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SDLP CLAIMS EXPOSED



Left: A man lies seriously injured after being hit on the neck by a plastic bullet at an internment march in Belfast.



Plastic Bullets For UDR

FOLLOWING the announcement in mid-June that the UDR (the Ulster Defence Regiment of the British Army) has been trained to use plastic bullets two clear conclusions have been drawn by the oppressed Nationalist community in the Six Counties:

- 1 - The UDR's terrorist role is to be stepped up by allowing them patrol the streets of Belfast and Derry for the first time.
- 2 - The SDLP's promises that the UDR were to be disbanded after the signing of the Hillsborough Deal in 1985 have been shown to be false and directly contrary to British policy.

The UDR replaced the hated B-Specials in April 1970 and many of the latter's members simply switched to the new force. In Fermanagh, for instance, former B-Specials made up 80% of the UDR.

One of the sorest points of the Stormont regime had always been the use of the B-Specials for crowd control in nationalist areas.

After 1970 the British began using the UDR to patrol Loyalist areas while other regiments of the British Army were sent into Nationalist/Republican districts.

The UDR were never issued with Plastic Bullet guns since they replaced the Rubber Bullet in the Six Counties in 1973. The RUC were not supplied with plastic bullets until 1978.

LETHAL WEAPONS

Since 1973 15 civilians have been killed by plas-

tic bullets in the Six Counties, seven of them children. Made from solid PVC and weighing 4.75 ounces, they are four inches long and 1.5 inches in diameter. Firing velocity can reach 170mph, making them a devastatingly lethal weapon that the British have refused to use in riot control in their own country. In 1981, the year of the second Long Kesh hunger strike, 30,000 plastic bullets were fired in the Six Counties. Since then over 400 people have been seriously injured by plastic bullets.

There has been an upsurge in plastic bullet injuries in recent weeks, inflicted by the Royal Anglian and Paratroop Regiments in particular in West Belfast, none of which arose from riot situations. Patrick Doherty was one such victim, undergoing a four-hour operation and needing 60 stitches after being struck in the face by a plastic bullet in an unprovoked attack

at the junction of Springfield and Whiterock Roads on Friday, May 26 last.

Arming the UDR, a sectarian terrorist force within the British Army, with plastic bullets means that the decision has been made to revert to pre-1970 B-Special tactics in Nationalist/Republican areas.

SDLP ROLE

The "astounded and shocked" reaction of SDLP figures to this move disguises the role they play in attempting to make British occupation more acceptable to Nationalists.

In a statement issued on June 14 last Ruairi O Brádaigh, President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, recalled Séamus Mallon of the SDLP's contribution on the RTE Radio programme *Looking North* in December 1985:

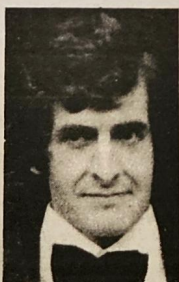
"He claimed that following the signing of the Hillsborough Deal that the UDR would be sent to guard the most remote installations on mountain

tops, pending their disbandment. He also claimed the UDR would not be allowed patrol unaccompanied.

"Contrary to these outlandish promises the issuing to them of plastic bullets means they are to be involved in escalating conflict in Nationalist areas - a complete reversal of the SDLP's post-Hillsborough scenario."

Former UDR major and RTE's latest "acceptable face of unionism", Fermanagh MP Ken Maginnis has farcically tried to justify the further arming of his former comrades by claiming they need plastic bullets to defend themselves in isolated rural areas.

It is clear from recent events that the British are intent on increasing political repression by plastic bullet death. Not one RUC or British Army member has been tried and convicted for plastic or rubber bullet deaths in the Six Counties.



PAT WARD

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL SUNDAY JULY 9

● PAT WARD

Assemble 3pm at Cruit Cemetery for ceremony. John O'Donnell, Kincasslagh, presiding. Oration by Ruairi O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

JOE DOC



Mike Flannery

OVER 1500 people marched in support of Joe Doherty through the streets of Manhattan on Saturday, June 17 last, ending up outside the prison where he is incarcerated. Joe waved his greeting from the window of the Metropolitan Correctional Centre to the crowd.

The organisers were pleased with the turnout at the demonstration, which assembled at Battery Park in Lower

George Harrison were among the attendance from the New York committee of Cumann na Saoirse (Irish Freedom Committee) who carried their banner throughout.

SEVENTH YEAR

Entering his seventh year in custody fighting against British extradition warrants Joe Doherty has secur-

ed widespread support among the American public for his case. 46 members of Congress have signed a petition calling for his political asylum and the Rev. Jesse Jackson sent a message of support to the rally.

He was originally charged with the killing of a British SAS officer in combat on the streets of Belfast in 1981. With seven others he escaped from Crumlin Road Jail on June 10, 1981 and made his way to the USA. On June 18, 1983 he was arrested in New York on foot of a Brit-



ish request for his extradition.

Among those who spoke at the public meeting in Thomas Paine Park were

Joe's mother Maureen and his lawyer Mary Pike, Paul O'Dwyer, the noted civil rights lawyer and Congressman Thomas Manton.

Others present included Grand Marshal Dorothy Hayden Cudaly, Frank Durkan and many New York politicians.

CÉARD IS BRÍ ?

CÉARD IS brí le Sinn Féin? Céard is brí le Sinn Féin Poblachtach? Tuigimid an chiall a bhaineann leis. Ciallaíonn Sinn Féin "Ourselves" i mBéarla. Ba ghluaiseacht Náisiúnta Sinn Féin, Cultúrtha, Sóisialach, Eacnamaíoch, Gaelach agus bhí cruth Polaitiúil ar Shinn Féin, chomh maith.

Tá sé thar a bheith tábhachtach go dtuigimid i dtús báire gur Gluaiseacht Náisiúnta Sinn Féin. Tá rún dáineán againn i Sinn Féin Poblacht na hÉireann a chur ar bun arís, i a athfhorbairt, agus i bunaithe i gcoinn ar Fhorógra na Cásca, 1916, agus ciallaíonn sin dílseacht do Dháil Éireann a bunaíodh ar an aonú lá is fiche d'Eanáir, 1919 i dTeach an Ard-Mheara, an Ráiteas nó Fógra Neamhspleách agus Clár Daonlathach na Dála.

Mar is eol d'ibh, ghlacamar i Sinn Féin Poblachtach, le polasáit Chomhar na gComharsan, mar bhí sin, agus tá sin, bunaithe ar an gClár Daonlathach, ar

scríbhinní Fhiontáin Uí Leathlobhair, Shéamais Uí Chonghaile, Phódráic Mhic-Phiarais, Liam Uí Maoiliosa, Máire Nic Shuibhne Tá sé mar chuspóir againn i Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Athghabháil na hÉireann do Mhuintir na hÉireann.

Faoi láthair in Eirinn tá beagnach 400,000 daoine dhíostaithe in Eirinn - ins na 32 Contae. Le corradh agus trí bhliain anuas tá ar a laighead 200,000 daoine imithe ar an eismirce go New York (Nua Eabhrach), Boston, Chicago, Sasana, agus mar sin de.

TÍR BÁNAITHE

Tá Tír na hÉireann bánaithe. Caithimidne i Sinn Féin Poblachtach tréan iarracht a dhéanamh na cúrsaí uafásach sin a leasú. Tá tír saibhir againn, cuid den talamh, ní amháin is fearr san Eoraip, ach san domhan iomlán! Tá coras talmhaíochta seafóideach ar siúl sa tír seo. Tá beithigh a gcothú ag na feilmearaí. Tá an córas talmhaíochta bunaithe, d'fhéadfaí a rá bunaithe ar aon rud amháin, i. feoil.

beithigh agus caoirigh. Cheannaigh an stáit 26 Contae the luach £28 milliún fataí an bhliain seo caite. Níl a fhios againn cé mhéid ar iomparáil na Sé Contae. Chomh maith le sin, tháinig na céadtha milliún punt de ghlasraí agus torthaí eile isteach.

