the victims of a loyalist car bomb attack Emmett never recovered and died a few years later. Other members of the Trainor Clan were imprisoned for their active opposition to British rule in Ireland. A grandnephew, Gregory Trainor, was unable to attend the funeral as he is currently in Portlaoise jail awaiting trial.

Down the years, Hughie sold countless papers and tickets, marshaled at funerals and parades, helped out at Easter. He walked out of the Mansion House in 1986 and helped establish Republican Sinn Féin in Armagh Shortly before he died, he remained an active seller of SAOIRSE And, earlier this year, he was in attendance when, once again, Republicans reclaimed the historic streets of the ecclesiastical capital to honour the Easter Rising. Hughie read the Proclamation on that occa-

Hughie loved all things Irish: the language, Gaelic games, and the music. An accomplished saxophonist. many throughout Ireland and further afield will recall his bands: the 'Boys from the County Armagh' and the 'Melody Makers' (who perin Glas formed Glasgow, Birmingham, Coventry). Hughie never really retired from the music business: he continued to play even after his 80th birthday. It would be no exaggeration to say that he was a showband legend. Ireland's oldest and most famous bandleader at the time of his death. Hughie was a familiar

sight on the streets of Armagh. conversing with others on historical or political matters. telling stories, spinning yarns. He had a sharp, acerbic wit which belied his many years, and he was always ready with a quip or a one-liner.
Following Mass in the

Cathedral, Hughie was laid to rest in St Patrick's Cemetery Tommy McKearney gave short oration, during which he outlined Hughie's many years of service to the cause of Hughie will be missed by

many, but especially by the Republican Movement, to which he gave a lifetime's assistance. In a free and united Ireland, we will remember him and his contribution. Sincere sympathy is tendered to his wife, son, daughters and entire family circle

Remember The 22 Republican Prisoners at Christmas

A chara
On behalf of the Central Committee of CABHAIR, we wich to thank each and every

one for their support throughout the year. As you know there has been quite a number of pris-oners during this past twelve 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 pris-

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.

ons, read SAOIRSE and find

CABHAIR is grateful for your continued support.

The Christmas Annual Swim run by the Dublin CABHAIR Committee under the direction of the Dublin Comhairle Ceantair of Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin takes place as usual this year on Christmas Day and sponsor-ship cards are available from 223 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 CABHAIR Central Committee

Amhrán Na bhFiann

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 match-es. 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 it says BRENDAN TORIN Co Wexford

Nearer To the Abyss

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 Sterling.

It is a big change from the time the "Battle Cry" was "Tiocfadh 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 ser-vants of the English Queen.

PEADAR A MAC SAMHRÁIN Co an Cabháin

The Power Of Propaganda

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 brain-washed by the right-wing Establishment media — "Sir Tony O'Reilly of the pro-British press he controls, one of England's top propagan-

dists in Ireland, Kevin Myers. the West Brit from Dublin 4, not to mention RTF who are never done mimicking the BBC

DUBLIN READER (name and address with Editor)

Back Door Internment

In August I was arrested inder 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 mans 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 department 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@iol.ie

Beannachtaí na Nollag

CHRISTMAS greeting CABHAIR (Irish Repp CHRISTMAS greeting and Magilligan prisons CHRISTMAS greeting CHRISTMAS greetings to the families of the true Republican POWs. From CABHAR (Irish Republican Pictors Dependants Families, Maghaberry CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlands, Maghaberry CHRISTMAS precings to all Republican POWs in Portlands, Maghaberry CHRISTMAS precings to all Republican POWs in Portlands, Maghaberry and Maggilligan prisons. From Cumann an affair. CHRISTMAS greetings to Larry Mediation and best wishes for a speedy recovery. From Peig, Lita and all at Ard-Orig.
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to all Republican POWs. From Peig Lita and all at Ard-Orig.

nam.
CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to all Republican POWs. From

Pigeon.

CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to the Daly family, Co Tyrone. From

CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to the Daly family, Co Tyrone. From Kevin and Kidt.

CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to Sitofiain O Dalaigh. From Alant. Sinched and Sorch-discoury greetings to Sitofiain O Dalaigh. From Colm. Kerry and girk.

CHRISTMAS and revolutionary greetings to Sitofiain O Dalaigh. From Colm. Kerry and girk.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican prisoners in Magshaberry, CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican prisoners in Magshaberry, CHRISTMAS greetings to all the Republican Fours, Fortilation, and CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican Fours, Fortilation, and CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican Fours, Fortilation, and the CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican Fours, Fortilation, and the CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican Fours, Fortilation, and the CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican Fours, Fortilation, and the CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all true Republican Fours, CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all true Republican FOWs, Portilation gail. From Christy Dunne.

