

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 23 MÁRTA—MARCH 1989

25c (USA \$1.50 per issue, \$18 per year)

ISSN

0791-0002

Bulk Rate
US Postage
PAID
Hummel
Dist. Corp.

Return Address
SAOIRSE
Box 1053
South Orange,
N.J. 07079

LA GUIMNEACHAIN NAISIUNTA



The Easter Lily is the NATIONAL EMBLEM.

The Easter Lily represents the NORTH and SOUTH united in an expression of appreciation of the gratitude for which the men of Easter Week gave up their lives.

The Easter Lily is an emblem of Hope and Confidence in the ultimate realisation of every Irishman's dream, "Ireland free from the yoke of the Yoke."

We appeal to the NATION, and in particular to the young, to

WEAR AN EASTER LILY



This is a reproduction of the first Easter Lily given published in 1922



• IRELAND 1989: A tottering colonialism blocks the march of the Irish people.

DURING THE coming weeks the Dublin and London administrations will be presenting the results of their 'review' of the workings of the 'Intergovernmental Conference' set up as part of the Hillsborough Security Pact signed on November 15, 1985.

This 'review procedure' since November last has failed miserably to generate the hoped-for impression that it allows for any real change in British colonial rule in Ireland. It is not even a review of the Hillsborough Deal as a whole but simply an opportunity for some further media hype and the phoney and plastic politics of Brian Lenihan and Charlie Haughey, who have become Mrs Thatcher's main agents in Ireland, along with Tom King.

Any serious discussion of the Hillsborough Deal must begin with Article 1 (a) which "affirms that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland".

STARK RECOGNITION

In stark terms Dublin thereby formally agreed to recognise and accept the British military and political presence in Ireland. They accepted the illegal partition of our territory and people against the will of the majority in all of Ireland, something which is a total negation of democracy. They also recognised the Unionist claim to 'veto' created by virtue of their artificial 'majority' within six northeastern counties of Ireland.

The Hillsborough Deal thus amounts to a modernised internal settlement within the context of British rule and cannot bring peace to Ireland anymore than the Treaty of Surrender in 1921, the Boundary Agreement of 1925 or the Sunningdale Pact of 1973.

It has brought quite the opposite during the last three years. Britain has increased her repression of Irish citizens in the Six Counties safe in the knowledge that Dublin now shared responsibility for her actions and insulated her from international criticism.

The hidden agenda to Hillsborough included the promise by Garret Fitzgerald that wholesale extradition of Irish political prisoners would be granted. For this prize of unprecedented national betrayal, which Mr. Haughey's administration in turn has not been slow to carry out, Mrs. Thatcher could and did ignore the opposition of the Unionists.

STORMONT OR DUBLIN

For the British are quite prepared to rule in Ireland through the agency of Dublin, rather than Stormont, as long as they are ruling, as long as they are pulling the strings. The Unionists can and will be dropped if the securing and stabilisation of British imperial interests in Ireland demand it. Those Irish people who have applauded the Hillsborough Deal because it has angered the Unionists would do well to heed this point.

The willingness of Mr. Haughey to act as Britain's agent is illustrated by his shifting of ground at the recent Fianna Fáil ard-fheis in Dublin. His original climbdown from verbal Republicanism of the Fianna Fáil variety can be traced to the Joint Communiqué with Mrs. Thatcher of May 21, 1980 when he agreed to no change in the constitutional status of the Six Counties without the consent of the 'majority' there.

Mr. Haughey is now saying that devolution to a new Stormont is acceptable, as is the Hillsborough Deal, "until something better comes along". It was noteworthy that he has ceased referring to the Six Counties as "a failed political entity. He also extended the 'carrot' to Free State Sinn Féin of 'a place in a broad national consensus' if armed resistance to British rule was to cease.

O'BRIEN'S PRAISE

This earned praise from Conor Cruise O'Brien, writing in the *Irish Times*, who said that he (Mr. Haughey) is "no more a Republican than I am". How true!

Free State minister for justice Gerry Collins, who this time last year described British Attorney-General Patrick Mayhew as "unfit to hold office" after his refusal to prosecute those against whom there was evidence in the shoot-to-kill cases of

BRITISH RULE: A SHAM REVIEW



1982 in Armagh, can (on March 1) hurry over to London to confer with him about extradition. What has changed in the meantime?

NIGHTMARE CONTINUES

Meanwhile the Nationalist nightmare goes on in the Six Counties with the security cost alone to the 26 Counties of an estimated £20 billion in the last twenty years. This amount is similar to the total indebtedness of the same 26 Counties at present. The UDR and British Army patrol unhindered and RUC primacy has been reversed in Border areas. Torture and harassment continues

on the streets and roads and even at funerals while shoot-to-kill remains an integral part of Britain's war in Ireland.

To those who are currently saying that with the 'Single European Market' of 1992 the Border will be removed we reply that the British garrison in the North will remain - it is the removal from Ireland and the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Irish people acting as a unit that will bring peace. The present sham 'review' of British rule does nothing to hasten that certain day.



BIRMINGHAM SIX: BRITISH HOSTAGES

"WE ARE NOT impressed by the platitudes of the Hillsborough Agreement — it is by the people on the streets and in the halls of Dublin and Belfast that the case will be won. We must be wary of placing faith in the politicians; they obviously find it very hard to admit to a mistake, to a callous, cold, calculated crime against justice. They will not plead guilty to their own crimes — let us not apologise for them. The Birmingham Six are without any doubt whatsoever totally innocent: hell is what British 'justice' has created for these six people and others" — lawyer Richard Harvey, addressing a crowd of approximately 400 people in the Mansion House, Dublin, on Friday February 17, at a meeting organised by the Birmingham Six Committee.

Richard Harvey, who was involved in the defence team for the Guildford Four, was in Ireland as a representative of the Brehon Law Society and the US National Conference of Black Lawyers "to pay the respects of tens of thousands of lawyers in the US to Pat Finucane", shot dead in his home by UDA gunmen on Sunday night, February 12.

Fr Raymond Murray spoke of "a lack of nationalist confidence in the Hillsborough Agreement due to the jailing and

continued imprisonment of the Birmingham Six. The confidence of people in state justice has been badly damaged — the Birmingham Six have been jailed for something they did not do".

Fr Murray received sustained applause when he referred to the hypocrisy of the 26-county administration complaining about the Birmingham Six to Mrs Thatcher while they hold their own political prisoners in Portlaoise Jail and refuse men release dates who have spent over 15 years in prison. He also condemn-

ed the Catholic Hierarchy's inactivity on the case of the Birmingham Six. He finished his address by referring to the British policy of "holding hostages" because of the war situation in the Six Counties.

'GREENS BEHIND THE SCENES'

Michael Mansfield, barrister for the Birmingham Six appeal in 1987/8, highlighted the effects of the Thatcher junta on human rights — "What we are witnessing in Britain is the demolition, not simply the erosion, but the actual demolition of some very basic human rights, with the situation in the North of Ireland given as the excuse for this. Douglas Hurd is not so worried now about 'Reds under the Bed' — it's now 'Greens behind the Scenes'; we (British) are but a short step away from writers and musicians being imprisoned for their political beliefs. How close to the emergency powers in South Africa are we now?"

Michael Mansfield continued on to query the need for censorship laws at all "as the media are quite apt at censoring themselves". He then listed various television programmes which were withdrawn, and outlined in detail the way

Thatcher uses the Six Counties as a "breeding ground" for repressive measures before introducing these measures into her own country.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Eadaoin Heussaff, a member of the Birmingham Six Committee, informed the meeting of a picket which Paddy McIlkenny (brother of Richard McIlkenny, one of the Birmingham Six) and herself placed on the British embassy in Moscow, near the end of last year. 10,000 leaflets were distributed in two afternoons during the picket, and a very favourable response was received from members of the public.

The Committee is hoping that Mr Gorbachev will raise the case with Mrs Thatcher during his visit to London next month. Two representatives from the Soviet embassy were present at the Mansion House meeting and the Committee hopes to generate substantially more international support for the case in the United Nations and throughout the world in the coming months.

Offers of support/assistance etc. can be forwarded to Siobhán McIlkenny, 90, Farnon Road, Alum Rock, Birmingham, B8 3HS, England.

50 YEARS AGO:

Irish Prisoners of War

DURING MARCH 1939, the Bombing Campaign initiated by the IRA throughout England continued. The system of sabotage outlined in the S-Plan was steadily carried out, mainly in London and the Midlands and North of England.

On March 2 in London there was an explosion at the aqueduct carrying the Grand Junction Canal over the North Circular Road, Harlesden, while in Wednesbury, Staffordshire a similar explosion took place in a culvert under a canal.

In Birmingham on March 4 two incendiary bombs were detonated. Four days later an unexploded bomb was found on the Central Electricity Board cable in Willesden, London while two carriages of an express train from Wolverhampton to Euston Station were burnt out on March 11.

