

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH.56 NOLLAIG - DECEMBER 1991

40p (USA \$24 per year)



12-page paper

Commencing this month SAOIRSE will have 12 pages of uncensored news. We have increased our price to 40p to cover the costs of this expansion. Thank you to all our readers and subscribers. Nollaig Shonadar léitheoirí uilig.

Major's 'NO' to democracy



• John Major turns his back on troops out polls.

BRITISH Prime Minister John Major revealed the unchanging face of British imperialism with his one-word answer to a timely question put to him at the joint press conference after his meeting with Charles Haughey in Dublin on December 4.

A Dublin-based reporter said that in view of recent MORI opinion polls finding that 61% of the people in Britain wanted their troops withdrawn from Ireland, was it not time for a major shift in British policy in that regard.

'No' came the reply in true Thatcher-like 'Out, out, out' fashion.

Major and Haughey were meeting on the 20th anniversary of the McGurks Bar bombing by loyalists which killed 15 people on December 4, 1971. Two men also died later in what was the first major atrocity of the current phase of the Troubles, although it has been largely ignored by the British and Irish establishments.

By his blunt refusal the British Prime Minister was turning his back on the expressed wishes of the British people as well as the fundamental right of the Irish people to determine their own future without outside interference. He was saying no to democracy.

With the replacement of Margaret Thatcher by John Major the establishment media were loud in their praise of the new man as a 'pragmatist' and a 'more caring face'. It is clear that whatever about a change of style there has been no change of heart.

'FOUR SQUARE'

John Major told the British Conservative party conference in October that his government would stand "four square" for the union. "When young men and women from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales stood together in the Gulf, they were rightly proud of their roots, but no one doubted that all fought together in the name of Britain," Major declared in typical jingoistic Tory language. British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd followed up by stating that the debate was not about British withdrawal but about how the Six Counties "can run its affairs within the United Kingdom". They are all just as unionist as Margaret Thatcher.

That applies equally to Neil Kinnock,

the opposition British Labour party leader who regularly ignores the majority in the constituency Labour parties who have consistently favoured British withdrawal. At countless Labour party conferences the massive Trade Union block vote, and particularly the craft unions who are heavily influenced by their unionist branches in the Six Counties, are used to defeat motions advocating British withdrawal.

ILLUSION

The other illusion that did not survive the Haughey-Major meeting in Dublin was the notion of twice-yearly meetings. Another journalist, Gerald Barry of *The Sunday Tribune*, reminded Mr Haughey that the same twice-yearly meetings were planned after his meeting with Mrs Thatcher in Dublin Castle on December 8, 1980, almost eleven years ago. What became of them?

In the same week the British have also finally refused, after six years, to implement the much-heralded promise of the Hillsborough Deal in 1985 that UDR patrols would be accompanied by the RUC. They also made 1,400 UDR soldiers full-time, increased the RUC by 441 and flew in 600 more British soldiers to the Six Counties. It should be noted that the extra forces were all announced after four loyalists, believed to be prominent in loyalist death squads, were killed in Belfast on November 13. The deaths of six nationalists in the previous two weeks had evoked no response from the British.

If it did nothing else, the December meeting exposed once again the malleable fist that lies the same as always beneath the velvet glove of British policy.



• Sinn Féin Poblachtach picket outside the Haughey-Major meeting in Merrion Street, Dublin on December 4.

EMU: Politicians Sell-Out

THE rush by all the politicians in Leinster House to agree to the Economic and Monetary Union in Maastricht reminds the observer of nothing so much as the situation of a small company, badly run and bankrupt, asking a bigger company to take it over and run it.

The 'union' envisaged by the EMU will not even have the merit of the old union with Britain brought in to cover the island of Ireland in 1800 - that wealth would flow to the smaller country and directly to the people. Since joining the EEC twenty years ago the gap between Ireland and the richer countries has widened, not nar-

rowed and the funds from the EEC has gone increasingly into the maw of corrupt politicians, big business and large farmers and, as Raymond Crotty has pointed out, more often than not this has destroyed jobs rather than creating them. EMU will accelerate this process and the Irish people will have less influence, not more, on the decision-making process.

Any referendum in the aftermath of Maastricht, must be opposed by those who, like Republicans, believe that the 32 Counties of Ireland has a future as a sovereign, independent and self-governing state. The establishment politicians having bankrupted the present system are now preparing a massive sell-out.

FBI HARASSMENT OF IRISH AMERICANS

IN a statement issued on Friday, November 15 Republican Sinn Féin highlighted FBI harassment of Irish Americans who seek a free and united Ireland, saying such attention was "deplorable". The statement referred to the facts of the most recent case:

"At a meeting of the Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF) in Chicago on Sunday last, November 10, members present discovered a bugging device on the person of a man who had recently joined the organisation. As they searched the person concerned, FBI men, who had evidently been outside and were listening in to the meeting, burst in and took the man carrying the 'bug' away.

"The following morning, Monday, November 11, they raided the homes of four of the members, Chris Fogarty and his wife Mary, Frank O'Neill and Anthony McCormack. All four were arrested and released on bail two days later. Charges made against them are flimsy and transparent.

WELL AWARE

"The Irish American public and indeed the FBI are well aware that the Friends of Irish Freedom

organisation was formed more than two years ago following a split with Irish Northern Aid. They support the families and dependants of Irish Republican prisoners in England and Ireland and are devoted to the relief of distress arising from their incarceration.

"The FOIF are not recognised or accepted by the Provisionals. Republican Sinn Féin condemns official US watching, besetting and harassment of FOIF members - many of whom are long-time associates of the Cause of Irish Freedom."

On Saturday, November 16, Republican Sinn Féin members in Dublin placed a picket on the US embassy in Ballsbridge to underline their protest against the FBI activities and the fact that they were accompanied in the raid on the Chicago meeting by at least one British agent.



• Picket at US Embassy, Ballsbridge.

PROTEST IN BALLINASLOE

ON Friday afternoon November 15, 250 people took part in a demonstration in Ballinasloe in support of the basic right of all to join a trade union. At the stone works of T. Pryal Ltd, the management has denied this basic, democratic right to its workers for the last 18 months.

Workers after joining SIPTU, the union involved, were threatened with the loss of their jobs and the closure of the company. Seven weeks ago, after patient attempts by the workers to talk to the company were refused, 14 workers involved went on official strike.

Since then, the management has ignored the consequences of their actions. The workers on strike are existing on £42 a week. Despite the amount of support given to the workers, the company has made no overtures to the workers to solve this matter.

GEARR-SCÉALTA

Brixton Escape Police Planned Shoot-To-Kill

STAFFORDSHIRE police in England ordered an 'inquiry' after Thames TV revealed on Tuesday, November 19 that Special Branch police officers helped two Irishmen to escape from Brixton prison last July. The programme claimed that the two Irishmen were encouraged to plot an escape in an attempt to "lure other suspects into a police trap".

The real probability however is that the two men would have been ambushed and shot dead once they left Brixton prison.

A former SAS member who was a prison officer in Brixton was working with Staffordshire Special Branch and suggested the escape plan to Nessian Quinlivan and Pearse McAuley. The police aborted the plan in February of this year but five months later the two men successfully escaped. According to the London Independent newspaper (November 21) it has been confirmed by British Home Office officials that the prison officer was working as an informer for the police and that he had given the two Irishmen the basis of the escape plan.

UNLIMITED RESOURCES FOR POLITICAL POLICE

LIMERICK politicians have realised that the Special Branch have unlimited overtime and resources for harassing Republicans. Councillor Joe Harrington told Limerick Borough Council recently that their request for extra policing in parts of Limerick resulted in a "one line letter". The staff hours the 26-county police have spent questioning Republicans in recent months would provide 24-hour patrols in the areas concerned, he continued.

"Six detectives questioned one man," he said, "sixty or seventy people have been questioned in all and not one charge has come from it." Jim Kemmy agreed with Clr. Harrington's comments "almost entirely".

This will come as no surprise to readers of SAOIRSE. Yet when it comes to the more mundane work of protecting the city residents from a small criminal element, they claim lack of manpower.

The County Limerick home of Tom O'Sullivan, earlier that month the Dublin home of a Limerick Republican's aunt was visited by the Special Branch seeking information.

BEARNA ULADH RAFFLE

THE results of the Bearna Uladh Draw held on Thursday, November 7 were as follows: Framed 1916 Proclamation, Patsy McKeever; Framed 16 Executed men, P. McGemmy; Bottle of Spirits, Mary O'Hagan.

DUBLIN DRAW RESULTS

COMHAIRLE Ceantair Atha Cliath 400 Draw winners on November 10 last were as follows: £100, no. 006; £50, no. 043; £30, no. 017; £20, no. 335; five prizes of £10, nos. 235, 303, 272, 175, 269. Next 400 Draw for CABHAIR - Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependants Fund on Sunday, December 8.

CHRISTMAS MORNING

Cabhair



SPONSORED SWIM Inchicore Dublin

opposite Blackhorse Inn - 12 noon sharp

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

December is Prisoners Month
All Cumainn are reminded to do your Christmas
Collection for the Prisoners and return cash to:
CABHAIR, 13 Aston Place, Dublin 2

Outstanding tickets for the CABHAIR draw should
be returned to the above address by December 16.
Go raibh maith agaibh

RESULTS OF NATIONAL DRAW

- 1st Prize, £750: George Corrigan, Dublin
- 2nd Prize, £350: Roger Morgan, Avoca, Co. Wicklow
- 3rd Prize, £150: Fergus Mac Cába, An Ómaigh
- 4th Prize, £100: John Leonard, Sligo
- 5th Prize, £50: J.Keohy, c/o Eddie (Dublin)
- 6th Prize, £50: Billy Shack, Barrack St., Cork
- 7th Prize, £50: Micky McGonigle, Dungiven, Co. Derry
- 8th Prize, £50: M.Ó Cinnéide, Corcaigh
- 9th Prize, £50: D. Sharkey, Co. Roscommon

AGMs

AT the recent Annual General Meeting of Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe the following officers were elected: Cathaoirleach Tomás O'Curraoin; Leas-Cathaoirleach Antoine de Bhalis; Rúnaí Joanne de Faolite; Cisteoirí Seán Mac an Iomaire, Gearóid O'Fathaigh; OCP Dáithí Seoighe; Oideachas Seamas O'Náiragh, Seán Seosamh O'Ruadháin, Dáithí O'hAillín; Teachtaí Chomhairle Chúige Chonnacht Pádraig O'Sionnacháin, Tomás O'Curraoin.

COMHAIRLE Ceantair Atha Cliath held its AGM during November. Officers elected for the coming year were Cathaoirleach Peter Cunningham; Leas-Cathaoirleach/Eagraíocht Andy Connolly; Rúnaí Seosamhín Ní hEideáin; Cisteoir Saoirse Breathnach; OCP John Horan.

The National Finance Committee would like to thank all those who sold rickets or supported the draw this year and we look forward to their continued support in the future.

UN CONDEMNS BRITAIN

IN the past two years one Belfast lawyers' firm representing 58 clients has won compensation totalling £134,000 from the British administration in the Six Counties for ill-treatment and torture in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre.

