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Athbhliam fé shéan
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March For All-Ireland DEMOCRACY



• Mrs. Thatcher in Ireland in 1989 — the last colonial dictator in Europe in 1990?

OVER NINE days in January 1990, Sinn Féin Poblachtach will be holding a coast-to-coast March for Democracy in Ireland. It will begin on Friday January 12 at the village of Cross in Co. Mayo, home of Comdt. General Tom Maguire, the last and faithful survivor of the last All-Ireland Democratic Assembly, known to history as the Second Dáil Eireann.

The route of the 163-mile march will be through Galway—Loughrea—Ballinasloe—Athlone—Tyrellspass—Kinnegad—Kilcock—Lucan (see map below) ending with a rally at the GPO in Dublin's O'Connell Street on Saturday, January 20 and a ceremony at the Mansion House in Dawson Street.

The Mansion House is where Ireland's First Dáil Eireann assembled on January 21, 1919 to proclaim our Declaration of Independence from Britain and the Democratic Programme which outlined the social and economic aims of a free Ireland. 71 years after neither document has been implemented due to the partition system.

BOTH STATES UNDEMOCRATIC

Republicans have sought for and fought for a restoration of the national franchise of ALL the Irish people since the artificial division in 1922 into Six and 26 counties. The years since then have produced continuing political instability, economic undevelopment and armed resistance to British rule. Both States are failures because they are at heart undemocratic.

Following the upsurge in peoples democracy in the last months of 1989 throughout Eastern Europe many people are now asking will Mrs. Thatcher be the last remaining dictator in Europe? But the crumbling of the Eastern European Empire gives us hope that the last remnant of the British Empire in our country will not long survive it.

Democracy is indivisible and Ireland's right to determine her own future stands alongside Germany's, Romania's or Poland's. It cannot be praised and encouraged in one part of Europe and denied and suppressed in another.

The newly-elected Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has told the world that it has nothing to fear from a united democratic Germany. The same holds for a united and truly democratic Ireland.

OPPORTUNITY

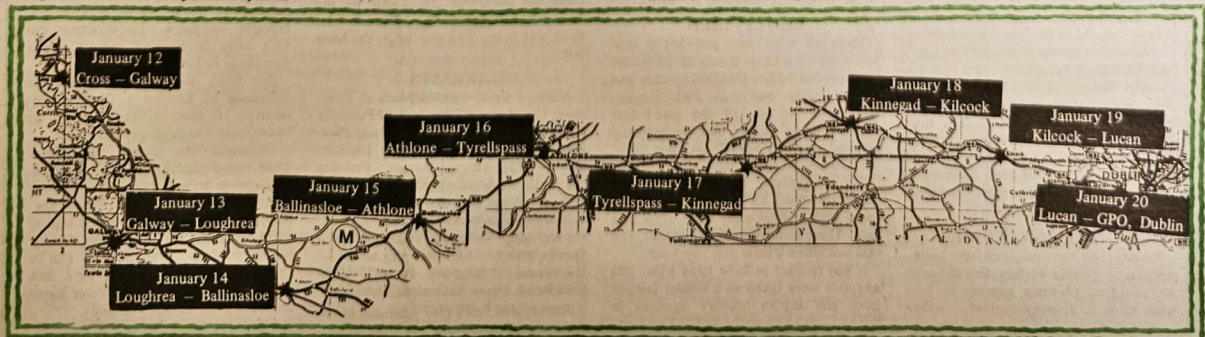
Such an Ireland would allow us the opportunity to:

- Settle the national question for once and for all by getting Britain to withdraw and allowing self-determination for the Irish people;
- Work for genuine local democracy with control of decision-making in communities and places of work by the ordinary people. We believe Sinn Féin Poblachtach's proposals in ÉIRE NUA are a workable model of such decentralisation that will free us from the imported British colonial models of politics, economics and administration that rear our youth for unemployment and emigration;
- Replace the corrupt clientist system of 26-county politicians, buying people's allegiance with promises which is not democracy — disillusion-

ed former Fine Gael minister, Gemma Hussey, admits (*Sunday Tribune*, December 31, 1989) there are "no longer any standards of truth or consistency" among Leinster House politicians and that they are a "despised profession".

- Give present day Unionists an equal right and an equal opportunity to contribute to an All-Ireland Democracy while recognising the diverse traditions the Irish nation undoubtedly contains;
- Get down to the job of national reconstruction and development based on our land, fisheries, forestry, minerals etc to defeat emigration, exploitation and unemployment; Cultivate our own language and identity to provide a motivating driving force for the future.

This January we can begin the Campaign for Democracy in Ireland by supporting the march across Ireland and joining in along the way. As events in Europe show us all too clearly, freedom is not conceded but must be won by the efforts of the people themselves.



50 YEARS AGO:

THE MAGAZINE FORT RAID

WITH THE Chief-of-Staff Seán Russell trapped in the USA by the outbreak of World War II, the arrest of four of the IRA leaders in September and the seizure of over US \$8,000, the sense of direction in the Republican Movement seemed to wobble.

The hunger-strikes had been successful and the English Campaign had continued at a lower level while the release of all internees had been secured through a loop-hole in the Offences Against the State Act.

The explosion in October at the boundary wall of Mountjoy in an attempt to effect the escape of the four leaders was engineered from inside the jail. In November, Sheriff Street postal sorting office in Dublin was raided and £5,000 was seized. Later in the month the National Bank at Clonliffe Road, Dublin was held up and £200 taken.

The previous month, two training centres in Dublin for the English Campaign were raided by police and put out of action: Killiney Castle, where the youthful Brendan Behan, among others, was trained by Seán Fuller of Kerry — before that he was Operations Officer in Birmingham — and the Silver Springs in Delgany where Mickie Conway of Tipperary was the instructor who trained the late Harry White of Belfast.

"War News" recorded the Killiney Castle raid, saying that Inspector Mansfield and his men found only some blankets and mattresses and a few old alarm clocks. But the Republican policy of not taking action in the 26 County area, announced at the opening of the English Campaign, was now beginning to look rather threadbare.

DIRECT CONFLICT

A sensational event at the end of December brought the Movement into direct conflict with the Dublin administration who were only looking for an excuse to clamp down on Republicans, having been frustrated by the hunger-strikes and Seamus Burke's Habeas Corpus action in early December.

PLAN SUBMITTED

Back in 1937, under Michael Fitzpatrick as Chief-of-Staff, a plan had been submitted to GHQ for a quick raid on the Free State Army's reserve store of ammunition in the Phoenix Park. It had been turned down because of inability to dump securely the very large quantity of munitions involved.

At this stage, in December 1939, younger men on Headquarters Staff were thinking of guerrilla raids on British forces in the Six Counties from the Free State. These included Michael Traynor of Belfast, now Adjutant-General, Jack McNeela, Dominic Adams (home from the English Campaign) and Tony Darcy of Galway, OC of the Western Command.

Although between three and five hundred Thompson sub-machineguns (described by Bowyer Bell as "an excellent weapon, accurate, rapid-firing and easy to hide") were in IRA dumps, there was a great shortage of .45-calibre American ammunition for this basic and most effective weapon. The Free State Army were well supplied with such ammunition, however.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

Training had been switched from bomb-making to guerrilla warfare, and although no advanced planning appears to have been made or strategy evolved — unlike



• Brendan Behan

the English Campaign — when Tomás O Dubhghaill, a Dublin civil servant in the 26-County Department of Defence presented an audacious scheme for raiding the Magazine Fort, it fell into the general scheme of things at the time.

