

Republican Bulletin

IRIS NA POBLACHTA

UIMH. 4 MÁRTA-MARCH 1987

20p

LEINSTER HOUSE WILL FAIL AGAIN

At a Press Conference held in Dublin on February 11 Republican Sinn Féin made clear its attitude to the 26-County election and Leinster House politics. It stated:

"None of this country's many ills can be cured by any administration which may result from this election."

For a full month the people of the 26 Counties were subjected to an expensive barrage of propaganda. The electorate of the partition-based state, already **over £24 billion in debt**, were treated to a circus of rhetoric.

Not one of the contestants did an honest analysis or diagnosis of Ireland's major problems. Not one of them is prepared to tackle the root problem of national freedom.

From this point on, all we can expect from the Leinster House administration is more of the same. Since the last election in 1982 the public debt has been doubled, partition

Republican Sinn Féin
has opened its Head Office at
21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2.

Election Fiasco

The only argument used by those who abandoned the 32-County Republic of 1916 at the Ard-Fheis of November last was that this would mean increased support from the people of the 26 Counties.

In the outcome, they have secured less support for sitting in and accepting the 26-County parliament at Leinster House than when a united Sinn Féin organisation last stood as abstentionists and for an All-Ireland Republican Parliament.

With a total of 27 candidates they have left a trail of 24 lost deposits. Fourteen of them polled less than 1,000 votes each. A further eight were below 2,000 votes. Of the remaining five, four were under 3,000 votes and just one crossed the 4,000 mark.

This indicates clearly the people's withdrawal of support and respect for those who abandon a fundamental principle.

There is no short cut to Irish freedom!

was officially recognised and copperfastened by the Hillsborough Agreement, and emigration, unemployment, taxation and poverty went from bad to worse. The next four years will just see more of the same.



A Colour Party leads the parade to Seán Sabhat's grave in Limerick. See pages 4 and 5.

RSF pointed out in the 100,000 leaflets it distributed throughout the state that partition rule, full EEC membership and low national morale are the obstacles to improving the lot of our people. The dishonesty of the politicians is at last producing a discernible feeling of contempt for them and the system of clientelism they operate.

The only real alternative and the only really honest leadership is based on an honest assessment of the basic problems.

We need national freedom for all Ireland; a programme of economic development based on the recognition that Ireland is an underdeveloped country; and a cultural revival which stresses the central role of An Ghaeilge.

Only on such a firm foundation can we build a future for our children. This will be the constant message of Republican Sinn Féin as it re-organises and expands its

base. As the crisis deepens the stark relevance of the Republican position will become clearer.

Since November last RSF has set up 85 Cumainn and 12 Comhairlí Ceantair. An Ard-Fheis will be held later this year.

Challenge to Mallon

Bearna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin have called on Mr. Séamus Mallon, M.P., to spell out to the people of Newry and Armagh, his reasons for supporting the Hillsborough pact.

Republican Sinn Féin said his constituents have the right to be told why he has so much faith in an Agreement which tears to shreds their aspirations for Unity while offering no obvious advantages in return.

"Mr. Mallon must explain the glaring inconsistencies in his statements,

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I mBAILE ÁTHA AN RÍ

Ómós do Liam Ó Maoilíosa

B'é Daithí Ó Conaill, Cathaoirleach Shinn Féin Poblachtach a labhair i mblia na ag comórach bliantúil Liam Uí Mhaoilíosa, a d'éagraigh Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe de Shinn Féin i mBaile Átha an Rí.

Léadh Aifreann i gcuimhne an mhairtíorgh a chaith lucht an tSaorstáit, i dteannta triúir eile, gan triail de chineál ar bith, ar Nollaig 8, 1922. Bhí paráid tríd an mbaile go dtí an Cheardscoil mar a bhfuil leacht cuimhneacháin in onóir na bainte a bhí ag Ó Maoilíosa le eagrú na nÓglach i gCo. na Gaillimhe, agus an pháirt a bhí ag na hÓglach sin ach go háirithe in Éirí Amach na Cásca.

Dúirt Ó Conaill go mba cheart agus oiriúnach ar rud é dealbh Uí Mhaoilíosa a bheith suite ar láthair scoile nuair a chuimhnítear ar an mbaint a bhí aige leis an óige lena linn féin, agus leis an obair a rinne sé chun daoine óga a oiliúint i ngluaiseacht na saoirse, go háirithe i bhFianna Éireann.

Ag tagairt do na nithe a tharla ag an Ardfeis, mí roimhe sin, dúirt sé go raibh brón air nár fhoghlaim cuid d'fhir óga na linne na ceachtanna a mhúin Ó Maoilíosa ina shaol, ina chuid scríbhinní agus go háirithe sa mhéid a bhí le rá aige le linn na díospóireachta ar an gConradh sa Dara Dáil.

Faraoid, na nithe uafásacha a dúirt Liam an uair úd, i dtús 1922, tháinig siad ar fad i gcríoch agus tuilleadh lena chois, ó shin i leith. Fiú na daoine a chreid b'fhéidir ag an am a cailleadh an Cogadh Cathartha go bhféadfaí dul chun cinn a dhéanamh trí pháirt a ghlacadh i nDáil an tSaorstáit i dTeach Laighean, bhí an taithí a bhí againn sa mhéid a tharla do gach dream ó Fhianna Fáil go Clann na Poblachta ann le cruthú don saol mór nach féidir an córas a bhí lochtach ó bhonn a leasú.

