

Republican Bulletin

IRIS NA POBLACHTA

UIMH. 5 AIBREÁN-APRIL 1987

20p

1916 THE PROPHETIC SHOCK MINORITY



Flag hoisted on GPO

Connacht Organises

A well attended meeting of members of Republican Sinn Féin from all five counties of Connacht, as well as Longford and Westmeath, was held on Sunday March 22, in the Village Inn in Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, to establish Comhairle Chonnacht.

The meeting was presided over by National Uirlabhraí and Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair Cathaoirleach Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

Also present were Ard-Rúnaí, Cathleen Knowles, Ulster Organiser, Bob Murray, Cisteoir, Joe O'Neill, Uachtarán of Derry Sinn Féin, Seán Keenan, Secretary of the National Commemoration Committee, Lita Ní Chathmhaoil and John O'Connor of the Finance Department.

Following a good working meeting in which a full agenda was completed, the following Officer Board was elected:

Cathaoirleach:

Seán Lynch, Longford

Rúnaí:

Seosamh Ó Gallchóir, Leitrim

Cisteoir:

Con Darcy, Sligo

O.C.P.:

Tony Wallace, Galway

"It is a fact that, for good or ill, the great historical changes in political societies have been brought about by a few, who were convinced that they embodied the real will — yet to be awakened — of the people, in contrast with the people's wish to sleep.

"At the time of the Risorgimento, the great majority of Italians surely preferred not to be set free from the Austrian yoke. If a popular poll had been taken at the time of Samuel Adams, we may wonder whether the majority would have voted for the (American) War of Independence. If a popular poll had been taken in France in 1940, it is likely that the majority would have voted for Marshal Petain — they believed he hated collaboration with the Germans as they did.

"In all these cases, the majority were wrong and the shock—minorities were right." — Jacques Maritain, *Man and the State* (1954)

The Easter Rising of April 24-30, 1916, was clearly an armed revolt against British rule by a small minority, without the prior approval of the people in whose name they acted.

The leaders of the Rising believed that their declaration of an Irish Republic would re-awaken in the people their commitment to national freedom and sovereignty, overshadowed since the time of the Fenians by efforts to defeat landlordism and to obtain Home Rule within the British Empire.

'Sovereign Independent State'

The men and women of 1916 proclaimed the Republic in arms through the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, showing to the Irish people and to the outside world that they were willing to die to



Flag of the Irish Citizen Army

secure this 'Sovereign Independent State'.

This 'prophetic shock-minority' formed a Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, until such time as a national election of Irishmen and women freely expressed their will. This endorsement came in the November 1918 election when a majority of Sinn Féin candidates, going forward to secure the Irish Republic, were returned.

The Rising therefore set in motion the

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French Solidarity

In Paris on Saturday, March 14, Solidarité Irlande had a public celebration on the occasion of St. Patrick's Day.

This included an exhibition of records, tapes, books, journals and other publications relating to Ireland and the Irish struggle.

Irish and Breton music was performed and the attendance included many of both nationalities as well as French supporters of the Irish cause.

"Iris na Poblachta" featured among the journals and sold very well.

Extradition Protest

At the GAA National League football game in Killarney on Sunday March 8, 2,000 leaflets condemning extradition were distributed. Both Monaghan and Kerry supporters expressed appreciation of the work being done.

The Short-Sighted Multinational Solution

The winter 1986-1987 will stand out as the period when the Irish people realised the truth of the long-standing Republican warning that the development of stable and dignified employment for our people cannot be entrusted to foreign multi-nationals.

The pull-out of Ferenka from Limerick, Michelin from Newtownabbey and Telectron from Tallaght were just a few 'early warnings' that taking the profits and running was not just a case of some 'fly-by-nights' failing to live up to their commitments. Instead, it represented a cold calculated business strategy based on the exploitation of cheap labour wherever it could be found and the willingness of native politicians to shore up their bankrupt system at the cost of the people's integrity.

Tax holidays, energy subsidies and rates rebates among other extravagant incentives given by the now discredited IDA in the 26 Counties, and by the IDB in the Six Counties, have proved that the illusion of jobs is more costly than real jobs.

The export of tax-free profits and the payment of managers at parent company level (the so-called Black Hole) was enough to keep the multi-nationals here until the tax holiday ran out, but now the ante has been raised by these 'saviours' from abroad.

Packard Electric in Tallaght, with an input of £2.4 million of Irish taxpayers money in addition to all the other incentives, pushed production targets to 'sweat-shop' levels and still wanted more. The workers were forced on to the streets for two cold winter months, which included Christmas, in an effort to hold on to their basic trade union rights and the remnants of their dignity. No expense was spared in Packard's attempts to break the spirit of the strikers.

Huge British helicopters were stripped down at enormous cost, and backed up by 90 Gardaí they were used to break the picket line and airlift out the finished product over the heads of the humiliated workers. Packard issued a statement in conjunction with the IDA and the Gardaí to justify the most scurrilous act of strike-breaking in Irish trade union history saying 'this action was required to prevent the lay off of 15,000 car workers in England'.

Packard-General Motors is internation-

ally known for its anti-union policy and now together with the IDA and FUE it has secured yet another 'incentive' for foreign speculators coming to Ireland. The 'no strike' clause wrested from the workers in Tallaght by treachery and blackmail will not end with the dispute at Packard Electric.

Semperit in Ballyfermot, which has had more than £10 million of public money pumped into it since 1969, had changed foreign owners three times, and four bouts of redundancy later, is threatening to pull out. Production at Semperit has trebled, despite the fact that it now employs one-third of the original workforce, and still the company wants more redundancies, more public money and a subservient workforce.

Travenol in Co. Mayo have upped stakes and are now seeking new locations for their lucrative enterprise in Third World countries, having availed themselves of all the 'incentives' and service back-up used to bribe them to keep a few jobs in the west.