Luaigh mé Cultúr. Tá cultúr na Tíre seo ag dul in ísle brí go tapa, faraoir! Dhíol Cumann Lúith Chleas Gael (GAO) amach ar ad - cúl le cine - in ionad Croke Park anois ta Rock Park. Beidh ar Sinn Féin Poblachtach an ceol Gaelach a chur chun cinn, agus chomh maith le sin Aeróictháí Feiseanna, Ceolchoirmeacha agus mar sin de.

COMHAR

Tá na bancanna imithe thar fóir ar fad. Beidh orainn tacaíocht a thabhairt don Chomhar Creidmheasa (Credit Union) Beidh orainn mór-smaoinemh na comharaíochta a chraobhscaoileadh. Baineamh gluaiseacht na comharaíochta, ní amháin le feilméireacht, uachtarlanna, le iascaireacht, ach freisin le titíocht, le comharchumann ar an gcostas díreach (Direct Charge Cooperatives) agus mar sin de. Beidh orainn moladh do na daoine an dúshlán a thabhairt do na multinationals. Luaigh mé Gaelach. Mar adúirt Padraic

Mac Piarais. "Ní amháin saor, ach Gaelach, chomh maith, ní amháin Gaelach, ach saor, chomh maith!" Faoi éithir táimid go mór go fóill faoi thionchar an dearcadh amach Sasanach. Tá sruth lofa meancumarsáide na tíre sin, ag síleadh isteach sa tír seo i bhfoirm na nuachtán agus na h-irisí Ghallda. Tá an-dochar déanta acu do mhuintir na tíre seo. Tá seanfhoil i mBéarla a bhaineas le síor tuitim deor uisce. Níl deor nó deora i geist anseo, ach sruth buan, láidir, agus intinn na ndaoine a loit agus a scríos ag an abhann lofa sin.

Níl cothrom na Féinne a fháil ag ár dtéanga féin, ag an nGaeilge. Ní bhfuair sí ariamh ón stáit na fiche sé, ach cuid Pháidín den mheacan, sé sin an ruballín caol. Tá sé de dhualgas orainn an teanga álainn sinn a lbhairt, agus gluaiseacht na Gaeilge a chur chun cinn - glacadh leis an obair sin mar phríomh chuspóir. Táimid lag faoi láthair, ach táimid dílis.

Caithfidh muid dul ar ais, siar go dtí fréamhacha Sinn Féin, agus ath-thoisíú fíor, misniúil a dhéanamh. Tabharfaidh na daoine tacaíocht don gluaiseacht dhís stairiúil sin Sinn Féin Poblachtach, má fheiceann siad na torthaí - agus na torthaí sin a bheith maith!

50 YEARS AGO: PVA-BRITISH COERCION ACT

JULY 1939 OPENED with a co-ordinated strike of six explosions in L.M.S. station cloakrooms in Derby, Leicester, Birmingham, Leamington, Stafford, Coventry and Nottingham.

Bowyer Bell describes the situation: "Matters in Britain had clearly gone beyond the police. Even by stretching their constitutional powers (in Manchester they were accused of brutality and, in at least one case, of falsifying evidence against Jack Duggan, his sister-in-law and her brother), the police had been unable to break the back of the IRA.

"The arrests and heavy sentences of ten to twenty years had been ineffectual. The close watch of the entry ports had not prevented the shipment of explosives out of Rosslare and eventually into the hands of the IRA bomb squads. The regular sweeps and raids picked up the odd man but the volunteers still had little serious difficulty in slipping into the country and joining their units.

STERNER MEASURES

"The time for sterner measures had obviously arrived. On Monday, July 3, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, a Labour member, asked Prime Minister Chamberlain in the House (of Commons) if

he was aware of the Irish grievances and would he consider any statement with a view to the removal of such injustices as might exist. The (British) government, however, was not interested in concessions forced by violence but in coercion by broadening police powers.

"On July 24, 1939, Sir Samuel Hoare, British Home Secretary, introduced the Prevention of Violence Bill authorising tight control of immigration, the right of deportation, the registration of all Irish living in Britain, and the detention of suspects.

"He pointed out that since January there had been 127 'terrorist outrages' killing one person (on January 16) and injuring fifty-five, while sixty-six persons had been convicted of terrorist activity.

"The Labour Party agreed, reluctantly in some quarters, that stronger police powers were necessary and did not oppose the Bill. Even before the Bill could be rushed through Parliament two more major explosions occurred"

On July 26 bombs exploded in central London. At Kings Cross a civilian was killed. The following night there were three huge explosions in Liverpool, smashing a bridge over the Leeds-Liverpool canal at Maghull and completely wrecking the front of a post office in the centre of town.

VITIATING ENGLISH LAW

On July 29, the Prevention of Violence Bill received its third reading in the House of Lords. It was to remain on the statute book until 1953 - long after all the 1939-40 prisoners had been released. The Irish Question was once more vitiating English law.

Sentences were handed down during July in Birmingham and Manchester. Three women of the Furlong family were jailed in Birmingham: sisters Emily Mary and Mary Ann received five and three years respectively for "conspiring to cause explosions" while their mother Emily Mary - a woman over 70 years - got a sentence of two years.

Since Mrs Furlong was of advanced years, her sentence was read in Ireland as equivalent to the death penalty. IRA General Headquarters notified the British Government that in view of this action, IRA Volunteers would not endanger themselves in future to save English lives. The warning was never implemented and Mrs Furlong served her sentence and emerged from prison unscathed.

Others sentenced at Birmingham were Martin Patrick Clarke and Lawrence Dunlea who received 20 years each for "conspiracy" and possession of explosives, James Hasty and Thomas O'Hanlon got ten and eight years for possession of

explosives and possession of a firearm and ammunition while Terence Perry of Belfast was jailed for six years on the same charge. Terence Perry, Ton Street, Belfast was to die in Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight on July 7, 1942 following a long illness.

At Manchester, Jack Duggan of South Tipperary was sentenced to 20 years for causing an explosion as was Joe Collins of Cork on the same charge.

Joe adopted a nom-de-guerre "Conor Mac Nessa" and as such was charged, sentenced and served his sentence. He was one of the two last to be released.

'A CONFIRMED REBEL'

A report on him to the prison authorities by the chaplain said: "very little chance of becoming law-abiding . . . a very difficult case and a confirmed Rebel - both here and in Ireland . . . There's no change in this prisoner's political ideas . . . Is apparently unmoved at getting 20 years P.S. . . . It's most doubtful whether this man will ever lead a law-abiding life."

These comments are a compliment to Joe and his comrades of 50 years ago. Unrepentant Fenians to the end . . . (More next month. Refs. "The Secret Army" by J. Bowyer Bell, 1979, and "The Trial of Peter Barnes" by Leticia Fairfield, 1953).

ELECTORAL FAILURES

THE AFTERMATH of the elections to the 'European Parliament' and Leinster House in the past month have each in their own way exposed the failure of either institutions to serve the real interests of the Irish people, north and south.

In the Six Counties Sinn Féin Poblachtach's call for a protest against the undemocratic nature of the EEC by refusing to vote for any candidate was a factor in more than 50% of the electorate voting with their feet and staying away from the polling booths. The turnout was only 48.8%.

