



INC NEWS

Freedom
Unity
Peace

Nuacht Comhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann

~

Saoirse

Aontacht

Síocháin

RISING FRUSTRATIONS

This year is the 90th anniversary of the Easter Rising, and it is important that we as a people should celebrate this event, proudly and unapologetically.

Not only did the men and women Volunteers of 1916 start the process of effectively ending centuries of British misrule over most of our country, they also gave hope and inspiration to many millions throughout the world struggling to end colonialism and foreign occupation.

In recent years, there has been speculation as to how Ireland would have developed politically if the rising had never occurred. In all probability we would still be part of the United Kingdom today. To be sure

we would have been granted Home Rule - internal self-government. However, London would still be in control of Defence, Foreign Affairs and border taxes. We would have remained a UK backwater, a stateless nation with no visible presence internationally; the situation currently experienced by the Celtic nations of Scotland, Wales and Cornwall.

Even had we remained inside the UK with a Dublin Home Rule parliament, partition would still have come about, Britain having decided in principle on this policy from 1914 onwards. It is important to nail the assertion that the eventual southern Irish departure from the UK was the major event that led to partition.

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BELOW: Centrepiece of an INC banner, based on a limited edition print by Robert Ballagh, produced to raise money for the *Reclaim the Spirit of Easter* parade and other events to commemorate 75th anniversary, which was ignored by the State.



...cont'd from front page

Ninety years later, we are still having to confront issues arising from an unfinished process of national liberation. Firstly, there is the unresolved national question. More than three and a half years since the northern institutions were 'suspended' the six counties remain under British colonial rule, the population increasingly polarised, all democratic political advance halted by a reactionary alliance. Next there is the South. The policies adopted since 1922 and independence from Britain have, on many occasions, fallen far short of the ideals of the 1916 proclamation. The virtual abandonment of the six counties nationalists since 1970 was one of the darkest and most shameful episodes in the history of the Irish state.

If the Irish state was a normal post-colonial society, and confident in its own history and identity, the celebration of 1916 would not be an issue. However, we are now having to face a sustained and concerted ideological assault against the Irish separatist project and ethos, from a powerful minority within the Irish establishment - the so-called revisionist block.

These people are quite literally trying to turn back the clock. The more brazen among them now openly advocate a partial British restoration. They are arguing for a historic and intellectual repudiation of 1916 by the Irish elite.

Taken to its logical conclusion, repudiation of the 1916 rising would also mean a repudiation of the 1918 election and the First Dáil Éireann. This in turn would challenge the legitimacy of the Irish state itself and by extension see the successors of the Redmondite Irish parliamentary party as

the sole true legitimate rulers of the Irish polity. As bizarre and outlandish as these views may be to most Irish people they are nevertheless being put forward forcibly in some Dublin newspapers, periodicals and academic journals. The revisionist position is strengthened by the re-emergence of aggressive and expansionist US-UK militaristic imperialism intent upon global 'Full Spectrum Dominance'.

Clearly, nationalist and republican Ireland has its work cut out for it in the coming period. It may yet take many years of thought, hard work and struggle to bring about the final completion of Irish national objectives. We are confident though, that nationalist Ireland has the capacity to bring the great mass of the Irish people along provided that an intelligent, peaceful long-term strategy can be formulated.

In conclusion, we in the INC rededicate ourselves to the noble aims and objectives of the heroic men and women who risked their lives and liberty in April 1916 in the cause of Irish freedom.

A recent letter writer to the Irish Times stated:

"The brave men of 1916 had no imperial pretensions, demonstrated none of the ghastly jingoism and imperialist bombast that characterised the battlegrounds of Europe and nurtured no vainglorious desire to 'civilise' and conquer distant lands. Their objective was one far nobler, to wrest jurisdiction over Ireland, which had for so long lain quiescent in the Palace of Westminster, and root it firmly in Irish soil. Now surely that's something worth celebrating."

We couldn't put it better ourselves.

BELOW: Commemorative poster, issued after the British executed 16 of the Rising's leaders, (Top row standing, left to right) William Pearse (Dublin), Thomas McDonagh (Tipperary), Sean Heuston (Dublin), Michael Mallin (Dublin), Sean MacDiarmada (Leitrim), Michael O'Hanrahan (Wexford), Edward Daly (Limerick), Cornelius Colbert (Limerick). (Portraits left to right) Roger Casement (Dublin), Thomas Kent (Cork). (Sitting left to right) Patrick Pearse (Dublin), John MacBride (Mayo), Thomas J Clarke (Dublin), Eamon Ceannt (Galway), James Connolly (Edinburgh), Joseph Plunkett (Dublin).



POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

OF THE

IRISH REPUBLIC

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN : In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,	
SEAN Mac DIARMADA,	THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE,	EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY.	JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

Nailing the Revisionist Lies



MISE ÉIRE

Mise Éire:

Sine mé ná an Chailleach Bhéarra.

Mór mo ghlóir

Mé a rug Cú Chulainn cr6ga.

Mór mo náir:

Mo chlann féin a dhíol a maithair.

Mise Éire:

Uaigní mé ná an Chailleach Bhéarra.

I AM IRELAND

I am Ireland:

I am older than the Old Woman of Beare.

Great my glory:

I that bore Cuchulainn the valiant.

Great my shame:

My own children that sold their mother.

I am Ireland:

I am lonelier than the Old Woman of Beare.

"O wise men riddle me this: what if the dream come true? What if the Dream come true? and if millions unborn shall dwell in the house that I shaped in my heart, the noble house of my thought." – from the poem The Fool

– Patrick Pearse

Ever since Fr. Shaw's article during the 50th anniversary of the 1916 rising, revisionist historians and pundits have waged a campaign of defamation against the Rising's leaders, denigrated their motives and distorted their legacy.

The Rising itself has been branded an "undemocratic proto-fascist coup", which "caused partition" and "inspired terrorism" up to today. While three of the Rising's leaders Pearse, Casement and Mc Bride have been labelled as paedophiles.

