

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

THE VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT



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100 years unbroken continuity

Who is Sinn Féin

Presidents of Sinn Féin

1905-8:
1908-11:
1911-17:
1917-26:
1926-31:
1931-33:
1933-35:
1935-37:
1937-50:
1950-52:
1952-54:
1954-62:
1962-70:
1970-83:
1983-86:
1986-87:
1987-2005:



Edward Martyn



Cathal O'Murchu



Brian O'Flanagan

Edward Martyn
John Sweetman
Arthur Griffith
Eamon de Valera
Seán O Ceallaigh (Sceilg)
Brian O'Higgins
Fr Michael O'Flanagan
Cathal O Murchu
Margaret Buckley
Pádraig Mac Logáin
Tomás Ó Dubhghaill
Pádraig Mac Logáin
Tomás Mac Giolla
Ruairí Ó Brádaigh
Gerry Adams
Daithí Ó Conaill (Cathaoirleach)
Ruairí Ó Brádaigh



Fr. Michael O'Flanagan



Pádraig Mac Logáin



Seán O Ceallaigh (Sceilg)

IN this centenary year of the foundation of Sinn Féin in Dublin in 1905 many organisations and individuals are trying to lay claim to the historic title.

In recent weeks 26-County minister for justice Michael McDowell claimed that Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael are the continuation of the Sinn Féin organisation. At their recent Ard-Fheis in Dublin the Provisionals made a similar claim for their organisation.

A glance at our history books shows us that Sinn Féin's basic principle in 1905 was to withdraw the Irish

representation from the British parliament and to set up a constituent assembly for the whole country at home in Ireland. It was a national liberation movement in its advocacy of the independence of Ireland.

Republican Sinn Féin still holds to these principles and objectives in the face of the establishments in London, Dublin and Washington. Fianna

Fáil, Fine Gael and the Provisionals patently do not.

A contributor to Five-Seven Live on RTÉ Radio (March 7) stated quite accurately that whatever else the Provisionals' Ard-Fheis was it was not the centenary of Sinn Féin. He went on to state that Provisional Sinn Féin and Republican Sinn Féin were new organisations founded in 1970 and 1986 respectively. They were not.

On both occasions the Constitution of Sinn Féin was broken at an Ard-Fheis leaving the minority with no other option only to withdraw and continue the Ard-Fheis elsewhere.

"Provisional" Sinn Féin was the continuation of Sinn Féin under the self-same constitution as was "Republican" Sinn Féin in its turn sixteen years later.

Republican Sinn Féin will celebrate the centenary of the organisation under the unbroken constitution next November near to the date of the original and founding Ard-Fheis in the Rotunda, Dublin on November 28, 1905.

The continuity of the Sinn Féin organisation after the departure of de Valera and his supporters in 1926 can be seen in the caliber of the presidents of the organisation in the decades that followed. Men and women like Sceilg (Seán O Ceallaigh), Brian O'Flanagan, Fr Michael O'Flanagan, Cathal O Murchu, Margaret Buckley, Pádraig Mac Logáin and Tomás Ó Dubhghaill.

As for the Provisionals, their current crisis comes logically from their acceptance of British rule and partitionist

governments north and south and at the same time claiming the historic titles of the Republican Movement. The inherent contradictions have brought about that crisis and have sullied the honoured name of the Movement.

Republican Sinn Féin parted company with these people almost 20 years ago and are not going to carry the blame for their deterioration in that period. They have abandoned the national objective as have Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael.

Republican Sinn Féin adheres to the unbroken constitution of Sinn Féin, giving allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 and 1919 and therefore denying allegiance to the 26-County State and the Six-County Stormont Assembly.

In the coming Udarás na Gaeltachta election on April 2 next Republican Sinn Féin's candidate Tomás Ó Curraoin in Conamara is campaigning on that honourable basis.

The true Sinn Féin is having to fight its corner also by calling an extraordinary Ard-Fheis in Dublin on Saturday, April 23 next. The purpose of this Ard-Fheis will be to discuss the situation brought about by the seizing of Republican Sinn Féin funds following the 2004 Ard-Fheis. However, there is no proposal to change the Constitution nor is any such proposal contemplated.

The financial response to this Special Branch seizure of funds continues to be good from our members, supporters and friends.

Republican Garden Bundoran Co Donegal

Unveiling Easter Monday
March 28, 2005

Memorials to the 12 hunger strikes, 1974-1982; Volunteers who died on June 25, 1973 and December 2, 1984 and all those who gave their lives for Irish freedom. Let us honour them with dignity.

Speaker: Fr Des Wilson, Belfast
The Glens of Antrim Band and piper will be in attendance.

The only terrorists in Ireland are the English Occupiers!

Vótáil 1

CURRAOIN,
TOMÁS Ó
Údarás na
Gaeltachta
Conamara



• Tomás Ó Curraoin

Aibreán 2

Honour Ireland's Dead

Wear an
Easter
Lily

Easter Lilies now available,
€40.00 per 1,000
from Peig King,
29 All Saint's Park
Raheny, Dublin 5



26-County State forced to pay back elderly €500 million

THE 26-County State will have to repay at least €500 million to elderly residents of state-run institutions and their families. This follows the finding of the 26-County Supreme Court on February 16 to that the Dublin government's attempt to retrospectively legalise illegal nursing home charges to medical card holders is "unconstitutional".

The Health Amendment Bill no 2 was rushed through Leinster House in December after 26-County health minister Mary Harney sought and received legal advice from the 26-County Attorney General to the effect that the charging of elderly medical card holders

since 1976, for long-term care in state run institutions was unlawful.

However, as if to compound the hurt and anger felt by many people over the whole issue, Mary Harney said she intends to repay the money illegally taken by cutting services. Ruling out

an increase in taxes she said funding for services would be cut instead. Asked if the money would come from the health budget, she said this was something the Dublin government would be discussing. "But it will certainly come at the expense of future services in some area," she said.

The 26-County Supreme Court found that the charges, which had been imposed since 1976, were illegal under the 1970 Health Act as interpreted by the courts in 1976. It found that the attempt to retrospectively legalise the

charges involved the "extinguishing" of a property right protected by the 1937 constitution. The court ruled that the imposition of such charges in the future would be within the law.

An inquiry, commissioned by Mary Harney, which is being conducted by John Travers, is to examine how the charges continued since 1976 despite the fact that practice of charge medical cardholders for institutional care was questioned by the 26-County Supreme Court in 1976.

'Bonded labour' being used to build roads

SPEAKING in Leinster House, Socialist Party TD Joe Higgins said that a multinational company employing some 2,000 workers in Ireland and in receipt of "massive" state and local authority construction contracts was engaged in a "major scandal of immigrant worker exploitation of massive proportions".

Naming the company as Gama Construction Ireland Ltd, which has about 10,000 workers he said it built the Ennis and Ballincollig bypasses, coming in six months ahead of schedule. "Now that's easy when you have a bonded labour force working 11 or 12 hours a day with two Sundays off in a month. And then can underbid because of these rates of pay."

"This company imports workers who do not speak English from their home base, controls their passports and work permits, accommodates them often in company

barracks, demands 'grotesque' working hours and. Incredibly, pay unskilled construction workers between €2 and €3 an hour, and skilled something over €3 an hour."

The minimum wage within the 26 Counties is €7 an hour, the registered employment agreement rate for the lowest paid operative in construction was €12.96 an hour.

Meanwhile the Chairperson of Clare Republican Sinn Féin, trade union official Paddy Kenneally, said on February 9 at some building sites in County Clare are now almost fully staffed by foreign

workers and sub-contractors are exploiting them

Paddy Kenneally from Crusheen who is secretary of the Clare Plasterers Union said: "Only last week a group of building workers from Brazil were observed working at eight o'clock on a Sunday evening."

He said that the union has found sites in the Sixmilecross area of County Clare where most of the building workers were from Poland.

"There was not one Irish building worker on the site and the Polish workers did not understand their rights under labour legislation," he said. "Our union is now going to publish a leaflet in Polish outlining the agreed rates of pay for hours of work."

"It is not fair on these workers to be exploited and as

a union we have a duty to unionise workers to prevent such exploitation and also to safeguard the rights of Irish workers. It is only when Irish and foreign workers are paid the same rates for the same job that the sub-contractors will get the message and end their attempts to exploit all building workers.

"The simple fact is that all building workers must stand together to end this exploitation of paying low wage rates and refusing to honour labour law trade union agreements.

