



European Court finds for Geraldine

Human rights: Britain guilty

ALL seven judges of the European Court of Human Rights unanimously found the British government guilty of breaches of human rights in the case of the death of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane in 1989.

The Finucane family were awarded their costs in the case in full. It was held that the RUC investigation into the murder of the lawyer was biased as it was conducted by officers from the British colonial police who

were accused of making death threats against him.

The family spokesperson, solicitor Michael Finucane, said they regarded the decision as a step on the way to a fully independent

public international judicial inquiry into the deaths of Pat Finucane and hundreds of others, who were murdered in similar circumstances.

The European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg backed a legal claim by Pat Finucane's widow Geraldine, that there was no "effective" inquiry into her husband's killing. The Court also ruled that there was no effective investigation into the allegations of collusion by British Crown Forces in the assassination of her husband.

In a further finding, the Court found that Mrs Finucane's human rights were violated because of a failure to comply with Article Two of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Article states that everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. She was awarded full legal costs of €43,000.

This major indictment of Britain's role in the Six Occupied

Counties follows the publication of a small part of the Stevens Report into collusion on April 17 last, which confirmed what Republicans have always said: Britain controlled and directed the loyalist gangs who killed Pat Finucane, Rosemary Nelson and over 1,000 civilians over the past four decades (see **SAOIRSE**, May 2003).

The last major ruling against the British government by the European Court of Human Rights was on January 18, 1978 when it found that "inhuman and degrading treatment" was inflicted on the internees subjected to "interrogation in depth" following the internment swoops of August 1971.

The European Commission of Human Rights had earlier found the Brits to be guilty of torture.

There are those who want us to believe now, in 2003, that a renamed



• Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane. The European Court of Human Rights

RUC will resolve everything in the Six Counties. Republicans retort that only an end to

English Rule in our country can be the beginning of the solution.

**Annual H-Block
HUNGER STRIKE
Commemoration,
Bundoran,
Co Donegal,
Saturday, August 30
Assemble:
East End, 3pm**

US/Iraq witnesses for Shannon protest trial

THE trial of Mary Kelly, for criminal damage to a US Navy plane at Shannon Airport, begins on June 30 in Kílursh, Co. Clare. Leading world authorities on the nature and criminality of the US/UK invasion of Iraq are expected to appear as expert witnesses — Ramsey Clarke, Scott Ritter, Denis Halliday and Michael Birmingham.

Ramsey Clarke is the former US attorney general, eyewitness to the destruction of the civilian population and infrastructure of Iraq in 1991 and founder of the International Action Center. He is currently heading the campaign to impeach George Bush for the invasion of Iraq. He is an outstanding legal authority on the criminality of the US military aggression against Iraq and author of the outstanding book on the sub-

ject, *The Fire This Time*. Ramsey Clarke will be speaking at a public meeting on July 2 in Room 310, Mary Immaculate Training College, SCR, Limerick at 7.30.

Scott Ritter is the former chief UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) in Iraq. He resigned in 1998, charging that the USA was deliberately obstructing the completion of the UNSCOM mission. He is a leading expert on Iraq's disarmament and has argued with

great authority that the evidence of Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction" were falsehoods. Scott Ritter will be giving a press conference at the Menlo Park Hotel, Galway on July 3rd at 7:30pm followed by a public meeting at 8:30pm. He will also be giving a press conference in Limerick, on July 4th at 7:30pm followed by a public meeting at 8:30pm. Further details of the Limerick meeting will be announced.

Denis Halliday is the former UN Assistant Secretary-General and Humanitarian coordinator for Iraq's oil-for-food program. He resigned his 34 year career with the UN in 1998, saying he "wanted to be in a position to speak out on sanctions and the dreadful

impact they are having on the people — particularly the children — and the future of Iraq". Details of Denis Halliday's public meetings will be announced.

Michael Birmingham is a solidarity witness to the invasion and occupation of Iraq. Michael has campaigned against the Iraq sanctions for many years and was in Iraq throughout the invasion and now stays in Iraq in solidarity with the people of occupied Iraq.

He is the Irish eyewitness to the reality of the devastation and suffering caused by the invasion of and occupation of Iraq. Details of Michael Birmingham's public meetings will be announced.

Gearrscálta

Part of a concerted campaign

IN A statement on June 17, Des Dalton, Assistant Publicity Officer, Republican Sinn Féin, said that the Gaelic Football match which took place on Tuesday June 17 at Kilmaeud Crokes' GAA club in Dublin between Leinster House representatives and the PSNI/RUC was just another stage in a concerted campaign by the 26-County state and the British Government to normalise British rule in Ireland.

"Coming as it does only weeks after the 26 County Army played the British Army in a similar game at the Curragh, Co. Kildare, last October the 26 County Police played a football match against the PSNI/RUC.

"As we pointed out on both occasions a British military or policing presence will never be normal or acceptable in Ireland. We are also calling on the GAA to declare if these games are being played under their auspices."

Vicious assault on Co Down man

A 20-YEAR-OLD nationalist man was left in a critical condition after being assaulted by a gang of loyalist in Ballynahinch, Co. Down.

The man, believed to be from the nearby town of Dunmore, was returning from a nightclub in Armagh in the early hours of June 29 when the bus he was travelling in broke down on the outskirts of Ballynahinch.

As he and a group of friends alighted from the bus at around 4am, they were ambushed by a gang of loyalists who were waiting in the vicinity of the Methodist Church in Lisburn.

They were kicked and beaten with blunt instruments, leaving one of the victims with serious head injuries. He was taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast.

Pensioner forced out

PRO-BRITISH elements renewed their campaign of ethnic cleansing in the closing week of last month.

Terrified pensioner Betty O'Loughlin (63) was forced to flee her Magherafelt, Co. Derry home in Leckagh Drive on June 22 after receiving a threatening letter warning all nationalists to leave the estate.

The pensioner, who is so traumatised by the threats she is now on tranquillisers, has said the RUC know who is responsible but refuse to act against the loyalists. "Everyone knows who is behind these attacks, but nothing is being done," she said.

Betty O'Loughlin has lived on the estate for 18 years and says she remembers when the neighbourhood was evenly mixed but in the last five-year (the period covering the Stormont Agreement) the majority of nationalist residents have been forced out.

Derry family forced to flee a young Co. Derry family was forced to flee their home following a sustained attack from pro-British elements on June 8.

Father-of-one, Michael Conway said he and his wife had gone to speak to a group of men outside their home in the Leckagh Estate at Magherafelt, Co. Derry. The eight-strong group was shouting abuse and threatened to burn the nationalist family out.

"One of them tried to hit my wife, I intervened and then one of them produced a crowbar and hit me with it. My wife was also hit on the head with a baseball bat," he said.

Michael Conway suffers from a heart condition (cardiomyopathy) and said the attack could easily have killed him.

"I was left with six staples in my head and I have lost some vision in my left eye. They also broke my fingers," he said.

Tom Maguire ceremony

THE annual wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of one of Mayo's best-known sons, Comdt-General Tom Maguire, IRA, will take place in Cross Cemetery on July 5, at 9pm on the tenth anniversary of his death at the great age of 101 years.

General Maguire was renowned for his leadership of the South Mayo Brigade Flying Column which defeated British forces in the Killyfloe and Tournakadee Ambushes in 1921.

Later that year he was appointed GOC 2nd Western Division which comprised South Mayo, North Galway and South Roscommon Brigades. In May 1921 he was elected Sinn Féin TD for South Mayo-South Roscommon to the All-Ireland Dáil.

He voted against the Treaty of Surrender and although elected again in 1922 and 1923 he never sat in the newly-created 26 County Dáil, remaining loyal to the 32-County Republic.

A respectful turn-out of neighbours, friends and Republican comrades is expected as usual at next Saturday's dignified ceremony.

Results of Dublin raffle

MAY Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 039; 2nd prize 322; 3rd prize 430; 4th prize 474; 5th prize 189; 6th prize 216; 7th prize 187; 8th prize 213.

**SAOIRSE August edition
published 6/8/2003**

State continues to punish Limerick Eight

IN A statement on June 21, Des Long, Vice President, Republican Sinn Féin, said that a Limerick man cannot go on holiday with his family because the police have not returned his passport despite an order from the Special Non-Jury Court.

Republican Sinn Féin member Ger Bromell from Woodview Park had to wave goodbye to his wife and family as they headed off for Spain. Because his passport has not been returned to him despite his being cleared by the court of IRA membership

he had no option but to stay behind at the Airport.

"This is yet another example of the constant harassment and intimidation of members of Republican Sinn Féin," said Des Long, the Vice-President of the organisation.

"On the 9th May Mr.

Bromell was acquitted in court and walked out a free man, yet his passport has not been returned to him," Des Long said. "Other men who were cleared of these spurious and politically inspired charges have also not had their passports returned despite requests from their solicitors.

"In fact belongings of some men are still being held by the police in defiance of court orders. In addition people who put up bail money have not had it returned to

date. Yet the state demanded that the bail money should be lodged immediately over 18 months ago.

"The police are operating double standards here and ignoring court orders. They have now prevented an innocent man from joining his family on holiday. He has already been unlawfully imprisoned over Christmas.

"We are now demanding the return of all the property belonging to these men without further delaying tactics with the police."

Obscure sections of OASA used by 26-County police

AN allegation that the police are circumventing the legal rights of people by arresting them under obscure sections of the Offences Against the State Act has been made by Republican Sinn Féin Munster Executive spokesperson Joe Lynch from Ballinacurra Weston in Limerick said on June 25.

He said that recent arrests of young people in the city

showed that the police are ignoring recent court decisions.

"There are legal safeguards contained in the amended 1998 Act but the police are now arresting people under Section 30 of the Explosives Act for allegedly withholding information but once in the barracks they are then questioned under the Offences Act, Section 4 of the

Criminal Justice Act about alleged IRA membership," Joe Lynch said.

"This type of conduct flies in the face of the Special Non-jury court decision which states that a person arrested under Section 30 and not charged cannot be re-arrested under that Section.

"Instead what the police are now doing is arresting people under false pretences on

alleged explosives or with-holding information charges and holding them for 72 hours even though the law states such persons can only be held for six hours.

"We are now raising our concerns with the Irish Council for Civil Liberties — the rights of people have to be protected and indeed safeguarded from police harassment and intimidation."

Compiled by Des Dalton, Executive Spokesperson, and Joe Lynch

Cumann na Saoirse
IRISH NATIONALISM

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

We need your support. Our website address is:
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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 . . .

I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom beith 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; Facs: 01-872 9757.
or 229 Falls Road, Belfast
e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie
http://rsf.ie
or contact your local paper seller for details

Tomás Ó Curraoin roghnaithe chun seasamh sna toghcháin áitiúil

AG coinbhinsin de chuid Shinn Féin Poblachtach a tionsádh in Áras an Phobail (Áras an Phiaraisaigh ar Mheitheamh 22na Forbacha an déireadh seachtain seo caite, roghnadh Tomás Ó Curraoin chun seasamh sna toghcháin áitiúil i dToghcheantair Chonamara an bhliain seo chugainn. Is as Bearna de Thomáis, agus sheas sé don eagraíocht i 1999 freisin.

Bhí Uachtarán an Pháirtí, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, i bhfeighil an coinbhinsin, agus na diadha, dúirt sé go raibh an-athas air go mbéadh Tomás ag seasamh don Pháirtí i dToghcháin an Chomhairle Condae an bhliain seo chugainn, agus gur mheas sé go mbéadh an-seans aige suíochán a bhaint amach i gConamara an uair seo.

Is as Na Fothraí Maola, Bearna é Tomás Ó Curraoin agus tá sé fostaíthe ag comhlacht tógála O'Malley i nGaillimh. Tá an-aithne air sa Chumann Luthenchais Gaeil, tríd an obair atá déanta aige le club ionadnaíochta Bearna/Na

Forbacha faoi aois agus ag leibhéal fasta, agus bíonn sé ag réiteoireacht cluichí chomh maith.

Ag labhairt dó tar éis an coinbhinsin, dúirt Tomás go raibh an-onóir air an t-ionaidniú seo a fháil ó Shinn Féin Poblachtach, agus go raibh sé ag múth leis an bhfeachtas. "Sheas mé i gcónaí do chearta an chosmhuintir - i gcúrsaí feirmeoireachta, iascaireachta, nó i gcúrsaí pleanála agus i scríbhneáil Chomhairle Condae - agus mé thughtar mé, déanfadh mé ionadaíocht thar ceann muintir uilig Chonamara". Dúirt sé freisin go raibh an-ardú ar an



• Tomás Ó Curraoin

bhopal i gceantar bearna agus

Na Forbacha, agus go raibh

Comhairleoir Condae dá gcuid féin ag teastáil uaidh an gceantar ar Chomhairle Condae na Gaillimhe.

CANDIDATE CHOSEN

At a selection convention held in Áras an Phiaraisaigh community hall, Na Forbacha on Sunday, June 29, Tomás Ó Curraoin was selected to stand in next year's local elections for Republican Sinn Féin in the Connemara Electoral Area. Tomás, from Bearna, also stood in the 1999 Local Elections for the organisation.

Chairing the convention, party President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, said that he was delighted that Republican Sinn Féin would be represented by Tomás Curraoin in next year's election, and that he felt that Tomás had an excellent chance this time of winning one of the seven seats for the party in Connemara.

Tomás Ó Curraoin is a

native of Na Fothraí Maola, Bearna, and is employed by O'Malley Construction. He is particularly well known in GAA circles, through his involvement with Bearna/Na Forbacha hurling club, and underage and adult levels, and also through his activities as a hurling referee.

Speaking after the convention, Tomás said that he was honoured to receive the nomination from Republican Sinn Féin, and that he was looking forward to the election campaign. "I have always stood for the rights of the ordinary person, whether in farming, fishing or matters of planning and services from the County Council - and if I am elected, I will represent all of the people of Connemara without fear or favour". He added that the Bearna/Na Forbacha area had a rapidly growing population which needed representation from a local councillor on Galway County Council.

Bundoran Republican rejects informer's claim

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin Ard-Chomhairle member Joe O'Neill, a well-known Bundoran auctioneer and former publican has rejected categorically allegations made against him by the main witness in the McKevitt trial, David Rupert.

The claims were made last week in the three-judge, non-jury Special Criminal Court where Michael McKevitt stands accused of belonging to an outlawed organization and with promoting terrorism.

McKevitt is strenuously denying the charges which are based on a 40-page statement made to the 26-County police by Rupert, a self-confessed paid informant for the

FB1, M15 and the 26-County police.

This week, O'Neill stressed that he, Joe O'Neill, was not on trial, yet his name had been mentioned numerous times in court. "What this man, David Rupert, has stated is completely untrue. A man like him would have no trouble making false accusations for \$1,250,000 (the figure given by Rupert himself), not to mention the thousands

of pounds more from the British M15 and M16.

"The Court allowed this money to give false evidence about me and never informed me that they would be made in court. Where are the so-called Civil Rights in this 26-County State?" Joe O'Neill submitted that Rupert's evidence was a ploy to tarnish and attack those who held true Republican principles.

Speaking at the weekend, Joe O'Neill said he had met David Rupert around 1994 through business dealings.

"He was looking to buy a house or a pub in the greater Bundoran area. I found him all right until this happened.

"We would have talked politics in general. He gave me the impression of being very sympathetic to the Irish cause because of the fact he had American Indian blood and how they had been treated - which nobody could deny.

"He offered to collect money for prisoners over in America. Sometime, towards the year 2000, he started trying to tell people like myself what we should be doing, pushing for us to join with the 'Real IRA'.