HAMMERSMITH BRIDGE

Later in the month, on the 22nd, a

stationary car was blown up in Birmingham while fire broke out in a nearby house, both possibly accidental. Next day in Coventry four telephone inspection chambers were bombed; on the 29th Hammersmith Bridge in London was damaged by explosives.

On March 30, an accidental explosion occurred in a tenement house room in Birmingham occupied by two IRA Volunteers. On the same day three business premises were bombed in Liverpool while a fourth bomb failed to explode.

On the last day of the month six business premises were sabotaged in London and one in Coventry.

The effect of all this was fear and panic as the age-old unsettled "Irish Question" intervened in England once more. In Ireland a strong current of Republican feeling was running through the populace as support and recruits gathered to the Republican Movement.

SAVAGE SENTENCES

But a stiff price was being exacted by the English Establishment as Irish Republicans were given terms of penal servitude during March. Most notable were the savage sentences meted out in Manchester: five Irishmen including Paddy O'Connell of Thurles, Co. Tipperary received 20 years each, one received 14 years while one of the two who got seven years apiece was a woman, Mary Glenn from Claremorris, Co. Mayo whose brother Jack was among the 20-year men.

At Birmingham two were sentenced to 10 years and Tom Magill of Belfast got seven years. At Glamorgan in Wales Timothy Dacey received seven years for possession of explosives and at the Old Bailey in London 18 Irish prisoners were jailed.

Sentences here varied from 17 years penal servitude down to three years Borstal in two cases and one of eighteen months imprisonment. One of those sent to Borstal was Molly Gallagher originally from Liverpool, whose family came from Mayo.

In keeping with Irish political traditions the prisoners "refused to plead" to English courts since they regarded the charges — in all cases either "conspiracy" to cause

explosions or possession of explosives or both — as legitimate acts in a war of national liberation.

In many cases the court was used as a platform to speak to both the enemies and friends of the prisoners. The "Speeches from the Dock" once more articulated protests of Irish patriotism.

BRAVERY

The bravery of the prisoners, many of them in their late teens and early twenties but most of them more mature, as they faced long years among the hostile convict population of a strange land stood out in contrast to the vindictiveness of the English Ruling Class as represented on the bench.

"You belong to the same murder gang, the Irish Republican Army, which was responsible for the murder of British officers up to 1922," declared a British judge as he sentenced Gerald Wharton. The effect of such official anti-Irish prejudice on public opinion in Ireland can well be imagined.

(Ref. "The IRA Coventry Explosions of 1939: (Trial of Peter Barnes and others)" by Letitia Fairfield — Notable British Trials Series Vol. 77 — 1953. More next month)

DÓNALL MAC AMHLAIGH

NUAIR a chual mé an droch-scéal faoi bhás Dhónall Mhic Amhlaigh baineadh geit uafásach asam — agus as a lán daoine eile. Ghoill sé go móf orainn go raibn an fear lách úd sciobtha uainn ar shlí na ffrinne chomh tobann sin agus nach raibh deis aige slán a fhágáil le éinne.

Tá a lán, lán scríofa faoi Dhónall cheanna féin agus gach focal de tuille go maith aige mar bhí sé ina dhuine usál amach is amach. Tá fhios ag an saol é Fódlaigh gur sár-údar é freisin idir Gaeilge agus Béarla ach bhí a chroí sínte sa Ghaeilge. Bhí gach a scríobh sé lán de ghrinn agus de thuiscint ar saol an gnáth oibrí, go háirithe saol ár ndeoraí thall i Sasana, áit

ina chaith sé an chuid is mó den a shaol ag obair ina measc leis an sluasaid san fhoirgníocht. Ní raibh aon éirín-airde ag Dhónall riamh. NEAMBHBHALBH Cé nach raibh sé ceangailte le Ghuaiseacht na Poblachtach riamh agus gur cháin sé fóiréagán de gach sórt, d'fhan sé d'fhis d'Eirinn ina shlí



Dónall Mac Amhlaigh féin. Bhí sé neambhbhalbh i gcoinne Arm Forghabhála Sasana in Eirinn agus i gcoinne an éagóir a fuail na príosúnaigh cogaidh. Go háirithe Seisear Birmingham agus Ceathar Guildford. Bhí sé neambheglach ar a son. Agus ar son na hEireann i gcoitin. Nuair bhíof féin i bpríosún scríobh sé chugam go

rialta agus sheol sé na scórtha d'irisí Gaeilge chugam freisin. Fuair mé cóip den chéad eagrán de "Bheoir Bhaile" uaidh lena bheanachtair chomh maith len a shníú air. Is móf agam an leabhar úd agus beidh go deo. Scríobham ar gcuid litreacha go léir as Gaeilge agus cheap Dhónall bocht go raibh mé i bhfad níofa líofa ná mar a bhíof agus ghríosáigh sé go minic mé chun atanna a scríobh as Gaeilge. Thug sé cabhair nach beag dom le "scéin-séir" Bhearlta a bhí idir lámha agus chomh maith.

Ina dhiaidh sin is uile níof chasam ar a chéile riamh. Sin fáth eile go gcaoinim Dhónall Mac Amhlaigh. Fear cabhrach, fear tuiscneach, fear usál. Bhrath mé go raibh sé ina fíor-chara dom agus bhíof ag súil go mbuail-

fimis le chéile áit éigin, uair éigin chun píosa comhrá agus b'fheidir deoch nó dhó a ól. Anois tá sé ar lár ach ní dhéanfaid mé dearmad ar Dhónall Mac Amhlaigh

chofche. In iothlainn Dé go gcafar sinn. Déanam chomh-bhrón ó chroí lena bhaintreacha Bríd, lena mhac Séamus, lena iníon Máirín agus lena mháthair.

FITZSIMONS/HANLON

THE 16TH ANNIVERSARY of Vols. Vivienne Fitzsimons and Leo Hanlon was marked by Sinn Féin Poblachtach in Killough Road Cemetery, Downpatrick on Sunday, February 12 last.

The commemoration was held at the grave of Vivienne Fitzsimons of Cumann na mBan who died on active service near Strangford Lough along with IRA Volunteer Leo Hanlon on February 10, 1973.

chaired the ceremony at the graveside and Séamus O Caoil laid a wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Eamon McNulty. Tomás Ó Lonergáin, Newry, delivered a stirring oration to the good crowd who were in attendance.

Séamus McCrickard

Brit Assassins at Work

THERE IS strong evidence of British involvement in the assassinations of leading Belfast lawyer Pat Finucane on February 12 and Councillor John Davey of Magherafelt District Council on February 14 last.

The late Pat Finucane was a particularly active and successful lawyer whose many legal challenges to the British government and its apparatus in the Six Counties over the years made him a target for assassination.

He was currently involved in two cases against the British government before the European Court of Human Rights. One challenged the British derogation from the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in order to implement the seven-day detention of suspects power in the Prevention of Terrorism Act. With 21

such violations of the Convention since 1950, Britain has the worst record of human rights in Europe.

The other case related to the ban on broadcast interviews with Republican organisations, including Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

South of the Border Pat Finucane was preparing his brother Dermot's constitutional contest of the 1987 Extradition Act. He was also recently successful in the Belfast High Court in securing that RUC witnesses must give evidence at the Gervaise McKerr shoot-to-kill inquest and overturning the British ruling sheltering them from doing so.

Three circumstances in particular point in the direction of British involvement in his assassination:

- the RUC told Loyalists in custody that Mr Finucane (and other solicitors) was "keeping IRA men out of prison";

- British Junior NIO Minister Douglas Hogg targeted him by implication in the House of Commons last January and repeated his allegation eleven times;
- the unusually large number involved in his assassination, and the manner in which it was carried out indicates the possibility of British Army "dirty tricks" department involvement in either the actual killing or the leaking of vital information on him.

In the case of Councillor John Davey of Magherafelt it transpires that DUP Mid-Ulster MP and fellow-council member Rev William McCrea had 'fingered' him in a House of Commons debate on June 29, 1988. Both William McCrea and Douglas Hogg were using their "parliamentary privilege" when they targeted people for assassination, thus making them immune from prosecution in a court.



Douglas Hogg remains part of the British regime in the Six Counties while Pat Finucane's widow has said that his remarks were "instrumental in Pat's death". Paddy McCrory, a fellow-Belfast solicitor who represented the Gibraltar victims' families at the 'inquest' last year, has pointed out the likelihood of British intelligence involvement.

In a statement shortly after the deaths of both men, Sinn Féin Poblachtach extended sympathy to the stricken families in both cases.

Tipperary, Kildare Fianna Fáil Lashed Over EXTRADITION

FIANNA FAIL representative for South Tipperary Noel Davern has been taken to task lately over comments he made on an RTE News programme, on which he said that extradition to the British constituted an agreement signed "between two civilized nations."

