

Nationalist Nightmare Continues

AT THE beginning of 1988 nothing has changed for the nationally-minded people in the British-occupied Six Counties. Indeed most British establishment figures pretend that Nationalists do not exist there at all.

For example in the extensive media coverage given on both sides of the Border to the British military commander of the UDR on December 20 Brigadier Bray refused to acknowledge Six County Nationalists as such and called them "the minority".

On New Year's Eve RUC Inspector-General Hermon likewise had prime-time on the media as he addressed himself to all 32 counties of Ireland (shades of the old RIC) and in effect made a highly propagandist case for internment without trial north and south.

JOB PROSPECTS ?

Towards the end of 1987 an official British government "human rights" agency announced once more that unemployment in Nationalist areas was two-and-a-half times that in Unionist areas. Ten years ago, in February 1978 another such body, the Fair Employment Agency, revealed exactly the same picture. They added that while Nationalists in work tended to be in unskilled jobs Unionists were usually in skilled employment.

In Magilligan, Belfast and Long Kesh jails and es-

pecially in Maghaberry women's prison strip-searching of political prisoners is the order of the day. On the streets and in the countryside harassment by British forces of Nationalists is a daily routine. Brigadier Bray estimated the military presence at ten Battalions of British regulars and nine Battalions of UDR. Over half the latter are full-time soldiers while the RUC and its reserve number in excess of 12,000.

The Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act abrogate all normal law — such as been the case since the foundation of the Six-county

statelet in 1921 — and non-jury Diplock Courts with exceptional rules of evidence mete out British injustice.

Their Dublin counterpart, the Special non-jury Court recently sentenced a Cork man to five years (maximum remission one-quarter) for possessing a poster. In Belfast on January 4 a Unionist got two years (up to one-half remission) for UVF membership and firing a sub-machine gun in a public place while drunk. What sentence would a Nationalist have received on a similar charge?

If a Nationalist goes to England, Scotland or Wales

he/she can still be harassed and even deported at will back to the Six Counties. If he/she goes to the USA for employment it will be illegal with all the exploitation that goes with such status.

HARASSMENT

If he/she goes to the 26 Counties harassment will almost certainly follow. A northern accent is often sufficient to qualify for this. The Special (political) Branch freely admit that Northerners will be singled out for special attention.

Political Extradition now exists without even a prima facie case from the 26 Counties back into the hands of the British occupation forces. The Commissioner of the 26-county police and the head of the RUC met weekly during December to co-ordinate policy and strikes against Nationalists on both sides of the Border.

Under the Hillsborough Security Pact of November

1985 the 26-county forces have received millions of pounds worth of equipment from the British on a "semi-permanent loan" just as they did in 1922 and 1923. The British Ambassador was given maximum exposure in RTE to articulate British demands on Extradition. He frequents Leinster House and *Phoenix* magazine thinks he should be made Viceroy in Dublin and end the sham independence.

LOYALIST DEATH SQUADS

And, of course, there is the ever-present danger of assassination by Loyalist right-wing death squads who strike at random.

Meanwhile other outlawed peoples suffer similarly. Twenty-seven Palestinian men, women and children were shot dead on the streets of the occupied territories by Israeli soldiers during December (see article on page four). British Foreign Office Minister

Mellors complained publicly of this and of housing conditions in the Gaza Strip.

The Israelis told him improvements would be made when the protests stop; but they have been over twenty years in occupation without large-scale protest. Has Mr. Mellors never heard of Divis Flats in Belfast or the streets of Derry, Strabane and Armagh?

Since October the French Government has extradited over 40 Basque political refugees to the Spanish state. It has exiled many others to remote parts of Africa.

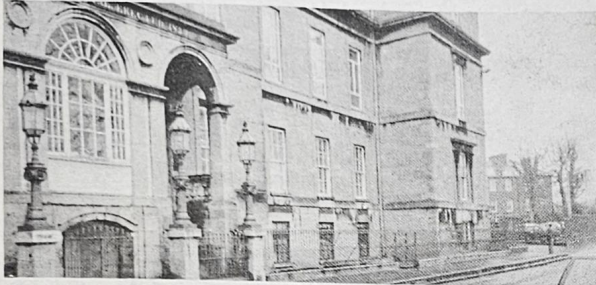
RESISTANCE TO OPPRESSION

But in all cases of the "lesser breeds without the law" as the imperialist Kipling described them, while the nightmare continues so does the resistance to colonial oppression. All seek their own rightful place on the face of the earth. And history is on their side.

LIMERICK HOSPITAL FACES CLOSURE

LIMERICK City's Barrington's Hospital is the latest hospital to face the axe under the anti-people policies of Fianna Fáil.

The Department of Health in Dublin is to withdraw support for the 160-year-old hospital. It was operating at an annual budget of £1,897,000, roughly the cost to the taxpayers of Ministerial pensions. The news is something of a bombshell to the people of Limerick.



• BARRINGTON'S HOSPITAL - 160 YEARS SERVING LIMERICK

Traditionally regarded as the poor man's hospital, Barrington's looks after 46,000 out-patients a year and a further 230 casualty patients a month. This makes it the country's busiest hospital outside of Dublin.

Mid-Western Health Board officials have said that this proposed move has considerable implications for Limerick City's major emergency plan. Combined with the proposed closure of either Nenagh or Ennis hospital (which one has yet to be decided), this will stret-

ch the resources of Limerick's Regional Hospital beyond the breaking point.

SPECULATION

There is considerable speculation locally as to why this hospital is being closed when another hospital run by nuns with no casualty

department is being kept on.

The closure has created some interesting problems for the Free State parties. Fine Gael's Gus O'Driscoll has said this might affect Alan Dukes' support for U-turn Charlie. Fianna Fáil's Willie O'Dea says he is against it, so also does Fine Gael's new expert on Finance Michael Noonan and of course ex-Fianna Fáiler

Des O'Malley.

CYNICAL STATEMENTS

Commenting on this, Limerick Republican Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair said in the course of a statement: "The public are not fooled by these cynical statements from Leinster House politicians whose sole interest is keeping their vote up. Just for once can they act like men of principle, putting their money where their mouth is, and vote against these cuts. Of course this would upset the cosy Leinster House apple cart and would not do their careers any good."

"This country is effectively being run by a FF/FG/PD coalition with only a token opposition. They must all bear responsibility for the present anti-people policies and the public will remember this at election time."

The statement continues: "We in Republican Sinn Féin will take an active part in the campaign to fight this closure. However this campaign can do without being hijacked for political gain by Leinster House careerists."

VICKERS 'RIP-OFF'

IF YOUR factory's product is in demand and is showing a profit then your job is safe, right?

Wrong. Take the cause of the Air Shields Vickers plant in Shannon, Co. Clare which was closed on December 22 last with the loss of 38 jobs.

The workers are particularly angry at events leading up to this Christmas Week closure and as they prepare to face a new year on the dole queue, explained their justifiable grievance to local Republican Sinn Féin members.

They reserve their most scathing remarks for the company's local senior management whom they accuse of 'doing the dirty work' for the London-based company responsible for the closure.

The factory, formerly known as Heathdyne was taken over by its main rival, Vickers in September 1986. Vickers were in the same business as the smaller company whose quality products, mainly incubators

were in great demand in hospitals world-wide because of their reliability and high quality standards.

At the time of the takeover workers suspected that Vickers' real aim was to 'rip-off' the expertise and high quality reputation of the Shannon plant, ultimately closing it down and transferring production over to England. All in all a premeditated factory closure and tough luck on those who were to lose their livelihoods in the process.