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CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican FOWs in Portilation, Maghaberry and Magillian princips. From Doc. Denies and Rachel Lynch, Limerick.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican FOWs in Portilation. Maghaberry and Magillian princips. From Doc. Orenay/Willie Sewart Cumman, Dundalik Althrey Mark Servictures to Eddel Henery. Verlations in J. From your fram J. Henery was the Services to the Portilation of the P

CHRISTMAS greetings to Eddie Heeney, Portlaoise jail. From your mam,

sisters and brothers.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghuberry and Magilligan prisons. From Comhairle Laighenn.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Comhairle Contair Atha Cliath.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Wolfe Tone Cumman, Tumhlacht, BAC.

Form John. Limete. Veoz greetings to Malachy Maguer, Portlaoise juil.

From John. Limete. Veoz greetings to Malachy Maguer, Portlaoise juil.

From John, Limerick. CHRISTMAS and New Year greetings to all Republican POWs, Portlaoise,

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CHRISTMAS greetings to all true Republican POWs, Portlanose pain, room CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magnitugan prisons. From Dave Cleavy, Limerick. CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magnitugan prisons. From Colum King, Limerick. CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magnitugan prisons. From Colum King, Limerick. CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and CHRISTMAS groots. We also programmed to the Christmas of the Christmas CHRISTMAS groots. We also programmed to the Christmas and Magnitugan prisons. From Christmas Avena, Limerick. CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magnitugan prisons. From Christmas Avena, Limerick. CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry Avena and Magnitugan prisons. From Christmas Avena, Limerick.



Please Remember the Prisoners and their Families this Xmas

and Magilligan prisons. From Eddy Comnoy, Limerick.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Chem Orbites, Limerick.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Ken O'Dellay, Limerick. Christian Magilligan prisons. From Republican POws in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Kepiblican Flows in Frin, Limerick.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Na Fianna Eireann, Limerick.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Wardy and Kely, Limerick.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Wardy and Kely, Limerick.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Wardy and Claim.
CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Carby, Shane and Craig.
The Christmas Greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlanise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons. From Carby, Shane and Craig.
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CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam And Dill CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam Confluxional CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam Confluxional CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam Confluxional CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam Confluxional CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam Confluxional CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlanise jail. From Liam Confluxional Christmas Portlanise Christ

O'Shea. CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From Liam Cror

and Tom Cottello.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlasies jail, From John Foran, Mike Horgan and John Moriarty.

Mike Horgan and John Moriarty.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Requblican POW's in Maghaberry prison.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POW's in Maghaberry prison.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Johnathan Berningham, POW, Portlasies jail.

From all the lads at Finacends Ris Rajllylongford.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Johnathan Berningham, POW, Portlasies jail.

From Boll O'Shee, Bajllylongford.

From Boll ToShee, Bajllylongford.

From Boll and Liam O'Shee, Tom Costello, Liam Cronin, John Moriarty and John Foran.

John Foran.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, Portlaoise jail. From west Waterford Republican Sinn Fein.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, Portlaoise jail. From with and Tommy and at true Republicans in Cappagini. Co Waterford. From Jim and Tommy and at true Republicans in Cappagini. Co Waterford. Portlaoise and Maghaberry gails. From John and Ruanit. New York.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Tom and Benny, Portlaoise jail. From Combaird and Mumhan.

From Comhairle na Mumhān.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From the Munst area of Na Fianna Éireann.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Portlaoise jail. From Republic Sinn Féin, Listowel.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery, Bortlaosie jail. From Republican Sim Fein. Listowing, to Paddy Deery, Benny and Tom, and all POWs, it CHRISTMAS greetings to Regulophica prisoners in Portlaosie and Maghaberry jails. From Link III Christman Fein. The Cort. CHRISTMAS greetings to Reguloitan prisoners in Portlaosie and Maghaberry jails. From Link III Christman III

family, Co Derry,

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail, From the
Donaghy family, Co. Derry,

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail, From the
Gombey family, Co. Derry,

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail, From the
Nicholas family, Co. Derry,

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

CHRISTMAS greetings to Paddy Deery in Portlaoise jail. From the Conwa

family, Co. Tyrone.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs. From the Republica Movement, Belfast.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs. From comrades in nort

Beffast.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican POWs, From Muff, Johns, CCHRISTMAS greetings to the Republican POWs, From Muff, Johns, CORON, Martin, Paul, Jo and Paula, Belfast.

