

# Republican Bulletin

## IRIS NA POBLACHTA

UIMH. 2 NOLLAIG-DECEMBER 1986

20p

# HIS ONLY INTEREST IN THE NORTH

A significant statement by Dr. Garret FitzGerald, made in an interview with the *Belfast Telegraph* on October 30 last, has been let pass with scarcely a comment. We quote:

"We have no desire to be involved in the process of Northern Ireland any more than is necessary to tackle the problem of the IRA and eliminate it. That is our only interest in the matter."

This is surely as emphatic and remarkable a statement as has been made by any 26-County politician since the country was partitioned in 1922. As an abdication of national duty it would be hard to surpass.

What Dr. FitzGerald's statement means is that the British and their Unionist friends can have the Six Counties. The Republican resistance is a difficulty which has to be eliminated. It is, according to him, the problem, and his only interest is in stopping it.

He would prefer some sort of devolved administration in the North, with SDLP participation and then "our role will be diminished as much and as rapidly as possible".

Let no Irish nationalist, north or south of the border, be under any illusions as to where Dr. FitzGerald and the Fine Gael party now stand. Before they moved Head Office from Hume Street, Dublin, their door plate named them as "FINE GAEL — United Ireland". The sub-title has since gone. How far behind, we might ask, is "FIANNA FAÍL — The Republican Party"?

So, despite the New Ireland Forum and all the promises, Dr. FitzGerald has at least admitted where he and his party stand. Would the legend "FINE GAEL — The Unionist Party" not be more appropriate now for their Head Office in Mount Street?

To expect equal rights and opportunities for all in the Six-County statelet is to be dishonest or naive. The northern state is an artificial entity based on a denial of democracy. Its very existence is an affront to democracy and Irish national rights. This is the reality that the Leinster House politicians have always refused to face. There can be no delay and no complacency in this matter. And the problem will not go away. The cost of helping to maintain the

border amounts to a financial haemorrhage which makes us all poorer.

Just in case we might be thought to have quoted Dr. FitzGerald out of context, we give a fuller quotation here:

"We have no desire to be involved in the process of Northern Ireland any more than is necessary to tackle the problem of the IRA and eliminate it. That is our only interest in the matter and I would be very happy indeed if the parties could sit down and talk through together any process they want amongst themselves, under British chairmanship and any other way they like, and arrive at agreement on devolution that would enable us to withdraw from all the devolved areas and leave it to the people of Northern Ireland to sort out their own affairs".

This interview was followed by another given on television by Mr. Peter Barry, the 26-County Minister for Foreign Affairs, on November 13. Mr. Barry praised the RUC and encouraged young nationalists to join it.

"I would be happy to see young men who wanted a career in the security forces joining it."

He repeated this in Leinster House on November 27, saying he believed the force would provide a suitable career for many young men and "indeed it would be the honourable thing for them to join it."

Did the man never hear of John Stalker?

### EXTRADITION BILL

A new Extradition Bill has now been proposed by Mr. Barry. It represents a far-reaching measure of collaboration with the British.

Apparently the 'Justice' meted out to the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the Maguire family means little to the Fine Gael/Labour coalition. Pleasing Mrs. Thatcher means more.

## Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

### PROGRESS REPORTED

A General Meeting was held in Dublin on November 30, to assess the progress made in the Sinn Féin re-organisation begun on November 2. Representatives from all over Ireland heard some encouraging reports.

There are now 60 registered Cumainn and seven Comhairle Ceantair. Two full-time organisers have been appointed and have already started work.

Substantial sales of the November Bulletin were reported from all areas. Ulster, Sligo, North Leitrim and Louth combined accounted for total sales of 3,500 copies.

Other encouraging reports received by the meeting included:

- Sligo RSF has opened the town's first Sinn Féin Advice Centre and published a local newsletter.
- The Cork Republican Comrades, Cumann na mBan and Volunteers' Pipe Band have all declared support for RSF.
- In Armagh, the Officer Board of Bearnna Uladh has given full support to RSF.
- There is substantial support in Kerry, with 1,400 copies of the Bulletin sold and the Ballyseedy Commemoration Committee pledging full support to RSF.
- In Roscommon there are six Cumainn and a Comhairle Ceantair and the County Commemoration Committee has declared support for RSF.
- In Clare the Bulletin was sold in nine centres.
- A Coiste Gaeilge is being organised.
- There will be a special meeting in Monaghan on Sunday, December 7 to co-ordinate arrangements for re-organisation in Ulster. Dublin will hold a similar meeting on December 9.



# Government Without Representation

THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT proposes to amend 10 articles of the original Rome Treaty. Decision-making will rest with the Council of Ministers who will apply a range of Directives affecting every area of Irish life. This is government without representation, as the Assembly, soon to be officially called the European Parliament, is merely an advisory body. All of this would create a European Union or a supranational state which would place us in an economic strait-jacket and destroy what still remains of 26-County neutrality.

