



UIMH 193 BEALTAINE — MAY 2003 <http://saoirse.rr.nu> €1 (70p stg, USA \$30 p.a.)

Comóradh
ROBERT
EMMET
agus
Éirí
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1803

Bold Robert
Emmet
launched

page 4



Stevens 3 Report: British forces controlled loyalist gangs

COLLUSION TOLL OF 1,000 DEAD

THE publication of a fraction of the Stevens 3 Report into collusion on April 17 brings to the surface the hidden reality of colonial rule in Ireland: that British-controlled and directed loyalist gangs have killed over 1,000 uninvolved civilians in the Six Counties over the past 37 years.

This is not Republicans saying so. This is the view of the highest ranking policeman in Britain, the head of the Metropolitan police, John Stevens. This British Establishment figure has brought out this report after 13 years.

It confirms the charges of collusion made by Republicans from the early 1970s. In that such collaboration was 'widespread' it shows that the loyalist paramilitaries acted as the underground arm or hidden extension of the British occupation forces.

In this way the British Government added proxy forces to their war in Ireland and blamed Unionists for their dirty deeds while posing before the world as peace keepers, they acted in the same way in the

early 1920s when they imposed partition and the Northern Ireland statelet on the Irish people.

Such shameful policies and actions should be exposed by every possible means and independent public international inquiries instituted. These should not be confined to the Finucane case, nor should they be held in private as in the case of the greatest single loss of life in the conflict, i.e. the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of 1974.

The renamed RUC and UDR are not new forces. They consist of the very same personnel which carried out an ignominious campaign of murder against uninvolved Nationalists as a matter of British Government policy.

Such deeds cannot be swept under the carpet. They are war crimes and the forces which carry them out must be held to account. Nationalists suffered while unionists took the blame, all the while the English Government was largely responsible.



• TWO OF THE VICTIMS: Rosemary Nelson (left), killed on March 15, 1999 and Patrick Shanaghan (right), killed on August 12, 1991.

**Limerick Eight trial
result is due on May 8
— full coverage in
June SAOIRSE.**

CABHAIR

Irish Republican
Prisoners Dependants
Fund

ANNUAL
TESTIMONIAL
& REPUBLICAN
REUNION

West County Hotel
Chapelizod, Dublin
Friday, May 16, 2003
Buffet Supper, €20

Music: The Freewheelers



Honorees

Larry McMahon,
Ulster
Tom O'Connell,
Munster
Dottie Redmond,
Connacht
Johnny Gilraine,
Leinster
Bart Dougherty,
USA

Stormont unwork-

The British government's refusal to hold elections in the Six Counties and the stalled process there reveals the operation of a unionist veto in defiance of the wishes of the Irish people.

The real power lies with the English government, regardless of what Dublin, the SDLP, Provos, DUP or other Stormont parties want. So much for alleged democracy and the current process.

Five years down the road from the signing of the Stormont Agreement it is still in crisis and still unworkable. The alternative is a federation of the four provinces with maximum devolution of power to local level.

Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown, Sunday, June 15, 2pm

Galway remembers Tuam Six

A WREATH-laying ceremony to mark the 80th anniversary of the execution without trial by Free State forces of six Republican prisoners in Tuam workhouse took place at the monument to the six prisoners, on the site of the old workhouse.

The six prisoners, from North Galway, Connemara and South Mayo, were executed without trial in Tuam on April 11, 1923, as a reprisal for Republican actions during the Civil War.

Members of the original committee who erected the monument in the 1980s, attended the wreath-laying ceremony, including the former Chairman of Galway County Council, Mr. Frank Glynn, and members of the family of the late Comdt. General Tom Maguire, of Cross, Co. Mayo,

who unveiled the monument in 1985, and whose brother Seán was one of the men executed.

• *The wreath laying ceremony at Workhouse Monument, Tuam; marking the 80th anniversary of the six Galway Martyrs who were executed by Free State forces on the April 11, 1923. Pictured (left to right): Tom Curran, Dan Hoban, Dr Seán Maguire, Tom Moylan, Adrian Haire, Frank Glynn and Joe D'Arcy.*



Concern for small businesses

THE opening of a petrol station in Kerry as a pilot project by an international food company has been questioned by Republican Sinn Féin Youth Affairs spokesperson Pádraig Garvey from Caherciveen on April 25.

He said that while the appeal of low cost petrol is obvious, the motive behind the project must be questioned.

"This is a major international-

al food company with a considerable share of the market — the move into the provision of petrol must be seen as a way of attracting many more customers to the

supermarket," he said.

"The first petrol station in Killarney will be a model for similar operations in other parts of the country but our fear is for the long term objective of the project.

"While selling below cost is rightly outlawed, these huge companies can sell at low margins and this gives them a considerable advantage over local independent service stations or retail outlets.

"Therefore this aspect of

unfair competition is a concern to us — and there is a danger that these huge international companies could become large monopolies and that would not be good for the consumer as prices could then be raised without any objections.

"We are now calling on the Competition Authority to carefully examine the Killarney petrol project to determine if it meets all the regulations and that is does not pose a threat to small local outlets."

Sinn Féin believe that neither London nor Dublin can guarantee the future welfare of all the people of Ulster.

"As trust and faith in politics founders, we ask people to consider our ÉIRE NUA programme for a four province federal Ireland with devolution of power down to local community level. The failed Stormont Agreement has not brought real peace-the fact is that there cannot be a real or lasting peace until the basic cause of conflict between unionists and nationalists — the British presence — is addressed.

"The betrayal of Republican principles by the leadership of the Provos is sad and regrettable. The truth is that they are now part of British rule in Ireland. Against this awful betrayal, now is the time for Republican minded people who oppose the British presence, to support the Republican Sinn Féin policy for a new federal Ireland where the unionists would have a majority in a nine-county Ulster.

"Anyone in Shannon or indeed throughout County Clare interested in joining should contact rsfshannon@iol.ie."

Shannon recruitment campaign

A NEW recruitment campaign aimed at young people who are disillusioned by the failed politics of the Stormont Agreement has been launched in Shannon town by Republican Sinn Féin.

Republican Sinn Féin Shannon town spokesman Ger Flannigan said that many people are now confused by the present political impasse and continuing betrayal of Republican principles.

"The inherent contradictions of the 1998 Stormont Agreement, by promising a united Ireland to

nationalists and a place in the United Kingdom to Unionists ensured that both communities were cruelly short-changed," he said. "While much has changed for both communities, the reality today is that the unionists are dismayed and the nationalist republicanism continues. We in Republican

Gearrscòalta

Armagh spy camera destroyed

A SPY camera control box was destroyed by local people in Armagh city on March 31. These cameras are being used by the RUC/PSNI to monitor local people's movements and acquaintances. There were widespread raids in a local housing estate following the attack. Two men were arrested but subsequently released. Republican Sinn Féin in the city has fully supported the right of local people to remove these intrusions.

Mental health promotion programmes essential

MENTAL health promotion programmes must be made an essential element of the school and college curriculum just like anti-smoking campaigns, Pól Ó Meara, of the Liam Lynch Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin in Mary Immaculate College in Limerick said on April 10.

With one in five adolescents at risk of psychiatric problems according to the first study of suicidal behaviour among young people, the college branch of Republican Sinn Féin in Limerick has now called for the introduction of mental health programmes for students.

Pól Ó Meara, from Tipperary, chairman of the Liam Lynch Cumann, said the reasons for the high youth suicide rate in Ireland must be explored and hopefully isolated to help students overcome the risk.

"The figures show that there is a high youth suicide rate particularly among young men in the 15 to 24 years age group," he said. "The recent study found that many students have some sort of psychiatric disorder — the most common being depressive, then anxiety and attention deficit disorder.

"While there are many programmes in schools and colleges aimed at encouraging young people to look after their physical health, we feel there is a distinct lack of information on mental health promotion. Students today face tremendous social, parental and peer pressure to compete in what is increasingly becoming a tough and uncompromising environment.

"Of course not all students undergoing difficulties need be referred to the mental health services — we feel that many could be assisted by a recognised helpline or promotional programme in schools and colleges. Therefore we are now calling on the educational authorities to undertake such an initiative as a matter of urgency."

Charlie Daly remembered
A COMMEMORATION to Charlie Daly, one of the four Republicans murdered at Drumboe Castle in Co Donegal in 1923, took place in Kiltallagh, Ballylennane, Co Kerry on May 5.

Siobhán Walsh,

Listowel recited a

decade of the Rosary

and a wreath was laid

by Tan War Veteran

Dan Keating (101).

Matt Leen, Tralee gave

the oration in the

course of which he

said that Charlie Daly

died rather than accept

a Twenty-Six-County

free state. "His

courage, foresight and

exemplary integrity

stand as a reminder to

us all. His principles

stand tall and have

proved unshakeable as

we honour him here at

the Charlie Daly commemoration in Co Kerry on May 5.

On March 14, 1923

Charlie Daly, Seán Larkin, Daniel Enright, and Tim O

Sullivan faced the Free State firing squad.



Results of Cumann na mBan raffle

WE wish, on behalf of Cumann na mBan, to extend our gratitude to everyone who has supported us in the past and for your generosity in this year, 2003.

Go raibh maith agaibh go léir.

1st Prize, Ticket No. 0028; 2nd Prize, Ticket No. 506; 3rd Prize, Ticket No. 3254; 4th Prize, Ticket No 3249; 5th Prize Ticket No. 4655.

Results of Dublin raffle

APRIL Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 220; 2nd prize 093; 3rd prize 273; 4th prize 051; 5th prize 129; 6th prize 174; 7th prize 222; 8th prize 257.

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- 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>

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 . . .

I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom bheith iom bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Ainm

Seoladh

Tel: Age (if under 21)

Send to:

Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill

223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1

Tel: 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

Easter Statement from Republican POWs

WE, the Republican Prisoners in Maghaberry prison send revolutionary and Easter greetings to the true and faithful Republicans who are gathered all over Ireland at the graves of our patriot dead. You are here today and here are Republicans to honour our dead, Ireland's dead, on the 57th anniversary of 1916 when Ireland through armed rising saw her people get off their knees and face the might of England, never to go down on her knees again.

There is little doubt that there are ex-Republicans who seek only to sit in the unionist seat of power at Stormont, or in a Free State set-up. These ex-comrades would be very happy to see our people, our country, back on their knees, they would see no sin in this. But we say to you, to the Brits, Free State and anyone else who would sell the All-Ireland Republic short: we are off our knees and off our knees we'll stay.

You, the true and faithful Republicans, know that the struggle will go on, you know the odds we face, that we are the few but are more the better for being just that. Here in the prisons, Republican POWs carry on the struggle, the regime still carries on their policy of criminalisation. We the Republican POWs will not be criminalised; we will see our prison struggle through and will see political status return as a right for all POWs.

In conclusion we would point out, in case there are those who don't know it yet, revolutionaries who become part of the very system they once struggled against are counter-revolutionaries and should be seen as nothing else. You can't break the will of the Irish people to be free.

Tiocfaidh Ár Lá.
— CIRA POWs, Maghaberry prison

26-County police acquire death weapons

TWO weapons that have been responsible for dozens of deaths in the United States and elsewhere are currently being tested by the 26 County police.

The so-called pepper-spray — said by US manufacturers to be 'non lethal' uses oleoresin capicum (chili pepper) in an aerosol form and is said to be highly dangerous to people with respiratory problems like asthma.

It has been associated with several deaths in the US and elsewhere. But a second weapon acquired by the same force which may be more lethal is the infamously named 'bean bag' round.

Fired from a 12-gauge shotgun, the bean bags are supposed to bounce off their human targets, yet experience has shown that they are capable of penetrating their victims chests, pulverizing limbs and rupturing eyeballs.

In Los Angeles, the weapon was withdrawn following the death of a mentally disturbed man hit by a bag.

The Huntington Beach police are now suing the country's largest 'bean bag' manufacturer saying they failed to properly warn them of the dangers of the weapon.

The weapon has been dropped by police departments across the US upwards to a dozen people have met their deaths in the US and Canada after being hit by the weapon.

RSF take part in May Day march

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin took part in the Dublin Trades Council organised May Day march in Dublin on Thursday May 1 to mark the 90th Anniversary of the 1913 Lockout.

The march, which began at the Garden of Remembrance, Parnell Square, included a contingent which marched under the banner of Republican Sinn Féin, including a number of Trade Union activists. The march concluded at Bessford Place with music and a number of speakers, including Roger Cole from PANA (Peace And Neutrality Alliance) who spoke against US and British occupation of Iraq.

Join

CUMANN na mBAN



For details contact Máiréad Ní Chaiomh
c/o 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1

SAOIRSE paper sellers harassed

IN a further attempt to suffocate the voice of Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick court handed down a hefty fine on 25-year-old SAOIRSE seller Timmy King, on April 18 last.

Timmy and three other SAOIRSE sellers had been on duty at the corner of O'Connell Street and Thomas Street on December 14, 2002 when they were accosted by Garda Coughlan accompanied by Detectives Dan Hough and Senan O'Sullivan.

Timmy King told the court he had been standing outside the chemist, where he

sold SAOIRSE every Saturday, when he was approached by the police.

"Detective O'Sullivan asked for my licence. They then asked for my papers. I refused to give them and they took me by the arm into the car."

From there he was taken to Henry Street barracks. Earlier Garda Coughlan had

told the court that a member of the public had complained to her that the SAOIRSE paper seller had been causing an obstruction outside Ferguson's Chemists, she approached the four men and asked them to move on.

"I made them aware of the offence under the Public Order Act of obstruction. Three of the men complied with the request," she said but Timmy King refused to move and was charged under Section 24 of the Act.

However cross-examined

by defence counsel, John Devane, Garda Coughlan admitted she did not take a statement from the alleged complainant.

Despite this, Judge O'Donnell said he was satisfied that a member of the public had made a complaint to Garda Coughlan and promptly fined Timmy King €150 for causing an obstruction.

Once again the uncorroborated statement of a member of the 26-County police is accepted in a clampdown on Republican Sinn Féin.

Militant Republicanism lives

THE Liam Lynch commemoration was held at Kilerumper Cemetery near Fermoy, Co Cork on April 13. There were about 50 people in attendance.

Three wreaths were laid. Kitty O'Brien laid a wreath on behalf of the Volunteers, Geraldine McNamara laid one on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and the prisoners, and Billy Maguire also laid a wreath on behalf of Vaughan's Hotel in Dublin.

Séamus Ó Súilleabháin chaired the proceedings. A colour party drawn from Kerry and Limerick led the march along with uniformed groups from Cumann na mBan and Na Fianna Éireann. A pipe and accordion player played tunes as they moved.

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin gave a very stirring oration on the life of Liam Lynch and how he ascended to the position of C/S of the IRA during the Civil War. He said that militant Republicanism has had its spirit renewed and it will stand up to every difficulty.

"My message is simply that militant Republicanism is not dead," he commented, "and the future does not lie in

former Republicans joining the British forces and the British police in the North of Ireland to help enforce British rule.

"The future will be through the Irish people reasserting themselves and claiming their full Irish national independence."

When questioned about the difficulty of gaining national independence, the Republican Sinn Féin President said that it is not an easy road. "We have got this far only by travelling the hard road," he added. "But there can be no more sell outs and no betrayals any further and I do think that the ordinary people of Ireland are beginning to see that the Stormont Agreement is not working because of the internal contradictions at its core."

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh said that Republican Sinn Féin has a duty to maintain and re-kindle the national spirit. Earlier during a wet and windy day he had delivered an oration at the graveside of Liam Lynch who had fought to the death against partition and the cre-



• Ruairi Ó Brádaigh speaking at the 80th anniversary commemoration for Liam Lynch.

ation of the new Free State which had set aside the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 and the First Dáil Éireann.

"The last two decades had seen a classic counter-revolution in as in Liam Lynch's day," he told the gathering. "The revolutionary movement had been stopped in its tracks, a section of the leadership had been suborned from its allegiance and had brought its followers over to the side of the enemy."

"Republicans would face up to the renewed onslaught of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House; they would ensure that unionists would not suffer the humiliation long endured by nationalists by providing a secure, comfortable and honourable place for them in the New Ireland."

A colour party led off the parade to the cemetery and Cumann na mBan also paraded at the graveside.

An Ginearál Liam Ó Loinsigh

DIREACH mar a raibh baint mhór ag muintir Luimnigh le hÉirí Amach na Cásca, 1916 (Luimnigh ba é 3 den 15 a cuireadh chun báis ag na cúirtseanna míleata) bhí baint mhór ag go leor daoine de dhúchas an chontae le Cogadh na Saoirse, fiú má bhí siad ag obair in áiteanna eile.

Bhí Den Nelligan mar spíadóir ag Micheál Ó Coileáin i gCaisleán Bhaile Átha Cliath mar shampla, ach ní lú an tábacht a bhí lena chuid oibre dá bhí sin. Ní minic a rithneáin sé le daoine gur bhain Seán Mógán le Cúil Mocheallán i dosach, fiú má chaith sé an chúid is mó dá shaoil troda i dtuaisceart Chorcaí agus a shaoil polaitiúcháin ina dhiaidh sin.

Fear eile a bhí baint mhór aige le iarracht na Saoirse ar fud na Mumhan ar fad ná Liam Ó Loinsigh, a rugadh i nGlean na gCearbhair (Anglesborough) in oirthear an chontae a cheantar ráibléidigh úd faoi scáth Shléibhte na Gaibhlithe mar a dtagann contraetha Luimnigh, Chorcaí agus Thioirdáir Arann le chéile. Bhí an Loinsigh ina Cheannaire an gCéad Chathlín na Deisceart - an dream is mó a chuir an ruag

ar an Díchrónaigh agus réimias Shasana in Éirinn agus a dh'fág mar a dúirt Luimnigh féin: "We have chosen the Republic and will live under no other law."