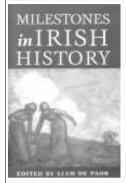
CHRISTMAS greetings to the Wasterford lads in Portlaoise prison. From Alson and all the family.

Alson and all the family.

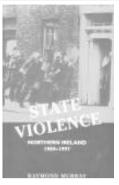
Beffast, Eallymuphy, the Markets and the Strand and Ardone.

CHRISTMAS greetings to the Paddy Deery, Brian Galvin, Tom Burry in Portlaoise prison and all Republican prisoners. From Kathleen.

Selection of goods from Irish Freedom Press



• Milestones in Irish History, (ed) Liam de Paor, €10,95.



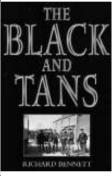
• State Violence, Northern Ireland 1969-1997, Raymond Murray €12.68



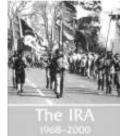
• The 1916 Poets, Pearse, Plunkett, McDonagh, €11.99.



• The IRA 1926-1936, Brian Hanley, €24.95 HB.



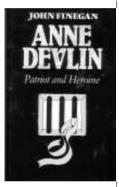
• The Black and Tans, Richard Bennett, €21.70.



• The IRA 1968-2000, Analysis of a Secret Army, J Bowyer Bell, 626.80.



 Illustrated Irish History, (ed) Séamus Mac Annaidh HB €14.95.



 Ann Devlin, Patriot and Heroine, John Finnigan, €5.

Secret Army, 3 Bowyer Ben, 620.00.
Voyage of the Catalpa, the escape to freedom of six Irish rebels
Peter Stevens
Republican Wexford Remember €3.80
Songs of Resistance 1968-2000 €6.35
Bold Robert Emmet 1778-1803 Seán Ó Brádaigh €7.50
Holy Well Traditions: St Declans, Ardmore Stiofán Ó Cadhla €9.95
In Search of a State, Catholics in Northern Ireland
Fionnuala O'Connor
In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism
Irish Counter Revolution 1921-1936 John M O'Regan €16.99
Irish Ballads, Words and Music (various contributors) €13.75
Irish Rebellions 1798-1916, an Illustrated History. Helen Litton €10.15
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MacBride's Brigade. Irish Commandos in the Anglo-Boer War
Donal P McCracken
The Making of Ireland, from Ancient times to the Present
James Lydon €24.45
Matter of Minutes, The Enduring legacy of Bloody Sunday
JoAnne O'Brien
Northern Divisions, The Old IRA & the Belfast Pogroms 1920-22
Jim McDermott €18.80
The Irish, A Photohistory S Sexton & C Kenealy €38.00

On Another Mans Wound Ernie O'Malley €15.00
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Ten Men Dead David Beresford €12.20
Far from the Shamrock Shore. The story in song and writing of life in
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Frongoch Seán O'Mahony €10.00
Kevin Barry Seán Cronin €3.75
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Dublin Monaghan Bombings Don Mullan €12.85
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An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993
Borstal Boy Brendan Behan €12.20
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Fellowship of Freedom Kevin Whelan €19.00
The Táin
Bloody Sunday Dermot P Walsh €19.00
Irish Republican Women in America
Joanne Mooney Eichacker
No Ordinary Women. Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years 1900-
1923 Sinéad McCoole €28.00

'THE MONTH OF THE PRISONERS'

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

vears 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 newspaner of October 11.

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

"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

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

An t-Éireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman of December 1953 carried on its front page photographs of Seán Mac Stíofán, 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 ex-British soldiers marching under the shadow of the GPO in Dublin with Lieut-General J Hartigan taking the salute on Sunday,

Hartigan taking the salute on Sunday, November 8 (Poppy Day).

"It is a sad paradox that one page can con-tain 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 coursment which is

under the protection of a government which pays lip-service to Anti-Partition 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

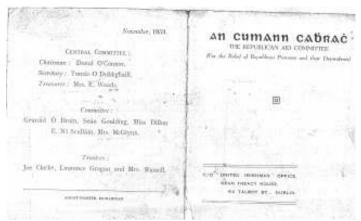
mass of the people with them. "Such men are not lacking today prisoners] are the men, and it is fitting that they should demonstrate fully the spiritual unity of Republican Ireland, representing - as they do — the and the Exiles the Six Counties, the 26 Counties

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

"They do not ask for votes of sympathy or They do not ask for votes or sympathy or ink-deep resolutions. 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 O 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 Cabhrach/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 dur ing an election meeting the previous October he had said from a public platform: "I will not give allegiance to the bastard Queen of a bas-tard nation. Do I believe in force? The answer is Yes, the more the better and the sooner the

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

POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS

Since 1933 when Pádraig Mac Lógáin, 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 nomination.