Cashel artist Pádraig O Mathúna, renowned for his creativeness in the art of sculpturing precious metals, has not let Davern's comments pass unnoticed and accused him and his party of collaboration with the British Government.

In a statement Pádraig O Mathúna quite rightly points to some glaring contradictions. "Surely", he said, "you (Deputy Davern) don't consider England's treatment of Ireland and the Irish to be civilized or the actions of a civilized state? Or its continued occupation of our Six Counties to be civilized or morally justified?!"

FIANNA FAIL ACCUSED

O Mathúna goes on to accuse Fianna Fáil, on which he says was "founded to

re-establish the Republic", of implementing the "Anglo-Irish Agreement - made by the Fine Gael coalition with the Labour party, condemned initially by CJ Haughey as 'copperfastening partition' but now implemented by him as Taoiseach and thus collaborating as diligently with the occupation and disestablishment of the Republic as did the Free Staters.

Referring to his fine work as an artist, O Mathúna believes that his talent demands peace for its full development and suggests that the present political situation of maintaining partition along with English tyranny is a shaming distraction which is not helpful to creativity.

"The downhill slide must be stopped and all must return to first principles. To extradite an Ir-



• Noel Davern

ish person who is engaged in an uprising against British occupation is not only shameful but treasonable and the use of Irish courts on behalf of England similarly so," he concluded.

Relating to the political clause in the 1965 Extradition Act, O Mathúna describes how Justice O Higgins reinterpreted the clause without the Irish people's consent and thus set the wheels in motion to extradite Dominick McClinchey, Séamas Shannon, Robert Russell and Gerry Harte, all of whom would have been protected by the original act.

FIANNA Fáil member of Leinster House for Kildare, Paddy Power, in reply to a member of the group 'Fianna Fáil Members Against Extradition' who wrote to him asking him to support the case of Paul Anthony Kane, attacked members of his own party opposed to extradition. Paul Kane from Ardoyne in Belfast is currently fighting against extradition to the Six Counties.

It seems strange that Paddy Power should be so much in favour of extradition when he along with the entire Fianna Fáil parliamentary party two years ago were so vocal in their opposition to it. Principles mean nothing to people like Paddy Power or the other members of the Fianna Fáil parliamentary party, when out of power they play the 'green card' so as to win the Republican vote, in so doing they bring the National Question to the level of cheap

vote catching.

Reactions such as Paddy Power's to protests from within Fianna Fáil to extradition or any other sellout on the National Question, are driving the few genuine republicans within Fianna Fáil to resign, and if these people do not resign they are expelled as with the case of Richard Greene last December.

In his letter, Paddy Power denounced the methods of this group over the past year and the protest they



• Paddy Power

made at the annual Fianna Fáil Wolfe Tone Commemoration held at Bodens-town last October. On this occasion one member of the group, Nora Cusimkey from Dublin, was actually threatened with physical assault if the protest went ahead. The threat was reportedly made by a member of the Fianna Fáil Ard Chomhairle.

ACTION ON TB?

OVER 70 South Armagh farmers gathered in Mullaghbawn on Thursday, February 23 last to discuss the widespread incidence of Bovine TB in their area. The meeting, organised by the small farmers organisation, NIAPA, proposed the following measures:

- that reactor compensation be increased from 75% to 100% of market value;
- research should be undertaken into the causes/spread of TB in the area;
- payment of supplementary income where herds are partially depleted for a specific period only;
- explanatory leaflets should immediately be made available;
- grants of 50% should be made to small farmers

to instal separate handling facilities on small farms in South Armagh;

- veterinary authorities must take on board the fact that the cutting of wire and breaking of fences on land by the British Army in the area is partially the cause of the spread of TB.

POSTS

Local Councillor Eamon Larkin, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, stressed that it was no coincidence that the spread

of TB has greatly increased since the installation of British Army look-out posts all over South Armagh.

"The Brits move at will through this area while all visitors to farms are supposed to walk through a disinfected bath. South Armagh is now a TB blackspot and the activities of the British Occupation Forces have in no small measure contributed to this desperate situation", he said.

SLOGADH SHINN FEIN POBLACHTACH
Seosamh O Maoileoin, Oifigeach Cultúir, would like all Oifighigh Cultúir/Cultural Officers of all Cumainn/Comhairl Ceantair/Comhairl Cúige to contact him immediately at 21, Sráid Seá, BAC 2, (Fón: 01-718224) to make arrangements for Slogadh Shinn Féin to be held on Saturday, September 9 next. Tús maith leath na hoibre!

T-SHIRTS AND JACKETS

CUMANN NA SAOIRSE, USA have produced Republican T-shirts and jackets with suitable designs. They will be available for St. Patrick's Day. Details and designs in next issue.

Fórsa Slándála Náisiúnach

Rinne CABAIREACTH, Iris an Chumainn Ghaelaigh i gColáiste na Tríonóide, BAC agallamh le déanaí le Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach ina ndeireann sé go dteastaíonn Ó Rialtas Shasana fórsa slándála náisiúnach a bhunú sna Sé Chontae chomh luath agus is féidir leo.

Seo thíos sliocht den agallamh ina gcuireann Ronán Mac Aodha Bhui an cheist: cad a thugann an tuairim duit go mbeadh sé i gceist go mbunófar fórsa slándála náisiúnach? sna Sé Chontae?

"RÓB: Tharla a leithéid i dtír na mBascaich. D'fhógair Rialtas na Spáinne go raibh siad chun fórsa póilíní Bascaich a bhunú. Chuaigh cuid

mhór de iarbhail ETA PM isteach sa bhfórsa nua. Sé'n chéad rud a rinne ETA Militair ná ceann-fhórsa na bpóilíní nua a mharú. Ó thaobh na Sé Chontae de, tá na Sasanaigh ag iarraidh an stáit tuaisceartach a chur ar bhonn nua. Tá seo ag teastáil uathu le fiche bliain nua. Ba mhaith leo na náisiúnaithe a tharraingt isteach ann agus go

mbeadh siad ag roinnt na cumhachta leo. Chun clabhsúr a chur ar rudaí ba mhaith leo fórsa póilíní náisiúnach a bhunú.

"RMAB: Bhí sibhse mór leo an am... bhíodh muid ag argóint leo faoin bhfórsa nua póilíní ach dúirt siad linn, 'Fórsa nua a bhéas ann, beidh dr goid fear féin istigh ann'... dar ndóigh s'é'n rud a bhí muidne ag rá leo go mbeadh Madrid i geannas air agus go mbeadh siadsan in aghaidh éilimh na mBascaich."

Women in Ireland's Fight for Freedom

This article is written as a tribute to all those Irish women who in every generation have played a part in Ireland's fight for freedom. They have often not been appreciated for the part they played. This first article deals with the period up to 1923.

Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh

IN THE EARLIER days when women were not as emancipated as they are today they did not always get the opportunity to play their full part in the Fight but there are exceptions to this and such names as Anne Devlin and Sarah Curran stand out in Irish history.

During the 1798 Rising and later during Robert Emmet's time women often acted as scouts and look-outs for their men. There were cases where they participated in the actual fighting and of course they took care of men who were wounded in the fighting. In most cases they had to play the harder part of waiting alone at home to rear their families while the men were away fighting or were in prison. Very often they waited in vain as their men were dead.

During the Land League Fanny Parnell founded the Womens Land League. This organisation became so militant that Fanny Parnell was ordered by her brother to disband it as he considered it a danger to his political career.

In 1900 Queen Victoria of England visited Dublin. To mark the occasion a party had been arranged for 5,000 selected children of British supporters by the authorities in the Phoenix Park.

30,000 CHILDREN

Maud Gonne McBride and a number of other women got together and organised another party for the poor children of Dublin. This treat was held in Clontarf Park, Drumcondra, and was a resounding success. An estimated 30,000 children attended.

During the visit to Dublin of the English Queen the women of Dublin erected a black banner across O'Connell Street in protest. They also hung black flags from the windows of houses throughout Dublin and in many cases barricaded the doors of the houses to impede the RIC when they tried to pull down the flags.

As a direct result of this Inghiníde na hÉireann was founded in October 1900 and Maud Gonne was elected President.

CITIZEN ARMY EQUALITY

When the Irish Citizen Army was



• Anne Devlin

founded in 1913 women were entitled to become members with full rights of equality with the male members. In 1916 they joined in the fighting in all buildings held by the Irish Citizen Army. They also participated in the attack on Dublin Castle. Many of them were wounded during the week's fighting. The Countess Markievicz was one of the first to join. She served as second-in-command to Michael Mallin in the College of Surgeons in Stephen's Green. She was sentenced to death with the other leaders of the Rising but this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Released with the rest of the prisoners in 1917, she was elected to the First Dáil in 1919 and became Minister for Labour. She was the first woman in Ireland and England, if not in the world, to be elected a member of Parliament and a Minister of Parliament.

