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Set-back for State case

Limerick 7 trial now rests on 'opinion'



• **Des Long, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin and one of the Limerick 7.**

SEVEN men on trial in the Special non-jury court for alleged membership of the IRA were arrested and detained unlawfully by police who violated the safeguards of Section 30A of the Offences Against the State Act 1939 as amended in 1998.

The men were arrested in Limerick on December 17, 2001 and detained under an order signed by a police superintendent. The men were released and then re-arrested on the steps of Henry Street police station and charged with IRA membership.

However Section 30A as inserted by Section 11 of the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act 1998 states that a person may only be re-arrested for the same alleged offence under a warrant from a District Court.

The 1998 amendment was inserted to prevent the police abusing their powers of arrest under Section 30.

Giving judgment on the defence application that the arrests of December 17, 2001 were unlawful, Mr. Justice Butler stated:

"In the absence of evidence which takes the set of circumstances out of Section 30A, we cannot but apply the section and we find, therefore, that the arrests on 17th December were not in compliance with the section. It follows from that ruling that the evidence of photographs, fingerprints and interviews following those arrests be deemed to be inadmissible."

There has been very little media coverage of the case — said to be the largest Republican trial — but it is not surprising because the court decision was described as a "set-back for the State". In fact it was only on the website of IrelandOn-Line that one of the fullest reports appeared stating "that a large part of the State case against seven men

accused of membership of the Continuity IRA in Limerick cannot be admitted in evidence."

A source close to the case told SAOIRSE that the court ruling has serious implications for many other people arrested and detained under Section 30:

"The simple fact is the police did not adhere to the provisions of the amended Section — and this amendment was inserted to protect the constitutional rights of people from constant arrest by the police.

"The fact that the national media have shied away from extensively covering this case indicates the grip the police have on the media — there is an unhealthy relationship between some sections of the media and the police who try to demonise people simply to advance their own careers and gain promotion.

"On this occasion the police have been found out and all their lies

RUC/PSNI attack anti-war rally



• **RUC/PSNI baton anti-war in Iraq rally at Belfast City Hall on April 8. Coverage of the imperialist war inside on pages 3, 5, 10.**

and distortions will not be lost on the judges — if there is any justice then all these wrongly accused men should immediately walk free."

In his closing speech on April 8 in the Green Street court defence counsel Peter Finlay SC said the case against the seven Republican Sinn Féin members was a "garda driven prosecution" inspired by a political agenda.

Republicans know, of course, that even if all the State's alleged corroborating evidence is thrown out by the Special non-jury Court, there is still the unsupported 'opinion' of a police superintendent. Under this

clause of the Offences Against the State Act hundreds of people in the 26 Counties have been convicted and imprisoned over the years. It remains a means to intern Republicans at the whim of the 26-County State.

Meanwhile, on April 10 the latest British-imposed solution will be unveiled in Belfast by Tony Blair on the fifth anniversary of the failed Stormont Agreement. He will have told Bertie Ahern beforehand what it contains but his presence will be a mere fig-leaf.

• **Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement — see page 7 inside.**

CABHAIR

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REUNION

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Friday, May 16, 2003

Buffet Supper, €20
Music: The Freewheelers



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Larry McMahon,
Ulster
Tom O'Connell,
Munster
Dottie Redmond,
Connacht
Johnny Gilraine,
Leinster
Bart Dougherty,
USA

Honour Ireland's Dead

W ear an
Easter
Lily

Easter Lilies now available,
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Raheny, Dublin 5



Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown, Sunday, June 15, 2pm

Appalling cutbacks in care of elderly

GERALDINE Mc Namara of the Seán Treacy Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin in Tipperary town writes of the dilemma facing careers following the swinging cutbacks by the Dublin administration:

“Since the last 26-County budget we have seen alarming cuts in the health service, especially in the care of the elderly and those with disabilities. Health boards are making cutbacks in order to manage their ever-decreasing budget.

“This is having a detrimental effect on those looking after people in their own homes. Home helps/home care attendants and personal attendants are facing severe cutbacks on their hours with their clients. Previously a person seeking home help could expect to have someone calling two hours per day or in some severe cases four hours per day was granted. Now, if a person is lucky enough to get home care it is likely to be but for one hour a day and often on a five-day basis.

“This is mainly due to cutbacks in health board budgets and many families or the elderly themselves are trying to pay the homecare people pri-

• *Geraldine McNamara*

vately. Often, also, the home help is working hours they do not receive any pay for, as they have become so close to their clients.

“Last year a Dublin High Court ruling was made stating that a person was entitled to live in their own home and the onus was on the State to provide the care needed for the person even if that meant 24-hour care.

“Of course a person needing care is hardly ever in a position to take on the State or health boards and when they need more care they usually

end up in a nursing home or welfare home. Nursing homes are costing the State a fortune in subvention — approximately €200 per week per person.

“Those in our society who are now deprived of their right to help in the home are the very people who built this State whether through working in factories and farms sending money home while working abroad or rearing families at home.

“The State has an onus to look after the vulnerable and a great debt is owed by society to our older residents. Depression caused by the

helplessness if not being able to live within your own environment and knowing that with a small bit of extra help you could, is a major factor for people going into hospital or long-term care.

“The elderly are not looking for €50 million for a new jet bus, but €50 per week going towards extra care could improve their quality of life. Cutbacks in healthcare, especially to the senior citizens and those with disabilities should stop immediately. This is not the place to save money.”

Girl (4), victim of Limerick feud

IN A statement on April 6 Seán O'Neill, from Rosbrien, Limerick, Republican Sinn Féin spokesperson for community affairs said that the developing feud has its origins in a gun attack on a house in Garryglass Avenue in Ballinacurra Weston but the police denied that shots had been fired.

He said: “Then on Sunday morning a man was thrown out of a car at the Hyde Road and Lenihan Avenue junction after being badly beaten by a gang of men.

“He was unconscious when he was dumped from the car,” he said. “However even more alarming was the petrol bomb attack on the house in Lenihan Avenue which

claimed the life of one four-year-old girl and left her mother and sister in a critical condition. The basis of a new feud is now laid but it must be stopped before anyone is killed.

“This type of activity is giving Limerick a notorious name in the national media and it serves no purpose but to paint Limerick as a city out of control where the ordinary rules of civilised behaviour have been abandoned.

“Of course this is not true — and these awful feuds are confined to a few families involved in violent activities. It is time the police took up the challenge of this outrageous lawlessness and tackled the gangs in Limerick.

“The police cannot continue to deny that these incidents are taking place- we are now appealing for all those involved in such activity to cease and allow people to go about their lives in peace.”

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I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Ainm
Seoladh

Tel: Age (if under 21). . . .
Send to:
Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1
Teil: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757.
or 229 Falls Road, Belfast
e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie
http://rsf.ie
or contact your local paper seller for details

**For a full
British
withdrawal
from
Ireland**

OUR AIMS

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland . . . The establishment of a true 32-County FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC . . . The establishment of a new all-Ireland parliament, completely outside the present partitionist set-up, to oversee the running of the new neutral non-aligned Ireland . . .

OUR HISTORY

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

Gearrsc alta Republican Sinn Féin calls on unions to reject deal

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin Assistant PRO Des Dalton called on March 11 last for trade union members throughout the 26 Counties to reject the proposed new partnership agreement, describing proposals contained within the document which require Unions and employers to refer disputes to the Labour Court for binding arbitration, as an "erosion of worker's rights".

“This agreement like its predecessors is very much driven by the employers agenda, as the gap between rich and poor widens the trade union leadership is rapidly losing touch with the interests and concerns of their members and losing sight of its primary function of the trade union movement which is to provide a cutting edge for the poor and vulnerable in society.”

Stevens Report will be censored

INFORMATION embarrassing to British authorities is to be omitted from a published report on the murder of Pat Finucane.

John Stevens is due to deliver an 'interim' report of his findings regarding Crown Forces collusion in the 1989 killing of the human rights lawyer.

The document is supposed to be in the hands of the colonial police chief Hugh Orde and his policing board on April 17.

It is understood that many of the most embarrassing aspects of the report may not enter the public arena because of their 'sensitive' nature.

Subject to this gagging order is the inquiry team's conclusion that the most serious breach was the passing of British army intelligence documents to the UDA squads via double agent Brian Nelson.

At his 1990 trial Nelson admitted supplying the UDA/UFF gunmen with a photograph and personal details of Pat Finucane.

CIRA not involved in Limerick feud

IN A statement widely covered in the national news media the Limerick Command of the Continuity IRA (CIRA) said on March 31 that the organisation had “given no aid or comfort to any side in the current feud in Limerick city”.

The statement went on: “In fact the CIRA wishes to state that the organization is not involved in any way with the feud and has not and never will supply military equipment to anyone involved in criminal activity.

“The Limerick Command also views with concern the way certain people use the name of the organization for their own ends – the organisation wishes to state that it takes a very serious view of this activity and now calls upon those people involved to desist and not to use the name of the CIRA as a cover for any criminal activities.

“The people involved in this activity are hereby warned by the organisation that action will be taken if such claims are made in the future: people should desist forthwith.

The statement ended with an to the people involved in the current feud to “end their activities and resolve their differences in a peaceful manner and thus restore some degree of normalcy to the streets of the neighbourhoods adversely affected by such activities”.

Provos support RUC band
A DECISION of RUC/PSNI Chief Constable Hugh Orde to have the colonial police's official marching band disbanded was the subject of a motion put down by the Ulster Unionist Party at a recent meeting of Limavady District Council in Co Derry.

The UUP called for the retention of the band and were opposed by the SDLP. However when it came to the vote, Councillors Francie and Ann Brolly of the Provisionals' political organisation voted with the unionists to have the band retained! Two other Provo councillors absented themselves from the meeting in question.

Last year John Kelly, a member of the Stormont Assemble and a councillor on Magherafelt District Council, voted to put DUP bigot Rev Willie McCrea, in the position of chairperson of the council.

Oppose Royal visit
RECENT reports say that over one million Euros of this states taxpayers money will be spent by Leinster House politicians in an effort to clean up the areas that the British Queen will be visiting in Dublin shortly were condemned in a statement on March 11 by John Horan, PRO, Dublin Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin.

“That it takes a visit by so-called 'royalty' before those residents see an improvement in their area is a disgrace. The most important objection we have to Mrs Windsor's visit is the fact that she is titular head of a government which claims jurisdiction over six Irish counties— for this reason, Republican Sinn Féin will be holding a picket on O'Connell Street Bridge in Dublin at 5pm on the day of the visit. All are welcome to attend.”

**SAOIRSE May edition
published 7/5/2003**

No blood for oil . . . No blood for oil . . . No blood for oil . . . No blood

Bush intervention ‘hypocrisy’

IN A statement Sinn Féin Poblachtach President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh has described US President, George Bush's visit to Belfast as “hypocrisy”. He also points out that the decision of the SDLP, whose MPs voted against the war on Iraq in the British House of Commons on March 18, and the Provisionals to meet Bush, contradicts their stated opposition to the war.

“George Bush's visit to Belfast in a blatant attempt to portray himself as a peace-broker, while at the same time the US and Britain are waging a horrific war of conquest on the people of Iraq, which has resulted in the deaths of thousands of men, women and children, is both hypocritical and contradictory. “In coming to Belfast George Bush is lending US weight to the imposition of a ‘civil rights type solution’ under British Rule on the Six Counties, which of course contains within it the seeds of future conflict, failing as it does to address to root cause of the problem. “The powerful Washington establishment have consistently supported the stronger side in any conflict as evidenced by their involvement in Palestine where they have sponsored an Israeli dictated so-called ‘peace process’,

which as we can see today has led only to a daily death toll of Palestinian men women and children. “Travelling to the Six Counties George Bush is similarly acting as sponsor for a British imposed solution in Ireland whilst also using Ireland to set out his stall for the colonisation of the Iraqi people. “The decision of both the SDLP, whose MPs voted against the war on Iraq in the British House of Commons and the Provisionals to participate in this charade contradicts their publicly stated opposition to this imperialist war,” Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said.

PROTEST

He called on Republican Sinn Féin members and supporters to organise or join in protests against the continued use of Shannon air-

port by US warplanes. “The attack on Iraq is contrary to the UN Charter and in our view is an imperialist war. It is the first of the 'resource wars' of the 21st century (Jacques Delors). The action of the Dublin Government in allowing US warplanes to refuel at Shannon and over fly Irish airspace is a slavish and flagrant breach of Irish Neutrality and must be opposed.

“We call on Republican Sinn Féin members and supporters to either continue their own anti — war protests or to participate in others. Under their own banners and with their own literature,” Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said.

• *The Republican Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle which met on Saturday, March 29 adjourned its meeting early so as to enable its members, led by Republican Sinn Féin President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh (right) to participate, behind the Republican Sinn Féin banner, in the national 'Anti - War on Iraq' demonstration which took place in Dublin.*



End collaboration with

ALLOWING Shannon Airport to be used by US troops on their way to Iraq is a measure of the contempt in which the Free State Administration hold the people of the Ireland, a spokesperson for Cumann na mBan said in a statement on April 6. “By allowing our airspace and civilian airport facilities to be used in such a way makes Ireland complicit in what we consider to be an unjust war on the Iraqi people. Shannon Airport has been the scene of many protests but the

largest protests have been in Dublin because access to the city is easier than access to Shannon. Shannon is not in mainstream Dublin, it is far away enough from the capital to ignore what is happening there. A case of out of sight, out of mind the administration in Leinster House believe. “The people of Ireland have spoken loud and clear but as usual the administration ignores the voices of the voters and just continue to do as they please. We saw that from the recent referendum — when the Administration did not get the required result they just held another one. “One cannot but wonder for

how long US troops would be allowed to land at Dublin Airport if it were being used instead of Shannon. Would Mary Harney have the nerve then to tell the people of Dublin that we are economically dependent on the US and Britain so we should shut our mouths? Probably. Just as Bertie Ahern would no doubt tell us that but for American and British assistance the Stormont Agreement would never have come to fruition. But the Stormont Agreement is just as flawed as the arguments Bertie *et al* put forward for allowing Shannon to be used to ferry the US killing machine to Iraq.

“The two main players involved in invading Iraq — Britain and the US — call themselves ‘liberators’ when they have murdered, maimed, tortured, intimidated and harassed the indigenous peoples of several countries. Britain armed and backed up the loyalist/Orangemen in Ireland while it suited their purpose and they covered up their dirty deeds. The US armed and backed up Saddam while it suited their purpose and covered up their dirty deeds. “As Blair and Bush meet in Belfast we call for an end to the use of the civilian airport in Clare by the US military and call on the people on this island to continue their protests until this is done,” the statement concluded.

• *Republican Sinn Féin members at the anti-war march in Dublin on March 29.*



US opinion Just war or a just war?

IN AN article in the *New York Times* on Sunday, March 9 last Jimmy Carter, the 39th President of the United States, chairman of the Carter Center in Atlanta and winner of the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize, said that for a war to be just it must meet several clearly-defined criteria and the war on Iraq did not meet these.

“Atlanta: Profound changes have been taking place in American foreign policy, reversing consistent bipartisan commitments that for more than two centuries have earned our nation greatness. These commitments have been predicated on basic religious principles, respect for international law, and alliances that resulted in wise decisions and mutual restraint. Our apparent determination to launch a war against Iraq, without international support, is a violation of these premises. As a Christian and as a president who was severely provoked by international crises, I became thoroughly familiar with the principles of a just war, and it is clear that a substantially unilateral attack on Iraq does not meet these standards. This is an almost universal conviction of religious leaders, with the most notable exception of a few spokesmen of the Southern Baptist Convention who are greatly influenced by their commitment to Israel based on eschatological, or final days, theology. For a war to be just, it must meet several clearly defined criteria.

