

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 10 FEABHRA - FEBRUARY

25p

LAISTIGH

Paul O'Dwyer attacks Robert Russell Extradition Verdict: page 3

White Australia has a Black history: Page 4.

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BRITISH INJUSTICE DAMNS HILLSBOROUGH DEAL

THE HILLSBOROUGH Security Pact of November 1985 and the 26-county state's Extradition legislation and court decisions which follow from it stand condemned in the face of the Stalker/Sampson affair and the refusal of the appeal of the Birmingham Six.

To allow the six men's appeal would have "undermined the institutions of the British state", it would mean the discrediting of the original trial judge who is now a Law Lord as well as the original defence barrister (now a judge) and exposing the police and prison officers' brutality.

Any investigation into the shoot-to-kill actions in the Six Counties could not be allowed in the public interest and because of the threat to 'National Security'. In plain words if any prosecutions were instituted the senior RUC men would 'bring the house down' (Evening Press, Feb. 3). This would lead directly to M15/M16 and ultimately to 10 Downing Street, London.

Gerald Barry has referred to the fact that "Britain ruthlessly and relentlessly pursues its own interests at the expense of all others" (Sunday Tribune January 31). This simply re-echoes the old quotation that Britain has 'neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies - only permanent interests'; and Britain's interest here is to keep Ireland divided and weak and securely in Britain's pocket.

178 CIVILIANS KILLED

When asked on RTE why the British had not consulted with the Dublin government in deciding not to prosecute anyone or publish the Stalker/Sampson report, Tory spokesperson Michael Mates replied sharply "so

that you could order us what to do?". The mask had slipped momentarily

The British Occupation forces have been responsible for at least 178 shoot-to-kill incidents involving civilians between 1969 and July 1985 (see Shoot to Kill Appendix A Mercier Press, 1985).

The roots of the latest incidents go back to 1979 when the SAS trained ex-British Army RUC men such as Constable John Robinson.

Within a few weeks of the Sinn Féin successes in the 1982 October Stormont Assembly elections the right-wing death squads killed election worker Peter Corrigan in

Armagh City.

RUC DEATH SQUAD

The official follow up by the RUC death squad was the killing of Gervaise McKerr, Eugene Toman and Seán Burns in Lurgan on November 11. Michael Tighe was shot dead on November 24 in the same area and Martin McCauley badly wounded.

Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll died in a hail of bullets on December 12 in Armagh City. The objectives of these murders were to tighten the British grip in the North and to bolster up the morale of pro-British elements.



SEAMUS GREW

RODDY CARROLL

MICHAEL TIGHE

GERVAISE MCKERR

SEAN BURNS

EUGENE TOMAN

PARALLELS.. 1920

THE Lord Mayor of Cork Tomás Mac Curtáin was murdered in his own home on March 20, 1920 and on April 18 the Inquest Jury returned the following verdict:

"We find . . . that the murder was organised and carried out by the British government and we return a verdict of wilful murder against David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England; Lord French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Ian MacPherson, late Chief Secretary of Ireland; Acting Inspector-General Smith of the Royal Irish Constabulary; Divisional Inspector Clayton of the RIC; District Inspector Swanzy and some unknown members of the RIC."

1921

IN March, 1921, the Mayor and former Mayor of Limerick were similarly murdered in their own homes by an official British Crown Forces murder gang.

and refuse to renew it next November.

TOTALLY IN BRITAIN'S INTEREST

As SAOIRSE has said repeatedly, Hillsborough is simply a Security Pact to integrate Free State forces into the British war machine in the Six Occupied Counties and everything else about it consists simply of frills and trappings to divert and delude the credulous.

That Hillsborough is a one-way street, totally in Britain's interest, has been amply demonstrated during the last week in January. STOP EXTRADITION NOW and END THE HILLSBOROUGH DEAL!

As with France's dirty war in Algeria and the USA's in Vietnam Britain's involvement in Ireland is corrupting their own institutions at home.

COLLUSION POLICY

The Dublin government has once again given everything in concession to Britain and got nothing in return. Now their collusion policy has blown up in their faces.

Gay Byrne on RTE Radio (Feb. 3) asked what could the Dublin government do - "send a gunboat?" What it can do immediately in concrete terms, is stop political extradition, suspend the Hillsborough Deal now

As well as the civic heads, Sinn Féin judges were frequent targets of these official murder gangs.

1969

SAMUEL DEVENNY, Derry city, was brutally beaten by the RUC in April, 1969, and died of injuries received three months later.

An English police official was sent over to investigate the case. A group of RUC men refused to give an account of their conduct to him and remained silent. They were not disciplined in any way and were allowed to remain in the force.

BALLYNANTY NEGLECT

LIMERICK CORPORATION is continually receiving complaints from residents of Shanaboley Road, Ballynanty, concerning the condition of their homes. The central issues are rat-infestation, rotting doors and windows, damp walls and a general lack of maintenance work.

"I cannot let my children play in either my front or back gardens because of the rats," SAOIRSE was told by Mr. Chris O'Dwyer who resides in Shanaboley Road with his wife and two young children. "You can hear them at night trying to claw their way up through the floorboards", he continued. The evidence is there for all to see. His garden is littered with rat-holes, including one under his front window where the rodents are attempting to get in under the floor.

pital after a stroke in early December. He was told that he would be rehoused within 15 days. He is still waiting to be moved.

Meanwhile another resident, a deserted wife, is withholding rent in support of her demand to be rehoused.

At the same time Mr. Jack Higgins (the new City Manager) has been quoted as saying that "from now on residents will be responsible for their own repairs." Even somebody on Mr. Higgins' wages could not pay for all the repairs necessary. If he was honest he would admit that the cause of the present situation is the lack of resources given to the corporations' maintenance section.

This has been a political decision over the years by various corporations. Yet these very same politicians who sat on these oodles when this neglect was allowed to take root make a big play of writing to corporation housing officials on the tenants' behalf.

These are the politicians who were able to vote money for the elitist 'Civic Week' and other functions while allowing people to live in substandard accommodation.

Mr. Higgins and the local establishment politicians should now listen to the residents' demands to be rehoused as soon as possible and for the flats to be demolished as unfit for human habitation.



CHRIS O'Dwyer points to a rat-hole in his garden.

SAOIRSE QUIZ NO.1

1. WHO is the President of Republican Sinn Féin ?
First correct entry drawn will receive £25. Entry fee 50p - 3 entries £1. Send your correct answers with name and address to SAOIRSE Quiz, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2, not later than last day of each month.
2. ON what day of his hunger strike did Bobby Sands die ?
3. WHERE is Michael Gaughan buried ?