"Deir cuid de pholaiteoirí Theach Laighean faoi láthair go bhféilteoidís



Republican Sinn Féin anti-Section 31 picket on RTE on January 10 last.

roimh Shinn Féin i dTeach Laighean. Ach geallaimse daoibh inniu, sul má bhíonn an mhí seo féin istigh, go bhfeicfean an cur-i-gcéill a bhaineann leis an gcaint sin, nuair a dhéanfaidh an dream atá páirteach sa chlub cheana féin a míle dícheall chun baill nua den chlub a chosc ó chlárú. Nil sa chosc cinsireachta in RTE ach gné amháin den scéal sin. Déanfaidh siad gach iarracht is féidir leo coscanna breise a chur sa bhealach roimh dhuine ar bith nach bhfuil sásta a chuid prionsabal féin a ghéilleadh go hiomlán don chóras.

"Is cosúil go gcreideann Gearóid Adams agus daoine eile gur féidir dul chun cinn i dtreo na Poblachta a dhéanamh trí Theach Laighean aithint. Gur féidir gearrchúrsa a ghlacadh agus go gcaitfean comhréiteach a dhéanamh mar, dar leo, nach dtuigeann an pobal seasamh le prionsabail ar bith, seachas a leas féin.

"Ró-mhaith a thuigeann siad! Tá siad tinn tuirseach cheana féin de na baill den chlub i dTeach Laighean. Ní theastaíonn uathu go gcláródh aon dream nua, mar nach léir dóibh go mbeadh aon rud nua le tairiscint acu nó le baint amach ann. Malairt pholaiteoirí ar fad atá uathu.

"Is fiú dúinn a mheabhúr b'fhéidir gur scaoil na Sasanaigh Adams amach as Campa na Ceise Fada i 1972, le linn an chéad sosa a bhí idir Óglaigh na hÉireann agus fórsaí na Corónach ó 1921 i leith, le taisteal ar heileacaptar go Londain chun labhairt le ionadair an Rialtais Choimeádaigh faoi imeacht as Éirinn — a bhuncheist lárnach ar a bhfuil seasamh na bPoblachtach bunaithe.

"Dosaen bliain ina dhiaidh sin, nuair atá an fear céanna tofa mar MP in iarthar Bhéal Feirste, nil rialtas Shasana ná polaitoirí Theach Laighean sásta labhairt

Sligo Advice Centre

The Republican Sinn Féin Advice Centre in Sligo is now open and is located off Connolly Street. Any person looking for advice or help will find someone there every Thursday between 7 and 9 p.m.

A branch of the Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund was formed in Gorteen, Co. Sligo on Wednesday, December 3, and the following officers were elected: Chairman, Gerry Pilkington, Secretary, Michael Mulligan and Joint Treasurers, Albert Madden and Paul O'Grady.

The AGM of the Sligo National Graves Association was held in the Silver Swan Hotel on December 9, and the following officers were elected: Seán McGoldrick, Chairman; Matt Murphy, Vice-Chairman; Gerry Mooney, Secretary; Eamonn Healy, Treasurer and Vincent O'Doherty PRO.

Comhbhrón

The death took place recently of Willie Meehan of Ballymeehan, Rosinver, Co. Leitrim. At the graveside the proceedings were chaired by Séamus McGowan and the oration was given by Cllr. Joe O'Neill.

Willie Meehan was an elderly Republican who took the Republican side in 1922. Both he and his brother, RIP, spent time in jail for their republicanism. His house was always open to Republicans.

The death also took place recently, in Glasgow, of Joe McQuaid, aged 32 years. He had been a member of the Republican Movement while living in Ireland. His remains were brought back for burial in Bundoran.

Joe's mother (née Connolly) was from Rosinver and his father from County Fermanagh.

Cllr. Joe O'Neill presided at the graveside and the oration was delivered by Brendan Magill.

Votes of sympathy were passed by a general meeting of Republican Sinn Féin on January 11.

The National Organising Committee has passed votes of sympathy with:

Tommy Noonan, Kenmare, on the death of his mother;

Patrick Quirke and family, Derrymore, Tralee, on the death of their father;

The family of Mrs. Duffy, Dundalk on her recent death.

leis faoi rud ar bith, ach a mhalairt ar fad.

"Má cheapann éinne go dtiocfaidh an lá nuair a bheith polaitoirí Theach Laighean sásta rud ar bith fiúntach a dhéanamh faoi ghlánadh na Sasanaigh amach as ár dtír, sa chás go n-éireoidh le cúpla Poblachtach suíocháin a bhaint amach san áit agus na suíocháin sin a ghlacadh, tá dul amú mór orthu".

Bhí Murt Mac Ualtair i gceannas mar Chathaoirleach agus i measc na ndaoine eile a bhí i láthair bhí Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Urlabhraí Shinn Féin, agus an Comhairleoir Frank Glynn, iar-chathaoirleach Chomhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe.

Cáisc 1987

Applications for speakers at Easter Commemorations should be made as soon as possible to:

An Rúnaí,
Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta,
c/o 29 All Saints Park,
Raheny,
Dublin 5.

Easter Lilies are now available from:
Peig King, at above address.

Price: £15.00 per 1,000; cash with orders.

Honour Ireland's Dead —
Wear an Easter Lily

**120 years ago
this month**

The Fenian Rising

The remarkable, and often overlooked, document reproduced here reminds us that this year marks the hundred and twentieth anniversary of the Fenian Rising of March, 1867. Long-heralded by James Stephens the original leader and brilliant organiser of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the rising which took place on the night of March 5, 1867 followed Stephens's replacement and effectively consisted of scattered demonstrations against British rule.

At a meeting in London on February 10, 1867 the Fenian leaders constituted themselves the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic 'virtually established'. Present on behalf of the four provinces were Edward Duffy from Roscommon (Connacht), William Harbison of Belfast (Ulster), Edward O'Byrne of Dublin (Leinster) and Dominick Mahony from Cork (Munster).