"As a first step we hope the leaflet in Polish will contribute to a raising of awareness on the part of foreign workers that they are not getting the agreed rate for the job and that they will demand a proper wage from the sub-contractors."

Gearrscéalta

MI5 move centre stage within Six Counties

THE British intelligence service MI5 is to take over-all responsibility for British intelligence gathering and its various other clandestine activities within the Six Counties from the RUC/PSNI in two years time, the British supremo in the Six Occupied Counties, Paul Murphy announced on February 24. The RUC/PSNI will retain responsibility for dealing with organised crime. The restructuring will give MI5 the lead strategic intelligence role within the Six Counties, placing it at the centre of the British state's counter-insurgency programme.

RUC/PSNI harassment and remilitarisation in Derry

A TAXI-driver from Derry has outlined a campaign of harassment against him and his customers by the British colonial police (RUC/PSNI), claiming that they are attempting to cause him to lose his job. It is understood that he is a campaigner for the welfare of several nationalist prisoners.

The man has been stopped by the RUC on several occasions recently, and claims that his fares have been harassed and his vehicle has been tampered with. On one occasion the RUC ran a check on one of his customers and held him after the driver was allowed to go. The taxi driver was told that they had the authority to act in such a manner for as long as they pleased. He found that his vehicle was overheating after the top had been loosened from the water container, and he is adamant that this could only have been done by the RUC/PSNI. The man, who does not wish to be named, is quoted as saying that "this is a punitive, deliberate campaign against me".

In a separate incident a taxi was stopped and the driver questioned. The RUC then proceeded to question the other occupants of the car - despite the fact that these were paying fares. One of the passengers was a member of Republican Sinn Féin, who was questioned about where he was going and what he was carrying.

It has since emerged that there is an ongoing process of remilitarisation in the Derry City area, with numerous British Crown Forces' checkpoints as well as increased Crown Forces' helicopter surveillance/spying activity.

Serious implications for civil liberties

THE Criminal Justice Bill, read [in Irish] to Leinster House in February by Michael McDowell, 26-County Minister for Justice, will give the 26-County police force extensive new powers if passed.

The proposed new powers, which will have serious implications for civil and legal rights, include: increase in detention periods from 12 to 24 hours; allowing a chief superintendent to sign a search warrant in exceptional circumstances; a provision for the admissibility of statements by witnesses who subsequently refuse to testify or retract their original statements; the right to obtain some body samples, such as saliva, without permission and a provision to allow for fixed penalties for lesser public order offences rather than a court case.

He is, furthermore, almost certain to introduce a bill to allow the introduction of electronic tagging; the introduction of ID cards for Irish Citizens and the statutory right to appeal to the courts for a firearm certificate to cater for elite shooters participating in sports events. Some of the proposed powers have been criticised by the Human Rights Commission including the area of a superintendent signing a warrant and the doubling of detention times.

On February 21 the 26-County police commissioner Noel Conroy and the RUC/PSNI Chief Constable Hugh Orde signed up to new all-island police cooperation protocols.

New Cumann in North Armagh

A NEW Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin has been formed in the north Armagh area. The Cumann is named after Tom Harte, executed by the Free State on September 6, 1940. Anyone wishing to join the Tom Harte Cumann should write to them c/o 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 or 229 Falls Road, Belfast.

Results of Dublin raffle

FEBRUARY Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 268; 2nd prize 211; 3rd prize 178; 4th prize 080; 5th prize 316; 6th prize 223; 7th prize 168; 8th prize 133.

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

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

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

Ainm

Seoladh

Tel: Age (if under 21)

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

or 229 Falls Road, Belfast
e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie
<http://rsf.ie>
or contact your local paper seller for details

**For a full
British
withdrawal
from
Ireland**



OUR AIMS

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

OUR HISTORY

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

Who rejected British offer in 1981?

IN A statement On February 28, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin said that extremely serious issues had been raised by the allegations concerning the 1981 H-Block hunger strike in an article in the *Sunday Times* of February 27 and in an interview with Richard O'Rawe on the Marion Finucane Show, RTE Radio One on February 28. Richard O'Rawe, a former prisoner and publicity officer for the H-Block prisoners, is the author of a new book *Blanketmen*, which deals with the prisoners' ordeal.

The statement went on: "I am convinced that the IRA Army Council of that time did not reject the British government offer of early July 1981 (which was sponsored by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace), resulting in the deaths of six more hunger strikers.

"As President of Sinn Féin, I knew that it was not the policy of the Republican Movement to prolong the hunger strike until the by-election which followed from Bobby Sands's death. I believed then, and still do, that the terms for the settlement were a matter for the H-Block prisoners themselves.

"The exact terms of what was on offer would have been known immediately to those in contact with the British government through the intermediary, to those in charge of communication with the prisoners and to those

responsible for publicity and in contact with the media.

"If some one or more persons in those areas of responsibility invoked the name of the Army Council without authorisation to support private or personal views, then that is a very serious charge which needs to be answered even at this late stage.

"The policy of the 'armalite and the ballot-box' was nothing new. It was simply a restatement of Republican policy since 1917 but in more up-to-date terms. Personally, I had been involved in elections contested by Sinn Féin from 1959 to the late 1960s, having been an elected Deputy for Longford-Westmeath from 1957 to '61 and Republican candidate in Fermanagh-South Tyrone in 1966.

"Further, Sinn Féin was not 'a paper organisation' prior to 1981 as has been alleged. That



• Funeral of hunger striker Bobby Sands in Belfast, May 1981.

may have been the view inside the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. On the outside, the election of 30 to 40 Sinn Féin councillors in the 26 Counties during the 1970s shows that allegation to be without foundation.

"It is true that in the post-hunger strike period many people joined Sinn Féin. In fact it was flooded with people who were not convinced Republicans. These were good people who were essentially

humanitarian in outlook.

"They were not educated politically and later provided the dead-weight when a move was made to convert a revolutionary movement into a

constitutional political party. Perhaps the prolongation of the hunger strike was meant to provide the groundwork for such a shift to constitutionalism?" the statement ended.

'Bearna should be connected to new sewer line'

"THE existing houses, businesses and local school in Bearna should be connected immediately to the new sewer line," said Tomás Ó Curraoin on March 6, candidate for Republican Sinn Féin in the forthcoming Udarás na Gaeltachta Elections.

"The people of Bearna suffered major disruption during the laying of the main sewer line from Knocknacarra last year - the least they could expect now is that they will be able to connect their own sewerage to the new line," said Tomás Ó Curraoin.

"Allowing people to connect to the new sewer line would divert domestic and school sewerage away from the septic tanks that people have been relying on - these septic tanks are unhygienic and unhealthy, particularly with the density of housing in areas of Bearna."

He called for a line to be laid to the second holding area in Bearna, with gravity flow to service existing houses, businesses and the local school. "This can be done immediately, at a low cost," he said.

'Ba chóir tithe Bhearna a cheangal leis an líne nua séarachais'

"BA chóir tithe, gnónna agus scoil Bhearna a cheangal leis an líne nua séarachais láithreach," arsa Tomás Ó Curraoin, gairthóir do Shinn Féin Poblachtach i dtoghcháin Udarás na Gaeltachta.

"Bhí ar mhuintir Bhearna cur suas leis an dtrácht ar fad anraidh nuair a leagadh an píopa séarachais nua amach as Cnoc na Cathrach - ba chóir anois go mbéidís in ann a dtithe, a gcuid gnónna agus a scoil féin a cheangal leis an bpíopa séarachais.

"Dá ligfí do mhuintir an sráidbhaile ceangal leis an bpíopa, bhéadh deireadh leis an úsáid á bhaintear as na dabhaigh séarachais sa cheantair - tá na dabhaigh seo mí-shláintiúil, go h-áirithe leis an méid titheochta atá i mBearna.

"Is féidir muintir Bhearna a cheangail leis an líne séarachais seo ar chostas an-íseal - agus táim ag gaoch ar Chomhairle Condae na Gaillimhe é seo a dhéanamh láithreach," arsa Tomás Ó Curraoin.

Cover-up in case of Donegal couple murdered by the UDA

RELATIVES of a young Donegal couple murdered by a British-backed loyalist death squad in 1973, told the Leinster House sub-committee set up to deal with the 26-County State's Barron Report that they believed the couple were not the intended targets of the loyalist death squad.