"I thought that was a wee bit high-handed for a man not long over here and, as the fellow says, I felt there was something not right with him. But, don't get me wrong it

'Political use of trial disgraceful'

IN A statement on June 25, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin said:

"I regard as disgraceful the political use of the current trial at the Special Non-jury Court to discredit and denigrate as wide a spectrum as possible of those opposed to the Stormont Agreement of 1998.

"I, the first I ever heard of an alleged proposal to take hostages for the H-Block hunger strikers of 1980-81 was when I listened to the Five Seven Live news on RTE Radio One yesterday (Tuesday June 24).

The statement issued following the Omagh bomb explosion in August 1998 was made freely and without constraint by me as President of Republican Sinn Féin. I still stand by the terms of that statement.

something not right with him. But, don't get me wrong it

still didn't hit me that he was an informer."

Nationalist stabbed

NORTH-Belfast man, Matt Doyle was taken to hospital with a stab wound to the chest following a horrendous attack by a gang of loyalists on June 28.

"The first I knew anything was happening was when I felt someone jump me from behind and push me up against the wall."

Matt Doyle said he only realised he had been stabbed when he spotted blood com-

where and I didn't know if he was safe."

He said his attackers then ran up Clifton Street towards buses filled with bandmen returning from the loyalist Springfield parade.

Commenting after his

THERE was a capacity attendance on June 26 in Glasgow at a history lecture on *The Life and Politics of James Connolly*. The lecture was organised by the Irish in Scotland History Group and was chaired by Stephen Coyle.

The speaker was Willie

Wallis who is an active campaigner for British disengagement from Ireland. Willie gave an incisive and entertaining talk on Connolly's socialist and republican politics, and assessed his role as trade union leader, socialist activist, and Commander in Chief of the Republican forces during the Easter Rising. The lecture was followed by a lively discussion, which covered the

themes of Connolly's attitude to religion, the unionists of Ulster, the national question and his internationalism. The consensus of the audience was that Connolly's politics are still relevant to the needs of the working classes of Ireland and Scotland.

It was announced that the next lecture would be about Robert Emmet to mark the Bicentenary of his death.



• Matt Doyle shows the stab wound to his chest following an attack by loyalists on June 28. His son Matthew (2) was with him at the time of the assault.

The 27-year-old father-of-two revealed how he had been making his way to a shop on Clifton Street, accompanied by his two-year-old son Matthew, when the attack occurred.

ing through his shirt.

"The gang were wearing a Rangers top with a bandsman waistcoat and trousers. To be honest I was more concerned about Matthew because at that stage people were coming from every-

hospital treatment, a shaken Matt Doyle said:

"The doctors said that I was lucky that the knife only seemed to go so far. They said it is too early to know if there is any lasting damage to the liver."

SINN FÉIN POBLACHTACH
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DRAW

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

20 Duais: €500
30 Duais: €300
40 Duais: Framed picture, 1916 Martyrs
50 Duais: Bodhrán

Donations: €2 / s€1 or €10 / s€5 for book of six.
Draw will take place at Ard-Fheis in Dublin, 9 November 2003

Chronology of the Rising of 1803 and its aftermath

14 July: Bastille Day celebrated by United Irishmen of Dublin at Coai Quay and Smock Alley.

16 July: Explosion in Patrick's Street arms depot of conscripts. One Keenan killed. Rebel squad under Miles Byrne of Monaseed, Wexford, struggle with watchmen outside Conlan's Brewery, 47 South New Row.

21 July: Emmet, William Dowdall, Philip Long and John Allen decide to mount Dublin centered insurrection without waiting for French assistance. Emissaries alert United Irish cadres to be ready to act in two days. Thomas Russell, James Hope and William Hamilton sent to Ulster.

23 July: Two Palmerstown magistrates shot and wounded at Arran Quay by Thomas Donnelly and Nicholas. Shot on orders of Emmet to prevent disclosure of Rising plans. Kildare United Irishmen gather in Dublin pubs late in afternoon, including Martin Madden's at 47 Lower Bridge Street, Benjamin Ryan's at 155 Thomas Street and Widow Ryan's at 99 Thomas Street. West county Dubliners meet in Yellow Bottle, Thomas Street, pub operated by Charles Rourke of Rathcoole. All 1798 veterans.

Elite city rebel squads gather in Owen Kirwan's house at 64 Plunkett Street, Allen and Hickson's warehouse at 36 College Green, Phil Lohan's house at Crow Street, pub Hevey's residence at 41 Thomas Court and John Palmer's home at Cutpurse Row.

Emmet briefs Kildare officers at 5:00 in White Bull Inn, Thomas Street. Henry Howley shoots Colonel Lyde Brown of 21st Regiment at Bridgefoot

Street/Thomas Street junction.

Wexford and Wicklow veterans living in the city gather at Denis Lambert Redmond's house, 14 Coai Quay (aka Wood Quay) at 7:00 under William Darcy and Miles Byrne.

Mansion House, Dawson Street raided for arms around 7:30. Rebels attached to Colonel Felix Rourke of Rathcoole shoot a dispatch rider of the Sixteenth, Queen's, Light Dragons on Thomas Street.

Shortly after 8:00 County Dubliners and Liberties men take post in distillery building of Sylvester Costigan and Co. at 161 Thomas Street. Eleven watchmen and loyalists led by Edwards Wilson attacked outside Vicar Street Watch House. Rising in the Maynooth area of Kildare under Owen Lyons and Carter Connolly, Celbridge rebels under Thomas Frayne also turn out. Emmet reduces scope of rising at 8:30 owing to setbacks.

At 9:00 weapons distributed from Marshalsea depot. Rebels gather on the southern side of the city at Irishtown, Sandymount, Donnybrook, Rathfarnham, Ballsbridge and Grangegorman. Also to the west at Clondalkin, Newcastle, Crumlin and Chapelizod and to the north of Clontarf, Drumcondra, Smithfield, Broadstone, Lucan and Phibsborough. Michael Doreely's rebel column approached city from north Kildare and Rathfarnham area rebels under Thomas Keogh of Whitehall move towards capital. Four Courts Marshalsea (debtors) prison raided, unsuccessfully, for arms. Barricades erected on Liffey side approaches to Thomas Street.

Around 9:30 Emmet reads

extract from procla-



• Robert Emmet.

manifesto and leads 200 men towards Dublin Castle without alerting elite squadrons by agreed rocket signals. Officers present Michael Quigley, Malachy Delaney of Narraghmore, Kildare, 'Big' Arthur Devlin of Crona, Wicklow and Nicholas Stafford, resident of James Street. Lord chief Justice Kilwarden piked on Thomas Street along with nephew. Died in Vicar Street Watchhouse. Emmet hails men at the Corn Market to investigate the hold up and determined to abandon the attempt on the Castle. Departs for Rathfarnham with officers. Most rank and file rebels to stay to fight.

Around 9:45 Second Lieutenant Felix Brady of the 21st Regiment and fifty men leave Cork Street barracks and commence skirmishing. One soldier and several rebels killed before Brady take refuge in James Street barracks. Second dragoons dispatch rider killed. Reputed skirmish in Chapelizod where eight of the 62nd Regiment were killed. Separate rebel groups under McCabe, Kirwan, Keogh, Patrick Finney and 'Big' Arthur Devlin converge on Coombe Barracks on Newmarket Street and fight three linked actions with the occupants before dispersing. Fighting in Meath and Francis and vicinity of Thomas Street Markethouse. Lieutenant Stewart Hume Douglas of the 21st Foot's elite light company inflict around twenty fatalities.

Army swamp city by 11:00 by which time the rebels had departed. Emmet reaches Rathfarnham with Kildare leaders Quigley, Thomas Wyde, John Mahon, Charles Keane, William and John Perrot and John Peppard, Dublin residents Nicholas Stafford and John Hevey and three Wicklow men; John O'Neill (Dwyer's brother in law), James Cummins and one Byrne. 'Big' Arthur Devlin arrives many hours later.

24 July: 1,000 offered by Privy Council for killers of Kilwarden. Emmet group move to Bryan Devlin's dairy farm on Rockbrook road.

25 July: City yeoman recalled to permanent duty. Emmet group sighted at Devlin's by loyalist family and go to John Doyle's farm at Ballynascree. Doyle a rebel captain acquainted with Emmet's father and

the republican Palmer family. Emmet impersonated a French general and Quigley acted as aide-de-camp. Duke of Leinster intercedes on behalf of Maynooth district rebels.

26 July: Disorder in Thomas Street during funeral procession of one of the three yeoman Liberty Rangers killed during the Rising. Emmet group move to Rose Bagnall's farm at the Breaks of Ballinascorney where they bivouacked overnight. Butterfield Lane raided by the Rathfarnham Cavalry who torture Anne Devlin.

27 July: Emmet borrowed a black horse and goes with Quigley to unknown destination. Returns by nightfall and camps again in Ballinascorney.

28 July: Emmet group trapped in William Kearney's Inn in Bohernabreena by Upper Cross baronial constable Robinson. Ruse prevents discovery. Return to Ballinascorney where Anne Devlin and two Kildare women bring them mail. The men separate and Emmet returns with Devlin et al to Rathfarnham. Irish Rebellion Suppression Bill and Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill debated in Westminster.

29 July: Martial Law imposed in Dublin and major search carried out for fugitives and war material.

30 July: Emmet arrives in Mrs. Palmer's house, Harold's Cross, using the name Robert Hewitt. Visited by John Patten, Philip Long, John Lecky and Miles Byrne.

(Chronology continues in August SAOIRSE.)

— Dr Ruan O'Donnell, Robert Emmet Association

For The Record

SAT. JUNE 5: Two pipe bombs were thrown at the home of prison officer Desmond Waterworth in Princess Gardens, Hollywood, Co Down.

Two houses in Dromain Drive in the Stiles Estate in Antrim town were targeted by petrol bombs, causing scorch damage to both.

SUN. JUNE 8: Michael Conway, a father-of-one who has a serious heart complaint, says that he and his family will leave the Six Counties following an attack on himself and his wife by a loyalist gang in the Leckagh Estate in Magherafelt. Up to eight men were involved in the attack, one of whom he knew.

FRI. JUNE 13: Twenty-six police discovered a large explosive device in the process of being manufactured at a farmhouse in Co Louth. Three men were arrested.

An 80-year-old woman suffered a broken arm and shock after being blown over by a British army helicopter in Bessbrook, Co Armagh.

SUN. JUNE 15: The annual Republican Sinn Féin commemoration to Theobald Wolfe Tone, the Father of Irish Republicanism, took place to Bodensown Churchyard in Co. Kildare.

Three men — Joseph Fee, Carrickmacross, Co Monaghan (39), Séamus McKenna, Dundalk, Co Louth (48) and Gregory Trainor, Armagh city (37) were charged at the Special Non-jury Court in Dublin with possession of explosives at Thornfield, Inniskeen, Co Monaghan on June 13. A fourth man, Eamon Matthews (24), Newry, Co Down, was charged with membership of an illegal organisation.

A 1,200 lb bomb was defused by British army bomb experts, having been found abandoned in the Waterside area on the outskirts of Derry city.

MON. JUNE 16: David Trimble survived another attempt by Jeffrey Donaldson and Anti-Agreement members of the Ulster Unionist Party to dislodge him from the leadership of the party by 54% to 46%.

TUES. JUNE 17: In further evidence of the collusion

between the 26-County State and the British regime in the Six Counties, members of the RUC/PSNI played a Gaelic football game with members of the Leinster House assembly in Dublin.

FRI. JUNE 20: The inquest into the deaths of 26 people in the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of 1974 was formally reopened in Dublin. Dublin city coroner Dr Brian Farrell set a September 18 hearing for the interim hearing of submissions on points of law but the full inquest will not take place until the publication of a report by high court judge Henry Barron, who was instructed by the Dublin Administration to carry out an independent investigation into the bombings.

Timothy King (27), Limerick was charged with membership of the IRA in the Special Non-jury Court in Dublin.

There are now over 3.9 million people in the 26-County State according to the 2002 Census.

SUN. JUNE 22: Betty O'Loughlin (63) fled her home in Leckagh Drive, magherafelt, Co Derry after a note was pushed through her letter-box warning all Catholics in the estate to get out.

MON. JUNE 22: UUP Westminster MPs Jeffrey Donaldson, the Rev Martin Smyth and David Burnside resigned the Ulster Unionist Party whip in the British House of Commons.

TUES. JUNE 24: A car carrying leading Derry Provost Martin McGuinness was attacked by loyalists in Ballymena, Co Antrim.

WED. JUNE 26: Patrick McCann (59) and his wife Philomena (58), Church View, Randalstown, Co Derry, were lucky to escape with their lives when a car in their driveway was targeted in a petrol bomb attack.

FRI. JUNE 27: The Ulster Unionist Party suspended its president the Rev Martin Smyth and two other MPs, David Burnside and Jeffrey Donaldson, it emerged tonight.

SUN. JUNE 29: A 20-year-old nationalist man, believed to be from Dunmore, near Ballynahinch, Co Down, was in a critical condition in hospital after an attack by a group of men in Lisburn Street as he and a group of friends walked into the town in the early hours of the morning.

TUES. JULY 1: The British government was found guilty of a breach of human rights in the case of the murder of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane by the European Court of Human Rights, backing a legal claim by Geraldine Finucane that there was no effective inquiry into her husband's killing. It also agreed that the police investigation lacked independence because it was conducted by officers from a force accused of making death threats against him.

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

Siege of North Belfast by loyalist and Crown Forces

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 2003: There were reports on Saturday afternoon that another top loyalist was arrested in the Twaddell Avenue area of north Belfast. It's believed the man was arrested in connection with the disappearance of Loyalist Alan McCullough who has been missing since Wednesday night when two top UDA men took him from his Shankill home.

The RUC/PSNI called off their search for McCullough's body at the Waterworks in north Belfast. McCullough is believed to be high up in Johnny Adair's C Coy, Lower Shankill. Reports now claim he may have been as high as second to Adair.

Sunday, June 1, 2003: For a time on Sunday Brit Occupation Forces patrolled the Old Park Road/Cliftonville area in a mobile patrol of three Brit Land Rovers; and every so often, nationalist youths stoned the Land Rovers as they drove by.

Monday, June 2, 2003: Loyalists attacked a minibus going to pick up children from Holy Cross Girls School. The bus had just stopped to pick up an Ardoyne woman; the mother of one of the children who was walking to the school on the Ardoyne Road and only started to drive off again when it came under attack from a group of loyalists near Glen Bryn Park. The driver was able to drive on although a number of windows were broken on the bus. At this stage there is no report of the driver or woman being injured.

There has been a number of confrontations from groups of loyalists from the Glen Bryn area, mostly sectarian songs and shouting but this has been the worst for some time, but once again shows the dangers that still hang over the Holy Cross children and parents.

Later in the day about a mile away in the Waterworks, a group of loyalist youths attacked nationalist youths who were walking in the Waterworks and men who were watching.

The loyalist youths came into the Waterworks from the loyalist Westland, the back of the West estate runs into the Waterworks, making it easy for the loyalist youths to carry out stoning attacks and retreat again.

Nationalist youths soon confronted the loyalists and this went on for some time for the loyalist youths to carry out stoning attacks and retreat again. A confrontation took place in the Ardoyne Road, but subsided after the RUC/PSNI Occupation Forces moved into the area. Later at around 10pm yet another confrontation took place close to the Ardoyne shore.