Ba bheiridh croí ar leith é do mhuintir na Mumhan, a bhí tar éis na Sasanaigh a ghlánadh amach as a gceantar, go raibh orthu ansin tús a chur i gcoimeád lucht an tSaoirsáid nuair a thosaigh siad ag gluaiseacht ó dheas i lár 1922 le réimias eile faoi mhóid do Rí Shasana a chur ar bun. Rinne Liam Ó Loinsigh a mhile dícheall an scoilt a sheachaint in 1922.

Mar chara le lucht an IRB a bhí an tábacht eile go tréan, bhí an dochar agus an briseadh croí a dhéanadh an scoilt dóigh go léir. Thug sé freisin bhéidigh go maraofaí é féin agus daoine eile sa mbeadh sé cart. Mar sin féin nuair a scoilt an IRB in Earraich na bliana 1922 níorbh



• Liam Ó Loinsigh

é Liam Ó Loinsigh a bhí i gceannas na bPoblachtach i ndosach, cé nach minic a luaitear sin.

Joe McKelvey ó Bheán Feirste a bhí ina Cheann Foirme ar an IRA go dtí gur ghéill na Ceitire Chuir ag tús mhí Iúil, 1922. Fiú ag an bpointe sin, thug an Ginearál Ó Maolchatha agus lucht an tSaoirsáid ceard a gcoise don Loinsigh agus a chaidre dul ó dheas go dtí an Mhúmhaian - le súil, ní fólaí, go bhféadfaí leantúint le cainteanna agus

teacht ar réiteach le "Poblacht na Mumhan" ar ball?

Ní mar sin a tharla fáil, Chuaisg an Cogadh i ngéire i bhFómhair na bliana 1922, ach níor tháinig díreadh leis go dtí díreadh mhí an Aibreáin, 1922 - ar 80 bliain ó shin. Thug na Poblachtáigh fáil Earraich na bliana 1922 go raibh an cath sa pháirc caifite acu agus bhí Liam Ó Loinsigh i measc ceannairí eile ag iarraidh teacht ar théarmaí réitigh ómóracha nuair a cat-headh é ar thaobh Shléibhte Cnoc Maoldomhaigh ar an 10 Aibreán, 1923.

Ní gá dul fhad scéal leis anseo anois. Ach amháin gur fóir, dar le cuntas na saighdiúirí in arm an tSaoirsáid a bhí i lathair ar an lán sin, gur shíl an fear a scaoil le Liam gurbh é de Valera a bhí ann. Fear and eile le spéaclaí! Ach cibé faoi sin is cinnte gur chuir báis na Loinsigh laghmhineach ar fad ar an IRA agus laistigh de choicíos cuireadh díreadh ar fad leis an troid le ráiteas stairiúil de Valera.

— Nollaig Ó Gadhra

Bold Robert Emmet launched in Dublin

ON April 14 last a new book on Robert Emmet was launched at the Brazen Head public house in Dublin. Reputed to be the oldest pub in Dublin, members of the United Irishmen frequented it in the 1790s and early 1800s, including Robert Emmet himself.

The premises were crowded for the launch at which the author, Seán Ó Brádaigh signed copies of the book. The proceedings were chaired by Lita Ní Chathmhaoil, Ard-Rúnaí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, who welcomed all those present, including An tAthair, Seán Ó Cearnaigh, a former Ard-Rúnaí of Sinn Féin, An tAthair Piaras Ó Dúill and an tAthair Brian Ó Céileachair and the President of Republican Sinn Féin, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh.

She said that the publishing of this new book by Seán Ó Brádaigh on Robert Emmet was timely as he had long been an inspiration to young Irish nationalists and Republicans. She said that revisionism and Section 31 had obscured the teaching of Irish history in our schools and that young people today needed to be reminded of heroes such as Robert Emmet.

The Cathaoirleach introduced Dr Seán Maguire, son of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, last faithful survivor of the Second All-Ireland Dáil, who died at the great age of 101 in 1993, remaining faithful to his oath to the Republic until the end, who formally launched the book.

In the course of his remarks he said:

"Is annamh agus ní go minic a bhíonn deis ag duine leabhar a sheoladh agus a chur chun bealaigh ar an saol níos mó. Dhá bhrí sin táinig an leabhar seo chun cinn. Tá Seán Ó Brádaigh ag ucht an

cuireadh a thug sé dom bheith anseo um thríthimhna agus an leabhar seo a sheoladh. Is éir an chéim broid agus dóchais dom bheith anseo cé gur tháinig Seán aniar aduaidh orm dáiríre.

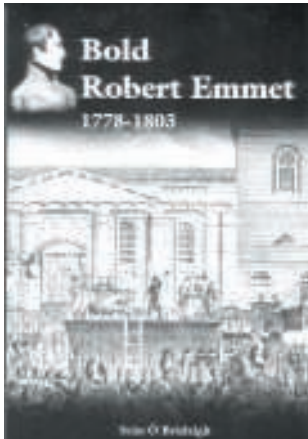
"Ní aon ghnáth leabhar an leabhar seo acht scéal stairiúil Robert Emmet féin. Mac léinn cúig bliana fichead d'oisí ab ea Emmet nuair a d'éirigh sé amach i mBaile Átha Cliath míle ocht gcéad agus a trí, dhá chéad bliain ó shin. Cúireadh chun báis é go gairid i ndiaidh an Éirí Amach.

"Tá ard-mholadh agus buíochas gan teorainn ag gabháil do Sheán an leabhar seo a scríobh agus a chur i gcló. Molaim an fhóirceann a chuidigh leis freisin, tá sár-mholadh tuille agabh go léir agus nár lag Dia sibh.

"Measaim go bhfuil comhluadar idir Náisiúnta bailithe anseo linn anois agus dá bhrí sin baintfidh mé úsáid as teanga idir Náisiúnta.

"To be defeated but not to surrender, that is victory.' These are the words of Marshal Mtsudski, the Polish leader in the early part of the twentieth century. Briefly let us consider the Ireland of 1803. Five years earlier in 1798 the Republican United Irish uprising was defeated in Antrim and Down and at Vinegar Hill and Ballinamuck.

"The song tells us that Ireland lay broken and bleeding and hurrah for the men of the West.' That was the state of Ireland when Mac leinn decided to strike once again.



He was not alone. Among his supporters were Thomas Russell, the 'Man from God knows where', Michael Dwyer, Miles Byrne and many others who are named in this book. All of these had been out in 1798.

"At this stage in the book I had to take my bearings and decide which century I was in. Were the above-named men alive today they would be called 'dissidents' and were the 'dissidents' of today alive in 1803 they would be with Robert. It is the old story, plus a change plus la même chose.

"Despite his short life of 25 years and his militarily

unsuccessful uprising Robert Emmet has an uncalculable effect on true Irish Republicanism. He influenced the men of 1848 and '67 and had a profound influence on Pearse and 1916.

"Robert Emmet said, 'When my country takes her rightful place among the nations of earth, then and not till then shall my epitaph be written'.

"Pearse said, 'Let no man blaspheme the cause the dead generations of Ireland served.' We have read and heard too much revisionist history in our time. Historians please ponder carefully before putting pen to paper. Quite



• Dr Seán Maguire.

clearly Seán Ó Brádaigh has done so and now we have a masterpiece of precision and accuracy to take home and cherish.

"No mention of Robert Emmet may be made without reference to the women in his life, Sarah Curran and Anne Devlin, both outstanding people on their own right. Let us pay a sincere tribute to them and couple with their names the names of all the gallant women, known and unknown a sheas an fód ar son Poblacht Uile Éireann.

"A chaidre, ní fúm a thuilleadh moille a chur oraibh. Gabhaim buíochas libh go léir agus tá mé lán cinnte go mbainfidh sibh sásamh agus tairneadh as an leabhar seo Bold Robert Emmet."

Seán Ó Brádaigh then spoke and outlined the background to the writing and publication of this latest publication from Cló Saoirse — Irish Freedom Press. Séamus Mac Mathúna and Breandan Ó Dúill sang a number of songs connected with Robert Emmet, among them Bold Robert Emmet and Young Emmet.

Copies of *Bold Robert Emmet* are available from Cló Saoirse, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 at €7.50. Enclose €1.00 to cover postage.

The book is being distributed nationwide through Easons Wholesale. Copies can be obtained simply by asking for it in any Easons shop or any other bookseller.

For The Record

MON. APRIL 7: Following a demonstration at Belfast City Hall by a group of mainly peaceful demonstrators in favour of the war in Iraq, a group of loyalists from the Shankill Road area marched through the nationalist King Street and Castle Street and threw stones at passers-by and at two pubs and a taxi office.

TUES. APRIL 8: Clifford McKewon, 44, from Craigavon, was jailed today for a minimum of 24 years for the murder of father-of-two nationalist taxi-driver Michael McGoldrick at the height of the Drenore stand-off over an Orange Order parade in July 1996.

A report issued by researchers working for the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission said that new baton rounds introduced by the British into the Six Counties two years ago for "crowd control" are potentially more deadly than those they replaced.

SUN. APRIL 13: A bomb was defused by British army experts in the grounds of an Ancient Order of Hibernians club at Roghery Road in Tounbridge, Co Antrim.

THURS. APRIL 17: The report from the Stevens 3 Inquiry on Collusion found that there was widespread collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads and that the Stevens investigation was obstructed by both British Intelligence and the RUC Special Branch. Only 20 pages of the report was made public.

SUN. APRIL 20: Up to 17 people, including 10 children, were made homeless following an arson attack on their homes in Galliagh Park, Derry city.

TUES. APRIL 29: The RUC/PSNI shot dead



• Kathleen Cummings, whose son Ciarán was killed by a loyalist death squad in 2001, in her home which was damaged by a loyalist gang on April 30.

one man and injured another when a car "failed to stop" at a checkpoint on the Crumlin Road, Ballinderry Upper, Co Antrim.

THURS. MAY 1: The British government once again proved they rule the Six Counties when they cancelled the already postponed Stormont elections due to be held on May 29 because the military wing of the Provisionals had failed to comply with conditions put to

them by the British.

Michael Lavelle, Co Fermanagh, who is being held in Maghaberry prison on charges of being a member of the IRA and possessing arms and explosives, was refused bail in the High Court in Belfast because Lord Justice McCollum said "he was a very dangerous man". What happened to innocent until proven guilty?

FRI. APRIL 30: The mother of murdered nationalist youth Ciarán Cummings, killed by a loyalist death squad in 2001 as he waited for a lift to work, pleaded with loyalists who attacked her home in the Greystone estate, smashing double-glazed windows and damaging the family car, to allow her and her family to live in peace.

British Crown Forces attack protesters at Belfast

Saturday, April 5, 2003:
A number of bricks and stones were thrown over the so-called peace line at Alliance Ave from the Glenbryn area.

Sunday, April 6, 2003:
Stones were thrown at nationalist homes on the Crumlin Road from part of the grounds of Holy Cross Chapel at Ardoyne. There were no reports of injuries or damage.

On Thursday last a number of windows were broken in the Crumlin Road area. Nationalist homes were again the target. Loyalist youths, some only children, often use the grounds of Holy Cross Chapel to throw missiles towards nationalist houses on the Crumlin Rd, cars going up and down the road are also targeted by the stone throwers.

Monday, April 7, 2003:
Monday was witness to a number of bomb scares in many parts of Belfast. Bomb scares have been on-going in many parts of Belfast for a number of weeks.

Tuesday, April 8, 2003:
Tuesday was witness to the unwelcome visit of Blair and Bush. It was also witness to the RUC in riot gear once more attacking Anti-War protesters at Belfast City Hall where a number of the protesters were also arrested.

Wednesday, April 9, 2003:
There was no report of trouble throughout Wednesday.

Thursday, April 10, 2003:
More reports of stone throwing at nationalist houses

es near the Crumlin Road. As has been the case in the past loyalist used the cover of the grounds of Holy Cross Chapel, Ardoyne to target nationalist homes.

There was also stone throwing at the so-called peace line at Alliance Ave. There was no report of damage or injuries.

Friday, April 11, 2003:
Belfast was hit by a number of bomb scares throughout the day. The city airport was also hit for a time, all the scares turned out to be hoaxes.

Occupation forces were heavy on the ground in many parts of Belfast throughout the day.

Saturday, April 12, 2003:
Some stone throwing near the so-called peace line at Alliance Ave.

Sunday, April 13, 2003:
There were no reports of trouble on Sunday.

Monday, April 14, 2003:
Monday saw a number of bomb scares in Belfast but not on the level of recent weeks. More stone throwing at nationalist homes at Alliance Ave, again stones were thrown over the so-called peace line. Stone throwing also occurred near the Crumlin Road with loyalist youths again using the grounds of Holy Cross Chapel.

Tuesday, April 15, 2003:
"Belfast City Council proposed causes disgust within the nationalist community."

An air of disgust hung over nationalist areas of Belfast after it came to light that



• RUC/PSNI squads launched an attack on anti-war in Iraq protesters in Belfast city centre on April 8.

Nelson McCausland, a DUP Councillor in Belfast City Hall, had proposed the house of notorious loyalist bigot and murderer John W Nixon RUC District Inspector be listed in memory of the remarkable Nixon who McCausland stated had an outstanding political career.

But McCausland side-stepped questions as Nixon's career as the head of an RUC sectarian murder gang in the 1920s by claiming Nixon silenced those who made such allegations because there was no evidence to link him to the murders. No surprise to nationalists that even today loyalists make such statements always covering up the fact that any evidence of those murders would be in the hands of the very gang of RUC men who carried them out.

The most infamous murders of Nixon and his gang was that of the McMahon family at their home in Kinnaird Terrace in north Belfast on March 24, 1922. On that Friday morning the McMahon home was visited by the hate-filled RUC gang.

What happened in the McMahon home that March morning has haunted generation after generation to this very day. When the RUC gang left No 3 Kinnaird Terrace four people were dead, three of the McMahon sons and Mr Owen McMahon's bar manager who stayed at the family home.

Owen McMahon himself died later of his wounds in the Mater Hospital as did another son Bernard. There is no doubt that Nixon and his gang carried out many such murders at this time. Little wonder that nationalist are disgusted that anyone would try to glorify Nixon who was indeed a true blue loyalist sectarian bigot and murderer.

Also on Tuesday it was reported that loyalist youths in the Waterworks (a north Belfast Park) were throwing doctored fireworks at people walking in that area. It is believed the targets were anyone walking near there as the area would be termed the nationalist part of the

Waterworks.

Some of the fireworks that were used had nails taped round them. There were no reports of injuries.

Wednesday, April 16, 2003:
There were reports on Wednesday night that part of the Shore Road and Fortwilliam area of north Belfast were closed because of a bomb scare. The scare was still ongoing at 12.30am.

Thursday, April 17, 2003:
It was reported on Thursday morning that a bomb was found in the Shore Road area of north Belfast.

There was also a bomb scare at St Joseph's Primary School, a Catholic school on the Newtownards Road.

Friday, April 18, 2003:
There was fighting between nationalist and loyalist youths at the Limestone Road, north Belfast. Over 200 people faced each other and fireworks, bricks, bottles and other missiles were used. Nationalists said the trouble started after loyalists had attacked their area. Loyalists made counter claims.

Throughout the day in north Belfast the occupation forces were heavy on the ground. Foot patrols once again took to the streets as armoured cars and RUC land rovers moved around the area taking in Oldpark Road, Cliftonville Road, Alliance Ave, Deer Park and part of the Antrim Road.

Friday also gave witness to the trouble the night before and one witness told of how one nationalist family had a luck escape after their home on the Limestone Road was attacked by loyalist pipe bombers.

Saturday, April 19, 2003:
There were no reports of trouble on Saturday but occupation forces were again heavy on the ground. Nationalist youths were to face Brit harassment as Brit armoured cars sized up nationalist youths, picking fights knowing full well if any of the youths do get into a fight with them they would be arrested. The Brits also used dirty talk from their foul mouths to heat up the situa-

tion.

Sunday, April 20, 2003:
Easter Sunday passed off without reports of trouble but as is ongoing Brit/RUC occupation forces were heavy on the ground.

Monday, April 21, 2003:
Nationalists in Ardoyne staged a protest against an orange parade that was forced through the nationalist part of the Crumlin Road at the Ardoyne shops.

The nationalists were met by hundreds of riot clad RUC and armoured landrovers. The Orange parade forced through Ardoynewas one of two that took place in Belfast. The other took place on the Ormeau Road but did not cross the bridge. Apart from shouting there was no trouble.

Tuesday, April 22, 2003:
A number of houses that were vacant in the loyalist Glenbryn area close to the so-called peace line with the nationalist Alliance Ave, were set on fire. The houses are believed to have been set on fire in an act of vandalism.

Wednesday, April 23, 2003:
There was a heavy force of Brits and RUC occupation forces on the ground in Belfast with north Belfast suffering the most from their unwelcome presence.

Thursday, April 24, 2003:
Nationalist houses were again targeted in the interface at Alliance Ave as loyalists in the Glenbryn area threw missiles over the so-called peace line. There were no reports of injury or damage.

There were also reports that loyalists forced three nationalist families out of their homes in Delhi Street. The families moved out under threats from the UDA/UFF. Their homes were attacked after the families left and their furniture was taken to a nearby loyalist bonfire.

Friday, April 25, 2003:
Once again Brit/RUC occupation forces were heavy on the ground. As has often been the case, British Fusiliers gave cover to the RUC foot patrols; armoured cars and

landrovers also patrolled as back up to the occupation forces.