A similar turnout was predicted for the 26 Counties but the election on the same day for Leinster House boosted the turnout. In the event the poll has compounded the instability of the 26-county state with the electorate refusing to give Fianna Fáil their overall majority

and Fine Gael and their right-wing allies failing to benefit from this. One commentator wrote afterwards that it could be seen that Fianna Fáil has lost a core 'Republican'-minded vote because of their treachery on the National question. According to this view they lost seats in a similar way to the 1981 poll when two H-Block prisoners won seats at the expense of Fianna Fáil. A little-publicised fact is that the turnout in the 26-County election was also down to 67.3% from the 1987 figure of 73%.

DISASTROUS Free State Sinn Féin

A NEW report on public housing in the Six Counties has found that in 1987 applicants for housing in Catholic estates had a substantially poorer chance of being rehoused than those preferring Protestant estates. In Belfast Protestants had almost a 2:1 better chance of being rehoused.

The greater the housing needs of Catholics and the larger their families, the more they are at a disadvantage, especially in Belfast, the report states. In district towns the difference was about 60:47 in favour of Protestants.

Undertaken by the Policy Studies Institute for the British government's own 'Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights', it reveals that Protestants are more likely to leave public housing for owner occupation because they are better off finan-

suffered a disastrous withdrawal of support in both elections. Gerry Adams' signal to Mr. Haughey in the last week of the election that he would support him in office under certain conditions did not help especially as Paul Anthony Kane was sentenced in a Belfast court the same week as a result of the Fianna Fáil administration extraditing him.

In the event Free State Sinn Féin dropped from 1.9 to 1.2% of the vote in the Leinster House election, despite the claims at the time of the 1986 Ard-Fhéis that the "general election after the next" would see the breakthrough.

In the Euro poll the percentage was 32% (from 54,687 first preferences in 1984 to 37,127 in 1989) in the 26 counties and from 91,476 (1984) to 48,914 (1989), a drop from 13.3 to 9.1% of the vote. A 32-County comparison with the united Sinn Féin vote in 1984 shows a drop from 8.1 to 4% of votes cast.

Put some life into Leinster House

Vote

Sinn Féin

• The contradictions of Free State Sinn Féin.

UNDERLYING REASON

Sinn Féin Poblachtach President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said in a statement on June 19 that "the basic and underlying reason for the continued and, in this case, disastrous withdrawal of support in election after election since 1986 is the major split at the Ard-Fhéis of that year.

"This was due to the attempt, for the fifth time since 1921, to turn a revolutionary movement into a constitutional and reformist political party by ac-

cepting partitionist parliaments.

"Sinn Féin Poblachtach, for its part, stands vindicated by the turn of events since, and especially by the lesson so forcefully brought home to the reformists over the past weekend."

The contradictory position of nominally opposing full membership of the EEC while at the same time attempting to become part of it by sitting in its Assembly and working its committees was a further factor in the loss of support to Free State Sinn Féin in the EEC election.

BRITISH TERROR TACTICS

THE BRITISH ARMY private who shot dead Aidan McAnespie at a Border checkpoint on February 21, 1988, is now back on duty after being 'fined' by his superiors. The incident in which McAnespie was shot while on his way to a Gaelic football match on a Sunday evening joins a long litany of indiscriminate killings by the British army of occupation in the last twenty years.

The exoneration of the culprit and the shooting itself are both intended to serve as another bloody warning to Irish nationalists who do not show proper respect for the Brits.

In February 1988 also, Private Thain was released and reinstated in his regiment after serving two years and two months of a life sentence for gunning down Thomas Reilly in August 1983 on a Belfast street. These two incidents are the only cases out of several hundred random killings by the British Crown Forces in their current campaign of terror in which their personnel were actually interfered with in any way.

Aidan McAnespie's family said last year that he was harassed equally on both sides of the Border and that they had no confidence in the Dublin administration's inquiry, which has never been published. They are now calling for an independent inquiry by Amnesty International. The dead man's sister said that the clearing of the British soldier "demonstrates quite clearly the British justice we get here."

At Aidan McAnespie's funeral Cardinal O Fiaich said: "How can I avoid the term of murder towards the killing in broad daylight of one of the best-liked young men in the parish?"

In a statement Sinn Féin Poblachtach said that "the lives of Irish people count for as little as do those of the Palestinians at the hands of the Israelis."

HOUSING BIAS REMAINS

This means that less houses in Catholic estates become available to new tenants and as a result they have not got equal opportunities in access to public housing. In this way housing reflects the wider discrimination practised against Catholics, who are still 2½ times more likely

to be unemployed than Protestants in the Six Counties.

In Belfast and the district towns also the Catholic estates are in a worse state of repair than Protestant or mixed estates. Catholics in all socio-economic groups are more likely to be in public housing than private. And

the density of occupation is higher among Catholics than among Protestants.

The results clearly show that housing discrimination is built into the corrupt nature of the Six County state. Indeed discrimination in housing allocation in Dungannon Rural District in 1968 was one of the sparks which ignited the present freedom struggle in 1968. 21 years later the system is still just as sectarian, if more subtle.

POLLUTION CONTROLS A JOKE!

THE CORK area has seen an influx of chemical industries over the last 20 years, with an increasingly widespread belief that many of them are serious pollutants who were attracted to the 26 Counties because of the lax environmental regulations.

The long-running battle over the 'dirty reputation' Merrell Dow Chemical Plant's attempts to site itself in East Cork has brought other plants such

as Penn, Pfizer and Angus under the spotlight as well.

A newly-established paper *IQ* (by the Unemployed, for the Unemployed) published by the Cork Council of Trade Unions Unemployed Centre based in 16, Kyrils Quay, points out that the pollution laws as they stand are a joke. With a recent action by Cork County Council fining a chemical multinational a derisory £1000 the article rightly

states that it is these companies who are laughing all the way to the bank.

MONITOR EMISSIONS

The author proposes an independent commission with its own equipment to monitor emissions on a regular basis. The article further suggests "strict, enforceable" environmental laws, no tax-breaks for multinationals, a large per-

centage of the profits to go to the public purse and the local community for local development and "large non-returnable deposits lodged as a 'fine fund' before the plant begins operation."

The story also refers with distaste to a recent Irish Congress of Trade Unions statement welcoming the Merrell Dow Chemical Plant and the

jobs they will create in the area.

ADVICE

Incidentally the paper, which is free, includes much practical advice and information on Social Welfare rights, the pitfalls of the Social Employment Scheme (SES) and examples at home and abroad, of unemployed workers organisations' identifying objectives and fighting for them.

The demand for a Trade Union rate of pay for unemployed workers on work schemes such as the SES is one that could generate widespread support. For *IQ*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 1989 pho ne 021-275876.

NATIONAL DRAW
£1,500 PRIZEMONEY
Tickets £1 each, Book
of 6 for £5

Sinn Féin Poblachtach Crannchur Náisiúnta

Private Members Draw

1ú Duais: £750 2ú Duais: £350

3ú Duais: £150 4ú Duais: £100

5ú Duais: 3 x £50

FOR A NEW IRELAND

Draw will take place at An Ard Fheis in The Spa Hotel, Lucan on 22 October, 1989

Táille: £1

• NB. All prizes will be paid in Irish punts.

6 ar £5

FEIS NA POBLACHTA BÁC

9ú Meán Fómhair 1989

Tickets available from National Treasurers, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2. All counterfoils and money to be returned as soon as possible to the National Treasurers.

WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION 1989

ÉIRE NUA: Best Basis for Peace and Justice

*"I was woke from my dream by the voices and tread
Of a band who came into the home of the dead;
They carried no cross, and they carried no stone,
And they stopped when they came to the grave of Wolfe Tone.*

*There were students and peasants, the wise and the brave,
And an old man who knew him from cradle to grave,
And children who thought me hard-hearted, for they
On that sanctified sod were forbidden to play."*

THE YOUNG and the old were as much in evidence at Bodenstown on June 11 last as in Thomas Davis' day for the Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration amid the plains of Kildare.

With accordions and pipe bands from Antrim and Cork and led by a 15-man colour party and honour guards from Cumann na mBan and Na Fianna Eireann the parade of around 700 people left from the traditional place of assembly in the railway field at Sallins for the march to Bodens-town churchyard.

Before the parade of course there is the renewal of acquaintances between Republicans from throughout Ireland, England and

the USA, the meeting of comrades old and new that is part and parcel of Bodenstown, all of which results in an understandably less



• Watching the march from the kerb.

than prompt start to proceedings.

The ceremony at Tone's grave was chaired by Mary Ward, Donegal, who said that we come to Bodenstown to restate our programme and Tone's:

"To break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country, these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, these were my means".

"It is to that definition of Ireland as a nation and to that programme we declare ourselves anew here today", she said.

The wreath was laid on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach by Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, Corcaigh. A second wreath was laid by Jim Farrell of Cork on behalf of local Republicans.

USA SOLIDARITY

Séamus Ó Dubhda addressed the crowd on behalf of Cumann na Saoirse (Irish Freedom Committee) in the United States and brought greetings of solidarity and support.

"The principled stand which you took in 1986 when the Republic once again was undermined was fully endorsed by us. We assure you of our continued support and help in the times ahead."

The National Graves Association address was delivered by Tom Lyons who described the restoration work done on the Fenian 'Maid of Erin' Memorial in Glasnevin Cemetery during the last year.

The Association's tours of Glasnevin are being held as usual every Sunday in June, July and August at 11.30am. He said that the NGA stood solidly with Sinn Féin Poblachtach and called on Republicans to support the organisation in its work.

The main oration was then delivered by Daithí Ó Conaill, Leas Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach (see below) and his very telling speech drew great applause from the crowd.

Afterwards the parade came to attention and marched back to Sallins village where Amhrán na bhFiann was played to finish the ceremony.

• The text of Daithí Ó Conaill's oration is printed below:

"A Phoblachtánaigh

There are two main reasons why we gather here today in Bodenstown Churchyard. First, we honour the memory of Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the outstanding men of Irish



history. The greatness of Tone, according to Connolly, was that he imitated nobody. Gifted with a truly creative mind and blessed with a dashing courage, Tone made articulate the censored voices of the previous century during which England attempted to reduce our people to a nation of serfs.

"Tone changed all that. Inspired by the ideals of the American and French revolutions, he formulated a body of political thinking that we have come to recognise as Irish Republicanism. That philosophy has been the most dynamic and determining force in charting Irish history over the last two centuries. Tone clearly defined his goals: complete separation from England and placing the Irish people in sovereign control of their destinies. He asserted the right of this nation to freedom and that assertion was attested to by his labour and the sacrifice of his life. No greater love can man have than to lay down his life for his friends and Tone, by his example, is worthy of the greatest respect that this nation can render him.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

"It is appropriate, that in this year of 1989 when the French nation celebrates the bi-centennial of its Revolution, we acknowledge the debt Ireland owes to France for the help given to Tone and the men of '98. The clarion call of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity struck a responsive chord in the hearts of all freedom-loving people and none more so than in the great heart and mind of Theobald Wolfe Tone. He was at home in the Revolutionary Directory in Paris; he witnessed the dawn of a new era for France, Europe and the world and he was determined that his country would take its place among the free nations of the globe.



• Republican veterans resting at Wolfe Tone's grave - Bodenstown Churchyard

WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION 1989



• Glens of Antrim accordion band.



• A momentary pause along the parade route.

"Alas, that has not happened yet and the chief reason for coming here today is to reflect why this is so. There is a simple explanation: each time we came near to winning freedom, an element in the leadership faltered, compromised and abandoned the high ideals set by Wolfe Tone. So it was in 1921 and so it is today when we witness a flurry of political activity designed to make this country a divided province of a divided Europe.

"In the current election campaign there is no talk of a million and a half of our people under the jackboot heel of a foreign power. The North is not an issue, according to Mr. Haughey for the simple reason that that gentleman has no intention of confronting England for its continued occupation of part of this country. England's last colonial outpost is being secured within the new European political union of discredited former imperialistic states.

of the EEC will inevitably lead to an abandonment of all claims to sovereignty, neutrality and the means of developing the full potential of our nation.

"The Leinster House election is of minor importance compared to the European one. We are witnessing a personality contest among failed politicians for positions in a failed political entity. Leinster House will not have the status of a county council chamber from 1992 and Republicans will shed no tears for its demise. It could never claim to be a national parliament; it was established by England to serve English interests and in that respect, the British have reason to be pleased. No one today can believe the word of Free State politicians when we see the destruction and harm they have brought upon our people. Collaboration, extradition, emigration and lack of care for the aged and sick are the hallmarks of Leinster House and for those reasons we reject it and all its works and pomps.

CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

"The same indifference to suffering can be seen in relation to political prisoners held in British and Irish jails. Some of these prisoners have been in jail for over 16 years and it is a crime against humanity to hold people in prison for that length of time. Not even in the Fenian days of Tom Clarke did prisoners exceed 15 years imprisonment. Some of those men came out of jail having lost their reason and senses as a result of the hardships of the brutal British penal system.

"Following the Rising of 1916, all prisoners had been released within one year; few did more than three to four years during the Tan and Civil Wars. Even during the 1940s, the longest period served in jail was ten years and even less in the 1950s. But today the governments of Dublin and London are hell-bent on extracting their pound of flesh from those who fought for Irish freedom. The total indifference to the plight of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the long-serving prisoners cries out to be corrected.

"The Soviet government was castigated before the world for holding German prisoners of war into the late Fifties. But, even-

tually, the Soviets showed humanity by returning the Germans to their homeland. No such humanity can be seen on the part of the Dublin and London governments in relation to Irish political prisoners. It will require the strong voice of the plain people of Ireland to demand the release of all political prisoners and end what is an inhuman and degrading situation.

DISENGAGEMENT

"I had the honour of speaking from this rostrum 19 years ago at a time of resurgence following the Civil Rights campaign. The gathering then was not much bigger than it is today. We had come through a period of division and confusion in our Movement but we charted a programme of action based on the principles of Irish Republicanism. What happened since then is a matter of history. We brought the struggle for freedom to an unprecedented level when on two occasions the British government was forced to sit down with the leadership of the Republican Movement and discuss its disengagement from Ireland.

"The Movement then fulfilled its true role; it was the catalyst for the progressive forces of this country and abroad who desired the establishment of a sovereign, democratic, socialist Republic. Tragically, that unifying role was changed by a group of short-sighted people who endeavoured to change a great Movement into a petty political party. The results of that misguided move are all too evident today and will become more so before the end of the week.

"Many genuine Republicans were misled into believing that dabbling in Leinster House politics would advance the Republican cause. Decades of history has shown that the opposite is the result. Collins' stepping stone to freedom led to the execution yard for 77 Republicans; de Valera's

new departure brought concentration camps and the hangman's rope and the reactionary, anti-national policies of the Workers' Party would never lead one to believe that Proinsias de Rossa was a comrade of ours in the Curragh internment camp during the Fifties.