For most of the day

groups of loyalist youths at Twaddell Avenue were shouting across to nationalist youths at the Ardoyne shops who in turn returned shouts of their own when the youths confronted each other. Two men believed to be Protestants were injured at Twaddell Avenue.

The so-called "PIN" have claimed it will monitor interface areas over the summer to settle sectarian tensions. The fact that the "PIN" group is made up of members of the so-called "Ulster Political Research Group" (UPRG) a group made up of members of the UDA and UVF, will go no

as that of loyalist Alan McCullough. His killing has since been claimed by the UFF. Around 5pm about 60 women from the Lower Shankill blocked off the Shankill Road, many of the women were relations of members of Johnny Adair's C Coy, who were forced out of

windows were broken in houses belonging to Nationalist families in the Deer Park Road area of north Belfast. The houses were attacked from the Alliance Road area that runs into the bottom end of the Glen Bryn area. As well as the houses, a number of cars were also

carried out a search of the whole prison.

Also on Tuesday a man from the loyalist part of the Ardoyne Road appeared in the Langlands Court House accused of having a notebook full of names of nationalists who are members of a north Belfast club.

Wednesday, June 11, 2003: Wednesday was again witness to searches still being carried out in Maghaberry prison. Visits were stopped on Tuesday because of claims from the prison regime that a hoax bomb was found in Roe House. The thought does come to mind that these claims are just an excuse by the prison regime to carry out the harassment of prisoners and stop visits by families.

Reports said a loyalist in his 20s from north Belfast who was arrested at the start of the week for the killing of Alan McCullough has now been charged with the McCullough killing and also membership of the UFF. Today was another day of constant Occupation Forces patrols in north Belfast.

In west Belfast staff in the Republican Sinn Féin Belfast office noticed a higher presence of RUC/PSNI mobile patrols today than has been the case for some time. It has also become clear today that the attack carried out against nationalist homes in the Deer Park Road area of north Belfast last Saturday in which a number of windows were broken, was carried out by a group of women.

As one of those who has been a victim of such attacks remarked, if this is the adults and these women are mothers, then what hope is there for the children?

Thursday, June 12, 2003: The loyalist who was charged with the killing of loyalist Alan McCullough and membership of the UFF was named as Alab Shouki, a man known for the part he played in the attacks on Holy Cross and well-known in the nationalist community as the face of pure sectarianism and bigotry. Although known as the Egyptian as is his brother Andre (the father is Egyptian), they have for many years been to the front of loyalism at its worst. In 1996 after the so-called Tour of the North Orange parade, Andre Shouki, along with another loyalist, faced a manslaughter charge after the death of tennis ace Gareth Parker who was beat up and thrown onto the Antrim Road where he was run over by a car in the Shaftesbury Inn. The attack was believed to be sectarian; Shouki, although he said he punched Gareth Parker to the ground before he was hit by the car, was found not guilty.

In the Westland area of north Belfast along with UFF, Union and other sectarian flags, loyalists have erected the Egyptian flag to no doubt honour those who have given such loyal service to loyalism.

Cont. on page 7.



*** A mother and child with their car damaged in a loyalist attack in full view of the Crown Forces base at Torrens Gardens, Belfast on June 22, the British Crown Forces saw 'nothing' despite a battery of surveillance cameras on the base.**

Around 10.30pm loyalists started to attack nationalist houses at Alliance Avenue; the loyalists in the Glen Bryn Park area attacked the nationalist homes with bricks, bottles, stones and petrol bombs. This attack subsided after a time. Also on Monday Martin Morgan of the SDLP replaced Alex Maskey as Belfast's Lord Mayor - no difference there!

Tuesday, June 3, 2003: Tuesday night was witness to three Brit Land Rovers and foot patrols in the Old Park area of north Belfast. Every so often RUC/PSNI Land Rovers would also go up and down the Old Park Road as well, in what is a clear harassment of the whole nationalist community in the Bone/Old Park area, where these occupation forces clearly aren't wanted.

A window was broken on the loyalist Cambrai Street off the Crumlin Road around 10.30pm, it was claimed a brick had been thrown from a car.

Wednesday, June 4, 2003: It was reported today that a group calling itself the "Protestant Interface Network" or "PIN" has been set up in Belfast.

way to ease the fears of the nationalist community. There is little doubt that those living in interface areas want to be free from sectarian attacks and rightly so, but, loyalist groups such as this "PIN" that pop-up every so often have never helped the situation in any way, in fact have very often added to the already uncertain and bad situation, not likely to calm or in any way lower the tensions they claim that they will settle.

Thursday, June 5, 2003: It was reported that members of the PSNI/RUC Occupation Forces are searching the hills overlooking north Belfast for the body of missing Shankill loyalist Alan McCullough. McCullough is believed to have been killed by the UDA/UFF. The hills and fields overlooking north Belfast have been the notorious dumping ground of loyalists. The fields along the High Town Road have been witness to the dumping of loyalist victims believed to go back as far as the 20s. It was also reported that a body had been found in the area near Ballytuagh Road.

Friday, June 6, 2003: The body found in the hills of north Belfast was confirmed

the Lower Shankill by the UDA/UFF in a feud.

Some of the women claimed that they had paid £500stg to have relations return home. The money they said was paid to the UDA who agreed to let their relations return and who said they would be safe, but, on their return they were beaten up and put out of the country again. The women also said they wanted the UDA off their backs.

Earlier in the day west Belfast man Freddie Scappaticci, who was named in the press as Brit spy Stake Knife, started a legal bid to clear his name.

Trouble broke out around 11pm on the Ardoyne Road, once again there was claim and counterclaim as to how it started. There was a confrontation between nationalist and loyalist youths during which a number of houses were damaged in the fighting that didn't last very long.

There was also reports of a confrontation in the Old Park area at Torrens, again nationalists and loyalists confronted each other, using bricks and bottles.

Saturday, June 7, 2003: Around 12.15am a number of

damaged. Nationalist families living in the Deerpark Road have suffered long-term from such attacks that are clearly sectarian.

Once again the scenes of people viewing their damaged homes because of misguided people driven by hate and sectarianism is sickening.

Nationalists in the Short Strand staged a protest against an Orange parade that was forced passed their area. Hundreds of Occupation Forces took to the streets to make sure that the Orange parade would pass the nationalist area. There were no reports of trouble.

Also on Saturday, a number of pipe bombs were found near a nursery school in the loyalist Sandy Row in south Belfast.

Monday, June 9, 2003: Monday passed off without any reports of trouble; but the RUC/PSNI kept a presence on the Ardoyne Road with a Land Rover sitting at the interface at the Ardoyne Road.

Tuesday, June 10, 2003: Visits to Maghaberry prison were stopped today due to claims by the regime there that a hoax bomb was found in Roe House. The regime



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

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

1. To the following: Mary Ward, Co Donegal; Frank McCarthy, Co Antrim; Jimmy McElhinney, Co Tyrone; Geraldine Taylor, Belfast; Michael McGeoghegan, Co Derry; Joe O'Neill, Co Donegal; Mick McManus, Co Fermanagh; Larry McMahon, Co Monaghan

2. By sending a donation to: Ard Oifig, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 or to 229 Falls Road, Belfast.

3. By Standing Order Form published here.

Cluiche i gcrích, ab ea?

AN LEABHAR úd a scríobh Joe Tiarnan, bail ó Dhia air, faoi bhuamáil Bhaile Átha Cliath agus Muineacháin, tá sé fós sa nuacht, bealach amháin nó eile, agus ní thig liom éalú as (féach ar eagrán na Bealtaine).

Deirtear minic go leor gur tír dhaonlathach í seo, go bhfuil saoirse chainte ceadaithe, saoirse scríbh-neoireachta, saoirse thóil-sitheoireachta, ach in aineoin sin níl rith gan chonstaite, ar fud an stáit seo, ná las-muigh dhí, ag saothair Thiamáin, mar atá *The Dublin and Monaghan Bombings and The Murder Triangle*.

Anuraidh ba ea a foilsíodh é ach níl sa sin sapaig go fóill. Cén fáth? B'fhéidir toise gur bhí Joe Tiarnan a dhéanadh é Cén fáth gur dearmad shí? Toisc nach raib clóidóir sásta é a thóisiú? Cén fáth sin? Ceist mhór í.

Leithscéal amháin, nó ceathrú scéal, máis naith leat, toisc gur chur Yorkshire TV a ladar isteach. Níl ann a thuilleadh ó cheannagha Granada TV é. Ach dar na Yorkshire TV acu bíonn a bhi an cóipeachtar, tar bhi é ag obair dóthra tráth, agus toisc gur ar an taighde a rinne sé do scannán a rinne Yorkshire, agus a charaí Channel 4, dá cuid den leabhar bunaithe. Dá nba anhlaidh an dli ní théid-fad duine ar bith dim cuimhinn cinn a thóisiú!

COMMOBUIRÍ, MAR DHEA

Faoi dheireadh an scannáin úd dúirt Olivia O'Leary go mbeadh *Yorkshire TV* sona sásta comboibhíu le go ndéanfaí iniúchadh neamhspleách a

bhúid, nó focal ar an gcuma sin.

Ach nuair a rinneadh iarracht faoi dea a thapú, ní bhfuairas ach tost ón gcómh-lacht. Seans go glosíodh muid a thuilleadh faoi sin uilig ó Henry Barron, nuair a thiofais a thuairisc seisean os comhair ar aíl.

B'fhéidir nach fada uaim an oicid sin, mar i gceann tamaill leanfaí leis an geistí cróineara faoin bhuamáil i mBaile Átha Cliath agus Muineacháin, ceann a cuireadh ar fionraí sna seachtóidí den aois seo náite.

Muill uafásach, cáireach, dhochtire, nach ea? Fíor dhúit. B'fhailidh a cuireadh an coiste ar fionraí toisc gur ceapadh go mbeadh fianaise ar fáil, is dócha, agus nach mbeifí ag fanacht ró-fhada.

Anois, na leithscéaltá: Ní bhfuair na Gardai comboibhíu nó RUC! Ní bhfuair Rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath comboibhíu ó Londain!

Ach an i seo an fhirinne, i ndáiríre, ná theastaigh ó na Briotanagáid (ná ón Saorstát?) go dtiocfaidh na scéal amach go raibh na comhairleirí ar bun idir an RUC agus Arm na Breataine agus UVF, M15, M16, agus, ar ndóigh, an FRU.

An raibh An Garda Síochána páirticil sa gcomheacht? De réir na fianaise atá ag teacht amach de réir a chéile, bhi.

Ní theastaíonn uaim a chur in iúl nach raibh Gardai ar leith, anseo is ansíod, a bhi ar an eolas sin, is a bhi buartha, inniúch, agus samhnaos orthu. Biodar ann Ach go nuge, seo níor thingdar amach go poiblí faoi chúrsat.

FEALL NA nGARDAI

An mbeidís sásta teacht amach anois, nuair a thóis an Coiste cróineara ag leanúint lena gcuid oibre?

An mbeadh Henry Barron in ann a chuid féin den scéal a rá go poiblí, maidir leis an bhfrís frais a rinne An Garda, lena iniúchadh (mar dheia)? Nó an anhlaidh a ligfeadh Rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath do Barron iomlán na firinne a inseacht?

An té a dceastaíonn uaidh an cheist chrua a chur, léadh sé (nó sí) caib a 5 den saothar a scríobh Joe Tiarnan, chomh fada agus a bhaineann sé le David Alexander Mulholland.

Is ea, tá sé ainmnithe. Is ea, leabhal atá na mbeidín.

Is fíor gur bhagair sé an dli ar Yorkshire TV ach gur tharraing sé siar. Agus is fíor chomh maith céanna go bhfuil daoine fós beo a chonaic Mulholland an tráthóna trágoideach sin i mBaile Átha Cliath agus é imbun a dhro-chóire.

Deir siad sin go n-aithníodais air é gan stró. Le breis is 30 bliain tá an t-eolas sin ag Gardai. Ach fós féin tá Mulholland beo biogach i Chester, Sasana, agus saor neamhspleách.

ADHLACADH EILE?

Nuair a scaoiltear an scéal seo sa chaoi nach féidir le héinne é a chur i bhfolcail in athuair, ní ambras orm ach go ndéanfar mullach mór de na leithscéaltá, agus go mbeidh an Rialtas abhús (agus an ceann eile thar lear) ar a

£30,021

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seacht ndícheall arís chun an scéal a chur ar leataobh, "go gceathfear a thuilleadh fianaise a tháil", "go gceathfear an oiread sin daoine a cheistiú", "go gceathfear na cúipsí, atá ag teacht chun solais de réir a chéile, a thiosrú".

Ach is í an fhirinne gur in éadan Óglaigh na hÉireann a bhi an dá rialtas a shíl go bhféidfaí bealach ar bith a thaiséal leis an mbua a tháil: Deile ach Machiavelli arís, agus é ina naomh acu. Nach bhfuil sé ráite go poiblí ag Iar-Aire: *The end must justify the means?*

AN RÉ DHEIRIDH

Murdar, daoine neamh-chiontachais thios leis an gliché damanta céanna. Céasadh, bréagá, dúil, agus an dli, idir Dlíil Dé agus an duine, i smidrin.

Tá an reiligiún tréigthe agus an mhórdáil in éndí. B'fhéidir go raib muid ró-fhada faoi smacht na nGall agus nach raib i ndin diinn ach an náire chruinnata seo. Nuair a thréigean pobal a stair, a theanga, agus an marbh, céard eile a mbeifí ag dúil leis ach an deireadh seo.

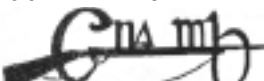
Bunphrionsabal i ngach tír is ea go bhfuil duaghas ar an rialtas an pobal a chosaint agus sin os cionn gach dual-gas eile.

Tá trua mór agam son eagrais sin, Justis for the Forgotten. — ceann ar bith díobh — sásta teacht amach anois agus tacaíocht a thabhairt dóib, tacaíocht a spreagadh ar fud an domhain, áit ar bith a bhfuil trua, grá, meaf ar dhíneit an duine dhaonna fágtha, agus an Rialtas damanta seo a chineáiread.

An bhfuil náire ar éinne, ar eagrais ar bith? Áit a bhfuil náire, fíor-náire, tá grásta.

— Deasún Breatnach

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WHITE-LINE PICKETS FOR POLITICAL STATUS

OUTSIDE THE REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN OFFICE, 229 FALLS ROAD, BELFAST
1st and 3rd SATURDAY OF EVERY MONTH
1-2pm

OUTSIDE THE GUILDHALL, DERRY CITY
LAST SATURDAY OF EVERY MONTH, 1-2pm
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Belfast and Derry

PICKET FOR POLITICAL STATUS GPO, DUBLIN

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 12.45-1.45pm
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Leinster

PATRICK CANNON COMMEMORATION
SATURDAY, JULY 26
Assemble: Balgriffin Cemetery, Co Dublin, 1.30pm
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Dublin

Call for probe into Special Branch and Leinster House role in 1974 Bombings

AT A well-attended meeting in the Gresham Hotel, Dublin on Friday 27 June invited speakers gave their views on collusion in Ireland between not just the RUC and the loyalist death squads in the 6 Occupied Counties but also collusion between the members of the security forces in the 6 Occupied Counties and the Free State and also between the British and Free State Administrations.

The meeting was organised by the Justice For The Forgotten and was chaired by Paul O'Connor from Derry who works in the Pat Finucane Centre. Part of their brief, Paul explained, was researching the activities of a loyalist gang in the 6 Counties from the 1970s. The culture of secrecy and the culture of immunity (from prosecution) that prevailed (and still prevails) meant that finding the truth in relation to collusion between those gangs and the RUC/British Military Intelligence was and is difficult and prosecutions have been scarce.