On top of this we have the near annual debate on the 'acceptability' of our National Anthem, Tricolour and use of the Irish language. All the while revisionist and neo-Unionist lobbyists peddle a diet of poppies, royal visits and Commonwealth re-entry. What other independent country on the face of the earth has such a neo-colonialist dialogue with itself? Can you imagine France or America debating whether they should celebrate the 4th of July or Bastille Day? Can you imagine the British or Germans seriously considering changing their national anthems from 'God Save the Queen' or 'Deutschland Uber Alles' for fear that it might offend the Scots or Poles? Do Japan or Israel muse over changing their national flags? Do Indians refer to Mahatma Gandhi as a wife beater or do Kenyans call Jomo Kenyatta a terrorist? Of course not!

Yet in Ireland in 2006 Labour TD, Liz McManus made the suggestion that not only should we commemorate James Connolly and the other executed leaders of the rising we should also commemorate the British soldiers who executed them!! This is not an act of reconciliation this is an act of breathtaking stupidity. It does not prove our maturity or forbearance it only proves her unsuitability to hold public office. Is her view, or that of those other revisionist critics, of the Rising commemoration representative of the vast majority of the people of the Republic, and if not why are they given so much prominence?

Such endless debates would appear to do more to undermine the foundations of separatist Irish nationalism and chip away at Irish patriotism than to attract Unionists to Irish unity. Indeed this may in fact be their true intention. Perhaps such debates should come as no surprise when we consider the nature of the Irish print media.

In 1969 the owner of the Irish Times, Major McDowell, made an offer to the then British Ambassador to Ireland,

Andrew Gilcrist, to allow the British government to use his paper to get their point of view across to the Irish public. Today the editor of that newspaper must swear an oath of secrecy as to the opinions of the directors who in turn decide the newspapers editorial policy.

Last year 'The Irish Times' (who's editor is a former Progressive Democrat TD who had her phone bugged by Gardai on the grounds of 'national security' in 1982) published two articles by Denis Kennedy of the minute Northern Unionist 'Cadogan group' one article called on nationalists to abandon their aspiration to unity. The INC demanded a right to reply, after an initial positive response we were then ignored and no rebutting argument was published.

The Independent group of newspapers whose owner is a Knight of the British Realm who holds joint British-Irish citizenship, yet pays no income tax in the Republic of Ireland, frequently publishes articles by Revisionist and Neo-Unionist apologists.

Bruce Arnold OBE (who also had his phone tapped by the Gardai in 1982 for 'security purposes') and Ruth Dudley Edwards (who wrote the biography of Patrick Pearse: 'The Triumph of Failure' which accused him of latent paedophilia) are both patrons of the tiny Southern Unionist 'Reform Movement'.

Former Workers Party and Fine Gael publicity guru, Eoghan Harris is also a supporter of 'Reform'. His former wife, Anne, is deputy editor of the nepotistic Sunday Independent and his former UCC history Professor John A Murphy also frequently writes for the paper. Another regular commentator is the former United Kingdom Unionist Party assembly member Conor Cruise O'Brien

When we consider that much of the Southern Irish print media appears to be dominated by such small, unrepresentative and rabidly anti nationalist ideological cliques it is little surprise that every year we are faced with an ongoing philosophical war of attrition waged by these cultural counter revolutionaries.

Their weapons of choice are slander, historical distortion, double standards and intensive personal vilification rather than rational argument and reasoned debate.

They accuse the Rising's leaders of being undemocratic but ignore the fact that the British Empire ruled over hundreds of millions of subjects for

hundreds of years without any democratic mandate whatsoever. Britain ignored the democratically expressed wish of the Irish people for Home Rule (it was treason to advocate full independence) for over 40 years and then concocted partition to pacify a violent, treasonous and secessionist minority of Ulster Unionists.

Then as now, whether it be Sinn Féin or Hamas, democratic mandates (or the lack of them) mean nothing to Britain and her revisionist apologists. If one is absent it is a weapon to prove the 'unrepresentativeness' and 'self appointed' nature of the rebels. If one exists it can be ignored as irrelevant. All that matters are the 'right' kind of votes; i.e. those who agree with British policy.

The accusation of 'proto-fascism' is firstly grossly ahistorical, as fascism did not emerge until 1919. Secondly it is brazenly hypocritical considering that Britain did more than most other world powers to sow the seeds of fascism on continental soil. Italian irredentist fascism was the product of the broken promises made in the 1915 secret Treaty of London, which promised Italy the Dalmatian coast in return for changing sides in World War One (ironically John Redmond is believed to have played a role in making this treaty). When the war ended Britain reneged on her promises causing bitterness and disillusionment among Italians. Sentiments which were exploited by men like Gabriele D'Annunzio who seized and set up a dictatorship in the Yugoslav city of Fiume in 1919.

Far from causing partition the 1916 rising was a last ditch attempt to avert it. As early as the 21st March 1914 Connolly accurately predicted what would lay in store for northern nationalists in any post partition settlement: "Filled with the belief that they were after defeating the Imperial Government and the nationalists combined, the Orangemen would have scant regards for the rights of the minority left at their mercy". It was the guns of the UVF and the complicity of the British government, which made partition 'inevitable', rather than the 1916 Rising.

It was not 1916 which inspired the more recent violence on this island but rather the political realities of sectarianism, discrimination and repression, as well as Britain's on going violent denial of the Irish people's sovereign right to self determination, independence and unity which stoked the engine of conflict. Blaming 1916 is merely an attempt to distract attention away from, and absolve responsibility for,

Britain's role in this most recent conflict.

There is nothing new in this pro British revisionist onslaught. Britain has always fought a propaganda war as part of her colonial conflicts. When we read these scurrilous revisionist diatribes it is vital that Irish people remember that a lie no matter how often or emphatically repeated remains a lie.