Together with Colonel Thomas J. Kelly of Mount Bellew, Co. Galway (who had replaced Stephens) were General Gustave Cluseret and Adjutant-General Octave Louis Fariola, the latter two ex-officio members as they had agreed to take command of the Fenian army in Ireland once it had established itself in the field. The date of the rising, and the text of the proclamation to be issued were agreed.

The military orders were apparently the work of Cluseret, the 'specialist in wars and revolutions' who had already served with Garibaldi in Italy and on the Federal side in the American Civil War and who later commanded the military forces of the Paris Commune. Fenians were to muster at centres of railway communications to prevent the transport or massing of British troops. Remaining in columns of not more than 500 they were not to risk encounters without a substantial prospect of success.

IRISH — AMERICAN SUPPORT

The political aim was for the insurgents to hold out long enough to gain belligerent status from the United States, something which would have widespread popular support especially in the growing Irish-American colony. In New York alone, by 1850, the Irish-born constituted 133,000 or over a quarter of the population, and the organising and support of these 'active auxiliaries' was one of the most formidable aspects of Fenianism.

By 1867, however, the prospect of any substantial success had been shattered by two years of wasted opportunity. International tension between the United States and Britain was at a height immediately following the end of civil war in 1865 and thousands of veterans were anxious for action in Ireland. This probably decided the British to strike first and they raided the 'Irish People' offices on the night of September 14, arresting John O'Leary, Thomas Clark Luby, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and others.

With over 80,000 Fenians in Ireland and an estimated 8,000 in the British army, most of them stationed in Ireland, an insurrection plan was proposed by John Devoy but overruled by Stephens and the Irish-American officers. The British suspended Habeas Corpus on February 17, 1866 and rounded up hundreds of men, and the initiative was rapidly slipping out of the hands of the IRB.

A disastrous split in the ranks of the Fenian Brotherhood in the USA saw scarce resources being divided to finance both a rising in Ireland and an attempted invasion of Canada. Stephens postponed action at home, pleading lack of preparation, while the vital Fenian regiments were withdrawn from the country. The British were well in control of events at this stage and Carydon, the informer, gave them a week's notice of the date of the rising.

In the event, as many as 10,000 Fenians mobilised on the night of March 5 in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Clare, Laois and Louth. A premature attempt was made in Kerry the month before. The military and police allowed the Fenians to march out into the countryside on a night of snowstorms and appalling weather, knowing they could easily be surrounded. The miserably armed men were no match for the alerted crown forces.

Despite this the Fenians attacked police barracks and coastguard stations around Dublin and the South-West, tearing up railways and telegraph communications. British flying columns, set up on March 7, operated in the countryside until April 4.

The Rising did not last long enough to achieve the diplomatic

I.R. PROCLAMATION! THE IRISH PEOPLE TO THE WORLD!

We have suffered centuries of outrage, enforced poverty and bitter misery. Our rights and liberties have been trampled on by an alien Aristocracy, who treating us as foes usurped our lands, and drew away from our Unfortunate Country all material riches. THE REAL OWNERS OF THE SOIL WERE REMOVED TO MAKE ROOM FOR CATTLE, and driven across the ocean to seek the means of living, and the political rights denied to them at home, while our men of thought and action were condemned to loss of life and liberty. But, we never lost the memory and hope of a National Existence. We appealed in vain to the reason and sense of justice of the dominant powers.

Our mildest remonstrances were met with sneers and contempt. Our appeals to arms were always unsuccessful.

Today, having no honourable alternative left, we again appeal to Force as our last resource.

We accept the Conditions of Appeal, manfully deeming it better to die in the struggle for freedom than to continue an existence of utter serfdom.

All men are born with equal rights, and in associating together to protect one another and share public burthens, Justice demands that such associations should rest on a basis which maintains equality instead (sic) destroying it.

We therefore declare that, unable longer to endure the curse of Monarchical (sic) government, we aim at founding a Republic based on Universal Suffrage which shall secure to all the intrinsic value of their labour.

The soil of Ireland at present in the possession of an oligarchy, belongs to us THE IRISH PEOPLE, and to us it must be restored.

We declare also, in favour of absolute liberty of conscience, and the complete separation of Church and State.

We appeal to the Highest Tribunal for evidence of the justice of our cause. History bears testimony to the intensity of our sufferings, and we declare, in the face of our brethren, that we intend no war against the People of England — our war is against the Aristocratic Locusts, whether English or Irish, who have eaten the verdure of our fields — against the aristocratic leeches who drain alike our blood and theirs.

Republicans of the Entire World! Our cause is Your Cause. Our Enemy is Your Enemy. Let your hearts be with us. As for you, Workmen of England, it is not only your Hearts we wish, but your Arms. Remember the starvation and degradation brought to your firesides by the oppression of labour. Remember the Past, look well to the Future, and avenge yourselves by giving liberty to your children in the coming struggle for human freedom.

Herewith we Proclaim the Irish Republic (a harp) THE PROVISIONAL Government.

recognition required in the United States although expressions of sympathy with Irish aspirations were forthcoming from Congress. Neither did the Castle achieve the decisive victory in the field they desired and the IRB went on to prove itself remarkable for its longevity.

The Fenians convinced Karl Marx that an independent Ireland must emerge before there was any prospect of a change in the social system in either Britain or Ireland. Likewise, Gladstone was spurred on to his programme of reform beginning in 1869 with disestablishing the Anglican Church, something which has been called 'the first breach in the Union'.

The Fenian programme, as embodied in the Proclamation, included the restoration of the land to the working people of Ireland, the setting up of a Republic based on equal rights for all and the complete separation of church and state, illustrating the progressive nature of their demands, as well as the continuing relevance of their ideals in the Ireland of today.