The law firm asked not to be named in media reports on November 27 as one lawyer, Pat Finucane, was assassinated by a loyalist death squad at his home in February 1989. He was very active in defending nationalists before the juryless Diplock courts and was targeted by junior British minister Douglas Hogg in the British parliament several weeks before his murder.

The law firm spoke out because the British are delaying the release of the full figures for compensation payments relating to the torture of suspects in Castlereagh, saying the details will be available "within several months". The final compensation total is expected to be very substantial.

A lawyer from the firm in question made a report to the United Nations Committee on Torture which met in Geneva, Switzerland

earlier this month. In its summary report the Committee says that the British government does not seem to haggle on the compensation of victims of ill-treatment. A member of the UN Committee, Canadian law professor Thomas Burns said that the application by the British of the UN Convention on Torture was far from satisfactory. He criticised the refusal of the right to silence, especially where a suspect was deprived of a lawyer, as "deliberately ignoring one of the most



●Castlereagh Interrogation Centre.

fundamental guarantees accorded to the whole of the civilised world". The circumstances in Ireland did not justify the denial of fundamental rights, he said.

FINDINGS

The UN Committee is expected to make its final report before the end of the year, but its preliminary findings on Thursday, November 21 criticised the British for its ill-treatment of prisoners in the Six Counties.

BATTLES AHEAD ON SERVICE CHARGES

THE Refusal by Cork Corporation to strike a rate before the deadline imposed by 26-county environment minister Rory O'Hanlon on Sunday, December 1 is the latest skirmish in the war against the unjust service charges which has seen many people sent to jail throughout the country for refusing to pay what is seen as double taxation.

As we go to press the minister has temporarily postponed abolishing Cork Corporation and installing

a commissioner to rule by diktat as happened previously in Cork in 1924. The councillors voted by

17 to 14 votes to reject a service charge rate for 1992 which would be 7% less than this year. Their decision could also influence the actions of councils in Waterford and Limerick.

In Galway the city councillors decided in early December to retain service charges at 1991 levels and "to consider phasing out



● One of the scab workers in Galway.

the charges over a number of years."

The Galway decision was undoubtedly influenced by the activities of a Kildare scab security company who were employed recently by city council officials to turn off residents' water without warning for non-payment of water charges. The council's own workers had earlier refused to cut off people's water supplies, hence the introduction of the outside security firm.

One resident of Mervue, Niall Farrell, took photographs of the scab workers who arrived outside his home. He sent a solicitor's letter to the Kildare company involved holding them responsible for any suffering caused to his children as a result of being without a water supply.

DISTANCE

The councillors are now seeking to distance themselves from the actions of the council officials -

there was no consultation with them, they claim. People in Galway have another complaint with the council, however. A developer was given the go-ahead to dump rubble on the green space beside the Headford Road and opposite the shopping centre before an appeal by the Woodquay Residents' Association against his proposed retail/leisure park building-scheme could be heard by An Bord Pleanála.

A lack of accountability is allowing these decisions to be made and the secrecy which surrounds Galway City Council meetings resulted in service charges protestors (backed by the Galway Council of Trade Unions) forcing their way into a recent council meeting to make sure their views were heard. As a result council officials' plan to increase the service charges by £2 for 1992 have been reversed.

The fifteenth edition of *Tragedies of Kerry* by Dorothy MacCardle, first published in 1924, has been republished with eight additional pages, including the last letter of Capt. James McEnery, of Ardfert, who was ex-by Free State Forces at Tralee Military Barracks on April 25, 1923.

Also included in this fifteenth edition is the ballad "Ballyseedy Cross" and a photograph of the eight Ballyseedy Martyrs.

This new edition is published in response to public demand. It is a classic documentary account of the exceptional measures taken by the Free State in an attempt to break Kerry's allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic during 1922 and 1923.

Successive editions were published by Joe Clarke, veteran of the Battle of Mount Street Bridge in 1916; up to

AN IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT

Tragedies of Kerry

DOROTHY MACARDLE

his death. The book was out of print for a number of years, until Irish Freedom Press republished it in 1988.

His widow, Mrs Ellis Clarke, is delighted to be associated with the latest edition.

Imeachtaí

- LIAM MELLOWS
COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8
Athenry, Co. Galway
Assemble after last Mass
Speaker:
Mary Ward
★★★
- FOUR MARTYRS
RORY, LIAM,
DICK & JOE
executed by the Free
State, December 8, 1922
- WREATH-LAYING
CEREMONY
SATURDAY
DECEMBER 8
Republican Plot
St. Finbar's Cemetery
Cork
Organised by:
Sinn Féin Poblachtach,
Corcaigh
Republican Comrades
Association
★★★
- ANNUAL
GENERAL
MEETINGS
COMHAIRLE CHUIGE
LAIGHEAN
SAT., DECEMBER 7
- COMHAIRLE CHUIGE
ULADH
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8
- COMHAIRLE CHUIGE
NA MUMHAN
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15
- COMHAIRLE CHUIGE
CHONNACHT
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15
★★★
- BOBBY SANDS
TRILOGY
Performed by the Workers
Theatre Movement
FRIDAY - SUNDAY
DECEMBER 13-15
GLASGOW
see local press for details
★★★
- LIAM MELLOWS
COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15
Castletown, Gorey
Co. Wexford
Assemble 3pm
★★★
- DAITHÍ Ó CONAILL
COMMEMORATION
WEDNESDAY
JANUARY 1
REPUBLICAN PLOT
GLASNEVIN
DUBLIN, 1pm
Oration:
Des Long
★★★
- ANNIVERSARY
MASS FOR
DAITHÍ Ó CONAILL
FRIDAY, JANUARY 3
Holy Trinity Church
Cork
8pm
★★★
- SEÁN SABHAT
COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, JANUARY 5
LIMERICK
Assemble:
Bedford Row, 12.45
Speaker:
Michael Cunningham

'A FORMIDABLE PEOPLE'S EFFORT'

AS part of the 200th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the United Irishmen in Belfast and Dublin in October and November 1791 Sinn Féin Poblachtach held a public meeting in Dublin on November 22. Beforehand a wreath was laid by Ruairi O Bradaigh, Uachtaran, at the memorial plaque at 5 Eustace Street, Dublin 2, the site of the Eagle Tavern where the Dublin Society of the United Irishmen held their inaugural meeting on November 9, 1791.

Two speakers, actively engaged in breaking new ground in research of the period addressed the meeting, chaired by Seán O Brádaigh (*feach alt thíos*) in Kinlay House, Lord Edward Street. Frances Watson spoke on United Irishwomen" and revealed that "although virtually ignored by the academic historians, women were full-hearted participants in the cultural, political and military organisations emanating from the United Irish movement". Mary McCracken of the United Irishwomen and the Quaker woman Mary Ledbetter provided much source material along with folklore and other memoirs.

Ulster women like Charlotte Brooke, Mary Balfour, and Mrs Clarke played an important part in the cultural movement of United Irishness at the time. Mary McCracken, Rose Hope and Martha McTeer were more intimately involved while

Mrs Peggy Barclay from Sugarhouse Lane who gave a room in her tavern to the United Irishmen played an important part.

BALLADS

The women at the time played an important role in spreading revolutionary ballads from town to town, Frances Watson said, and many took part in the fighting as well in the 1798 Rising, like Betsy Elizabeth Gray, Elizabeth Bayson and Margaret Munroe. The idea of women as driving force and inspirer was significant at the time and needed further exploration.

A special 200th birthday cake was cut and served during a short interval after which the second speaker, Dr Tomás O Gearmáin, spoke on the 'United Irishmen - Revising the Revisionists'. His researches on the movement in Dublin and Wexford had revealed



• Frances Watson

that revisionism began immediately after and even during the events themselves.

Popular politicisation was a real phenomenon in the 1790s even before the United Irishmen became a revolutionary organisation. He gave the example of 30,000 copies of Tom Paine's *The Rights of Man* published in Belfast along with other editions in Dublin and Derry. The propaganda impact of this was immense.

MODERNISED

The picture of Wexford emerging from new research showed a complex picture and probably the most modernised society outside of Belfast and Dublin. The massacres in the county have been exaggerated and incidents such as the torch-

ing of 100 wounded rebels in a hospital after Vinegar Hill by the Crown Forces have been ignored.

A Wexford Republic was set up with a civilian administration for several weeks, abolishing money and establishing street committees. A Republican navy was even established, ferrying injured insurgents along the coast. In Dublin the rising failed by a matter of one hour, with United Irishmen having assembled in Smithfield on the northside of the city and Newmarket on the Southside.

The failed rising in Dublin was a crucial factor but it was not inevitable. He finished by quoting Lord Castlereagh writing to Chief Secretary Nelham in London in June 1798:

"I understand you are rather inclined to hold the insurrection cheap - rely upon it, there never was in any country so formidable an effort on the part of the people."

SCANNAL

"Is iomaí scannal in Éirinn faoi láthair ach is é an scannal is mó go bhfuil greim scoirnaigh ag na Sasanaigh ar na Sé Chontae agus greim ag paca bhithiúnach ar na 26 Chontae."

"Is iad cosmhuintir na hÉireann atá thíos leis seo ar fad. Ní gá liosta a dhéanamh ar fhadhbanna na tíre. Tá siad ar eolas ag cách. Ach is iad an bhréag agus an chaimiléireacht atá laistiar den ghéarchéim ar fad."

"Ní hon ionadh nach bhfuil dóchas ag naonúr as gach deichniúr as na polaiteoirí, de réir suirbhé a rinneadh de deirneas. Tá gá le prionsabail Tone agus Mhic Reachtain chun an aising a bhaint amach."

PEARL FLANNERY

REPUBLICANS learned with sorrow of the death of Margaret (Pearl) Flannery at Flushing Hospital, Queens, New York on November 13 last at the great age of 93. Pearl, as she was known to all, was a native of Ballyvoneen, Mullinahone, Co. Tipperary. She had spent almost 70 years in the USA, where she had a lifetime involvement in Irish political and cultural organisations. She was a member of Cumann na Saoirse (Irish Freedom Committee) up to the time of her death.

Pearl Egan was educated at Mullinahone, Balbriggan College and UCD. After being awarded a science scholarship to Switzerland she graduated with a doctor of science degree. Her father Patrick Egan of Mullinahone, a professor of languages, died in 1915 and in 1923 Pearl, her mother Catherine and six

brothers and two sisters emigrated to the USA.

In 1933 she married Mike Flannery of Knockshogowna, Co. Tipperary, who saw active service with the Tipperary No. 1 Brigade, IRA during the Tan War and Counter-Revolution. They lived for many years in Jackson Heights, New York.

Councillor Joe O'Neill, Ard-Cisteoir, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, travelled to the USA for the funeral and gave the oration at the graveside in St. Mary's Cemetery, Flushing, New York on Friday, November 15. He paid tribute to Pearl Flannery and to the Egan and Flannery families for "their steadfast devotion to complete freedom for Ireland."

"Pearl Flannery," he continued, "was one of the renowned Egan family of Mullinahone, Co. Tipperary whose motto for many generations was Ireland Free. In New York Pearl worked for almost thirty years as a research chemist for the General Analine Company.

"Along with her husband Mike, who rose to prominence as co-founder of the Irish Northern Aid Committee and is presently a leading figure in Cumann na Saoirse, Pearl was an activist in the cause of Irish freedom all her life. She was also a member of the Tipperary Association and many other Irish cultural organisations.