Saturday, April 26, 2003:
Saturday night was again witness to the nationalist community suffering loyalist attacks and again it was the nationalist Limestone Road area that was targeted by loyalists from the Tigers Bay area.

The loyalist attack was heavy for a time and loyalist gunmen using shotguns were in action, at one stage even turning their guns on those claims of the Crown they force as their own, shooting and wounding two RUC men.

Sunday, April 27, 2003:
At around 2am on Sunday morning a confrontation between the RUC and a number of nationalist youths in the Old Park Road area of north Belfast saw the RUC draw batons and run after a number of youths in the Park View Court. The RUC foot patrols were backed up by at least one land rover that sat in Mayfair Court. The youths managed to escape the RUC and no doubt a beating.

There was a report of minor stone throwing in the Limestone Road area on Sunday afternoon.

Monday, April 28, 2003:
Monday was again witness to occupation forces beating on the ground in north Belfast throughout the day. Road checks were also set up for around 9pm. British Fusiliers manned a checkpoint on the Old Park Road at the Sacred Heart Church.

Tuesday, April 29, 2003:
There was a report of a shooting in the Ballinderry area of Lisburn, Co Antrim. All that is known at this stage is that one man is dead and another wounded after the RUC opened fire on a car.

Wednesday, April 30, 2003:
It was reported that a number of Catholic school children were set upon by a group of loyalists. The attack that took place at a bus stop on the Crumlin Road was carried out against young boys from St. Malachy's College, who were beaten up by loyalist youths who got off a bus in what is a clear sectarian attack. Attacks of boys coming out of St Malachy's College are ongoing.

Thursday, May 1, 2003:
Thursday was once again witness to Brit Occupation Forces who were heavy on the ground. In north Belfast foot patrols backed up by mobile patrols backed up by mobile patrols moved around a number of times throughout the day.

Belfast was again hit with a number of bomb scares, France's Club and the Belfast Telegraph near to Royal Avenue were hit for a time in what has now become countless bomb scares around that area. There were no reports of trouble.

Friday May 2, 2003:
Friday morning around 11am was witness to Brit Occupation Forces foot patrols in Belfast city centre. The Brits, British fusiliers, moved around side streets close to Royal Avenue.

IMEACHTAÍ

WHITE-LINE PICKETS FOR POLITICAL STATUS

OUTSIDE THE REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN OFFICE, 223 FALLS ROAD, BELFAST
1st and 3rd SATURDAY OF EVERY MONTH

1-2pm

OUTSIDE THE GUILDHALL, DERRY CITY
LAST SATURDAY OF EVERY MONTH, 1-2pm
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Belfast and Derry

PICKET FOR POLITICAL STATUS

GPO, DUBLIN
SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1 — 2pm
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Leinster

80th COMMEMORATION TO WALSH, LYONS AND DALTON, MURDERED IN THE VALLEY OF KNOCKANURE, CO KERRY
SUNDAY, MAY 11
Assemble: Knockanure, Moyvane, 2.30pm and march to memorial

NIALL PLUNKETT O'BOYLE COMMEMORATION 80th ANNIVERSARY

SUNDAY, MAY 18
KNOCKNADRUCE, CO WICKLOW
Assemble: Hollywood, 3pm

GEORGE HARRISON REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN PATRON 88th BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 6pm
Offices of Frank Durkan, 52 Duane Street
New York city

LIAM SCULLY COMMEMORATION

SUNDAY, MAY 25
TEMPLEGLANTINE CEMETERY, CO LIMERICK
2pm



REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin has secured a premises at 229 Falls Road, Belfast as the organisation's public office in the city. This excellent location near the city centre gives a much-needed focus and morale boost to our growing membership in Belfast and throughout Ulster.

Contributions, which will be gratefully acknowledged, can be made:

1. To the following: Mary Ward, Co Donegal; Frank McCarthy, Co Antrim; Jimmy McElhinney, Co Tyrone; Geraldine Taylor, Belfast; Michael McGeoghegan, Co Derry; Joe O'Neill, Co Donegal; Mick McManus, Co Fermanagh; Larry McMahon, Co Monaghan

2. By sending a donation to: Ard Oifig, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 or to 229 Falls Road, Belfast.

3. By Standing Order Form published here.

£30, 783

Éire Nua Building Fund Belfast / Derry

Standing Order Form

<p>To the Manager</p> <p>Please pay Bank of Ireland, (Six Counties) Crumlin, Co Derry, acc number 14164284, Branch code 91 48-43 (3) 126 Counting Bank of Ireland, Letterkenny, Co Donegal for the credit of Éire Nua Building Fund, number T0055708, Branch code 90-49-15, the sum of £</p> <p>commencing</p> <p>and debiting A/C No.</p> <p>Name: (please print clearly)</p> <p>Address</p> <p>Signature</p>	<p>Bank</p> <p>Accruals in words</p> <p>and thereafter every month until further notice</p> <p>Date</p> <p>Please hand in to your bank</p>
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Leabhar nua ar Bhuamáil 1974

IM SHEILBH anseo, sa mbaile, i gCo Dhún Loughaire-Ráth an Dúin, tá leabhar nua a chruithaíon, in éndí le tuarascail de chuid Sir John Stevens, go raibh lámh ag Rialtas na Breataine i mbumaíl Bhaile Átha Cliath agus Muineacháin.

Is é atá i geist The Dublin and Monaghan Bombings and the Murder Triangle, le Joe Tiernan. Níl i gcló sa leabhar dáta ná áit a fhóilsithe, ach tuigim gur i mbliana a fóilsíodh é, agus i nBhaile Átha Cliath. Is é £20 a chostas. Tá 284 leathanach sa saothar, agus roinnt grianghrafanna chomh fhor-spéisiúil céanna (buamadóirí BhAC go háirithe).

Is fada ó léas leabhar chomh cuimsitheach gar-muill údairisach is atá sé seo, agus bail ó Dha ar an údar. Ach is fear é Joe a bhí a obair bhaile déanta go nfoite aige, rud nach gcuireadh mórán stró air, cheapfaim, tar éis a chuid oiliúna, mar thuairiscóir ag an Léitrín Observer agus an Longford News, ag tús a shaoil triseora, agus ina dhiaidh sin tuigim mar thaighdeoir ag RTE (*Today Tonight*). Faoi thús na '90s den aois seo caite rinne sé taighde dhá bhliain ar ábhar an leabhair seo den *Yorkshire Television*, agus an cinnleibre céanna den *BBC*, *Channel Four* and *Canadian Television*.

B'eisean an tús a chéad-nochtáigh an scéal suarach seo faoi Rialtas na Breataine (cuid den traidisiún, mar a déarfá), agus a ionsaí gan

taise gan trua ar mhuintir Bhaile Átha Cliath agus Muineacháin, mar thaca do scéimlitheoirí Oráisteacha.

FEICHTHE CHEANA

Dúirfe, ní huon iontas é seo uilig dar lán, go háirithe sna Sé Chontae, gur beo le fada a leithéid de chloann-pháirtreachas, bealach amháin nó eile, san RUC, agus ríomh sin, san RIC, agus siar i bhfad i stair na hÉireann. Nach ar an dóigh sin a bhí na cnapálacha?

Ach, ar ndóig, tá daoine saosta fós in Éirinn ar deacair dóigheál scéal Stevens a chreidiúint, go ndéanadh stail "daonlathach" a leithéid d'ionsaí ar dhli na tíre!

Is iad na meáin chomarsáide is measa ag canú ar an dóigh sin. Agus tá lipéid ar leith acu ar an gcinéal sin coimhlínte, deile ach "cogadh salach". Nach ait an scéal é gur mar a chéad an téarma sna teangeachail eile - guerra sucia (in éadan ETA), guerre sale (in éadan mhuintir na hAilgérie) — bealach gic le rud beag a dhéanamh den uafas.

Fós féin, ón aoi go chéile, tá tuairiscí dá bhfoilsíú ar phearsa ionraic na Fraince faoi chéasadh agus a leithéid a

bhíodh a gcleachtadh ag an "daonlathas" Francach, agus mórán mar a chéile atá an scéal sa Spáinn, faoi na daoine neamhchiontachta a mhairigh an GAL.

Go deimhin, ar a leithéid atá leabhar Phaddy Woodworth bunaithe, agus ar an dease os mo chomhair tá cóip de La Trama del GAL, le José Morales, Teresa Toda, agus Miren Imaz; Madrid, 1988.

In Éirinn, thuaidh thuas, bhíodh (nó tá fós?), ag obair sa lámh a chéile an Ulster Defence Regiment, UDA, UVF, Arm na Breataine sa mBreatain, an RUC, M15, M16, agus mar sin de. Sa leabhar seo tá cuid den fhianaise agus, gan anhras, ag Stevens atá an chuid eile, cé go nuige seo, nach bhfuil ainmneacha luaithe ag Stevens.

NA hAINMNEACHA

Ach tá, ag Tiernan. Féach: "During his time as head of the UVF in Northern Ireland and until the organization declared a ceasefire in November 1973, Jim Hanna oversaw one of the most vicious sectarian campaigns ever conducted against Catholics throughout the course of the Troubles . . . Writing in *Irishman* magazine in 1975, the present-day Irish Times journalist Kevin Myers — who knew Hanna personally — detailed some of his links to the army." (op cit: 148).

Féach arís ar an dáta:

1975! Caitheadh go raibh a fhios ag an Rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath ó 1975 ar aghaidh, ar a laghad, go raibh Arm na Breataine suas go dtí na bhfabrí ag taci i marí na gCaitliceach!

Seo Myers (*Ibhernia*, 1975) ag cur síos ar cachtair a chara, Bealtaine 1972:

"The gunbattle was wild and bloody and lasted two days, and involved gunmen from three sides. The Army did admit this. But according to Jim Hanna, who first made his mark with the UVF in the gunfight, some peculiar things happened. He told me, for example, that a British Army patrol had assisted him and two other UVF men into Corry's timber yards, which overlooked the Catholic Ballymurphy, and were present when one of the three shot a young Catholic. He said that an Army Major discovered what was going on and ordered the soldiers to withdraw but they did so without arresting the UVF men. By 1973, Hanna had become the senior military commander for the UVF in Northern Ireland." (op cit: 148, 149).

GNÍOMHAÍ BHIOTANACH

Mar is ri-eol, is dócha, d'éirigh le Cathal Goulding teacht i gceannas ar fhórsaí de chuid na Stieckes sa mbliain 1969, agus de réir an tsaothair seo d'éirigh sé mór le Hanna: "Throughout this time, Hanna, as he himself intimat-

ed to Cathal Goulding, was run as an agent by British army intelligence officers attached to 39 Brigade and based at army headquarters in Lisburn close to where Hanna lived." (op cit: 149).

B'iad seo na daoine a bhí i gceannas air: Capt Anthony ling, Capt Anthony Box, Lieut Alan Homer, agus oifigeach eile darb ainm Timothy Golden, a ceapadh faoin am a bheith ina bhall den SAS, (op cit: 149).

Aibéirín 1, 1974, ba ea a dúnharbairí James Andrew Francis Hanna toise, dar le Tiernan, go raibh sé in éadan na buamála i mBaile Átha Cliath agus i Muineacháin sa mbliain 1974; duine éigin den UVF a rinne an jab, a shíleann an tuairiscóir.

Ar na daoine a bhíuil grianghrafanna díobh fóilsithe sa leabhar seo tá Jim Hanna, Billy Hanna (a bhí i gceannas ar bhuamáil Bhaile Átha Cliath), Wesley Summerville (a bhí páirtreach sa ghnó céanna), Harris Boyle (buamadóir eile), agus Ross Hearst (lámh aige i mbumaíl Muineacháin).

Is léir nach ina bhall de Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta atá údar an leabhair seo, óna stíl scríbhneoireachta. Is amhlaidh a chleachtadh sé an stíl ar a gtuagtar PC i mBéarla, iarsma den tathú a bhain leis an seil a chait sé in RTE, seans. Ní feasaigh dom an bhfuil cleachtadh ar bith polaitiúil atá tá Jim Hanna, a bhí tréacht agus croga é, de réir cosúlachta. Bail ó Dha ar an chuid eibre agus, ar ndóig, ar fáin.

GARVEY LUAITE

Tá sé an-chriticiúil agus é ag trácht faoi nGarda Síochána (idir eatarthu, agus

iad ag fóisrú ionsaí scéimlitheach ar an droichead na Sollaín, Co Chill Dara), agus faoin RUC (go háirithe agus iad ag fóisrú dhúmháirí Chaitlicigh agus, sa géis seo, triúr Protastúnach thíos go dona éagráir leis).

Ar ndóig, ní go ró-mhath a thagann Garvey amach sa a bhfuil nochtadh ag an irisceoir.

Is ait liom nach bhfuil téacsleabhar de chuid arm na Breataine luaithe ag Joe, mar atá Gangs and Counter Gangs (London, 1960), le Frank Kitson, a chait seal i gceannas míleata ar na Sé Chontae.

Mar is eol don té a léigh, ba é Kitson a rinne an plean a bhí in úsáid tamall i ndiaidh a fhóilsithe (nó ríomhe, b'fhéidir?) ag an RUC, M15, M16, UDA, UVF, agus mar sin díobh. Téacsleabhar é seo, ar aon chaoi a léigh G2 de chuid arm na tSaorstáit, más fíor don té a rinne a chuid coislaíona.

DEARMAIDÍ BEAGA

Ni thig liam laige ar bith i struchtúr an saothair atá faoi nheas. Ach, nuair a bheas an tarna eagrán á ullmhú ag Joe, b'fhearr go gcuireadh sé fo-eagarthóir gairmiúil maith ag obair ar an mbuntéacs, le botúin chlo, mílitríú agus leagan amach a shocht, go háirithe na sloimeite. Ar ndóig, ní saoi gan leict.

Festa, bainfeir feidhm as an leabhar seo, cheapfaim, agus stair á scríobh, agus polaitiúch, agus eile (aoir?), agus beidh na bliain buidhe de Joe ach inéacs a ullmhú agus a chlo, obair nach bhfuil casta ná lá áit ann, agus ríomhairí in úsáid ag gach éinne, nach mór.

— Deasún Breatnach

1916 Easter Commemorations

ULSTER

Antrim

THE Easter Commemoration in Antrim took place in Belfast's Milltown cemetery. The 87th year since the Easter Rising of 1916; in Belfast was greeted with bright sunshine and a strong wind blowing through the cemetery, tossing and turning the flags of the Colour Party in the air in a scene of wonderful colour.

An eight-strong colour party carrying the Tricolour, Fianna, Starry Plough, Cumann na mBan and Four-Provinces flags, led the parade to the Sean-IRA plot.

At the plot veteran Republican Leo Martin chaired the proceedings. Davy Taylor read the Proclamation of the All-Ireland Republic. Veteran Republican Billy McKee recited the Rosary as Gaeilge. Wreaths were then laid on behalf of Oglaiha Na h-Eireann, Cumann Na mBan, Republican Sinn Féin, Na Fianna Éireann and CIRA POWs. The flags were then dipped in salute during a one minute's silence. Geraldine Taylor read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement. The oration was then given by Niall Fagan, Meath, in the course of which he said:

"The demand was and is for British withdrawal from our country because nothing less will bring real peace. For some time now a campaign has been conducted by RTE commentators and by a section of the media insinuating that the Easter Rising of 1916 and the subsequent War of Independence was a mistake and unnecessary. The British Army and administration would have gone quietly away and we would have been given our freedom on a plate. You no doubt recognise the point of this absolute rubbish.

"However, the truth is that the measure of 26 County freedom achieved and the flag flying over the GPO in Dublin today was put there by the men and women of 1916 and fought for with rifle and grenade. The Union Jack would still be there were it not for the guns and bombs of the IRA. Pearce did not come outside the GPO and say give us our freedom please please please! He demanded it and showed the way to achieve it. The position of the British Army and administration was made untenable in the greater part of our country by the armed and bloody resistance of the IRA. Then they too, had to face up to Irishmen in the British uniforms of the RIC. Yes they then too had to endure the whining and puppet denunciations the false peace mongers.

"These are the hard facts that those who fear to speak of Easter Week do not want recalled. The British Army of Occupation will not leave our country completely until they are forced to do so."

The oration was well received by the attendance of over 100 people. On ending the proceedings Leo Martin said "We are here today as the true faithful Republicans, we are called dissidents, in 1922 those who stayed faithful to the Republic were called irregulars, if they call me dissident or irregular because unlike them I stayed faithful to the All-Ireland Republic, I can live with that."

Armagh

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin held a hugely successful commemoration in Armagh on Easter Sunday. About 100 people defied a large British Crown Forces presence to march through the town to mark the 87th anniversary of the historic Easter Rising.



• The Easter Sunday commemoration at the Republican Plot in St Mary's Cemetery, Newry.



• Republicans gather at the grave of Fian James McCaughey in Edendork, Co Tyrone.

The parade, preceded by a Colour Party and a band formed up on Banbrook Hill before making its way to the Republican Plot in St Patrick's cemetery. A large number of young people were in attendance.

At the graveside ceremony, Kevin Trainor presided. To uproarious applause, he told the crowd that NO prior permission had been sought from the RUC/PSNI for the parade to honour our patriot dead. Then, in a re-enactment of the actions of PH Pearce on Easter Monday 1916, veteran Republican Hughie Trainor read the Proclamation. This was followed by a reading of the local Roll of Honour, in remembrance of those who paid the ultimate price for the ideals of 1916.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Corrigan/McCarney Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Continuity IRA, Republican POWs and the National Graves Association. Gearóid Mac Gíolla Cheara recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish. The statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement was read out; as was a statement from the Armagh Command, Continuity IRA.