The local plant manager Mr. Peter McHenry had dismissed the workers' questions and fears as groundless.

As time passed however the worst fears of the workforce were realised. Mr. Mc-



• Peter McHenry (left), Vickers' hatchet man

Henry had in fact become a 'part-time plant manager' spending most of his working week at Vickers head office in London. It became obvious that the plant was being run down.

Although Air Shields Vickers have effectively pulled out of Ireland Mr. McHenry's services have been retained. He has been promoted to a full-time position with Vickers in London. Despite repeated attempts Mr. McHenry was not available for comment to SAOIRSE.

Incredibly, with a budget of 26.5 million Shannon Development has managed to show a net job loss of 200 for 1987. The least they could do now is demand the return of money paid from grants etc. to Vickers.

If all this sounds familiar it is because you heard it before in the cases of Mostek, Hyster and Ferenka - at the head of a long list of foreign companies who milked the system until it was dry and are now long gone.

THE INDUSTRIAL news covered here amounts to another indictment of the 26 County Government's industrial development policy. Multinationals have no roots in this country. They will stay here as long as they have their tax-free breaks (no such luck for the PAYE person) and will pull out as soon as their interests demand such a course of action.

The continuing policy of blindly throwing money into this bottomless pit only encourages multinationals to selfishly take advantage of what Ireland has to offer.

What could locally owned, managed and controlled co-operatives not have done with the money which has gone to line the pockets of multinationals and exploiters of developing countries world-wide?

The future for this country lies in developing Irish resources for Irish people in fishing, forestry, mining etc. This must be done for the benefit of all Irish people, not for the few. National sovereignty is a prerequisite for this.

DROGHEDA PULL-OUT

J. H. WOODINGTON of Drogheda gave its workforce one-and-a-half hours notice that the company would cease trading at 5.30pm one Wednesday last November.

Another segment of the dwindling shoe and leather industry had been bought out and run down by a British Investment Company.

Crowthers of England had decided that the time was right to pull the plug on the workers, but slyly waited until just before closing time to tell the workers who had in many cases given 30 to 40 years of their lives to the company that their livelihood would be gone coming up to Christmas.

Twenty-six workers acted swiftly and decisively to occupy the plant in an effort to salvage something for a lifetime's work and loyalty.

Statutory redundancy of a half-week's pay per year of service, which is the current form of insult offered to an ever increasing number of Irish workers was rejected out of hand by the Drogheda workers and their sit-in began.

As usual, the Micky Mouse Departments of Labour or Industry and Commerce were not aware of the British firm's intentions, or if they were they did not confide in the Woodington employees.

First signs of victory to the sit-in workers came the following day when Crowthers announced that it may create two hundred jobs in the distant future, but as is the practice with foreign companies, they said that depended on grants, tax concessions and IDA backing.

THE OCEAN BAR

Main Street, Bundoran, Co. Donegal
Props: Joe and Mary O'Neill
Telephone: 072-41641

PAT McCARRY

Motor Body Repair Specialists
Grantham Place, SCR, Dublin 8
Telephone: 754811

O'NEILL'S RESTAURANT

East Port, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal
Prop: Ann O'Neill
Telephone: 072-51237

THE OLD BARRACKS

Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal
Props: Brendan and Frances Magill

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Tallaght, Dublin 24

Liam Mellows Commemorations

ATHENRY, Co Galway, where Liam Mellows had his first headquarters during the 1916 Rising, commemorates his life and sacrifice annually on December 8 at a Memorial in the grounds of the local national school.

This year the parade was led by a lone piper and marched from the local church after 11.30am Mass to the Memorial.

Pádraic O Sionnacháin, An Carn Mór, presided and Ruairí O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, laid a wreath on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. The oration was delivered by Murt Mac Ualtair, Béal Atha an Rí, who explained that Athenry was of particular importance in the years before the 1916 Rising as the county centre of the IRB.

"It was here that Liam Mellows came as an organiser of the Irish Volunteers during the winter of 1914/15", he said.

Liam sowed the seed on fertile ground in Galway and led 1,200 local men in successful resistance during Easter Week.

"He later served as Sinn Féin TD for East Galway in 1918 and for Co. Galway in 1921, and has remained dear to the hearts of Galway people ever since."

OPPOSED THE TREATY

Liam Mellows was sent to the US after the Rising where he organised opinion in favour of Irish self-determination by touring the country. After the establish-

ment of Dáil Eireann in January, 1919 he worked for international recognition of the Irish Republic.

On his return to Ireland he was appointed Director of Purchases of Oglai na h-Eireann and opposed the Treaty of Surrender in the Dáil with prophetic clarity.

The consequences of that surrender were referred to by Murt Mac Ualtair with the ongoing political extradition of Irish citizens to Britain. He drew an international analogy:

"Would any Arab government, and there are more than 20 of them, of every political shade and hue, extradite a Palestinian to the state of Israel?"

"Would any Greek government, at any time, extradite a Cypriot to Turkey?" He condemned the craven collaboration of the Haughey government:

"Gallant young men and women from the cities of Belfast and Derry, from the historic lands of the O'Neills and the Maguires are being handed over to John Bull's justice because they resist in arms the denial of the sovereign rights of their country, the discrimination and oppression, the burning of their homes and the shooting down of their people in the streets."



WEXFORD Republicans gathered at Castletown on Sunday, December 13 last at the grave of Liam O Maoliosa in the cemetery adjoining the parish church.

The crowd gathered around the celtic cross which marks the spot where Mellows, whose mother was a Wexford native, wished to be laid to rest.

Nearby is the Kavanagh plot where three Castletown brothers, Liam, John and Denis, all active in the fight for Independence and the defence of the Republic are buried. Liam Kavanagh died in 1927 as a result of the

man on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. Matt Murphy Chairman of Wexford National Graves Association, laid a wreath on behalf of the NGA.

The main speaker, Ruairí O Brádaigh, explained the circumstances of Liam Mellows' execution on December 8, 1922:

"On that holy day morning sixty-five years ago in the prison-yard of Mountjoy Jail in Dublin was done 'a deed without precedent in the annals of civilisation' according to the old parliamentarian William O'Brien.

"Four Republican leaders who had been prisoners-of-war of the new Irish Free State for over five months, were roused from their sleep by their jailers and told they were going to be shot without charge or trial on the orders of the Free State government.

DIED FOR IRELAND'S FREEDOM

"As their comrades filed into Mass in the prison chapel they heard the fatal volleys. Liam Mellows, Rory O'Connor, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey, representing Galway, Dublin, Cork and Belfast, had joined the ranks of those who died for Ireland's freedom.

The words of Liam Mellows in the Treaty Debate in 1921 show how he pre-

dicted the future nature of a 26-county state, when he said:

"Destroy that basis (of the all-Ireland Republic) and you cannot have unity . . . you place yourselves in a position to pave the way for concession after concession, for compromise after compromise . . . God knows where you will end, no matter how you may try to pull up later on."

COLLABORATION

The cost to scarce Irish resources of protecting the British border (running at almost 400 million per year) is one element of this collaboration, Ruairí O Brádaigh said in his oration:

"The higher rate of VAT necessitated by this collaboration with the British means a loss of 300 million annually in shopping across the border.

"What could these sums not do to increase the economic development of this country?" he asked.

He quoted from Mellows' Notes from Mountjoy Jail, written in August, 1922: "The 'stake in the country' people were never with the Republic. They are not with it now, and they will always be against it - until it wins! We should recognise that definitely now and base our appeals upon the understanding and needs of those who have always borne Ireland's fight."