Again and again Bowyer Bell tells of 26-County state provocation, IRA retaliation followed by state vengeance setting a pattern from late 1939 onwards. "The pattern was not to be altered for years," he states.

And so tactics, without regard to strategy and over-all policy became the norm with the Republican Movement. Lack of strategy resulted in disaster and want of policy caused a break-down in discipline. "Immediate tactics without much thought for the future" seemed to be the guiding rule.

However, the raid on the Magazine Fort went ahead. It had previously been raided on Easter Monday 1916 by senior Fianna who pretended to engage in football nearby. They carried off much-needed war material to the GPO garrison in O'Connell Street. In Easter Week, policy, strategy and tactics were inter-locking.

On December 23, 1939 at 8.35pm the Dublin Brigade of the IRA hit the Magazine Fort in the Park. The routine of the garrison (13 men armed with rifles and a Lewis gun) had not been changed since 1924 and they were immobilised swiftly.

Entrance was gained by a *ruse-de-guerre* when a "civilian" on a bicycle arrived at the main gate with a "Christmas present" for the officer-in-charge. Another ruse at nearby Islandbridge Barracks failed and shots were exchanged with military policemen. The empty lorries waiting here were, however, diverted to the target in the Park.

SHOTS FIRED

There all went well and not a shot was fired or a blow struck as 13 lorries were loaded with 1,084,000 rounds and gotten safely away. A Park Ranger, who lived in one of the gate-hedges intervened and was hit over the head and silenced when he would not keep quiet. He recovered from his injuries.

Five Volunteers who delayed their departure when all was over were captured with a number of short arms in a sack. These were the only casualties. The raid had lasted a little over one hour.

It was recalled in June 1954 when 700 weapons were taken in a similar fashion from the British military barracks in

Armagh city. Planning, strategy and tactics had been worked out in 1954 as in 1916.

MASS SEARCHES

At Christmas 1939, panic ensued. Most of the night of December 23-24 was spent by Michael Brennan of Clare, Free State Army Chief-of-Staff, drawing up plans with his officers for an immediate mass search to recover the bulk of their reserve ammunition supply — over a million rounds including .303 rifle and .45 automatic ammunition.

Cruel disappointment followed for the IRA. The local units were simply not able to cope with such quantities of material. Seán Ashe, OC, Kildare had prepared better dumps than most although he was certain he would have been ordered to drive directly to the Border to take part in a Northern campaign.

Over the next two weeks most, but not all of the ammunition was recovered and some old dumps were discovered as well. The men arrested in the Park and those accused of holding the Magazine Fort ammunition were put into "A" Wing of Mountjoy Jail, among the ordinary prisoners, and not with their comrades already in "D" Wing. This policy of the Free State was to result in tragedy later on as shall be seen.

DERRY JAIL

Meanwhile on Christmas Day, 1939, 50 internees in Derry's old jail embarked on a protest, holding their wing for several hours against a force of RUC and B-Specials. They painted the ends of their bed-sheets green and orange and flew these make-shift Tricolours from their cell windows, to the enthusiastic response of the crowds gathered outside.

They had been moved in buses, each handcuffed to a warder or a policeman, from Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail and were loudly cheered by the populace on arrival in Derry. A swoop in October had netted 45 prisoners in addition to the 32 held at Christmas 1938 and so they were divided from their comrades in Belfast jail.

BONFIRES

In Belfast bonfires were lit in Albert Street and Cullingtree Road, to defy the wartime blackout. RUC and B-Specials were brought in to baton-charge the crowds but many fought back with their bare fists.

Then on December 29, the IRA radio which had been transmitting for months was seized by Dublin Castle Special Branch under Det.-Sergt. Denis O'Brien, of whom more shall be heard later.

The radio had broadcast a wide range of programmes, including the advocacy of the "Comhar na gComharsan" philosophy favouring co-operative development of the economy in a free Ireland. On the night of December 29, a list of the ammunition taken in the Magazine Fort Raid was being read out when the blow fell.

ARRESTS

Arrested were: Jack McNeela of Ballycroy, Co. Mayo, the Director of Publicity on IRA Headquarters Staff; Jack Plunkett, brother of Joseph Mary Plunkett and a 1916 Veteran himself, (he was gain of technician); Seamus O Monaghan of Dooonah, Co. Mayo who was editor of "War News" and radio announcer and script writer and Seamus Byrne, a Dublin solicitor who was the tenant of the house, "Ashgrove House", Highfield Road, Upper Rathmines, Dublin. Seamus later had a play produced in the

Abbey Theatre in the early 1950s called "Design for a headstone" which resulted in scenes among the audience at this time. The talented Seamus O Monaghan has retired as a secondary teacher in Swinford. A fluent Irish speaker he supports Sinn Féin Poblachtach and still passionately advocates the "Comhar na gComharsan" policy.

We are sorry to record the death of his wife, a staunch Republican in her own right, Máire Ní Cholmáin — in England on December 12. The staff of SAOIRSE, the direct lineal successor to "War News", expresses sincere sympathy to Seamus and family and wishes a speedy recovery to Seamus himself following his operation in a Galway hospital.

Soon on the heels of the seizure of the radio came another reverse. On January 3, following a route march by units of Cork city IRA three armed Special Branch detectives closed in on Tomás Og Mac Curtáin, OC, First Cork Brigade, outside Mangan's Jewellers on Patrick Street.

DETECTIVE DIED

In the ensuing scuffle, a shot was fired from the Republican's revolver, wounding Detective Roche who died next morning. The other two, Collins and Moore were unhurt as was Tomás Mac Curtáin himself. He was arrested and placed in "D" Wing of Mountjoy Jail on a capital charge. He was the only son of the Lord-Mayor of Cork of the same name who was murdered by British Crown Forces in 1920.

On January 5, the Dublin administration followed up its advantage, pointing out the danger to the "neutrality" of the 26-County state posed by the Magazine Fort Raid and the challenge of the Cork shooting.

EMERGENCY POWERS

They amended the Emergency Powers Act of the previous September to allow for the internment without trial of citizens and not just aliens as already provided for in the parent Act.

As emergency legislation it could not be challenged in the Dublin courts as it was not subject to constitutional restraint. The five-week-old gap in the Offences Against the State Act was now closed.

On January 22 and 23 the death sentence on Barnes and McCormack was appealed in London. This time, they were represented by Albert Woods, SC of the Dublin Bar and Douglas Jenkins, BL instructed by Lehane and Hogan, Ormond Quay, Dublin. Con Lehane was doing his utmost to save their lives but the appeal was rejected.

SHOCKED PUBLIC

At home in Ireland, a shocked and unbelieving public joined in a monster reprieve campaign. To facilitate this, IRA units in England carried out no operations in January, 1940.

One Irish Republican prisoner was sentenced in London: Daniel Croty received 10 years at the Old Bailey for "conspiracy" to cause explosions.

Otherwise the month of January, 1940 ended quietly. But tragedy loomed at home in Ireland and in England... (More next month. Refs. "Píascáin i Sasana", saith altanna i "gComhar", 1950-3 le Breandan O Beacháin; "Harry" by Harry White; "The IRA" by Tim Pat Coogan; "The Secret Army" by J. Bowyer Bell and "The Trial of Peter Barnes and others" by Letitia Fairfield.)