As Thomas Jefferson, the patriot of the 18th century American revolution,

pointed out *"The British ministry have for so long hired gazetteers to repeat and model into every form of lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, the English nation has believed them, the ministers themselves have come to believe them and what is more wonderful we have believed them ourselves."*

– Paul McGuill
Runai

CONSTANCE MARCKIEVICZ – REBEL COUNTESS



Constance Marckievicz (nee Gore-Booth; 1868-1927): Born in London, educated privately, the Slade and Paris; 1900: married Count Casimir Marckievicz; 1909: joined Sinn Féin, although impatient of Griffith's pacifism; launched *Fianna Éireann*; 1916: joined *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, wrote *A Call to the Women of Ireland* and contributed to *Bean na hÉireann*; became an officer of the Irish Citizen Army commanding 120 men, prompting the resignation of Sean O'Casey; active in the Easter Rising, a death sentence being commuted because of her sex; 1917: President of *Cumann na mBan*, converted to Catholicism; 1918: Sinn Féin MP for St Patrick's Dublin, thereby being the first woman to be elected to the Commons, did not take her seat; 1919-21: Minister for Labour in the Cabinet of the first *Dáil Éireann* while imprisoned; 1923-4: Minister for Labour in the second *Dáil*; denounced the Treaty and supported the republicans in the civil war; 1923-7: Sinn Féin TD for South Dublin.

Amhrán na bhFiann

Curfá:
Sinne Fianna Fáil
A tá fé gheall ag Éirinn,
buion dár slua
Thar toinn do ráinig chugainn,
Fé mhóid bheith saor.
Sean tír ár sinsir feasta
Ní fhagfar fé'n tiorán ná fé'n tráil
Anocht a théam sa bhearna bhaoil,
Le gearn ar Ghaeil chun báis nó saoil
Le guna screach fé lámhach na bpiléar
Seo libh canaidh Amhrán na bhFiann

The Soldier's Song

Chorus:
Soldiers are we, whose lives are
pledged to Ireland;
Some have come from a land beyond
the wave,
Sworn to be free, no more our ancient
sire land
Shall shelter the despot or the slave.
Tonight we man the *beama baol**
In Erin's cause come woe or weal
'Mid cannon's roar and rifles peal,
We'll chant a Soldier's song.
*(Gap of danger).

RULING BY FOOLING!

"Yes, ruling by fooling, is a great British art - with great Irish fools to practice on"

— James Connolly 19th September 1914.

Ninety years after the 1916 rising, twelve years after the first PIRA cease-fire and nearly a year since the PIRA effectively disbanded; British ministers still rule over Irish subjects, British spies of long standing hold influential positions within the Republican movement and the most regressive and bigoted forces of Loyalist reaction hold an effective veto on constitutional and political progress.

It is against this backdrop that Irish Republicans and Nationalists should use the 90th anniversary of the 1916 rising and the writings of its leaders to reflect on their lessons for today's events.

Many of us are familiar with the writings of Pearse, Connolly, Tone, Davis, Mitchell and Lalor. However one of the Rising's leaders whose writings have been overlooked in recent years is Sir Roger Casement and his book *The Crime Against Europe*. This book had been out of print since 1958 until Athol Books in Belfast reprinted it in 2003 with an excellent introduction by Brendan Clifford of the *Irish Political Review*. This book is a devastating investigation of British foreign policy by one who had served as a British Consul from 1889-1911 exposing Belgian slavery and atrocities in the Congo and exploitation on rubber plantations in South America.

Casement's writings have been overshadowed by the incessant and futile controversy over his alleged homosexuality and the authenticity of the 'Black Diaries', the net effect of which has been to distract attention away from the message of his writings, which is the ruthless and amoral nature of British imperialism, her policy towards other European countries and the role of her rule in Ireland in the success of her overseas empire.

These arguments are all the more relevant today as we see the gradual rebirth of British neo-imperialism since 1982. Since Tony Blair took office in 1997, Britain has been involved in five wars in four countries on three continents and has consummated in blood an alliance with fundamentalist, neo-Conservative American imperialists; an alliance Britain has been working to achieve since at least 1913 when she realised that her 'Triple Entente' could not be certain to defeat Germany's 'Triple Alliance'. Britain then

embarked on a disingenuous charm offensive involving every emissary imaginable from boy scouts to the Royal family in order to win over the hearts and minds of her former foe. However, then as now, disdain hid beneath a veneer of affection. *"That England today loves America, no one who goes to the private opinions of Englishmen, instead of their public utterances, or the interested eulogies of their press can for a moment believe. The old dislike is there, the old supercilious contempt for the 'Yankee' and all his ways. 'Gods Englishman' no more loves an American citizen now than when in 1846 he seriously contemplated an invasion of the United States"*.

Casement believed that Britain sought an "Anglo-Saxon" alliance with America not merely to defeat Germany, but to subjugate all of Europe and thereby the entire world. America providing the expendable brawn subservient to Britain's diabolical brain. *"Were this Anglo Saxon alliance ever consummated it would be the biggest crime in human history. That alliance is meant by the chief party seeking it to be the perpetual threat to all the peoples of Europe, nay to the whole of mankind outside the allied ranks. And instead of bringing peace it must assuredly bring the most distracting and disastrous conflict that has ever stained the world with blood."*

The core of Casement's argument is that the British State has a Darwinian or Hobbesian ethos, which seeks constant expansion and war to survive. Algernon Sidney said in his 1688 *Discourses on Government* that states which are intended for war and who use trade to assist that end are the most successful and that it is better to fight for conquest than for defence as if you fight for defence and win you are no better off, while if you lose you lose everything. Whereas if you fight for conquest and win you make a material gain, whereas if you lose you merely fail to make that material gain. This defensive versus aggressive ethos is a fundamental difference between the Irish and British states and a difference, which leaves our relationship with her on very unequal terms.

To secure her role as the world's only superpower British diplomatic strategy could not tolerate any rivals. For her international law existed to protect her interests once achieved and not to protect weaker nations from the predatory

advances of the "murdering creeper". As Casement stated, *"The British mind faces its opponents with a very similar assurance that men can be overmastered and rendered 'stupid' by claims that admit of no compromise and by a fixed purpose that rejects equality as an insult"*.

Of course if all states were to behave in this aggressive fashion international harmony would become "nasty, brutish and short". This leads us to the second plank of British foreign policy, which is sometimes referred to as the "English enlightenment" or more accurately as institutionalised hypocrisy. Whereby it is perfectly acceptable for Britain to behave in this manner, however if any other country should try to copy her their acts should be condemned by all as shameful barbarism. In other words: do as I say, not as I do. Thus Britain can effortlessly and shamelessly preach peace, honesty and justice yet practice war, duplicity and iniquity.

But how to reconcile in the public's mind this disparity between word and deed? The answer is Britain's secret 'white weapon' what Winston Churchill called 'terminological inexactitude' and what Casement called *"the far extended baleful power of the lie"*.

When western interests demand a resource war in Iraq to secure a future stable oil supply, or when German trade and production threatens to exceed that of Britain, the unvarnished truth may not be a sufficient cause for war so the public must be whipped into a jingoistic moral frenzy. Britain's enemies must be portrayed as absolute evil who possess weapons of mass destruction or who cut off children's hands to make soap. True the Germans may have held 58,000 Belgians as hostages against partisan activity and Saddam Hussein killed tens of thousands of his own citizens however these facts would have remained as irrelevant for Britain as Czarist Russia's persecution of the Jews and Israel's illegal possession of nuclear weapons unless Britain's interests made them relevant. If Britain's interest demands war, a pretext will be uncovered, if none exists one must be invented.

Casement claimed that since 1911 Britain had been seeking a pretext for war with Germany in order to safeguard her dominant trading position and her superiority in naval forces. However, in 1911 Germany's population was 66 million yet Britain and her white

dominions could only muster 59 million. Clearly if there was to be a war Britain would need allies, so she set about stirring up animosity between Germany and France over Alsace and Lorraine indicating that they would be returned to France following a successful conflict.

In 1908, Asquith and other senior Liberal cabinet ministers made a secret deal with France without the knowledge of their party, Parliament or public to send troops to France within a few days to the start of any war. They also deceived the German Ambassador into believing that Britain would not regard a violation of Belgian neutrality as a cause for war.

Russia, an autocracy with whom Britain had been at war in the Crimea 60 years previously, was now co-opted as an ally; once the two powers had resolved their rivalry in Persia by dividing the country into northern Russian and southern British spheres of influence and imposing a puppet dictatorship in 1907. Following the First World War once Britain had acquired Germany's colonies in Africa and Turkey's colonies in the Middle East it was possible to travel over land from Capetown to Rangoon travelling only through British controlled territory.

Britain's policy in Europe had for centuries been divide and rule, as Casement explains: *"This is the meaning of the 'balance of power' - a Europe divided against itself so that England, untroubled by competition, unchecked by challenge, might appropriate the market of mankind. The 'balance of power' means Europe turned into a vast concentration camp... at any sign that the prisoners might combine and break through, a desperate fight among themselves could always be got up by the jailer".* Britain knew there was absolutely no possibility of a German invasion of Britain, however in trade and naval strength Germany threatened Britain's world domination and consequently, like Carthage, she would have to be destroyed.

For centuries Britain had shifted her alliances and pitted one European power against another to ensure that no potential rival could emerge, consequently these European alliances could not be relied upon. Casement believed that Britain was: *"In Europe but not of Europe, immune themselves from all attack and sure that whatever suffering they inflict on others can never be visited on their own shores."* This Casement believed was one of the chief causes of the war, *"It is this immunity from the horror of war that makes all Englishmen jingoists. They are never*

troubled by the consequences of belligerence. Since it is only by 'an actual experience that the full realisation of the horror comes', until that horror strikes deep on English soil her statesmen, her ministers, her members of Parliament, her editors, will never sincerely love peace but will always plan to ensure war abroad, whenever British need or ambition demands it." The German Luftwaffe administered an antidote to this British jingoistic immunity in the 1940's, an antidote that appears to be wearing off recently.

The British army had traditionally been largely composed of impoverished Irishmen. Half of Wellington's army were Irish, however their motivation was *"not an aspiration of the heart but a craving of the stomach"*. If Germany was to be defeated, Irishmen would once again be needed to do the fighting and to induce them would need a slight of hand.

Home Rule which for two years the British establishment had opposed tooth and nail and threatened civil war to prevent was rushed through parliament without a whimper on the proviso that it would only be activated after the end of the war. Which Casement aptly described as *"a promissory note payable only after death"*, or more accurately, after the deaths of 35,000 Irishmen which was Redmond's blood sacrifice upon the altar of imperialist vainglory.

Redmond pledged the lives of Irish soldiers without consulting his parliamentary party or the Irish nation and would *"barter its life blood for a concession that could be won tomorrow by half that blood if shed at home"*. Britain knew that Home Rule was a meaningless and worthless concession but one, which would reap vital rewards in Irish military manpower while simultaneously undermining Irish American, calls for neutrality. As Lord Morley the father of Home Rule said *"Give it them, let them have the full savour of their own dung heap civilisation"*.