Oliver Boyce (25) and his fiancée, Brid Porter (21) were murdered in the early hours of New Year's Day, 1973. Hugo Boyce, brother of Oliver said he believed the couple were abducted "by accident" but were murdered when the UDA discovered they were Catholics.

Oliver Boyce and Brid Porter were taken from their car near Burnfoot on the road between Buncrana and Muff in Co Donegal and murdered by a British-backed loyalist death squad. Hugo Boyce said he, his family as well as the 26-County police and RUC knew the

names of the three men who murdered the young couple, yet they had never been arrested. "The RUC knows who they are, the Gardai know, the dogs in the street know, we can't understand why they have not been extradited. I can't understand why nobody has been brought to justice for these atrocities," Hugo Boyce said.

It was not just the case that his brother and Brid Porter had been in the wrong place at the wrong time, he said. "I feel that the wrong government was in

power at the wrong time".

Hugo Boyce said he and members of his family were taken to the 26-County police barracks in Buncrana for questioning after the murders but were never contacted again.

Ann McDermott, sister of Brid Porter, said she and her husband tried to resume inquiries in the 1980s, but she said her mother was told by a member of the 26 County police that attempts to investigate the murders had to stop.

Child poverty 'highest' in 26 Counties — UN

A UN report has shown that the rate of child poverty in the 26-County State is among the highest in wealthy countries.

According to the latest UNICEF figures 15.7 per cent of Irish children live in poverty, something it defines as children living in households with an income below 50 per cent of the national median.

Among the 24 rich industrialised nations that were examined the percentage of child poverty is higher only in New Zealand (16.3 per cent), Italy (16.6 per cent), the US (21.9 per cent) and Mexico (27.7 per cent).

The report "challenges any complacency" about the rates of poverty and the belief "that a rising economic tide will solve all problems of social inclusion", said Hugh Frazer,

former head of the 'Combat Poverty' agency in the 26 Counties, now a 'European Commission' official.

Commenting specifically on the results for the 26 Counties Hugh Frazer said: "you get what you pay for... we got what we deserved in terms of our policies".

The UN report shows that the 26 Counties reduced its share of social spending - the proportion of GDP devoted to government social transfers - by five percentage points between 1990 and 2000; in the same period the child poverty rates rose by 2.4 percentage points.

Hugh Frazer pointed out that successive 26-County budgets

up to recent years have "further increased income disparities" between the very rich and the very poor. He also noted that factors other than income measures, such as access to housing, health care and education, should be taken into account, as well.

Apart from the 26-County State the figures show that for 17 of the 26 OECD countries, figures for child poverty are on the rise and its long-term consequences show strong negative effects on society.

"There is a strong statistical correlation between poverty in childhood and a variety of very well documented problems in later life. The likelihood of poor health, of educational underachievement, of dropping

out of school early and of long-term welfare dependence," said Peter Adamson of UNICEF.

Marta Santos Pais, director of the UNICEF research centre said the figures are "dramatic and difficult to understand".

She said "governments have the capacity to reduce child poverty when they invest in social spending in a sustained manner" - this is the case for Denmark (2.4 per cent), Finland (2.8 per cent) and Norway (3.4 per cent) - the three countries with the lowest child poverty rates.

A UN expert said it was time to cut the distinction between poverty in developing and industrialised countries particularly as the report clearly spells out the "poverty in our own backyards".

For The Record

MON. FEBRUARY 7: An ex-British soldier was jailed for four years for possession of illegal drugs.

TUES. FEBRUARY 8: Four men and a woman were charged in Antrim with membership of the Real IRA. One man was also charged with possession of explosives.

The Special Court in Dublin rejected a claim from five men accused of membership of an illegal organisation that their arrest and detention was unlawful.

WED. FEBRUARY 9: A Dundalk man was charged with supplying a car used in the Omagh bombing.

Ronnie Flanagan, now Sir Ronnie and former Chief Constable of the RUC, was appointed Chief Inspector of Constabulary on a salary of £189,000 a year.

"I am very sorry that they were subjected to such an ordeal and such an injustice" said Tony Blair who apologized to the Conlon and Maguire families for the wrongful convictions that held them in jail for up to 15 years.

Stones and petrol bombs were thrown at the RUC in Lurgan while they examined a suspect device.

Gerry Adams stated that his party will "oppose any return to violence by anyone".

Bertie Ahern said there will be no early release for the men jailed for the killing of Garda Gerry McCabe.

Two 26-County policemen accused of sexually harassing two female recruits were transferred from the training college in Templemore, Co Tipperary.

Bertie Ahern was reported to be taking legal advice on whether he should release the State Papers relating to the Omagh bombing.

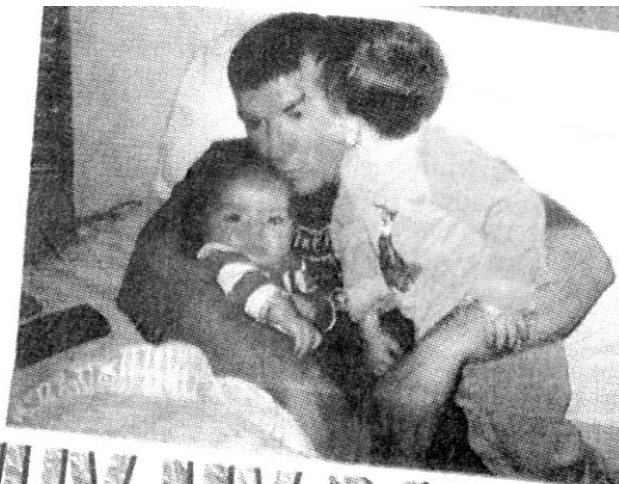
Kate Peyton, a BBC producer was shot dead in Somalia.

THURS. FEBRUARY 10: Gerry Adams challenged Bertie Ahern to have him arrested over allegations in relation to the Northern Bank robbery.

FRI. FEBRUARY 11: Over a period of nine years 45 pieces of weaponry (guns and ammunition) have been lost or stolen from the RUC/PSNI. Losses now stand at 8 per year.

SAT. FEBRUARY 12: After two years the Director of Public Prosecutions in the Six Counties still has not decided if it will prosecute 20 RUC and British Army officers for collusion as recommended by the Stephens Report.

MON. FEBRUARY 14: A Strabane man faced



WHY MY DADDY

• *Poster of Robert McCartney, carried at a rally in the Short Strand, Belfast, calling for justice for the family.*

two charges of having a gun and an incendiary device in suspicious circumstances.

TUES. FEBRUARY 15: A number of US Congressmen petitioned Tony Blair for the immediate establishment of a public enquiry into the murder of Pat Finucane.

WED. FEBRUARY 16: Michael McAleavey, from Belfast but a member of the Free State Army, requested that he be allowed to serve the rest of his sentence in Maghaberry prison. McAleavey was convicted of killing three of his colleagues while serving as a peacekeeper in Lebanon in 1983.

British Army bomb disposal experts carried out a controlled explosion on a suspect device in Warrenpoint, Co Down.

The Ulster Unionist Party distance itself from comments made by one of their members, Adrian Watson, that Travellers are the 'scum of the earth'.

A public meeting to discuss policing was held in Newry, Co Down despite a bomb hoax which brought the city to a standstill.

THURS. FEBRUARY 17: The GAA will

debate the opening of Croke Park to other sports at its annual congress in April.

FRI. FEBRUARY 18: The editorial in the *Irish News* (Belfast) reported that 30kilos of plutonium has been 'misplaced' at the BNFL reprocessing site at Sellafield.

The family of Eoin Morley called on the Provos to apologise for his murder and to retract allegations made against him. Morley was shot in 1990.

The RUC/PSNI and 26-County police were reported to be working together in an investigation into the alleged abduction of a Louth man.

SAT. FEBRUARY 19: St Saviour's Church of Ireland in Craigavon was set on fire. This was the third such attack on the church.

SUN. FEBRUARY 20: Michael McDowell, Free State minister for justice claimed that Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Martin Ferris are members of the Provo Army Council.

MON. FEBRUARY 21: Gardai will be patrolling the streets of the Six Occupied Counties in the uniform of the RUC in a new secondment package agreed by them and the

RUC.

Eamonn Phoenix believes that Provo Sinn Féin are facing their gravest split since the 1921 Treaty split.

Members of the Orange Order who took part in an illegal march at the weekend are facing possible prosecution. It had not been sanctioned by the Parades Commission.