Shortly after the founding of Oglaiha na hÉireann in 1913 the organisation of Cumann na mBan was founded. They have been active in Ireland's fight up to the present day. Their constitution declares that they are an autonomous organisation and declares that the first of its aims is "to assist Oglaiha na hÉireann by every means available to them in the fight for the Freedom of Ireland".

CUMANN NA MBAN

When founded Cumann na mBan were trained in military drill, first aid, communications, coding and de-coding. On Easter Monday 1916 members of Cumann na mBan reported for duty at all positions held by Oglaiha na hÉireann in

Dublin. They were welcomed everywhere except at Boland's Mills where they were ordered to go home by De Valera. They did not go home but reported to Pearse at the GPO. They were welcome there and were active throughout the week.

Nurse Eileen O'Farrell on Pearse's orders negotiated the surrender with General Lowe at a British barricade in Parnell Street and when it had been signed carried Pearse's order to surrender to all posts which were occupied in Dublin. I had the honour to meet her on a platform in Middle Abbey Street Dublin in December 1956. She stated publicly that night "that the young men of Oglaiha na hÉireann who were fighting in occupied Ireland were the true successors of the men with whom she had served in 1916." She died the following April while I was a prisoner in Mountjoy Jail.

Following the Surrender of 1916 the women of Ireland were actively engaged in tending to the wants of the relatives of those who had died in the fight and raising funds for the relatives of the men in prison. On the first anniversary at Easter 1917 women flew Tricolours from many inaccessible positions around the country.

WOMEN JUSTICES

When the 1st Dáil set up Republican Courts in 1920 there were many women Justices appointed. To name one of many, Mary Twamley, a life long member of Cumann na mBan, was District Justice for the York Street district of Dublin.

During the Black-and-Tan War women played a vital role doing intelligence work, providing clothing and food for the men on the run as well as caring for wounded men and acting as couriers.

During the Dáil debates on the Treaty in 1922 not one woman TD voted for acceptance of the Treaty. When Free State forces attacked the Republic in June of that year Countess Markievicz joined the fighting in the Hamman Hotel where she fought under Cathal Brugha right until the end.

Throughout 1922 and 1923 as well as carrying out the same tasks as they had during the Black-and-Tan War they also carried out an intensive publicity campaign against the Free State. One night

a number of Cumann na mBan members were picked up by a Free State patrol while painting slogans on walls in Dublin. They were placed in the back of an Armoured car and taken to the Barracks. Luckily their paint and brushes were put in as well. When the Armoured car arrived at the Barracks the Staters discovered the inside of it covered with anti-Free State slogans in white paint. The women had not been idle during the journey.

EASTER LILY INTRODUCED

When the Cease-fire Dump Arms Order was issued in 1923 women continued to play a leading role in the struggle. In 1925 the Easter Lily was introduced by Cumann na mBan as the National Emblem of Commemoration of Ireland's dead. The Easter Lily is still the property of Cumann na mBan and no other body has the right to claim it. For a number of years past the National Commemoration Committee have acted as distribution agents for Cumann na mBan.



• Countess Markievicz

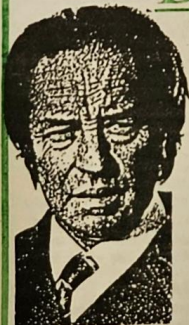
Many women were interned in Kilmainham Jail by the Free Staters during the years 1922 - 1923. The story of their treatment there is told in "The Jangle of the Keys" by one of them - the late Mrs Margaret Buckley (President of Sinn Féin from 1937-50). Aoife Taffe who escaped from the gaol hid for several hours in a coal wagon which was parked on the nearby railway line until it moved off to safer places.

The concluding part of Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh's tribute will be carried in next month's paper.

IRELAND — FREE STATE OR NATION?

DIARMAID Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN

DIARMAID Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN wrote *Ireland — Free State or Nation?* at the end of 1976. A native of Eyerias, Béama, Co. Cork he has spent his life teaching in Gorey Co. Wexford. He received the O'Connell Award for his book *An Uain Bheo*. PART ONE of this book will be serialised in future editions, is carried below. Diarmaid died in 1985, aged 52. Leaba i measc cige. Éireanna go raibí.



Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin

Certain recent events have given a sharper focus to what is probably the world's most historical malaise, that paradoxical condition known as Free-Staterly. That such an entity (sic) exists there can be no doubt. Indeed it has a multiple existence in that its dimension (suitably suffering from a lack of Dimension!) is to be found not merely on a segment of a political map, not merely on a time-stained Treaty-page, not merely in the labyrinth that is post-1922 Irish history but in the minds and conditioned reflexes of our people.

The same mental attitude was struck and dominated by the ideology of separatism immediately after the Treaty. If we study the Treaty Debate of 1922, it is noticeable that in the main it had to do with Crown strictures and appendages such as the Oath of Allegiance, the 'port' and the payment of annuities; the more

serious and permanent issue of territorial division or partition would appear to have received only secondary attention. This strange lapse can in part be attributed to the erroneous belief that a promised Boundary Commission would review and adjust the Six County borderline. The said lapse may also be explained, of course, by the growth of a 'State' or 'Statelet' mentality or, if you like, contemporaneous polarisation North and South. In the South, partial self-rule, power and its trappings, a 'capital city', Dublin — all had been 'achieved' and could not be 'risked' by engaging the Northern forces of secession. In many ways the Six county statelet was a mirror-image of the Free State itself, born of gun, bigotry and separatism. Henceforth Leinster House would not, to use a latter day Wilsonism, 'be seen dead with that lot up there'; the same held true for Stormont vis-a-vis Leinster House.

True, pious platitudes would be mouthed from

time to time, especially at election sop to the Northern minority. Such ever remnants of national conscience in that respect, its national vision, socialism castrated and debauched board for merry-go-round political prepared to wag as tail to the State coalition. Furthermore, the buttressed the Separating Line by biguous references to the extent of and by subtle differentiation between juris jurisdiction whilst inferring that was Catholic Nationalism.

It was the erudite Dunne who work "The Serial Universe" the in "observer" must be immortal. The history that hunts us as observers

SIÚCRA ÉIREANN: THE SIMPLE TRUTH

SINN FEIN POBLACHTACH supports the workers, farmers and general business community of North Tipperary in the struggle to retain their sugar factory in Thurles and hopes that the people will not be robbed off on this occasion with the sort of vague promises about alternative employment that has led to such a sense of betrayal in the Tuam, Co. Galway sugar-beet area.

But in recalling the various promises made by Leinster House politicians on all sides over the years to retain the major plants of Comhlacht Siúcra Éireann - one of our major efforts at public self-reliance within the limitations of the Free State development efforts - we feel it is necessary to remind all concerned that there is little the politicians can do for Irish sugar-growing or indeed for any other type of rural development based on the processing of native materials, once one accepts the EEC ground-rules that were set out on entry into the multinational rich man's club in the 1970s.

IRISH SECTORS UNDERMINED

The EEC is committed to unbridled capitalist exploitation of workers and resources across national boundaries. Indeed the current fashionable flavour "1992" aims specifically to intensify this process. Once you accept this, and the SEA package aimed to bring it about, it is futile to complain when native Irish sectors are undermined. As futile as it is to try and promote "Buy Irish" campaigns and to complain about emigration. The EEC and the SEA aim to make emigration easier.

There is no "home market" anymore. German, Dutch, French and British big businesses has a "right" - encouraged officially - to buy out valuable Irish assets. Regional Policy for islands like Ireland is little more than facilitating

the further integration of our national wealth into the EEC conglomeration through the development of a minimal infrastructure - to facilitate the transport of goods and people in both directions.

Next year, 1990, sees the effective ending of the inadequate IDA industrial policy based on tax-holidays which has been operating since 1958. "New industry" in the greater part of Ireland from then on will be confined to tourism and the development of golf courses as well as a few pickings in minority craft and natural resource areas.

It is in that context that the fight for the Irish Sugar Company needs to be fought at a time when the CAP agricultural bubble has also burst and farm incomes, due to be cut by 3 per cent this year, seem destined to a stagnant and uncertain future.

EEC RESTRICTS PRODUCTION

The simple truth about CSE remains that a 200,000 tonnes quota for sugar-beet growing was agreed over a decade ago with the Brussels bureaucracy and that there is nothing the company or the politicians or any new private firm can do to change the situation as long as this very basic specific and clear-cut restriction to the march of Irish progress remains in place. That quota condemns all existing Irish sugar plants to death in the medium if not the short-term.

(It has emerged in the current crisis over the Thurles sugar

plant that the Sugar Company turned down a £12 million Indian order for 60,000 tonnes of sugar because it would push production figures for a 12-month period above the 200,000 tonnes quota and would mean the EEC Commission penalising the company.)