Clondalkin Paper Mills, an indigenous Irish industry using native raw material, and producing quality paper that would otherwise have to be imported, was starved of financial support by uncaring gombeen politicians until it was on its knees. In an effort to garner a few votes in the 1982 Leinster House elections these same politicians cobbled together a stop-gap solution with a Canadian paper tycoon and a number of bankers which effectively handed over the skilled workers and plant to the mercy of 'hot' speculative money.

The fact that the tycoon was already involved in importing paper into Ireland and the very obvious conflict of interest that existed did not worry the 'stroke merchants' of Leinster House, absorbed in their vote-touting exercise. Five years on we now find that the 'incentives' offered to the tycoon and the bankers seem less attractive, or are used up, and once again the jobs of the paper workers are under threat.

The chance to have a fully Irish-owned paper-processing industry with a potential for export, and using home grown material, would seem logical and attractive to all but those intent on filling the pockets of foreign capitalists with whom they appear to have more in common than Irish paper workers.

Throwing money at multi-nationals and a pittance through the hatches of dole offices at the degraded and demoralised Irish worker seems to be the limit of the Leinster House mentality. The multi-national option of putting our people in hock to foreign bankers and their hard-won union rights at ransom to companies like Packard Electric is short-sighted, degrading and immoral and must end.

The long-stated Republican policy of developing our native resources on a NATIONAL basis with the investment of ALL our people in terms of talent, savings and control vested in a 32-county Democratic Socialist Republic remains the only way to ensure national sovereignty.

Brón ar an mBás

His comrades of the Co. Galway H-Block/Armagh committees formed a Guard of Honour as the remains of **Ned King** of Newcastle, Galway City, were brought from Galway Cathedral to Rahoon cemetery. Ned was a fervent and active friend of Republican prisoners and of Irish freedom for many years. He died in Merlin Park Hospital following a brief illness.

Gabhann muid comhbhrón lena bhean chéile Irene agus lena chlann agus lena ghaolta ar fad.

Republicans in Counties Roscommon, Leitrim and Sligo were grieved at the death in Roscommon Co. Hospital on February 8 of **Pat Gaffney**, Mullaun, Keadue, Boyle, secretary of the Brothers Cull/Michael Tymon Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin.

Pat was a coal-miner at Arigna collieries and gave a life-time of service to the Republican Movement. In his time he saw three departures in the direction of Leinster House, each one weakening the Republican effort. On every occasion he stood unhesitatingly by the 32-County Republic.

His comrades formed a Guard of Honour at his funeral in Arigna under the command of Sylvester Fitzsimons. The coffin was draped by the National Flag and Addie Clarke, Hillstreet, spoke over his grave.

To his nephew, Paddy Mac Nama, his sister, and all his relatives sympathy is extended.

Bhí tú dílis go h-éag, a Phádraig.

Republicans in London were saddened to learn of the recent death of one of their staunchest supporters.

John Curley, a native of the Bogside area in Derry City, was an Ulster Protestant in the tradition of Wolfe Tone. Since the start of the current phase in the struggle John was generous to a fault in his support for the cause of Irish freedom.

On one of his last public outings he led the parade, carrying the Tricolour at the London Irish Festival to Roundwood Park, Willesden, during the Hunger strike.

John was one of two brothers reported "killed in action" in the Derry Journal, "and, who had fought in some of the toughest battles of the Second World War in the fight against Fascism". All the Curley family are now dead.

In fond memory of my dear friend and comrade **Maura Lyons**, Clann na nGael, who died suddenly at her home in Cavan at Easter, 1986.

Sincere sympathy is extended to her husband, Tom, her children, grandchildren and family circle.

Sadly missed by Terry Gavin-McWeeney and family in London and Wales.

"God strengthen still thro' good and ill this rebel heart in me".

Republican prisoners in English jails wish to extend their sympathy to Tomás Lyons and family on this the 1st anniversary of Maura's sudden death at Easter 1986.

It was an honour to have known you, Maura. You were a courageous and true Irishwoman who kept faith.

"For the faith of Tone is burning
In the breasts he died to free" — Wm. Rooney.

I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a h-anam.

I gCuimhne

McDermott, Seán — 11th Anniversary

In Proud and loving memory of Vol. Seán McDermott, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who gave his life on April 5, 1976 for the realisation of the Socialist Republic as proclaimed in Easter Week 1916.

Fad's atá na huaigheanna seo in Éirinn ní bheidh síocháin ann gan saoirse. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam.

Always remembered by his mother and all the family.

OVER 100 DELEGATES AT ULSTER MEETING

More than 100 delegates from all over the North at a meeting of the Ulster Council of Republican Sinn Féin at Cootehill, Co. Cavan on February 22, heard a niece of one of the 1916 signatories, Seán Mac Diarmada, declare the family pledged its support to the organisation.

Mrs Katie B. Keaney from Kiltyclogher was given an ovation by the delegates after making her declaration during the conference which was chaired by Newry and Mourne Councillor Eamon Larkin.

Ulster organiser Bob Murray, Belfast, said major strides were made in organising Republican Sinn Féin in the North with many new cumainn set up.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said there was general satisfaction that the republican vote in the recent general election in the south was withdrawn from those who expressed an interest in entering Leinster House.

He revealed there were 85 cumainn of Republican Sinn Féin in the four provinces and it was intended to establish a Connacht Council shortly.

Plans were revealed at the meeting for a series of cross-border demonstrations on March 7 and 8 in protest against extradition.

It was announced that Republican Sinn Féin has established new headquarters in Central Dublin and a national draw is being promoted to raise funds.

Who said, and why?

Who said? Better still, why?

First of all, what is so significant about this quotation? It is not so much what was said as the words used, or rather one particular word.

Who in Ireland calls the city on the Foyle **Londonderry**? Answer: the Unionists.

Would a nationalist of any shade call it that? Hardly. Then who wrote this piece in 1968? And what does it tell you of his or her outlook on Irish National affairs?