The war can be waged only as a last resort, with all nonviolent options exhausted. In the case of Iraq, it is obvious that clear alternatives to war exist. These options previously proposed by our own leaders and approved by the United Nations were outlined again by the Security Council on Friday. But now, with our own national security not directly threatened and despite the overwhelming opposition of most people and governments in the world, the United States seems determined to carry out military and diplomatic action that is almost unprecedented in the history of civilized nations. The first stage of our widely publicised war plan is to launch 3,000 bombs and missiles on a relatively defenseless Iraqi population within the first few hours of an invasion, with the purpose of so damaging and demoralising the people that they will change their obnoxious leader, who will most likely be hidden and safe during the bombardment. The war's weapons must discriminate between combatants and noncombatants. Extensive aerial bombardment, even with precise accuracy, inevitably results in ‘collateral damage’. Gen Tommy R Franks, commander of American forces in the Persian Gulf, has expressed concern about many of the military targets being near hospitals, schools, mosques and private homes. Its violence must be proportional to the injury we have suffered. Despite Saddam Hussein's other serious crimes, American efforts to tie Iraq to the 9/11 terrorist attacks

• Jimmy Carter

have been unconvincing. The attackers must have legitimate authority sanctioned by the society they profess to represent. The unanimous vote of approval in the Security Council to eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction can still be honored, but our announced goals are now to achieve regime change and to establish a *Pax Americana* in the region, perhaps occupying the ethnically divided country for as long as a decade. For these objectives, we do not have international authority. Other members of the Security Council have so far resisted the enormous economic and political influence that is being exerted from Washington, and we are

faced with the possibility of either a failure to get the necessary votes or else a veto from Russia, France and China. Although Turkey may still be enticed into helping us by enormous financial rewards and partial future control of the Kurds and oil in northern Iraq, its democratic Parliament has at least added its voice to the worldwide expressions of concern. The peace it establishes must be a clear improvement over what exists. Although there are visions of peace and democracy in Iraq, it is quite possible that the aftermath of a military invasion will destabilize the region and prompt terrorists to further jeopardize our security at home. Also, by defying overwhelming world opposition, the United States will undermine the United Nations as a viable institution for world peace. What about America's world standing if we don't go to war after such a great deployment of military forces in the region? The heartfelt sympathy and friendship offered to America after the 9/11 attacks, even from formerly antagonistic regimes, has been largely dissipated; increasingly unilateral and domineering policies have brought international trust in our country to its lowest level in memory. American stature will surely decline further if we launch a war in clear defiance of the United Nations. But to use the presence and threat of our military power to force Iraq's compliance with all United Nations resolutions with war as a final option will enhance our status as a champion of peace and justice.”

— Jimmy Carter

O'Neill slams Drumboe hypocrisy on 80th anniversary

THE leaders of the Provisionals were “completely and utterly dishonouring the memory of the men who died in Drumboe in 1923” according to prominent Donegal Republican Sinn Féin member Joe O'Neill.

The former Bundoran Councillor and Republican Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member attacked the Provisionals move in honouring the memory of the Drumboe Martyrs at a dinner dance held in Ballybofey recently.

“Martin McGuinness, Pat Doherty and Gerry Adams are hypocritical in honouring the four dead because they did no accept the partition of this country which Adams and the like have accepted.

“They are also about to sit in Stormont, an English Parliament in Ireland under English control. Larkin, Enright, O'Sullivan and Daly were fighting against that and that's why they were executed. They fought against the forces that accepted partition of this country and there is no way they would have died at all if they have accepted what Adams, McGuinness and Doherty are accepting now.”

Joe O'Neill added: “Republican Sinn Féin accepted

the ideals which these men died for and would be honouring these men, a they had done continuously at Drumboe on Easter Sunday. He also said Republican Sinn Féin would be holding a function in the Four Provinces Bar in Bundoran on Friday, April 25.

“These men are completely and utterly dishonouring the memory of the men who died in Drumboe in 1923. No man or woman ever died fighting for the division of this country.” he said.

• **DRUMBOE MARTYRS: Comdt-General Charlie Daly (right) and Brig-Comdt Seán Larkin (far right).**

Appeal to save 16 Moore Street

THE National Graves Association has appealed to the nation and especially the citizens of Dublin to sign its petition to save 16 Moore Street, Dublin 1, the last headquarters of the Provisional Government of the All-Ireland Republic 1916.

On April 23, 1916 some 150 insurgents took over the GPO in Dublin. Most of the leaders were present as Patrick Pearse read out the Proclamation. The men and women in the GPO fought without pause or sleep for five days and five nights. Ravaged by sniper fire, machine guns, 9lb guns from Trinity College and 18lb incendiary shells from the gunboat, the Helga. The insurgents were forced to abandon the GPO on Friday, April 28 and set up headquarters in 16 Moore Street.

At noon on Saturday April 29, Thomas Clarke, Joseph Plunkett, Seán McDermott, Patrick Pearse and William Pease gathered around the bed of the badly injured James Connolly. Having assessed their situation they decided on surrender to prevent “any further slaughter of the civil population and to save the lives of as many of our followers”. They did this in the certain knowledge that they would lose their own lives but also in the confidence that their sacrifice would eventually set Ireland free. On the night before he died Thomas Clarke told his with Kathleen that they had struck the first blow for Ireland's freedom, but added prophetically "Between this moment and freedom, Ireland will go through hell".

How right this gallant solider was,

but the hell that was civil war scarred our nation to the extent that remembering hurts. Today 16 Moore Street lies decaying with age. The National Graves Association have requested Dublin City Council to list the building or preserve, restore this national monument. The potential is huge — a museum, visitors centre, gallery etc. 16 Moore Street can be incorporated into any new development and can become the centrepiece of such proposals. 2016 will mark the centenary of the 1916 Rising. What better way to honour the men and women of Easter Week than by saving 16 Moore Street.

According to the National Graves Association “the City Council have recently placed a Compulsory Purchasing Order on this site, including 16 Moore Street, but explain that Henry Street, Moore Street and O'Connell Street are in their opinion, historically more important than 16 Moore Street.

“This building is of national importance, the Last Stand of the Leaders of 1916, the Irish Alamo. The Irish people must learn from the mistakes of the past, Wood Quay, Mountjoy Square etc. You can help by contacting your local public representative, by writing to the newspapers, by contacting RTE, radio etc. and by signing our petition”.

The National Graves Association

• **The GPO, Dublin after heavy artillery bombardment by British Crown Forces in Easter Week, 1916.**

can be contacted at PO Box 7105, 74 Dame Street, Dublin 2.

• **Lieut Daniel Enright**

• **Lieut Tim O’Sullivan**

For The Record

WED. MARCH 12: Keith Rodgers (24) from Hackballscross, Co Louth was shot dead in an altercation at a petrol station in the border village of Cullaville, Co Armagh. The military wing of the Provisionals claimed him as one of their members. Another man was injured in the melee.

MON. MARCH 10: The home of a 22-year-old nationalist woman in the Ballysally estate in Coleraine, Co Derry was targeted in an arson attack by loyalists who threw a device at her front door.

FRI. MARCH 14: It was reported that 55 lawyers in the Six Counties have made complaints the Police Ombudsman Nuala O'Loan about police intimidation, harassment and threats from the RUC/PSNI in 2001 and 2002.

MON. MARCH 17: A family of five, including a five-month-old baby, were forced to flee from their home in Upper Hollybrook Heights in Glengormley, outside Belfast when arsonists set fire to the oil tank at the back of their

home, causing it to explode. The house was completely destroyed in the ensuing fire.

THURS. MARCH 20: Clifford McKeown, 44, from Craigavon, County Armagh man was convicted of the murder of nationalist taxi driver Michael McGoldrick in 1996. The court was told the killing had been a "birthday present" for the then Loyalist Volunteer Force leader Billy Wright, who was later murdered by the INLA in Long Kesh prison. He is already serving 12 years imprisonment for possessing guns.

The so-called 'Coalition of the Willing', consisting of the USA and Britain, along with Australia and Poland launched their war on Iraq.

The Dublin Administration pushed through a motion in Leinster House that will continue to keep Shannon Airport open to military forces.

The home of Tommy Gallagher, his wife and two children at Drumahoe Gardens in the mainly loyalist area Millbrook area of Larne, Co Antrim was targetted in a loyalist arson attack. Two petrol bombs were thrown at their home, one hitting the front of the house where it ignited, causing scorch damage, the other hit a vacant house next door.

TUES. MARCH 25: Darren Watson (28), a loyalist from south Down who was convicted of gun charges, was given a two-year conditional discharge by a British court.

Robert Emmet
ON July 23, 1803, the day of Robert Emmet's Rising, a Manifesto was issued by "The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland".

This was quite a lengthy document and it was followed by 30 Decrees. Decree no 27 envisaged the holding of elections and the setting up of a National Parliament and Government to which the Provisional Government would hand over its functions.

Decree no 27 read as follows:

The Provisional Government wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin, to whom, the moment they assemble, the Provisional Government will resign its functions, and, without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg leave to suggest, that for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

Emmet had indicated the need to elect people of integrity of character as members of parliament. This was another example of how enlightened and principled this young man of 25 years was.

Protest Against American Warplanes at Shannon

MIC students are to conduct a sleepover outside the Royal George Hotel, stated Pól Ó Meádhra, spokesperson for the recently launched Liam Ó Loingsigh Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin.

“This is to highlight the ongoing presence of American warships, in what has now become Shannon Warport. We already have one foreign army of occupation without inviting another.

“This must be highlighted and confronted, by every means possible. The sleepover will be part of the ongoing struggle against American and British neo-imperialism. The Liam Ó Loingsigh Cumann will be present at the protest throughout the night.”

Might is not Right

REGARDING the imperialist war building up against the people of Iraq, the build up is not to bring freedom or democracy to the Middle East but to rob and steal their oil. The only right western imperialism has in the Middle East is what the Brits have in my native Ireland and that is the robbers' right or the right of conquest.

Should the twin imperialisms of British and American create a blood bath in the Middle East the birthplace of humanity, the perpetrators should be brought before the court of world opinion.

The contempt I have for the forces of imperialism is matched by the deep respect I have for the brave people of all races, creed and colour throughout this planet who protest against the drive to imperialism and in support of those who seek peace and happiness.

— George Harrison

Students’ Union censorship

"THE Shoneen ethos or subservient mentality seems to be pervading most sections of Irish society at present, this unfortunately is also the case with the “USI”, stated Pól Ó Meádhra, Republican Sinn Féin spokesperson of Cumann Liam Ó Loingsigh, Mary Immaculate teacher training college, Limerick.

This was highlighted recently by the refusal of the Students Union to allow the erection of certain Republican Sinn Féin posters in the college. These posters were intended to expose the realities of the present military occupation of part of Ireland. The posters were simple and to the point, ‘RUC-PSNI — nothing has changed, treat them the same’. We were told that such posters may be insulting, indeed racist!

Such sentiments are absurd to say the least, a manifestation of the age-old problem of the slave mentality or gombeen psychosis, arising out of 800 years of colonialism by a foreign power.

Republican Sinn Féin hopes to do its part in the destruction of this mindset, in USI, by electing as many members as possible in the upcoming election in the college.

Shannon role wrong

BY allowing the use of Shannon Airport as a transit base to American troops against the wishes of the Irish people, the 26-County Administration must bear some of the responsibility for the awful loss of life in Iraq, the Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin said on March 29.

Des Long said that the American and British engineered war has no moral sanction from the United Nations.

“In fact the war is opposed by the vast majority of people who see that diplomacy was not given a proper chance to resolve the situation,” he told delegates from Clare, Limerick, Kerry, Cork and Waterford at the Munster Executive meeting of Republican Sinn Féin in Limerick.


“In Shannon we see how politicians have ignored the wishes of the people — as far back as the first Gulf War — and in the recent conflict in Afghanistan we in Republican Sinn Féin said that a civilian airport should not be used for military purposes.

“While the people of Iraq are being bombed into bits tonight let the politicians reflect that these weapons of mass destruction were not only facilitated but welcomed at Shannon Airport.

“By conniving with the American military and using weasel words this Dublin Administration must bear some of the responsibility for the awful loss of life in this conflict.

“The Americans masquerade under their so called flag of freedom but what they are doing to the people of Iraq is tantamount to international terrorism. The Americans can never again speak about terrorism with any moral authority. What they are doing is nothing short of inflicting terror on an entire country.”

Join CUMANN na mBAN



For details contact Máiréad Ní Chaoimh
c/o 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1

A prisoner in his own home

MEET the prisoner in his own home. Confined to the house, he cannot venture out to meet friends or for a cup of coffee.

In fact Limerick man Joe Lynch is unable to attend Mass or confession. Every day he must stay indoors and report by telephone to his local police station.

A former Irish Shipping seaman, Joe Lynch cannot even exercise his favourite pastime by taking a walk around his neighbourhood in the Ballinacurra Weston area of Limerick. Even long time friends cannot visit him!

“I am a prisoner in my own house,” he says. “I am under house arrest....the conditions imposed on me are outrageous and a frightening infringement of my civil and indeed human rights.”

The Special Non-Jury Court in Dublin imposed the stringent bail conditions on Joe Lynch after police objected to his being granted bail on a charge of alleged IRA mem-

bership.

“Never in the history of this country has such draconian conditions being imposed on anyone appearing before a court,” he said. “I cannot even take a lift home from the court after the days hearing — I must take the train from Dublin and the minute I reach Limerick I must telephone the local barracks to report in that I am at home.”

At present Joe Lynch and six other men are fighting the IRA membership charges in court. They were detained under the Offences Against the State Act on December 17, 2001 when police raided a meeting in a house in the Ballynanty area of Limerick.

“It has now been proven in court that my arrest was illegal — we have been on trial since the second week of January — and it is a considerable strain on me and on my family.



• Joe Lynch

“My wife is ill and need regular hospital treatment yet I cannot accompany her there. My son is also ill and I cannot even take him to hospital.”

A long time member of Republican Sinn Féin, Mr. Lynch is a former PRO for the organisation in Limerick and

has acted as Munster Executive spokesman. “This whole exercise by the police is simply an attempt to damage and taint Republican Sinn Féin because we continue to say that the basic cause of conflict is the British presence in Ireland.”

Harassment of Republicans increas-

THE killing of Republicans by the Free State during the Civil War was actually a counter-revolution by forces backed by the British crown, a member of the Ard Comhairle told the first Republican Sinn Féin commemoration in Listowel, County Kerry on March, 30.

South Armagh man Gerald Crilly said that the same counter revolutionary forces are at work today with the Provos administering British rule in the Six Counties and it will be only a matter of time until they turn against true Republicans.

“The foundation is being laid for intense harassment and intimidation of Republicans by the RUC or the PSNI,” he told a large crowd from all over Munster. “In recent times we

have seen a concerted move against all those who oppose the British presence in Ireland.

“Even the so called trial of the Ballynanty Seven has shown the lies and distortions used by the political police to try to tarnish Republican Sinn Féin — and now it has been proven in the Non-Jury court that the men were all arrested illegally — they must be set free now and these spurious charged dropped.”

A local colour party led the parade from Charles Street in Listowel to the Republican Plot where Séamus O Súilleabháin from County Limerick welcomed the large crowd and chaired the commemoration. Republican Sinn Féin chairperson John Mangan from Tralee recited a decade of the rosary. Matt Leen read a poem commemorating the deaths of the Republicans during the Civil War while Siobhan Walsh read the 1916 Proclamation.

Wreaths were laid by Paddy McCarthy on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin, by Dominick Kissane on behalf of the prisoners and by Donal

O'Sullivan, Lisselton on behalf of the relatives of the two men, Timothy O'Sullivan and David Enright who were executed by Free State forces during the Civil War. Jonathan Bermingham from Na Fianna sounded the Last Post.

One of the organisers John O'Shea from Ballylongford said they were pleased with the turn out for what was the first Republican Sinn Féin commemoration in the town of Listowel.

“We now have a solid foundation here and we intend to build on it and recruit new members in the coming months,” he said.

• A US navy transport aircraft pictured at Shannon Airport recently.

Local areas are asked to write to Republican prisoners in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons, in particular those from their own province, not forgetting prisoners from the other provinces.

CABHAIR continues to support all true Republican prisoners and their dependants in Irish jails within the 32 Counties. With this in mind we ask for local areas to form Finance Committees. Help and advice will be given by the Central Committee. All contributions should be sent to:

**Central Committe
CABHAIR
223 Parnell Street
Dublin 1**



REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin has secured a premises at 229 Falls Road, Belfast as the organisation's public office in the city. This excellent location near the city centre gives a much-needed focus and morale boost to our growing membership in Belfast and throughout Ulster.

- Contributions, which will be gratefully acknowledged, can be made:
1. To the following: Mary Ward, Co Donegal; Frank McCarry, Co Antrim; Jimmy McElhinney, Co Tyrone; Geraldine Taylor, Belfast; Michael McGonigle, Co Derry; Joe O'Neill, Co Donegal; Mick McManus, Co Fermanagh; Larry McMahon, Co Monaghan
 2. By sending a donation to: Ard Oifig, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 or to 229 Falls Road, Belfast.
 3. By Standing Order Form published here.

Greg Campbell, mar dhaonlathaí

CÉARD é an locht is mó ar Shocrú Aoine an Chéasta? An chumhacht a beith le roinnt idir na páirtithe polaitiúla, dar le Greg Campbell, ball de na hAondachtóirí Daonlathae sna Sé Chontae, páirtí Phéaslaí, más fearr lear ar an dóigh sin é, agus Greg ina aoi ag Institiúid na hÉireann, ina lároifig, Teach na bPiarsach, Baile Átha Cliath, oíche Dhéardaoine, Feabhra 6.

Ag an bpáirtí polaitiúil a bhfuil tromlach an phobail leis agus sin cruthaithe ag vótáil ionraic, a ba chóir an chumhacht a bheith, mar is gnách i stat daonlathach, dar leisean.

Tagaim leis; agus ar son athaontú na hÉireann atá tromlach an phobail Éireannaigh. Leis na céadta bliain atá an scéal amhlaidh, dar leis na staraith. Sin, agus Saoirse, go dtínar ndul isteach san AE, Dia linn. Ach níor bhac duine ar bith den lucht éisteachta an oíche sin a leithéid a mhe-abhrú don aoi. Seans gur cheapadar go mbeadh sin drochmhúinte, cá bhfios?