"On behalf of the Republican Movement in Ireland I extend my sincere sympathy to her husband Michael, brothers Michael (Gussie) and William and sister Catherine (Polly) Kelly. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam."

MARTIN SAVAGE MEMORIAL UNVEILED

THE National Graves Association unveiled the memorial to Volunteer Martin Savage in Ash-town, Co. Dublin at a ceremony on Sunday, December 1. The Streamstown, Ballisodare, Co. Sligo man was killed in action taking part in an ambush on the British Viceroy, Lord French, as he made his way in a convoy of British troops and RIC from Ashtown railway station to the Phoenix Park on December 19, 1919.

The Memorial was originally unveiled in 1948 by the late Seán Fitzpatrick but was moved when the Navan Road was widened in the last year. It now stands some yards behind its original location, opposite the Halfway House pub.

A wreath was laid at the Memorial Stone by Sarah Doodly and Seán Birmingham gave a fine oration, in which he said that Martin Savage was probably the first man to die in action against British Occupation Forces after 1916 and the people of Co. Sligo honoured the dead Volunteer when his remains were brought home to Ballisodare.

The National Graves Association expressed their thanks to Dublin County Council and Clonmel Enterprises for their efforts and co-operation in re-locating the memorial.



• Joe Cunningham and Deasúin Ó Daltúin

EDENTUBBER COMMEMORATION AT BORDER

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin members from Louth, South Armagh and surrounding areas gathered in Edentubber, Co. Louth on Sunday, November 3 to mark the 34th anniversary of the Edentubber Martyrs - Paul Smith (Armagh), Oliver Craven (Newry), George Keegan and Patrick Parle (Wexford) and Michael Watters (Co. Louth) - who were killed at Edentubber in an accidental explosion caused by a faulty mine which they were preparing for use against the forces of British Occupation in Ireland.

The crowd gathered on the main Newry road and marched the short distance to the Celtic Cross Memorial which marks the spot where Michael Watters' cottage once stood. Guests of honour were several relatives of Michael Watters who live in the immediate area. In his oration Deasúin Ó Daltúin from Co. Kildare, a member of the Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin, said:

"Sadly 34 years later the objective for which the Edentubber Martyrs gave

their lives, the re-establishment of the All-Ireland Democratic Socialist Republic proclaimed in 1916 has yet to be achieved."

"The Ireland we live in today is far from that which was sought by the Edentubber Martyrs or indeed any of those who died in the cause of Irish freedom. The present scandals concerning Greenore, Bord Telecom and the beef industry are if anything an indictment of the political system which has prevailed in the 26-County state since 1922."

'Green Howards' Terrorise Border

LOCAL people in the Co. Fermanagh Border area have reported an upsurge in death threats and abuse on the roads and at checkpoints by the Green Howard regiment of the British army, who have arrived there within the past month as part of the British Occupation Forces. Recruited from the Nottingham area of England (where they belong) their thuggish behaviour long ago earned them the sobriquet the 'Green Cowards'.

GALWAY PATRIOT PRIEST

TOM O'Sullivan, Tipperary member of the incoming Ard-Chomhairle was the guest speaker at the annual Fr Michael Griffin commemoration at Bearna, Galway on Sunday, November 17.

A parade formed up at the local national school and headed by a colour-party marched through the village and on to the lonely spot where the patriot priest's body was discovered in a shallow grave one week after he was murdered by British Auxiliaries in 1920.

A worthy memorial, erected by his classmates in Maynooth College, marks the place. He had been lured on a bogus sick-call, taken to the local Lenaboy Auxiliary base, interrogated and shot through the head, before his body was concealed in that remote place.

At the commemoration ceremony, Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil, Galway, presided. Séamus O Nárái, Carnmore and Ruairí O

Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, laid wreaths on behalf of the local and national leadership of the Republican Movement.

Tom Curran, Bearna, led those present in a decade of the Rosary in Irish and Ruairí O Brádaigh read verses composed in Irish recently by a local Gaeltacht man as a tribute to Fr Griffin.

PLAQUE

Meanwhile at Sea Road, Galway city, another ceremony was taking place — a ceremony with a background. A bronze plaque was embedded in the footpath outside 2 Montpelier Terrace from where Fr Griffin was taken to his death.

It was unveiled by Mayor Michael Leahy and blessed



• An t-Athair Micheál O Gríofa a dúnmharaíodh i Mí na Samhna 1920.

by Bishop Eamon Casey, A Fianna Fáil member of

the 26-county Senate, Eamon O Cuív, was the

official speaker.

Fr Griffin Road, Father Griffin Place and Fr Griffin Community College have been named after the Galway priest. Fr Griffin's GAA Football Club, set up in 1948, also bears his name.

In recent years, this GAA club put a plaque in the front wall of the house which said inter alia that he had been "murdered by British forces".

A local solicitor who bought the house removed this plaque saying it would be offensive to tourists and would not foster good relations with England. He then replaced it with another saying that Fr Griffin "who had been shot" lived there.

CONTROVERSIAL

Letters to local papers highlighted these controversial actions. Was Fr Griffin shot by Irish people, did he shoot himself or was he shot by persons mentally deranged, the letters asked? Soon afterwards the second plaque was removed by night and has not been

recovered. This was three years ago.

The committee which erected the third plaque included the Mayor, two former Mayors, several Corporation members and some local residents. The inscription now says:

"From this house Fr Griffin was lured to his death by British Forces on November 14th 1920."

In France, which suffered German occupation six times within 75 years, memorials at various places say proudly that French people were "shot here by the Germans". The centre of Paris has many plaques declaring that such a person or persons were shot at that spot by the Germans, "fusilat par les Allemands", during the liberation of the capital city in 1944.

Despite their co-operation with Germany in the EC and the fact that the issue at contention between them — German occupation — has been resolved for 46 years now, the French people value their heritage and the very walls speak the facts to the new generations.

Le Pól Mac Aoidh

TALLAGHT Regional Hospital Action Group stepped up the pressure on local Fianna Fail and 26-county junior Health minister Chris Flood at a public meeting in The Square on the night of November 5.

The meeting, which was attended by about 700 people, was well warmed up by a litany of broken promises and cancelled appointments of meetings arranged with Dr Rory O'Hanlon, when Chris Flood arrived one-and-a-half hours late to a hostile reception.

The platform which included Matron Ita O'Dwyer of the Coombe Hospital and Matron Elizabeth O'Dwyer of the Meath Hospital (who is also Matron Designate of the new hospital) also had the usual clutch of party politicians who of course agreed with all the demands made by speakers from the floor and members of the Action Committee.

With such cross-party unanimity of former and current coalition partners all in favour of everything the meeting demanded it seemed strange that the meeting was taking place at all and that the hospital wasn't up and running.

Mary Harney of the PDs quietly shafted her coalition and constituency colleague Chris Flood in his absence by agreeing that some of the money needed to start the hospital could be raised by holding back proposed fee increases to consultants.

Dr Aodhghán O'Reilly, secretary of the local doctors group covering Tallaght/Clondalkin, painted a dismal picture of efforts made by his group to have an input into the planning and development of the hospital since 1983, and recalled when eventually the 26-county Department of Health agreed on an 'urgent' meeting in May of 1986, it actually took place in April of 1987! Dr O'Reilly went on to outline a list of unfulfilled promises and concluded that no administration should be trusted, and that in his opinion only a sustained mass protest kept up until there were signed contracts with £1m per day penalty clauses built in, would succeed.

SYMBOL OF HOPE

Matron O'Dwyer recalled the turning of the sod for the new hospital by the then Health Minister Barry Desmond which at the time was seen as a symbol of hope and now looked as if he was burying the hopes of the people of

Tallaght.

Fr Liam Murtagh of Jobstown parish dwelt on the provision of Tallaght Hospital as a human right and justice for the unemployed and underprivileged of Tallaght, and outlined the case of an unemployed parishioner with a broken foot who had to travel between his home and St James Hospital in Dublin city for three days before completion of diagnosis, with all the resultant pain and financial hardship suffered by the man and his family.

When he eventually arrived, Chris Flood announced that he had been delayed by a debate in Leinster House on Tallaght Hospital. The Action Committee asked Mr Flood if the debate had resulted in the provision of money for the hospital. He was told that this would have to await the estimates which would be published early in December.

HEATED

In response to more heated interruptions from the committee chairman Chris Flood then announced that Rory O'Hanlon was prepared to meet the committee the following week, which in turn brought the demand that Albert Reynolds should be there also (he was sacked as 26-county Finance minister on November 7).

Flood said he could not commit Mr Reynolds and went on to say that in the present financial climate he would not be optimistic that the £118m to build the hospital over four years and the estimated £40m annual running cost would be forthcoming. When it was suggested that £6m allocated in the estimates would at least allow the building to start, the minister said this could be considered.

Vowing to step up the campaign, the chairman then invited the two Matrons to unveil a scale model of the Tallaght

PRESSURE MOUNTS FOR TALLAGHT HOSPITAL



• Nurses on strike over health cut-backs - Tallaght Regional Hospital has fallen victim to the same cuts.

Regional Hospital which now stands in the main concourse of The Square as a focal point for the frustration of the people of Tallaght.

STAFF TRANSFER

Speaking to Séamus Leonard of Tallaght Sinn Féin Poblachtach after the meeting, Tim Lyons, who has the responsibility for the transfer of staff from the four hospitals due to move to Tallaght, said he did not envisage the delays that Beaumont Hospital had encountered because consultation with staff was already underway and would be well completed in advance of the opening.

Des Rogan, secretary of the Board of

Tallaght Regional Hospital also reassured Séamus Leonard that the scandalous delays of several years in opening Beaumont Hospital caused by the haggling between Barry Desmond and the consultants over the provision of facilities for their private patients could not recur in Tallaght because of the common contract.

Despite some faint optimism that new health boss Mary O'Rourke, coming from Westmeath like the embattled Chris Flood, may be disposed to help him out by giving £6m to start the hospital and steal the committee's thunder, Tallaght Regional Hospital Action Group are planning a long hard winter of protest.

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UNJUST BORDERS CANNOT LAST

RUAIRÍ Ó BRÁDAIGH, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, delivered the Presidential Address to several hundred delegates at the 87th Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin in Lucan, Co. Dublin at 12 noon on Sunday, November 10. The following is an edited version of his speech.

6 A Chathaoirleach, a Theachtai 's a chairde ar fad, Fearaim fíor-chaoin fáilte romhaibh go léir chuig an Ard-Fheis seo, an t-ochtó seachtú ceann de chuid Sinn Féin.

The past year has been eventful and for our members an extremely busy one. Extradition was early on the agenda with the handing over to England of Dublin man Dessie Ellis despite the best efforts of many justice-loving people, our own members included. Well did our late Vice-President, Dáithí Ó Conaill, in one of his last public statements describe the instant delivery of a man 36 days on hunger strike as "showing the depths of depravity to which the Dublin administration had sunk".