Five men were each jailed for four years at the Special Court in Dublin on charges of IRA membership.

TUES. FEBRUARY 22: A Co Down man was charged in connection with a mortar attack on an RUC station seven years ago.

A British soldier who was earlier this month charged with assault, inflicting serious bodily harm, remains on 'normal operational duties'.

Michael Stone, who murdered three mourners at a Republican funeral in 1998, was arrested and questioned about plans to kill high profile political figures in the mid1980. He was released without charge.

The chairman of the Policing Board, Desmond Rea, has resigned from the board of a Dublin company, Ivy Woods properties, a wholly owned subsidiary of Harcourt Development.

WED. FEBRUARY 23: Two British soldiers, Corporal Daniel Kenyon and Lance Corporal Mark Cooley were found guilty of mistreating captured [alleged] looters at an aid camp in Basra in May 2003.

A Cork man, charged with membership of an illegal organisation, was granted bail in the Special Court in Dublin on his own bond of €500 and an independent surety of €30,000. Conditions imposed on Don Bullman, Wilton, Cork included surrendering his passport; not to associate with anyone convicted of subversive crime; not to associate with four named men and that he not travel outside County Cork.

Taxpayers have paid over €192 million for Tribunals and other inquiries since 1997 to the end of last year – €139m of which went in lawyer's fees.

THURS. FEBRUARY 24: A leading loyalist was charged with membership of the UFF.

26-County police apologised to the family of Dean Lyons, Dublin, who was wrongfully charged with the murder of two women in Dublin in 1997.

Nine men were sentenced to between four and six years in the Special Court in Dublin. They had pleaded guilty to possession of firearms in suspicious circumstances in August 2003 when gardai raided what was alleged to be a Continuity IRA training camp. Patrick Deery and Joseph Mooney from Waterford were jailed for six years; John O'Halloran, Limerick, Mark McMahon and Patrick Kelly, Wexford, Brian Galvin and Michael Leahy, Waterford, were each jailed for five years; Thomas Barry, Waterford and Dean Coleman, Limerick, were each sentenced to four years.

IMEACHTAÍ

POW PICKET AT GPO DUBLIN

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 2005, 12.45pm-2pm
Come along and show your solidarity with the political prisoners in Portlaoise and Maghaberry Jails.

PARLE, CREAN, HOGAN COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, MARCH 13
REPUBLICAN GARDEN OF REMEMBRANCE
WEXFORD TOWN, 3pm

SULLIVAN, ENRIGHT COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, MARCH 13
LISTOWEL, CO KERRY,
Assemble The Square, Listowel and march to Republican Plot
Speaker: Séamus Ó Suilleabháin

REPUBLICAN BALLAD SESSION
ST PATRICK'S NIGHT, MARCH 17
SAINTS & SINNERS
NORTH KING STREET, DUBLIN
(near junction with Church Street)
Music by: Cassidy says
Admission: €10

REPUBLICAN SOCIAL
IN AID OF REPUBLICAN PRISONERS'
DEPENDANTS

EASTER SUNDAY NIGHT, MARCH 27, 9pm
THE GROVE, BAYLOUGH, ATHLONE
Music by: *North and South*

ANNUAL HUNGER STRIKE RALLY
GPO, DUBLIN, MAY 7, 2pm
Assemble at Garden of Remembrance at 1.45pm and march to GPO where a prominent speaker will address the rally.

ANNUAL BOBBY SANDS LECTURE
DUBLIN, MAY 10
This year the theme of the lecture is 'Sinn Féin — 100 years of unbroken continuity'. Venue to be confirmed.

O'SULLIVAN/ENRIGHT CUMANN
Republican Sinn Féin, Listowel, Co Kerry
Anyone wishing to join should contact 087-2113130

REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN
ANYONE WISHING TO JOIN THE
ORGANISATION IN ENGLAND SHOULD WRITE
TO: BM 1798, LONDON WC1N 3XX

NORTH AND SOUTH
TULLAMORE BALLAD GROUP
Available for functions throughout Leinster and Connacht
Contact Paul at 087 6 222 381

Man chased into school by RIR British soldiers

GARY Donnelly (28), a nationalist from south Armagh was walking to work during the week ending March 5 when he was stopped at an RIR [British soldiers] checkpoint near Foley Primary School in Ballymacnab, Co Armagh.

He said the soldiers asked him for personal details and when he didn't reply told him they could arrest him under the Terrorism Act.

He said: "They tried to hold me and were grabbing at me so I decided to run away from them. They came after me and I thought I was going to be shot."

"The only place I could think of going to was to the local primary school. I ran into the school and went into a classroom. I asked the teacher if I could wait there and then I noticed the soldiers coming

into the school grounds after me so I tried to get away from them."

"They caught me and the secretary of the school came out and pleaded with them to let me go. It's totally out of order that they can treat people like this."

Gary Donnelly has an injured shoulder after the incident and is worried that the RIR will come after him again.

Local residents and concerned parents were reported to be outraged by the incident.

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

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

• **Biography:** The launch of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh's biography will take place towards the end of the year.

• **Handing over of personal papers to UCG:** Ruairí Ó Brádaigh will hand over some of his personal political papers to UCG towards end of year.

• **Easter:** All areas must make a special effort this Easter to inform as many people as possible of the policies of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. A serious effort

should be made to ensure a large turn-out at the commemorations.

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

• **Bodentown, June 12, 2005:** An tUachtarán Ruairí Ó Brádaigh will this year give the oration at the grave of Wolfe Tone in Bodentown in honour of the century.

• **Public meeting:** A

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

• **Video/DVD:** We hope to produce a video/DVD which would be a fantastic achievement if we could show the unbroken line between 1905-2005. We would be grateful if anyone who has footage of any Republican events, ie footage of Six-County repression by British

Crown Forces, Ard-Fheiseanna, commem-orations, or other relevant material, could lend it to us as a matter of priority. Seán Ó Brádaigh will narrate.

• **Commemorative Calendar:** Now on sale (see add page 1). The calendar is a special one with dates and photographs of historical events/people. Will be collectors' item in years to come! Price E6/£5, available from Ard-Oifig.

• **Laminates:** Laminated pictures from the calendar are available in Irish Freedom Press Bookshop..

• **T Shirts/Badge:** Polo shirts with RSF Logo/Badge

are available also, E20. A special commemorative metal badge is also available, E5.

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

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

• **Ard Fheis 2005:** This will be a very special occasion and all members should make plans to attend.

• **SAOIRSE** will carry a list of all events organised for the Centenary throughout 2005. Please ensure that your event is sent to the paper in

good time for publication.

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

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

Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1, Phone: Dublin 872 9747; email: saoirse@iol.ie or 229 Falls Road, Belfast, Phone: Belfast 90 319 004, email: RSFBELFAST2004@aol.com.

RPAG lobby Human Rights Commission

A delegation from the Republican Prisoners Action Group met with Professor Brice Dickson of the [British] Human Rights Commission and his staff on February 24 to highlight the deteriorating conditions affecting Republican POW's in Maghaberry jail.

The delegation spent over an hour during which issues such as Strip Searches, Lockdowns and numerous other issues were presented to the Commission.

A spokesperson for the group described the meeting as productive and positive and that the Commission assured the delegation that they were concerned about the issues and have undertaken to visit Republican prisoners in order to directly assess the situation.

The spokesperson said: "The Republican Prisoners Action Group view the situation as being wholly unacceptable and as a concerted effort on the part of the British authorities to criminalise Republican prisoners."

"This we will never accept and we again call upon those in positions of influence to publicly address this ongoing deteriorating situation."

Ducksy Doherty slams Maghaberry jail conditions

MARTIN 'Ducksy'Doherty, who was sentenced to three months in prison for refusing to give evidence to the British Saville Inquiry into the killing of 13 civilians (the only man to have been sent to jail in connection with Bloody Sunday) was released from Maghaberry jail on March 4, having served 44 days.

He said that he had been "harassed" by the Saville Inquiry's legal team: "I had people calling to my home at 7am. I had letters and letters. Why should I have been punished like this when Colonel

Wilford and the people who actually perpetrated this have not. They have been decorated and given medals, they refused to answer any questions on the stand."

Ducksy Doherty described

the conditions in Maghaberry prison as "intolerable" for Republican prisoners.

"I was strip-searched five times. There's a bigger issue and it's about the treatment of Republican prisoners in Maghaberry."