SAVE BARRINGTONS

THE CAMPAIGN to save Limerick's Barrington's Hospital is still gaining momentum with over 25,000 people turning out on the streets to protest against this ill-conceived closure. All local Leinster House politicians are loud in their condemnation of the minister's decision.

has responded in his typical vote-catching fashion and played the religious card by vigorously defending the bishop. Mr. Noonan had previously used this cynical technique to good effect during the abortion and divorce referenda.

The Labour Party have introduced a motion in Leinster House calling for the hospital to be kept open. If all the so-called opposition parties came together on this the government would be beaten and you would have the possibility of **Fianna Fáil, the Extradition Party, going to the country.**

Willie O'Dea (FF) is attempting to divert attention from his party's role in the closure by attacking the Bishop of Limerick, Jeremiah Newman for his alleged interference in the issue.

Local opinion has it that the bishop interfered to prevent the smaller, more elite, St. John's Hospital (run by nuns) from being closed.

Michael Noonan (FG)

However, the last time this type of situation occurred the alleged opposition only exposed their own duplicity. Each party produced its own amendments to the anti-cuts motion and while laugh-



25,000 protest against closure in the 26 Counties' history.

ingly protesting that they were against the cuts, they refused to support each others' amendments.

The result being that a government defeat was avoided and the chance for the electorate to pass judgement on their manoeuvrings was avoided.

Limerick Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin, in a statement, said of these events:

"Far from being a minority government the people are faced with the biggest unofficial Coalition

in the 26 Counties' history.

"The majority of Leinster House members are doing moral and political gymnastics to avoid an election.

"They know that the public knows that these cuts cannot go ahead if the opposition parties really opposed them. In common with the majority of reasonable people on this island we in Republican Sinn Féin eagerly look forward to the day of judgement for these hypocrites on election day."

EAGRAÍOCHT

THE AGM of Comhairle Cúige Laighean was held on Janury 31 last. The following officers were elected for the coming year:

- Cathaoirleach**
Paddy Kerr, Co. Lú
- Leas-Chathaoirleach/OCP**
Seamus Leonard, BAC Rúnaí
- Máire Ní Mhuineacháin,**
BAC
- Cisteoir**
Niall Ó Faogáin, Co. na Mí Oideachas
- Denis Lavelle, Co. Lú**
- Ard Chomhairle Delegates**
Paddy Kerr
- Niall Ó Faogáin**

Sunday, December 6 last. The Officer Board elected were as follows:

- Cathaoirleach**
Tom Sullivan,
- Co. Thiobraid Árann**
Rúnai
- Alfie McAvoy, Corcaigh**
- John Ryan,**
- Co. Thiobraid Árann**
Oideachas
- Tom Malone**
- Co. Thiobraid Árann**
OCP
- Emer O'Connort,**
Luimneach
- Eagraí**
- Des Long, Luimneach**
- Ard Chomhairle Delegates**
Tom Malone
- Alfie McAvoy**

Comhairle Cúige na Mumhan held its AGM on

JOIN RSF

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

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Seoladh.....

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Or contact your local paper seller for details

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Bloody Sunday Remembered



• On Saturday January 30, Republican Sinn Féin held a successful demonstration outside the British Embassy-cum-spy centre in Dublin, to commemorate the 14 people murdered and the 28 people wounded by the British parachute regiment, in Derry, on Sunday, January 30 1972. Approximately thirty people took part in the two-hour demonstration, near the end of which a Union Jack flag was burned.

Loyalist Assassination Bid

THE Nationalist Night-mare continued in the Glens of Antrim when at approx. 2.30am on the morning of Thursday, December 24 last, two armed and masked Loyalist gunmen broke into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Maybin of Kemp Park, Ballycastle.

They broke into the bed-

rooms looking for Mr. and Mrs. Maybin's son, shouting "Where is the bastard?", threatened to shoot Mr. Maybin as he lay in bed, and terrorised Mrs. Maybin and their handicapped daughter.

Failing to find the Maybin's son, who luckily was not in the house, they left and calmly walked down the street to a waiting stolen car and drove off. Young

Mr. Maybin has been forced to leave the Ballycastle area, the family having being told by the RUC that that was the best thing to do.

Terror of this kind is not new to the Maybin family. They were forced to leave Larne in September 1972 when Loyalist mobs burned down their home in John Street.

Treaty Mark 2

THE 'Anglo-Irish Agreements' 1921 and 1985 were both attempts by Britain to get the Irish people to defeat themselves when she had failed to do so herself, said Pat Sweeney, Sligo, at a Republican Sinn Féin function in Atheny, Co. Galway on Sunday, January 24 last.

Referring to Liam Mellows, who organised Republicans in that area of Co. Galway to resist British rule in 1916, Mr. Sweeney said:

"It was Irishmen, with British guns, who took Mellows and his comrades out on a December morning in 1922 and shot them without charges or trial.

"The same Free State-style government that today will use any excuse to turn the screws on fellow Irishmen and women who do not accept the

right of a foreign power to occupy their native land.

"They will use incidents like Enniskillen to carry out a massive house-to-house, field by field, search of the country, invading homes at the command of their British masters and showing to the world how far they will go to protect British occupation of this country.

"But let us all stop and think: it was Brigadier-General Kitson who advised the British government to get the Irish resist-

ance divided to get the Irish to beat themselves. So it is with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, mark 2, Extradition and sell-outs.

"Liam Mellows was right when he warned in the Treaty Debate in 1921 that if people turned away from the All-Ireland Republic there could never be unity; there could be nothing only concession after concession and compromise after compromise."

The function was a great success with a good attendance from local people who expressed their agreement with the content of the speaker's address.

Antrim Raids

ON THE morning of Monday, January 11 a number of Nationalist homes in the Ballycastle and Ballintoy areas were raided by the RUC. Two men, Patrick McAuley and Seamus Breslin, were arrested and taken to Castlereagh Detention Centre, Belfast for questioning, held for four days and then released.

Nothing changes for Nationalists in the Six Counties.

DE-RATE OCCUPIED LAND CALL

NEWRY AND ARMAGH District Council's Finance and General Purposes Committee discussed a motion on January 25 last from Councillor Eamonn Larkin, Leas-Uachtarán, Republican Sinn Féin, calling on the council to support the beleaguered farmers of South Armagh against the onslaught of the British Occupation Forces who have taken their land at gun-point.

The motion read "that this council calls on the Department of Environment Rating Division, to de-rate all properties in the vicinity of British Army 'Look-out posts' within the Council area".

It was unanimously passed, with the SDLP members doing a U-turn on their 1985 decision to vote against a similar motion.

Councillor Larkin called for the Council to support the people of South Armagh in their demands for the removal of all British military establishments and outposts including those on Cloughogue, Foughill and Forkhill mountains and at Glassdrummond, Crievekieran, Drummuckawall and Fathom. These forts were what the Hillsborough

Deal had brought to South Armagh, he said.

He condemned the wanton destruction of houses, ditches, gardens, fences, lands and livestock by British Army foot-patrols, low-flying helicopters and by radioactive surveillance equipment in the British forts.