Certainly it means that there is no room for more than one Irish sugar plant in the 1990s and that talk about Mallow and Carlow being any more "viable" than Thurles or Tuam - both of which were making a profit at the time the decision to close them was taken - misses the basic point. That basic point is the EEC 200,000 tonnes quota which is not only a constant, but a basic fact that almost the entire media as well as the political smoke-screens simply tend to ignore.

The current crisis in Thurles only brings to a head in a particularly acute and sad way the inevitable logic of EEC policies and the stark reality that Leinster House is no longer in charge of even the main Irish public sector companies - apart of course from being allowed to pour huge sums of tax-payers' money into "rationalisation" in order to bring them to a point where they can be sold off to international capitalists who invite elected representatives on to their boards in order to maintain an "inside track" of vital commercial decisions leading to the most strategic (i.e. cheap) takeover bids.

Some time-serving politicians have even attempted to parade this situation as a virtue, seeking a mandate for "further integration" under the SEA in next June's elections and offering nothing more consoling to endangered Irish workers and the quarter-of-a-million unemployed than some main-road develop-



● Picket by Thurles sugar factory workers outside Comhlacht Siúcra Éireann headquarters in Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin on February 16 last.

ments brazenly described as "integrated regional plans".

Even in this area the full implications of shut-downs like the Thurles sugar plant are not being discussed. Already there are fears about the impact of the closure on the railway line from Waterford to Limerick. Indeed for what remains of an already truncated national railway system. Sinn Féin Poblachtach while standing firmly with the Tipperary people in

their crisis will insist on a wider national debate that will have to include the SEA, lack of regional planning and indeed our whole relationship with the EEC now that the mirage of unending agricultural advance - always an illusion as we pointed out from the beginning - is finally being seen for what it is.

That debate has to begin with the simple reality of a

200,000 tonnes quota limit on Irish beet production - a deliberate attempt by Brussels to corner the market, despite the alleged commitment to market economics, and the effective handing over of the control of Irish destinies to Brussels by the time-serving politicians of Leinster House and their even more vulgarly well-heeled brethren in the so-called "European" "Parliament" in Strasbourg.

CLONMULT CEREMONIES

SINN FEIN Poblachtach commemorated the 68th anniversary of the Clonmult massacre by ceremonies in Middleton, Co. Cork during February.

At Clonmult in 1921 the active service unit of the Fourth Battalion, First Cork Brigade, IRA were surrounded in a farmhouse by British Forces. Five Volunteers were killed in action, seven were murdered following surrender and two were executed in Cork military barracks making a total of 14 fatal casualties. An informer, a British ex-serviceman, was later court-martialled and executed by the IRA.

Wreaths were laid on Sunday February 19 on Republican graves in St. John the Baptist Church old cemetery and also the Church of the Most Holy Rosary cemetery by Denis Buckley on behalf of the relatives.

Alf Mac Aodha Bhui in the oration recounted the events at Clonmult in 1921 and stressed that the true successors of those who fought and died there were in Sinn Féin Poblachtach today.

SINN FEIN 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 organisation in the country Organised throughout the 32 Counties Since our formation, we have continuously rejected failed compromise situations, at present 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/ neighbours 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 mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de
Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Ainm
Seoladh
.....

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

- Free State or Nation? at Co. Cork he spent most of his the Irish Academy of Letters ONE of this essay, which w. Diamond O Sulleabháin ann go nábh aige.

elective time in the South, a city. Such placebos eased what-al consciousness were left in Labour ceased with Connolly vision clouded, its virility and debauched, a mere sounding political intellectuals, always to the thin rump of any Free more, the 1937 Constitution Line by carefully-made amment of the national territory between de facto and de erring that the Southern ethos

anne who stated in his famous "that is "regressive time" the ortal. There is "much in our observers in terms of repeated

sequences, in terms of recurring episodes and images, and in the frighteningly real quantum of 'past fascimiles', even allowing for the fact that we are of course mere mortals and hampered accordingly by fixity of viewpoint. Indeed this same 'fixity of viewpoint' may accord as charitable an apology as one can muster on behalf of fellow-Irishmen who perpetrated exceedingly barbaric atrocities in the name of post-Treaty Ireland.

Nevertheless, and despite the mortal coils and frailties, any serious examen of the Ireland condition, especially that of today, will identify immediately the Free State Syndrome. Not of course that that particular condition is something new or startling. The truth of course is that Free-Statery has been with us now for over half a century, a chronic political disease, a sad anachronism in European terms. Black and brown may fade but blue still holds its hue! At no time since the mad-dogs of Generalissimo O'Duffy have the Blueshirt symptoms been more menacing or rampant than today. Daily and by judicial stealth, Cosgrave girds himself more constrictingly in the Franconian mantle. However, it is only quite recently that the real nature of this cancer has been made manifest. Indeed it might be said that it was only with the advent of a Civil Rights groundswell and Republicanism in the Six Counties that the focus on the Dublin Syndrome became clear and sharp.

LITREACHA

In Éadan Polasaithe Mawhinney



● Brian Mawhinney

A chara, Bheadh muid buíoch duit dá dtabharfá spás duit do chloín litreach le rá go bhfuilimid in éadan amach is amach an chóras oideachais úr atá ar intinn ag an Uasal Brian Mawhinney MP ó thaobh na Gaeilge de.

Is léir nach bhfuil sé sísta an stadach céanna a thabhairt don Gaeilge agus a mbeidh ag gach teanga eile Eorpach d'ánoeinir sé éiligh sé go n-aitheoidh sé tabhacht na teanga ar aon cheim le Breatainis.

Dar leis an nuachóras, caithfidh gach scoilire a ba mhaith leis Gaeilge a fhréastal, Béarla agus teanga amháin eile, mar shampla Francaise, a dhéanamh chomh maith. Sa Bhreatain Bheag, áfach, beidh Breatainis le teagasc do gach scoilire sna Mheanscoiléanna mar bun-abhar ar fud na tíre sin.

Má thágnan an tairiscint seo isteach, creidimid nach mbeidh na huimhreacha mhóra atá ag staideir teanga na nGael sa lá atá inniu ann le fáil sna blianta le teacht. Tá Mawhinney ag cur beagachtach ar ógra an Thuaiscirt a dteanga féin a fhoighlainn.

Ba chóir go dtabharfadh gach Slua a thacaíocht do Cearta na Gaeilge sna Sé Chonada. Bigé cinnte go mbeidh seans ag ógra na háite Gaeilge a fhréastail sna scoiléanna! Gabhaig in éadan Mawhinney! Beir Bua!

Slua Fianna Éireann
Béal Feirste Thiar

Newry and the Free State

A chara, The "On This Day" column (Irish News Belfast December 19, 1988) dealt with reports from December 19, 1921 and bore the remarkable headline "Newry Votes to Join Free State". Such was not the case, nor was it borne out of the article which followed.

The report of a meeting of the Newry Board of Guardians which was held the previous Saturday presided over by Sinn Féin councillor, Mr. Daniel F Sheridan, told of a debate

on the council's attitude to Stormont. Mr Joseph Connellan, Sinn Féin, "moved that the Belfast Minister for Home Affairs be informed that they did not recognise the authority of the Belfast Parliament". Mr James McGuill, Sinn Féin, seconded.

My question is how can non-recognition of Stormont be equated with allegiance to the Free State or to Leinster House? In fact, only the year before on 26 May, 1920, the same body passed the following motion in the name of James McGuill, namely: "That this Board of elected representatives of the Newry Union at a duly convened meeting hereby acknowledge the authority of Dáil Éireann, as the duly elected Government of the Irish people and undertake to give effect to all decrees duly promulgated by the said Dáil Éireann in so far as the same affect this Board.

"That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Republican Minister for Foreign Affairs for transmission to the governments of Europe and to the president and chairman of the Senate and House of Representatives of the USA; also 30 copies authenticated by the official stamp of this Board be forwarded (by hand) to

the Secretary of Dáil Éireann for submission to the various foreign governments". Mr Patrick Kelly proposed the motion in James McGuill's absence. Mr Robert Kelly seconded.

This clear statement of allegiance to Dáil Éireann only and to the Republic was never rescinded, pigeon-holed or superceded by recognition of the Free State. There could be no mistaking the Newry councillor's support for the Republic which was declared in arms at Easter 1916 and ratified by the people of Ireland as a unit in the election of December 1918 who declared overwhelming support for Sinn Féin.

The principled stance of the Newry councillor who would not bend the knee to Stormont resulted in the abolition of this and a number of other councils which had taken similar action.

For your information James McGuill from Dromintee died in Dublin in February 1946. His residence and business premises at Dromintee were burned to the ground by Crown Forces in 1922. He had been a vice-chairman of Armagh County Council and a member of Newry District Council and Poor Law Guardians (1919-1922). He was a divisional officer of the Fourth Northern Division, IRA during the War of Independence.

