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50th ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY
of the execution by the Free State of
TOM HARTE and PADDY McGRATH
September 9, 1990
St. Colman's Cemetery, Lurgan, Co. Armagh at 3pm
FULL DETAILS NEXT ISSUE



● **STORMONT:** End result of 20 years of struggle if Mr Brooke's proposed talks succeed.

ANOTHER 'INTERNAL SOLUTION'

IT HAS become clear this month that the Dublin administration and the British government have agreed on Dublin's exclusion from the planned inter-party talks in the Six Counties.

The bogus "role" in the north claimed by Dublin politicians to exist in Article 4 (c) of the Hillsborough Deal has therefore been renounced to aid Mr Brooke's talks, aimed as they are at setting up a new Stormont.

Every sell-out by the 26-County state is justified in terms of the make-believe that the 'new' arrangement will not be what it in fact is - another attempted "internal solution", attempting to create Unionist rule with a human face.

What it will mean is clear to Fr Des Wilson of Belfast who recognises the intentions of the British government very well when he says (*Andersonstown News*, June 16):

"In other words what Mr Brooke is leading people towards is the old situation as it was before 1968..... a carefully phased return to unjust parliamentary one-party rule."

He also states that although those who vote for British government approved nationalist parties will initially have the right to make suggestions about

how they are to be ruled, these parties (the SDLP primarily) will be destroyed like the old Nationalist party in their turn.

Unionist MP Ken Maginnis, on the other hand, expressed himself satisfied on RTE, June 19, that there could be an SDLP Minister for Home Affairs in a new Stormont in charge of "internal security". "Irishmen have done a good job in this regard before in history, and would again", Mr Maginnis said.

And he finds himself in agreement with Fr Brian Lennon SJ who wrote in the *Irish Times* that it may be necessary to set up a "totally new security force" which ex-nationalists would join to finally enforce British rule on the ground.

The Dublin administration is clearly going along with this scenario to prevent any change in their power base arising out of the struggle against British rule, and therefore are ensuring an extension to the lifespan of the denial of All-Ireland democracy which the Six-County state represents.

50
YEARS
AGO:

Russell meets Ryan in Berlin



● Frank Ryan

JULY 1940 saw over 700 Republicans interned or imprisoned in the 26 Counties, 3-400 in the Six Counties and close on 100 men and women in England. The last sentences in the English Campaign, which came to an end the previous March, were handed down.

In this article some assessments of that campaign will be attempted. But first, dramatic events in Dublin and Portlaoise and in continental Europe need to be looked at.

Tomás Mac Curtáin of Cork, son of the martyred Lord Mayor of the same name had the previous month been sentenced to hang by the Military Tribunal for the death of a Special Branch man during a scuffle which preceded his arrest.

REPRIEVE CAMPAIGN

Immediately a very active reprieve campaign got going in which the condemned man's widowed mother and sisters figured prominently. Signatures were gathered, prayers were said in class in schools and pressure generally mounted.

Meanwhile Seán MacBride SC and his team - working at all times in such cases without any recompense - brought appeal and *habeas corpus* actions while as Tim Pat Coogan records "the country seethed with controversy". Fianna Fáil were about to execute the son as the RIC had assassinated his father twenty years earlier.

Then on the eve of the hanging came reprieve and commutation to penal servitude for life. It was 8pm with just 12 hours to go, the English hangman was in Mountjoy, the grave had been dug in the prison yard, the coffin was ready for the 25-year-old Corkman when Seán Kavanagh, the Prison Governor, himself a veteran of the 1920-21 period, arrived in the condemned cell on D-Wing - just across from the execution chamber - with the news.

Visiting Tomás at that moment was the veteran Republican from Donegal, the redoubtable Peadar O'Donnell whom Bowyer Bell called "the greatest agitator of his day". The reprieved man told the writer years later while both were in D-Wing again that he did not know what to do after 8am the following morning.

He had made up his mind that life would end at that time - steeled himself to it - and he fully believed that he would enter the hanghouse and "go straight up to heaven".

So close had the time been that an Irish-American paper sympathetic to the Republican cause in Ireland came out next day with a report that "Tomás Mac Curtáin had marched bravely to the scaffold".

Fifty years later Tomás is still with us, hale and hearty and a fluent Irish speaker. Go mairidh tú an céad, a Thomáis! He survived to re-organise the Movement and act as a leader in the 1956-62 Resistance Campaign and he has never abandoned his Republican ideals.

But the story does not end with reprieve. There were two developments which showed how policy was framed by the Fianna Fáil cabinet. Tomás was moved to A-Wing, Mountjoy, to serve his sentence and found that he was required (with a small number of other Republicans) to do penal labour.

This was inconsistent with political status and the protest began again in July where it had left off with the end of the hunger strike three months earlier. Mac Curtáin quickly organised his comrades but was moved overnight to Portlaoise "Convict Prison" as a "trouble-maker".

The other policy decision by the Fianna Fáil cabinet was the creation of Drumhead Courts Martial. But more on this point next month.

Meanwhile over in Spain Franco and his Fascist generals had overthrow the elected Republican Government in a bloody Civil War, helped by German Nazism and Italian Fascism. Some Irishmen - mainly ex-Blueshirts - had gone to help Franco and returned in two factions after six months, having lost four of their number in accidental shootings.

SPANISH REPUBLIC

About 150 Republicans and Socialists had gone to fight for the Spanish Republic as part of the XV International Brigade. Some 60 of them died bravely in action from 1936 to 1938. Captured at Gandesa while defending Catalonia in March 1938 was Major Frank Ryan as Adjutant to General Miaja on the XV Brigade Staff.