See answer on page 7.

the character of the area and its people, encouraging a greater measure of self-reliance and energy and a more propitious climate for industrial growth than existed in the rest of Ireland. The linen industry that had been fostered by Britain in the late eighteenth century as a compensation for the suppression of the native Irish woollen industry expanded rapidly during the last century, drawing on the industrious rural labour force of the country around Belfast, and an important clothing industry also grew up in the Belfast and Londonderry areas. From the middle of the century onwards a major shipbuilding industry also developed in Belfast, despite the natural disadvantage of lack of native steel, and various associated engineering industries grew up around it. By the end of the century Belfast was an important industrial city,

Dialann Ocras

Bhí dráma ar siúl ar na mallaibh in Amharclann na Péacóige, Baile Átha Cliath agus bhí na stailceanna ocras i gcarair na Ceise Fada mar chúla aige. Tá an scéal ar eolas againn uilig ach níorbh é an scéal ba thábhachtaí anseo. Rinne sé rud pear-santa as na h-imeachtaí de réir mar a chuir muid aithne ar na carachtair.

I mBéarla a scríobh Peter Sheridan i dtosach é ach cuireadh Gaeilge ar chaint na gcimí le bheith níos réadúlaí. Gearóid Ó Cearúláin ó Bhéal Feirste a rinne an t-aistriúchán go teanga na "Jailteachta" agus bhí sí foghlamtha ag na h-aisteoirí díreach mar ba cheart. Ní raibh aon deacracht tuigbheála ann don duine ar bheagán Gaeilge áfach.

Ní raibh le feiceáil ar an ardán i rith an dráma ach cill ar taobh amháin agus leaba san ospidéal ar an taobh eile. Chuidigh an t-ardán lom agus na soilsí linn mothúcháin na h-áite a fháil agus fealsúnacht na gcarachtar éagsúil a thuigbheáil. Rinne an dráma iarracht gan a bheith ró-chlaonta ach bhí sé dodhéanta gan páirt na gcimí a ghlacadh a bheag nó a mhór.

Bhí an aisteoireacht an-mhaith fríd seachas radharc nó dhó a bhí lag go leor agus tá moladh ar leith tuille ag Ciarán Hinds mar Pat O'Connor (Roibeard Ó Seachnasáigh), Gerard MacSorley mar bairdeir McClay agus Ruth MacCabe mar Bernie, cáilín Phat. Bhí a gcumas mar aisteoirí le feiceáil sa radharc deireanach ach go h-áirithe.

Is fíor bheagán den dramaíocht Ghaeilge a bhí le feiceáil i mBaile Átha Cliath ar na mallaibh taobh amuigh den dráma seo a bhí innmholtá ar son a dramaíochta de seachas ar son na Gaeilge de, agus mar sin ba thrua do dhuine ar bith a chaill é.

— Mac an Ulaigh

Clonmult Martyrs Honoured



Alfie McAvoy and Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh

On the morning of February 20, 1921, the East Cork Column of the IRA were preparing to leave their training camp at Clonmult, County Cork. Little did they know that their camp had been betrayed to the British by an informer.

The events that followed proved to be some of the most tragic and brutal in the history of Ireland. Twelve men died that day, five in action, and seven who were murdered in cold blood by the Black and Tans after they had surrendered. Within months two more died at the hands of the British, executed for their part in the engagement.

The fourteen young men who died were Michael Desmond, John Joe Joyce, Michael Hallahan, Richard Hegarty, James Ahern, Liam Ahern, Jeremiah Ahern, David Desmond, Christopher Sullivan, Donal Dennehy, Joe Morrissey, James Glavin, Paddy O'Sullivan, and Maurice Moore.

On Sunday February 22, 1987 a commemoration was held to honour the memory of these men, and also of Lt. Seán Deasy who was killed a few days before them. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach at the grave of Seán Deasy, by Mick Ahern, and at the grave of the Clonmult Martyrs by John Murphy. The Last Post was sounded by Christy Murphy and a decade of the Rosary was recited by a member of Cumann na mBan.

Giving the oration, veteran republican Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh detailed the events of Clonmult and called on those present to work towards bringing to a conclusion the struggle for the freedom of Ireland for which the men of Clonmult died.

He attacked the puppet regime of Leinster House and all that goes with it, saying that "all the agencies of this state are working hand in hand with their counterparts in the North and in Britain, helping to uphold partition".

Following the oration, Alfie McAvoy who chaired the proceedings, thanked the people for turning out in what was an increased attendance on the last few years and called on a piper from the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band to close the commemoration with the National Anthem.

Paris Meeting

During March, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, representing Republican Sinn Féin, met leading members of Solidarité Irlande in Paris, to discuss the situation since the Ard-Fheis of November last.

The Irish representative explained the principled stand of Republican Sinn Féin and answered questions in this regard. Solidarité Irlande made clear their position. They had always supported all who took part in the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland. Therefore, as a support group there was no decision for them to make.

The Association, which has seven branches throughout France, support the three Republican demands:

1. A British withdrawal from Ireland.
2. Self-determination for the Irish people acting as a unit and
3. A general amnesty for all political prisoners.

There would be no change in Solidarité Irlande in this regard. The meeting ended with renewed expressions of mutual support.

Antrim Councillor Pledges Allegiance

Sinn Féin at its 1986 Ard-Fheis took a decision to fight elections in the 26-County State and if successful to take seats in the 26-County Assembly. As I owe my allegiance to the 32-County Irish Republic as proclaimed in 1916, I can no longer support that organisation. I herby publicly withdraw my support from it, and I further state that I have joined Republican Sinn Féin.

As an elected Councillor, I will continue to work for and support the people of the Glens of Antrim in their struggle against all departments of the establishment.

Frank McCarry.

Issued at Council Meeting, March 11, 1987.

Comhbhrón

Sympathy is expressed with Paddy Kelly, Ardfer, Co. Kerry and family on the death of his brother.