"Taking oaths of allegiance to the British Crown and seeking permission from the RUC to honour Republican dead is not the material on which revolutionary movements are built. The heavy sacrifices of the last 20 years were not made for a few people to get seats in Leinster House, Westminster or in the flesh pots of Europe.

"Our task is more difficult now than it was in 1970, but we must take heart as we did in 1970 from the fact that Republicanism brings out the best in people. Not all our youth are tainted with the cynicism of the politicians and a deed will come which will awaken in the hearts of our people the seeds sown by the young men and women of previous generations.

ÉIRE NUÁ - NEW IRELAND

"Our programme of reorganising the Republican Movement continues; our updating of the Éire Nuá policy is well advanced and we are confident that the inherent elements of that policy will stand the test of time of offering the best basis for peace and justice in our country. A new Ireland based on the sovereignty of the Irish people and recognising the positive diversities amongst our nation goes a long way to realising Tone's dream of all Irish people sharing a common citizenship.

"Let us take heart also from the growing world-wide demand for democracy as can be seen in Russia, Poland and China. Despite the brutal massacre of the Chinese students by a tyrannical government, the onward march towards democracy cannot be thwarted. Establishing Irish democracy and self-determination is our primary goal and to that task let us bend our will."

POLITICAL WING OF NATO

"The old EEC has given way to the new European Community which is nothing other than the political wing of NATO. It is acknowledged that 80% of decisions affecting peoples' lives will be made in Brussels from 1992. The great Common Market promises of jobs at home and markets in Europe have turned out to be a cruel and cynical joke. The results of EEC membership are staring us clearly in the face with over a quarter million people unemployed, fifty thousand emigrating each year and a collapsing system of hospitalisation and education. And for good measure the EEC has imposed a policy of extradition on the Dublin government, a fact admitted by Mr. Haughey last Friday.

"Are these the goals set by Wolfe Tone? It is any wonder that as Republicans we are implacably opposed to any participation in a rich men's club designed to make our country a stagnant island on the periphery of Europe. There is more than ample evidence to show that continued membership



...one here while listening to the oration in O'Connell's yard.

SÚIL SIAR

1789  1989

The French Revolution

Le Saoránach

It could be said that the enormous debts contracted by King Louis XVI were the immediate cause of the French Revolution in 1789. There was of course a yearning for freedom and writers like Rousseau and Voltaire had prepared the philosophical ground well in advance of that year, but, as in all revolts, there was a specific moment of truth.

The Monarch of France had absolute power and there was no parliamentary system as we know it today. Under Louis XVI the country had reached a state of almost total bankruptcy.

The nobility, who were a privileged class, were exempted from taxes, in lieu of their contribution to the state as civil servants or as army officers. The Catholic Church was also exempted on the grounds that they provided education and hospitals. Both nobility and clergy were accordingly regarded by the rest of the population as privileged classes. The result was that the middle classes (bourgeoisie), artisans and peasants laboured under an enormous burden of taxes and debt.

When the government tried to spread the tax burden by forcing the nobility and clergy to pay, they refused. The King then summoned the Estates General to discuss the problem. The Estates General were a nominal parliamentary system which could meet only when summoned by the King and had not met since 1614.

There were three chambers representing the three estates — the

first was the clergy; the second the nobility or aristocracy; the third estate represented the rest of France, bourgeoisie, artisans and peasants. They met separately at Versailles. A decision made by one chamber was counted as one vote. Two votes constituted a majority, so in effect the nobility and clergy always got their way against the rest of the population.

POPULAR DEMANDS

Elections were organised for 1789. The third estate refused to accept the old system, based on feudalism and privilege. A reasonable enough demand was made that the number of deputies in the third estate should equal the combined strength of the other two and that all three should meet together. To this were added popular demands for a written constitution, the abolition of the feudal system, equitable taxation and press freedom.

The King conceded the first demand. Henceforth there would be 578 deputies in the third estate, 285 for the nobility and 291 for the clergy. But he refused to allow them to meet together. The other demands were rejected outright.

Eventually, the Estates General met on 5 May, 1789. The third estate refused to function without the other two, who in turn refused to join with the third. On 17 June the third estate declared themselves the sole representatives of the people of France and assumed the title of "National Assembly". They claimed the sole right to impose taxes

and govern the country. Here was a crisis indeed!

The King acted swiftly. On 23 June he ordered the third estate to abandon their title of National Assembly and to obey him. When he had left the chamber the deputies refused to obey him. Victor Mirabeau, one of their spokesmen declared: "We are here by the will of the people and we will not leave except by the power of bayonets".

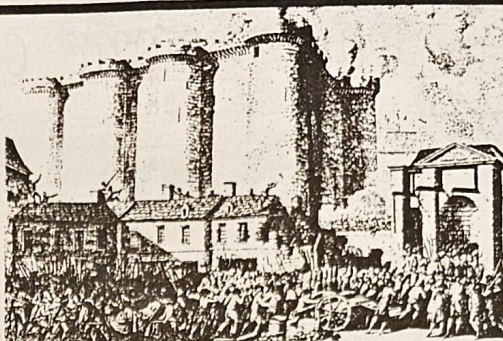
SENSE OF POWER

Faced with this defiance the King conceded and asked the nobility and clergy to join the National Assembly. The people began to feel a sense of power at last.

But Louis XVI was playing for time and still had the army at his command. He ordered a number of regiments to move on Paris with the intention of using them against the National Assembly. At this critical time the masses of the population of Paris came on to the streets.

Paris was surrounded by 54 toll gates. All goods entering the capital were taxed at these gates. The high price of bread was a major social and economic issue for the people, and the tax imposed on wheat was greatly resented. At one o'clock on the morning of 13 July rioters attacked and burned down 40 of these toll gates. Later that day they seized muskets and cannon from various armouries.

As they approached the Bastille on the following day, 14 July, seek-



● The storming of the Bastille in Paris, July 14, 1789.

ing powder and ammunition, Launay who was in command of the fortress prison resisted. The band of about 1,000 people was reasonably well organised and fought back. The defenders surrendered, after three of the garrison had been killed. Launay was taken, executed and his head placed on a pike for all to see. Ninety-eight citizens of Paris died in that historic attack on the Bastille.

This was the second major blow against the power of the King. It was clear that the people of Paris were in open revolt and that force alone could not stop the revolution. Louis hoped to hold the rest of the country however. The troops were sent back to their camps. But he was now too late. Disaffection had already broken out in the countryside. The peasantry were on the point of starvation because the 1788 harvest had not been good and food had become enormously dear. They were raiding foodstores, attacking castles and destroying the records of what they owed in rents and taxes.

PRIVILEGES ABOLISHED

On 4 August 1789 the National Assembly formally declared the end

of the feudal system and abolished the privileges of the clergy and nobility. The Monarch was becoming more and more irrelevant and the National Assembly was becoming the *de facto* government of France.

It was thought necessary to set out a list of people's natural rights so that the basis of the Revolution would be clear to all. It took just one week, from 20 to 26 August to draft and publish the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen". This document guaranteed the Liberty and Equality of people and a democratic form of government, with a separation of powers between executive, legislature and judiciary.

There had been the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the French produced two more such documents in 1793 and 1795. There have been many others since, for example the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. But the Declaration of 1789 is still the basic document. It marks a major milestone on the march towards freedom and equality for all and has had an enormous influence on world history and the lives of millions of people.

LEABHAR

NO RIGHT BUT MIGHT

BRITISH BRUTALITY IN IRELAND

by Jack O'Brien

Mercier Press, Cork & Dublin (1989) £7.95

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"Between a small nation and a great, between a conquered people and its conqueror there can be but a sham union — the union of a boia constrictor with its prey."