Republican Sinn Féin in the area support the farmers' demands for compensation for damages. And the de-rating of lands and property taken from them by Crown Forces until such time as the cruel occupation ends.



O'DWYER ATTACKS EXTRA-DITION

PAUL O'DWYER, the noted human rights lawyer and former New York City Council President and Democratic Party Senate candidate, has criticised the pro-Extradition verdict of the 26-county Supreme Court by a 3-2 majority verdict in the Robert Russell case on Tuesday, January 19 last.

In a statement to SAOIRSE Mr. O'Dwyer said that the decision obliterates the political exception clause and the fundamental concept of asylum upheld by many nations, including the British in regard to their own citizens.

It would be seen by lawyers around the world as a serious reflection on the system of justice in the 26 Counties, he said. The full text of his statement on January 20, while Mr. O'Dwyer was in Dublin for the funeral of Seán Mac Bride, reads:

"I have difficulty in following the majority opinion in the Russell case. In effect it obliterates the political exception clause from the law as well as the concept of asylum which has been the fundamental rule in so many nations and which has so clearly been enunciated by the British courts in the landmark *Castioni* case.

Furthermore, the Chief Justice's assurance that persons extradited will not be brutalised in Northern Ireland is not based on any believable evidence. As pointed out by the dissenting justices the evidence coming from all other prisoners similarly charged that they were beaten stands uncontradicted.

I believe this decision when read by lawyers everywhere will be seen as a serious reflection on the system of justice here prevailing.

On the other hand the dissenting Justices Heder-mann and McCarthy have followed a proud tradition in so many civilised countries which hold sacred the individual God-given rights of the citizen."

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

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

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

Did the man never hear of John Stalker?

— RSF's *Republican Bulletin* p. 1, Dec. 1986

The Anglo-Irish Agreement was based on the colonial policy of offering the natives a mixture of beads, baubles and brutality.

—Belfast Newsletter editorial
January 16, 1988

For the first time in 26 months the Anglo-Irish Accord is in real danger.

—Chris Glennon, Political Correspondent, *Irish Independent*, after the Sampson-Stalker inquiry whitewash.

NATO MAN

FINE Gael TD Mr. Gay Mitchell has called for a 're-definition of this country's neutrality' and for the 26 Counties to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation military alliance.

Mr. Mitchell made his comments in a speech at University College Galway on January 18 last. Repub-

lican Sinn Féin warned during the SEA campaign in May last year that a "common foreign policy with 11 other states who are all members of the NATO military alliance, means inevitably a common defence policy". This process is now well under way.

Republican SINN FEIN Poblachtach, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL APPEAL.

Republican Sinn Féin remains the only bastion of Republicanism in Ireland.

At no time was your help needed more than during the present British onslaught on Irish National integrity and dignity. We therefore appeal to our comrades at home and abroad to financially support our efforts.

All donations to: National Finance Committee, Republican Sinn Féin Poblachtach, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2.

FREE STATERS — IRISH TRAITORS

PART 1 — 1922

FOR THE benefit of those of our readers who are too young to recall, and who have not learned the full story of the Free State in the revisionist history books prescribed in schools, SAOIRSE asked veteran Republican Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh to outline the policies and actions of successive 26-county governments from 1922 to the present day.

It is a story of those who crave power for its own sake, who became servants of British imperialism under a new guise and coerced their fellow-Irishmen who strove to restore the democracy of all the Irish people in a free, 32-county Ireland.

WHEN the Treaty of Surrender was signed in 1922 and divided Ireland into two colonial States, the 26 Counties being titled the Irish Free State and the six north-eastern counties titled the Stormont or Six-county state, a campaign of terror and harassment was started against the Irish people which has continued up to the present day.

It is the story of this campaign of terror in the Free State that these articles deal with.

After the signing of the Treaty the Irish Republican Army declared itself loyal to the Irish Republic of Easter 1916 and ratified by the Declaration of Independence of 1919. The IRA also declared that they would continue to bear arms in defence of that Republic until such time as it would govern the whole 32 Counties of Ireland without interference from any foreign nation.

FOUR COURTS OCCUPIED

The IRA occupied the Four Courts of Dublin and set up Headquarters there. The Free State Government was then controlled

by the Cumann na nGael party, in the early 1930s changed to Fine Gael as they felt the old name smelled too much of all the blood of the Irish people which they had shed in 1922 — 23, but as the old saying goes *painting the house does not change the structure*. William Cosgrave (senior) was the head of this government.

The Free Staters received orders from the British Government that they were to end the occupation of the Four Courts by the IRA Executive and that if they did not that the British themselves would. They still had a large force of troops and

military equipment in Ireland and they agreed to give the States any equipment they required to throw the IRA out of the Four Courts, including artillery.

BRITISH ARTILLERY

The States then opened the assault on the Four Courts with British artillery stationed at the top of Winetavern Street. This was the start of what is often referred to as the 'Civil War' but which was in fact a continuation of the Irish War of Independence — the only difference being that the Free Staters were now fighting the British part of the war.

AUSTRALIA — A BLACK HISTORY

By Ruairí Ó Conchúir

AUSTRALIA, the vast yet thinly populated island continent in the southern hemisphere is this year remembering the historic landing of 736 prisoners in chains and their guards, the first white settlers in 1788. This event is regarded rather differently by one group of Australians who find very little to celebrate.

In the 200 years since that day in 1788 the invading peoples with white skins have succeeded in almost exterminating the native Aborigines who have inhabited that land for 40,000 years.

On Tuesday 26 last when the actual second anniversary of this landing was being marked two incidents occurred which highlighted what is not a cause for celebration.

Aborigine rights supporters marched on Downing Street in London to protest at the robbery of the natives' homeland by British settlers and to demand that Australian politicians be pressed to sign a treaty with the original owners. Meanwhile Burnum Burnum, an Aborigine himself, raised a flag on the cliffs of Dover 'claiming it for his people' in order to ridicule the idea of a country being claimed by any invading group of people.

At Farm Cove where the actual landing took place the authorities were forced to cancel a re-enactment because Aborigines were gathering to make their protest in front of world-wide media coverage.

600,000 DIED

When the first Europeans arrived on the continent it is estimated that there were around 300,000 Aborigines living a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. By the 1940s there were only 45,000 remaining. Some 600,000 had died in the intervening period of British colonialism.

The bloodshed was so

concerned that it is amazing that there are any Aborigines left at all. Regarded by the early white settlers as mere animals and non-persons it is barely surprising that their numbers fell. They were not even recognised in the eyes of the law as Australian citizens, their non-people status remaining, until the 1960s.