Councillor Dan Sheridan served a lengthy term on the SS Argenta prison-ship in Belfast Lough. At the time of the Treaty he stayed with the Republic and remained so until his

death in September 1963. For many years he was a speaker at Easter Commemorations in Newry. He was among those arrested after the Rising in 1916 and interned at Frongoch prison camp in Wales until release came with the amnesty. He was soon in prison again for his ideals, joined others on hunger strike and was released at the Treaty.

Finally, it is clear that Daniel Sheridan would never have allowed his name be associated with any declaration of support for anything less than the 32 County Republic of Pearse and Tone. He would not have allowed the council, of which he was chairman, waver on this. That would have been unthinkable for him. It is in the interests of truth and the good name of Daniel Sheridan that the headline "Newry Votes to Join Free State" must be challenged.

PRO Bearna Uladh
Sinn Féin Poblachtach

No Return to Bigoted Junta!

A chara,

Let's clear away some of the political smog so prevalent in this country, North and South.

The last election held in the whole island was in 1918 and returned an overwhelming vote for the Republic. A section of Unionist/Protestant/Orange supporters centred around Belfast with the connivance of the British government established a State which was founded, not on history or geography, but on the largest area which would give a two-to-one majority in perpetuity to the Unionist/Protestant/Orange Party.

This was reinforced with a policy of denying employment and housing to the Nationalist/Catholic people. Did not Craigavon say: "This is a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people"? Did not Brookeborough say: "I do not employ a Catholic and I advise my fellow-Unionists to do likewise"?

Political constituencies were gerrymandered. Then it was copper-fastened with the use of pogroms and the extra voting power given to business houses, overwhelmingly Unionist/Protestant/Orange. New industries were concentrated in the predominantly Unionist areas. This Oligarchy brooked no opposition. The natural and logical site for the New University was Derry city with the nucleus of Magee University College. It was placed in Coleraine, which is an overgrown village with no facilities for a University. The New University is failing. The British government, although it had supreme power over the Six County

regime never interfered in the actions of the "democratically elected government".

Even moderate and legal opposition was not tolerated. The People's Democracy was not a Republican body. Its aim was to get civil rights for all sections of the community. They staged a peaceful march from Belfast to Derry. The Rev. Ian Paisley and Major Bunting with the willing assistance of the RUC harassed the marchers every inch of the way, culminating in the obscene brutality of Burntollet Bridge.

How did the present war (not Troubles) begin? Twenty years ago the IRA had, for all practical purposes ceased to exist. In Catholic/Nationalist areas "IRA - I Ran Away" was to be seen on the walls.

Two electricity installations were blown up, allegedly by the IRA. Later Unionist paramilitaries were jailed for this. The whole of Bombay Street was burned down. A Catholic street. At Lenadon a Protestant mob, assisted by the British Army prevented Catholic families from occupying houses. A Catholic Church was attacked in East Belfast.

Peaceful protest was not permitted, so war erupted. The Unionist/Protestant/Orange groups have sown dragon's teeth.

These people who talk of peace do not want peace. They want a return to the status quo Ante-Bellum, that is a restoration of a bigoted junta which is not prepared to give fair play to the Nationalist/Catholic community.

P Caomhánach
Sráid Fhearcair
BAC 2

PS This letter was sent to the Editor of the Irish Times but was not published in their letters' page.

Belfast Fianna Éireann Support

A chara,

We the leadership of NA FIANNA ÉIREANN, Belfast, in the light of recent feedback to local Sluaithe concerning our stance as regards abstentionism and our support for Republican political parties, find it necessary to clarify our position in this matter.

Not once since the foundation of our organisation in 1909 and the commitment made to the constitution ratified in the First DAIL ÉIREANN of 1919 have we given way to compromise in the struggle to establish an All-Ireland Republic.

In 1986 we reaffirmed our support for those who refuse to recognise or partake in any partitionist government of this land

for we cannot dishonour the names of those brave Fianna who made the ultimate sacrifice in the name of this great cause.

We therefore reiterate our ongoing support for

Sinn Féin Poblachtach, the true custodians, in our view, of the Republican Tradition. We wish them every success.

FIANNA ÉIREANN
BÉAL FEIRSTE



Reasons for Youth Emigration

A chara,

It is now evident to young Irish boys and girls what the future has in store for them under our neo-colonial system - many will have to seek a livelihood in foreign lands which is denied to them at home. They are not told the reason why this is happening - that we are a divided and exploited people.

Ireland, geographically, historically and culturally is ONE NATION Britain invaded Ireland in 1169 and has exploited our people to this present day. Irish men and women have resisted British rule in every generation. So we have had bloodshed, not just over the past 20 years, and it will continue while Britain remains here. The great Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick told the butchers of the empire in 1916 "While grass grows and water runs there will be men and women in Ireland who will fight and die for Irish freedom".

P.H. Pearse and his gallant comrades declared Ireland as a Sovereign Independent State in 1916.

That Proclamation was ratified by a free vote of the people of all Ireland in 1918. The people's representatives in National Parliament on 21st January, 1919 issued a declaration of Independence stating that foreign parliament in Ireland was an invasion of the Irish people's right and must never again be tolerated. That to take seats or recognise any parliament other than the Sovereign Independent Parliament of all Ireland would be a betrayal and a rejection of the Irish people's rights and of the Proclamation of 1916.

Britain trampled on the democratic will of the Irish people by sending in a murder band - the Black and Tans, to slaughter, burn and terrorise our people. But brute force failed and they tried treachery - divide and conquer. Britain divided the historic Irish Nation under the so called Treaty of 1921, setting up two states geared and designed to serve British interests.

We have had five major breakaways from the Republican Movement since 1922. The first Free Staters, now Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil in 1926, the Workers'

Party in 1970, and Gerry Adams party in 1986. All desertions from the Republican Movement meant rejection of the Proclamation of 1916 and a bonus for British imperialism in Ireland.

The 26 County state never paid it's way and is now £26 billion in debt and pays £2 billion a year in interest. Those who take seats in the 26 County parliament are obliged to collaborate fully with Crown forces. So you have extradition and the spending of a million a day to maintain a British imposed border, while they close hospitals that affects the poor.

With the removal of tariff barriers Ford, Dunlop and many others pulled out and are now dumping their goods into the 26-county market, causing widespread unemployment and forcing our young people to emigrate and with that the foreigners who come in get free factories, pay no tax, invest all their huge profits abroad, putting nothing back into the 26-county economy.

The propagandists for the system say that we can have peace and unity by consent. Northern Ireland was planted with English and Scotch soldiers, the natives driven from their land. You would not convert one per cent of their descendants in a million years, not while Britain keeps them in a privileged position with first preference to jobs, housing etc.

John Hume and Gerry Adams may talk about compromise, that if Mr. Adams would take his seat in the 26-county parliament there is no point in not taking his seat in a devolved parliament in the Six Counties, as both states were set up under the Government of Ireland Act 1920. A devolved government would only mean old wine in new bottles and would not bring justice. Sectarianism is the lifeblood of British rule and cannot bring peace. Unity and peace will only come when we go back to the declaration of Independence of 1919.

Martin Callaghan
Kilnurry McMahon
Sinn Féin Poblachtach
Co. Clare

BRODIE KELLY

IT IS WITH deep regret we record the death of Brodie Kelly on February 15, at the age of 87 years. He had remained an active Republican up to his last illness and rejected the 26-County partition state five times in his life, in 1922, 1926, 1946, 1969 and more recently in 1986. "Dilis go h-éag" is indeed his epitaph.

At the removal to St. Mary's Church, Lucan on February 17, Dublin members of Sinn Féin Poblachtach under Dáithí O'Connell formed a Guard of Honour flanking the Tricolour-draped coffin.

Next day members of the Co. Roscommon IRA Commemoration Committee, of which Brodie Kelly was a founder member, provided a Guard of Honour at his native Ballintubber under the command of Sylvester Fitzsimons.

Pádraic Cryan, chairman of the Commemoration Committee, presided at the graveside and Tom Flynn, bugler, Castlereau sounded the Last Post and Reveille.

Ruairí O'Brádaigh, in the graveside oration said that that day's ceremonies were a sad but proud duty to a steadfast Republican being buried in his native place.

"Brodie Kelly threw himself manfully into the national struggle when he joined the South Roscommon Brigade, IRA in his late teens in the period following the 1916 Rising.

"He saw active service in the Black-and-Tan War and rejected the Treaty of



• Brodie Kelly, aged 17 years, in Volunteer uniform.

Surrender in 1922. He fought against the Free State and was the comrade of Pat Mulrennan, of Loughglyn, slain treacherously in Athlone Barracks while a prisoner in 1922 and of the Republicans executed there in 1923.

"Later that year Brodie Kelly was engaged in the attack on Headford, Co. Galway Free State military post. As a reprisal for this, six IRA Volunteers were executed by the Free State in Tuam three days later.