The English poet Byron's maxim of imperialism, placed at the head of the chapter on the 19th century in Jack O'Brien's book, sums up the miseries of Ireland after the Act of Union in 1800 more graphically and succinctly than any historian.

As O'Brien demonstrates repeatedly British and Anglo-Irish sources are quite sufficient to paint the most damning picture of British oppression in Ireland from the 12th century to the present day. It amounts to turning the current revisionism on its head to reveal Britain's *realpolitik* through 800 years of occupation, confiscation and partition.

DEMOCRATICALLY EXPRESSED

Professor Tom O'Neill of University College Galway,

speaking at the launch of this book on March 6 last, summed up British policies towards Ireland as "the failure of Britain to accept the democratically expressed will of the Irish people. The alternative to democracy is physical force." Might is right. In Secret Cabinet Minute No. 49 (4) in 1949 (released only in 1979 to the public) Clement Attlee's Labour Cabinet expressed the age-long doctrine of Britain's imperial necessity:

"So far as can be foreseen, it will never be to Great Britain's advantage that Northern Ireland should form part of a territory outside His Majesty's jurisdiction. Indeed it seems unlikely that Great Britain would ever be able to agree to this, even if the people of Northern Ireland desired it."

The author points out that the Hillsborough Deal of 1985 reveals the same strategic rationale — the reference to a United Ireland in Article 1 (c) of the Deal by implication is a commitment to a subordinate Ireland under British rule, going back to the Home Rule plans of 1912.

His no-nonsense analysis rightly castigates the Catholic Church ("the original multinational") for its support of the conqueror, the Papacy seeing Ireland from the *Bull Laudabiliter* of 1155 to the present day as within the legitimate "sphere of influence" of England.

The weakness in the book is the lack of any analysis of the supportive role of the 26-county state since its inception in 1922 in propping up partition and British Occupation. The Free State has its own positions and privilege to protect and since Hillsborough has replaced the Unionists as the main guarantor of the British presence. Britain, it has often been said, has no perman-

Jack O'Brien

BRITISH BRUTALITY IN IRELAND

Foreword by Paul O'Dwyer



ent friends or permanent enemies, only permanent interests.

If the Leinster House parties in Dublin will protect the Western Alliance's interests in Ireland and prevent a revolutionary overspill from a resurgent

Ireland by becoming a modernised Vichy-type state what need have the British to keep securing the more old-fashioned garrison apparatus in the Six Counties?

Despite this serious flaw, the author has cut through the British and Free State propaganda thickets which attempt to make a moral code out of British occupation and oppression. Asked once for the secret of being a writer Ernest Hemingway replied that you needed a "built-in, shock-proof crap detector". Jack O'Brien has used his crap detector with a will in this welcome survey.

— Ruairi O Conchúir

LITIR

BIRMINGHAM SIX

Mr. Haughey,

In refusing to help the member of the Birmingham Six who is appealing his case to the European Court you are, in effect, ensuring that the appeal will fail and this man and the others will spend their lives in prison in support of the British dictum "that it is better that some innocent people should suffer rather than that British justice should be brought in question".

Is mise,
P. Caomhánach
Sráid Fhearchair
BÁC 2

Play Your Part!

Seasann Sinn Féin Poblachtach do phrionsabail Éirí Amach na Cásca 1916, agus do Phoblacht (32 Contae) Daonlathach, Neamhspleách na h-Éireann. Tá géarghás freisin le h-athbheoan chultúrtha in Éirinn agus creidimís nach féidir linn an Náisiún a thógáil ar bhonn daingean gan an Ghaeilge, ár dtéanga féin.

Join with us in working for ÉIRE NUA — a federation of the four provinces in a Democratic Socialist Republic. Our proposals outline a system of decentralised democratic government in a free Ireland with real local control and decision-making by the people at the lowest possible level.

Ainm

Seuladh

Send to: Sinn Féin Poblachtach, 21 Shaw Street (off Pearse Street) Dublin 2. Fón: 718224.

YOUR LOCAL CONTACT:

MUIRCHÉARTACH Ó CEALLAIGH



CALLEADH Muircheartach Ó Ceallaigh, Ghlas Naíon, Baile Átha Cliath ar an 2ú Meitheamh seo caite. Mac le 'Sceilg', iar-Cheann Chomhairle Dáil Eireann agus Aire na Gaeilge sa Chéad Dáil, ab ea é. Gael Dúis agus Poblachtach a bhí ann ar feadh a shaoil. Bhí sé ar an dream a shíúil amach ó Ard Fheis Shinn Féin i 1986 agus a chuaigne go dtí Ostan West County le h-athéagrú a dhéanamh. Fear as an gnáth a bhí ann mar a dháir an t-Athair Piaras Ó Dúill ag Aifreann na Marbh in Eaglais Ghlas Naíon ar an 6ú Meitheamh:

"Fear fíor-dhúchasach a bhí Muircheartach Ó Ceallaigh. Rug sé leis an nádúir uasal sin óna thrébh agus óna mhuintir. De bhíri sin agus mar gheall ar a mhéas ar a dhúchas aige, ba duine uasal é, uasal ina mheoin agus ina intinn, uasal de bharr a chlonadh chun na fírinne agus chun na maithéasa.

"Bhí comharthaí a dhúchais agus a mhaithéasa éifeicín ina phearsa fheicín cibé i measc a theaghlach féin nó sa bparóiste ina raibh spéis agus lámh bheo san obair aige. B'fhollas na dea-thréithe sin ina phearsa, ina chair-

deas agus ina charthanacht, agus bhí sé intuigthe go raibh iomlána a Chríostaíocht a smaidhmíte lena chultúr Gaelach agus a shíúladh.

"Mortimer was to me the finest example of the virtue and commitment and sincerity that emanates from a strong cultural heritage. In the words of one man who said to me yesterday "he was too sincere for this life". The quality, depth and strength of that sincerity was reflected in his character and in his faith - that faith that revealed itself in the way he lived, in the goals

Muircheartach Ó Ceallaigh he lived by, in all his dealings with other people.

"That faith which made him whole; that made him alive by experience; not complicated, but simple, a faith that was reflected by his life. He was truly a rare man, with an extraordinary purity of outlook and attitude. His sincerity did not ensure a comfortable passage in life.

ÁITIÚS POBLACHTACH

"Rug sé leis óna mhuintir."

tir a chuid áitiúis Poblachtach agus ar feadh a shaoil bhí spéis gan teorainn aige i seantroid na nGael, sa leatrom na tíre agus i gcás an Phoblachtais. Nuair a chuir mé aithne ar Mort i dtosach, roinnt maith bífanta ó shoin, ba léir nach raibh rud ar bith a chuir buairt ar níos mó ná an éigean ar an gceart. Agus go deire a shaoil bhí suim aige i gcás na geime Poblachta, agus nuair a bhí dñit an duine faoi ionaí, nó dñit a chultúr faoi cheist, bhí an peann nó an lámh cúnámh uaidh ar a bpointe.

"Lena bhás caileadh fíor chara na tíre agus fíor chara dúinn uilig. Bhí sé de phríbhleáid é a bheith mar chara agus i cailliúnt mór é dá chairde uilig - ach thar aoinne eile, dá bhean chéile Aine agus a chlann agus léir. Aireoidh siad uathu é, go léanntar. Go gcúidí Dia leo agus go dtabharfaidh sé luach a shaoil do Mortimer ar son a dhílseacht i dtaobh a chlann agus a mhuintir agus de thoisic a chreideamh agus a dhíagantacht. Is in iothall Dé a mhairéann ananam dúis agus a mhairfidh go brách na breithe."