They were required to give a solemn pub-lic 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 elec-

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 nomination.

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."

Iretand."

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 confined its writ to 26 Counties only.

An t-Éireannach 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 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 to attend at Leinster House he was told he could not be admitted there. He was repre-senting an area outside the 26 Counties and to admit him would raise 'legal and constitution-al difficulties' — it would be a breach of the sacred agreement of 1922. "There is only one solution — the Sinn Exceeding the County of the Cou

"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 con-tinue to clarify the position regarding Liam

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

The December editorial said: ". . . its [the For 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 Dail] 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 McCaughey on hunger and thirst strike, the rounding up of escapees from the control of the search of the control of the search of

from Derry jail when they crossed into Donegal and their internment in the Curragh, the handing 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.

oration 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 Border, later a small armed body called Saor Uladh emerged. Both organisations had faded by 1960

The Republican paper noted the jailing of four young Scotsmen 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 previous-ly would not have dreamt of breaking the con-nection with England are beginning to think and the trial has been a wonderful morale booster for Scottish Nationalists.

booster 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 Riffes, charged with murdering two Africans who, he said, "were trying to escape," admitted to having shot them in the beak with a Bren gun. Indiagonal to the control of the said of the control of the said with the control of the said with the said wi

have shot him in the temple 'to put him out of

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 "Capt Griffiths" unit was due to leave soon for Malaya so he was anxious to increase his score as much as possible 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, Birr, 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 propurpose.

"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 céilís 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. Refs. An t-Éireannach (More next month, Reis, An i-Eureannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman, October, November, December 1953; The Sunday Press, October 11, 1953 and Songs of the Fighting North, published 1956.)

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent

RISH Republicans are fully aware of the long history of our struggle against the British and the policy of London to divide and conquer the Irish in order to maintain control of Ireland. The success of the British has largely been due to Irishmen who became informers or iust plain sell-outs

Our cause could have had some success if there had been unbroken unity and support in the Movement ut traitors, but this was not to he. There have been those in the United States who could have assisted but they too sold their souls

Many Irish Americans have been in a position to help liberate the Six Counties by taking the British to task for their occupation of the The first obvious one was North Joseph P Kennedy who was appoint-ed Ambassador to the "United Kingdom" by US President Franklin D Roosevelt. The appointment was a reward for Kennedy's support of Roosevelt's Presidential campaign.

Why did Kennedy choose that iob when most people would have expected him to choose to be Ambassador to the 26 Counties. After all Kennedy was known as one of the wealthiest and most prominent Irish Americans and spoken of as a possible successor to Roosevelt

The answer is the need for Kennedy to rise above his Irish roots and become the equal of the dominant elite in the United States, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant upper class. It was the intent of Kennedy to create an Irish Catholic elite apart from ordinary Irish Americans.

Kennedy's children were sent to elite prep schools and universities that Irish Americans with normal means could not afford and were not wanted regardless of their resources As we well know, the WASP group are descendants of those who cam from Britain.

Thinking Roosevelt would oth-erwise appoint a WASP Joe Kennedy put pressure on for the job, but Roosevelt hesitated because a well-known Irish American might offend the British

Jim Farley, another prominent Irish American, wanted Kennedy a competitor for Roosevelt's full attention, so he lobbied Roosevelt to appoint Kennedy Ambassador which he did and got rid of him. Irish Americans assumed that Joe Kennedy wanted to go to England to put the British in their place due to their continued occupation of the north of Ireland. Hopes were high for Irish Americans

The only interest the Kennedys had in Ireland was their association with the Anglo-Irish upper class, but for the most part the Kennedys went out of their way to ingratiate them-selves with the British aristocracy and try to be more British than the British The Kennedys were totally mesmerised by the British. Here was a golden opportunity for justice, but Joe Kennedy trashed Ireland.

The same optimism surrounded Joe Kennedy's son John F Kennedy who become Precident of the United States. JFK played up his Irishness for the voters, but when he got to be President he soon forgot Ireland. The British would have listened to JFK because he captured the imagination of the British people and his social partners in Washington social partners in Washington worked at the British Embassy, people he had cultivated during the days of his time in England.