The Fascists usually shot all captured International Brigaders. Frank was held by Italian troops and kept as a hostage for possible exchange. Later he was sentenced to death and watched his comrades taken out each morning to the firing squad.

Because of agitation in Ireland the death penalty was commuted to 30 years imprisonment. After the fall of France, Germany occupied territory up to the Pyrenees border with Spain. Thinking the famous Irish Republican and Socialist might be useful to them (with Seán Russell already in Berlin) the Germans agreed to accept him into their charge following a pre-arranged "escape" from Burgos Prison.

Frank was taken to Paris, where he began his recovery from his prison

ordeal, and later to Berlin at which point he was re-united joyfully with his old comrade and opponent Seán Russell. More will be told of this next month.

PENAL SERVITUDE

Back in England three Irishmen received sentences of penal servitude at Birmingham Assizes for possession of explosives, a firearm and ammunition. James Hasty got 10 years, Thomas O'Hanlon eight years and Terence Perry of Belfast six years.

Inadvertently this series failed to report a sentence of 10 years on Mrs Ella May Woods of Waterville, Co. Kerry in September 1939 at the London Old Bailey on charges of possession of explosives and "conspiracy" to cause explosions.

Mrs Woods and her London-Irish husband Charlie Woods were active and faithful Republicans to their deaths in 1980 and '81. Active in Sinn Féin in the 1950s, they worked mainly for the Prisoners' Dependants and in the National Graves Association in the 1960s and '70s.

In all a total of 96 Irish Republicans were jailed in Britain in 1939-40 in connection with the Sabotage Campaign. Ten of these were brave women ranging in age from Molly Gallagher in her teens to Mrs Furlong in her '70s.

Two were hanged (Barnes and McCormack), three died in prison Terence Perry and Joseph Malone both of Belfast in Parkhurst Jail in 1942 and Charlie O'Hare of Armagh in the Isle of Man Internment Camp in 1944) and four died accidentally in connection with the campaign (three at Castelfin, Co. Donegal in 1938 and Christy Bird in Dublin in 1939). Seven English civilians were also killed by accident.

ECONOMIST VIEW

The serious English journal *The Economist* had this to say on January 21, 1939 after the first bombs had exploded: "To leave the people of Northern Ireland to decide their own fate is one thing, and to use British money and British Military force to bolster, within the United Kingdom, a regime whose actions are contrary to Magna Carta, the Petition of Right and the Habeas Corpus Act, is quite another matter."

"If the bombs serve the purpose of attracting attention to the state of affairs in Northern Ireland, they will have served a useful purpose. It is high time that the bases of Orange Power in the six counties were fully examined." Very true, but no-hint of an end to British rule! Later "the hate was switched" (Harry White) in the anti-Irish campaign in the gutter press, etc.

About 200 operations took place in England over 14 months with the famous "S" Plan as their directive. Speaking in the British House of Commons on July 24, 1939 as he moved the Prevention

of Violence Bill, Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary, referred a lot to the "S" Plan, a copy of which had been captured by the police.

CAREFULLY WORKED OUT

"It is a very carefully worked out plan," he said, "the kind of plan that might be worked out by a General Staff, setting out in detail the way in which a campaign of sabotage could be successfully carried out against this country."

Bowyer Bell calls the plan "impressive", to implement it was a "massive operation" for which "the IRA simply lacked the weight of metal, the access to vulnerable targets, and sufficient skills. The quality of personnel left much to be desired... several GHQ men had experience with explosives but only (Seamus) O'Donovan (the author of the plan) could be classified as really qualified."

He continues: "Hasty, covert classes over a period of a few weeks turned the volunteers into explosives makers but hardly sabotage experts. Moreover, the quality of the explosives, home-made or stolen, was not the best. Finally, the cost of the campaign would far exceed the very limited resources of the IRA."

Bell is critical too of the political ramifications of the campaign. However, if it had been followed up by a Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties, it would all have been very different. (A mini-campaign did materialise there in 1942).

All attempts to launch such in early 1940 were squashed by the policies and actions of Stormont and Leinster House, making full use of the war-time cover. De Valera's "constitutional" road forward had ended in April 1938 when British Premier Chamberlain would not address the question of the Six Counties. The IRA pushed past him after that but paid the price for so doing. De Valera scoured them from 1939 to '48.

The English Campaign may have been a small effort compared with 1916-23. But so was Robert Emmet's Rising coming after 1798. Emmet proved the Act of Union (1801) was not universally acceptable in Ireland and his effort inspired generations which followed.

FOUGHT ON

Likewise with the IRA Expeditionary Force to England in 1939-40. They showed Ireland would not stop short at the 1938 Trade Agreement and de Valera's constitution of 1937. They fought on with the best means at their disposal and if they did not succeed, they took what was coming to them. They saved Ireland's honour and did not compromise the historic national demand.

All honour then, to the men and women of 1939-40, especially the veterans of Easter Week 1916, the Tan and Free State wars like Seán Russell, Seamus O'Donovan (Director of Chemicals, GHQ Staff, IRA 1920-24, George Plant, George Plunkett, Larry Grogan, Paddy McGrath including Brendan Behan's "Grannie" Furlong who turned out again at 77 years.

These had been with the Legion of the Rearguard in 1922-23 and 50 years ago they took their places with the Advance Guard of 1939-40. And Joe McGarrity, Clan-na-Gael leader in the USA was active in support of them as he had been since 1916. But we salute them all -

"And wise men have told us
That Cause was a failure...
But they loved dear old Ireland
And never feared danger..."

(More next month. Refs: "The Secret Army" by J Bowyer Bell; "Ag Scaoileadh Sceoil" le Seosamh O'Duibhinn (1962); "Harry" by Harry White; "The IRA Coventry Explosions (Trial of Peter Barnes and others)" by Letitia Fairfield (1953) "The IRA" by TP Coogan.)