COMHBHRÓN

GALLAGHER. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Gallagher family, Bayview, Jonesboro, Co. Armagh on the death of their Aunt Mary. From the officers and members of Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

KIELTY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Joshua on the death of his wife, Mary, who died recently. Also to her son, Patrick, daughters, Catherine and Mary, brother Jim and family circle. Suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam. O Cumann Pádraig O'Peairill, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Loch Garman.

KIELTY. Cumann na h-Uaigheann Náisiúnta, Loch Garman extends sincere sympathy to Joshua Kielty on the recent death of his wife Mary and to her son, daughters, brother and family circle. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a hanam.

MCGEOWN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of John McGeown, Glenmore, Riverstown, Dundalk, Co. Louth on his recent death. From the officers and members of Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

MCANALLY. The sudden death on June 15 last, of actor Ray McAnally at his home in Co. Wicklow is deeply regretted by the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, some of whose members were acquainted with him. To his wife, sons, daughters, mother, brothers and sister we extend our deepest sympathy. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé. His funeral was attended by Dáithí Ó Conaill, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

LAVERY. Sincere sympathy is extended to Francis Lavery, Dundalk on the death of his father, Leo, of Aghagallon, Lurgan. Solas na bhFlaitheas da anam. From the William Stewart Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dundalk.

O CEALLAIGH. Is dona linn bás Muircheartach Ó Ceallaigh, fíorGhael agus Poblachtach, i mBÁC ar an 2ú Meitheamh. On Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam uasal.

O'HAGAN. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Paddy O'Hagan, Co. Down who died on June 2nd. From the officers and delegates of Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Solas na bhFlaitheas dá anam.

I gCUIMHNE

HIGHSTEAD, Derek - 13th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Derek Highstead who died on July 16, 1976. Always remembered by his friends in Sinn Féin Poblachtach, London.

HURSON, Martin - 8th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson, Cappagh, Co. Tyrone who died on Hunger Strike in Long Kesh on July 13, 1981. Ní dhéanfaimid dearmad ort. From the Barney Casey-Martin Hurson Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, North Longford.

HIGHSTEAD, Derek - 13th Anniversary. In loving memory of Derek Highstead, who died on July 16, 1976, RIP.

*A heart of gold, a life so true,
Loved and respected by all he knew
Always willing, helpful and kind,
What a beautiful memory he left behind*

Always remembered by his loving wife Mena, son Brendan and daughter Bríde.

PADDY O'HAGAN

MANY Republicans were deeply saddened at the unexpected death of Paddy O'Hagan, Kilkree, Co. Down on June 2 last.

Paddy came from a staunch Republican family and was an active member of the Movement all his life. His brother, Jimmy, escaped from Derry Jail in the 'Forties and spent a number of years in the

local cemetery on Sunday, June 4, Danny Fitzpatrick, Joe McCrickard and Séamas O'Caol represented Co. Down Sinn Féin Poblachtach and Frank McCarr, Mick Hegarty and Bob Murray attended on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle.

Curragh interment camp. At his funeral from Massforth Church to the

Deepest sympathy is extended to Mrs. Ingy O'Hagan on her great loss.

published in *The Nation* in May 1845 when she was 17 years of age. She continued to write passionate and spontaneous songs and poems until 1848.

"Eva" - Mary Eva Kelly played a leading part in the literary movement inspired by *The Nation*. She was an enthusiastic supporter of the Young Irelanders and contributed articles, ballads and poems regularly for some years. "Thomazine" was Olivia Knight who wrote for *The Nation* from 1849 until well into the 1850s. Charles Gavan Duffy said of her: "her poems have nowhere a taint of the fault

so common in patriotic poetry at an earlier date, imitation of writers who had already gained the public ear." "Finola" was Elizabeth Willoughby Treacy. Her poetry was published in *The Nation* during the 1840s and early 1850s and was later described as being "Irish to the core".

The women writers of *The Nation* through their articles, songs and poems contributed in no small way, as did Thomas Davis, to reawakening of the national spirit and a love and pride in their country among the people of Ireland.

JOHN COSTELLOE

IT WAS WITH deep regret that SAOIRSE learned of the death on June 5 in a Dublin hospital of journalist John Costelloe, a native of Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick. He was 62 years old.

John worked on English and Irish national and provincial papers and for a decade was Editor of the *Roscommon Champion*. From 1970 to 1980 he was a member of the Seán Sabhat Cumann of Sinn Féin and acted as its PRO. He and his wife Vera were particularly friendly with the Sinn Féin President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and John accompanied him on many journeys

through the country in his off-duty hours.

STAUNCH

As well as being firmly and staunchly Republican, John was very active with the National Union of Journalists in the West of Ireland and in Dublin where he worked with the *Irish Independent* from 1980 until his death.

John Costelloe was forth-



John Costelloe

right in his views and unapologetic in his activities. He will be remembered by his comrades and associates.

The obsequies were attended by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán; Dáithí Ó Conaill, Leas-Uachtarán and Cathleen Knowles,

Ard Rúnaí on behalf of Ard Oifig, Sinn Féin Poblachtach and the Republican Movement generally. Sympathy is expressed to his valiant wife Vera - no less staunch, than himself - and to his three sons and seven daughters. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

Women in Ireland's Fight for Freedom

ANNE DEVLIN AND THE YOUNG IRELANDERS

ONE OF THE great heroines of Irish history was Anne Devlin who came from a family deeply involved in the 1798 Rebellion. Following the Rebellion the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland was perpetrated on the Irish people, few of whom had any choice in the matter. The ordinary people of Ireland had been repressed savagely after the Rising, they had no vote or even a voice in deciding their future and were ruthlessly kept down by their landlords who controlled their destinies.

In July 1803, Robert Emmet, brother of Thomas Addis Emmet, a leader of the United Irishmen, led a brief revolt in Dublin against British rule. The Rising failed and Robert Emmet was later arrested, and hanged, drawn and quartered. Anne Devlin was deeply involved with Emmet in planning the Rising and after it failed she carried messages between his hideout in the

Dublin mountains and his associates in Dublin.

She herself was later arrested by the infamous Major Sirr, following a raid on Emmet's house in Rathfarnham, and despite bribery and torture which included "half-hanging" refused to give any information regarding Emmet or any others who might have participated in the Rising. She was imprisoned without charge or

trial for three years in Kilmainsin Jail. Such was the cruelty of her incarceration that her health was broken on her release. She lived in great poverty in Dublin until her death in 1851, and she retained the same unalterable attachment to the cause of Irish freedom as she had in her youth.

THE NATION

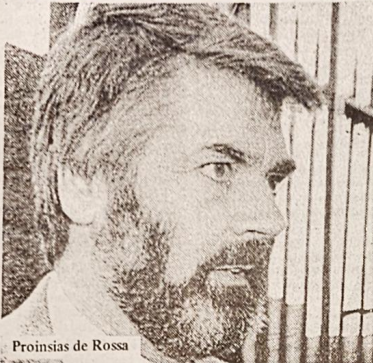
The main involvement of women in the Young Ireland Movement was through its official paper *The Nation*. A number of patriotic women contributed to it in the decade between 1843-53. The stifling influence of British Queen Victoria prevailed at that time and it was considered "unsuitable"

for women to be involved in public life, not to mention revolutionary politics. Even when they did they were not taken seriously - so many women wrote their contributions to *The Nation* under a pseudonym.

Women like "Speranza", "Mary", "Eva", "Thomazine" and "Finola" wrote verse and prose that inspired nationally-minded people during that tragic time in Irish history when millions of Irish people died in a genocidal attempt by England to destroy the Irish race through the Great Famine.