Kennedy was a great proponent of the very special relationship between the "UK" and the US and his hero was Winston Churchill who was one of the greatest enemies of the Irish people, but it didn't touch President Kennedy

DISAPPOINTMENT

JFK was a great disappointment, but hones were raised again when Kennedy was advised that he should visit Ireland before his re-election campaign to appease Irish Catholic voters. He agreed and took Ireland by storm and won the hearts of most of the people.

Many concerned Irish activists expected him to make some reference to at least the possibility that Ireland might one day be united, but he made no reference at all to unity.

The two Kennedys failed in exercising their ethnicity in favour of Ireland and preferred the English for socialisation Another Irish American who used his Irish identification in his own run for the Presidency was Ronald Reagan.

Known as the great communicator, Reagan was adept at giving a speech and his public persona was a nice guy who liked everyone, but there was a dark side to the man. The dark side was a callous man who would stab people in the back.

He was contacted by FBI Director. J Edgar Hoover, and persuaded to be an informer in the film industry. Hoover was obsessed with Communist infiltration in the movie industry business.

Reagan kept his red diary and wrote notes on actors, directors and producers. He observed who were on Hoover's suspect list. He also



st of his own of all those with hard left-wing leanings. From Reagan's comments and recommen dations. Hoover created files and a blacklist was created and people were targeted. Movies that Reagan and Hoover thought might have Communist tendencies were earmarked for the blacklist and those involved were considered Communists or Commie fellow travellers

Hoover with Reagan's full cooperation was successful in destroying careers and lives and neither of the men had any compassion for those they ruined. There is nothing as despicable as what Reagan did to his colleagues in the film industry.

This was Reagan's idea of being a patriot — to turn in his friends. According to his file, Reagan was an enthusiastic informer and relished what he was doing and it noted that he even turned in names of people in the industry of whom he was jealous because they were on a higher scale

Reagan carried on for years and he recruited others to help him which they did out of fear he would put their names on a list of guilty by association. By pursuing left wing, not Communist, individuals, organised crime people in the movie business were protected from exposure and investigation.

Reagan was the epitome of the

stage Irishman and played the role to the hilt and that is all he thought; being Irish was nothing about any commitment to Irish causes. He had no exposure to Irish people in his youth so it isn't entirely his fault, but when he was confronted with Irish issues in the election he just ignored him rather than get research on them and obtain an understanding. He didn't believe he needed to help on Irish issues to seek Irish votes. His idea was to have a pint of Guinness and crack a joke.

ARLY on in his Presidency, Ronald Reagan became close friends with his soul mate British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She sought him out and called him her favourite Irishman and he bought off on it and played the stage Paddy for her. Thatcher would appeal to Reagan and bring out that dark side. She persuaded him that the Republican Movement were terrorists and not like the Astute Irish like himself and others Not being the brightest bulb, Reagan bought her line. She convinced him that the terrorists had to be stopped as well as their supporters in the States. Reagan pledged the resources of the US to stopping Irish 'terrorist' support. She said that a major problem was Congressman Mario Biaggi of New York

Reagan gave orders that the FBI should set Biaggi up and the FBI had him charged with accepting bribes and evidence was manipulated and Biaggi was convicted. The man responsible for setting Biaggi up was none other than Rudi Giuliani. never a friend to the Irish

Like Reagan, Giuliani would be knighted by the Queen of England for service to the Crown It was easy Reagan to inform on his Hollywood friends and it was easier to persecute committed members of the Irish American community Supporting Irish unity made you an

enemy of Thatcher and Reagan.

When Thatcher had to deal with the Irish hunger strikers in 1981, she consulted Reagan on how to respond. Reagan said they were terrorists and to let them die if they continued. As President, Reagan returned to his informer mode and joined with Maggie Thatcher in the war against the Irish Republican Movement.

To turn on your own whom you have used to benefit yourself and then to stab them in the back makes Reagan a historical classmate of the American traitor Benedict Arnold who crossed over and joined the British. Ronald Reagan turned on his Irish blood and crossed over to join the Brits against us.

HONOURABLE MEN

The hunger strikers are at the top of honourable men while Reagan does not even make the list. His response to their deaths was "If they hadn't gone on hunger strike, they wouldn't have died". The disease Reagan has is perhaps simple justice his disgusting inhumanity and guile

During his eight years as President, Mrs Thatcher consulted with Reagan many times regarding Ireland and he never once asked her to back off from her policy of cruelty. He supported her every move. Reagan had the friendship with Thatcher whereby they could have something decent for the Irish people and both could have been her They chose the dark road of criminal

The Thatcher policy on the Six Counties and the abuse and murder of innocent civilians classify her as a war criminal under international law Ronald Reagan is an accomplice before and after the fact making him a war criminal as well. Reagan is the hero of George W Bush and is following in the footsteps of his predecessor in his embrace of England against true Irish Republicans.