He said that Republican prisoners are locked up for long periods and are forced to eat "facing the toilet". He described an exercise yard at the prison as "a budgie cage" and he also criticised a lack of educational resources.

At present there are 27 Republican prisoners held in Maghaberry.

The prison authorities asked him to sign a form to smoke a pipe, something he refused to do. He also refused to sign the "compact for separated prisoners", a glossy pamphlet handed to him for signing by the prison authorities.

John Kelly, whose brother Michael was shot on Bloody Sunday by a British paratrooper said he was delighted at the release of Martin Doherty.

RUC/PSNI assault pregnant woman in Derry city

THE RUC/PSNI were accused on February 28 of assaulting a pregnant woman in Derry during a forced search of her home.

The woman – Erin Fisher – was forcibly pushed aside when she refused to allow the RUC into her home without producing a valid warrant.

"They pushed their way in past me even after I told them I was pregnant," Ms Fisher said. RUC/PSNI

officers then proceeded with the search. It appears that they had attempted to execute a warrant at the

wrong address.

Ms Fisher said that the officer she spoke to agreed that her treatment had been harsh, and she called on the occupation forces to make a public apology.

This is not the first incident in recent times whereby the British colonial police have raided the

wrong premises. They continue to treat the nationalist people of Derry with contempt.

This will continue for as long as we are subjected to a military force raised by the British Crown policing any part of Ireland in order to further her colonial agenda.

Nine jailed by non-jury court

THE Dublin based non-jury Special Court jailed nine men on February 24 for participation in a Continuity IRA training camp in the Comeragh mountains in August 2003. Having heard 26-County Special Branch evidence against the men on February 22, the non-jury court handed out four, five and six year sentences.

Patrick Deery, Stradbally, Co Waterford and Joseph Mooney, Co Waterford were each sentenced to six years imprisonment. John O'Halloran, Limerick, Mark McMahon, Wexford, PJ Kelly, Wexford, Brian Galvin, Ballybeg, Co Waterford and Michael Leahy, Dungarvan, Co Waterford were sentenced to five years. Dean Coleman, Limerick and Thomas Barry, Lisduggan, Co Waterford were sentenced to four years.

Join
CUMANN na mBAN



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

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.

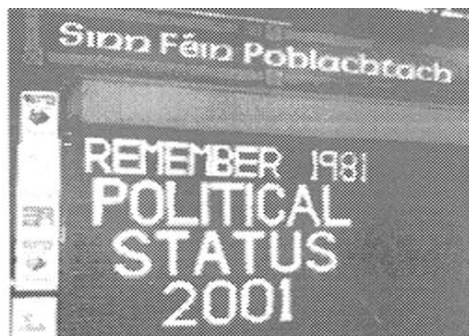


CABHAIR continues to support all true Republican prisoners and their dependants in Irish jails within the 32 Counties.

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



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

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

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

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

3. By Standing Order Form published here.

£19,752

Eire Nua Building Fund Belfast / Derry

Standing Order Form

To the Manager Bank

Please pay Bank of Ireland, (Six Counties) Draperstown, Co Derry, a/c number 14164268, Branch code 90-48-43 OR (26 Counties) Bank of Ireland, Letterkenny, Co Donegal for the credit of Eire Nua Building Fund, a/c number 70958708, Branch code 90-49-15. the sum of £ Amount in words:

..... commencing and thereafter every month until further notice .

and debiting A/C No:

Name: (please print clearly)

Address

Signature Date Please hand in to your bank.

Daonlathas i mBaol

Ní in aon bhuille amháin, de ghnáth, a chuirtear deireadh le hinstiúid, ach de réir a chéile, de réir mar a bhí leagtha amach, mar a tharla le mo linn féin le dúnmharú an daonlathais, san Iodáil, sa nGearmáin, agus sa Spáinn.

Sna tríochaidí, rinneadh iarrachtaí leis an oile úd a shíolrú in Éirinn le cabhair ó Chumann na nGaedheal (Fine Gael, an t-aínn atá anois air), agus ón nGin. Ó Dubhaigh, ach sheas Gluaiseacht na Poblachta an fód agus theip orthu. Ach i láthair na huairse sa mbearna bhaoil arís eile atáimid.

An bhabhta seo is é Fianna Fáil agus na PDna atá ciontach sa gcoir seo, in ainneoin an oiread sin cainte faoina mhalairt d'iompar uathu. San eagrán deiridh den pháipéar seo léigh muid faoi ardheis SFP agus faoin sciobadh airgid a rinne an Brainse Speisialta, agus an Ard-Fheis ar bun, san óstán a raibh oifigí SFP ag fanacht, airgead SFP, ar ndóigh.

Agus an aiste seo a scríobh agam ní feasach dom an i seilbh an Bhrainte atá an t-suim úd, nó thar n-ais i lámhaibh an pháirtí ar leis é.

SUAN AN PHOBAIL

Dona go leor, a deir tú, nach slán dod chuid airgid agus é i dtascéad an ostaráin féin. Níl sa sciobadh úd ach cruthú go bhfuil an rialtas ag éirí níos dána in aghaidh an lae.

Féach a bhfuil ag tarlú don gCúirt Choiriúil Speisialta:

Bliain ó shin, bhí cuma ar chúrsaí go gcuirfí deireadh léi faoi dheireadh, ach céard é atá socruithe ag an rialtas anois ach an tarna ceann a bhundú sar i bhfad! Cén fáth nach bhfuil feachtas bunaithe leis an bpobal a dhúiseacht?

Is é an seanscéal arís é: Tinn tuirseach den pholaitíocht atá an gnáthdhuine, go díreach an chaoi a raibh an pobal nuair a d'fhás an faisisteachas...

Faisnéis eile faoin gcaint a bhfuil daonlathas faoi ionsaí, ach faoi choim, is ea útamail le rialacha na pleanála, nó is cuma anois céard é tuairim an phobail i gceantacha áirithe ar fud na tíre, má cheapann an rialtas go gcaithfead sin nó siúd a chur i bhfeidhm déanfar é.

Ar ndóigh, tá na leithscéalta ann: Tá géarghá maidir le sin nó siúd, agus déanfar amhlaidh. Ní féidir a thuilleadh moille a fhulaingt: Riachtanas, a dhuine!

DEACHTÓIREACHT ÁITIÚIL

An beart is measa go nuige seo, is dócha, deireadh a bheith curtha leis an ndaonlathas áitiúil. Má bhíonn easaontas i gceist faoi mhodaladh éigin, vótáil déanta, agus tuairim an

Democracy in Local Councils BULLIED

as Powers removed by Government?

phobail nochtaite de réir an daonlathais is bunúsai, is cuma sa diabhal leis an rialtas, nó ag bainisteoir an chontae atá an focal deiridh, agus déanfaidh seisean de réir mar a theastaíonn ón rialtas.

Sampla maith is ea ceist an loisceora: Dar leis an rialtas, caithfead iad a thógáil le fadhb na dramhaile a réiteach, Cuma céard í comhairle an phobail. Agus ar ball, má ligtear don rialtas, beidh ceann amháin díobh i gCorcaigh, ceann eile i gCo na Mí, agus ceann eile fós, Dia linn, i mBaile Átha Cliath.

Níl an rud níos soiléire nó tá an pobal áitiúil i ngach cás go láidir in éadan a leithéide, toisc sláinte na mílte a bheith i mbaol ón loisceoir.

Is é a deir an rialtas nach bhfuil an tarna rogha againn agus an dramháil ag imeacht ó smacht. Ach tá tuairim eile ar fad ag saineolaithe: Athchúrsáil an freagra!

TEIP AN RIALTAIS

Is í fuascailt na ceiste nár thug an rialtas faoin athchúrsáil mar ba chóir, mar is léir d'éinne a chaith seal sa nGearmáin, san Ollóin nó sa Spáinn, éinne a bhí fíorasach faoin scéal, nó a d'oscail a shúile, nó a chuir ceist.

Sampla amháin den difríocht idir éifeacht na n-údarás thar lear agus iad ag plé le fadhb na dramhaile, agus aineolas nó cuma sa diabhal sa mbaile, tá tabhairt faoi chadhnraí caite. Isteach sa mbin dubh, is costúil, a chaitear iad de ghnáth sa mbaile nó, go bhfios domsa, ní chuirtear soitheach nó bosca ar leith ar fail dóibh áit ar bith.