— Ruairí Ó Conchúir

LIMERICK REMEMBERS

The 30th anniversary of the deaths of Seán Sabhat and Fergal O'Hanlon was remembered in Limerick on January 4 by a commemoration attended by branches of Republican Sinn Féin in Munster.

Seán Sabhat and Fergal O'Hanlon were killed in an IRA attack on Brookeborough RUC barracks on New Year's Day 1957. The main oration was delivered by Dáithí Ó Conaill who was a comrade of Sabhat and O'Hanlon and who participated in the Brookeborough attack.

In the course of his oration, Mr. Ó Conaill said:

By all accounts the two volunteers who died in Brookeborough were exceptional people. Fergal O'Hanlon was a young, talented and courageous soldier. Barely twenty years of age, he was a popular figure in his native town of Monaghan having

made a mark as a sportsman and a promising employee of the County Council.

Seán Sabhat was an older more experienced soldier. He had served as an officer in the FCA but eventually found his way into the ranks of the IRA. A brilliant writer and speaker of the Irish language, he organised a number of organisations in his native city

to promote the language and his deep Christian beliefs. A radical social thinker, he wrote and published his own magazine 'An Gath' highlighting the social ills of Limerick and putting forward solutions which can now be seen as advanced for their time.

Both volunteers reflected the idealism and dedication of the 1956 Campaign. Sabhat and O'Hanlon became disillusioned with the hypocritical statements and actions of party politicians and were drawn to the IRA as they saw it as the vehicle through which full freedom and sovereignty could be secured and maintained.

The organisation they joined had an unbroken tradition of resistance to British rule. Originating from the fusion of the Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army in 1916, the IRA went on to become the precursor of many guerrilla armies throughout the world. The campaign of 1919-1921 sounded the death knell of the British Empire but not the establishing of Irish Independence.

Through treachery and deceit, the Republic of Pearse and Connolly was overthrown in the brutal war of 1922-23. Though bowed but not beaten, the IRA lived on to strike again in 1939 and survived the severe coercion of the 1940s.

It was volunteers like Sabhat and O'Hanlon who gave the IRA the verve and dash of the 1950s. Their deaths moved a nation; the funerals were the largest in Ireland since the time of Parnell. The heightened national consciousness resulted in an upsurge in Sinn Féin and the winning of four seats, on an abstentionist basis, in the election of 1957.

The sacrifices of Sabhat and O'Hanlon were not to bear fruit in the Fifties but their example of dedication to duty and principle became the motivating force when it came to re-organising a revitalised IRA in the late Sixties. An awakened people in the North needed an army to meet and defeat British and loyalist aggression and guided by the true spirit of Republicanism, they brought the struggle for freedom to an unprecedented pitch. An army which had known many vicissitudes developed to the point where the British government was forced to

Dáithí Ó Conaill
Republican po
MAJOR OBJECT



Dáithí Ó Conaill, Cathaoirleach, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, ag labhairt ag uaigh Sheáin Sabhat.

SEÁN SABHAT

Mail analyses Position in 1987 THREE OBJECTIVES DEFINED

recognise and meet its leadership on two occasions.

In 1972 top representatives of the British government met the IRA leadership to discuss a British withdrawal from Ireland. These talks were not successful but following a phase of intensified military activity, the British again sued for peace in 1975. "Devising measures of British disengagement from Ireland" were the terms of reference for those talks.

They were carried on in the face of a vicious campaign of sectarian murder by loyalist forces and outright opposition of the Dublin government. As in 1972, the British government again wilted before loyalist and Free State blackmail and the most promising opportunity in decades to resolve the national question was lost to the great detriment of the whole people of Ireland.

Many traumas have struck the Republican Movement since then. The epic struggle in the H-Blocks and subsequent loss of ten lives on hunger strike is still a vivid memory. The 'shoot-to-kill' policy of the RUC took its deadly toll in true Black-and-Tan fashion. The degrading treatment of the women prisoners in Armagh brought shame on what was once believed to be a civilised people. The Dublin government continues its policy of super-collaboration, culminating in the recent Extradition Act which no self-respecting government would entertain.

Unfortunately, there have been problems within the Movement itself. There were those who propagated a theory of a war lasting twenty to thirty years thereby condemning prisoners and people alike to indefinite suffering and damaging the single-minded approach necessary to bring the conflict to a speedy and successful end as soon as possible.

A naive belief in the power of parliamentary politics has resulted in a reneging on fundamental principles with the consequent confusion and demoralisation among Republican supporters. Regrettable as these

developments are, Republican Sinn Féin must recognise their existence and point a way forward.

The three major objectives defined in 1971 are as valid now as they were then:

1. Declaration of Intent on Britain's part to withdraw from Ireland:
2. Establishing the right of the Irish people, acting as a unit, to determine their own institutions of government, and
3. The release of all political prisoners.

There are many prisoners in the North, South and in England who are well into the second decade of imprisonment. It is inhuman to keep people in jail for so long a period as it is to perpetuate the injustice done to the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the Maguire family. The abolition of the Diplock Courts and not their reform is an objective to be secured and all imprisoned under that discredited system should be released forthwith.

The need for the Irish people to assert their right and ability to be masters of their own destiny was never more urgent than it is today. Our people are burdened with two non-viable states, the rulers of which have lost the power to redress the economic and social disintegration now staring us all in the face. Our youth are leaving in their thous-



Seán Sabhat

ands and people in general are despairing of ever seeing a future in their own land again.

The unresolved national question of British interference in Irish affairs is the root cause of the political, economic and social ills which beset our country. History has taught us that there can be no compromise with aggression; it must be confronted and defeated and we stand by the right of this nation to use force, a right enshrined in the 1916 Proclamation, to win our country's freedom.

Restoring faith and confidence in themselves is now a vital necessity for the whole people of Ireland. That faith can only be built on the tried and true principles of Irish Republicanism. Living up to Republican principles has never been easy and never will be but it is the only course open to the followers of Sabhat and O'Hanlon.

Opposing views at graveside

Abhar iontais agus machnaimh ag muintir Luimnigh é an dá phort a ceoladh ag uaigh Sheáin Sabhat ag tús na bliana seo.

In the course of his oration, Dáithí Ó Conaill, Cathaoirleach of Republican Sinn Féin, asserted that if Seán Sabhat were alive today he would not be in favour of participation in the politics of Leinster House.

As arguments for this view he stressed not only his personal knowledge of the man, but also the fact that Sabhat had previously worked for Clann na Poblachta in Dáil elections, only to become totally disillusioned when he learned that all the various parties who talked about "the evils of partition" with such intensity and regularity in those days would do about the problem . . . was talk.

Sabhat had also been a trained officer in the FCA — but gave up that avenue also when he realised that whatever else, there was no chance that the army of the 26-County State would ever be used to do anything about partition.

In contrast, Mr. Martin McGuinness said almost the very opposite, in keeping with recent developments in partitionist

*politics, when he spoke at another ceremony. Sabhat, he suggested, would see the logic of building up the political process by going into Leinster House. He was a "realist", he said. For McGuinness the fact that Sabhat had tried the 26-County processes, military and political, seeking to pursue his own Republicanism, which was generally based on the Easter Proclamation of 1916, and failed, seemed not to matter. Nor, it seems, was he fully aware of the complex Seán Sabhat story in the context of Limerick city in the later 1940s and '50s as outlined so professionally in Mainchín Seoighe's book *Maraidh Seán Sabhat Aréir*.*

This book, published in 1964, by Sáirséal agus Dill, in a blaze of controversy arising from the Club Leabhar's failure to sanction some of the poems of tribute in the particular edition they ordered for their members, was in Irish, as Seán Sabhat very definitely would have wished.

Yet the Derryman seemed to be unaware of it — or anxious to avoid the logic of the story as told pretty bluntly by Mainchín Seoighe in one of the few Irish books on current affairs in Irish or English in the 1960s.

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

DUNDALK

Republican Sinn Féin was re-organised in Dundalk, with the formation of a cumann of fourteen members which declared allegiance to the Proclamation of 1916 and the Constitution of Sinn Féin.

Officers elected were: Cathaoirleach: Paddy Kerr; Leas-chathaoirleach: Paddy Redmond; Rúnaí: Séamus McSorley; Cisteoirí: Paddy Lennon and Owen O'Callaghan; O.C.P.: Sean Begley.

The cumann sells 10 dozen copies of Iris na Poblachta each month.

MONAGHAN

At the annual general meeting of the Patrick MacKenna Cumann, Knockatallon/Scotstown, Co. Monaghan it was resolved to give allegiance to Republican Sinn Féin. The Cumann was re-named the Patrick MacKenna-Séamus MacElwain Cumann. Séamus MacElwain was killed in action by British troops since the last AGM.

Officers elected were: Cathaoirleach: Jimmy MacElwain, former County Councillor; Leas-chathaoirleach: Pat Tierney; Rúnaí: John A. Tierney; Rúnaí Cúnta: Breda Hackett; Cisteoir: Tom Tierney; O.C.P.: Séamus Reilly.

Thirteen members attended.

SOUTH ARMAGH

Republican Sinn Féin now has four cumainn in South Armagh with the Bearna Uladh Officer Board acting as a Comhairle Ceantair pro tem. The cumainn affiliated to Head Office are:

Dromintee: Cumann Francis Jordan-Jim Loughrie-Seán Campbell.

Killeavey: Cumann O'Reilly Brothers-MacGennity-Michael Watters.

Cullyhanna: Cumann Michael McVerry.

Camlough: Cumann Brendan Quinn-Art MacAlindon-Raymond MacCreesh.

Republican Sinn Féin has one cumann in North Armagh: Cumann Thomas Harte, Lurgan.

CLARE

Prior to Sinn Féin Ard-fheis of November 2 last the majority of cumainn in the Clare Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin were for the abstentionism policy remaining as it was, says a press release from Republican Sinn Féin in Clare. At that meeting also the AGM of the Comhairle Ceantair was fixed for November 13 at the Queen's Hotel, Ennis.

At that meeting a resolution was proposed supporting the abstentionism policy of non-participation in Leinster House, Stormont or Westminster and that in future anyone advocating entry into those assemblies would no longer be eligible for membership of the Republican Movement.

The resolution censured the present leadership for advocating "this counter-revolutionary policy of taking seats in partition assemblies". The resolution gave

its support as well to the freedom fighters in their struggle against British occupation forces in the Six Counties.

The motion, says the press release, was supported by a majority of cumainn and officers present. The minority of delegates at the meeting called on the majority to leave but a resolution was put supporting Republican Sinn Féin which was carried and the meeting went on to elect its officers for the coming year.

Those elected were: Cathaoirleach: Martin Calligan, Kilmurry-McMahon; Leas-chathaoirleach: Denis McInerney, Ennis; J. Brown, Kilmurry-McMahon; Rúnaí/Eagraí: Mattie Shannon, Doolin; Cisteoirí: Jimmy McNulty, Cree; Tomás Malone, Milltown; OCP: Mick O'Connell, Kilkee; Oideachas: Des Brennan, Ennis.