Americans have idolised Reagan as some icon and have never done reasonable research on his early background as an informer. That work set his character as a devious individual with no true moral con-

His Presidency saw the massive growth in the importation of illegal drugs because Reagan approved the policy that gun smuggling into Central America to arm his surrogates by drug barons was a trade-off hat allowed them to bring drugs back in undetected

Historically, it has been our own who have prevented our progress because we have watered down the central issue for Irish American sup-port for Irish Republicanism. We must look to those who never compromised and held fast to the only viable issue that Irish Americans should and must support: one 32-County Irish Republic, and those that espouse it without steppingstones. A stepping-stone is a synonym for sell-out.

No one can justify the present failed British "peace process" because it does not specify drawal date for British departure which isn't happening. We in the States must in our right minds condemn the pacifiers of Unionism who accept partition which is the peace without justice process. This process is endorsed and embraced by all the British leaders: Blair, Hume, Paisley, Trimble, Adams and Irish justice is unity and that jus-

tice demands support for those who demand justice and that is the true Republican Movement — Republican Sinn Féin and its lead-

ers, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Des Long, Mary Ward, etc. on this side of the Atlantic, if we follow the simple advice of the late Patron of Republican Sinn Féin, Michael Flannery — never compromise with the British. Flannery with his last dying breath rejected those — the Provisional Movement - who compromised with the British. He stuck to his principles for all his nine decades and died as he lived, an honourable man

LANNERY was an Irish soldier unlike Ronald Reagan. excuse me, Sir Ronald Reagan, who was a British informer and an Irish traitor. There is strength in the humble soldier who never sold his soul, and there is cowardice in the so-called great man who sold his soul to the enemy.

Let Irish Americans choose the path of honour or that of traitor. There are too many of the enemy among our own. There can be no compromise!

— Peadar Mac Fhínín

Albert Folens

ALRERT Folens of Dublin who died recently was a big-hearted benefactor of the Republican prisoners during the 1970s and '80s.

He was a native of Flanders and left Belgium as a political refugee to come to Ireland over fifty

He taught French for some years in Coláiste Mhuire in Dublin, learned Irish and wrote and published a book about his native land. Aiséirí Flóndrais

He and his Juliette, set up a small business, publishing textbooks and that business has since grown and flourished to become Folens Public-

Thousands of prisoners'

children benefited from Albert Folens' generosity at a time of stress and loneliness in their lives

On their behalf we offer our deepest sympathy to Mrs Juliette Folens and her children and grandchildren.

Suaimhneas síoraí go raibh ag Albert. fear uasal cineálta

Beannachtaí

BEST wishes for a speedy recovery to John O'Connor. From all at Ard BEST wishes for a speedy recovery to John O'Connor. From Na Fianna

CONCRATULATIONS to Des Dalton on his recent election as Vice CONGRATULATIONS to Des Dalton on his recent election as Vice President of Republican Sinn Fein. From Na Fianna Eireann.

THANKS to the O'Rahilly/Carmody Cumann, Ballylongford, Co Kerry for their recent hospitality towards members of Na Fianna attending the Eddie Carmody commemoration there. From Na Fianna Éireann.

Comhbhrón



· Annie Landers, RIP.

LANDERS (nee Farrington), of Bayside and Wexford Street, Dublin, — Aine, a veteran of Cumann na mBan and much lowed mother of Aidan, Brendan and Grainne. Now

joins her beloved husband Sean in God's care; sadly missed by her lov-ing sons, daughter, son-in-law Che, daughter-in-law Dara, grandchildren Fiona, Darren, Ken and Ethan, rela-tives and friends. Ar dheis lamh Dé

go raibh a hanam.

LANDERS, Deepest sympathy to the
Landers and Farrington families,
Dublin on the death of their mother
Annie, From the Executive, Cumann

na mBan.

LANDERS, Deepest sympathy to the
Landers and Farrington families,
Dublin on the death of their mother
Annie, From her friends Peig and

Annie. From her friends Peig and Paddy King.
TRAINOR. The Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Fein extends deep-est sympathy to the family and friends of Hughie Trainor, Armagh.
TRAINOR, The Republican prison-ers, Portlaisei gal, regert to learn of the death of Hughie Trainor, Armagh and offer these sincere condolences to dearn of the death of Hughie Trainor, Armagh consequence of the death of Hughie Trainor, Armagh mess for the sincere condolences to all the sincere condolences to free grow Trainor. Go raibh suaimhness storait dis annu nasal

I gCuimhne

CAMPBELL/LOUGHRIE —28th

memory of Vol Seán Campbell and Vol Jim Loughrie, killed in action, December 6, 1975. "The fools, the fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall

Fenian dead and while treland holds these graves, Fleaha unfree shall never be at peace." Never forgotten by their friends and comrades in Portlaoise jail.