A minute's silence was observed, before Gerald Crilly, Ard Chomhairle member, delivered a stirring oration, in the course of which he said:

"Faithful Republicans will not accept the strengthening of British

rule by the imposition of a new Stormont under the Agreement of five years ago, which has not brought peace with justice. Real justice for the Irish people will only come about after there is a total and complete British disengagement from Irish soil, and it is also true that no matter what other compromises are made, there will be no peace as long as one British soldier remains here.

"But even the surrender of weapons is not enough for the Brits and they are now demanding that the Provisionals military wing completely disband, which no doubt they must do. As an Irish Republican it is my belief that the sooner the Provos disband the better. Since their ceasefire they have become nothing more than a right-wing party militia, whose only role is policing the nationalist community and doing the Brits' dirty work for them and I am sure no one here will be sorry to see them go.

"The question we must ask is where do they all go after they disband? The most likely answer is into the ranks of the RUC, Britain's colonial police force in Ireland.

"Despite the name change — to the PSNI, and even the change of uniform and badge, the colonial police force is still trained by, armed by and controlled by Britain, with the sole intention of maintaining her illegal occupation of the Six

Counties."

To conclude, Amhrán na bhFiann was played. The crowd then marched the short distance back to the Cathedral Road before dispersing. A successful, well-attended function was held that evening.

SOUTH ARMAGH

On Easter Saturday a commemoration took place at the graveside of Vols Raymond McCreech, Brendan Quinn and Seán Doran in Camloch and on Easter Sunday at Killeen, a commemoration took place at the graveside of Vols Thomas and Seán O'Reilly, who were murdered along with Peter McGinnity on July 6, 1921.

After a decade of the Rosary was recited by a member of the O'Reilly/McGinnity/Watters Cumann, wreaths were laid on both graves. Then followed the 1916 Proclamation and the Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement.

Closing the ceremony, Sarah Murphy, Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin, who presided, thanked those who attended, including relatives of the O'Reilly Brothers and of the Edentubber Martyrs. The O'Reillys and Peter McGinnity along with Máire Drumm, who also was a native of Killeen, were murdered in cold blood by agents acting for the British government, she said.

Mentioning that the Stevens

Inquiry had lately found the British government guilty of murder, she said that we want no more white-wash inquiries, but that the time was opportune for the nationalist people to unite and in the words of Tóine to "break the connection with England".

"We reject the smokescreen of demilitarisation, which is only a return to barracks in Lisburn, Holywood, Gough, Ballykinlar, Omagh, Ballymena etc, by the British occupying forces. We demand complete disengagement from our country, forthwith!"

She concluded by calling on the people of South Armagh to reject those who were sitting in Stormont working hand-in-hand with the British Forces of Occupation, and to remember Raymond McCreech, who died on hunger strike rather than accept British rule.

Also in South Armagh, wreath-laying ceremonies took place at the graves of Vol Michael McVerry, Cullyhanna, Col James Lochrie, Dromintree, Vol Francis Jordan, Jonesboro, the Memorial to the Irish patriots at Mullaghbawn, and the graves of our comrades, Jean and John O'Hare, Cloughogue and Tom Loneragan.

Cavan/Fermanagh

UPWARDS of 100 people took part in the Easter commemoration at the graveside of Vol Pat McManus at Kiladuff Cemetery, Swanlinbar, Co Cavan.

Republicans from Fermanagh and Cavan attended the ceremonies. The Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement, the 1916 Proclamation and the Roll of Honour were read. A decade of the Rosary was recited and wreaths were laid on behalf of the Movement.

Mary Ward, Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, in the course of an oration, said:

"The true Republicans of today are those who actively struggle to end English rule in Ireland and establish the sovereignty, democracy and rights of the Irish nation. Patrick Pearce reminded us in 1915 that whenever Irish leaders abandoned Tóine's aim of 'breaking the connection with England', abandoning what he called the national position; they were repudiated by the next generation.

"A rising generation of Irish people will similarly repudiate the Provisional leadership who have in the past years conspired against Irish Republicanism by the voluntary destruction of the arms given to them for the freedom of Ireland."

Derry

OVER 150 people attended at the Cúchulainn Memorial in the City Cemetery, Derry City on Easter Sunday. The proceedings were chaired by Michael McGonigle, Dungiven, who also read the Statement from the Leadership, Fergus McCabe recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaeilge; Cairneach O'Coinn read the 1916 Proclamation and former hunger-striker Brendan McLaughlin laid the wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

A wreath was laid on the grave of Seán Keenan by Damian McGonigle, Dungiven.

The oration was delivered by John McElhinney, Letternky and Strabane. The ceremony ended with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann by Whitley O'Neill.

On Easter Sunday morning, in a ceremony held by Republican Sinn Féin, a wreath was laid by Michael McGonigle at Seán Larkin's grave in the Loop. A wreath was laid on

Cont. on page 8.

1916 Easter Commemorations



• **James Sweeney, Glasgow, who spent ten years in Peterhead jail in Scotland in the 1970s, reading the statement from the POWs at Drumboe, Co Donegal. Behind him is Joe O'Neill, Chairperson.**

Cont. from page 7.

Kevin Lynch's grave in Dungiven by his sister Bridie; wreaths were also laid on the graves of Vol James Kealy by his brother Thomas; a wreath was laid on the graves of Nols O'Carolan and Gilmartin by Michael Begley and on the grave of Tommy Toner by Micky McGonigle.

Down

A CROWD of around 50 people marched to the Republican Plot in St. Mary's Graveyard, Newry, behind a five strong Colour Party.

On gathering at the Plot the Chairperson Ruairi White welcomed all in attendance. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and the Continuity IRA. A wreath was also laid on the grave of Joe Conway on behalf of the Joe Conway/Willie Stewart Cumann, Newry & Dundalk. Eddie McKeown then recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

Frank Gartland then read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement, followed by the Easter Statement from CIRA Prisoners in Maghaberry and Magilligan jails that was read by Kieran Stanley. This was followed by the dipping of flags to the Last Post and Reveille played by James Callan on the bugle.

Tomás Ó Cléirigh, Ard Chomhairle, then gave a fitting oration in the course of which he said:

"In this past year we have witnessed the pressure of political police and political courts north and south to destroy us. Clearly our enemies have not learned from history. We emerge stronger and in this holy spot

we re-assert ourselves as the one true Sinn Féin."

The Chairperson once again thanked everyone in attendance and called the parade to attention for the Irish National Anthem.

Drumboe

A LARGE crowd attended the County Donegal commemoration at Drumboe on Easter Sunday. The parade formed up at Johnston's Corner, Stranlarlag and led by a Colour Party and the St Lawrence's Pipe Band, Fintona, Co Tyrone and Dr Artlurs Memorial Accordion Band from the Glens of Antrim marched to the Drumboe Martyrs Monument in the town.

The proceedings were chaired by Joe O'Neill, Bundoran. Former Republican prisoner James Sweeney, Gweedore read a statement from the Republican prisoners, Maghaberry prison. Wreaths were laid by Jimmy McElhinney, Omagh on behalf of the Republican Movement, by Margaret McGrath, Bundoran on behalf of the Drumboe Commemoration Committee; by Michael Cullen on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin and by Sorcha McElhinney on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin in Donegal.

The flags were dipped to a roll of the drum. The Easter Statement was read by Micky McGonigle, Dungiven, Co Derry and John Mullin, Tyrone read the 1916 Proclamation. Frank McGinley, Letterkenny read the Donegal Roll of Honour and Fergus McCabe recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaeltóg.

The oration was delivered by Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, who said:



• **Republican Plot, Milltown Cemetery, Belfast on Easter Sunday.**

"There is an end to fudge in the current process in the Six Counties, we have been told; now there must be clarity and the Provos have been cornered. For more than five years that process had lived on equivocation. The Stormont Agreement of 1998 had faltered and floundered because of the contradiction at its core.

"It was sold to nationalists on the basis that it would lead to a free and united Ireland while unionists were persuaded it would strengthen English rule here.

"The last two decades had seen a classic counter-revolution, as in the days of Charlie Daly, Seán Larkin, Tim O'Sullivan and Dan Enright. The revolutionary movement had been stopped in its tracks on both sides of the Border now had the allegiance and had brought its followers over to the side of the enemy.

"The Drumboe Martyrs had fought to the death against the partitioning of Ireland and the creation of Leinster House and Stormont which had set aside the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 and the First Dáil Éireann. Yet those who accepted in recent times what the Drumboe Martyrs had fought against on both sides of the Border now had the temerity to invoke their names to support treachery, thereby dishonouring them and all that they died for.

"Meanwhile, a new Northern Free State under British control was being created at Stormont. It was proposed to place it on firmer foundations by basing it not only on the unionist population but also on as many nationalists as possible. This involved people from nationalist families joining the British police in the Six Counties and enforcing the new arrangements at the point of a gun, if necessary. The end result will be to strengthen English rule, not weaken it, by the formation of a new Broy Harrier element within the British Forces of Occupation.

"The report of the Stevens Inquiry confirmed the charges of collusion made by Republicans from the early 1970s. In that such collaboration was "widespread," it shows that the loyalist paramilitaries acted

as the underground arm or hidden extension of the British Army of Occupation.

"In this way the English government added proxy forces to their war in Ireland and blamed unionists for these dirty deeds while posing before the world as peacekeepers. Nationalists suffered while unionists carried the blame, all the while the English government was largely responsible."

"Charlie Daly and his comrades in the Irish Republican Army, Cumann na mBan and Fianna Éireann resisted the counter-revolution of 1922-23, just as the true Republican Movement today opposes England's alternative to Irish national independence.

"Republicans would face up to the renewed onslaught of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House; they would ensure that unionists would not suffer the humiliation so long endured by nationalists by providing a secure, comfortable and honourable place for them in the New Ireland.

"For this task the most idealistic and high-minded of a new generation of Irish people would be needed, prepared to give service up to the noble standards of Charlie Daly, Seán Larkin, Tim O'Sullivan and Dan Enright. In every decade since their time, Irish men and women, boys and girls had served the same ideals and in some cases had made the supreme sacrifice for national freedom.

"I am confident the coming generation will be just as generous and idealistic," he concluded.

Monaghan

MEMBERS of the Dáilí Ó Conaill Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin held a wreath-laying ceremony at the Fergal O'Hanlon Monument in Monaghan town. In the afternoon, members attended a commemoration ceremony at the grave of Séamus McElwaine in Urlesshanny Cemetery, Scoonstown where the oration was delivered by Pádraig Ó Baoghilín.

Tyrone

ON Easter Saturday 50 Republicans assembled at Endorck Cemetery at the grave of Fian James McCaughy

(13), who was killed by a UVF bomb on March 17, 1976.

A Colour Party led the parade to the Plot where the ceremonies were chaired by Kevin Trainor, Armagh, Gearóid Mac Ghiolla Cheara recited a decade of the Rosary. The Statement from the Leadership and the 1916 Proclamation were read. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican Movement and an oration was delivered by Gerald Crilly, Ard Chomhairle.

A wreath-laying ceremonies took place at Carrickmore on Easter Saturday at the grave of Frank Ward and on Easter Sunday a wreath was laid on the grave of John Phillip O'Donnell at Aghyaran and Carrickmore.

MUNSTER Cork

REPUBLICANS in Cork assembled at the Wilton Roundabout on Easter Sunday, and, led by a Colour Party of Republican Sinn Féin and Cumann na mBan and by three pipers, marched to the Republican Plot in St Finbar's Cemetery.

At the plot, the ceremony was presided over by Donal Varian, Chairperson of the Mac Curtáin/Mac Suibhne Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Cork city. A decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaeltóg by Antón Ó hAragáin, the 1916 Proclamation was read by Terence Varian, the Statement from the Leadership was read by Alfie McAvoy and wreaths were laid by Kitty O'Brien on behalf of Cumann na mBan, Cork and by Liam Heaghy on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. The Last Post and Reveille was sounded by two buglers and the oration was delivered by Lita Ni Chathmhaoil, Ard-Rúnaí, Republican Sinn Féin.

In the course of her oration she said: "As a native of Cork I have always been proud of the designation Rebel County, a name justly earned by the patriot men and women who sacrificed so much down through the years for the cause of Irish freedom. The names of the martyred Lord Mayors, Tomás Mac Curtáin and Terence MacSwiney resonated

1916 Easter Commemorations

around the world. They led the way in the struggle for freedom, inspiring freedom movements throughout the globe, and gave their lives without flinching or hesitating. They were not alone and to this day faithful Republicans in Cork follow in their footsteps.

"The root cause of the conflict in Ireland remains the presence of the British government and its forces here. Permanent peace will only come with final British disengagement from Ireland. Those who voted 'Yes' to the Stormont Agreement five years ago see now that the British still hold the real power in Ireland, the results of the 1998 referendums mean nothing to them as they continue to uphold the Unionist Veto.

"The current attempts to restate it in the lead-up to new Stormont assembly elections is foundering on the rock of the British insistence that they call the shots and not the Provos, who must now bite the bullet and not only fully accept British rule and a British police force but must stand down their military wing and 'decommission' their entire arsenal. What an ignominious situation they find themselves in but the tragedy is that the cause of Irish freedom is weakened by their actions."

Kerry CAHERSIVEEN

THE South Kerry Easter commemoration took place in Cahersiveen on Easter Sunday. There was a good attendance at the IRA Memorial in the Main Street of the town.

A recital by a lone piper preceded the commemoration which was presided over by Pádraig Garvey. A short address by An Cathaoirleach was followed by a reading of the 1916 Proclamation and the laying of a wreath by James O'Shea on behalf of the Republican Movement. Pa Houlihan recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaeilge.

This was followed by the reading of the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement and the local Roll of Honour.

A fine oration was delivered by Liam Cotter, Tralee in which he reminded us of the sellouts through the years and how those who sell out end up doing England's dirty work against Republicans, often with more vigour than the English.

He also condemned the Blair-Bush war for oil in Iraq. He also pointed out the irony of British complaining about Iraq's treatment of its POWs when Britain's treatment of Irish POWs was and is amongst the worst.

The commemoration concluded with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann.

TRALEE

In Tralee, a large crowd of Republicans assembled at the Píkeamán Monument in Denny Street, and marched behind a six-person colour party and a lone piper to the Republican Plot at Rath Cemetery.

The proceedings were chaired by George Rice, Tralee. A wreath was laid on behalf of all those who gave their lives for Irish freedom by Dan Keating (101), Tan War Veteran; by Donie Corliffe on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin; and by Seán Murphy on behalf of the Republican prisoners. A decade of the Rosary was recited by Fionnuala Kissane. Siobhán Walsh, Listowel, read the Proclamation and the Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement was read by Eamonn Breen, Castleisland.

The Last Post and Reveille was sounded and a fine oration was delivered by



• *The Colour Party at the Republican Plot in Donaghpatrick Cemetery, Co Galway.*



• *Republican Sinn Féin commemoration at the GPO in Dublin's O'Connell Street.*



• *Former H-Block hunger striker Brendan McLaughlin lays the wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement at the Cúchulainn Memorial in Derry's City Cemetery on Easter Sunday.*

ered by Fergal Moore, Monaghan, who said:

"The people of Kerry paid a terrible price for their support of the Republic during the civil war. The Free Staters eager to do the bidding of their English masters carried on the work of the Black and Tans by

murdering faithful Republicans.

"Men like Sean Moriarty were taken prisoner and shot in fields. Nine men were tied to a bomb at Ballyseedy Cross after a long night of torture. Stephen Fuller survived by being thrown into a ditch. These incidents galvanised the people of

Kerry.

"The murders are remembered now more than eighty years later with bitterness. Our assembly here sends an important message to the Free Staters of today. Kerry Republicans are proud of their past. They know that the All Ireland

Republic for which they have struggled is a fine and noble thing. They know that Charlie Kerins, Austin Stack, Sean Moriarty and the many others who fought and died for the All Ireland Republic were right. They were right in 1919, they were right in 1922 and 23 and they are right today.

"There are many in Kerry today that claim to be Republican. They will even come here to this graveside. They will say that they follow in the footsteps of the men who gave their lives for the Republic. Then they will turn around and go to Leinster House.

"Men like Martin Ferris and his pro-British friends in the Provisionals have no connection politically, morally or spiritually with Kerry's Republican dead. He does not follow in their footsteps rather he follows in the footsteps of their killers. By his participation in the Free State assembly in Leinster House he is a part of the body that murdered them. By his support of the administration of the twenty-six counties, their army and their police force he proves himself to be a false Republican and a turncoat."

On Easter Sunday wreaths were laid on the Republican Plot in Ballylongford and at the Republican Plot in Listowel.

Limerick

A LARGE crowd turned out for the Limerick commemoration, which was led by a lone piper, a Republican Colour Party and Na Fianna Éireann.

They marched to the Republican Plot where wreaths were laid by veteran Republican Eddie Costello on behalf of the Easter Commemoration Committee and Sonia Griesser on behalf of the prisoners.

They then marched to the grave of Seán Glynn where Margaret Finucane on behalf of Na Fianna Éireann laid a wreath. The Easter Statement by read by Ken O'Reilly. Seán O'Neill chaired the proceedings. Christy Leo played the national anthem. Seán McGoldrick, Dublin and Sligo delivered the main oration. In the course of his oration he said:

"Republican Sinn Féin adhere to the Proclamation of 1916 which declares the right of the Irish people to the ownership of Ireland, to be sovereign and indefeasible. With such a clear belief as that there is no way we will ever support English rule in the Six Counties or collaborate with it through the Establishment south of the Border."

"As Irish Republicans we are subjected to State harassment and repression north and south of the Border. Republican Sinn Féin members have spent almost three months on trial in the Special Court in Dublin on trumped-up charges, while in the Six Occupied Counties others are being held on 'conspiracy' charges. The trial in the Special Court is the largest and longest running of Republicans in that courts history and has seen the harshest bail conditions ever being handed down on one of the men.