The first speaker was Fred Holroyd, a man who went from Special Military Intelligence Officer in the Six Occupied Counties to prison — disgraced, vilified and dismissed from the British Army. Colin Wallace was also a speaker. He too was attached to the British Army and like Holroyd he ended up in prison. He was convicted of murder but in 1991 was released and his conviction overturned.

Holroyd claims among other things that:

(a) A man named Hugh

Thomas flew a plane into Ireland with Tony Back Bench Ministers on board who met secretly with members of the 'Irish Government' sometime in the late 60s or early 70s. (Thomas refuses to name date or names or place — he is also a victim according to Fred Holroyd). A consequence of that meeting was 'shared intelligence on Republicans'. An agreement was reached that all intelligence would be shared and that the 'Irish Government' would be vilified by the British (for the duration) for failing to deal with the IRA. This would create the impression that the Irish were soft and so would not be suspected of collaboration;

(b) Holroyd himself was one of the people who "came down here to the Phoenix Park" (as he put it) and brought back intelligence reports. The people of the 26 Counties would not have been too happy he thought if they discovered that MI6 agents were operating in the state. When Holroyd was stationed in K Division RUC Area, Armagh he regularly

• **The burning bomb-car in South Leinster Street (at railings of Trinity College), Dublin on May 17, 1974.**

"crossed into the south and met with Special Branch". They organised, at the highest level, a "frozen area" — where they would not be disturbed by members of the Garda Síochána or Free State Army;

(c) Naíra's unit was highly secret, operating independently of but within the normal army structure — they killed at will — John

Francis Green one of their victims.

Colin Wallace was also a British Army Intelligence Officer. But he encountered the power of the unionist politician. He claims that his attempts to expose a 'vice ring' at Kincora (an orphanage for young boys where it was claimed Unionist politicians among others were

involved in the running of the vice ring) brought him a charge of murder (of which he was later proved innocent). In 1974 he was "removed from Northern Ireland" and within three months he was charged with murder. The man who charged him was George Terry. The same George Terry that James Prior later appointed to investigate the "vice ring" at Kincora. Wallace warned that "the system does not like to be exposed" and will go to any lengths to protect itself.

Patricia McKenna called on Liam Cosgrave and Paddy Cooney to answer questions of the 1974 Dublin/Monaghan Bombings. "They have been silent for far too long," she said. "It was time we had some answer." For example Who was behind it? Why is Paddy Cooney so afraid to come out and speak — was he one of those who met and made a secret deal with the British?

What was the role of the Gardai in all this?

She also stated that the 1972 bomb in which two CIE workers lost their lives needs to be investigated. This bomb was to ensure the amendment to the OASA was pushed through. People deserve answers and such things must never happen again. People tended to forget that the 1974 no-warning car bombs was the biggest single atrocity in the

history of the state and that a pregnant woman was one of those who lost her life — she was due her baby in a matter of days.

Paul Larkin, an investigative film maker who was the last speaker. His interest in collusion has been well documented, *ie Prime Time* with Brendan O'Brien in 1995, *Rapack* on Billy Wright. Larkin claims that Britain carried out its dirty war in the Six Occupied Counties with the assistance and collaboration of the 'Irish government'. He believed that 'an extreme right wing and unaccountable oligarchy was inserted into power which constructed the "apparatus for a dirty war against the Irish". It was now time to find out he said who in Special Branch and within the Irish Government was working with them.

In the discussion that followed many people, including relatives of those killed in 1972 and 1974, spoke of the need for accountability from Cooney, Cosgrave and Dessie O'Malley — they have remained silent for long enough. John Molloy who was injured in the bomb in Parnell Street thanked the speakers, the chair and all those who attended. Other relatives seeking justice, such as the family of Seamus Ludlow, were present.

It is time for the truth to be told.

Cont. from page 5.

Andre Shoukri himself is out on bail on arms charges. This is a short history on the Shoukris and gives only a small bit of insight into what the nationalist community of north Belfast and indeed of Belfast have to face.

It has been the case for sometime now in north Belfast that the RUC/PSNI put two-man patrols out during the day. These patrols can often be seen making their way along the Old Park Road; sometimes two men or a man and a woman. Even walking to the upper Old Park Road in good weather these shortsleeve shirts, Normal looking, or it would be in a normal situation. The RUC/PSNI like to call this patrolling community policing but aren't fooling anyone nor should anyone be fooled. The fact is that in shortsleeve shirts on a sunny day or overcoats on a rainy day these aren't a normal police, nor are they community police. They should be seen by what they are, an occupation force, no more, no less.

Friday, June 13, 2003: Occupation Forces were heavy on the ground in many parts of north Belfast. British army mobile patrols drove down through the nationalist Bone area around teatime and into the night. Further to this harassment the

RUC/PSNI set up a roadblock in Ardoyne Avenue near the Old Park Road and stopped cars going into Ardoyne causing tail-backs for a time. Early in the day there were reports of an arms' find in a loyalist area of north Belfast. Three men were said to have been arrested.

Saturday, June 14, 2003: It was reported that there was trouble in the loyalist Westland but it was not known if this was sectarian.

The second loyalist lifted for the killings of loyalist Alan McCullough was named as William Courtney, better known in Belfast by loyalist and nationalists alike as Mo Courtney. A former friend of Johnny Adair and McGuinness himself, he is believed to have taken over from Adair when the upper Shankill UDA/UFF ran the lower Shankill.

Adair C Company out of Templeogue himself was charged with the murder of Alan McCullough.

There were reports of a confrontation between loyalist and nationalist youths in the Highdown Road area of Glenmoyne at the Antrim Road end. It didn't last long. One person was said to have been injured by a brick thrown at him.

Sunday, June 15, 2003: The Temple Street area of Belfast was closed for hours

by British Occupation Forces. The RUC/PSNI claimed that a car found in the area was being checked and was the centre of a bomb scare.

Monday, June 16, 2003: There was a bomb scare on the railway line at Lambeg in Lisburn which closed the line for hours. It later turned out to be a hoax.

Children from St Malachy's College were lucky to escape injury when their bus was attacked in the York Road area of north Belfast around 3.45pm. The attack was clearly sectarian and was believed to have broken a number of windows in St Malachy's College on the Antrim Road.

The nationalist people living on the interface area of Alliance Avenue in north Belfast went through a day of constant attack as loyalists from the Glen Bryn area threw fireworks, bricks and bottles over the so-called peace line. The attacks started in the afternoon and went on until 9pm.

On the Cavehill Road, also in north Belfast, two nationalist children were terrorised around 8.30pm by a number of loyalist women. The two girls, aged 15 and 13 years of age, were left very upset. The loyalist women, around 18 years old, seem to have taken exception to the girls wearing Glasgow Celtic

tops and subjected them to sectarian abuse. The two girls made a run for it and were chased under threats which only stopped when a number of people came to their aid.

Tuesday, June 17, 2003: The usual Occupation Forces presence was as high as ever; British army foot patrols moved around the Old Park area throughout the afternoon.

Wednesday, June 18, 2003: Youngsters at Brompton Park in the nationalist Ardoyne area stoned an RUC/PSNI mobile patrol at around 3.30pm.

In the Old Park/Bone area children there also stoned British Occupation Forces' mobile patrols.

Loyalists had erected flags, Union Jacks, UDA/UFF, RUC/RHC etc. These were placed along parts of the Crumlin Road, lower Old Park Road and along Cliftonville Avenue on the route of the so-called Tour of the North, a sectarian Orange parade that is forced through and close to a number of nationalist areas in north Belfast which is to take place on June 27.

Work has been going on for a number of weeks in west Belfast on the Springfield Road where the so-called peace-line is being added to, and the height increased. Such work, which is also being undertaken in other areas of

north Belfast and the Short Strand, shows clearly that the lie of the Stormont Agreement - it cannot bring loyalist and nationalist communities together. In fact a number of these so-called peace-lines have gone up since that Agreement was signed. Rather than bring people together it has pushed them further apart. The old British policy of divide not unite is very much in evidence. To divide is to conquer; the British mind at work.

There were reports of a pipe bomb in the Donagall Road area around 11pm.

Thursday, June 19, 2003: The pipe bomb attack last night in the Village area of Donagall Road was race-related. Two women from South Africa were targeted because of the colour of their skin. The area is loyalist and in the past the UDA/UFF have been known to attack people because of their race.

Friday, June 20, 2003: Nationalist areas of north Belfast were full of tension as the build-up to the so-called Tour of the North Orange march.

early hours of the morning.

As the Orange march made its way through areas of north Belfast where it was clearly not welcome, nationalists set about staging peaceful protest, but as always they were faced with British Occupation Forces who were there to force the sectarian Orange march through.

At the Ardoyne shops there was a confrontation and trouble broke out. It didn't last as Occupation Forces and Provo police moved to end it.

A stand-off then took place where a car was on fire on Saturday morning. Tension was high as, as is always the case with these forced sectarian Orange parades.

At around 1.50am on Saturday morning a number of shots were fired in the general Ardoyne area.

Sunday, June 22, 2003: A car belonging to a nationalist father-of-five, from the Torrington Drive in north Belfast, who did not wish to be named, was attacked by hammer-wielding loyalists a few yards from a RUC/PSNI barracks.

A 15-year-old nationalist youth wearing a Celtic top was attacked by a gang of loyalist youths who smashed a bottle over his head and stabbed him in the back. They also hit another youth with a brick before fleeing.



No Irish patriot

THE annual Republican pilgrimage to the grave of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the Father of Irish Republicanism, took place on Sunday, June 15 in glorious sunshine.

The parade assembled in Sallins village, Co Kildare and led by colour parties from Armagh and Kerry, carrying the Tricolour, Stary, Plough and Leinster flags, and by contingents from Cumann na mBan and Na Fianna Éireann, marched to Bodenstown Churchyard. Seán Ó Sé, Dublin was Chief Marshall.

At the memorial in the cemetery, proceedings were chaired by Fergal Moore, Monaghan who in the course of a short address welcomed all those who had travelled from all over Ireland, as well as from Scotland and England. He then called on Veteran Republican Johnny Gitraine, Dublin and Leitrim, to lay the wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

He then handed over to Seán Ó Sé, Chief Marshall, who called the parade to attention for the playing of the Last Post and Reveille by bugler James Callan, Dundalk. Fergal Moore read a message from Republican Sinn Féin Patron, George Harrison, New York and Mayo, greeting those present and reiterating his support for the All-Ireland Republic.

The Chairperson then introduced Peig Gailigan who spoke on behalf of the National Graves Association who own and maintain the fine monument over Wolfe Tone's grave. Seán Ó Brádaigh, author of *Bold Robert Emmet* (Irish Freedom Press, 2003) delivered a fine oration.

Following the oration the parade marched back to Sallins village where the parade dispersed after the playing of Amhrán na bhFianna.

The speech by Seán Ó Brádaigh is carried below.

"A Chathaoirigh, agus a Mhuinirí Dhilis na Poblachta

Fearaim fáil romhaibh go dtí an láthair bheannaithe seo inniu. Seo i an áit ina mbuailonn Poblachtáigh le chéile le breis agus dhá chéad bliain, chomh nóir a thabhairt don chiumhne Thíobóid Wolfe Tone, chomh machnamh a dhéanamh ar a phrionsabail, a ghluinimhartha agus ar na haidhmeanna uaisle a chuir sé roimhe.

Tháinig na hÉireannáigh Óga agus na Finíní anseo sa naoú haois déag. Sa bhfichú haois labhair ar Piasach anseo, agus Liam Ó Maoiliosa. Labhair Brian Ó Uiginn agus Tomás Mag. Uidhir anseo, chomh maith le Tomás Óg Mac Curtáin, Antaine Mag Anna agus Dáithí Ó Conaill. Bhih gá guine acu dílis do chúis na Poblachta. Is mór an onór domsa gur iarradh ormna labhair lebh inniu thar ceann na Gluaiseachta atá dílis fós do Phoblacht na hÉireann.

Ba dhúine de shárlaochra na hÉireann é Tone. D'oirbh sé go réar ar son cearta na gCaitlicheach mair a bhi siad na'í chéir. D'eaigh sé frí agus mná na hÉireann ar son cearta an náisiún Éireannaigh agus thug sé anann ar son a thír.

Is an t-ádh orainn gur fhág Tone a scríbhinní ina dhiaidh, iad Wolfe sé gur cruinn soiléir na haidhmeanna uaisle a bhi aige.

"An ceangal le Sasana a bhriseadh - síorchiús ar úir-chlé polaitiúil - agus saoirse mo thír a dhearbhu, b'ín iad mo chúirí. Póhal uile na hÉireann a aontú; na sean-essontais ar fáil a ruaigeadh as ciumhne; agus a-tson ainm a'bháin i bpáirí, Éireannach, a chur in iomad na saoinaimneacha. Protastnach, Easaintiún, Easaintiún; b'ín iad mo mhodhanna."

Táthar ag caint, le cúpla mí anuas, ar a thábhacht agus atá an

tsoláireacht i gcuairt na hÉireann. Ba é Tone an té ba sholáire ar fad, é is áit den Phiasach é féin b'Éidre, de cheannair na hÉireann. Mhol an Piasach é as géire a intinne agus glinne a chainte.

Ni raibh glán dá dtáinig ó ainmri Tone agus na hÉireannach Aontaithe nach ndearna iarracht ar chumhacht Shasana in Éirinn a bhriseadh agus cearta náisiúnta agus comheachta

lated the Irish demand for the expression of Irish identity and nationality, in terms which were clear and unambiguous, and which reverberate and re-echo down the years since his time.

Tone's noble objective was to establish the rights of the Irish people in their own country. His powerful intellect recognised that this could not be achieved without ending English rule in our country. And he organised Irish people of all persuasions through the Society of United Irishmen in order to achieve

There is also a more ominous, more menacing and longer-term objective behind this unlikely alliance of English imperialism and Irish collaboration: it is to extinguish forever the assertion of Irish Republican resistance to English rule in our country. But there are still faithful Republicans in Ireland, North and South. We, you, I, men and women, boys and girls, renew our Republican vows here today at the grave of Tone and we pledge ourselves, as he and his comrades pledged themselves, never to desist in our efforts until we

life. They should be helping the pupils and students to appreciate and develop their Irish identity, as well as to develop their critical faculties, their capacity to think things through, to assess and appraise and evaluate all that they will have to encounter in life. The politicians and the bosses of finance and industry, however, prefer to keep young people malleable and compliant, a prey to advertising, hype and disinformation.

Many people, nevertheless, are coming to realise that they were mis-



• Part of the Wolfe Tone Commemoration parade on its way to Bodenstown Cemetery, Co Kildare on June 15.

daonna a chur ar bun.

Ni raibh Tone i bhfad foin bhfód nó go raibh éirí amach eile á bheairt. Ba dhúine ar dheilbh Tone é Roibeard Emmet, Roibeard Emmet calma, cúis na hÉireann, laoch eile a geomáirimid a chiumhne i mbliana, 2003. Tá slabhra an leamúnachais ain ó shin, gan bhriseadh, agus dearbhairm ar an láthair seo nach mbrisfeair an leamúnachas sin go deo.