Republican Sinn Féin in Lurgan deeply regrets the death of Gerry Magill, father of Brendan, and extends deepest sympathy to Brendan and all the family circle.

Mary Queen of Ireland, pray for him.

Congratulations to everyone at Republican Sinn Féin for Easter 1987. Onwards to victory.

John Hayes, POW Albany Jail, Isle of Wight.

AISLING GHÉAR

D'ainneoin dícheall na staraithe a d'fhéach le míbhí a bhaint as a thábhacht, agus d'ainneoin an drama sa rialtas, in RTE agus sna mórmheáin eile a shocraigh ar dhearmad a dhéanamh air, mar go raibh baol ann go ndúiseodh sé an iomarca ceisteanna deacra i dtaobh a n-iompair sa lá atá inniu ann, maireann cuimhne Éirí Amach na Cásca, 1916 beo i gcónaí in intinn agus i gcroíthe Gael.

Seasann an réabhlóid, an íobairt agus an oidhreacht teist na haimsire níos fearr ná rud ar bith eile inár stair beagnach, toisc, b'fhéidir, nár cuireadh an aisling i gcríoch go hiomlán go fóill, agus freisin, b'fhéidir, toisc gur imir Éirí Amach na Cásca tionchar ar mhaithe leis an té a bhí lag brúite faoi chois gan chearta ná saoirse náisiúnta ar fud an domhain mhóir.

Tharla Éirí Amach na Cásca ag an nóiméad ceart staire ó thaobh na tíre seo de sa mhéid is gur ardaíodh an bhratach agus gur fógraíodh an Phoblacht go dúshlánach le linn do Chogadh Mór na nIompairachtaí móra a bheith fós ar bun agus Éireannaigh bhochta (agus cosmhuintir bhocht eile ó thíortha éagsúla na hEorpa — ar gach taobh) a bheith fós ag doirteadh a gcuid fola in aghaidh lucht oibre ó thíortha eile. Bhí súil acu go bhféadfaidís blúire beag saoirse breise dá muintir a cheannach ar an mbealach suarach mí-mhorálta sin a rinne striapaigh pholaitíochta de na créatúirí bochta a mheas go raibh orthu dul ina bhun.

Níl aon rud ar leith ag baint le comóradh 71 bhliain, seachas bliain ar bith eile. Tá a fhios againn go léir an ciúnas a thit anuraidh nuair a bheifeá ag súil, b'fhéidir, go ndéanfadh ceannairí polaitíochta an stáit 26 chontae beannú éigin don 70ú comóradh,

mura mbeadh i gceist ach le daoine a choinneáil ina dtost. Tuigean gach éinne nach mbeadh aon stát Éireannach ann agus is cinnte nach mbeadh Mac Gearailt agus an chuid eile den dream a bhí i réim ag an am i mbun rialtais de chineál ar bith sa stát sin, murach baint a bheith ag a muintir féin leis an Éirí Amach.

Nílimid ag rá nach mbeadh Home Rule de shaghas éigin bainte amach faoi seo. An-seans go mbeadh. B'fhéidir nach mbeadh aon teorainn den chineál atá againn ann. B'fhéidir, fiú amháin, go mbeadh margadh níos fearr le fáil ó Whitehall tar éis na faillí ar fad — go mbeadh córas leasa sóisialta agus sláinte ó dheas den chineál atá ó thuaidh.

Seans nach mbeadh an difhostaíocht mórán níos measa ar aon chaoi cé go mb'fhéidir go mbeadh rialtas Thatcher níos fearr ag crú pingíní suaracha réigiúnacha ón Bhruiséal do "cheantar neamhfhorbartha na hÉireann" (aontaithe) laistigh den "Ríocht Aontaithe".

Ríocht fheadarálach a bheadh ann b'fhéidir — ríocht díláraithe ar aon chaoi. An-seans go gcaithfí linn, mar a chaitear ó thaobh riaracháin is dlí de, le hAibéin faoi láthair. Seans, fiú amháin, go mbeadh polasaí teanga dearfach ann — agus bealach teilifíse bunaithe i nGaillimh fadó ó shin mar a bhunaigh Mrs. Thatcher seirbhís Bhreataine sa Bhreatain Bheag. ACH AN MBEADH NAISIÚN ÉIREANNACH ANN?

Seo an cheist is gá a chur i gcónaí nuair a thosaítear ag caint ar an mbealach a bhí muid ag cur i gcás thuas. Ar ndóigh, ní bheadh deireadh ar fad leis an náisiún Éireannach in intinn agus in aislingí daoine áirithe a bheadh dílis go bás, ba chuma cé chomh dona is a bheadh an scéal.

Ach is ceart dóibh fiú amháin a chreideann nár éirigh leis an aisling i gceart riamh ó shin, ceist a chur orthu féin ó am go chéile faoi cé chomh dona is a bheadh an scéal murach gur éirigh an Píarsach, an Conghaileach agus a gcompánaigh amach faoi Cháisc 1916, nó gur adhain siad tine bheo nach féidir a mhúchadh nó a ghlanadh de leathanaigh na staire go deo toisc go ndearna siad an beart.

D'éirigh siad amach. Saoláidh aisling uafásach álainn nach féidir a cheilt. Agus leagadh brí agus téarmaí na haislinge sin amach go soiléir os ár gcomhair san Fhorógra stairiúil.

Ní féidir imeacht óna dhúshlán agus ní féidir imeacht ó chéill agus uaisleacht agus prionsabail na haislinge a leagadh amach chomh gonta soiléir neamhchasta sin do gach glúin a bhí fós le teacht.