Within the year we have seen the whole exercise made futile and Dessie Ellis back home in his native city despite all the legal machinations on both sides of the Irish Sea — a victory for the peoples of both countries, as the man himself said. But the fact that in five out of the total of seven such cases where prisoners have been actually handed over to the British the cases against them have failed for lack of evidence even in Diplock Courts, surely shows how politically weighted such decisions were from the start and how acquiescent successive office-holders in Dublin have been to imperious British demands. Well did solicitor Gareth Pierce say that "the whole extradition process needs re-examination". Yes, and political extradition needs to be ended.

INTERNMENT POWERS

During the same month of November last year the British government tightened its hold on the Six Counties by introducing a new Emergency Powers Bill which retained the power to intern without trial and gave sweeping additional powers to their police and military but put no restraints on them. British diplomacy scored an important success about the same time when Dr Cathal Daly was appointed Archbishop of Armagh.

Sinn Féin Poblachtach, for its part had delivered to the Conference on Security and Co-operation (CSCE) Summit in Paris on November 17 a message summarising Ireland's struggle for national independence and linking it to the case of the Baltic Republics, among others. It declared support for the nine neutral countries who had agreed on a common platform of positive neutrality and non-membership of military pacts.

Further with the advent of the Gulf War in January, we made it clear that we regarded it in the last analysis as a gigantic commodity war.

Similarly we protested as Gorbachev attempted under cover of the Gulf crisis to crush the demand of the Lithuanian people for freedom by using military and tanks against unarmed citizens.

During and after the Gulf War we protested at the barbarities inflicted on the Kurdish people down the years which have been ignored by the US and the UN just as have the sufferings of the Palestinian people at the hands of the Israelis. But then the Kurds and the Palestinians have no oil resources comparable to the Kuwaitis. We are proud to say we have had contact and mutual support at international conferences in the past two decades with both struggling peoples.

PEACE PROPOSALS

On the anniversary of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach launched its "Towards a Peaceful Ireland" proposals at simultaneous press conferences in Dublin and Belfast. Dr John Robb of the New Ireland Group sent a message saying he was most anxious to respond to the proposals while Fr Des Wilson attended in Belfast and expressed goodwill towards them.

The document, also known as "Bóthar na Síochána" and since translated into Irish, calls for All-Ireland elections to a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for the whole country within six months. This would then be put to the people for acceptance or rejection in a referendum.

The British government would have to undertake publicly to withdraw from Ireland within twelve months of the adoption of the new constitution by the people. Further, all political prisoners would have to be released one month prior to the All-Ireland election in order to be free to participate.

Earlier in the month our "ÉIRE NUA — A New Democracy" policy document was given its Belfast launching at a very successful press conference sponsored by Comhairle Uladh. Right through February and March press conferences were held in many local centres to introduce both documents and reports were carried in local newspapers and on radio.

In this connection the failed Brooke talks got under way following a statement on March 26 by the British Direct-Ruler in the Six Counties that a formula had been agreed amongst the parties which accept the status quo there.

PRE-CONDITION

This was based on a British pre-condition that the Six Counties remain under British rule. Therefore it could only lead to a return of the Stormont Assembly with at best SDLP participation and Dublin government support. It would not solve the national question. The agenda was a British one and by early July the Brooke "initiative" collapsed totally.

Efforts to revive it at the present time must be viewed in the light of Mr Gerry Collins' reply when asked on a recent BBC television programme if his government was prepared to give up for all time the idea of a united Ireland? Mr Collins answered, "Everything is on the table". Queried again if he would abandon all idea of a 32-county Ireland for ever his reply was a repetition: "Everything is on the table". A final sell-out is contemplated.

EASTER RISING

This year of 1991 is the 75th Anniversary of the historic Easter Rising and Sinn Féin Poblachtach rose to the occasion with activities which declared that the weakened and divided Ireland of today had come from the defeat and denial of the programme of 1916 and that the message of Easter Week was even more relevant than ever at this time.

While the Establishment discouraged and disapproved of any attempt to re-awaken the Spirit of Easter Week — not to mention any endeavour to re-ignite the flames of Dublin 1916 — the ordinary people rallied to every manifestation of "the renewal of the spirit of that most far-reaching event of 20th Century Irish history. That the heart of Ireland is sound, provided it can be reached, is the conclusion to be drawn.

Nowhere was Section 31 censorship seen in more blatant form than in the recent 26-county local elections. Our councillors and candidates were discriminated against on RTE and on local radio at every turn. Not alone were they not interviewed and even reports of interviews not carried but in many cases self-censorship was exercised and our candidates were ignored totally — going even further than the Section 31 directive.

So far was the clamp-down enforced that the Minister concerned secretly issued a new and special "Section 31 Practice Directive" on June 13 warning off all local radio stations. This further intimidated the staffs with the result that in many cases our candidates were not even mentioned in news reports as standing in their areas.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The effort put in by candidates and election workers in the areas contested was maximum and even impressive in some cases where long-term preparation was negligible. The issue was local government as advocated by us in keeping with the ÉIRE NUA programme versus local administration as practised by the Establishment parties.

In the outcome we recovered a seat in Longford but lost one in Galway. Frank Glynn's 24 years on Galway Co. Council, including a term as Chairman, deserves recognition and applause by Republicans. In general, despite the best efforts of those concerned, the result meant that we simply marked time.

Some areas which could organisationally have mounted a good campaign did not do so but the majority of non-contesting adjoining districts did help out. We had the policies and the candidates; publicity, finance and above all organisation left a lot to be desired, generally speaking.



Due preparations will have to be made and a much more vigorous campaign mounted in the next round, whether it be for existing town councils or for a totally new scheme of district councils at sub-county level. Udarás na Gaeltachta elections are on the horizon also.

Any review of the Irish situation over the past few years must contain a certain amount of gloom and disappointment. This is not only with the failure of the professional politicians to face up to the problem of national independence and sovereignty, but also the cruel day by day decline in wealth and economy, in employment and social services.

LONG-TERM DISASTER

All of this must prove, if proof were necessary, the truth of our assertion from the outset that the partition settlement and the Free State "stepping stone solution" initiated seventy years ago this year was not only a short term disaster leading to Civil War, but also a long-term disaster that has seen the permanent erosion of civilised living in this country as attempts are made to tie the Irish nation permanently to the yoke of an unjust, unnatural and undemocratic settlement.

As well as that of course the partition settlement has seen the waste of vast quantities of human resources, scarce finance and political talent in trying to minimise the evils of a burden which has been placed for so long a period on so small a nation.

In that context, we welcome the re-unification of Germany and the modest attempts being undertaken in other cases of injustice around the world if only because such developments clearly demonstrate that there is nothing permanent about unjust borders and that even the total domination of Stalinist forces in a part of Germany unfortunate enough to be left under the Red Army at the end of World War II cannot last forever.

History has moved on. The surest sign of that fact has been the recent pact between the EC and the seven EFTA states. New neutral countries are negotiating specific trade agreements with Brussels — the sort of arrangement which we advocated back in 1972.

While it is true that some of these states, like Sweden and Austria, are now

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• Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

contemplating entry into the community in the longer term, we need to stress that they are not prepared to do so without specific guarantees and reservations. They seek a separate deal in their own national interests in order to preserve what they regard as important, including their neutral status.

SHADOWY ORGANISATION

Not much is heard about the WEU as a rule. Basically this rather shadowy organisation has remained in the background since 1949. For as long as NATO held the limelight, the WEU could concentrate on preserving as large as possible a European involvement in the arms industry - the manufacture of guns, bombs and weapons of war for profit and employment purposes at home, and for political dealings in the Third World - and say very little.

With NATO redundant however, it is now obvious that the powerful arms interests within the EC must now use a new public forum to promote the idea of supernatural armies and involvement in conflicts and wars that are none of our business. And so Mr Collins begins to join WEU ministers as an "observer".

"Come into my parlour says the WEU spider to the Free State fly . . ." All honest Irish democrats, even those who may disagree about traditional Irish neutrality have a duty to raise this serious threat to our honour and credibility as a nation and ultimately to our safety and self-respect.

Garrett Fitzgerald and company including Labour Party leader Dick Spring tried to tell us back in 1985 that the Hillsborough accord was a step towards Irish unity. Mrs Thatcher had something to say about that at the time, but never mind. Charlie Haughey too had his reservations, concentrating unduly, perhaps originally, on the need for a "unitary state". But he too lost his nerve when returned to office in early 1987.

Now we know formally, for the record, on that most solemn of British imperial platforms, the Tory Party Annual Conference that the real aim of 1985 was to phase out whatever weak demands for "Irish unity" that Dublin made on occasions. And as Douglas Hurd said get us used to "accepting the reality of the Border".

1993 i gCEIST

Beidh sé i gceist ag Sinn Féin Poblachtach roinnt cruinnithe, fóraim oideachais agus díospóireachtaí a eagrú as Gaeilge as seo go 1993 mar chuid de Bhliain mhór na Gaeilge atá á eagrú ag Conradh na Gaeilge. Beidh fáilte ar leith roimh smaointe faoin ábhar seo, ina measc ócáidí comórtha i gcumhne ar an líon mór Gaeilgeoirí díse a sheas leis an bPoblacht, riamh ach a bhfuil a gcuid oibre do chúis na teanga dearmadta b'fhéidir ina gceantair dúchais féin.

RUC HYPOCRITES

How frustrating it must be for terrified Nationalist people in North Belfast for example, where over 600 Catholics have been killed by loyalist gangs within an area of one mile, to hear RUC hypocrites being carried by RTE news throughout each day when they say, within 24 hours of an incident involving armed nationalists that this gun was also used to shoot this "old lady" and that "totally innocent child" on various dates and at various times.

Why if the RUC can trace all that data so quickly they rarely seem to be able to do the same when nationalist taxi-men are shot going about the job of earning a living. How come we never hear that such a gun was used previously to kill some other taxi-man or whatever? Or is it that the loyalist attacks are so frequent and so similar that even RTE might put two and two together and ask further questions.

Might there be a risk that if genuine forensic histories were given, the RUC might be forced to admit that many of those killed by loyalists died because guns which are made available to the UDR, as they used to be to the B-Specials in the old days, can often be borrowed by the brother, friend or work-mate of the loyal serving officer. Who is to ask any questions as long as the weapon is returned before the next part-time training session?

We have already placed on record the gigantic contribution to Irish freedom and democracy which Dáithí Ó Conaill made to the Irish nation through his lifelong service in the Republican Movement. Arrangements are being made to pay fitting tribute to him through a special memorial fund within the Movement.

COMRADES

In this connection I wish to mention two other outstanding comrades - and close friends of Dáithí - who passed away in the last year - two who served in the Black-and-Tan War and five times in their lives rejected compromise on the Republican position. I refer, of course, to Tony Ruane and Joe Stynes who served the All-Ireland Republic on both sides of the Atlantic for over 70 years.

FALLING POPULATION

The 1991 Census - soon to be published - shows a return to a falling population in the 26 Counties for the first time in over 20 years. Unemployment in the same area at 20 percent or more than one quarter of a million people is the highest since the foundation of the Free State in 1922. The official figures are 268,000 - an increase of 42,500 in the past year alone. 17,000 more will be added before January 1992 due to seasonal lay-offs. The economists (vide Paul Tansey in the *Sunday Tribune*, September 15) - tell us that emigration would need to be 50,000 per year to bring down the unemployment figures.