Molaimid díongbáilteacht Tone agus Emmet, ach ní leor an moladh ainm féin. Is gá dúinn i bhfad níos mó a dhéanamh chomh cuspóir na laochra seo a bhaint amach. Ní leor, ach an oiread, fóirne focal a chuir agus a atháir. Frí ghlinh a bhi sna laochra seo, agus déanfáir ár scríbhinn a nheas i dtéarmaí oibre agus saothair.

Mura bhfuil Éire chomh bheith ina Sasana nua, nó ina Meiriceá nua, ní mór dúinne a fuair oidhreacht na hÉireannachais, an oidhreacht sin a ghlacadh, a chaomhainn, a neartú agus cinnreacht a thabhairt don ghlinn óg atá ag éirí anois in Éirinn inniu. Tá fófús spioradálta i saol ár dtíre inniu agus tá dualgas orainne an fófús sin a fionadh le cuspóirí uaine Tone agus aistí na hÉireannachais eile, a haidhmeanna náisiúnta agus daonna.

When we gather here in Bodenstown Churchyard, we come to honour the memory of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the Father of Irish Republicanism, as well as the memory of all the Founding Fathers of the Irish Republican Movement. It was the insight, the humanity, the generosity and the courage of Tone which made him such a great leader.

To the indomitable Irish spirit of separatism, which had survived 600 years of onslaught, he brought the ideals of Republicanism, Democracy and the Rights of Man. He reformu-

this great goal.

In doing all of this work, Tone and the United Irish Movement were acting as one of the most progressive forces in the world of the eighteenth century. The Republican Movement of today - those who refuse to accept the legitimacy of foreign rule in any part of Ireland - is still the most advanced and progressive movement in Ireland.

The Ireland of today is the product of a counter-revolution which succeeded in overthrowing the 32-County Republic of 1916 and the All-Ireland Dáil Éireann of 1919. The forced partition of Ireland in 1922 was brought about by threat of immediate and terrible war by England and by the collaboration of erstwhile Irish Republicans.

The more recent Stormont Agreement of 1998 updated and secured English rule in the Six Counties, again with the collaboration of former Republicans. In helping to bring all this about, these lost souls, we are told, had been infiltrated by English agents. There is scarcely a doubt about this, but they were already infiltrated, from deep within, by an overweening pride and arrogance, which has been the downfall of many before. No Irish patriot died for a new Stormont or a new-style English Crown police force. But some are so conceited in their self-importance that they think they can ignore this truth.

The objective of the so-called Peace Process never was a permanent peace in Ireland. Its objective was to bring the armed struggle for Irish freedom to an end. Just as in 1921-22, the English found more devious and wily ways of defeating Irish resistance to their rule.

have ended English rule in our country for all time.

There is so much in the Ireland of today which is an affront to the noble ideals of our patriot dead. The dishonesty, the lies, the deceit, the mercenary and shameless selfishness and greed in public life are the very antithesis of the generous and honourable ideals of our patriots. The contrast is obvious and unmistakable.

Not only have we the unjust and undemocratic partition of our country, we also have an ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have nots. This has not happened by any accident or misfortune. This is the result of deliberate and premeditated policies, implemented under the cover of a clever smokescreen provided by well-paid and unscrupulous spin doctors.

The education system has been fundamentally re-shaped to train workers for the multinational enterprises, which are now more powerful than governments and have been for many years the main instrument of providing employment in Ireland. Education has become more and more utilitarian, rather than having as its primary objective the development of young people's potential, intellectual, moral and physical.

Even in the universities, the classics, the Irish language, Irish history and Irish and Celtic studies have been downgraded, some would say virtually abandoned. Is this any wonder when the Smurfit and the O'Reillys now provide considerable finance for some of these colleges? Skills are certainly important, but the schools and colleges should also be helping parents to imbue their children with standards and values for

led by the hype with which the Stormont Agreement was put before them. Apart from its flagrant sell-out of Irish national rights, it institutionalises sectarianism and it cannot, even on a practical or pragmatic level, deliver justice and peace. The recent mass rallies against the war in Iraq - a war to remove weapons of mass destruction we were told - are a hopeful sign that there are still citizens, including many young people, who refuse to conform and who insist on thinking for themselves. It is while so many people are in this questioning and challenging frame of mind that we Republicans should be active in promoting our policies.

The travesty of democracy, which we witness daily in our country, is a well-managed spectacle of mockery and deception. From the local councils and the shady deals in land zoning, to the mock theatre of Leinster House and Stormont, to the mandarins of Westminster and the European Union and the invincible-looking power of the United States and Britain, backed by the muscle and might of international capitalism, the ordinary, decent hard-working people of Ireland, in town and country are being deceived and ruled. And the weakest and most vulnerable, the old, the ill, the incapacitated, the disadvantaged, the many young people who come from our schools barely literate, are the most exploited of all. We have ever-rising levels of crime, some of it quite vicious and ruthless. We have this in a country where vast fortunes of wealth are made every day.

Both states fail to protect their citizens from exploitation by transnational capital and manipulative commercial interests, from drug

Censorship at the *Irish Echo*

TWO columnists at the *Irish Echo* newspaper in New York have resigned from the paper accusing its publisher of censorship.

Both claim that to intimidate *Nuzhound* and censor McIntyre's criticisms. I pointed out that the *Andersonstown News* seemed

insisting that my column was factually and legally defensible, to no avail. I was not afforded an opportunity by Finlay to defend the piece or to answer Ó Muilleoir's complaint. I e-mailed Finlay to express my disgust at his censoring of my column and

In mid-December I submitted my third column to the *Echo*. It concerned the choice of a Ford Motor Company executive as Grand Marshal of the 2003 New York City St. Patrick's Day Parade. I noted that Ford was the major commercial sponsor of the parade

sexual abuse to continue working for years'. The thrust of my column was to point out that the St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee was an undemocratic organisation with little or no accountability to the Irish community in New York.

yesterday and am still a bit in the dark as to what he objects to.' With a view to bringing this matter to an amicable conclusion I sent an email to Connolly on January 13th saying: 'If the publisher wants to kill the column he should say so; if he has some specific



sure to bear on the *Echo* publisher, Sean Finlay, about the content of their columns since they were hired last year. Finlay's latest act of censorship this week produced angry letters from his own editorial staff accusing him of caving in to intimidation and betraying the newspaper's editorial independence.

The *Echo* is the oldest and largest circulation Irish newspaper in the United States. Sean Finlay, a communications millionaire, bought the newspaper early last year from Claire Grimes, whose family had owned the paper since the 1940s. As part of the newspaper's re-launch last September Finlay revamped the paper and added new columnists, including Eamon Lynch and Patrick Farrelly. Below are their accounts of the events which led to their resignations from the *Echo*.

Eamon Lynch (eamon@eamonlynch.com)

Several weeks ago I learned of legal threats against the popular website *Nuzhound.com*, which links to daily news stories about Northern Ireland. The threat came from Martin Ó Muilleoir, publisher of the Belfast-based *Andersonstown News*. Ó Muilleoir, a former Sinn Féin Belfast City Councillor and a confidant of Gerry Adams, demanded that *Nuzhound* remove links to two articles in the online magazine *The Blanket*. The articles — alleging bias and an overtly pro-Sinn Féin slant at the *Andersonstown News* — were written by Dr. Anthony McIntyre, a former IRA prisoner and now a prominent critic of the Sinn Féin leadership who often writes in major Irish and British newspapers. Formerly an independent community newspaper, the *Andersonstown News* is now tightly controlled by the Sinn Féin leadership and frequently attacks critics of the party in its pages.

On June 11, the *Irish Echo* published a column in which I wrote about this effort

determined to stifle both political debate critical of Sinn Féin and criticism of its own journalistic standards. On the morning of June 17 I received a call from the *Echo* publisher, Sean Finlay, asking if I could stand over an assertion in my column that an *Andersonstown News* editor had once joined an angry picket of McIntyre's home during which abuse was directed toward his pregnant partner. I made clear that I could. Finlay expressed the opinion that McIntyre was a "discredited" figure and said he would call me back to discuss the matter further. He never did.

I soon learned that Ó Muilleoir had e-mailed Finlay complaining about my column.

Finlay immediately offered Ó Muilleoir a rebuttal column in the June 18 issue. Later that day I was informed that Finlay had ordered my column removed from the *Echo* website and online archive. Further, he ordered a Publishers' Note¹ inserted at the end of Ó Muilleoir's column stating that the *Echo* accepts the *Andersonstown News* is independent and has the highest journalistic standards.

Echo staffers vehemently argued against Finlay's move,

pointed out that Ó Muilleoir's intimidation of the *Echo* and Finlay's easy acquiescence had proved the point of my column about [Provisional] Sinn Féin's propensity to censor opinion and debate. Finlay replied by saying he would not discuss any decision he makes regarding his newspaper. In light of this I told the editor of the *Echo*, Tom Connolly, that I had no alternative but to resign.

Ó Muilleoir's column appeared June 18 with the flattering 'Publishers Note'. Ó Muilleoir did not answer any of the serious issues I raised regarding intimidation and censorship. He also boasted of his frequent legal threats against any major media outlet that publishes statements by McIntyre about the *Andersonstown News*. In this case, he has covered an American newspaper simply for reporting on his threats and intimidation.

Patrick Farrelly
(patrickfarrelly@earthlink.net)



• *Echo* publisher Seán Finlay (left) with the 26-County consul general in New York, Eugene Hutchinson, at the paper's relaunch in September 2002.

and that the executive was unknown to the Irish community in New York.

The column also pointed out that the parade committee choose Cardinal Egan as grand marshal in 2002 and that Egan's big day coincided with the publication in the Hartford Courant newspaper of an article which in part said that while serving as bishop of the 'Bridgeport' Roman Catholic Diocese, Egan 'allowed several priests facing multiple accusations of

On December 23rd I received an email from the *Echo* editor Tom Connolly stating the following: 'I've decided to hold your column until the Jan. 8 issue. Sean Finlay thought it was not appropriate for the Christmas issue.'

On January 8th I got a further email: 'Sorry the column didn't appear in this issue. Sean has some problems with it that we are to discuss this week. I wasn't aware of the depth of his concerns until

ic criticisms it would be good to know what they are.'

Shortly after this I learned that Finlay told Connolly he had decided to 'spike' the column when he first read it in December. Connolly had one last suggestion: he would edit the column. I was dubious but saw no harm reading his revise. He emailed this version on January 31 saying: 'I have no idea what Finlay will say. I tried to remain faithful to your theme while taking some of the bite out of it.' The 'bite' had certainly been taken out of it and it bore only a passing resemblance to what I had written.

At this point I let Connolly know that the situation was untenable and I couldn't continue writing for the *Echo*. I was already aware that Finlay had found my first two columns disagreeable — the first was about the post 9/11 civil liberties situation in the US, the second was based on issues raised in Ed Moloney's book *A Secret History of the IRA*. I'd been told that as a result of the latter column, [Provisional] Sinn Féin's representative in Washington DC had made her extreme displeasure known to Finlay.

At the *Echo* Christmas party in mid December, Finlay told me that if he had his way my columns wouldn't appear in the newspaper. When I asked him about the nature of his objections he refused to elaborate. From what I have been told informally by *Echo* staffers, Finlay objected to criticism of Cardinal Egan, the St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee and the Ford Motor Company. Internally it was assumed that Finlay was worried about advertising in the large St. Patrick's Day issue being adversely affected.

Finlay, I was told, was also influenced by the representations that [Provisional] Sinn Féin had made after my second column was published.

WHAT THEY SAID

When revising a new edition of a book on the GAL (Spanish state-sponsored "dirty war" against the Basque ETA in the mid-1980s) less than a year ago, I wrote that "it was increasingly obvious that these allegations [of British state terrorism] are well founded, and that they should be investigated more energetically."

Nonetheless, it was still necessary to add that no one had yet made a convincing case that British "dirty war" operations were authorised by cabinet ministers.

— Irish Times, May 21, 2003, article by Paddy Woodworth.

First the Stevens Report, and now the allegations about agent "Stakeknife", mean that in a few weeks all that has changed utterly.

Whatever "Stakeknife's" real identity (or identities), both developments greatly strengthened the case that the British security forces colluded in both Republican and loyalist murders, and that this collusion was approved at the highest political level over several decades.

— Paddy Woodworth. From a democratic point of view, it would be heartening to think that we may now see investigations into the British "dirty war" which would go at least as far as Spain's have.

It would be salutary to see British (and Irish) politicians and security chiefs made judicially responsible for extra-judicial killings. If they were complicit in such crimes,

— Paddy Woodworth. Reduced to its simplest terms, the Spanish Socialist administration sued a "dirty war" strategy primarily to terrorise the French Basque community until France agreed to collaborate in extraditing ETA suspects.

— Paddy Woodworth. Fine Gael has become the first Irish political party to be abandoned by traditional military neutrality, saying Ireland should sign up to a European defence structure and substantially increase its defence spending.

— Irish Times, May 30, 2003/article by Mark Brennock, Chief Political Correspondent.

Resolution 1483 [of the UN], far from reasserting the authority of the UN, humiliates it . . . It is allowed to deal with victims. The occupying powers deal with the oil.

— Irish Times, May 31, 2003, article by Michael D Higgins.

Resonance of Inquiry listed and year set up in each case: Moriarty, 1997; Flood 1997; Laffoy Commission 1999; Lindsay 1999-02; Barron (Dublin bombings) and Dundalk (monaghans) 2000; Dunne

2000; Morris 2002; Barr 2002; Murphy 2002. — Irish Times, May 31, 2003.

Fine Gael's launch of a new foreign policy platform last week was a bold move by a party in desperate need of a unique selling point.

— Sunday Business Post, June 1, 2003, article by Pádraig, Political reporter.

It was the pinnacle of dramatic achievement for both the writer and the station (RTE) and, tragically, nothing on this scale has been seen since.

— Sunday Business Post, June 1, 2003, Tom McGurk column on the TV dramatisation of the late James Connolly's "Strumpet City" on the 1913 Lockout.

Don't waste your time fretting over the fortunes of the "freemart" to peace in the Middle East. It's all a fraud, following the contours of all the other frauds down the years.

— Sunday Business Post, June 1, 2003, Sunday OFF message by Alex Cockburn.

For its part, Israel knows that at its present rate of onslaught, it is only a matter of a few short years before it will have seized every useful acre of the occupied territories.

"But they're simply not there," Conway said. (Lt-Gen James Conway of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force in Iraq re the hunt for weapons of mass destruction.)

Although his commander-in-chief, President Bush, was declaring, "We found weapons of mass destruction," Conway indicated that it "still very much remains to be seen" whether the search will produce anything more than a couple of supposed "mobile labs" that had no traces of biotoxins.

— *Irish Daily Column*, (New York), Daily News, June 1, 2003.

He was provided with aerial photographs of the area showing security cameras and lookout positions from the joint RUC/British army security installations that overlooks the cemetery.

— Sunday Business Post, June 1, 2003, article on Michael Stone's book in reference to his killing of three people and injuring 63 during a funeral in Milltown cemetery, Belfast in 1982.

He used weapons taken from the South African shipment imported by British Military Intelligence and UD/RAF agent Brian Nelson. He also admits using an RUC issue Ruger pistol and ammunition and confirms that a member of the RUC did not try to collect the illegal weapons.

— Sunday Business Post.

Stone was informed that, after the attack, he would be picked up on the M1 motorway that runs parallel to the cemetery. He received RUC photos, EVIDENCE and file material on people to target and was rescued by the RUC as soon as he was caught by mourners.

— Sunday Business Post. Families of the victims are taking court action to confiscate some of the pro-

ceeds of Stone's recently published book. They are also suing the RUC/PSNI, Chief Constable and the British Ministry of Defence for damages.