Déanfaidh Sinn Féin Poblachtach Éirí Amach na Cásca a chomóradh go cuí. Iarrtar ar an bpobal a bheith páirteach linn san iarracht. Ach iarrtar freisin ar dhaoine staidéar agus mionscrúdú a dhéanamh ar scéal an Éirí Amach, ar a chuid aidhmeanna agus ar mhodhanna oibre na ndaoine a chuir i gcríoch é. Níl aon leisce ná

Border Protest on Extradition

Carrickamon was the scene for Bearna Uladh's three hour border picket on Saturday March 14 to highlight the plight of those Republicans facing or being threatened with extradition by the Free State courts.

It was felt that the spot chosen for the protest would cause maximum embarrassment to those who would at a future date hand over its citizens to face political charges in British Diplock Courts.

Activists from South Armagh and Newry held placards demanding an end to extradition and freedom for those at present facing Dublin extradition courts. Leaflets were distributed to many largely sympathetic motorists calling on them to take this issue to their TDs and exert pressure on the present regime to dispense with Fitz-Gerald's iniquitous Extradition Act before it becomes law.

Michael Donegan, P.R.O.
Bearna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin

BORDERS and BARRIERS

REPUBLICANS AND IRISH

God knows that it is true to say that those two words have be-devilled Irish history. By putting God and the devil in that once sentence above, I have probably highlighted the words sufficiently.

People feel that an insurmountable barrier exists between groups who speak different languages. Since they cannot comfortably communicate with each other they tend to shelter behind their own barriers and each refuses to make an effort at understanding.

We should note the word effort. If there is a strong wish to communicate an effort will be made.

Attitudes were discussed in the last article and it was pointed out that changing attitudes is not easy. Neither is the effort to communicate across a barrier easy.

Let us take the example of a small child learning to talk. Although his parents give him every encouragement, it is often quite frustrating for the child when the sounds he makes are not understood. But the child keeps trying. He keeps making an effort to break down the barrier and to cross the border. Unlike us adults the child has no other language which he can fall back on and feel comfortable in so he keeps making the effort until he finally not alone communicates but communes with others.

Let me return to the word "comfortable". Republicans know only too well that there is no "comfortable" way to remove borders or break barriers. It needs grit and determination. It is also true that grit and determination are needed by adults who wish to learn and use a second language. More grit and determination are needed by adults than by children learning their first language. After all the child's attitudes that we discussed previously have not yet been formed nor is there another language "in the way" creating a barrier.

Barriers are generally removed bit by bit. A language

barrier cannot be just bulldozed out of existence. The slowness of the process often gives rise to frustration in learners. They forget that a child goes through the process very slowly also. Adult learners often think that the slowness of the process is due to their lack of intelligence. *Nothing could be further from the truth.*

Learning to speak a language has nothing to do with being clever or intelligent. Even retarded people speak some language. The reason these people speak a language is that a natural need to communicate existed and that a language was spoken by others in their presence. They heard the language constantly around them. They associated the sounds with actions and things with which they were familiar and gradually they understood what was being said. Due to their desire (be it ever so feeble) to communicate they acquired and learned the language and spoke it.

These then are the first steps which learners of a first language all take:

1. The desire to communicate in the language.
2. Listening to the spoken language.
3. Associating the sounds heard with actions and familiar objects.
4. The learner making the effort to imitate these sounds i.e. *to learn to speak by speaking.*

Now the argument will be put by would-be adult learners that the conditions pointed out in steps 2 and 3 do not exist for them. But before I proceed to answer that argument may I counter with a question. How strong is the condition pointed out in step 1? How strong is your desire? If it is very very strong the problems that arise in steps 2, 3 and 4 can be dealt with.

— Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí

náire orainne seasamh le gach focal agus aidhm na réabhlóide úd. Ach amháin an náire atá ar gach aon Éireannach macánta nuair a fheiceann sé nár fíoraíodh an aisling fós.

Bunprionsabal againn is ea é seasamh ar oidhreacht 1916, agus a cuid prionsabail a athdhearbhú mar an chuid is bunúsaí dár mbunsraith pholasáí agus inspioráide. De bharr imeachtaí na bliana seo caite, agus imeachtaí na hArdfheise ag tús na Samhna seo caite, níl aon eagrais eile, go bhfiús dúinn, a shíolraigh ón bhunfhréamh céanna atá in ann an méid sin a rá go hoscailte i gcónaí.

Sa mhéid sin cúis bhróin dúinn comóradh na Cásca i mbliana, an 71ú comóradh. Ach cheana féin feictear an botún a rinneadh fiú má bhí ar an dream a d'iompáigh — an dream "pragmatúil" is deireanaí — léasadh a fháil san Olltoghchán, mar a fuair, sar ar thuig go leor daoine maithe a lean an cheannasaíocht nach bhfuil aon bhealach gairid chun na saoirse agus go dtuigeann an lucht vótála Poblachtach é sin chomh maith.

Tá sé mar aidhm ag Sinn Féin

IN MEMORIAM (11th Anniversary)

In proud memory of Staff Capt. Seán McDermott, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, killed on active service on April 5, 1976.

"When only a few are found faithful they must be the more steadfast for being but a few."

Inserted by Cumann Tomás Harte/Tom Williams, Republican Sinn Féin, Lurgan.

In proud memory of Volunteer Seán McDermott, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who gave his life in the cause of Irish Freedom on 5th April, 1976. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam. Always remembered by Cathleen Knowles.

Poblachtach an botún a chur ina cheart i mbliana mar bheart a chosnóidh an oidhreacht Phoblachtach féin chomh maith.

Beidh cabhair ag teastáil. Ní fearfud a d'fhéadfadh aon Ghael ar mhaith leis ómós fírinneach a thabhairt d'íobairt na Cásca ná a bheith linn san iarracht atharrthála seo.

Tomás Ó Neachtain

CABHAIR

On March 3, 1987, the inaugural meeting of the Irish Prisoners Dependents Committee was held.

Those present had all been members of the Dublin Committee of An Cumann Cabhairach and following the Ard-Fheis decision had given their allegiance to Republican Sinn Féin.

The Committee will administer funds collected for prisoners' dependants and will assist the relatives of those prisoners who have declared for Republican Sinn Féin.

The following officers were elected:

Cathaoirleach:	Peig King
Rúnaí:	Lita Ní Chathmhaoil
Cisteoir:	Girle Sheehy

A number of fund-raising ventures were discussed and will be acted on in the near future.

Donations can be sent to: Peig King, 29 All Saints Park, Raheny, Dublin 5, or direct to: 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2.

Truly Revolutionary

A chairde,

The policy of rejection of the Usurpers' Parliament predates 1798, and so, has been our central policy for nearly 200 years. A long time! Sinn Féin was founded on that policy and so it remained until 1986, when it was stood on its head and reversed.

I have proudly served many years in Mountjoy, Port Laoise and in English prisons with brave comrades and this was the policy. Suddenly it is reversed totally and stood on its head. Obviously the reversal is a lie and a betrayal.

But other factors enter the argument. When an army reduces its size, brings its numbers (probably) to an all time low, it becomes a phantom army. When it does this, even on security reasons, it will wither and die. Likewise, the prosecution of the war, and some could say "what war?" For the courting of English politicians has, at no cost to the Brits, enabled them to have a major say on how and where the war should be fought. So, the junior politician gets a safe labour seat, as Ken Livingstone would testify!

I exhort all Republicans to join Republican Sinn Féin, a truly revolutionary party and join in the fight to enable our country to take its place among the nations of this earth. Do not believe that RSF is



John Hayes

devoid of politics, get our people elected to all councils and corporations, sell the Bulletin, direct all energies to the one aim, freeing our country.

John Hayes, POW,
Albany,
Isle of Wight.

On the one Road...?

"Even one Sinn Féin TD in Leinster House would shake that bastion of privilege to its foundations and expose the corrupt politicians who have had a safe haven there for so long".

Who said?

Answer: The lead story on page one of An Phoblacht/Republican News on February 12 last.

But who said this one:

"Let there be no illusions. Sinn Féin's participation in the 26-County general election will bring no revolutionary changes to Leinster House".

Answer: The editorial on page two of the same An Phoblacht/Republican News of February 12.

A little confused, eh?

* * *

North-Aid

The SDLP are reported to be deservedly embarrassed at the disclosure of funding by the "National Endowment for Democracy" in Washington, USA.

This is an offshoot of "Project Democracy", operated by Lt. Colonel Oliver North.

A case of North-Aid?

* * *

An-leathan!

Éamonn Gilmore, Workers' Party candidate in Dún Laoghaire in the recent elections was described in his election literature as a member of An Coiste Stiúrtha maidir le úsáid níos leithne na Gaeilge.

His accompanying manifesto of over 500 words had just three words of Irish — "Litir um Thoghchán".

Úsáid níos leithne? If the other members of the Coiste do as much . . . beidh sí an-leathan ar fad!

* * *

No cuts here

Estimates for Public Services

1986 Provisional Outturn	1987 Estimate	Change 1987 over 1986
£000 42	£000 250	% + 495%

Increase (£000) + 208

The Book of Estimates published recently by the 26-County Administration is notorious for all the cuts — with at least one exception. Secret Service money is up by a staggering 495%!

NATIONAL DRAW WINNERS

First Week:

- 1st Prize — £100 — Carmel Sheil,
Tallaght,
Co. Dublin.
- 2nd Prize — £50 — Marie Quinlivan,
Ballynanty,
Limerick.
- 3rd Prize — £25 — Alex O'Connor,
Dooradoyle,
Limerick.

Second Week:

- 1st Prize — £100 — Pearse Daly,
Longford.
- 2nd Prize — £50 — Rose Connolly,
Newry,
Co. Down.
- 3rd Prize — £25 — Ciarán Martin Cahill,
Killarney,
Co. Kerry.

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

SUPPER DANCE

Easter Sunday night — April 19, '87
at Springhill House, Cork
Music by Reflections
Bar Extension — Spots
8.30 p.m. to 1.30 a.m.
Admission: £5.00

Kerry Activities

The annual Countess Bridge Martyrs commemoration was held under the auspices of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin at Killarney on Saturday night, March 7.

Éamonn Breen presided and Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh, Cork, spoke briefly. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the organisers.

Earlier, wreaths were also laid at the Ballyseedy memorial, Tralee by Republican Sinn Féin and by the Memorial Committee. At Ballyseedy in March 1923 Republican prisoners were tied to a mine by Free State forces and blown to pieces.

On the same night, four more prisoners were similarly killed at Countess Bridge. In both places an additional prisoner was fortunately blown free and lived to tell the full story.

DINNER

Over two hundred supporters were present at the annual dinner and social of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin in the Ballygarry House Hotel, Tralee on Friday, February 6.

Councillor Frank MacCarry, who travelled from North Antrim with his wife Aileen, gave an address to an appreciative audience. Lita Ní Chathmhaoil and Seán O Sé were present from Dublin to represent the National Organising Committee.

6 Sisters in Cells

Tá an leagan Béarla de *Ghirseacha i nGéibheann*, cuntas ó Aine agus Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig ar an tréimhse deich mbliana a chaith siad faoi ghlas i bpríosúin Shasana, foilsithe anois ag FNT agus ar fáil sna siopaí ó Mháirta ar aghaidh.

Bhuaigh an leabhar seo Duais Oireachtais i 1985 agus díoladh amach é laistigh de trí mhí nuair a foilsíodh é anuraidh. B'éigean leagan cúpháipéir de i nGaeilge a chur ar fáil don Nollaig agus tá sin le fáil i gcónaí freisin sna siopaí leabhar ar £4.95.

Is annamh ar fad a raibh díol chomh tapa sin ar leabhar Gaeilge go mba éigean an dara heagrán a chur amach laistigh de shé mhí. Deir Séamas Ó Cathasaigh, Bainisteoir FNT na Foilsitheoirí, nach raibh an tóir chéanna ar leabhar ar bith eile i measc na 120 teideal atá foilsithe aige, i gcaitheamh na mblianta, seachas *Rotha Mór an tSaoil*. Tá sé lánchinnte go mbeidh an tóir chéanna ar an leagan Béarla *Sisters in Cells* — níos mó b'fhéidir ó tharla suim mhór a bheith i Sasana agus i Meiriceá sa saothar cheana féin chomh maith.

Tá leagan Gearmáinise á réiteach don samhradh seo agus tá plé ar siúl faoi leaganacha i dteangacha eile chomh maith.

Bearna Uladh Letter

A chara,

Bearna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin, South Armagh instructs me to comment on claims, dishonest and ridiculous, made about us in a local pre-Christmas news bulletin (enclosed) circulated with AP/RN by our former comrades.

The statement informs its readers that a body which now styles itself "Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin" remains unaffected by the recent "Split" and is working as it always has. Such is not the case. The editor goes on to claim that only seven members have left and pretends their loss doesn't hurt. Even more fanciful is the claim that they have the support of the "Republican Movement in total".

What a pity it is that the writer failed to inform his readers of the following fundamental facts:

1. That "Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin" no longer exists as it did before within their organisation. That it legally voted itself out of existence by majority vote at its last official meeting. The majority then voted en bloc to declare allegiance to Republican Sinn Féin. The Minority who chose to remain with the reformists had to hastily reconstitute themselves within the pro-Leinster House organisation.
2. That those anti-abstentionists embarrassed themselves by adopting their own abstentionist policy when the crucial votes were taken.
3. That the "seven members" whom they admit losing include the entire officer board of Bearna Uladh, including elected councillor Eamon Larkin. We of course dispute their figures.

Plight of 17 Innocent Prisoners

The framing and imprisonment of 17 innocent people in England during 1975 and 1976 illustrates the "Nixonian logic" of the British establishment according to which "any Irishman would do", it was claimed at a public meeting in Dublin on March 10 last.

The Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven have all endured long jail sentences since and Giuseppe Conlon has died in prison.

Gareth Pierce, solicitor for the Birmingham Six, stated that conditions for Republican prisoners and their families were worse than any others in British jails as they were "deliberately, strategically and punitively cut off from normal relationships with their relatives". For her clients the fact that they are innocent victims makes it almost unbearable.

The men now hope for a retrial following the referral of their case to the Court of Appeal, but, to be successful, public consciousness must be raised to make the judges aware that any further dishonesty will take place in the full glare of publicity.

Alistair Logan, solicitor for the Guildford Four, explained how his clients were convicted solely on statements made while in custody and that the present Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls and the new Metropolitan Police Commissioner in England were all involved in the frame-up in 1975.

The case was "riddled with dishonesty", vital evidence was destroyed and altered and the statement by the Balcombe Street Four ASU of the IRA that they carried out the bombings in question was ignored.

The implication of establishment figures in England is matched by the disgraceful

behaviour of 26-County officials who intervened in the USA in 1979 to stop a Congressman taking up the case of the Birmingham Six. The meeting also heard that no Irish embassy official visited those framed until last year.

A clear message went out from those attending that a strong political and diplomatic presence was required at the upcoming appeal hearing and that a public statement from the new administration in Leinster House should rule out any co-operation with the British government on extradition or any other legal matters in the face of these injustices.

These cases illustrate forcefully the reception given to Irish people in the British courts where the laws are re-written to get politically desirable results.

The lack of protection under the law for everyone in Britain is indicated by the comment of a law lord quoted:

"If there is any question between the innocence of an individual subject and the authority of the Court of Appeal there is no question of which is more important".

The Birmingham Six Committee, who organised the meeting, can be contacted at P.O. Box 1809, Dublin 8.

It is of no surprise to us that the writer needs to dismiss us casually as a minor irritant to be hardly missed. Such misrepresentations only serve to alloy flagging morale among their remaining supporters and ever decreasing membership. The writer will now be faced with the unenviable task of explaining away the more recent split within his own cumann, Cullyhanna, where several members, true to their republican faith, declared their support for Republican Sinn Féin.

RUC Jackboot Tactics

Michael McGonigle, the Republican Sinn Féin Councillor in Dungiven, Co. Derry, hit out at the fascist tactics of the RUC following their takeover of a garage and filling station on March 3 last.

The owner of the garage, beside the RUC base in the town, was given only hours to get out, despite the fact that the order from the NIO was issued on January 30 last.

"Once again we are witnessing the jackboot tactics of British rule in Ireland towards the nationalist people", Councillor McGonigle said.

We are confident that the people of Bearna Uladh and Cullyhanna will see through the deception and treachery and realise that Republican Sinn Féin will be a positive force in South Armagh in defence of Republican principles.

Bearna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin and its two constituent cumainn and supporters throughout the district cannot be underestimated by the reformists in either numbers or determination to advance the struggle, armed or otherwise, to achieve a 32-County Socialist Republic.

In closing, Bearna Uladh sends best wishes to all its friends and supporters in South Armagh and further afield and looks forward with enthusiasm to the task ahead.

Michael Donegan,
P.R.O. BEARNA ULADH,
35 Forest Park,
Dromintee,
Newry,
Co. Down.

WHO SAID?

Answer to question on Page 3.

Garret FitzGerald in *The Economy of Ireland*, Published by IMI, Dublin.

THE PROPHETIC SHOCK MINORITY

From Page 1

Irish Revolution, the first national liberation struggle of the twentieth century. The familiar features we nowadays associate with Third World liberation movements, especially the crucial factor of the democratic appeal to the people for their approval as soon as is practicable, were first attempted in Ireland 71 years ago this Easter.

While it subsequently became an inspiration to struggling peoples in the British Empire and beyond the Rising was unique in the long revolutionary tradition it came out of and in the nobility of purpose and self-sacrifice of its participants.

The IRB, whose secret military council planned the Rising for Easter months beforehand, was undoubtedly conscious of the symbolic associations of redemption and resurrection in that date. Both Pádraic Pearse and James Connolly were aware of this: for Pearse the inspiration was Cúchulainn and Christ; for Connolly it was the Irish and international revolution that his self-sacrifice would promote. The fusion of their ideas can be seen in the Proclamation and in the formation of the Irish Republican Army from the combined Volunteers and Citizen Army.

Both the IRB and Connolly had separately determined that a blow must be struck against England while the war in Europe was in progress. England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity.

Peace Conference

John Redmond had pledged Ireland to fight for England in September 1914 and later urged Irishmen to join the British Army; Connolly accused him of "unparalleled national betrayal". Redmond, Dillon and Devlin had in March 1914 agreed to a temporary exclusion of six counties of Ulster from a proposed Home Rule parliament for the rest of Ireland.

In the face of this compromise of the national position the progressive forces saw that an uprising would assert Ireland's indivisible right to nationhood. This right, established and defended by insurrection, would hopefully ensure Ireland's status as a belligerent nation entitled to representation at the peace conference when the war ended.

The military plan for Dublin constituted a holding of positions within the ring of British barracks. It was defensive and static and highlights the fact that the rebels wanted to hang on until their position was recognised by world opinion. They were helped in this by a series of blunders on the British side.

Their Naval Intelligence had deciphered

the telegraphic code between the German Foreign Office and the Embassy in New York and intercepted information on the Rising and the shipment of German arms. To ensure that the Germans were not alerted to this fact, the politicians were not informed. When Roger Casement was picked up on Banna Strand on Good Friday the military authorities wrongly presumed the Rising would be called off.

As it happened, the insurgents held out for a week and in doing so established a point of no return in Anglo-Irish relations. The British Cabinet left General Maxwell to carry out the staggered executions of the leaders that by the end of May had begun to change public opinion in their favour in Ireland. The further 'combing-out' of over 3,000 people throughout the country, of whom 1,841 were interned in Britain, had brought this transformation down to the local level.

Still the Issue

The 'Constitutional' Nationalists' response was to press for an immediate settlement of the Home Rule question in which the actual terms of the solution were of secondary importance. By July 1916 the permanent exclusion of the six counties was agreed by the British Cabinet and Redmond had to pull out of negotiations and was himself discredited. In an embittered speech on July 24 he said the consequence would be increased sympathy with the Easter Rising.

The events of Easter Week "generated impatience in a living generation". The objects for which they rose in revolt have yet to be realised in the partitioned Ireland of 1987. The Free State establishment has veered from veneration of the leaders as plaster-saints to its present position of ignoring the event, without at any stage measuring the revolutionary ideals of 1916 against the sordid disappointments of a 26 county neo-colonial state.

For the present generation of Republicans, as with every generation since 1916, the Easter Republic remains the touchstone, the criterion by which we test political developments in Ireland. The rights and principles in the Proclamation still demand to be defended in arms as long as British interference continues.

The quest for social and economic change is frustrated by the overwhelming importance of the national question. The fact that Republicans may constitute a minority at present should not dissuade us from the necessary task of working to complete the revolution begun on Easter Monday, 1916.

Easter Ceremonies

North Antrim: Shane's Cairn, Cushendun, 2.30 p.m.

Belfast: Commemoration, Milltown Cemetery.

Derry: Wreath-laying ceremony.

Drumboe, Co. Donegal: Assemblé 2.30 p.m., Stranorlar.

Lurgan: Commemoration.

Tyrone: Aghyran.

Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh: After 11.00 a.m. Mass.

Drumintree, Co. Armagh: After 11.00 a.m. Mass.

Killeen, Co. Armagh: After 11.30 a.m. Mass.

Camlough, Co. Armagh: Holy Saturday, 7.30 p.m.

Castlewelan, Co. Down: Commemoration.

Fermanagh: Wreath-laying ceremonies.

Monaghan: Commemoration.

Cavan: Assemblé 2.00 p.m., Killougher Cross, Redhills.

Dundalk: Assemblé 1.30 p.m., Market Square.

Dublin: Assemblé 12 noon, Glasnevin Gates.

Deansgrange: Wreath-laying ceremony, Easter Monday, 1.00 p.m.

Meath: Commemoration in Longwood after 11.00 a.m. Mass.

Kildare: Assemblé 3.00 p.m., Liffey Bridge, Celbridge.

Longford: Assemblé Churchland Bridge, 3.00 p.m. to Ballymacormack Cemetery.

Clare: Shanaghil after 11.00 a.m. Mass and Clooney, 3.00 p.m.

Limerick: Assemblé Bedford Row, 1.00 p.m.

Cahirciveen: Commemoration, 3.00 p.m.

Listowel: Commemoration at 11.30 a.m.

Tralee: 3.00 p.m., The Rath Cemetery.

Killarney: Commemoration, Easter Monday.

Cork: Assemblé 2.30 p.m., National Monument.

Tipperary: Drom, 3.00 p.m.

Galway: Donoughpatrick, assemblé 3.00 p.m. at Quellies.

Sligo: Commemoration to Republican Plot in afternoon.

Leitrim: Commemoration to grave of Jack McCabe in Rossinver Cemetery.

After 11.30 a.m. Mass in Drumshanbo.

Roscommon: Ardcarne Cemetery,

Boyle, 3.00 p.m.

After 11.30 a.m. Mass in Elphin

to Co. Memorial.

Wreath-laying ceremonies will take place in many other areas throughout the 32 Counties and abroad.

Functions

Easter Sunday Night	Easter Sunday Night
Social Function	Social Function
Springhill Hotel	Ballygarry Hotel
Mayfield, Cork	Tralee

Easter Sunday Night	Easter Sunday Night
Strand Hotel	Lakeside Hotel
Waterville	Killaloe
Co. Kerry	Co. Clare