Was there ever clearer proof of the failure of the 26-county State as a political entity? We are wracked by scandals - the ongoing Goodman saga, the Greencore, Telecom, Carysfort and other affairs. The only morality in big business seems to be that of "the fast buck" where millions in profit are made in overnight deals. People's morale is shattered by the goings on in high places.

The whole model of development is wrong. The harder our people work, the greater their productivity, the more billions in profits are exported annually through the famous "black hole" in the economy; and the environment is polluted in many cases. These profits are not re-invested here to create jobs for our people. Instead they have to emigrate - to follow the money to get the jobs abroad that the Irish people's labour has created.

INDIGENOUS INDUSTRY

The last major official review of industrial policy carried out ten years ago, the Telesis Report called for indigenous industry, based on indigenous raw materials with the re-investment of profits here in Ireland. Could anything be clearer?

Market forces are on top in the world and the most developed states exploit the rest. In order to join in what Mr Jacques Delors is pleased to call "resource wars" against the Third World, traditional Irish neutrality is for sale.

The new Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, in his address to the newly elected parliament in that country on October 4, said that "non-participation in alliances in peace with the aim of remaining neutral in war" was still the cornerstone of their policy.

Our youth whose past has been stolen and whose future is mortgaged cannot understand their situation. The Catholic Bishops are silent - with the exception of recent West of Ireland pronouncements - except on the two well-known subjects of the thrillers, sex and violence.

BREAK SILENCE

A Church of Ireland pastor, Gordon Linney in Christchurch was indeed the first to break silence on recent scandals. There is no vision and no leadership. While the trains have to slow down because £5 million per year cannot be afforded to maintain the permanent way, the news media are filled with the succession race in Fianna Fáil.

They failed to do their national duty in 1969 and all their current internal troubles go back to that. They had other opportunities in 1970 (Falls curfew) 1971 (Interment) and 1972 (Bloody Sunday).

Again in 1981 when Bobby Sands was elected they had their chance once again: their representative was on the security council of the United Nations and was Chairman in April 1981 when Sands was



elected. But as we know, to the cost of the Irish people, north and south, they fuked the issue.

We acknowledge that there is an identity crisis on the left but we must insist on a social dimension which would regard unemployment as unacceptable as the very minimum in framing a coherent policy for Ireland in the 1990s. Our people beset by massive problems in the health services, education, roads, etc. deserve better than all this.

A tremendous programme of work faces us. We must update our social and economic policy; we must "sell" our two policy documents "Towards a Peaceful Ireland" and "Eire Nua - A New Democracy"; we must fight extradition - the latest intended victims were at the Four Courts less than three weeks ago; we must fight for justice for Judith Ward - Nicky Kelly, Osgur Breathnach and Brian McNally.

REFERENDUM

Then we have the job of fighting any referendum on neutrality; of laying the ground-work for the next local elections; of opposing the creeping seoinism in the 26 Counties - British Royal visits, British Army recruiting, British personnel in military uniform, the public parading of the Union Jack - all designed to convince people that the national question is settled and that relations with England are normal and the same as with any other country.

The latest opinion poll in Britain (MORI - October 24), shows that 61 percent of the people there want their troops out of the Six Counties; that 73 percent believe they have either done no good there or make the situation worse; 50 percent want the Union dissolved. A *Daily Express* poll of February 10, 1987 also found that 61 percent wanted British troops out. Various *Daily Mirror* polls have revealed the same result.

Our quarrel obviously is not with the ordinary English people. It is with the British Establishment which funds the so-called Peace Train and FAIT and pretends they are Irish manifestations because the Workers' Party supports them.

This is the Bi-Centenary year of the foundation of the United Irishmen, last month in Belfast and this very weekend two hundred years ago they were founded - in Dublin - in the Eagle Tavern in Eustace Street, off Dame Street. Theobald Wolfe Tone and James Napper Tandy were to the fore.

Writing in his famous pamphlet, "An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland", in the same year, Wolfe Tone said in reference to the token reforms of the "Revolution" of 1782: "The power remained in the hands of our enemies, again to be exerted for our ruin, with this difference - that formerly we had our distresses, our injuries and our insults at the hands of England; but now we pay very dearly to receive the same with aggravation through the hands of Irishmen".

What Tone perceived clearly in 1791 is equally true today. We who are in direct line of continuity with the Republicans and Democrats of two hundred years ago must re-dedicate ourselves for the completion of their unfinished task. We declare our lasting solidarity with our political prisoners wherever they may be and gird ourselves anew for the struggle for the emancipation of the whole Irish people. Victory to the All-Ireland Republic! An Phoblacht Abú!

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'TOWARDS A PEACEFUL IRELAND' ENDORSED

THE delegates at this year's Ard-Fheis broke up into workshops on Saturday, November 9, covering all the principal policy headings contained in the 1991 Clar. As was found at the 86th Ard-Fheis in 1990 the workshops gave an opportunity for all delegates and visitors to participate and contribute their views in a less formal situation.

At the reconvened full session of the Ard-Fheis on Sunday, November 10, the Political Policy section saw the adoption of the policy document *Towards a Peaceful Ireland* on the proposal of the Ard Chomhairle.

A "vigorous campaign to promote our EIRE NUA policy" was successfully proposed by Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tallaght, as was a motion proposed by Comhairle Laighean which rejected any attempt to divorce the organisation's social and economic proposals from the policies for political democracy in EIRE NUA.

Des Dalton, proposing the latter motion, said that he hoped the social and economic policies of Sinn Féin Poblachtach would be updated in the coming year as "we must state clearly what form we believe the New Ireland should take both politically and economically. In the words of James Connolly 'we are Republicans because we are socialists'."

BRITISH CLAIM

Motions from Brugh/Sabhat Limerick, Liam Mellows, Dublin Central, Comhairle Uladh, Bearna Uladh, and Seán South Cumann, Omagh, were passed which called on Britain to withdraw from Ireland, give up its claim to the Six Counties and repeal the Government of Ireland Act. The composited motion also "upheld the right of the Irish people to take up arms to rid the country of foreign oppression".

An amended motion on abstentionism emphasised that Sinn Féin Poblachtach recognised an All-Ireland parliament as representing true Irish democracy and that the real abstentionists were the establishment parties who were operating partition assemblies.

The 1919 local elections in the 26 Counties and the forthcoming Westminster elections in the Six Counties was the main focus in the Electoral Strategy section. Two motions called for



• Emer O'Connor.

election conventions to be held in all areas in the 26 Counties in the light of the 1992 local district elections and that all areas where candidates are chosen commence campaigning at once.

A motion from Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair called for local election candidates and their workers to get more involved in their local areas and



• The Plenary session at the Ard Fheis on Sunday.

Comhairle Connacht expressed disappointment at the lack of participation by some areas in the local elections in the 26 Counties.

AMENDED

Comhairle Uladh's motion to consider the advisability of putting forward candidates in the 1992 Westminster election was amended to include all areas, with speakers pointing out that there were no political test oaths involved and the distinct possibility that the true Republican position of non-recognition of British institutions' legitimacy in Ireland would have to be put before the people. Regarding European elections a motion from the Patrick Cannon Cumann Dublin, was withdrawn in favour of an amendment that would consider Sinn Féin Poblachtach's attitude to the European Community as part of the social and economic policy update. Another Dublin motion was passed calling for an active campaign for the right of Irish emigrants to have the vote.

In the Publicity/SAOIRSE session all areas were instructed to hold public meetings to promote EIRE NUA and 'Towards a Peaceful Ireland', following the Ard-Fheis's endorsement of a resolution from two Dublin Cumainn. Five motions relating to SAOIRSE were composed by the workshop and passed by the plenary session on Sunday.

The composited motion called

for a 12-page paper with an appropriate price increase, the extra pages to report on local and national issues affecting people today. A northern correspondent should be appointed and an economic commentary included and all Cumann were encouraged to canvass sympathisers in their areas to increase sales of SAOIRSE.



• Michael Cunningham.

Sa roinn Teanga agus Cúl-túr ghlac an teachtaí rún ó Chumann Aine Ní Dhoibhlín (Ráth Fearnáin) agus Cathal Brughá (Dún Laoghaire) ag tacú le gach iarracht i leith bunaithe Theilifís na Gaeltachta. D'éirigh le rún freisin ó Chumann Pádraig Ó Canainn, Ráth Eanaigh, ag áitimid go neagróidh gach

Comhairle Ceantair ranganna Gaeilge ar mhaithe le Gaeilge chomhrá a chur chun cinn.

EXTENDED

Due to the extended length of some of the workshops and the policy sessions on Sunday the motions on social and economic policy, environment, prisoners and general policy were not taken in the plenary session and were referred to the incoming Ard-Chomhairle. The outgoing Ard-Chomhairle put forward a comprehensive motion in the social and economic section of the clár which was discussed by the workshops and proposed the supplementing of the EIRE NUA programme with a "a programme for the social, cultural and economic emancipation of the Irish people". The incoming Ard-Chomhairle was also instructed to publish and campaign for such a social and economic programme in the coming year.

The Ard-Fheis was addressed by representatives of Na Fianna, Cumann na mBan and CABHAIR - Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund on Sunday afternoon. The speaker on behalf of CABHAIR read out a message from Seán Hayes, POW, Albany Jail, England and a letter received by a friend from Judith Ward, in her 18th year of unjust imprisonment in England.

Cathleen Knowles, Ard-Rúnaí, read messages of support from Mike Flannery, George Harrison and Cumann na Saoirse, all in the USA.



THE Officer Board elected by the Ard-Fheis for 1991-92 is: Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán; Eamon Larkin and Des Long, Leas-Uachtaráin; Lita Ní Chathmhaoil and Cathleen Knowles, Ard-Rúnaí; Joe O'Neil and Seán Ó Conchúir, Ard-Cisteoirí; Ruairí Óg Ó Bradaigh, Oifigeach Poiblíochta.

Eight delegates were elected to the incoming Ard-Chomhairle on the Sunday of the Ard-Fheis: Mary Ward (Donegal); Declan Curneen (Leitrim); Tomás Ó Maoileoin (Tipperary); Frank McCarry (Antrim); Tom O'Sullivan (Tipperary); Des Dalton (Kildare); Mick McManus (Fermanagh) and Emer O' Connor (Limerick).



• One of the workshops in session on Saturday at this year's Ard-Fheis.

The missing sex

"WE live in a world so dominated by masculine values that the majority are unaware of anything remarkable or retrogressive in such a state of affairs". The above statement by Margaret Ward is indicative of the false and misguided sense of security that exists today with regard to women's equality. The notion that women have attained equal status is quickly dispelled once specific examples are highlighted and brought to our attention.

In the case of history textbooks *The Missing Sex* exposes the extent to which women are still being written out of history and how, despite the wider availability of feminist historical research, "our foremothers remain in the margins, unknown to most". Examining the position of women in modern history textbooks, Margaret Ward cites example after example to back up her assertion that women and their history continue to be "regulated to the footnotes". Ward's concern is with the way history is being researched, published and taught. With the emergence in recent years of a variety of new history texts, she poses the question "Why are women not featured more prominently within their pages?"

The main preoccupation within history circles today is the implications of "revisionism" yet women "seem to be invisible whatever the ideological view of the historian". Even the recent advent of Irish working class history "is all strangely women free".