DAONLATHAS TEORANTA

Ní raibh náisiún na hÉireann, tír na hÉireann, an t-oileán ina iomlán, i gceist ag Greg Campbell, ná cúige Uladh féin, ina iomlán, ach an oiread, ach cuid de, mar atá na Sé Chontae.

Ar scrúdaigh Greg an frithdhaonlathas a bhain leis an ailtireacht mhí-ionraic a rinne stáitín beag, mar dhe, de na Sé Chontae, agus an

cuspoir, mar a bhí forlámhas a chinntiú ar Éirinn uilig?

In ainneoin na Plandála den 17ú aois, mar a chruthaigh an staraí, Brian Murphy, ar son aontacht na hÉireann a sheas formhór mhuintir na hÉireann ar feadh na fichiú aoise.

Tig linn a rá gurbh í an bhliain a thosaigh feachtas na críochdheighilte, nuair a dhiúltaigh Asquith Home-Rule a "bhrú" ar "Ulster". Dhá bhliain níos déanaí, b'amhlaidh a gheall Lloyd George, ach go rúnda, agus é ag plé le Carson, nach gcuirfí acht Briotanach ar bith faoi Home-Rule aon iachall ar "Ulster" a bheith páirteach ann, go mbeadh roinnt eisceachtaí i gceist (viz, *Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal*, le Brian Murphy, Dublin; 1991: 185).

Ach, maidir le Carson féin: . . . even Carson admitted at the end of his days that Tory intrigues had led him on a course that was harmful to the well being of Ireland. (Murphy, idem: 61).

ADMHÁIL

CHARSON

I leabhar le ATQ Stewart (*Edward Carson*; Dublin, 1981) atá an admháil, í i gcló arís ag Murphy (idem: 61): What a fool I was [he exclaimed]. I was only a puppet, and so was Ulster, and so was Ireland, in the political game that was to get the Conservative Party into power.

Lá Bealtaine, a deirtear, cuirfear toghchán eile ar bun sna Sé Chontae agus, más fíor do Ghreg, agus é ag labhairt Tigh na bPiarsach an oíche úd i mí Feabhra, ag a phairtí féin a bheas an bua, agus ansin beidh deireadh le Trimble sa bpolaíocht.

D'fhéadfadh an ceart a bheith aige, mar, de réir a chéile, thar na blianta, tá ag ladgdú ar a thacaíocht seisean. Ach sa bpolaíocht, sa tír seo, ach go háirithe, is deacair a bheith cinnte faoi ní ar bith - cé a bhuas, cé a thitfeas, cé a éireos leis cail éigin eile a chur ar na vótóirí.

Ach, má thiteann Trimble, agus má éiríonn le Péaslaí, le Robinson, le Greg agus eile, céard é a dhéanfas siad?

D'eile, arsa Greg, ach an daonlathas a athbhunú. Beidh deireadh le roinnt na cumhachta. Beidh an SDLP, Sinn Féin agus a lucht tacaíochta ann, ceart go leor, ach mar threasúra amháin.

RÉ NUA

Ar an dóigh sin, dar le Greg, cuirfidh siad deireadh le Socrú Aoine an Chéasta, agus beidh ar a gcumas socrú nua a bhunú, agus cothrom na Féinne a thabhairt do na Protastúin.

Caithfidh muid fanacht go foighneach anois go dtí Lá Bealtaine, lá traidisiúnta na bpiseog, tréimhse na draíochta, nuair a tharlaíonn an ní, minic go leor, nach mbíonn éinne ag súil leis.

Cibé faoi sin, tá Socrú Aoine an Chéasta ar an dé deiridh. Ar na torthaí go raibh go leor daoine ag súil leo, bhí deireadh le biogóideacht, le fuath, le heaspa muiníne idir Caitlicigh agus Protastúin. Ach a mhalairt a tharla. Níl deireadh le dó, le marú, le raic, le scrios . . .

Maidir le Teach Laighean, an bhfuil aon dóchas ann do ndéanfadh formhór a chuid polaiteoirí éinní le beith réadúil faoin gcricheadheighilt?

'Chuile sheans go ndéanfaidís siúd, ina mbunáite, an ócáid a cheiliúradh, más go rúnda féin é, nuair a éireos le Péaslaí agus a chairde greim a fháil ar an gcumhacht, más fíor an pictiúr a dhear Greg Tigh na Piarsach faoi thus mhí Feabhra

Níor theastaigh uathu, TD ná seanadóir, go gcuirfí deireadh le críochdheighilt na hÉireann. Ró-thrioblóideach . . . Bheadh ar dhaoine tosú ag smaoineamh, obair phianmhar. An bhféadfadh an tír an costas a sheasamh? Fios a chur ar na Náisiúin Aontuithe, ar ndóigh, agus ár lámha a niochain, ach . . .

FEAR BOCHT

Ní drochdhuine é Greg, cheapfainn. Bhí trua agam dó, agus é ag cur síos faoin uaigneas atá air. Gan a bheith in ann teagmháil a choinneáil lena oidhreacht Albanach, a dheacair is atá sé.

Bhí fonn orm Burns agus a chuid filíochta a phlé leis, len é a stiúradh beagán. Burns agus a chuairt ar an nGaelacht, agus an fháilte a cuireadh roimhe ansin. Agus eile . . .

Dúisigh, a Ghreg! Bheadh fáilte romhat inár measc ach filleadh go fírinneach ar t'oidhreacht, bail ó Dhia ort.

— **Deasún Breatnach**

£30,867

Éire Nua Building Fund Belfast / Derry

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IMEACHTAÍ

WHITE-LINE PICKETS FOR POLITICAL STATUS

OUTSIDE THE REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN OFFICE, 229 FALLS ROAD, BELFAST

1st and 3rd SATURDAY OF EVERY MONTH

1-2pm

OUTSIDE THE GUILDHALL, DERRY CITY

LAST SATURDAY OF EVERY MONTH, 1-2pm

Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Belfast and Derry

PICKET AT SPECIAL NON-JURY COURT

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9

SUPPORT THE REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN EIGHT

Assemble: end of Green Street, Dublin, 10.30am

PICKET FOR POLITICAL STATUS

GPO, DUBLIN

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1-2pm

Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Leinster

LIAM LYNCH COMMEMORATION

EIGHTIETH ANNIVERSARY

SUNDAY, APRIL 13

KILCRUMPER CEMETERY, FERMOY, CO CORK

Assemble: 2pm, Kilcrumper

BOOK LAUNCH: BOLD ROBERT EMMET

New book by Seán Ó Brádaigh

MONDAY, APRIL 14, 6.15pm

BRAZEN HEAD, BRIDGE STREET, DUBLIN 8

Fáilte roimh cách!

80th COMMEMORATION TO WALSH, LYONS AND DALTON, MURDERED IN THE VALLEY OF KNOCKANURE, CO KERRY

SUNDAY, MAY 11

Assemble: Knockanure, Moyvane, 2.30pm and march to memorial

CABHAIR — IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS DEPENDANTS FUND

ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL & REPUBLICAN REUNION

WEST COUNTY HOTEL, CHAPELIZOD, DUBLIN

FRIDAY, MAY 16, 2002

Buffet Supper & Music by The Freewheelers

Tickets: €20

Easter Statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement

ON the 87th anniversary of the historic Easter Rising of 1916, the Leadership of the Republican Movement extends greetings to all, at home and in exile, who are gathered in commemoration at the graves of our martyred dead or at memorials to their sacrifice and their memory. This year 2003 also marks the bicentenary of Robert Emmet's Rising in Dublin which will be commemorated fittingly later in this year.

The Leadership also sends greetings and good wishes to our Republican prisoners in Maghaberry prison, Co Antrim and Magilligan, Co Derry as well as to those in Portlaoise jail. In spite of the sacrifice and victory of our ten hunger strikers in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh Camp 22 years ago, political status is once more denied by the British government to these political prisoners. In Portlaoise jail, ill-treatment is being inflicted on Republicans there by the 26-County Administration.

In all cases the prisoners are standing up to oppression with dig-

nity and courage, secure in the knowledge that great Irish men and women have trodden this well-worn path before them and have ultimately won what is rightfully theirs. It is with dismay, then, we learn that in Belfast itself functions in aid of the welfare of the prisoners and their families are being disrupted by those who were once their comrades but have now joined forces with the enemies of Irish freedom. Owners of premises who have agreed to host such functions have been intimidated and forced to cancel these social occasions, in some cases by those who once suffered at the hands of the English enemy in the same prisons. Nevertheless, we wish to express out appreciation of the work of faithful Republicans in their loyal and continued support of the prisoners and their dependants.

The harassment of the nationalist population by the British occupation forces, including the RUC/PSNI, has continued unabated and has manifested itself in charges of conspiracy which has ever been the last resort of British rule in

Ireland, when all else failed. The Dublin government, to its shame, has persisted in its collaboration with English rule and now, openly and brazenly, boasts of how closely it works with the enemy. The three-months long trial in the Special Non-jury Court in Green Street, Dublin of the Limerick Seven on unfounded charges is but one example of this. History will judge such actions yet, as it has judged the quislings and collaborators in other countries.

CONTRARY to the wishes of the United Nations and in breach of its Charter, an imperialist war has been launched against a weak Third World country which is rich in its resources. It is indeed the first of the notorious "resource wars of the 21st century" which were forecast a decade ago. In complete disregard of public opinion in Ireland, the 26-County administration has blatantly violated neutrality in providing support for the logistics of the aggressors at Shannon Airport. Legitimate national liberation wars, such as our own centuries-old struggle, and anti-

colonial and anti-imperialist wars are a different matter altogether; and we reject the pernicious doctrine of the pre-emptive war.

The Stormont Agreement of more than five years ago is continuing to be unworkable and Stormont itself has again been suspended for the past six months. In no way is this agreement a settlement and it has brought no benefit to either nationalists or unionists. It copper-fastens the presence of the British government here and denies the right of all the Irish people acting as a unit to self-determination. Also it leaves the unionists in a state of uncertainty and fear for their future. A new democracy in a New Ireland of the four provinces is the realistic alternative to this in secure agreement which aims to perpetuate English rule in Ireland.

Republican Sinn Féin continues in its task of providing the workable alternative to a restructured British rule. It reaches out to both unionists and nationalists with a place for all is the New Ireland. We note that the Continuity IRA still asserts the right

of the Irish people "to the ownership of Ireland". Because of its resistance to foreign rule that body has been subjected to a sustained campaign of denigration. Spurious charges of the most outrageous kind have been levelled against it by sections of the media which are pliant in the hands of the Establishment, but it adheres to its principles with the honour it has inherited from the men and women of 1916.

In the words of Liam Mellows before he faced the firing squad, "by truth and honour, by principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free". This then is the task to which we rededicate ourselves this Easter day, with the assistance of a completely new generation untrammelled by the sell-outs and betrayals of the past. Inspired by the patriot dead, we move forward again towards the ultimate victory.

— Issued by the
Leadership of the
Republican Movement
Easter 2003.

1916 Easter Commemorations

ANTRIM

Belfast, Easter Sunday, Republican Plot, Milltown Cemetery, 12 noon.

ARMAGH

Camloch, south Armagh, Easter Saturday, 6pm; Easter Sunday, Newry, 10am; Wreath-laying ceremonies at Cullyhanna, Crossmaglen and Mullaghbawn.

Armagh city, Easter Sunday, Sandyhill Cemetery, 3pm.

Lurgan, Easter Sunday, Wreath-laying ceremony at Republican Plot, St Colman's Cemetery.

CAVAN/ FERMANAGH

Easter Sunday, 3pm. Kiladuff Cemetery, Swanlinbar, at the grave of Vol Patrick McManus, assemble cemetery gates 3pm.

CLARE

Details in local papers.

CORK

Assemble at Wilton Roundabout, 2pm Easter Sunday. Parade to Republican Plot, St Finbarr's Cemetery.

DERRY

Cúchulainn Memorial, City Cemetery, Derry City, Easter Sunday, assemble at 12 noon.

Wreath-laying ceremonies at the following on Easter Sunday morning: The Loup Cemetery, 9am at the grave of Brigadier Seán Larkin; and the grave of Tommy Toner in Dungiven, 10.15am at the graves of Vols Kealy, O'Carolan and Kilmartin and hunger striker Kevin Lynch.

DONEGAL

Holy Saturday, Doneyloup, Castlefin 7.30pm. Clady Bridge, 11.30am. Drumboe Easter Sunday, assemble Johnson's Corner 2.30pm.

DOWN

Easter Sunday, Newry, 10 am, St Mary's Cemetery.

DUBLIN

Assemble Garden of Remembrance, 11.30am for march to GPO, O'Connell Street, Dublin, Easter Sunday.

Wreath-laying ceremony at Glasnevin Cemetery, Easter Sunday 1pm. Easter Monday, commemoration at Deansgrange Cemetery, 1pm.

GALWAY

Assemble at Cathedral for parade to Liam Mellows Memorial, Eyre Square, Galway city, Easter Sunday, 11am.

Republican Plot, Donaghpatrick, Headford, Easter Sunday, assemble Queally's Cross, Cahiristrane, 3pm.

Wreath-laying ceremonies at Uachtarard, grave of Vol Séamus Ó Máille, 7pm, Saturday, April 22.

Easter Sunday 12 noon, wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of Fr Michael Griffin, Cathedral, Loughrea.

Tuam, Easter Sunday, 2pm wreath-laying ceremony, Workhouse Memorial.

GLASGOW

Easter Sunday commemoration and function. Details from SAOIRSE sellers.

KERRY

Cahersiveen, Easter Sunday, assemble 2.30pm Fair Green and parade to Killavogue Cemetery. Wreath-laying ceremonies at 3rd Kerry Brigade memorial in Church Street along the route.

Eddie Carmody Memorial, Ballylongford, wreath-laying

ceremony, Easter Sunday 11.30, followed by wreath-laying ceremony, Republican Plot, Listowel 12.15.

Tralee, Easter Sunday, assemble at Denny Street at 2pm parade to Republican Plot, Rath Cemetery. Killarney, wreath-laying ceremony at Republican Monument.

KILDARE

Easter Sunday, 12 noon, at the grave of Frank Driver in Ballymore Eustace. Wreath-laying ceremonies at the grave of Myles and Thomas O'Reilly, Hollywood.

LEITRIM

Easter Sunday, Mohill 3pm at the grave of Brig-Adj Joe Beirne, IRA.

North Leitrim wreath-laying ceremonies: Rossinver at grave of Vol Jack McCabe at 12 noon; Manorhamilton at memorial to Captain Phil Gilgunn, 12.30pm.

LIMERICK

Easter Sunday, assemble Munster Tavern, Mulgrave Street, 2.45pm for parade to Republican Plot, Mount St Lawrence Cemetery.

LIVERPOOL

Easter Sunday, wreath-laying ceremony at the Fenian Monument in Ford Cemetery.

LONDON

Easter Monday, 1pm, in Hendon Cemetery at the grave of Paddy Hartigan. Wreath-laying ceremonies at Leytonstone at the grave of Terry Dunne and City of London Cemetery at the grave of Michael Barrett.

LONGFORD

Easter Sunday, Ballymacormack Cemetery, Longford town, at

the grave of Patrick McKeown, 3pm. Assemble junction of Ballymahon/Janesboro roads.

LOUTH

Dundalk, Easter Sunday, assemble Adelphi (old cinema now closed) at 1pm for parade to Republican Plot, St Patricks Cemetery.

MANCHESTER

Easter Sunday, wreath-laying ceremony at the Manchester Martyrs monument in Moston Cemetery.

MAYO

Kilkelly, Easter Monday, 12 noon, assemble at Church and parade to East Mayo Brigade Memorial on main Sligo-Galway Road.

MEATH

12 noon, Easter Monday, wreath-laying ceremony at Tom Allen Memorial, Longwood. Wreath-laying ceremonies will also be held at the Séamus Fox Memorial, Drumree, 1pm and at Ardbracken, Navan, 1.30pm.

MONAGHAN

Easter Sunday, Commemoration, Urbleshanny Cemetery, Scotstown, at grave of Vol Séamus McElwaine 2pm.

NEW YORK

Easter Sunday Commemoration. Molly Wee Pub 8th Ave & 30th Street, New York City. For Info Phone 718-409-2203.

OFFALY

Offaly, wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of Walter Mitchel, Tullamore, Easter Sunday, 10am

ROSCOMMON

Ballinlough, Easter Sunday, 12 noon, parade to IRA Memorial. Elphin, parade to County Roscommon Memorial after 11.30 Mass.

County Commemoration, Ardcarne Cemetery, Boyle, Easter Sunday, 3.30pm. Parade forms up at Grevisk gate on main Carrick-on-Shannon-Boyle road and marches to the grave of Terence McGlynn.

SLIGO

Sligo Town, Easter Sunday, assemble Cemetery gates 12 noon and march to Republican Plot.