Meanwhile, the average level of unemployment in the neutral countries of Western Europe, Sweden, Switzerland and Austria, which did not join the EEC, is four per cent.

We know by now what the consequences have been of our joining the EEC. The 1972 slogan of 'vote yes for markets in Europe and jobs at home' could now be easily reversed.

Many of our native industries have been virtually wiped out and the farming bonanza was over after the first 10 years. We have had the short-term benefits and we now face the long-term disadvantages.

The thousands of unemployed are stark evidence of the folly of an underdeveloped country being exposed to the full forces of a free market, dominated by former colonial powers.

Now we are being asked to enmesh ourselves even further in the EEC. The White Paper called *Completing the Internal Market* sets out the titles of some 300 new EEC directives and proposals for directives which would come into force between now and 1992 if the Single European Act is ratified. This is known as the Cockfield Report.

The great majority of these directives would be adopted by the EEC Council of Ministers by means of qualified majority voting. A qualified majority is 54 votes out of a total of 76. Most of the large EEC states have 10 votes each; the 26 Counties have three votes.

Here are some examples of the directives which are now in the pipeline:

(1) *Direct interference by the Commission into the content of national radio and television.* This is with a view to establishing "a common broadcasting area" throughout the EEC. There would be Commission controls on the amount of national and non-national content of radio and television, as well as controls on advertising and "opening up the market in information services". (Cockfield Annex p. 28)

(2) *Introducing an EEC trade mark and phasing out national trade marks.* People would no longer be able to support their own national products in the shops, as the EEC trade mark would have replaced national designation. (Cockfield Annex p. 30)

(3) *Preventing the government from itself supporting Irish industry by its own public purchases.* (Cockfield Annex p. 22).

(4) *Phasing out state aids for industry and national industrial development.* (Cockfield Annex p. 31).

(5) *Introducing non-Irish building societies here and increasing the flow of deposits out of the country.* (Cockfield Annex p. 28).

(6) *Co-ordination of national visa*

*policies, drugs legislation, extradition rules, rights of asylum and the status of third country nationals. And we were told the EEC was all about economics and trade!* (Cockfield Annex p. 13).

(7) *EEC controls on Local Authority building by-laws.* (Cockfield Annex p. 2).

(8) *Standards and specifications of goods and services.* This is crucial to any business or firm. The larger states and the multinational firms would fairly easily have their way and standards suited to the manufacturing and economic conditions of smaller countries or local regions would tend to be over-ridden. (Cockfield Annex pp. 14-20).

(9) *Proposals affecting the possibility of enforcing national exchange control.* (Cockfield Annex p. 25).

(10) *Company law.* New EEC regulations on take-over bids, liquidations, mergers, etc. (Cockfield Annex p. 29).

(11) *Nearly 100 new directives on agriculture, food and related matters.* These represent a massive strengthening of the powers of the Commission. (Cockfield Annex pp. 6-12).

(12) *Harmonisation of taxes.* VAT and excise duties would be extended. Food would be taxed. Unanimity would be required for this proposal. (Cockfield Annex pp. 32-35).

(13) *New directives for the insurance industry.* (Cockfield Annex p. 26).

The above is but a sample of what is in store for us. Other areas where the EEC will direct our affairs include the training of doctors, pharmacists and other professionals; establishing a corps of EEC inspectors for animal and food products; compulsory car tests; police controls at frontiers and arms legislation; medical freedom and controls on pharmacists; education, vocational training, professional qualifications and student mobility; credit policy of banks; controls on Aer Lingus, CIE, road haulage and sea transport.

All of this amounts to a massive shift towards European Union, with all its political connotations and dangers to neutrality.

How feasible would 26-County neutrality on the 1939-45 model be now? Neutrality involves being able to stand alone and survive. Have we the capacity now to clothe an army and put boots on their feet, much less arm them? The Swedes and the Swiss could, but they are not in the EEC.

European Union involves a political superstate. Can Ireland develop, increase

her population and gainfully employ them in such a situation? Ask your local TD or MP. What future do they see for Ireland?

What about this remark made by EEC Commissioner, Mr. Peter Sutherland in Greece in August last:

"Many member countries continue to maintain that, in the final analysis, every country retains full national sovereignty. That is simply not possible".

Reducing state sovereignty and transferring more powers to the non-elected Commission and Council — especially when the latter proposes to operate by majority vote — is a fundamental attack on democracy and popular sovereignty and should be resisted.

## Tallaght Sinn Féin

Peter Cunningham,  
36 Old Bawn Avenue, Tallaght.  
Telephone: 519128

12ú Samhain 1986

Whereas a decision was taken on Sunday 2nd November by the organisation styling itself Sinn Féin, to contest elections in the 26 Counties and if elected to take seats in that assembly styling itself Dáil Éireann, this decision in effect reneged on the 1st and 2nd Dáileanna elected by all the people of Ireland and which legislated for all Ireland until overthrown by the Free State in 1923.