Revisionists today claim that what Ireland accepted in 1921 was no better than what was on offer in 1914 and that 1916 and the War of Independence were futile. This is untrue, 1916 was an assertion of the sovereignty of the Irish people, not a plea for self-administration. The Irish State after the revolution, unlike Scotland today, had a foreign policy, a key ingredient of sovereignty. The freedom that the Irish people had in 1921 they seized by their own hands and paid for in their own blood and was not some magnanimous concession by Westminster



Roger Casement: September 1st 1864 - August 3rd 1916. His remains were returned to Ireland in 1965. He was given a state funeral and interred in Glasnevin Cemetery.

patricians or bartering politicians. The struggle itself liberated the national consciousness and demonstrated that more is achievable than what you are first offered. For Britain well knew that *"the mind of a people must be destroyed before their bodies can be subjugated"*

Although Britain had elevated Carson, a man who openly fomented civil war in Ulster only two years previously, to the position of Attorney General, Casement knew that Britain would never forgive anyone who dared to expose the true nature of British diplomacy and in August 1916 he was hung for treason in Pentonville prison. As he pointed at his trial *"The Unionist party chose a path which they felt would lead to the woollen sack, while I went for a road I knew must lead to the dock"*.

Casement's legacy to us has been more than the Irish Volunteers which he helped to found in 1913 (the successors of which are now to be dragooned into imperialist EU battle-groups), more than an embryonic Irish diplomatic policy, but rather it is his penetrating insight into the true nature and objectives of the British state and his inspirational challenge to the deluded and house broken Redmondites who failed to recognise it:

"The cause of Ireland is greater than the cause of any party; higher than the worth of any man; richer in its poverty than the riches of Empire. If we sell it now we are unworthy of the name of Irishmen. If today we barter that cause in a sordid bargain, we shall prove ourselves a people unworthy of freedom - a dwindling race of cravens from whose veins the blood of manhood has been drained. If now to fight is our duty, then let us fight on that soil where so many generations of slain Irishmen lie in honour and fame."

— Paul McGuill
Runai

1916 and all that - A Personal Memoir

With the guns of the IRA falling silent, the smear of alleged association with violence has become less effective, so, in order to deal with the potent legacy of 1916, the establishment has once more resorted to an old tactic.

They have decided to salute the heroes of 1916 with a military parade. By the way, those of us who attempted to commemorate the 75th anniversary of 1916 and were slammed for supporting militarism in 1991 find it highly ironic that the government itself has resorted to commemorating the rising with a military display in 2006.

It would appear that while the government is quite content to engage in military manoeuvres in O'Connell Street, they seem totally unwilling to engage with the ideas and ideals that lead to the rising in the first place. This is understandable, after all, the declaration in the Proclamation of the Irish Republic "of the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies" rings hollow when examined against the shameful deal done with Shell over the Corrib gas field, and with one third of the nation's children living in poverty, according to Bernardos, the aspiration "to cherish all the children of the nation equally" stands as a fierce indictment of those in positions of power and influence today.

Another charge frequently levelled against the rebels of 1916 is that they had no mandate for their actions. This attempt to project back in time the "so called" democratic standards of today to judge an

event in our colonial past is entirely spurious. I say "so-called" because it seems to me that, today, the exercise of democracy is only fully respected when it provides the desired result. For example, if the people have the temerity to vote the "wrong" way they are sent back to vote again and if an election hands power to the "wrong" people then boycotts and sanctions are invoked.

Anyway, "in the 30 years prior to 1916, the Irish People," according to Tommy Mc Kearney, "voted overwhelmingly on three occasions for self-determination. Each time, Britain over-ruled the peoples clearly expressed demand. The Irish volunteers were merely trying to enforce the stated will of the people at Easter 1916.

Moreover the electorate unambiguously endorsed their actions two years later. Only pedants or pro-imperialist apologists maintain that the volunteers flouted democracy by not holding a referendum on their plans for insurrection". In America no one questions the legitimacy of the revolt by George Washington and his comrades even though they had no mandate!

I often ask the question, why are so many elements of the Irish establishment so virulently opposed to any remembrance of 1916? Certainly the constantly repeated mantra that seeks to connect the events of 1916 with the activities of the Provisional IRA seems entirely bogus to me. According to Declan Kiberd, "what created the modern IRA was not any cultural force, but the bleak sectarian realities of life in the corrupt statelet of Northern Ireland".

Yet in spite of such self-evident truth some continue to argue that historical commemoration could, to parody W.B. Yeats, send out certain men to shoot the English.

A recent example of such nonsense was contained in an article by Mary Raftery, entitled "Dangers of glorifying the Rising". In it she wrote "There can be little doubt that the smug and wholly uncritical public glorification of violent nationalism in 1966 played a significant part in the emergence of the violence in Northern Ireland three years later". What she had in mind here was the drama series *Insurrection* produced by RTE and broadcast each night during Easter week. According to her thesis, we should accept that the young volunteers who joined the IRA in the early 1970's were not driven to do so because they and their neighbours were burnt out of their homes by loyalist thugs, aided and abetted by the security forces, but rather because of a TV series that they couldn't possibly have seen because few northern homes were able to receive the RTE signal in 1966. What rubbish!

I am convinced that those who keep bleating on about the alleged connection between the events of 1916 and the violence of the modern IRA are, in reality, deliberately erecting a diversion in order to avoid dealing with the obvious contrast that exists between the vision of the men and women of 1916 and the narrow-minded, greedy and self-seeking attitudes of those in positions of power and influence in contemporary Ireland.

A vision that is laid out in the Proclamation of the Republic, a remarkable democratic document rightly belonging in the Pantheon of human progress alongside Jefferson's declaration of American Independence and the declaration of the first convention of the French Revolution.

— Robert Ballagh

(Robert Ballagh is a former Cathaoirleach and founding member of the INC. The above article is an extract from a forthcoming lecture he will give, details below.)

Conference on 1916

Walton Theatre, Trinity College Dublin

Friday 21st April:

6.15 pm: Charles Townsend

8.00 pm: Declan Kiberd

Saturday 22nd April:

11.00 am: Peadair Kearney

2.00 pm: Robert Ballagh

Organised by the Ireland Institute and the Dublin University History Society

BELOW: A section of the 15,000 strong crowd at the GPO listen to Robert Ballagh's speech after the parade to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Easter Rising.