GATEKEEPERS
Margaret Ward points out that women themselves over the years "have written extensively about their own times" yet the male "gatekeepers" have "ensured that works which challenge patriarchal structures (and practically any book by an outspoken woman would fall into this category) have difficulty in being circulated... and it is only the advent of feminist publishing houses

that has ensured the rediscovery of these countless works from our foremothers".

This material however continues to escape the notice of professional historians who's "level of awareness concerning women's contribution to politics and society can only be described as abysmal". When scrutinising the work of the historians, Ward confines her remarks to the period 1880-1922, a time when "Irishwomen were at their most active in the political arena".

Many examples are given throughout the book showing the "collective amnesia" of male historians and how they ensure that "women are not seen as part of Irish history and neither are the causes they fight for".

A more recent textbook, "now top of the reading lists", examined by Ward is *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* by British historian Roy Foster who has in recent years "emerged to carry on the mantle of revisionism". She notes "despite the fact that the suffrage movement was an all-Ireland, cross-party, cross-class and cross-religion organisation of women covering the whole of the 32 counties and which saw thirty-six of its members imprisoned for their activities, it is simply not regarded as important enough to be incorporated into the main text". The feminist movement "remains a subject for the footnotes" and Cumann na mBan "is simply referred to as 'extreme' on one occasion and 'radical' on



• Margaret Ward

another, while the context is unexplained".

As for J.J. Lee's popular *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* there are "in the book which covers seventy-three years of history, a mere five substantive references to women; principally the extension of the franchise, the constitution protests of 1937, ratios of female to male emigration, mention of the Womens Peace movement in the north and the abortion referendum." The few women who are actually referred to by name are "defined in exclusively masculine terms; Kathleen Clark is Mrs Tom Clarke even though the reference is to her independent role as a senator". Another example is the single reference to Maud Gonne as "... Mac Bride, Son of Major John Mac Bride... and of Maud Gonne, of Yeats fame!"

COMMENT

Lee's comment on Mary Hayden's position as Professor of Modern History at UCD (the only woman to ever hold the position) as "unjustified" is an unbelievable disgrace and his bibliography contains only one book by a woman. This "male gatekeeper" is

doing his job well.

Ward singles out historians such as Foster and Lee because they have influence within the world of academia as well as with the public in general - "all are regular contributors to both press and media".

The pamphlet raises many questions and challenges. Ward raises the difficulties experienced by students wishing to study and research women's historical contribution. She emphasises that "if women studies are not integrated into the core curriculum of undergraduate study then they are unlikely to figure prominently in research proposals".

FEMALE GHETTO

She points out the danger inherent in setting up womens departments solely for 'womens studies', which only help to keep the work being done within a "female ghetto, completely marginalised and unable to penetrate the prevailing male orthodoxies". She points out how male historians refuse to take on board the area of feminist, historical research - "to do so requires a total shift of perspective" - and makes reference to the excellent bod-

TO IRISH PROTESTANTS by Risteárd O Glaisne, Ara, 5 Na Leamhain, Teach Grove, Baile Átha Cliath 6. £3.75.
THE IRISH IN FRANCE by Pat Clifford O'Donovan, De Beauvoir Books, P.O. Box 16, London N1 4EX. Stg £12.00, post free.

THE first of these books is an invitation to Irish Protestants to re-assess their position and to play an active role in Irish life. The author is well qualified to write in such terms as he has for many years made his own significant contribution to Irish society.

It is not all light reading, particularly when we get into a discourse on the history of the Christian churches and their doctrinal differences. The writer has been scrupulously fair to all sides and this adds enormously to his credibility and relevance to modern Ireland.

ies of work being produced and published by women themselves, such as Cliona Murphy's *The Woman's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early twentieth century*.

On the criticism by feminist historians themselves of an "excessive concentration upon nationalist history" Ward writes that "rather than get caught up in a feminist version of the revisionist debate, I would contend that nationalist and feminist women have fared equally badly when it comes to serious attention by historians" and commends the task of describing the "important role we all suspected, but could not document, that women had played during the various stages of the struggle against British rule in Ireland."

Any real assessment of history must include "women's own independent preoccupations and their fight against sexual oppression." Making gender "a legitimate category for historical analysis" is essential. Ward outlines the corresponding radical changes that would occur in the writing of history if, and when, this were to happen.

Ward reminds us that without the work of a new generation of women activists, the feminist movement at the turn of the century, for example, would have "vanished without trace". There is "no room for complacency".

The pamphlet makes excellent reading for anyone interested in a 'truthful' knowledge of their history.

The Missing Sex - Putting Women into Irish History is published by Attic Press and if your local book shop or library does not have a copy - Order Now!

When he deals specifically with the Irish scene his commentary is lighter and more readable. He appeals to his fellow-Protestants to realise their Irishness and invokes the spirit of 1791, the Belfast Harpers' Festival and the radicals who founded the Society of United Irishmen.

Referring to post-1921 Ireland he does not mince his words when he says that "Religious discrimination in the northern state was blatant for a long time". A large part of the present problem is that so many northern Protestants cannot bring themselves to admit this very fact.

FUSION

In a united Ireland, without the English presence, the fusion of the two ethics would surely release a new dynamic for progress and human development.

This book was written for Protestants. This reviewer, a Catholic of a certain mixed background, found it refreshing, stimulating and enlightening, and hopes that many will read and consider its message.

THE Irish connections with France are many and almost legendary. They go back many centuries and include so many aspects of life - religion and philosophy, trade, culture and politics.

Although both the French Monarchy and Republic had their colonial phases, our opposition to a common enemy, England, made us allies for a long time.

A full account of Franco-Irish links over the centuries would fill many volumes. Pat O'Donovan has produced a very readable synopsis, full of interesting characters and anecdotes, about the Irish in France, particularly in the century from the Revolution to the time of Parnell.

SYMPATHETIC

Every one of these 200 pages is full of action, power politics, conspiracies and the exiles of Erin who sought inspiration and help from a friendly and sympathetic people. If King Louis was loved by the Irish Brigade, Marieanne, the Republic of liberty and equality was passionately adored. Despite its abridged quality this book presents very real people in a continuing relationship between a Republic and a would-be Republic.

The Irish contribution to France has not been insignificant and it is recorded here too. If a Franco-ophile friend deserves a present for Christmas, here is one to please, enhanced with illustrations and a useful index.

- Seán Ó Brádaigh

LIP is the collective title for a series of on-going provocative, polemical pamphlets on contemporary issues and controversies, by Irish women writers, thinkers and activists. The latest pamphlet to be published is *The Missing Sex - Putting Women into Irish History* by the noted historian Margaret Ward whose previous work includes *Unmanageable Revolutionaries; Women and Irish Nationalism and Twenty Years On*.

Global War and a renewed IRA

50 YEARS AGO:

ON December 1, 1941, the German Army launched its final drive to capture Moscow. It was held back. The USSR had traded space for time. The opposing forces were now in balance. Henceforth Germany would get weaker and the USSR stronger. Hitler's gamble on a quick victory had failed at the cost of 1,000,000 men.

On the other side of the world on December 7 Japan attacked the US Pacific Fleets' base at Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands. The bombers operating from aircraft carriers crippled the fleet, destroyed the strategic base and brought the USA into WWII on December 8.

Taken by surprise, Germany and Italy declared war on the US three days later. Japan had industrialised and its population had doubled since 1870. Exclusive immigration policies directed against Oriental peoples, most notably by Australia, had prevented emigration from Japan.

During the 1930s then, Japanese militarists had their opportunity to push for expansion and empire. They invaded China and with France and Britain engaged in Europe, moved against their Far-Eastern colonies.

The US Pacific Fleet alone menaced the Japanese. But although the Pearl Harbour attack was highly successful Japan's air force neglected to follow up by knocking out the naval repair facilities there and destroying the huge tank farm which held the US fleets' reserve fuel supply.

The war had now spread around the entire globe. It should be noted that the Hawaiian Islands, where Pearl Harbour was located, had themselves been annexed - as had the Philippines - in 1898 by the USA as part of its imperialist expansion.

PLANS AFOOT

Back in Ireland plans were afoot to

renew the liberation struggle. Harry White described the situation as seen by Republicans in December 1941.

The first blow, i.e. the Campaign in England 1939-40, had miscarried but the second one - a Northern Campaign - would strike home, they felt.

But, as Bowyer Bell says, while Stormont and Leinster House both felt that the worst was over with regard to Republicans "the pressure was kept up to finish what the Hayes affair had begun - the elimination of the IRA from Irish politics."



• Eoin McNamee.

Once more a hurried Army conference was called, this time in the Longford Hotel in Upper Dominic Street, Dublin. The attendance was about a dozen: EOIN MCNAMEE, down from Belfast where he was functioning as OC Northern Command and SEAN MCCOOL of Donegal, just released from Belfast Jail where he had been since the Crown Entry affair in 1936.

Others present included TOMMY FARRELL, OC Western Command; ANDY SKELTON of Tyrone, GHQ organiser; JOHNNY ("Machinegun") O

CONNOR, famous Tan War veteran from Kerry; JACK LYNCH from Cork; STEPHEN WRYNNE of Leitrim; SEAN HARRINGTON of Kerry and of course, the redoubtable JOHN JOE SHEEHY of Tralee - ever at hand in time of crisis. There were several others.

GHQ STAFF

They discussed prospects and arranged a legitimate GHQ Staff. Harrington was chosen as C/S, McCool as A/G, McNamee QMG, Skelton D/Training and Lynch GHQ organiser. For the first time in nearly a year the IRA had an effective GHQ Staff, "at least on paper", says Bell.

More important was the basic decision taken - to concentrate exclusively on the Six Counties and abandon any military or offensive action in the 26 Counties. (It was two years since the Magazine Fort Raid in the Phoenix Park, Dublin! The Army had paid dearly for that and subsequent actions south of the Border).

By way of contrast the units in the Six Counties were in good shape, despite mass internment and jailings there. For the first time since a Northern Campaign was mooted at the Meath Hotel debacle in February 1940, the Army would have a clear military purpose.

With an end to shootings in the 26 Counties, it was hoped a more secure base could be built and maintained. Following the bank raids men claiming to act for the Army robbed pawn shops, fired stray shots, indulged in petty crime and carried out private vendettas.

All of this tarnished the good name of the Army as the Free State and Stormont Establishments sent the message home while protected from Republican publicity by wartime censorship. Hopefully with a Northern Offensive in the works and a passive policy in the South - once more - things were bound to improve.

DIRECTION

The Army had a sense of direction again. But much of the material needed for the Offensive was in dumps known principally to men in the Curragh Con-

centration Camp. Some key personnel were there as well. This will be dealt with later.

Seán Harrington, who succeeded Pearse Kelly as Chief-of-Staff, had been Director of Training and GHQ organiser for nine months before his appointment. Before that he was OC Western Command and in succession to Tony Darcy.

Brought up from Kerry in May 1940, at the same time that Richard Goss arrived in Longford as Division OC Harrington displayed considerable flair in getting Connacht re-organised.

With Pearse McGuinness, an English Campaign veteran later to become editor of the *Irish Press*, as Adjutant and Andy Skelton as Training Officer, his units were intact and held their strength.