I Maidrid, chonaic mé féin na mílte de na soithigh sin thart timpeall na cathrach, agus ní haon iontas sin agus an oíge chomh gafa céanna lena n-úsáid. Nach mar a chéile ar n-óige féin? Deirtear liom go bhféadfadh cadhnra caite a bheith contúirteach...

Sa nGearmáin, i dtigh a rabhas ag fanacht ann, chonaiceas dhá bhosca do pháipéar le haghaidh athchúrsála, ceann amháin don bpáipéar glan, agus ceann eile don pháipéar salach. Agus, ar ndóigh, bhí soithigh sa gcistíneach do go leor cineálacha ábhar plaisteach.

PÁIRT NA SCOILE

Sa scoil, i ndáiríre, a ba chóir tosú le síol na hathchúrsála a chur, agus le roinnt cúrsaí eile, mar shampla bunchócaireacht, le sláinteolaíocht, le gartharrtháil (nó garchabhair),

agus, ar ndóigh, le ciall ar bhóthar, fiú. Ní féidir brath ar oiliúint sa mbaile.

Minic a chloistear seanmóin faoi thábhacht na timpeallachta, ach sin ábhar eile nach ndéantar a theagasc mar ba chóir. Sna cásanna uilig sin ní bhcaidh an gnáthscoláire mórán lena leithéide de theagasc ach amháin nuair a bheas scrúdú roimhe agus pointí le gnóthú.

Cén fáth nach bhfuil polaiteoirí sásta ceisteanna a chur faoin mbunoidreachas riachtanach nach bhfuil fós ar chlár na scoileanna? Cén fáth nach bhfuil an rialtas sásta leis na saineolaithe agus an loisceoir faoi agallamh?

Ar ndóigh, tá Indaver mór agus saibhir agus, cheapfainn, sásta bronntanais a scaipeadh dá n-oirfeadh a leithéid dá chás...

TIMPEALLACHT GAN VÓTAÍ

Is costúil, mo léan, nach bhfuil mórán spéise sa timpeallacht ag an ngnáthpholaitíocht. Níl vótaí sa timpeallacht, dar leis? Agus tugtar faoi deara nach raibh mórán daoine ag clamhsán nuair a dhíulthaigh an rialtas cáin a chur ar charbóin, mar a socraíodh.

Ar na meáin atá an locht is mó. D'fhéadfadh an teilifís go leor a theagasc don phobal faoi na contúirte atá ag bagairt.

Cén fáth, in ainm Dé, nach bhfuil na Glasraí níos gníomhaí sna cásanna seo?

A bhfuil le Dia, tá paipéar amháin buartha faoin laghdú mór atá ar an daonlathas, ceann áitiúil, mar atá *LifeTimes*, go háirithe eagrán Eanáir 19-Feabhra 1. **BULLIED**, dar leis an eagarthóir, atá na hionadaithe áitiúla, toisc cibé cumhacht a bhíodh acu a bheith bainte díobh ag an rialtas.

Cén fáth nach dtagann le chéile formhór na gcomhairleoirí áitiúla le haghaidh a bhunú, buan-aghaid, de ló is d'óiche, lasmuigh de Theach laighean, go dtí géilleadh an rialtais?

Mura gcuirtear stad le creimeadh an daonlathais is gearr go mbeidh faisisteachas i bhfeidhm go hiomlán sa tír seo, agus Mac Dubhghaill ina dheachtóir air.

Ar ndóigh, aithris lom arís ar na Briotanaigh atá againn anseo, Mr Blair, agus a fheachtas in éadan na "sceimlitheoirí", agus cearta an duine caite an fhuinneog amach.

— Deasún Breatnach

Cork's Clonmult Martyrs remembered

ON February 20 last the annual commemoration to the Clonmult Martyrs took place in Midleton, Co Cork.

Led by a Colour Party including members of Cumann na mBan the parade formed up at the Courthouse and marched to the Republican Plot at the Holy Rosary Cemetery.

At the Republican Plot proceedings were chaired by Terence Varian, Midleton.

An oration was delivered at the graveside by Donal Varian, Cork, Chairperson of Comhairle na Mumhan in which he outlined the story of the Clonmult Martyrs.

The Clonmult Martyrs were among the active service unit of the Fourth Battalion of the First Cork Brigade. In January 1921 they moved into a disused farmhouse in a secluded spot overlooking the village of Clonmult, seven miles north-east of Midleton. It served as headquarters and training ground for an active service unit composed of 20 young men drawn from various IRA companies in East Cork and included Volunteers who had been in action at Carrigtwohill, Cloynce, Castlemartyr and Midleton.

The leader of the active service unit, Commandant Diarmuid O'Hurley, decided to ambush a military train on February 22, 1921 at Cobh Junction. He left the HQ at Clonmult taking Vice-Comdt Joseph Ahern and Captain Patrick Whelan to make arrangements for the train attack and Captain Jack O'Connell was appointed acting OC.

On Sunday, February 20 as the Volunteers began preparing to leave the farmhouse they were attacked by a company of the Hampshire Regiment. Two of them, Michael Desmond and John Joe Joyce were fatally injured as they attempted to fight their way back to the farmhouse.

In the ensuing engagement, the British were reinforced by the Black-and-Tans. The ASU decided to try to break out but three more Volunteers were killed — Michael Hallahan, Richard Hegarty and James Aherne. The Volunteers attempted to send for help but it did not arrive on time. Finally they had no choice but to surrender as the house was ablaze..

They broke their rifles and threw them into the fire and marched out. Volunteers Liam Aherne, Jeremiah Aherne, David Desmond, Christopher Sullivan, Donal Dennehy, J Morrissey and J Glavin were massacred by the Black-and-Tans. A wounded Volunteer J O'Leary was removed from the house by three comrades, an action which saved their lives, giving a

British military officer the time to stop the Black-and-Tans in their murderous tracks.

The British were the victors at Clonmult, taking three wounded prisoners, Captain P Higgins and Vols J O'Leary and Edmund Terry and six unwounded prisoners, Vols P O'Sullivan, M Moore, O'Leary, Walsh, Harty and Garde. The prisoners were tried by field general court-martial and sentenced to death. Volunteers P O'Sullivan and Maurice Moore were executed at Cork Military Barracks on May 5, 1921. The others had their sentences commuted. Captain Higgins who had been shot through the mouth would have been executed had he recovered from his wound but was saved by the Truce of July 11.

Donal Varian said: "Freedom has not been achieved. We are still an occupied nation governed by a fellow member of the European Union — the British government. This being so we have a duty and a responsibility to ourselves as a people to pursue the rights as outlined in the Proclamation of 1916. has that path not been travelled by the Men of Clonmult? Bobby Sands and fellow hunger strikers followed in their footsteps in pursuit of Ireland's freedom.

"It is not enough to commemorate or remember our dead generations without asking oneself — what of the future and the achievement of the Proclamation of 1916.

"The way forward for Ireland is through the ÉIRE NUA programme for a totally new Ireland with separation of church and State and a pluralist society. A new federation of the four provinces including a nine-county Ulster would bring power nearer to the people.

"England rule in Ireland is an injustice, an infringement of Irish national sovereignty, which can be ended only by an administration in Westminster which decides to disengage their military forces in Ireland. Anything less than such a disengagement will only prolong instability and eventually lead to armed resistance.

"It is time to reclaim true Republicanism as a means to the freedom of Ireland for the people of Ireland."

Wreaths were laid at graves in Cobh and Midleton. Tony Horgan laid a wreath at the grave of Volunteer Deasy and Donal Dennehy, great-



• Composite picture of the 12 East Cork Brigade men who fell in the fight at Clonmult. (left to right back row) Richard Hegarty (Garryroe); Jeremiah Aherne (Midleton); Christopher Sullivan (Midleton); Joseph Morrissey (Athlone); Michael Hallahan (Midleton). (left to right second row) James Glavin (Cork); John Joe Joyce (Midleton); James Aherne (Cobh); Michael Desmond (Midleton). (left to right front row) Donal Dennehy (Midleton); Liam Aherne (Midleton); David Desmond (Midleton).



• Donal Varian delivers the oration at the Clonmult Martyrs Commemoration.

grandnephew of Vol Donal Dennehy also laid a wreath at the Republican

Plot in Midleton.