CORK

A Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin has been set up in Cork, with three Cumainn in the city and a further Cumann in the process of organisation in Midleton, Co. Cork.

The Officer Boards of the three Cumainn are:

DENIS SPRIGGS CUMANN

Cathaoirleach: John Murphy
Leaschathaoirleach: Mick Ahern
Rúnaí: Val Gaffey
Cisteoir: Donal Walsh
OCP: Alfie McEvoy
Eagraí: Willie Goode

TERENCE MACSWINEY CUMANN

Cathaoirleach: Alfie Lane
Rúnaí: Anthony Murphy
Cisteoir: Kitty O'Brien

KIERAN DOHERTY CUMANN

Cathaoirleach: K. O'Keefe
Rúnaí: Mary Kenneally
Cisteoir: Gene Harrington
Eagraí: Christy Seyward

COMHAIRLE CEANTAIR CHORCAI

Cathaoirleach: Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh
Leaschathaoirleach: Gene Harrington
Rúnaí: Mary Kenneally
Cisteoirí: Anthony Murphy and Kitty O'Brien
Eagraí: Donal Walsh
OCP: Alfie McEvoy

DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh and Mary Kenneally.

The Comhairle Ceantair pledges allegiance to Republican Sinn Féin and will continue to work for a 32-County Democratic Socialist Republic.

Leitrim Arrest

Declan Curneen from Glenade, Co. Leitrim was arrested under the Offences Against the State Act on Friday, February 13, returning from a RSF meeting.

He was held in Manorhamilton barracks from 12.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. the next day. Declan is Cathaoirleach of Leitrim Comhairle Ceantair and a member of the National Organising Committee.

LONGFORD

At the AGM of the Barney Casey/Raymond MacCreesh Cumann, North Longford, allegiance was pledged to Republican Sinn Féin. The following were elected as officers:

Cathaoirleach: Mattie Casey; Rúnaí: Seán Lynch; Cisteoir: Stephen Fullam.

The Cumann wish to thank all those throughout the country who subscribed to their collection for the Prisoners' Dependents Fund over the Christmas and New Year period.

Go raibh míle maith agaibh!

DONEGAL

The AGM of Donegal Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin elected the following officers:

Cathaoirleach: Tommy MacGinty, Lifford; Leaschathaoirleach: Ted MacGarrigle, Ballybofey; Rúnaí: Conall Gallagher, Ballyshannon; Cisteoir: Mary Ward, Burtonport; O.C.P.: Bernadette Cullen, Bundoran.

There are two Cumainn in Bundoran, one in Ballyshannon, one in Stranorlar and one in the Rosses.

Brón ar an mbás

With deep regret we learned of the death in New York on February 9 of Anne Egan, formerly of South Armagh. Together with her husband Tom, a native of Killashee, Co. Longford, she was a lifelong and tireless worker in the cause of Irish freedom.

To Tom and family goes the sincere sympathy of Irish Republicans on both sides of the Atlantic.

Bearna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin, South Armagh expresses its deepest sympathy to the Duffy family on the death of their mother, Judith Duffy, Dundalk, Co. Louth and remember with pride her absolute devotion to her republican principles.

Republican Sinn Féin sends deepest sympathy to the family of Walter Morrissey, Waterford, who died recently.

Republican Sinn Féin expresses deepest sympathy to the family of Marie O'Sullivan, Cumann na mBan, Tralee who died recently.

GREETINGS

Greetings from Treasa (An Cumann Cabhrach) in London to all POWs. Good luck to you all.

Terry McWeeney

Bolscaireacht an Stáit faoin CEE

Ghlaoigh duine éigin aré Marian Finucane in RTÉ le gairid nuair a bhí clár faoin Chómhargadh ar siúl aici, agus mheabhraigh di, is cosúil, an liosta fada leabhán, paimfléad srl. a cuireadh amach ar chostas an cháin-íocóra i 1970-72 le daoine a mhealladh chun "Tá" a rá sa reifreann ballraíochta sa Chomhphobal Eorpach.

Cúis ghéara — ach cúis bhróin i ndáiríre — go leor de na ráitis sin inniu. Go háirithe i gcás leithéid an "eacnamaí" Garret FitzGerald (fear a raibh post aige mar Léachtóir Eacnamaíochta i UCD ar feadh na mblianta cé gur chéim staire agus Francise a bhain sé amach é féin!) ag rá nach dtiocfadh aon mhéadú suntasach ar phraghas na beatha féin nuair a rachadh muid "isteach san Eoraip".

Scaip an Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha, faoi cheannas an Dr. Hillery go leor eolais bhréige ag an am chomh maith. Mar shampla dearbhú sollúnta nach cuirfeadh an CEE aon laicis breise orainn ó thaobh na neodrachtach de ná ó thaobh an chaidrimh a bheadh againn le tíortha eile.

Dosaen bliain ina dhiaidh sin níl sé de mhisneach ag urlabhraí ar bith sa Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha fiú buamáil ban agus páistí sa Libia a cháineadh. Gan trácht ar ghearrán oscailte a dhéanamh faoi mhí-úsáid pasanna Éireannacha bréige ag CIA Mheiriceá. Agus cár fhág tú an £900M. úd a bheadh i mbaol, dar le Peadar de Barra, má cheistimid an tAcht Aon-Eorpach fiú amháin?

"The only person who told us where we would finish up, in 1972, was Ruairí Ó Brádaigh" a dúirt an té a labhair le Marian ar an bhfón ar RTÉ. Ní fíor ar fad. Ach is fíor nach ceadmhach labhairt le Ruairí, de réir cosúlachta, dar le cinsirí RTÉ cé gur léir go bhfuil lánchead cainte fiú ag cuid den dream a bhí gníomhach sa bhfeachtas frith-Chómhargaidh i 1972 i gcónaí.