TIPPERARY

Easter Sunday, commemoration, 10am, Hunger Strike Memorial, Banba Square, Nenagh.

TYRONE

Carrickmore, Easter Saturday, 6.30pm, wreath-laying ceremony at grave of Frank Ward. Aghyaran, Easter Sunday 10.15am at grave of John Phillip O'Donnell.

WATERFORD

Easter Monday, 6.30pm, Cappoquin, west Waterford. Assemble at the Square and march to Republican Plot.

WESTMEATH

Easter Sunday, 12 noon, commemoration at the grave of Ranger James Daly, Tyrellspass.

WEXFORD

Republican Plot, St Ibar's Cemetery, Crosstown, Easter Sunday, assemble at Crescent Quay, Wexford at 3pm. Wreath-laying ceremonies at the grave of Joe Whitty; and at the graves of Rafter and McCarthy in Morrinton Cemetery. Function: 5pm, Tower Bar.

Nationalists face

Saturday, March 8, 2003: The shooting of a man in the early hours of Saturday has left the people of this area of north Belfast wondering as to why the man was made a target. It is clear that the victim kept himself to himself and a reason for him being shot and killed is lost on the people of this area. The victim was named as 39-year-old David Barnes.

Sunday, March 9, 2003: Sunday passed off without any reports of trouble.

Monday, March 10, 2003: Monday was witness once again to PSNI/RUC harassment as a number of homes of Republican Sinn Féin members were raided. In scenes reminiscent of the 70s and 80s large numbers of RUC backed up with landrovers descended on a number of homes in north and west Belfast around 5.35am.

In one case men used a sledgehammer in an attempt to break down a front door. In all cases homes were raided; mobile phones, computers, bank statements, pictures, DVD's, phonographs, clothes and other personal belongings such as address books were taken by the PNSI/RUC. Four members of Republican Sinn Féin were arrested and taken to Lisburn barracks where they were questioned before being released around 6.30pm.

Tuesday, March 11, 2003: There were reports on Tuesday of RUC/PSNI raids in the Falls Road area of west Belfast. There was, as has been the case, a heavy force of occupation forces on the ground again in north Belfast and for a time in the Lower Falls of west Belfast.

Wednesday, March 12, 2003: There were reports on Wednesday night that a bomb was abandoned near Laganside Court buildings.

Thursday, March 13, 2003: Thursday morning was witness to tailbacks and traffic jams that were caused by Wednesday nights' bombing at the Laganside Court buildings.

Throughout Thursday Brit/RUC occupation forces were once again enforce in north Belfast. Brit army armoured cars moved round the area as backup to RUC landrovers.

Friday, March 14, 2003: Friday was witness to minor stone throwing over the so-called peace-line at Alliance Avenue. A number of stones were thrown over from the loyalist Glen Bryn area into the back of houses in the nationalist Alliance Avenue. No one was injured and no damage was caused in the attack that only lasted a few minutes. There were further reports of trouble in the area throughout the day.

Saturday, March 15, 2003: There were no reports of trouble on Saturday although once again occupation forces were heavy on the ground.

Sunday, March 16, 2003: Sunday afternoon was witness to confrontation between groups of nationalists and loyalists in a number of interface areas. Fighting took place at White city at Arthur Bridge, Limestone Road. Loyalists using the cover of the Alexandra Park near the Antrim Road petrol bombed nationalist homes. Also throughout the day attacks took place as loyalists from the Glen Bryn area kept up a constant attack on the nationalist houses in the Alliance Avenue. A number of people had a lucky escape as missiles rained down on the nationalist homes. This set the scene for the day for the people of north Belfast.

In east Belfast the nationalist Short Strand was again the victim of loyalist attacks and a number of pipe bombs were thrown by loyalists into the nationalist Bryson Street. Heavy fighting once again took place into the night.

Monday, March 17, 2003: A family of

In north Belfast the nationalist people of Alliance Avenue settled in for yet another night of attacks from the loyalist Glen Bryn area as RUC landrovers kept mobile patrols in the Alliance Avenue to no doubt make sure nationalists wouldn't be able to defend their homes against the loyalist sectarianism.

Thursday, March 20, 2003: Minor stone throwing took place throughout the day with loyalists in the Glen Bryn area once again targeting the nationalist houses in the Alliance Avenue. There was also trouble in the loyalist Ballygomartin area, it was claimed that fighting broke out between loyalists and nationalists at Springmartin road. The occupation forces moved into the area. Loyalists then started to attack those they claim to be their own crown forces, the RUC/PSNI. Not for the first time has the confused loyalism attacked the Crown.

RUC/PSNI attacked anti-war protestors at one stage during an anti-war demonstration in Belfast. The RUC drew batons on school children and made two arrests. Once again the RUC have shown how willing they are to use force even against anti-war protestors.

Friday, March 21, 2003: Friday saw some minor stone throwing once again by loyalists from Glen Bryn targeting the nationalist homes in the Alliance Avenue. Friday was also witness to Brit occupation forces enforce in north Belfast.

Mobile patrols were backed up by foot patrols in the Old Park Road, Bone and Cliftonville area setting the scene for the day.

Four students at Jordanstown College in Belfast were forced to leave their rented accommodation in the Cloughfern area of Newtownabbey, outside Belfast after being repeatedly threatened by groups of men who said if they didn't leave they would be 'moved out by the UDA'.

Saturday, March 22, 2003: There was reports of an arms find in south Belfast. At this stage there's no further details. Also on Saturday night there were reports of minor stoning towards the nationalist houses in Alliance Avenue, again from the loyalist Glenbryn. No damage was caused in the attack that only lasted a number of minutes.

The arms find in University Street on the Ormeau Road has been claimed to be a number of handguns, a rifle shotgun, hundreds of bullets and bomb parts.

Sunday, March 23, 2003: Around 6.30pm on Sunday fighting broke out at Ardoyne Road after nationalists confronted loyalists who came down from the Glen Bryn area and started to attack the houses of nationalists on the Ardoyne Road and in Alliance Avenue. The fighting at one stage became very heavy and a number of shots were also heard.

This latest attack on the nationalist people of Ardoyne came after a week of such attacks against the nationalist people of Alliance Avenue carried out from the loyalist Glen Bryn area. The fighting subsided after a time and the area was flooded with Occupation Forces. Tension stayed high in the area and the people in the nationalist Avenue have settled down for a sleepless night.

It was reported that a large haul of guns, ammunition and bomb timers which were discovered in a warehouse beside a bar at University Street near the lower Ormwau Road in south Belfast were belong to the armed wing of the Provisionals. Three men were arrested in connection with the find.

Monday, March 24, 2003: There has been claims that the weapons found near the Ormeau Road on Saturday belong to the

• British spy camera knocked down opposite St Matthew's Catholic Church in east Belfast on March 19.

five, including a five-week-old baby, were forced to flee their home at Upper Hollybrook Heights in Glengormley on the outskirts of Belfast following an arson attack which caused their oil tank to explode. In the ensuing fire the house was completely destroyed.

St. Patrick's Day was just another day for those living on or near the interface areas as throughout the day loyalists in the Glen Bryn area once again rained missiles over the so-called peace-line down on the nationalist houses in Alliance Avenue. These attacks were again carried out into the hours of darkness; across town in East Belfast Short Strand was targeted by loyalists, and yet again loyalist pipe-bombers were in action against that small nationalist community of east Belfast.

In west Belfast there was a report of a riot that started after a St. Patrick's Day disco ended; the fighting is believed to have started when the RUC/PSNI moved into the Andersonstown area. The RUC later claimed four of their members were injured.

Tuesday, March 18, 2003: Tuesday once again saw the nationalist people of the Alliance Avenue coming under heavy stoning.

The stoning that started around teatime saw a number of cars damaged as missiles not only fell into backyards but, also cleared the roofs of the nationalist houses falling into the street. A number of bolts as well as bottles, bricks and stones were used to attack the nationalist houses from the loyalist Glen Bryn area.

In east Belfast Bryson Street was again the target for loyalist bombers and stone throwing took place from loyalists in the Newtownards Road, fireworks were also used to attack the nationalist Short Strand.

Wednesday, March 19, 2003: Loyalists on the Newtownards Road in east Belfast carried out a number of attacks against the nationalist Short Strand on Wednesday night as well as stones, bricks and bottles being used fireworks and paint bombs were also used in the attack, loyalists also used a stolen JCB to knock down a spy camera in the area.



Provisionals. A number of people were arrested in the area.

Tuesday, March 25, 2003: There were reports on Tuesday morning of a number of bomb scares in the Newtownabbey area of north Belfast. It is believed that the scares are in the loyalist White House area.

The nationalist people of Alliance Avenue were once again under constant attack by loyalists in the Glen Bryn area. Missiles rained down over the so-called peace-line.

The attacks started in the afternoon and went on throughout the day. Damage was caused to a number of nationalist houses. There were no reports of injuries.

Wednesday, March 26, 2003: Once again and has been going on for a number of weeks now, the nationalist people living on the frontline in the Alliance Avenue were victim to the targeting of loyalist stone throwers from the Glen Bryn area.

Although the attacks are minor to that of recent days, that doesn't make it any less of a worry for the people who live in this area.

Thursday, March 27, 2003: There was no reports of trouble but, Occupation Forces were heavy on the ground with mobile foot patrols and Brit/RUC armoured foot patrols were constant throughout the day. Every so often nationalist youths would target the patrols with the odd brick or bottles.

Friday, March 28, 2003: There were no reports of trouble on Friday.

Saturday, March 29, 2003: Saturday was once again witness to attacks on homes in the Alliance Avenue. Loyalists in the Glen Bryn area targeted the backs of the houses with missiles and bricks; bottles were also thrown over the so-called peace-line. The attacks took place from around 7pm on Saturday and went on throughout the night. Some damage was caused but this was minor.

Sunday, March 30, 2003: There were no reports of trouble on Sunday although a number of people in the nationalist Alliance Avenue of north Belfast claimed to have heard a number of shots being fired around 10.45pm.

At this stage its not known what the target may have been or indeed if it was a test firing, as it is known loyalists have been test firing weapons in the area; needless to say such action leaves the nationalist community of north Belfast feeling uneasy.

Monday, March 31, 2003: Monday was witness to yet more stoning of nationalist houses in the Alliance Avenue. The stoning that took place in the late afternoon was on a minor level and caused no damage.

Tuesday, April 1, 2003: Tuesday saw a bomb scare close off Clifton Park Avenue for a number of hours. The scare started around 3pm in the afternoon and turned out to be a hoax.

Wednesday, April 2, 2003: Wednesday was witness to the Brit/RUC occupation forces once again heavy on the ground in a number of areas in north Belfast. As has been and is the case Brit army foot patrols backed up by armoured mobile patrols moved around parts of the Bone/Old Park Road, Cliftonville Road, Antrim Road and Cave Hill area. Throughout the day road checks were set up.

There was also some stoning near the interface at Alliance Avenue with nationalist homes once again the target; the stoning would be viewed as minor.

Thursday, April 3, 2003: There were no reports of trouble today, but once again Occupation Forces were enforce in a number

• *A nationalist family of five including a five-week-old baby escaped with their lives when their oil tank at the rear of their home was set alight in a loyalist attack in Glengormley, outside Belfast.*

of areas in Belfast.

Friday, April 4, 2003: Once again there was a number of Occupation Forces road checks set up around north Belfast. There were also reports of a petrol bomb attack on a house on the Crumlin Road in north

Belfast. At this stage it is not known if the attack is down to sectarianism or something else

It has also become clear that a nationalist man had a lucky escape in the early hours of last Saturday. A gang of loyalists tried to drag the man into a car at the top of Duncairn Gardens. The four-strong gang also used a hammer in the attack. The nationalist man in his twenties managed to escape running down Atlantic Avenue, but was chased by the gang who were in a blue Escort.

The young man managed to escape but was said to be in shock and was later treated in hospital for injuries to his head.

Once again it has been shown that loyalist gangs can drive around at will, it should be remembered these areas of north Belfast are under constant watch from the Brit Occupation Forces as already stated.

Monday, April 7, 2003: Pro-war demonstrators attacked a number of business premises and individuals during a pro-Bush and pro-war rally in Belfast city centre last night. Two nationalist pubs and a taxi company were targeted and passers-by were assaulted by a group who had marched from the loyalist Shankill area through the largely nationalist Castle St and King St area of the city. Passing vehicles were also attacked.

The 300-strong pro-Bush and pro-war rally had been organised by a senior member of the unionist party, Sir John Gorman, a former British soldier. Ian Paisley, leader of the DUP, was pictured at the rally standing alongside a woman carrying a placard which bore the slogan, “Baghdad, Basra, Crossmaglen?” The apparent implication of

the placard was to urge the British Army to “deal” with Republican areas of the north [Crossmaglen] in a similar way to Basra. The British Army require no such prompting since it has murdered innocent civilians here in Ireland for years and there is ample evidence that it is doing the same in Iraq.

Meanwhile a small group of loyalists, including members of the UDA, waved British flags and chanted anti-nationalist and pro-war slogans on the fringes of the large anti-war protest at Hillsborough Castle organised by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the Anti-War Movement. There are also reports of UDA members and individuals associated with Combat 18 “trawling” Belfast in cars looking for anti-war protesters who could be attacked. Combat 18 is an extreme right-wing British fascist organisation with links to loyalist paramilitaries. The number 1 and 8 in the alphabet refer to the initials AH or Adolf Hitler. Extreme loyalist websites urged attacks on anti-war protesters.

Tuesday, April 8, 2003: At approximately 1.45pm British colonial police in riot gear arrested a number of demonstrators who had sat down on one lane of the roadway outside Belfast city hall during a trade union rally against the presence of US President George W Bush in Ireland. Protesters complained about the behaviour of some of the riot police. In particular several witnesses said that one RUC/PSNI member dragged a young woman off the roadway by the hair. The number of the officer was 6277, according to a number of sources.

• *Paul Turtle (15) from Antrim town was assaulted by a loyalist gang as he walked to school on March 28. He had previously received a UVF death threat. He is the child of a mixed marriage.*

No blood for oil . . . No blood for oil . . . No blood for oil . . . No blood

The awful truth

I AM writing this article on day twelve of the war in Iraq. The best way to set forth what I want to say is to write the piece in two parts. Part one I shall call the preface, which will serve as a frame of reference for part two, where we shall be getting into a commentary on recent events.

To begin with, I cut out and kept an article by Vincent Twomey which appeared in the Irish Times of January 27, 2003. Vincent Twomey SVD is a lecturer in moral theology at St Patrick's College, Maynooth. The thrust of his thesis was to remind us all that morality is not just a personal or private matter, but that it must infuse public life as well.

He leads off by stating that if *“morality is privatised, banned from the public realm, politics necessarily becomes a naked power game, because concepts of right and wrong have been abandoned”*.

He then sets down some basic essentials. *“Democracy must be based on the true and solid foundation of non-negotiable ethical principles.”* One of these principles, for instance, is that the end never justifies the means. He hastens to add that these non-negotiable ethical principles are not faith-based or religion-based, because there is not an identity between religion and politics.

He identifies the roots of our democratic tradition and its essential basic principles as being *“Greek philosophy (eg Plato, Socrates, Aristotle), Western Christianity and the Enlightenment”*. The Enlightenment was a philosophical movement in the eighteenth century which brought human reason to examine previously accepted doctrines and institutions. It is also known as the Age of Reason.

The French principles of Democracy and the Rights of Man developed out of that movement. French philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau and the English radical Thomas Paine contributed to these new ideas. Wolfe Tone and the United Irish leaders brought these ideas to Ireland and a modern Irish model of them was developed, initially among the Presbyterians of Belfast. The Church of Rome found difficulty with these ideas for a long time, but the post Vatican II Church has moved far from its eighteenth century attitude.

So, Vincent Twomey of Maynooth makes his case for a democracy and a conduct of political affairs which operates within *“an essential moral framework for political debate and decision-making.”* By ignoring the dictates of conscience, people end up undermining democracy," he says. The only bulwark against corruption in public life is to act according to one's principles and one cannot pick and choose our moral principles. Moreover, these principles are not faith-based but are rooted in natural jus-

tice.

This essay by Vincent Twomey was still on my desk on March 20, 2003, the day on which the Fianna Fáil and Progressive Democrat TDs in Leinster House voted to allow US overflights by military aircraft on their way to Iraq and to continue to refuel these aircraft at Shannon Airport.

Imagine my reaction when I heard the Tánaiste, Mary Harney, give this reply when being interviewed on the RTÉ radio lunchtime news that same day:

“It is not for us to question whether it [the war] is right or wrong. We just have to consider Ireland's national interest; we have made a pragmatic decision.”

There was not one FF or PD member to take a principled stand against the 26-County government's motion on that day. Not one of them was prepared to cross the floor and vote No in the cause of humanity or to uphold international law.

In the House of Commons at Westminster there were 139 Labour backbenchers who took a principled stand, along with one senior member, Robin Cook. They saved the soul of the British Labour Party for another day.