WHAT BRITISH JUSTICE ?

BIRMINGHAM SIX:

DUBLIN IS 'SPINELESS'

A CROWD of over 3,000 people came on to the streets and quays of Dublin on Monday night, June 25 to participate in the *River Parade of Innocence* and hear the 26-County administration and Charles Haughey described as "spineless and voiceless", due to their refusal to pressurise the British over the case of the Birmingham Six, now into their 17th year of imprisonment.

On the same day as Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, made the above condemnation two other events took place; the EC summit in nearby Dublin castle started amid 'security' scenes reminiscent of the archetypal banana republic and in Copenhagen, Denmark campaigners for the Birmingham Six made a submission to a fringe meeting of the European (35 states) Human Rights Forum.

In both cases the Dublin government turned its back on the six men and refused to raise their case where it would have a significant effect — on the international political stage and in the presence of the European and World media.

SIGNATURES

Two days before

100,000 signatures from throughout the 32 counties had been handed in to the British Embassy, the result of just 19 days hard work by the Birmingham Six Committee and their supporters, calling for the release and exoneration of the men.

Both Dublin and Britain continue to treat the Birmingham Six as political hostages with Charles Haughey and the other Leinster House gomben politicians "spineless and voiceless" as a result of their own policies of collaboration and extradition.

If they raised their voices they would immediately call into question their own treacherous behaviour in collaborating with a regime that systematically executes, tortures, imprisons and abuses Irish citizens.



● 'Egyptian' chorus making its way along Ormond Quay, Dublin during the River Parade of Innocence.

Maguire Seven: Framed

ON Thursday June 14 the British Director of Public Prosecutions told the Guildford and Maguire Inquiry that the 1976 convictions of the Maguire family were "unsafe and unsatisfactory" and that the forensic evidence used to convict them was "flawed". His statement was followed up by the British Home Secretary's announcement in the British House of Commons that afternoon that the Maguire convictions could not be allowed to stand. He is now expected to refer the case to the Court of Appeal.

The Inquiry was originally ordered after the release of the Guildford Four last October and this move is obviously a damage limitation exercise to stop embarrassing matters coming under public scrutiny. The Inquiry has already heard that the positive tests for nitroglycerine on the hands of the Maguire family could

probably have been as a result of contamination by the detectives who carried them out.

A key forensic witness who analysed the swabs refused to appear before the Inquiry, as did the trial judge in 1976 — Lord Donaldson, now Master of the Rolls, one of the highest legal figures in Britain.

In a sharply-worded response Sinn Féin Poblachtach President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said that the decision was welcome to the Maguires but "justice delayed is justice denied for these seven Irish people, one of whom (Guiseppine Conlon) died an innocent man in a British jail. The decision confirms the non-existence of British justice in Irish political cases, a fact that the pro-extradition campaigners, north and south, wilfully choose to ignore".

"The true circumstances in this case," he said, "as in countless other cases is not that the evidence was 'flawed' but that the evidence was fabricated and the Maguires were framed."

along these lines.

Their concern is not to dissolve the power blocs but to build up the NATO alliance and extend it, as Jürgen Meier of the Green Party of West Germany said, "to the borders of Russia itself".

Peter Lint of Norway told the attendance that a common feature of the pro-EC voices in the EFTA countries was the influence of big business who everywhere want to divest themselves of national restrictions on their activities.

EASTER

LILIES

JAILING

ARRESTED in late April and jailed for a number of days in Mountjoy and Loughan House for selling Easter Lilies at Jamestown and Daingan was Seán Fitzmaurice, Kilmore, Carrick-on-Shannon. This has become almost an annual event in this part of Roscommon. The spirit of Easter 1916 lives on...

AT the 'Future of Europe Conference' in Dublin on the eve of the EC summit (June 24) the Amárach-Ireland 2000 organisation made a call to build an "international campaign to defend national democracy".

COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE

The meeting expressed support for the 35 states of Europe coming together in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) later this year to discuss the building of the "Common European House". This would involve the setting up of

a permanent secretariat to mediate conflict between nations in a framework like a "United Nations of Europe".

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) representing most African states is a model of such a structure in existence al-

ready, and it is a recognised regional body of the United Nations.

It was significant that on the following two days the EC heads of state resolved that the CSCE should only have a "small secretariat". The British, the USA and the European Community are afraid that the CSCE would overshadow and undermine the NATO alliance by developing into an institution

be confiscated if he didn't leave the area. Despite this thuggery they remained there for the day displaying posters supporting the Arigna miners and also proposing Sinn Féin Poblachtach's Éire Nua Policy.

Delegates leaving the meeting later responded well to the picket and some requested the Éire Nua document to be sent to them, much to the annoyance of the Gardaí.

Local reporters covering the conference also spoke with the picketers and it remains to be seen as we go to press whether this aspect of protecting Britain's Border will be also given coverage in the local papers.

Special Branch Thuggery

ON SATURDAY, June 23 last a conference was held in the Comprehensive School, Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim under the heading of "Border Development". Among the invitees which included TDs, MEPs and local representatives was John Hume, MEP, MP for Derry. But despite such a prestigious gathering the only publicity given to this event was a small notice in the Sligo Champion.

Sinn Féin Poblachtach Ard Chomhairle member Declan Curneen, on hearing about the meeting, which was advertised as open to the public, went along with some local colleagues but was refused entry by the Gardaí and Special Branch, who were on duty at the door.

Immediately a picket was mounted outside the building and Declan protested from a public

address system attached to his car, calling for Border Removal not Border Development!