A lament was played by Donal

Lynch and a decade of the Rosary was recited by Cathleen Aherne. There was

McCartney family appeal for help

A Belfast Chronology

Tuesday, February 1, 2005. There were reports of trouble in the Markets area after the RUC/PSNI carried out a number of raids. They also carried out raids in the Short Strand area there were reports of some stone-throwing.

Monday, February 7, 2005. Two men and a woman charged with attempted murder of off-duty RUC man were remanded in custody in Belfast.

Thursday, February 10, 2005. The family of Robert McCartney, died after being stabbed outside a pub on Jan 31, appealed for help in bringing his killers to justice.

Wednesday, February 16, 2005. The RUC recovered two machine guns and two replica machine guns in a search in the Highfield Est, west Belfast. One man was arrested.

Thursday, February 17, 2005.

The UUP distributed thousands of leaflets, which show a montage of Northern Bank notes, a gun and a knife, accusing the Provos of being responsible for a series of recent high profile robberies and murders.

Sunday, February 20, 2005. Two buses returning from a match carrying Celtic supporters were stoned as they passed through West Belfast.

Tuesday, February 22, 2005. Johnny Adair visited Belfast from his 'safe home' in England and said his return to Belfast would be sooner rather than later.

Saturday, February 26, 2005: Mary McAleese visited Belfast but cancelled a planned visit to a primary school on the Shankill Rd.

Friday, February 25, 2005. The Provos expelled three of its Belfast members in connection with the murder of Robert McCartney.

Saturday, February 26, 2005. The RUC allowed a 'blood-and-thunder' loyalist band through the nationalist Whitewell Road area of Belfast.

Sunday, February 27, 2005. British Army personnel were called to

a suspect device in Beechmount Parade which turned out to be a hoax.

Thursday, March 3, 2005. It was reported that a number of weapons and bullets as well as drugs had been found in the loyalist Westland road area of North.

Friday, March 4, 2005. There are reports today of a bomb scare in the nationalist Short Strand area. It was believed a device was found outside a house owned by the girlfriend of Robert McCartney who was stabbed to death at Magennis's Bar in January.

Dublin tribute to George Harrison — rebel without a pause



• George Harrison

ON Saturday, February 19 a tribute to George Harrison, life-long Republican, international revolutionary and Patron of Republican Sinn Féin (1994-2004), who died in New York on October 6 last, took place in Dublin.

The well-attended event, which was by invitation only, was chaired by his long-time friend Cathleen Knowles McGuirk and featured a programme of music, poetry and personal memories of George by his colleagues in Republican Sinn Féin.

Cathleen said that early in his life George came to see that Ireland's struggle against British imperialism was but one part of the overall anti-imperialist struggle that has been waged by oppressed peoples for centuries. "He was a tireless campaigner for truth and justice, his ceaseless activity directed at addressing liberation struggles throughout the world."

A clip of an interview with George taped a few months before his death began the proceedings. Each era of the struggle from 1798 on was marked. Seán Ó Sé played *The Shan Van Bhocht* on the feadóg, following which Dan Hoban, Mayo, gave a brief history of George's early life in Mayo and his subsequent emigration to the USA and spoke feelingly of George's great contribution to the Freedom Struggle throughout the decades.

Líta Ní Chathmhaoil recited several stanzas of Speranza's poem *The Stricken Land*, written in 1846 as the Great Hunger raged throughout Ireland. Joe O'Neill, Bundoran, then told those present of his memories of George and ended by singing *The West's Awake*.

George's great interest in international struggles was marked by the playing of *Joe Hill* and the *International Brigade* and Fergal Moore, Monaghan recited an extract from Pádraig Pearse's *Address at the Grave of O'Donovan Rossa*. Richard Walsh, Derry read the 1916 Proclamation and Mary Ward, Donegal spoke movingly of her friendship with George — rebel without a pause — and his hospitality when she was in New York.

Cathleen Knowles McGuirk then recited *The Lost Heifer* and Róisín Hayden, Dublin, *The Last*



• Traditional singer Séamus Mac Mathúna at the George Harrison tribute in Dublin on February 19.



• Seán Ó Sé playing *The Shan Van Bhocht* on the feadóg as Cathleen Knowles McGuirk looks on.

Republicans, both poems by Austin Clarke. Des Dalton, Kildare, read Brendan Behan's beautiful poem of the 1940s, *The Dead March Past*.

Andy Connolly, Dublin, sang *Seán Sabhat of Garryowen*, following which Ruairí Ó Brádaigh paid his tribute to George Harrison, unrepentant revolutionary. Naoimh Rice, Newry read Bobby Sands' poem *The Rhythm of Time*.

Séamus Mac Mathúna sang a song he had written after the death of the first four hunger strikers in 1981 as well as an old song about the 1798 Rebellion in Tipperary and he and his wife Úna concluded by singing *Róisín Dubh*. All those present then sang *A Nation Once Again* before Cathleen Knowles McGuirk closed the proceedings and Amhráin na bhFiann was played.



• Part of the attendance at the Dublin tribute to George Harrison.



• Joe O'Neill



• Mary Ward



• Fergal Moore

1916 Easter Commemorations 2005

ANTRIM

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

ARMAGH

Easter Sunday, commemoration, St Michael's Killeen after 11.30 Mass.

Wreath-laying ceremonies at Camloch, Edentubber, Jonsboro, Dromintee, Mullaghbabawn, Cullyhanna, and Cloughogue.

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

Lurgan, Easter Saturday, commemoration at Republican Plot, St Colman's Cemetery, 3pm.

CLARE

Easter Sunday commemoration, Drumcliffe Cemetery, Ennis, 4pm.

CORK

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

DERRY

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

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

DONEGAL

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

DOWN

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

DUBLIN

Assemble Garden of Remembrance, 11.45am for march to GPO, O'Connell Street, Dublin, Easter Sunday.

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

FERMANAGH

Easter Sunday, Roslea, assemble at cemetery, 2.30pm and march to gave of Roslea Martyrs.

GALWAY

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

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

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

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

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

GLASGOW

Easter Sunday commemoration and function. Details from SAOIRSE sellers.

KERRY

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

Easter Sunday, Republican Plot, Listowel, assemble The Square, Listowel,



12.30.

Tralee, Easter Sunday, assemble at

Easter Commemoration, Easter Monday, Portarlinton, assemble at the East End Hotel at 2.30pm and march to the 1798 monument in the town square. Wreath-laying at the grave of Walter Mitchell, Clara Cemetery, Easter Saturday, at 6pm.

LEITRIM

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

Easter Sunday Commemoration Aughnasheelin, Ballinamore 3pm, at the graves of Séamus Wynn and the O'Reillys.

LIMERICK

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

LIVERPOOL

Easter Sunday commemoration, Ford Cemetery, Liverpool, 12 noon.

LONDON

Wreath-laying ceremonies, Easter Monday, Hendon, London.

LONGFORD

Easter Sunday, Drumlish, at the grave of

Honour Ireland's Dead



*Wear an
Easter
Lily*

Galway Road.

MEATH

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

MONAGHAN

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

NEW YORK

Easter Sunday Commemoration, McGee's Pub, 240W 55th Street, (near 7th Avenue), New York city, 11am.

ROSCOMMON

Ballinlough, Easter Sunday, 12 noon, parade to IRA Memorial.

Elphin, parade to County Roscommon Memorial after 11.30 Mass.

County Commemoration, 3.30, Cloontuskert Cemetery, Curraghroe at the graves of John Scally and Michael Grealy.

SLIGO

Sligo Town, Easter Sunday, assemble Sligo Cemetery gates 1pm and march to Republican Plot.

TIPPERARY

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

TYRONE

Easter Saturday, Edendork Cemetery, East Tyrone, 5.30pm at the graveside of Fian James Mc Caughey.

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

WATERFORD

Easter Monday, Republican Memorial, The Square, Cappoquin, 7pm.

WESTMEATH

Easter Sunday, Dromraney Cemetery. Assemble 3pm, at grave of Tom Sloan.

WEXFORD

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

Cumann na Saoirse Náisiúnta

The Republican



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

KILDARE

Easter Sunday, 12 noon in St Conleth's Cemetery, Newbridge, at the grave of Eugene O'Rourke. Easter Monday, 12 noon wreath-laying at the Connor/Lacey Monument, Barrowhouse, Athy Co Kildare. Wreaths will be laid throughout the county.

LAOIS/OFFALY

Tommy Kelleher, 3pm.

LOUTH

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

MANCHESTER

Wreath-laying ceremonies: Manchester, Ilford, Romford.