"Speranza" was Jane Francesa Elgee, later married to William Wilde and the mother of Oscar Wilde. From 1846 to 1848 she contributed vigorous articles and verse to *The Nation* and they represented a substantial force in Irish politics. "Mary" was Ellen Mary Patrick Downing, whose first poem was

Anonn is Anall



Proinsias de Rossa

"THERE IS no doubt that the public perception of the dual mandate is double-jobbing and that this has caused considerable resentment, particularly among the unemployed. It is obviously not possible for people to be in two places at the one time and, as the European Parliament and the Dáil often sit on the same days, it is inevitable that those operating the dual mandate will have to miss important business in either Leinster House or Strabourg."

The above statement was issued four years ago by the so-called 'Workers Party', in a submission they made at the time to the Free State Joint Oireachtas Committee on Secondary Legislation of the European Community". As can be seen from the above, the Stickies were then, apparently, strongly opposed to any one person sitting in both the Leinster House and EEC administrations, but have now turned full circle as was witnessed by the 'Workers

Party' leader Proinsias de Rossa running for, and being elected to, both Leinster House and the EEC Assembly.

This double-jobbing 'friend-of-the-worker' now stands to receive a salary (including expenses) of approximately £3000 a week. And to think that nineteen years ago these people left the Republican Movement, called themselves 'Sinn Féin The Workers Party' and made public their intention to enter Leinster House and "change the system" — as with all who left the Movement before and after them, the system changed them.

FRIDAY, June 23 last was the last day at school for the 38 pupils of an (Sraith Salach national school in Conamara until September.

It also marks the end of the third year of school principal Bríd Ní Dhomhnaill's lonely battle against the boycott in operation by local parents who have kept their children from attending her classes.

The boycott was started

by the local Catholic clergy who were incensed at Bríd's participation in the campaign for the restoration of the Mass as Gaeilge in Bun na gCnoc, part of the Conamara Gaeltacht.

The response of Dublin's Department of Education was to appoint a special, third teacher to the two-teacher school, thus taking Bríd's pupils and effectively keeping the boycott going at the taxpayers' expense.

Local people in Conamara are quick to point out that the Vocational School in Cnoc na h-Aille is critically understaffed and underfinanced — with over 200 pupils in a school designed for 50 — and the department have refused to appoint extra teachers because of "cut-backs".

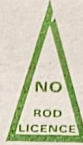
A similar-size national school in Mayo was the scene of a protest by voters on June 15 who were highlighting the refusal to appoint a second teacher.

Yet Leinster House is prepared to subsidise a vicious boycott of a principled individual who now has the prospect of beginning her fourth year in an empty classroom.

HONGKONG will be returning to Chinese sovereignty in 1997, ending Britain's rule of the colony. In January the Brits announced that they would only allow eight of Hongkong's 500 civil servants British citizenship for being "loyal to the Crown". The eight will be allowed to move to Britain. In contrast, when Macao (ruled by Portugal) returns to Chinese control in 1999 5,000 civil servants are to be granted Portuguese passports.

When asked about this

Lord Glenarthur, a British foreign office minister visiting Hongkong agreed that it seemed unfair to Hongkongers. "But there are many things in life that are unfair," he said.



A LOCAL Republican in Ballinlough, Co. Roscommon was surprised to find Special Branchmen outside his house at 6 am one morning at the beginning of June.

The Branchmen began asking him questions about the Rod Licence dispute and his views on, or support for, the anglers. They left without becoming any the wiser. Later in the day a coach marked Abbey Tours (from Newtownabbey, outside Belfast) was seen bringing men to fish in nearby Lake O'Flynn, renowned for its good fishing waters.

Local people reported the men all had short haircuts and British accents. No prizes for guessing who they might be. What I'd like to know is did the Branchmen check that they had all bought Mr. Daly's Rod Licences or are they necessary for special visitors?

ALSO on the move on Monday, June 19 last was the British Military Attaché, Brigadier John Osborne who arrived in Glenveagh National Park, in North-West Donegal complete with Free State Army helicopter and machine-gunner, Special Branchmen etc.

SAOIRSE readers will

recall that the Brigadier dropped in uninvited to Cloghane, Co. Kerry in October 1987 to attend a World War II civilian airplane crash commemoration. Local people at the time described his visit as distasteful given that he represents the British government and army that maintain partition and abuse, illtreat and gun down Irish citizens in their own country.

What was he up to in Donegal? And has he the same unlimited freedom to travel up and down the 26 Counties as the British military spyplanes have in the air?

IT IS reported in the Nationalist and Leinster Times (June 9) that Paddy Cooney, former Free State minister for Justice walked out of an ICMSA meeting on taxation because a member of Free State Sinn Féin was on the platform.

In an editorial entitled "Well done Mr. Cooney" this supposedly impartial paper was encouraged to see that "He has not compromised his principles from fear of losing votes". The editor went on to condemn the Republican Movement for as he put it "denying the most basic rights and freedoms to those who don't share their views".

He seems to forget that Cooney while he was minister for Justice in the 26 Counties, during the 1973-77 Coalition regime, denied the most basic rights to Republicans because of their political beliefs, including access to the national airwaves, and placing many in gaol. At this time Cooney made the infamous remark that "prisoners have no rights".

It is most hypocritical for these people to write or speak of human rights with such a record behind them. The attitude of people like Cooney and the Fine Gael party towards the Republican Movement is summed up in one phrase "we did it to them in the Civil War and we'll do it to them again". Cooney's own uncle was notorious for his treatment of Republican POWs in Athlone barracks during the Civil War. For sixty-six years the suppression of Republicanism has been the principal aim of Fine Gael.

And it is sad to see even a provincial paper like the Nationalist and Leinster Times supporting this aim. Journalists in most oppressed countries side with the people, but here unfortunately it is the opposite

"The other thing is that there has always been in this country an admiration for this tremendous will to freedom with the Irish. I say there are . . . three absolutely crazy people in this world, and they are freedom-hungry to the degree of craziness — the Afghans, the Poles and the Irish".

— Hans Klein, West German Minister for Information, interviewed by Douglas Gageby in The Irish Times, June 21, 1989.

The winning numbers in the June Draw organised by CABHAIR (Republican Prisoners' Dependents' Fund) in Dublin were as follows: First Prize £100, No. 066; Second Prize £50, No. 089; Third Prize £30, No. 048; Fourth Prize £20, No. 095; Five Prizes of £10, Nos. 245, 044, 160, 157, 337. Next Dublin Draw for Sinn Féin Poblachtach on Sunday, July 9.

*****siopa na poblachta*****

21. Sráid Seá, Baile Átha Cliath 2, Éire:

The French Revolution and the Irish Struggle

Marking the Bicentenary of the great French Revolution of 1789 the Co. Longford Branch of the National Graves Association has published the lecture on the French Revolution delivered by Seán Ó Brádaigh on 21 January last. Price 65p. By post £1. Bulk rates available to Cumainn etc.

JAMES CONNOLLY'S PROPHECY

By MARTIN CALLIGAN

21, Shaw Street, Dublin 2, Ireland

This pamphlet, written by Republican veteran, Martin Calligan, Kilmurry McMahon, Kilrush, Co. Clare, takes its title from Connolly's speech to the British courtmartial that sentenced him to death in 1916 and covers the long period of Irish history he has lived through. Available for £1 post free. Bulk rates available to Cumainn etc.

21, Shaw Street, Dublin 2, Ireland

Harry

We are pleased to announce that following a number of enquiries we have secured a stock of the book 'Harry' — the story of Veteran Republican Harry White who died on April 12 last. Price £6.00. Available from our Bookshop, 21 Shaw Street, Dublin 2.

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