According to Bell, his intelligence there was good and even extended into the officer corps of the Free State Army. A contact of his managed to have the *War News* printed in Galway city. And his courier with Dublin was first rate: he was Jimmy Cullinane who ran the dining-car on the Dublin - Galway GSR railway line.

Now as incoming C/S, Harrington was directed to open up contacts throughout the country while everyone not directly involved lay low. So, like Kelly, he was very much on his own. He lost Skelton very quickly by arrest and had to depend more on Wrynnne.

McCool was in Donegal seeing his relatives after five-and-a-half years actual imprisonment. O'Connor, who was not wanted by the police, could not be too active without drawing attention to himself. Others on the run had to stay in their own areas. Money was again a problem.

Harrington had to move cautiously, of necessity. But those twelve men in a room in the Longford Hotel in Dominic Street had started something. The Army had a new initiative, a new course - a new campaign was on the way.

(More next month. Refs. *The Secret Army*, by J. Bowyer Bell; *Harry*, by Harry White.)

AGNES MacCARTHAIGH

THE death took place on November 14 of Agnes MacCarthaigh, nee Doyle. Born in Dublin she joined Cumann na mBan in the early 1940s. She married Gearoid MacCarthaigh of Cork and they had three children.

Agnes was a member of the Executive of Cumann na mBan for many years and was one of those who fought against those people who divided the Republican Movement both in 1969 and 1986.

Through her efforts and the efforts of others Cumann na mBan survived as an intact organisation through both these splits.

At her funeral in Cork on November 18 members of Cumann na mBan in uniform laid the flag of the organisation on her coffin. Sinn Féin Poblachtán was represented by Des Long, Leas-Uachtarán and

Tom O'Sullivan, Cathaoirleach, Comhairle na Mumhan along with Cork members. In attendance also were Siobhán Bean Uí Maolchathail, former President and Aine Bean Uí Longáin, former secretary Cumann na mBan. To the MacCarthaigh family we express our deepest sympathy. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam.

SEAN DUFFY

THE death took place on November 28 of Sean Duffy of Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan.

A large crowd attended the removal on Friday, November 29 from Cavan General Hospital to St.

Patrick's Church, Corlough.

A lifelong Republican, Seán was active in the 1950s Border Campaign and in the 1970s was despatch manager of An Phoblacht. He worked consistently for the welfare of Republican prisoners and their dependants and no task was too large or too small for him.

Currow, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

CHRISTMAS greetings are extended to Judith Ward, almost 18 years a victim of British injustice in a British prison. We will remember you this Christmas and we all hope you will be back home to Ireland soon. From the South Kerry Anti-Extradition Committee.

GREETINGS are extended to all Republican prisoners everywhere this Christmas. From Mike Walsh, Hillgrove, Cahersiveen, Co. Kerry.

CHRISTMAS greetings are extended to Seán Hayes, POW Albany Jail, Isle of Wight and to all Republican prisoners of war in prison for Ireland everywhere this Christmas. From Frank Conway, Over the Water Cahersiveen, Co. Kerry.

CHRISTMAS greetings are extended to Seán Hayes, POW, Albany Prison, Isle of Wight, and Republican prisoners in Portlaoise and English prisons. From Jim O'Shea, St Joseph's Tce., Cahersiveen, Co. Kerry.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Tommy McKeearney, Maghaberry, John Hayes, Albany, Isle of Wight, Peter Rogers, Portlaoise, and all Irish political prisoners everywhere. From Michael Hegarty, Clare.

CHRISTMAS Greetings to Barry Murray, Fermanagh POW in Long Kesh. From Séamus Leonard and family, Tallaght.

SINN Féin Poblachtán Staff at Head Office, Aston Place, take this opportunity to send Christmas greetings and best wishes to Limerick Republican Alf Larkin who is presently in hospital.



BEANNACHTAÍ na HOLLAG

BEANNACHTAÍ na Nollaig to Republican prisoners everywhere, especially Peter, Eamonn, Annie, Tommy, Jimmy, Martin, Séamus, Nicky and Peter in Portlaoise and Joe somewhere in England. Tá síl agam go mbeidh siad go léir saor sar i bhfad. Nollaig shona daoibh ó do sheanchomrádaí Séamus, Loch Garman.

SEASON'S greetings and good wishes for the New Year to Charles (Chuck) Malone, in prison in San Pedro, California and to Brian Fleming, US Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia. From the Head Office staff of Republican Sinn Féin, Ireland.

to all Republican prisoners this Christmas. From Eamonn Breen and family, Cahernard, Castlesiland, Co. Kerry.

CHRISTMAS greetings to all Republican prisoners at home and abroad. Looking forward to seeing you in 1992, Seán. From CABHAIR, Irish Republican Prisoners Dependants Fund.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Seán Hayes, Albany Prison, Isle of Wight, and all Republican prisoners at home and abroad. From John and Margaret Houlihan, and Mrs. Doherty, Droumroe.

CHRISTMAS greetings to Seán Hayes and all Republican prisoners at home and abroad. From Cumann na mBan.



Brón ar an mBás

GEARÓID MacCARTHAIGH

It was with sadness that Republicans learned of the death in Cork Regional Hospital of Gearóid MacCarthaigh (70) on November 26. His wife, Agnes, predeceased him by less than two weeks (see separate obituary). Up to the time of his death he was an Honorary Life Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin.

In a statement issued the same day Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, said: "The late Gearóid MacCarthaigh of Cork typified the Republicans of the 1940s. He was a fluent Irish speaker and was dedicated and single-minded in his attachment to the cause of the All-Ireland Republic."

On Wednesday evening, November 27, his remains were removed from Forde's Funeral Home to the Church of the Resurrection, Farranree. The National Flag, beret and gloves were placed on his coffin, as Gearóid remained a member of the Republican Movement until the day of his death. A Guard of Honour was provided by the Republican Comrades, Cork, and among those present were Des Long, Lees-Uachtarán, and Tomás Ó Maoileoin, Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach and Denis

Conroy, ex-chairman of the Cork County Board, GAA. There was a large contingent of Cumann na mBan present also as the mourners marched in lines of three for part of the route.

At the funeral the following afternoon there was a large turnout of Republicans, especially comrades of Gearóid from the 1940s, '50s, and up to the present day, who travelled from all counties to pay their last respects. The parish priest was joined by several Capuchins in celebrating Requiem Mass. Two pipers led the procession into St. Catherine's Cemetery, Killycully and at the graveside, Liam Heaphy of Cork Sinn Féin Poblachtach presided.

The Last Post and Reveille was sounded by two buglers, and wreaths were laid by Cathleen Knowles, Ard-Rúnaf, Sinn Féin Poblachtach and Denis



• Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, lachtach, on behalf of the Republican Movement, by Willie Goode on behalf of Cork Sinn Féin Poblachtach and on behalf of the Republican Comrades. The National Flag, gloves and beret were handed to Gearóid's daughter Una. In his oration Ruairí Ó Brádaigh referred to the unstinting service of Gearóid MacCarthaigh to the Republican cause.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL

"Born in Annmount, Friar's Walk, Cork City, Gearóid joined the IRA in 1937 and spent four years in the Curragh Internment Camp during the 1940s. On his release he was greatly involved in the re-organisation of the IRA throughout the 32 Counties and he held the positions of Adjutant-General and Director of Training in that organisation in the early 1950s.

"He married Agnes Doyle in Dublin in 1945. A former member of the Executive of Cumann na mBan, she died on November 13 last. Gearóid and Agnes are survived by their sons Dick and Noel and daughter Una.

"He was arrested again in 1957 and served a three-month sentence in Mount-Joy before being interned again in the Curragh for two years. He and his wife and family moved back to Cork in 1961 and following the split in 1969/70 Gearóid remained active with the IRA and spent time on active service in the Six Counties. He was imprisoned in Portlaoise in 1974-75 and took part in a 48-day hunger strike with nine other Republican prisoners. He was released in June 1975 and returned to active service.

"Gearóid was a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin from 1948 to 1982. He was sentenced to six months imprisonment in November 1981 for an oration he had given at the grave of Volunteer Dermot Crowley of Cork who was killed in Tyrone in 1973. Ten days after his release he suffered a stroke and lost the power of his left leg.

ALLEGIANCE

"In 1986 following the most recent split Gearóid MacCarthaigh rallied once again to the Republican Cause and gave his allegiance to Republican Sinn Féin.

"His surviving brother Charlie was OC of the IRA in the 1930s and his late brother Dick was also active in the Republican Movement. His late sister Nellie was a lifelong member of Cumann na mBan. To his family, relatives and friends we extend our deepest sympathy."

MÁIRE BEAN UÍ GHRÁLAIGH

THE death took place in late October of Mrs May Grealy. May was born in Co. Mayo and joined Cumann na mBan at the age of 19. She married Johnny Grealy and throughout both their lives they worked unceasingly for the cause of Irish freedom. She taught in Rathcoffey in Co. Kildare for a number of years and though she died in her native Mayo she was buried with her husband Johnny in Co. Kildare.

Members of Cumann na mBan supplied a Guard of Honour on her coffin, which was draped in the National Flag, both in the Church at Rathcoffey and in the cemetery, Sinn Féin Poblachtach was represented by Lita Ní Chathmaoil, Ard-Rúnaf and by members of Kildare and Dublin Comhairle Ceantair. The oration was given by her nephew, An tAthair Deaglán Mac an Ghamhna, who said:

"The person we have buried today was a woman who believed in the right of her country to be free, and she believed in her right, your right and my right to be citizens of a free country.

"With Mayo blood in her

veins she shared a dedication to her beliefs with John MacBride, Jack McNeela, Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg — men who were prepared to stand by their principles to the bitter and painful end.

"Though she did not pay with her life May Grealy was in the same team as these men for, as Pádraig Mac Piarais said: 'Our patriotism is measured, not in the formula in which we declare it, but by the service which we render'.

"Let us rouse ourselves to the challenge of today which is to sow the seeds of justice so that we reap the fruits of peace. With

I gCuimhne

CROSSEY, Michael — 20th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Crosssey, 1st Batt. North Armagh Brigade, killed on active service 22 November, 1971. Always remembered by his friends, Nuala and Seán Moore and family, Dundalk.

ily, Lurgan.

CROSSEY, Michael — 20th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Crosssey, 1st Batt. North Armagh Brigade, killed on active service 22 November, 1971. Always remembered by his friends, Nuala and Seán Moore and family, Dundalk.

Comhbhrón

ALLEN, Cumann MacCurtaim/MacCuibhne, Corcaigh passed a vote of sympathy with the Allen family on their recent bereavement.

COMHAIRLE Ceantair na Gaillimhe, Sinn Féin Poblachtach at a recent meeting, voted sympathy to the following families, on the recent deaths of Ronan Dugan, John Healy, and Johnny Walsh.

COLLINS, A vote of sympathy was passed by Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe on the recent tragic death of Jimmy Collins and his aunt at Carnmore, Co. Galway. To his family, relatives and friends our sincere sympathy.

DEVITT, The Officer Board of Sinn Féin Poblachtach offers sincere sympathy to Mick and Maie McManus on the death of her aunt, Catherine Devitt, Mullaburrian, Lisnaska, on November 23. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

DUGAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Michael Dugan, family and friends on their recent tragic loss. Words alone fail to relieve the sorrow and anguish but the solidarity of friends can aid in some small way. From Fr. Griffin Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Galway City.