This assembly which has continued to call itself Dáil Éireann and has sat in Leinster House only speaks on behalf of people in the 26 Counties and at the behest of the British Government and therefore is merely a neo-colonial state.

Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tallaght, Co. Dublin, can no longer give allegiance to such an organisation as that which still calls itself Sinn Féin and we herby give our allegiance to Republican Sinn Féin, the only political organisation continuing to completely reject British rule and its colonial parliaments, north and south, and who have pledged to continue resistance to British rule until we can reactivate the Republic as elected by all the people of Ireland in 1918, based on the Proclamation of 1916.

Cumann Wolfe Tone and its members will continue to work in the Tallaght area to put forward the aims and objects of Sinn Féin as they were prior to Sunday, 2nd November 1986. We can be contacted at the above address. We ask people in the area for their continued support and thank them for their support over the past years.

## Comhbhrón

Is dona linn bás Shíobhán Ní Chionnaith, sárbhánaisteoir, fíorghael agus cara na bpríosúnach Poblachtach. Suaimeas síorraí dá hanam uasal.



## Athchló ar leabhar príosúin

Don té nach bhfuil "Girseacha i nGéibheann" léite aige cheana féin mar nár éirigh leis cóip a fháil nuair a díoladh amach an chéad eagrán, tá dea-scéala ann dó an Nollaig seo. Tá an cuntas a scríobh Áine agus Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig faoina saol faoi ghlas ag Gallaibh (idir 1974 agus 1983) ar fáil arís in eagrán cúlpháipéir. Foilseacháin Náisiúnta Teo. a d'fhoilsigh agus is féidir gach eolas faoi dháileadh agus lacáiste d'orduithe breise a fháil ó AIS, 31 Sráid na bhFiníní, Baile Átha Cliath 2. Tel. 01-607698.

Bhuaigh an leabhar seo duais ag Oireachtas na Gaeilge anuraidh agus tá ardmholadh tugtha dó ag léirmheastóirí in Éirinn agus thar lear cheana féin. Díoladh amach an chéad eagrán faoi chlúdach cruu, laistigh de thrí mhí ón uair a foilsíodh é an samhradh seo — rud an-neamhghnách i gcás leabhair i nGaeilge. Tá athchló faoi chlúdach bog curtha air anois.

Tá leagan Béarla á réiteach don athbhliain. Arís, ní cuimhneach le héinne cén uair dheiridh a raibh aistriúchán de Dhuaisleabhar Oireachtais le fáil i dteanga eile laistigh de bhliain ón uair a foilsíodh an bunleagan. Agus tá an leabhar á aistriú go Gearmáinis faoi láthair chomh maith.

Tá ardmholadh ag dul don bheirt chain-teoir dúchais seo as Gaeltacht Thír Chonaill as ucht toiliú a scéal féin a chur os comhair an phobail i nGaeilge i dtosach. Tar éis go ndúirt go leor daoine leo nach léann nó nach gceannaíonn mórán daoine leabhair i nGaeilge.

Cruthú is ea "Girseacha i nGéibheann" nach fíor sin, go bhfuil go leor daoine atá ábalta agus sásta leabhair i nGaeilge a léamh — ach rud éigin fiúntach a bheith le rá ag na húdair. Cruthaíonn cinneadh seo na mban cróga mianach an réabhlóideachais atá ag baint leo agus leis an mhuintir Ghaeltachta ar daoibh iad. Bronntanas galánta Nollag d'aon Ghael Poblachtach. Léargas ar leith ar shaol ár linne.

## PRESS BIAS . . .

*(Headlines of Paris newspapers reporting the journey of Napoleon across France, on his return from Elba March 9-22, 1815)*

March 9

THE ANTHROPOPOGUS HAS QUITTED HIS DEN

March 10

THE CORSICAN OGRE HAS LANDED AT CAPE JUAN

March 11

THE TIGER HAS ARRIVED AT CAP

March 12

THE MONSTER SLEPT AT GRENOBLE

March 13

THE TYRANT HAS PASSED THROUGH LYON

March 14

THE USURPER IS DIRECTING HIS STEPS TOWARDS DIJON

March 18

BONAPARTE IS ONLY SIXTY LEAGUES FROM THE CAPITAL  
He has been fortunate enough to escape his pursuers

March 19

BONAPARTE IS ADVANCING WITH RAPID STEPS, BUT HE WILL NEVER ENTER PARIS

March 20

NAPOLEON WILL, TOMORROW, BE UNDER OUR RAMPARTS

March 21

THE EMPEROR IS AT FONTAINEBLEAU

March 22

HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL MAJESTY  
arrived yesterday evening at the Tuileries amid the joyful acclamations of his devoted and faithful subjects

## 'Slightly constitutional' again

"After all, by entering Leinster House, Sinn Féin becomes accountable in a way it has never been before. Moreover, the more mundane work of canvassing voters on the doorsteps must surely make Sinn Féin candidates more sensitive, receptive even, to public criticism of the so-called "armed struggle . . ."