FOX — 31st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of 16-year-old Fina Bernard Fox, who was shot by British Army while on active service in Ardoyne, Belfast Remembered with pride by their comrades in Na Finana Eireana.

wan prate by their comrades in Na Fianna Etreann.

HANLEY 22d Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Fian Patrick Hanley, Cork city who was shot by RIC in his home on December 17, 1920. Remembered with pride by their comrades in Na Fianna Etreann.

with pride by their comrades in Na Finana Eirean, 11st Anniversary. In HUGHES — 31st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Fian Seán Hughes Belfast. Shot by British Army while on active service on December 4, 1972. Remembered with pride by their comrades in Na Fianna Eireann.

MURRAY — 2nd anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Kevin (Kiddo) Murray, who died on November 13, 2001. Never forgotten by his friends in Portlaoise jail.

Can Paisley deliver the Republic?

HE Rey Ian has won an historic victory in the recent six county elections. His trouncing of David Trimble's Unionist Party has seen him achieve a lifetime goal. We must ask ourselves what he will do next.

Despite the SDLP's Mark

Durkan standing on Lifford bridge and calling for a refer-endum on unity the republic was not achieved Gerry Adams and Co having surpassed the SDLP in the number of votes they polled are calling for the re-establish-ment of Stormont. A far step from achieving a republic. Which brings us back to

the original question ie can Pailey deliver a republic.

Let's look at his track record. He achieved his doctorate in religious studies in America. A Republic, Has

one of his churches situated in Convoy, County Donegal (A republic?) Doesn't like the Queen of England because she doesn't like him. Is a member of the European parliament where France - a republic - has great sway. Has a habit of being awkward and dislikes being told what he thinks

Now since Gerry Adams Mark Durkan and David Trimble are adamant that they wish to run the north on behalf of the British government - it appears that Paisley is the only individual who is out of step. Of course it would require an extreme about turn on his part.

Let's remember Gerry Adams started out pro-fessing to be a republican and is now as staunch a unionist as David and Mark. Let's remember that David Trimble professed to be a unionist and is now against direct rule (if we are to believe him)

Is it really so impossible that Paisley might become a Republican? And if he did become a Republican could he actually deliver the repub-

ELL, let's look at what he has to what he has to offer in this respect. He has the ear of God and

unlike Gerry Adams has not surrendered any weapons to the British government. If votes can unite Ireland then he can get them in abundance. It appears there is only one stumbling block and that is how to get him to convert to Republicanism.

Let's look at how Gerry

and company were converted to unionism and see if there

are any tips there. For Gerry it all began when a friend of his called Lean stepped into a British barracks in Belfast and named the IRA's northern command leadership. All of whom were promptly arrested. When they came out of prison they had been replaced. These replacements gained control of the IRA's weapons and over the past few years have been handing them over to the British through an intermediary

called General John. It appears that all Republicans have to do is get someone to name the Ulster Resistance leadership, get them arrested and then replace them with pro-Republican elements, find out where they keep their weapons and then turn them against the British. If the

Adams and company example holds true then Paisley will become a Republican so long as he can remain a leader.

LL this may seem a bit far-fetched, but then in 1986 there were many, perhaps a majori of Republicans, who believed Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams when they said if they were given power they could deliver a republic. There were many who believed that they would never hand over weapons and there were very many who believed they could never be

converted to unionism. At the end of the day I suppose it is wishful thinking However, when we look at Paisley and Adams and Durkan and Trimble which of them is most likely to deliver a republic through the means

hand? Gerry has no weapons (he gave them away), Trimble has no inclination. Paisley as he has shown has weapons, the ability to win, and doesn't feel the need to toady to anyone. There is just one element missing. He Republican. isn't

He apparently can't be converted and as we have already stated there is no point in trying to convert the other three

We seem to have answered the question. No, Paisley cannot deliver the republic. Can anyone else involved in these recent elections do so? - and even if they had the inclination, by what means can they?

Mac Cool

'Friendly fire?

RECENTLY the BBC screened a documentary In the line of fire — filmed by one of their reporters John Simpson and his crew on the war in Irag.

