

# Republican Bulletin

## IRIS NA POBLACHTA

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# SHAME OF EXTRADITION

"Is there another country in the world which would hand over its nationals to an outside power on demand?" asked Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uurlabhraí at a meeting of Republican Sinn Féin in Athlone on December 17 last.

He said that the new Extradition Act was tantamount to the old "backing of warrants" system which operated between the British police and the Inspector-General of the RIC when all Ireland was under direct British rule.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh was speaking at the AGM of the Seán Costello-Martin Hurson Cumann. He continued:

"In addition, the erosion of neutrality signalled by the passage of the Single European Act and the banning of the IRA Veterans' 1916-21 Club from Free State Army barracks — not that Sinn Féin believes they should ever have been in such places — bring home to ordinary people just how anti-Irish and slavishly Anglicised the 26-County State has become.

"It would now countenance the handing over of Irish people to the British presence in Ireland which

The Republican Sinn Féin picket on the British Embassy in Dublin on January 1, 1987. See page 6 for text of letter handed in for the British Ambassador.



## Long Kesh Support

A Chairde,

We write to your paper to wish everyone involved in Republican Sinn Féin a productive and creative 1987. While some of us would not identify totally with your politics we do identify with your sincerity and acknowledge your (collective) right to stand by the principles of what we believe to be "Republicanism of the Fenian Variety".

As we see it, while that variety of Republicanism exists there can be no revolution in Ireland without its support and input and no amount of fancy media orientated gimmickry changes that reality.

We look forward to working with Republican Sinn Féin personnel during '87 and in the future.

Pat Mullin, Tyrone

Martin Heaney, S. Derry

Kevin Donegan, S. Armagh

POWs — H-Blocks, Long Kesh

contradicts its own 1937 Constitution.

"Furthermore, this so-called extradition is to be retroactive. This means that people living and settled in the 26 Counties for many years can be torn from their families and placed in unjust detention across the border at the mere whim of the British authorities.

The naming of June 1 next and later December 1 as the date of operation shows clearly that such handing over on demand of Irish nationals is not desired in itself by the 26-County politicians; it is rather a political bargaining counter in a cynical manoeuvre with the British under the Hillborough Agreement.

"Like the Treaty of Surrender of 1921, the Boundary Agreement of 1925 and Sunningdale in 1973, this latest deal will prove that the British will win out and that the 26-County establishment will be left with yet another betrayal of their own people, another 'damned good bargain' which copperfastens British rule in Ireland".

## SECTION 31 BAN

Arising out of Cardinal Ó Fiaich's call on RTE Radio One for the removal of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh asked at what level was the Section 31 ban being applied to Republican Sinn Féin.

"On November 3 last, the day after the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, a request was made from RTE to me as spokesperson for Republican Sinn Féin to stand by and be available for interview on the Pat Kenny Show that evening. Nothing more was heard from RTE and no interview took place.

"It is in order to ask publicly who is applying the Ban to Republican Sinn Féin? Is it a Minister of the 26-County state, or the Chairman of the RTE Authority or the Director-General? Or is self-censorship being applied by the journalists themselves? The public are entitled to know who exactly is denying them the right to know in this case and why".

# KILMICHAEL

## A Psychological Turning Point

Some 66 years have now passed since the Third West Cork Brigade of the IRA, under General Tom Barry achieved their significant military victory over British Crown forces in the historic Kilmichael ambush on November 28, 1920.

It was, by any measure, a remarkable action which neither recent attempts to play down the significance of the Flying Columns, contributions to the independence struggle nor the unpleasant details of the actual military encounter can erode from the popular mind.

As happens so often in such situations, the ballad-maker's skill emphasises once again the underlying reality of the old saying that the pen (or at least the popular song) is at least as mighty as the sword, if not more long-lasting and difficult to counteract as well.

"The Boys of Kilmichael" rapidly assumed a position in the minds and on the lips of ordinary Irish people throughout the country, and abroad, that still survives. This is so, even in an age when officialdom seems to frown on such basic expressions of popular feeling. As those who were actually involved go to their eternal reward, those who came to power and prominence on the backs of such sacrifices rarely feel the need to pay tribute to those raw rank and filers without whose tenacity and courage Ireland's destiny in the twentieth century ever since would have been quite different.

The background and details of the Kilmichael ambush are fairly well documented, even if there were some disagreements in the final years of some of the most active participants.

One of the failures of our academic community was to continue to probe such incidents and such disagreements to the full while the old men who could recall them were still alive. It was perhaps part of the general trend towards revisionism which bedevilled our national broadcasting system in particular. And yet enough material was put on tape and film to preserve a fairly comprehensive archive.

We can recall a very interesting "Seven Days" programme on Kilmichael, with studio participation by the then fairly significant list of survivors on the occasion of the 49th anniversary, in 1969. That important year in Irish affairs, is now almost a life-time away. A whole new generation of Irish people has grown up in the meantime. When we shall see the material collected by RTE in the black and white days of their pre-Section 31 infancy is another matter.

It may well be that, as in so many other

By Diarmaid Ó Tuama

areas of Irish affairs involving our relationship with Britain, much of the best work, including professional "revision" of the various incidents may be done by outsiders, who see the Irish War of Independence as a headline in the anti-colonial process of this century. They see

massive military accomplishment at Crossbarry in March 1921, thus ensuring that the tide, already turning, would continue to run in the IRA's direction, at least in the South.

But Kilmichael remained the big fight in the popular mind, and the ballad ensures that it has done so ever since. It was, too, perhaps, the most crucial incident of the 1919-21 war because of its timing and because it was the first reversal for the special "Auxiliary" crack-troops. They had been terrorising the Irish people as part of a deliberate policy and up to then, had been unconsciously, perhaps, regarded even by the IRA itself as some type of super force that could not be taken on.

The West Cork Flying Column ended the myth, thus forcing the British war machine to re-think its strategy. Kilmichael came as an enormous psychological shock to the British and to those in Ireland who felt that they could still hold the country by force. It was a correspondingly surprising morale booster for the Irish side, and for a Dáil and Republican government that had suffered



Donnchadh Ó Murchadha speaking at the Republican Sinn Féin commemoration at Kilmichael on November 29, 1986.

the type of guerilla campaign waged by Barry and his comrades in West Cork as a model which so many others have tried to imitate and adapt to their own situations.

Not all General Barry's admirers were on the anti-colonial side either. The British, who had given him basic training in the Middle East during World War I never under-estimated the ability of the "poacher turned gamekeeper". His experience gave him that crucially important insight into the British military mind, that nobody since the Great O'Neill at the end of the sixteenth century had had. Because of the final defeat at Kinsale in the very last few days of Elizabeth 1's long reign, this is always seen as a tragic climax.

General Barry, in the twentieth century, suffered no such defeat in the field. He and his men went on from the sudden, sharp and rather unexpected victory in Kilmichael, through a number of set-backs in the winter of 1920-21 to the even more

more than its share of sadness and brutality in the month before that — even by the standards of the time.

It came just a week after Michael Collins had wiped out the greater part of the British Intelligence network in Dublin on "Bloody Sunday". This brought its own quota of repression and revenge, in Croke Park, and in the shooting of Dick McKee, Peadar Clancy and Conor Clune while in custody in Dublin Castle, and it tipped the balance of bloody incidents at the end of what had been by far the most terrible month in Ireland since 1916.

On the night of November 28 some 15 warehouses were gutted in Liverpool by the IRA as well, thus extending the "Irish problem" to the "other island" — a factor which many believe may have inspired the British reaction to burn the centre of Cork city shortly afterwards.

Contd. Page 3.

## BOOK REVIEW

# The Divided Kingdom

## RÍOCHT ROINNTE

by Nollaig Ó Gadhra.  
FNT, Dublin. £6.00

**Ríocht Roinnte** ("Divided Kingdom") is essentially a study of the 1983 General Election in the North, and the lessons that need to be drawn from the new 17-seat single seat structure of representation in Westminster. The author inevitably has to delve into history as well, if only because he argues that it is impossible to tackle the current difficulties without reference to the way the North arrived at its current sorry state.

In one sense, this award-winning book of current commentary takes up where Ó Gadhra's previous and highly-acclaimed **Guth an Phobail** left off. He sets out in blunt, clear-cut and factual terms, the inadequate attempts of the British democratic tradition to incorporate the Irish situation as well, while trying at the same time to ignore the obvious and consistent demand for Irish independence and self-determination which continued to grow throughout the 19th century as British democracy became more representative and broadly-based.

The author hinted, more than once in the course of this study, that the usual British response to Irish electoral results which they did not like, or which did not meet their own grand designs for democracy, has been to change the rules of the game.

Not just in the case of the partition settlement itself, but also within the Six Counties and in terms of giving equal

numerical strength to Northern voices at Westminster itself. This, he suggests, has, at the very least, to be seen as a failure to face up to the numerical facts of life in the Six Counties.

While he argues, with the same logic as Enoch Powell, that the 1983 17-seat arrangement gives the North a fairer representation in the "National Parliament" in Westminster than at any time since 1922, he also suggests that there has been a distinct reluctance by people all round to face the realities of the outcome, which saw Sinn Féin win over 40 per cent of the Nationalist vote, and Mr. Gerry Adams replace Mr. Gerry Fitt as the first abstentionist MP ever in Belfast, or indeed east of the Bann.

The complex mixture of geography and population changes that give the Six Counties their current complexion are discussed in detail in this book, although the author is careful to recall that nothing in the North is simple. The rise in the fortunes of Sinn Féin is not seen as a clear-cut victory over their SDLP rivals.

It is more a case of traditional abstentionists, who would not vote for politicians who take the Oath and sit in Westminster, and younger people demonstrating their strength for the first time, and leading to a stalemate on the Catholic/Nationalist side of the fence that has always been more acute than any disagreements within Orange and Unionist factions.

This does not mean that this very important element in the Northern make-up has always remained silent in the past. In

### Kilmichael — Contd.

Terence MacSwiney, the hunger-striking Lord Mayor of Cork and Sinn Féin TD for Mid-Cork died after his long, painful and internationally-documented fast on October 25, 1920. On November 1, 1920, the 18-year old UCD medical student, Kevin Barry was hanged in Mountjoy Jail in Dublin, after it had been made perfectly clear to all concerned that he would have been granted a reprieve if he had given the British information about those who were with him when he was arrested. The following day, in far-away India, Private Jim Daly, leader of the mutiny in the Connaught Rangers regiment, was executed in yet another headline-making case that focused international attention on the Irish problem.

Nevertheless, individual cases of Black-and-Tan and Auxiliary outrages continued, which not even the on-the-spot investigation by British Labour MPs halted. For example, in County Galway, Fr. Michael Griffin was taken away and shot on a lonely road near Bearna, only days before he was due to travel to America to testify against British policy before a Congressional Committee in Washington.

Then, came Bloody Sunday and what Collins claimed, rightly, was a severe blow

to British Intelligence in Dublin. But it was not sufficient to halt the mounting litany of Republican "reversals" including the arrest of Arthur Griffith and Eoin Mac Néill. Griffith had been acting President of the Republic while Éamon de Valera was in America, and was by late November at the peak of his great American tour.

Then on the 28th day of November, the badly-armed raw young men of the Third West Cork Flying Column took on and wiped out a contingent of Auxiliary "crack-troops" at Kilmichael.

Coming at the time it did, it is fair to claim that history was made and things were changed, changed utterly in a way that was probably not clear at the time, even to those who grasped the psychological importance of the reversal from a military point of view.

Yet, who remembers, never mind honours, the "Boys of Kilmichael" today? Even those who disagree or would disown the legacy of Kilmichael should not try to ignore the realities of the event and of its crucial significance as a turning-point in the fortunes of the struggle for the freedom of our land.

Ná ligtear a n-íobairtí i ndearmad . . . .

## Charlie Kerins Honoured

A large crowd attended the Annual Charlie Kerins Commemoration at Tralee on Friday, December 5, organised by Republican Sinn Féin.

A lone piper led the parade from Denny Street to the Kerins Memorial Park at Strand Street. **Mr. George Rice** chaired the proceedings and started by having a decade of the Rosary recited by Mrs. Elsie O'Connor, a sister of Charlie Kerins.

Wreaths were laid by Brendan O'Dowd on behalf of RSF and by Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh on behalf of all who died in the struggle for Irish freedom.

In a short oration he outlined Charlie Kerins' career until his ultimate execution by the Free State on December 1, 1944. He spoke of the treachery of Free State politics and politicians of Leinster House in carrying out England's dirty work here. He finished by urging all genuine republicans not to enter Leinster House.

The main speaker, **Eamon Larkin**, RSF, Councillor for Newry and Mourne condemned successive Free State Governments for their continued collaboration and servile attitude towards the British occupation forces in Ireland.

He outlined the callous murder of Republicans by the Free State down through the years culminating with the Extradition Bill, being pushed through Leinster House to enable them to hand over more republicans to the enemy.

The lone piper finished proceedings by playing the National Anthem.

1955, for example voters in Mid-Ulster and Fermanagh/South Tyrone elected two jailed IRA men as their Sinn Féin MPs but Ó Gadhra also stresses that even the paramilitary associations of those days are not enough to explain how we have continued to ignore "the nationalist nightmare" for so long.

In 1970, for example, 3 of the 12 MPs returned at the General Election, when Ted Heath and the Tories came to power — were anti-Unionists, although there was not a Sinn Féin voice in their midst. The result of the democratic exercise? The Falls Road curfew, internment, Bloody Sunday and the rise of support for the IRA in the light of the failure to take note of the anger of the Nationalist people as expressed through the ballot-box for Gerry Fitt, Bernadette Devlin and Frank McManus . . . .

One of the very interesting aspects of this book is the reproduction, on the back cover, of the 1925 Boundary Commission map of religious loyalties throughout Ulster. **Ríocht Roinnte** argues throughout that the divisions outlined there, which are still largely with us, go back at least as far as the 1885 General Election, when the Orange Card was first spoken about. For that reason alone this book is welcome at this time.

Tomás Ó Neachtain

# A new electoral map of the Six Counties

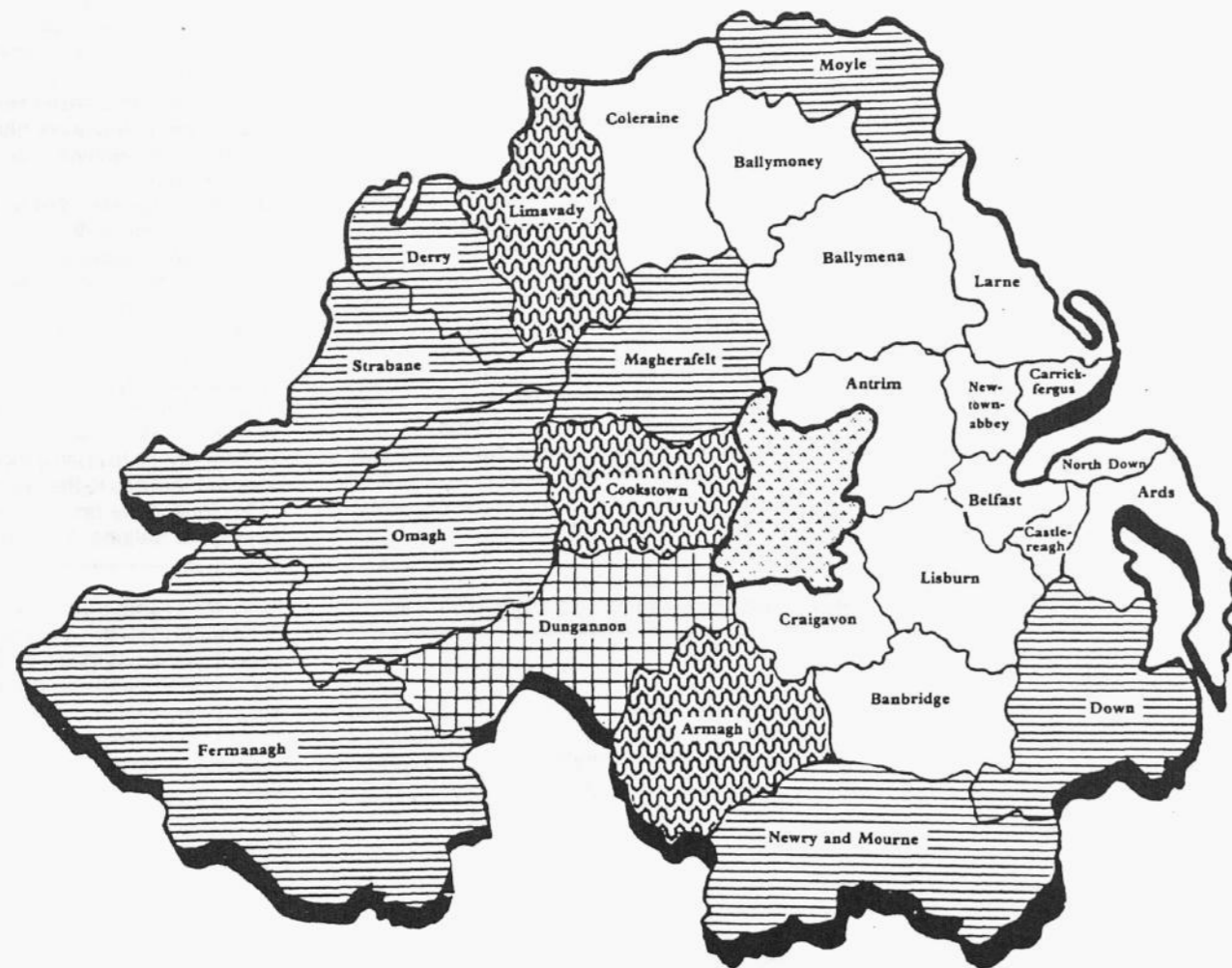
This map gives a visual impression of the very extensive Republican/Nationalist rejection of the union with Britain. Even within the areas of Unionist majority there is often a considerable anti-union vote, which in Belfast City is in the region of 30%.

When this map is placed where it belongs, within a map of the whole 32 Counties of

Ireland, the Unionist enclave is revealed for what it is — a small area of northeast Ireland.

The veto exercised by the Unionists on the will of the majority of the Irish people is underpinned by the guarantees of the Westminster government. Since the Hillsborough Agreement was signed this veto is guaranteed by the Dublin administration also.

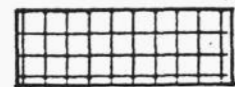
Map produced by Seán Ó Brádaigh and first published in the IRISH NATION, Aug./Dec 1985.



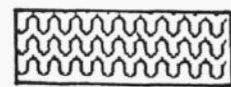
May 1985—LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH



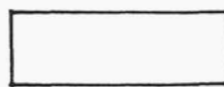
NATIONALIST/  
REPUBLICAN  
MAJORITY



50-50 RESULT

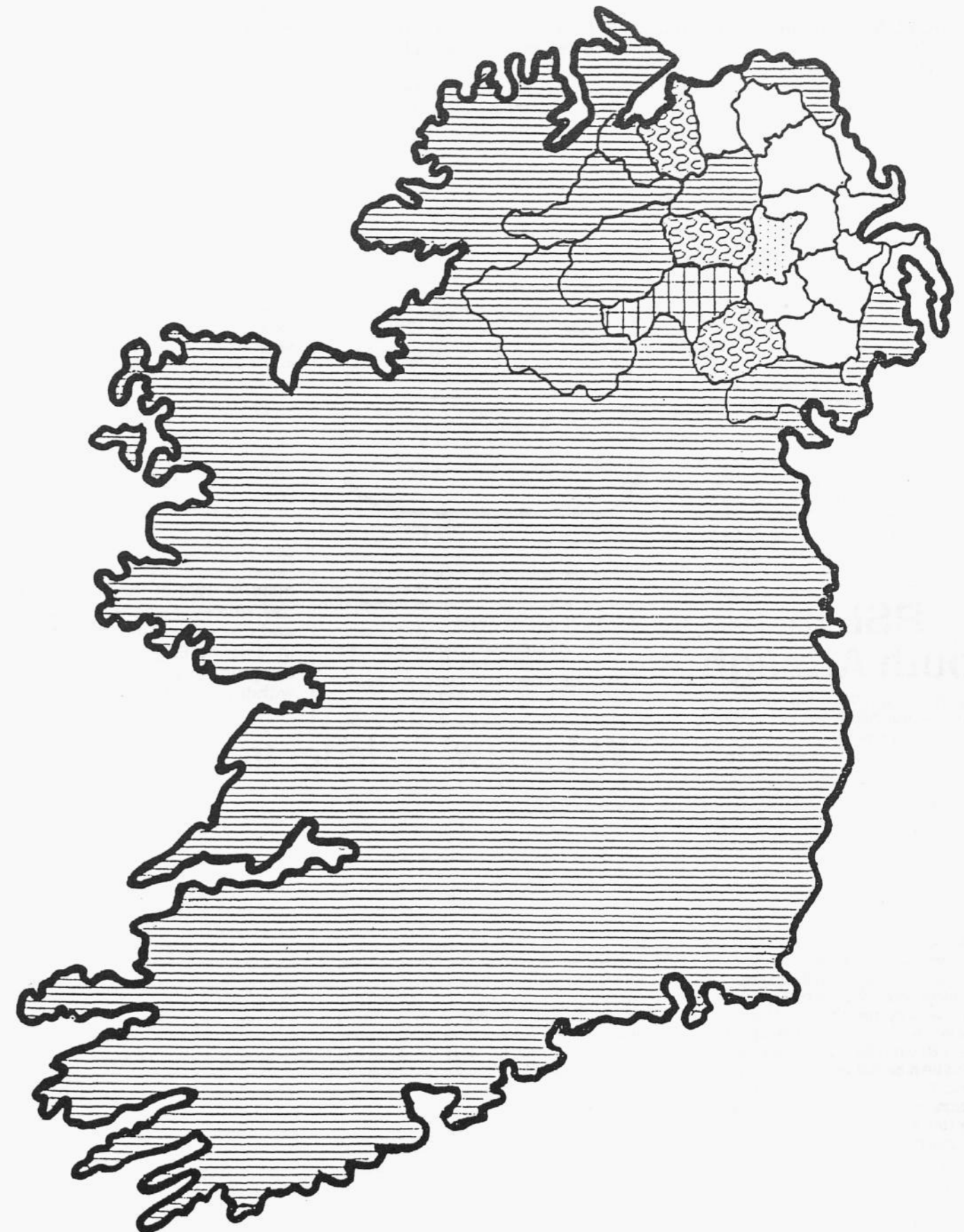


35-50%  
NATIONALIST/  
REPUBLICAN



SUBSTANTIAL  
UNIONIST/  
LOYALIST  
MAJORITY

# A new electoral map of Ireland



## Comhairle Uladh will organise all of Ulster

**COUNCILLOR ÉAMONN LARKIN** (Newry and Mourne) is the Cathaoirleach of the new Comhairle Uladh of Republican Sinn Féin set up at a meeting held in Monaghan on December 7 last.

Leading Republicans from both sides of the border attended the meeting. Councillor Larkin said that Republican Sinn Féin had substantial support in South Armagh.

All nine Ulster counties were represented at the meeting of over 50 delegates. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Urlabhraí was also present.

The following officers were elected:

Cathaoirleach: Éamonn Larkin, Armagh; Leaschathaoirleach: Brendan Magill, Donegal; Rúnaí: Liam Haddock, Lurgan; Rúnaí Cúnta: Mary McDermott, Belfast; Cisteoirí: Pauline McAteer, Omagh; Liam Mímnagh, Cavan; Preasoifigeach: Michael Donegan, Armagh.

A panel of county organisers was appointed, under Bob Murray, Belfast, who was nominated chief organiser for Comhairle Uladh. They were:

Armagh/Down: Peter Corey, Lurgan; Cavan: John Glancy, Swanlinbar; Monaghan: Joe Fee, Carrickmacross; South Fermanagh: Peter Magee, Belcoo; Tyrone: Jim McIlhinney, Omagh; Derry: Seán Keenan; Donegal: Ted McGarrigle.

## RSF in South Armagh

Republican Sinn Féin has set up two Cumainn in the Dromintee and Killeavey areas of County Armagh.

In a statement, they said that recent developments had led to the formation of Republican Sinn Féin, dedicated to the principle of abstentionism from British and partitionist parliaments and reaffirming its support for the armed struggle against British forces.

After much internal debate a group of South Armagh Republicans have now decided that to remain true to their conscience they must join Republican Sinn Féin rather than remain with a group now committed to entering Leinster House.

The statement added that though determined that they remain both Republican and Sinn Féin, they assure the republican people of Bearnna Uladh they remain loyal to the Sinn Féin constitution as it was before the Ard-Fheis and will continue to campaign on their behalf to secure the rights of the Irish people.

The statement concluded,

"While regretting having to part with former comrades the members of Republican Sinn Féin do not regret making that decision for they are convinced that they have stood by their Republican principles".

## 'Into the machinery of state'

about the extradition legislation going into effect until the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland was fairly well convinced that it had a completely independent police force to deal with and alienation there had been eased.

He looked on the end of the Sinn Féin abstention policy as a move away from violence, however small, and a move towards political structures. Anything which brought people who had been supporting violence more into the machinery of State brought them further away from violence.

Asked about the Government ban on interviews with members of groups such as Sinn Féin, he

*Thus spoke Cardinal Ó Fiaich on RTE on December 21 last. While his use of the word 'violence' may not be to precise, we think we understand what he meant.*

*"Dictionary definition of violence — "use of excessive or illegal force".*

*Well, we know what force is illegal in Ireland, and has been for 800 years.*

## RIGHT TO USE FORCE

The RUC in a statement issued on December 22 last and given front page headlines in the **Irish News** attributed the recent series of military operations by those fighting British rule in the Six Counties to the split between Republican Sinn Féin and Leinster House Sinn Féin.

In a comment on this Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said:

"A year ago it was said that such activities were due to the Hillsborough Agreement. Similar excuses have been offered down the years. In point of fact activities such as those which took place over the weekend have been going on since foreign rule was first imposed on this country; they will, doubtless, continue until British rule ends.

"The visit to her forces in the Six Counties by Margaret Thatcher emphasises that fact and indicates the root cause of trouble in Ireland — British Imperialism.

"Republican Sinn Féin's attitude was stated clearly in our statement of November 2 last: **'We uphold the historic right of the Irish people to use whatever degree of controlled and disciplined force is necessary in resisting English aggression and bringing about an English withdrawal from our country.'**"

## 'Withdraw' — letter to Ambassador

*The following letter was delivered by Republican Sinn Féin to the British Ambassador in Dublin on New Year's Day, January 1, 1987.*

The members of Republican Sinn Féin address you on New Year's Day 1987. Individually and collectively we give our allegiance to the Proclamation of the all Ireland Republic issued at Easter 1916, to the Declaration of Independence adopted by the first all Ireland Dáil Éireann in January 1919 and to the Constitution of Sinn Féin.

We seek to make the said Proclamation and Declaration effective in all of Ireland through the convening of a 32-County Constituent Assembly which would among other matters restore normal relations between the peoples of Ireland and England.

Your Government holds the initiative in bringing about such an outcome. The Hillsborough Agreement of 1985 is merely a modernised internal settlement within the context of British rule and as such cannot and will not deliver peace to Ireland — no more than did the Treaty of Surrender of 1921, the Boundary Agreement of 1925 or the Sunningdale Pact of 1973.

It is our deeply felt conviction that only a decision in principle by your Government to relinquish all claim to sovereignty over any part of Ireland and to withdraw its administration and forces can bring about a permanent peace in our country.

Such a decision, publicly announced and backed by the political will to carry it through and recognise the right to self determination of the Irish people acting as a unit, together with the release of all political prisoners would be a fitting outcome of the International Year of Peace.

We would ask you to bring this letter to the notice of your Government. On behalf of the National Organising Committee of Republican Sinn Féin:

**Dáithí Ó Conaill**, Cathaoirleach

**Ruairí Ó Brádaigh**, Urlabhraí

**Éamon Larkin**,  
Cathaoirleach, Comhairle Uladh  
and member of Newry and  
Mourne District Council.

# Cumainn Reorganise

## SLIGO

The Kevin Coen Commemoration will be held at Kevin Coen's graveside in Sooley Cemetery, Co. Sligo on Sunday January 18. The parade will form up after last Mass in Sooley Church.

## LEITRIM

The Jim Vaugh-Séamus McGlynn Cumann, Drumshanbo held its AGM on December 16 last. The Cumann decided to affiliate to Republican Sinn Féin and to sell the Republican Bulletin only. Allegiance was pledged to the Proclamation of 1916 and the Constitution of Sinn Féin. Michael McDonagh was elected Rúnaí and delegates were appointed to the Comhairle Ceantair.

## LOUTH

The Raymond McCreesh Cumann in Omeath/Ravensdale, Co. Louth held a very successful function in aid of the Republican Prisoners Dependants Fund in the Blue Anchor, Bellurgan. Further functions are planned.

Liam Fagan, Proleek, Ravensdale is the Cathaoirleach of the Raymond McCreesh Cumann. Pat Murphy is Rúnaí and Seán Hanratty, Cisteoir.

## MONAGHAN

The Séamus McElwain Cumann was formed in Inniskeen, Co. Monaghan following a visit to the area by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Joe O'Neill. The Cathaoirleach is Paddy Daly and the Rúnaí is Joe Fee. Cisteoir is Michael Fee.

## CAVAN

The Roger Casement Cumann was reformed at a meeting held in Cavan Town Hall on December 16 last. Officers elected were:

Uachtarán Oinigh: Séamus Conaty; Cathaoirleach: Benny Little; Leaschathaoirleach: Mary Keogan; Rúnaí/OCP: Liam Mimmagh; Cisteoirí: Thomas Clarke and Nóirín Ní Liatháin; Coiste Airgeadais: Na Cisteoirí; Betty Little, Terry Murray.