Following the Cease



Fire Order in May 1923 Brodie remained on the run in dug-outs on the Rockingham estate near Boyle, and later as a shop assistant in Edenderry, Co. Offaly under an assumed name. He was never captured.

"In 1926 he was among the founder members of the Roscommon IRA Committee which has organised the Easter (1916) Commemoration ceremonies in the county each year since. He worked hard to erect the worthy County Memorial to his comrades at Shankill Cross.

"Right into the 1930s, Brodie Kelly was OC South Roscommon Battalion, IRA and to the day of his death he would not deny the Volunteers who carried on the fight against British rule in 1939-40, in 1956-62, or from 1969 onwards.

"He gave active assistance down the years while his health lasted and was the true comrade of all who fought. He evoked respect from all who came into contact with him but for those who worked closely

with him he inspired affection and love.

"His family and Co. Roscommon people can be proud of a loyal son who gave all that was asked to Ireland and sought nothing for himself.

"Leaba i measc na bhFíntín go raibh aige."

•••••
COMDT.-GENERAL Tom Maguire, last and faithful survivor of the Second (all-Ireland) Dáil Eireann and patron of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, made one of his rare public appearances at the funeral of the late James "Brodie" Kelly at Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon on Saturday, February 18.

Interviewed by SAOIRSE after the burial, General Maguire said that Brodie Kelly was one of the best Volunteers who served in the Second Western Divisional area in the 1920s. (Tom Maguire was Divisional OC)

He went on to say that Brodie Kelly's service was given down the years at great personal expense. As a soldier, Brodie was ready for any situation, but was also a clever active service man. As a person he was loyal and possessed of strong character. "His departure leaves a gap, and the world is a more bleak place for his passing," he said.

Asked to sum up Brodie Kelly's career as a Republican over six decades, General Maguire said he was "unpurchasable".

ism had reached a low ebb at that time Séamus had stood with the minority of internees who re-organised the Movement on their release from captivity. "It was just a bad phase which would pass", he used to say.

Following the military defeat of the Republic in the War against the Free State, Séamus had joined the Irish Republican Army in 1925 at the age of 18. He had never let down the Republican position to the day of his death.

Séamus Burke is survived by his wife, nieces and nephews. Ruairí O'Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach and Frank Glynn, Galway County Councillor were present at both removal and funeral.

He was a humble and unassuming soldier who sought only to advance the Cause of Easter 1916 and of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Eireann. He will be missed by his comrades and friends, especially in North Galway."

ult of enemy action.

"But he was also a staunch Republican himself who rejected compromise in 1969 and again in 1986. He saw active service against the British Occupation Forces and never hesitated in his support for the Republican Movement down the years.

"All of us who knew him will miss him, but particularly his immediate family, Maeve, Darragh, Rory, Tony, Eileen and Kathleen.

"Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam uasal."

"Joe Higgins served a term of imprisonment in Mountjoy Jail in 1972", he continued. "On the evening of Bloody Sunday, local Republicans had painted 'British Murderers Out' on an English ship in Galway Docks.

"The dockers refused to unload it until the dead of Derry were buried and on the same evening as the British embassy was burned in Dublin, Joe Higgins was found with bottles of petrol in his car."

strike in 1940 are buried. Frank Glynn, Sinn Féin Poblachtach member of Galway County Council and Paddy Ruane, former councillor were present. Ruairí O'Brádaigh spoke at the graveside.

He said that Joe Higgins had given service to the Republic of Frank Cunnane, Stephen Joyce and all those interred in the Plot nearby. He had never faltered in that regard, neither in 1969, in 1986, or at any time.

COMHBHRÓN

CONVERVY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Convery and Taylor families, Belfast on the recent death of Michael Convery. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam. From Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Béat Feirste.

CONVERVY, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Convery and Taylor families, Belfast on the recent death of Michael Convery. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam. From Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

CONVERVY, The Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach extends deepest sympathy to Geraldine Taylor, Belfast on the recent death of her father, Michael Convery. Solas na bhFíntínneas dá anam.

CONVERVY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Convery and Taylor families, Belfast on the recent death of Michael Convery. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam. From Cumann na mBan.

CONVERVY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Geraldine Taylor, Belfast on the recent death of her father, Michael Convery. Ar dhéis lámh Dé go raibh a anam. From Lita Ní Chathmhaoil.

FAGAN, Sincere sym-

pathy is extended to the family of Liam Fagan, Ravensdale, who died on November 30th last. From Republican Sinn Féin, London.

KELLY, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of James 'Brodie' Kelly, who died on February 15. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Baile Atha Cliath.

McGLINCHEY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Nellie McGlinchey and family, Derry on the death of Joe RIP. From friends and associates of Republican Sinn Féin in London.

McGLINCHEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the McGlinchey family in Creggan, Derry on the death of our old friend Joe who died before Christmas 1988. From Bridget Gavin and Terry McWeeney, London.

O'NEILL, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Bridie O'Neill, Belfast, who died recently. From Maggie Langsdorff and family, Dublin.

O'NEILL, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Bridie O'Neill, Belfast who died recently. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sí. From Cumann na mBan.

I gCUIMHNE

WARD, In proud and loving memory of Pat, who died on March 7, 1988. Always remembered and missed by Mary, Fodhla and Eirur.

"But we have all bent low and low and kissed the quiet feet of Cathleen, the daughter of Houlihan."

WARD, In proud and loving memory of Pat Ward,

who died on March 7, 1988. Always remembered by Lita.

WARD, In proud and loving memory of Pat Ward, who died on March 7, 1988. Always remembered by his comrades in Cumann na mBan.

WARD, In proud and loving memory of Pat Ward, who died on March 7, 1988. Sadly missed by Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamhlacht, Baile Atha Cliath.

Patrick Synnott

The death took place on December 1, 1988 of Patrick Synnott of Luton, Bedfordshire, England. He was for many years an active Republican in the town. He was 58 years old.

Paddy, as he was affectionately known to his many friends in Luton, was a founder member of Sinn Féin with Jim Reilly in 1971. Together with Seán Campbell and the late Jim Reilly, he was one of the first to join and help set up the cumann in Luton and was for over eight years its vice-chairman.

Paddy Synnott came to Luton from Dublin in the early fifties. He was a highly respected member of the Irish community and always had time for

those in need. He was at the time of his death still supporting the Irish cause. He was a fluent Irish speaker and socialist, and a great example to all who had the good fortune to know him and work with him.

A wreath in green, white and orange was laid on his grave by Michael Holden on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. We tender our deepest sympathy to his wife, family and friends. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

Beannachtai

CASEY/McCREESH Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Co. Longford, wish to thank all who contributed to its CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund) collection over the Christmas period.

EASTER greetings and fraternal good wishes to all Irish Republican prisoners of war in Ireland, Britain, Europe and the USA. From the Sinn Féin Poblachtach Committee, London.

McILKENNY, Siobhán and baby Sínead, Birmingham, (and Colín!) Thanks very much for the book, card and kind thoughts on the birth of Carl. Most unexpected and most appreciated. Thanks, Siobhán, will write a proper letter later (!!). From John, Mary and Carl Horan, Dublin.

RUANE, Congratulations to Paddy and Nora Ruane, grandparents, Carrmore, Oranmore, Co. Donegal and to Brendan and Anne (Ruane) Bannan, Maree, Oranmore on the birth of their first girl, Aoife. From Comhairle Ceantair na Gallimhe, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Seamus Burke

REPUBLICAN veteran Séamus Burke of Tuam, Co. Galway died after a long illness on February 13. He was 81 years and had been an active Republican for many decades.

Members of Sinn Féin Poblachtach escorted his Tricolour-draped coffin to St. Jarlath's Cathedral, Tuam and formed a Guard of Honour at his burial in Cortoon cemetery.

Pádraig O' Siannachain, An Carn Mór, Uarán Mór, spoke at the graveside. He

said he first came to know Séamus Burke in the Curragee Concentration Camp in the 1940s. Séamus had been interned without trial there following his deportation from England during the Sabotage Campaign of 1939-40.

Even when Republican-

Michael Mooney

THE SUDDEN DEATH of Michael Mooney of Sligo on February 13 came as a great shock to Republicans. He was 49 years old.

Michael was manager of Hunter's, coal merchants, Sligo for a number of years past and was a member of Sligo Harbour Commissioners. He had also been All-Ireland jun-

ior cycling champion with the NACA in earlier years.

At the largely attended funeral from St. Mary's Cathedral to the local cemetery the coffin was draped in the Irish Tricolour

Joe Higgins

REPUBLICANS were grieved by the death of Joe Higgins of Cahiriistrane, Headford, Co. Galway on January 26. He was 54 years and was a member of the Republican Movement since 1957.

At the removal of the remains from Headford to Cahiriistrane Church on January 28 as many as eight car loads of Special Branch and Task Force were present under a police Superintendent and the entire area surrounding the church was covered.