Who Fears To Speak?

BUNDORAN Urban Councillors were accused of hypocrisy at their December meeting by Councillor Joe O'Neill of Republican Sinn Féin.

While proposing condemnation of the Enniskillen bombing and a vote of sympathy with those killed and injured, the councillors were reminded that on other occasions of loss of life in the war in the Six Counties they had remained silent because British Crown Forces were responsible.

"When nine people were shot by the RUC in 1969, when the British and Loyalists killed 33 people in Dublin and Monaghan in 1974, when UDR soldiers killed members of the Miami Showband in 1975 the Bundoran Council passed no votes of sympathy," Councillor O'Neill stated.

He was not against a vote of sympathy for any innocent people and continued: "If you are going to

condemn anything, condemn the British who are occupying our country; ask them to leave our country and we would be doing a far better job than trying to score political points.

If you want to pass anything, pass a motion that the British should get out of our country and a motion that England makes a declaration of her intent to leave this country."

IN RESPONSE to requests Republican Sinn Féin has published the statement in last month's paper "In Answer to Church and State and in Defence of Irish Republicanism" in leaflet form. 50,000 have been distributed throughout Ireland. A small quantity is still available from Head Office at £1.20 per hundred.

Cumann an tAthair Uí Ghríofa, Cathair na Gaillimhe, elected the following officers at their AGM recently:

Cathaoirleach: Séamus O Náirigh
Cisteoirí: Seán Mac an Iomaire
Tomás O Curraoin
Rúnai: Cionnaith Maguidhir
Oige: Dáithí Stuart

1988 New Year Message

New Year 1988 Message to the Irish People

31ú Nollaig 1988

Do mhuintir na h-Eireann sa mbaile agus i gcéin, beatha agus sláinte!

At New Year 1988 Republican Sinn Féin sends greetings to the Irish people at home and in exile. In particular good wishes are extended to all Irish Republican prisoners wherever they may be incarcerated this New Year. You especially are in our minds at this time.

Pending a general amnesty for all Irish political prisoners, we seek in 1988 the unconditional release by the British Government of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and Judith Ward as an act of justice and not as an act of grace.

JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN IRELAND

The British Government still holds the key to a just and lasting peace in Ireland and pressure must continue to be applied to secure from them an irrevocable public commitment to quit Ireland forever and acknowledge the Irish people to be in control of their own affairs in their own country.

In such a context would come an entirely New Ireland which Republican Sinn Féin would work to make a Democratic Socialist Republic with a new kind of politics and a new constitution, the complete separation of church and state and the building of a genuinely pluralist society. Sinn Féin's road to these worthy objectives would lie through national and regional government with the maximum decentralisation of power and decision-making, the planned development of our native resources and the greatest possible ownership and control by the workers of their places of work.

REJECTING SUPERPOWERS

Such an Ireland would be neutral and non-aligned and would seek to carve out its future together with the for-

mer colonial peoples of the Third World and the oppressed nationalities of Europe, rejecting the superpowers East and West and also the third superpower now being erected in south-western Europe under the aegis of the EEC.

We wish to see further advances made during 1988 towards complete world disarmament and the channeling of the resources so-released to combat famine, poverty, malnutrition and under-development on a global scale.

We believe that during 1988 here in Ireland a stand must be made against the international financiers whose usurious exactions - brought on by the squandering of successive Dublin governments - are reducing our people to beggary.

If such a confrontation does not take place unemployment and forced emigration will continue to rise and further cut-backs in health, education and social welfare services will take place during 1988.

"NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES"

We may add that there is never any shortage of funds to support "national security policies" as they are known in Latin America, or simply collaboration with Britain to prolong her unjust rule here in Ireland.

During the past year public opinion has forced through certain minimal restraints on systematic and large-scale extradition of political prisoners and refugees into the hands of the British Occupation Forces. In 1988 political extradition must be halted and brought to an end.

We may add that we shall continue to reject the instruments and institutions implanted here by the foreign occupying power for our subjugation and enslavement.

'THE HILLSBORO

AS REPUBLICANS have always maintained the so-called Hillsborough Agreement, the collaborators' charter, is aimed at securing with an economy of British (i.e. English) lives the British-imposed border, while copper-fastening the Loyalist veto against democracy for the Irish people and enlisting Leinster House military support for the war against the Republic.

A further objective is to create a route to future jobs, salaries and Stormont representation for the SDLP and those who like them can identify with the Six-county framework. John Hume has never countered Brit Direct Ruler Tom King's assertion that the pact was first and foremost "a bulwark against a United Ireland", and that the Free State regime had accepted "that into perpetuity there will not be a United Ireland."

This 'bulwark', and what else could it be, can be seen nowhere more clearly than in the beautiful rolling countryside of South Armagh along the border with Co. Louth and Co. Monaghan. The pact is felt daily by the local inhabitants who are forced to live with the physical presence of that deal's only tangible result, the Hillsborough Wall.

RADIOACTIVE SURVEILLANCE

This fiercely Republican area and its people have seen in recent years a proliferation of hilltop encampments, watch towers, permanent checkpoints and control zones as well as an array of hi-tech radioactive surveillance systems placed in commanding positions along the Border.

The British Army, in common with all such occupation forces, has never respected the people they have come to harass and spy on.

They can't identify with a people who have inherited from their ancestors a fierce pride in their Gaelic heritage

and tradition, their culture, games and a deep sense of the historical importance of an area long revered for the reverses it has inflicted on invading armies and its associations with numerous saints and scholars and the odd king and hero from Ireland's past.

ALIEN UNWANTED ARMY

Their's is an area and a community which has never accepted the British occupation and maintains firm support for armed struggle. It is this pride in themselves, their land and their history which causes great annoyance to an alien unwanted army of oppressors.

The Hillsborough Wall represents the physical embodiment of a deal for a people who were never consulted about the betrayal. No one asked local farmers would they be prepared to accept the theft of much of their land by British forces.

Indeed the British Army has never been a respecter of private property in South Armagh. Land was taken off

farmers in Forkhill and off the Crossmaglen Gaelic Football Club several years ago for use by the British who were extending their grip on those parts of South Armagh.

THREATENED AT GUN-POINT

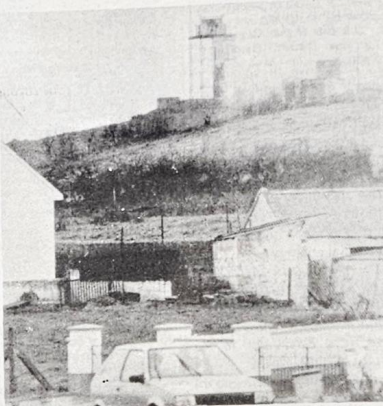
While some elements of the Hillsborough Wall were in place in advance of its signing every Nationalist knows that within weeks of that event hundreds of acres of valuable grazing land were seized by a massive force of British soldiers who threatened at gun-point any farmer who dared to oppose them. The havoc caused to farmland and the military build-up along the border then began to take on a life of its own.

In at least one instance one outpost was constructed near Crossmaglen under the protective eyes of the Free State forces who dutifully blocked off all roads at their end while the construction was in progress. This was collaboration, unashamed and disgusting.

The farmers of South Armagh have suffered more than most at the hands of British occupation forces. Outhouses would often be occupied or vandalised by foot patrols and undercover squads, ditches knocked down, fences cut repeatedly, gates left open for animals to stray and farmers would be insulted and threatened by those armed thugs who walk through their fields.

DISEASE CARRIERS

Farmers are also worried



• (Top) British army spy-post in South Armagh
Army tower in South Armagh.