What made this different to the many reports/documen-taries that subsequently were screened after the ending of the war in Iraq was that this crew during the duration of the mak-during the duration of the mak-attacked by "Freedity fire" by US F14 fighter planes, which opened up debate about the credibility of the war that was been waged at that time in the Middle East. The middle the con-traction of the middle that the state of the this one, captured the raw emb-tis one, captured the raw emb-What made this different to

this one, captured the raw emo-tion and tension involved for the press that travelled and risked their lives daily to caprisked their lives daily to cap-ture first-hand the war that was unfolding before their eyes. It showed the reporters and crew from the start of their journey in London to the Kurdish country within Iraq.

try within Iraq.

What they did well was capture the emotions involved for them knowing that they would soon be in the middle of an area that would soon explode into open war-fare? What was missing though was a discussion and an analyis of these people to discuss what their perceptions and feelings were about this war that was about to be inflicted in the country they were travelling to.

But what did give them an

avenue to explore the futility of imperialist wars was the unfor-tunate dropping of a bomb that landed near their convoy of Kurdish and US troops Its showed first-hand the horror of what the people of Iraq have had to endure to achieve their so-called 'liberation'. It showed the carnage that one misguided missile can do to people, and what was scary was to think the devastation and the stench of death this one bomb left, can people imagine what 3,000 of these would have left, and how many people were killed/maimed during this process'

You almost get the feeling watching it that the reporters that have survived the bombing begin to reflect on the necessity of war, and ask if it is worth it, when this is the result of it? We all know of liberation struggles all know of inberation struggies around the world by the free-dom loving people of this world, and would agree with the motives of these, but imperialist wars are wars of greed and self-gain for the few, at the expense of the greater, but less



WAR CRIME: An unexploded cluster bomb (used by both US and British forces) in a civilian area in Iraq. In one US Air Force attack on the Nader district of Hilla, south of Baghdad, on April 1, 2003 at least 44 civilians were killed by cluster bombs. There were no Iraqi forces in the area at the time.

well off, majority. As Pádraig Pearse once stated, "War is a terrible thing, but war is not an evil thing, it is the things that make war necessary that are evil." I have come to the conclusion that this quote has great relevance to this

piece. We all want peace, what right thinking person wouldn't? I have never met one Republican that did not want to see peace, not just in Ireland, but around the world, but at the same time we can realise that it is a tactic that sometimes must come into play and must be used to achieve political gain when there is no other visible option open to them.

What also became evider

is the hypocrisy of the capitalist systems that co-operate with each other to help each other keep their firm grip on the worlds affairs. Who has the worlds affairs. Who has the monopoly to inflict war on a people and a nation? Does the US/British coalition dictate to US/British coalition dictate to the rest of us where the next strike against "terror" is going to be, and if we disagree with it we are only left-wing agitators against the "free world". It is a funny thought to see the US joining forces with the Kurdish army in parthern Iran

Kurdish army in northern Iraq and how they had expressed "great regret" at the mistreat-ment that has been inflicted on the Kurdish people down the years, when they stood idly by as Turkey has done all in its power to wipe out the Kurdish people in south-Eastern Turkey

Another disturbing fact that should be addressed, is the wel-coming home of US troops from Iraq as 'heroes'. With the picures of what devastation that one bomb can endure on peo-ple, and how willingly they have taken innocent life, it is sad to see people who have helped pacify their countries greed by going to a foreign land and inflicting mass destruction and death on that area, be wel-comed home as national icons!

The only other people I can think of who would welcome home mass-murderers home as heroes would be loyalists, and perhaps that says it all really They both share the same supe

rior attitude towards people from areas of the world they deem to the more "obscure parts of the world and towards people of a different people of a different culture/religious faith, so they lose the sense of value in that humans life, as has been evi-dent in the celebration, in the past, from loyalists in acts that have involved the taking indis-criminately of innocent life of criminately of innocent life of people who are of a different religious background to them. That life is deemed less important because of this, so it would raise similarities to the US troops celebrations after coming home from the mass slaughter of a nation. Unfortunately, this is a point the programme did not give people a grasp of. What the programme did

give me a greater understand-ing of was the very same point that Padraig Pearse tried to make all those years ago. We, during times of occupation, like traq, have a right to wage war against the occupier in a disci-plined manner, and most importantly, in a manner that obeys the unwritten laws of humanity. When you drop 1000lb bombs onto heavily populated areas you break those unwritten rules, and deserve not to have a carnival to await your arrival home, but a tribunal for you to explain your actions. War, as was shown by the BBC and John Simpson, is a terrible thing, and is also on occasions indeed an

evil thing.

— Poblachtach Óg,

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