"If you love the US and its traditions, you must embrace the right of citizens to say no. This is not a monarchy. We don't bend our knees to any king. And that principle goes for the rest of the world. Bush is President of the US. He is not King of the World."

— *Pate Hamilton column*, Daily News, June 1, 2003.

In the relationships among nations, there should be no obligation for weak countries to bow before the strong. For the moment, the US is the most powerful nation on the planet.

But other nations — France, Germany, Russia, China — should be able to respectfully disagree with the US and not be dismissed with sneers or threats.

— *Eileen Hanlon column*, Sunday Business Post, June 1, 2003.

The mainstream media's "biased" coverage of the recent war in Iraq as well as its portrayal of anti-imperialist protesters have given the reason for protests planned at the World Association of Newspapers congress in Dublin today.

— *Kevin O'Sullivan report by Kitty Holland*, June 9, 2003.

This time, it leaps out at you that the reason for going into Iraq — to stop them from blowing us up with nuclear weapons — was an outright lie.

— *Newsday*, June 15, 2003, Commentary by Jimmy Breslin.

What kind of a lie and why it was told is something that only a full investigation by the Congress, full and on television, can tell the public and tell us who lied and why.

— *Jimmy Breslin*.

[David] Bursade, of course, is a straight out of the Broderbund unionist tradition. A former acolyte of Bill Craig and one of his young Praetorian Guard, he was a member of Vanguard (which distinction he shared with Trimble). In his younger days, he was wont to join the reviewing platform party at UDA march-pasts.

— Sunday Business Post, June 15, 2003, Tom McGurk column.

Under international law, all Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories are illegal.

Between 1993 (Oslo Accords signed) and 2002, the number of Israeli settlers in the Palestinian territories has increased by 50%, from 247,000 to 380,000. In the Gaza Strip, there are 1.1 million Palestinians, 7,000 Israeli settlers occupy 25% of the land.

— Sunday Business Post, June 15, 2003, letter to Editor from Martin Gleeson, Cooilough Road, Galway.

If a lasting peace is to be achieved in the Middle East, Israel must obey international law and withdraw its military and its colonists from the Palestinian territories.

Israel must also support the establishment of a viable, independent Palestinian state.

— *Letter to the Editor*, Sunday Business Post.

It is a fact that a previous generation of Protestants, and particularly Dissenters and Presbyterians, found Republicanism to be attractive.

Many fought, suffered and died for it. It is time their descendants opened the history book and studied why this was so.

Our task should be to help them to do this, now that so many of them feel abandoned by England.

— *Irish News (Belfast)* June 16, 2003, report of Seán Ó Brádaigh's address at Bodensown.

An Irish patriot died for a new Stormont or a new-style English Crown police force. But some are so conceited in their self-importance that they think they can ignore this truth.

— *Irish Times*, June 16, 2003, report on Bodensown address.

Meanwhile, it emerged yesterday in the Special Criminal Court that Mr Rupert was paid 1.25 million dollars for his work as an agent of the FBI and British security services.

— *Irish Times*, June 19, 2003.

Some months later he [Rupert] agreed to work for the British Secret Service. "He would work for whoever would pay him. He described himself as a whore, saying whoever would pay him he would work for," said Mr Birmingham (Prosecuting Counsel).

— *Irish Times*.

He [Michael McKevitt] said Mr Rupert's role would be to bring Republican Sinn Féin on board as the political arm of the British Secret Service (Mr Birmingham to the Non-Jury Court).

— *Irish Times*. Republican Sinn Féin immediately rejected Rupert's overtures, of course.

An rud a dhéanam Fine Gael inniu, déanfadh Fianna Fáil aistriach.

— *Irish Times*, June 19, 2003, *allé h'Alan Tiley*.

Lean siad [Fianna Fáil] isteach sa Dáil [26 Chontae] áil bílanta ina ndiaidh, lig do phríobháideach phoiliatíochta dúl dá mbás, ghabh leis an gaicpítheachas go fiata (airgead) sna seachas sear-airgead, ghéibh do dhúirt na Gaeilge 'eigeannt', chaigh i gcomhlathas, d'aithin na Sé Chontae, agus anois tá ag dúl i nboige maidir le neodracht na tíre.

"M'airgead air an lean-faith FF na FuíGeanna isteach in NATO, Arm na hEorpa, Arm an Airgid, Arm na Tíre, Arm na Domhain. Tugaimis, abair, deich mbiliana don gheall."

— *Alan Tiley*.

Tá Fianna Fáil anois ar an bhfód a ráibh Fine Gael ann sna 1960s, agus tá Sinn Féin [Sealadach] san áit ráibh Fianna Fáil sna 1920s. East, Israel must obey international law and withdraw its military and its colonists from the Palestinian territories.

Israel must also support the establishment of a viable, independent Palestinian state.

— *Alan Tiley*.

Tá siad [Fine Gael] ag iarraidh orainn ghabháil i

bpáirt le NATO nuair at na Séid Anntáir, tar dis NATO a chur ar chúl an bháic; is iad Eorpa de na páirtithe uile iad, nuair nach mbéid san eorpa feasta ach faidhne ar smg Mhóiréac, agus rubha de chuid nach háise; tá a gceol leis a gComhlathas Angla-Mhéiriceanach.

— *Alan Tiley*.

The war in Iraq is an example of a manufactured dispute which allows the US/UK (sic) to wage war against a weak, defeated enemy while the important outcome is to show the world that to oppose the US/UK on any issue has real and defeated consequences for you.

Fourth-tier magazine, Summer 2003, *Slobdhan O'Dwyer* "examines the Bush doctrine of permanent war" that the "real politics of despair these acts [suicide bombings] and groups represent are a direct challenge for those of us who continue to believe that real change in the world can only come about through political organisation and people acting together to change things."

— *Slobdhan O'Dwyer*.

In recent times, Gray writes, the so-called "laws of economics" have been invoked to support the idea that the "free market" should be the model for economic life everywhere: "Americans see their country as embodying universal values. Other countries see the American way of life as one of many . . ."

— *Irish Times Weekend Review*, June 21, 2003, book review by Bill McKeweney of the *Irish School of Economics*.

Gray cites key documents of the Bush administration to demonstrate how the naive tenets of the Enlightenment underpin the strategy of the White House to promote US style capitalism throughout the world — in the belief, as the president expressed it, that the US system embodies "the only sustainable model of human development."

— *Bill McKeweney*.

David Rupert has a history of fraud, deception and scams run with gangsters — and he is the prosecution's star witness.

— Sunday Business Post, June 22, 2003, article by Barry O'Kelly, *Crime Correspondent*.

Provisionally, Sinn Féin has no incentive to strike a painful deal when tomorrow he could be supplanted by someone who would declare all previous bargains null and void.

— Sunday Business Post, June 22, 2003, *Niall Stange*.

The end of unionist domination — and the gradual dissolution of the arrogance that has always gone with it — is, of course, a good thing. But the picture is not as simple as that.

— *Niall Stange*.

As the UUP laps into ever-shriller discord, it becomes harder for its cheerleaders in the media and political worlds to disguise or deny its essential nature.

— *Niall Stange*. Meanwhile, Ireland, having asserted her neutral-

ity in 1939, has shamefully abandoned it in 2003 when it could have made a difference by shing a light, if only a candlelight, on war and murder masquerading as peace.

— *Irish Times*, June 26, 2003, letter to Editor from Edward Horgan, Commandant (retired), Newtown, Limerick; *Was this the man who took the constitutional court case regarding the use of Shannon Airport for the Iraq war?*

Up to 20 plain-clothes FBI and Special Branch officers sit or stand in the recesses of the court. Security is tight on entering the building. A helicopter overhead signals Rupert's arrival and departure.

— *Irish Times*, June 28, 2003, *Weekend Review* article by Suzanne Brennan.

That the present form of globalisation benefits global capital more than the region's economies and peoples.

Its response, increasingly, is not to seek more globalisation but a different form of globalisation.

— *Irish Times*, June 28, 2003, *World View*, by Peadar Kirby, co-director of the Centre for International Studies, DCU.

Rupert agreed in court that the contract now paid him a total of \$19,000 a month. It is the best regular wage he has ever had, he said.

— Sunday Business Post, June 29, 2003, article by Barry O'Kelly.

His testimony on this crucial issue [the Omagh bomb] was scattered.

— *Barry O'Kelly*.

The UUP will be in no state to fight an election before next year, bullish noises from Dublin about this autumn notwithstanding. One option is a [Stormont] assembly election on the same day as the designated election next June. Don't count on it though.

— Sunday Tribune, June 29, 2003, article by Brian Feeney.

He [Trimble] would not command majority unionist consent (following an election). Indeed, he has not done so since spring 2001 when Peter Weir and Polly Armitage defected.

That is why in autumn 2001 the Alliance Party and Women's Coalition had to designate themselves unionist for a day to re-elect Trimble first minister.

— *Brian Feeney*.

Film-maker Paul Larkin told an audience at the Gresham Hotel (Dublin) last Friday night that the authorities in the Republic (sic) had assisted "an extreme rightwing and unaccountable oligarchy" in the North during the Troubles.

— Sunday Business Post, June 29, 2003, report by Paul T. Colgan.

Larkin, who has made several films detailing British "dirty tricks", said he believed the Dublin and Monaghan bombings that claimed the lives of 33 people in 1974 were orchestrated by an accountable British military cabal.

— Sunday Business Post.

Robert Emmet

A chara
If I was a sculptor I would chisel in marble my ideal of a hero.

I would make it the figure of an Irishman sacrificing his life and his hopes on the altar of his country and on the pedestal I would inscribe the name of Robert Emmet.

GEORGE HARRISON
Patron
Republican Sinn Féin
New York and Mayo

Name And Shame Lists Selective

A chara
The name and shame programme instituted to expose private citizens to public scorn for tax evasion is inherently selective.

Omitted from the McCarthy-like lists published in draconian fashion by the Dublin Revenue Commissioners are the names of many amongst the ranks of the ultra rich for whom tax loopholes, tax havens and off-shore facilities have been especially established.

The Sunday Times (June 18, 2000) ran a story related to the investigations of off-shore accounts.

Depositories for vast sums of money.
Incidentally no one was charged as a result of the investigations into this wealth, often obtained through fraud.

One example only . . .

"Billions of pounds looted from state funds in Croatia by the former president, Franco Tudjman, and his cronies were laundered through banks in London and offshore accounts in the Channel Islands and the Caribbean according to transcripts of Tudjman's conversations obtained by the Sunday Times.

Evidence has emerged, the Sunday Times goes on to say that Croatian officials enriched themselves and their families by manipulating privatization transactions and by handing out lucrative state contracts and loans that were never repaid.

In one financial scandal Franco Tudjman's main political adviser Ivan Pasalic arranged the sale of part of a national mobile telephone concession to Deutsche Telekom in 1999 for £60 billion. Proceeds were deposited in an Irish banking account.

No naming and shaming envisaged for these and other



beneficiaries and who knows possibly creators of the era of the Celtic Tiger.

Tax-annexed funds.
Alice in Wonderland territory complete with all the logic of the Mad Hatter. The State inaugurates a tax annuity facility to avail of funds requiring no identification as to source since this might be embarrassing all round.

Tax consultants advise Irish and international investors as to the desirability of depositing funds in tax havens and non-resident accounts and offshore facilities in a climate of wholesale corporate fraud and chicanery reminiscent of nothing so much as the glory days of the Tammany Hall administration in New York in a bygone though fondly-remembered era.

Might it not be said that many of the men and women named and shamed publicly in Ireland have been victims of a kind of entrapment

programme with the initiators of that programme getting off scot-free?

As for those who have joined in this latter-day witch-hunt to decry fraud they might well consider that in this day and age it has become an institutionalised way of life.

The war on Iraq for example.

Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle, advisers to President Bush, have recently acknowledged the "weapons of mass destruction" thesis to have been pure fabrication foisted upon a gullible public to engender support for a war on Iraq and occupation of that country as part of a programme geared to securing all the oilfields in the Middle East according to some sources.

Wars for corporate profit funded by taxpayers generally. Named and shamed and otherwise.

JOHN KELLY
Co Westmeath

Dreamers And Visionaries

A chara
They call us dreamers, fundamentalists, dissidents.
Tone had a vision.
Martin Luther King had a dream.

Nelson Mandela had a vision.
Pádraig H Pearse had a dream.

Let's keep dreaming.
SEAMUS WALSH
London

Sorry Spectacle

A chara
Thank heavens we won't

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

Name and address must be included, but on request will not be published. Letters printed do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of SAOIRSE.

Postal address: 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1. Letters may also be faxed to Dublin 872 9757 or by e-mail to saoirse@iol.ie

JOHN BANNON
Belfast 14.

Dónal O'Neill

THE death took place in Dublin on June 23 of Dónal O'Neill, late of Letter, Cahersiveen, Co Kerry.

Another link in the chain that was the O'Neill's of Cahersiveen has been broken. This great and noble family has given so much to the cause of Irish Republicanism during the years has lost a great stalwart in the passing of Dónal O'Neill.

Dónal O'Neill was true to

the spirit of his martyred brother, Maurice O'Neill, shot dead by the Free Staters in 1942, all through his life. He lived several decades in the United States and was very active with Clan na Gael and the Irish Freedom Committee. He returned to live in Dublin where he was extremely close to the late Dáithí Ó Conaill in

later years lived in Wexford and finally retired to Dublin.

When the Provos took the constitutional path in 1986, Dónal O'Neill was a key figure in reorganising the Republican Movement in the Wexford area and indeed throughout the country. He had a great love for Irish language and culture and used his native tongue whenever he could. His dedication to all things Irish was an inspiration to all Republicans.

All his life Dónal supported Republican prisoners and

their dependants and worked for CABHAIR in his last years

On June 26 a lone pierper led Dónal's remains following 12 o'clock Mass at Carrig Church, outside Dingle in west Kerry to Cillmáolchúadair, accompanied by Guard of Honour from the Republican Movement.

The graveside oration was delivered by Matt Leon, Dónal, a long-time comrade of Tralee, in the course of which he said:

"Dónal O'Neill was only 16 years old when his brother Maurice was executed at Mountjoy jail by the Fiamma Fáil Free State Administration. It is 61 years since that fateful day and in the intervening years when the flame of Republicanism flickered, as others compromised and took short cuts, the O'Neill's of Cahersiveen always stayed true to the ideals and principles for which their gallant brother gave his young life."

Dónal lived away from

Kerry, in the USA, Wexford and Dublin for most of his life but his wish that he be laid to rest in Kerry was granted. The lone pierper played a lament, a gentle mist came down from the hills as Matt Leon recited the poem, I am a Kerry. Dónal O'Neill was reunited with his late wife Eileen who had passed away at a young age.

Proceedings were brought to a close when the pierper played Anárán na bhFiann. The Republican Movement extended sincere sympathy to all the O'Neill family.

Seamus Ó Góilidhe

WITH regret we note the passing of Seamus Ó Góilidhe of Cork and Dublin, former Curragh internee 1940-43 who died on June 25. He was 88.

A fluent Irish speaker and a dedicated Gaeilgeoir Seamus was best known to Republicans as the nephew of Margaret Buckley, President of Sinn Féin 1937-50.

Born in Cork city Seamus was orphaned at ten years when his mother died in 1925. The family was scattered, his sister to an aunt in Scotland where his father was

working and he himself to Margaret Buckley in Dublin.