"Besides, who can predict what the logic of Sinn Féin's new situation may dictate? Fianna Fáil, in its initial years was in Seán Lemass's phrase, a "slightly constitutional" party, including a number who still espoused the gun; yet, within a few years, it had abjured violence in favour of the constitutional road.

"And, whatever about the ideological objection to sitting in the British parliament, it might be argued that Sinn Féin must re-consider its attitude to any future Northern Assembly since this would be, no less than Dáil Éireann, a parliament of Irishmen . . ."

*From the Irish News (Belfast) Editorial  
3rd November, 1986.*

**An episode from French history teaches a lesson for all time.**

*Following his defeat in March, 1814, Napoleon Bonaparte appeared finished. The Rulers of Austria, Germany, Russia and England had him imprisoned on the island of Elba. Louis XVIII was on the throne of France. Then the unexpected happened. After only 10 months Napoleon escaped and landed in the south of France. He rallied an army and moved northwards. And nothing succeeds like success.*

I wish to join Republican Sinn Féin.

Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Aimn .....

Seoladh .....

Send to either address on back page.



# SINN FÉIN — Yesterday

At the request of some of our younger readers, who want to read an outline of the history of Sinn Féin, we are republishing this pamphlet issued in 1971.

THE oldest political organisation in Ireland today is Sinn Féin which was founded in 1905. The name means "ourselves" and conveys the basic philosophy of self-reliance in the struggle to establish a free, independent and self-supporting Ireland. From its inception the organisation upheld the cause of the Irish language and the promotion of home industries.

Following the Rising of 1916 a great wave of national feeling swept Ireland. Sinn Féin organised on a large scale and successfully contested a number of parliamentary by-elections. Since the Act of Union in 1800 Irish M.P.s had sat in Westminster but had achieved little because they were outvoted by five to one. Their agitation for Home Rule had failed and the people were searching for something new.

The Sinn Féin policy was revolutionary because their candidates were pledged not to sit in Westminster, a foreign and usurping parliament, but announced their intention of staying at home and working for the establishment of an Irish Parliament. In the General Election of 1918 Sinn Féin won 73 of the 105 seats. Many of their successful candidates were in jail at the time either in Ireland or in England, but those who were free met in the Dublin Mansion House on January 21, 1919.

At this historic meeting the Proclamation of the Republic issued in 1916 was endorsed; a Declaration of Independence was issued to the nations of the world; a Democratic Programme for social and economic development was adopted; and an independent Irish parliament, called Dáil Éireann, established. Ministers of state were appointed, courts of justice set up, a national loan floated and the Irish Republican Army came under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Defence. Local government elections were also won throughout most of the country and the Sinn Féin controlled local authorities gave their allegiance to An Dáil.

Inevitably, all this led to a clash with the English government and its forces. A guerrilla war of resistance was carried on until July 1921, when a truce was negotiated. Protracted negotiations took place, but already the Government of Ireland Act had been passed in Westminster, providing for the establishment of two subordinate parliaments in Ireland. The excuse for this was that there was a sizeable body of Unionist opinion in and around Belfast who wanted to remain in the United Kingdom. But the Act provided for the inclusion of six out of the nine Ulster counties in the new statelet, although Counties Tyrone and Fermanagh had nationalist majorities, as well as large parts of the other four counties. The aim was to hold as large an area as

possible with a safe Unionist majority. The Stormont Parliament was opened in Belfast but the attempt to set up a 26-County Parliament in Dublin fell through.

In December 1921 the Sinn Féin delegates in London signed the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty under a threat of "immediate and terrible war" from Lloyd George. Their action was endorsed by An Dáil, still under duress, and split the nation in two. The two parliaments of the Government of Ireland Act became a reality, the Dublin one being operated by the pro-treaty group. This was resisted unsuccessfully by the Republicans under Mr. de Valera until April, 1923. Sinn Féin continued in existence despite the defection of half of its support now called Cumann na nGaedheal and later Fine Gael, who considered the Treaty to be a "stepping stone to the Republic". In 1926 Mr. de Valera tried to get Sinn Féin to accept the 26-County Parliament but failed. He then defected with a large number of supporters and set up another 26-County party called Fianna Fáil. Sinn Féin was by this time very small and weak but determined never to accept the Treaty and to work for the restoration of the Republic.

Some changes have taken place since then but the "stepping stone" was never used. The Six Counties are more firmly than ever ensconced in the United Kingdom; despite the trappings of independence the economy is still controlled by England with disastrous consequences; the Gaeltacht or Irish-speaking areas have almost disappeared. In fact it has at last become obvious to many that the partition system of government is a failure (for Ireland) and that the inevitable drift back to integration with England is well under way. The 1965 Free Trade Area Agreement is a good example of this.