Defeat of Colonialism in '90s — Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

IN A MESSAGE for the 1990s the President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach Ruairí Ó Brádaigh calls for the final defeat of colonialism in the world and the achievement of All-Ireland democracy and genuine local democracy in this country during the 1990s.

He also listed the safeguarding of nature and the environment on a global scale — to which lip-service was shamelessly paid by some world figures — as a vital objective for humanity in the course of the coming decade.

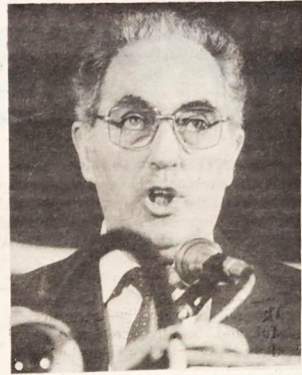
The New Year statement continued: "The control of decision-making not alone in community life but also in economic life and places of work by the ordinary people themselves was essential for human progress as well as the reduction in the influence of the superpowers which dominate the human race.

"Nearer home the release of the Birmingham Six, Judith Ward, the Winchester Three and the exoneration of all innocent prisoners would be seen by a great many Irish people as a minimum prerequisite for justice, pending a general

amnesty for all political prisoners.

"In addition the defeat of poverty and deprivation from which over one-third of our people suffer as well as of unemployment and emigration is essential to the development of the people of all this island.

"Finally the growth of the Irish language and culture and the defence of neutrality would assist not only as worthwhile in themselves but also as motivating factors in the all-round struggle for the survival of our own people and of humanity in general."



• Ruairí Ó Brádaigh



A REPORT by the Fair Employment Agency in the Six Counties published on Wednesday, December 20 has found that major discrimination in employment against Catholics exists in most departments of Queen's University Belfast. The University also gives preference to ex-members of the British Crown Forces when employing people, a practice that discriminates against both women and Catholics, as well as nationalists and Republicans.

In the University administration Catholic employees constitute less than 15 per cent of the workforce;

in the academic and clerical departments less than 11 per cent and in supervisory grades, less than 15 per cent. The Catholic ratio of the population of the Six Counties is given in the report as 35 per cent.

Republicans have pointed to the bigoted attitudes at work in the highest educational establishment in the Six Counties that is expressed in the 42 per cent Catholic presence in the catering, shop and bar areas of Queen's University. The University authorities have agreed to an undefined "programme of action".

Recent reports have also confirmed the existence of discrimination in the fire service in the Six Counties and one source states that Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast has less than 10 per cent Catholics among the consultant staff.

Some things never change in Britain's last colony, it seems.

"he would not expect" judges to give evidence in public.

IMMUNITY

At the preliminary inquiry in London on Monday December 4, limited immunity from prosecution was granted to anyone giving evidence. In the light of these revelations Sinn Féin Poblachtach issued a statement posing two questions: "Will the British DPP be called to give testimony regarding the suppression for so long of the incriminating police evidence that eventually forced the freeing of the Guildford Four? "Will the forensic personnel involved in the now-discredited tests that helped to convict the Maguire family be giving evidence?"

The answers are surely that they will not be called. In reality the system that convicted the Guildford Four and other innocent Irish prisoners in 1974/75 is still in place in 1990 and is being constantly refined in its oppression. And no British inquiry will be set by the establishment there to expose that.

LIAM MELLOWS COMMEMORATION

THE ANNUAL Liam Mellows commemoration was attended by Republicans from around Galway county on December 10 last in Athenry.

A lone piper led the march from the church to the former national school where the monument is positioned in the school frontyard. The piper was followed by the National Flag carried by Seán Mac an Iomaire and the Starry Plough carried by Tommy Curran.

The Galway banner, which portrays Liam Mellows, was carried by Paddy Ruane, the former Sinn Féin County Councillor and Tommy Connelly.

Wreaths were laid by John Joe Ruane for the National Graves Association.

Seán Mac an Iomaire led the crowd in a decade of the Rosary in Irish and Emmett Walsh in the course of his oration condemned the Free State bankrupt politicians for the position we find ourselves in; high unemployment, high emigration and poverty at our doorsteps.

ANY DIFFERENT

He said: "Is the emigration from Ireland at 300,000 any different racism", Emmett Walsh added that the treatment

know what we can expect from these British servants, just more of the same policies and less justice and freedom."

Emmett continued: "Is it a state that governs with compassion, understanding, with pride of nation? Does it care about the less well off in its care? Have they provided the jobs necessary for its people? Or a health service that cares or are they more concerned with building new police barracks and prisons for those marginalised by their own policies and inability to deal with our peoples' problems."

Condemning the attitude of the British establishment towards the Irish as "endemic bigotry and racism", Emmett Walsh added that the treatment



• Liam Mellows

meted out to Irish prisoners in England was nothing short of savage.

QUESTION

With the British legal system under attack by the recent publicised revelations it is indeed time for every Irishman to question the Free State administration's attitude vis-a-vis political prisoners, extradition, emigration and unemployment. While these same officials meet British Cabinet members under the auspices of the Hillsborough Agreement this is nothing but crass treachery and should be condemned as such.

The ceremony concluded with the piper playing Amhrán na bhFiann.

Pattern in British 'Judicial' Inquiries

BOTH THE Stevens and Guildford Inquiries set up in turn by the British government following the public outcry over the frame-ups of innocent Irish prisoners and the exposed collusion between the British Crown Forces and Loyalist death squads are following the same age-old British pattern of careful selection of the terms of reference and personnel to produce the desired results.

The Stevens inquiry team has not revealed to several human rights groups in the Six Counties any details of the scope of their investigation into intelligence leaks to loyalists despite being in operation since September last. Both Amnesty International and the Committee on the Administration of Justice suspect that the inquiry will be restricted to events in September 1989.

Chief Constable Hugh Annesley's statement in September that the inquiry would deal with two missing files from Dunmurry RUC station and Ballykinlar UDR base, as

well as the "current investigation . . . about the mishandling of confidential information by the security forces" would effectively confine the inquiry to these events in September only and this limitation will render it into another British cover-up.

Meanwhile Sir John May, the chairman of the Guildford and Woolwich judicial inquiry, announced at the time of the release of the Guildford Four on October 15, 1989, has admitted that he has no power to order any witness to appear and cannot even order the production of relevant papers. He said that

GEARR SCEALTA

TWO ROSCOMMON men, Sylvester Fitzsimons and Seán Fitzmaurice have again been fined for selling Easter Lilies on Easter Sunday last.

At the District Court in Carrick-on-Shannon, Sylvester was fined £50 for selling Lilies at Dangan and Seán was fined for carrying out the same duty at Jamestown, Co. Leitrim and at Dangan.

This harassment has become an annual event now and both of these Republicans have served terms of imprisonment because they have refused to pay such fines.

ROSCOMMON County Council at its December meeting agreed to send a letter to Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich in Armagh congratulating him on his recent call for a British withdrawal from Ireland, (see SAOIRSE December 1989 issue).

A resolution proposing that this be done was proposed by Patrick Lenihan (Independent) representing the South Roscommon area — a brother of the 26-County Minister for Defence — and seconded by Eithne Bean Uí Chuinn (Hospitals Action Committee) representing the Mid-Roscommon area, and passed unanimously.

AGM Notice

OFFICERS elected at the December AGM of Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach: Cathóirleach Eamon Larkin, Rúnaí Eamon Ó Mathúna, Cisteoir Liam Minnagh, PRO/Leas-Cathóirleach Michael Donegan, Óige Angela Ward, Ard Chomhairle delegates Conal Gallagher, Michael McGonigle.