The Negritos, the Aborigines of Tasmania were not so lucky. Hunted like wolves in their own land, they were completely exterminated, the last native dying in 1876.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Their living conditions have deteriorated in many other ways since coming into contact with the European whites. Diseases such as smallpox, influenza, measles, chickenpox and tuberculosis proved fatal to the Aborigines who had no natural defences to such infections. Biblical diseases such as trachoma also broke out amongst the natives even though they were long since eradicated among European whites. These

diseases still kill Aborigines, especially children.

Ninety per cent of them live in dire poverty, often on government 'reserves' (settlements) or missions run by religious orders. Others, unable to maintain their traditional way of life, have been reduced to squatting in hovels on the edge of towns. Some still maintain their traditional way of life in more remote areas.

They constitute a Third World society within a First World economy, with huge rates of unemployment, alcoholism, suicide, malnutrition, infant mortality and sub-standard housing conditions.

Aborigines today make up about 80,000 out of the total population of 16 million in Australia. There are a greater percentage of blacks in jail in the country than in South Africa. Between 90 and 100 have died in police custody in the last few years, a scandal that has forced the setting up of a Royal Commission of inquiry.

The visit by members of the British royal family has emphasised for many Australians the bloody legacy of colonialism in their country and many of them regret this association with colonial values. King George III did not wave off the penal prisoners at Portsmouth in the 1780s as Queen Elizabeth did with the 'royal visitors' this year. The whole episode is certainly an insult to the Aborigines and led to a scathing quip from Nobel prize-winning Australian author, Patrick



Map showing modern Aboriginal population distribution.

White, "Will the royal goons be here for most of the year?", he wondered.

ATOMIC BOMB

In the 1950s the Liberal Prime Minister Menzies allowed the British to explode an atomic bomb at Taranaki Western Australia, an unheard of incident for a supposedly sovereign state. As well as this there were 5-600 Aborigines on site when the blast took place. No effort was made to warn them or clear the area. The survivors are still suffering the effects of this explosion.

The area is now wasteland and the British subsequently refused to clear it up or pay compensation.

CIA AGENTS

This episode, and the CIA/US and British in-

volvement in the politics of Australia shows that the colonial status of Australia remains in fact.

In November 1975 Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister demanded the names of the CIA agents operating in the country. Under CIA and MIS pressure and rumours of Whitlam being a danger to 'National Security' the Government-General dismissed the Prime Minister, in a coup which was on a par with the toppling of Allende in Chile in 1973.

CIA DECLARED FOR HAWKE

In March 1976 the CIA declared Bob Hawke (the present PM) to be the best candidate to succeed Whitlam as head of the Labour party.

U.S.A. 12 BASES

A concrete move to break with this imperialism would be to follow the example of New Zealand and place a ban on nuclear weapons on Australia's land and seas. At present the USA have 12 bases in the country.

LAND RIGHTS THE KEY

Meanwhile the key question for the Aborigines is the restoration of land rights. In a 1967 national referendum Australians voted in favour of doing justice to the Aborigines. Since then however the various states have done little to implement this. A more worthy objective after 200 years of oppression would be hard to find.

AUSTRALIA

After a gallant defence the garrison of the Four Courts were forced to surrender and the IRA took to the country and engaged in guerrilla war.

FREE STATE MURDERS

Early in December 1922 two Free State TDs were shot in the streets of Dublin and on December 8 four Republican prisoners were murdered as a reprisal. Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett and Joe McKeveley who had been taken prisoners after the surrender of the Four Courts the previous summer and had been held prisoners in Mountjoy Jail in Dublin since, were taken from their cells on the morning of December 8 and without any form of trial whatsoever were shot by a Free State firing party in the jail yard.

Since the four had been in Mountjoy since the previous summer they could not have taken any part in the shooting of the TDs in Dublin a few days previously but that made no difference for someone

had to die and they were the men chosen. They were only the first of many who were to follow.

STATERS SHÓT 77 MEN

Shortly after this the Free State Government made an order that any person captured while carrying arms was to be executed without trial. 77 men in all were to be shot by the Staters under this order during the following 18 months, including Erskine Childers who was captured while in possession of a miniature revolver which had been presented to him by Michael Collins prior to the signing of the Treaty.

Apart from these 77 who were officially murdered there were countless unofficial murders by the Staters all over the 26 Counties. The full list of the names of these men is too long to give here but is to be found in the *Last Post* the book published by the National Graves Association (third edition available in Siopa na Pob-

lacha, Price £10). To mention but a few, Noel Lemass murdered in the Featherbed Mountains in Dublin and the Fianna Boys Cole and Colley also murdered in Drumcondra.

Hundreds of others died while in active service against the Free Staters. Many more died in prison, some being shot, some dying on hunger strike, some dying due to the poor food and general conditions. In Kerry two of the first British mass murderers were to take place.

BALLYSEEDY MASS MURDERS

At Ballyseedy Cross, prisoners were brought from the old Hospital in Tralee (which was being used as a holding place for prisoners at the time). They were tied to a tree which had been felled on the road at Ballyseedy, a land mine placed under it and they were blown to eternity. A similar deed was carried out at Countess Bridge, Killarney.

(to be continued)



• (clockwise from bottom left) Dick Barrett, Rory O'Connor, Joe McKeveley and Liam Mellows. The Free State Executive Council is pictured beneath them.

AN GHAOTH ANIAR — The Wind from the West, is a column of historical, political and occasional philosophical commentary from the perspective of the West of Ireland or from the perspective of the land to the west of the West of Ireland. The first two articles contributed by the author, Mac Dara, examine the concept of Irish national sovereignty evidenced in the policies and actions of Brian Boru in the Ireland of over a millennium ago.

AT THE BEGINNING of the second millennium of the Christian Era there were certain assumptions in international law which were held throughout Christendom. One was that the Pope in Rome was the apostolic successor to Saint Peter and Vicar of Christ. As such he represented not only the supreme spiritual power on earth, but could also function as the ultimate arbiter in temporal disputes.

In the temporal sphere, Constantine's empire had split in two and the supreme temporal power in Europe was divided between Henry in Bavaria for the West and Basil in Constantinople for the East. All other temporal rulers, kings, princes, dukes, counts, barons, imperial knights, etc. were subordinate to one of these two emperors. The only possible exceptions were nations which had never been subject to Roman rule (either by Constantine in the fourth century or by Charlemagne in the ninth). Ireland and the Irish lay outside the commonly accepted definition of the extent of Roman temporal authority.



Brian Boru, in addition to being an Irish 'rebel' against the acceptance of foreign authority in Ireland, a masterful military general and a superb politician, also had a classical education. His scholarship enabled him to adapt the tactics of Alexander to the military needs of the Irish and to appreciate the importance of explicit recognition of the sovereign independence of the Irish nation in the international law of the day.