Ach cad d'imigh ar an Lucht Oibre, Páirtí na nOibrithe agus dreamanna go leor eile a bhí ar aon intinn le Sinn Féin, a bheag nó a mhór i 1972 faoin dochar a dhéanfadh an CEE do gach gné beagnach d'obair fhorbartha na tíre?

Bionn cuid acu go rialta ar RTÉ (bhí duine acu ar an gclár le Marian) i gcónaí — agus iad i bhfábhar an Achta Aon-Eorpaigh anois, cé nach bhfuil ann i ndáiríre ach comhordú i bhfoirm dlí ar na céimeanna úd a dúirt an Dr. Hillery, Garret FitzGerald agus an Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha i 1972 nach n-éireodh ar chor ar bith.

Nuair ba léir do rialtas an Ghearltaigh go raibh imní ar an bpobal faoin ghéilleadh ceannasaíochta breise seo chuir siad leabhán breá snasta 72 leathanach i mBéarla amháin (ar ndóigh) ar fáil thar oíche nach mór.

"An Explanatory Guide" atá anseo — ní Páipéar Bán ná dearbhú oscailte rialtais go bhfuil an súp sloghata acu le fada iad féin agus nach dteastaíonn uathu ach an dubh a chur ina gheall arís orainn mar a rinne rialtas Fhianna Fáil i 1972.

Chuir an Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha

freefón ar fáil freisin — ar chostas an phobail gan amhras. Ní raibh le déanamh ag fear bean nó páiste ar bith in áit ar bith sa stát ach gaoch ar "10" eolas faoin "Single European Act" a lorg, agus hey presto, ceanglaíodh tú le giolla sa Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha le díograis agus le héifeacht a chuirfeadh iontas an domhain ort dá dtarlódh sé i gcás fiosrúcháin de chineál ar bith eile ón phobal.

Mar bharr air sin ar fad, bhí an guth ar an taobh eile den líne breá sásta cóip den "Explanatory Guide" úd a sheoladh chugat saor in aisce ar chasadán an phoist. Nó dhá chóip. Nó scór má bhí rang scoile faoi do chúram. Ná luaitear airgead.

Dála lón an fhir ghnó, bhí an tseirbhís ar fad le fáil saor in aisce, fiú más cáin-íocóirí na tíre a bhí thíos leis an mbille i ndeireadh na dála.

Bhí dáileadh an eolais an babhta seo beagnach chomh sásúil leis an bhfeachtas aineolais a cuireadh ar bun roimh an reifreann i 1972. Cinnte, ní raibh aon dá thaobh ar an scéal má bhí greim le fanacht inár mbéal arís go deo. Trua nach mbíonn na rannóga stáit chomh héifeachtach céanna maidir le cúraim eile, dáileadh na bpingineacha suaracha Leasa Shóisialaigh um Nollaig gan trácht ar aon ní eile.

Mar a dúirt fear eile le Marian caithfidh go bhfuil cás mór éigin le ceilt ag an dream seo ó tharla iad a bheith chomh fial flaitiúil cuiditheach leis an "eolas" ar an ócáid seo.

— Tomás Ó Neachtain

REPUBLICANS AND IRISH

ATTITUDES

One of the most difficult things to explain to people who lack confidence in their competence in Irish is the importance of attitude.

When we speak about the supreme importance of the Irish language, we Republicans must be quite clear and emphatic as to what we are about. We aim at the reinstatement of Irish as the primary language of communication of the Irish people.

Now it is necessary to examine minutely what this aim entails. Put briefly it means that we will change our whole life-style and values. But such a change will not be simple or easy.

It is intended in this column to examine and explain what this change will entail and the methods needed to bring it about.

We should like to start off by discussing one word i.e. "attitudes". People's attitudes to Irish are formed by an amalgamation of many things which are often today described as "pressures".

Firstly, and most importantly there is the pressure of fear. "My Irish is very limited and I would be afraid to make a fool of myself" or "my grasp of grammar is too weak and I get confused" or "what I want to say is most important and I insist that it be understood clearly" etc., etc. The list is endless.

But why the fear? Perhaps if each of us examined this fear and faced up to it we might discover that there was no basic reason for it. Or perhaps we might discover that there was

nothing to fear barring fear itself. Is it not true that many others would be with us in the Republican Movement today if it were not for the same fear? How often have we heard it said that "I would join the Republican Movement but I'd be afraid?" And when further questioned what they would be afraid of, one finds that it is not fear of losing jobs or going to jail or such things, but fear of being derided or fear of being known to be different!

In other words what really must be explained to people who are afraid of Irish is that their fear can be eliminated if their attitudes change.

There are many other things that form our attitudes besides fear. We hope to discuss them in future articles.

One of the many things that colours our attitudes is the immensity of the task facing us. Starting the New Year we Republicans must not be daunted by the immensity of the task. We know from our history that our enemies have always tried to daunt us. It is certain in the old days that Norman Castles daunted some of our ancestors! Even the force of the language the Normans used was considered to be all powerful. But both their castles and their language, which at one time were all powerful in Ireland are not so any longer.

The task is not too big. It will be difficult but not impossible.

We suggest that the very difficulty of the task will in itself strengthen us for the achievement of all the aims and objectives which we Republicans have.

— Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí.

Letter from Long Kesh

Dear Sir,

In the general Republican tradition, there is no ambiguity. The Republic was proclaimed on Easter Monday 1916 and is to be effectively established; one, sovereign and independent. The Republic has been proclaimed and there can be no compromise.

To grant legitimacy, by any act, to any rival body would diminish the authority of that Republic.