"We have not reached the end of the road in this struggle. We have not won but neither have we given up on winning and we have not surrendered. The way forward for Ireland is through the ÉIRE NUA programme for a totally new Ireland with separation of Church and State and a pluralist society free of British rule. We should all be active in promoting Republicanism and however we can throughout the country."

Waterford

THE Easter Commemoration held in Cappagh, Co Waterford was the

Cont. on page 10.

1916 Easter Commemorations

Cont. from page 9

first commemoration held under the recently formed Republican Sinn Féin. Cumann was the first Republican commemoration held in Cappquin for many years.

The parade of over 150 people was led by a three-person Colour Party and Piper who paraded from the Town Square to the Republican Memorial Park at the end of the town where the ceremony was held.

It was chaired by Benny Galvin (Waterford) and a minute's silence was held. Wreaths were laid by Morris Kelleher (Cappquin) on behalf of the relatives; by Gíor Foran (Moineoin) on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and by Jim Bray (Cappquin) on behalf of the Republican Prisoners.

The main oration was delivered by Pól Ó Meara, Comhairle na Múnnan, in the course of which he said:

"We honour here today the generation of Irish men and women in the Waterford area who fought so that Ireland might be free. They held dear to the high ideals of national liberation and Republicanism. They fought for you and I and for the generations to come so that Pearse's and the other leaders' dream might become a reality and that "thousands would dwell in the house that he had formed in his heart".

"Much has happened in the succeeding 80 years or so. Every decade has seen a renewal of Republican resistance to British rule. There is nothing to suggest that the coming decades will be any different; indeed your presence here today vindicates that. The cycle of Irish history dictates that this resistance will continue as long as England maintains her illegal presence in Ireland."

The ceremony concluded with the playing of Amhrán Na bhFiann.

CONNACHT Galway

"THE British armed forces that the 26-County State is so keen to collaborate with have been involved in the assassinations of numerous Irish citizens, a fact which has now been admitted by the British themselves in the Stevens 3 Report. Those who have aided and abetted British State terrorism against Irish nationalists over the years, and those who have lately thrown in their lot with the enemies of Irish freedom, should not parade their hypocrisy by purporting to honour principled Republicans like Liam Mellows," said Ruairi Óg Ó Braidigh, PRO, Republican Sinn Féin, speaking at the Liam Mellows statue in Eyre Square on Easter Sunday morning after marching from Galway Cathedral.

The main county commemoration was held in the afternoon at the Republican Plot in Donaghpatrick Cemetery, Headford, where nine IRA volunteers executed by the Free State in 1922 and 1923 are buried.

The proceedings were chaired by Tomás Ó Curraoin. The Roll of Honour was read and the Statement from the Leadership was read by Dan Hoban, Newport, Co Mayo. The 1916 Proclamation was read by Johnny Clarke and a decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaeilge by Seán Mac an Iomáine. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Moylan family, Anaghdown by Thomas Moylan; on behalf of the Darcy family by Joe Darcy, by Seán Newell on behalf of the Newell family; and on behalf of Galway Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, the Republican Movement and Mayo Republicans.

Leitrim

THE annual ceremonies in honour of the 1916 Rising were held by the Co Leitrim Commemoration Committee on Easter Sunday.

A wreath-laying took place at the grave in Rossinver cemetery of Volunteer Jack McCabe, IRA, at 12 noon. Vol. McCabe served 10 years in Belfast jail for his part in the raid on Omagh British military barracks in 1954 and died shortly after his release.

In Manorbennet a wreath laying was held at 12.30pm at the memorial to Captain Phil Gilmun, killed by Free State forces in 1922.

In Mohill at 3.30pm a parade led by the Tricolour took place from the

road the 1916 Proclamation and Dr Seán Maguire, Castlebar, the East Mayo Roll of Honour.

Wreaths were laid by Micheál Ó Conghaile, Bearna, Gaillimh, on behalf of George Harrison, New York and late of Kilkenny; by Patrick O'Reilly, Kiltimagh on behalf of the McNeela/Gaughan/Stagg Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin (Mayo) and by Yasmin Barry, Galway on behalf of Galway Comhairle Ceantair.

Dúirt Seán Mac Con Iomáine, Gaillimh deichniúr den Phaidrín as Ghaeilge. The oration was delivered by Seán Mac Oisáir, Fermanagh, who delivered a very fine oration.

Roscommon



• **Republican parade arriving at St Ibar's Cemetery, Crossstown, Wexford.**

church car park to the grave of Brigade Adjutant Joe Berne in the local cemetery. Joe Berne was one of six members of the South Leitrim Flying Column killed by British troops at Selton Hill, Gorravagh in 1921.

Séamus McGowan, Tullaghan, presided and recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish. Gráinne Lavin read the 1916 Proclamation and Paddy McNamara read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement.

Wreaths were laid by Micheál Wryn, Ballinamore on behalf of relatives; by Seán Cassidy, Mohill on the grave of Michael Kennedy; by Micheál McDonagh, Drumshanbo on behalf of the Republican Movement and by Mary Berne on behalf of the Co Leitrim Commemoration Committee. Dr Seán Maguire, Castlebar, son of General Tom Maguire IRA and Deputy for South Mayo-South Roscommon in the All Ireland Dáil, gave the oration.

Mayo

THE annual Co. Mayo Commemoration to mark the 87th anniversary of the 1916 Rising took place at Kilkenny on Easter Monday at 12 noon under the auspices of the National Graves Association.

The parade formed up at the church gate and marched through the town to the East Mayo Brigade IRA Memorial on the main Sligo-Limerick road. It was led by a Colour Party bearing the National Flag and a piper from the Balla Pipe Band.

Dan Hoban, Newport, presided at the ceremony and read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement. Tomás Ó Curraoin, Gaillimh,

read the 1916 Proclamation and Dr Seán Maguire, Castlebar, the East Mayo Roll of Honour.

Wreaths were laid by Micheál Ó Conghaile, Bearna, Gaillimh, on behalf of George Harrison, New York and late of Kilkenny; by Patrick O'Reilly, Kiltimagh on behalf of the McNeela/Gaughan/Stagg Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin (Mayo) and by Yasmin Barry, Galway on behalf of Galway Comhairle Ceantair.

Dúirt Seán Mac Con Iomáine, Gaillimh deichniúr den Phaidrín as Ghaeilge. The oration was delivered by Seán Mac Oisáir, Fermanagh, who delivered a very fine oration.

After 11.30am Mass in Elphin, a parade formed up and marched to the newly refurbished Co. Roscommon IRA Memorial at Shankill Cross.

Pádraic Cryan, Cortobor, chairperson of the Commemoration Committee presided and said it was planned to complete the refurbishment of the memorial this year, the 40th anniversary of its unveiling.

Patsy O'Connell, Elphin, secretary of the committee led the attendance in the recitation of a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

Wreaths were laid in behalf of the organizing committee by Tommy Cull, Argina, and by Farrell Conry, Elphin on behalf of Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair, Republican

emoy was held at the memorial to local IRA Volunteers Pat Glynn, Michael Glavin and Michael J. Keane. Michael Hamilly, Ballinagare, presided and Stephen Ferguson, Lisacul read the 1916 Proclamation.

The Roll of Honour was read by Bernard Böherty and wreaths were laid by Edward Caulfield on behalf of Republican prisoners and Eddie Regan on behalf of Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

Joe Murphy, Ballinlough read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement and Geraldine McNamara delivered the oration.

The county commemoration in the afternoon took place in Ardcarne Cemetery, Boyle at the grave of Terence McGlynn who was killed in action in Dublin in April 1921. The parade formed up at Grevisk gate on the main Boyle-Carrick-on-Shannon road and marched to the graveside headed by a colour party and Raheen Pipe band.

Addie Clarke, Hillstreet was Chief Marshal and read the 1916 Proclamation. Joe Murphy, Ballinlough read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement.

Wreaths were laid by Frank Beattie, Rahara, Co Roscommon IRA Committee; Henry Owens (Republican Prisoners in Belfast, Derry and Portlaoise); Joe Kelly, Killyglass (Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin) and Tom Joe Flanagan, Killyglass on behalf of the relatives.

The oration was given by Geraldine McNamara, Tipperary member of the Ardchomhairle, in the course of which she said:

"To surrender to Free State, British and American oppression by accepting a divided Ireland with civil rights seen as freedom is a betrayal of all those I have mentioned and a betrayal of those whose graves I stand at today.

"We are often asked why don't we support the peace process. People who ask this question forget that there have been many so-called peace processes through the centuries. The penal laws were to create a peaceful environment for our foreign masters, so too the Act of the Union 1801, the creating of two artificial states in 1922 and more recently Sunningdale in 1973.

"Our answer is always the same, peace can never be achieved without justice and that will only come about when the British are prepared to try a new process, leave us to our own destiny and get out of Ireland for good," she said.

LEINSTER Dublin

OVER 300 people gathered at the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin to commemorate the 87th anniversary of the 1916 Rising. The Piper, from the Glens of Antrim led the parade followed by a Colour Party from Cumann Na mbán, Republican Sinn Féin and Na Fianna Éireann. The parade marched to the GPO where the proceedings were chaired by Andy Connolly. Johnny Gairine laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

Mary McAteer read the 1916 Proclamation and Róisín Hayden read the Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement. John Horan read the prisoners' statement from the CIRA POWs in Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons.

Andy Connolly then called on

• **Chris Dugan, National Irish Freedom Committee, reading the Easter Statement at the New York commemoration on Easter Sunday.**

THE 87th anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916 was commemorated at three venues throughout the county on Easter Sunday in ceremonies under the auspices of the Co. Roscommon IRA Commemoration Committee.

Sinn Féin.

Addie Clarke, Hillstreet, read the Proclamation of the All-Ireland Republic 1916 and Dermot Mulfoll, Strokstown read the Co. Roscommon Roll of Honour.

At 12 noon in Ballinlough a cer-

1916 Easter Commemorations

Des Long, vice-president, Republican Sinn Féin to deliver the main oration. In the course of his oration Des Long said:

Limerick-based Des Long, vice president of Republican Sinn Féin said that Republicans will never abandon the right of the Irish nation to a new and united Ireland.

"Our present message based on the foundation of the 1916 Rising is that the Irish nation still exists, that there is a continuity of struggle to the generations that have gone before us," he said.

"The Irish nation is still struggling for national liberation and there are people here who have never surrendered to British imperialism and colonialism and who never will!"

"The trial of Robert Emmet at the Green Street courthouse 200 years ago has also given Irish history one of its greatest aspirations. Today his epitaph has not been written and cannot be written because the island of Ireland has yet to take its place among the nations of the earth. The ideal of a united and free Ireland is under grave threat... and those who adhere to the political philosophy of national self-determination are under constant harassment and intimidation from the political police of the 26 and 6 County states."

"All repression and suspension of human rights is now justified in the name of tackling terror - but as Republicans we see a clear distinction between what Bush and Blair consider terror and a genuine war of national liberation!"

"Even the Police Commissioner of the 26 County Administration is on record (*Irish News*, March 15, 2000) as saying that as long as there is a British military presence in Ireland, there will be an Irish Republican Army to oppose it."

The ceremony concluded with the piper playing Anhrán na bhFiann. After the commemoration Ryan laid a wreath at the Republican Monument in Glasnevin cemetery.

DEANSGRANGE

The usual Easter Monday commemoration took place at the Republican Plot in Deansgrange, Dun Laoghaire. Andy Connolly chaired the ceremony. Seán McGoldrick read the Proclamation. Dan Donoghue laid the wreath. Josephine Hayden read the Easter Statement. In his address, the Chairman of the Commemoration called on Republicans present to rededicate themselves to the cause for which the Republicans were honouring died. He also asked those present to remember Emmet's death in 1803, Republicans who died during the Civil War and also the Lockout of 1913, this year being the 90th anniversary. The ceremony concluded with the playing of Anhrán na bhFiann.

Kildare

KILDARE's Easter Commemoration was held this year at the grave of Paddy Driver, in Ballymore Eustace, on Easter Sunday at 12 noon, the ceremony was chaired by Republican Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Matt Conway, Kilcullen, who was prevented from attending last year's commemoration due to the draconian half conditions imposed on him and which were only lifted following his acquittal from the non-jury Special Criminal Court last January.

A wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Paul Stanley, Straffan, Kitty Hawkins, Ballymore Eustace, said a decade of the rosary as Gaeltige. The Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement and the 1916



• Cork Republicans arriving at St Finbarr's Cemetery.



• The County Roscommon commemoration in Ardcarne Cemetery, Boyle.

Proclamation were read by Ibharr Hawkins, Ballymore Eustace.

The ceremony was chaired by Republican Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member, Matt Conway, Kilcullen.

The oration was given by Siobhán O'Brien, Celbridge, who described the trial of the Limerick Eight as a "political show-trial". "The charges, based solely on the uncorroborated evidence of a Chief Superintendent, were brought against Matt Conway and the seven others simply because of their political beliefs."

Wreaths were also laid at the Republican Plot, Grey Abbey, Kildare Town, the Republican Monument, Market Square, Kildare Town. Milltown Bridge, the graves of Eugene O'Rourke, Val Thomas Brophy and Bob Mulhally in St Conleth's Cemetery Newbridge. The Republican Plot, Naas, the 1798 memorial Old Kilcullen. Wreaths were also laid in Maynooth and Celbridge.

Longford

SPEAKING at Ballymacormack Cemetery, Longford on Easter Sunday Josephine Hayden, Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblaichtach, said that since the Rebellion in 1916, Easter has become a focus all over the country for people to reiterate their commitment to the Irish Republic and pay their respects to those who gave their lives in the cause of Irish freedom.

"Just as in every decade, men and women today are involved in the continued struggle — the freedom and independence of our country is not yet won in spite of those who would have us believe that the Ireland that Henry Hughes and Patrick McKeon died for has been realised. The old British tactic of divide and conquer has once again been used to good effect, it has been

bought into by those who should know better. And I mean bought into in the broadest sense — they have been bought. But we remember Padraig Pearse's words on the 'purchasing' of the people — the Brits have still only purchased one half, the other half continues the fight.

"While each generation has resisted British rule, each generation too has unfortunately produced its share of traitors and collaborators. The true and faithful can expect repression from all quarters, that never deterred Republicans in the past and we will not let that deter us now. Republicans are being held without bail in Maghaberry on charges with no basis — the three men have refused to accept the Stormont deal so they must pay for their insubordination.

"A few months ago a twelve year sentence was imposed on a Republican on such flimsy evidence as would not be accepted any place else in the world. The Free State too is leaning heavily on those who do not accept the Stormont Agreement and the status quo. Men are serving savage sentences, one man 10 years and another 14 years, in Portlaoise prison, imposed by the special non-jury court in Dublin, on the perjury of special branch detectives. Seven members of Republican Sinn Féin are awaiting the outcome of a trial that began on January 13 and ended last week with a reserved judgement.

"But we send a message today to Blair and Ahern: Republicans will not be intimidated. You can introduce as many draconian laws as you like, threaten people as much as you like, Republicans will never be deflected from their path. North and south of the British imposed border touts and informers continue to be used to gather information on Republicans while those touts are granted immunity for their criminal, and often murderous, activity."

The proceedings at the grave of the grave of Patrick McKeown were chaired by Councillor Seán Lynch, Drumlish. The 1916 Proclamation was read as was the Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement. A decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaeltige and the Co Longford Roll of Honour read. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican Movement.

Louth

The Dundalk parade was led by a lone piper and a five strong Colour Party, which marched through Dundalk to the Republican Plot at St. Patrick's cemetery.

On gathering at the plot, the Chairperson Ruairí White welcomed all in attendance. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and the Continuity IRA. A wreath was also laid on the grave of Willie Stewart on behalf of the Willie

The 1916 Proclamation was read by Jimmy Doyle, Mount Temple and the Roll of Honour by Kathleen Torney, Moate whose two granddaughters are included in the list of the Athlone Brigade casualties. A wreath was laid by Martin Maher, grandnephew of James Daly.

Tommy Morris, Killoren read the Easter Statement and wreaths were laid on the grave. The oration was delivered by Emmet Walsh, Offaly.

Wexford

A NUMBER of ceremonies were held in Wexford to mark the anniversary of the 1916 Rising. These began on Easter Saturday in Enniscorthy where wreaths were laid at a number of graves and memorials including those of George Keegan, Maurice Spillane and Séamus Rafter. A wreath was also laid at the Memorial to the members of the Kyle Flying Column killed during the Civil War at Crossbeg.

On Easter Sunday morning wreaths were laid at the graves of hunger-striker Joe Whitty in Ballymore and Con McCarthy and Mick & Bernie Radford in Murrinstown. These events were followed by a Memorial Mass in the Church of the Assumption in Wexford, in honour of all those who gave their lives for Irish Freedom, which was attended by members and officials of Wexford Borough Council as well as local Republicans.

In the afternoon Republicans paraded along Wexford's Main Street to the historic Bullring site of the 1798 Pikenam Monument. From there the crowd travelled by bus and cars to the Republican Plot in St. Thars cemetery, Crossstown, where the main commemoration was held.

In his opening address commemoration Chairman Jimmy Kavanagh expressed his great satisfaction at seeing so many young people involved in the ceremonies. He also alluded to the parade held earlier in the day by the Provisionals. He stated that in the past other groups had tried to usurp the traditional Republican ceremonies but they had come and gone and so would these.

Following the reading of the 1916 Proclamation by Ann Redmond, wreaths were laid on the Plot by Jimmy Hanley on behalf of the Republican Movement and by Tom Malone on behalf of the Wexford Republican Graves Committee. Further wreaths were laid at the graves of Paddy Parle, Mathew Furlong and John Leacy.