Cultural anthropologists find little use in the annals of ecclesiastical institutions, for such books only recorded the unusual events and assume a knowledge of the daily rule and routine. In the year 1004, Brian Boru, High King of Ireland, made a pilgrimage to the See of Patrick at Armagh. In formal recognition of the primacy over All Ireland of the Archbishop of Armagh, Brian placed as an offering on the altar (of what is now the Church of Ireland cathedral — which holds his earthly remains), the kingly sum of twenty ounces of gold.

The Primate, for his part, received and consecrated the Aird Rí, whereupon Brian caused his scribe, Maolsuthian ua Cearbhaill, to record the events in the Book of Armagh including the visit of 'Brian Imperatoris Scotorum.'

THE TERM *Imperatoris Scotorum* is the Latin for Emperor of the Irish. It is particularly significant that Brian should cause this term to be inscribed in the book of Armagh rather than what had been the accepted translation: *Rex Hiberniae* — King of Ireland.

An Ghaoth Aniar — Mac Dara



As much as his purpose in establishing the legitimacy of his temporal supremacy among the Irish is the often overlooked fact that he was consciously playing to a larger audience than merely those Irish leaders who questioned/doubted his own legitimacy.

The other purpose for this inscription — *Imperatoris Scotorum* — in the Book of Armagh was to make explicit in international law what was already implicit and taken for granted by the Irish nation, and that was that the Irish neither are nor should be subject to any higher temporal power.

It was from the representative of the ultimate arbiter, the Supreme Pontiff, that Brian secured such recognition not only for his own legitimacy as High King of Ireland, but also for the sovereign independence of the Irish nation. Now through the agency of the Pope's man in Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, there were three Emperors in Christendom: Basil for the East, Henry for the West and Brian for the Irish.

Irish — Cuid a dó Sovereignty

THE AMERICAN Declaration of Independence of the Fourth of July 1776, is generally regarded as one of the greatest and most revolutionary political documents of all times. Yet in writing to Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, in 1825, Thomas Jefferson (a Virginian of Welsh ancestry) insisted that there was nothing in the Declaration that was not already the accepted philosophy of that generation of American patriots.

His purpose was, "but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent . . . an expression of the American mind . . . harmonising the sentiments of the day . . ." The natural rights philosophy, a part of Western thought at least since Aristotle and refined by Aquinas, was restated, with as John Adams put it, a "peculiar felicity of expression," for "a candid world."

Some seven hundred and seventy-two years earlier, Brian Boru, according to the practice of the time, stated the common sense of the matter of Irish independence. It wasn't so much that Brian was stating any new ideas so much as that he was finding a new international legal expression for what had been a fact of history and a basic assumption in Irish political thought for more than a millennium.



Analogously, Brigadier Sam Griffith's history of the American Revolution is entitled, *In Defence of the Public Liberty*, for that is what most of those Americans whom the English styled 'rebels' thought that they were about.

Although general acceptance of the 'Donation of Constantine' as a precedent in international law did not survive the fifteenth century, that fact does not diminish the act of Brian, *Imperatoris Scotorum*, (over half-a-century before the Norman invasion of England) securing explicitly, in the international law of his day, recognition of the separate sovereign independence of the Irish nation, a separate existence which ante-dates the Christian Era.

LITREACHA

REPUBLICAN
CONGRESS
CALL

Comrades,

As a Republican Prisoner it was heartening to read in your New Year message of the commitment to the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic by Republicans.

However, although we may refer to the fact that we are still here despite the massive machines we have struggled against for almost twenty years as Republicans none of us can be happy with the progress we have made towards our objective to date. The commitment and desire for the Republic cannot be doubted but in view of our lack of progress the question must be asked just how exactly do we intend to realise it.

It is probably true that this same question has been asked repeatedly in the past by many Republicans at various times and in different places. The irony is that this question is as relevant today as it was at any other time it was posed and will remain relevant until such times as our answer can be measured against the real progress it produces.

Even the most cursory glance at present day Irish society North and South will reveal to all but the blind, an unhappy, problemated society.

Widespread unemployment, low-paid employment, emigration, attacks on the health service, education and welfare benefits, state oppression of dissenters North and

South are but a few of the problems any of us wake up to each morning. The struggle to overcome such problems is the daily burden of thousands upon thousands of Irish people be they students, unemployed, small farmers or pensioners.

But despite so many problems and amidst so much struggle it must be said that we can point to no real measure of progress or substantive change in the quality of life of our people. What we can point to is the disunity of all the struggles taking place within our country and as Republicans having a responsibility to our people we can only conclude from this that we have failed and are continuing to fail the Irish people by the simple fact that we have not united them in struggle.

When we search then for a reason which would explain our lack of progress towards the Republic it may well be in this area where we have failed to bind together the struggle of our people that we will find it. If this be the case then the immediate and pressing task of all Republicans should be to devise a mechanism whereby all struggling sections of Irish society can combine into a cohesive whole capable of generating the necessary momentum and force, required to bring about social change.

For this to happen we must be willing to set aside differences that may exist between us in the knowledge that we share a lot in common and above all respect the right of the individual Irish man or woman to choose how

he/she intends to engage in life's struggle and with whom. Failure to come together because of sectional or party interest can help no one but the enemies of Ireland and block the path to the Republic.

It is not the intention of this writer to presume to lecture Republicans who have struggled just as long and just as hard as anyone for the ideal of a New Ireland. It is my intention however, to call upon you in a genuine Republican spirit to give serious consideration to the proposal presented by the group of Republican Prisoners in the LCR calling for the formation of a Republican Congress.

The idea of a Congress may well be the ideal vehicle through which the present fragmented struggles of the Irish people can be combined and directed purposefully. As the prisoners have stressed over a prolonged period involvement in a Congress is not at the expense of party principle or party obscurity and when one considers the task in hand there is great logic and common sense in working together.

To remain apart is to struggle apart and no matter how noble the convictions of the respective groups and organisations in our land without a collective and systematic effort on their part we can expect no more in 1988 than we achieved in 1987.

J. Moran,
POW,
Derry.

ADAMS/HUME
TALKS

A chara,

In the wake of Fr. Dennis Faul's pre-Christmas outburst: 'I'd love to see Adams calling a halt to offensive actions and I'd

love to see the Brits letting out a load of prisoners...that would make a perfect Christmas,' and very recently, Gerry Adams' own personal admission to himself alone holding the power to 'call a halt to the armed struggle if there were conditions in which there could be total demilitarisation of the situation and an end to offensive action by all military or armed organisations', it is not now surprising to witness the official initiation of Adams/Hume talks.

Mr. Adams himself, also recently recognised the political entity of 'Northern Ireland' and now we are told that the leadership of his party 'is expected to give him the go-ahead (officially next month) to have more talks with the SDLP leader, John Hume, in order to 'further probe ways of breaking the political deadlock in 'Northern Ireland'.

We are also told that during the talks, (January 11, 1988) 'Adams made clear to Hume, his party's position regarding the armed struggle'. But one asks, since Adams has autocratically claimed to be the sole power-player behind calling 'a halt to the armed struggle' have the other members of his party, now, any further dictate, regarding the party's position?

It is reported that there is now much concern among party members because of the 'speculation that a ceasefire was discussed.' But perhaps, to lessen the smart of the wound, (or pour more salt on it, depending on one's point of view!) party leaders commented, 'if you talk about a ceasefire, you talk to the IRA.'

However, the doubtful members may look for guidance to Father Faul, who because he has 'detected hopeful signs of a change of

emphasis in recent statements' coming from the Adams' party has now offered his services to the Provos 'if they are serious about working for a permanent end to violence'. 'The only way to stop it is to wind the whole thing down', commented the ever-so-helpful priest.

We must realise that what really conspired behind those closed doors on Monday January 11 was nothing other than an additional act of treachery against any progress that has been already made towards the establishment of the Republic.

Adams himself, when writing in 1985 about the split in the Republican Movement in 1970, (which led to the creation of the 'Stickers' now the Workers Party) stated, 'At that time, the IRA leadership had decided to abandon the armed struggle and then decided to drop abstentionism...setting the movement on the path of constitutionality. They changed their basic positions in a major ideological somersault and were involved in a new departure'.

'Everyone must realise', says Fr. Faul, 'that there is a legitimate place for the politicians of Adams' party, but not while they are pursuing violence'. So perhaps, John Hume, while engaging in talks with Adams, sees himself as saviour, having a political right and even a dutiful obligation to assist the Adams' party to move in the right direction, ie as the SDLP define it, 'away from the futile and senseless support for IRA violence'.

Surely Republicans must view the Adams/Hume talks as being a preparatory meeting in aid of a furtherance of progress towards the future participation of constitutional nationalists in a new assembly for 'Northern Ireland'. In conclusion, history certainly is repeating itself, and faster by far,

than is usual in Ireland.

Maighréad Murphy,
Armagh.

CHURCHS'
DISCREDIT

A chara,

It is sometimes forgotten that the Catholic Hierarchy was at one time very much opposed to the mutilation of our country.

In July 1916, Dr. McHugh, Bishop of Derry, referred to partition as Lloyd George's "nefarious scheme" and sharply criticised those in favour of acceptance.

Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, writing to a committee in Belfast, said: "I have very little pity for you or yours, you have ceased to be men, your leaders, (Redmond, Dillon, Devlin) consequently think they can sell you like chattels."

In April 1917, three Archbishops, fifteen Catholic Bishops and three Protestant Bishops, in a statement published, said, "An appeal to the National conscience, on the question of Ireland's dismemberment, should meet with one answer and one answer alone..." Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, went further, inferring the country was sold by Redmond and Company.

The refusal of the Catholic Church leadership, and indeed, all other churches in our land, to recognise the democratically elected government of the Republic, previous to 1922, must forever stand to their lasting discredit.

However, carried perhaps on a wave of resurgent national feeling, their stand then, is a far call from their stance of today.

Donál Ó Dálaigh
Beanntraí
Co. Chorcaí

AN STAIR

Maynooth
College

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE - 1795

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, the main seminary for Catholic priests in Ireland, was founded with British government money in 1795 under "An Act for the better education of persons professing the Papish or Roman Catholic religion."

As well as holding the purse strings of the seminary, the British insisted that every clerical and lay member of staff, (from the President of the college to the gardener and gatekeeper) and every student attending the college, had to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The oath read:

"I, A.B., do take Almighty God, and His only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, crown and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support,

and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his Majesty's family, against any person or persons whatever.....that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever; and without thinking that I am, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God."

The students had to attend at the court-house in the village of Maynooth soon after admission to the college and solemnly swear the oath in front of the magistrates of the quarter sessions.

The taking of the oath was quietly discontinued in 1868.

Yes! Survive
We Will

Dark clouds fade the dawning sun;
A day of horror passed,
And left a night when all seemed lost -
No 'stay' on boom or mast.

Yet though those clouds are dark and still,
And laden yet with potent storm -
We've weathered worse and still we live
Beyond the power of brutal norm.

A zealot, or perhaps a tool of power with foul design
Had claimed the tiller, altered course,
And left us stripped of all advance -
Dependent on our last resource.

Yes! Survive we will, despite the odds -
The favouring tides we'll court,
And nurse our stricken barque along
Into our dockyard port.

Willing hands will help us there -
A setback! Yes, per se,
But none, or naught, however wrought,
Will halt us on our way.

Repairs complete we'll sail again,
And onward plough our way -
That Shining Goal; that Brimming Bowl;
The Dawn of Freedom's Day.

Pearse McLoughlin

Comóradh

Kevin Coen

THE 13th ANNIVERSARY of the death of Riverstown, Co. Sligo Volunteer Kevin Coen was marked by Republicans in the area with a commemoration in honour of his memory on Sunday, January 24.

The parade from Soovey Church, Co. Sligo to the cemetery of the same name, was led by a flagbearer and two pipers and chief among the fifty or so people following were Kevin Coen's mother and sister.

Con D'Arcy, Sligo, chaired the ceremony at the graveside. He welcomed all those present and introduced Pat Ward, Donegal, to give the oration.

After recalling the qualities of dedication, maturity and enthusiasm which Kevin Coen displayed in all his actions, Pat Ward referred to his ultimate sacrifice on January 20, 1975:

"Kevin was killed in action at Cassidy's Cross in County Fermanagh by British Occupation Forces. But it was no ordinary killing, no instantaneous death: Kevin was badly wounded by a Brit undercover squad. He lay wounded, in pain, by the roadside for eight hours before he died, in other words, he bled to death. Local people who attempted to go to his assistance were prevented from doing so at gunpoint by the Brits. At least two doctors met a similar response.

"Kevin's life could have been saved but British forces left him to bleed to death. The 26-county authorities at this moment in time are loud in their praises of British justice. To us, to Republicans, this is the epitome of British

justice, the death of someone we all knew and respected and we must imagine in our minds the thoughts which may have run through Kevin's mind as he lay dying for eight hours.

"It is proper to equate Free State forces and British forces as being two sides of the one coin. In the history of the Republican Movement Republicans can expect no justice from either the Free State or the British Occupation Forces."

The covert complicity by the Free State with their British patrons and founders since the foundation of the 26-county state has since the signing of the second Treaty of Surrender over two years ago, known as the 'Anglo-Irish Agreement', become accelerated, overt and explicit, he said.

The southern judiciary have slavishly followed the establishment up to the recent decision by a Free State judge which held

that a person or persons who attempted to regain national territory without the consent of the Leinster House regime could not be considered as taking part in a political act.

"This is the harvest of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. It welds the north-east to Westminster and strives to legitimise Leinster House. The judge held that Republicans have no mandate, that the only legitimate mandate had to come from Leinster House.

"But Leinster House, is the result of a foisted regime on the Irish people. The only mandate we accept, the only legitimate mandate, comes to us from the 1918 election, the last time the whole of the Irish people were asked for their consent and to Republicans that consent still stands."

So often in the past 65 years former Republicans believed they could gain ground by entering the 26-county assembly. Let us listen to some of the catch-cries used, he said. 'A stepping-stone to freedom' in 1922; an 'empty formula' in 1926; 'to free the prisoners in the name of the plain people of Ireland', later it became the name of the small farmers; a 'new departure' in the early 1970s; now it would appear the Adams faction are using similar catch-cries - 'in the name of the inner city', 'in the name of the working class' - 65 years of catch-



● Vol. Kevin Coen.

cries and 65 years of disappointment.

The economic situation of this country has not changed either over the past 65 years, he added, and emigration is still forced upon hundreds of thousands of Irish people by economic circumstances.

The media and the Catholic Church hierarchy still stand on an anti-nationalist platform and portray patriotism as a vice in this country, he stated.

Pat Ward concluded his oration by calling on people to remember Volunteer Kevin Coen, the person we all knew, a comrade, a neighbour, an individual and the sacrifice he made for his country and for us.

Peter McNulty

A HEAVY RUC presence did not deter Co. Down Republicans from attending the Annual Peter McNulty Commemoration at Bryansford, Newcastle on Sunday, January 24.

Peter McNulty was OC of B Company, South Down Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann when he was killed in action on January 26, 1972. A native of Castlewellan, all of his family were present at the graveside for the ceremony, organised by Republican Sinn Féin and chaired by Joe McCrickard.

Séamus O Caoil recited a decade of the Rosary and wreaths were laid by Danny Fitzpatrick and Séamus McCrickard. Bob Murray, Republican Sinn Féin's Ulster Organiser gave the oration in which he stated that Peter was not a selfish man, but a person for whom love of country and the plight of others were of prime importance.

He recalled the Co. Down Republicans, Betsy Grey and her brother George from Granshaw who fought and died in 1798 at the Battle of Ball-

inahinch and those who followed them down to the present day. He continued:

"Today's young men and women must have the courage not only to fight but to question, to analyse and where necessary to stand up and lead.

"They must realise that since the adoption of Free Statism in October 1986 the cause of Irish Freedom has not been advanced by one day and if the truth be told it has receded by many years.

"Free Staters owe their



● Vol. Peter McNulty.

allegiance to the British-imposed parliament of Leinster House and whatever other politically expedient institution is set up to keep Ireland divided. We, as Republicans do not owe allegiance to any man, nor any political party, nor to any army but to the Republic and the last 32-county parliament elected in May 1921, the second Dáil Eireann."

He outlined the 26-county role as defender, with Britain, of partition in recent events including the Hillsborough Deal, cross-border incursions deep into the South and increasing RUC/Gardaí collaboration to maintain the status quo, with shared information and equipment.

He concluded by looking forward to the day when a speaker could stand at the grave of Peter McNulty and the graves of all other patriots and state:

"You may now rest in peace, the struggle is over, we have been victorious because you did not break faith, because you did not betray the trust placed in you."

The ceremony concluded with the National Anthem played by a lone piper.

COMHBHRÓN

KEOHANE, Delegates gathered at the Comhairle Cúige Uladh meeting in January passed a vote of sympathy with the family, relatives and friends of Joe Keohane who died on January 5 last. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

KING, A vote of sympathy was passed by Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe to the family and friends of Tom King, Corrundulla, Co. Galway, who died recently. Tom was a veteran of the IRA in the 1920s and a former chairman of O Galway Co. Council. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

LALLY, Sincere sympathy is extended to the relatives and friends of Paschal Lally, Corrib Park, Galway, who died recently. From Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht, Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy is extended to Kenneth Maguire on the death of his brother Terence in Boston, USA in early December last. From Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe, Go raibh solas na bhfaithis dá anam.

MAGUIRE, A vote of sympathy was passed by Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht on the death of Terence Maguire in the USA during December 1987. Sincere sympathy is extended to his brother Kenneth. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

MARTIN, A vote of sympathy was passed by Limerick Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, at their recent meeting, with the family and friends of the late Nellie Martin, newsagent, Limerick city. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

MATHEWS, Bearnna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin conveys sympathy to our friends and comrades Eamonn and Margaret Mathews of Killeen Bridge, Dublin

Road, Newry on the recent death of Eamonn's father, Bernard, Sympathy also to the entire Mathews family.

O MATHUNA, Bearnna Uladh Republican Sinn Féin, South Armagh conveys deepest sympathy to our friend and comrade Eamonn O Mathúna on the recent death of his mother in Cork. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

O MATHUNA, Sincere sympathy is expressed to our comrade, Eamonn O Mathúna, on the recent death of his mother. From the officers and delegates of Comhairle Uladh.

REDMOND, A vote of sympathy was passed by the William Stewart Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Dundalk with Mrs. Pat Redmond on the death of her father. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

VARIAN, Comhairle Ceantair Corcaigh, Republican Sinn Féin wishes to express their deepest sympathy to Donal Varian and family, Middleton, Co. Cork, on their recent bereavement. We extend also our deepest sympathy to Noreen's mother and the Desmond family. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

VARIAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to Donal Varian and family, Middleton, Co. Cork on the recent tragic death of his wife Noreen in a car accident. Sincere sympathy is also extended to Noreen's mother and family circle. From the Terence Mac Swiney Cumann, Corcaigh. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

YOUNG, A vote of sympathy was passed by Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach at their January meeting with the family and friends of Charlie Young, Ballinderry, Co. Derry, who passed away since their last meeting.

I gCUIMHNE

FITZSIMONS, HANLON, In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Leo Hanlon and Vivienne Fitzsimons, Cumann na mBan, killed in action on February 10, 1973. Always remembered by the South Down Martyrs Cumann.

FITZSIMONS, HANLON, In proud and loving memory of Vivienne Fitzsimons, Cumann na mBan and of Volunteer Leo Hanlon, killed in action on February 10 1973. Always remembered by their comrades in Cumann na mBan.

NOTICE

Readers please note that Comhbhrón, i gCuimhne, Beannachtai notices etc, should reach SAOIRSE office 48 hours before going to press to ensure inclusion.

Seán Mac Bride

SEAN Mac Bride's life spanned more than eight decades. Heredity and his early environment combined to make him a man of energy, idealism and sincerity with a passion for justice.

His father was Major John Mac Bride of Mayo, who was executed by the British in 1916. His godfather was John O'Leary, the Fenian. In his early years in Paris he learned English from William Butler Yeats ("the little boy has a confident, analytical mind") and Latin from the American poet Ezra Pound.

The greatest influence on him must surely have been his mother, Maud Gonne, the woman who forsook a high society life to become the champion of the poor and oppressed.

I once heard him describe how, when he was a boy of 12 in the Collège Saint Louis de Gonzague in Paris, he was called by the Principal and told that his father had been executed in Dublin. The man who gave him this sad news added that he could be proud as his father had died in the cause of liberty, just as the men of France had done at the front in the Great War. At the age of 14 he took his father's place in the fight for the Irish Republic.

Seán Mac Bride accepted the 1937 Constitution and sought to advance the cause of Irish freedom within that framework. It seemed to him to provide

'A Passion for Justice' by SEÁN Ó BRÁDAIGH



• The late Seán Mac Bride with Ruairí Ó Brádaigh at the funeral, in 1977, of 1916 veteran Fiona Plunkett.

a basis for forward movement on that issue and no one can doubt his sincerity in that. In this, of course, he failed as did others before that and since then.

Unlike most of those who accepted the 26-county state, he never became a party to the coercion of Republicans and collaboration with the British. He belonged to no clique or establishment. He was indeed his own man and this earned him universal respect.

Without payment of any kind, Seán Mac Bride ably defended Republicans on many occasions and with many notable successes in the courts of the 26-county state. In recent years the Repeal Section 31 Committee and the Campaign Against Strip Searches had his full support at conferences and on the picket line.

In his later years he declared himself a pacifist, an honourable stand which he honestly took. But he always identified the British presence as being the cause of the continuing strife in the Six Counties.

I and others approached him on many occasions on behalf of the Republican Movement to seek his advice on one issue or another. We were always met with unflinching courtesy and practical assistance.

If ever a man spent a long life in the cause of suffering humanity, Seán Mac Bride did so. His considerable talents were used on behalf of some of the poorest victims of imperialism in the world.

When he died on January 15 the messages of sympathy came from all over the world, from such people as Perez de Cuellar,

Secretary-General of the UN, Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC and Helmut Angoola of SWAPO. Wreaths were sent by the International Commission of Jurists, the Prime Minister of France and the Soviet Cultural Attaché. His funeral was probably the most representative ever seen in Dublin. Ireland and the world paid their tributes.

The one discordant note of any consequence came from the organs of the British establishment, The Times of London and the Sunday Telegraph which recorded his passing under the heading "Death of an Evil Man". The voice of perfidious Albion had spoken. This was their un-forgiving retribution for all the occasions on which the Irishman with the French accent had exposed their villainy at the highest level in so many parts of the world.

Seán Mac Bride's memory, like that of his father and mother, will always be cherished by those who struggle for freedom and peace. For him, freedom based on justice was the only foundation on which peace could be built. For him also the struggles of the Irish people and of all oppressed peoples were part of one great struggle on behalf of all humanity.

Mairfidh sé go brách in ár gcúmhne. Honneur pour toujours à sa mémoire.

EASTER '88

Applications for Speakers at Easter Commemorations should be made to:

An Rúnaí, Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta, 21, Shaw Street, Dublin 2.

Commemoration Committees are reminded to book bands early

Easter Lilies are now available price £15 per 1,000 from:

Peig King, 29 All Saints Park, Raheny, Dublin 5.

Honour Ireland's Dead - Wear an Easter Lily!

SPY PLANE II

WE ARE ALL familiar with some of the details about the appearance over Mullingar of a British Army Air Corps Beaver spy plane, before Christmas. Initially the pilot claimed he had diplomatic clearance for the flight, indicating he knew exactly where he was, as indeed any pilot with that degree of training and experience should.

Indeed it would not have been possible for that aircraft to be any length of time in the 26 Counties without the knowledge of the air traffic section of the Department of Transport in Dublin.

However, after this initial honesty the officials took over. We then saw the ritual protest by the Dublin government and the ritual token apology by the British.

ANOTHER INCURSION

What then of the planned incursion by a similar spy plane on January 23 last? At approximately 9.10am a British Army Air Corps Beaver was given permission to overfly the South, allegedly en route to Southampton, by the South's air traffic control.

A most curious choice of routing indeed. Did the Brits promise to turn off their spy equipment during this flight? These aircraft are equipped with highly sophisticated infra-red high resolution photo and video equipment, not to mention the radio frequency scanning listening devices.

What we are seeing here is another face of the so-called security co-operation between the Brits and Charlie Haughey. The British Army spy equipment is obviously being made available to the South by means of their over flights. Hardly surprising in the light of recent revelations that the Brits have already loaned other equipment on a "semi-permanent basis".

The British Army Air Corps (BAAC) is urgently seeking to replace these 25-year-old single-engined Beaver aircraft and the most likely replacement is the Pilatus-Britten Norman Defender. Altogether the BAAC has sixteen Beavers. Some are stored, others are based at the Middle Wallop headquarters for long-range liaison work. However, most are used in the occupied Six Counties for counter-insurgency surveillance and photo reconnaissance work.

And why the urgent need for replacement? The increasing sophistication of surveillance equipment is stripping the Beaver's cabin space, payload and ability to generate the necessary electrical power to operate all this spy equipment.

capable of being enforced.

"The idea is not really a new one. It is basically just another way of saying make Ireland ungovernable by the British and in their place institute the authority of Dáil Éireann. You have heard it before, no doubt, but the understanding of its implementation seems to have been lost

somewhere between Crossbarry and Loughgall."

Other articles tackle Emigration, the SDLP, the Problem of Low Pay and the 'Anglo-Irish Agreement'. For readers who wish to explore further, CONGRESS '86 may be obtained from Siopa na Poblachta, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2, for 50p.

Murphy's Law!

REVISIONISM has really got out of hand lately. First we had John A. Murphy addressing the University of Southern Maine, USA during December telling his audience that the 26 Counties was "a peaceful unaffected country that has no aspirations towards a United Ireland".

After being questioned by Mr. Bart Lally as to whether 6,500 soldiers and Gardaí raiding homes all over the South was a picture of a peaceful unaffected country Mr. Murphy pleaded ignorance of these events and stated that "a government was justified in enacting laws to keep itself in power".

Then in January Frank Fahy, Leinster House minister on a visit to New York, informed Mayor Koch that "there was no longer any discrimination against Catholics" in the Six Counties.

Hopefully his listeners went away with the right impression of what breed of Irish 'public representatives' Leinster House produces.

LÉIRMHEAS

THE SECOND issue of CONGRESS '86 has recently come to hand. It is the work of a group of political prisoners in Long Kesh who have a proven record in defending the Republic against British imperialism, and therefore commands attention.

Number 2 has many analytical and searching articles, among them one entitled 'Critique of the Propaganda War' by Liam O'Connor who has the following to say:

"Having identified the futility of a strategy based on a war of propaganda (the break the British will syndrome) we must insist on placing total emphasis on a different strategy. A strategy based on breaking Britain's physical ability to remain in Ireland.

"This will come about when the Westminster Parliament is unable, militarily, to make its writ run in Ireland. When, in place of a foreign writ, that of the Irish people is physically

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