When it comes to the question of waging war or assisting others in waging it, the primary consideration must be the moral one - is this war legal, properly authorised, just, moral? All other considerations, like jobs and investment, must take second place. In this case, the life of a poor Iraqi child is just as valuable as the life of a comfortable Irish person, and vastly more valuable than any person's job, promotion or pension.

War must be a last resort and most countries in the UN were of the opinion that that point had not been reached. There are other dictatorships in the world that the US and UK choose to ignore or even sustain. The injustices heaped on the Palestinian people over more than half a century are at the root of what happened on September 11, 2001.

We just do not know how many of the FF or PD TDs are of the opinion that the war in Iraq is right. If all of them do think so, it is strange that not one of them has had the courage to come clean and declare this openly. Many of them speak of making a “pragmatic” decision, or say “we had no option”.

This word “pragmatic” was popularised by Albert Reynolds when he was getting ready to abandon Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. “Pragmatic” decisions are expedient decisions, made purely on the

• A child victim of US airstrikes in Basra, Iraq — ‘The life of a poor Iraqi child is just as valuable as the life of a comfortable Irish person, and vastly more valuable than any person’s job, promotion or pension.’

basis of what is practicable and what might suit self-interest. They are not made on the basis of principle. They may of course sometimes be moral decisions, but that is purely by accident, since they were not made on the basis of their ethical dimensions.

This would not be something new for Fianna Fáil. Their founding-father, Éamon de Valera, made a pragmatic decision in 1926 when he abandoned the principle of the democratic authority of the 32-County Republican Dáil and accepted partition and the 26-County Dáil, and also the Six-County Stormont, instead. Some FF spokespersons now speak of being “pragmatic” as if it were a virtue; many of them may not understand the meaning of the word.

Nevertheless, there was a residuum of national principles within the Fianna Fáil party and certainly among its supporters for many years afterwards. This lasted as long as the men and women of the 1916-1921 period were still alive. By the 1970s this residuum had begun to disappear fast, as Kevin Boland, former FF minister, explained in the books he wrote in the subject. We can safely conclude, after the March 20 vote, that there is scarcely any

principle whatever left in either Fianna Fáil or the Progressive Democrats, probably not one shred. They have no bottom line whatever. Anything goes.

Ethics, we are told, is the science of the morality of human conduct. It guides individuals as to whether human acts or human conduct are right or wrong. Waging war, which involves the deliberate taking of human life, must surely come within the scope of the science of ethics. What human act can be more serious than the taking of another person's life?

The TDs trooped into the lobby to follow Bertie Ahern and Mary Harney in order to provide logistical support to the US and UK side in this war. We have the word of several of them that this was done on a purely “pragmatic” basis.

We now know the awful truth, that matters of life and death were decided without any reference to a moral dimension. It is worse still. If there is no moral criterion for this most serious of issues, war, then we may reasonably conclude that there is no moral criterion for anything. Everything is now “pragmatic”.

These people would not even bother to stop and think.

At least Tony Blair states publicly that he believes that this war is justified. Many would disagree with him and say that his conscience is erroneous. But our crowd here do not see it as a matter of conscience at all. They take their cue from an intellectual buffoon like George W Bush.

Bertie Ahern likes to be seen in such august company (I jest of course, dear reader), to rub shoulders with the big boys, irrespective of whether the company is good or bad. And the TDs follow suit; they all troop along to ensure the provision of vital facilities at Shannon for Bush's war effort. They probably thought they could keep their heads down and it would all be over in a week. But they are in for a long hot summer, by all accounts.

How did we come to this truly appalling state of affairs? How is it that there are no principles any more, no integrity or sense of honour, only unscrupulous expediency?

This amoral approach (not admitting of moral distinction or judgements) goes back to what Vincent Twomey calls *“the abandonment of non-negotiable principles”* in public life. Human acts tend to repeat themselves and to form habits. Habits coalesce into

what we call a person's character. After decades of decline in standards in public life in Ireland, we can now recognise some of the characters which have emerged. We get glimpses of them in all of the nine different tribunals, which, at public expense, lay bare the distinguishing features and attributes of many prominent people in Irish public life today. We may yet include in this the behaviour of some gardaí, senior and junior, in Co Donegal in recent years.

“A man is what his human acts make him,” is an old adage. Years of active membership in certain political parties, with all the wheeling and dealing, have so warped some people's minds that there is only a bare thread of integrity left in their public lives. Hopefully, they are much better in their private lives. But as Vincent Twomey says:

“Personal faith and public responsibility cannot be separated into two compartments, one private, one public . . . they may not consign their consciences to the bathroom.”

It is relevant here to advert to the attitude of Irish Republicans to the use of physical force against British forces in Ireland. The right of recourse to arms against an invader, the right of revolt against oppression is well grounded in both traditional Christian teaching and moral philosophy. Irish men and women have acted on the basis of this right for over 800 years. It is in the course of exercising this right that Irish Republicans must be mindful to follow a moral code of behaviour. The 1916 Proclamation, for instance, warned of "cowardice, inhumanity or rapine".

Vincent Twomey's concluding sentences in his Irish Times article are assuredly applicable to the conduct of public affairs in Ireland today. I quote:

“To act with courage and integrity, which is what conscience is all about, as distinct from raw unprincipled pragmatism and the unthinking following of the party line, will not make the task of individual politicians easier. But it will make for a healthier democracy, restore confidence in politics and give a new sense of purpose to society.”

“The use of the party whip to coerce politicians to vote against their consciences is one of the worst features of our modern democracy. It is potentially totalitarian and may well be unconstitutional. It is definitely immoral.”

I have left the last word to him. We need much more debate on all of this, without further delay, so that we can try, as a society, to extricate ourselves from a moral vacuum, which is the creation of self-serving politicians.

— Seán Ó Brádaigh

WHAT THEY SAID

Republican Sinn Féin claim three bars they tried to hire in recent weeks for a prisoners' welfare fundraiser initially agreed but later pulled out after coming under pressure, they claim, from pro-agreement republicans (sic).

— Andersonstown News [Belfast] news report, February 1, 2003.

Geraldine Taylor has called on ex-republican prisoners to speak out against the ban on prisoners' welfare functions.

“Whatever members of the provisional movement think of us, however much they disagree with our current stance, they should remember that many of them were once political prisoners themselves,” she said.

— Andersonstown News. “We were even denied the use of an ex-prisoners' club, a place run by people who once suffered at the hands of the British prison regime themselves.”

— Andersonstown News. Unionists are calling for some kind of big band on decommissioning which would be filmed, but [Provisional] republicans (sic) are totally against the idea of cameras being allowed to show disarmament as it would be tantamount to portraying the [Provisional] IRA as surrendering.

— William Graham, Political Correspondent, Irish News, March 5, 2003.

Speaking at the launch of his new book Criminal Procedure, Professor Dermot Walsh, law Professor at Limerick University, said that ... there has been a fundamental shift in the last decade in the criminal justice system at the expense of the citizen and in favour of the state and the police. The shift has been away from the due process model — whereby the rights of the citizen are paramount — to a crime control model in which the interests of the State are paramount.

— Professor Dermot Walsh, law Professor at Limerick University, Irish Examiner, March 8, 2003

... an array of new laws and regulations have been introduced without an opportunity for reasoned public debate...increasingly, the gardaí and police throughout Europe were being given powers that were not overseen by democratic institutions, such as Parliament ... The new powers have broadened out to include peace protesters, anti-globalisation protestors, ethnic communities and asylum seekers ... these new powers can be used to keep whole communities under surveillance

— Professor Dermot Walsh.

Giving a recent example Professor Dermot Walsh cited a secret direction given by cabinet last April ordering phone companies to retain the telephone call records of Irish citizens for three years.

— Irish Examiner, March 8, 2003.

Gardaí are interrogating suspects in corridors of police stations and in squad cars in order to avoid having to electronically record interviews, according to Professor Dermot Walsh.

— Irish Examiner, March 8, 2003.

Mr Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, told reporters: “It was said five years ago when the Stormont Agreement was signed, militant Republicanism was dead after 200 years. This is one such event which shows that militant Republicanism is alive.”

— Irish Times, March 10, 2003, news report of the Republican Sinn Féin commemoration at Ballyseedy, Co Kerry where eight Republican prisoners were tied to a mine and blown up by Free State forces in 1923.

There was an alternative to the Good Friday agreement, he [Ó Brádaigh] wished to tell the unionist people. The nationalist population was increasing and his organization did not want to see the unionist people suffer the same “humiliation” as nationalists had since 1922, he said.

— Irish Times report from Ballyseedy, March 10, 2003.

A solution existed within a four-province federal Ireland as devised under the ÉIRE NUA programme. In a nine-county Ulster unionists would still have a majority with the safeguards of democracy and devolution.

— Irish Times report.

Ballyseedy illustrated the depths to which those who compromised on the fundamental principles of Irish Republicanism were prepared to go in suppressing the ideals they had once shared, Mr Des Dalton, Ard-Chomhairle member of Republican Sinn Féin, told the gathering.

— Irish Times report.

Yesterday, my officers came under petrol bomb attack when responding to a hoax bomb alert in Derry.

— RUC/PSNI Chief Constable Orde, Hearts and Minds, BBC1 TC, March 13, 2003. He said he believed the Continuity IRA were responsible.

Then, there's the memorial in Belvedere Street [St John's] to five Irish soldiers of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment who, in 1800, were hanged for mutiny: they had risen up in sympathy with the people of 1798.

— Irish Times magazine, March 15, 2003, article on Newfoundland's Irishness by Mary Russell.

War figures, compiled by Olivia Doyle: 5,000, the number of people whom Saddam Hussein killed using gas in the Kurdish town of Halabya in 1988.

65, the number of UN resolutions which Israel had violated by 1992.

30, the number of UN resolutions on Israel which America vetoes between 1972 and 1990.

— Sunday Tribune, March 16, 2003.

25,000,000,000 the cost, in dollars, of simply sending troops and equipment to the Persian Gulf to fight Iraq and returning them home, according to the US Congressional Budget Office.

— Sunday Tribune.

The possibility becomes ever more plausible that the Provisionals were never authentic bearers of the nationalist standard, but merely provincial faction fighters with a parochial grievance, elevated beyond their local merits by virtue of being clothed in the drapes of nationalist struggle and identity.

That local squabble having been addressed —however imperfectly — [Provisional] Sinn Féin has tucked in its green shirt-tails and set to “fumbling in the greasy till”.

— John Waters column, Irish Times, March 17. Now that they have settled for civil

rights under British rule, have they not cast aside all Republican credentials?

Five years after the defusing of Articles 2 and 3 of the [1937] Constitution, there is now no significant political entity on this island articulating a consistent vision of reunification and/or the realization of the Irish nation.

— John Waters. He does not dare to mention the name of Republican Sinn Féin.

Has Ireland become, after all, in the dark prophetic of Thomas Davis, no more than a sand bank, "thrown up by some recent caprice of earth", a land-locked space upon which people move without any particular claims to a connection with one another?

— John Waters on St Patrick's Day.

Yet probably the biggest public relations mistake that Washington and London was to constantly change the official justification for the war.

— Irish Times, March 18, 2003, article by Jonathan Eyal of the Royal United Services Institute in London.

And, as international opposition grew, all the three arguments were suddenly blended together: Saddam (1) had to be removed because (2) if he remained in power he would develop terrible weapons, (3) as well as attacking future terrorists.

— Irish Times, on developments as the shifting grounds failed in turn.

As every first-year student of public relations knows, the cardinal rule in any successful propaganda campaign is to decide on one simple message, and to stick with it all the way.

This is precisely what Washington did not do.

— Irish Times.

Austria, Finland and Sweden have made it clear that they regard military action against Iraq without a fresh UN resolution as illegal and that they will not help Washington's war effort in any way.

— Irish Times, March 19, 2003, article by Denis Staunton in Brussels.

Austria's Chancellor, Dr Wolfgang Schussel, said yesterday that a US-led attack on Iraq could not be regarded as an act of self-defence and would be in breach of the UN Charter.

— Irish Times.

In the event of war, Austria would forbid the transport of military equipment through its territory and deny the US and its allies over-fly rights through its air space.

—Irish Times.

If military neutrality is to mean anything in these circumstances, it should involve refusing the movement of troops or munitions of war across our territory, as other European neutrals have done. The use of Shannon Airport should be refused.

— Irish Times editorial, March 20, 2003.

But if our political alignments are greater than the avowed principle of neutrality, perhaps this is the time to confront and implement a new foreign policy.

— Irish Times editorial. Is not that what the Leinster House politicians are doing by stealth?

We are politically aligned toWARDS the US and UK, neutral in the cop out sense, and demonstrably political passengers in the first march in international affairs of the 21st century.

— Irish Times editorial. Did not Jacques Delors speak of EU preparations for the “resource wars of the 21st century”?

Without principle or precedent to underpin it therefore, the Cabinet's cal-

ulation of Irish national interests is thus exposed in its most raw state and under the most unflattering light of public scrutiny.

— Irish Times, March 20, 2003, article by Dr Ben Tonra of UCD.

To what extent do we wish to place principle, ethics and neutrality at the centre of our foreign policy and how far do we want to prioritise trade, investment and other tangible returns from such a policy? How are we to strike such balances in the future and how should such decisions be made?

— Dr Ben Tonra.

All that moral ambiguity was well reflected in the rhetoric we got from Fianna Fáil and the PDs in the [26-County] Dáil this week.

Some of the arguments [from them], substituting an argument on behalf of narrow economic interest for any moral justification for war, were crass.

— Harry McGee, special correspondent, Sunday Tribune, March 23, 2003.

Clifford McKeown murdered Michael McGoldrick to get the Orange Order down the Garvaghy Road in Portadown. It was Sunday, 7 July 1996 and Drumcree was at its frenzied peak.

— Susan McKay article, Sunday Tribune, March 23, 2003.

Billy ‘King Rat’ Wright decided to use the traditional loyalist means of exerting political pressure. He ordered his henchmen to 'get a taig'. McGoldrick was an easy target.

— Susan McKay, following the conviction of Clifford McKeown for murder.

Four hours after leaving Herald Square, the marchers were still coming, filling 30 city blocks in what might have been the largest anti-government march in the city's history. Most dispersed at Washington Square; some did not.

— Pete Hamill column [New York], Daily News, March 23, 2003.

Over and over again, in various ways, the marchers made clear that they opposed the war but backed the troops. SUPPORT OUR SOLDIERS, one sign said, BRING THEM HOME.

— Pete Hamill column.

I talked to a man who works for the United Nations and asked him if the UN was now finished. "No, it's just beginning," he said. "This shows that the UN must be able to carry out the role the people who founded it wanted it to play."

— Pete Hamill.

I received yesterday a report that the commander of British troops who are invading Iraq is General Sit Mike Jackson. On January 30, 1972, which in Derry became known as Bloody Sunday, Jackson was on the streets in the unit of paratroopers that committed the atrocities.

Within hours of the massacre that Sunday Jackson put out a statement claiming that the victims were on the wanted list and were carrying weapons.

— Jimmy Breslin, famous columnist and friend of the Kennedys, Newsday [New York], March 23, 2003.

It's unlikely Bush's motley coalition will be willing to stump up the cash.

— The Guardian [London], March 24, 2003 on the cost of the war in Iraq.

But if this costly adventure turns out to be the first of many, taxpayers could rightly ask themselves whether they would prefer to send soldiers into Baghdad - or Pyongyang [North Korea] or Tehran [Iran] - or schoolbooks into Birmingham.

— The Guardian. We have won the war. Now let us win the peace.

— Joe Cahill at the Provo Ard-Fheis, RTÉ Radio One TV, March 29, 2003. His capacity for self-deception is amazing!

When Bush opened this particular Pandora's box, he destroyed East-West unity, he all but destroyed the United Nations, he critically wounded the world economy, with all that means for ordinary people everywhere, and he provoked the kind of protests worldwide that gave succour to the Iraqi regime.

What else will emerge from this box before this dreadful business is finished?

— Sunday Tribune editorial, March 30, 2003.

So can I envisage a future without the IRA? The answer is obvious. The answer is yea.

— Gerry Adams to his Ard-Fheis, as reported in the Sunday Business Post, March 30, 2003.

Adams also foresaw the day when [Provisional] Sinn Féin delegates would take their places on the North's [British] Policing Board, but added: "Not yet".

— Sunday Business Post, March 30, 2003.

Channel 4 offers be far the most coherent analysis and reportage of the war. Richard Downes of RTÉ is the best reporter covering the war. The Irish Times, mainly through Lara Marlowe and Conor O'Clery, offers the best Irish coverage; the Guardian the best international coverage. Apart from al-Jazeera, that is.

— Vincent Browne, Between the Lines column, Sunday Business Post, March 30, 2003.

Aside from the horrible bombardment of Baghdad, the most salient feature of the war: distortion, disinformation and downright lies that have flowed from the American and British.

— Vincent Browne.

The invasion of Iraq is encountering stiff resistance from its armed forces — and increasingly from its people. They do not want to see control of their homeland passing from Iraqis to the United States and Britain and are prepared to fight to stop that happening, even against huge military offs and despite their hatred for the Saddam Hussein regime. This is the principal lesson to be drawn from the first stage of the war.

— Irish Times editorial, April 2, 2003.

Last year the taxpayer footed a bill of over £1million in out-of-court settlements involving members of the Gardaí. Claims for assault and wrongful arrest are common, but no information is available to show whether or not the same gardaí or even the same stations feature in different settlements.

— Mairead Carey in Magill magazine, April, 2003.

It is easy to abuse the weak. The people I represent are more likely to be dispossessed, inarticulate or drug addicts. There are never any witnesses because what happens takes place after the arrest. In court, you are faced with a garda who is educated and articulate. The natural instinct is to believe the guard.

— Peter Mullen, Dublin solicitor quoted in Magill magazine.

I don't have a huge amount of of confidence in the Garda complaints procedure, nor do my clients.

— Peter Mullen (who told Mairead Carey he rarely advises anyone to go to the Garda Complaints Board.)

I get a substantial number of complaints ...The problem is that no one has

any way of verifying each individual case; they are always inconclusive because it is the garda's word against the word of a young person who, more than likely, has a criminal record.

... most of the guys here don't complain anymore because they are afraid they will get a wore hiding the next tim ... I believe there is substance to most of the complaints I hear ... there are so many complaints coming in, from so many young people, many of whom have no contact with one another, that it is impossible to believe that they are all inventing stories with a view to blackening the name of the gardaí.

— Fr Peter McVerry (who runs a hostel for the homeless on Whitworth Road) quoted in Magill.

The same stations come up repeatedly, he [Fr McVerry] says listing off Store Street, Fitzgibbon Street and the Bridewell [Dublin North Central division]. They also feature prominently in the annual reports of the Garda Complaints Board. Less than one per cent of all complaints to the board, according to its latest report resulted in a criminal prosecution; in 2001, the latest year for which figures are available, there were 143 complaints against the Dublin North Central Division; in 2001 almost 200 complaints were passed on to the DPP but because of delays in processing the complaints the vast majority were never acted on.

— Mairead Carey.

The bill was passed with virtually no debate in Congress and was not made public until after it was enacted. A congressman from Texas, Ron Paul, told the Washington Times that members of Congress were not allowed to read the Act before they voted it through. They were threatened that, if they opposed it, they would be held to blame in the media for any subsequent terrorist atrocity.

— John O'Loughlin Kennedy writing in Magill on the USA PATRIOT Act that passed into law on 26 October 2001 in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks.

America has an excellent constitution . . . It is the country's greatest asset . . . The Patriot Act undermines that constitution and attacks the well defined balance of rights and wrong . . . The constitution is now being used to oppress rather than vindicate the rights of the citizen.

— John O'Loughlin Kennedy.

Secret searches and seizures (including seizure of persons) are authorised . . . Spying powers that were once only used to track the activities of foreign states may now be used on citizens and residents; government agents can go to the library and check what people have been reading — and it is an offence for the librarian to reveal that this has taken place ... Federal agents are entitled to obtain all manner of private information from public and private sources...

— John O'Loughlin Kennedy.

The failure to stop the 9/11 attacks was not rooted in a failure to gather information but a failure by the FBI to take appropriate action when it was alerted to the fact that a number of Middle Eastern people linked to Al Qaeda were taking flight training in the US. Despite earlier evidence that terrorists had made plans to use commercial airlines as missiles, incredibly, nothing was done in response to this alert.

— John O'Loughlin Kennedy.

Anne Devlin — Woman of Extra-Ordinary Courage

A chara,

In the midst of all the lectures, books etc on Robert Emmet and Thomas Russell in this, the bicentenary year of the 1803 Rising, let us not forget Anne Devlin.

Anne Devlin was a woman of extraordinary courage who suffered unspeakable horrors for her loyalty to Ireland. Indeed her whole family suffered for their loyalty. Many of her aunts, uncles and cousins, both on her mothers and fathers side, were involved in the 1798 Rebellion and again in the 1903 Rebellion. In the aftermath of the 1798 Rebellion Anne's father, Brian, was arrested and spent two and a half years in Wicklow Jail where Anne visited him every week. The Devlin family were living in Wicklow at the time but after Brian's acquittal they moved to Rathfarnham where they went into the dairy business.

Robert Emmet needed a trusted woman in the house he rented in Rathfarnham to give the semblance of 'normality' to the house and who better than the cousin of his trusted comrade Michael Dwyer. Though she was not party to the planning of the Rising, Ann met many of the leaders involved including James and Rose Hope, Thomas Russell (who maintained that the rich always betray the poor) and others. Anne and Rose were often the ones who packed up the ammunition for transport. She was completely trusted by Emmet and his faith in her was not misplaced — as was his trust in others who later betrayed him.

After the Rising was aborted Anne was not very pleased with Emmet when he returned to Rathfarnham without many of his trusted comrades and told him so. Emmet and many of his comrades retreated to the mountains but Anne stayed in Butterfield Lane with her youngest sister for company. The house was raided and because Ann refused to divulge the whereabouts of Emmet, was prodded with bayonets until she was bleeding profusely. A rope was then tied around her neck and tied to the shafts of a cart. When she still refused to speak the shaft were lifted and Ann suspended in mid-air until she passed out.

The Yeomen finally left her lying on the ground but a few days later the whole family were arrested and from then on were treated with brutality. They were moved between the old and new wings in Kilmainham and Dublin Castle on several occasions. Ann was singled out for particular brutality as the authorities knew she could give them information about Emmet and the other leaders.

Indeed Emmet asked Ann to tell the authorities all she

knew about him (and him only) and therefore save herself and her family. But she refused and she and her family paid a terrible price. Her young brother (nine years old) died in prison and her family suffered ill-health for the rest of their lives. Interrogation was constant and with the lack of fresh air and exercise and the poor diet Ann's health deteriorated. At the time when the prisoners were released under amnesty the authorities moved Ann back to Dublin castle from Kilmainham so she did not come under the releases. In the castle she was kept in a broom cupboard with no window, no ventilation and with only enough room to lie down, She was kept in those conditions for over four months. Conditions were so awful for her that the wife of the head jailer Mrs O'Hanlon petitioned the Chief Secretary to look into the case. He finally released Anne in 1806. By that time Anne could hardly walk, she was on crutches.

Anne's health did improve to a certain extent and she worked as a laundress. She married a William Campbell in 1811 and had three children but towards the end of her life (her husband died in 1845) Ann lived in abject poverty. According to latest information from Glasnevin given to the Rathfarnham Historical Group, Anne was re-buried with her husband through the good services of Dr Madden and is not in a pauper's grave as was previously thought.

MAIRÉAD NÍ CHAOIMH
PRO
Cumann na mBan

Assistance For Research Project

A chara

I am writing to you in reference to a research project I am conducting. I am working towards a PhD in Contemporary Irish History at Trinity College and am a graduate of New York University.

My research project covers women's roles in radical and civic agitation from 1956 to the mid-1970s. I am looking at socialists, civil rights workers and Republicans. There has been no comprehensive study regarding women's roles in these movements during this period throughout Ireland. Utilising documentary research and interviews I will elucidate this largely-ignored subject in an academic work, which I seek to publish upon completion. All help will be appropriately acknowledged.

I wish to emphasise that I hope to hear from wives, sisters and mothers who remained on the periphery but who could shed light on the events in this period as well as from men and women in the front lines of agitation. I would be grateful if you would publish my appeal.

TARA R KEENAN MA
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• *The Provisionals will shortly join the British Policing Board (above) for the RUC/PSNI (see letter below).*

Take Courage From the Irish Struggle

A chara

As we watch the imperialist war machine attack the sovereign nation of Iraq, other nations and people should beware, a new world order of totalitarian rule is born. But other nations and people should take courage and heart from the example of the Republican struggle, a blueprint for those who wish to oppose oppression and aggression from those with military might.

This example of eight hundred years of fighting oppression, imposed rule, injustice, attempts to eradicate a people, their language and way of life. Yet the patriot men and women remain unbeaten, unbowed and continue to defend the nation's integrity, sovereign territory and the people's pride and esteem.

SÉAMUS WALSH
London

Admit It!

A chara

In 1926 Fianna Fáil was founded.

In 1927 they entered Leinster House.

In 1929 Éamon de Valera, the Fianna Fáil leader, said: "We are in this House now, but the people outside the House can claim continuity with the past."

At least Fianna Fáil admitted this.

Would Gerry Adams and the Provisional admit the same now?

BRENDAN TOBIN
Co Wexford

Stormont Agreement Not Democratic

A chara

I am one of those who find talk of the "peace process" irritating. With continues attacks on Catholics (yes Catholics) and infighting among loyalist groups, what peace are we talking about?

Equally irritating is the reference to "the two governments". There is only one government with real clout in the affairs of the Six County Statelet and that is the one in Londain. And is this clout ever used against the unionists? But of course it is nice of Tony to tell "our Bertie" a little now and again. But is his advice ever sought when it comes to suspending the Assembly?

The real problem comes from trying to treat the Six Counties as a normal entity; a normal place like other States. It isn't and I think the background to this is fairly well documented.

The so-called Good Friday Agreement (10ú Aibreán 1998) is not democratic. Forced power-sharing cannot be democratic. If the Six Counties was a normal democracy then there would be majority rule. In which case Ian Paisley would be correct and we would have unionist rule. But we know that the Six-County enclave was created for this purpose.

Something concerning the Assembly and the power-sharing Executive; it is a nonsense and make-believe. If the Six Counties was a normal place (state, country, province, call it what you will) then David Trimble would have no problem with Bairbre de Brún or Martin McGuinness in his cabinet. If

he didn't like them then he could sack them and replace them with someone more to his liking.

Equally the Secretary of State (the Queen?) would have no problem with the same David and his habit of threatening to resign. He could resign anytime he wished and the leader of the next largest party would be

upon to do all in their power to speed up the implementation of the "Good Friday Agreement".

The principal speaker, Michelle Gildernew, said it was the only show in town, a vehicle to a united Ireland.

These words sound like history repeating itself. Eighty-one years ago the Irish people were told by politicians and clerics that the Treaty was a stepping-stone to freedom.

Instead it turned out to be a springboard for the renegade Irishmen to imprison, torture and murder Republicans. I mention but a few. The Ballyseedy Martyrs, Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe who were executed on December 8, 1922. Not forgetting the brave men of the forties, Kerins, O'Neill, George Plant, the Protestant patriot from Tipperary, Man Neela, Darcy and all the others who were done to death by the Free Staters.

I say to Ms Gildernew and her comrades, you have left the straight and narrow path, your vehicle is on the wrong road.

PEADAR A Mac SAMHRAÍN
Co an Chabháin

Provos To Join British Police

A chara

Last weekend we heard Joe Cahill claim the IRA had won the war.

I would remind Joe Cahill and his fellow republicans (*sic*) of something Margaret Thatcher said:

"The real test of political victory is the ability to change the mind of the other party."

What we have witnessed is not a victory for the IRA but a victory for constitutionalism and politics of the type practised by the SDLP for 30 years. The SDLP can claim victory over the IRA and [Provisional] Sinn Féin because [Provisional] Sinn Féin have been forced to change their politics and have abandoned every core of Republican principle.

Remember the armalite and the ballot box; taking seats in Leinster House; no return to Stormont; disband the RUC; not a bullet, not an ounce; and the latest U-turn, support for the Euro? Watch this space for the next U-turn: the Provos joining the Policing Board.

YOUNG NATIONALIST
Belfast

asked to try to form a new government.

But no; normality does not reign in the Six North-eastern Counties of Ulaidh. But the façade of power-sharing is maintained. A sort of positive discrimination mar dhea. And overshadowing it all is the power of the Secretary of State to suspend the Executive and Assembly when he thinks the unionists might tip their hand and reveal the real nature of the Assembly, "look, the Emperor has no clothes".

But to be fair the Assembly has had a measure of success. It has got the Provisionals on board to help keep the Six Counties as a part of the "United Kingdom". The hope of achieving a United Ireland from it is vain. I would hope otherwise but recent history teaches.

PÁDRAIG UA COR-BAIDH
Co an Chabháin

The Wrong Road

A chara

At a Provisional Sinn Féin meeting in the Farnham Arms, Cavan on February 20, those present were called

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written or typed in double-spacing on one side of the page.

Name and address must be included, but on request will not be published.

Letters printed do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of SAOIRSE.

Postal address: 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1. Letters may also be faxed to

Dublin 872 9757 or by e-mail to saoirse@iol.ie

Parle, Crean and Hogan Commemoration

A LARGE crowd gathered in the Republican Garden of Remembrance in Wexford town on Sunday March 16 to commemorate the 80th Anniversary of the execution by Free State firing squad of James Parle, John Creane and Patrick Hogan on March 13, 1923.

The ceremony was chaired by veteran Wexford Republican Séamus Mac Suain, who in his opening address, expressed his great satisfaction that so many people had turned out to mark the eightieth anniversary of the killing of these three young men. He went on to stress that it was because they had refused to deviate from Republican principles their lives were so cruelly cut short.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican Movement, Republican Sinn

• *Republican colour party.*

Féin and the Wexford Commemoration Committee. Paddy Hogan, a nephew of Patrick Hogan, laid a wreath at the wall of Wexford jail, where the executions took place, on behalf of the families of the three men many of

whom were present. The main oration was delivered by Seán McGoldrick from Republican Sinn Féin. In his address he outlined the historical context of the period and went on to explain the task that commit-

RSF applauds Peerless Rugs workers

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin Assistant PRO, Des Dalton has applauded what he describes as the "courage and tenacity" of the 'Peerless' workers in Athy, Co Kildare, who ended a 20 month sit-in at their factory in pursuit of a fair redundancy package.

Speaking on March 13 he said: “Despite being ignored by the mass media the people at Peerless continued their struggle in the face of enormous odds, and in doing so proved to be an inspiration for other workers in similar circumstances. Indeed it is

safe to say that by their action they highlighted the inadequacy of the Redundancy Payments Acts' putting it at the top of the political agenda, culminating in the national march held in Dublin in October of last year which has resulted in a series of proposed amend-

ments which would provide for enhanced redundancy terms of two weeks pay per year of service regardless of age, with the bonus week retained in the calculation of payments.

“Whilst there may be disappointment amongst the workers at the scale of the settlement it does not take from the tenacity and courage which they displayed in vindication of their rights,” Des Dalton said.

Mick McCarthy

REPUBLICANS in Cork and throughout Ireland were saddened to hear of the recent death of Mick McCarthy after a long illness.

Mick joined the Irish Republican Movement in 1931. The Cosgrove Coercion Act was rampant at the time and several were imprisoned in Arbour Hill Military Prison, Dublin. Mick was arrested in November 1935 and appeared before a Military Tribunal in Collins Barracks, Dublin charged with alleged IRA activities and was sentenced to three years imprisonment in Arbour Hill. The Republican prisoners were moved from Arbour Hill in April 1936 to the Glasshouse Military Prison at the Curragh Camp. The reason for the shift was to make room for a Republican round-up in Munster because of the shooting dead of "Somerville" in west Cork and "Egan" in Dungarvan in April 1936. Amongst those arrested at the time in Cork were Tomás Mac Curtáin, son of the Lord Mayor murdered in 1920 and Seán MacSwiney, brother of Terence MacSwiney, former Lord Mayor of Cork who died on hunger strike in Brixton Prison in 1920, and several other veterans of the War of Independence. They were released at

Christmas 1937 and he returned to Cork where he resumed his position in the Movement and was involved in the organising that went on through 1938 and into 1939. On the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 Mick was amongst those rounded up by the Free State government on September 15, 1939 and interned in Arbour Hill. In December 1939 Séamus Burke, Con Lehane, Solicitor and Seán MacBride brought a Habeas Corpus against the government and all prisoners were released on December 8, 1939. However, after the shooting dead of Detective John Roche, who was attempting to arrest Tomás Mac Curtáin in Patrick Street, Cork on January 3, 1940 all well-known Republicans in Cork city and surrounds were rounded up, including Tomás Mac Curtáin, and held in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin and then brought before the Military Tribunal, Collins Barracks and sentenced to four months imprisonment in Arbour Hill for membership of the IRA.

Mac Curtáin was tried for murder, convicted and sentenced to death but was reprieved a few hours before his execution.

In June 1940 there was a

• *Mick McCarthy*

big round up of Republicans from all over Ireland. Until No. 2 Internment Camp was built a number of Cork men were held in the old Cork jail and an attempt was made by some of their comrades to rescue them by digging a tunnel from the outside. They were fired on by the Special Branch and one man, John J Kavanagh, was shot dead and Roger Ryan was badly wounded. On his release in April 1940, Mick was arrested outside Arbour Hill and taken to the Glasshouse in the Curragh to be interned. The

• *Seán McGoldrick speaking at the Parle, Crean, Hogan commemoration in Wexford.*

ted Republicans are faced with in the current situation. The ceremony concluded with a minutes' silence and lowering of flags by the Guard of Honour.

