



UIMH 196 LÚNASA — AUGUST 2003 <http://saoirse.rr.nu> €1 (70p stg, USA \$30 p.a.)

Prison protest escalates

OVER 20 Republican prisoners at HMP Maghaberry are currently taking part in a no wash protest — the prisoners are demanding segregation from loyalist inmates who vastly outnumber them and are involved in a campaign of intimidation that has resulted in several attacks and numerous death threats. What follows is the jail journal of one protesting prisoner which was published in the *Andersontown News* (July 28, 2003):

"On June 24 Republican prisoners were issued with a prison warning — we were told to be 'extra vigilant'.

"If the jail can't protect us then we need segregation.

"They (NIO) can't guarantee my safety therefore I demand to be put with other republicans where my safety will be guaranteed.

"I was made to share a cell with a heroin dealer. This was jeopardising my visits because if the 'passive sniffer dog' smells drugs you are refused a visit, or get a closed visit

which is distressing for your family.

"After Friday, June 27 protests we informed the prison service that we were willing to share cells, but only with other Republicans. . . and not ODCs (Ordinary Decent Criminals) or drug dealers and loyalists.

"This was an opportunity to show that we are reasonable and approachable people willing to negotiate.

"However, this was refused. The prison service is to be blamed for their

intransigence — their ignorance has forced us to take action.

"Republican prisoners in Maghaberry jail have entered into an indefinite protest against the government's policy of forced integration.

"We, the Republican POWs held in this concentration camp, hereby wish to state that we are not criminals, therefore we refuse to be treated as such.

"We have taken a collective decision to enter into this form of protest as a last resort. We have been attacked on a number of occasions and have received countless threats from loyalists and their supporters, the prison officers.

"These attacks go unnoticed by the authorities and totally ignored by the NIO. Of late they have forced Republican POWs to share cells with known drug users. We have raised our concerns through all available channels but we have been ignored. We as Republicans feel we have no other choice, as we have



• Protest on the Falls Road, Belfast calling for segregation for Republican prisoners in Maghaberry jail.

exhausted all avenues.

"This is not a protest entered into lightly, nor by

choice, this establishment through their own ignorance and neglect have forced this

upon us.

(See: "Diary of a Prisoner", Page 5.

Arrested men beaten

AS SAOIRSE went to press eight men were charged in the Dublin Special non-jury Court with IRA membership.

The circumstances of their arrest on Sunday, August 3 in County Waterford are just coming to light. SAOIRSE has learned that two of the nine men, including the man who was released

after 48 hours, were seriously assaulted by the 26-County police at the time of their arrest. In fact John Devane, solicitor, requested that medical attention be given to the two men he visited in

custody who had received lacerations and bruising.

Both men are from Limerick and were held in custody in a 26-County police barracks for 48 hours. John O'Halloran (34) was visited by relatives and his solicitor on August 4 and they noticed he had six bruises and cuts on his face. He called a doctor to the

barracks on the Sunday night and was prescribed painkillers.

The right arm of the other man, Dean Coleman (20), was completely black from a severe kicking he received from the 26-County police — all armed and wearing balaclavas and

Cont. on page 5.

Comóradh
ROBERT EMMET
agus Éirí Amach 1803

ROBERT EMMET
COMMEMORATION

on 20th Anniversary of his execution

SATURDAY
SEPTEMBER 20

Assemble: 1.30pm

Garden of

Remembrance

Parnell Square,

Dublin

March to St

Catherine's

Church, Thomas

Street

Speaker: Seán Ó

Brádaigh



National liberation not complete

"THE RIC that Tom Maguire and the South Mayo Flying Column fought at Tourmakeady was renamed the RUC and is now the PSNI," said Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, when he spoke at a ceremony in Cross Cemetery, Co Mayo on July 5, the 10th anniversary of General Maguire's death.

"Likewise, the B-Specials had become the UDR and later the RIR. The British Army that Maguire and his men engaged at the Kilfvee ambush and on the Partry Mountains was still the British Army of Occupation in the Six Counties. All were doing the deadly work of enforcing British rule there. Name changes made no essential difference," the speaker continued.

"Those who were loud in their condemnations of the Irish struggle for national liberation over the

past 80 years — which Tom Maguire and his comrades so gallantly initiated — now sought to abandon neutrality and plunge us into imperialist wars.

"What of all the abhorrence of the freedom-struggle for Ireland when participation in warfare alongside nuclear-armed powers was being urged? Our own anti-colonial struggle down the centuries, of which the Irish people were so proud, unfortunately was not yet completed," he said.

"Meanwhile our natural



• **Comdt-General Tom Maguire.**

resources, our fisheries and offshore gas, were being handed over to foreign interests to exploit without paying royalties or tax to the Irish people.

"This was not a situation that Tom Maguire and his men sacrificed and in some cases died for. We must, inspired by their

deeds, strive to complete the work they so nobly and heroically began," the speaker concluded.

Earlier, close on a hundred people paraded to the graveside where Tomás Ó Curraoin, Bearna, Gaillimh presided at the ceremonies.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the relatives of Tom Maguire by Kathleen Haire, Cross, Cong, by Kevin Barry Cannon, Castlebar on behalf of Mayo Republicans and by Micheál Ó Conghaile, Bearna on behalf of Galway Republicans.

Seán Mac An Iomaire, Gaillimh, recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaeilge. At the conclusion, the parade reformed and marched back to the carpark.

Eleventh hour changes to EU Treaty text

IT was reported on July 8 that Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's inner team on the Convention on Europe's future have made eleventh hour changes to the draft Constitution despite a very limited mandate by member states.

Among the biggest changes are keeping the national veto on immigration policy and on the competences of the countries with the euro.

Submitting to predominantly British fears, the Convention President has added a line that any decision on economic co-ordination taken by the eurogroup, of which the UK is currently not a member, must be compatible with the rest of the Union.

However, a diplomat admitted that it was not clear "how far such an article can be

New changes also foresee that should countries decide to move ahead in certain areas, they could then decide by unanimity that they want to proceed by qualified majority voting.

UNTOUCHED

Some big issues were left undecided, however. These include tax and common foreign and security policy. The vast majority of Convention members would like to see the end of the member state veto in these areas — however, this is adamantly opposed by the UK.

Another thorny, but as yet untouched, issue is the future of the so-called cultural

exception for France. The French Government is pushing strongly to keep liberalisation away from the cinema and other forms of audiovisual entertainment.

These have been left to the Convention's final plenary debate which will take place on Wednesday 9 July.

The presidium will then meet again in the evening to see if any further amendments to the text have to be made.

The final draft Constitution, which will be given a ceremonial signing off on tomorrow, Thursday, will be fine-tuned by member states at an Inter-Governmental Conference beginning mid-October.

Na Fianna Eireann

Ard-Fheis

AT the recent Na Fianna Eireann Ard Fheis in Dublin, there were a few changes to the structure of the organisation, to help the organisation grow and promote itself better.

The position of PRO (Public Relations Officer) was announced and passed by a motion, by the assembled delegates. This will help promote the organisation through whatever medium available and to also help in our up-coming recruitment drive around the country.

Also a new four-man executive was set up, to oversee the workings of the Ard Coiste but on a purely consultative basis and to offer advice of the various areas.

These changes are in result of the continued growth of the organisation and the hope for the same continued growth in the coming years.

British recruitment policy a failure

ON July 4 British Policing Board in the Six Counties voted unanimously to overturn the controversial 50-50 recruitment rule for the RUC/PSNI, whereby 50% must come from the nationalist and 50% from the unionist communities, indicating that the practice has been a failure.

The board agreed to overturn the 50-50 recruitment rule to encourage up to 70 new officers to fill a skills gap and will recruit detectives from other police forces in the rest of the UK and the 26 Counties.

UN report exposes 26-County State

In a statement on July 8 Des Dalton, Republican Sinn Féin Assistant Publicity Officer, said:

"The UN's Human Development Report published on Tuesday July 8 is a damning indictment of the 26 County state, which according to the report has the second highest level of poverty in the western world, second only to the US. The right-wing economic policies of the present 26 County Government have only accelerated the ever widening gap between rich and poor, whilst steadily running down essential public services such as health, education and public transport."

Croghan Function for IRA Memorial Fund

THE last stage has been reached in the programme of renovation of the imposing Co. Roscommon IRA Memorial at Shankill Cross, Elphin.

The 12 foot high statues have been refurbished, the front wall and railings replaced and now an additional limestone slab is being put in place with all 41 names of the County Roll of Honour inscribed on it in English.

It is hoped to have this latter work completed and ready for an unveiling ceremony on Sunday, September 7, next.

Protests at reception for Orangemen

PROTESTERS laid siege to Glasgow City Chambers to demonstrate against a civic reception for the Orange Order on July 23.

More than 50 campaigners protested as Lord Provost Liz Cameron and council leaders entertained 200 top members of the Order's World Council and members of the Francis Hughes Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin in Glasgow attended the protest.

The campaigners claimed the reception fell in the face of the council-backed Sense Over Sectarianism drive, set up to fight bigotry.

Roseanna Cunningham of the Scottish Nationalist Party joined the criticism.

She said: "This is an organisation irredeemably linked with sectarianism. By giving them a civic reception, the council has bestowed legitimacy that is undeserved."

"It is this kind of move that undermines the battle against sectarianism."

In February, the council released the results of a study on sectarianism in Glasgow and pledged to adopt a zero-tolerance policy on bigotry.

Glasgow University academic, Dr Elinor Kelly, an authority on sectarianism in the west of Scotland, also fears the council has blundered.

She said: "I don't think the council has thought out its policy on sectarianism properly."

One of the protesters, Richard McKenna, said: "I know dozens of people who are unhappy about our council tax being spent on an organisation we feel is nakedly sectarian."

Results of Dublin raffle

JULY Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 087; 2nd prize 318; 3rd prize 301; 4th prize 387; 5th prize 009; 6th prize 145; 7th prize 018; 8th prize 001.

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- is committed to supporting prisoners for which CABHAIR is responsible
- is generating publicity in support of Irish national independence.

We need your support. Our website address is:
<http://irishfreedom.net>

I would like to join the Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom bheith iom bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach
Ainm
Seoladh
Tel: Age (if under 21)
Send to:
Teach Dáithí Ó Connail
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1
Tel: 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...

Slow news days

GERRY Adams received a warning from the (R) to police the other day. It seems every time things are getting tough for the Provos something comes along to distract the 'proletariat' from brooding on defeat too much. In this case the old 'they are out to get you' story was trundled out. To give Gerry Adams his due he didn't make too much of it. Perhaps Bobby Story and Gerry Kelly's over-enthusiastic protection of loyalist fascist marches over the summer is a bit too much for even Gerry. Whatever the reason a few 'heroic' phrases about refusing to be intimidated and the story had moved on to 'disident republicans captured at IRA training camp'.

Of course both stories are just that. They are spin engineered by British intelligence services and willingly played along with by 'nationalist' politicians. The real stories are being ignored.

Recent admissions by reporters such as Jim Cusack that 'Continuity has wider support across the country than has been previously admitted' must have caused some consternation among the British and Free State spin doctors.

Just a few weeks ago American intelligence sources (fed by wishful thinking from former republicans) declared that the IRA had fewer than fifty members spread through out the country. The arrest of nine alleged members at

a single training camp 300 miles from the 'border' must have caused some embarrassment to both intelligence agencies and government security spokes people. Which brings us back to that supposed threat to Gerry Adams' life.

Through out history Irishmen have collaborated with the British colonial power. John Hume for example has been a member of the British parliament for many years.

THROUGHOUT the darkest days of recent Republican history including the Hunger Strike period John continued to 'calm' the people as much as he could on behalf of Britain as did Séamus Mallon of the SDLP. Gerry Fitt (who DID get his marching orders but only

AFTER he threatened to shoot nationalists and indeed drew out a gun to back up his drunken threats) Paddy Devlin and many others have 'played along' with British rule. They are all alive and well and heading for a discredited place in history. Why should Gerry and his cohorts suffer a different fate?

What history teaches us is that (like drug dealers in the inner city) the financial and social rewards will mean that removal of one difficult person means instant replacement by another.

Republicans understand the maxim 'you can fool some of the people some of the time but not all the people all of the time' is as valid today as it was when

Abe Lincoln coined the phrase.

It has taken over 17 years for Gerry Adams and his closest allies to reach a point where they are being seriously questioned about their true intentions. It has taken all that time for an organized opposition to British rule to once again find momentum.

We would be foolish people to suppose that any of us holds such a privileged position that we can stand in the face of Republican progress with impunity. However, the enemy of the Irish people is the British establishment in Ireland.

For that same British establishment to attempt to bring Irishmen into conflict with each other is not unusual. For anyone to

think for a moment that the death of Gerry Adams holds the key to freedom is preposterous.

It is becoming clear that the only key Gerry Holds is one to the back door of Stormont. (And as we know the locks have been changed).

It is clear that Gerry Adams and his friends (Irish and British) will have to learn to live with his failure — and after events outside Clonmel it is clear that the Britain will have to live with a new anti-colonial cam-paign against its presence in Ireland by a re-investigated IRA... and British intelligence and the spin doctors? Well they will have to Dream On!

— Mac Cool

Special Branch activities condemned

THE activities of the Special Branch police in trying to seduce young men with the offer of vast sums of money in return for information on leading Republican figures has been condemned by the Limerick branch of Republican Sinn Féin.

Republican Sinn Féin spokesperson Joe Lynch from Ballina-curra Weston, the recently appointed Director of Elections in Limerick, said on July 31st that the latest case of the police offering money to a member of Republican Sinn Féin has sinister implications because the young man was expected to give evidence on trumped-up charges.

"A young man was arrested by the Special Branch and taken to a police station in Dublin," Joe Lynch said. "He was

questioned about leading figures in Republican Sinn Féin and offered a huge sum of money in return for information that would put men in prison.

"This type of conduct is undermining any faith people may have had in the present system of justice and shows how out of control elements of the police force is at the moment.

The legal enquiries into questionable police conduct and into police corruption are only the

tip of the iceberg — the present system of police complaints is a farce — we must have a totally independent police complaints commission if faith in the system is to be restored.

"It is immoral for the Special Branch to offer thousands of pounds to young men to perjure themselves — in fact it is tantamount to a crime — and such behaviour must not be tolerated any more by those in power.

"The public has a right to expect high standards from the police — they should not act like Mafia figures offering bribes and inducements to frame innocent men — by such actions they bring the law into disrepute."

Second election candidate chosen

A LONG-TIME trade union and community activist in Limerick has been selected by Republican Sinn Féin to contest the local elections in Ward One on the North side of the city.

Michael Ryan, popularly known as The Quill, of Ballynanty was nominated at a recent convention to contest the election.

"Along with Seán O'Neill in the Southside and two more local election candidates to be selected for Wards Three and Four, we will have a presence throughout the city," said local PRO Joe Lynch from Ballina-curra Weston.

"Mick Ryan is one of the best known community activists in the Northside of Limerick — we are pleased that he has accepted the nomination and we look forward to waging a successful campaign.

"He has been a member of the Republican Movement for the past twenty years — he is also a union shop steward and a foreman with Limerick Corporation.

"In addition to his popularity within the community in Ballynanty, he



• **Director of elections for Republican Sinn Féin in Limerick, Joe Lynch.**

is also involved with the Moyross Football Club and works on a voluntary basis with the youth of the area.

"It is men like Mick Ryan who can make a difference to

a community — who provide leadership to people and who are willing to work unselfishly to improve the lives of their neighbours. He takes into this upcoming

election a sense of right and justice and a determination to use the City Council to further improve the facilities and sense of community in the Northside."

Building space for social, affordable housing needed

THE site of the former Limerick Clothing Company factory at present up for sale should be purchased by Limerick City Council for social and affordable housing, the local Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin said on July 25.

Republican Sinn Féin local election candidate Seán O'Neill from Rosbrien said the Edward Street site is ideal for new housing as it is within walking distance of the city centre.

"We are now calling on the Limerick City Council to buy the site and draw up plans for inner city affordable housing unit," he said. "The area is ideal for such housing

former Clothing Factory site would re-generate the entire Edward Street area and lead to a re-vitalisation of inner city life with a new sense of community spirit.