THE SHOTS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD FOREVER

The public commentary ever since Bertie Ahern announced the revival of the 1916 memorial parade has been fascinating.

A curious collection of voices have raised all sorts of protestation.

Kevin Myers has been in full spate in *The Irish Times*, the various letters columns of the newspapers have been filled and some Fine Gael, Labour and Green members of Dun Laoghaire Rathdown Council voted against the 1916 Proclamation being displayed in their building.

Some callers to RTE radio are even protesting about the blood-curdling sentiments of the national anthem.

When one compares this public reaction to, for example, France's annual Bastille Day celebrations or the recent Trafalgar bicentenary celebrations in Britain, the differences in national character are most interesting. At one level, where our own history is concerned, we still behave like a dysfunctional family. At another, it is fascinating to see that the post-colonial process is taking so many generations to depart the national DNA.

Most of the complaints have been utterly silly - half-baked historical facts compounded with a stew of prejudice and private anger. Myers in *The Irish Times* has been threatening to turn into his own caricature, his dinner party history lessons growing ever more tedious. How remarkable, for example, that his schoolboy fetish with militarism still excludes the notion of the Irish using force for Irish ends.

Out of all this correspondence have come some truly bizarre historical misunderstandings.

Take, for example, the idea that with Home Rule on the way the republican rebellion was totally unnecessary.

It's good dinner party talk, but it's historically absurd. Home Rule and the concept of an Irish Republic were not simply totally different things, but they were actually diametrically opposed to each other.

Given that the Redmondite Home Rule party was largely composed of the Irish middle class and large farmers who had done well out of the late 19th century land reform, Home Rule was intended to give an emerging Irish class, who were now doing well out of John Bull's Other Island, a share in their own colonisation.

It was actually a subtle method of harnessing - while simultaneously



ABOVE: Commemorative postcard showing inside the GPO during the Rising.

subverting - Irish national aspirations to the wider imperial agenda. A Home Rule parliament was simply a devolutionary device to corral the growing demands for Irish democracy into a legislature whose ultimate control lay under the Crown and the Commons. If the notion of an Irish Republic was freehold, then Home Rule was no more than tenancy.

What has also characterised the recent 1916 grumblers has been their remarkable inability to understand the nature of the colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland. Complaints are being made that the 1916 leaders never sought democratic mandates (in what elections to what Irish parliament might they have stood?) and that their actions were entirely unmandated.

The fact that revolutionaries by definition seek to alter national perspectives so radically that they must act first, and subsequently seek approval, is still being misunderstood.

It was actually the precise circumstances of the colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland, and the growing threat of Home Rule to cunningly alter it, that made Pearse and company act in the way they did. Believing as they did in a sovereign Irish people, British rule in Ireland was entirely a product of conquest and therefore devoid of moral authority.

Even worse, not only would Home Rule have merely changed the appearance of the old colonial relationship, it would also democratically mandate it for the first time. The sovereign Irish people were about to vote for mere tenancy status in their own country.

The use of force by the men of 1916 was also determined by the exact nature of the colonial relationship. Force and the threat of

superior force by the imperial power was the context in which all Irish political discourse was maintained.

This was vividly illustrated only three years later when the democratic will of the first Dail was met by state terrorism.

And most importantly of all, since the fear of the ruled being killed by the superior force of the ruler is at the heart of all colonial relationships, Pearse's idea of the blood sacrifice was about directly confronting that fear.

Subsequently, after the stonebreakers' yard in Kilmainham, the imperial myth that might was right was destroyed forever in the Irish imagination. The sacrifice of 1916 was about revealing the true nature of the colonial relationship to the Irish people and thereby creating the imaginative context whereby sovereignty could at last be imagined and then asserted.

Thus the revolutionary act was attained.

Importantly, this revolutionary assertion of an indigenous national sovereignty in the context of the imperial world of the period gave 1916 and its Proclamation global significance. No wonder Lenin, Gandhi and the young Mao were so affected by it. In the generations that followed, all across the world, subjugated peoples everywhere found inspiration in 1916. Its imaginative power hastened the end of the imperial and colonial ages and, critically, its wider context as both cultural and political revolution created a template that changed the world.

— Tom McGurk

12 March 2006

(Tom McGurk is a columnist for the *Sunday Business Post*. Our sincere thanks to Tom and the SBP for their permission to reprint this article)

Tír Gan Teanga, Tír Gan Anam

Is le Eirí Amach na Cásca is mó a samhlaíonn an gná duine le Padraig Mac Piarais, ach bhí spéis mór aige in alán nithe eile; i measc iad sin bhí an t-oideachais agus an teanga. Maidir leis an teanga duirt sé *"Tír gan teanga, tír gan anam"*. Ins an alt seo leanas tugann Proinsias Mac Bhloscaidh a smaointe duinn i dtaobh forbairt na Gaeilge ins an la atá inniu ann.

An íomha a fheicimse in 'Athbheochan na Gaeilge' ná cruthú Náisiúin iomlán atá in ann amharc ar an domhain le súile oscailte oilte agus a bhfuil a áit sa domhain sin soiléar mar chomh dhaoine. Thig leis an tír seo an íomha sin a bheoú má fhágaimid slán ag meon oidhreacht an iarchoilíneachais a d'fhág Sasain go tarcaisneach, maslach, ciníoch ina dhiaidh. Tá sé thar am dúinn an oidhreacht seo a réiteach.

Tá dáimh againn in Éirinn le muintir na dtíortha uilig a chuir agus a chuirfidh lucht rachmais agus saint agus sceimhle SAM agus UK faoina riail trí ollsceimhle, trí ghorta agus tríd an daonnacht a ghoideach ó Náisiún agus ó phobal; sin uilig déanta le modh beatha gránna s'acu a chothú, a leathnú agus a bhrú ar an saol mhór dá ainneoin.