RIPPED DOWN

This drew the attention of Branchmen Connolly and Maloney and after a scuffle with Sinn Féin Poblachtach supporters they ripped down the PA system and warned Declan Curneen that his car would

CASH WITH ORDERS

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WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION 1990

STANDING FIRM



Le Ruairí Ó Conchúir

A 14-MAN colour party carrying the National and Provincial Flags led the annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration from Sallins Village, Co. Kildare to Bodenstown Churchyard on Sunday June 10. Commencing this year in Sallins village the parade of 700 people marched behind two other colour parties of Cumann na mBan and Fianna Éireann members and the Glens of Antrim Accordion Band. The foremost banner displayed the Republican message 'Democracy for Ireland', in striking yellow and blue colours.

With contingents and banners from Tiobraid Arann to Omagh, Roscommon to Cork the marchers made their way in pleasant weather through the lush Kildare countryside to renew their dedication to the All-Ireland Republic and to illustrate by their presence the vitality and relevance today of Wolfe Tone's message.

At the graveside Chief Marshal Liam Cotter, Tralee, handed over to Cathaoirleach Michael MacManus of Fermanagh. Continuing the theme of Democracy for Ireland and referring to the events in Central and Eastern Europe over the last 12 months he said that the "call for democracy has never been heard better from those who deny freedom to Ireland."

He then called on Veteran Dublin Republican Máiréad Langsdorf who laid the wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Tomás Lyons addressed the crowd on behalf of the National Graves Association and he recounted the renovation work carried out by the NGA since Bodenstown 1989. Among the memorials restored were those of the Fenian Tallaght Martyrs, "Amnesty" Nolan, and of O'Donovan Rossa. He appealed for support for their plans to restore the Republican Plot in Glasnevin, Dublin in time for the 75th Anniversary of the 1916 Rising next year.

The oration was then delivered by Des Long of Limerick, a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. After Des Long's wide-ranging and hard-hitting address, which was enthusiastically received by the crowd, the parade re-formed for the march back to the assembly point in Sallins village, where Amhrán na bhFiann was played to end the ceremony.

An edited text of his oration is printed here:

"THIS commemoration holds an honoured place in the calendar of the Republican Movement. We are gathered here today in a spirit of comradeship and concern: and while we look to the past and acknowledge the lessons of history we must not ignore the future. As true Republicans we cannot ignore the future. We have a duty inherited from the dead generations to speak the truth . . . and the truth is interlinked with this ceremony today.

"Fellow-Republicans, we are assembled here in this graveyard that Pearse described as the holiest place in Ireland because it is the last resting place of Wolfe Tone, the father of Irish Republicanism.

"We have come here today - as other Republicans in the past since his death 192 years ago on November 19, 1798 - to pledge ourselves to break the connection with England, the never-ending cause of all our political ills.

"We come here because we believe this holiest spot of Ireland's soil to be that where the greatest Republican of all lies buried. During his short life of 35 years Wolfe Tone worked ceaselessly to bring about

the freedom and independence of the Irish nation.

PLANNING FOR REVOLUTION

"In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was established by Tone. Consisting of sincere and enlightened Republicans, the organisation became involved in planning for revolution. Tone left for America in May, 1795 but before leaving he informed United Irishmen leaders in Belfast that he intended seeking French aid for a revolution. It was during this time that he and Russell, Neilson, Simms and Henry Joy McCracken went to the summit of Cave Hill and took a solemn oath:

'Never to desist in our efforts until we had subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted our Independence.' I suppose that subverting made him a subversive - what a noble title!

"Tried by court martial on Sunday, November 10, 1798 he was found guilty of acting traitorously against the King of England. Tone was ordered to be hanged publicly within 48 hours.

"A report issued by the British Military stated that in the early hours of Monday a sentry found Tone dying in his cell with a deep wound in the neck. He died on November 19, 1798. Was Tone murdered? We will never know! What we do know is that Tone was the greatest Republican of all, and by your presence here today you are keeping his spirit alive.

RE-PLEDGE OURSELVES

"Never before in the history of our long struggle have we more need of that spirit. We must re-pledge ourselves to the cause and not be deflected or defeated by the sheer enormity of the forces against us. We can take heart from the example and energy of Tone. His full realisation all those years ago that the root cause of our ills is England is still valid today.

"In fact all that has changed is that the veneer of so called freedom has been vanished but the underlying causes of our political, social and economic division remains to be tackled. The spirit of Tone and true Republicanism has been instilled in generations of Republicans who have left us a lasting legacy in their commitment, their honesty and their honourable refusal to compromise on principle.

Today there are many forces at work determined to ruin the Republican Movement. As the British administration in association with the Free State now attempts to establish a new Stormont to re-structure their rule in Ireland we must be conscious of our history and take to heart that the Free State will act in England's interest. It has happened before and this month marks fifty years of the most blatant move by the Free State to protect Britain. In June 1940 when the War seemed to be going against Britain, the Free State launched a series of mass internment swoops and imprisoned 640 Republicans from every one of the 26 Counties.

"For too long we Republicans have been accused of looking to the past, as if remembering these grotesque acts of treachery is some kind of unnatural activity. But we must learn from the past: we must be alive



● Margaret Langsdorf laying the wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.



to the wiles of the political opportunist who will argue about the path of progress, the will of the people and the reality of the situation. The very same arguments were used by de Valera and his "empty formula" soon became the death warrant for Republicans who refused to take part in the charade at the behest of the British.

"There is no easy way to say it: This country has been soaked in the blood of Republicans who refused to compromise on principle.