Farmers' concern over EU move

THE age-old tradition of turf cutting in North Kerry is now under threat from faceless bureaucrats in Brussels, the local branch of Republican Sinn Féin claimed on March 28.

Republican Sinn Féin spokesperson John O'Shea from Ballylongford said that many farmers in the area are fearful of new proposals from the Department of the Environment for the creation of Special Protection Areas. “The directive for these special areas is coming from the powers that be in the EU,” he said. “Seemingly they are now concerned about the hen harrier and it must be protected. “However the way of going about it has disturbed many local farmers and now there are fears that even cutting turf could be affected if these Special Protection Areas are introduced. “While no one wants to endanger any wildlife, there must be a degree of realism brought into the debate. Local families have cut turf for generations and they must be allowed to continue to do so. “Many local farmers and families depend on turf cutting for fuel during the winter - to curb this traditional activity is tantamount to an attack on the rural way of life. “We are now calling on the local politicians to ascertain exactly how these proposed Special Protection Areas will impact on the lives of local people.”

prisoners there were shifted from the Glasshouse in May 1940 to No 1 Internment Camp, Tintown, the Curragh. On December 12, 1940, as a protest over a cut in rations, a number of huts were burnt, and the prisoners were all hoarded into a small number of interment cells, without bedding, like a lot of cattle. A few mornings after the fire, while walking to the dining hall, the Free State army, all military police under an officer, opened fire on the prisoners, killing Barney Casey from Longford and wounding Walter Mitchell from Westmeath, who was walking next to Mick, in the foot. No inquest was allowed on the death of Barney Casey. At one particular time, there were hundreds of people from all over Ireland interned in the Curragh. Mick was held until May 1944 and he returned to Cork on his release. Two of his brothers, John and Eddie, were interned in the Curragh for periods during this time. Because of so many of its members being interned and WWII, the Movement needed rebuilding and after the cessation of the world war Mick and his comrades set about the dual tasks of working for the release of the Republican prisoners (including Tomás Mac

Curtáin) from Portlaoise Jail and various British prisons and of reorganisation. After the forming of the Coalition government under John A Costello and Seán Mac Bride in 1948, the Republican prisoners in Portlaoise jail were released. Corkmen were also involved in the Fifties Campaign in the Six Counties and spent long terms of imprisonment in Crumlin Road jail. In 1958 a Six Counties man coming from the US into Cork Harbour was found to have firearms in his possession and he also had Mick's name and address on him. Mick got word that the Special Branch were looking for him and went on the run. He was eventually arrested

in Dublin in October 1958 with Jimmy Graham of Dublin. He was sent to the Curragh Internment Camp where Tomás Mac Curtáin was the OC of the Internees. Conditions at this time were a bit better than they had been in the Forties. When his father died in December 1958 he received seven days parole and he was released in May 1959 with most of the internees. Mick was predeceased by his wife Mary. They had two sons, Tomás and Micheál and seven grandchildren, four girls and three boys. SAOIRSE extends deepest sympathy to Mick's family, comrades and friends. I measc Laochra na gGaol go raibh sé.

Cathal Holland

CATHAL Holland, who has died, was a native of Belfast and a lifelong Irish Republican. He was active in the Republican Movement and in Conradh na Gaeilge in Belfast in the 1930s and 1940s and mastered the Irish language.

He was interned in the Curragh during World War II and lived and worked in Dublin as a photographer afterwards, along with his wife Máire, who predeceased him.

The officiating priest at his funeral in St. Dominic's Church, Dominic Street on April 7 told the congregation of mourners that Cathal was a graduate of Ollscoil an Churraigh, that great institution called the Curragh University.

Cathal's son Míchéal spoke after the Mass as well as his old friend and comrade Éamon Ó Cianán of Belfast.

Déanamid Comhbhrón le clann Chathail. Suaimhneas síoraí go raibh aige.

‘RETRENCHMENT OVER: ENGAGE THE ENEMY’ — IRA

**50
Years
Ago**

“THE period of retrenchment is over. We can now look and plan ahead in confidence, and we pledge ourselves to engage the

enemy at the earliest possible opportunity. May God grant that that day be not long delayed.]

This was the wording of the last paragraph of the Easter Statement from the Army Council of the IRA in 1953.

Its meaning for the future was not lost on the thousands who heard it read at 1916 Commemoration ceremonies in every county in Ireland, in England and Scotland, in the United States, Canada, South Africa and Australia.

The period of restructuring and preparation was past. The IRA was going on the offensive! That was the full message on April 5, 1953.

The full statement read: “To the loyal citizens of the Irish Republic, the Army Council of Óglaigh na h-Éireann sends greetings, and reaffirms the allegiance of the Army of the Republic to the principles enshrined in the Proclamation of 1916.

“It has long been customary in this annual statement to review the progress made by the Army towards achieving the complete independence and sovereignty of our country. In recent years the progress annually reported has not been very considerable. There have been substantial reasons for this.

“During the late World War due to the traitorous campaign of Quisling Irishmen, the Republican Army sustained grievous injuries.

“That it is not now defunct is a tribute to the unswerving loyalty of the few who set themselves the task of nursing it back to life, and to the unquenchable spirit of many of those who were newly recruited to its ranks.

“Since 1945, a tireless, ceaseless effort has been in progress, to draw the threads of the organisation that recognized the necessity for physical force and was willing to fight, but an Army that would be able to conduct a protracted campaign against a formidable enemy.

“This was no easy task — no job for the easily discouraged. It was a slow tortuous operation, with nothing of the spectacular about it. The difficulties met with were legion and such as would daunt all but the most confident of ultimate success. That this confidence was not misplaced we are proud to announce today.

“No longer is a struggle necessary to ensure the very existence of an army pledged to liberation. Such an army is now an accomplished fact — as yet maybe not quite as numerically strong or as well equipped as all would wish it to be, but still a highly efficient well-equipped Unit that will more than hold its own in the impending and long-overdue struggle against the British Army of Occupation in Ireland.”

The statement concluded with the sentences quoted at the beginning of this article. The Army was now ready to take the offensive.

At Easter 1953, huge posters calling for recruits to the Free State Army were on display throughout the 26 Counties. These appeared on advertising hoardings, put there by professional companies to which the poster had been contracted out.

Under the heading “Guard Your Heritage”, the advertisement from the 26 County Department of Defence announced: “Among the free nations of the world, ours is one of the few . . . the young man who joins the Defence Forces . . . is following in the footsteps of generations of Irish Soldiers who fought to achieve the freedom he now enjoys. The goal for which they struggled is now the heritage he is proud to guard.”

A series of graphics on the posters then showed Irish soldiers from Eoghan Rua Ó Néill's time to Patrick Sarsfield, a 1798 Pike man, Emmet's Rising, 1848, the Fenians and

an Irish Volunteer of 1916. It ended “Keep Up the Tradition — join the Defence Forces”.

However the IRA responded throughout the 26-County State. In each place where the poster was displayed the words “Defence Forces” were blotted out, covered over by a slip, which fitted neatly in the same typeset and red colour, and said “IRA” in very large letters.

The poster then read: ‘Keep up the Tradition — Join the IRA’. It seemed not to have been interfered with at all. On a single night all the posters in the 26 Counties were altered. So good was the alteration that in some areas the difference was not noticed for days.

PROPAGANDA COUP

There were no incidents and no one was made amenable. People enjoyed the stunt and the feedback to the Movement was to the effect that it was appropriate — and carried out very efficiently — a propaganda coup which also recruited publicly for the Republican Army.

No poster on these lines has ever been produced by the 26-County State since!

During April the Ulster poetess Alice Milligan from Omagh, Co. Tyrone died at the advanced age of 87. Born in 1866 into a pro-British family, she espoused the Cause of Ireland at an early age. With Ethna Carbery, later wife of Séamus McManus, she was founder-editor of *The Shan Van Vocht* (Sean-Bhean Bhocht = Poor Old Woman = Ireland), a separatist periodical in 1896. three years later it was absorbed into Arthur Griffith's *United Irishman*.

But the two gifted Northern women had held the fort during a low period in national affairs. Alice Milligan, an Ulster Protestant, was also author of *A Life of Wolfe Tone* (1898), *The Last of the Fianna* (play 1900) *Hero Lays* (poetry 1908) and *The Daughter of Donagh* (play 1920).

Margaret Buckley who had been President of Sinn Féin between 1937-1950 wrote an appreciation of Alice Milligan in the May 1953 edition of *An t-Éireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*:

“I, a woman of the South, would like to lay a wreath of appreciation and affection at the feet of a patriot woman of the North, my old friend and comrade in Ireland's cause — Alice Milligan.

“I first met her in the Cork Celtic Literary Society and our friendship, like our Republican ideals, stood the test of time. She took a keen interest in our newly-formed Cork National Theatre Society, her red head, bright little face and clipped speech put courage and confidence into us and sustained our efforts.

“She came specially in 1905 to produce for us *The Last Irish King*, which was attended by the author - O'Neill Russell - who was loud in praise of the production and performance. We were a group of young people with no experience and no funds for costumes, scenery, etc.

“Alice supplied both and dressed kings, queens and courtiers royally, out of old curtains, remnants of cloth, etc. She was a perfect wizard in the effects she conjured up out of nothing.

“She, Miss O'Leary, myself and another, on a side-car were in the long procession to Cork station to meet O'Donovan Rossa on his return from exile. The fourth lady was not a Republican and was not happy in the midst of tar barrels and bands.

“She bumbled about the French Revolution, to the great amusement of Alice who chuckled and nudged me at every fresh remark.

“When I came to live in Dublin, she continued to visit me. She used to stay with Mrs Eamon Ceannt, and incidentally she it was who introduced me to that fine Republican family.

“She has now joined her patriot friends who have gone before; her poetic soul is in good company and 'she shall be remembered for ever'.

*I feel like one who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted
Where lights are fled, and garlands dead
And all but he departed.*
— MB”

Readers and students of patriotic verse will remember Alice Milligan's lines on Brian

• Alice Milligan

Boru Brian of Banba, all alone, up from the desert places, her *When I Was a Little Girl* (When the Fenians come I'll rise and go after); *Owen who Died - a '67 man*. (You have heard o' Hawk o' the Hilltop, if you have not seen) ; *To Blessed Joan of France* written in 1909 at the time of Joan of Arc's beatification (Blessed Joan of France! Pray now today, For our deliverance); *The Man on the Wheel* in praise of the cycling Irish teachers of the early Gaelic League (a man goes by on a wheel with the rain on his face).

An t-Éireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman in its February edition fifty years ago carried an item which is very topical today. In a panel on page six between heavy black lines it said in large bold type:

“This Land will be Neutral in any War. We have no enemy but England. People of Ireland, beware lest you be led to fight England's battle by the intrigues of Leinster House or Stormont. English troops are still occupying Ireland. There is our task. Let us face up to it now.”

ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT CONCERNED

That there was concern among the English Establishment at the prospect of protests against the coronation of Elizabeth II as “Queen of Northern Ireland” is evident from an article from the *Irish Press* of January 12, 1953 quoted in the March edition of the Republican organ. It was headed “Panic in Advance”.

It was written by Terry Ward of Derry who for some years in the early and mid-1930s was assistant editor and later deputy editor of *An Phoblacht* (1925-37).

This Republican weekly was forced to cease publication for a period in 1935 due to repeated seizure by the Free State of the entire quantity of printed newspapers. There was no compensation and the printer had to be paid. Terry Ward and Liam McGabhann had to go to conventional journalism to earn a living.

Terry Ward wrote in 1953: “A (British) Labour Sunday paper suggests that messages have passed between Scotland Yard and Sir Richard Pim, Inspector-General (head) of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, outlining rigid precautions to be taken during Queen Elizabeth's visit to Belfast and the Six Counties after her coronation.

“It is possible that Mr Churchill (then British Prime Minister), on his mission to the United States, has been a little unnerved by the attention of the Irish Minute Men's patrols. But it is a fact that it would not be Stormont and the RUC if it were not to have some little panic in advance.

“So we are told ‘One step contemplated by the Ulster (sic) Government is the taking into protective custody of all known members of the Irish Republican Army in Ulster, or others who may attempt to cross from the Irish Republic about the time of the Queen's visit.’

“From this foreshadowing of events it would seem that the orgy of political arrests and internments, that for very shame was halted in the Six Counties when they were exposed to the tribunal of the world, is about to break out again.

“Herbert Morrison (of the British Labour Party) has had to protest at the manner in

which the Queen's portrait is being displayed in the partisan literature of the Tory Party.”

Local councils in the 26 Counties protested against any participation by representatives of the 26-County State in the coronation ceremonies. A more robust protest in Scotland was reported by the *Irish Independent* on March 23. Some Scots evidently objected to her being crowned “Queen of Great Britain” (including Scotland).

Entitled “Bomb Explosion in Glasgow Shop”, the report read: “McGavigan's Ltd., stationers, Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow, who had been warned in an anonymous message to remove E II R (Elizabeth II Regina) displays, had their main display window wrecked by a home-made bomb.

“Mr Cosgrave, the shop manager, said the firm had none of the signs displayed to the street, although they had plenty in their stock rooms.”

The *Leinster Leader* of March 14 reported: “When at Naas (Co Kildare) Council a resolution from Sinn Féin was read calling on all collectively and individually to protest against any suggestion of participation in the coronation ceremony and describing it as an effrontery for the Queen to proclaim herself Queen of Northern Ireland, Mr O'Donoghue proposed that they adopt the resolution.

“He added that the idea was to give the puppet government in the North a breathing space in order to consolidate their gains. ‘We don't want any Queen Lizzie or Queen Margaret,’ added O'Donoghue.

“Mr T Dowling seconded the adoption of the resolution.

“Wim Daly — So far as I am concerned this is a Thirty-two County Republic, and that is all that counts.

“Mr Dowling — It was an unnecessary and gratuitous affront to our people here, probably sponsored by Mr Churchill.

“The resolution was adopted unanimously.”

The *Evening Herald* of March 19 reported under the heading “The Blame for the Border”; “Should the present Queen of England be blamed for the Border?

“This question was posed at a meeting at Loughrea (Co Galway) Town Commissioners when a circular from Sinn Féin was read, which called on all public bodies to aid in making the country's protest effective against any participation by ‘Free State’ representatives in the coming coronation ceremonies.

“Mr M O' Regan, presiding, said he was in thorough agreement with the circular and proposed that the Board strongly denounce any move by Irish representatives to assist at the coronation.

“The Queen had the effrontery to proclaim herself Queen of Northern Ireland which was an insult to Ireland.

“Mr O'Shea, seconding, said it was about time for the Queen to do something about the Border.

“Mr J Devine — Put the blame for the Border where it should be put — on the shoulders of those who signed the Treaty. Put the blame to on Mr Warnock and Mr Churchill, and on Mr de Valera who, while he was in opposition toured England, Ireland, Scotland and the United States, talking about the injustice of the Border, but has not spoken about it since his return to power (1951).

“The Queen, he continued, had shown herself to be a young lady of humility and dignity, when she visited Rome during the Holy Year.

“It is ridiculous to be trying to put the blame for the Border on one who was not alive when the Border was set up,” Mr Devine added.

“The circular was adopted.”

Opposition to the coronation of Elizabeth II as “Queen of Northern Ireland” was building up in a manner which was not seen when George VI was crowned “King of Ireland” in 1937. It continued to build as shall be seen.

(More next month. Refs. *An t-Éireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, February, March and April 1953; *We Sang for Ireland - Poems of Ethna Carbery, Séamus Mac Manus, Alice Milligan*, published by MH Gill and Son Ltd, Dublin 1950; *The Evening Herald*, March 19, 1953; *The Leinster Leader*, March 14, 1953; *The Irish Press*, January 12, 1953 and *Irish Independent*, March 23, 1953.

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent

THE lack of a final initiative on defining terrorism has distorted the international arena where there are terrorists and freedom fighters. Independent scholars with input from all sources should work out an appropriate set of parameters to define terrorism. The problem of definition is a critical element in an attempt to coordinate international collaboration premised on currently accepted rules of traditional warfare.

There is a boundary between terrorism and other forms of political violence and there is the distinction between government terrorism and that of resistance groups. Terror is usually seen through the context of criminality as compared to the guerilla warfare utilized by freedom fighters.

A categorization of activity should not confuse revolutionary violence with terrorism. There are operations that constitute political acts and others that do not with political motive making activity somewhat respectable to those living in democracies who usually condemn political violence.

Terms such as revolutionary violence and national liberation have different connotations than acts of pure terror. There is an impending need to distinguish what may be brutal acts by individuals or groups from the legitimate struggle of oppressed and subjugated nations against foreign occupation of any kind.

For instance, belligerent activities whose aim is the liberation and self-determination of a nation are not in the same category of terrorism. It depends on the stated perspective of those involved. The aim of the Republican Movement is to drive the British out of Ireland and form a 32-County State which puts it in the category of liberation struggle not terrorism.

Imperial nations such as the "United Kingdom" have no regard for the will of the people or the legitimacy of history and its law. Liberation struggles in their way intimidate the imperial power who then must demonise them describing them as terrorists to attempt to justify to the observant world that they, the imperial power must use brutal methods to suppress them.

On the spectrum of political violence, the struggle for national liberation takes on the positive aspect of a justifiable end, where terrorism is negative and evil. Looking at things this way, an organization cannot be a terrorist group and a liberation movement at the same time. A true freedom fighter does not deliberately attack innocent people.

Politicians in countries where there is political violence cast it regardless of motive as terrorism because they want to emphasize what they want the public to perceive as brutality, to present those they define as a threat as harming innocents, a term later changed to civilians.

We are used to this contrived logic out of the mouths of Brits and Free Staters to denigrate the

Republican Movement whose veracity exceeds both governments.

There has been a definition of terrorism that is worth consideration because it categorises with simplicity. The definition states: "Terrorism is the intentional use of, or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets in order to attain political aims".

The precise targets of terrorism are civilians and terrorism exploits the relative vulnerability of the civilians underbelly of society. Terrorism is not the result of an accidental injury inflicted on a civilian or a group of civilians who stumbled into an area of violent political activity, but stresses that terrorism is an act purposely directed against civilians.

The definition suggested above must be founded on a system of principles and laws of war. We must extrapolate from the existing principles of conventional warfare between countries to arrive at similar principles for unconventional warfare that involves a struggle between an organization and a state.

Again, terrorism is a violent struggle threatening the use or intentionally using violence against civilians, whereas guerrilla warfare is a violent struggle using violence against military targets, security forces and the political leadership to attain specific political aims. It is critical to designate the targets and that choice contributes to who is a terrorist and who is a freedom fighter.

The Republican Movement has fought a guerrillas war against the Brits which is "acceptable warfare" under international rules of engagement. Al Queda's violence against the US is a criminal enterprise and totally distinct from proper warfare. The two are utterly divorced.

True Republicans in their struggle have utilised both guerilla war and guerilla warfare against the enemy. An Israeli named Harkabi describes "guerrilla war" as a prolonged war of attrition and "guerrilla warfare" as a form of warfare by which the strategically weaker side assumes the tactical offensive in selected forms, times and places of their choosing. The term weak does not mean less committed, merely lacking in armament of the tyranny they are aiming to overthrow.

The essence of guerilla warfare is to gradually grow in strength, numbers and equipment to better enable themselves to fight government forces. A guerrilla war is a small war, but subject to the same rules that apply to big wars. A terrorist refuses to accept any moral limits defining military action. Al Qaeda has shown no moral limits to their activity.

When the IRA attacks targets of a military or governmental nature in order to achieve a political objective, it is proper military activity. If civilians become unintended casualties, it does not change things.

There are two types of terrorists, individual ones such as suicide bombers whose target is to maximize civilian casualties. There are indiscriminate terrorist attacks at

any time just to put fear in people. The individual may have a specific target that is a symbol of a society.

ON the other side, you have two types of guerilla warfare; rural guerrilla warfare using violence against military personnel or security forces in their area of deployment such as the IRA attack back in the 1970's at Warrenpoint where 18 British soldiers were killed.

The other is urban guerrilla warfare which involves targeting a specific military facility or a member of the military/security forces or a political leader at the decision making level. The Brighton attack on Margaret Thatcher or the attack on Captain Nairac were examples of such warfare and legitimate targets of such. So too was the attack on Airey Neave.

It is possible that a terrorist and the guerilla fighter may have similar aims, but they choose different means to accomplish them. The means defines the group. Alex Schmidt in his book Political Terrorism states that "an organization is defined as terrorist because of its mode of operation and its target of attack, whereas calling something a struggle for liberation has to do with the aim that the organization seeks to attain. Hiding behind the guise of national liberation does not release terrorists from responsibility for their actions.

The noted goal of national liberation may, in some cases, such as that with the Irish Republican Movement, may justify recourse to violence in an effort to solve the problem that led to the emergence of a particular organization in the first place.

In any event, the organisation must still act according to the rules of war, directing its activities toward the conquest of military and security targets; in short, it must confine itself to guerrilla activities.

MANIPULATION OF THE MEDIA

With powerful states able to manipulate the media, the activities of the state are not truthfully told. Violent activities committed by a state against civilians are forbidden by international conventions and are clearly defined as "war crimes" in war and "crimes against humanity" in other situations.

States can be involved in terrorism in various ways, giving general support for terrorist organizations to rival others causing divisions to impose control. We are well aware of the collusion of British Forces and loyalist groups who attack civilians.

All forms of state involvement in terrorism are usually placed under the general category of terrorist states, or state-sponsored terrorism. No one has been worse than the British in this regard concerning Ireland and other places.

The British have initiated, directed and performed terrorist activities through groups outside their own institutions. The only question is how many innocent people they have killed over the years. Irish lives have never been a top priority of the British.

Without defining the question of terrorism, no responsibility can be attached to countries who support terrorism. The United States condemns countries it alleges support terrorism, but utterly ignores Britain which has been cited for torture and assisted in murder by loyalists and on many occasions murdered defenceless civilians. To be true to itself, the US has to put all violators in the same category, yet they let the British get away with murder.

People themselves know who is a terrorist and who is a freedom fighter, if left to think for themselves, but powerful governments force their views on the unsuspecting masses. If an acceptable definition of terrorism were hung around the necks of world leaders, true violators could be properly cited and seen for what they are. With a definition of terrorism it would be possible to enforce international agreements against terrorism.

An accepted definition of terrorism will help to distinguish freedom fighting which enjoys a measure of legitimacy from terrorist activity. People support freedom fighters, but are leery of terrorists.

A definition of terrorism would not require that terror organizations accept it, but nations must, though they might have input, independent organizations would have to formulate the complete definition. The definition would segregate who is a terrorist and who is a guerilla fighter.

AT present, terrorists and guerilla fighters are treated as criminals and given similar punishments, but the freedom fighters are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention.

The British and the Americans have called some organizations terrorists and others freedom fighters, when neither is true so a clear definition would be very productive.

Many countries acknowledge the principle on relying on guerilla warfare to attain legitimate political aims. These same countries also are united in their condemnation of terrorism. The distinction becomes a moral dilemma.

With a solid definition in place, countries can agree on specific punishments for terrorists and prisoner of war status for capture in a non-conventional guerrilla war. A definition of this type must rely on the principles agreed upon regarding conventional wars between states, and take from them pertinent matter concerning non-conventional wars between an organization and a state.

On the other hand a defined terrorism will disrupt attempts by terrorist organizations to obtain legitimacy before the public eye. A focus that distinguishes guerilla fighters from criminals makes the Irish struggle into the legitimate cause it is.

This proposed definition of terrorism by academics and intellectuals makes a lot of sense. When British security forces were killed by Republican soldiers it was called ter-

rorism, but the definition says that is wrong. Terrorism is the intentional use of violence against civilians.

It is my belief that an acceptable definition of terrorism will motivate true revolutionary armies, such as the Continuity IRA and others like them, who have an aspiration to rid their land of tyrants and to unify the nation, to pursue their efforts within the context of the definition.

Certainly, there will be mistakes and civilians will be killed as a result of physical force against the stated enemy, but accidental is a world apart from intentional. If a bomb is placed in an army billet or a police station as the intended target and civilians are killed, it is not intentional and the mission is guerilla warfare, not terrorism.

The British and their supporters lump all Republican activity as terrorism which is legally incorrect and this proposed definition would abrogate that innocent presumption.

This definition would also pinpoint and define state terrorism by the British and others who use it. How many times have we heard the British talk of their need to employ counter-terrorist measures to combat Republicans. They are merely excusing their selective murder of civilians.

To their credit, the Republican Movement has admitted without excuse the unintentional killing of civilians while engaged in a military operation. But under the definition proposed, state terrorism could be hung on the Brits for ambushes, Gibraltar, the Derry massacre and numerous incidents of state terrorism. It stops the lumping of Al Queda and Republicans as the Brits and the Americans have tried to do.

An extreme example of what is terror and what is not, concerning targets, takes us to 9/11. The bombing of the World Trade Centre was pure terrorism because the operation was the intentional mass killing of civilians.

The bombing of the Pentagon was different because it was a military target. The problem with Al Queda is they have a holy war against America as their objective. This is not national liberation or revolution, but killing for the sake of killing.

CLEAR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

The Republican Movement on the other hand has always had clear political objectives and their targets involve military and security objectives as well as civilians with decision making ability and are not terrorist by the definition. The proposed definition has been used for years by the United States.

If the USA were true to its founding ideals, it would declare the true Republican Movement a true freedom movement and in no way should be equated with terrorists. Hypocritical expediency to accommodate Britain has prevailed and British state terror is ignored.

The problem today is, there is one super power, the US, with the "UK" hanging on to its coattails in a coalition of the English speaking world. Together they are playing the prophets of God spouting political scripture. We must beware of false prophets and speak our own truths.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

Comhbhrón

HOLLAND, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Cathal Holland, who died recently. From Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin.

HOLLAND, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Cathal Holland, who died recently. From Lita.

HOLLAND, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Cathal Holland, who died recently. From

Comhairle Átha Cliath. **McCARTHY**, Deepest sympathy us extended to the family of Mick McCarthy who died recently. From the Ard Chomhairle.

McCARTHY, Deepest sympathy us extended to the family of Mick McCarthy

who died recently. From Cumann na mBan, Cork.

McCARTHY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Mick McCarthy who died recently. From the Mac Curtáin/Mac Suibhne Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Cork.

McCARTHY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Mick McCarthy who died recently. From Comhairle Na Mumhan.

I gCuimhne

LONERGAN — 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Tom Loneran who died April 29 2002. Always remembered by Highstead and Hartigan Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

For a few dollars more

NATIONALIST politicians are to sit and discuss 'peace' with Blair and Bush who have set out to cause the biggest loss of life since their last venture into Kuwait.

Of course Gerry Adams and Mark Durkan will protest in very much the same way Russia and other countries protested prior to the war. The reality is that 'might is right' and protests will be brushed aside summarily. It is ironic that Hillsborough will be the meeting place. It is in this same building that Adams and Co were coerced for

the first time and on Monday we will see them coerced again. On this occasion the stakes are higher.

On the first occasion it was just 'personal' jobs for the boys, a big car and an expenses receipt. On this occasion it is different. On this occasion Gerry and Co by their presence are endorsing the murder of Iraqi people and giving credence to the idea that Bush and Blair are in some way bringing 'peace' to Ireland. It is clear that bringing 'peace' to people the Coalition way means surrender or death.

That of course is exact-

ly what Gerry came up against previously. Fine words and public statements don't hide the fact that a murderous campaign by loyalist murder squads against political activists preceded the Hillsborough meetings. It is also no secret that attacks on Gerry in Milltown cemetery may have been responsible for his 'road to Damascus' type of conversion to the ways of peace and diplomacy.

What we have witnessed over the past few weeks in Iraq is the willingness of ordinary people to fight for their country. It is no surprise that these

individuals are being categorised as terrorists. It seems only coalition troops with their massively superior weapons can fight bravely.

IT seems also that Gerry and Co are about to further discredit the Irish people by their indulgence of these two war criminals. And why? Well, it seems in true cowboy fashion it is 'for a few dollars more'.

What is becoming clear is that the price of peace in Ireland will be measured in the thousands of Iraqi lives lost. Shannon stopovers — Bertie Ahern made it clear that the price of crossing the Bush administration

would be intolerable. He also decided that financial considerations far outweighed any moral imperative.

What ever statement emerges from Hillsborough on April 10, 2003 will finally put paid to any residual respect Gerry and Co may have. The fact is that we have witnessed the transformation from revolutionaries to lackeys in easy steps. Money talks in this new inner circle and the Bush-Blair coalition have been joined by those who would sell Irish freedom and the means of Irish resistance to the new colonial masters.

The only question remaining is how long the Irish people will continue to let these people act in 'their name'. Today Iraq, tomorrow 'any where that takes one's fancy' seems to be the new world order of things. It is clear that we have politicians who are rushing to be part of this. It is also clear that until this country gains its independence this state of affairs will continue.

War in Iraq, peace in Ireland — for a fistful of dollars. Well, this is one Irishman who will not be made a cowboy of.

— **Mac Cool**

Policy of opportunism adopted

European Federation or Fourth Reich? Part 12

THE overall strategic aim of the German state under Kaiser Wilhelm II was to have Germany do in Europe what Prussia had done in Germany: create a confederation in which Germany would rule the roost.

A policy of opportunism was adopted: Germany would build up a large army and seize her chances. The Habsburg Empire was already a German puppet, the Austrians relied on German support to keep the lid on their ramshackle collection of territories.

A novel feature of the German Army was an enormous General Staff, which planned future wars down to tiny detail. One lesson learned from the American Civil War was the strategic importance of railways. In both the German and Habsburg empires extensive railway networks were constructed to enable rapid transfer of troops between frontiers.

THE SCHLEIFFEN PLAN

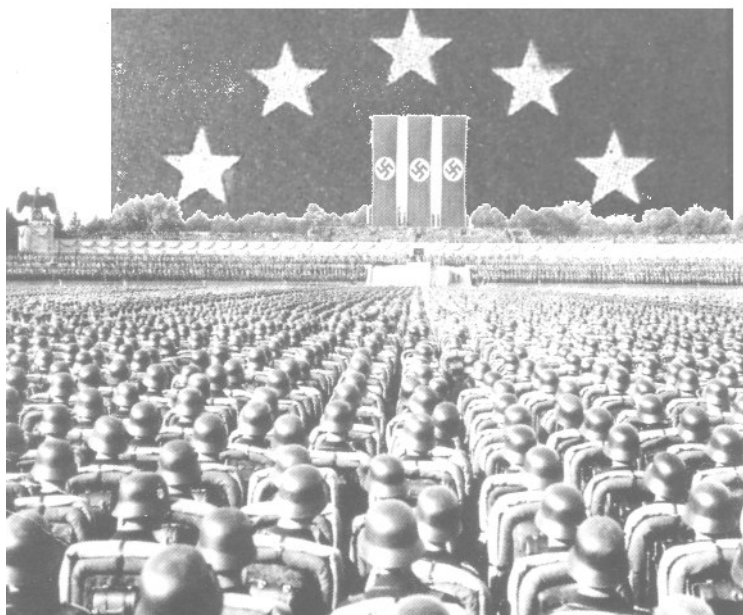
France and Russia made a strategic alliance against Germany, out of which Russia got much-needed French investments. A basic principle of German strategic thinking, laid down by Bismarck, was that Germany should never fight a war on two fronts. The eventuality of a

parallel war with both France and Russia was covered by the Schleiffen Plan under which Germany would strike a massive blow against France and defeat her before Russia could mobilise. The plan involved invading northern France through Belgium, out-flanking the French and capturing Paris. Then Russia could be dealt with.

The British government had pursued a pro-German policy throughout the reign of Victoria (1837-1901) but after her death her son Edward VII (1901-1910) reversed the trend. Edward had spent part of his childhood in France, spoke perfect French and was an admirer of French culture.

He also detested his German relations, his nephew Wilhelm II in particular. Soon after his coronation he went on a state visit to France where, to the horror of his government, he drew up a treaty of alliance with the French president, the Entente Cordiale.

Wilhelm had assumed that



England would not oppose a German conquest of Europe, being too preoccupied with colonial problems. He was unaware of the 'Balance of Power' strategy at the heart of England's foreign policy: keep Europe divided into two camps glaring at each other.

WORLD WAR I

In the summer of 1914 the Habsburg Empire declared war on Serbia and in a rapid domino of events, the First World War broke out. The Schleiffen plan was put into

operation immediately. The attack had been worked out in minute detail, but as Clausewitz had warned: Once war begins, everything is in hazard.

It had been assumed that Belgium would permit the passage of German troops through her territory. In fact permission was refused and to carry out their plan the Germans had to declare war on Belgium. Belgium was more or less a British protectorate and Britain at once entered the war against Germany.

The Schleiffen plan was supposed to be carried out with stopwatch precision. In reality the slightest little thing could mess up the advance of an entire army. A farmer driving a herd of cows home for milking could delay an advance by an hour and cause an objective to be missed.

Anybody getting in the way of the German advance was assumed to be a franc tireur (the term 'terrorist' had yet to be invented) and was often shot after the briefest of trials. This policy gave Germany's enemies a propaganda windfall.

England sent a token force of elderly reservists, who were to be remembered as the Old Contemptibles, and which was given the task of defending the line of the Mons Canal. As soon as the Germans attacked the entire force withdrew to a safe area south of Paris, abandoning their guns and supplies, and German forces poured through the gap.

The situation was saved by the commander of the Paris garrison, General De Castelnau, who conscripted all the taxis in Paris and used them to ferry his force to the line of the river Marne, which was held. The German advance petered out, the troops exhausted.

What followed was four years of trench warfare, involving the loss of millions of lives.

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