Is fiú cuimhne a choinneáil go ndéanadh scrios ar theanga s' againn mar chuid de smachtú thír s'againn. Thuig na Sasanáí nár leor smacht thalaimh agus mhaoín a imirt ach go raibh dúnmarú theanga s'againn mar chuid lárnach de dhúnmarú spioraid s' againn. Tá géarghá go n-aithnimidinne an gá atá le sin a chur ina cheart.

Tiocfaidh féinmhuinín agus féinaitheantas mar thorthaí ar an aitheantas siúd.

Thig linn, tríd an sochaí úr a chruthóidh sé seo, feabhas a fhorbairt i ngach gné de phobal s'againn Tá meas ag an domhain mhór orainn cheana féin as an tuigmheáil ceannaithe atá againn ar chruatan agus ar leatrom agus ar chinemharú a himríodh orainne mar náisiún agus atá á imirt go fóill, b'fhéidir?

Ní leor leath-theanga comharthach anseo, ach teanga iomlán agus feabhas in achan ghné de phobal TRÍD an teanga. Tá dílseacht a dhíth; tá dóchas a dhíth agus tá fuinneamh agus samhlaíocht a dhíth le go mbeidh muid in ann gluaiseacht chun tosaigh.

Níl an t-am againn maidí a ligean le sruth ag súil le go dtarlódh rud éigin. Is mithid duinn, (ag déanamh athleagán ar fhocláí Bobby Sands) a aithint go bhfuil a chuid féin le déanamh ag achan dhuine againn. Ná síltear go dtig linn dul i bhfolach taobh thiar den fholúntas pholaitiúil atá i réim anois: rinne Bobby agus a

chomrádaithe cuid s'acu: tá dualgas orainne uilig an obair sin a thabhairt chun críche.

— Proinsias Mac Bhloscaidh.

(Is ball de CNE é Proinsias Mac Bhloscaidh, i dTír Chonaill)

RISEING CONFIDENCE

1916 changed the course of Irish history forever. The echo of 1916 went right round the world. It gave hope and inspiration to oppressed people everywhere.

The 1916 proclamation would stand up with any document in history for its nobility and generosity. In many ways it was a document before its time. It put women on the same level as men. At that time women had no vote. They did not get the vote until 1918, and even then they had to be over 30 years of age. Every line in the document breathes nobility. It shows what fine minds the 7 signatories had.

It was the sense of patriotism and pride that the Rising imbued, which enabled the Irish people to defeat the British attempt to impose conscription in 1917. It could be argued very strongly that 1916 was responsible for saving the lives of thousands of young Irish lads slaughtered in places like Flanders and Passendale.

One of the slogans used by the British to entice young Irish lads into the army at that time was *"This is a war to end all wars"*. In fact the 1914-18 war was almost certainly responsible for creating the conditions for World War II. The extreme penalties, which were imposed on Germany in the Versailles Treaty created such misery and hardship that the German people in desperation turned to a megalomaniac like Hitler.

It has emerged in recent times that at least 17 young Irish lads were shot for *"cowardice"* during that savage and stupid war.

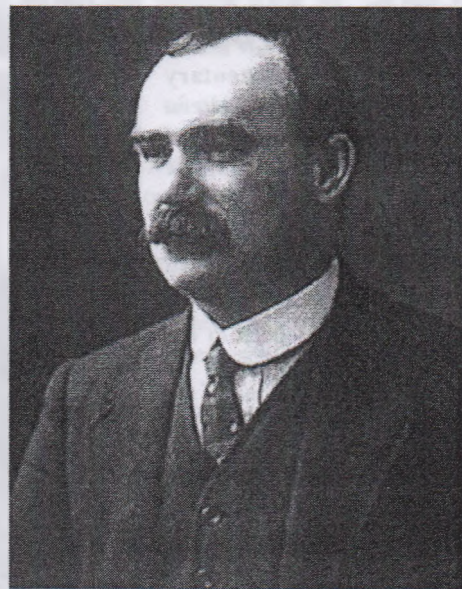
By knocking out the first brick the 1916 rising was almost certainly responsible for the eventual disintegration of the British Empire.

Thanks to the men and women of 1916 who lit the torch, the 26 counties is today a sovereign independent state. The Republic of Ireland is respected across the world.

Hopefully on this 90th anniversary, the Irish state and people will remember and honour 1916 in a proper manner.

— Michael O'Connor
6 February 2006

(Michael is an INC member from Macroom, Co. Cork.)



"Ireland, as distinct from her people, is nothing to me; and the man who is bubbling over with love and enthusiasm for 'Ireland', and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and the suffering, the shame and the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland - yea, wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call Ireland."

"We went out to break the connection between this country and the British Empire, and to establish an Irish Republic. We believed that the call we then issued to the people of Ireland, was a nobler call, in a holier cause, than any call issued to them during this war, having any connection with the war. We succeeded in proving that Irishmen are ready to die endeavouring to win for Ireland those national rights which the British Government has been asking them to die to win for Belgium. As long as that remains the case, the cause of Irish freedom is safe." — from his last statement to the Field General Court Martial, held at Dublin Castle on May 9th 1916.

— James Connolly.



ABOVE: *Men of the South* by Seán Keating. This painting depicts an IRA Flying Column during the War of Independence. The IRA, as part of the infrastructure, such as the Republican Courts, fought to uphold the Declaration of Independence made by the First Dáil in 1919, which stated:

"...We ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance:

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison:..."

Christmas Raffle Results

The winners of the Christmas 2005 raffle were:

1st prize (Christmas Hamper): John Hart, Lisnaken Co. Fermanagh.

2nd prize, (Book Token.): Joe McGowan, Mullaghmore, Co. Sligo.

3rd Prize, (Bottle of Spirits): E. O'Riordan, Macroom, Co. Cork.

Congratulations to the winners and many thanks to all our members and supporters who subscribed and without whose help our work would be impossible.