He was "an only child in that comfortable book-lined house in Marguerite Road, Glasnevin", he attested. O'Connell Schools. He joined the Ard-Chraoibh of Conradh na Gaeilge, became an affiliate as Ghaeilge agus ag léamh go leor.

He sought membership in



• Seamus Ó Góilidhe agus a bhean Peigi

the IRA and at their first outdoor parade about Easter 1940 the entire recruits class

of 30 was arrested. Seamus was interned without trial at the Curragh from then until

had a strong faith and a deep devotion to the Virgin Mary and was a regular pilgrim to Knock and Lourdes.

Her remains were removed to St Patrick's Church, Holywell and a guard of honour of children from St Columba's and Tattysgar schools.

A large crowd was in attendance the next day including a good representation from Republican Sinn Féin as she was laid to rest in the adjoining ceremony, her coffin flanked by guard of honour comprising of St

Columban's and Tattysgar schools.

SAOIRSE extends sincere sympathy to her five children, son Liam, daughters Catherine, Anne, Patricia and Carmel; six grandchildren, Pádraig, Séimí, Liam and Ullan Rafferty and Patrice and Cillian Murray; her sons-in-law Jimmy Rafferty and Seán Murray; her sisters Rita, Bundoran; Annie, Limerick; Ellen, Galway and Gráinne Timoney; Tullygrevagh, Belcoo; brothers, Cathal and Pat Kelly, Glenfarne and Dublin and her aunt, Sr Benignus, Convent of Mercy, Dungannon.

September 1943.

In the Camp he was very much involved in cultural activities, drama, singing, and sports. In 1948 he married Peggy Morris of Dublin, who predeceased him.

In Unseann Mac Eoin's *IRA in the Twilight Years 1923-48* Seamus gives an account of his activities and an illuminating insight into Margaret Buckley. Dúirt sé: "Ba bhearna mhór i mo shaoil

é bheith i bpríosún, ach níl aon aifeáil orm dá bhrár."

The removal took place to St. Canice's Church, Glasnevin on June 27 with requiem Mass next day and funeral to Glasnevin Cemetery. An tAthair Piaras Ó Duill OFM-Cap officiated at the obsequies.

Sympathy is expressed to his sister, Joyce, his Morris in-laws, relatives and friends.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dachtaí

Beannachtaí

BEST wishes for a speedy recovery to Liam Cotter, Tralee. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

BEST wishes for a speedy recovery to Liam Cotter, Tralee. From Cumann Maurice O'Neill, Republican Sinn Féin, Cahersiveen, Co Kerry.

BEST wishes for a speedy recovery to Liam Cotter, Tralee. From the Garvey family, Cahersiveen, Co Kerry.

BEST wishes for a speedy recovery to Liam Cotter, Tralee. From Jim O'Shea, Cahersiveen, Co Kerry.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. From his brother Colum and all the family in Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. From Republican Sinn Féin, Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Republican PO, Portlaoise jail. From Tiny and Nora Lynch, Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. Have a nice birthday. From Ken, Eddy, Christy, Wesley, John, Joe, Brendan, David and Ger, Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. From Na Fiamma Linneach, Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. From all your friends in Weston, Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. From Seán O'Neill, Limerick.

BIRTHDAY greetings to Timmy King, Portlaoise jail. From Des and Annette Long, Limerick.

Comhghairdeas

CONGRATULATIONS to Cathleen Knowles McGuirk on passing her final examinations for her BA degree. From all at Ard Orlóg, Republican Sinn Féin.

Brigid Magee

REPUBLICANS in Fermanagh and Donegal and indeed throughout Ireland were saddened to learn of the death on May 3 of Brigid Magee of Belcoo, Co Fermanagh. She was 70.

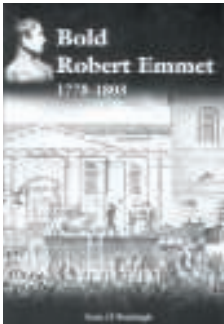
Born in Dunganon, Co Tyrone, the daughter of Tom and Anne-Marie Kelly she moved in 1944 with her family to Glenfarne where she lived until her marriage to her late husband Patsy Magee, from Aughavass, in 1958. They had five children.

Brigid Magee came from a strong Republican background and was a faithful

Republican all her life, as was her husband Patsy. Following the split in 1986 she and Patsy remained true to Republican ideals and were members of Republican Sinn Féin until their deaths.

She was steeped in Irish culture and was a founder member of the Belcoo branch of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann. A lifelong Pioneer, she

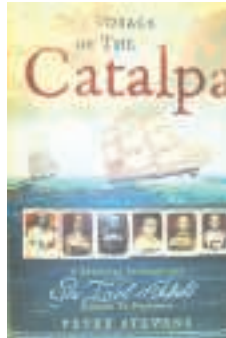
Selection of goods from Irish Freedom



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CORONATION EXPLOSIONS, IMPRISONMENT AND AN ARMS RAID

50 Years Ago

DURING June 1953 further military actions against the coronation of the Queen of England as "Queen of Ireland" were carried out by the Irish Republican Army.

The Savoy Cinema in Newry, Co Down was warned not to show the film of the coronation. It disregarded the warning and an explosion in the middle of the night destroyed the building. The film had to be withdrawn.

Later a cinema in Banbridge in the same county was extensively damaged for the same reason. The July issue of *An t-Oglach* — Official Organ of the Irish Republican Army commented:

"That the Headquarters training classes in Engineering are proving successful in turning out efficient Engineers was clearly demonstrated in some recent Army operations, e.g the destruction of Newry cinema, extensive damage to Banbridge cinema and the blowing up of the railway bridge and cutting of the line on the Armagh/Louth border.

"The section which carried out the operation on the Newry cinema had a splendid job of engineering by causing the maximum amount of damage to their objective whilst doing a minimum of damage to adjoining property.

"Given the materials, almost anyone can cause an explosion; it is only the trained Engineer who can estimate the amount of explosives to use and place the charge where it will do the most effective damage."

In this instance, the charge being placed on the steel girder supporting the balcony resulted in the collapse of the balcony, the roof being blown off and the interior turned into a shambles."

The *Irish Times* carried a photograph of the destruction which was reproduced in *An t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* of July 1953.

An t-Oglach continued: "The section which carried out the operation on Banbridge cinema merits high commendation for the initiative displayed in overcoming the vigilance of a twenty-four hour police guard on the premises. Some of the guard were actually in the cinema when the explosion occurred."

It appears the RUC were in the main body of the building when the front wall and foyer of the cinema were blown out. No injuries were caused in either the Newry operation or that in Banbridge some days later.

Some days subsequent to the two explosions the RUC raided a shop and premises occupied by Patrick Campbell, his three sons and a daughter at 34 Castle Street, Newry on June 23.

Four men later appeared at Down Assizes on July 6 on a charge of having explosive substances in their possession or under their control on June 23.

They were Patrick Campbell (62), his two sons Joseph (31) and Edward (29), shoemakers, all of Castle St, Newry and Michael Hollywood (25), labourer, St. Clare's Avenue, Newry.

Head Constable A Deighan, Newry, gave evidence of raiding the shop and premises at 34 Castle St. in the afternoon of June 23. He and other police found twelve sticks of gelignite in the chimney flue of a back bedroom. The four accused were on



• **Tomás Mac Curtáin unveiling a memorial to Republican soldiers at Beaufort, Co Kerry in 1953.**

the premises at the time.

When Joseph Campbell was asked how he pleaded to the charge, he replied: "I have taken responsibility for the stuff found. I exonerate from all blame these other people who could not possibly have known I had the stuff."

"Furthermore, as a soldier of the Irish Republican Army I take no further interest in this case," he added. Asked if he wished to give evidence or call witnesses, he declined.

The jury found Joseph Campbell guilty and on the direction of Judge Curran, the other three not guilty. Next day at Downpatrick, Joseph Campbell was sentenced to five years penal servitude.

"You are a destructive agent," Judge Curran announced as he sentenced Campbell. It was not Joseph Campbell's first time to be in prison. He was interned without trial in D-Wing of Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast in the 1940s and spent several years there.

FIRST CASUALTY

This was the first casualty of the new era in Republican history. The jails had been empty of political prisoners from 1950 to 1953 and now it was necessary to provide for the welfare and the defendants of Republican prisoners.

Therefore, Volunteers were not surprised to read in the July 1953 issue of *An t-Oglach* a notice entitled "Republican Aid Committee".

It read: "A committee has now been set up which will be responsible for the raising of funds for the relief of prisoners' dependants. Unit Commanders are urged to see that a branch of this Committee is set up in their area without delay."

"Notification of the formation of a branch should be sent to: The Secretary, Republican Aid Committee, c/o United Irishman, 94 Talbot Street, Dublin." The Movement was gearing itself up for the next phase of the fight for Irish freedom.

The Editorial in *An t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, July issue was headed "The Coronation — and after". The article summed up the situation by calling the claim to be "Queen of Northern Ireland" a blessing in disguise, because it aroused some feeling of nationality among Irish people.

Cinema managers in Dublin did not think it advisable to show Coronation films. Pro-British elements who wished to put on public showings had to abandon their flamboyant publicity. They cancelled their showings or arranged them under conditions of secrecy.

The British Royal visit to the Six Counties was accompanied by wholesale raids and arrests and huge concentrations of British military and armed police. This

demonstrated to the world that the English Queen was being used to show that English influence here was based on power, on stark, naked aggression despite Irish opposition.

The challenge was to the whole Irish nation and such insults would continue while the British Army occupies any part of our country. We should build the Movement and this position for and on all.

Indeed the situation indicated by the Editorial contrasted sharply with that of 1937 when George VI was crowned "King of Ireland". Then the pro-British elements were emboldened and brazen. The Cork office of the Irish Times was festooned by Coronation trappings until the IRA took action. Bricks wrapped up as a brown-paper parcels, were hurled across the street at the *Times* windows, smashing them with loud reports — as in explosions.

REPUBLICAN PROTEST

A Republican protest rioting arranged for the centre of Dublin was banned by Leinster House. It proceeded anyway and was batoned off the street by the centre-city Riot Squad of the 26-County police.

Next evening a protest meeting was called for the same spot. A parade from Beresford Place fought its way to O'Connell Street. There Tom Barry and Frank Ryan — their heads bandaged from the previous night — addressed the crowd while clinging to the statue of Sir John Greay.

This time the drawn guns of the IRA kept the Riot Squad at bay. "Shots and Baton Charges at Dublin Meeting" reported the press next day.

But Ireland's honour had been saved by those Republicans who had repudiated the shame of those in power in meekly accepting British overlordship. The contrast in 1953 could not have been greater.

The Republican newspaper in July 1953 reported on the highly successful Bodenstown commemoration of June 21. Tomás Mac Curtáin of Cork gave the oration in which he said:

"We shall continue to come to Bodenstown and there will always be men in Ireland prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Cause, and if necessary to die as Tone did, as long as any foreign monarch is enthroned over any part of this country."

Cainteoir Iofa Ghaeiligh doh ea Mac Curtáin: "Bláin i ndiaidh bliana tagaimid anseo agus caithimid cipla neamait in ár seasamh timpeall an fhóid bheannaithe seo. "Blonn bród agus brón mearcaithe in ár gcóiríthe. Brón toise go ráibh gáid agus go bhfaigheadh fear comh breá, comh h-uasal, comh calma, bás in a aoanáir i measc náimhad."

"Bród toise náir thair ar Eirinn riamh fir mar é do dhír sa bhliain abhoil nuair a bhí cúis na saoirse i gcrúa-chúis."

"It is my duty and privilege today to speak on behalf of the Irish Republican Army, the historic successor of Tone and Emmet and Mitchel and Pearse and Brugha."

"Tone in his day, as Pearse at a later date, though starting out as constitutional agitators, were relentlessly driven to the conclusion that in the face of British superiority, force, constitutional agitation was mere-

ly 'a snare, a fraud and a delusion', and the only means by which freedom could be attained."

"History provides abundant proof that the opportunities of making a decisive strike can only be availed of by forces which are ready to grasp that opportunity."

"As we stand today around Tone's grave, we dedicate ourselves once more to that task which lies before us. Convinced of the justice of our Cause, we promise that we will not pause or relent or turn aside until we have achieved political, social and economic freedom for our country and Ireland proud and free shall take her rightful place among the nations of the earth."

MESSAGE FROM CLAN NA GAEL

Tom MacMonagale of the Clan na Gael in America brought a message:

"To you who are still proponents of the philosophy of Tone, Emmet and Pearse, I bring this word of encouragement from the Clan na Gael in America:

"That, while false concepts of democracy may have somewhat distorted the thinking of many of our people in the States, we in Clan na Gael are still with you."

"We will be with you till the last vestiges of British Imperialism whether direct or indirect have been banished from the land - when Emmet's epitaph can be written, when Ireland is at last free."

Under the Clan na Gael message was a advertisement for a new Republican newspaper: "Support *Revueur Ulster*, published at 37 Institution Place, Belfast". The subscription was the same as for *An t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, three pence per month.

At the end of July 1953 came news of another arms raid by the IRA, this time in England. Taken were 99 British Army .303 Lee-Enfield rifles, eight Bren guns, 10 Sten sub-machine guns, a Flat-top tank gun, a two-inch mortar, six mortar bombs and a Browning machine gun.

They were seized from the large armoury for the cadet force of Felstead public school, Felstead, Essex. The raiders cut two of the frames from a window and undid the catch. Before getting inside they cut through an iron bar. Felstead School was founded in 1564 and among its pupils was Richard Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell.

At 3.20am on Sunday, morning July 26, in Bishops Cleeve, Hertfordshire a police patrol followed a van for about a mile and then stopped it. It was heavily laden with the arms mentioned.

Three Irishmen were inside. They were Manus Canning (27) a painter of Lecky Road, Derry; Cathal Goulding (31) also a painter, St Edna's Drive, Silver Acre, Rathfarnham, Dublin and Seán Stephenson (25) a railway worker, who gave no address.

All three were charged with "possession of property reasonably suspected of having been stolen". Was the van overloaded and did it thus draw the attention of the police at an early hour? Some reports said a tailight was missing.

A *Daily Telegraph* report stated that the police believed the "robbery", one of the largest arms hauls in a single "theft" was "part of a well-organised plot and loss of such a large number of weapons were considered most serious."

(More next month Refs: *An t-Eireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, July 1953; *An t-Oglach* — Official Organ of the Irish Republican Army; *The Daily Telegraph*, July 1953; *The Irish Press*, July 27, 28, 29, 31 and August 1, 1953; *The Sunday Press*, August 2, 1953 and *The Evening Herald*, July 28, 1953.)

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent

SECRECY has been the hallmark of the Bush administration so it is no surprise that the role of the Grand Jury has been closely embraced for utilization as a political tool of judicial opportunity. Matters occurring before Federal Grand Juries have historically been kept secret. The new Patriot Act has loosened up the secrecy rule in the government's favour to the detriment of witnesses, who are placed in fear.

Grand Juries are intended for use in the investigation and prosecution of crimes. The Grand Jury is used by prosecutors for fishing expeditions in many areas not necessarily related to the original matter, and that means anything goes. The Grand Jury is America's star chamber, a process for setting people up by arbitrary innuendo both witnesses and other targets.

It is a one-sided process exclusively intended for use in the investigation and the prosecution of crime. It has a dual function, both to protect protection for those accused of serious Federal offences and a Government tool to determine wrongdoing.

Sperting out of the public eye, the Grand Jury is by far the most powerful investigative agency in the Federal criminal justice system. The Federal Grand Jury can compel the cooperation of people who may have information relevant to the matters it is investigating or what it hopes to fish and uncover.