The Sinn Féin of today is the same organisation as was founded in 1905 and has the same objectives as it set itself in 1918. Its most recent successes were in 1955-58 when it had two candidates elected in the occupied north and four in the south, pledged to restore the All-Ireland Republican Dáil. This was the result of a wave of enthusiasm which accompanied a Resistance Campaign carried out by the Irish Republican Army in the Six Counties. When that campaign ended, due to misrepresentation and collaboration on the part of the 26-County regime, support for Sinn Féin waned.

The Sinn Féin programme in the political sphere is aimed at contesting local and parliamentary elections north and south of the Border and re-establishing a 32-County Dáil which would seek to enforce its legislation over all Ireland. The social and economic policy is radical and aims at nationalisation of the currency, banks and key industries; state development of the natural resources on a large scale; and the spread of co-operatives throughout agriculture, industry and trade.

Foreign speculation in the flow of capital controlled. Such opportunities for comparison with the situation in the South. From the subsequent developments it may well now be a break-through. This about are:

The realisation that the situation is nowhere near a solution. County parties in the direction; the politics; the programme; the disastrous effects of the Agreement (for the consequences of the Common Market resurgence with the Six Counties is to begin to make

## A Note on the Westminster Parliaments:

The basis of the system has always been the right of any local authority to legislate for itself with its two seats to existence under the Act passed by all three parliaments to replace them. The successor Dáil.

This objection to the recognition of the Westminster and Stormont allegiances to the candidates pledged to convening of the Féin elected in Westminster and Leinster House. A majority, the assume governance of the County area, to the elected County area. 32-County Parliament.

Since 1922 to use Leinster to a 32-County. These groups inside" and to case they were became part of

Fianna Fáil Republican opposed English, and negotiated by English



# 7 and Today

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a achieved through British-made parlia- in them involves pers of Westminster o take an oath of monarch. Sinn Féin lves to work for the r Parliament. Sinn ves will not sit in They will not sit in ty group, but, given are to go in and ntrol over the 26- issued an invitation atives of the Six- ir seats in a new

ps have attempted a "stepping stone" and all have failed. med to "work from a system". In every l up by the system, ed up defending it.

in 1932, released polished the oath, and annuities ques-urn of the ports still 3 Counties. But by

1938 they had capitulated. In that year a Trade Agreement was signed which perpetuated the domination of our economy by England and in 1939 the Offences Against the State Act was passed to preserve the system. In the seven years that followed Republicans were jailed, shot, hanged and died on hunger strike, because Fianna Fáil had become part of the system and was determined to hold on to what they had got.

The 1948-1951 Coalition Government under John A. Costello came about as a result of the winning of 10 seats by Clann na Poblachta, founded in 1946 to end partition through Leinster House. Great things were promised by their leader, Seán MacBride. This government launched an Anti-Partition Campaign at home and abroad and many people thought that they would succeed.

They declared the 26 Counties a "Republic" in 1949 but Westminster retaliated with the Ireland Act of 1949 which reinforced the 1920 Act. At a mass all-party rally in O'Connell Street, Dublin Mr. Costello declared "we will hit England in her pride, prestige and pocket".

When the second coalition was in office in 1954-57 the Anti-Partition Campaign had fizzled out. A request to allow Nationalist M.P.s of Stormont "right of audience" in Leinster House was turned down. Mr. Costello said that even this gesture would "raise legal and constitutional difficulties". This was despite the fact that M.P.s had been elected in Armagh and Tyrone on the understanding that they would seek to sit in Leinster House.

The "legal and constitutional difficulties" meant of course that the 26-County assembly is prevented from functioning (or even actively endeavouring to function) as a National Parliament by the British laws which established it: the Government of Ireland Act, 1920; the Treaty, 1921; and the Boundary Agreement, 1925. All the legislation of the English Parliament was incorporated in the 1937 Constitution, either in toto or in some amended form. In 1956-57 the Coalition Government used the Offences Against the State Act against Republicans, again to preserve the system.

In 1969 the Irish Labour Party pushed some long-sitting T.D.s onside to make way for the new brand of "socialists", Conor Cruise O'Brien, David Thornley, Justin Keating, etc. who were pledged to make Labour strong and independent and change the social system by making the '70s socialist. Within one year they had become part of the system themselves and were arranging a coalition with the conservative Fine Gael. They also had succumbed.

Only by staying outside the partition system can Sinn Féin lead the Irish people and change that system. The 1970s present us with many opportunities of weaning the

people from the system and building the alternative—a 32-County Parliament. Already there is talk of the abolition of Stormont; Leinster House will also go in due course. But there is much work to be done to achieve the Democratic Socialist Republic of All Ireland.

In August 1971 Sinn Féin took the initiative in setting up Dáil Uladh, a regional Parliament for the nine counties of Ulster, as a first step towards a new governmental structure for the 32 Counties. Tá an lá ag breacadh agus tá obair le déanamh. Cuirimis chuige.