★★★
SEÁN Sabhat Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach in Roscommon town held their AGM in November 1989. Officers elected were: Cathóirleach Brian Murray, Rúnaí Kathleen Beirne, Cisteoir Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

REALIGNMENTS

ON THE INTERNATIONAL scene the year 1989 will probably be remembered as the year in which the Cold War between the powers of East and West was declared at an end. The removal of the Berlin Wall was the most tangible symbol of all that has happened in recent months.

Throughout the last quarter of 1989 every day and almost every news bulletin brought stories of new developments. In Europe, the centre of gravity has undoubtedly moved eastwards to

Germany. Events are unfolding at such a pace that it is difficult to grasp the significance of it all and assess, not to mention predict, what the possible consequences may be.

Realignments will undoubtedly evolve in the next few years. The task of trying to assess, or even guess, what direction or shape these will take is a daunting business at this time. Commentary tends to be based on current events with little or no attempt to identify or indicate the likely future direction of things.

TWO REPORTS

Sometimes, in periods of change and flux, it is a small voice from the ranks of the observers that can best assess the situation. Two reports, which seem to have been largely ignored in the Irish media in December, may be of some significance as we face 1990.

Agence France Presse reported from Havana on December 8 on a speech by Fidel Castro, in which, according to the agency, he "as good as abandoned the socialist camp to choose that of the third world".

The Cuban leader was speaking at a ceremony to honour Cuban soldiers who died in the last 30 years on missions abroad. This ceremony was held at the Cacahuatl, the monument to the heroes of the War of Independence against Spain. The venue is not without significance.

Obviously dismayed with recent events, particularly in the USSR, Castro remarked that the phrase "struggle against imperialism" has been virtually removed from the political vocabulary in socialist countries. But, he said, "the slogans of capitalism can never be the instrument for sol-

ving socialism's present difficulties."

"The imperialists of today look to the European socialist countries to join them in a colossal plunder of the third world, our people," he declared.

'HAVES' AND 'HAVE-NOTS'

Will a realignment put the first and second worlds into one camp, as the haves? And will the third world countries become even more oppressed and exploited? Will the struggle of the future be between the haves and the have-nots? Is that how Fidel Castro sees it and does he see a role for himself as one of the leaders of the have-nots? It is a likely scenario that is worth watching.

Back in Europe, the EC plans for 1992 have been well and truly upstaged by recent developments. It is now more obvious than ever that the so-called "Europe" (of 12 states) is only part of Europe. For Chancellor Kohl German unity is now of more importance than European unity. The paymaster of the EC will be channelling the funds eastwards from now on.

On December 19 in Brussels the leaders of 18 European states met to begin a new rapprochement between the EC (12 states) and the EFTA (six states, including the neutrals).

'EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SPACE'

Switzerland belongs to the European Free Trade Assoc-

'No
Sell-out
of Swiss
Vital
Interests'

By a Special
Correspondent

iation but has resolutely refused to join the EC, jealously guarding her neutrality, democratic institutions and economic independence. The President of the Swiss Confederation, Jean-Pascal Delamuraz spoke afterwards, according to the Geneva daily *La Suisse*, of the creation of the EEE (European Economic Space).

The preliminary discussions may well lead to formal negotiations aimed at bringing all 18 states into a framework of free movement of goods, persons, capital and services, while the groups of 12 and Six would continue to exist.

But the Swiss President, while welcoming these moves, indicated that his country would oppose a customs union and would be seeking a number of exceptions to protect Swiss interests.

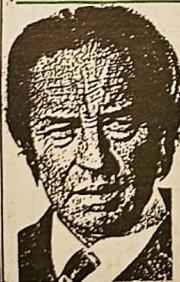
The Swiss policy is not one of isolationism. They are prepared to participate fully in the development of Europe, but there will be no sell-out of Switzerland's vital interests. As a small country she cannot do otherwise and survive.

We live in interesting times.



• Fidel Castro greets Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega — is the Cuban leader about to leave the Soviet camp?

IRELAND — FREE STATE OR NATION?



Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin

DIARMAID Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN

DIARMAID Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN wrote 'Ireland — Free State or Nation?' at the end of 1976. A native of Eyeries, Bára, Co. Cork he spent most of his life teaching in Gorey, Co. Wexford. He received the Irish Academy of Letter Award for his book *An Uain Bheo*. PART FIVE of this essay, which is being serialised in this paper, is carried below. Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin died in 1985, aged 52. Leaba i measc éigse Éireann go raibh aige.

Not that the false concept and political chicanery known as Free-Statery should be laid in its entirety at the door of our politicians. There were others equally culpable or even more culpable in that they pulled the puppet-strings. The Business Manipulators had arrived. Such narrow knaves cared little for Free State or Ireland, their vision being entirely limited to their Monday-trips to the local bank. Henceforth, there was a new native breed to be reckoned with — the great pound hand-shakers! Wrapped up, as were indeed their wives, in the fox, if not the mink, of petit bourgeois capitalism they crowded upon and ruled the Free State middens. Local boys made well!

Not that such knavery is new to our land. Indeed, it was all perhaps very understandable, very human, that a race that had been downtrodden for so long should at the scent of freedom, give tongue and seek 'milk and honey'. Had Free-Statery been merely that it would quite possibly be regarded as execrable and cheap, but human nature being what it is, understandable. But Free-Statery was and is something more. Free-Statery by

its very peculiar internal dynamic, by its debasing nature and dismal kinetic ensured that selfishness was eschewed and selfishness in terms of the national character firmly enthroned. The real evil of Free-Statery was, and is, that WE FORGOT.

That intrinsic evil at the core of Free-Statery lay, not in the packing of the judiciary, nor in the epaulettes of the Executive's 'favourite sons', nor in the Uncle Toms of an alien-briefed Civil Service, nor in the promotion of a revisionist teacher-force, nor in the living line of 'ridings' and 'sheriffery' from landlord-days, nor in the acceptance and re-posting of military 'tailored gentlemen', nor, for that matter, in black-clothed ranks of 'Mighty is Holy' nor in any other strata of 'Cum-uppance' which might wag a finger at the 'awful deeds' of Gonnolly and Pearse. No, the intrinsic evil of Free-Statery is that the sons of the 'favoured sons' forgot. But the Free-Statery preceded the Free State itself; the tune had long been played by the Bantry Band. It rung to the Bishop Moriarty's as much as it did the Cholans, the common factor long since having nestled

within the Empire multiple.

Patronage, as might be expected, soon became a fact of everyday life within the amputee State. The local bossman, who shouted with Redmond for recruits to 'fight the terrible Hun', (his own sons safely in residence at Clongowes, Mt. St. Benedict or Glenstal) got suitable recompense if not quite the 'freedom of small nations', in that merchant's home county a Guinness malting barley contract was the very remunerative bounty — still part of the family inheritance. At another extreme there was 'dole' and free bully beef. In between perks ranged from rate-collecting, secret-service, peace commissioners to the squireen who donned plus-fours and either passed or rejected scrub bulls and premium mares at snipegrass crossroads. And so the Aisling, the great and noble Easter dream of resurrection and freedom was soon buried — well and truly buried beneath the Free State's pots and pans. We, ourselves of late, have too forgotten! We, despite our tainery and balladry, have forgotten Ulaidh and her second-class citizens for over half a century. We pretended they did not exist.