One cannot follow Luther and adhere to Rome. One cannot be loyal to King George and remain a Jacobite. One cannot be a Bolshevik and oppose scientific socialism. By this same token one cannot maintain the legitimacy of the Republic of Easter 1916, while at the same time entering Leinster House with its partitionist mandate.

This is not a theological semanticism. It is a legal fact. Spain, for example, must never recognise "British Gibraltar" or "British Malvinas". Were they to do so their claims to sovereignty would disintegrate. That there is no immediate prospect of changing the status quo is beside the point.

So with the Republic of Easter 1916. To compromise it, is to deny it. What then of those who find themselves irrelevant through advocacy of this Republic? The choice is stark. If the support of the citizens of the 26 counties is not forthcoming one simply remains marginalised.

The only way to alter the situation it to obtain majority support for the Republic and for the party of the Republic. This gathering of support is all that can be done.

What cannot be done is to remain the party of the Republic while simultaneously working within its Leinster House rival. Dressing oneself in a flimsy garment of social concern, will not change this fact.

Challenge to Mallon

(Contd. from page 1).

particularly those regarding paid perjurers, cross-border incursions and the RUC."

The statement said that Republicans would not be impressed by Mr. Mallon's pleasure at the alleged dismantling of the supergrass system as they had known it. "Does he mean that he will accept a polished up, more sanitised version of the system? Is this his paying of dues for the Hillsborough pact?"

The statement concluded:

"Mr. Mallon is fully aware that the pact is designed, first and foremost, to strengthen the border, to preserve the loyalist veto to democracy and to draw together both governments to increase security and enact legislation to enable the defeat of the Republican struggle."

One cannot serve two masters nor can one enter a Free State parliament and claim not to have abandoned the Easter Republic.

Is it possible then to enter Leinster House and remain a revolutionary? Well, yes but only from a fundamentally different premise. Only on the basis of socialistically changing the existing rules of property and production might one do so. In short, by working openly to end economic pluralism.

In this case one's revolutionary credentials are measured by the radicalism of one's socialism.

One might well add here, that a party entering Leinster House with a timid social policy, (e.g. abortion) and a commitment to maintain pluralism can neither claim to be revolutionary in either the Fenian or the socialist mould.

It might well be the case that Republicanism of the Fenian variety with its dedication to the Easter Republic has outlived its usefulness. This Republic may be as obsolete as Hugh O'Neill's Gaelic Ireland. Time alone will answer this.

What can be said without waiting for time to pass is this. One cannot enter a partitionist parliament and retain a creditable claim to maintain, defend or establish the Republic of Easter 1916.

Tommy McKearney,
(H-Block 8),
Long Kesh.

Student Meeting

Republican Sinn Féin was represented at a recent meeting in St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, organised by the Students' Union to heighten the political awareness of the trainee teachers.

The well-attended gathering heard Ruairí Óg Ó Brádaigh outline the Republican position in the aftermath of the November Ard-Fheis and he stated that those who chose to attend Leinster House were recognising British constitutionalism in Ireland.

Fuair sé tacaíocht ón lucht éisteachta nuair a cháin sé na bacanna a chuir stát na 26 Chontae roimh bhunú Gaelscoileanna i rith 1986.

A lively debate on the national question took place and support for the establishment of a United Ireland as the first step in tackling the nation's ills was forthcoming from the floor.

Ruairí Óg Ó Brádaigh stressed that one of the conditions necessary for true political awareness to develop was public access to all points of view. This could not happen while Section 31 prohibited the Republican message from the airwaves.

TALLAGHT STRIKE CONTINUES

Nine hundred and sixty employees of Packard Electric in Tallaght, Co. Dublin, a subsidiary of General Motors, walked out on January 9 last when they discovered that their work had been done by management over the Christmas period.

Already an official strike was due to begin on January 17 because negotiations over the 26th wage round could not be agreed on. The management were demanding a 'disciplinary clause' and a 'no-strike clause' plus twelve other points covering new work practices and major shift changes.

In return the workers were offered an unspecified bonus scheme, a 2½ per cent wage increase from July 1986 and an extra 2½ per cent from January 1987.

Both trade unions involved, the ATGWU and the IT&GWU rejected the offer and, no doubt as an indication of how they intend to 'negotiate' in the future, management, supported by around 100 Gardaí forcibly removed material from the factory in the early hours of Sunday morning January 11, despite the presence of some 15 people on picket duty.

At a meeting of the strike committee in a local Tallaght school on Thursday, February 2 it was stated the previous day's meeting in the Labour Court was marred by management's continued demand for the introduction of the disciplinary clause and the no-strike clause.

Secondary picketing is now being organised to highlight the strike and bring further pressure to bear on the Packard management. The striking workers have organised well and have set up social welfare and roster committees and their morale is extremely high.

Republican Sinn Féin wish the strikers every success and call on anyone in a position to help them to do so, as the issue at stake has far-reaching consequences for other groups of workers.

Co. Down Patriot Honoured

Almost 100 Republicans joined members of the McNulty family at Republican Sinn Féin's commemoration of IRA volunteer Peter McNulty at his graveside in Bryonsford Cemetery, Co. Down, on Sunday, January 25 to mark the 15th anniversary of the patriot's death which occurred on January 26, 1972.

The parade, including many who travelled from South Armagh, Louth and further afield was led to the graveside by lone piper Pauric Rooney where the ceremony was introduced by Councillor Eamon Larkin, Comhairle Uladh chairman.

After the laying of wreaths on behalf of RSF Cumainn in South Down and the McNulty family, Councillor Larkin introduced Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí who delivered an oration fitting to the memory of one of Ireland's proudest sons.