Sinn Féin,  
2a Sráid Chaoimhín Iocht.,  
Baile Átha Cliath 8.  
1971

## Sligo Resolution

During the first week of November meetings of the Sligo Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin, Sligo Prisoners Dependents' Fund and Sligo National Graves Association were held and it was unanimously decided to issue the following statement on behalf of all three organisations:

"On behalf of Sligo Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin, Sligo National Graves Association and Sligo Prisoners Dependents' Fund we pledge our allegiance to the leadership of Republican Sinn Féin.

Under no circumstances can republicans accept any Partition Government in Ireland and remain true to the ideals for which Sligo's Noble Six, among many, gave their lives.

Since the former chairman of the Comhairle Ceantair and of the National Graves Association has accepted the Partition Government of Leinster House he is hereby expelled from these organisations."

## Solidarité

To all our comrades, who have helped the cause of a free Ireland, we say thanks. The struggle continues.

A tous les camarades, qui ont soutenu la cause d'une Irlande libre, nous disons merci. La lutte continue.

Zu alle unseren Kameraden, die das Prinzip eines freien Irlands unterstützt haben, sagen wir Danke. Der Kampf geht weiter.

Queremos dar las gracias a todos los companeros simpatizantes con la lucha por la libertad de Irlanda. La lucha continua.

Ai compagni che hanno parteggiato con noi nella lotta per la libertà dell'Irlanda grazie tante. La lotta continua.



DECEMBER 12, 1956

## A new phase of resistance

Thirty years ago this month full-scale armed resistance to British rule broke out all over the Six Counties on a scale unknown since 1921. On December 12, 1956, 20 British installations in the occupied area were attacked.

The targets were British military and police installations, administration and radio posts; roads were blocked and bridges destroyed; magazines and explosives seized.

The attacks were co-ordinated and effective. They ranged from Torr Head in Antrim where a radar station was attacked; to Magherafelt where the courthouse was burned down; to Armagh City where Gough Military Barracks was attacked; to Enniskillen where a new Territorial Army Barracks was blasted; to Newry where a B-Special training hut was destroyed; to Derry where a BBC relay transmitter station was blown up.

Two bridges across the river Erne — Lady Brooke Bridge and Cary Bridge — were

destroyed; two more bridges over the Bann — linking Antrim with Derry — were cut. Gelignite was seized in Fermanagh and at Goragwood. There were running gun battles between IRA units and military and police in several centres.

As the Stormont junta reeled and sent the alarm to London, a proclamation was posted on walls throughout the occupied area. It began:

"Spearheaded by Ireland's freedom fighters, our people in the Six Counties have carried the fight to the enemy. They are the direct victims of British Imperialism and they are also the backbone of the national revolutionary resurgence.

"This is the age-old struggle of the Irish people versus British aggression . . ."

Indeed, a new phase in the age-old struggle had begun. The torch of freedom had been accepted by a new generation and was burning brightly. Bhí Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh ar bun arís.



Reinforcements of British troops arrive in the Six Counties to put down the Rising of 1956.

## Seán Sabhat will be honoured

The 30th Anniversary of Seán Sabhat will be commemorated by Republican Sinn Féin in Limerick on Sunday, January 4, 1987. Assembly at Bedford Row, Limerick at 1.00 p.m. Oration will be given by Dáithí Ó Conaill.

## Cumann Uí Ghríofa, Gaillimh

At a meeting of the above Sinn Féin Cumann it was decided to support Republican Sinn Féin in view of its faithful adherence to the Constitution of Sinn Féin, and its allegiance to the Irish Republic proclaimed in arms in Easter Week 1916 and to Dáil Éireann, the Parliament of the Irish Republic, established on 21st January 1919 in the Mansion House, Dublin, following the success of Sinn Féin in the All-Ireland General Election of 1918.

## WHO SAID?

I measc na nathanna cainte a bhain geit as daoine nuair a léigh siad iad, fiú amháin i gcomhthéacs agus leis an dáta cui tugtha in éineacht leo i leabhar nua Conor O'Clery bhí an méid seo a leanas a dúirt Éamon de Valera, ar Eanáir 25, 1925:

"No decent Republican should ever enter the present Dáil". Cuireadh an-ole ar lucht leanúna De Valera i bhFianna Fáil nuair a roghnaigh "Evening Extra" RTE an ráiteas sin mar thomhais le gairid.

Ba mhó an t-ole a cuireadh ar mhuintir RTE áfach nuair a fuair siad na málaí poist (ó dhaoine nach raibh an dáta ar eolas acu ar ndóigh) ag rá gurb é Ruairí Ó Brádaigh a dúirt an méid atá ráite ann!