Frank McManus of Wexford Republican Sinn Féin read the Easter Statement on behalf of the Republican Movement. The main oration was delivered by Frank Graham, Dublin.

Following the commemoration refreshments were laid on for the crowd followed by a ballad session and raffle on behalf of CABHAIR.

ENGLAND London

ON Easter Sunday wreaths were laid at the Republican Monuments in Liverpool and Manchester by Michael Logan and on the plaque to the Invincibles in Hiford, Essex by Brendan Maguire.

The Commemoration ceremony took place at the grave of Paddy Hartigan in Hendon, London. Andy Brogan laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement. Jim O'Dwyer chaired the proceedings and he also read the Roll of Honour for England. After the reading of the Easter Statement from the

Cont. on page 12.

Stewart & Joe Conway Cumann, Newry & Dundalk.

A decade of the Rosary was recited and Frank Gartland then read the Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement. This was followed by the Easter Statement from the CIRAs prisoners in Maghaberry and Magilligan jails, which was read by Kieran Stanley, James Callan then played the Last Post and Revile as the flags were dipped.

Tónís Ó Cléirigh, Ard Chomhairle, then gave a fitting oration in the course of which he said:

"A chairde, by honouring our fallen comrades we elevate ourselves above tyrants and their minions. The men buried in this Republican Plot refused to bow the knee to the spectre of defeatism. Rather than following Pearse into battle they took their counsel from the confessors of our Fenian faith."

The Chairperson once again thanked everyone in attendance and called the parade to attention for the National Anthem.

Offaly

A wreath was laid on the grave of Walter Mitchell in Clara Co Offaly on Easter Sunday, April 20.

Wicklow

A wreath was laid on the graves of Thomas and Myles O'Reilly in Hollywood Co Wicklow on Easter Sunday.

Westmeath

THE Easter commemoration took place in Tyrellspass at the grave of Ranger James Daly, who was executed following a mutiny in the British army regiment of the Connaught Rangers in India in 1920 against atrocities in Ireland.

Seánmsh Ó Maoileoin, Bealach an Tríailgha, presided and a decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaeltige.

RUC/ PSNI Change Provo Route

A chara
I would like to bring to the attention of Newry people the blatant hypocrisy of the Provos in the area. Their Easter commemoration there this year was subject to time change and re-routing at the orders of the RUC/PSNI.

These former Republicans have told their followers and the people of Newry that the reason for these changes was in fact due to better public relations with local businesses. The real reason for this, we learn, was that their application for permission to walk on Irish streets was submitted late to the RUC/PSNI, and it was the same RUC/PSNI who ordered them to make their changes.

PRO
JOE CONWAY/WILLIE
STEWART CUMANN
Republican Sinn Féin
Newry/Dundalk

Violation Of Rights Of Limerick Eight

A chara
It is with a degree of fury that I write this letter to you, in relation to your front page story on the Limerick Eight in the April issue. The fact that the police arrested these men in violation of their rights is an indictment of the political police.

However the fact that these men were not immediately released when this blatant breach of their constitutional rights was exposed is a matter of considerable concern to all of us interested in civil liberties.

The action of the police amounts to these men being held illegally against their will and in law it is false imprisonment and a denial of the liberty every citizen is guaranteed under the Free State Constitution.

The way the police ignored the rights of these men must be condemned — the fact that it has been

exposed by your newspaper is right and proper and let us hope that all those whose rights were violated by the police will now take court action to gain their liberty.

At present there is great concern for human and civil rights in Iraq — but the reality is that these men were taken at gunpoint and to all intents and purposes falsely



• While the British Crown Forces attacked war in Iraq protesters at Belfast City Hall on May 8 Gerry Adams and Mark Durkan were meeting George Bush at Hillsborough Castle (see letter below).

detained - when will the police be charged with false imprisonment? Or will they ever face a court for their flagrant breach of civil liberties and ignoring legislation to safeguard the rights of people against harassment by the police.

Justice must be seen to be done and it is now time for the police involved in this trumped-up case to be charged with false imprisoning these eight men.

NORA LYNCH
Limerick

Traitors Dumped By British

A chara

Now that the Brits are going to dump the Provo ministers I hear Martin Ferris could be offered the governorship of Baghdad and money-bags Cahill for

finance. Pat Doherty repairing lie detectors, Adams building holiday homes; McGuinness lonely hearts.

They travelled Ireland's graveyards at Easter telling the Irish people they won the war while, like all traitors, they were having secret talks with the enemy of every dead Volunteer.

Take it down from the mast, Irish traitors. Long live the true Republican Movement.

DUNDALK
REPUBLICAN

Time To Change

A chara

I would like to suggest to Republican Sinn Féin in Belfast that starting the Easter commemoration here at 12 noon makes it difficult for many supporters to attend. There are no buses or black taxis before 12 noon so only people with private transport

a wreath at the Pearse monument on behalf of the Cumann.

Patrick McAleer then read the Easter Statement, and was followed by Bryan O'Hanlon who read Patrick Pearse's poem *The Rebel*.

A lament was played by Liam Hackett on the Uilleann pipes, in memory of Ireland's patriot dead. The main speaker Des Dalton from County Kildare, gave the oration on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. In the course of a spirited address, he stated,

"The Stormont Agreement copped-fisters the presence of the British government and denies the right of all the Irish people acting as a unit to self-determination.

can make it on time unless they live in west Belfast. People from across town find it impossible to attend.

I would like to urgently suggest that the 2004 Easter commemoration begin at 4pm, perhaps parading from either the RSF office, Beechmount Avenue or the Falls Road/Whiterock Junction, less than 10 minutes to Milltown Cemetery gates, so that everyone, even members and supporters from Co Antrim can then easily make the parade.

It is time we had a parade, otherwise we hand the road, the day and the publicity to the Provos. By this suggestion I'm allowing for other organisations to have their commemorations at Milltown. I also feel that by having the commemoration at 4pm, other members and supporters throughout Ulster could have their own ceremonies and then attend the main Ulster parade in Belfast.

It's time we came out publicly in Belfast to our sup-

Also it leaves the unionists in a state of uncertainty and fear for their future. A new democracy in a New Ireland of the four provinces is the realistic alternative to this insecure agreement which aims to perpetuate English rule in Ireland."

A statement of solidarity with the Irish Republican Movement was read by Gerry McGregor on behalf of the Scottish Republican Socialist Movement. The ceremony was then brought to a close with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann on the pipes.

In the evening a successful cois time was held in a city centre venue. Irish traditional musicians from the Irish Minstrels and Johnny Doherty

porters to counter the treacherous Provisionals in Belfast. Republican Sinn Féin needs to sit down with the other branches of the Republican Movement to plan a way forward to show the people what we stand for. Let's move ahead now or we wither and die.

JOHN BANNON
Belfast 14

practice it can get rusty.

At Easter we remembered our dead soldiers. There is a poem called "Bean tSléibhe ag Caoineadh a Mí? Here is the first verse:

Brón ar an mBás, is é dubh na chluaisí.
D'fhuaidigh mó ghrá is dhág mé clóite, Gan charaid gan chomhánach faoi dhíor mó thí-sé. Achan leath so im'lin, is mé ag caoineadh.
Serioibh Pádraig Mac Piaras in dán seo.

BRENDAN TOBIN
Co Wexford

Disgust At visit Of US President To Belfast

A chara

We felt we had to write to you to express our utter shock and disgust to hear that Gerry Adams actually met the Big Terrorist Bush in Belfast in the middle of the slaughter in Iraq. We feel brain-damaged hearing of such monstrous betrayal and trying to understand the twisted politics of such a situation.

We were also dismayed to hear of the tiny demonstration (300 people) against this meeting when we were sure most of Ireland would be up in arms about it.

We can only imagine that any true radicals left in PSF now have to turn towards your own movement, as surely our horror and disgust must be shared within their rank and file?

In bewilderment,

JENNY JAMES (English)
& ANNE BARR (ex-Buncrana)

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

GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Timmy King, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Colum King, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Wesley Fitzgerald, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Ken O'Reilly, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Eddy Conroy, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Johnny O'Brien, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Wesley Ryan, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike "Quill" Ryan, Limerick. From Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick.
GET well wishes to Mike Ryan, Limerick. From Na Fianna Éireann, Limerick.

Comhghairdeachas

Harrison, George. With heartiest congratulations to my friend George Harrison, New York, on reaching his 88th birthday on 2 May 2003. Will be thinking of you George, don't over do the celebrations. From Cathleen Knowles McGuirk.

Cont. from page 11.

Leadership of the Republican Movement Michael Kennedy delivered a fine oration in the course of which he said:

"Whilst remembering all those over the years who contributed so much to the Cause, we remember with pride all those who died for Irish freedom."

He recalled the work of Paddy Hartigan and his friend Tom Lonergan amongst the Irish in London promoting our paper and raising funds. "Their work for the Movement should inspire us all to make a greater effort to achieve the Republic they dedicated themselves to," he said.

Glasgow

IN bright sunshine a large crowd of Glasgow Irish, including representatives of the GAA, Gaelic League, Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann and a Republican colour party, assembled at Pearse Park GAA ground, for the annual 1916 commemoration ceremony organised by the Francis Hughes Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin, Glasgow.

The ceremony was chaired by Stephen Coyle who called on Carol Edelstein to read the Proclamation. The Republican Roll of Honour for Scotland was then read by Damien Brogan. This was followed by John Kelly who laid

WHAT THEY SAY

Do you think the British government will allow some local legislation to take oversight of the role of MIS or military intelligence.

— Irish News (Belfast), March 5, 2003; *Monday Column* by Brian Feeney on possibility of British devolving political and justice issues to Stormont.

Dublin has done its best to ensure the human rights aspects of the [Stormont] Agreement won't work. The government dragged its feet, made a mess of appointing personnel to the Human Rights Commission, withheld powers, underfunded the process.

The NIO did exactly the same, withholding money and resources to render the North's Human Rights Commission nugatory. They could have bothered. The Commission has been a failure in its own right, its impotence confirmed with the resignation of the iconic human rights figure, *Irish Times* McCormack last year.

— Brian Feeney, March 5, 2003. Partly, if [the reason] has been poor performance of [Provisional] SF and the SDLP who have stood by and watched it all happen, for allowing Ronnie Flanagan to oversee the appointment of virtually all the district commanders of the UDA who to be honest I met before his departure last year.

— Brian Feeney. America and Britain have been hesitant to admit their mistakes even in the face of evidence such as the serial number, obtained by journalist Robert Fisk, of the missile that hit up 62 people in a Baghdad market nine days ago.

— Sunday Business Post, April 6, 2003. Twelve million of the region's 25 to 30 million Kurds live in Turkey, accounting for 20% of the Turkish population.

— Sunday Business Post, April 6, 2003 article by Tina Marie O'Neill.

Turkey's constitution forbids cultural sub-groups, so the Kurdish population, its language, culture, political organisation and livelihood have been repressed by Turkish armed forces.

Resources have also been withheld, making the Kurdish provinces seen like a third world region compared to affluent Turkish regions.

— Tina Marie O'Neill. So what are we to make of what is being done in our name to forget the propaganda - the real threats to the world we live in are not the tinpot despots, but the economic and political forces currently being piloted by George W. Bush.

— Sunday Business Post, April 6, 2003, Tom McGurk column.

In the face of this global threat, the only force more powerful than this is the power of the American civil society. Hundreds of thousands of brave Americans are already protesting as the waves of patriotic fervour beat down on their heads. Truly they are our only hope.

— Tom McGurk. As its impact on Irish neutrality, 54% [in the 26 Counties] believe that the use of Shannon by the US milit-

tary conflicts with neutrality, while 32% say that it does not.

— Sunday Tribune Political Editor, Stephen Collins, April 6, 2003.

"This is not the same UN that was entrusted to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, as its charter promised six decades ago," said the Al-Ahram? Weekly, an English language UN member from Egypt. It criticised UN inaction in the third week of the war in Iraq.

— Sunday Business Post, April 6, 2003.

The UN system has already suffered shock. The awe it once inspired in the UN, to "old" Europe, to "new" Europe, and to Tony Blair.

— Sunday Business Post, April 6, 2003, *Between the Lines* by Vincent Browne.

[Erskine] Childers was executed ostensibly because he had a gun in his home but in reality because, as the leading Anti-Treaty propagandist, he was a thorn in the side of the Provisional Government [in 1921].

— Irish Times, April 10, 2003, letter to Editor from Risteard Mulcahy, son of General Mulcahy, Chief-of-Staff, Free State army at the time of the Childers' execution. It was a courageous letter, and a leading force for other contributors to the debate on that period. The gun was a souvenir small-calibre weapon which was given to him as a keepsake by Michael Collins after the Counter-Revolution.

[Provisional] Sinn Féin has lost its long tradition of paramilitarism. It is on the way to abandoning all vestiges of revolutionary politics.

— Vincent Browne. He predicted 20 years ago it would go the way of the Sticksies (Official Sinn Féin, then the Workers' Party of Ireland, the Democratic Left, now the Labour Party, soon to Fine Gael and in time the Progressive Democrats).

— Vincent Browne's "Between the Lines", Sunday Business Post, April 13, 2003.

In a few years the party's shrill protagonists will be fulminating on the front page of the Sunday Independent about the infantile disorders of the left and the real problem of acknowledging America's right to world hegemony - after all if Colombia is an unexcused "backyard" (as Gerry Adams has said), why should the rest of the world not be America's front yard?

— Vincent Browne. As was the case with the Sticksies, there is no core belief there, no principles that cannot be compromised.

— Vincent Browne. It's a pity about the constituents who depend on [Provisional] Sinn Féin to represent the interests of the deprived, the down-trodden, the victimised, the marginalised.

— Vincent Browne. Especially as they have been abandoned by everyone else as well.

— Vincent Browne.

The truth is that the British are, as usual, acting as agents for the Ulster Unionist Party, who are desperately waiting for a "surrender" statement from the [Provisional] IRA. Unionists need this because, unlike for example the white South Africans, they still have not admitted they did anything wrong by running a squalid, sectarian state for 80 years.

— Editorial, Sunday Business Post, April 13, 2003. Slowly, and with considerable stealth, their [Dublin politicians and officials] equivalents in Whitehall have manoeuvred them away from representing Irish interests,

and towards seeing themselves in the role of conciliator or broker.

— Editorial. For over a century (the United Nations Organisation) also provided the framework for decolonisation for up to 100 of the world's 190 UN member as the symbol, and the guarantee, of its newly won independence.

— Irish Times, April 15, 2003, article by Noel Dorc, former secretary-general of the 26-County Department of External Affairs from 1980 to 1983 permanent representative of the UN.

But we will continue to need the universal acceptance of its charter is our best hope of averting a "clash of civilisations", where a "crusade" on one side calls forth a "jihad" on the other.

— Irish Times article by Noel Dorc.

That man the Stevens Report says: [British] army figures directed loyalist killer groups; systematic collusion between army elements and loyalists; inquiry blocked by security force figures; 20 proposals on intelligence gathering; more potential provocations.

— Belfast Telegraph, April 17, 2003, front page with banner headline "Army helped loyalists to head off Stevens' Report exposes collusion".

The other initial name (besides JJ McGarrity and P O'Rourke) was Brian O'Ruairc. In recent years it's beginning to look like the team list of a Gaelic football team - is "B O Ruairc".

That's the name that has been employed by the dissident (sic) Continuity IRA. Report O'Ruairc came, attempted to investigate, but was undermined and then was pushed.

— John O'Sullivan, who was undermanned and then was pushed. He was a senior figure in the IRA and now, quite remarkably, some 14 years after he had become involved, we have another few pieces of the jigsaw.

— Tom McGurk column, Sunday Business Post, April 20, 2003. Sunday Mirror on the names that have signed the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau statements over the years.

— David O'Connell, Party leader. But the trouble brought about the collapse of the assembly at Stormont last October because, he claimed, the Provisional IRA was operating a spy ring at the heart of government.

— Sunday Tribune, April 20, 2003. "The UDA is not a terrorist organisation," says McKay. Trimble never admits he was hosted into an anti-agreement position by his own UUC in mid-September.

Last week the most senior policeman in the UK [Stevens] said he had evidence of collusion between British intelligence, the RUC's special branch and loyalist paramilitaries, leading to the deaths of 18 people, an unknown number of people, mostly Catholic civilians.

Trimble did not say scandal, but it should be no public inquiry.

— Susan McKay. In point of fact over 1,000 nationalists were killed by loyalist paramilitaries since 1969.

The Stevens 3 report is profoundly shocking, although the nationalist press has already begun to attack the report, based on collusion and the IRA was extensively leaked, the stark statement by a figure at the heart of the British establishment that Catholics (sic) were murdered - sometimes at the behest of the British intelligence elite, sometimes because it chose to turn a blind eye - has provoked outrage around the world. But not among the Northern Irish politicians.

— Susan McKay. Loyalist paramilitaries saw themselves as the "gloves off" branch of the security

forces. They did what the police and army couldn't do because "their hands were tied".

The idea of random sectarian murders of Catholics (sic) was to "terrorise the terrorists" and turn nationalists against the IRA. Mainstream unionists have argued that this strategy bore results, bringing an end to the [Provisional] IRA campaign.

— Susan McKay.

The UDA has been behind most of the violence of recent years in the North. Unionists have signally failed to take control and stop it, despite insisting that republicans (sic) sort out the [Provisional] IRA. Their reaction to the Stevens report has confirmed that they are sectarian still.

— Susan McKay.