DUFFY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Seán Duffy, Co. Cavan who died on November 28. From the Executive, Cumann na mBan. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

DUFFY, Very sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Seán Duffy, Cavan, whose death occurred on November 28. From his old comrade on the 'paper' run, Eamonn Mooney, Dún Laoghaire.

DUFFY, Very sincere sympathy is extended to Paddy Duffy and the family of Seán Duffy, Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan, who died on November 28. He will be remembered always for his dedication and hard work for the Republican cause and for his good humour, especially during the 1970s when he worked as despatch manager of An Phoblach. Always helpful to the end he will be sadly missed. From Cathleen Knowles and family. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

DUFFY, The Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, deeply regrets the death on November 28 of Seán Duffy, Co. Cavan and extends deepest sympathy to his family. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

DUFFY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Seán Duffy, Co. Cavan who died on November 28. From CABHAIR Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

FLANNERY, Republican Sinn Féin was saddened to hear of the death of Margaret (known to her friends as Pearl) Flannery, who died in hospital on November 12, aged 93, after a short illness. A native of Co. Tipperary she lived most of her life

in Jackson Heights, New York. To her husband Mike, and her brothers William and Michael and sister Catherine we offer our sincere sympathy. Suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

FLANNERY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Michael Flannery, New York, on the death of his wife Pearl. From Deirdre O'Connell and family, Raheny Dublin. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

FLANNERY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Michael Flannery, New York on the death of his wife Pearl. From Cabhair, Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

FLANNERY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Michael Flannery, New York on the death of his wife Pearl. From the Executive, Cumann na mBan. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

GALVIN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Anne Galvin, Swords, Co. Dublin, who died on November 13. From the Executive, Cumann na mBan. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

GALVIN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Anne Galvin, Swords, Co. Dublin, who died on November 13 last. From Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

GALVIN, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Anne Galvin, Swords, Co. Dublin. From Deirdre O'Connell and fam-

ily, Raheny, Dublin. KEOGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the relatives and friends of Ethel Keogh, 22 Oliver Plunkett Street, St. Mary's Park, Limerick, who died on November 23. Leaba i measc na bhFínní go raibh aise.

MACCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and comrades of Gearóid MacCarthaigh, Cork Veteran Republican, who died on November 26. Gearóid will be remembered always for his service to the Movement. From Cathleen Knowles and friends, Dún Laoghaire.

MACCARTHAIGH, An Ard Chomhairle Sinn Féin Poblachtach expresses sincere sympathy to the family and friends of Gearóid MacCarthaigh, Cork, who died on November 26, following a short illness. He will be sadly missed by us all. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

MACCARTHAIGH, Comhairle na Mumhan deeply regrets the passing of Gearóid MacCarthaigh, staunch Republican and Hon. Life Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, who died on November 26. His dedication to the cause of Irish freedom was an inspiration to us all. He will be sadly missed. To his daughter Una, sons, Dick and Noel, and his brother Charlie we offer our sincere sympathy, and on the death also of their mother Agnes, Cumann na mBan, on November 13. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.

MACCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Mac Carthaigh fam-

ily on the death of Gearóid. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam uasal. Máirfidh sé go deo i measc gcoirthe na nGael. O Séamus Mac Suain.

MACCARTHAIGH, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Mac Carthaigh family on the death of Gearóid and Agnes. From Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanamacha.

MACCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Agnes and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, who both died in November. From Cumann Mac Curtaim/Mac Suibhne, Corcaigh. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh síad.

MACCARTHAIGH, The Executive of Cumann na mBan deeply regret the deaths in November of Agnes and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh and extends deepest sympathy to their family. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a n-anamacha.

MACCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Agnes and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, who died in November. From Cumann na mBan, Corcaigh. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh síad.

MACCARTHAIGH, Cumann na nGael, Corcaigh extends deepest sympathy to the family of Agnes and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, who died in November. From Deirdre O'Connell and family, Raheny, Dublin. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá n-anamacha.

MACCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Agnes and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, who both died in November. From CABHAIR, Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá n-anamacha.

MACCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Gearóid (Gerry) MacCarthaigh, Cork, whose lifetime commitment to Irish freedom has earned him a place in history. From Jim and Tina Maunsell and comrades, Boston. "... and Ireland long a province, be a nation once again."

MACCARTHAIGH, Joe and Mary O'Neill, Bundoran, extend sincere sympathy to the family of Veteran Cork Republican, and Honorary Life Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, Gearóid MacCarthaigh who died on November 26 last. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

MORAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan, Teeraha, Cahersiveen on the recent death of Mary's father Denis Moran, Over-the-Water, Cahersiveen, Co. Kerry. From their friend, John Houlihan, Droumroe, Currow, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

UÍ TALBÓID, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Eibhlín bean Uí Talbóid, Tralee, Co. Kerry, who died recently. From Comhairle Ceantair Ciarraí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam.



Santa Claus came early for those bigots whose idea of a merry Christmas is a soldier at every Derry and Belfast street corner armed to the teeth. The intake of 600 extra troops of the Gloucestershires was a predictable propaganda boost, however.

The Tories had to reassure pseudo-loyalists that two recent opinion polls in British newspapers (which showed a majority of some 60 percent wanted the troops out, and nearly as many visualised Irish unity as the only lasting settlement option) were only paper weight.

What the great public does not know, beneath the barrage of disinformation, is that the troops have chiefly long retreated to barracks, and the dirty war has been generally left to the discredited UDR, accompanying the disgruntled armed RUC, on occasional forays into soft target areas.

The claimed "upsurge in sectarian violence" is an excuse to hold a fresh exercise in nationalist-baiting.

But the British army is captive in its fortified retreats, its forces tied to armoured travel in border areas, night-time raids on remote rural homesteads, and heavy-handed dealings in deprived Belfast districts, for example.

The dispirited alien soldiery, far from the fleshpots of Blighty, are increasingly taking the easy way out in over-drinking, drug splurges and random associations with prostitutes brought over from Liverpool etc.

For sport, the most dissolute shoot through cottage windows, make target practice of cars on the motorways, and harass old ladies or younger widows of their making.

It's not really cricket, and a senior Colonel at the headquarters in Lisburn recently concluded a scorching lecture against indiscipline by criticising soldiers' homosexual clubs, and consorting with the wives of local loyalists. Shades of the Black and Tans.

The puce-anxious Colonel advised that they should impose their own off-duty curfews, and when a subaltern complained this would make them more prisoners than the inmates of Crumlin Road, he was warned that some gaol could be his next posting.

Desertions have dropped in the past year in the Six Counties, but suicides among the troops are soaring. Meanwhile, the Dublin administration is happy to leave the captive army to do its worst without serious complaint.

At their wit's end to appease the gung ho British government, the Leinster House administration have pledged

WHAT THEY SAID

"The Irish people will shortly have an opportunity to express again an opinion on the EC when they will be asked to agree by referendum effectively to abandon sovereignty in

order to join the EMU. "Those who value sovereignty and oppose its loss must persuade the nation that the EC has neither the competence nor concern to rectify Ireland's distinctive problem of a colonial heritage of mass poverty, mass unemployment and mass emigration. These problems can be rectified only by retaining and using sovereignty in a creative, nationally responsible manner. That would recover for the nation the vast resources now pilfered from it and



• The captive army

John Bull to phase out Irish neutrality, outlaw the Supreme Court judgement that possession of arms in certain circumstances is a political offence only, and to press home bogus arguments that the right to silence is a moveable feast.



• Leinster House, a House of Cards?

Tottering after so many Cabinet rebellions, Taoiseach Charles Haughey is teetering on the edge of panic. He made this manifest by signalling that a linkage with the Western European Union in a new EC defence pact should not be construed as a move towards a military alliance.

Chastened Charlie is fooling no one, especially after the supine surrender to US and UK bluster in affording warplanes facilities to refuel at Shannon to speed the destruction of Kuwait and parts of Iraq in the squalid Middle East oil war.

which, under nationally responsible government, would end mass unemployment and mass emigration, and would enable all the Irish to get as good a livelihood in Ireland as anywhere else."

— Ray Crotty, *The Irish Times*, December 3.

"This year 75% of income tax revenue will be used to pay instalments on the country's £26 billion bill... (this year) the bill for debt service would amount to £2.4 billion or more than 10% of anticipated Gross National Product."

— Paul Tansey, *The Sunday Tribune*, December 1, 1991.

"Tar éis imeachtaí uirísle, táir na Dála an tseachtain seo caite nuair a tosnaíodh athuair ar acháirín ar nós Broy Harriers, Léinte Gorma, agus Provos a chaitheamh ar fud an tí líonfadh do chroí le dólás. Chuirfidh a leithéid d'iompar fonn ort gúf chun Dé go dtiocfadh gúf nua idéalach ar nós O'Malley chun cinn. Thuigfeá cad ba

bhun le gabháil an Bastille, le gabháil na gCeithre Chúirt ina comhthéacs stairiúil.

"B'fhearr do phairlimintigh na tíre seo — agus an stáit seo go háirithe — a bheith an-cháireiseach nó éireoilh an pobal chomh bráin sin dá n-íompar nach mbéidh an dara rogha acu ach modhanna seach-phairliminteacha a tharraingt chucu féin."

— Liam O Muirthíle, *Irish Times*, Samhain 21, 1991 ag cur síos ar an leabhar le Ernie O'Malley, *PRISONERS*.

Well, not so much a war between professional combatants as a massacre of innocent civilians and peasant conscripts to the number of almost a quarter million, while western forces confessed a few hundred fatal military casualties, some victims of "friendly fire", a euphemism for killing one's own troops by mistake.

Sovereignty has never been a prime issue with Leinster House legislators, and acquiescence before Brussels overlordship is intended to disguise their impotence to get Premier Major (who changed his name from Ball after being on the dole) to recognise the mandate which demands all-Ireland political freedom.

Ball's new truculence is founded on Fianna Fáil's internal troubles, which are themselves sourced in complicity in a series of financial scandals.

Tinkering with the right to silence is a dangerous opportunistic ploy. Ostensibly designed to help combat garraí in their fight against cunning embezzlers, it is really targetted at political defendants, and the Director of Public Prosecutions is slaving with desire to have judges see silence as a sign of guilt.

Injustice minister Ray Burke responded to the failure to have two Belfast men surrendered to the dubious mercies of Castlereagh detention centre's inquisition with torture methods by swiftly agreeing to close the "loophole" in extradition law.

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF BRITISH INJUSTICE



JUDITH WARD

17 years and ten months in jail

* * *
GUILDFORD FOUR AND MAGUIRE SEVEN

still seeking to have their names cleared. Giuseppe Conlon died in prison, in January 1980

CHARLIE KERINS COMMEMORATION
FRIDAY
DECEMBER 6
Assemble Denny Street
Tralee, Co. Kerry

★ ★ ★
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FRIDAY
DECEMBER 6

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Kinlay House, 2 Lord Edward Street, Dublin 2
Speaker: Brian P. Murphy author "Patrick Pearse and the lost Republican Ideal" (1991)

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Richard Murphy
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ISSN 0791 - 0002

Send to: SAOIRSE - Irish Freedom
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