Ach dála go leor eile seasann an taifead san saothar fíor-spéisiúil seo in *Phrases Make History Here*, curtha in eagar ag O'Clery agus foilsithe ag The O'Brien Press. Is léir go bhfuil taighde mion agus dua nach beag caite ag an Eagarthóir — iriseoir de chuid an *Irish Times* i Londain — chun cuntas lánchruinn a thabhairt ar an iliomad port a cheol an iliomad daoine faoi seál na hÉireann anuas trí na blianta.

Ní léir dúinn aon mhórbhotún sa saothar ar an gcéad léamh. Seachas ráiteas amháin b'fhéidir maidir leis an méid a dúirt Paddy Donegan ar Deireadh Fómhair 18, 1976 faoi iompar Chearbhaill Uí Dhálaigh nuair a dúirt sé, más fíor: "In my opinion, he is a thundering disgrace. The fact is that the Army must stand behind the State".

Bhí caint Uí Dhonagáin píosa maith níos láidre ná sin ar an ócáid, ach nár fhoilsigh na nuachtáin a chaint ag an am. Tá cuntas i bhfad níos gaire don bhunleagan fírinneach le fáil i leabhar nua Bhreandán Uí Eithir *The Beggard's Guide to Irish Politics* . . .

## HARASSMENT

Active members of Republican Sinn Féin have been the subject of much attention by the Garda Special Branch. A close watch has been kept on meetings.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and three Leitrim delegates were stopped and searched minutely coming from a meeting in Manorhamilton.

Homes have been searched, including those of Pat and Mary Ward, Brendan Magill and Conall Gallagher, in Donegal; Emer O'Connor in Limerick and Margaret Doherty, Leaschathaoirleach of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Killarney.

Councillor Joe O'Neill's home was raided in Bundoran, as well as the home of Paddy Brady. In each case the gardaí were supported by military who arrived in jeeps and cordoned off sections of the public street, even ordering a man out of a telephone kiosk.

In all cases the searches were minute and documents were closely examined.

Which is the real Sinn Féin?



# SUPPORT FROM U.S. EXILES

## TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Arising out of the question of abstention now at issue both in the military and political wings of the Irish Republican Movement, we the undersigned feel that it is incumbent on us to issue the following statement:

We categorically reject any move for elected representation of Sinn Féin to enter the Leinster House government, an institution imposed on Ireland in 1922 by British guns and bayonets, to serve the interests of British imperialism.

The long lists of crimes committed by this institution of treachery against those who remained true to the oath they had taken to defend the Republic proclaimed by Pearse, Connolly, Tom Clarke and their comrades, if necessary in arms, is endless. Its savagery and excesses even exceed its masters in Westminster.

The drive to the establishment of an Irish socialist republic free and independent from the last tentacles of the octopus of imperialism cannot be advanced by any recognition of or participation in the institution that was set up to overthrow the Republic in the first place.

We reaffirm our support to those who stand solidly behind the traditional Republican policy of abstention or boycott of all British-imposed institutions of servility and replace, not reform them, with Republican institutions of liberty and freedom.

Sincerely and respectfully,  
THOMAS FALVEY  
GEORGE HARRISON

\* \* \* \* \*

"I hasten to applaud you. You have all the support and strength at my command. You have saved the Republic as proclaimed at the GPO in 1916, and in so doing you have honoured the men and women who have given their lives ever since that the Republic shall live."

—Tim Brennan,  
Hicksville, New York.

## Brón ar an mbás

The Organising Committee of Republican Sinn Féin has expressed sympathy with Republican prisoner Joe O'Connell, from Kilkee, Co. Clare, on the recent death of his mother.

Republican Sinn Féin in Bundoran extends sympathy to the relatives of the late Willie Waddeell.

Déanamid comhbhrón le Dónall de Barra, Gaoth Dobhair, ar bhás a mháthar Sophia agus ar bhás a gharlinbh naónáin.

## BOOK REVIEW

# Understanding the Civil War

**The Irish Civil War (1922-'23) and What It Still Means for the Irish People** is the title of a new attractive 72-page paperback by British academic historian Frances Mary Blake, who edited the best-selling recollections of the Civil War by Ernie O'Malley, *The Singing Flame* some years ago.

Published by the Information on Ireland Group (P.O. Box 958, London W14 0JF) at £1.75 Sterling (plus 25p postage — five copies £7.00 or 10 copies £13.50 Sterling, including postage) the book aims to give an insight into the tragedy of the Treaty surrender of 1921 and the Civil War that arose from it, to the British public in a way that will illustrate how the current Anglo-Irish struggle has to be seen in its historical context and in the light of the on-going aim of the British establishment to keep Ireland weak, divided and ruled in British imperial interests.

A practical short and effective read about the Irish Civil War tragedy, it is a very useful account for Irish people also and an ideal Christmas gift in particular for a younger generation who may be less aware of factual realities due to censorship and doctored history-teaching in Irish schools, North and South.

One of the very attractive features of this book is the generous helping of old photographs and contemporary documentary material, which impress upon the reader the sad, shameful and brutal realities of the effort to undermine the Irish Republic in 1922 and to replace it with partition, a 26-County Free State and a 26-County Dáil in Leinster House by sheer force of military might.