The Kieran Doherty Cumann, Swanlinbar-

Curlough, Co. Cavan has been reformed. Officers elected were:

Uachtarán Oinigh: Michael McGovern, Charles McGovern; Cathaoirleach: Hugh McGovern; Leaschathaoirleach: Thomas McGovern; Rúnaí: Gerard Glancy; Cisteoirí: Ben McHugh, Sean Duffy; OCP: John Glancy; Coiste Airgeadais: Na Cisteoirí: James Melanophy, Thomas McGovern, Eamon McGovern

## ROSCOMMON

A highly successful social was held by Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair in the Village Inn, Strokestown on December 8 last.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh spoke and said that the big attendance was a vote of confidence by Roscommon Republican Sinn Féin supporters in the action taken at the Ard-Fheis by the Comhairle Ceantair and all Six Cumainn in the county.

## ATHLONE

The AGM of the Seán Costello-Martin Hurson Cumann was held in December. Officers elected were:

Uachtarán Oinigh: Victor Fagg and Barney Kelly; Cathaoirleach: Seán Ó Griadna; Leaschathaoirleach: Thomas Morris; Rúnaí: Ruairí Carroll; Cisteoirí: Patrick Harney and Una Fagg; Eagraí: James Doyle; OCP: Seosamh Ó Maoileoin.

The Cathaoirleach and Rúnaí were appointed delegates to the Longford-Westmeath Comhairle Ceantair.

## DUBLIN

At the Dublin AGM of Republican Sinn Féin held on Tuesday December 9, the following Officers were elected:

Cathaoirleach: Peter Cunningham; Leaschathaoirleach: Josephine Hayden; Rúnaí: Lita Ní Chathmhaoil; Cisteoir: Seán Ó Sé; Organisers: Andy Connolly, Padraig Maguire; OCP: John Horan; Education: Ruairí Og Ó Brádaigh; Finance: John O'Connor; Culture: Dióg Ní Chonail; Delegates to National Committee: Peter Cunningham and Lita Ní Chathmhaoil.

# RTE agus Moscó

Rinne foireann Newsnight RTE scéal mór le gairid de chuntas ó Mhoscó a dúirt go raibh saoirse bhreise á tabhairt do lucht scannánaíochta is teilifíse san Aontacht Shóivéideach, agus go raibh fiú amháin cead anois ag stáisiún teilifíse na Rúiseach ábhar a thaispeáint a bhain le ré Stalin agus nach bhfaca solas an lae le fiche bliain anuas, ó tharla nár measadh an t-atmasféar polaitíochta a bheith oiriúnach.

Aithníonn ciaróg ciaróg eile mar a déarfá. Díreach mar a léirigh RTE le gairid píosa beag as an tsraith "Insurrection" a rinne siad in 1966 chun Éirí Amach na Cásca a chomórath. Níor athchraoladh an tsraith ó shin, go fiú i mbliana nuair a bhí 70 bliain dháta an Éirí Amach le comórath ag an té a raibh fonn air.

Píosa beag a léirigh Joe Lynch i bpáirt Chathail Bhrugha, an té a ghlac seasamh chomh cróga sin sa South Dublin Union le linn Sheachtain na Cásca agus a goineadh go fíor-olc, a bhí i gceist agus craoladh arís ar "Encore" é, ar iarratas ó John O'Connor, an pianadóir, a bhí ina aoi ar an gclár agus dúirt go raibh fonn air a mheas ar Joe Lynch a léiriú. D'aontaigh fear RTE gan amhras.

Aisteoir breá é Joe Lynch i gcónaí fiú más i bpáirt sheafóideach Dinny in "Glenroe" atá sé fostaithe ag an stáisiún teilifíse fiche bliain níos déanaí. Ach mhol O'Connor an tsraith "Insurrection" trí chéile freisin.

Cinnté, an-sraith a bhí ann, aontaíodh. "It might be no harm to broadcast it again" ar sé, go neamh-urchóideach, ag cur san áireamh go raibh glúin fásta aníos le 20 bliain nach bhfaca riamh é.

Tost ó láithreoir an chláir, agus ar aghaidh go dtí an chéad mhír eile . . . Ní fheadar an ndéanfadh lucht teilifíse i Moscó scéal mór faoi dá mbeadh a fhios acu? Is cinnte go dtuigfidis an cás!

**Our March issue will be published on February 20.**

## THE OTHER FAILED POLITICAL ENTITY (From page 8)

with many reports of busloads of shoppers travelling to the North from as far away as Cork.

These developments need not distress Republicans unduly at present, because the revenues are being lost to a State that wastes enormous resources in a shameful and corrupt way. Both the Government Executive and bureaucracy alike plunder the public purse. The State represses Republicans like no other, embarks on expensive collaboration with British Crown Forces and further denies legitimate expression (even within their law) on the national television service. The point of view expressed here is suppressed under Section 31. Trendy liberals are nowhere to be heard!

The supreme irony of course will be the final bankruptcy of the State because of its policy of maintaining and sustaining partition against the expressed aspiration of the Irish people. Even the Free State Constitution upholds this position and later the report of the New Ireland Forum confirmed the position.

Republican Sinn Féin's position not to enter Leinster House after the recent defection of former colleagues is correct and proper. To participate in the shameful charade and to get involved at the very point of its demise is surely bad timing, leaving aside the principled reasons for Republicans not participating in a Parliament created by an English Act of Parliament, as opposed to one established by the Irish people.

History has shown that Republicans should never have entered Leinster House. In doing so it gave it some superficial semblance of legitimacy. At least you need two teams to play a football game and, continuing the sport analogy, the game is nearly up. Public Finances are in *CHAOS*. Little or no job opportunity exists for the nation's young, our sovereignty is bartered, human rights denied, political expression suppressed, emigration revitalised; to get involved now is certainly not the time.

**Joe Brady**

# THE OTHER FAILED POLITICAL ENTITY

The Irish Republic (sic) has by far the lowest standard of living of any of the 14 democracies of northern Europe. It boasts the lowest income per capita, the highest unemployment rate, and the most punitive marginal tax rates.

To attain this distinctive position, the Republic has, over the past decade and under successive government, incurred an extraordinary high foreign debt per capita, now standing at 70% of gross national product, and has thrown itself on the highly subsidised mercy of foreign firms, who account for three-quarters of total industrial exports. The combination of interest payments on foreign debt, and profit repatriation by foreign firms, devours the total income tax.

The overall record stands as a uniquely incongruous achievement in the economic history of modern Europe. The Taoiseach, Dr. Garret FitzGerald, has described this shambles as "one of the healthy economies in Europe."

— Professor Joseph Lee,  
University College, Cork.

Many thoughtful people in Ireland today are searching for some solution to the economic crisis that is fast developing in the 26-County State. Such people include Professor Joseph Lee of UCC, Tom Barrington, the authority on local government, and journalist Desmond Fennell. For some time now they have been writing on this issue in an effort to raise awareness of the problem, to galvanise some interest and finally to suggest some solution.

The crisis in the public finances bothers a host of others because of the implied threat to the status quo and they have suggested classical monetarist positions. This analysis means that the poorer people shoulder more of the burden.

In the minds of many people a basic assumption does exist that the interests of the people and the State coincide. However, a clearer picture is coming into focus as thinking patriotic people see that the interest of the State and its citizens are diverging rapidly.

## UNABLE TO PROTECT ITS CITIZENS

Fr. Desmond Wilson, the Belfast priest recently summed up one aspect of this scenario when he said that "the State is now so busy protecting itself that it is unable to protect its citizens." This statement was in response to a litany of serious assaults on old people particularly in rural areas. Horrible homicides are frequent but Garda sources are never short when personal or telephone surveillance of Republicans, dissidents and radicals is in question or protection of the border or indeed driving Ministers to dog tracks.

Even now the bourgeoisie are getting concerned. Enormous resources are needed by way of taxation to fuel the insatiable and voracious appetite of the STATE MONSTER. Fourteen years after the State's entry to the EEC, the 26 Counties have the distinction of the highest unemployment, the highest per capita debt, the lowest income per capita, the highest punitive marginal tax rates, and the highest Exchequer debt as an expression of Gross National Product (135%).

The extent of this appalling economic record is more evident, when it is realised that the State first resorted to foreign borrowing to balance its current Budget deficit as late as 1972. Simply put, the State is living beyond its means since then, and it surely does not surprise anyone that once this road is travelled it gets progressively worse.

The forecast for government finances for 1987 indicate that revenues will not even fund just three items of expenditure. The pound of revenues (taxation, VAT, duty, etc.) will not pay for interest debt service 33p; Public Service Pay 41p; and Social Welfare 28p. (Total 102p).

This leaves HEALTH, EDUCATION, JUSTICE (Guards and Prisons), DEFENCE (Free State Army) and a host of other State services to be funded out of further borrowing. This is measured at around 14% of Gross National Product or again, put simply, £1,500 million (One thousand, five hundred million pounds). One does not need to be an economist or a banker to know that the out-turn for 1987 gets progressively worse, with interest debt service devouring an even bigger slice of the National Cake, probably around 35p in the £ of each pound of revenue.

## MONEY SPENT TO SUSTAIN PARTITION

*Charles Haughey, the leader of Fianna Fáil, is wont to say that the North of Ireland is a failed political entity and Republicans can surely agree with him on that at least. My analysis suggests that the South is equally a failed political and economic entity. A State that sustains itself on borrowing, that systematically debauches its currency and fails to provide security for its citizens must be by any definition a failed political entity.*

The interest for Republicans in these developments is that these circumstances have proceeded apace with the continuing crisis in the Six Counties. It is arguable that the State embarked on this profligacy to sustain partition. The huge borrowings do mirror to some extent the additional expenditure incurred to sustain the border by aiding the British to crush the revolt of the Nationalist people. This manifests itself clearly in the doubling of the number of civic guards from 6,500 to 13,000, and a similar doubling in the numbers in the Free State Army from 7,500 to 15,000.

Another dimension to the problem is the extraordinary loss in the revenues of the State because of the border. A direct consequence of the deteriorating economic environment has been the growing disparity in the VAT, duties and excise tax on a host of consumer durable goods, electrical goods such as TVs and videos, and finally beer and spirits.

## PLIGHT OF BORDER COUNTIES

All these items are big money spinners for the State for years but now a new zone has emerged extending 50 miles on the Free State side of the border. *Meaningful economic activity hardly exists.* For instance, petrol retailers (those few that have survived) exist purely to service government contracts. There is evidence that the malaise is spreading