"The time is now ripe for the City Council to act and we are now calling for a feasibility plan for the site with a view to developing a new village type housing estate in Edward Street.

"The site is also within walking distance of the city centre and it would be ideal for people without any transport — and indeed for elderly people on limited means."

SINN FÉIN POBLACHTACH
National Private Members
DRAW

10 Duais: Two 2004 All-Ireland tickets (1 hurling & 1 football) plus €500 spending money

20 Duais: €500

30 Duais: €300

40 Duais: Framed picture, 1916 Martyrs

50 Duais: Bodhrán

Donations: €2 / s£1 or €10 / s£5 for book of six

Draw will take place at Ard-Phiis in Dublin, 9 November 2003

Chronology of the Rising of 1803 and its aftermath

August 25: Emmet arrested in Palmer's by Town Major Henry Charles Sirr.

August 30: Emmet questioned in Dublin Castle by Privy Council.

August 31: Special Commission convened at Green Street Courthouse under Justices William Downes, George Daly and Mathias Finucane. Edward Kearney sentenced to death.



For The Record

WED. JULY 1: The Republican prisoners in Maghaberry prison embarked on a 'dirty protest' in pursuit of their campaign for segregation within the jail.

A 28-year-old nationalist man from the Killowen area of Coleraine, Co Derry was attacked by a gang of loyalists as he walked along the Cloyfin Road, near Coleraine. He was beaten with iron bars and stabbed repeatedly in the back. The gang attempted to drag him into their car but he managed to fight them off and run away. The man was recovering in hospital.

A bomb hoax at the road between the Loughgall junction and Tamnamore roundabout led to the closure of the M1 Motorway in the Six Occupied Counties.

THURS. JULY 3: A former RUC officer and his wife - Robert Cecil Atkinson (49) and Eleanor Jean Atkinson (49), whose address was given as care of Portadown RUC/PSNI barracks, and another man, Kenneth George Hanvey (52), from Derryanvil Road, Portadown, were charged at Craigavon magistrate's court charged with perverting the course of justice in relation to the death of Robert Hamill, kicked to death by loyalists in Portadown on April 27, 1997. They were charged with conspiring with others, including Andrea McKee, to pervert the cause of justice by giving false information to RUC members making inquiries about a telephone call made from

their house on the date of Robert Hamill's death.

The home and business of an American woman were targeted by the loyalist death squad the UVF in separate incidents. Denise and Paddy Maxwell's family business, Maxwell's Design My Sign, at Upperlands, near Maghera in Co Derry was gutted in an arson attack and later her home in the predominantly loyalist area of Tamlaght-O-Clilly, also near Maghera was attacked. Six windows were smashed and sectarian graffiti daubed on the walls.

SUN. JULY 6: British army bomb experts defused an explosive device left on the Gilford to Banbridge Road in Co Down.

FRI. JULY 10: A family escaped injury when their home in the Colban Crescent area of Lurgan, Co Armagh was targeted by a petrol bomb attack.

TUES. JULY 17: Two nationalist postmen working in the Derry city sorting office are on leave following death threats from the British-backed loyalist death squad the UVF.

THURS. JULY 24: British Crown Forces mounted a massive security operation in South Armagh after a loyalist death squad claimed in a telephone warning to have abandoned three bombs they were using to target Provisional representatives living in the area.

The loyalists warned that pipe bombs and a grenade were abandoned in the Camloch

/Bessbrook area of County Armagh. The Newry bypass was closed for several hours as British and PSNI personnel searched the area, however nothing was found.

SAT. JULY 26: Extensive damage was caused to the altar of St John's Church, on the main Magherafelt to Castledawson Road at around 5.30am. A window at the rear of the church was broken and flammable liquid was poured in. The floor at the rear of the building was also badly damaged. The floor dates from the time of the penal laws in Ireland. The Church is located yards from O'Donovan Rossa's GAA ground which has been the target of sectarian attacks by loyalists on numerous occasions in recent years.

British Department of Social Services building in Newry, Co Down was targeted in an attempt to set fire to the building. A warning call was received prior to the attack.

WED. JULY 30: The ten-year-old daughter of a prison officer in the North unwittingly carried an unexploded bomb into her home in Bangor, Co Down. The child picked up the improvised explosive device after finding it in the garden of the house at Brunswick Road in the town. It was several hours before her parents realised what it was and alerted British Crown Forces who took it way for further examination.



• The aftermath of an arson attack on St John's Catholic Church, Magherafelt on July 26.

SUN. JULY 27: Six nationalist homes, including that of Lily Gillen (62) were targeted by a mob of loyalists who went on the rampage armed with hatchets and golf clubs in the mainly loyalists Stiles estate in Antrim town.

MON. JULY 28: The

THURS. JULY 31: It was reported in the *Irish News* (Belfast) that the Continuity IRA had threatened to "take military action" against prison officers at Maghaberry jail for carrying out "physical and mental torture" of its members, where

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 FOR POLITICAL STATUS
GPO, DUBLIN
SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 12.45-1.45pm
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Leinster

RICHARD GOSS COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY AUGUST 10
ST PATRICK'S CEMETERY, DUNDALK
Assembly: Green Church, Church Street, 2.30pm

SCANLON/SHORTISS COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY AUGUST 17
BALLYBUNION, CO KERRY, 2.30pm

PICKET FOR POLITICAL STATUS
BRITISH TOURIST OFFICE, DAME STREET
DUBLIN

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 12.30-2pm
Organised by Patsy O'Connor Slua, Na Fianna
Éireann, Atha Cliath
Leaflets will be distributed to the public, any
assistance would be welcomed

ROBERT EMMET COMMEMORATION
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20
ASSEMBLY: GARDEN OF REMEMBRANCE
DUBLIN, 1.30pm
MARCH TO ST CATHERINE'S CHURCH
THOMAS STREET
Oration: Seán Ó Brádaigh

REPUBLICAN FUNCTION IN MEMORY OF ROBERT EMMET
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20
MOTHER REDCAPS, CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN
Doors open 9pm: Tickets : €7
Music by: The Freewheelers

Republican prisoners are engaged in a 'dirty protest' in pursuance of their campaign for segregation within the jail.

SUN. AUGUST 2: Ten people were arrested at a forest in the Comeragh Mount-ains on the Tipperary/Waterford border in

what appeared to be a training camp. A number of weapons and a quantity of ammunition was seized.

TUES. AUGUST 5: Eight men were charged before the Dublin Special non-Jury Court with membership of an illegal organisation.

Maghaberry jail: The Diary of a Prisoner

PRISON DIARY

"On Friday I returned from a legal visit to find myself put in the same cell as a heroin dealer. I met two Senior Officers (SOs) and told them I wasn't willing to share a cell with him and was told this was "tough shit".

"At the moment eight Republican POWs in the sentenced block are on the protest. I was refused my legal visit, as I wouldn't have a shower. The reason for this is that I did not feel safe alone with the loyalists.

"Tensions are high, and the loyalists have been taunting and jibing, spitting at the doors and calling us 'Fenian scumbag bastards'. We are washing and changing our clothes in our cells. Morale remains good and spirits high. They are refusing to take our outgoing mail, tuck shop forms and the food is poor, with very little hot water. This protest is about segregation — plain and simple.

"No yards (outside exercise) from Friday, July 4.

"The food has been rationed; there is very little hot water. Staff are refusing to take outgoing mail.

"The cells were cleaned but no harm was done to the POWs. Tell my wife that I am in good spirits.

"Day 1 — Saturday, July 5. Locked in cell, got hot water. No association or yard. Was ordered by SO to clean the cell. I refused.

"Got dinner at 12.40.

Cont. from page 1.

plainclothes — at the time of his arrest. His mother was not allowed to visit him but his injuries were noted by his solicitor.

The fact that charges were dropped against Dean Coleman on August 5 begs the question; was this done so that his injuries would not be displayed in the Special Court in front of the media, relatives and friends? However, it may be noted that the solicitor insisted that a formal complaint be taken by the police.

Six of the eight men were charged with IRA membership in the Special Court on August 5. They were:

Paddy Deery, Joe Mooney, Brian Galvin, all from Waterford; John O'Halloran, Limerick; Patrick J Kelly, Mark McMahon, Wexford.

Two others, Michael Leahy and Tom Barry, both from Waterford, were charged with possession of firearms.

Tom Barry was charged with possession of his own firearm, a double-barrelled

This was disregarded. Got no hot water.

"Supper at 4.35. Got two letters, they had both been posted over a week ago.

"Day 2 — Sunday, July 6. Received hot water, served with two charge sheets at 11am. Did not get to Mass. Got dinner at 12.30. Got a shower and received a visit. Returned from visit and was locked in cell. Received no hot water from 12.30.

"Day 3 — Monday, July 7. Received no hot water. No requests taken and no outgoing mail. Eight prisoners are now on the protest.

"Got hot water at 11.15. Received dinner at 12.30. Received newspapers minus Andytown News. Have had exercise from Thursday.

"Got supper at 4.30.

"Day 4 — Tuesday, July 8. Received no hot water. Screws refused to take outgoing mail and tuck shop form. They lifted it and then threw it back into the cell again.

"Have had no association or bread from last Thursday.

"Food is rationed. I've had no breakfast from Thursday. Cell cleaned by hired help. Got supper at 4.30. Was served with further charge sheets at 5.45 roughly.

"SO served these.

"Day 5 — Wednesday, July 9. Was asked to take a shower as I was required for adjudication, this was

shotgun, for which he has a valid certificate.

John Devane, solicitor for Patrick J Kelly, in cross examination, failed to elicit an answer from a police witness as to why if the others were arrested at 3.45pm his client was not arrested until 4pm.

John demanded an answer to the missing quarter of an hour and was informed on the court's direction that his client was free to do whatever he wanted for a quarter of an hour.

When the detective giving evidence was asked further questions in relation to the timing of the arrest the court interjected and indicated that these questions should be answered during the trial.

The same quarter of an hour time-lapse pretains in the case of other defendants before the court.

Bail applications for all eight accused was fixed for Friday, August 8 at 11am.

The solicitor representing Tom Barry, who suffers from epilepsy, asked that his client get immediate medical



refused. Received hot water and bread at 9.05. Got dinner at 12.30 also hot water. Supper at 4.30.

"Day 6 — Thursday, July 10. Hot water received at about 10am. No requests taken and again no outgoing mail.

"Still no word about laundry. One prisoner was taken to punishment unit last night.

"Got dinner but no hot water. Took shower for legal visit.

"Received supper at 4.30. Still no yards or association. Had doctor in today.

"Day 7 — Friday, July examination for his complaint because his medicine was not administered at the normal times during his detention. Also on August 3 and 4 there were lengthy raids on homes in Waterford by the 26-County police.

The home of Des Long, Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President, was also raided in Limerick even though there was no connection between Des Long and this particular investigation.

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.

"Day 8 — Saturday, July 12. Nothing new, bad grub, haven't eaten anything at all.

"Still on cellular confinement. Saw no-one.

"Board of Visitors (BOV) was in, not sure which one.

"Day 9 — Sunday, July 14. Saw BOV today, told them the issue is still not resolved. Will probably get 28 days on Rule 32.

"Got shower for visit.

"Received visit at 3pm. Rule 32 for ten days.

"Day 10 — Monday, July 14. Requested BOV and medic. Have chosen to stop out, as CC does not achieve aim. Got hot water.

"Very bad food rations, one scoop of potatoes. I requested medic at 8.30 this morning, it's now 3.20 and I still haven't seen anyone.

"Pressed cell alarm at 3.10 and got no response until 3.40.

"It is now 6.35. I had to hit cell alarm yet again to ask about medic - still nothing.

"Got medication at 7.10.

"Day 11 — Tuesday, July 15. No requests, had shower and got hot water at 8.30.

"I still haven't received all my gear from move.

"Got dinner at 11.50. Food rations are ridiculous one sausage and two

potatoes . . . being denied medication today again.

"Day 12 — Wednesday, July 16.

Asked for BOV and doctors, requested the rest of my things.

"Saw doctor, no BOV. Had governor to door, asked again about my stuff.

"Received another charge sheet. Expecting three days. Sent three letters out this morning, received two.

"Day 13 — Thursday, July 17. Asked yet again about my belongings, was told that may be later. I'm still waiting on BOV."

BELFAST SUPPORT COMMITTEE

A meeting called by Republican Sinn Féin in Belfast on July 12 to discuss the situation in Maghaberry established a group to campaign for segregation for Republican prisoners.

The meeting was well attended and included ex-prisoners and relatives of serving prisoners.

The group, called the Republican POW Support Group for Segregation, intends to get in touch with other ex-prisoner groups and try to get support in different areas.

A temporary committee was set up at the meeting to get the group off the ground.

Threats to solicitors

THE burning out of a private car owned by a solicitor in the Rosbrien Road area of the city has not been condemned by any local politician yet the mere threat to a newspaper office has been denounced by none other than the Mayor of Limerick, the local Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin said on July 29.

Republican Sinn Féin community affairs spokesperson and election candidate Seán O'Neill said that the car was burned out in the early hours of Saturday morning and only for the resident being awake there could have been a major loss of life.

"This was a wanton act of sheer vandalism; another threat against a solicitor that

could have resulted in a loss of life yet no local politician has seen fit to condemn the act," he said.

"The mere threat to a newspaper office has the Mayor puffed up with indignation yet in his own ward people are having their cars burned out and he is no where to be seen.

"His Fianna Fáil party

colleague Junior Minister Willie O'Dea is a great man for walking around Ward Four knocking on doors with good news!; but we already have a postman in the area. The sooner the politicians tackle the thugs and gangs that are making peoples' lives a misery the better. The legislation to put these thugs away is there but the police seem more concerned with traffic offences.

"Instead of the Mayor fawning on a newspaper office because of some alleged threat, he should be consulting with the people who are being victimised and terrorised in his own Ward."

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 Committee
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 McCurry, Co Antrim; Jimmy McElhinney, Co Tyrone; Geraldine Taylor, Belfast; Michael McGeoghegan, Co Derry; Joe O'Neill, Co Donegal; Mick McManus, Co Fermanagh; Larry McMahon, Co Monaghan
2. By sending a donation to: Ad Offis, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 or to 229 Falls Road, Belfast.
3. By Standing Order Form published here.

Kitson

FRANK KITSON: Sin an té a chuir tús leis an gcomhairtíocht idir dílseoirí agus oifigh de chuid na Corónach. Sa leabhar a scríobh sé sna seascaidí agus é i gceannas ar Ceinias, san Afraice, atá an fhianaise (Gangs and Counter Gangs; Londain, 1960).

D'éirigh liom teacht ar chóip den saothar sa leabharlann, Deilgínis, Co Dhún Laoghaire-Ráth an Dúin, an t-ion sampla amháin atá ar fáil sa geantae, mar bhi sé tinn, mar a deárf, damáiste déanta ag an oiread sin léitheoirí a léigh é, rud atá spóisúil ann féin, cheapfaim.

Faoi tréimhse d'at a chait sé san Afraic bhi an Mau Mau i lár a chuid oibre, mar a bhi iarracht bhra físi deireadh a chur le riail agus réir na Corónach, agus sairne a bhaint amach. Rinne na Sasanaigh mar a rinneodar i ngeach áit dá d'rabhadh, agus le scríos agus éiríche, in éadan a ndlíthe físi, bhuaidh in aghaidh an Mau Mau.

SÁRÚ DÍLÍ

Ón tús mar mhó, sa leabhar, atá an téarma *Kitson* (dílseoir) in úsáid ag Litson, le hidreallach idir baill an éirí amach agus muirtear na háite a bhi ceannasaithe ag na coilínigh, agus na "dícheasaghi" a bhi ina gceoinne.

Ní shin rud nua i gceolachtaí na gcoilínigh a stair an chine dhaoine, cé go raib na Rómáinigh pas beag ní ba ionarraice nuair ba é "cliant" an focal a bhi acu siúd. An ní is nuai, bh'éidid, go raib sin uilig in éadan an díli sa Géinia.

Sa gcoilínigh shin bí sé de dailgas ar na póilíní daoine a bhi ag sárú an díli bealach ar bith a ghabháil,

agus iad a chur os comhair cúirte.

Ach faoi Kitson, theastaigh uathu na cinirí a mhair, dá b'fhéidir é nó, dá mba chinirí sóisearacha iad, ciní a dhéanamh díobh a luaithe agus a bhíodar gafa bhi rogha crua rompu, tá, an cóta a ionip in éadan a geomrídítheach, nó a bheith caite isteach sa géur, áit a thabharfaid an breitheamh ordu le go gerochfaí iad, Dia lin.

DIFRÍOCHT AMHÁIN

Mar is rí-eol don té a dteastaíonn uaidh a bheith ar éad colas, sin Sé Chontae na hÍrlanda iridanta bhi an bhunraí ann i gceonai (próiseas an díli, mar a deirtear); ach bhi deiradeh le cochoadh. Ba shin an t-ion difríocht. Ach bhi marí ar an gclár i gceonai, sin agus dúmhál, agus an dá nós glan in éadan díli na Breataine (mar atá sé anseo cé scail go gceapfaí a mhairt, cís úd i Mainistir Leathrátha, ar ndóig, atá fós físi mheas).

Go fairsing agus go trom atá an fhianaise in éadan na Breataine, gur shraigh séid ní hamháin an díli sa mbaile agus sna Sé Chontae, ach an díli idrimáisinta ag an am céanna. Níl sin réir a mhairtíocht i nGíralur ach na samplaí ba shuntasí.

Dar leis an rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath, ní féidir dúl ar aghaidh níos físi na cúrsaí go dtí go mbeidh

tuirisic Bharron ar fáil.

Ar éigean go mbeadh fáil ar an tuirisic cheana go dtí mí Mheán an Fhómhair. Agus ní feas cé go btealach a bheas sna "fíricí crua" in éadan na Breataine go dtí an lár mór sin, más fíor.

COTHROM NA FÉINNE?

Gach seans go ndearfadh Barron nach bhfuil an fhianaise "sách crua, nó trom a dhóiteach" go fóill, agus go bhfuiltear ag fanacht ar cháipéisí áirithe le go ndéanfaid go mólfai "cinneadh ar chomhairle". Cothrom na Féinne? Sin scéal eile ar fad, muis.

Tá sé ráite ag Ahern cheana nach dtiocfadh a leithéid idir é féin agus an fear atá chomh mór sin faoi néal an abrais i Londain, mar atá Blair.

Ní chuirfeadh sé a dhath d'iontas ormna dá gcuirfeadh Ahern na cúrsaí sin uilig, idir dhúmháirí sna Sé Chontae agus shléacht i mBaile Átha Cliath agus i Muineachán, ar an mór thada.

Ní go maith a thiofadh rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath amach sa mionscúid fáil rampáirítheach sna cúrsaí sin ag an húdaráis sna 26 Chontae?

Cuirtear ceist ar an diodóir Greg O'Neill, comhairleoir díli de chuid Justice for the Forgotten, nó an ríabais, b'ail ó Dhia ort, i láthair san óstán Gresham roinnt seachtainí ó shin nuair a caitheadh solas éigin ar na cúrsaí docha céanna?

POBAL AR STRAE

Faraois, is cóstail nach féidir liom brath ar ghnáthphobal na hÉireann i léithir na bhuare le lagúid mhór a eagrú agus iachail a chur ar na húdaráis an fíurinne shamhanas a insint fáil deiradeh thiar, maidir leis an chomh-

pháirtíocht idir Baile Átha Cliath agus Londain, a theann slar go dtí 1921 féin, gan stop gan stonadh.

Go deimhin, nuair a bheas "chuile short scríodaithe agus ráite, ba ar leas níosime amháin de mhuintir na hÉireann rinneadh an chomhpháirtíocht, agus ba chuma sa diabhal faoi thromlach na ndaoine.

Dul chun cinn Bhaile Átha Cliath bun agus barr an scéil. Ní hionann sin is a rá gur go maith as a tháinig comhshuintir na cathrach, ach oreadh. Nár mhór an faill a rinne an páirtí a bhuaigh an Conghaileach!

Tá an-mhachnaimh déanta agam agus le tamall fída faoi na cúrsaí mór seo agus bheim buíoch de na smaointeoirí a bhios ag leanh na hirise seo na tuairimí seo a leanas a mbeas agus a dhuairim féin a nochtadh dúinn uilig. Ar an dóig sin, tá seans éigin ann go bhféadfaid muid tabhairt faoi mhuintir uilig na hÉireann a athdhóiseacht, go háirithe na daoine óga.

BUN NA CEISTE

Go bunúsach, is faoi oideachas atáim, grúpa a bhuntú i ngeach baile, beag is mór, le cúrsaí bunúsacha a scrúdú go mion, na laeicis a chaitheamh amach ónár meoin agus na clúicéanna in éndí. Loigicé, a dhúine, bunrialacha na loigicé.

Dáiríre, atosú ar ghéarsmaointeoireacht; deoradh na meoin a chaitheamh ar leataibh; cuid de na nósanna maith a bhíodh againn uair a athbheochain, mar shampla comhar na gcomharas; agus, má thosannaim muid arís a dhul sios an bóthrin sin, na rialacha a shocrú sa chaoi nach dtíreadh an comharachas isteach i lámhaibh na gceolachtaí móra nó beaga!

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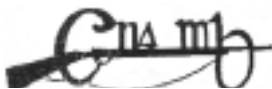
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Tossigh leis an gceist: An bhfuil gá le moráltaíocht? Agus má tá, cén sort moráltaíocht? Ar chóir an mhórlaith a bheith bunaithe ar leas an dhúine, leas an phobail, leas na tíre? Cén fáth?

DÚISIGH, A CHARA

Is eol dom nach mise an té is túisce a chuir na ceisteanna sin, agus go bhfuil i ngeach leabharlann leabhair go leor a labhrann fíthú. Níl i

gceist agamsa ach go ngabhadh muid siar arís go dtí na téarmaí bunúsacha, féachadh cén áit a cuireadh amú sin... agus mar sin de.

Cioradh, a dhaoine. Ceist orabáil uilig: An bhfuil sibh siosta leis an gceol a bhfuil Éire inniu, cuma cén reiligin a chleachtann sibh, nó nach gcleachtann, cuma cén pholaitíocht a bhfuil sibh in ainn is a bheith gafa, cuma gach rud ach dian-mhachnaimh. Agus bail ó Dhia (má chreideann sibh ann) ar an obair. Athnuaiseam féin go gredidh, ann a b' mbeas ar an té nach gcreideann. Sínte amháin le cardeas atá mór dheasg go gach uile dhúine.

— Deasún Breathnach

The truth will set you Free: Mary Kelly's trial

ON July 3, Mary Kelly walked out of Kilrush Circuit Court a free woman, to the sound of the loud cheers of a crowd of delighted anti-war activists and supporters.

She had been charged on two counts — trespass (by going over the perimeter fence at Shannon) and criminal damage to a U.S. Naval aircraft that had landed at Shannon for refuelling. The jury found her guilty on the much less serious charge of trespass, with the judge adjourning sentencing until October.

They could not, however, reach the required ten-to-two majority verdict on the criminal damage charge, finally stating that they had reached deadlock and that there was no prospect of reaching agreement. Despite strenuous efforts by prosecuting counsel throughout the four-day trial to discredit the defence, a significant portion of a jury made up of ordinary members of the Irish public could not find it in their hearts to criminalise Mary Kelly.

Speaking after the trial's end, Mary Kelly said: "It's a great victory for Ireland. The people, having heard the evidence, could not find me guilty of a crime."

Not only is it a victory for Ireland and for the peace movement as a whole, but it is also a victory for Mary and her legal team, given the efforts of the prosecution, and indeed the judge, to try to suppress both highly distinguished and experienced defence witnesses and evidence for the defence.

Day one of the trial (Monday, June 30) featured Commander William Schneider, pilot of the ill-fated plane. Schneider, when questioned by the prosecution, basically testified that having landed the plane, he didn't give anybody permission to damage it with an axe. He also testified that the plane in question was carrying cargo and passengers rather than weapons, although he wasn't aware of how many passengers he was actually carrying. The defence barrister Brendan Nix asked Schneiders whether he was aware of the fact that Bush W. Bush had congratulated not only the US army but also the Air Force and the Coast Guard of their role in the war effort. Schneiders replied that he would not presume to speak for his president. Nix repeated the question, pointing out that he wasn't being asked to speak for Bush, just whether he was aware of the specific fact of Bush's message of congratulations. A rather flustered Schneiders eventually answered "Yes".

There was slight controversy over Schneiders' failure to name one of the plane's identifying marks when he was asked to list these, the

omitted mark being the "City of Dallas" insignia on the plane (which I can reliably inform you is definitely there, and may even have allegedly been the specific target a bang or two some days after Mary Kelly's action). Schneiders was ushered out of the courtroom by a superior quite soon after the reality of the effects of U.S. foreign policy began to be discussed by the defence, presumably for fear he would be exposed to "un-American" viewpoints.

Another witness for the prosecution on Day one was the scene of crimes inspector, who it turned out had inserted material in his report that didn't reflect his first-hand experience of the scene of the "crime" (the crime being the fact that military planes in an illegal war of aggression are landing at Shannon in the first place). The inspector had mentioned damage to a proximity electronic sensing unit" in his report, and Nix asked the inspector the following question:

"If a proximity electronic sensing unit fell out of a tree and landed on you, would you know what it was?" Mr. Scene of Crimes thought for a minute and then replied, "No". By this time, it was becoming apparent to many in the courtroom that although the prosecution team was deeply anxious to criminalise Mary Kelly, their level of competency was questionable. Perhaps the mistaken assumption that they wouldn't have to try too hard to win the case was a part of this.

There were then several witnesses from the U.S. military, the Airport Police and the FBO (Fixed Base Operators), who all displayed a deep phobia about uttering the words "yes" and "no". When asked by the defence whether they knew that a large number of munitions were going through Shannon, for example, an FBO man replied "Well, I don't know what you mean by a large number". All answers from the aforementioned witnesses to this question were along these lines.

Further contradictions in the prosecution's case emerged when Superintendent Kerin testified that several members of the guards had told him that on her arrest, Mary refused to co-operate with the investigation. All of the guards involved in the investigation, among them Garda Liam O'Reilly and Detective Geoghan, denied ever having made such a claim.

Day two was a day in which the jury's patience



• Mary Kelly outside the court with her daughter Julie.

was tested by the prosecution. They continually had to leave the courtroom while the prosecution team went away to find evidence that they had forgotten to bring to court.

According to plane-spotting activist Tim Hourigan, the jury were "up and down like the Assyrian Empire". However, the comic highlight of the day has to have been when Commander Shady of the U.S. Navy (yes, that's his real name, by the way) revealed that as project manager for the fleet of C40s (the ill-fated plane was part of a new fleet), he had performed a damage estimate of the plane via video satellite link from Kansas. Now, to me, the chances of achieving an accurate estimate via a video link are about as good as if they got the scarecrow in the Wizard of Oz to do it for them instead.

Shady also testified that some of the damage that Mary was accused of wasn't actually detected until after the plane had got back to Kansas (having presumably clicked its heels three times), which the defense pointed out could mean that this damage was not a result of Mary's action, but of the action several days later by the Catholic Worker five.

The emergency repairs that were intended to make the plane fit to fly to Kansas (for a full-scale repair) involved the radome, the nose landing gear, the link assembly, the metering assembly and temporary patches on the fuselage. Such technical details were sending the jury into a visible state of almost sleep-inducing boredom, until Denis Halliday took the

stand and talked at length about the effects of the sanctions, of depleted uranium and of the destruction of Iraq's infrastructure on the country's inhabitants. Several people in the courtroom were moved to tears by Halliday's testimony, and the jury was visibly moved also.

Day three began with the defence asking the Judge Moran to install a new jury, because the previous day, said judge had prejudiced them by falsely stating that Mary had "admitted to a crime". The judge refused to agree to this request, but did retract his statement, asking the jury to disregard it.

The sage-like Ramsey Clarke (former U.S. Attorney General and longtime peace campaigner) testified for 30 minutes about the adverse effects of U.S. foreign policy, stating facts and figures about the effects of long-term low-intensity conflict in Iraq since 1991. He expressed deep concern about the sanctions, with at least 585,000 young children dead as a direct result of them. He also compared Mary's action to somebody removing the bullets from a gun that would otherwise be used to kill someone.

The prosecuting counsel strenuously questioned the relevance of Clarke's testimony, and asked him the following rather bizarre question: "If someone broke into your house and did 1.5 million euros worth of damage, how would you feel?"

Clarke replied that if his house was capable of complicity in the murder of innocents, he'd be actively offering invitations to people to come and damage it. Clarke was asked the question several times (apparently the prosecutor felt he hadn't answered it), and gave the same reply each time. I am sure many bizarre questions are asked in courtrooms, but this one strikes me as similar to asking Rosa Parks "If someone sat in your usual seat in the bus, how would you feel?"

Removal of context, universalizing of the particular, seems to be a tool used by empire time and again. And, because we all know that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house (to borrow from Audre Lorde), all that a defence can do is to continually push the focus back to the context in which an action occurs.

Michael Birmingham gave a similarly powerful testimony, focusing on the current breakdown of law and order in Iraq, which he is witnessing at first hand in his heroic work for Voices in the Wilderness. The lack of a police force means that many people now own guns. In a speech in Limerick last Friday, for example, Birmingham spoke of an incident in which a nine-year-old street child was raped near his hotel, resulting in the hotel staff getting their guns to the ready to go out to protect the street children nearby, of whom there has been a proliferation since the latest invasion. He also witnessed a man being fatally stabbed, as a group of U.S. soldiers stood a few metres away and failed to intervene.

Toward the end of day three, there were vigorous protests from the prosecution at the desire of Mary's legal team to have the jury view a series of videos relevant to Mary's motivations, among them John Pilger's documentary on the effects of the sanctions, *Paying the Price*.

The prosecution maintained that Pilger wasn't a proper investigative journalist because he "showed gross details", which meant he was "too emotional". The decision on the videos was adjourned until the next day, so that the judge would have a chance to watch the videos at home and make an informed decision.

By the morning of day four, Judge Moran had decided that none of the videos were relevant, especially not the John Pilger one, because it would politicize the trial, was too emotional and would affect the jury (and here was I thinking evidence on both sides was actually supposed to affect a jury's decision!).

To add insult to injury, the prosecution also wished to know how Scott Ritter (ex-UN weapons inspector and next scheduled defence witness) was relevant to the case, and Judge Moran was

very much inclined to wonder the same, saying he felt that the case was becoming much too political. Finally Judge Moran reluctantly agreed to allow the defence to ask Ritter one or two questions. The sum total of Ritter's testimony consisted of the following question from Nix and its reply: "Did the U.S. have a mandate to go to war?" Ritter: "Most definitely not." With that, Ritter was urged to leave the stand, and the defence finished with a "fantastic" (Mary Kelly's adjective) closing speech from Nix on her behalf. When the judge gave charge, Mary became convinced that she was going to prison.

Judge Moran's slant was clearly in the prosecution's favour and all in the courtroom were convinced that Mary would be convicted. He did not address the jury as to the influence on state of mind of the defendant, who had been affected by work in severely war-torn areas of the world and upset at having seen the destruction of Iraqi society, the effects of depleted uranium and the deaths of thousands of children in the Pilger documentary.

He ignored the defence testimony, directing the jury not to allow feelings or issues of conscience to influence them in making their decision. This extraordinary instruction, when the whole function of a jury is to act as the conscience of society in matters of law, is perhaps an indication of how profoundly the prosecution's agenda had been shown up by the strength, clarity and truth of the defence.

Despite being effectively told to ignore their own human consciences, the jury couldn't convict Mary Kelly for her efforts to undercut the U.S. war machine. And this outcome is another small but highly significant dent in that war machine.

When Ramsey Clarke spoke at Mary Immaculate College on Wednesday the 2nd of July, he talked about U.S. weapons capabilities with great knowledge. He warned that the US had the capability to wipe out any country in the world overnight should it wish to do so, speaking of twenty Hiroshimas.

A soft-spoken man in his eighties, who has seen much destruction and sought to resist it, he made a passing statement toward the end of his speech that made me sit up: "I'm still naive enough to think that the truth will set you free."

Mary Kelly's court case has, in its own way, been an example of this maxim in action.

— Deirdre Clancy

State of siege remain

Saturday June 28, 2003: The nationalist community of the Springfield Road were forced to endure a sectarian, Orange march forced through their area on Saturday afternoon. From early on in the day hundreds of Occupation Forces flooded into the Springfield area, backed up by armoured land rovers and armoured cars, foot patrols and mobile patrols moved round the area constantly.

Nationalists gathered just before the Orange march was due to come out of Workman's Avenue onto the Springfield Road itself. Provisional policemen were also out in force; as will be the case at flashpoints throughout the marching season; making sure any nationalist protest against sectarian parades or marches are to the level of protest they will allow; any more than that the Provisionals will deal with; of that there will be no mistake. Two water cannons were also seen in the Shankill, sitting out of the way, but, close enough if called upon to deal with any protest, but, there was an arrangement beforehand that the RUC/PSNI would let a number of people carrying a banner which read "Orange: its good to talk". Around this stage many of those gathered started to drift away, away from the view they had lost their own right to protest.

Later on in the day at Clifton Street, in the Carrickhill area of north Belfast, Matt Doyle was walking with his two-year-old son when he was attacked and stabbed by a loyalist in a bandsman's uniform. The loyalist, who was without a doubt marching in the Springfield Road parade earlier in the day, then ran off towards the Orange Hall in Clifton Street and got on a bus carrying other band members.

The RUC/PSNI who went all out to highlight the stoning of a bus carrying bandsmen — nationalist children weren't as forthcoming about the stabbing of a nationalist man who was walking in his own area with his two-year-old son to the local sweet shop. Will this be a surprise to nationalists? We think not. Apart from minor stone throwing in a number of areas there were no further reports of trouble.

Sunday, June 29, 2003: Although the Occupation Force presence was heavy on the ground it was a trouble free day, if only if you don't count the odd water-balloons that children in the Old Park/Bone area used to target Occupation Forces with; how dare those Irish children soak the uniform of the Crown!

Monday, June 30, 2003: Reports of yet another race attack in south Belfast.

The attack, another of many such attacks took place in the loyalist Donagall Avenue area, a loyalist dog being driven by their hatred for the colour of one's skin, used a pipe bomb to attack the South African family of four. Two small children were also in the house at the time of the attack.

On Monday night there were reports of a bomb scare in south Belfast. It's believed that the scare was centred on the area that saw an attack on a South African family earlier.

Tuesday, July 1, 2003: It was reported this morning that a number of pipe bombs were found in the Donagall Avenue area of south Belfast.

There were reports of a number of prisoners have started a dirty protest in Maghaberry prison. There were also reports that a number of cells had been wrecked.

A nationalist mini 'Twelfth parade' in east-Belfast passed close to Short Strand where nationalists gathered to protest against the sectarian parade.

The nationalist protestors had to make their protest known from behind lines of riot clad occupation forces, as

the loyalists passed by shouts went up from one side to another, nationalist anger was very clear.

The RUC/PSNI came under attack from nationalist youths in the Ballymurphy area of west Belfast. The RUC/PSNI later claimed they went to the scene after reports of a man being shot in the legs; and when they got there they came under heavy attack from nationalist youths who attacked them with bricks, bottles and stones.

It was confirmed that a dirty protest was taking place in Maghaberry prison.

Wednesday, July 2, 2003: A number of raids took place this morning in north Belfast, some of which were ongoing in the Ardoyne area. There were also raids in west Belfast. Five people were arrested.

Also on Wednesday night trouble broke out in the Waterworks in north Belfast at around 7pm, when nationalist youths from the Cave Hill area confronted a crowd of loyalist youths from the loyalist Westland Road.

The writer of this report was witness to what took place. The crowd of around 20-25 loyalist youths, many of whom were carrying baseball bats and golf clubs came down the Green at the back of the Westland, when they got to the path way used mostly by nationalists, they started to throw stones and shouting sectarian slogans at people in the Waterworks, people walking with their children or walking their dogs, ran for cover. It should be pointed out that the crowd of loyalists now in the Waterworks were backed up by a crowd standing further up the Green at the back of the houses at the Westland Road.

It wasn't long before a number of nationalist youths went to confront the loyalists and bricks and bottles began to fly.

At one stage it was almost as if an invisible borderline had been drawn on the ground at the small bridge as the nationalist youths who were outnumbered stood their ground and the loyalist youths stayed put, not wanting to advance. A number of petrol bombs were used in the area.

After a time, Provo-policie came into the Waterworks, pushing the nationalist youths out of the Waterworks onto the Lower Cave Hill Road; it should be pointed out that the Waterworks in north Belfast is a park; on good days the area is always crowded with people, young and old; people walking their dogs or parents with their children, going to the playground or feeding the ducks. Just over a year ago fish were put into the water there and many fishermen spent many hours there, any other part of the world a nice place to walk or spend a few hours, not so in north Belfast, where there are anti-socials and thugs.

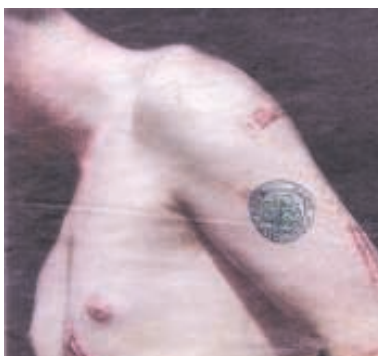
All this against the backdrop of Cavehill with McArt's Fort overlooking the scene; where over two hundred years ago Tone and others stood looking out over Belfast with the thought of a united people.

Over two hundred years later how heartbreaking it would be for them if they stood on that same spot and viewer scene; their people still not united and the hidden connection still not broken!

Earlier on Wednesday there was a number of bomb scares; these centred on the York Gate Shopping Centre; these turned out to be a hoax.

There were reports of yet more raids in the Ardoyne area around 9pm on Wednesday night. There were no reports of any further arrests.

In the Whitehall area of north Belfast two Catholic children who had left their home in Serpentine Gardens, as the two boys David Calvert and his brother Andrew who is only a toddler walked down Voltaire Gardens they



*** The nationalist man who was savagely beaten by a gang of 20 loyalists at Abergelghy Golf Club, Lisburn, Co Antrim on July 20. He was beaten with golf clubs and iron bars and "played dead" in an attempt to survive. The man was singled out because he was wearing a Celtic T-shirt.**

were confronted by four loyalist teenagers, who had been putting up loyalist flags. The loyalist youths also had an Alsatian dog that was used to give chase after the two Catholic brothers.

The young boys had to flee in terror, and were chased for a time. Their angry mother Theresa said later that her little boys were petrified. She said she was outraged at what had happened. "I don't know how anyone could stoop so low as to chase young children, as four teenagers with a big dog had done. My sons are only eight and four years old and are deeply traumatised." I reported it to the RUC/PSNI and they just fobbed me off and said they wouldn't be in a hurry to take a statement from an eight year old.

Do they think an eight year old cannot tell the truth? she said.

Thursday, July 3, 2003: There was a bomb scare in the Castle Street area of west Belfast in the city centre. The scare closed off the area for hours before it was found to be a hoax, one of many in the past week or so.

Occupation Forces were once again heavy on the ground in many parts of north Belfast today. Brit army and RUC/PSNI mobile patrols were backed up by foot patrols as well of Brit army and RUC/PSNI.

There were reports of two petrol bombs being found in a garden on the Cave Hill Road by a RUC/PSNI/Brit Army mobile patrol. The Cave Hill area was also witness to a very heavy Occupation Forces presence.

has been the case every other night in the area.

There was trouble at Alliance Avenue and Glen Bryn area; it is believed loyalist and nationalist youths confronted each other for a time; again there's little doubt that loyalists returning from an earlier Orange parade brought the confrontation about. There is an air of tension in north Belfast as is always the case, but, that tension is always higher in the run up to the 12th. The trouble subsided after a time and there were no reports of injuries at this stage.

Around 11pm a Brit helicopter set in the sky for a time, viewing the scene below and making sure people had the shot to be heard.

Sunday, July 6, 2003: There was a report on Sunday of another bomb scare inside Maghaberry prison. The scare later turned out to be a hoax. Apart from the usual presence of Brit/RUC/PSNI occupation forces there were no reports of trouble. Although there was a bomb scare in south Belfast, which closed part of the Ormeau Road for a time, the scare was centred on Annadale Avenue and Rosetta Park. The scare later turned out to be a hoax.

Monday, July 7, 2003: There were no reports of trouble on Monday, although in a number of 'So-called' interface areas of Ardoyne groups of people stood around causing some tension in these areas.

Tuesday, July 8, 2003: There were reports of a number of loyalists being arrested in the Shankill following a number of raids.

It was believed that those arrested may have something to do with the Shankill UDA; there are also reports of a number of men being arrested in England to do with the same matter.

There was concern in the nationalist community of Short Strand in east Belfast because of videotape being sold in loyalist areas of east Belfast. The tapes are of nationalist protestors named and pointed out in the video, as well as the address of those on the tape. In Maghaberry prison it was reported that a number of Republican prisoners have been beaten and hosed down by screws. Many of the prisoners have been on a dirty protest for a week.

On Tuesday night around 9pm, 12-year-old Shauna Millen, who has suffered from trauma during the loyalist sectarian campaign against the Holy Cross Girls Primary School was once again the victim of a loyalist force. Shauna was standing with some friends in the Clifton Park Avenue when a member of the RUC/PSNI, who was part of an Occupation Forces raiding party, moved towards the group of children, stamping his feet. All the children, who were mostly small girls, ran away — except Shauna. Shauna said later "I didn't run away with the rest of my friends because we hadn't done anything. It was then he (RUC/PSNI man) grabbed me by my arms from behind really hard and then pulled my head back. Some people were trying to get me away from him. It was terrible. I was crying and shaking all over; I thought I was going to die. I thought I was never going to see my mummy again."

One resident of Clifton Park Avenue who saw what happened and was witness to the attack didn't wish to be interviewed for fear of what the disgrace. It was terrible what that peeler put that wee girl through."

Shauna's mother Jeannette, who took Shauna to the Mater casualty straight after the attack said she was disgusted. "I really can't believe this happened to my little girl; she's only twelve years old. She asked how could that big man manhandle her like that, and then beat her with bruise marks all over her arms? Apart from the bruises

ns during marching

the hospital said she had a staved neck and that lumps of her hair were missing. She really was in a terrible state."

Jeannette went on to say, "Shauna had to go through the Holy Cross dispute and now this has happened, it's a nightmare."

Wednesday, July 9, 2003: Mickey Loughlin, who owns Hill Cabs in Ligoniel, claimed the Ligoniel area of north Belfast is under a state of siege from the UDA. He said that the area has long suffered sectarian attacks on bus passengers, people walking in Ligoniel Park and up Ligoniel Road and cars driving through traffic lights at the junction of Ligoniel Road and Crumlin Road.

The traffic lights there were also the scene of a recent attack on an ambulance. Loyalists tried to stop the emergency vehicle and threw missiles at it in the terrifying scene. A UDA house on the Ballysillan Road was last year the base for the attacks.

The nationalist businessman went on to say it is impossible to work in this area when these attacks are taking place. "We are being ignored in Ligoniel and we are in a state of siege, because this area is not like the traditional interfaces where communities are living back to back; the attacks on our people and property are forgotten here." He said the UDA were behind the attack and that tensions were building in the area. Mickey Loughlin went on to say his own car had been attacked recently and had his windows broken.

"When you go to the RUC/PSNI they put it down as criminal damage, not the sectarian attack it clearly is. I can't let my drivers go down that road for their own safety. People can't walk down the road and the buses are taken off when the trouble starts. Taxi firms in Ardoyne and other areas of Belfast won't come up either because of driver safety and people can't get to work. The UDA have Ligoniel in a state of siege."

Also on Wednesday Brit Security Minister for the Occupied Six Counties Jane Kennedy, rejected demands by protesting Republican POW's for hate segregation as a right. Once again the folly of the past is repeating itself.

There were reports that the so-called Parades Commission, a group set-up by the Brits, have ruled that a sectarian Orange parade will be allowed to go through a nationalist part of the Crumlin Road at the Ardoyne shops, cutting off the nationalist Mountain View area from nationalist Ardoyne. The so-called Parades Commission once again insuring that sectarianism rules the day.

Thursday, July 10, 2003: There were reports of yet more bomb scares in a number of areas around Belfast, all of which turned out to be hoaxes. There were also reports today of what may be loyalist infighting. The reports have said that the trouble broke out in east Belfast after a UVF flag was put up in the Evelyn Avenue. It was believed that a crowd of men wrecked one house and also a number of cars parked in the area were damaged. There are claims that this fighting, in which a number of shots were fired, could be the start of yet another loyalist feud.

Loyalists started to build bonfires, many in north Belfast placed near to the main streets. There has been a number of national flags placed on top of them; those would burn on Friday; the Eleventh night to the sectarian loyalist bonfires; the Tricolour is a symbol of hate. Blinded by hate they are unable to see its true meaning, a symbol of hope, peace and unity.

One loyalist bonfire on the Ardoyne Road in north Belfast was placed close to Holy Cross Girls Primary School; this bringing fears that the school itself will become a target.

• British army bomb disposal personnel oppose a suspect van on Belfast's Grosvenor Road during a series of hoax bomb alerts on July 30.

Friday, July 11, 2003: Ardoyne residents, in what can only be a foregone conclusion, took their case to block the sectarian march that will be forced through the nationalist part of the Crumlin Road at the Ardoyne shops, to court. Later on in the day the Brit court system concluded the Orange march would go ahead. Would anyone really be surprised by that outcome?

A number of Ardoyne residents received death threats from loyalists. The threats came under the name of the RHD (Red Hand Defenders), a cover name used by a number of groups. There were no reports of trouble on Friday night as loyalists set about setting light to their bonfires. The smoked filled sky soon turned red and yellow, in the small nationalist areas; this scene is always remarked on as being like a scene from one of those western films. Tensions stayed high, and as always the shooting could be heard. This the usual show of strength by UDA/UFF and UVF gunmen, who show off their fire power to sectarian cheers and shouts, of 'kick the pop' and 'the Fenian bastards will burn' as well as a few other things from the hate filled drunken mobs gathered round the bonfires.

Saturdays, July 12, 2003: Hundreds of Occupation Forces took to the streets and laid siege to nationalist areas. From dawn, Brit army tanks armoured car land rovers and foot patrols backed up the RUC, who also took to the streets in their hundreds. Brits were also placed on the rooftops of the Ardoyne shops. As the morning went on thousands of Orange marchers took to the streets and the parades were in their usual shows of sectarian triumphalism.

As they came down the Crumlin Road and passed the Ardoyne shops a nationalist crowd protested from behind occupation forces lines.

And also under the watchful eye of Provo policemen and women, some of the protestors shouted slogans such as "no talking", "no walking". Some were holding up posters that read the same. It should be pointed out if it need to be, that the Provos aren't only policing the nationalist people at such protests, they are policing the nationalist community as a whole; keeping the lid on any resistance to this Orange statelet, to Brit occupation, to the Stormont setup.

The Provisionals know very well

any resistance from the nationalist community doesn't sit well for Stormont. It's clear then even to those who don't want to know it, that the Provisionals at the behest of the Brit government are policing the whole nationalist community. At one stage on Saturday morning north Belfast was cut off from west Belfast for two hours as a huge Orange march cut through most of Belfast and the city centre. There was a bomb scare on Saturday afternoon in Royal Avenue, which later turned out to be a hoax.

On Saturday night hundreds of nationalists were waiting at the Ardoyne shops for the return of the Orange march that would pass through the nationalist part of the Crumlin Road, and likewise as the Brit RUC-PSNI Occupation Forces were out in force so too were the Provo-polic.

As the loyalists passed around 8.15pm with Brit armour covering them nationalist youths threw bottles and bricks; loyalists too were throwing from between the Occupation Forces lines.

The Provo-polic made sure this show of resistance was short lived; once again there were scenes of nationalist youths being pushed back; a number of youths who set about attacking Brit RUC-PSNI armour at the top of Brompton Park were soon stopped by Provo-policemen and women, who took what was the weapons of resistance tonight bottles off them, once again the scenes of Provisionals standing between nationalist youths and the Occupation Forces, facing down the nationalists who would without a doubt would be attacking the forces of Occupation if it wasn't for the Provos. The Provisionals doing a good job, maybe the uniform this time next year; after all that's all that's missing today.

There was also a report of a child being injured after being hit with a brick. It was believed that the child was returning from a loyalist parade when his father when hit in the eye. The brick was said to have been thrown by children not much older than the injured child near the nationalist Markets' area, at Cromac Street.

This attack was due to the tension that build up and are brought about by the Twelfth parades, which goes right through the community with the kind of outcome that even sees children spray, something well known to nationalists. For this attack and many

others that take place over the Twelfth period the Orange Order cannot go blameless.

Sunday, July 13, 2003: There were reports of loyalist and nationalist youth confronting each other at the Cavellill Road near the Westland area. Bricks and bottles were used and this went on for some time. No injuries were reported.

Monday, July 14, 2003: There was more trouble in north Belfast, once again in the Cavellill Road/Westland Road area, most of which was centred around the Waterworks. It started around 7.30pm and went on for several hours. Groups of loyalist and nationalist youths faced each other and bricks, bottles and other weapons were used. Around 10pm there were reports of loyalist petrol bombers targeting a house on the nationalist side. No damage was done. The fighting subsided as the night went on and British Occupation Forces were heavy on the ground in the area. There has been trouble in this area for a number of weeks.

Tuesday, July 15, 2003: There was some minor trouble around the Waterworks area again but for the most part it was quiet.

Wednesday, July 16, 2003: There were no reports of trouble although tension remained high in the Cavellill/Westland area of north Belfast. Occupation Forces were again heavy on the ground in the same area.

Thursday, July 17, 2003: There was minor stoning near the Cavellill end of the Waterworks, lasting for a short time.

Friday, July 18, 2003: No reports of trouble.

Saturday, July 19, 2003: A protest in support of Republican prisoners in Maghaberry prison took place in west Belfast in the afternoon.

There was a report of a bomb scare centred around a bus in west Belfast.

Sunday, July 20, 2003: It was reported that a nationalist in his twenties was attacked by loyalists in the Dummurry area. He was wearing a Celtic top when set upon and viciously beaten with golf clubs and iron bars.

Monday, July 21, 2003: It has now become clear that the nationalist man who was beaten in a sectarian attack was lucky to be alive after a gang of 20 loyalists attacked him near the Aberdeighly Golf Club.

Tuesday, July 22, 2003: No reports of trouble.

Wednesday, July 23, 2003: There

was heavy British Occupation Forces activity around north Belfast. As is usual, British army foot patrols and Land Rovers were backed up by RUC/PSNI Land Rovers. As often happens, nationalist youngsters targeted the Occupation Forces with stones and the odd bottle as they moved around the Oldpark/Bone area of north Belfast. The same was the case in other nationalist areas of Belfast.

Thursday, July 24, 2003: There were reports of stone-throwing in the Waterworks area at the Westland Road end between nationalist and loyalist youths. It didn't last long, not on the level witnessed in recent days.

Friday, July 25, 2003: No reports of trouble although Occupation Forces kept up patrols as usual around north Belfast.

Saturday, July 26, 2003: No reports of trouble.

Sunday, July 27, 2003: Three nationalists were set upon by members of the UDA/UFF loyalist death squad in the Dummurry area. The gang, at least one of whom had a handgun, made their three victims lie on the ground. The three nationalists - a girl of 17, a man of 26 and a boy of 14 - were set upon by the UDA gang of up to 15 or 16 men. The girl had a gun put to the back of her head as all were beaten. The 26-year-old man got the worst of it, his foot was broken as well as many other injuries. The others were treated for cuts and bruising all over their bodies.

This attack took place in the car park of a supermarket which had been closed for some time and is also close to where another sectarian loyalist attack took place in which a nationalist was badly beaten on July 20. These loyalist sectarian gangs are able to move around as they like and attack their victims at will.

Monday, July 28, 2003: No reports of trouble.

Tuesday, July 29, 2003: A bomb scare was reported in south Belfast. It went on for some time but turned out to be a hoax.

Wednesday, July 30, 2003: There were a number of bomb scares reported around Belfast. All turned out to be hoaxes and were cleared around 12.30pm.

Thursday, August 3, 2003: Five members of the RUC/PSNI were hurt when a crowd of around 200 nationalists attacked the British police in Falls Park, Belfast.



The West's campaign for mastery of the world

Lecture delivered in the Distinguished Lecture series at the American University of Rome, October 9, 2002.

"The nineteenth century was intensely preoccupied with the self, to the point of neurosis. During the very decades of the most sustained campaign for mastery of the world ever undertaken, the bourgeois devoted much . . . anxious time to introspection." — Peter Gay.

Part One

IN THE history of the West, what we have called 'progress' and 'modernity' is essentially what Peter Gay in *The Naked Heart* (Peter Gay, *The Naked Heart: The Bourgeois Experience Victoria to Freud* New York/London, 1995, p. 3) calls 'The most sustained campaign for mastery of the world ever undertaken'.

That campaign continues vigorously and with growing success. In a geopolitical sense, the West mastered the world, superficially, ten or so years ago. Its technological dominance of the natural world advances with every year that passes. Because 'world mastery' is a limitless thing and the will to it remains strong, progress is likely to continue on all fronts until internal or external forces end it. In this lecture, I offer a tentative overview of how the West's great and growing mastery came about and I point out its important side-effects for western civilisation and for Europe.

'The world' that confronts any people is the totality of circumstances in which they consciously exist. These extend from their needy, mortal bodies, their feelings and the invisible forces they believe in, to the climate, the lands and peoples that impinge on them, and the heavens above. 'World mastery', then, is mastery of these circumstances: the ability to exist and act, maximally, in them and by means of them. To use a pregnant word, it is full sovereignty over them.

Such sovereignty is an imperative for human beings. All civilisations strive for it, while conceiving it diversely and pursuing it by various combinations of proactive and defensive methods which can be physical or spiritual. Japan, for example, from 1637 to 1854, attempted world mastery in part by excluding foreigners, except for some Chinese traders and an annual visit by a Dutch ship which brought, among other things, European books and inventions.

In European or 'western' civilisation, which took shape in Western Europe from around 1000 AD, the proactive pursuit of physical mastery was centuries moderated by a mainly defensive effort using supernatural, spiritual methods. Then, around 1450, that moderation began to weaken as Europeans increasingly desired to achieve collective and individual control of the world by physical and mainly proactive means. In subsequent centuries this passion further intensified until it became Europe's main driving force, at home and overseas. The historical period which saw the campaign gather force and rise to primacy is 'modernity', and its successful forward movement is what the West's 'progress' has meant, essentially.

For Europeans, as for any people, achieving sovereignty over their circumstances meant increasing their collective and individual power by means of successive liberations from whatever in their circumstances was restrictive. As physical self-empowerment, achieved in this manner, became Europe's paramount enterprise, the progressives who spearheaded it developed a tacit value system that reflected this. 'Good' was themselves, their methods of liberation, and the results of these. Whoever and whatever stood in their way was 'evil'. And persons and forces that furthered their enterprise were good because they were useful.

If Europeans has constituted a single political unit, the sovereignty they desired would have been physical control of the world by that political collective, its sub-collectives and its individual members. In fact, however, Europeans became divided into a number of competing nation-states, and this had two consequences. Apart from contributions by individuals which helped the progress of all, movement towards mastery took place through the agency of the most successful nation-states. And attainment of the goal would necessarily involve one of those nation-states controlling all the others.

However, before that stage was reached, there was much for the campaign to do, much collective and individual power to acquire. The non-European world must be brought under European control. The Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians pioneered this; the English, Dutch and French continued the work.

The campaign needed profound knowledge of the physical world. It began to get this with Copernicus, Descartes, Newton, Leibniz, Huygens, Gassendi, Boyle, Euler and Lagrange. It needed many minds trained to operate as like as possible to machines, and then wealth-producing machines in great numbers: it got the former in the Age of Reason led by France, the latter in the Industrial Revolution led by England.

The principal political revolutions played a central role. They were spearheading efforts in particular nations which achieved great advances in the general campaign. This emerges from a review of the features common to the American revolution of 1774-89; the French revolution that culminated in Napoleon's conquests; the Russian revolution that began in 1917; the German national-socialist revolution from 1933 to the early 1940s; and the consumerist revolutions of the 1960s led by the USA. All of these were group initiatives aimed at liberating a national power (in that



• US President George W. Bush — the West's goal is revealed to be an omnipotent Superpower dominating the earth.

last instance, national powers) from external or internal restrictions, so that the revolutionaries, using the augmented power, could do three things which they considered good.

The first of these was to increase useful individual and collective power within the nation in question. That meant increasing the legal, political or economic power — later also the technological and ethical power — of individuals and collectives who would be likely, either by their nature or in response to their empowerment, to support the liberated national power and increase it further. According to the time and circumstance, the categories of individuals whom the revolutionaries in one way or another empowered were defined by such attributes as income, sex, class, race, religious adherence, anticlericalism, the possession of property or the lack of it or membership of a doctrinal political party.

The state-managed consumerist revolutions of the 1960s and '70s empowered, in particular, youth, women, blacks, homosexuals and pornographers, legally and materially. But because everyone, being a potential consumer, had a high degree of usefulness, the revolutionaries also empowered everyone by arranging that they had more money to spend; by providing new technology for them to spend it on; and by informing them (ethical empowerment) that they now could do without blame things which previously had been forbidden as sinful or antisocial (the 'consumerist' revolutions under American leadership are dealt with more fully later in this paper).

As for the collectives which successive revolutions have empowered, these have ranged from particular churches, secret societies and associations of scientists or scholars to the police or military, particular ethnic groups, the press, the judiciary,

banks, a political party or ideological sect, the mass media and multinational corporations.

The second use which the revolutionaries made of the national power they had freed from restriction was to punish the internal and external enemies of their liberating measures — such groups and individuals being by definition 'evil'. Simultaneously and subsequently — their third good action — they used the augmented national power to extend their liberating rule to other territories and peoples, and their selective empowerment to useful individuals and groups belonging to other nations.

The successive revolutionary ideologies from the 1770s to the 1960s served to justify, variously, this recurrent augmentation of national power, liberation of individuals and collectives, punishment of those who impeded or opposed the liberators, and extension of the augmented national power and its domestic empowerment to other territories and other people.

In the American revolution of 1774-89, the national power that George Washington and his fellow revolutionaries fought to free from restriction was that of a new nation. Mobilising it, and thereby augmenting it, as a national congress and an armed force, they used to punish an oppressive monarch and hostile Indians and to liberate themselves and their fellow whites, collectively and individually, by establishing a relatively liberal-democratic 'sovereign' state. This state expanded west and south into American territory and invited Europeans to share its freedoms.

In the French case a few years later — as later again, in the twentieth century, in the Russian (The Russian revolution of 1917 [the second in that country] was a western revolution by proxy. It was an attempt by semi-westernised revolutionaries in a non-western nation, using a western ideology and initially western resources, to take part in a

historically western campaign, destined to have a western conclusion.) and German revolutions — the national power that the revolutionaries freed from restriction was that of an existing 'sovereign state'. But this detail made no difference to the general revolutionary pattern: it was simply a matter of making a power, perceived as only legally sovereign, 'fully sovereign' and using it in the standard manner.

In all four instances, including the American, the revolutionaries' method of liberating the national power was first to become it, and then to make it, in their persons, 'fully sovereign' according to their lights. The emancipatory projects of their successful ideologies not only justified this would-be-absolute self-empowerment; those projects also imbued the revolutionaries with a conviction of absolute righteousness that tolerated nothing less. Excluded, specifically were institutional, physical or ethical limitations which appeared to them 'restrictive', ie unnecessarily or unjustly limiting their power to do liberating good and punish oppressive evil. (Physical and ethical limitations which they regarded as arising from physical or human nature didn't rank for them as restrictive.) A long religious tradition buttressed their belief that absolute righteousness, such as they possessed, had as its prerogative the unrestricted, fully sovereign power to do good and punish evil.

What makes the West's principal revolutions central to its growing achievement of world mastery is the fact that, in each successive instance, the revolutionaries' conception of the amount of power that constituted 'full sovereignty' grew greater. With each enabling advance of science and technology, each facilitating new perception of physical and human nature and permissive weakening of inherited ethical self-restraint, the amount increased. Between the First American revolution in the 1770s and the Second begun by Franklin D Roosevelt and the liberals who supported his New Deal programme in the 1930s (of which more later), it grew enormously. As a result, the power that the revolutionaries aspired to, forged, became and exercised, approached power like that of Yahweh, the Old Testament's liberating and punishing God.

Only in our own time has the West's revolutionary vanguard in the USA discovered in concrete form, and revealed to us, what the goal was from the start. It was western democratic Superpower, embodying Good and punishing Evil everywhere on the planet. More precisely, it was an untrammelled and omnipotent, liberating and punishing western Superpower, that would both rule over and be empowered by superpowerful collectives and individuals, and dominate Earth, and encroach on the Universe.

— Desmond Fennell

(Part one of three)

WHAT THEY SAID

She said our opponents were very powerful. She told me: "They can get away with doing a lot of terrible things, but if we can't stop them, we can make them pay." Her objectives seemed worth emulating.

Robert Meeropol in his book *An Execution in the Family*, published on June 19, 2003, the 50th anniversary of the execution of his parents Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in America on a charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage" during the McCarthyism era.

My parents' resistance inspired a movement. That inspiration survived their execution. My experience suggested that it was as community nurtures resistance and inspiration, a movement might suffer double defeats but would not be obliterated.

Robert Meeropol in his book, *An Execution in the Family*. His parents resisted the deal offered by the US government through the J. Edgar Hoover. They gave lying evidence against other people they could have saved their own lives. This gave inspiration during the decades.

The present form of globalisation benefits global capital more than local economies and peoples.

Its [Latin America's] response, interestingly, is not to seek more globalisation but a different form of globalisation.

Irish Times, June 28, 2003, article by Peadar Kirby, co-director of the Centre for International Studies in Dublin City University.

The Amnesty International, the Committee for the Administration of Justice and British-Irish Rights Watch said the British government should take immediate action to give effect to the European Court [of Human Rights] findings in the Pat Finucane case.

The organizations called for the full publication of all

three investigations carried out by Sir John Stevens, the commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police.

The also called on the [British] government to establish an independent, international inquiry with full judicial power of discovery and subpoena.

— Irish Times, July 2, 2003.

Ireland has the highest level of poverty in the western world outside the US, a major United Nations report, that is launched by the Taoiseach in Dublin today, is expected to say.

Despite the wealth generated in recent years, Irish society remains highly unequal.

— Irish Times, July 8, 2003.

Tomorrow, America's presidential jet arrives again for another visit from the super-power to the under-power. In his time, expectations will be much more mixed. (In 1998 Bill Clinton visit to be herald a "new era of war and poverty").

— Irish Times, July 8, 2003, article by Declan Walsh.

Campaigners fear this new oil-rush could result in more corruption or spark fresh, costly civil wars.

— Irish Times, July 8, 2003, Declan Walsh.

The international community should focus on prevention rather than military or political intervention in addressing problems caused by civil wars, writes Paul Collier.

— Irish Times, July 10, 2003. Paul Collier is a former director of Development Research for the World Bank.

It is no secret that we live in a two speed world, but the alarming truth for millions in today's world is that the other speed is reverse. This is the core truth of this year's UN Human Development Report.

The 1990s was a disastrous time for millions of poor people. The richest 1% of the world's population as the poorest 57%.

— Irish Times, July 9, 2003, article by Development Commission.

As this UN report makes clear for yet another year, Ireland has the greatest disparity of incomes in Europe and is a deeply unequal society.

In providing more general funding for overseas aid, the Government must not shirk from tackling poverty, social exclusion and deprivation here at home.

— Irish Times, July 9, 2003, editorial.

In the past three weeks, more than 30,000 people have signed a petition calling for the "Western Rail Corridor" from Sligo to Limerick to be reopened.

Mr Frank Dawson, Galway Co. Councils Director of services, claims that the track could be upgraded at a cost of €825,000 per mile rather than the €2.4 million per mile quoted in the Strategic Railways Review published earlier this year. He maintains it could be reopened for €215 million.

— Irish Times, July 10, 2003, report.

Anti-poverty groups have called on the government not to rule out tax increases in the next budget in the wake of the United Nations report showing that Ireland has the worst poverty rate in western Europe.

The government could afford to eradicate poverty or continue "give-aways" to the Irish, but not both, the coalition of groups [European Anti-Poverty Network and the Community Platform] said yesterday.

— Irish Times, July 10, 2003.

British Nuclear Fuel Ltd confirmed last night that there may be some increases in radioactive discharges into the Irish Sea from Sellafield.

— Irish Times, July 10, 2003.

Up to ten prisoners belonging to the "Real IRA" and the Continuity IRA began their "dirty protest" at Maghaberry Jail in Co Antrim complaining of forced interaction with loyalists.

They have also complained of overcrowding. Last week, prisoners mounted a roof-top protest following other incidents.

A spokesman for the prisoners told the Irish Times on Tuesday that six prisoners whom he named, had been assigned to prison staff as cleaning began. It was further alleged that bedding and personal property were damaged.

The prisoners involved say they are determined to

maintain their protest and state they will do whatever is necessary to ensure their demands are met.

— Irish Times, July 10, 2003.

[Provisional] Sinn Féin have said as little as possible. "Can't say they're again it," said one observer semi-sympathetically, "but don't want the publicity."

Fiannuala O'Connor, Irish Times, July 11, 2003, referring to the Republican protest against segregation in Maghaberry jail. A diplomatic note from the Vatican expressing concern over the treatment of IRA prisoners in Portlaoise Prison in 1977 greatly angered the staunchly Catholic Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave.

Dr Alibrandi was suspected by that Fine Gael-Labour coalition of being too influenced by extreme Republican views in his advice to the Vatican.

One of his prized possessions which he would show to visitors was a cross carved by Republican prisoners in Long Kesh prison.

— Irish Times, July 12, 2003, obituary on Archbishop Gaetano Alibrandi, who was Papal Nuncio to All Ireland 1969-89, and who died recently.

Armed with traditional pikes, the group of men and women known as the Smithfield to St Patrick's Cathedral through the streets of Dublin, stopping at St Catherine's Church in Thomas Street, to lay two wreaths.

— Irish Times, July 14, 2003, report on a bicentenary commemoration of Robert Emmet rising in 1803.

The French ambassador to Ireland, Mr Gabriel de Bellese, and his wife, the first chairman of the Robert Emmet Association, laid the wreaths at St Catherine's before the group moved on to St Patrick's for an interdenominational service celebrating Emmet's life and values.

— Irish Times, July 14, 2003, Seán Ó Brádaigh was present at the book. Bold Robert Emmet which said very well to those present.

Also, as Mark Curtis points out in his excellent book *Web of Deceit*, Britain under Blair is bending over

backwards to promote a global economy geared to the needs of transnational corporations rather than the poor.

— Irish Times, July 14, 2003, letter to editor from Finian Cunningham, Whitestown, Co Louth.

There has been a sharp rise in the number of attacks motivated particularly by racism, Africans and Asians are frequently targeted and last week, members of the Muslim community were forced to flee their homes. Research has shown a higher incidence of racist attacks in Northern Ireland than in Britain and people living there are more likely to be racist than sectarian.

— Irish Times, July 14, 2003, editorial.

The Minister for community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Mr. Cowley, has asked the Western Development Commission (WDC) to draw up a strategy designed to co-ordinate and encourage development in seven western counties.

The WDC produced a comprehensive development plan for the province in 1997, but the report entitled State of the West, only two years ago, which now gathers dust on Mr O'Connell's shelf. It found the economic gap between the eastern and western regions was continuing to widen. It recommended a programme of development of transport, electricity and telecommunications in the western region.

A western rail corridor, the decentralization of Government agencies, support for towns that were not designated under the National Spatial Strategy, greater co-operation between local authorities and investment in rural tourism will be on the agenda. But will anything be done?

— Irish Times, July 14, 2003, editorial entitled "Political posturing," what of Dail Chonnacht, advocated by Republican Sinn Féin.

Cap James Kelly, who has died aged 73, was an Irish version of France's Capt Dreyfus in his last years. He was a campaign to clear his name following the charges that he conspired to import arms for the IRA in Northern Ireland in 1970.

— Irish Times, July 19,

2003, obituary on captain James Kelly.

In 1985 he was elected to the Fianna Fáil National Executive and kept his place until 1989 when he resigned over the government's policy on extradition.

— Irish Times, July 19, 2003, obituary.

There are currently over 500 prisoners in Maghaberry. Many of them are charged with terrorism. They have been convicted of non-parliamentary offences. There are also a small number of so-called "unofficial detainees" — asylum seekers who are not charged with any crime. But also included in the mix are around 20 dissident (so-called) republicans and a significantly larger number of loyalists. (One loyalist, John "Mad Dog" Adair, is by far the prison's most famous resident, though for his segregation has never been in custody — he is kept in isolation for his own safety).

The dissident republicans (sic) complain that the prison authorities have been pressing them into closer and closer proximity with loyalists. The loyalists are equally dissatisfied with this state of affairs. At the end of June, eight prisoners staged a rooftop protest. Soon afterwards, the republicans began wrecking their cells. By last night, they began a "dirty protest" — that is, they started to smear their cells with their own excrement. The protest continues at time of writing.

— Niall Stange, Magill magazine, August 2003.

Any dispute in the north will be, by its very nature, inflammatory. There have already been stirrings of local nationalist sentiment in [Provisional] Sinn Féin the party leadership's reticence on the issue.

History is supposed to teach us lessons. We are not supposed to be doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past. Someone should remind the north's prison authorities of that fact. If they display the same reticence as their predecessors, the firmness of twenty years ago could envelop the jails — and the landscape beyond — once again.

— Niall Stange.

Joe Bray

The last of the Limerick city IRA men interned in the Curragh from 1939 to 1945 under the de Valera administration has died in the USA on July 19 in Liberty, Upper New York State.

Joe Bray of Liberty, NY, formerly of Washington Heights and the Bronx, NY, died on July 19 in Harris Hospital, NY. He was son of the John Bray and Bridget Sherin. Devoted husband of the late Mary Bray (nee O'Dwyer).

Joe Bray (Seosamh Bré) was born in the shadow of St John's Cathedral in Limerick in September 1915 while his father served in France with the Munster Fusiliers.

His grandfather Bill Sheehy was an established Republicanism in him and when making his First Communion Joe Bray remembered being brought to the O'Connell Monument by his mother to hear Mary MacSwiney speak on the terrorism of the Black and Tans.

"She noticed me standing by the platform and asked that I be placed to the front of the

crowd," he later recalled. "What is the future of children who might be brought up under the repressive dictates of the British government," she asked. It was inspiring.

In the late 1920s Joe Bray became a member of Na Fianna Éireann and later in the Republican Movement he was a comrade of Frank Ryan and Sean Russell. Later he left for England and worked for the Republican Movement in intelligence operations, taking part in the 1939 campaign.

Upon his return to Ireland, after being injured in a premature explosion, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Curragh Camp in Clif Dharra after some stops at Mountjoy, Arbour Hill, Sligo and Longford. Joseph was at Mountjoy during the hunger strike and ensuing riot. He served a total of 5 years from the age of 23-28.

He gave up his youth for



• Seosamh Bré

the freedom of Ireland. Released in 1944 he worked locally before deciding to emigrate to the United States in 1953.

Joseph devoted much of his life to the advancement of the culture and language of Ireland. He was a life-long Republican who dedicated himself to the cause of Irish Freedom.

For many years Joseph

was a Professor of Irish language, history and culture at Sullivan County Community College and Orange County Community College. Joseph was a recipient of the Irish American of the year award in 1996 by the Co-Founder, Vice President and President of the Wild Geese Social Club of Washington Heights.

Last night the Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick-based Des Long paid tribute to his fellow Limerick man saying that Joe Bray had been a remarkable man who endured much hardship and struggle for his Republican beliefs.

Joe was honoured in 1996 by CABHAIR at a special function in Dublin. He travelled from his home in Upstate New York for the event and his attendance was an inspiration to us all," he said.

"In the history of language Irish history and language in community colleges and he remained a true Republican working with Clan na Gael. In fact he never wavered in his support for the Republican Movement and in 1996 he said: 'I intend to continue with that support in spite of those who would destroy it, abuse or even destroy it.'"

"At this time our sympathy goes to his family in the USA and Ireland especially his son Sean who lives at Willow Park in Raheen, County Limerick."

"Joe Bray was an exceptional man — he was

committed to the ideals of the Republican Movement and remained true to Republican Sinn Féin to the very end. His life and example will be an inspiration for future generations."

Joe is survived by five children, daughter Una Bray, wife of Lyle Hayes, Greenwich, NY; daughter Aine Skyley, wife of Marc Skyley, Brooklyn NY; son Seán Bray, husband of Christine Dillon Bray, Limerick; daughter Máiréad Bray, wife of Gary Musso, Hopkinton Mass; and son Patrick Bray; husband of Jane Carter, Northboro Mass. He had seven grandchildren, Deirdre Kornhaber, Tara Bray Keane, David Skyley, Joseph Bray, Alexandra Skyley, Molly Bray Hayes, and Leah Bray Musso, and two great-grandchildren, Dylan and Jennifer Keane. Joe Bray's ashes are being brought to his native Limerick for burial on August 22.

The staff of SAOIRSE extends deepest sympathy to his family, comrades and friends. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

Significant Ruling by European Court of Human Rights

A chara

I have read with great dismay and disappointment your lead story in the July issue of **SAOIRSE** "Human Rights: Britain guilty". I refer to the paragraph stating that the "Last major ruling against the British government by the European Court of Human Rights was on January 18 1978....." I bring to your attention the fact that the Loughgall families alongside the Jordans, McKerr's, and Shanahan families successfully took the British government to court in 2001 and had a major ruling by the European Court of Human Rights in May 2001. I do believe that this to date would be classified as one of the most significant rulings by the European Court of Human Rights.

MAIREAD KELLY
Campaign Director
Loughgall Truth & Justice Campaign

Citizens' Rights Denied In USA

A chara

The Bush Administration continues to chip away at the basic liberties of the citizens in America. Like a rat nibbling on a wedge of cheese, George Bush and his cronies do not know when enough is enough. The Patriot Act was the beginning and continuing amendments erode our open and free society into a heavy-handed government created "police type" state where the scales of justice seem no longer balanced. All under the auspices of the threat of terrorism. The censorship of speech, thought and discourse is not new for the US Government, it is just affecting a more wide-ranging and diverse population. The government has been for many years denying the rights of Irish Americans to engage in the free flow of speech and discourse with the leadership of the Irish political party Republican Sinn Féin. The government does this by

denying Visa's for the leadership to enter the US and garner support for the only realistic and viable alternative to the failing Stormont Agreement; Republican Sinn Féin's **EIRE NUA** (New Ireland) proposal for peace with justice in Ireland. There is no excuse to continue this state sponsored VISA denial policy aimed at Republican Sinn Féin. If the US Government is truly interested in an all-inclusive peace in Ireland, it must take off the blinders and see things as they are and not through Brit eyes.

To deny the Republican Sinn Féin leadership visas is to deny me my right as a citizen. To dissent, to offer alternatives, to show a better way, to believe in a free and New Ireland in the vein of Connolly, Tone, Mellows, Emmet, Costello or Ó Brádaigh is no crime! National liberation cannot be stopped. Delayed, yes, but right will win out in the end. All right thinking people should demand of our US Congress to call hearings into why the State Department continues the draconian VISA denial policy towards Irish Republicans.

We should never forget our liberties and freedoms in America were gained only through the blood of those who rose to strip off the chains of the Brits.

SEÁN Ó LÚBAIGH
Ohio 44709
USA

Patriot Exiles

A chara

They called my grandpa Paddy and so answered he. He never really understood the concept of the free.

But I have read the writings of a brave man called Wolfe Tone.

So I know the path to follow for this my island home.

Now when I meet young Robert Emmet, as I am sure one day I will,

I'll hand him this green-bottled ink and a green and a feathered quill. He'll write his epitaph at last the one so overdue.

He'll be writing for our nation, for us, for me, for you.

We'll gaze upon the green fine land and landscapes made. The debts to those who so courageously paid

This island nation united free at last

A country to be proud of, a great heroic past

Where every people rest one thing is

Their hearts remain in



• Vols Pádraig McKearney and Patrick Kelly, two of the eight Volunteers killed at Loughgall on May 18, 1987. The Loughgall families and three other families won a significant ruling at the European Court of Human Rights on May 4, 2001 that the British government violated the right to life of the victims. See letter on left.

Ireland now and evermore.
SEAMUS WALSH
London

Provo Support Questioned

A chara

I fully support the action of the Republican prisoners in Maghaberry, but I question the support Provisional Sinn Féin is giving. Remember it is they who surrendered POW status after 10 Volunteers gave their lives for political status. Remember it's the Provos that are first on the media condemning the Republican soldiers after an operation against the Occupation Forces.

Remember it is they who recognise partition and its they who only recognise the Free State Army as the legitimate Army. Remember Martin Ferris saying there are no political prisoners. But most of all don't forget there is elections near so don't be used by the Provos.

Victory to the POWs
NORA LYNCH
Limerick

Support The Political Prisoners

A chara

I support 100% the Irish POWs in Maghaberry jail. It is now time to push on and demand political status for political prisoners in the jails in the Six Counties. It is ironic to hear now Gerry Kelly, of the Provisionals, throwing in his twopence

worth of support.

His Provisionals signed away political status, when they signed up to the Stormont Agreement and entered Stormont, two as Executive Ministers. It must surely gall them that this fight is on - yet again. How very embarrassing it must be for Adams, Kelly and McGuinness now.

However, all support is very welcomed, even from loyalist politicians, as the prisoners have said "whatever it takes".

I hope sincerely that Republican Sinn Féin will be out doing their bit, on the streets, as print is readable, the streets are see-able to all the public.

We mustn't be ever afraid to fight for these prisoners rights — "whatever it takes".

JOHN BANNON
Belfast

Common Goal Needed

A chara

I am just writing to make some small point to make the youth of Ireland to-day and the way forward in this regard.

One thing that the youth in Ireland are waking up to is that the capitalist system, within the Free State, is not working in their interests and never has been. When cut-backs need to happen, it is always the most vulnerable that have to suffer and endure the tough times.

What must be stressed to the youth of today, is to break this system, we must break partition and break the other capitalist imperialist state,

that partitions Ireland. Other left-wing groups such as from afar from working-class areas, what we must do is get in there and bring the message to the people and in particular the youth.

The youth of Ireland know that the capitalist system is not working in their interests and they know that partition is wrong, so let's get them more aware and active in helping them to change these ills. We have to find a common goal and I believe that Republican socialism, is that goal and what we can appeal to young people with. We need a radical overhaul of the system and we must show the youth, that we are at radical movement. Not the other left wing pro-partition parties that many young people flock to, as they deem them radical, when all they are is debating clubs.

There is no time to look back, the youth want to look forward and to continue with forward steps only. Our past we look back with pride and we march forward with confidence.

From an unbowed and unbought young Republican.
PADRAIG
Dublin

Free State Shenanigans

A chara

In allowing the use of Aerfort na Sionainne by the Americans, the 26-County State has played its part in this criminal invasion. We have helped to remove an 'evil regime. Let us flex our muscles and ask who is next. England out of Ireland? Don't be silly. Of course not. Isn't England helping us to solve our problem?

However this brings me to another point. It is said that in each of us there is at least one book. The late Spike Milligan to my knowledge wrote at least two books: "Hitler — My Part In His

Downfall" and "Mussolini — His Part In My Downfall". Can we expect something similar from Bertie Ahern for example "Saddam Hussein — My Part In His Downfall"?

PADRAIG UA
CORBAIDH
Co an Chabháin

The Orange Order — No Change

A chara

Channel 4 is currently running a short series of programmes about the Orange Order. It is interesting to see, but not surprising that in the second programme a wee old lady described what would happen if Ireland were ever united. Her words "the streets would be running with blood" if Britain gave up the Six Counties to Ireland. She by the way was a veteran of the Orange Order in Markhill.

The 'Twelfth' once again saw Belfast close down so they can have their day of pomp and prejudice and our flag burned on their bonfires. It was interesting to see a member of the Orange Order from Africa say that the Orange Order should have their march in Portadown away from Guroghly road area. No doubt many of the Ulster brethren took him to task on this. Surprised they didn't rat and feather him.

A unified Ireland will come one way or another, political dialogue can be constructive and destructive. Name any other country that has had to wait 800 years for freedom from oppression from their neighbours. None. Brits out now! Militarily, economically and socially.

UNREPENTANT
REPUBLICAN
Belfast

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

Beannachtaí

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From the Ard Chomhairle.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From the Coiste Seasta.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From all the staff at Ard Offig.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From the staff at SAOIRSE.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund).

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From

Des and Annette Long, Limerick.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Comhairle Ligeamh.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Peig and Paddy King.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Lita Ní Chabhaíoch.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Tomás Ó Cléirigh.

BEST wishes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh for a speedy recovery. From Sarah Murphy.

BEST wishes to Larry McMahon for a speedy recovery. From

Comhairle Uladh, Republican Sinn Féin.

BEST wishes to Liam Cotter for a speedy recovery. From

CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund).

BEST wishes to Liam Cotter for a speedy recovery. From the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin.

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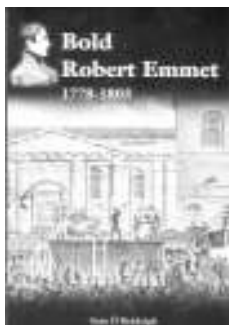
BEST wishes to Liam Cotter for a speedy recovery. From Lita Ní Chabhaíoch.

BEST wishes to Nollaig Ó Gadhra for a speedy recovery. From the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin.

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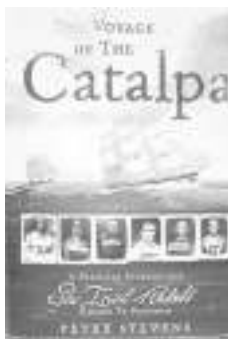
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'NOT STEALING — CAPTURING': IRA ARMS RAIDS

**50
Years
Ago**

"I DON'T look on a job like this as stealing - it is capturing from the enemy," said Séan Stephens on August 8 in London to

Det-Supt Ellwell of Scotland Yard when accused of "stealing" weapons from the British Army.

Séan was in court in Bishop's Stratford, Hertfordshire, England on August 19, 1953 along with Manus Canning of Derry and Cathal Goulding of Dublin.

All three were charged with (1) having broken into a cadet school at Felstead, Essex, and stolen 108 rifles, 18 Bren and Sten guns, two mortars and dummy mortar bombs, (2) having been concerned together with firearms to enable others to endanger life, and (3) having housebreaking implements without lawful excuse.

The prisoners evidently used the questioning and the court as a platform to speak to the Irish people. Goulding said: "My superiors instructed me to come and pick up the stuff and deliver it to the people."

He continued: "I will not tell you where from because, perhaps, one of our men will need the time to get away." In fact it emerged later that Tomy Mogan, the IRA Chief-of-Staff had been in court standing over the questioning and had managed to get away safely to Ireland.

"I don't look on this as stealing," Goulding went on. "We wanted guns and we raided the houses. The guns were going to under-armed units in Ireland."

He refused to say where these units were but said: "I accept responsibility for being the leader of this job." Canning, aged 21, said Séan, as he became known later, his first words of Irish: "Bí curamach" (Be careful), which phrase became their watchword. Mac Stiofáin later became fluent in Irish.

Asked where he got the rifles, Goulding replied: "We are members of the IRA and we don't talk when we get caught." Canning when questioned said that he had landed from Ireland the previous day and then refused to answer any other questions.

Mac Stiofáin refused to give his address but said: "We are members of the IRA and will make no further comment."

MJ Jardine, Prosecutor, told the court that at a house at Turville St, occupied by Mrs Stephenson, police had found a large quantity of bandages and field dressings, all the property of British Railways.

Also found was a handwritten document referring to the crating-up of cases to be described as "agricultural machinery" and despatching them to a Liverpool storage company.

This is not an ordinary case of theft but a case in which the accused say they are members of the Irish Republican Army and it is significant that at the address of one of them is found a lot of medical equipment which might be of some use materially in setting up a regimental aid post or casualty clearing station."

Shown the handwritten document Mac Stiofáin said: "You can save your time. I have nothing to say, and I don't intend to say anything in the future."

The Scotland Yard Detective Superintendent told the court that Mac Stiofáin was born at Leytonstone, London, that he was a Catholic and was married to an Irish girl. He had last visited Ireland in June.

The three prisoners, who were handcuffed together in the dock, were committed for trial to Herts. Assizes in October. An *t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* in August simply quoted from a Dublin *Evening Herald* news report on July 27.

However in September when the case against the men was shown to be overwhelming, the Republican paper featured it on its front page. Verses entitled "Manus and Cathal and Séan" by MÓ Cinníde were carried in the paper.

A news report under the heading "Arms Raid in England" lauded their action. "We are members of the IRA," said each in turn. "They insisted, the report went on, that their action had been 'capturing from the enemy — not stealing.' What a very apt summing up of our whole national position, was the comment."

The British Army maintains occupation



• (left to right) Séan Stephens, Cathal Goulding and Manus Canning pictured in the Irish Times, August 8, 1953.

forces are six of our Irish counties and through those forces control and dominates not merely the Six but the whole 32 Counties. They must be got rid of."

"What better way to equip ourselves for that action than by seizing what we require from the enemy? That is the logic of the position, a logic that has always appealed to the imagination of the Irish people, and will continue to do so as long as . . ."

It then commented on the three, one from British-occupied Ireland, another from the 26 Counties with its "measure of freedom" and a third the son of an exile. What a symbol of the unity of our people?

SINN FÉIN ARD-FHEIS

Then on August 13 and 14 the Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin was held in the Guild Room, Four Provinces House, Harcourt Street, Dublin. More than 150 delegates attended, including a number from Scotland, London and South Africa. Yes, there was a Cumann, named for Cathal Brugha, in Johannesburg, South Africa!

The political objective of Sinn Féin is the restoration of the All-Ireland Republic, with full and unfettered control over all 32 Counties," said Tomás Ó Dubhghaill, President, in his Address to the Ard-Fheis.

A report in the *Irish Press* of August 17 quoted him as follows: "They proposed, he said, to adopt the Sinn Féin Programme of 1916; they would contest elections North and South, and their candidates, if elected, would not take seats in Stormont, Westminster or Leinster House."

"However, given a majority, they would set up a Republican parliament for all 32 Counties, precisely as was done in 1918. It would be argued that such action would be a violation of the Treaty [of 1921], but they in Sinn Féin were not bound by the Treaty."

SURRENDER

The report in an *t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* of September carried the President's description of the Treaty as "in its essence a surrender to the threat of immediate and terrible war."

"It is our purpose to tear up that Treaty at the first opportunity and with it the Boundary Commission (of 1925) and any agreement which in any way limit the right of the Irish nation to freedom and unity."

"The Irish Press continued: "It was the policy [of Sinn Féin] to set up a financial system based on sound Christian and national principles and suited to the economic needs of the nation. This entailed a complete break of the link with sterling."

Ó Dubhghaill went on to condemn the high levels of unemployment and emigration in the 26 Counties and in the Six Counties and spoke of the recent public demonstrations by the unemployed in the streets of Dublin.

He described the Six-County economy as "rotating between full employment during wartime, producing ships, planes and equipment for the forces of our only enemy, but in peacetime becoming the No 1 distress area of the so-called United Kingdom."

He called for the "vesting in the national government of full control over, and direction of the issue of credit to secure the proper development of our basic industries and the provision of full employment, the curtailment of investments by the Commercial Banks in British and other foreign enterprises and the repatriation of accumulated sterling assets."

He concluded by saying that "we must get the Sinn Féin programme across to the people, inspire them with our own confidence so that we rally every Irish man and woman to our cause."

"Only thus can we ensure that the prize which was within our grasp in 1920-21 will not again slip through our fingers."

The Republican organ noted that "the discussion on the various resolutions on the Clár was very lively and the general feeling was one of hope and confidence for the future". Morale was steadily building up, it seems.

The new Ard-Chomhairle for 1953-54 was as follows: Uachtarán: Tomás Ó Dubhghaill; Leas-Uachtarán: Máiread Uí Bhualachalla agus Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh; Kónaiste: Michael Mac Treilínigh agus Seosamh de Craig; Cisteoir: Róibéard Ruiseil agus Críostóir Mac Eocháidh.

Baili: Pádraig Mac Lógáin (Laois); Antoine Mac Cúana (Ath Cliath), Pádraig Ó Dubhghaill (Beal Feirste), Pádraig Mac Seáin (Ard Mhaca), Gearóid Ó Broin (Ath Cliath), Máire Ní Ghabháin (Ard Mhaca), Dónál Ó Storáin (Iubhar Cinn Tra) agus Éamonn Mac Thomáis (Ath Cliath).

The Irish Press of July 7 carried a Sinn Féin statement which indicated that the level of British harassment in the Six Counties was being stepped up:

"On Sunday, Patrick O'Hagan of Mullaghshann, Peter McParland, Bessbrook and Patrick Mac Shane, Camlough were arrested at Bessbrook, Co Armagh at 6pm.

"They were taken to the barracks for questioning and were detained for more than four hours. While they were in custody squads of police raided and searched their homes."

"All three are members of Sinn Féin — O'Hagan and McParland being on the Central Election Committee and MacShane being Director of Elections for Armagh constituency."

"They were returning home from a constituency meeting at Derrymacash, near Lurgan, when they were arrested. It is the third time within ten days that O'Hagan's house has been raided and searched."

News was carried in the *Sunday Press* of August 8 of the death of Terence Mac Swiney, Madame St Francis Xavier Ní Shuibhne died at the Convent of the Dames de Saint Mar, Tokyo, Japan.

She was within a couple of weeks of her golden jubilee. She was sister of the late Toirbeach Mac Shuibhne, TD and Lord Mayor of Cork who died on hunger strike in Brixton Prison in 1920, and of the late Séan, Máire and Peadar Mac Shuibhne.

Her sister Eithne Ní Shuibhne, carried on the well-known fight for girls, Scollie, late recently.

The selfsame Eithne Ní Shuibhne had a letter in an *t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* of September 1953. It had originally been sent to the Editor of the Irish Independent but was refused publication.

Dated 13ú Lúnasa, 1953, the letter was sent from the Kerry Gaeltacht where Eithne must have been holidaying. Her address was given "An Gráig, Baile an Fheirtéaraigh Daingean Uí Chúis, Co Chiarraí."

She was commenting on an article in the *Independent* on August 10 by Professor Bantock, who she said was "recognised everywhere as a sincere speaker and writer".

Miss Mac Swiney praised him for his advocacy while a member of the Free State

Financial Commission [late 1930s] that assets be invested in dollars rather than in sterling. Events had justified his advice."

She went on to criticise him referring to the "26-County Statelet — set up by England" as the Republic of Ireland. She continued by saying that the way to restore national morale was to replace the two partition parliaments set-up under the "evil Treaty of 1921" by the "Republican Parliament never dissolved."

His powers would be passed on "to its lawful successor after a free election throughout the land". If the Republican dare could arise they would tell those who destroyed the 32-County Republic, "We are weak, we are few, we are alone - but we refuse to capitulate."

On August 2, the Roger Casement Commemoration was held at Murlough, Co Antrim, sponsored by the Ballycastle Branch of Conradh na Gaeilge. De Valera and Seán Mac Bride were the principal speakers.

Some days previously a letter signed on behalf of Belfast Republicans was carried in the *Irish News* saying that they could not associate with de Valera. It referred to his persecution of Republicans and his responsibility for the deaths of Republican soldiers, including Seán Mac Caughy.

During the ceremony handbills were distributed and both de Valera and MacBride received them. The leaflet indicted the British government and world leaders of the United States in saying that "a half-loaf compromise" was being sought on the National Question.

England hanged Roger Casement because his life was dedicated to Ireland, Free and Gaelic. Seán MacCaughy was allowed to die on hunger strike because he sought to make Ireland Free and Gaelic.

— Issued by Republican Publicity Bureau.

FILM SHOW CANCELLED

Meanwhile a showing of the British coronation film in Killebeg, Co. Westmeath, was cancelled. The film was to have been shown in St James' Hall by the local tennis club to raise funds.

Leaflets were distributed and slogans painted on the road, leading to the town, by Westmeath and Offaly Republicans. The local GAA club took a mainly stand against Britain's propaganda machine.

In late July Liam McMillán (24) Ton Street, Belfast was sentenced to three months in a British court for "using threatening and abusive language to the police". His sister said Liam had been following a hunger strike in England.

"In this case we talk English, we don't talk gibberish," said Major McCallum, RM when Liam McMillán spoke Irish for the dock.

Liam McBurney (21), Derram Gaelic, appeared with McMillán on the same charge. He was bound to the peace for 12 months or, in default, three months imprisonment.

Both men had refused to recognise the British court, Mc Burney saying so in English, McMillán speaking in Irish. His words were interpreted as "I refuse to recognise this court - that is all I have to say."

Det-Con Farrelly, RUC, said that on a Sunday in May on the Falls Road, Belfast, Mc Burney — one of a group of five men — called him a renegade and a very poor type of Irishman.

He told McBurney that he [the RUC man] would not be intimidated.

It was obvious that persecution and petty harassment of the nationalist population was being stepped up — as well as official insults to the Irish language.

A list of "Republicans in Jail for Ireland" was given in the Republican newspaper.

Joe Campbell, Newry, five years; Seán Mac Cearnaigh, Belfast, four months; Liam Mc Burney, Belfast, three months; Liam McMillán, Belfast, three months; Gearóid Ó Broin, Dublin, three months.

A notice underneath announced the formation of the Republican Aid Committee "to look after the dependants of Republicans in jail". It would "draw on the funds of the aid given by the Republican Prisoners Release Association and the National Aid Committee".

"In communion of spirit with our own dear Comrades who are in England's prisons today." — PH Pearce.

Fifty years on the quotation from Pádraic Pearce at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa is just as relevant. "Our own dear comrades are in Portlaine, Magilligan and Maghaberry prisons today."

(More news items, Refs. An *t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, July-August and September 1953; the *Irish Press*, August 17, July 7; the *Sunday Press*, August 8 and the *Irish*

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent



gave his protection to Pinochet who was rumoured to be in the pay of the CIA.

In this capacity, as a distinguished former head of state and a Thatcher ally in a fight against the left, that he travelled to a friendly nation, Great Britain. He expected a private meeting with Thatcher to discuss issues of mutual concern.

After his arrival in England, former President, former military Chief-of-Staff and now Senator for life Pinochet was informed that Spain sought his extradition from Britain to answer for crimes against humanity in accordance with the European Convention on Extradition of 1957 (also covered by British law under the Extradition Act of 1988).

The request was on the basis that from September 11, 1973 to December 31, 1983, general Pinochet had murdered Spanish citizens in Chile and Spain sought to try him under Spanish law which permitted such action, but at first British courts had to extradite him.

A divisional court said he was immune from extradition because he was a former head of state citing history which shows that it had been State policy to exterminate or oppress particular groups. The prosecution appealed to the House of Lords for a more detailed examination.

The ruling of the Lords stated immunity can be granted only with respect to "official acts" performed in his duties as head of state. Torture for which he was charged was not considered by the Lords to be an official act. However, since torture did not become a crime in Britain until September 29, 1989, he could only be tried for cases after that date.

The Spanish judge produced 30 cases of torture subsequent to that date. He was ordered extradited on October 8, 1999. In Britain, the ultimate responsibility for the execution of an extradition rests with the Home Secretary, in this case, Jack Straw. Chile itself claimed that extradition would subvert their attempts at national reconciliation. Although he agreed with the House of Lords' decision, Jack Straw determined that Senator Pinochet's poor health made him unfit to stand trial. He was secretly boarded on a plane and sent home to Chile.

Behind the scenes, the real reason emerged as to why Pinochet was allowed to return to Chile. Pressure was placed on the government, the Labour government, by the British

Intelligence Network which is controlled by the Tory Establishment, as has been the case since its inception. British Intelligence was assisted by Pinochet during the Malvinas War, and should the Brits have decided to invade the Argentinean mainland, Chilean mountains would be the staging ground.

SELF-SERVING EFFORT

In addition, Maggie Thatcher became an advocate for the Chilean tyrant at first pushed for a dismissal of all charges because he was head of state (as she was when Irish Republicans were tortured and murdered at her order) and as head of state he should have immunity. It was a self-serving effort on her part to protect herself from a similar effort.

Pinochet was pursued on the basis of the Torture Convention of 1984 and the burgeoning legal principle of universal jurisdiction. The concept of universal jurisdiction implies that every state has an interest in bringing to justice the perpetrators of particular crimes of international concern, no matter where the crime was committed, and regardless of the nationality of the perpetrators or their victims. Under the Convention, Britain had to act. The case of torture against Pinochet revolved on when torture became a crime in Britain, which was 1988.

The Convention identified torture as any act by which severe pain or suffering is intentionally inflicted on a person for such reasons as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. Pinochet was guilty by this definition.

There is no question that Pinochet directed the process of torture and that torture is not an official act which gives immunity to a head of state. International law condemned torture and crimes against humanity during an armed conflict or in peacetime as international crimes deserving of punishment. Extradition was in order for a criminal such as Pinochet. The principle of international law, which under certain circumstances protects the representatives of a State, cannot be applied to acts which are condemned by international law. There are ways to try a former despot and they are becoming increasingly acceptable and will evolve more.

There has been increased emphasis on morality over sovereignty in international affairs and in regard to human rights borders are coming down. This concern for the welfare of innocents is reflected in the proliferation of

military interventions for humanitarian purposes, when nations refuse to give asylum to tyrants and they have nowhere to run, the torturers will feel justice for their inhuman behaviour.

The US has given refuge to murderers like other nations and has no better claim to morality as any other nation. It is no better or worse only equal in the negative sense. For example, when Haiti requested the extradition of "Totoennant", the United States faced with the political embarrassment of the CIA having supported the man financially during his reign of terror. It seems each nation protects someone. There must be an accountability.

There is hope recently because Mexico decided to extradite former Argentine navy Captain Ricardo Cavallo to Spain where he faces charges of genocide and terrorism. Under the universal jurisdiction principle of the Supreme Court ruled that Cavallo could be extradited to Spain for crimes committed in Argentina. The Cavallo case is significant because it has demonstrated that with a little co-operation between nations, the principle of universal jurisdiction can be applied without time limits or pretexts like expiration of the statute of limitations. His indictment should give hope to others to pursue tyrants. Look out Maggie!

Of English oppression which robbed people of their homes and land and forbade them to speak their language and practice their beliefs. When they resisted they were made homeless, were tortured and murdered, think of the tens of thousands of innocents murdered by Cromwell because God told him to do it. It is the same God that George Bush says talks to him and tells him who to kill and what countries to invade. It is better to be a pagan than to be associated with a God like that. That God is an Englishman.

A Republican Court needs to be publicly convened as it was during the aftermath of the Easter Rising and indict Margaret Thatcher for torture, murder and crimes against humanity. A bench warrant should be issued so that any nation might try her. The Republican court would be acting under authority given it by the 32-Country Declaration. She has rescinded. Perhaps money could be raised and a bounty placed on her for bounty hunters to collect should they capture her. She has gone unpunished for too long and must suffer the pain of justice.

Maggie Thatcher is as guilty as Augusto Pinochet, Ronald Reagan, Charles Taylor, Osama bin Laden or Saddam Hussein. Those families in Ireland who are her victims feel as bad about their dead as do the families of the victims of the World Trade Centre.

— Peadar Mac Bhinn

YOU know a tyrant when you see one because policy, con- duct and results tell the story for the world to observe. Augusto Pinochet of Chile was such a blatant tyrant, who tortured and murdered at will as president of Chile. Pinochet was put in power by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assisted coup in Chile. His soldiers were CIA trained in terror tactics.

Here, we have Chile with a democratically elected government headed by President Salvador Allende was a role model for South American democracy. One would assume that the United States would be backing Allende since the people of Chile elected him in a free and open election.

America was not satisfied with Allende because it claimed he was a Communist and that was the mark of Cain. But Salvador Allende was popularly elected and the US claimed no Communist would be elected in a free election. They were wrong and they were not prepared to be wrong.

Augusto Pinochet was chosen by the CIA to lead a coup to overthrow the free-elected government of Chile because Allende had done what America and could not happen, that if a people had free choice, they would reject Communist-type governments.

Augusto Pinochet was installed in power by the CIA and supported by them during his reign of terror. He tortured and murdered his own people and the CIA knew what he was doing and ignored the screams of the innocent. Thousands of people disappeared during his rule and they were never seen again or listed formally. The US in its dealings with nations like Chile had clearly lost its way.

After Pinochet left power, he feared reprisal as he wallowed in his own guilt, but it would not be the United States who would seek retribution because he was their creation and they sustained him. He was America's tyrant.

Pinochet thought he had insulated himself from prosecution, but he was people who had a conscience. When he stepped down as president, Pinochet kept himself as head of the armed forces, then to be senator for life. He believed he had diplomatic immunity.

With his belief that he was untouchable and his support from Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher who had kept him in power with full knowledge of his crimes, Pinochet felt safe going to London for medical treatment at the latter end of the year 2000.

The real tragedy of the Pinochet years was his brutal crackdown against his political opposition and

the accompanying climate of fear that pervaded all levels of society. The general was not accused of participation personally in any single act of torture, but rather with directing them all through his personal command in the Directorate of Intelligence.

You can visualize why Thatcher and Reagan chose to ignore his crimes because it was too close to home. Thatcher had Irish prisoners tortured and murdered by her order though, like Pinochet, she did not personally participate in the brutal torture, but revelled in it. For his part Reagan had his Contra mercenaries torture and murder innocent Nicaraguan civilians leaving the dead mutilated.

As we look at the case against Pinochet, remember he should have Maggie Thatcher and Ronald Reagan standing in the dock with him. They all abetted torture and murder.

Maggie's forces are accused of targeting rural and indigenous people, as well as leaders of Labour unions, left-wing political parties and all political opposition groups. What affixes personal responsibility to Pinochet is that he set up an organisation (Directorate of Intelligence) within the military to supervise the operations of the torture centres under the leadership of General Manuel Contreras, who reported directly to him on a daily basis. Thatcher set up an organisation in the Six Occupied Counties of Ireland for similar purposes.

TORTURE GROUP

In Thatcher's case, Tory-bred intelligence, secret police and loyalists were formed into a group to torture and murder innocent Irish civilians to put fear and intimidation into the general population. Under Reagan's order the Contras were formed in Nicaragua who went around the country slashing the throats of the innocents to chill the people from supporting their opponents. Reagan permitted them to sell drugs in the US to finance their operations. According to "60 Minutes", the top-rated US news programme, Reagan should have been impeached.

Pinochet was able to secure his position for the terms of office of Thatcher and Reagan who gave him unqualified support. When they left office he was able to secure his position as head of the army until 1998 when he became senator for life. He maintained personal relations with Thatcher and still does to the day. He was always the insurance policy. When George Bush I succeeded Reagan, he too

Comhbhrón

BRAY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Joe Bray (New York Times) who died recently. From the Republican Movement, Limerick.

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BRIEN, Deepest sympathy is extended to Mike Brien, Co Kerry on the recent death of his wife. From the Ballysede Commemoration Committee, Co Kerry.

EARLEY, — Deepest sympathy is extended to Sister Earley and family on the recent death of Patrick Earley. From the Ballysede Commemoration Committee, Co Kerry.

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extended to the family of Dan O'Neill, who died recently. From Nuala Ruane Nolan and family, Carlow.

O'NEILL — Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Dan O'Neill, who died recently. From the Padraig O'Pearraid Commemoration Committee, Wick.

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proud and loving memory of Alfred Cole, Dublin Shiu, died August 16 1922. Always remembered by his comrades in Na Fuaime Eireann.

MCKEOWN, — 29th Anniversary. Proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick McKeown, South Down/Strath Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann, killed in action, August 27, 1974. Remembered always by his brother Eddie. "While England holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace."

MCKEOWN — 20th Anniversary. Proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patrick McKeown, South Down/Strath Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann, killed in action, August 27, 1974. Remembered always by Republican Sinn Féin, South Armagh. "The faithful still and make no peace with England until Ireland is ours."

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In proud and loving memory of Paul McWilliams, Belfast Shiu, died August 9 1977. Always remembered by his comrades in Na Fuaime Eireann. Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan McWilliams, South Down/Strath Armagh Brigade, Oglagh na h-Eireann, killed in action, August 8, 1984. Remembered always by your father Eddie.

WATERS — 19th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Waters, Oglagh na h-Eireann, killed on active service, August 8, 1984. Remembered always by the White Family, Newry.

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New Yeomanry corps to be formed

26-COUNTY Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell announced in July the creation of a Garda reserve and the privatisation of security staff policing Government buildings. At the stroke of a pen, McDowell has effectively tripled the number of policing bodies in the State.

He will hardly be bothered by the blood soaked history of such reserve and auxiliary police forces that

have plagued this country in history

A militia was set up here in the 18th century to fill in for the regular army off

fighting in France. The militia was in reality used to crush rural and urban protest and was famed in 1798 for its bravery in fighting half armed civilians and it's cowardice when faced with any real opposition.

Yeomanry corps were also raised to supplement the State, paid for and by the rich landowners of the day to

protect their property by pre-emptive strikes (killings, burnings, rapes) against suspected or imagined rebels. The fox hunters of today are directly descended from these units, hence the red coats.

In more recent times, the Six Counties have been plagued by various armed wings of the state. In Spain, it

is a given that anybody placed in Guardia Civil hands by one of the other police forces operating there is subject to torture on the basis that he/she must be a hardened terrorist or criminal.

Doubtless McDowell will crow about the benefits of his new idea such as freeing up Gardai to deal with "real" crime and saving (our)

money. The reality will be increased state surveillance and a new layer of in-your-face law enforcement. Maybe the money saved will finally enable him to have ID numbers made available for all gardai.

— (Reprinted from *indymedia.ie*)

The EU: current and future trends

European Federation or Fourth Reich? Part 16

SINCE this series was begun there has been a number of developments. The two most significant are the Nice Treaty and the Iraq War.

The Treaty of Nice was a complex and obscure document supposed to be necessary for the further expansion of the EC but not well explained. At Westminster Britain's Tony Blair claimed that it has no more significance than "last week's edition of the *Beano*". The 26-county state, alone in the EC, had to have a referendum on the Nice Treaty and, to the surprise of the authorities, it was defeated. It was submitted again, this time with a massive pro-treaty propaganda campaign. Opponents of the treaty claimed that it was preparing the way for much greater centralisation, with an executive presidency and a "European Constitution" over-ruling national constitutions, a common 'defence' policy, a common foreign policy, a unified tax regime and similar centralising schemes. The authorities denied this and claimed that the Nice Treaty was merely a preparation for the admission of a group of East European states.

However, on the actual day of the count, as soon as it became certain that the treaty would be passed, plans for a presidency and a constitution were announced.

The Iraq War was engineered by the United States to gain control over an important part of the world's oil reserves. It was the first of the long-predicted 'Resource Wars'. England participated and sent a force made up largely of two regiments claiming Irish connections: the Irish Guards and the Royal Irish Regiment: the latter being basically the old Ulster Defence Regiment recycled and diluted with soldiers having no Irish connections. A young Dubliner was among those killed. This illustrates the future role visualised for Ireland, North and South alike, as a source of cannon fodder for similar future wars. There have been

attempts recently to forge some sort of bond between the GAA and the British Army, sponsored by certain elements in Leinster House and in the media. It should be noted that the British Army has a recruitment crisis and the GAA is an organisation full of fit young men. Of course English professional soccer clubs have for long been parasitic on the GAA, raiding for talent, so that this would merely be an extension into another field of an existing practice.

WHAT IS EUROPE?

Is there a specific European civilization? The answer is emphatically YES! European countries are the inheritors of the brilliance of classical Greece, the solid practicality of ancient Rome, and of the Christian inheritance. Europe has largely created the modern world. In schools and universities throughout the world almost everything taught is the product of European minds: from the geometry of Euclid to the mechanics of Newton, the calculus of Leibnitz, the statistical methods of Pascal, the genetics of Mendel, the biology of Pasteur and so on. If the great Roman barrister Marcus Tullius Cicero were to come back to life today he could walk into a courthouse almost anywhere in the world and pick up a brief at random, and probably win it. The European calendar is the world standard, as is the Roman alphabet.

Should there be therefore a European state? The answer is emphatically NO! In the great age of classical Greece the Greeks were divided into a dozen or more petty states forever at war with each other. The Italian Renaissance too took place in an Italy divided into competing states. Also, a Germany of 39 states produced great scientists, artists and composers. By contrast the Greek-



speaking Byzantine Empire lasted over 1000 years and gave the world little of lasting value.

THE TURKISH PROBLEM

The Turks originated in Turkestan in Central Asia. In the Middle Ages the attacked and destroyed the Byzantine Empire and replaced it with their own Ottoman Empire. For a number of centuries they threatened to overwhelm the whole of Europe but they were gradually contained and driven back.

Following defeat in the First World War the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the Turks were left with the present territories. They were fortunate to have able leaders determined to make their country modern and prosperous.

Turkey lies at the junction of Europe and Asia. A small section is in Europe, the rest in Asia Minor. To the Turkish leaders the choice was to be the Middle Eastern country or a European country and they selected the latter. So, the wearing of turbans was prohibited and the Roman alphabet introduced. Swiss law replaced Islamic law. As

soon as the Common Market was set up, the Turks began angling for membership.

The threat from the Soviet Union had caused the Turks to make a close alliance with the United States. The threat is now gone but the Americans still need Turkish bases, so now there is pressure on the EC from Washington to admit Turkey as a member. Turkey is a predominantly Islamic country which does not share the European tradition, and it has a population of 70 millions which would make it second only to Germany within the EC.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

The desire of East European states to join the EC is obviously driven mainly by a wish to have a seat at the rich man's table, but there is an important secondary consideration: fear of an unpredictable Russia.

One issue is bound to become a serious irritant: the future of the Kaliningrad Enclave. In 1945 Stalin expelled the German population of former East Prussia and partitioned the territory, the southern half going to Poland and the northern part to Russia. The capital Königsberg was renamed

Kaliningrad after some Soviet worthy and settlers from Russia were brought in. The territory remains part of Russia but since the collapse of the USSR it has no contiguous frontier with the Russian State and EC countries will soon surround it. A dispute has already arisen between Russia and Lithuania over road and rail access through Lithuania to the enclave. It is beginning to look as if there is to be a repeat of the 'Polish Corridor' issue that contributed to the destabilising of the Versailles settlement.

CURRENT AND FUTURE TRENDS

At the time of writing the French politician Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has become a leading promoter of increased centralization.

Giscard is believed to be acting for a shadowy organization called the Bilderberg Group, an international alliance of business leaders and politicians that holds meetings in remote Swiss hotels and whose constitution, agendas and membership list are none of them in the public domain. Garret FitzGerald and Tony O'Reilly are believed to be members.

In fact EC integration has already gone as far as most people want.

The EC now bears some resemblance to the Hansa League. That was a league of European trading cities that operated from about 1250 to 1550 and controlled much of Europe's trade. It had a standard currency based on a small silver coin with the image of a starling on it, a currency that came to be called sterling. It did not engage in warfare or power politics. Eventually there were about 100 towns affiliated. It gradually faded out as trade patterns changed, particularly with the discovery of new lands outside Europe.

The EC can remain as it is now until it is no longer needed and then fade away like the Hansa League, to become but an interesting historical footnote, or it can be driven towards the super-state that hardly anybody wants.

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