Easter Raffle

The prizes for this years Easter raffle are:

1st: An Easter Hamper

2nd: A Case of Wine

3rd: €100 Book Token

With this newsletter you will receive a booklet of (6) raffle tickets. Tickets are €2 each or €10 per booklet. If you would like to participate in this draw, please send your completed stubs and money to I.N.C. P.O. Box 2814, Dublin 7 before the 12th April. The draw will take place on Thursday 13th April.

As ever your support is invaluable and greatly appreciated.



LEFT: The choice facing the Irish electorate in 1918. Sinn Féin won 73 out of 105 seats on the promise that they would not take their seats in Westminster; instead they would stay at home and form our own government, Dáil Éireann.

Walking Tour of Glasnevin Cemetery



Visit the graves of the 1916 Volunteers on
Easter Monday, 17 April 2006

Meet at the main gates at 2.30pm

NO CHARGE - THE TOUR IS FREE

DONATIONS NEEDED

**We have no big financial backer to pay our bills.
We only survive on the voluntary contributions of
our supporters. Please send what you can to:**

Irish National Congress, P.O. Box 2814, Dublin 7.

All contributions will be acknowledged.

The Lily & The Poppy

In November 1997, I put forward a proposal to the INC's National Executive to establish a new organisation, to sell a new Easter Lily. The National Executive supported this idea and a working title, The Lily Foundation, was adopted.

The proposed aims and objectives of The Lily Foundation were:

- To annually commemorate the 1916 rising through the sale of a three-dimensional miniature replica of the actual flower (similar in size to the daffodil sold by the Irish Cancer Society).
- To allow individuals to express their nationalism in a non-threatening way and without giving allegiance to any political party.
- To promote the ideals of Equality, Liberty, Peace and Reconciliation. These ideals would be reflected in the organisations that would benefit from the money raised, by the Lily Foundation.

Suggested beneficiaries included: The Irish Refugee Council, Conradh na Gaeilge, The National Graves Association, Community Groups and Homeless Organisations.

Initially, those we sent it to greeted the proposal with great enthusiasm. We met with a number of groups and individuals, and even managed to secure funding on the condition that others rowed in. They didn't, misunderstandings and party politics intervened and the proposal was shelved.

They had missed the point. This wasn't about promoting one party while knocking another.

In 1991, the INC had helped to sponsor and organise the highly successful events to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the 1916 rising, including the parade and pageant, which brought tens of thousands of people onto O'Connell St. in Dublin. This was done in response to attempts by the Irish government and the media to keep the commemoration low-key. That same year a poll carried out by the *Irish Independent* showed that:

- 65% of the Irish people looked back on 1916 with a sense of pride, while only 14% regretted it.
- 58% thought that the rebels were right to use violence, while 24% would have preferred that they had used peaceful means.
- 66% believed that the leaders of the 1916 rising would be opposed to the campaign being carried out by the provisional IRA, while only 16% believed that they would endorse it.

The primary objective of the proposal was to enable that 65% to visibly express their pride. At the time, I naively believed that this new Lily would be something that even John Bruton would be proud to wear (He recently admitted to being one of the 14% who regretted the Rising).

The inspiration for the New Lily had come from Eoghan Harris, who had started 1997's "poppy debate" by suggesting that Mary McAleese should wear a poppy at her inauguration as president, which coincided with Armistice Day. In doing so, he claimed, she would be showing her pluralism to the Unionists in the North and to "the thousands of southern pluralists who wear a poppy every year".

The wearing of a poppy is not, of course, an expression of ones pluralism, but is in fact an expression of ones Britishness, or more accurately British Nationalism. In Britain, where anyone who appears on television is obliged to wear one, it is a mild and inoffensive expression of that nationalism, commemorating all those who died to "maintain Britain's independence" (especially during World Wars I and II, but also those who died here and elsewhere defending the Empire). However, this was not the reason that our President didn't wear a poppy at her inauguration. The main thrust of the argument against her wearing one was that she would leave herself open to be asked at a later date to wear a more contentious flower - The Easter Lily.

As an expression of Nationalism, the Poppy has an advantage over the Lily - it is non-party political. It is sold by an independent organisation, The Royal British Legion, and is worn by all shades of British Nationalism from Loyalist to Labour. The money raised from its sale is considered by those who wear it to be going towards a good cause. The Lily, on the other hand, is currently sold (in one dimensional flag form) by political parties and is therefore only worn by their supporters.

It is to redress this situation that I again, propose the establishment of a new organisation to sell a new Easter Lily.

In 1926, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Easter Rising Cumann na mBan, led by Constance Markievicz, introduced and popularised the wearing of the Easter Lily

The sale of the Lily was banned in the 30's by a Fianna Fáil government, who introduced their own emblem to commemorate the Rising; a flaming red torch. It failed to capture the popular imagination.

The Lily has since been appropriated by Sinn Féin and sold in flag form to raise funds. It is also sold by Republican Sinn Féin in flag form and, for a period, by the Workers party in sticky back flag form. The use of the Lily by political parties limits its appeal to supporters of those parties. However, just like the Easter Rising and our National Flag, the Lily should not be considered the property of any one political party.

As an emblem, the Lily has an aesthetic quality and the untapped potential for popular appeal. Being a flower it has no militaristic undertones. It is in season during Easter and is recognised internationally as a requiem flower and symbol of resurrection.

More importantly it contains the colours of our National Flag and therefore has an overtly pluralist message -with green representing the older elements, orange representing the newer elements and white between them symbolising the union of different stocks in a common nationality. When presented to the public in this light by an independent organisation promoting the ideals of Equality, Liberty, Peace and Reconciliation and without any party political baggage, it cannot fail but strike a chord with the Irish people.



IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO JOIN THE INC THEN
FILL IN THE FORM BELOW AND RETURN IT TO:
Irish National Congress, POBox 2814, Dublin 7.
Membership Fee: waged €10 / unwaged €5

Name.....

Address.....

e-mail.....

– Cathal Óg McCarthy
Editor / PRO