CROSS-BORDER INCURSIONS

Recent months have seen an upsurge in the number of planned cross-border incursions, all sanctioned by the Hillsborough Deal, whereby British Crown forces have engaged in forays into counties Louth and Monaghan to stop, question and arrest.

Such patrols were allowed to return unchallenged by the Gardaí for their illegal possession of firearms to their points of origin along the Hillsborough Wall.

British Army forts built on high hilltops allow the occupation forces to dominate the area, to make full use of all the weapons in its extensive arsenal in the fields of oppression and surveillance. Cameras, infra-red night vision sensors, micro-

There have been several occasions where local people on either side of the border have located wires and listening devices planted near their homes. On at least one occasion An Bord Telecom staff located such a wire in Co. Louth which was seen to lead back across the border to a British

equipment can all be used in monitoring movements in the Border area.

KILLING ZONES

Such information which can all be gathered in this manner may well fall into the hands of Loyalist murder gangs or be used in the planning of further Loughgall-type ambushes.

Many farmers have vigorously protested at the theft and occupation of their land, the destruction done to their ditches and vegetation and the menace caused to their livestock. Trees and bushes have been cut down to create killing zones and animals have been killed on the roads or died from mysterious illnesses which have been attributed to the radioactive surveillance equipment. Land which has been farmed for generations by the same family is now stolen by an occupier who cares nothing for the hurt caused to the farming community.

FARMERS OPPOSITION

Farmers from throughout South Armagh have come together and formed a committee to give vent to their total opposition to the theft of farmlands and to the destruction being caused to their way of life. They have succeeded in winning support from the community at large and from political parties including the SDLP who, despite their support, still claim credit for the Hillsborough Deal.

The farmers have taken their case to the local Newry and Mourne District

NUAIGHT DHOMHANDA

ISRAEL'S IRON FIST

A MONTH of resistance to Israel's 20-year-old occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has exposed to world opinion the plight of the Palestinian people under the expansionist rule of the Jewish state.

The New Year saw the Israelis celebrating 40 years since their state was set up, while the people they dispossessed remembered the 30th Anniversary of the founding of Al Fatah, the

resistance movement which is part of the PLO.

Since December Israeli repression has been challenged by the 1.5 million Palestinians in the occupied territories and by January 6, 27 people have been shot dead by the Israeli army.

On December 19 the resistance spread to Jerusalem and two days later, the 750,000 Arabs within the Israeli state staged a one-day general strike. A large part

of the Israeli economy was paralysed as the state depends on Arab blue-collar workers, many of whom, as in South Africa, are not allowed to stay overnight but instead return to the occupied areas.

FEAR OF UNITED FRONT

Israeli fears of attack from a united front of Palestinians, both inside and outside the state led the Israeli

newspaper *Ha Aretz* to state that it is "writing on our wall even more serious than the bloody riots of the past two weeks in the territories."

With two UN resolutions condemning the Israeli repression, the detention of over 1,200 Palestinians and deportation orders being used by the military courts, even friends such as the US and British governments have voiced criticisms.

Less worried about Mrs. Thatcher's ire, Israeli sources rejected criticism of their troops for arresting a 14-year-old boy by accusing the British of doing the same in Ireland. Irish Republicans similarly recognise their counterparts in the Palestinian resistance to foreign occupation and repression.



ROUGH WALL'

Council and at a recent council meeting three of the committees' members detailed a horrifying tale of woe; of cattle and sheep dying from unexplained diseases, of people being afflicted by radiation and farmers being threatened with assaults for daring to go on to their own land. They won the support of most councillors including RSF's Eamonn Larkin who defended their right to their land and condemned the British occupation and vandalism and its use of health threatening equipment.

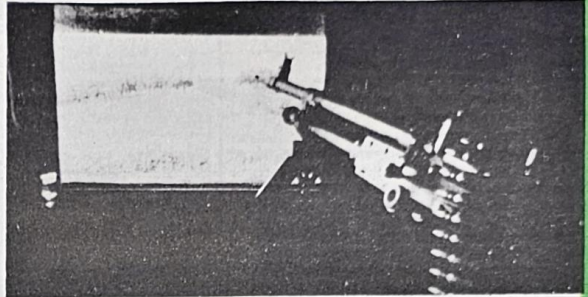
FREE-STATE AGREEMENT

The Hillsborough Wall as it stands ensures that the nationalist people of South Armagh, Louth and Monaghan are the most closely watched people on either side of the so-called Iron Curtain. Their lives are dominated by alien structures and forces planted among them, with Free State agreement.

The ugly towers, the devastated land, the dead and dying animals and farmers held at gunpoint while

their property is destroyed are all that the Hillsborough Deal has to offer the people of the Border region. While these ugly intrusions are allowed to take root throughout South Armagh the British Stormont Department of Agriculture has refused to allow the local council create a heritage park on Slieve Gullion.

Clearly it would be all very well if the council wanted to build yet another fortification for the armed oppressors who are sent to enforce the provisions of the Hillsborough Deal.



• The view from inside a British fort in Ireland

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 in 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.

Irish – Cuid a haon Sovereignty

THE MOST significant fact of Irish history is something that never happened. That is that Ireland was never part of the Roman Empire.

The significance of this is not merely that Irish civilisation, on the periphery of Roman Europe, was free to decide on which aspects of classical Roman and Greek culture and learning would and would not be imported and possibly adopted, but also that the Irish political tradition was free from any Roman claims of overlordship over Ireland.



This would become important under the international law of the day after the time of the Emperor Constantine who made Christianity the state religion of Imperial Rome (while at the same time allowing freedom of religion). What happened at that time, or at least how the story went, is that the Emperor, who conquered under the Sign of the Cross, made a deal with the Pope of the day. The essence of the arrangement was (c. 314 AD) that Pope Sylvester would consecrate Constantine as the supreme temporal power in the Roman Empire in return for the Emperor's recognition of the heretofore 'underground' Christian Bishop of Rome as Supreme Pontiff and supreme spiritual power on earth (as well as the 'donation' of certain lands around Rome to the temporal control of the Church).

What was the immediate impact of all this upon Ireland? Nothing really; and that is the point. Ireland lay outside the Roman orbit.



While Ireland, through Patrick and other missionaries, eventually did accept Roman religion, it did not accept Roman rule or Roman methods, instead a Celtic rite and monastic organisation developed giving a distinctly Irish flavour to the Church in Ireland.

After a time the Roman Empire split between East and West and the West declined, only to be rebuilt by Charlemagne who was crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in the year 800 – a title which would last for over a thousand years in European politics. Beyond providing an opportunity for Irish missionaries to rekindle the flames of faith and learning in Europe's

'Dark Ages', there was little political impact upon the Irish scene.



THE FIRST serious threat to the ownership of Ireland by the people of Ireland came not from Charlemagne's rejuvenated western Roman Empire, but from the Norsemen – the Vikings.

The political, social and cultural life of the Irish nation was disrupted by Viking incursions and Viking settlements during the ninth and tenth centuries. For long periods of time it seemed although the form of most Irish political institutions remained intact, that the Northmen, operating from ships and from towns built in Ireland, had intimidated one-half of the population and purchased the other half

An Shaoth Aniar – Mac Dara



During the tenth century in the Province of Munster, a younger son of the Chief of the Dál gCais took to the wild in open rebellion against the oppressors of his people. This impetuous man is known to history as Brian Boru.