If you are subpoenaed before a Grand Jury and fail to appear, or appear and refuse to answer questions, you will be held in contempt. A prosecutor, who has the agenda can use the Grand Jury as a tool to glean private information against political enemies.

A Grand Jury witness may be confined in prison if he refuses to answer questions until he complies with the court's order that he testify or provide documentary evidence, that the period of confinement may not exceed the Grand Jury's term which is usually 18 months. However, he may be subpoenaed to testify again before another Grand Jury. This means the possibility of an indefinite confinement.

In other words if you refuse to answer questions satisfactorily, you can be imprisoned (interned) without trial indefinitely. In many cases, witnesses are reluctant to give information they are only vaguely familiar with because the jury can take it and interpret it any way they wish.

If a witness is called, there are assumptions made that implicate those called to testify in the activities being investigated. There are no limits to the Jury and what it may query and it has unparalleled access to documents and other property.

The owner of documents or other evidence sought by the Grand Jury is presumed to have a right to privacy that is not to be breached without his consent unless the Government clearly establishes probable cause before a neutral magistrate.

However, a Grand Jury can subpoena the owner of documents or other evidence to present to the Grand Jury on pain of being held in contempt without showing probable cause.

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that a subpoena is constitutionally valid unless the potential witness shows there is no possibility that the materials sought by the Government will produce information relevant to the general subject of the Grand Jury's investigation.

People who are subpoenaed think that can assert their rights and privileges but the Government owns the jury and the Government gets what it seeks. If a prosecutor wants a witness and/or his documents and the witness claims a valid privilege, the witness may be provided with immunity from prosecution and then referred to court with the subpoena to testify or produce evidence.

Immunity is many times a caution that the prosecutor wants to probe unsuspecting people into implications of a conspiracy and that is emphatically political. In the case such as Irish arms cases, Mafia cases and Al Qaeda cases many go before the Grand Jury and the prosecutors get pieces of information from individuals and they are pieced together to form a fiction, allowing the government to dig deeper until people are framed and tainted for life, guilty or not, even if not convicted. The Grand Jury is a threat and a method of controlling people.

SECURITY GUARANTEED

Secrecy is supposed to be a guarantee for witnesses, but information is conveniently leaked in a slanderous fashion. Only a witness can disclose his own testimony.

When Grand Jury matters are disclosed to Government personnel those individuals are expressly forbidden to use the Grand Jury materi-

al for any other purpose than assisting the Government attorney to enforce the Federal criminal law. The rule of secrecy is broken at will by avaricious prosecutors who are seeking political advancement. The court has a distinct role in supervising and protecting Grand Jury secrecy and determining where exceptions to the rule may occur.

Historically testimony can be disclosed if a 'particular need' is shown or courts can order disclosure to a defendant if valid grounds exist for a motion to dismiss an indictment because of matters occurring before the Grand Jury. The latter will be permitted when the prosecution has pre-determined not to proceed.

There are three distinct reasons for secrecy. If a witness thought his or her testimony were to be made public, there would be a hesitancy to come forward to give testimony. If the witness did testify, he would not be likely to be frank and fully forthcoming, because they might fear retribution.

Finally, those accused by the Grand Jury will not later be held up to public ridicule by insinuation. It is a very scary process and there are few forms in which a Government's entity has such unregulated power to order disclosure of Grand Jury materials to a state official. In 2000, an amendment permitted disclosure in relation to forfeiture provisions under federal law.

The trend with the Grand Jury is to permit revelation of testimony by the Government. In 1985, the US Congress permitted courts to order disclosure of Grand Jury materials to a state official. In 2000, an amendment permitted disclosure in relation to forfeiture provisions under federal law.

Now, under the Patriot Act disclosure is permitted without a court order to a long list of Federal Agencies with duties unrelated to Law Enforcement. The information is supposed to relate to foreign intelligence but the application is broad rather than narrow.

The Patriot Act states that in a reasonable time after a disclosure an attorney for the government should file a notice with the court stating the details. Politics being what they are information is leaked by government sources against enemies and rivals.

Such is the case with former Massachusetts Senate President William Bulger. William Bulger's

brother (Whitey Bulger) is part of the Irish mob in Boston among other things. Bulger has been involved in murder, drugs and gun-running to Ireland. He has been on the run for eight years after he was tipped off that he was to be indicted. It was also made known that he had been an FBI informant for years. The deal was Bulger was allowed to continue his criminal activities including 20 murders as long as he fed the FBI information on other criminals. His handler was FBI Agent John 'Zip' [redacted], a friend from south Boston.

It has been revealed that the Boston FBI was part of a criminal enterprise. Connolly tipped off Bulger that the government was closing in and he should disappear.

An investigation of the FBI and Bulger's Winter Hill gang revealed collusion between agents and mobsters. A Congressional Committee came to Boston to interview witnesses about the corruption and a [redacted] Connolly and his FBI cohorts bought time in prison. The Committee called Whitey's brother William Bulger to be questioned. He had also been questioned by a Federal Grand Jury.

WHITEN first questioned by the committee Bill Bulger, as is his right, refused to answer many questions sighting the Fifth Amendment of the US Constitution that protects against self-incrimination.

The line of questioning proved the Committee was trying to set him up though they know he was innocent. It was the implication of guilt by association with his brother.

Since his retirement from politics, Bill Bulger has been President of the University of Massachusetts and done an excellent job even according to his opponents.

Massachusetts Governor, Mitt Romney wants Bulger out so he can get a plush job to a friend, so he is almost daily slandering Bulger.

Romney in collusion with the Chairman of the Congressional Committee, Dan Burton, and the White House drew up a plan to bring Bulger down and to destroy the Democratic Party of Massachusetts in the process. All are members of the GOP (Republican Party), the anti-Irish Party.

Using his sources as he put his plan into operation, Romney along with Burton and Bush leaked or ordered leaked the Bulger testimony to the Grand Jury which is illegal and compromised Bulger and the credibility of the Grand Jury.

Also, immunity was given to Bulger to testify again before the committee and he was forced to testify, which he did, on June 19, 2003. The GOP interrogators were political, hostile and anti-Irish.

Congressman Shays (R-Conn)

as a example of Whitey Bulgers activity asked brother Bulger if he had ever heard of the Valliant and sending arms to Ireland which is one of the crimes Whitey is accused of.

Shays asked Bulger if Bulger was proud of his brother but he denied any comment. Irish activists in Boston who had watched the Bulgers interest and support of things Irish.

He attended Irish functions frequently and spoke passionately of Ireland's right to be free. He was a powerful man who approached and never forgot his roots in South Boston. He came up poor and worked hard to achieve success.

SILVER SPOON

Unlike Mr Bulger, Governor Mitt Romney was born with the proverbial silver spoon with guaranteed wealth, with all the opportunities in life handed to him. Hopefully people will see through him before his next election. By the way, his church was the Episcopal Church Order as the most humanitarian group in the North of Ireland. The Church of the Latter Day saints leaders commended American and Irish Civil Rights leaders as Communists. Mitt Romney is entitled by right to his religious beliefs and we must respect the right but when they are anti-Irish we must beware.

Despite what crimes Whitey Bolger is alleged to have committed, no Billy Bolger should be prejudged and any Bolger should not be persecuted for refusing to speculate about his brother. His loyalty does not permit that and God bless him for that.

One week before his testimony, Bulger's two daughters were questioned by the FBI who asked for any tribits of information that might tell them where their uncle might be.

The Bush administration in the US and the Romney Administration in Massachusetts have made the pursuit of Whitey Bulger Irish nationality indicating all of us. Romney is dangerous because he has brains; Bush is dangerous because he doesn't. Both are dangerous because they are right-wing religious fanatics and when they use Irish politics, it is a very dangerous situation.

Be warned about Grand Juries and their Congressional counterparts if you are ever subpoenaed because the goal is to trick and bait you into giving high and low level information that can be distorted into a conspiracy and from there a crime.

These are dangerous times where rights once taken for granted are now ignored under a cover of authority. With the FBI producing more bad guys and riddled with corruption, no one should trust them.

Condolences to Peter Farin at the death of his son.

— Peader Mac Phihin

Comhbhrón

BROWN, Despeist sympathy is extended to the Brown family on the death of their mother Kitty.

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raibh suasainneas slóid dá hanam uasal.

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raibh a tuam díol. From Seamus Mac 1981 again a Sheen Stella, Loch Garman.

O'SHEA, Despeist sympathy is extended to the family of John O'Shea, who died recently.

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extended to the Tynan family of Borskeane on the death of their mother Siobhán. From Tess Nolan, Roscrea.

TYNAN, Despeist sympathy is extended to the Tynan family of Borskeane on the death of their mother Siobhán. From Mickey Nolan, Roscrea.

TYNAN, Despeist sympathy is extended to the Tynan family of Borskeane on the death of their mother Siobhán. From Des Annette Long, Limerick.

TYNAN, Despeist sympathy is extended to the Tynan family of Borskeane on the death of their mother Siobhán. From Tom and Mary O'Sullivan, Doon.

TYNAN, Despeist sympathy is extended to the Tynan family of Borskeane on the death of their mother Siobhán. From Donal Malone, Nenagh.

TYNAN, Despeist sympathy is extended to the Tynan family of Borskeane on the death of their mother Siobhán. From Tom Malone, Nenagh.

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who died on hunger strike on July 13, 1981. Never forgotten by the Torney/Hurson.

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No news is good news — (according to RTÉ)

FIVE hours after the BBC announced the deaths of four American soldiers in Iraq RTÉ Aerial reported three injured.

On the day Geraldine Finucane received €43,000 for violation of her human rights by the British government RTÉ made no mention of it. A bomb at Ballymagory in Tyrone and one in Derry received no mention.

RTÉ has a policy and always has had of reporting earthquakes and disasters in foreign countries.

A policy of minimising bad news at home, with the exception of car accidents and acts of God over which we have little control and therefore which serves to remind us of the apparent powerlessness of the individual.

RTÉ's main news bulletins do of course cover many stories. However the channel is rarely watched. The presenters as you may know must first serve ten years as funeral directors before applying for the job of news presenter.

It is ironic that while the BBC is in a major dispute with the British government

over the presentation of intelligence material prior to the Iraq war, Irish reporters seem to have no questions to ask the government about its continued support for the re-supply of troops and equipment through Shannon airport.

THERE is undoubtedly a gutlessness about political reporting. The *Sunday World* has reported a death threat to its

crime correspondent which has remained mainly unanswered by the police north and south of the border. It is almost as if reporters are being given a further message. That is to report honestly but not to try too hard.

Politically this line has been followed by political correspondents for many years. Are we witnessing the same approach about to be

adopted in relation to crime? Crime figures are statistics and we all know the saying — there are 'lies, damn lies and statistics'.

Are we witnessing a further decline in Irish journalism standards? Watch this space.

— Mac Cool

Development of the EU

European Federation or Fourth Reich? Part 15

THE European Coal and Steel Community was formed in 1952 by France, west Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. The propaganda emphasis was on 'freedom': a free trade in minerals. But there arose at once a confrontation: an obsession with regulation and control.

The ECSC was a 'Rhenish' (Franco-German) invention. Both countries have a long tradition of prohibitionist government (interdicti verboten!) and their civil servants regard control and regimentation as their primary function. So, the ECSC soon became in practice bogged down with inspectors, form-filling and endless bureaucratic interference and tinkering.

IT GREW AND GREW AND GREW

Then, like the little girl Topsy in the *Breer Rabbit* stories, it just grewed! Various leading individuals in the ECSC states began to have visions of a closer union, chiefly as a means of solving intractable domestic problems.

In Western Europe political parties tend to divide in two ways. In matters of social policy into the well-established Left and Right, but in matters of long-term national aims and strategy into 'Christian and Liberal', which in practice has usually meant traditional Catholic versus Freemasonic. The emerging scheme for a European Union was remarkable in that it had the blessing of both the Catholic Church and the Grand Orient.

In 1957 the Treaty of Rome converted the ECSC into the European Economic Community, generally called the Common Market. In 1973 this was joined by Denmark, Britain and a near-bankrupt Irish Free State.

With the passage of time, more and more integrationist schemes evolved. These were often to the disadvantage of the smaller member states, who were told to be 'good Europeans'. More states were admitted, and the name changed twice more: European Economic Community became European Community and currently European Union (1993). This evolution bears a remarkable resemblance to the way Bismarck's North German Confederation evolved into the Second Reich.

Monetary integration proceeded in a roundabout manner. There was the 'snake', the ERM, the ECU, the EMU and eventually the Euro. The German mark was the strongest currency in Europe and inevitably the Germans took control of the new currency, through a German-run European Central Bank situated in Frankfurt.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In the year 1990 the Soviet Union, part of the reason for the Common Market, collapsed. The Communist-run East German state went down too, and its doddering rulers fled; not to Castro's Cuba but to Pinochet's Chile. West Germany immediately took over the bankrupt East German State, incorporated it into the EU and exchanged its worthless currency at par for marks.

The other members of the EU were not consulted. As it happens Dublin



held the rotating presidency of the EU and it had been turned into an ego-trip for Charlie Haughey. Also, public attention was focussed exclusively on the 'Italia 90' soccer championship.

German re-unification, while justifiable in itself, has made Germany by far the largest state in the EU. Previously, West Germany, France, Italy and Britain all had populations of about equal size, around 60 millions. Germany's population is now over 80 millions. Also, Germany is unique among the larger states in having no significant minorities: apart from a few Frisians and Wends the population is entirely German. Rump Austria, with about 8 millions, decided after 1945 to remain apart from Germany, probably to escape sharing the blame for Hitlerite excesses, but it is German in language and culture and generally supports German policies, as do the Lutheran states of northern Europe. Britain and France are the main

counterweights, but Britain is half in and half out of the EU while France has a tendency towards internal instability. Remember that in 200 years the French have got through five republics, four monarchies and the dictatorship of Marshal Pétain.

After re-unification the German capital was removed from Bonn in the Catholic Rhineland to Berlin in Protestant Brandenburg. Because East Germany was almost entirely Protestant, the previous 50/50 balance between Catholics and Protestants in Germany is gone and Germany is again a predominantly Protestant country, run from Protestant Berlin: city of Hitler, Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Clauswitz, Nietzsche, Hegel, Frederick the Great and Albrecht the Bear.

Germany constitutes the most powerful element in the EU, and can depend on Austrian support. Also, among the candidates for entry are

three countries with strong traditional ties with Germany: Hungary, Croatia and Latvia.

A FEDERAL EUROPE?

Federations only work if the component elements are of about equal size: Switzerland is a notable example. The world is full of the ruins of attempts to create a federation in which one element is disproportionately large. The USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia all disintegrated in recent years. At present Canada is an example of where such misguided ventures can lead.

The Second Reich of Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm was set up at first as a federation, but it was a federation with one member, Prussia, very much in control. Prussia was biggest, and could outvote the rest, and often did.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

It might be argued that German domination of the EU is purely financial and economic and does not extend into other fields. In this respect it is interesting to survey the evolution of media coverage of the Hitlerite persecution of the Jews. After about 1970 attitudes towards German guilt, as portrayed in films, books, articles, television documentaries and so on, began slowly to soften.

More and more, the finger has been pointed instead at the Vatican, the French, the Poles, and there have even been a few spinballs directed at the Irish. Treatment of Germans has tended to be concentrated on a few decent individuals (*Schindler's List*, etc) who did their best to help the Jews. If Germany were only the size and influence of, say, Greece, it is unlikely that this development would have come about.

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