"After the jailings, the torture and murder, after the revisionism and reviling of Republicanism, the boast of Gerry Boland was: 'We have smashed the Irish Republican Army'. That was the boast of a Fianna Fáil government that had come to power by pretending to uphold the ideals of the Republic.

VESTED INTERESTS

"Today many elements of the struggle are similar and some insights can be drawn from our past experience. Today we are faced by a daunting challenge. A whole range of vested interests are aligned against the role of Republicanism.

"The latest and most shameful tactic practised by the Free State in their strategy of active support for the British Occupation Forces in Ireland is the extradition almost on demand of political prisoners to the British. This slavish acquiescence to Thatcher's imperious demand is a new feature, unknown in 26-county collaboration until the 1980s, but it has been carried out by successive Free State administrations without compunction as they jump with alacrity to the crack of the Imperial whip.

"Here today at Tone's graveside we condemn this policy of crawling to appease the British Establishment. Those who adopt it as a policy and who implement it will surely be adjudged at the bar of history as the most contemptible Appeasers to appear on the Irish scene over eight long centuries of colonisation and exploitation.

"But we must realise that such traitorous activities are part and parcel of the Free State set-up since its foundation here by England. The 26-county state is a component part of the British 'Government of Ireland Act' 1920 and whoever operates it must uphold its functions.



● Colour Party leads the parade from Sallins, Co. Kildare to Bodenstown Churchyard.

"Never to desist in our efforts until we have subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted our Independence."

1990 WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION

ON UNITY



as the 26 Counties is edged closer into the capitalist club of the EC where questions remain unanswered about our traditional neutrality.

"By virtue of the EC membership the Free State which is supposed to be against violence and small wars is now preparing for the big war as a United States of Europe is seemingly determined to engage in even further exploitation of the Third World. Further complicating the world political state is the role of the United States of America whose military-industrial conglomerates pray for the fall of Gorbachev so that they can return to manufacturing arms and thus increase their profits. Peace is not good for the military establishment.

THEIR FIGHT, OUR FIGHT

"A new dimension is the growing gap between the North and South of the World, between the wealthy nations and the poor, which sees the highly developed countries exploiting the nations of the Third World. Heretofore we sent missionaries to the Third World. All too soon they may be sending young soldiers to fight the capitalist war. The issues of the Third World should concern us. Their fight is also our fight and at present their leaders are formulating plans for the future.

"We can take inspiration from men like Nelson Mandela who is coming to Dublin soon. It should be remembered that he could have been released from prison 15 years ago if he had renounced the physical force policies of the ANC. All Mandela had to do was sign a document saying it was wrong for the ANC to struggle against the South African government and he would have been released. But he refused to sign and so spent another 15 years in prison. When he comes to Dublin he should not be fooled by those in power who welcome him. The history of Ireland is littered with the bodies of men of principle like Mandela, men who were imprisoned, tortured and murdered because they, like Mandela, simply refused to compromise on principle.

"Today we must stand firm and re-inforce our determination to carry the struggle to the British occupying power. Our Northern comrades deserve our support as never before.

"Today the Republican Movement is at a crossroads, similar to events twenty years, or indeed 50 years ago. The final sell-out is coming when all the political parties will be drawn together, ranging from the Free State to the Unionists, from the SDLP to the faded, and I repeat, faded Republicans and they are all banded into a so-called solution to suit the British presence.

"We must never forget that the British presence will not provide a solution; the British presence is the problem and until that presence is removed by whatever means at our disposal there can never be peace in the island of Ireland.

SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH

"Some truths are self-evident. Tone first touched on the solution all those years ago when he said: 'Ireland would never be either free, prosperous or happy until she was independent and that independence was unattainable whilst the connection with England existed.'

"Until that connection with England is broken there can never be the potential for peace. Before he embarked on his revolution, Tone swore an oath which today we should also take as ours: 'Never to desist in our efforts until we have subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted our independence.' Let us leave this holy place, keeping the spirit of Tone alive. Long live the Republic!"

Section of the crowd approaching the graveyard.

documents just mentioned. We do not turn our backs on the men and women of 1922-23, of the 1940s, '50s, '60s, '70s and '80s.

"And we propose to the Unionists not an extension of the present out-dated 26-county state and constitution to all of Ireland but a fresh start, a new beginning - a New Federal Ireland of the Four Provinces which would include a nine-county Ulster.

"The Free State murderers of Republicans in 1940 made the mistake of thinking that every person has his or her price; they judged people by their own selfish sell-out standards. While the Fianna Fáil politicians took the thirty pieces of British silver, there were also principled Republicans who refused to join the ranks of Judas. Men and women like Matt Casey of Longford; Gerry MacCarthy and Mick Fitzgibbon of Cork; Bertie MacCormack of Leitrim; Sylvester Fitzsimons of Roscommon; Paddy Fox of Galway; Nick Rockett of Limerick; Ted McGarrigle of Donegal;

Liam Bourke of Belfast; Seán Keenan of Derry; Paddy O'Connell of Tipperary and Charlie Dineen of Kerry; Maggie Langsdorf of Dublin; the Mulready Sisters of Mullingar; Martin Calligan of Clare and Paddy Murphy of Dundalk - all active at that time and I am glad to say that quite a few are here today.

"They were not cowed by the forces that were aligned against them. They refused to bow or bend the knee to the murderers in the 26-county parliamentary and Stormont regimes.

"Men like Gerry MacCarthy got up on his bike and re-organised and trained the youth; he went out among the people and slowly fanned that Easter flame until it grew bright and strong, until the torch was passed to a newer, younger generation, who by the early 1950s were in a position to raid Ebrington Barracks, Derry, Felstead Barracks in England, Omagh Barracks, Armagh Barracks and Arbourfield Barracks and thus open a new chapter in the history of the Republican Movement.

"They carried the fight against the British despite the protestations of the Free State politicians. Even the upheaval of the Sixties and the activities of Stormont failed to destroy the Republican Movement.

"Today the Republican Movement exists because all the other political elements have accepted the status quo; they are conforming to the existing system. And the danger of another sell-out is increasing as the British and the Unionists and the SDLP move closer towards a new Stormont. Another internal solution is on the cards, this time with the enthusiastic backing of the Free State. But as Republicans we know that there can be no sell-out of the right of self-determination. The Irish people cannot be divided again in the interests of updating British rule in Ireland. And that is what this new process is all about. To even agree to the suggestion of a new Stormont is tantamount to abandoning the Northern nationalists to the UDR, the RUC and the British Army. We will not abandon them.

"We are the only political organisation whose members now fully accept the spirit of 1916. Our message must go out from here today loud and clear. We will not be smashed. We will not sell out. We

Des Long

are the true keepers of the conscience of the Republic. Yet we cannot be complacent, we cannot rest on past glories. We must re-organise. While this work is being done, there are some who say that they are not pleased with our progress. To them let me say this: Remember Gerry MacCarthy . . . his bike is waiting . . . there is work to be done.

"Today more than ever there is an urgent need for a strong united Republican Movement as the 75th Anniversary of the Easter Rising approaches. We have no doubt but that the establishment and the other political parties will endeavour to ignore the occasion. They have developed a system in the Free State which is totally opposed to the men and women of 1916. In fact they are collaborating even further with the British to ensure that the Irish people will remain divided by the latest round of talks by the parties in power to further dilute the milk-and-watery nationalism of the Free State.

"They are even tinkering with the 1937 de Valera Constitution in an effort to pacify the Unionists but we know the more they give, they more the British will want until the Free State finds itself sucked back into the Empire.

"In fact removing Articles 2 and 3 now would in effect mean a return to the Boundary Agreement of 1925, that 'damn good bargain' as Cosgrave called it, and renouncing the Six Counties and accepting that they are part of Britain. This we can never accept. Our demands are based on the concept of the historic Irish nation and the right to self-determination.

The fact is that the Common Market has not removed the British and the EC in 1992 will not do it either because most of what is said to the Irish people is lies. Lies have to be told because the whole basis of Free State power is based on lies. Even the description of the 26 Counties is false: it is not 'Ireland'; and the Six Counties is not 'Ulster' and let us also remember that the twelve countries of the EC is not 'Europe'.

"The EC does not offer freedom to the Irish people. The purpose of the current realignment within the EC has much to do with profit and very little to do with people. The stark reality is that the free movement of capital and labour means that Irish people will have to follow the work in Europe. They will have to go where the jobs are and that could be in Germany or France or any other part of the EC where there is a labour shortage. Soon FAS will be running courses on telling people how to move into continental Europe. Of course the fact is that the Free State is now fully on the EC treadmill and there is no shouting stop



County Kildare to the grave of Wolfe Tone at Keshdown.

til we have subverted the authority and asserted our independence."

MEMORIAL TO FALLEN MAYO VOLUNTEERS UNVEILED

"VOLS. O'MALLEY and Lally of the West Mayo Brigade, IRA died at Clonkeen Bridge in May 1921 because the British Government would not accept Irish Democracy", declared Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach at the unveiling of a graveside memorial to the two men in Islandeady Cemetery, Castlebar, Co. Mayo on Sunday, June 17.

The Islandeady Ambush took place on May 7, 1921 when 10 IRA Volunteers came into contact with Black-and-Tans at Clonkeen Bridge, just at the side of the main Castlebar to Westport road. The only remaining survivor, 95-year-old Pat Muggan of Clonkeen, performed the unveiling ceremony at the limestone Celtic cross erected by the Mayo branch of the National Graves Association.

The parade formed up at the ambush site where Pat Muggan laid a wreath. Then led by a lone piper from the Balla Band and by a colour party with the

National, Fianna Éireann and Starry Plough flags, it marched two miles to Islandeady Cemetery.

'FOREVER YOUNG'

There Dan Hoban of Newport presided and called on Pat Muggan to unveil the beautiful memorial which was sculpted locally. Patrick O'Reilly of Kiltimagh led the crowd in a decade of the Rosary in Irish. John Snee, Kilkelly recited verses by Edward O'Malley of the West Mayo Brigade, IRA, in tribute to those who died for Ireland . . . "The rest of us have grown to age, they are forever young".



● Pat Muggan unveils the NGA Memorial in Islandeady Cemetery.

Five wreaths were then laid: by Pat Muggan on behalf of West Mayo Brigade Veterans; by John Snee for East Mayo Brigade Comrades; by Mrs. Margaret Mannion, Ballyglass, sister of Dan McAnallen killed in an attack on Pomeroy Barracks, Co. Tyrone in August 1973; Peadar Murray, Newport, on behalf of the Republican Move-

ment and Walter Fitzgerald, Kiltimagh, a native of Islandeady parish, on behalf of Co. Mayo branch of the National Graves Association.

"The Irish people — the last time they voted on an All-Ireland basis in 1918 — elected the First Dáil Éireann which adopted the Declaration of Independence at its first meeting," Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said in his oration.

"The British would not accept this and sent over the Black-and-Tans to subdue our people. Later they partitioned the country. In opposing the Tans and upholding the Irish people's right to self determination, cousins, Tommy O'Malley and Tommy Lally gave their lives."

"The restoration of full democracy at an all-Ireland level is the solution. Sinn Féin Poblachtach proposes a New Federal Ireland of the four provinces, including a nine-county Ulster, in the event of a British withdrawal from the Six Counties."

"All-Ireland Democracy and real local democracy would safeguard all minorities," he said, "from the former Unionists in the North to the Irish-speaking and English-speaking people on the Western seaboard."

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh concluded that in remembering Vols. O'Malley and Lally we should stand against the rushing tide of revisionism and uphold our language, music, games, and our "mórtas cine" our pride in ourselves and our ability to solve our own problems without outside interference, just as the peoples of the Baltic States had rejected Soviet domination after so many years.

The proceedings ended with the National Anthem played by the piper. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh later paid a courtesy call on Comdt.-General Tomás Maguire, last surviving Deputy of the All-Ireland Dáil, at the home of his son Dr. Seán Maguire in Castlebar. General Maguire is Patron of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Imeachtaí

PUBLIC MEETING
WILLIE CLANCY
SUMMER SCHOOL
Saturday, July 14 at 9pm
MILLTOWN MALBAY
CO. CLARE
Speaker:
Ruairí Ó Brádaigh
Uachtarán
Sinn Féin Poblachtach

ROGER CASEMENT
COMMEMORATION
MURLOUGH BAY
CO. ANTRIM
SUNDAY, JULY 29
3pm
Speaker:
Tomás Ó Maoileoin

JOHN JOE
KAVANAGH
50th ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATION
AUGUST 3-5, 1990
CALENDAR OF EVENTS
Friday, August 3
Memorial Mass Holy
Trinity Church, Cork city
at 7.30pm
Saturday, August 4
Memorial Plaque Unveiling
near the wall of the Old
Jail (facing Western Road),
3.30pm. Followed by parade
to Republican Plot, St.
Finbar's Cemetery.
Wreath laying ceremony
and oration.
Sunday, August 5
Football Tournament Finals
for John Joe Kavanagh
Memorial Shield, St. Vincent's
Hurling and Football
Grounds, 11.30am.

Women in Ireland's Fight for Freedom

● THE FIGHT AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

FOLLOWING the release of the internees in 1917 the most pressing problem facing the Irish people was the threat of conscription. World War I was still going on in Europe and Britain badly needed more soldiers in the final push against the Germans. The number of Irish recruits volunteering had slowed up considerably after Easter 1916 and the British government, who had already introduced conscription in England, looked towards Ireland to produce more cannon fodder to be used on the battlefields in Europe.

Many loyalist employers had already sacked able-bodied male workers in an attempt to force them into the army. Early in 1917 a government decree cemented this practice by barring employers from filling vacant positions with men between the ages of 16 and 62. It was intended that women would be employed in their places, as was happening in England, thus providing a source of cheap labour. This became known in Ireland as "economic conscription" and a campaign, supported by all branches of the Republican movement, nationalist and cultural organisations, the trade union movement and the Catholic Church was organised and quickly got under way gaining massive countrywide support.

WOMEN'S PLEDGE

Cumann na mBan, supported by the Irish Women Workers Union organised a flag day, selling flags that stated that "Women won't blackleg". Cumann na mBan introduced a special women's pledge guaranteeing that (a) women would not fill any places of men deprived of their work through enforced military service and (b) women would do all in their power to help the families of men who suffered through refusing enforced military service.

The campaign against conscription created an overwhelming challenge to British rule in Ireland. The government's reaction was swift. They conjured up a fictional "German Plot" alleging that Irish Republic-

ans were in "treasonable" conspiracy with Germany and passed the *Defence of the Realm Act (DORA)*.

On May 17, 1917, 73 Republicans, including Kathleen Clarke, Constance Markievicz and Maud Gunne McBride were arrested and sent to jail in England. The women were sent to Holloway Prison and were soon joined by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, who promptly went on hunger strike.

She was released after a few days. The prisoners were required to sign an undertaking not to discuss politics on visits and consequently refused to take any. Maud Gunne, who was in poor health was released in October 1917 but Kathleen Clarke and Constance Markievicz were amongst the last to be released.

On the outside the campaign against conscription continued and the British attempt to impose it collapsed. The war ended on November 11, 1918 but the last of the DORA prisoners were not released until March 1919.

Cumann na mBan had organised a committee to look after the welfare of the prisoners and their

SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

OUR AIMS — For a full British withdrawal from Ireland . . . The establishment of a true 32-County Socialist Republic . . . The establishment of a new All-Ireland parliament, completely outside the present, partitionist set-up, to oversee the running of the new neutral non-aligned Ireland . . .

OUR HISTORY — Formed in 1905 . . . We are the oldest political organisation in the country . . . Organised throughout the 32 Counties . . . We have continuously rejected the failed political entities of Six and 26 Counties in existence since the British partitioned our country . . .

OUR REQUIREMENTS —

FOR YOU TO JOIN WITH US

Don't let your dissatisfaction end in only a verbal comment or complaint to your work-mates/neighbors etc — do something; hit back; join an organised body of people committed to obtaining change, real change, outside of the present system — Join us, Join Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Our future depends on ourselves, *Sinn Féin*, not on some pin-striped self-serving careerist in Dublin, London or Brussels.

JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

I wish to join Sinn Féin Poblachtach
Ba mhaithe liom bheith i mo bhall de
Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Ainm
Seoladh

Send to: Sinn Féin Poblachtach, 13 Aston Place, Dublin 2. Fón: 6799120.

dependants and as those men remaining on the outside were mainly "on the run" the main burden of organising the Anti-conscription campaign had fallen on the shoulders of the women, who had organised protests and public meetings all over the country. Once again women had proved their organisational ability and by their steadfast opposition to and work against conscription had counteracted the British attempt to impose it on the Irish people.