While it is not our purpose here to write another biography of Brian Mac Cinnéide, a brief digression is in order. Success in re-establishing the integrity of the Dál gCais soon showed Brian that his home would not be safe so long as the government of the Province of Munster was in the hands of men unwilling or unable to protect their people from the depredation of the Norsemen. He went to war to change this and did so through the radical method of placing his older brother, Mathghamhain, upon the throne of Munster and militarily conquering the Viking city of Limerick.

After the consolidation of Dalcaisian power in Munster, Brian recognised that the ancient prosperity of Ireland could not be restored without the complete restor-

ation of the sovereignty of the Irish nation over the entire island of Ireland, its islands and territorial seas. Some historians credit Brian's concept of national sovereign independence as a revolutionary political idea. (Perhaps it was revolutionary in the explicit form it took, like his idea of standing garrisons at key points to defend against invasion or his policy of accepting equality, as children of the Irish nation, Vikings who had made permanent settlement in Ireland as well as the Norse-Irish progeny of mixed lineage).



BUT RECOGNITION of the separate life of the Irish nation had been implicit in Ireland for centuries. Irish monks travelling even to the Eternal City paid little or no heed to the old saw about 'when in Rome do as the Romans', as they kept their Celtic rite and even their Celtic calendar, in spite of being in the continental diocese.

Brian had two problems, the first was the then Ard Rí (High King) Maol-Seachlainn, despite his noble intentions, seemed politically unable to keep the Dublin Vikings from back-sliding, even after receiving their submission. In other words, Ireland was as unprotected as Munster had been under the last of the Eoghannacht kings.

Brian solved the problem of government by making Maol-Seachlainn what would probably later fall into the category of 'an offer he couldn't refuse'; Brian Boru became High King of Ireland in the year 1002.

Brian's second problem was serious. With the exception of one twelve year gap, the High Kingship had alternated between the King of Meath and the King of Aileach continuously from 734 to 1002 AD.



Competence and the national interest to the contrary notwithstanding, there were many in Ireland who grumbled about the legitimacy of a High King who was not of the same ancient lineage as those who had held that office for the past quarter of a millennium.

There was another man in Ireland who had a problem which was the contra-positive of Brian's. That was Muirceán, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. Of legitimacy and ancient lineage there was no shortage in the See of Saint Patrick. It was money that was in short supply in Armagh. Dublin, on the other hand, was a city of great riches, whose archbishop felt that primacy in Ireland should follow wealth. (To be continued)

LITREACHA

EDITOR'S NOTE: Correspondents please remember to keep your letters short (260 words approx) and to the point to ensure a more equal and better coverage of topics. Thank you.

3 JUDGES

'IT WON'T WORK'

A Chomrádaíthe, One major problem facing those who call for reform of the Judicial system in the Six Counties is the danger of legitimising the system should the British concede on one or two well publicised but fairly cosmetic points. The recent public debate on the need for changes in the Diplock Courts provides us with a perfect example.

The Free State establishment has been pushing the idea that three Unionist judges would offer a Nationalist before the court a fairer hearing. Whilst there are undoubtedly some genuine people advocating such change, for the most part it is an attempt to smooth a few rough edges off the system in the hope that it will become more acceptable.

It won't work. A population which has felt the full weight of imperialist reaction for so long is aware that the judiciary is just one cog in the machinery of oppression. During the Blanket Protest of the late '70s and early '80s what was known to the British as the "Due Process of the Law" was known to Republicans as the Conveyor Belt System.

When we hear politicians talk of increasing Nationalists' confidence in the law we should remind them of the Conveyor Belt. A few short sentences will trace our progress from our homes to Long Kesh.

In the early hours of the morning a gang of armed Loyalists or Englishmen kick in our front door. They deliver us to an interrogation centre manned by another group of Loyalists who proceed to extract a statement from us by whatever means necessary over the next seven days.

After a period of 18 months on remand we are brought before a judge whose Loyalist credentials are impeccable. On the basis of the evidence presented to him, in other words the

statement, he duly finds us guilty and sentences us to 15 years, or 20 years, or life. With a life sentence he will often add a recommendation that we serve a minimum of 20 to 25 years before being considered for release. The sentence will be served in the Cages or H-Blocks of Long Kesh or in Maghaberry women's prison. The gaols are staffed by a group of men and women who are over 99 per cent protestant.

Some men have been in prison since 1972. Let me stress that they have spent over 15 years in British prisons. For the vast majority there is no sign of release. The NIO will inform you that you should submit yourself to the Assessment Procedure which culminates in a review of your sentence. If you are deemed fit to re-enter society' you may be released.

The Assessment consists of reports made by the Loyalist prison staff and the Review Board, which never meets you and whose identity is shrouded in secrecy, who then decide on the basis of the reports and the advice of the judge who sentenced you whether or not to release you. If they decide to do so the Prison Minister of the day may sign your release papers or he may decide not to, as the case may be.

Let no one convince you that a change to a three judge court will improve the quality of justice in the Six Counties. Anyone propagating such a theory is either politically naive or a total rogue. The system must be attacked in its totality. Those who are genuinely concerned about the situation should concentrate not on reforming the courts, but on exposing them as simply one more weapon in the hands of the British to make the Croppies Lie Down.

Cime Martin Heaney
POW H-2 No. 175
South Derry

CONNOLLY'S MESSAGE

A Chara, We read in the media of national recovery and job creation - pulling thousands of jobs out of the hat in the years ahead - while at the same time throwing thousands and to the dole queues. James Connolly wrote in 1897: "If you remove the English Army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin - unless you change the system your

you could still be exploited through landlords, financiers and a whole army of commercial and private institutions planted in this country".

We see today that the rich put nothing into the 26 county economy. The huge profits they milk from the ordinary people are invested abroad. The cuts don't affect them. Their children won't have to emigrate. It's a sad story for our

A Chara, Permit me to make a few comments and observations with regard to the recent bombing in Enniskillen. Let me point out first of all that I do not condone what was done. It was a terrible and pointless blunder and I sympathise with the innocent victims.

What I wish to make clear is the fact that the affair as it happened was a God-send to the pro-Brits in this part of Ireland to vent their hatred on Sinn Féin, the IRA and Republicans in general. It was a happening they hoped for and badly needed and they got it, thanks to the IRA. It was also an excuse for the one-day Republican - Charles Haughey of the one-day Republican Party, if he needed any, to get the Extradition Bill passed in Leinster House.

It was an outlet for the Cathal Dalys of the Catholic Hierarchy to show their true colours in condemning Sinn Féin from the pulpits in every part of Ireland, reminiscent of Bishop Moriarty's "Hell not hot enough" condemnation of the Fenians.

All the Media people were on the job full time taping

all the emotive statements they could get from relatives of the victims. Inviting reactions from the Loyalist politicians which they already knew but needed them in print to help further condemn Republicans.

We had books full of condolences from the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Corporation, from Limerick and elsewhere with the Limerick Mayor attending at victims' funerals.

Were all those sympathies genuine? Certainly not! Let us compare the occurrence with two previous and more serious atrocities in this country by the British. Let us take, for example, the murder of 13 unarmed people on the streets of Derry in 1972 by the British army. Were there any books of condolence organised by the Lord Mayor or Corporation of Dublin or the Mayor of Limerick or other bodies? Did they attend the funerals of the victims? The answer is No.

The other more serious atrocity by the British took place in Dublin city in 1974 when many more innocent victims were slaughtered and wounded than in Ennis-

killen. The Press of the day did not refer to it as a carnage. Actually it got very little publicity.

The Coalition government here swept the matter under the carpet. The public were left in the dark as to who the culprits were. Had the IRA done it of course we would have heard more than enough about it. There was no outcry or condemnation of the British by the Government for the act. No book of condolences or sympathy from the Dublin or Limerick Mayors. The Hierarchy sang dumb.

This atrocity, you may recall, occurred on a day the 26-County Government here were discussing a Bill that was proposed against Republicans. There was some opposition to it in Leinster House. The British feared the Bill would not be passed. They thought out a plan. They would explode a bomb in the city at lunch time. The voting was to take place after lunch.

It worked perfectly. The IRA would be blamed for the atrocity and the Bill would get through. Patrick Cooney spoke against the Bill and said he, for one,

(strangely enough) would vote against it. While the parties were at lunch the bomb exploded.

When Leinster House assembled, Cooney changed his mind and the Bill was passed. So, rule Britannia.

In conclusion, there will be no peace on this island until the British leave it. There will be an IRA with us until then, be it long or short. The cure is not hard to find. Let the Brits leave and if the Loyalists do not want to be a part of a United Ireland let the British re-plant them in Britain to whom they claim allegiance. They have taken in more of their former Colonists from around the world than the three-quarter million loyalists who are aggravating the rest of us here. We would be glad to replace them with a similar number of our emigrants to Britain. My point is, if one gets a thorn in his finger it never becomes part of the flesh and it causes pain and annoyance until it is removed and it is logical that it should be removed.

S. O. Conghaile
Caisleán Nua
Gaillimh

A chara, Regarding the recent joint statement of the bishops of Ireland, Ruairí O Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, declared that when they (the bishops) were condemning violence they mentioned only 'Republican violence'. This attitude of the bishops of Ireland is not a new attitude but the result of a familiar doctrine in which the minds of the 'natives' have been entrenched since the establishment of Maynooth by the British Government in 1795.

One such similar example of their typical behaviour was on October 10, 1922, when at a meeting in Maynooth, the Irish Hierarchy issued to the priests and people of Ireland a joint Pastoral Letter, in which resistance to the Provisional Government (Irish Free State) was once more condemned and the war on the Republican side was described as "morally only a sys-

tem of murder and assassination of the National forces".

One may ask, who are the 'National forces' today? Needless to say they are, of course, the RUC, the UDR, British Army and in joint co-operation with the police and army of the Free State. These abhorrent 'National forces' we are asked to support because we are told they are 'morally right' while 'the physical resistance' of the 'natives' is morally wrong.

The bishops state that 'all Republican sympathisers are committing sin'. Is it not time that the views of these ranting maniacs from within their logical thinking capacity and in so doing cut them off financially in the company of their clerical backbenchers and fellow travellers? Let them be paid by the Crown! Is it not the Crown who's propping up the two partitionist states that they (the bishops)

support?

A set salary coming from the Crown would surely relieve the conscience of the unemployed, most of whom incidentally are the 'natives' and cannot really afford to put money in the weekly envelopes.

One hopes that the minds of Republicans have matured advanced above the superstitions of Maynooth's condemnations in 1922 which offered them alternatives of 'continued resistance' or the penalty of 'virtual excommunication'.

Let us remember that Maynooth was offered to Catholics by the British in the form of a consolation prize and only after reports of the revolutionary plans of the United Irishmen had been handed over to the administration.

Because of the gift of Maynooth, it was felt by the establishment that the Catholics would not unite with the Presbyterians in 1798. But the long term British

objective behind the concession of Maynooth was that the graduating clergy would be as efficient as a police force, in the sense that for generations to come they would infiltrate the minds of the peasants subjugating them under British control.

At the time of its inception, Maynooth was objected to strongly by leading constitutional politicians such as Grattan as being 'an avowedly sectarian institution'. Each epoch of England's history, according to its character, produced some new phase of the effort to conquer Ireland for the Crown, yet today the task is still uncompleted.

The Hunger Strikers gave their lives that there would never be a final conquest. We must renew our vows of determination in the fight for that for which they died to achieve.

Maighréad Murphy,
Armagh.

NAME-CHANGE: ONLY HONOURABLE WAY FOR ADAMS' PARTY

A Chara, The 'Treaty' of 1922 was to be a stepping stone to the Republic - instead it led to 77 headstones.

In 1932 De Valera opened the gates - but he was not long in putting Republicans back in gaol. He executed the 1916 man Paddy Mc Grath. He sent for the English hangman to kill Charlie Kerins. This super-Christian let Seán McCaughey die in such conditions that at the inquest it was said that no such treatment would be tolerated for a dog.

Clann na Poblachta revived Fine Gael (or Cíbe name was on the party at the time):

Election	Seats Won	FG
1937	48	
1938	47	
1943	32	
1944	30	
1948	10	
1951	2	
1954	3	
1957	1	
1961	1	
1965	1	
1969	-	

Source: "Irish Elections 1918 - 1977" by C. O'Leary, Gill & McMillan.

The Workers' Party, having deserted are now more vicious than Paisley and Co. in attacking Republicans.

So Gerry Adams is now going to follow them into Leinster House and dishonour the name of Sinn Féin. Let him at least change the name of his party.

Pádraig Caomhánach,
Baile Átha Cliath

Spies in Ireland

THERE ARE a few references to the Six Counties in "Spycatcher" by Peter Wright, ex deputy head of MI5. In 1972 Martin Furnival Jones (FJ), head of MI5, was worried about the 'Northern Ireland situation'. FJ, who was just about to retire, feared that the looming situation was going to be his successor's biggest problem and would threaten all the work FJ had done since 1965 to build up MI5 counter-espionage capability.

THE Treasury wouldn't give any more funds but advised FJ to shift funds from counter-espionage to counter-terrorism. One hundred and five Russian diplomats had to be expelled from London and this took off a lot of the pressure there but FJ did not approve of this shift as he didn't want to become complacent about the KGB in London.

Sir Michael Hanley succeeded FJ as head of MI5 in 1972 and asked Wright to come up with new ideas about the Six Counties. Wright visited Belfast and the situation reminded him of Cyprus. It was "a fierce insoluble conflict made worse by vacillating British policy" (this opinion tells us more about Wright than it does about the British government on Six-County politics).

He spent a fortnight studying the record of explosions and saw that the number was steeply ascending while at the same time the British Army and politicians were telling the world that the situation was getting better. "As in Cyprus, the army and politicians simply refused to face reality."

Wright recommended that the Free State telephone lines should be tapped.

Cross-border lines were well covered but vital IRA communications flowed back and forth from the west coast to Dublin. Wright devised a scheme for intercepting the microwaves from the attic of the British Embassy in Dublin using a device no larger than a packing case, but although MI5 endorsed the plan, the Foreign Office vetoed it.

MI5/MI6 Rivalry

The MI5/MI6 rivalry has been evident in many episodes concerning Irish affairs. Thatcher sacked MI6 in 1979 and replaced it with MI5 because she was dissatisfied with MI6 results: 'Counter-terror' showed its results in the shoot-to-kill episodes starting in 1982 leading on to the 'Stalker' affair and statements in court, alleging collusion by members of the Garda with British intelligence and British Army, RUC etc.

The Foreign Office were wary of making any mistakes in Dublin in 1973-74 leading up to the Sunningdale Agreement; they didn't want to offend their allies, Cosgrave, Cooney and Donegan. Wright warned the Foreign Office that Cyprus had taught him that political solutions without a decisive advantage had an

inherent instability, but "they would not listen. It was no surprise to me when Sunningdale collapsed."

Wright took heart once the Dublin scheme fell through. "It seemed to me a measure of how far the bureaucrats had taken control. Twenty years before, we would have tackled it without any worries at all. I did suggest examining the possibilities of planting booby-trapped detonators on the Provisionals. It would have been a feasible operation in conjunction with MI6, along the same lines as the Cyprus plan to plant fake receivers on Grivas. But even the MI5 management took fright, and they refused to investigate the plan any further."

Assassination Gangs

MI6 weren't as squeamish at this time - they were using the UDA to plant bombs in the Free State, firstly to push Jack Lynch and Des O'Malley's Dublin government into bringing in 'stringent emergency laws against terrorism' and later to keep Cosgrave in power. The Littlejohns were bombing and robbing their merry way with the 'Sticks'. MI6 were running pseudo-gangs which were carrying out assassinations. One MI6 agent confessed in 1976 that he had carried out 19 murders in Belfast in 1972.

Faithful Service Unrewarded

Wright's latest behaviour in 'blowing the gaffe' on his former employers of 25 years shows the bitterness

built up since his childhood: his father was a brilliant scientist with Marconi but was sacked. Wright could not go on to higher education as his unemployed father could not afford it. Wright went farm-labouring. He got his first job as a scientist when World War 2 broke out. He got a pension

SPY CATCHER

The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer

by PETER WRIGHT
Former Assistant Director of MI5

of two thousand pounds for his quarter-of-a-century of faithful service: this month, the millionth copy of "Spycatcher" will have been sold.

Wright had a very low opinion of MI5 and 6 and obviously became paranoiacally obsessed by the presence of spies on spies within MI5 and 6. The British Secret Service were amateurist at best in comparison to the KGB and CIA. A casual observer could suggest that the weakness of the British Secret Service is also the weakness of British politics - the left/right polarisation makes the business of running a stable society and economy a Micky Mouse operation.

COMHBHRÓN

COLGAN, The Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin, extends sincere sympathy to the family and friends of Linda Colgan, widow of the late Frank Colgan RIP, West County Hotel, Chapelizod, and Spa Hotel, Lucan, County Dublin. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a hanam.

KEOHANE, The Officer Board of Republican Sinn Féin regrets the death on January 5 last of Joe Keohane, Tralee, former GAA footballer and selector. Deepest sympathy is extended to his wife Peggy, sons, Karl, Peter, Pat and Gary and family circle. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

MEEHAN, (nee O'Donnell). A vote of sympathy was passed by Comhairle na Mumhan to Bill Meehan (Long Kesh) on the death of his mother during December. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a hanam.

MORTON, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Mrs. Brigit Morton. From the Willie Stewart Cumann Republican Sinn Féin, Dundalk.

O MATHUNA, Sincere sympathy is extended to Eamonn O Mathuna on the recent death of his mother in Cork from the Officer Board of Republican Sinn Féin.

O'REGAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Eddie and Chris MacCarron and family, Brandrum, Monaghan, Co. Monaghan on the recent tragic death of their daughter Siobhán O'Regan, NT, who was killed in a motor accident near Darwin, Australia. From the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

ROGAN, A vote of sympathy was passed by the Willie Stewart Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Dundalk, with the family and relatives of Eileen Rogan who died during December. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a hanam.

VARIAN, The Ard Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin extends deepest sympathy to Donal Varian and family, Middleton, Co. Cork on the tragic death of his wife Noreen in a car accident on Wednesday, December 16 last. Our deepest sympathy also to Noreen's mother and family circle. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

WALSH, A vote of sympathy was passed at the AGM of Comhairle Chonnacht to the family and friends of the late John Walsh, Veteran of the South Mayo Brigade Ogligh na hEireann, Roundford, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

I gCUIMHNE

McNULTY, Peter - 16th Anniversary.

In proud and loving memory of our dear brother, Vol. Peter McNulty, South Down Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann who was killed in action on January 26, 1972. Always remembered by his brothers, sisters and family circle. Mary Queen of Ireland, pray for him.

McNULTY, Peter - 16th Anniversary.

In proud memory of our comrade Vol. Peter McNulty, South Down Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann whose anniversary occurs on January 26. From the Peter McNulty Cumann, Republican

Sinn Féin, Kilcoo, Co. Down. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh a anan uasal.
McNULTY, Peter - 16th Anniversary.
In proud and loving memory of Vol. Peter McNulty, South Down Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann who was killed in action on January 26, 1972. Remembered with pride by the South Down Martyrs Cumann, Castlewellan, Co. Down.

BEANNACTAI

SHEEHY, Wishing Seán Sheehy a very speedy recovery. From the staff at Ard Oifig, 21 Shaw Street.

Peter Barnes (Offaly) and James MacCormack (Westmeath) hanged in Coventry in 1940, Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg, both of Mayo, who died on hunger strike in England in the 1970s aroused the same pride in the Irish race and a similar fear in the Establishment as they followed in the footsteps of the 'Three in Manchester'.

On November 22 the Limerick branch of the National Graves Association held a ceremony at the Manchester Martyrs memorial in the city.

Republican Sinn Féin in Cork held their wreath-

laying ceremony the same day at the National Monument, Grand Parade. A colour party of Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCailíní were present. Eugene Harrington laid a wreath on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin.

AN STAIR

The Manchester Martyrs

ON NOVEMBER 23, 1867 three Irish Fenians were hanged at Salford Prison, Manchester, England. They had been accused of taking part in the successful rescue of two Fenian leaders from an English prison van in the heart of Manchester the previous September in the course of which a police sergeant was accidentally shot dead.

A wave of anti-Irish hysteria swept England, worked up by the Establishment and the British gutter press. The Fenian prisoners stood no chance whatever of a 'fair trial'. It was reminiscent of the atmosphere deliberately created when the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Maguire family and Judith Ward with many others were railroaded to long terms of imprisonment in the mid-1970s.

At their trial, William Philip Allen of Bandon, Co. Cork, Michael Larkin of Lusmagh, Co. Offaly and Captain Michael O'Brien of Ballymacoda, Co. Cork (an American Civil War veteran) declared 'God Save Ireland!' and created a sensation in the English courtroom.

Inspired by their courageous stand TD Sullivan wrote the following verses to the air of the American Civil War marching song, 'Tramp, tramp, tramp the boys are marching' or the 'Ballad of Libby Jail' to give it its correct title.

High upon the gallows tree swung the noble-hearted three,

By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;

But they met him face to face, with the courage of their race, And they went with souls undaunted to their doom.

"God save Ireland!" said the heroes;

"God save Ireland!" said they all.

"Whether on the scaffold high

Or the battlefield we die,

O, What matter where for Erin dear we fall!"

Girt around with cruel foes, still their courage proudly rose,
For they thought of hearts that loved them far and near,
Of the millions true and brave o'er the ocean's swelling wave,
And the friends in holy Ireland ever dear.

Climbed they up the rugged stair, rang their voices out in prayer,
Then with England's fatal cord around them cast,
Close beside the gallows tree kissed like brothers lovingly,
True to home and faith and freedom to the last.

Never till the latest day shall the memory pass away
Of the gallant lives thus given for our land;
But on the cause must go, amid joy or weal or woe,
Till we make our Isle a Nation free and grand.

'God Save Ireland' became the Irish National Anthem from the Fenian Rising of 1867 until it gave way to Peadar Kearney's 'The Soldiers' Song' following Easter Week 1916.

Allen, Larkin and O'Brien's sacrifice was commemorated annually on November 23 and in many town centres in Ireland monuments were erected to their memory. Known collectively as the Manchester Martyrs, their names and the memory of their deed inspired succeeding generations of Irish people.