Information on Ireland is a small group of British academics, writers, historians and political activists who are convinced of the justice of the Irish Republican cause, and the demand for Irish self-determination free from British interference. They feel it is necessary to place the reality of the deep-seated racist and Imperial attitudes of successive British political establishments before the general British public in the hope that the ordinary decent British citizen will in turn reject their leaders' attitudes and try to bring pressure on Westminster to change course and leave Ireland alone.

One must never confuse Irish opposition to British imperialism with opposition to the ordinary British people, many of whom have suffered as much at the hands of their ruling class as some of the Irish. There have always been generous and honest British people in every generation who have revolted against British policy in Ireland, and who, outraged when the facts were presented to them, disowned what was being done in their name and without their permission. Indeed, in some notable cases

with which most people are familiar they have given up their own privileged positions and thrown in their lot with the Irish cause.

At a simple political level for example, it is generally conceded that there is at the moment a majority in the British Labour Party which supports the adoption of a clear-cut withdrawal from Ireland position — if the issue were to be faced democratically at Annual Conference. But the undemocratic "block-voting" system of the powerful and very conservative craft unions in the British Labour Movement has so far ensured that the clear wish of rank and file British working-class people to quit Ireland has never been properly expressed.

Information on Ireland is one of the groups in a long line of British radical dissent which aims to try and change this situation by educating the public to the realities of the colonial relationship between our two countries.

Much good work has been done already. As for example with the book *The Same Old Story: The roots of anti-Irish Racism* which traces (again with cartoons and illustrations) the long history of anti-Irish prejudice in British circles of power dating back to the time of the Normans.

Ceannaí agus léigi. Agus molaí do bhuir gearr i Sasana féin.

—Tomás Ó Neachtain

## Kilmichael heroes remembered

About 30 people attended a commemoration ceremony remembering the brave action of Óglaigh na hÉireann in November 1920 at Kilmichael, Co. Cork, where IRA volunteers ambushed and wiped out two Crossley lorry loads of British Auxiliaries travelling from Macroom.

Donncha Ó Murchú paid tribute to the brave men who took part in this action and remembered with great pride the three fallen volunteers, Deacy, Mac Cárthaigh and O'Sullivan to whom the memorial is dedicated.

A lone piper played a lament which was followed by Amhrán na bhFiann.

## PRE-CHRISTMAS SOCIAL

### Cumann Cabhrach Function

Thursday 11th December 1986

Brian Dillon GAA Hall

Mayfield

CORK

Táille £4.00 9-1 a.m.

Our sales for November 1986 totalled 10,248 copies.



# Nollaig na nGael



REMEMBER THE PRISONERS



The Sinn Féin parade (above) and (right) Seán Mac an Iomaire speaking at the Fr. Michael Griffin Commemoration in Galway on November 23.

## Comóradh i nGaillimh

Ar an 14ú Samhain, 1920 thóg buíon d'Arm Shasana an tAthair Mícheál Ó Gríofa óna theach ar Bhóthar na Mara i nGaillimh.

Mharaigh siad é go fealltach an oíche sin. Chaith siad a chorp sa phortach míle isteach ón gerosbhóthar i mBearna, thart ar cheithre mhíle siar ón gcathair féin.

Fuarthas an corp ar an 21ú Samhain, 1920. Ar an láthair seo tá leacht tógtha in ómós dó.

Ba chuig an leacht seo a shiúil scata Poblachtach, Dé Domhnaigh, 23ú Samhain, i mbliana. Ba é an chéad uair le fada an comóradh seo a bheith ar siúl.

Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil a bhí ina Chathaoirleach, agus ba iad an Sagart Paróiste áitiúil, An tAthair Ó Tulaigh agus Seán Mac an Iomaire a dúirt na paidreacha. Léadh Forógra na Poblachta agus sheinn píobaire Amhrán na bhFiann.

Thug Domhnall Ó Lübhlaí an óráid. Dúirt sé:

"Cé mhéid díobh siúd atá i gcumhacht inniu i stát an 26 Chontae a thug cuairt ariamh ar an spota seo? Cé mhéid díobh gur eol dóibh a leithéid de dhuine a bheith ann agus An tAthair Mícheál Ó Gríofa?"

"An bhfuilimid féin sách láidir agus sách díoghbháilte chun leanúint ar aghaidh leis an troid chun na Sasanaigh bhradacha a chur as ár dtír agus chun dí-shuíomh a dhéanamh ar theanga na Sasanach?"



## LEITRIM MESSAGE

Republican Sinn Féin has received a message of full support from Mrs. Katie B. Keaney, Corronmore, Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim. Mrs. Keaney is a niece of Seán Mac Diarmada, the executed 1916 leader and signatory of the Proclamation.

The Mac Diarmada family refused to accept any honour from the Dublin administration in 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising.