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\* National Draw ticket for the Ard-Fheis raffie. The funds raised were seized by the Special Branch.

## Republican Sinn Fòin funds grabbed

ON Monday, November 15 last following that weekend's Republican Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis in Dublin members of the 26-County Special Branch went to the hotel venue and seized €11,000 of the organisation's funds. The political police had no warrant, did not bother to count the money and gave no receipt to the hotel staff.

The money grabbed in this high-handed fashion was the proceeds of the annual Private Members' Draw held at the Ard-Fheis as well as money collected at the Ard-Fheis ballad session on the Saturday night. The money had been left in the hotel safe overnight and when Republican Sinn Féin officers went to collect it the hotel staff informed them that it had been handed out following demands by members of the Special Branch.

Since then Republican Sinn Féin has been acting through a solicitor to retrieve the funds which were seized in such a brazen manner. The subsequent correspondence with Detective Superintendent Diarmuid O'Sullivan of the Special Branch reveals the real purpose of the seizure: to try to cripple the Republican Sinn Féin organisation financially by dragging out the process of returning the funds.

Initially the Special Branch chief demanded to know where the money came from and through the solicitor acting for Republican Sinn Féin arranged to meet with the National Trustees. The Det Superintendent was informed by the solicitor that the monies included £4,900 sterling and £3,800 from the annual draw and the Ard-Fheis function and a meeting between the Branch, the solicitor and the Trustees was arranged for December 13.

This meeting was then cancelled by the Special Branch who claimed they had to be "in court" on the day. No alternative date was proposed and no further attempt to arrange a meeting was made by them. Meanwhile the Special Branch attempted to harass one of the National Treasurers at his home in Dublin. As a result the solicitor acting for the organisation wrote to the

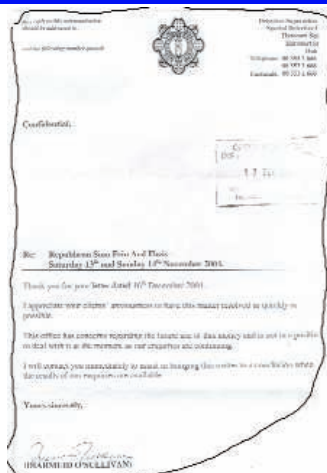
Special Branch and stated that all dealings with his clients should be made through him.

In another change of tack the Branch then wrote the letter reproduced here on December 17 last expressing their "concerns regarding the future use of this money" (our italics). As the national draw funds are essential to the running of Republican Sinn Féin's Ard-Ofig and administration and this would be obvious to any reasonable adult, this is clearly a further attempt by the Special Branch to drag out the proceedings for another few weeks.

Republican Sinn Féin contested the 26-County local elections in 2004 and will be contesting Urdáras na Gaeltachta elections on April 2 next so the need for funds is especially important. No doubt if the facts outlined above were revealed in relation to the Ukraine or any other country with a political police/secret police there would be an outcry in the international media about democracy being denied and suppressed.

As Republican Sinn Féin endeavours to secure the return of its funds from the 26-County State the organisation makes a special appeal to members, supporters and friends to come to our aid financially. The Republican cause must be protected come what may.

# Special Branch seize €11,000



\* Letter from the Dublin Special Branch, dated December 17, 2004, admitting their possession of the Republican Sinn Féin funds. Note their "concerns regarding the future use of this money".

Beannachta na hAthbhlana d'Éir Ióitheoir go Ióir

# Annual Michael Flannery Testimonial Awards Dinner

The 10th Michael Flannery Testimonial Awards dinner will be held at the Astoria World Manor, 25-22 Astoria Boulevard, Astoria, NY on Friday January 28, 2005, 7.00 -12.00pm.

The honorees for this year's Awards will be:

Dr Eileen Metress Ph.D will receive the Pearl Flannery Spirit Of Freedom Award. Eileen earned her Masters and PhD in anthropology from the University of Toledo, Ohio. She co-authored five books, worked with Irish Republican organisations and made ten fact finding visits to the Six Occupied Counties during the 1980s and 1990s.

Fr Lawrence E. Lucas will receive the Sr Sarah Clarke Human Rights Award. Fr Lawrence is the Department of Corrections Administrative Chaplain of Catholic Affairs at Riker's Island NYC. Fr Lawrence is an outspoken activist on behalf of prisoners rights everywhere and an equally outspoken foe of colonialism everywhere including Ireland.

John Mc Donagh will receive the Michael Flannery Spirit of Freedom Award. John has been co-host of Radio Free Eireann on WBAL every Saturday for 18 vital years where the voice of Irish Freedom has been heard and continues to be heard. He is also the publicity director for Cumann Na Saoirse Náisiúnta

and has established himself as a reliable source of information regarding Irish political affairs. John also dabbles in political satire, anti-war activities and Yellow Cab politics.

The theme for the 2005 Awards Dinner will include:

- A commemoration of our deceased comrades Peter Farley and George Harrison and a celebration of their lives.

- The marking of the centennial of Sinn Féin, the oldest Irish political party

- The American contribution to the struggle for a United Ireland Gaelic and Free.

Peter Farley and George Harrison were the consummate Irish Republican activists. They gave their support unstintingly to the cause of Irish freedom and because of their examples and work we felt their loss all the more. Pete's work left us a rich legacy of historical Irish Republican recordings.

George, who was a co-founder of Cumann na Saoirse and patron of Republican Sinn Féin took up the cause of the downtrodden and fought tyranny everywhere and in the process spread the word about the cause of Ireland. They



• Michael Flannery as Grand Marshal of the 1983 New York St Patrick's Day Parade.

counted amongst their friends Ruairi Ó Brádaigh and Nelson Mandela and the late Mike Flannery, Joe Stynes, Dáithí Ó Conaill, Máire Drumm and many other honorable women and men of many cultures.

Sinn Féin is Ireland's oldest political party and it has been survived internal splits and external attacks since its founding in 1905. It has been infiltrated by foreign influences and betrayed by hwegrown opportunists.

The truly remarkable thing about today's Republican Sinn Féin (RSF) is that it has survived and does not accept any British arrangements for Ireland, but remains faithful to its Irish Republican principles. Despite the states' directed intimidation at home, and external British and US

manipulations, RSF diligently continues to promote EIRE NUA (New Ireland), an Irish-crafted and visionary peace plan to re-unite Ireland without coercion and with maximum devolution of power, under a federation of its four historic provinces, in the context of a British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland.

Tickets for the 10th Annual Awards Testimonial Dinner are \$75.00 per person or \$750.00 per table. Please make every effort to attend and try to take an Ad in the journal. For ticket information please call Bob Loughman (845)-354-2473. For Ad Journal information please refer to attached Ad. Journal Order Form or call Mike at (732) 441-2679 or email: nifcmm@irishfreedom.net.



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## Gearrsc alta

### New Cumann in

#### Dungannon

A NEW Republican Sinn Féin cumann has been established in Dungannon.

The McKearney/McCaughy cumann was formed by true Republicans with aims of promoting Republican ideals and the EIRE NUA proposals.

Too often people perceive the actions of another party also claiming to be Sinn Féin (the Provisional Movement) as the actions of Republicans. This is not so, the Provisional Movement has made U-turns on all Republican principles and has completed its treachery by administering British rule in the north through Stormont and adding the 26-County statelet by partaking in its farce government at Leinster House, coupled with the fact that they are systematically destroying the arms given to the Irish people to help win their freedom shows them for what they are.

Republican Sinn Féin is the only organisation totally committed to Republican principles and the reunification of Ireland. Our blueprint for a new Ireland — EIRE NUA — is a fair deal for peace and justice in Ireland but before this deal can be realised Ireland must throw off the shackles of foreign oppression and we in Republican Sinn Féin are committed to bringing about British withdrawal.

In Dungannon we will be working on social issues, giving our alternative to the failed policing and justice system. We will not only be tackling national issues but issues that affect people at the grass roots in our area, as we know Dungannon has had serious problems with anti-social behaviour and is affected by other problems — the lack of health cover since the closure of the hospital, the state of our roads, the coming water charges.

These are just some of the issues our Cumann hope to make an impact on and we will also be campaigning on behalf of Republican prisoners and their dependants raising funds and selling our paper SAOIRSE. We call on all those in the East Tyrone area that call themselves Republican to stand with us in the search for peace, justice and freedom.

### Liam Mellows

#### remembered in Wexford

ON December 12, 2004 Republican Sinn Féin held a wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of Irish patriot Liam Mellows in Castletown, Co Wexford. Robbie Kearns laid a wreath on behalf of the Pádraig Ó Pearáil Cumann, Wexford and Bill Phillips laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

### Media abuse

THE use of the media by the police to demonise people in advance of a court hearing is a disgraceful practice that must be curbed by the judiciary, the Munster Executive of Republican Sinn Féin said on December 7.

RSF Munster spokesperson Joe Lynch from Ballinacura Weston in Limerick said that the media is now effectively an arm of the police and the Dublin Administration.

"They can demonise and write untrue stories about men and women who are due to appear in court and no one seems to cry halt," he said. "People are maligned."

and blackened in advance of a court imposed sentence. This type of coverage engineered by the police can only be described as an attempt to interfere with the course of justice.

"Surely it is time that the judiciary stood up to this type of media coverage and pointed out that some restraints have to be put in place. The latest example of this disgraceful media frenzy is the case of Joe Fee who is being sentenced today but in advance the *News of the World* and the *Sunday World* carried extensive claims that could not possibly be true.

"This type of biased and unfounded coverage places the lives of peace monitors like Joe Fee in danger — and it could lead to others being kidnapped or killed in countries where conflict is rife.

"The judiciary must take a stand against this demonising of people and point out to the media that such coverage is in fact an attempt to influence not only public opinion, but the judges."

### Results of Dublin raffie

DECEMBER Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 343; 2nd prize 203; 3rd prize 316; 4th prize 032; 5th prize 389; 6th prize 266; 7th prize 117; 8th prize 131; 9th prize 234; 10th prize 049; 11th prize 332; 12th prize 424.

JANUARY Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 111; 2nd prize 261; 3rd prize 265; 4th prize 110; 5th prize 391; 6th prize 241; 7th prize 483; 8th prize 005.

SAOIRSE February edition  
published 9/2/2005

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

Ainm .....  
Seoladh .....

Tel: ..... Age (if under 21).....

Send to:  
Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill  
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1  
Tel: 01-872 9747; Faxes: 01-872 9757

or 229 Falls Road, Belfast  
e-mail: [saoirse@iol.ie](mailto:saoirse@iol.ie)  
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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...

# 'The problem of the Provos: Deception'

**IN A statement on December 11, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, said:**

"What is the problem of the Provos? If they are doing something, and announcing it publicly, of which they are not ashamed, then they should have no difficulty in having it photographed, or even filmed.

"If, on the other hand, they are ashamed of what they are doing, then they should not be doing it at all; they should not be destroying arms, or in British terms "decommissioning".

"Their real problem is that their rank and file and their supporters have been persuaded that it is useless weapons only that are being destroyed, "rusty", "broken", "out-of-date"; that "not all" of their arms are subject to destruction and they are getting "better weapons" in place of those lost.

"Now is the moment of truth. What we have been witnessing over the years is the gradual surrender — collapse is a

better description — of a well-equipped army in the field which still held the initiative. Their voluntary destruction of arms is without precedent in Irish history.

"Worse still has been the political surrender. The Provisionals have accepted partition and British rule here. They have administered Stormont and declared themselves willing to join and give direction to the English police against those who continue the struggle.

"In any other country the



• Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

whole sorry spectacle of collaboration with foreign occupation would be called "treachery". Republican Sinn Féin is not afraid — in spite of intimidation on the ground — to give it its proper title.

"From the outset in 1986 we forecast where the direction the Provos undertook then would lead. Complete absorption into the British system in Ireland would be the end result, we stated at the time. Unfortunately for those involved in the struggle and for all affected by it, we have been

proved correct in our assessment.

"The Republican Sinn Féin alternative remains a four-province federal Ireland, including a nine-county Ulster, and a pluralist society. The flawed Stormont Agreement of 1998 continues to be unworkable, six-and-a-half years later.

"Because it does not address the basic cause of the conflict, that Agreement will remain unworkable in the long term."

## Sole inheritors of the Sinn Féin mantle

**IN A statement on January 8, Republican Sinn Féin Vice President, Des Dalton said:**

"As we in Republican Sinn Féin embark on this the centenary year of the foundation of Sinn Féin in 1905 it is necessary to point out that whilst other political organisations such as Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil, The Worker's Party and the Provisionals may attempt to lay claim to the right of celebrating this centenary, Republican Sinn Féin are the sole inheritors of the Sinn Féin mantle.

"We have an unbroken continuity over the past 100 years. In that 100 years numerous groups have broken with Sinn Féin and subsequently were absorbed into the partitionist system north and south."

"At every juncture since the adoption of the Republican constitution in 1917 Republican Sinn Féin have adhered to and defended that constitution,

which states clearly that the fundamental principles of the organisation are: '(A) That the allegiance of Irishmen and Irishwomen is due to the sovereign Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916 and established by the First Dail Eireann on 21 January 1919, and (B) That the sovereignty and unity of the Republic are inalienable and non-judicable'.

"First and second among its stated objects are: '(A) The complete overthrow of British Rule in Ireland and the establishment of a Federal Democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916. (B) To bring the proclamation of the Republic, Easter 1916, into effective operation and maintain and consolidate the Government of the Republic, representative of the people of all Ireland, based

on that proclamation."

"Now as we prepare to commemorate and celebrate our centenary we call on all of those who have long since abandoned the 'separatist' ethos upon which Sinn Féin was founded to refrain from the pretence that they have any link to the historic Sinn Féin organisation. Further we would call on the Provisionals to follow the example of the Worker's Party and end their use of the title Sinn Féin.

"They have dishonoured this honourable and historic name long enough. Sinn Féin was founded with the objective of removing Irish participation in the partitionist assemblies of Westminster and creating an All-Ireland Parliament, those who draw salaries from or opened offices in Westminster whilst also participating in the partitionist assemblies of Stormont and Leinster House have long since abandoned the very title deeds of Sinn Féin."

## Vandalism of Russell Monument denounced

**IN A statement on January 8 Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President Des Dalton condemned the vandalising of the statue of Sean Russell in Fairview Park, Dublin.**

He said: "Republican Sinn Féin roundly denounces those who vandalised the Sean Russell monument in Dublin's Fairview Park over the Christmas period. Those who carried out this mindless attack displayed a lack of even a most basic political understanding of Sean Russell or Irish revolutionary history.

"Sean Russell was present at the foundation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913. He was 'out' in 1916 and was a member of the GHQ Staff of the IRA during the Tan War. He opposed

the 'Treaty of Surrender' and played an active part in the civil war/counter-revolution of 1922-23 and remained an active Republican up to his death in 1949.

"Russell was a separatist and a Fenian and should be played in the same context as Roger Casement in 1916. Russell's sole political motivation was 'Breaking the connection with England' and securing Ireland's right to national independence.

"It is ironic that Russell should be now labelled a

"fascist", following the unveiling of the statue in 1951, which was modelled on a photograph of Sean Russell speaking at Tara, Co Meath at Easter 1933 which showed him holding his speech in one hand whilst extending the other in making a rhetorical point, the extended arm was viewed as a 'communist salute' and was broken off the statue on numerous occasions leading to the remodelling of the statue.

"Both sets of vandals, be it those who in the 1950s viewed it as a pro-communist symbol or those more recent vandals who have labelled Sean Russell as a 'fascist' both display an equal ignorance and complete lack of any political understanding or maturity."

state joined the then EEC in 1973.

"Britain remains an outstanding example of a member of the EU who claims sovereignty over and maintains a military presence in the territory of another member. When all of this is considered one can only conclude that the position taken by both the Dublin government and the EU regarding Cyprus is hypocritical."

## RSF sparks row over centenary celebrations

**DUNGIVEN Republican Sinn Féin member Michael McGonigle, speaking to the Derry News on January 3 lambasted the Provisionals' plans to celebrate the centenary of the Sinn Féin organisation here and abroad.**

He said the Provo policy of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness betrayed everything the organisation's founders stood for and he accused the Provo leadership of "masquerading" as the true inheritors of Sinn Féin's original principles.

"The current policy has completely gone against everything that Sinn Féin stands for," he told the Derry News.

"They are degrading the name by accepting the British presence here and by working a British system for the British up in Stormont. What's more, it's obvious they are going to join the Police Board.

"We are not against peace. But as far as we're concerned the Agreement backed up by a Stormont government will not bring peace. There is only one way to create lasting peace on this

Island - and that is to get the British to sign a declaration of intent that they are leaving Ireland.

"I resigned from Provisional Sinn Féin in January 1987, after the 1986 Ard-Fheis. Martin McGuinness contacted me shortly after to see if I would change my mind. I felt it was history repeating itself and that the next step after taking seats in Leinster House would be to take seats in Stormont. He, in front of my wife and the late Barney McFadden, told me there was no way he'd ever stand for Stormont or support anyone who would.

"We have remained true to our founding convictions and on that basis we don't accept Leinster House, Stormont or Westminster.

"But we will be marking the centenary in our own way and discussions have begun

around what events will take place later this year."

### SPLIT

The Derry News commented: "Republican Sinn Féin, which is led by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, split from [Provisional] Sinn Féin in 1986 over the issue of abstentionism. Its members reject the legitimacy of the six and 26-County States and are opposed to the Stormont Agreement.

"[Provisional] Sinn Féin's Michel McLaughlin recently told the Derry News members will mark the 100 year history of Ireland's oldest political party, founded in 1905 by Arthur Griffith, with a series of commemorative events across the globe.

"However, the fractured nature of Irish politics means almost all Irish political parties can trace their roots back to the original Sinn Féin movement with Fianna Fáil and even Fine Gael also planning centenary events to mark the occasion."

## RPAG public meeting

**THE Republican Prisoners' Action Group is to hold a public meeting to discuss the plight of Republican Prisoners in Maghaberry Gaol. This will take place on January 22 in Conway Mill, Falls Road, Belfast at 2pm.**

We ask all people who are concerned for the safety and welfare of Republican POWs to attend. It is our intention to follow this meeting up by calling public meetings in other areas throughout the province of Ulster in the coming weeks and months.

We wish to inform people about the ongoing policies of 23-hour lockups; double strip-searches; no free association; parole restrictions; use of sniffer dogs; unhygienic facilities for dining, and lack of educational opportunities for

Republican Prisoners in Maghaberry Prison. The RPAG recognises the importance of public awareness in challenging these injustices. Furthermore we reject the constant attempts by the British government to criminalise Republican Prisoners of War, and others must do the same. The Stormont Agreement of 1998 attempted to depoliticise the war for Irish freedom. Former Republicans were complicit in this act by signing up to the terms of that agreement. In our view the political

status of Republican POWs cannot be denied.

### CLARIFICATION

Our recent statement mentioned that "enhanced" prisoners are permitted intercell association with other enhanced prisoners. It was not our intention to imply that Republican POWs had been granted "enhanced" status.

The statement also referred to the refusal of open visits. It was then claimed that a tactic used by the prison authorities was to offer an "open" visit, which was unacceptable to Republican prisoners — this should have read that "closed" visits were unacceptable.

We apologise for any confusion caused.

## Dublin stance on Cyprus 'hypocritical'

**IN A statement on December 19 Republican Sinn Féin Vice President, Des Dalton, Kildare, said:**

"The concern expressed by the leader of the Dublin government, Bertie Ahern at the failure of Turkey to recognise the Cypriot government in advance of EU accession talks next year is in stark contrast to its willingness to sign away Ireland's right to national sovereignty and territorial integrity."

"As we pointed out earlier this year, the EU's position regarding their support for the ending of Turkish occupation and the reunification of Cyprus prior to that country deciding to join the EU whilst welcome, is at odds with their willingness to ignore the partition and British occupation of Ireland over since the 26 County

# For The Record

**SAT, DECEMBER 4:** Shots were fired close to the RUC station in Ballee, Co Fermanagh.

**MON, DECEMBER 6:** A series of security alerts brought chaos to north Belfast. British Army bomb experts were called to the first one at around 7am to deal with four suspicious objects.

Gerry Adams backed the British-Irish plan to revive power-sharing in the Six Occupied Counties.

It was reported that the British Government had only pledged £100 million 'peace dividend' — far short of the £1 billion demanded — in the event of Provisional Sinn Féin and the DUP striking a deal this week.

Several small bombs exploded in seven cities across Spain. No serious injuries. Warnings had been telephoned by ETA according to police.

**TUES, DECEMBER 7:** The Republic's Justice Minister, Michael McDowell, said the government would not consider the early release of the McCabe killers unless there is a 'total end' to paramilitarism by the IRA.

The RUC Ombudsman's Office has appealed for witnesses into an incident in which a Belfast street trader has claimed he was racially abused by the RUC.

A former UDA lifer, William 'Mugsy' Mullin, was returned to prison to serve the remainder of a life sentence after being charged with attempted kidnapping.

Adrian Kirwan from Ballymun and Muhsenag and Colm Wiggins from Letterkenney were charged in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin with membership of an illegal organisation.

Colm Murphy, Dundalk began his appeal in Dublin against the 14-year sentence imposed on him in 2002 on charges of conspiring to cause an explosion.

Eamon Matthews, Newry was convicted of membership of an illegal organisation at the Special Court in Dublin. Paul Kelly, Dundalk was cleared of the same charge.

**THURS, DECEMBER 9:** Bernadette McKee, Twinbrook, who was charged with 'storing 10,000 rounds of ammunition for a paramilitary organisation' was released on bail.

An ex-British soldier who joined the UDA was accused of guilty of numerous offences including conspiracy to murder, intimidation, possessing guns and explosives and membership of the UDA.

Three men have been jailed by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin. Joe Fee, Monaghan, was jailed for 10 years for 'possession of explosive substances with intent to endanger life'. Séamus McKenna, Dundalk, was sentenced to six years on the same charge and Eamon Matthews was sentenced to three years and nine months for membership of an illegal organisation.

**FRI, DECEMBER 10:** It was reported that the demolition of three British Army watchtowers in South Armagh and based and observation posts in Belfast, Tyrone, Derry and Fermanagh would commence within 24 hours of an agreement being reached between the Provos and the DUP. **MON, DECEMBER 13:** An investigation was under way after a British soldier fired live rounds while manning a checkpoint near Crossmaglen in South Armagh.

**WED, DECEMBER 15:** Nuala O'Loan, British police Ombudsman, is to investigate an incident in which a 16-year-old was struck with a baton by the RUC.

**THURS, DECEMBER 16:** A bust of Mary Ann McCracken was unveiled in Belfast City Hall. Mary Ann was sister of Henry Joy McCracken, a leading Unionist Irishman who was executed in Com Market on July 16, 1798.

**FRI, DECEMBER 17:** The Saville Inquiry reopened to hear evidence from another witness.

A Downpatrick man, Ronan O'Donnell who is charged with IRA membership, was refused bail in the High Court in Belfast.

**SUN, DECEMBER 19:** On Sunday night up to 100 fire-fighters battled for eight hours to bring a blaze under control at the B&Q warehouse at Sprucefield shopping centre on the outskirts of Lisburn.

A fire destroyed the Carpetright store in Derry's Waterside. The store was completely



• Bodies lined up in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake and tsunami in the Indian Ocean on December 26 last.

destroyed in the blaze causing an estimated £100,000 in damage. It took fire-fighters over four hours to bring the blaze under control.

**MON, DECEMBER 20:** Three people were arrested after disturbance over the weekend in Strabane and Antrim. Two men were arrested in Strabane after a disturbance in Abercorn St December 18 around 3pm. CS spray was used by the RUC and the claimed three of his officers received minor injuries.

In High Street in Antrim about 50 people were involved in 'a disturbance' during which three people suffered facial injuries. One person was arrested.

An incendiary device was discovered yesterday in a sports store on Hill St in Newry, Co Down. The RUC were called and removed a 'crude but genuine device'.

An Armagh man, Gregory Trainor, was jailed for three years by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin on bomb-making charges near the border last year.

**TUES, DECEMBER 21:** Police last night confirmed that a major fire at a County Antrim department store was caused by an incendiary device. Police were also investigating a number of fires which broke out at the weekend in stores in Co Antrim and Derry.

Loyalist paramilitaries threatened to inflict the medieval punishment of the stocks to publicly humiliate those they judge to be involved in anti-social behaviour.

**THUR, DECEMBER 23:** The number of contentious parades in the Six Occupied Counties increased by 20% over the past year according to a new report. The report also revealed that 70 contentious parades were allowed to proceed without restriction.

A fire last night badly damaged the premises of the Harry Corry store in Ballymena. The RUC spotted smoke coming from the premises at around 3am. Two devices exploded while the RUC was at the scene.

A partially exploded incendiary device was found in a Camerons store in Ballymena at around 9.20am. This is the seventh suspected fire-bomb attack in the town in the past five days.

**FRI, DECEMBER 24:** It was reported that an RUC Special Branch Officer is to be questioned by the RUC/PSNI investigating the Orange bomb. He is the chief suspect as the source of an anonymous telephone call which warned of a planned attack in Omagh.

Two Waterford men, who were detained for eight weeks in the US after they overstayed their visas returned home yesterday. Bernard Allen said the US Ambassador to the 26-County state must be asked to appear before the Oireachtas Foreign Affairs Committee to explain the treatment of Irish nationals living illegally in the US.

**SUN, DECEMBER 26:** The coastlands on the Indian Ocean of Thailand, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Burma, the Maldives and as far as Somalia in Africa were overwhelmed when a tsunami struck, causing devastation on a wide scale. Over 150,000 people were killed and many thousands are still missing.

**MON, DECEMBER 27:** Retailers in Newry community was put on high alert after a shop worker foiled a fire bomb attack in Co Down. It was the 14th incendiary device discovered this month; devices were found in Armagh, Lisburn, Newry, Newry, Newtownabbey and Ballymena.

**TUES, DECEMBER 28:** The inquest into the murder of Séamus Ludlow is due to begin in the New Year. In 1976 Séamus Ludlow was walking home when he was lured into a car and murdered by a loyalist death squad operating in Co Louth.

**WED, DECEMBER 29:** The business community was put on high alert after a shop worker foiled a fire bomb attack in Co Down. It was the 14th incendiary device discovered this month; devices were found in Armagh, Lisburn, Newry, Newry, Newtownabbey and Ballymena. Republicans were blamed for the attacks.

The Independent Monitoring Commission's latest report said that both the Real IRA and the Continuity IRA still posed a threat.

**THURS, DECEMBER 30:** It was reported that tentative peace talks between Republicans and senior Protestant clergymen in 1974 were scuppered by the Dublin Administration, according to Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. The secret talks at Feakle in Co Clare led to a six-month IRA ceasefire and discussions about the withdrawal of the British government from Ireland. (Full story carried on page 8).

The first full meeting of Dunganon and South Tyrone's district policing partnership (DPP) will be held within weeks. Eight independent members named as Francis Callaghan, (56) a Housing Executive manager, Fivemiletown; Christine Baxter (42) a nurse, Fivemiletown; Bath Badger (37) a former assistant insurance manager, Newmills; Kathleen Loughran (53) a charity worker, Ballygawley; Susan Ingram (68) a retired home safety manager, Dunganon; Sarah Thompson (60) a manager with a home care provider, Dunganon; Bernadette McGirr (50) a healthcare insurance sales advisor, Clogher and Evelyn Fenn (43) a retired civil servant, Dunganon, will sit with nine political representatives on the last remaining DPP to be established.

**FRI, DECEMBER 31:** It was reported that the British Army official website used to recruit undercover agents (Intelligence Corps) was now controlled by a disaffected agent, Samuel Rosenfeld. After the site was allowed to lapse over Christmas, the *Irish News* emailed the site and were advised that 'the site is no longer owned or operated by the Intelligence Corps but by myself, a former intelligence agent (IRU/ISG)...I feel it is my duty to inform you that the corps, through its sub-units, have been responsible for the murder of innocent civilians and the direction of terrorism' The e-mail highlighted controversial incidents involving the Force Research Unit (FRU), including the murder of Pat Finucane and the Stakeknife affair.

The Chairman of the Policing Board, Prof Desmond Rea, was knighted in the British New Year's honours list.

**SAT, JANUARY 1:** At the height of the troubles in 1974, Prime Minister Harold Wilson drew up a secret 'Doomsday' plan in readiness for a 'panic' British withdrawal from the Six Counties according to papers released today under the 30 year rule.

**MON, JANUARY 3:** In a statement carried in the *Irish News* the Continuity IRA claimed responsibility for a bomb at the Grosvenor Road RUC/PSNI station in Belfast on January 1.

**TUES, JANUARY 4:** The RUC/PSNI was discovered at the home of a member of the Provisional's political wing, Billy Leonard in Killea, Co Derry last night.

**WED, JANUARY 5:** Several packages were found in Stormont Buildings but on removal were found to be 'non-suspicious'.

**THURS, JANUARY 6:** A security guard, making a cash delivery to the Northern Bank on the Antrim Road, was robbed at gunpoint.

A former senior figure in the NIO, Bill Jeffrey, has been appointed to the post of security and intelligence coordinator and permanent secretary in Downing Street.

Five men, being sued by the Omagh relatives, were given four weeks in which to bring in new legal teams.

**FRI, JANUARY 7:** A 54-year-old Derry Republican was sentenced to three months in jail by the high court in Belfast for contempt of the Saville inquiry into the Bloody Sunday massacre by British paratroopers in 1972. When sentenced he stood up and shouted at the two judges: 'I'm the only man to be punished for Bloody Sunday. It's a disgrace.' John Kelly, a brother of Bloody Sunday victim Michael Kelly said it was a 'second death'.

Detective Garda Liam Donnelly and Detective Garda John Fahy were charged in the Dublin District Court with two counts of falsely swearing evidence during the trial of Colm Murphy, who was convicted in January 2002 of conspiring to cause an explosion. They were charged with committing the offences between October 18 and November 15, 2001.

**SUN, JANUARY 9:** It is believed that three arson attacks on Orange Halls may be linked. The first took place at Garvagh Road, outside Castlebridge on Monday night; the second on Wednesday night at the Orange Hall, Douglas Bridge, outside Strabane and the third last night in Tullamoon Rd, Strabane.

**MON, JANUARY 10:** Bertie Ahern claimed that Provisional Sinn Féin leaders knew the 'Provisional' IRA was planning the Northern Bank robbery 'while locked in deal-breaking political negotiations'.

# IMEACHTAÍ

## BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION

GLASGOW 2005

MARCH AND RALLY

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29

Assemble 10.30am

Shamrock Street, Glasgow city centre

(Rally point: Roystonhill)

Organised by: The West of Scotland Band

Alliance

## BLOODY SUNDAY PICKET

GPO, DUBLIN

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29. 1pm-3pm.

\*\*\*\*\*

## REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN

BALLAD SESSION

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28

FOY'S BAR, EDENDERRY, CO OFFALY

Music by: North & South

Admissional optional; All welcome!

\*\*\*\*\*

## POW PICKET AT GPO DUBLIN

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 5, 2005, 12.45pm-2pm

Come along and show your solidarity with the

political prisoners in Portlaoise and Maghaberry

Jails.

\*\*\*\*\*

## ANNUAL HUNGER STRIKE RALLY

GPO, DUBLIN, MAY 7, 2pm

Assemble at Garden of Remembrance at 1.45pm

and march to GPO where a prominent speaker

will address the rally.

\*\*\*\*\*

## ANNUAL BOBBY SANDS LECTURE

DUBLIN, MAY 10.

This year the theme of the lecture is 'Sinn Féin —

100 years of unbroken continuity'. Venue to be

confirmed.

\*\*\*\*\*

## O'SULLIVAN/ENRIGHT CUMANN

Republican Sinn Féin, Listowel, Co Kerry

Anyone wishing to join should contact 087-

2113130

\*\*\*\*\*

## REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN

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TO: BM 1798, LONDON WC1N 3XX

\*\*\*\*\*

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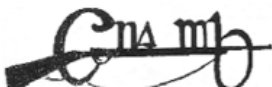
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# Seán Sabhat commemoration held in Limerick

THE annual Seán Sabhat commemoration in Limerick took place on Sunday, January 2. The parade formed up at Bedford Row at 1.45 pm and marched behind a colour party and a lone piper to the Republican Plot in Mount St Lawrence Cemetery.



• Seán Sabhat

The commemoration was chaired by Des Long from Corbally who said in his introduction that the sacrifice of men like Seán Sabhat in the cause of Irish national self-determination struck a cord with the Irish.

"At a time when former comrades are prepared to surrender and sell out we must take the opportunity to re-state our belief that the failed Stormont Agreement will not bring a real or lasting peace to our country," Des Long said.

A wreath was laid by Tommy Morris, Westmeath and Áine Bean Uí Longáin recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaeltige.

The speaker at the commemoration was Séamus Ó Súilleabháin from Broadford in County

Limerick who in a wide-ranging oration showed a wide knowledge of the struggle for Irish freedom and set out the hard task ahead for all those true Republicans who oppose British rule in our country.

The march from Bedford Row to the Republican Plot at Mount St Lawrence halted at Limerick Prison to lay a wreath in remembrance of two men from County Clare who were executed there by the Free State during the Civil

War.

The wreath was placed by Republicans from Co Clare who had asked the organisers of the Seán Sabhat commemoration to arrange for the march to stop at the prison so that they could honour Vice-Comdt Cornelius McMahon, Clooney, Mid-Clare Brigade, and Vol Patrick Hennessy, Clooney, Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA who were executed at the prison on January 29, 1923 and were buried in Clooney, Co Clare.

In his concluding remarks, Des Long said that the Free State had executed five Clare Republicans during the Civil War, the other three being Vol Patrick O'Mahony, Wnnis, Mid-Clare Brigade, William O'Shaughnessy, Ennis, Mid-Clare Brigade and Vol Christy



• Séamus Ó Súilleabháin

Quinn, Ennis, Mid-Clare Brigade. All three were executed by Free State firing squad on April 26, 1923 and are buried together in the Republican Plot, Drumlcliffe, Ennis.

Des Long compiled a pamphlet including a list of all executions carried out by the British and Free State

forces during the Black-and-Tan War and the Civil War. He pointed out that British Crown Forces carried out 24 executions starting with the hanging of Kevin Barry on November 1, 1920 and finishing with the execution of two Limerick men, Edmund Foley and Patrick Maher on June 7, 1921. The Free State carried out 77 executions between November 17, 1922 and the executions of the two Clare Volunteers on May 2, 1923.

He concluded: "As we leave this today I hope you will take a copy of this document, read it and show it to your friends so that they too will realise how the Republic was defeated and a partitionist Ireland with its British Forces of Occupation is still our lot today and will continue to be into the future if the Leinster House Administration and their new-found friends in the Provos have their way."

## Republican Garden Bundoran

THE Committee & Trustees of Republican Garden is pleased to announce that work has started on the Garden over the last few weeks.

### Special Appeal for Funds

In remembrance

1973 Volunteer Paddy Carty, Bundoran, Dungannon

1973 Dermot Crowley, Cork City

1973 Sean Loughran, Dungannon

1984 Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde, Magherafelt

1984 Ciaran Fleming, Derry City

The Hunger Strikers who died 1974 - 1981

Those who are being remembered all had some connections with Bundoran, Ballyshannon, Donegal, Leitrim & Sligo Areas.

To complete the Garden it will cost €30,000, so we are asking you to give a donation please to any of the names listed below:

Chairperson: Joe O' Neill

Vice Chairperson: Jimmy McElhinney

Treasurers: Mick Cullen & Joe Dillon

Joint Secretaries: Mary O'Neill & Phyllis Cullen

Trustees: Pat Barry, Ann Sheerin, Martin McGrath,

Declan Curneen, Séamus McGowan, Thomas Kelly

and Mary Ward.

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



CABHAIR continues to support all true Republican prisoners and their dependants in Irish jails within the 32 Counties.

With this in mind we ask for local areas to form Finance Committees. Help and advice will be given by the Central Committee.

All contributions should be sent to:

**Central Committee**

**CABHAIR**

223 Parnell Street

Dublin 1



Contributions, which will be gratefully acknowledged, can be made:

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

## Myers ar RTÉ

KEVIN Myers ar Raidió na Gaeltachta, Nollaig 27 den bhliain seo caite, ba é a tharla an eacra, más buan mo chuimhne: B'amhlaidh a d'aistrigh duine éigin go Gaeilge an colún le "Caoimhín" a d'fholigh *The Irish Times* an Déardaoin roimhe. Le toil "Caoimhín"? Ní theadar.

Ag tiomáir a bhíos faoi an chraolta agus ba beag nach raibh sé na thionóise agam nuair a chualas an tsár-nuachtán chéanna. Roimhe sin, chualamar nuair a *Acht na Teanga* an gComisiún féin, bail ó Dhia air. Más mall is mithid.

Maidir leis an chloán úd le "Caoimhín", ba é an sean-airist eile, é go nimbhainn in eadan aitheinín na Gaeilge ach, nuair sin féin, bhí cuid den fhinne an freisin, faoi fhineach na bpolaiticeán na teanga, á moladh currair, ach iad ina mBeairtí ginealach an chuid is mó den bhliain, agus gan tuda á dhéanamh acu ar a son, ar a aitheinín, ar a húsáid.

I mBeairtí amháin de ghnáth a labhairtáir sin fúthi Tigh Laighne. Cumáin an Beairtí atá sna páirtithe polaiticeacha, de réir gach cloasach.

### FREAGRAI UÍ CHUIV

Ar ball, sa gearl éanna, chualamar Éamon, an Táire, agus é ag cur eios ar an méid a bhí le rá ag "Caoimhín", ach ní go maith a chruaigh sé.

Maidir le polaitoirí Thigh Laighne ag beirtoireacht, agus an teanga a' gaineáil a' pleá, bhí leithscéal aige: B'amhlaidh a dhíalltáin *Raidió Teilifís*

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## Eire Nua

### Building Fund

#### Belfast / Derry

#### Standing Order Form

**To the Manager** \_\_\_\_\_ **Bank** \_\_\_\_\_

Please pay Bank of Ireland, (30a Grosvenor, Co. Derry, tel number 1416428, Branch code 90-45-43 02) (26 Counties) Bank of Ireland, Loughborough, Co. Donegal for the credit of Eire Nua Building Fund, tel number 70955108, Branch code 90-49-15, the sum of £ \_\_\_\_\_ Amount in words: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ and thenceforward every month until further notice

\_\_\_\_\_ commencing \_\_\_\_\_ and debiting A/C No \_\_\_\_\_

Name: (please print clearly) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Please hand in to your bank.

mhéid sin. Dá mbéadh, bí cinnte de go mbeadh an Stádas a bhféidh ó amháin (stádas an AE, ar ndóig: Teach Laighne, sin seol eile).

Ar éigean a cheicfeis muid aon aithriú sa bhfad sin i mbliana, de cheal toile Theach Laighne.

### LEABHAR DEN SCOTH

Thar thréimhse na Nollag chaithreas seil i gcomhlachadh Gheaird Uí Chléirigh trína phléipéir, *An Gaeilge, a fídhm feasta agus i gceol* (Coscéim, 2004, 35 lech, €5). Sa mbrollach, tá aithicéil aige ar Mhgr Bhréandán Ó Doibhlin, a d'fholigh *The Irish Times* (Bealtaine, 2003, ar "Tuarscail": "... ar dheireadh thiar, ag athbheochan na Gaeilge agus an Ghaelaichais, feachtas morálta atá ann ...").

Sin *credo* Uí Chléirigh freisin, ach níos doimhne fós isteach sa scéal a tháinig sé sa scríbhinn seo nó rianachas, dar leis, is ea é: Tá an domhan agus dá bhfuil ann i gceantair mhór Bheairtí Mheiriceá é ag dul thar fóir, meas tú? Math go leor. Léigh leat na hargóintí.

Sul na shroicheadh sé an pointe úd deannam sé anailís ar chéard é is teanga ann, turas a bhaineann le gach teanga. Go cinim a théann sé, uaidh sin go smior agus go smúach, bail ó Dhia air. Seo an chéad uair domsa dul ar an turas sin agus ceapaim go bhfuil sé thar barr agus Chomsky agus eile leite agam le thart ar 50 bliain).

B'éidir go mbeadh fonn air dul níos faide fós, na motháidhín a chur sin áireamh, an bealoidas, an ceol traidisiúnta, an stair, in ionad seos anseo is sinistid.

Ach B'amhlaidh a bhí teachtaireacht mhór aige le cur

inár láthair. Dá ndéanfadh sé a leithéas sa leabhar beag seo, mar a mholaim féin, seans go gcuirfeadh sé ar don gcuid bhunigh, mar atá piirt theanga Mheiriceá i gceannas agus léirsíoras an domhain a léiriú. Tig le focal a bheith ina mbuamaí.

### ÉILEAMH RÉABHLOÍDEACH

Ach tá dóchas fós ann, féach: "... is iad gormaigh Mheiriceá is soiléire atá ina samhlaíodh ar lúcha iontacha Mheiriceá: is iad bunphrionabhaí na saoirse ina steilbheatha iad, an t-éileamh stairiúil Meiriceánach gur cruathuigh gach duine cothrom agus comhionann.

"Deintear beag is fúí den éileamh réabhlóideach sin ar uairibh; caitear amhras air, ag maíonn nach ionann aon bheir maidir le neart ná le himitcheall, le corp ná le cuntas, le suáil ná le seasmhais sóisialta. Is urchair ionann iad na hacachán sin go léir, mar is é rud atá sa chothrom dháonna ná dhúit de áirímh an duine mar dhine, mar indibhí" (Lech 4.7).

Taobh thiar de pholasaí Bush is eile i Meiriceá an lae inniu tá deardach "religiúnda," "a eacraíonn as an Bhíaríntachas agus a dhúil sa (Sean-Tiomna: go ratháidh Dia) is é an t-ansa leis, gur combartha rachmas duine go bhfuil sé ion iontarc i láthair Dé. An duine atá súilbh ... tá gearn ag Dia air; an té atá bocht, deardalóid go gur combartha é a easpa maíne go bhfuil an t-ólc ann ... Ní hiontarc é go bhfuil bunaisigh Mheiriceá agus *Litad* losrael báití lena chéile" (Lech 4.9).

Maidir leis an "éileamh réabhlóideach" úd, is ar liom nach luann Gearóid an t-ionchar a bhí ar réabhlóid na Fraince ar stair SAM. Táthar ann a deardadh

a mhálairt agus dátaí a chur i gcoinne a chéile (éirí amach SAM, 1775-83; éirí amach na Fraince, 1789-99).

Ach ar na mílte san Eorpa a bhí ag lorg dídine i SAM bhí cuid mháthair a raibh a ndóchas lasta ag réabhlóid na Fraince, agus go leor Éireannach ... ina measc, Presapitirigh go sonrach iontu.

### AN OIDHREACHT

Ach fillim ar pháirt na n-gormach in eabhlóid choinis Mheiriceá: "Is é an t-éileamh gur cruathuigh gach indibhí cothrom is bun le feachtas na n-gormach sin Stáit Aontaithe ar son cearta sibhialta, agus ní hionadh gur áirigh siad ar na cearta sin a ndóchas agus a sinsireacht chultúir," a deir an t-údar (Lech 4.7).

"Is é an t-éileamh céanna is bun leis an éileamh ar chothrom go gach duine agus sochaí. Sin é an fáth gur leath an t-éileamh naís go dtí ciniocha agus grúpaí naís iúntacha eile, a bhfuil dhácha, teanga agus cultúr faoi leith acu ó thaobh a sínsear de. Ní hi dhreacht na nAfrach a bhí ann a luachmhar inniúirneach ach oidhreach gach grúpa comhdhána sa Stáit Aontaithe agus ar fud an domhain, Tá an oidhreach Gaeilach orthu sin: (Lech 7.8).

Ní mheisté diúinn uilig in Éirinn inniu an riteais sin a bheith os ar gcóimhar sa bhfeachtas i gcoinne an chinióichais, galrá atá ag méadú in aghaidh an lae, mo léan.

### NA NUA-CHOIMEADAITHE

Céard é an bhagairt is mó atá romhainn? Bush, Blair, agus a geid ghlóil ar éirí chile na "n-arn ollseirceach?" Dúla amó atáir, a mhac, Is iad na Nua-Choimeadaithe an chiontúir, dar

leis an gCléiriche:

"Ach ní hé an seannmíriúilachas nó an seanchóilínachas, nó an t-áiríochneachas is mesa ... Is é go bhfuil léamh nua ar an mbunúsachas tar éis teicil i dreis sna Stáit Aontaithe. Tá an léamh nua sin chomh baslach, ní bamláin do mhuintir na bhéarann ach don chine dáonna ar fad, gur mithid trácht air. Is í fealsúnacht ...

... na Nua-Choimeadaithe ... Gélleann siad do lámh cheile na heacnamaíochas agus, fairís sin do lámh cheile na polaiticeacha agus d'hiúntais follasach uathsholáir a dheanga agus an níosann féin ... (Lech 11).

Polasaí é sin atá blasta agaimne in Éirinn cheana féin (ná bhair nach bhfuil muid suas chun dáta le gach uile oile!). Féach mar a chuir an rialtas sna 26 Chontae deirdhead leis an daonlathas áitíil: Cumá céard is toil an phobail, agus sin curtha in iúl ag na comhairleoirí áitíil, ag bainistíora an chontae atá an focal deireanach!

Céard é an sampla is suntasí den gormach nua sin a bhrúinn toil an phobail i leatubab? D'eile ach an loiseoir a chead! Thingamar ar shampla eile den bhagairt sa geint a dúit Mac Dubhghall uaidh nuair a chosain sé an éagbhorlaíne!

*Liberté, égalité, fraternité:* Mura bhfuil siad sin i bhfeidhm, gach ceann díobh, tá deirdhead le saoirse, tá deirdhead le daonlathas.

Ní agam an spás atá deith le cothrom na Féinne a dhlairt don saothar bhíbhíochas seo le Gearóid Ó Cléirigh. Amach leant anois agus ceannáin an leabhar. Agus ná bíodh an náire ort lúis a scríobh chug an Eagarthóir foit, más thosáitinn an t-icir sin intinn.

— Deasúin Breatnach



# HORRIFIC LOYALIST ATTACK ON BELFAST YOUTH

## A Belfast Chronology

**Thursday, December 2, 2004.** There were reports of ammunition and guns being found in the loyalist Ballybeen estate in East Belfast. At around eight o'clock there was a report of a bomb in the Mountjoy area of the Shankill road in West Belfast. The bomb claim was later said to be a hoax.

There were further reports of a shot being fired in the loyalist Ballysillan area in North Belfast. It was not clear what the target of the shooting was.

**Sunday, December 5, 2004.** There was a sectarian loyalist attack on the Antrim road in North Belfast when an 18-year-old nationalist youth was set upon and badly beaten by a number of loyalists who used a hammer and a knife in the attack, the attack was so vicious it is clear the aim was to kill it was only when some people happened to pass by that the attack ended.

As the loyalists attackers ran towards a waiting car they were heard to shout "your a lucky Fenian bastard" the youths injuries covered most of his body and he had to have 40 staples put into his back and arms, once again the nationalist people of North Belfast have been witness to an attack on their community carried out by sectarianism which could have ended in a young man being murdered.

**Monday, December 6, 2004.** Monday morning was witness to a number of bomb scares on the Crumlin road in North Belfast, the scares numbered four in all which later turned out to be hoaxes. It was believed locally that all four hoax devices that were placed in and around the Catholic Mercy primary school were placed there by loyalists.

**Friday, December 10, 2004.** There were reports of a number of guns being found in the loyalist

Elmdale street area of East Belfast. It was also reported that there was a number of arrests.

**Monday, December 13, 2004.** A 15-year-old nationalist school girl was badly beaten tonight on the Serpentine road in North Belfast when she and a friend were attacked by a gang of up to three loyalist men and a woman who after chasing them in a car jumped out and got a hold of the young girl who has been named as Laura Cleary and beat her with sticks Laura's young friend was unhurt in the attack, but was left shaken. After the attack the loyalists were heard to pass a number of sectarian remarks as they carried out this latest attack on the nationalist community.

**Tuesday, December 14, 2004.** Loyalists once again targeted a Catholic primary school in North Belfast. The target was Holy Cross girls school on the Ardoyne Road. It was believed a hoax device was put on the front gate.

**Saturday, December 18, 2004.** There were reports of a shooting in the Shankill road area of West Belfast. It was believed two men who had got out of a taxi when one of them pulled a gun and fired a number of shots into the taxi. The shooting may be down to loyalist in fighting, another attack on a taxi in the same area resulted in the taxi being burnt out.

There were also reports of a number of bomb scares in Lisburn out side Belfast all were later said to be hoaxes!

**Monday, December 20, 2004.** A man from east Belfast man was in court on charges of attempted murder, aggravated burglary, actual bodily harm and possession of a weapon with intent to endanger life. The charges relate to an incident in the Beersbridge Road area of East Belfast in which a man and a woman suffered injury.

A bus and building materials were



• The 18-year-old nationalist who needed 40 staples after a loyalist knife attack on the Antrim Road on December 5.

sent on fire during an early morning attack on the Dominican College, Fortwilliam Park in north Belfast.

**Wednesday, December 22, 2004.** At Belfast Crown Court Maria Brogan (29), Patricia O'Kane (28), Lawrence Francis Claxton (31) and Sean Burns (28) pleaded not guilty to

the charge of facilitating the control of terrorist funds between January and July 1999. It was the Crown's case that the defendants sent more than £45,000 to four people in the US so they could buy guns and ammunition to send back to Northern Ireland (to the Provisionals).

Dublin police horses are to patrol the streets of Belfast and Lisburn from today in a 'Christmas crime crackdown'. Gardaí lent the animals to the RUC/PSNI.

**Thursday, December 23, 2004.** It was reported that the RUC/PSNI were investigating the possible involvement of at least two criminal gangs as well as the involvement of republicans or loyalists in the largest ever bank raid in Britain or Ireland. £26 million was stolen from the Northern Bank on Sunday/Monday.

**Friday, December 24, 2004.** A Belfast woman was told she would be charged almost £20 to post a card, special delivery' to Cavan as it was considered 'overseas'. It cost her £3.75 to send an identical card to Scotland.

The Provisionals denied involvement in the £26 million robbery of the Northern Bank through a "source" close to them.

**Monday, December 27, 2004.** A handgun and ammunition were stolen from an RUC/PSNI Land Rover during the Christmas Eve searches of nationalist homes in the Cavendish Street area by the RUC/PSNI investigating the Northern Bank robbery.

The RUC/PSNI said five of their officers were injured during rioting in the Ballymurphy area of west Belfast after a crowd clashed with them as they attempted to search a house in the Divismore area.

**Wednesday, December 29, 2004.** An incendiary device was also found in Sainsbury's store at Sprucefield.

**Thursday, December 30, 2004.** The RUC were accused of harassment after a series of searches [at industrial units on the Andersonstown Rd; the Dairy Farm complex on the Stewartstown Road and the Blackstaff complex on the Springfield Road in which nothing was found] were linked to the £26 million Northern Bank robbery investigation.

## Sinn Féin 100 Committee — Sinn Féin Poblachtach programme of events for 2005

• **A Proud History Gives Confidence of Victory** by Margaret Buckley will be reprinted and an update added. It will be published for Bodenstown.

• **Biography:** The launch of Ruairi O'Bradaigh's biography will take place towards the end of the year.

• **Handling over of personal papers to UCG:** Ruairi O'Bradaigh will hand over some of his personal political papers to UCG towards end of year.

1905 Sinn Féin 2005  
100 Years  
Unbroken  
Continuity

• **The above banner will be displayed on both the Dublin and Belfast offices.**

• **Easter:** All areas must make a special effort this Easter to inform as many people as possible of the policies of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. A serious effort should be made to ensure a large turn-out at the commemorations.

• **Bobby Sands Commemorative events:** A rally will be held on May 7, 2005 at the GPO, Dublin, Assemble Garden of Remembrance, 2pm. The Bobby Sands Memorial Lecture is planned for May 10, date and venue and other events to be confirmed in SAOIRSE.

• **Bodenstown, June 12, 2005:** An tUachtarán Ruairi O'Bradaigh will this year give the oration at the grave of Wolfe Tone in Bodenstown in honour of the centenary.

• **Public meeting:** A public meeting at the Ambassador Cinema, Dublin (the first meeting of Sinn Féin took place in the former Rotunda building) will be arranged for November. The meeting will cover the founding and continuance of Sinn Féin and will include the reading of a document from the first meeting in the Rotunda in 1905.

• **Video/DVD:** We hope to produce a video/DVD which would be a fantastic achievement if we could show

the unbroken line between 1905-2005. We would be grateful if anyone who has footage of any Republican events, ie footage of Six-County repression by British Crown Forces, Ard-Fheisceanna, commem-orations, or other relevant material, could lend it to us as a matter of priority. Seán O'Bradaigh will narrate.

• **Commemorative Calendar:** Now on sale (see add page 1). The calendar is a special one with dates and photographs of historical events/people. Will be collectors' item in years to come! Price €6/£5, available from Ard-Ofig.

• **Laminates:** Laminated

pictures from the calendar are available in Irish Freedom Press Bookshop..

• **T Shirts/Badge:** Polo shirts with RSF Logo/Badge are available also. £20. A special commemorative metal badge is also available. E5.

• **Events outside of Dublin:** All counties are instructed to organise some event to Commemorate the 100 anniversary.

• **Finance:** All counties must raise Finance for the Sinn Féin Centenary Committee. As everyone knows, without finance we cannot function.

• **Ard Fheis/Badge:** This will be a very special occasion and all members should make plans to attend.

• **SAOIRSE** will carry a

list of all events organised for the Centenary throughout 2005. Please ensure that your event is sent to the paper in good time for publication.

• **Dan Keating is now the Patron of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.** He will celebrate his 103rd birthday in January 2005.

If you would like a copy of our policy documents or any of our literature, please contact our offices at:

Teach Daithí O'Conaill, 223 Pell Street, Dublin 11, Phone: Dublin 872 9747; email: saoirse@iol.ie or 229 Falls Road, Belfast, Phone: Belfast 90 319 004, email: RSFBELFAST2004@aol.com.

# Feakle Talks: 30 years after

THE Feakle talks of 9-11 December 1974 – thirty years ago – were not something which happened suddenly or at short notice. Throughout the 1970s there were meetings between Republican leaders and many shades of Unionism.

Invariably when the hypothetical question would be put as to their preferred solution in the event of the British government actually disengaging from Ireland, their second choice would be the Republican Movement's proposals for a new federation of the four provinces, including a nine-county Ulster. Their first choice of an independent Six-County state was always held not to be viable.

Rev William Arlow, assistant secretary of the Irish Council of Churches, had long been active as an ecumenist and was in close contact with Republicans. Through him a meeting was held in September 1974 with what could be described as second-line Republican leaders. I remember a number of members of the Ard-Chomhairle seeking permission to attend.

The gathering took place in a hotel at a seaside resort in North Donegal and was really a familiarisation exercise. The top-level meeting was to take place later. The venue for this all-important meeting was arranged by the clergy, two of whom had ministered in Co Clare. This may have been a mistake when viewed in hindsight.

We all arrived at Snyly's Village Hotel in the small town of Feakle in East Clare on the night of December 9. The Republicans were accommodated in holiday chalets in the hotel grounds. On our way into the hotel proper next morning we were worried by sight of half a dozen or more northern-registered cars lined up in a row in an almost empty car-park.

The day was auspicious – December 10, International Human Rights Day, as designated by the United Nations. The Churchmen were already present.

They were: **Dr Arthur Butler**, Church of Ireland Bishop of Connor; **Dr Jack Weir**, then Clerk of the Presbyterian Assembly; **Rev Eric Gallagher**, former president of the Methodist Church in Ireland; **Rev Ralph Baxter**, secretary and **Rev William Arlow**, assistant secretary of the Irish Council of Churches; **Dr Harry Morton**, secretary, British Council of Churches; **Right Rev Arthur McArthur**, moderator of the United Reformed Church in England, and **Stanley Worrall**, former headmaster of Methodist College, Belfast and chairman of the New Ulster Movement. (See *Northern Ireland – A Political Directory 1968-88* by WD Flackes and Sydney Elliott, pp 126-127).

J Bowyer Bell in his *Secret Army*, pp 414-415, gives the Republican line-out: "Present on their side of the table were **Ruairí Ó Brádaigh** (President of Sinn Féin); **Máire Drumm** (Vice-President); **Séamus Loughran** (Ulster Organiser); **Billy McKee** (recently released from Long Kesh); **Dáithí Ó Conaill**; **Séamus Twomey**; **Kevin Mallon** and **JB O'Hagan**."



• Three of the participants in the Feakle talks, December 1974: **Dáithí Ó Conaill**, Vice-President, Sinn Féin. **Canon William Arlow**, assistant secretary of the Irish Council of Churches and **Máire Drumm**, Vice-President, Sinn Féin.

They introduced themselves as representing the political and military leadership of the Republican Movement.

Bell describes them as "the heart of the Provo movement". Six of the eight were from North of the Border – so much for the so-called "Southern Leadership", of which we have heard so much. Bell also says that the Republican representation showed that "the Provos were taking the mater very seriously indeed".

By agreement Ó Brádaigh spoke first and gave a comprehensive analysis of the situation from the Republican standpoint. He also put forward their solutions as outlined in the ÉIRE NUA programme.

Dr Jack Weir responded giving the Unionist viewpoint and saying that the Republicans did not, at that stage, have a sufficiently developed world-view, other than neutrality and non-alignment and trading with the former colonised peoples of the Third World.

There was a general acceptance on both sides that this latter point was valid. Dáithí Ó Conaill was impressed by Dr Weir and said that he represented an authentic Unionist view.

A general discussion followed in which everyone present made a contribution. Dr Butler was deferred to on his own side because of his status and Ó Brádaigh related to him and discovered he had once been Archbishop of Tuam and had an understanding of the scene south of the Border.

Rev Arlow was, of course, familiar with the other side and took a prominent part. Eventually, it came down to defining the Republican terms and the wording of a Declaration of Intent by Britain to leave Ireland. Here Stanley Worrall was as a facilitator and a practical man.

The Republicans laid much emphasis on their traditional principle of the separation of church and state in the New Ireland and the building of a pluralist society. A break was made for lunch and just as it ended word was conveyed to the

Republicans that the hotel was about to be raided by the buzzles of submachine guns.

This was communicated to the Churchmen who were sceptical, obviously thinking that it was a subterfuge for a withdrawal by the other side. They were disappointed, as they felt they were getting to grips with the situation.

Four of the Republicans departed, Séamus Twomey and JB O'Hagan who had escaped from Mountjoy Prison by helicopter, Kevin Mallon who had been with them in that episode, had been recaptured and had escaped again from Portlaoise Jail. Dáithí Ó Conaill was the fourth; he had narrowly avoided arrest in Dublin two years previously and was "on the run" since.

All had good reason not to be interviewed by the Special Branch. The clergy withdrew to a room on the first floor to consider their position and work on a suggestion for wording a Declaration of Intent.

The remaining Republicans gathered around the fire downstairs, assessed the other personnel and review progress. The two sides, now depleted in numbers and representation, would meet later, it was agreed.

Darkness had fallen when a flotilla of cars drew up outside, about 60 Special Branch from Dublin, some brandishing submachine guns, burst into the hotel. A group surrounded the people at the fire and a higher-ranking plain-clothes man from Limerick went very aggressive with Ó Brádaigh. A Dublin officer, who appeared to be in charge, intervened and told him to lay off.

Another group raced up the stairs and confronted the Churchmen. With the aid of a scrap of paper seized from a table near the downstairs fire they accounted for all. This listing had a single word after each name giving the Republican assessment of each person.

Both captors and prisoners were astonished, the Branch to find such

exalted company and the clergy to be looking at the muzzle of submachine guns. Outside 120 uniformed Gardaí formed an inner cordon while armed military blocked every road leading to Feakle – a ring of steel.

A Branchman searching Ó Brádaigh's briefcase found a document which mentioned the Irish Republican Army and threatened to bring him back to Dublin. It was a photocopy of the official Record of the United States House of Representatives debates.

Following some hours of searching and interrogation the Special Branch "strike force" withdrew, a much-relieved party of clergy descended the stairs, but no one said, "Do you believe us now?" Everyone was in form for dinner, now long overdue.

However, the Branch maintained a presence in the hotel and remained overnight. It was impossible to do any further business, although political and church documents were exchanged.

All departed at first light and further contact was maintained through Rev Arlow. A promising and developing encounter had been disrupted, perhaps with Dublin government sanction. We all knew that the Churchmen were in contact with the British government.

Two-and-a-half years later another peace endeavour was similarly broken up. The Mac Bride-Boal talks had been progressing confidentially for several months when Conor Cruise O'Brien became aware of them and went on RTE radio to expose them.

This brought to an end an attempt by representatives of the ULCCC (Ulster Loyalist Central Coordinating Committee) and the Republican Movement to find common ground between the ÉIRE NUA proposals and the idea of an independent Six-County State.

(Seán Mac Bride, SC, was a Nobel Prize winner. He represented the Republican Movement in this matter. Desmond Boal, QC,

formerly of the DUP, represented the Loyalists.)

It was an error of judgement to leave the security of the meeting at Feakle in the hands of the clergy. Two of them had travelled via Shannon Airport and had been met there by others. Besides it was off-season in the hotel and the row of northern cars outside was bound to attract attention. But none of that casts doubt on the *bona fides* of everyone involved.

Directly as a result of the Feakle talks a unilateral ceasefire from December 22 to January 2 was announced by the IRA. An intermediary from the British arrived at Ó Brádaigh's house on Christmas Day with a proposal for talks on "structures of British disengagement from Ireland".

The ceasefire was extended to January 16 but no further word was received from the British until hours after expiration when they offered to meet Republican representatives.

The offer was taken up and three weeks later a bilateral Truce was agreed based on twelve points. Incident centres were set up throughout the Six Counties to monitor the truce. All of this was in writing.

Thirty years have passed since Feakle. Papers dealing with the subsequent talks between British and Republican Movement representatives and the aftermath of Feakle generally, among other matters, will shortly be made available to students and journalists.

Incidentally, the *Irish Independent* broke the story of Feakle in a front page article within days of the events. Ó Brádaigh, in spite of a Section 31 ban on him since mid-1972, was invited on RTE and interviewed. Feakle became public property.

But "what if" it had not been deliberately disrupted? The history of the intervening 30 years might have been very different.

— Ruairí Ó Brádaigh



# Dáithí Conaill commemoration

**THE annual commemoration to Dáithí Ó Conaill, Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin at his untimely death in 1991, took place at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin on New Year's Day.**

In spite of extremely unlement weather a large crowd gathered at the gates of the cemetery and marched to his grave in the Republican Plot behind a colour party from Na Fianna Éireann.

The proceedings were chaired by Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President Des Dalton, Kildare. A decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaelige by Paddy King, Dublin and a laurel wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Seán Mac an Iomaire, Galiliah.

The main oration was delivered by Joe O'Neill, Buncrana, a long-time friend and comrade of the Cork patriot. Joe gave an outline of Dáithí's long involvement, at all levels, within the Republican Movement. He was a dedicated believer in Wolfe Tone.

As a very young man Dáithí Ó Conaill left his home in Cork went on active service to the Six Occupied Counties during the Border Campaign of 1956-62. He was at the Brookborough Raid on New Year's Day in 1957 when Seán Sabhat and Fergal O'Hanlon were shot dead and was instrumental in ensuring that the rest of the crew were retrated without being captured. He and Ruairi Ó Brádaigh escaped from the Curragh Concentration Camp in 1958.

He was shot and seriously injured by British Crown Forces on the shores of Lough Neagh in 1959 and served a period of imprisonment in Crumlin Road jail in Belfast.

Following his release from prison he became a woodwork teacher and settled along with his wife Deirdre in Glencolumbkille, Co Donegal, where he became involved with the community work of Fr James McDwyer.



• Joe O'Neill

In the late 1960s, when nationalists and Republicans came under severe pressure from the sectarian, British Six-County state, Dáithí was to the fore in reorganising the Republican Movement. He was to the fore in the emergence, following the split in the IRA in 1969 and in Sinn Féin in 1970, of the Provisional Republican Movement and was perhaps its greatest strategist.

Dáithí Ó Conaill and Seán Keenan of Derry went to the USA at Easter 1970 and in Sinn Féin in 1970, of the Provisional Republican Movement and was perhaps its greatest strategist.

He was also to the fore in the development of the ÉIRE NUA programme which was published by Republican Movement in 1971-2.

He was one of those who negotiated the bi-lateral truces of 1972 and 1975 on behalf of the Republican Movement. On



• A section of the crowd at the grave of Dáithí Ó Conaill, Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.

both occasions negotiations were initiated by the British government and Republicans engaged in them on the basis of a final British withdrawal from Ireland. Nothing else was on the agenda except withdrawal, the matters to be negotiated were how and when and under what conditions. In 1972 the British broke the terms of the Truce and the 1975 Truce broke down primarily because of the opposition of the 26-County Administration.

Dáithí was arrested in July 1976 and sentenced to a period of imprisonment on a charge of membership of the IRA and he and a number of comrades went on hunger strike later in 1977 because of the atrocious conditions in Portlaoise prison.

During the Hunger Strike of 1981, it was Dáithí Ó Conaill who proposed (not without opposition from people like Gerry Adams and his cohorts) contesting the Fermanagh-Sith Tyrone by-election following the death of Frank Maguire.

Contrary to lies put about by former comrades, Republicans have never feared using the ballot box when it was tactically sound to do so; rather Republicans refused to accept partitionist assemblies or sit in the British parliament.

In 1986, when the Republic was once again betrayed by so-called Republicans who have now gone on to not only sell off the family silver, but indeed to give it away free, Dáithí Ó Conaill, along with Ruairi Ó Brádaigh and 130 faithful delegates from the Ard-Fheis recommended that Ard-Fheis elsewhere and continued Republican Sinn Féin.

He was, as always, a tireless organiser and leader, and his early death was a tragedy not only to his family but to the Republican Movement as a whole. He himself had been refused entrance to the Ard-Fheis by a leadership afraid that his presence and contribution would damage their chance of pushing through

their anti-Republican line.

For the record, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, Des Long, Pat Ward and Joe O'Neill met with Gerry Adams and others during the 1986 Ard-Fheis and pointed out to them that the road they were embarking on would lead to a return to Stormont and the selling out of all Republican principles, which has now all but come to pass.

Joe O'Neill ended his fine oration by calling on all present to remember the sacrifices of Dáithí Ó Conaill and all other Republicans who lie buried in the Republican Plot by working to achieve that which they had struggled and suffered so much for and thanked Dáithí's family for their support of him down the years.

In conclusion Des Dalton gave details of the events planned to celebrate the centenary of Sinn Féin during 2005 and Joe O'Neill led the crowd in singing Amhrán na bhFianna.

## Bush approved torture techniques

**A DOCUMENT released for the first time on December 20, 2004 in New York by the American Civil Liberties Union suggests that President Bush issued an Executive Order authorising the use of inhumane interrogation methods against detainees in Iraq.**

Also released by the ACLU today are a slew of other records including a December 2003 FBI e-mail that characterizes methods used by the Defense Department as "torture" and a June 2004 "Urgent Report" to the Director of the FBI that raises concerns that abuse of detainees is being covered up.

"These documents raise grave questions about where the blame for widespread detainee abuse ultimately rests," said ACLU Executive Director Anthony D. Romero. "Top government officials can no longer hide from public scrutiny by pointing the finger at a few low-ranking soldiers."

The documents were obtained after the ACLU and other public interest organizations filed a lawsuit against the government for failing to respond to a Freedom of Information Act request.

The two-page e-mail that references an Executive Order states that the President directly authorised interrogation techniques including sleep deprivation, stress positions, the use of military dogs, and "sensory deprivation through the use of hoods, etc." The ACLU is urging the White House to confirm or deny the existence of such an

order and immediately to release the order if it exists. The FBI e-mail, which was sent in May 2004 from "On Scene Commander—Baghdad" to a handful of senior FBI officials, notes that the FBI has prohibited its agents from employing the techniques that the President is said to have authorised.

Another e-mail, dated December 2003, describes an incident in which Defense Department interrogators at Guantánamo Bay impersonated FBI agents while using "torture techniques" against a detainee. The e-mail concludes "If this detainee is ever released or his story made public in any way, DOD interrogators will not be held accountable because these torture techniques were done [sic] the 'FBI' interrogators. The FBI will [sic] left holding the bag before the public."

The document also says that no "intelligence of a threat neutralisation nature" was garnered by the "FBI" interrogation, and that the FBI's Criminal Investigation Task Force (CITF) believes that the Defense Department's actions have destroyed any chance of prosecuting the detainee. The e-mail's author writes that he or she is documenting the incident "in order to protect the

FBI".

"The methods that the Defense Department has adopted are illegal, immoral, and counterproductive," said ACLU staff attorney Jameel Jaffer. "It is astounding that these methods appear to have been adopted as a matter of policy by the highest levels of government."

The June 2004 "Urgent Report" addressed to the FBI Director is heavily redacted. The legible portions of the document appear to describe an account given to the FBI's Sacramento Field Office by an FBI agent who had "observed numerous physical abuse incidents of Iraqi civilian detainees", including "strangulation, beatings, [and] placement of lit cigarettes into the detainees ear openings". The document states that "[redacted]" was providing this account to the FBI based on his knowledge that [redacted] were engaged in a cover-up of these abuses."

The release of these documents follows a federal court order that directed government agencies to comply with a year-old request under the Freedom of Information Act filed by the ACLU, the Center for Constitutional Rights, Physicians for Human Rights, Veterans for Common Sense and Veterans for Peace. The New York Civil Liberties Union is co-counsel in the case.

Other documents released by the ACLU today include:

An FBI e-mail regarding DOD

personnel impersonating FBI officials during interrogations. The e-mail refers to a "ruse" and notes that "all of those [techniques] used in these scenarios" were approved by the Deputy Secretary of Defense. (Jan. 21, 2004)

Another FBI agent's account of interrogations at Guantánamo in which detainees were shackled hand and foot in a fetal position on the floor. The agent states that the detainees were kept in that position for 18 to 24 hours at a time and most had "urinated or defecated [sic]" on themselves. On one occasion, the agent reports having seen a detainee left in an unventilated, non-air conditioned room at a temperature "probably well over a hundred degrees". The agent notes: "The detainee was almost unconscious on the floor, with a pile of hair next to him. He had apparently been literally pulling his own hair out throughout the night." (August 2, 2004)

An e-mail stating that an Army lawyer "worked hard to write [sic] a legal justification for the type of interrogations they (the Army) want to conduct" at Guantánamo Bay. (Dec. 9, 2002)

An e-mail noting the initiation of an FBI investigation into the alleged rape of a juvenile male detainee at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. (July 28, 2004)

An FBI agent's account of an interrogation apparently conducted

by Defense Department personnel — in which a detainee was wrapped in an Israeli flag and bombarded with loud music and strobe lights. (July 30, 2004)

The ACLU and its allies are scheduled to go to court again this afternoon, where they will seek an order compelling the CIA to turn over records related to an internal investigation into detainee abuse. Although the ACLU has received more than 9,000 documents from other agencies, the CIA refuses to confirm or deny even the existence of many of the records that the ACLU and other plaintiffs have requested. The CIA is reported to have been involved in abusing detainees in Iraq and at secret CIA detention facilities around the globe.

The lawsuit is being handled by Lawrence Loeferberg and Marian Lewis of the New Jersey-based law firm Gibbons, Del Deo, Dolan, Grifffinger & Vecchione, P.C. Other attorneys in the case are Jaffer, Amrit Singh and Judy Rabinovitz of the ACLU; Art Eisenberg and Beth Haroules of the NYCLU; and Barbara Olshansky and Jeff Fogel of CCR.

The documents referenced above can be found at: <http://www.aclu.org/torture/foia/released/bt.html>. More on the lawsuit can be found at: <http://www.aclu.org/torture/foia/>. <http://207.44.245.159/article7524.htm>.

## Tom O'Connell

**VOLUNTEER Tom O'Connell, born October 5, 1918, was laid to rest in his beloved Castletyons, Co Cork recently. He had spent 76 years of his life a working member of the Republican Movement.**

Tom said in a pen-picture of his life which appeared in the **CABHAIR** Testimonial Brochure which honoured him in 2003 that "one of his proudest moments of his life was when he took the oath of allegiance to Oglaiigh na hÉireann and is still proud today to be able to say he was true to that oath and is still a soldier of Oglaiigh na hÉireann".

The Tricolour-draped

coffin was carried to his grave by members of his family, neighbours, friends and members of the Republican Movement and was preceded by two pipers, members of the local pipe band.

In the course of an oration, Des Long, Limerick mentioned the large gathering of the eulogy given by local priest Fr Madden during the funeral Mass which said that Tom had

## Br n ar an mBÆs

been a pillar of the community, who loved both his country and church. Fr Madden had said that both were important to him and he was also Life President of Castletyons GAA club, a member of the Pipe Band and had been active in the local angling club. He said Tom's death was a loss to the community.

Des Long then gave a history of Tom's involvement in the Republican Movement from the time that he joined Na Fianna Éireann at 10 years of age. In 1935 when he was 16

he joined the IRA and was active in the procurement of arms for the ongoing fight against the forces of occupation.

He was also active in the Intelligence section of the local command. Des pointed out that Tom hated injustice in this country and considered the greatest injustice in this country was Partition and having the forces of the occupation power, England, in our country.

He said that Tom had said



• Tom O'Connell

recently at the Clonmult commemoration that anyone who administered British rule in Ireland were not Republicans and should stop pretending that they were. This was in direct reference to the Provos.

In conclusion the speaker said that Tom's selfless devotion to the cause of Ireland will long be remembered by his friends and the Republican Movement. He extended the sympathy of the Republican Movement to Tom's sisters Brigit and Kitty and also to his nephews and nieces and his community in Castletyons.

## Frank Gartland

**THE death occurred on December 20, 2004, following a short illness, of Dundalk Republican Frank Gartland.**

Frank, who came from a large family in a small community, had many interests and very strong political beliefs. He loved life and lived it to the full but had also known sadness in his life with the tragic deaths of two of his sons, Alan in 1997 and Fra in 2000. An enthusiastic snooker player and Leeds United fan he also loved the Gaelic and played hurling in his youth — he attended the Puc Fada occasionally.

Frank was a stalwart member of the Dundalk and Newry Cumann of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, the Willie Stewart/Jo Conway Cumann of the Edentuithe Commemoration — last November despite his illness.

He also served for the past number of years as Cisteoir of Comhairle Cuige Laidheann as well as being a member of the Ard Chomhairle. Na Fianna Éireann had a special place in Frank's heart. He realized the importance of educating the youth in Republican politics because 'the youth of today are the leaders of tomorrow.' He was himself at one stage a member of Na Fianna, was very proud of his association with them and was always willing to lend them a helping hand.

Na Fianna provided a Guard of Honour on Frank's coffin at the home of his daughter Evelyn where he was waked for two nights. A large crowd from all walks of life called there to pay their



• Frank Gartland

respects. A very large crowd also attended the funeral mass and burial. On December 22 his body was removed to the Church of the Redeemer for the burial Mass. His coffin was

draped with the National flag and escorted by a Na Fianna honour guard led by a lone piper. Prior to his body being brought into the church the National flag was removed at

the insistence of the local clergy. His coffin was shouldered by his sons, brothers and friends and also by his daughters and sisters as the cortege made its way to Brid-a-Crin Cemetery. Following the graveside prayers Ard Chomhairle member Ruairi White, Newry, a close friend of Frank's and a fellow Republican, introduced the Leas Uachtarán of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Des Dalton, Kildare who in his oration spoke of Frank's long commitment to ending British rule in Ireland. "This belief was central to everything that Frank did in his life. From his days as a young member of Na Fianna Éireann right up to his untimely death Frank was unshakable in his belief in the Irish people's right to national freedom and independence."

Referring to the removal of the National flag from Frank's

coffin at the Church Des Dalton said: "The spectacle of the removal of the national flag from Frank's coffin being he could be brought into his place of worship was a sad reflection on the state of national consciousness that exists in Ireland today."

He concluded by saying: "We come here not to mourn Frank's death but to celebrate his life. Frank you will forever remain our friend and comrade and you will march with us shoulder to shoulder in the ongoing struggle for Irish freedom."

Des extended his deepest sympathy to Evelyn, Keli, Helga, Paul, Mark, Patrick, Patsy, Brae, David, Lisa, Frank's brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, extended family and his many friends.

The piper finished by playing a lament.

## Micheál Wrynn

**THE death took place on December 28 of Micheál Wrynn, Tarmon, Ballinamore. Well-known as an industrious farmer he was 68 years.**

An ardent Republican, Micheál was nephew of Séamus Wrynn, OC South Leitrim Brigade, IRA who with five other Volunteers was killed in action against British troops at Selton Hill, Gorrageh in March 1921.

At the removal from Carrick-on-Shannon Hospital to St Patrick's Church, Ballinamore on December 29 the coffin was draped in the Irish Tricolour and a Guard of

Honour of Republican Sinn Féin members escorted the hearse.

Following Mass at 11am next day the funeral took place to Oughteragh Cemetery. The Guard of Honour was again on duty and marched the entire distance.

At the graveside Joe O'Neill of Bundoran, Co Donegal presided. Micheál McDonagh, Drumshanbo laid a wreath on behalf of Leitrim



• Micheál Wrynn

Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin and Pádraig Ó Baoighill, Monaghan

led the recitation of a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

Ruairi O'Bradaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, gave the oration. He praised Micheál Wrynn for his unflinching and loyal support for the Cause of Irish Freedom and expressed the gratitude of all from both sides of the Border who received shelter and hospitality down the decades from Micheál, his wife Eileen and their family.

Micheál was uncompromising in his views on national affairs. He rejected Stormont as the seat of British power in Ireland and opposed vehemently the voluntary destruction of arms at the

behest of the British government.

He agreed with Cathal Brugha that not even if the last Volunteer had fired his shot should British rule be accepted in Ireland.

Accordingly he spurned the move to accept a section of the British Occupation Forces, the RUC, under a new name or to join them in their work of continuing the struggle to end English rule here. Such action would only prolong the conflict, he felt.

Ever an optimist, Micheál Wrynn was confident of eventual success in forcing

British disengagement from Ireland. Each Easter Sunday he laid a wreath at the annual commemoration ceremonies on behalf of the relatives of those listed on the Co Leitrim Roll of Honour, including his own Uncle Séamus.

"It behoved us all to work to make the ideals of Micheál Wrynn a living reality," the speaker concluded.

Sympathy was expressed to his wife Eileen, his sons Séamus and Joseph, his daughters, Mary, Siobhán, Carmel and Brid, his brothers Tom and Séamus and sisters Máire and Kathleen and all the extended family.

Friends Liam and Geraldine Casey died in accidents arising from the war. Others like Séamus and Dessie Greave were victims of Britain's shoot-to-kill policy, while Gerard Casey, Danny Cassidy and his own nephew Tommy Donaghy were all shot dead in blatant acts of collusion by the Kiteera area.

A hard and uncompromising man, both in his own life and in his politics, Farmer was nonetheless held in high esteem by all those who knew him. He was a man totally devoted of fear whether on the battlefield or off. In the last months of his illness he faced his death with courage and serenity. But then none of us who knew him would have expected anything less.

To all his family and friends, to Jonathan and Ryan, Karen and Rathie, to all the O'Kane and Donaghy families, we extend our deepest sympathy. I meanse Laochra na oíche ar fáil a anam usual.

## John 'Farmer' O'Kane

**THE chapel choir was playing the plaintive strains of *Boilavogue* as an eight-strong guard of honour carried the Tricolour-draped coffin of John 'Farmer' O'Kane to his final resting-place.**

A native of Drumshag, near Killea in Co Derry, the 'Farmer' as he was known, was aged 71 when he passed away on December 2, 2004 and had been a life-long Republican who has been active in the IRA from the beginning of his phase of the struggle. His mother, Mary O'Kane, has also been active all her life in Republican politics and their home was always a target for house raids and arrests.

While on the run in 1972 Farmer was captured in a friend's house near Swatragh and interned in Long Kesh. On his release he rejoined his unit, but again had had to go on the run, and again his unit was highly active, carrying out

many successful operations in the South Derry and North Antrim area around Killea. As OC of the Killea unit in the early seventies he perfected a strategy of using small cells to protect his men, years before it became common practice.

In 1975 he returned to live at home vowing he would not be driven out of it, and for years afterwards he was to suffer at the hands of both loyalists and British Crown Forces and was constantly raided, harassed and arrested.

He survived four attempts on his life, the second of which Milltown killer Michael Stone later admitted to in a Belfast court. The last attempt on his life was



(above) Funeral cortege of John 'Farmer' O'Kane (right) in Killea, Co Derry.

uncovered when a neighbouring farmer unearthed a command wire as he ploughed a field at the rear of Farmer's home. The ploughman

called in British Crown Forces who traced the command wire from a firing point on a disused railway line to the gable wall of the O'Kane



home. All through the seventies, eighties and nineties he remained true to the Republican cause and his home, his sheds, his car and himself were often at the disposal of the Volunteers of Oglaiigh na hÉireann. During these years he saw many of his closest comrades killed. Some like Vol Peter Rodden and his

# WHAT THEY SAID

Car crashes involving members of an An Garda Síochána have cost the taxpayer more than €6m in personal injury claims over a two year period according to figures obtained by the Sunday Tribune.

— John Burke, Sunday Tribune, December 5, 2004. The figures also show that over 20% of the Garda drivers involved in the accidents had not passed the official driving course for members of the force at the time they were behind the wheel.

— John Burke. Gardai were involved in more than 860 driving accidents over the 2002 and 2003 period.

— John Burke. A recent major study, 'Voices of Immigrants: The Challenge of Inclusion' found that many immigrants working in Ireland are living here without close family members.

— Catherine Cosgrave, (legal officer at the Immigrant Council of Ireland) writing in the Sunday Tribune, December 5, 2004.

These workers tell a story of loneliness due to separation from their families and the study highlights the difficulties that many experience when trying to get family members, including children, to join them in Ireland.

— Catherine Cosgrave. Mary Kelly was denied a fair or comprehensive trial and a chance to explain her motivations. The jury might have decided that she was talking nonsense, or it might not. Instead of being judged by her peers, however, she was effectively pre-judged by the court.

— Diarmuid Doyle, Sunday Tribune, Sunday December 5, 2004.

Bringing Mary Kelly to court was a diversion from what should have been a further debate about the precise understanding of the Irish government has with the US over the use of Shannon and the war in Iraq.

— Sunday Tribune, article by Diarmuid Doyle. We were denied that discussion because Judge Moran treated the case like a run-of-the-mill vandalism trial.

But the questions raised by Mary Kelly will not go away. Nor should they.

— Sunday Tribune. By conceding ground to the DUP, Taoiseach Bertie Ahern is playing a dangerous game. Alarmingly, the Irish government has joined the Irish in calling for visible [Provisional] IRA disarmament.

— Sunday Business Post, December 12, 2004, Editorial headed "Unitarist vote plunges Agreement".

Paisley has spoken of his desire to humiliate republicans and make them wear "sackcloth and ashes". The Irish government's

call for visible disarmament, meanwhile, gives succour to those unionists whose demand remains: "Croppies, lie down".

— Sunday Business Post Editorial.

In the context, can one imagine how welcome pictures of its decommunion be? Where in the history books might they go? Perhaps opposite the photograph of Bobby Sands.

— Sunday Business Post, December 12, 2004, Tom McGurk article.

Bush, when asked if he supports calls for [UN Secretary General Kofi] Annan's resignation, pointedly refused to endorse him — it suggested that the US had embarked on a course to topple Annan.

— Sunday Tribune, December 12, 2004, article by Marion McKee.

The scandal arose following [Kofi] Annan's condemnation of the US attack on Falluja and his declaration that the US invasion of Iraq was illegal. Bush has refused to back Annan, but British Prime Minister Blair has supported him.

— Sunday Business Post, December 12, 2004, Denis Halliday article.

Instead of mobilising public opinion to effect a change in policy, Fine Gael is listening to public opinion to effect a change of personnel.

They may win a mandate to govern, but they won't have a mandate to do anything. They may end up in office, but not in power.

— Sunday Business Post, December 12, 2004, Back Room column.

Whatever history may decide about Dr Paisley, he cannot be accused of fudge. He says now what he has always said: "We will not deal with terrorists unless they repent." For him, the peace process was and is about pulling IRA teeth. The fudges have ended; Dr Paisley holds the stage.

— Irish Times, December 13, 2004, John Waters's column.

What he demands is the final denouement, by his script, in a drama in which he, all but uniquely, has maintained character integrity to the end.

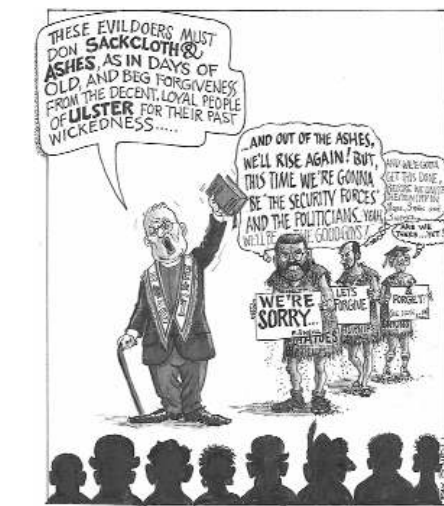
— John Waters. The most promising sentence in the [Provisional] statement was that "the full and speedy implementation of the constitutional requirements would remove the causes of conflict."

All previous [Provisional] republican statements identified partition, or the British presence, as the root cause of the conflict, while this seemed to indicate a real shift to [Provisional] republican acceptance that from now on there could be no justification for the use of force, no matter how loud partition continued.

— Irish Times, December 16, 2004, article by Dennis Kennedy.

The Garda Síochána, lauded as the world's finest unarmed police force, has just spent more than €1million on bullets.

Daniel Technologies, based in Navan, Co. Meath, was the biggest contract



worth €826,000 plus VAT at 21%. The company specialises in the transportation and sale of firearms, ammunition and related accessories.

— Sunday Business Post, December 19, 2004, article by Ian Kehoe.

Among LA's supporters is Irish speaker and deputy grand chaplain to the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland is the Rev Eric Culbert. "I buy it every day and it is very useful to improve my Irish," he said.

— Sunday Business Post, December 19, 2004, article written by Anton MacCubbin.

Photographs of [Provisional] IRA guns being destroyed would be used by dissident (sic) Republicans to paint the Provisionals as traitors. The party needs to be sure that they legacy of the mainstream [Provisional] republican movement does not boil down to a portfolio of photographs.

— Sunday Business Post, December 19, 2004, article written by Paul T. Colgan.

[Provisional] Sinn Féin's sources claim that [Bertie] Ahern's volte face on Monday, when he initially appeared to accept the party's argument that photograph of [Provisional] IRA arms was "unworkable", only to retract this later in an apology to Paisley, has undermined nationalist faith in his ability to marshal the political process.

— Paul Colgan. The Irish Council for Civil Liberties condemned the move by Mr McShovell to set a second Special Criminal Court, however, saying the Minister should be dismantling the non-jury court, which was set up to deal with paramilitary-linked crime, rather than strengthening it.

Ms Aisling Reidy, director of the council, said the Special Criminal Court was now used for "convenience" when the

State did not want to offer certain accused persons equal rights to a fair trial. — Irish Times, December 23, 2004.

The review [of the Offences Against the State Acts] took place after the UN Human Rights Committee found in April 2001 that sentencing cases to the Special Criminal Court on the basis of a certificate from the DPP without any explanation violated the rights of the accused to a jury trial.

— Irish Times. While Irish and British vessels have signed up to a three-month ban on cod fishing in three "closed" areas representing 4,500 square miles in total off the Waterford and Corkish coasts, Belgian beamers will fish for one month in the area.

— Irish Times, December 23, 2004.

A 27% cut in the Irish mackerel quota has been described as "devastating" by the fishing industry.

— Irish Times. The Church of Ireland's primates Archbishop Robin Eames has called for "a community-wide and determined effort" to tackle sectarianism and racial attacks.

— Irish Times, December 23, 2004, Patsy McGarry, Belfast, Ireland Affairs Correspondent.

"Eventually it came down to defining the Republican terms and the wording of the Declaration of Intent by Britain to leave Ireland," Mr O Brádaigh said. However, he said, 60 armed Special Branch officers and 120 uniformed Gardai arrived and broke up the negotiations.

— Irish News (Belfast), December 30, 2004, quoting from article by Ruairi O Brádaigh on the 30th anniversary of the Finkle talks.

He [political historian Eamon Phoenix] said the Dublin government had also been enraged by a statement

released by the [Protestant] Churchmen praising the Republican leadership.

— Irish News. Dr Phoenix said violence had escalated throughout the latter months of 1974 and there was "a great sense of doom and gloom" at the time. "Then suddenly there was this twinkling safe at Christmas in the form of the Feakle talks. This brought great hope."

— Irish News. Tax breaks for Ireland's richest people — thanks to 28 relief schemes — cost the government €8.3 billion each year, according to a review by the Revenue Commissioners.

— Irish Independent, December 31, 2004, Review of the year.

Ireland is the last country on either side of the Atlantic to allow offshore salmon drift-netting and pressure is mounting to end the damaging practice.

The seas around Ireland are dying. After decades of over-fishing and the arrival of supertrawlers which suck fish with nets spanning 30 miles, stocks of the best-known species such as cod, hake and plaice, were put on an official list of endangered species, in fact three-quarters of the fish stocks are either depleted or in danger.

— Irish Independent Review.

At the height of the Troubles in 1974, [British] Prime Minister Harold Wilson drew up a secret "Doomsday" plan in readiness for a "panic" British withdrawal from Northern Ireland, according to secret files published today.

— Irish News (Belfast), January 1, 2004.

An Irish (sic) government file released this week and dated November 1974 envisaged healthcare provisions for up to 100,000 northern refugees in a possible "Doomsday" situation.

A note from the Irish Red Cross on the file records that in August 1969, at the outbreak of the Troubles, 500 houses were burned in the Falls area and 4,000 spent on refugees by the charitable organisation.

— Irish News. By May 16 [1974], roadblocks and barricades had been set up in various parts of the north and on May 17, as the strike escalated, 33 people were killed in sub-urban car bombs in Dublin and Monaghan.

— Irish News. Get [Provisional] Sinn Féin signed up (to a deal on policing) as soon as possible; give them the changes they want to the Special Branch and the local area divisions. Because once a deal is done on policing, almost nothing else matters.

— Sunday Business Post, January 2, 2005, Between the Lines by Vincent Browne.

It is to deal with [policing] copperfastens the acceptance of the state by [Provisional] republicans, and coerces them — in time — into the abandonment of all illegal activity, including paramilitarism.

— Vincent Browne. Michael Gaughan, the hunger-striker's funeral in 1974 was "the greatest show ever of IRA strength".

— Sunday Business Post, January 2, on the 26-County State papers released under the 30-year rule.

Spain's Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero has angrily dismissed a proposal by the Basque nationalist party to negotiate independence for the region, condemning the plan as secessionist and unconstitutional.

— Irish Independent, January 4, 2005.

The British government forced the 1981 hunger strikes as early as 1975 but decided to let fasting prisoners die, according to files just released [under the Freedom of Information Act in the Six Counties]...

The MoD [Ministry of Defence] files relate to the 1975/76 period when the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) officials had said as early as December 1975 that republican hunger strikers should be allowed to die.

— Irish News (Belfast), January 5, 2005.

In response to the announcement by the PSNI chief constable, Hugh Orde, that the [Provisional] IRA are the main suspects for the Northern Bank robbery, the Taoiseach was curiously restrained, saying it was a matter for the police process but adding that everybody involved would have to work harder to secure a deal in the next few months.

It was an extraordinary mild response given the nature of the issue at stake.

— Sunday Tribune, January 9, 2005, Opinion column by Stephen Collins.

Security sources have confirmed to the Sunday Tribune that, before the Northern Bank heist, police had received intelligence that the Provisional IRA was planning a major bank robbery in Belfast.

— Sunday Tribune, January 9, 2005, article by Suzanne Brown.

## Seán Russell Monument Vandalised

A chara

Over the Christmas period cowardly mindless thugs vandalised a National Monument in Fairview Park — the Seán Russell Monument.

There has been for a number of years a deliberate orchestrated attempt to misinform the public as to the role of Seán Russell's fight for Irish freedom. In some cases inflammatory remarks were made in order to point-score, provoke people or indeed highlight their own political importance.

In June 2004 during the European elections remarks calling for the demolition of the monument on the grounds that it was a symbol of the Third Reich were not only ignorant, over the top but also careless. Any incitement against tolerance leads to the path of fascism.

Seán Russell was not fascist: he was a proud, dedicated Irish Republican. On board the German U-boat with Seán Russell was the great Irish socialist Frank Ryan who fought against fascism during the Spanish Civil War. The dirty tricks being used to blemish the good name of this great Irishman are reminiscent of those used to blacken Roger Casement. The similarity of Roger Casement and Seán Russell's actions are identical.

The monument not only honoured Seán Russell but the Volunteers of the Forties, the hunger strikers Tony Darcy, Seán Mac Neela and Seán McCaughy. The dark forties in neutral Ireland saw the controversial execution of General George Plant, Charlie Kerins stood on the Scaffold High, while many more were executed.

The National Graves Association will repair the damage. An appeal fund will be set up to restore this National Monument.

MATT DOYLE

Secretary  
National Graves  
Association  
Box 7105  
74 Dame Street  
Dublin 2

## There's Only One Sinn Féin

A chara,

Brian Feeney claims that the Provos are the true inheritors of the Sinn Féin title. He rightly claims that "it's preposterous for Fianna Fáil to claim any continuity with Sinn Féin in 1905 because they broke with the party when de Valera went into [Leinster House]."

However, he fails to extend this logic to the Provos who

also sold out to the partition parliament of Leinster House in 1986. They acted in breach of the Sinn Féin constitution, but others (including Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and the late Dáithí Ó Conaill) withdrew from the Ard-Fheis with the intact Constitution of Sinn Féin and reconstituted the Ard-Fheis elsewhere.

This year we will be celebrating 100 years of unbroken continuity. Sinn Féin was founded in 1905 to withdraw the Irish representation from Westminster. This fundamental principle was extended to include the partition parliaments of Stormont and Leinster House. It became an exclusively Republican organisation in 1917. The Provos are happy to sit in both of these British-created institutions which were established to subvert the All-Ireland Republic. Our allegiance is to the 32-County Republic proclaimed in arms at Easter 1916, and established by Dáil Éireann in January of 1919. Other organisations purporting to be Republican do not adhere to the said Republic.

Others, including Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil and the Workers' Party had the honesty and decency to change the name of their organisations after abandoning these fundamental principles. It is unfortunate that the Provos do not have the honesty and decency to drop all use of the name Sinn Féin, and they continue to use this name without authorisation.

REPUBLICAN SINN  
FÉIN  
DERRY

## ÉIRE NUA — The Irish Alternative

A chara

The State Department's recent addition of Republican Sinn Féin to a legal political party in Ireland and England — to the known foreign terrorist list is another attempt to censor the Irish-drafted ÉIRE NUA (New Ireland) federal peace formula in the U.S. The American people are being denied the right to compare competing schools of thought on U.S. foreign policy concerning Irish peace at the behest of the British government.

ÉIRE NUA is an Irish-drafted peace proposal put forward as a viable alternative to the failed British arranged Stormont Agreement. ÉIRE NUA proposes a federal Ireland incorporating the four historic provinces, and creating strong provincial parliaments with devolution of power down to the local levels.

These Irish-authored proposals are visionary and comprehensive, and will provide for a just and lasting peace for all of Ireland's citizens regardless of religious



background or political affiliations — something the Stormont Agreement has failed to do since its inception almost seven years ago.

The State Department's visé denial policy against the proponents of ÉIRE NUA denies the American people the right to evaluate this Irish peace endeavor. The convening of congressional hearings to allow the testimonies of ÉIRE NUA proponents, including Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, should be carried out without delay.

BRIAN WARDLOW  
New Jersey, USA

## Hollow Celebrations

A chara

The Provos are, it seems, planning large-scale celebrations to commemorate the founding of Sinn Féin 100 years ago this year, 2005. How hypocritical can you get? How can they go to the graves of brave and honourable men and women who gave their lives for the 32-County Irish Republic.

They who advocated and fully collaborated with Fianna Fáil to sign away Articles 2 & 3 of the 26-County Constitution. They are so far into bed with the same party that perhaps now would be an appropriate time to leave the honourable name "Sinn Féin" behind them.

They then will have plenty of time for their hollow celebrations, perhaps tea from a silver teapot would be appropriate.

MATT LEEN  
Tralee, Co Kerry

## Dancing To Blair's Tune

A chara,

So Ian Paisley wants Republicans to become "an old comrades society"?

He is not I fear, keeping well informed on matters, for if he was he would see that Gerry Adams and company have more or less done the job for him, so far as the Provos are concerned.

In his anxiety to be able to demonstrate his reformation to his new masters in London, Mr Adams, or perhaps one fine day, Lord Adams, has trampled over every sacred principle of true Republicanism.

It is both strange and tragic that every generation of heroes Ireland produces inevitably has a smattering of traitors hiding in the bottom of the barrel. We have seen it all before. Perhaps they put something in that tea that they give them in

Downing Street.

At least with Dr No we know what side he is on. He still sings the same song from the same hymn sheet that he sang from in 1968.

Gerry and company however, are more than eager to dance a jig to any tune that Blair chooses to play.

I wonder how long before Gerry, Martin and Mitchell turn up at the cenotaph with poppies and wreaths and beer all around in the Legion club afterwards?

LIAM Ó CEALLAIGH

Wirral, England

## TUAS — Provo Stroke

A chara

In his/her column last week (*Sunday Business Post*, December 12, p15) your Back Room columnist wrote that the Provisional Sinn Féin "TUAS" document was "the basis for the (1994) [PIRA] ceasefire..." If the truth had been known at the time, that same document could have prevented the PIRA ceasefire from ever taking place.

"TUAS" was "sold" to the political establishment (ie Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House), by the Adams leadership, as a means by which the Provisional Movement intended to pursue its aims (a better deal in Stormont...?) — a Totally Un-Armed Strategy, whereas the same document was "sold" to the Provisional membership as signaling a Tactical Use of Armed Struggle!

Those with long memories (or a good Irish history book at hand!) will be aware that, in 1922, Michael Collins pulled a similar 'stroke' regarding the Boundary Commission (established under Article 12 of the 1921 Treaty of Surrender) which he "sold" to his own people as a good implement with which to end partition, despite knowing otherwise.

JOHN HORAN (PRO)  
Comhairle Ceantair Atha  
Cliaith  
Republican Sinn Féin

## Agreement Means 50 more Years of Occupation

A chara

If only Ian Paisley were more flexible we could have the assembly up and running. Our MLAs would no longer be on 70% salary but would get full pay. And former Republicans would once again

be Crown Ministers.

But objectively speaking (or writing), Na Seachtlaigh may well be right. An Comhaontas Bhéalaí Feirste might well lead to a United Ireland. Most things are possible but personally I don't believe this one is. As I see it this Agreement will guarantee at least another 50 years of "Northern Ireland" remaining in the "United Kingdom".

But it could still be possible. And if so Michael Ó Coileáin was right in seeing the 'Treaty' as a stepping-stone to full freedom. Eamon de Valera was wrong to oppose An Saorstát. But he quickly corrected his position and in Teach Laighean in 1932 he stated "I did not realise that the Treaty was such a powerful weapon for freedom". From there he went on to jail and execute Republicans.

Michael Mac Bride made another effort to work the 'Treaty' with Clann na Poblachta. And at the time he was ably supported by John A Costello. Between them they managed to leave the Commonwealth and declare the 26 Counties to be a republic. But did anything change. No! It was all an illusion.

The 1970s brought another departure; or two. The effort to make Sinn Féin into a Marxist organisation. This led to "Sinn Féin Oifigiúil" choosing the "constitutional route". The "Officials" eventually disappeared into Páirtí na nÓbhríthe, into Daonlathas Clé and in the end into An Lucht Óibre. But have we come any nearer to Éire saor agus Gaelsaigh? Just look around.

By 1986 we have the latest opting for the "constitutional route". The recognition of Teach Laighean and the willingness to take seats there. And in Stormont! Next stop Westminster! And why not? Then the circle would be complete. Back to where we started after the Act of Union. Representation similar to that provided by John Redmond and the Irish Party.

So Ruairí could be wrong and Gerry could be right. And if Gerry is right then Michael Ó Coileáin was right at an earlier stage in the game. In the meantime energy and much life was wasted.

Those leaders who departed from the Republican path may have done so in sincerity but they had the lessons learned from history to guide them. I always had some respect for the memory of Michael Ó Coileáin who did so much for an Poblacht, Liam Ó Loinsigh, Chief-of-Staff of Óglagha na hÉireann during Cogadh na gCarad was sadly puzzled as to how he [Ó Coileáin] who had fought so hard for an Poblacht could then fight against it.

And so it goes on.

PADRAIG Ua  
CORBAIDH  
Co an Chhabháin

## Divide And Conquer

A chara

In a recent issue of SAOIRSE, your contributor P Mac Fhainn (surprisingly) states, "the [Bush] needs to be put in the dock with Saddam Hussein and both should stand trial before an international tribunal".

Has P Mac Fhainn learned anything re Brits/imperialism in 35 years of struggle in the Six Counties (or indeed the previous 800 years), ie you demonise people first and then you shoot them as well as divide and conquer. Saddam Hussein did invade Kuwait but Kuwait had been part of Iraq at one stage until it fell foul of Anglo-Saxon divide and conquer strategy.

It is well for imperialist powers to find "mass graves/torture chambers etc" if necessary with a news-hungry imperialist press waiting and a gullible public at home.

As the Brits/US and their lackeys have begun to demonise Cuba etc we should realise that Cuba has full employment, free education (at all levels), free health service. Cuba was a playground for the rich with drugs, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty etc before Castro.

As one illiterate Cuban who had experienced that stated, "if this is socialism let's have more of it" as he had now work and his son was going to school.

S O MEAGER  
London

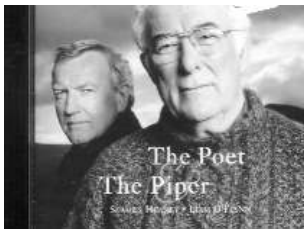
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**Letters printed do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of SAOIRSE.**

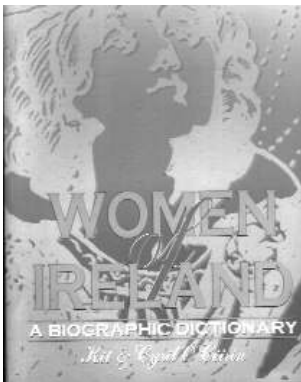
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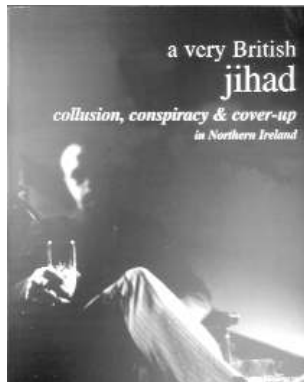
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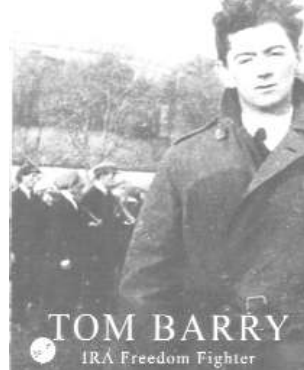
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## Br n ar an mBÉs

### Peter Hayes

**THE death took place peacefully at his residence in Bedford, Listowel, Co Kerry of Peter Hayes. He had not been too well for the past 12 months but his passing still came as a shock especially to his many friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.**

A life-long Republican, Peter who was in his 80s was a farmer and builder by trade. Down all the years Peter was involved with all aspects of the Republican Movement, but had a special affinity with the political prisoners. Many prisoners who went through Long Kesh, Portlaoise and the English jails especially in the 1970s and '80s will remember

Peter for his generosity and kindness.

His strong belief in the 32-County Irish Republic stayed with him all through his life and he remained true to the Drombeo Martyrs, Charlie Kerins, Maurice O'Neill and the hunger strikers.

Peter has joined his comrades Paddy Dillane and Willie Walsh who predeceased

### Jimmy Hislopp

**IT was with regret that Republicans in Belfast learnt of the death at his home in Belfast during the Christmas period.**

Jimmy was well-known in Belfast where he lived. He rejected the Stormont set-up and would always take part in Republican Sinn Féin's Easter commemoration at Milltown in Belfast.

He was a close friend and comrade of Billy McKee and was often a visitor to the Republican Sinn Féin office in

Belfast.

The National Flag was placed on Jimmy's coffin by members of Belfast Republican Sinn Féin and a large crowd turned out for his funeral on December 30.

Jimmy will be greatly missed by his friends and comrades in Belfast.

him and the Republican Movement has lost a staunch and loyal friend. Republicans from all over Kerry attended his funeral both on Saturday evening and his burial at Old

Listowel Cemetery on Sunday, December 12.

The Republican Movement extends sincere sympathy to the Hayes family.

## Beannachtaí

A HAPPY and prosperous New Year to all our members and supporters. From Páig King, Aisling.

**BIRTHDAY** greeting to Stiofán Ó Dálaigh, POW, Maghaberry Gaol from Colin Mitchell, Chicago.

**CONGRATULATIONS** to our Patron Dan Keating on his 103rd birthday. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

**CONGRATULATIONS** to our Patron Dan Keating on his 103rd birthday. From the Maurice O'Neill Cumann, Cabhairseoir, Republican Sinn Féin.

**CONGRATULATIONS** to our Patron Dan Keating on his 103rd birthday. From the O'Neill family, Cabhairseoir, Co Kerry.

**CONGRATULATIONS** to our Patron Dan Keating on his 103rd birthday. From the Garvey family, Cabhairseoir, Co Kerry.

**CONGRATULATIONS** to Timmy King, Republican Prisoner, Portlaoise Prison and Samantha on the birth of a baby girl Niamh on Christmas morning. From the Republican prisoners, Portlaoise jail.

**NEW Year greetings** to Republican prisoners and their families for 2005. From CABHAR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) Central Committee.

**NEW Year greetings** to all Republican prisoners loyal to the All-Ireland Republic/Portlaoise and Maghaberry prisons. From Comhairle Chúige Laidhne, Sinn Féin Publications.

**NEW Year greetings** to Timmy King, POW, Portlaoise Gaol from Colin Mitchell, Chicago.

**NEW Year greetings** to Paddy Deery, POW, Portlaoise Gaol from Colin Mitchell, Chicago.

**NEW Year greetings** to all Republican Prisoners in Portlaoise and Maghaberry, from Colin Mitchell, Chicago.

# VERY SUCCESSFUL PRISONERS' COLLECTION

**50  
Years  
Ago**

THE national collection organised for Christmas in 1954 was a huge success. Sponsored by An Cumann Cabharach (Republican Aid Committee) it

aimed to relieve distress to the families of Republican Prisoners. An *té-Éireannach* *Antaiithe/The United Irishman* in its January 1955 issue reported "Magnificent Support for Prisoners" and went on to list the amounts received already from various areas. This public acknowledgement of contributions became a feature of the paper each month from then on.

In various places money was donated without being actually sought. Offaly County Board of the GAA, the *Irish Press* of February 1 said, "agreed that each club should contribute ten shillings to a fund for the dependents of the men imprisoned as a result of the raid on Omagh barracks."

In Roscommon town of Herald of December 24 reported a general meeting in Elphin of the County IRA Commanding Council. A resolution was passed unanimously "reclaiming and extending goodwill to the Republican prisoners in Belfast and English jails, pledging renewed loyalty to the ideals for which they are imprisoned, guaranteeing unremitting support for the Dependents Committee and calling on Republican Roscommon to rally to and take its rightful place in the final overthrow of British Imperialism and aggression."

A sub-committee was formed and it was decided to send to the Dependents Aid Committee a cheque for £20 representing subscriptions from members and sympathisers in Elphin and Roscommon, also £5 two shillings subscribed by the members present to provide necessities for the prisoners in Belfast jail."

Support for the Republican cause soared as the sales of the Republican newspaper went up and up. Local councils again took a stand in Cork, Kerry, Longford, Westmeath and Roscommon. Mayo Co Council's protest at the sentences on the Omagh prisoners and support for their families was mentioned last month.

The *Irish Press* of December 21 noted: "Resolutions congratulating the men sentenced for their part in the Omagh raid were unanimously carried yesterday at meetings of Kerry and Cork Co Councils."

"In Cork, Mr J Moynihan (FF) said he was proposing the motion, not to encourage such action, but because the gallant stand of these men deserve congratulations."

"Mr S Holland (FF) seconded. Messrs P McAuliffe TD (Lab) and Senator J.J. O'Sullivan (FG) supported. 'It is well that we still have such men to make their contribution from Co Cork,' said Mr McAuliffe."

"Mr MJ Corry TD (FF) said that, as one who believed there was only one way that they could recover the Six Counties, he wished to be associated with the vote."

"The Kerry resolution, proposed by EJ Walsh (FF) and seconded by D Keating (FF), protested against the sentences imposed on the eight men and also congratulated the men."

"Twelve (British) soldiers stationed in Omagh barracks when it was raided on October 17 have been commended by the officer commanding the British Army in the Six Counties, Lieut-General Sir John Woodall", the *Irish Press* reported concluded.

A resolution protesting to the British Government against the sentences imposed for the Omagh raid and sympathising with the convicted men and their relatives was passed by Longford



• Dr Kathleen Lynn and Madeleine ffrench-Mullen.

Co Council on Saturday", according to the *Longford Leader* of December 25.

"The resolution was proposed by Mr Brian Kieran (FF) and seconded by the Chairman, Mr M Drum (FF)".

The *Roscommon Herald* of December 24 said: "At their meeting last Thursday night, Boyle Town Commissioners protested against the 'savage sentences' imposed on the Irishmen in the North in connection with the Omagh raid."

"Mr Michael Tansey condemned the 'savage sentences' on those Irishmen who were tried for treason — treason against whom?", he asked. "I think the people who should be tried for treason are the quislings of the Northern Junta."

"I would like the Commissioners to pass a vote of sympathy with the relatives of those brave young men and with themselves on their imprisonment."

Mr Tansey asked that the (26-County) Minister for External Affairs protest to the Northern Parliament against the sentences. Mr J Clarke, Chairman, seconded the proposal.

"At the monthly meeting of Mullingar Mental Hospital Board on Thursday last, Mr MJ Drum (FF Longford) proposed a resolution protesting against the Six-County Government in sentencing eight citizens of the Irish Republic to long terms of imprisonment in connection with the raid on Omagh Military Barracks". This was a report carried in the *Longford Leader* of December 25.

It went on "He said these men were charged with felony to a British Queen. No citizen of the Irish Republic could be charged with that offence, because they owed no allegiance to her or to the British Empire. She was on her way out", he said.

"The last time she visited Northern Ireland (sic) there were fifty cars travelling at fifty miles an hour behind her in case the enterprise should be 'torpedoed'."

"Mr J Fagan, Westmeath, seconded and said the day was coming when there would be a 32-County Republic."

"Mr T Darcy (Lab, Westmeath) supporting the motion (a copy of which was directed to be forwarded to the Minister for External Affairs) said the people that framed the Constitution never intended it for a 26 but a 32-County Ireland."

"It was the duty of every Irishman to protest in the strongest possible manner against the doings of 'this court of mock justice in sentencing these boys to long terms of imprisonment, who did their duty to the Irish people just the same as the men of 1916."

"Let the Northern Government release these men without any further hesitation" said Mr Darcy. The motion was passed unanimously."

Meanwhile in early December an important IRA meeting had taken place. All Officers Commanding local units had been summoned to the capital.

They were addressed by Tony Mangan, Chief

of Staff and Tomás MacCurtáin, Chair of the Army Council.

The two GHQ Officers told the assembled OCs of a new General Army Order which had been voted into Regulations by the Army Council. It would rank as General Army Order No 8.

It stated: "Volunteers are strictly forbidden to take any military action against 26-County forces under any circumstances whatsoever".

It went on: "Volunteers arrested during training or in possession of arms will point out that the arms were for use against the British forces of occupation only. This statement should be repeated at all subsequent court proceedings".

Other points made in the General order included "Minimum arms shall be used in training in the 26-County area" and "Maximum security precautions must be taken" including posting scouts "to warn of emergency".

The attitude of Volunteers to the forces of the 26-County State was thus defined at the level of General Army Orders. This was done at a high point in the fortunes and morale of the Army and left no room for doubt as to its terms. (Ref. Brendan O'Brien's *The Long War* (Appendix 2) published 1993).

Also in December on the 11<sup>th</sup> of the month a great demonstration numbering 2,300 students marched through the centre of Dublin. They carried a coffin draped with a Union Jack as they chanted anti-British slogans and sang national songs.

This was the largest student demo ever and it supported the Republican prisoners. Séamus Soraghan, BL, presided at the rally and said that the bravery of the prisoners in battle and noble dignity in the dock had won the respect of their most bitter enemies.

Billy Flynn (Medical Student UCD), Brendan Ó Dubhghail (UCD Arts) and Seosamh MacCristóil (UCD Law) spoke and gave eloquent addresses. The *Irish Press* of December 12 noted that students of Trinity College and of the College of Surgeons also took part in the march.

"Of the many banners carried some had slogans such as 'Students Support Omagh Prisoners', 'Ireland, not yours or mine, but ours', 'Ireland wants patriots not politicians', 'Kevin Barry, Phil Clarke, you?' 'A country divided cannot stand', and 'UCD proud of Phil Clarke'."

In his Christmas address, delivered in St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh, Cardinal D'Alton said the injustice of Partition was so glaring that it could not continue.

"I appeal to our young men not to join any unauthorized forces, to which apparently they are sometimes asked to bind themselves by oath", he was reported by the *Sunday Independent*, December 26, as saying.

With all due respect, the Cardinal was 30 years out of date. The Volunteer Oath of Allegiance to the Republic, which called for its defence "against all enemies, foreign and domestic," was abolished by the General Army Convention of 1925.

The same convention withdrew the Army's allegiance from the shadow Republican Government of the Second (AI-Ireland) Dáil and adopted an Army Constitution which contained the following Declaration of word of honour from Volunteers:

"I — A-B — promise that I will promote the objects of Ógláigh na h-Éireann to the best of my knowledge and ability and that I will obey all orders and regulations issued to me by the Army Authority and by my superior officers". (Ref. "The Secret Army" by J Bowyer Bell, 1968).

The Republican organ for January announced that the sponsors of *An Síamsa Mór* annual cell in the Dublin Mansion House on Sunday, January 16 would donate the proceeds to the Republican Aid Committee for the Prisoners' Dependents. Republicans were urged to support the event.

Ofstage, other events were taking place. Fourteen men were arrested on November 18 when a County Inspector and 70 RIC men surrounded a former AOI Hall at Annaghmore on the road between Portadown and Dunganstown.

All 14 were from North Antrim and were charged with possession of an old Lee Enfield rifle which was found under old mine boxes in the hall. After several remands, twelve were released

and two sent for trial.

Joseph B O'Hagan (32) Lurgan was found not guilty and Hugh Brady (22) Lurgan was sentenced to three years in Belfast jail where he joined other Republican prisoners.

The *Irish Press* of December 8 reported that Kevin O'Rourke (27) Banbridge was sentenced to five years imprisonment at Belfast Winter Assizes. He was accused of possession of a .380 revolver; six rounds of ammunition; three electric detonators and a fuse box in Newry the previous August.

The first jury found him "mute of malice" when he refused to speak, the second disagreed on the charge that the arms belonged to Kevin O'Rourke and the third found him guilty. He too was sentenced to A-Wing Belfast jail.

Then on December 7 a British Customs Officer was shot and seriously wounded at Favour Royal Customs Post near Aughnacloy, Co Tyrone. Four young men were charged, one with a rifle, from a van which was rammed by a Customs patrol car.

In the van were found a Thompson submachine gun, four .303 rifles, a revolver and 1,000 rounds of ammunition as well as a suitcase filled with explosives. Two brothers, Daniel and Patrick O'Kane, Strifre, Mountfield, Co Tyrone, who owned the van were arrested and charged with "attempted murder".

After several remands, both were discharged by the court. The *Irish Press* of December 9 reported that it had been established that the arms in the van were not part of the material taken in the Omagh Raid in June. It was believed to belong to Liam Kelly's organisation, Sgar Ulaigh.

A statement from General Headquarters, Ógláigh na h-Éireann said "we are in a position to state that the Irish Republican Army was in no way connected with this affair".

Similar statements were issued regularly at that time denying any connection with incidents which occurred during a period of tension and great excitement.

In the *Irish Press* of January 26 a letter appeared from the parents and a brother of the Cork men in Belfast jail in reply to another letter which implied that these men, Séan O'Hegarty, Liam Mulcahy and Séan O'Mallaghan, "regretted having taken part in the Omagh Action and that their relatives would confirm this implication".

The relatives had visited the prisoners several times and quoted them as saying "they would willingly volunteer for a similar venture should the opportunity arise". The writer of the first letter was "incapable of understanding the pride and courage" of the prisoners.

Séan Mulcahy, John O'Hegarty and Luke O'Mallaghan signed the second letter.

Dr Kathleen Lynn, a veteran Republican of the Anglican faith, died during 1955. She was born on January 28, 1874 and died on September 9, 1955.

Born in north Mayo and reared at Cong in County Ireland, where her father was Church of Ireland rector, she was one of the first women in Mayo to graduate in medicine in 1899 from the Royal University in Dublin.

She took part in the 1916 Rising as medical officer for the Irish Citizen Army. In 1919 she founded St Ullan's Hospital (in Charlemont Street, Dublin) for children. A member of the National Executive of Sinn Féin in 1917, she was elected TD for North Dublin in 1923.

Opposing the Treaty of Surrender and the Fianna Fáil breakaway, she contested the Dublin County constituency for Sinn Féin in August 1927. Her great interest in later years lay in social and economic activity for the relief of distress, the provision of school meals, etc.

When she died in 1955 she was buried alongside the Republican activist friend Madeleine ffrench-Mullen in Dean's Grave Cemetery, Co Dublin.

(More next month. Ref. *An t-Éireannach Antaiithe/The United Irishman*, January 1955; *Irish Press*, December 21, 12, 8, 9, January 26 and February 1; *Sunday Independent*, December 26; *Roscommon Herald*, December 24; *Longford Leader*, December 25; *The Long War* by Brendan O'Brien (1993) and *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell (1970, 74, 79 etc.)



# Fenian Notes

## From our Washington Correspondent

THE Bush Junta caused Congress to panic and pass the USA/PATRIOT ACT without reading it and overnight there was a revision of the nation's surveillance laws which vastly expanded the government's authority to spy on its own citizens.

It was a declaration of war on the rights of Americans. Also, it reduced the checks and balances on government's extraordinary powers and the ability to challenge them in court.

These changes were part of a longstanding wish list of the most radical right-wing elements of law enforcement who believe in force but not in rights.

Bush could not have planned better even if he had allowed 9/11 to happen as many argue he did. He certainly ignored all intelligence, which pointed to the use of planes as missiles crashing into buildings.

When the Patriot Act went to Congress, Bush and his lackeys announced that anyone who opposed the new law would suffer the blame for future attacks. It is necessary to periodically evaluate this draconian legislation which will now be attempted.

Without Americans knowing it, the government has been looking at records that are being held by third parties. So far all the records have turned up nothing of value in the investigation of terrorism. If the third party informs the target their records have been given to the government, they are held criminally liable.

Many of your homes have been searched while you were there without any notice. The Act expands another privacy exception for spying that collects addressing information about the origin and destination of communications.

The government now longer has to produce evidence that targets of searches are an agent of a foreign power which used to protect innocent Americans. All the government needs to do is to make the broad assertion that the request is related to ongoing terrorism investigation without even reasonable suspicion.

They certify to a judge without need of evidence that the search meets broad criteria, and the judge does not have the authority to reject the request. Surveillance orders can be premised upon a person's First Amendment activities such as the books they read.

A person who is forced to turn over records is prohibited from disclosing the search to anyone. Targets never find out that their records have been examined by the government.

This new 'sneak and peek' law clearly violates constitutional law. The Fourth Amendment is violated, which holds the government cannot conduct a search without obtaining a warrant showing probable cause.

Further it violates the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech by prohibiting the recipients of search orders from telling others about those orders. It violates the First Amendment by withholding the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to launch investigations of American citizens for exercising their freedom of speech.

It also got Republican Sinn Féin proscribed in the US for exercising free speech rights in Ireland. Notice is also a crucial element of due process guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. It is obvious the Bush Klan has not studied the US Bill of Rights.

The FBI has gone crazy with its new wiretap authority. Wiretaps limited to transactional or addressing information are called 'Pen Register Trap and Trace' searches (for the devices that were used on telephones to collect telephone numbers).

The requirements for PR/TT warrants are essentially non-existent; the FBI does not need to show probable cause or even reasonable suspicion of criminal activity.

It must only certify to a judge, without proof, only their word, that such a warrant would be 'relevant' to an ongoing investigation. The judge has no right to reject it.

### BLANK CHEQUE

Under the Act PR/TT orders issued by a judge are no longer valid only in the judge's jurisdiction, but are valid everywhere. It is a blank cheque.

Law enforcement has interpreted the 'header' of a message to a transactional information accessible with a PR/TT warrant. Headers include the subject line, which is part of the substance of a communication. Web addresses are rich and revealing content. They are titles of documents that we download from the Internet.

As a result of the Patriot Act, the CIA is back in the business of spying on Americans legally. They have always done so. The CIA is engaged

in spying on domestic political groups especially those who support issues such as Irish Unity that has a foreign base.

There is a new crime of domestic terrorism that has not been defined yet so it can be used loosely when some other charge will not fit. Where are the police screaming that the US is a police state? It is no longer a fiction; it is a fact.

Thank God there are decent Americans who are prepared to hit back at the Bush Police State. In Massachusetts the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) asked for records of a local FBI anti-terror task force and the FBI said it did not keep such records. The group already had the records and caught the government in a blatant lie.

The FBI said it did not investigate innocent Americans. On October 29, 2003 a FBI Memorandum acknowledged that Section 215 of the Patriot Act could be used to obtain information about innocent people. One month after Attorney General Ashcroft denied Section 215 had been used, another FBI Memo admitted it had been used.

The Bush administration has denied it had secret lists that target individuals for special treatment at airports. Now we find there are 'Watch Lists' and 'No Fly Lists'.

The Watch Lists are based on the individual's statements, organisation membership and other legal First Amendment activity.

They are taken out of line and questioned and it is merely harassment. Some 'Selectees' are given more rigid interrogation. Then there are those on the 'No Fly Lists'. They are denied the right to visit the United States, such as many members of Republican Sinn Féin.

The US Congress in its wisdom cancelled the Total Information Awareness Program which was intended to turn Americans into spies, keeping watch on their neighbors. Instead, there are state-run programs who report to the US government. The goals are accomplished.

The state programs are called MATRIX and are funded by the Department of Homeland Security and are based in Florida where Jeb Bush, George Bush's brother, is Governor.

Governor Bush reports to Vice-President Dick Cheney who oversees the operation and channels the funds through Jeb Bush who is leading the effort to get all states involved in the domestic spying operation.

MATRIX is gathering data on ethnic, religious and social groups involved in opposition to the Bush Administration policy. Remember, the FBI through MATRIX and other means are spying on innocent Americans for activity totally legitimate and encouraged under the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment of the US Bill of Rights.

The civil liberties groups have determined by survey that passengers on the 'lists' have expressed concern that they have been singled out because of their ethnicity and political activity. Next to Arabs, Irish people are at the top of the lists.

The ACLU is challenging the misuse of the 'National Security Letter' which allows the FBI to demand sensitive customer records from businesses without judicial oversight.

The ACLU was forced to file the lawsuit about the Letter's power under seal to avoid being prosecuted for violating a strict government gag provision, which it is also challenging on First Amendment grounds.

They argue that the National Security Letter provision violates the First and Fourth Amendments because it authorises the FBI to force disclosure of sensitive information without adequate safeguards.

The FBI can issue a letter without obtaining prior judicial approval, without demonstrating a compelling need to justify the disclosure and without specifying any mechanism that would allow a recipient to contest the demand.

IN September 2002, the ACLU filed a claim for damages on behalf of a 54-year-old Florida doctor of Indian descent who was handcuffed and detained by air marshals in Philadelphia because they didn't like the way he looked.

An American, of Irish descent, a US Marine colonel, was detained because his Irish accent might mean he was an IRA terrorist. Both men received damages but it has not stopped the abuse.

Anyone who is stopped and detained like those two gentlemen should contest the abuse. I am told there is a form for challenging the list and anyone who is detained should request the form and file it.

The Bush Administration has argued that any of its actions in the war on terrorism are beyond the rule of law. Bush contends that anyone can be confined indefinitely so long as it presents 'some evidence' not subject

to cross-examination or rebuttal that supports the administration's designation.

Even the right-wing Supreme Court ruled on 8-28, 2004 that the Bush Administration's arguments that its actions on the war on terrorism are beyond the rule of law are rejected, but clearly they believe they can do anything and 59,000,000 ignorant Americans have endorsed that right.

The Court will now allow a prisoner, seized as a potential terrorist, to challenge his/her captivity in American courts after being held for two years.

You no longer have an absolute right to First Amendment activity which used to be taken for granted. Recently the annual demonstration against the School of the Americas was to be held where they estimated 10,000 would demonstrate. This is the US facility that trains foreign military in the use and the techniques of torture.

The ACLU filed an action against the government to get the plane removed from Washington to search all 10,000 demonstrators. The court held for the government.

Police forces all over the United States are jailing people who commit very minor offences at protests against the Bush Administration. One 64-year-old grandfather was beaten in front of his grandchild for resisting arrest for jaywalking.

At most events attended by Mr Bush and other senior officials, officials around the country, the Secret Service has been discriminating against protesters in violation of their free speech rights.

### PROTEST ZONE

They did not need to allow pro-Bush demonstrators to get close but remove anti-Bush people critical of the government far away from the officials into a protest zone where they are caged like animals.

Some are then arrested as an example even though they have committed no crime. One demonstrator was arrested and beaten for wearing a T-shirt calling Bush an international war criminal. Even the list was not allowed.

Is it any wonder that Republican Sinn Féin has been designated a terrorist group by Bush himself? He too fears the truth. The designation was intended to 'chill' activity by American supporters in favour of RSF. The best response is to ignore the tyrant and continue to pursue justice for the people of the 32 Counties.

Congratulations to Republican Sinn Féin on its 100th Anniversary of the struggle for a 32-County Ireland. It is the political

### Peadar Mac Fhínn

## Comhbhrán

**BEGLEY.** The John Mitchell Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin, Dungannon, extends sincere sympathy to Michael and Bernice Begley and all of the family circle on the tragic death of their son, Michael Gerard.

**BALTON.** The Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin, extends sincere sympathy to Des Dalton and family. Kildare on the death of his uncle Mark.

**DALTON.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Des Dalton and family. Kildare on the death of his uncle Mark. From Comhairle Chaithe Lighcane, Republican Sinn Féin.

**HAYES.** Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin extends sincere sympathy to the Hayes family, Listowel, Co Kerry on the death of Peter.

**IRISHES.** Sincere condolences are extended to the Hayes family, Listowel, Co Kerry on the death of Peter. From Liam Cotter, Tralee.

**HAYES.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the Hayes family, Listowel, Co Kerry on the death of Peter. From Tom Lawlor and Liam Cotter, Tralee.

to the Hayes family, Listowel, Co Kerry on their sad loss. Peter was a true friend of the family of our dear comrade, Frank Gartland, the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin, extends sincere sympathy to the family of his uncle Mark.

**GARTLAND.** Republican Sinn Féin, Belfast extends deepest sympathy to the family and friends of our comrade Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004.

**GARTLAND.** The staff of 229 Falls Road extend their deepest sympathy to the family of our friend and comrade Frank Gartland who died on December 20, 2004, may he rest in peace.

**GARTLAND.** Deepest sympathy to the family of Frank Gartland who died on December 20, 2004, from all his comrades in Belfast and County Antrim.

**GARTLAND.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of our comrade Frank Gartland who died on the December 20th 2004 from the Republican Movement Belfast.

**GARTLAND.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of our dear comrade, Frank Gartland, Dundalk, who died on December 20, 2004. From Kildare Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Ruairi and White family, Newry.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Willie Steavels/Conway Cumann, Dundalk & Newry.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Paddy and White family, Newry.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Lita Ni Chonbhuail.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Olive White, Newry.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. I will miss our

texts Frank! Roisin Hayden. **GARTLAND.** To the family and many friends of Frank I extend my deepest sympathy on his untimely death on December 20, 2004. You passionately believed in a 32 County Irish Republic. You will have to work from over there now to help us achieve it. Slán mo chuid.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Cathairte Lighcane.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Cathairte Ceantair, Albain.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund).

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Peig King, Dublin.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Ruairi and White family, Newry.

extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Wolfe Tone, Tallaght, Dublin.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Carlin and White family, Newry.

**GARTLAND.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Frank Gartland, Dundalk who died on December 20, 2004. From Lorraine & Murphy family, Newry.

**GARTLAND.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Frank Gartland, Dundalk. It was a shock to be that someone so full of life who could have left so early in his life. You never lived to see a united Ireland. Frank, you lived and died a free unrepentant Republican. Your spirit will live on even in death it is something the Brits can never take away from you. You will always be in our thoughts and prayers, slán go fóill. Frank, just for a while. From Padraig, Albain/Scoth.

**GARTLAND.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the Gartland family, Dundalk on the recent death of Frank. From the Republican prisoners on 14

Landing, Portlaoise prison. **GARTLAND.** With great sadness it has been learned that our friend, Frank Eiréam of the death of Frank Gartland, Frank was a member of Finian Eiréam on his youth, and was always regarded of a comrade of Finian Eiréam until his untimely passing. In honor of Frank Gartland, I will always remember you. O'Kerry. After a long illness, you adapted the name of it's Stua to O'Kerry. Frank, you were a man of intense, dear uncle to Johny, Gerry, Mary, Ann and the late Volunteer Tommy Dougan, grandnephew to Seán Dougan and the Ledgewood family in his life he suffered torture, internment, harassment and was four times to kill him. They could not break him, they will not break us. Always remembered by Gerry and all the family.

## Republicans breath sigh of relief as Provos prepare to disarm

**T**HE old RUC and the British army may now be the only remaining armed forces standing in the way of Irish unity as the most dangerous and insidious anti-Republican group this island has ever known prepares to disband.

There will be some celebrating in the rural hinterlands of Republicanism and the urban areas will breathe a collective sigh of relief. Not since 1922 will so many armed agents of the British crown have thrown down their weapons and gone home.

Of course there remains some questions about how the Provos intend to police ordinary

nationalists. The new RUC (PSNI) is reluctant to have nationalists infesting their ranks with lice and creepy crawlies and the British army may want to stay out of sight.

It seems the only thing holding this process of surrender from taking place is that Ian Paisley is insisting that a photograph of the event be taken and shown to ordinary people.

A few of us here in the oul' newspaper office have wracked our brains to see if we could come up with a compromise which might allow all sides to finally move together and get the play acting over.

A few suggestions came in

over the phone from the general public. Since no one here knows where there is a big enough JCB to annex Belfast and push it out into the Irish Sea that suggestion has been put on hold.

The collateral damage involved in a nuclear strike on a Provo Ard Comhairle meeting is just totally out of order (We suspect this suggestion was made by a former hotelier who doesn't get their business any more)

One of the most novel suggestions involved making an appeal to Ruairi Ó Brádaigh to call on the Provos to hand over their weapons and disband as a

gift to the British army. However this failed when it was realised that Ruairi has spent the past 18 years asking the Provos to disband and go home as a gift to all Republicans.

It's not right to laugh but sometimes a body just can't help it. We have a body of men here who style themselves the Irish Republican Army and who are arguing with the British over ownership of the distribution rights of a photograph.

### Poem To Posterity

*Weapons gone.  
Criminal Assets Burrow  
breathing down former*

members necks.

*Sack cloth and ashes in this life or eternal damnation in the next.*

*A New Year round the corner.*

*Fairies at the bottom of the garden.*

*Victory in sight.*

*Big fan grinning.*

*Adams laughin'.*

*Trimble trembling.  
Mc Guinness's grimace.*

*Kelly's belly.*

*Durkan's jerkin.*

*Mary Lou crying hoo.*

*John Hume's face like doom.*

*We have won the war now,  
let's win the peace  
The ballot box in one hand  
and the Almalite in the other.  
You are going nowhere but home.*

*Bad poetry reminds you why  
A picture speaks a thousand words.*

*Why should truth be so greatly feared?  
Because these guys think  
that you are so dumb  
You can't read or write  
And you've got cloth ears.*

— Mac Cool

## Annual Christmas Swim for Prisoners Dependants

**THE annual Christmas swim in aid of CABHAIR, the Prisoners Dependents Committee, took place in the canal at Inchicore on Christmas Day at 12noon.**

As is usual a festive air prevailed and in spite of the very cold weather three veterans of the swim, Michael Logan, Jimmy Murphy and Philip Byrne, braved the icy waters – not just once but twice! Many of the stalwarts were missing this year – marriage and moving has taken a toll on our swimmers! The fire and 'firewater' warmed the bones of swimmers and spectators alike while Republican songs kept the spirits high.

As usual the Special Branch showed their ugly mugs. This year they were particularly aggressive, blocking the entrance so no car could drive up the side

of the canal. All peoples moving along the footpath were questioned – even those who were not going to the swim but who were out for a mid-day walk. (Had to show they were earning their treble-time pay?).

This type of attempted intimidation is becoming more and more commonplace but as usual the good citizens of Dublin, Kildare and surrounding counties were unfazed. It will take a lot more than a few peelers to push Republicans off the path they have chosen.

Republicans will continue to support the POWs and continue to



work to bring about a united Ireland – harassment or intimidation will not stop us.



Don't sell out to Stormont or Leinster House . . .

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