Uncompromising Republican

A CROWD OF about 150 people braved wind and rain to attend the annual *Seán Sabhat* Commemoration in Limerick on Sunday, January 3.

The parade, which assembled at Bedford Row, was led by a nine-man Colour Party, followed by members of Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCaifín and two Pipers from the Clonbony Pipe Band in Clare.

At the graveside the proceedings were chaired by Des Long of the Ard Chomhairle who welcomed the crowd. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by an t-Athair O Tuathaigh and wreaths were laid on behalf of Irish Republicans by Jackie O'Donnell, and the Limerick Branch of the National Graves Association by Siobhán Mulcahy, wife of Paddy Mulcahy, veteran Republican, who was unable to attend.

A bugler then sounded The Last Post and Reveille. The oration was delivered by Eamonn Larkin, Councillor, Newry and Mourne District Council and Leas-

Uachtarán, Republican Sinn Féin, who in the course of his address said:

"Seán Sabhat fought with an uncompromising Republican attitude. He saw this as the only way forward to freedom. He recognised that any moves towards partition parliaments would be self-defeating. He had seen enough of previous attempts to secure the Republic through Leinster House come to betrayal. He rejected this and decided that the only way to rid the country of an occupying armed force was best described by one who had gone before him into that trap. He had said 'the only way to speak



to the English is through the barrel of a gun". This was one principle which Seán would not have argued with Michael Collins over. He had seen how the Free Staters had entered Leinster House and ended up supporting the British and he had seen how others with good intentions went in and were swallowed up by the system.

"If Seán were alive today he would give his answer to those who criminally misgovern the 26 Counties. He would condemn them for their utter capitulation to the British and their continuing betrayal of the National ideal. He would be aghast at the collaboration along the border, the sight of British army mountaintop spy-

posts along the South Armagh border and the now-sanctioned daily incursions by British occupation forces into the 26 Counties."

The proceedings ended with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann. Refreshments were provided by the organisers after the ceremony.

IMEACHTAI

Peter McNulty
Commemoration

Sunday, January 24
at 10.30am

Bryansford, Newcastle
Co. Down

Prominent Speaker

Organised by:
Republican Sinn Féin

BRITISH BLOCK RDS

THE BRITISH Embassy in Dublin successfully objected recently to a planning application by the Royal Dublin Society (RDS) for the erection of a helicopter pad at the Simmonscourt Pavilion area because of the 'security risk' to the Ballsbridge Embassy-cum-spy centre.

It appears that the helicopter pad was part of an enterprising plan by the RDS to stave off their customers' retreat to the more accessible Goffs Bloodstock Sales at Naas.

Presumably there is a further 'security risk' in mentioning the affair in the media, as not a whisper of the affair has been voiced in the Irish press or broadcasting services.

To do so at the present time is, as far as the GAA is concerned, to give aid and comfort to the British Occupation Forces and to publicly reject all those who have suffered for the freedom of Ireland at the hands of these forces down the years.

SDLP HEED THEIR MASTERS' VOICE

THE FOUR SDLP Councillors on Moyle District Council in Antrim supported a Unionist motion at a 'special' meeting on December 7 last. The motion read:

"That a person should not be elected to District Councils if he had within the 10 years preceding election day been sentenced to a term of imprisonment of three months or more."

The meeting was called by the Unionists to consider the Northern Ireland Office's October 1987 'Discussion Paper' on restricting democracy further in the Six Counties.

As well as giving a blanket endorsement to the British conveyor-belt system of justice the SDLP-men were clearly dancing to their British master's tune as Section 10 of the discussion paper shows.

The reward for this collaboration is, no doubt, the prospect of jobs and salaries under a new Stormont.

ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR and the story of a dog...

YOU HAVE heard of Dog bites Man and Man bites Dog but have you heard of Trixie, the vegetarian dog from Newry?

According to this tale (from our Canine Correspondent) the Crown Forces patrols were getting annoyed at the barking dogs betraying their presence at night in the Derrybeg area of Newry, Co. Down.

An RUC man threatened one woman that if her dog was not stopped barking he would shoot it. The woman swiftly replied that the dog was licensed to bark just as the Brit was licensed to kill!

Several animals were poisoned around this time. Trixie ate some poisoned meat left by the Brits but survived and to this day will not eat meat.

Martin McKeown who came out of Long Kesh about two years ago feeds the dog chopped greens, carrots and potatoes. Derrybeg dogs are more vigilant than ever now and rapidly becoming greens fans - they are leaving the rats to the Brits and the RUC!

NOSING AROUND IN KERRY

A SPECIAL Branchman raiding a farmhouse in Co. Kerry was not content with collecting names and addresses, reading private letters and bank statements and otherwise 'looking for arms in envelopes'.

The Branchman decided to investigate what he thought was a grass lawn near the house and stepped into a slurry pit, covering himself up to his 'oxters' in the vile-smelling liquid!

The comments of the Branchman are not suitable for publication in this paper.

GAA - Rule 15

THE CALL FOR the reappraisal of the GAA ban on membership of the Association by British Occupation Forces in the Six Counties by Dr. Morris, Archbishop of Cashel and Emlý, comes one week subsequent to a similar call by a leading GAA member, An tAthair León O Móracháin, Ruairí O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Republican Sinn Féin said in a statement on December 15.

The moves to abolish the GAA ban on serving members of the British Occupation Forces in Ireland are consistent with the Catholic Bishops' statement. It is

scarcely possible to call for public support for these foreign occupying forces while at the same time ostracising them from the ranks of the largest and oldest national organisation in Ireland.

Dr. Morris, patron of the GAA, is quoted as saying that there were "historic reasons for the ban, because of fears that the RUC or RIC could spy on national-ist members through the Association" and that the ban had "outlived its usefulness". An tAthair O Móracháin described the ban as "a fossil of history".

'Republican Sinn Féin asks what has changed since this rule was adopted other

than the withdrawal of British Occupying Forces in the 26 Counties? These forces are still in the Six Counties and they still spy on nationalist people in the interests of British rule. They are certainly not "fossils of history" yet as their 'shoot-to-kill' strip-searching, plastic bullet and general harassment policies show.

'When Britain withdraws her occupation forces and administration from all parts of Ireland, when such bodies have indeed "outlived their usefulness" then GAA Rule 15 may be removed with the least possible controversy and the greatest jubilation.

'To do so in advance of such withdrawal is to dispense with it before the reason which gave rise to it in the first place is removed.

Canon McDyer

The small village of Glencolmille, Co. Donegal suffered a great loss on the death of Canon James McDyer on November 25. He will be deeply missed.

During his life-time, he worked hard for his parishioners in achieving their basic needs which had been deprived from them for so long. As emigration raged in the past few decades, apathy did not set in on the "Glen".

Instead Fr. McDyer brought electricity, habitable dwellings, paved roads and piped water to the parish. The youth were taught and prepared for a life in their native environment and were equipped with appropriate life skills. During the sixties he pion-

eerred the "Save the West" campaign. He was renowned for reawakening the pride and spirit of self-help in the once dying Donegal community.

In 1971, he supported the Republican proposal for a provincial parliament within a free 32-county governmental structure to be called Dail Uladh. A year later he adamantly opposed Ireland's entry into the EEC as he saw it as a threat to his people.

More recently, in the past year, he refused to support the SEA as it was also detrimental to those people



that he had worked among during his life-time. He never lost faith in the work he was doing and as

a result gave faith to those he worked among. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

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1st Prize, £100: No. 161
2nd Prize, £50: No. 93
3rd Prize, £25: No. 11
5 Prizes of £5: Nos. 16, 261, 287, 163, 129.