— Eimear Ní Bhríain

ARIGNA FIGHTS FOR ITS WORK

'ALTERNATIVE INDUSTRY' for the Arigna area is not feasible and the fight for the retention of the mines must continue, a mass protest rally of ESB workers and miners in Longford town was told, during June.

Industry must be based on natural resources that won't "get up and go" when the tax holiday is over - the unmistakable message from the platform outside Longford Courthouse as Arigna Collieries plan to close their mines on July 20 with the loss of 140 jobs.

Several hundred people, including workers from all the Midland power stations and Moneypoint in Co. Clare, marched from Battery road in Longford through the busy Saturday afternoon crowd on June 16 to drive home their message that Arigna is not going to give in to the indifference of Leinster House politicians.

The Joint Action Committee of miners and power station workers, who organised the rally, was set up following the October 31, 1989 announcement that North Roscommon's largest employers, Arigna Collieries, was to close within six months. They are now intent on getting a real contract for the two smaller mines to supply the Arigna power station and thus save 100 jobs.

Seán Tynan said that there was enough main seam coal and 12½ million tonnes of secondary (crow) coal left in the mines to keep the station running for another 60-70 years. Closure would affect all the mid-west of Ireland he said - North Roscommon, East Cavan, Central Leitrim and part of Sligo. (The loss of 250 jobs would be equivalent to 50,000 redundancies in the Dublin area, according to one estimate.)

Jim Nolan, Chairman of the Joint Action Committee also stressed the fact that there was enough coal to keep the power station running and he warned that the threat of closure for the power station "could just be the first step in a bid to close down all the smaller midland power stations". All the workers should unite



● The parade makes its way through Longford Town.

to prevent this from happening, he said. The workers are also looking for the results of a geological survey to be brought forward to prove their case.

Meanwhile Arigna Collieries are reported to be showing their workers redundancy payment figures with the warning that these sums may be in jeopardy if they continue to fight for their jobs. But the spirit of the Arigna Community remains as strong as ever.

They remember the promises about a new power station (to burn the crow coal) that were made in 1982. Sinn Féin Pol-

lachtach stands with the community in their fight for the retention of their livelihoods, based on their native natural resources

and would advocate the nationalisation of these resources to secure their future.

ENOUGH COAL
Drumshanbo priest Fr.



● Sinn Féin Poblachtach officers held a meeting with Fr. Keith Heiborg and Mike Quinn of Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada during June, who were on a fact-finding visit to Belfast and Dublin. (Left to right) Fr. Heiborg, Cathleen Knowles, General-Secretary and Mike Quinn.



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Tel: 6799120

WHAT THEY SAID

"Whatever your views on the rights or wrongs in Northern Ireland, it can never be in the interests of any British government that Ireland be a united whole, a threat to air and

sea routes in time of war, and a potential source of foreign investment in the times of prosperity that would follow the end of terrorism. So any threat to the present division of that country - and there are many social, economic and moral reasons for preserving the division - must be dealt with firmly."

- Editorial in The British Police Review, June 8, 1990. ★★★

"The British have a record of global violence second to few... After more than ten years of it

(Thatcherism) Britain has emerged as the most reactionary country in Western Europe, with the worst unemployment, the most offences logged before the European Court of Human Rights, the largest relative expenditure on military and police forces and the second lowest capital investment rate."

- Christopher Hitchens, writing in the US paper The Nation, April 30, 1990. ★★★

"If what this book claims is true then in

God's name how can anyone be in favour of extradition?"

- Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, Uachtarán, Conradh na Gaeilge, ag labhairt dó ag seoladh an leabhráin Seisear Birmingham i mBAC ar an 23ú Bealtaine, 1990.

"He (Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich RIP) was scrupulously unselective in his condemnation of killings. He was just as unevasive in public as he was in private regarding his views on Britain's responsibilities for the troubles and he made himself available to all

prisoners and to all who were affected. Above all, he loved his people, his faith, his culture and his native language."

- An t-Athair Piaras Ó Dúill OFM Cap., ex-Chairman, National H-Blocks Hunger Strike Committee.

"What I do accept is that every community is entitled to fight for its right of self-determination and that is a principle which we support."

- Nelson Mandela, Vice-President, African National Congress, at the United Nations in New York, on June 21.

Imeachtaí

NELSON MANDELA VISIT TO IRELAND
SUNDAY, JULY 1
DUBLIN AIRPORT
WELCOME 8.30am
BERKELY COURT
HOTEL 9.30am
MANSION HOUSE
4.30pm

GREETINGS IRISH PEOPLE
OUTSIDE MANSION
HOUSE 5pm
MONDAY, JULY 2
WINNIE MANDELA
opens Exhibition "Images
from Mozambique"
City Centre Arts Centre
23-25 Moss Street
4.30pm

**PICKET AGAINST
BRITISH INJUSTICE
IN IRELAND**
CONSERVATIVE PARTY
REGIONAL OFFICE
CHEQUER STREET
ST. ALBANS, (HERTS)
Wednesday July 4, 1990
Commencing 7.30pm
Assemble Avon Square
St. Albans at 7pm

**JUSTICE FOR
WOMEN**
PICKET ON MOUNTJOY
Last Saturday
of Every Month
2-4pm at front gates
Mountjoy Jail, Dublin
(on Nth. Circular Road)
Continued on p. 6

**INNOCENT
VICTIMS
OF
BRITISH
INJUSTICE**



**JUDITH
WARD**
16 years and five
months in jail
* * * * *
**BIRMINGHAM
SIX**
15 years and seven
months in jail
* * * * *
**GUILDFORD
FOUR
AND
MAGUIRE
SEVEN**
still seeking to have
their names cleared.
Guiseppie Conlon died
in prison, in January
1980

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