Following 11am Mass on Sunday, January 29 a

Guard of Honour of Sinn Féin Poblachtach escorted the Tricolour-draped coffin. A large attendance was present at Donaghpatrick Cemetery as he was interred in the family grave which is close to the Republican Plot where the men executed in Tuam and Athlone and Tony Darcy who died on hunger-

REMINDER: On Saturday March 26 next, Summer time begins so clocks should be put **BACK** one hour that night.

BELFAST

Easter Sunday, Milltown Republican Plot, 12.30pm.

CAVAN

Easter Sunday Commemoration to Vol. Jack McCabe's grave, Killane Cemetery, Shercock, 3pm.

CLARE/TIPPERARY

Joint Commemoration Easter Sunday. Assemble at Killaloe Bridge (Ballina side) at 2.30pm. Wreath laying ceremonies at Nenagh Republican Monument after 10am Mass and at grave of Vol. Paddy McNamara, Ballina, Killaloe before main commemoration commences. (see also **IMEACHTAI**)

CORK

Easter Sunday Commemoration Cork City. Assemble at the National Monument, Grand Parade, 2.30pm. Parade to Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery Wreath laying at city and county memorials on Easter Sunday morning.

DERRY

Easter Sunday Commemoration Derry City. Assemble at the Cuchulain Republican Memorial at 12 noon. Veteran Republican Sean Keenan, Derry will attend. Wreath laying ceremonies at Republican graves in the Loup Cemetery 9am, Dungiven Cemetery 10.30pm.

DONEGAL

Holy Saturday Commemoration, Clady Bridge, 6.30pm; Doneyloop, Castlefin, 7.30pm;

Easter Sunday, Assemble Johnson's Corner, Stranorlar, 2.30pm for march to Drumboe.

DOWN

Easter Sunday Commemoration, Aughlin-naffin Churchyard, Castlewellan, 10.30am.

DUBLIN

Easter Sunday Commemoration at the GPO, O'Connell Street, Dublin at 12 noon. Wreath laying ceremony at the Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery afterwards. Easter Monday Deansgrange Cemetery, Dun Laoghaire at 1pm.

FERMANAGH

Easter Sunday Commemoration, Roslea 2.30pm. Assemble at Roslea Cemetery, ceremony at the graves of the Roslea Martyrs, Republican Plot.

GALWAY

SOUTH GALWAY

Easter Sunday Commemoration, Shanaglish, Gort. Assemble at Whelan's in Shanaglish village after 12 o'clock Mass.

Easter Commemorations 1989



NORTH GALWAY

Easter Sunday, assemble at Queally's Cross, Cahiriistrane at 3pm. Parade to Donaghpatrick Cemetery for Commemoration.

KERRY SOUTH KERRY

Cahiriveen, Easter Sunday. Assemble at the Fair Green. 2.30pm. Parade to Killavogue Cemetery. Laying of wreath at 3rd South Kerry Brigade Monument in Church Street along the route of the march.

KERRY NORTH

Easter Sunday wreath laying ceremony at Republican Plot, Listowel at 12 noon. Tralee Commemoration assemble at Denny Street at 3pm. Parade to the Republican Plot, Rath Cemetery. Easter Monday wreath laying ceremony at Republican Memorial, Killarney at 3pm.

KILDARE

Easter Sunday Commemoration, Kildare Town. Assemble Square 11.30am. Parade to Republican Plot in Grey Abbey Cemetery. Wreathlaying ceremonies at Hollywood, Ballymore Eustace and Droichead Nua.

LAOIS

Easter Sunday wreath laying ceremony at the National Monument, New Cemetery Portlaoise, 12 noon.

LEITRIM

Easter Sunday Commemoration Mohill. Assemble Station Road at 3pm. March

to Brig-Adj. Joe Beirne's grave for ceremony.

LIMERICK

Easter Sunday Commemoration Limerick City. Assemble Bedford Row at 12.45pm. March to the Republican Plot, Mount St. Lawrence Cemetery.

LONGFORD

Easter Sunday. Assemble at Drumlisk at 3pm. Parade to Lieut. Tommy Kelleher Memorial Cross.

LOUTH

Dundalk, Easter Sunday. Assemble at the Adelphi Cinema at 2pm. Parade to the Republican Plot, St. Patrick's Cemetery. Followed by a wreath laying ceremony at the grave of Liam Fagan, Ravensdale Cemetery.

MAYO

Easter Sunday Commemoration Burrishoole Cemetery, Newport at 3pm. Ceremony at graves of Staff-Capt. Jim Moran and Capt. James Clinton, IRA.

Easter Monday Commemoration, Kilkelly. Assemble after 12 noon Mass and parade to East Mayo Brigade Memorial.

MEATH

Easter Sunday Commemoration at Knockmark Cemetery, Drumree 3pm, at the grave of Fian Seamus Fox, killed in Stephen's Green, 1916.

MONAGHAN

Easter Sunday Commemoration, to Vol. Seamus McElwaine's grave, Urbleshanny

Cemetery, Scotstown; Wreath-laying ceremony will be held at Vol. Fergal O'Hanlon Monument, 12 noon Monaghan Town.

NORTH ANTRIM

Easter Sunday, Republican Memorial, Shane's Cairn, Cushendun, 3pm.

NORTH ARMAGH

Lurgan: Easter Sunday Commemoration after 11am Mass, at St. Colman's Cemetery, Derrymacash: Commemoration 1pm Easter Sunday at Vol. Michael Crossey's grave, St. Patrick's Cemetery.

OFFALY

Wreath laying ceremonies throughout the county.

ROSCOMMON

Easter Sunday wreath laying ceremony Elphin after 11.30am Mass. Parade to Co. Roscommon IRA Memorial at Shankhill. County Commemoration Kiltoom at 3.30pm. Parade to Comdt. Toby Mannion's grave in Kiltoom Old Cemetery.

SLIGO

57th Annual Commemoration organised by National Graves Association, Sligo on Easter Sunday. Assemble outside Town Hall at 3pm and march to the Republican Plot in the City Cemetery.

SOUTH ARMAGH

Holy Saturday, Republican Plot, Carrickcrudden Cemetery, Camloch, 7pm. Easter Sunday, Republican Plot, Dromintee after 9am Mass; Vols. John and Thomas O'Reilly's grave, Killeen, 10.45am; Newry Commemoration to Republican Plot, 4pm; Wreath-laying ceremonies will be held at Edentubber, Vol. Michael McVerry's Memorial, Cullyhanna, Vol. Francis Jordan's grave, Jonesboro, also Mullaghbanw.

TYRONE

Easter Sunday Commemoration, Aghyaran to Vol. Seamus Harvey's grave, 12.30pm.

WESTMEATH

Easter Sunday Commemoration Boher at 3pm. Wreath laying ceremonies in Cornamagh, Athlone, Moate Memorial, Mount Temple, Enniscoffey, Fore, Meedin, Tyrellspass and Ballyglass Republican graves.

WEXFORD

Wexford Town, Easter Sunday. Parade from Crescent Quay at 3pm to the Republican Plot, St. Ibar's Cemetery, Crosstown.

WEXFORD TOWN

Sunday March 12, 3pm Assemble at the Republican Garden of Remembrance

EASTER SOCIAL

SATURDAY

APRIL 1

at 9pm

KYNE'S CENTRAL TAVERN

LOUGHGEORGE

COUNTY GALWAY

Music:

'Alice and the Rivals'

Taille £2.50

Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe Sinn Féin

Poblachtach.

'DRAW RESULTS

The winning numbers in the February Draw organised for CABHAIR — Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund in Dublin were as follows: *First Prize* £100, no. 292; *Second Prize* £50, no. 146; *Third Prize* £25, no. 34; *Five Prizes* of £5, nos. 140, 296, 37, 193, 212.

Harassment-report it!

HARASSMENT OF Sinn Féin Poblachtach members by 26-county police in plain-clothes and operating in private cars took place during February. Incidents have been reported to us from Westmeath, Sligo, Donegal, Leitrim and Kerry.

In the Sligo case, the member was returning home from work at Drumahaire when he was followed by a number of men in a private car flashing headlights. Finally the pursuers on a narrow country road used a hand-held siren whereupon the Republican stopped.

SHOOTING THREAT

The men ran up to him flashing identity cards and told him "you are lucky we didn't shoot you". Questions followed about his vehicle, all of which information was available from the motor taxation office of Sligo Co. Council. Earlier the same member

was stopped and questioned similarly near his home when returning with his wife and daughter at 1am from a Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Eireann session in Sligo town. At 1.30am the same night he was knocked up and brought from his bed by a detective who repeated the same questions which were put half an hour earlier on the roadside.

In all cases mentioned names and addresses were supplied to SAOIRSE. Is there police harassment in your area?

IMEACHTAI

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Sadie and Alan Roberts, Dublin - 01-823581 (after 4pm).

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