That such change should afterwards cloud the vision proffered by the men of 1916 is, as I have stated already, understandable enough, a human weakness. As portrayed in the daily-life of the ordinary citizens, it shares a culpability and forgiveness common to the history-pages of many other countries. What is infinitely more culpable and far less easy to forgive is the fact that the so-called leaders of the Free State pretended that such a gross betrayal was not taking place, and that the weft and woof of nationhood were all in good hands, the fabric without cast. This pretence, for pretence indeed it is, was clearly, yeah cunningly, bolstered up, in the main, by focussing attention in the first instance on the economic development of the South (in itself, very necessary and highly laudable) whilst at the same time, blackening all those who sought the fuller development of the national ethos via social, cultural and political sovereignty. The rich man's joke the century, the Common Market, was used, for instance, to this effect as smokescreen.

MÁLA POIST

AFTER GUILDFORD

A chara,

The "Plight of the Innocent" is too serious a matter to be left to politicians! Recent acknowledgement at the highest constitutional level of the plight of Irish prisoners in English jails and the appalling anti-Irish Judiciary system in Britain was a rare phenomenon. After the release and vindication of the Guildford Four politicians were lavish in their use of such aphorisms as "long delayed justice", "convictions based on questionable and unreliable evidence", "dubious confessions made under extreme duress", "evidence of police brutality and severe beatings. Now Being Brought to Light". The irony was not lost on hard-working defence lawyers, families of prisoners and many determined people who marched in protest and campaigned with pen and poster while for most of the fifteen years politicians, especially in the Dublin Government (with one or two except-



• Christy Moore (outside the Central Bank) entertaining the thousands of people who took part in the 'Parade of Innocence' on December 9 last in Dublin.

ions), did absolutely nothing.

The same dilly-dallying by Government must not be tolerated in regard to the Birmingham Six. Mr Haughey knows well that justice, not mercy, is the only outcome acceptable and that the latest regrading of the prisoners' conditions is Britain's ploy to avoid the real issue of the prisoners' innocence. A determined popular campaign must continue as before to free the Six, as well

as the Winchester Three and Judith Ward (alas forgotten) and clear their names and those of the Maguire family. It must not rely on politicians who, in the wake of Guildford, are inhibited by apprehensions of the needs for relevant reforms nearer home. Indeed, it was not today or yesterday that the first alerts were sounded of the danger of uncorroborated confessions extracted by whatever means from persons in custody, not in Guildford or Bir-

ingham but in cities and towns on this side of the Irish sea.

Remember the damning findings of Amnesty International in 1977 relating to "Heavy Gang" behaviour and the system of detention for interrogatory purposes. The only response to Amnesty's call at the time was the appointment of the Safeguards Committee by the Government who subsequently rejected its key recommendations which were intended to strengthen the com-

plaints procedure for people in custody and introduce some independent element to the system. And so the structures that precipitated the whole debacle at the time remain the same today.

The lesson of Guildford has many implications for the Dublin Government. Its newfound partiality towards the plight of the innocent remains highly dubious while the name of Nicky Kelly has yet to be cleared as well as his co-defendants who were brut-

ally accused. The Government's sincerity in protecting its citizens from Britain's anti-Irish laws is most of all discredited by its readiness to extradite young Irish people to the same legislature vis-a-vis their political beliefs or their challenge, rightly or wrongly, to the constraints of British rule on their lives and the lives of their families.

An tAthair Piaras O'Dúill,
Sráid na hEaglaise,
Baile Atha Cliath 7.

SOUTH ARMAGH CLAIMANTS HARRASSED

A chara,

Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach, South Armagh and Newry condemns the harassment and intimidation of claimants outside DHSS offices throughout the South Armagh area by members of the British Crown Forces. Particular condemnation is directed towards recent incident in Forkhill.

We would remind Civil Service employees at these offices that they are quick to register their protest whenever they feel intimidated.

Therefore, we publicly call on their trade union to instruct its members to say what they propose to do in defence of unemployed claimants who are abused and threatened outside their offices.

The British Army and the RUC are engaged in a petty policy aimed at intimidating the people of Newry and South Armagh. The nationalist people are now enduring a regime of oppression which is no longer acceptable in Eastern Europe.

PRO
Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin
Poblachtach,
South Armagh and
Newry.

Women in Ireland's Fight for Freedom

★ Cumann na mBan

BY 1911 Inghinidhe was no longer functioning as a united organisation, although members came together from time to time to use the name. During the king's visit of that year a committee was set up from all nationalist groups to plan protest activities. It was decided to hold a dignified counter-demonstration to Bodenstown as it was feared that if such a demonstration was held in Dublin there would be trouble from the turbulent young men.

This went ahead but it did not stop turbulent young women. Countess Markievicz and members of Na Fianna handed out leaflets along the route of the royal procession and burned a Union Jack. Helena Moloney was arrested for throwing a stone through a shop window displaying a photo of the royal couple and, having refused to pay a fine, became the first woman to go to jail since the Ladies Land League. She was extremely angry when her fine was paid, strangely enough, by Fanny Parnell.

In 1913 members of Inghinidhe and the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL) worked together to try to alleviate the terrible sufferings caused by the attempt of Dublin employers to starve their workers into submission. They set up soup kitchens in Liberty Hall and all joined in the huge task. But their disagreement continued. Inghinidhe refused to support the campaign for votes for women on the grounds that it was agitation for the right to British citizenship and they believed that women should unite to make Ireland ungovernable by Britain. Sinn Féin initially welcomed the campaign by the IWFL and said that membership of it was not incompatible with mem-

bership of Sinn Féin, but when in 1911 Home Rule again seemed to be on the cards they changed their attitude.

In 1913 Griffith, who was becoming anti-feminist, declared that "Sinn Féin was not particularly interested in the suffrage movement, until Ireland has some kind of government of its own, then as far as our opinion will go, Irishwomen, if they desire the vote, will have it". Inghinidhe remained consistent in their attitude throughout the debate.

EXCLUDED

With the decline of Inghinidhe and the founding of the Irish Volunteers in 1913 there was an opening for a militant national women's organisation.

Women were excluded from membership of the Irish Volunteers, although some had attended the inaugural meeting, they were seated in a gallery specially set aside for them. On April 5, 1914, over 100 women attended a meeting of what was to be called Cumann na mBan. The meeting was presided over by Agnes O'Farrelly. Amongst its aims were the advancement of the cause of Irish unity; the organisation of women in the furtherance of this object; to assist and train a body of Irishmen for the defence of Ireland and the setting up of a Defence of Ireland Fund. Other activities were first aid, drill, signalling and rifle practice.

A provisional executive was elected, many of whom were relatives of leaders of the Irish Volunteers. In May Inghinidhe na hÉireann joined forces with Cumann na mBan by becoming a branch of the organisation. Cumann na mBan grew rapidly. The four Dublin Branches were attached to the four Dublin battalions of the Irish Volunteers.

EQUALITY

The IWFL did not favour Cumann na mBan as they believed that a promise of equality should have been extracted from the Volunteer leadership before Cumann na mBan consented to do the tedious work of fund-raising. However, the women of Cumann na mBan, like Inghinidhe before them,

believed that "there can be no free women in an enslaved nation".

In December 1914 Cumann na mBan held its first Convention and consolidated its aims. At this convention Cumann na mBan stated that it was an independent body of Irishwomen and that direction of its branches would be by its Executive. This was in reply to criticism from the IWFL that Cumann na mBan was a mere adjunct of the Volunteers. While Cumann na mBan never had the independence which Inghinidhe had enjoyed, because they were tied into and part of the structure of the Republican Movement, they always had an independent outlook and never hesitated to put forward views and opinions, even when these were unpopular.