There was a culture of institutionalised collusion. John Stevens and his colleagues sought to tip back the covers and expose the squalid reality to light, they were obstructed, intimidated and had their offices forced in an arson attack.

— Editorial, Sunday Business Post, April 20, 2003.

The serial state sponsored terrorism, murder, collusion and obstruction exposed by Stevens is a fearful indictment of the state. It is as it seems to have been understood by the British establishment and security forces.

There was a view that the forces of the state were permitted to fight dirty, due to the nature of the conflict. Republicans against British occupation of the North.

— Editorial. John O'Sullivan came, attempted to investigate, but was undermined and then was pushed.

— John O'Sullivan, who was undermanned and then was pushed. He was a senior figure in the IRA and now, quite remarkably, some 14 years after he had become involved, we have another few pieces of the jigsaw.

— Tom McGurk column, Sunday Business Post, April 20, 2003.

But in the middle of all this was the Catholic (sic) population, the meat in the sandwich of both a ruthless guerrilla war waged by the IRA and what was clearly also a state-sponsored "dirty war" waged by the British government.

— Tom McGurk.

... one scenario requires some consideration now more than ever: the growing body of evidence that suggests that almost all of the loyalist paramilitary activity over the last 30 years was largely secreted and carefully controlled by British intelligence.

— Tom McGurk.

Interior Minister Angel Acebes said the eight alleged members of radical Basque parties, including six local councillors were arrested in northern Spain yesterday as part of a crackdown on a form of a crackdown on a former separatist group ETA, officials said.

Interior Minister Angel Acebes said the eight were leaders of Udalbiltza, an association created by [Basque] nationalist parties, (Reuters).

— Irish Times, April 30, 2003.

Even if the [Provisional] IRA announced today that they are ceasing all activities and disbanding forthwith it would not be enough.

— Irish News (Belfast), April 30, 2003, *Wednesday column* by Brian Feeney.

Republican Sinn Féin member Ms Geraldine Taylor said the Provisional IRA had "surrendered".

"Gerry Adams is telling the truth when he says the Provos will do anything to

save the peace process - that includes betraying Republicanism," she said.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003, *Suzanne Breen*, Senior Northern Correspondent.

A [Provisional] IRA member in Andersonstown was furious that Gerry Adams was talking about the [Provisional] IRA effectively going out of business. "I'm very disillusioned. The IRA should be about fighting to achieve republican goals. Instead we seem to be dedicated to saving the Good Friday Agreement."

— Suzanne Breen.

A former IRA prisoner, Anthony McCarthy, said Gerry Adams was committed to "defeating physical-force Republicanism". "He now has more in common with David Trimble than with the average west Belfast Republican," he said.

— Suzanne Breen.

Now that the political landscape is changing, P O'Neill himself may form part of the final act of de-militarisation.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003, article by Carl O'Brien. In a statement issued yesterday the UFF said the result of an ongoing investigation into the murder of John Gregg, Robert Carson and other criminal activities.

John Adams (Johnny) Adair and his associates, last night an ASU of the Ulster Freedom Fighters attempted to suit members of the Adair family in Bolton (Lancashire), England.

"At the same time another section of the same faction were moved from the Shankill area (Belfast)."

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003, report of the shooting of shots into the house of Ms Gina Adair and her children. "They will be moved on wherever they are, a statement concluded."

Those who gave money (total €6,550 for last year) to Mr Ferris were: Mr Eddie Barrett of White Sands, Mr Jimmy Browne of Tralee, Mr James O'Connell of White Sands, Mr John Quirk and Mr Tom Quirk of Quirk's Quarry in Margolin, Co. Wick.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003.

The Louth TD, Mr Arthur Morgan, received €6,339. He received money from Mr Des Grant, Ms Maeve Healy of the National Clean Environment, all in Drogheda and Dundalk.

Mr Seán Grove received €2,400 worth of printed banknotes from D Devenney of Belfast.

— Irish Times.

He [the new Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas] has little grassroots backing - Mr Arafat is far more popular and the international pressure exerted on the Palestinian president in recent weeks to agree to the cabinet proposed by Mr Abbas will mean that the new prime minister will have to sweat to prove he is not an American stooge.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003.

Ms Maura Harrington, spokesperson for the UFF's appellants (against the closure of the Corrib Field gas terminal at Bellanaboy, Co Mayo), said she was "delighted" (at the refusal of planning permission) as An Bord Pleanála. The company's "disdain for the communities who lived on and beside the bog" at Bellanaboy led to its downfall," Ms Harrington said.

— Irish Times report, May 1, 2003.

Mr Pádraig Campbell, spokesman for SIFTU's off-shore committee, said it was

time for a "review of the Government approach to handling natural resources". A more "holistic" approach was needed and one which involved specific government direction of terms to mineral exploration companies.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003. The Prime Minister knew only too well the complaint was to rage in a nationalist/Republican Ireland; that he had bowed to pressure from an Ulster Unionist leader in hook to "re-examine the issue. If it not himself not tacitly agree.

— Irish Times, May 2, 2003, article by Frank Millar, London Editor.

It is their [Blair and Aherne] last chance. And there is no guarantee of success, no guarantee that the agreement is coming back. Mr Blair appeared stunned when he was told that the agreement would be postponed again at the autumn if he did not himself still without a deal sufficient to bring the Ulster Unionists back on board.

Mr Blair may be no more able to deliver a Unionist majority in October than he would have been on May 29.

— Frank Millar, Irish Times.

And if Mr Blair seriously doubts the DUP's readiness to negotiate an alternative agreement, Northern Ireland may well be stuck with direct rule for the time being.

— Frank Millar.

Nationalists think David Trimble has undermined his own credibility of an always tentative pro-agreement ambivalence and the recurring threat of an always prescriptive declarations of "what is required of the [Provisional] IRA" - to "re-examine the role of a unionist government."

— Irish Times, May 2, 2003, *Fionnuala O'Connor* column.

But then Dublin and London surprised us with positive response to Mr Adams' Stormont address. The Irish Times, however, the three questions put to the [Provisional] IRA by Mr Tony Blair - that it would decommission all weapons, that it would not use violence, and that it would end its war.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003. *Gerry Moriarty*, Northern Correspondent.

There was a dramatic shift in Northern politics, a formal dispensation with necessary fiction, if you like. The governments were officially conceding that they viewed Mr Adams as P O'Neill's understudy.

— Gerry Moriarty.

Politicians, including Belfast Lord Mayor Alex Maskey, have helped organise the service, [Provisional] Sinn Féin councillor Martin Meahan and SDLP councillor cabinet proposed by Mr Abbas will mean that the new prime minister will have to sweat to prove he is not an American stooge.

— Irish Times, May 1, 2003.

report of a WW1 memorial service, in St Anne's Cathedral, Belfast.

Perhaps the most likely explanation for Provo irritation is that the [Provisional] Sinn Féin leadership has indeed decided to go down the road of exclusively peaceful politics but is reluctant to confront some of its members and supporters with the stark conclusion which flows from that decision, namely there is no room for the [Provisional] IRA to exist.

— Irish Times, May 3, 2003, *Draper*, an *Insider's Guide* to Politics.

DEATH OF MAUD GONNE MAC BRIDE

**50
Years
Ago**

ON April 27, 1953 Madame Mac Bride as she was known in the latter part of her life, died at her home, Roebuck House, Clonskeagh, Dublin. She was 88.

The *Irish Times* described her wake with hundreds of men and women "making their way up to the driveway of the house to pay their last respects to 'Maud Gonne' as she was affectionately known".

The report continued: "Her hands crossed, as if in sleep, her head covered by a black mantilla, and her features, even in death, displaying the regularity that gave her in the life the beauty that was renowned."

"Madame Maud Gonne lay in her brass-bound bed. Overhead three childhood portraits indicated to the kneeling visitors the promise of youth that later was so outstandingly fulfilled."

"Around the room had been placed wreaths and floral crosses, many of them designed in the green, white and orange of the national colours."

Her remains, escorted by IRA Veterans were accompanied by hundreds of people to the Church of the Sacred Heart in Donnybrook. Sympathisers lined the route all the way.

Following Mass next morning her funeral took place to the Republican Plot in Glasnevin cemetery. Thousands, including a large body of IRA Veterans and women who had laboured with her in Inghinidhe na h-Eireann and Cumann na mBan, followed the hearse.

Many lined the streets and at the GPO the command "Eyes Left" was given in memory of her husband Major John Mac Bride, one of the executed 1916 leaders. All traffic was suspended in O'Connell Street.

People recalled not only the final sacrifice of Major Mac Bride for the All-Ireland Republic but also the long years spent by Madame in succouring a people hungry and homeless under alien rule and pleading the cause for her country.

Telegrams of sympathy had been received from all parts of Ireland, the United States and other overseas countries.

Prominent among the Irish countries from which messages came were those where Madame Mac Bride had fought against the evictions. The families of evicted tenants and political prisoners also sent telegrams.

At the graveside a decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Dónal Ó'Donnchadha after which The O'Rahilly BL, a close friend of her son Seán delivered the oration.

The O'Rahilly, was the son of the famous The O'Rahilly, IRA leader killed in action outside the GPO at Easter 1916. Having spoken first in Irish, he went on:

"Many people had made sacrifices for causes in the past but few had the courage, the love of justice and the persistence that Maud Gonne Mac Bride possessed."

"It was over sixty years since she, with a minimum of association with Ireland, found herself amongst a people depressed, starved and treated with injustice and injustice was one of the things which she could not tolerate."

"She realised that only by freeing Ireland from English rule could the lot of the people be improved and she devoted the remainder of her life to the Irish people."

"The fact that the ideal she pursued was something of a spiritual nature must have compensated her for the life of luxury she had left."

"It was because of that love of justice, that courage and that persistence that Maud Gonne Mac Bride would be remembered forever."

The chief mourners were: Seán Mac Bride, SC, TD (son); Mrs Iscult Stuart (daughter); Tiernan Mac Bride, Anne Mac Bride, Ian Stuart, Kathleen Stuart (grandchildren) and Mrs Catalina Mac Bride (daughter-in-law).

This writer had joined the cortege at St Stephen's Green and marched with it to Glasnevin. The oration by The O'Rahilly was



• Maud Gonne Mac Bride.

dignified, impressive and deeply moving to one who had studied Maud Gonne's life of service to Ireland.

In her later years she fell accidentally in Nassau Street, Dublin and sustained a broken leg. Nothing daunted, the indomitable Madame Mac Bride dragged herself into a shop doorway while she waited for the ambulance to arrive.

There she took out her journal and continued to write her work on penal reform for prisoners of all kinds. To a student who told her he was studying film-making, she replied in her irrepressible manner: "Then you can help to make films for Ireland."

REMARKABLE IRISHWOMAN

To the end, even when confined to her brass-bound bed in Roebuck House, she continued to receive visitors — especially young people — and to impart to them some of her wisdom and experience. Truly a remarkable Irishwoman.

In December 1940 at 75 years she made her way to Kilroe Old Cemetery in Co Longford to face bus-loads and car-loads of mourners and a double cordon of Free State troops with fixed bayonets to deliver the oration at the funeral of Barney Casey, shot dead by military police while an unarmed internee at the Curragh.

In an *Irishman's Aontaithe/The United Irishman* of June 1953, Margaret Buckley, former President of Sinn Féin, wrote her tribute to Maud Gonne:

"We are the music makers, we are the dreamers of dreams . . ."

"Those words floated from the lips of a beautiful woman on the stage of the Assembly Rooms in Cork, down over the heads of a packed audience, who listened entranced as they gazed at the speaker — Maud Gonne — fifty years ago (c 1900).

"She had come to establish a branch of Inghinidhe na hEireann in Cork, and the magic of her presence coupled with the enthusiastic sincerity of her mission drew around her a group of girls only too willing to follow where she led."

"Not many of them are left now (1953), but those who are remember with pride their baptism in Ireland's cause."

"She was easily the loveliest person we had ever seen, and her beauty was only equalled by her charm, which through all the years that followed was never dimmed."

"She was not a Catholic in those days, but she came to Mass with us every Sunday while she was in our city and was the cynosure of all eyes."

"Her simplicity was one of her great assets; we were only schoolgirls, and the boys of the Celtic Literary Society were only ordinary boys, but she communed with us as if we were her equals in intelligence and patriotism."

"True, among those boys were future patriots who gave their lives for the Cause for which she came to plead — Terence Mac Swiney, Tomás Mac Curtain and many others. Liam de Róiste, who arranged all her meetings in Cork, is still with us."

"She came to us again towards the end of the Boer War (1902) with Captain O'Donnell, General de Wet's Secretary (de Wet was a Boer leader) and into a welter of West Britonism and showenism she poured the live incense of God's freedom; her marvellous voice proclaiming Ireland's right to be free, and with entreaty and demand calling on the people of 'Rebel Cork' to be true to their tradition and claim their heritage."

"I knew her as Maud Gonne in her youth and beauty; I knew her as Madame Mac Bride when she was old and tired, but never once in all those years did she shed a scintilla of her natural charm or her enthusiasm in the fight against injustice of all kinds."

"When the battering-ramp levelled the homesteads of the peasants in the Land War, Maud Gonne was there, giving service and sustenance to the dispossessed."

"When the same British rule held Irish prisoners, Madame Mac Bride was at the jail gates and in the homes of the prisoners' dependants."

"She has not joined the great Army of God, but I can hear again the melody of her words of half a century ago, impassioned, beautiful:

"One man with a dream, at pleasure
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure,
Can trample an Empire down."

Solas na bhFíathas as a h-anam."

Maud Gonne's interest in Irish national, social and literary affairs dates from the late 1880s when she met John O'Leary, veteran Irish Fenian and Young Irelander, Michael Davitt and WB Yeats.

She supported the Irish Republican Brotherhood for a time but found it was not aggressive enough. In the 1880s she went to

Donegal and Mayo where mass evictions were causing near-famine conditions. There she led the agitation against the land system.

In France later in the decade she published a newsletter called *L'Irlande Libre* which campaigned against the injustices of British rule in Ireland. Returning to Ireland she joined the Amnesty Association which sought the release of the long-term Fenian prisoners of the 1880s.

This was the start of her many campaigns in support of political prisoners. She organised against loyalist celebrations for the jubilee of Queen Victoria, and that monarch's visit to Ireland in 1900. A visit to the USA on behalf of the 1798 Centenary celebrations was followed by support for the Boers 1899-1902.

With Arthur Griffith, James Connolly and John Mac Bride — later to become her husband — she founded the Irish Neutrality Association, starting a policy which has endured for over a century.

Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Ireland) was founded by her on Easter Sunday 1900. This Republican-suffragette organisation was supported by Constance Markievicz and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and was eventually subsumed into Cumann na mBan at its foundation in 1914.

In 1902 she played the lead role in Cathleen ní Houlihan, the play Yeats wrote especially for her. Her performance was so moving that Stephen Gwynn wrote in his diary that such plays should not be performed unless men were prepared to go out to shoot and be shot.

Yeats asked in a poem many years later: "Did that play of mine sent out Certain men the English shot?"

JAILED

Following the birth of her son Seán to her and John Mac Bride, she went back to France, returning in 1917. She was jailed in 1918 under the "German Plot" allegations.

Later she worked for the White Cross, relieving Irish victims of the Tan War. Opposing the Treaty of Surrender, she was a founder of the Women's Prisoners Defence League and was a familiar figure in public demonstrations in support of the prisoners.

A young student in 1923 recalled how she was with an American lady friend he had seen Madame Mac Bride, a tall, stately, beautiful lady dressed in widow's weeds, standing on a pile of ruins in O'Connell Street, Dublin addressing a crowd on a Sunday morning.

The American was startled at the spectacle: "Say, I guess she's radical," was her comment. Maud Gonne continued her meetings every Sunday morning until all the Republican prisoners were released.

In his *Secret Army*, Bowyer Bell writes:

"The only virile, practical Republican activity was the prisoners' release campaign headed by Maud Gonne Mac Bride making use not only of the law and the scandal of conditions in the camps and jails but of the long-lived Irish distaste for political imprisonment."

A decade later, in 1930, a police report stated: "It is of interest that much the same people appear to be behind several organisations, Mrs Maud Mac Bride being as ubiquitous as it is possible to be." Bell was quoting from the 26-County Department of Justice Memorandum on Revolutionary Organisations (SS864), April 5, 1930.

Her close friend, Mrs Charlotte Despard (1844-1939), a Republican Socialist, left her Dublin home, Roebuck House, to her when she moved to Belfast in 1922. Mrs Despard was disillusioned by the Treaty of Surrender.

For the rest of her life Maud Gonne supported the Republican Movement, in 1938 she published her autobiography *A Servant of the Queen* which told the story of her life up to 1903.

But there was another 50 years of activity in that life which gave 67 years of service to Ireland. She will, indeed, be remembered forever."

(More next month. Refs. *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell; *A Dictionary of Irish History 1800-1980* by JE Dolan and DJ Hickey; *The Irish Times: An Irishman's Diary* by Brian Maye, April 26, 2003 and *Irishman's Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, June 1953.)

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent

THE invasion of Iraq is all about George W. Bush and his modern crusade against those he determines to be enemies of the American Empire. Bush himself is the major issue in Washington and this deserves a closer look.

First of all, he has knocked down the wall of separation of church and State and he told a group of religious broadcasters that "the terrorists hate the face that we can worship Almighty God the way we see fit, and that the United States was called to bring God's glory to every human being in the world".

George Bush has given God an American citizenship and made him his partner clearly implying that God endorses his agenda. Could you imagine Jesus delivering a message of war to a cheering crowd as Bush has done?

Bush believes in God's will and he is the American prophet interpreting that will. Conservative American church leaders endorse Bush because they believe that he has the right to follow the flag and put their missionaries in conquered nations to convert the heathens. It is an "American *Laudibler*". Bush as preacher in charge defines good and evil before his crusades commence.