In 1914 John Redmond demanded, and the Volunteer Executive reluctantly conceded, that 25% of his nominees be included on the Volunteer Executive. At the start of World War I, Redmond, in exchange for a promise of Home Rule after the War, promised the British government the services of the Irish Volunteers and immediately started touring the country exhorting men to join the British Army "to fight for the freedom of small nations". The original Volunteer Executive repudiated him and at an emergency meeting the Volunteer manifesto was reaffirmed. However 170,000 men left to join the National Volunteers and most of these went on to join the British Army. Only 11,000 men stayed with the Irish Volunteers. Those who remained were determined to transform the organisation into a tightly knit

military body, capable of taking on the British and taking advantage of Britain's disadvantage.

REDMOND REJECTED

Cumann na mBan issued a statement shortly after totally rejecting Redmond and his policies of compromise. Only a few members left and from this time the organisation went from strength to strength. By October 1914 there were more than 60 branches and a permanent HQ in Dublin. Florence MacCarthy was appointed organiser and immediately set about her task, travelling about the country, setting up branches in many places. A militarist fervour swept through Cumann na mBan which from then on organised on military lines.

In August 1915 large numbers of Cumann na mBan in uniform marched at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa and in the months following the organisation spent its time preparing for the approaching confrontation with the might of Britain which all knew would come before the end of World War I.

James Connolly had set up the Irish Citizen Army in 1913 in an effort to protect the striking workforce during the Dublin lock-out. Mainly because of its influence women were accepted on an equal footing to men. Countess Markievicz was a member of both the Citizen Army and Cumann na mBan. In fact, she held the rank of Vice-Commandant in the Citizen Army. There was less sex discrimination in the ICA and lectures on such subjects as first aid were given jointly to men and women, something unheard of in those days.

WORKING CLASS WOMEN

While many of the women in the upper ranks of the ICA were middle class, the rank and file were women who had been dismissed from Jacobs factory for attempting to organise a union. It was unusual at that time for working class women to be involved in any kind of group or organisation. Because of the terrible poverty, most of them spent their lives slaving at badly paid jobs to augment the meagre wages their menfolk brought home and looking after their families. It was only those women who had some financial security that were free to become involved in politics or indeed any kind of voluntary work.

The early years of the twentieth century were exciting for those women who were in a position to take advantage of the changing times — who were in fact out to change society. Organisations like Inghinidhe na hÉireann, Cumann na mBan, Na Fianna and the Irish Citizen Army made vast inroads into male-dominated society and ensured that women would never again be ignored or disregarded.

In the months leading up to the Rising nationalist women took their part in the preparations, raising much of the funds used for buying arms, protesting against Redmond's recruiting of Irish men to fight Britain's war and in general doing more than their share in trying to ensure the success of the Rising.

— Eimear Ní Bhriain

(Refs. Unmanageable Revolutionaries by Margaret Ward).

Brón ar an mBás

REV. FR. SÉAN Ó GORMAILE, PP

REPUBLICANS were saddened at the death of Very Rev. Séan Ó Gormaille, Parish Priest of Abercynon, Archdiocese of Cardiff, Wales and a native of Tuam, Co. na Gaillimhe on December 6.

He was aged 75 and before his becoming a priest had been an active Republican and a noted platform speaker for Sinn Féin for many years.

When his son Bart was interned without trial at the Curragh in 1957 Séan spoke on a public protest platform in Tuam and was dismissed from his post as a part-time telephonist at the local exchange as a result.

This victimisation of a highly public figure only served to deepen his Republican convictions and he stood as one of the Sinn Féin candidates for North Galway area in the Co. Council elections in 1960. He spoke in several constituencies in the 26-County general election in 1961 and in Fermanagh-South Tyrone in 1964 and again in 1966.

His was the main thrust in having Frank Glynn elected to Galway County Council for Sinn Féin for the first time in 1967. A family man himself, he was always to the fore in support of the support of Republican Prisoners and their dependants.

MEMORABLE

His comrades recall him

as a memorable speaker at a protest meeting against the police batoning of the Golden Jubilee Easter 1916 Commemoration parade in Dublin in 1966. The event on the Square, Athlone led to a public confrontation with Brian Lenihan, the 26-County Minister for Justice, on another platform alongside the Sinn Féin one, but Séan Ó Gormaille carried the day in style and the Fianna Fáil meeting was abandoned.

In 1970 at a fish-in at Galway's Salmon Weir Bridge, he proved a powerful speaker. His devotion to and use of the Irish language was always in evidence. It was a hallmark of his public appearances and of his contributions to organisational meetings.

Following the tragic death of his wife, Nora, in a motor accident in 1968 Séan said that he was going to do something very worthwhile with the remainder of his life. "I will either work full-time for the Republican Move-



• Fr. Séan Ó Gormaille

ment or go for the Church" he told this writer.

In 1968-69 he was a representative for Connacht on the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin and following the split with the Workers' Party in 1970 he served for a year on the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.

At the Ard Fheis of 1970 he declined to go forward for election to the Ard Chomhairle and turned instead to study for the priesthood at the mature age of 55. His family responsibilities had been attended to at this stage, he felt.

ORDAINED

Séan Ó Gormaille became a deacon in Rome on June 9, 1974 and was ordained priest in Tuam Cathedral on April 8, 1975. He served as curate at Pontypool and later at Mertyr Tydfil until 1980 when he became a parish priest for the last nine years of his life.

Twenty-one priests, including four from Wales, celebrated the funeral Mass along with retired

Archbishop Cunnane (who ordained Séan in 1975) in St. Jarlath's Cathedral, Tuam on December 9. Canon Daly of the Cathedral Chapter in Cardiff paid tribute to Séan's work among the people and to his concern for them at all times.

Those who worked with him in the Republican Movement over the years remember his unflinching good humour and buoyancy even under the most trying circumstances. His understanding of the ordinary people and his commitment to working for them were his outstanding attributes. He was always the good comrade, enthusiastic and reliable, and seeking nothing for himself as could be plainly seen in his life's work at different levels.

The removal and funeral were attended by large crowds, including Republicans from Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, Longford and Westmeath. The President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Councillor Frank Glynn of Milltown, ex-Councillors Paddy Ruane of Carmore and Séan Lynch of North Longford were among the many old comrades and associates present.

Fr. Séan Ó Gormaille is survived by his sons Bart, Máirtín and Pól, and his daughters Áine (Kinvara) and Nóirín (Ennisicorthy), brother, sister, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law and grandchildren to whom the sincere sympathy of all Republicans is expressed.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam usal.

- Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

PÁDRAIC FAGAN

REPUBLICANS were shocked by the tragic death by drowning at Brighton, England during December 1989 of Pádraic Fagan, son of Niall Fagan of Summerhill, Co. Meath, Cathoileach of Comhairle Chúige Laignean, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

A member of Na Fianna Eireann for many years in his teens, Pádraic was present at the Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin Poblachtach in October last and attended at Comhairle Chúige

Laignean. He is survived by his wife Bernadette and two children, Fiona (8) and Pádraic (5), as well as his parents, brothers and sisters. Sincere sympathy is

expressed on this very sad occasion by all the staff of SAOIRSE.

On arrival at Dublin airport on Wednesday, December 27 the remains were met by his family and close relatives. Sinn Féin Poblachtach was represented by Dáithí Ó Conaill, Leas-Uachtarán, Cathleen Knowles, Ard Rúnaí, Séan Ó Conchúir and Peig Uí Ríogh, Cise-

teoir and Ard Chomhairle members Tomás Ó Maoileoin, Mick Hegarty and Tony Ruane.

On Thursday morning December 28 the burial in Summerhill, Co. Meath was attended by Dáithí Ó Conaill and Séan Ó Conchúir and a wreath was laid on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

MÁIRE UÍ MHONGHÁIN

FUAIR Máire Uí Mhongháin bás i Londain Sasana ar 12ú Nollaig. Tógadh a corp go Aerfort Uí Oráin ar Dé Máirt, an 20ú lá de Mhí na Nollaig, agus uaidh sin go dtí Séipéal Dhubh Thuama in Iorras Domhnaí i gContae Mhaigh Eo. Máire Ní Cholmáin ab ainm di, sul a phós sí. Ba as Béal Easa í. Bhí Gaeilge ó dhúchas ag Máire.

mar Chraoiltóir ar Radíó na Poblachta.

Rinne Máire obair le Séan Mac Conthaola as Bhaile Cruaidh, Contae Mhaigh Eo, Oglach, a bhásigh ar stailc ocras agus tré bualadh, i bPríosún Chnoc An Arbhair, i Mí na Márta, 1940. Fuair Antoinne D'Arcy, as Contae na Gaillimhe bás ar stailc ocras cupla lá roimh bás Sheáin Mhí Conthaola.

BRATACH

Bhí slua mhór ag Aif-

reann na Marbh i Séipeál Dhubh Thuama, agus bhí bratach na Poblachta ar a cónra. Adhlacadh Máire i Reilig Dhubh Thuama. Labhair Caoimhghnín Mac Cathmhaoil, buan cara chiall Uí Mhongáin ag a huaigh, agus chuir sé síos ar a beatha. Bhí suim mhór ag Máire i stair agus i gCultúr na hEireann. Bhí gairt áisín aici. Sáir amhránaf. Bhí sí an mhaith ag rince damhsaf na nGael.

Dúirt Caoimhghnín gur ghoill dónnharu Jackie Griffith go mór ar Mháire Uí Mhongáin. Bhí sé ag rothafocht i mBaile Átha Cliath nuair a scaoill Póilíní rúnda an tSaorstáit leis le meaisínghnóna. Bhí an gearleandúnt an dona ar fad ag an am sin. Rinne Caoimhghnín tagairt freisin do Sheáin Mac Conthaola agus d'aithris sé slíocht as an bheathfháisnéis a scríobh Séamus Ó Mon-

gáin: "Is insna nithe a bhaineas leis an spiorad a sheas Séan thar an goic-eantacht, chomh suntasach le Néfin thar uisce Loch a Chuinn, nó Sliabh Mór, Acla, thar tonnta fíochmhara Chuain an Fhóid Dhuibh!"

Luagh Caoimhghnín freisin in Gearóid Ó Mongáin, deartháir Shéamus. Ba Stiúrthóir Fháisnéis de Chomhairle an Airm Gearóid, Oglach calma, a chail a shláinte i bPríosún, agus a fuair bás go h-óg. Rinne Caoimhghnín tagairt freisin do Sheán agus Lasarian Ó Mongáin, beirt deartháir eile, a d'fhuailg príosúnacht chomh maith, agus a bhásigh go h-óg.

Dúirt Caoimhghnín: "Níl saoirse in Eirinn, agus ní beoigh, go mbeidh fórsaí Corónach na Breataine glanta amach ó Tír Iomláin na hEireann, agus saol fíúntach curtha ar fáil do chuide dhúine in Eirinn."

COMHBHRON

CAFFREY, Sympathy is extended to the Caffrey family, Dublin and to the Ó Brádaigh, Ó Conaill and Mallon families on the death of Eileen Caffrey, former Domestic Economy teacher, Newry and Bessbrook Technical Schools and Cumann na mBan, Donegal town. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a-anam dílis.

FAGAN (Ó Faodhagáin), Deepest sympathy is extended to Niall Fagan and family of Summerhill, Co. Meath on the death in December of their son and brother Pádraic. From all the staff at An Ard Oifig, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, 13, Aston Place, Dublin 2. Go ndéana Dia grásta ar a anam.

FAGAN, The Officer Board of Comhairle Chúige Laignean Sinn Féin Poblachtach extend deepest sympathy to their comrade Niall Fagan and family, Summerhill, Co. Meath on the tragic death of their son Pádraic in December. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

Ó FAODHAGÁIN, Déanann Cumann Aine Ní Dhoibhlin, Ráth Fearnáin, BAC, comhbhrón ó chroí le Niall Ó Faodhagáin agus a chian, Cnoc an Linsigh, Co. na Mí, tar éis bháis a Co. na Mí tar éis bháis a mac Pádraic i Sasana, Mí na Nollag 1989. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam usal.

FAGAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to Niall Fagan and family of Summerhill, Co. Meath on the tragic death in December of their son Pádraic. From An Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Go ndéana Dia tráceair ar a anam.

HOWARD, Sincere sympathy is extended to Mrs. Mary Ann Breen, Castleisland, Co. Kerry on the death of her uncle Martin Howard, a Republican all his life, who died suddenly on December 3 last. From John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs. Dorothy Droumroo, Currow, Killyarney, Co. Kerry. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

I GCUIMHNE

LOCHRIE, Jim; CAMPBELL, Séan - 14th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Jim Lochrie, Dromintie, Co. Armagh and his comrade Séan Campbell, Fochart, Co. Louth. These two courageous Irish soldiers were killed on active service in a premature explosion on December 6, 1975. Remembered with pride by the members of Bearnna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach, South Armagh and Newry. Go ndéana Dia tráceair ar a n-anamacha.

WATERS, Michael - 32nd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Michael Waters of Edentubber, Co. Louth

LAVELLE, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Lavelle family of Belleek on the death of their father Joe before Christmas. From Bearnna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Solas na bhFiaitheas dá anam.

MAHER, Deepest sympathy to Séan Maher and family, Kibbeggan, Co. Westmeath on the death, on Christmas Day, of Séan's brother James 'Bunty' Maher, nephew of James Daly, Connacht Ranger. From Seosamh Ó Maoileoin, Co. na h-iar Mhí.

O'CONNELL: Republicans regretted the death of Dan O'Connell, Querrin, Co. Clare on December 24. He was father of Joe O'Connell, Republican prisoner in England and member of the Balcombe Street siege team, and of Mick O'Connell, former Republican prisoner in Portlaoise. The removal to Doonagh Church on December 25 and burial in Lisdeen cemetery on St. Stephens Day was attended by many Republicans and representatives of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Ó LÚBHLAÍ, Is trua le foireann SAOIRSE bás Mhíchéil Uí Lúbláí a thaird Domhnall Uí Lúbláí as Chuan Cille, Muine Liath, Muileacan Cearr, Co. na h-iar-Mhí a tharla ar an 2ú Eanáir. Déantar comhbhrón leán iníon Máirín, a mhac Domhnall agus lena ghaolta ar fad. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

QUALTER; Sympathy is expressed by the staff of SAOIRSE to Murt Qualter, his sister and family on the death of Mrs Aggie Qualter, Athenry, a long-time and firm supporter of the Republican movement.

Ó MONGÁIN: Is trua le foireann SAOIRSE bás Mháire Uí Cholmáin bean-chéile Shéamus Uí Mhongáin as Muighéa a tharla i Sasana ar an 12ú Nollaig. Poblachtach dílis do ea í. Tugadh a corp go h-Aerfort Bhair na Cúige agus cuireadh í i nDhubh Thuama, Co. Mhuighéa. Déantar comhbhrón lena fear chéile, a clann mac agus iníon.

and those who gave up their lives in his house on November 11, 1957.

Bearnna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach remembers with pride the noble sacrifice of Michael Waters and his four young comrades Paddy Parle, George Keegan, Paul Smith and Oliver Craven. Leaba i measc laochra na h-Eireann go raibh acu.

SMITH, Paul; CRAVEN, Oliver; WATERS, Michael - 32nd Anniversary. The Paul Smith Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Newry, Co. Down remembers with pride the three who were tragically killed by a premature explosion on November 11, 1957 with their two comrades, Wexfordmen George Keegan and Patrick Parle. Solas na bhFiaitheas dá n-anamacha.

arty, Clare.

Beannachtai

NEW YEAR Greetings to Joe O'Connell, Harry Duggan, Liam Quinn and John Hayes, Political Prisoners in England, Peter Rogers and Mickey Burke, Portlaoise Jail, Tommy McLaoise Jail, Tommy McKearney, Maghaberry and Political Prisoners everywhere. From Michael Heg-

NEW YEAR solidarity greetings to all Irish Republican prisoners in Ireland, England and throughout the world. "In every generation we have to struggle and to die for the end." Pádraic Pearce. Beannachtai na h-athbhliana oraibh uilig. Ó Sheán Ó Sé, Baile Átha Cliath.

Doherty case in balance

THE FATE of Joe Doherty, sitting in a Manhattan federal prison for over six years, now appears to rest with the US Court of Appeals which will decide soon whether to allow the Bush administration to deport him to the British or uphold the decision of the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) to allow him to apply for political asylum in the USA.

In the redoubled campaign in the States, 86 Congressmen have signed *House and Senate resolutions* 62 demanding that Joe Doherty be granted bail and a hearing on his request for extradition.

COVERAGE

The New York Daily News recently gave his

case space on three successive days, with 11 pages of coverage in all.

On a recent US tour Sinn Féin Poblachtach Ard Chomhairle member Councillor Joe O'Neill stated that both the organisation and Cumann na Saoirse in the USA would do all in their power to publicise Joe Doherty's case.



● Joe O'Neill addressing a Cumann na Saoirse function in New Jersey.

INACCURATE

Referring to Joe Doherty's letter to the Irish-American press recently criticising Mike Flannery, he stated that while this was grossly inaccurate and misleading, it would not deter Republicans from

working to defeat the plans to extradite an Irish citizen from the USA to Britain.

"Republicans only recognise one Republic - the 32-county Republic proclaimed in 1916 and know that the 1937 Constitu-

tion is doubly wrong. It was only voted on by people in the 26 counties and it is superseded by emergency repressive laws introduced to defend Britain's Border in Ireland against those striving for Irish freedom," he said.

CHARLIE KERINS

CHARLIE Kerins was executed by the Fianna Fáil government on December 1, 1944 after a so-called 'trial' by a Military Court, set up under the Offences Against the State Act (1939). Provision for this court remains on the statute books to this day and those appearing before it have no right to appeal a death sentence imposed by it.

The annual Charlie Kerins Commemoration took place at Tralee on Friday, December 1. The parade formed up in Denny Street at 8pm and marched to the Kerins Memorial at Strand Road.

There Sinn Féin Poblachtach Vice-President Eamon Larkin gave the oration in which he said:

"Charlie Kerins was Chief-of-Staff of the IRA and his aims and objects were the removal of all British occupation forces from Irish soil. It was at the hands of a British hangman that he died. His murder ordered by the Free State administration which does more to consolidate British rule in Ireland than to dislodge it.

"Let us emulate men like Charlie Kerins, and his brave comrades. Let us also get rid of what Liam Mellows, at the Treaty debates rightly called 'the stand between government which stood between Ireland and its freedom'. Let us also rid ourselves of the reformers and revisionists who stand between us and the Republic that Kerins believed in."

WHAT THEY SAID IN 1989

"Nations should be free to choose their political future."

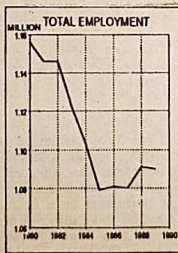
- Mikhail Gorbachev, July 1989

☆☆☆

"So far as I can make out, the Workers' Party believes that Stormont should be restored... But regional government in Northern Ireland, which is what the restoration of Stormont would mean, and regional government in the South of Ireland is the essence of partition. What else could it be? And is that not the policy of the WP?"

- Andrew Boyd, pinning down the pro-British policies of the Stickies in a letter to *The Irish News* on July 19 last.

☆☆☆



- 26-County employment, graph (from the *Irish Times*, October 25, 1989) showing that there are

almost 70,000 fewer jobs today than in 1980.

☆☆☆

"Further, the time has come for people here to stand for democracy or against it. We have never had a democracy. I have never lived in a democracy in my life. We must have it now. We will have it now."

- Belfast's Fr. Des Wilson, *Andersonstown News*, December 2, 1989

☆☆☆

"The new Global division in the 90s will not be

East-West, but rather North-South. In Venezuela, Peru and Argentina, per capita income is now lower than it was in 1970. Latin America exports large quantities of food to the US, but 25 million of its children are underfed.

In Zaïre real wages are one tenth of what they were in 1960 and in many places half the children die before the age of five.

The cause: external debt."

- Declan Kiberd, *Irish Press*, December 29, 1989.



CABHAIR SWIM

● 12 NOON, Christmas Day 1989, on the canal near the Marble Arch Pub in Drimnagh where once again the annual CABHAIR Christmas swim took place. The large contingent which included the brothers Ciarán 'Fada' and John Callaghan, Dave Hayes, Tommy Byrne, Martin Gelston, Paul Darcy, Maureen Egan, Máire Ní Mhuineacháin and James Connolly Egan all bravely took the plunge to raise money for the Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund and a special thanks to Ger Slevin who travelled from New York to take part. Great fun was had by all and remember folks to have all monies and cards returned to CABHAIR as quickly as possible.

Imeachtaí

KEVIN COEN
COMMEMORATION
SOOEY, CO. SLIGO
SUNDAY, JANUARY 14
Assemble after 12 o'clock
Mass and parade from
Soeey Chapel to Cemetery.
Prominent Speaker

SEAN SABHAT
COMMEMORATION
LIMERICK
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7
Assemble Bedford Row,
Limerick City at 12.45pm
and parade to Mount St.
Lawrence's Cemetery.
Speaker: Aileen McCarry

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GALA CONCERT
SUNDAY, JANUARY 14
National Concert Hall,
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Artists include Niall
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COMMEMORATION
BRYANSFORD
NEWCASTLE
CO. DOWN
SUNDAY, JANUARY 28
Assemble:
After 10am Mass
Bryansford

Cabhair

DUBLIN DRAW
DECEMBER Winners in
the CABHAIR (Irish Repu-
blican Prisoners Depend-
ants' Draw were as fol-
lows: £100, no. 370; £50,
no. 400; £30, no. 257;
£20, no. 018; five prizes of
£10, nos. 145, 354, 386,
163, 171. Next Sinn Féin
Poblachtach Draw on
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