Before Bush ran for President, he gathered pastors for a laying on of hands and told them he had been called to God to higher office. He certainly has the right feeling about his religious views according to the dictates of his conscience, but he was seeking, successfully, the endorsement of these clergymen to his anointment by God to this lofty quest.

Bush is consistently giving his testimony of Christ and Christian dominance and the US as God's right hand. This is arrogance and utterly presumptuous. Bush, I am sure, believes in Christ but he uses his testimony as a political operative.

Bush got into bible studies groups in Texas about the same time he decided to go into politics. He found bible study a good avenue for mental and spiritual discipline to further himself in the Texas Bible belt. Bush turned to the Bible to smooth his path to elective office and as the religious right rose to power in the south and evangelical activism and clout he rose with it.

When his father ran for President, George W. Bush seized the opportunity to take over the job of being the "liason" to the religious right. His father was very uncomfortable dealing with the self-righteous religious types. His faith and ambition became one.

Thinking on his feet was not a Bush stronghold so he employed a Karl Rove, a political operative, to do his thinking for him. An example of his ignorance arose in Texas when he asked an Austin Rabbi (a Jew who happens to be Jewish) that only believers in Jesus go to heaven.

This showed his contempt for those who are different which would follow him, in the eyes of 90% of the world.

Bush has crossed the line that separates Church and State in America. His ideas for politics were consistent with his faith and conjured up in his faith-circles and bible-study classes. The political/religious ideas were crafted to draw evangelicals to be the base of George Bush's support. In Irish context, Bush is an American Paisley.

With his top advisors, he crafted persona to run for office in language that would appeal to born-again Christians and also have dual appeal to secular types who need a boost in life and Bush uses a scripted set of words to go through to these people.

During the 2000 campaign, when he lost the New Hampshire primary, his handlers decided to go after those groups who were known to vote and this is crucial in a primary campaign for nomination. His core is the right-wing Christian.

After New Hampshire was South Carolina where he had to make good to initiate a new momentum. Bush made his inaugural visit to Bob Jones University, the ultra-fundamentalist and officially anti-Roman Catholic school. This was an unapologetic plea for the bigots to come to vote for Bush.

In meeting the Bob Jones leaders, he was reminded that in regard to Ireland, they were supporters of their colleague, the Rev Dr. Ian Paisley. He holds his honorary doctorate from their university, an honour Bush and Paisley now share. He promised he would never support a strictly pro-Catholic position or one found to be offensive to Dr. Paisley.

Bush was chastised for this move, but his aides said they had to send a message fast to the Paisley-type Christians of the American extreme right and this was the only way to do it. They had to take the risk and it paid off. Bush won in South Carolina and other similar venues in the Bible belt.

STUBBORN, ARROGANT

Bush is known to be stubborn, arrogant and quick to judge on those close to him admit on condition of anonymity. His public image is however of a "laiddack good boy".

Bush has created an American civil religion that has put its ecclesiastical stamp on the White House. He is linking the nation's purposes to God and during wartime the Lord becomes an American General.

The danger of invoking God for any political or military purpose is the presumption that he is on our side. To bolster this Bush presumption the White House recks prayerfuls and bible study groups.

The language of good and evil, central to America's war on terror-



ism, came right out of the bible. Osama Bin Laden is an evildoer, yet Osama says that God is on his side to crush the infidel. Saddam Hussein is evil too as are any others prophesied George W. Bush designates to be such.

Bush foreign policy is faith based and Bush has promised his religious supporters they will be given every opportunity and missionaries to convert Muslims to Christianity. This is the crusade of the 21st century.

Historians have never been busier with presidential God-talk than they have been with George Bush. God, flag and Bush are the new Trinity for these times and dissent is considered in the realm of blasphemy. He won't let go because on the path to the presidency he realised how faith could be used as a political weapon and held together his core constituency making religion a tool for public political policy.

Bush does believe and his faith is sincere, but he has gone too far making the US God's focus and that it and he are doing God's will. He believes all his God talk will divide America through his invasion of Iraq to any other land he decides to invade in God's name.

Ironically, the White House has not permitted most religious leaders access to give their input on war. The Pope, American Roman Catholic bishops, Protestant bishops (his own Methodist ones included) and clerical leaders outside his core constituency have not gotten any hearing. Claims of God's always being on our side have alienated many former and would-be allies.

In the aftermath of September 11 as an outbreak against terrorism Bush called for a crusade against terrorists. Reaction was instant and overwhelming in the Muslim world. Many are wary when Bush uses the words of Jesus to challenge the rest of the world. If you are not for us, or with us, you are against us. The American crusade and bringing democracy to the world is one of God's blessings.

ALL those who do not support the Bush agenda are demonised and that demonisation of his enemies, the "US and them" mentality, leaves everyone wondering. Long having professed that the United States is chosen by God and commissioned by history to be a model of world justice and peace, Bush now leads the only superpower. He has given notice that American military power and moral values will rule the world.

This Bush attitude is misguided and will be wrong, but it certainly is most arrogant. Reinhold Niebuhr, a noted theologian, reminded citizens of God's judgement against the pride

of nations. Bush has called Americans God's new chosen people.

Bush thinks in his apocalyptic mindset that God has just rolled into Baghdad and the American Jihad is nearing completion. Syndicated columnist Derrick Jackson, put it well: "Bush claims that the freedom we are giving to the Iraqi people is God's gift to humanity. But the Iraqi people are not quite human enough for him to say 'God bless the fallen civilians of Iraq' or 'God bless the innocent of Iraq' or even 'God bless the children of Iraq'".

"It is always, 'God bless our troops', 'God bless our country', 'God bless our fallen', 'we pray that our families will receive God's comfort and grace'. This sends an undeniable message to all peoples that in God's eyes we are better than you."

The arrogance of American power by the bomb and the bullet allows us to forget that history offers no evidence that those who pray the hardest to their God are right. Sincerity does not factor into the equation, only numbers similar to the people with money and power win. A lot of dollars and a lot of prayers all come out the same.

European powers who baptised Africans into slavery, Christians who prayed as they exterminated American natives, Klansmen burning crosses while lynching Blacks, Bush torturing Irish people and cold-blooded to order them and all in the name of God is not the right side of history.

PUNISHMENT

Bombing civilians during World War II was the sin Iraq is all to punish those whom the righteous deem to be unrighteous. The incinerated bodies of the innocent cannot possibly be God's work taken to George Bush. A nation that has deemed it appropriate to kill innocent Iraqi civilians in a preventive war has a lot of talking to do with God. That a prayer breakfast, Bush told those present about his perception of the rule of America — "behind all of life and all of history, there's a dedication and a purpose, set by the hand of a just and faithful God". He believes if he convinces the American people he is an ordained President, they are bound to support him.

Most truly religious people in my experience do not manifest it in public; they are

humble and non-assuming and merely behind the scenes with their piety. Bush loves his bible so much he ought to re-read about the humble Pharisee and look into the mirror and realise who he is. God does not hold out his hand to the victors of war and say, your prayers have been answered. He holds out his hand to all the same, winner or loser. God does not take sides.

Right-wing Christians see their role as follow-up to US victories. Bush welcomes them encouraging their charitable work which involves their preserving the bible and American values to the heathens. For their continued support, George Bush has assented to "his

Christians" eventually be allowed (even encouraged) to go into conquered lands to fly their trade of conversions linking their Christianity and America together.

Franklin Graham is one of Bush's favourites and he is the evangelical critique of his father Re. Billy Graham. The younger Graham is in Bush's inner prayer circle which means he is a political advisor. Graham and Bush are convinced that Christianity is the only true religion. Graham has called Islam a "very evil and wicked religion".

Bush never condemned Graham, only saying the remark may have been inappropriate. Millions of Americans believe that the bible foretells regime change in Iraq and of course the administration jumped on that bandwagon. God's truth marched into Iraq with the American forces because as George Bush said "our nation is chosen by God and commissioned by history".

It is interesting that in God's name, his American people are so pure in their intentions as to believe that all men are created equal, and then in God's name the self-same people justify the institution of slavery and the theft of the Indian land. Bin Laden believes he is doing the work of God and so does Bush. A man once said: "In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both rights may be wrong and one must be wrong. 'God' cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. The singer Bob Dylan in one of songs said: "You never have to ask questions when God is on your side".

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh recently called Bush "a hyprocrite" as indeed he is and he might add blasphemer. I am sure God is not pleased about what George W. Bush is doing in his name. A man who uses or claims to use God as his guide is a dangerous man.

THE son of Sam serial killer, Ted Kazinski the psycho bomber and many in the serial words of the finest mental institutions all have the voice of God directing them, the same voice George Bush hears. The difference is they are not the head of the most powerful nation in history and 270 million people.

It might be best if George gave God a rest and stop using his name in vain. Bush clearly believes that as a born-again Christian he has gained his soul so he does not have to be concerned about losing the whole world.

It would be nice if God would tell George Bush to bugger off, but the truth is God does not respect George Bush. God is more concerned about the innocent civilians that George Bush incinerated.

Those Irish people who are following George Bush with the so-called "peace process" ought to seriously question his leadership that he espouses because it has been incorporated into his world plan and his political will. Tony Blair wants it so. Be warned of false prophets.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

Comhbhrón

KENNEDY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Joan Kennedy, Cork, on the death of her brother Maurice. From the Executive, Curran, N. mban, Cork.

KENNEDY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Joan Kennedy, Cork, on the death of her brother Maurice. From Cumann N. mban, Cork.

KENNEDY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Joan Kennedy, Cork, on the death of her brother Maurice. From Kitty and Finbar O'Leary, Cork.

KENNEDY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Joan Kennedy,

Cork, on the death of her brother Maurice. From Peig and Paddy King, Dalkey.

Mac an IOMAIR. Deepest sympathy is extended to Seán Mac an Iomair, Galway, on the death of his sister Mary Flaherty. From Ard Oifig staff.

MCCARTHY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Mick McCarthy on his recent death. From Kerry Comhairle Centaur, Republican Sinn Féin.

MCCARTHY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Mick McCarthy on his recent death. From Dan Keating.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on

the tragic death of Katelyn. From Paddy King, Limerick.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on the tragic death of Katelyn. From Paddy King, Limerick.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on the tragic death of Katelyn. From Westley Fitzgerald, Limerick.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on the tragic death of Katelyn. From John O'Brien, Limerick.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on

the tragic death of Katelyn. From John O'Brien, Limerick.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on the tragic death of Katelyn. From Joe and Nora Lynch, Limerick.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on the tragic death of Katelyn. From Seán O'Neill, Limerick.

SHEEHAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Margaret Sheehan, who died recently. From Tom Costello, Co. Kerry.

SHEEHAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Margaret Sheehan, who died

recently. From Liam Cronin, Co. Kerry.

SHEEHAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Margaret Sheehan, who died recently. From John Foran, Co. Kerry.

SHEEHAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Margaret Sheehan, who died recently. From Bill, Liam and John O'Shea, Ballylongford, Co. Kerry.

SHEEHAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Margaret Sheehan, who died recently. From Republican Sinn Féin, Ballylongford.

I gCuimhne

HUGHES—22nd Anniversary In proud and loving memory of Francis Hughes, IRA Volunteer and hunger strike martyr, who died on May 12 1981 in Long Kesh. Always remembered by the Francis Hughes Cumann, Sinn Féin Publications, Glasgow, Scotland. From the 22nd Anniversary In proud and loving memory of Vol. Raymond McCreech, South Armagh, who died on hunger strike May 21 1981. Always remembered by O'Reilly / McGemmy/Watters Cumann, South Armagh.

Freedom and equality postponed

IT IS a familiar story. Democracy as it pertained in the old Six-County statelet was designed to ensure that pro-British unionism called all the shots when it mattered.

The much vaunted Good Friday Agreement has been shown to be just another tool which Unionism and Britain have used to conceal reality from a group of glibbie nationalist politicians. Just a few days ago reality stuck home when unionism demanded action and Britain provided the answer and nationalist politicians buckled as they

have been prone to do since the time of Redmond and the slaughter of the first world war.

The helplessness of the Free State has never been in doubt at any time, now we are finally witnessing the helplessness of the Provos.

The Brits have stated the position, Gerry and Bertie have objected. Reality states that they immediately (as Michael McDowell has done) accept the British position and make the best of it. Unfortunately 'making the best of it' this time requires the complete surrender of the Provos with nothing on

offer from the Brits.

Some years ago when it was stated that Gerry Adams and company had sold out just like Michael Collins, a wit of the day said, 'no, not correct, Michael Collins sold out. . . Gerry and Company have given up for nothing'.

The Good Friday Agreement we were told was the only game in town. It was to be a 'final settlement' of the Irish question. It would be implemented in full. Police reform, democracy and equality would flow from it and this we were told was the measure of 'freedom'.

DEMOCRACY we are witnessing is the gift of Britain alone and will be given and taken away at will. Police reform span the width of the thinnest fabric used on whatever colour of uniform is chosen to mark 'change' and equality. It has become clear, does not include Irish nationalists.

It is time for the Provo leadership to admit defeat, stand aside and leave the struggle for freedom to those with enough intelligence and foresight to recognise when they are being sold a pig in a poke. Gerry, you were sold a dummy and its time you

stopped trying to breathe life into it.

Most of us have been sold a dummy of one sort or another in the course of our lives, but when people start making a dummy of us it is time to draw the line. The game is up, the whistle has blown and anyone who plays on is just going through the motions. It is back to reality and the fact that Britain rules Ireland and will continue to do so while it maintains its military and police garrison on Irish soil. Might is right and the Provos surrendered any power they had when they led de Chastelain to their

weapons. It is a cruel world as Gerry Adams is finding out. The question is whether false pride will cause him to help enforce that cruelty on new generations of Irish people?

I have a sneaking suspicion I know the answer to that question. John Redmond, Michael Collins, de Valera, Gerry Fitt and John Hume, 'ye were just amateurs stand back and watch what happens next', and it couldn't happen to a better man, for 'greater hate hath no man than to lay down the fight for the fiends'.

— Mac Cool

The rise of Hitler

European Federation or Fourth Reich? Part 13

WORLD War I dragged along in stalemate for several years, then early in 1918 Russia withdrew from the war, making a separate peace with Germany. The Germans then made a massive assault on the Western Front, which petered out after initial successes. By the autumn of 1918 the German leadership came to accept that the war was going to be lost and began looking for ways of escaping the consequences.

First, the government resigned and a new government, based around the Socialist Party and the Catholic Centre Party, was formed and the Kaiser slipped away to exile in Holland. In this way the Kaiser and those around him hoped to avoid blame for the defeat.

An armistice was arranged in November 1918 and a republic declared. It came to be called the Weimar Republic because its constitution was drawn up at a conference in the town of Weimar.

VERSAILLES

An international conference was convened at Versailles near Paris by the victorious powers to lay out a new world order.

What to do about Germany? There were two main proposals on the table. The first came from the Polish Foreign Minister, Dmowski. He suggested that East Prussia be separated from Germany and become a Polish protectorate, while

the rest of Germany be united with rump Austria as a federal republic with its capital at either Munich or Vienna.

The second proposal came from Sir Lewis Namier, adviser to England's premier David Lloyd-George. Namier had been born into a wealthy Jewish family in Krakow, Poland, and had moved to England in his youth and become a distinguished academic and a Protestant. He had strong Zionist sympathies and appears to have disliked and disesteemed Catholics of any nationality. He was friendly with the Rothschild banking family and with America's influential Chief Rabbi Stephen Wise. He claimed that the best guarantor of the rights of Europe's Jews would be a strong, Protestant-led Germany. Dmowski's proposal would have made Catholics a majority in Germany and this was not acceptable.

Namier won the day. Germany was made to give up several

Catholic provinces (Alsace, Lorraine, Saar, Eupen and Malmédy) but allowed to keep Protestant Silesia, Holstein and East Prussia. Rump Austria remained a separate state.

ments, mostly based in Protestant areas, were opposed to it and hoped eventually to bring back Kaiser Wilhelm. The Communists too tried to sabotage the republic.

Opposition to the republic



THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

There were two main political camps in post-war Germany: those who accepted the Weimar Republic, and those who wanted to demolish it and replace it with something else. The Socialists and the Catholic Centre Party were pro-republic while various conservative elements,

became centered around the Kaiser's former Chief of Staff, Field Marshal Hindenburg: an elderly junker from East Prussia. Hindenburg claimed that the war had been lost through a 'stab in the back' and the finger was pointed at Matthias Erzberger, a leader of the Catholic Centre Party, who had negotiated the 1918 armistice. Erzberger was soon murdered.

In 1925 the first president, the Socialist Ebert, died suddenly and a new president had to be elected. Republican parties put up Wilhelm Marx of the CCP, the anti-republicans nominated Hindenburg. The Communists also put up a candidate, who split the republican vote and let Hindenburg in. 'President by the grace of Lenin' a republican paper headlined.

THE RISE OF HITLER

The career of Adolf Hitler has been well documented and will not be rehearsed here.

President Hindenburg surrounded himself with monied aristocrats and ex-officers and evaluated people entirely on the basis of their former military rank or the size of their estates. He could not take Hitler seriously: 'the gypsy corporal' as he called him.

But Hitler did to the anti-republican forces in Germany what Ian Paisley did to the squires and colonels of the Ulster Unionist Party: he upstaged them.

Over a period of ten years the Nazi party gradually replaced the monarchist and right-wing parties that represented the Protestant part of the electorate. (The CCP remained steady at 90 seats throughout.) In January 1933 Adolf Hitler, as leader of the largest party in the Reichstag, was invited to form a government by Hindenburg.

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