MAYO

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

Plane 'used in US terrorist snatch' passed through Shannon

A PLANE being used for an alleged illegal snatch of a suspect passed through Shannon twice in January 2003. It was also spotted there in August by members of the Aviation Society of Ireland. The Boeing 707, identification number N313P, at the time owned by what is believed to be a CIA front company, Premier Executive Transport Services.

The Boeing 707, along with a Gulfstream V craft, which has landed in Shannon at least 13 times in the last two years, is known to have been used to pick up persons who have been illegally snatched in various countries and bring them for interrogation either to Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan or to a third country, such as Jordan, Egypt, Uzbekistan and Syria.

A number of illegal snatches have already been documented, including two men in Sweden who were taken to Egypt and a Canadian engineer at JFK Airport, who was transported to Syria. US news sources say the administration has now stopped sending suspects to Syria.

Those who have surfaced say they have been tortured after being grabbed and transported.

Khaled el-Masri, a German citizen, was on holiday in Macedonia when he was taken off a bus and brought to a motel outside the capital city of Skopje. Three weeks later, on January 23, he was brought blindfolded aboard what he believed to be a jet.

He said, "he was chained to clamps on the bare metal floor and wall of the jet."

Mr el-Masri claimed he was flown to Afghanistan, to a US prison facility where he said he was shackled, repeatedly punched and questioned about alleged extremists at his mosque in Germany. He said he was released five months later, flown back to Macedonia and left by the side of a road.

Flight logs show the Boeing 707, which had its named ownership and identification changed late last year, flew out of Dulles Airport in Washington on January 16 and landed in Shannon early the following day. After a number of stops, it landed in Skopje on January 23, then travelled to Baghdad and finally to Kabul, Afghanistan.

Anti-war activists here have urged gardai to investigate the use of Shannon by these two planes. A spokesperson for the Anti-War Movement said, "the law on torture, enshrined in the Criminal Justice Act, 2000, states that a person, whatever nationality, whether within or outside the State, who attempts to commit or conspires to commit the offence of torture, shall be guilty of an offence." They have also made an official complaint to the gardai.

The 26-County Administration said it had been assured by the US authorities that our airports have not been used to illegally transport suspects and that they would not do so in the future without seeking the authorisation.

A spokesperson speaking for Cumann Mac Curtáin / Mac Suibhne of Republican Sinn Féin in Cork said, "Again the United States authorities show no respect for human rights, while it carries out its imperial war policies. The 26-County Administration by allowing the use of Irish airports and airspace for flyovers are assisting the US in the name of the Irish people in its continued illegal occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, and facilitating further torture and abductions. The continuing use of Shannon by United States aircraft is a breach of Irish neutrality and as such must stop immediately."

Peace activist seeks to deny use of Shannon to US warplanes

A PEACE activist, Eoin Dubsky, applied to the Dublin High Court on Wednesday, February 9, to overturn the decision of the Dublin government to allow US warplanes, which are being used in the US occupation of Afghanistan, to over fly Irish airspace and to land at Shannon.

Eoin Dubsky, Wexford, is also seeking a declaration that allowing military aircraft to over fly or land in the 26-County State, or the giving of other assistance to states involved in US occupation of Afghanistan, is in breach of the 1937 Constitution.

Eoin Dubsky, in an affidavit, said that the decision of the 26-County State had caused significant death and injury to the civilian population in Afghanistan. Their actions went well beyond the mandate, if any, purportedly given by UN Resolution 1368. The UN Security Council passed that resolution in the aftermath of the attack on New York's twin towers on September 11, 2001.

British soldiers found guilty of abusing Iraqi prisoners

TWO British soldiers were found guilty on February 23 of the abuse of Iraqi prisoners in a case that has seriously undermined the standing of the British army and been dubbed Britain's Abu Ghraib. Another pleaded guilty and a fourth was sentenced last month.



• Abuse by US and British occupying forces continues in Iraq.

World News

The British Judge Advocate, Michael Hunter described the ill-treatment as "brutal, cruel and revolting".

The men were found guilty at a British army court martial in Germany of the mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners at the British army Camp Breadbasket outside Basra two weeks after the war was declared over in May 2003. The abuse was captured in photographs.

The British soldiers who were tried claimed that they were being held up as "sacrificial lambs", covering up for what was British army policy.

Cpl Daniel Kenyon, of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers was convicted on three charges, including the failure to report that soldiers under his command had forced two Iraqi males to strip naked and simulate sex acts. He was also found guilty of aiding and abetting another soldier who assaulted a prisoner and hung his victim from a forklift truck. He was found guilty of failing to report this to his superiors.

Lance Cpl Mark Cooley was found guilty of "Disgraceful conduct of a cruel kind", after he drove the forklift truck with the bound Iraqi suspended from it. He was convicted of having brought the British army into disrepute by posing for a picture in which he pretended to punch an Iraqi prisoner.

Another British soldier, Lance Cpl Darren Larkin pleaded guilty to assaulting an Iraqi man after he was photographed standing on his body.

Fusilier Gary Bartlam, who sparked the abuse inquiry when he took his photographs to be developed, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment last month and given a dishonourable discharge for being a "willing participant in this very brutal and very cruel act". He was the first British soldier to be jailed for crimes committed in Iraq.

On February 25, the three British soldiers were sentenced to between two years and five months imprisonment and expelled from the British army. Irish people will note that British soldiers convicted of more serious charges such as 'unlawful killing' within the Six Counties were never expelled, but were reinstated in the British army on their release.

Cpl Daniel Kenyon was sentenced to 18 months in prison, Mark Cooley was sentenced to two years and Lance Cpl Darren Larkin to five months.

Trial of anti-war activists

THE trial of the five Pit Stop Ploughshares Catholic Workers commenced at the Four Courts on March 7.

Deirdre Clancy, Nuin Dunlop, Karen Fallon, Ciaran O'Reilly and Damien Moran are charged with two counts of Criminal Damage — €100 and €2.5million. They say that on February 3, 2003 they 'made their way into Shannon Airport and non-violently disarmed a US Navy Warplane'.

They and their supporters have planned a series of events for the week during the trial. They will meet every morning at 8.30am at the Spire in O'Connell St. At 9.20am they will walk to the Four Courts where supporters will maintain a presence outside the court until 5pm.

They will be highlighting issues surrounding the use of Shannon by the US Military on its way to an illegal invasion of Iraq such as that the Shannon Airport Authorities have received €40 since 2001 and that €6 million in Irish taxpayers money has been used to subsidise US Military flight fees at Shannon.

Those Military flights are not all about transporting men and arms to Iraq. According to *Village* (26 Feb-4Mar) 'an American Boeing 737 aircraft (registration number N313P) used by the CIA to abduct terrorist suspects in various parts of the world, was routed through Shannon and Dublin on 14 occasions from January 1, 2003 to the end of 2004' and goes on to list the 14 flights. Up to last November the Free State Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell, denies all knowledge of such flights.

Israeli police arrest Irish-American peace activist

ON January 24, Israeli police arrested 41-year-old Irish American ISM activist, Patrick O'Connor, on suspicion that he was carrying a fake passport. O'Connor was on his way to Jerusalem after planting olive tree seedlings with Palestinian, Israeli and international activists in the path of the Wall in the occupied village of Biddu.

For the past year, Israeli and international activists have supported the villagers of Biddu through nonviolent protest and legal appeals in their struggle against the destruction of their farmland for the building of the Wall.

Patrick O'Connor resides in New York City and holds both Irish and US citizenship. He legally entered the country on his Irish passport in December, 2004 and has been working as a volunteer with the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), a Palestinian-led movement that advocates the use of non-violence in seeking an end to the Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. He has received Masters' degrees from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and from Yale University. He has worked for the past fourteen years as a tireless advocate for human rights and the health and welfare of children with American and international nongovernmental organizations and has managed humanitarian aid programs in Morocco, Egypt, Mali, and the Gaza Strip.

In 2003, travelling on his American passport, Patrick O'Connor was denied entry into Israel based on "secret evidence" that not even his Israeli attorney was allowed to see. It is likely that he was prevented from entering Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories because of his prior work in the West Bank with the ISM which included monitoring human rights abuses and supporting Palestinians in non-violent protests against the Wall. Israel routinely targets individuals and organizations through the use of "secret evidence" for deportation or by character assassination, innuendo and phoney allegations. As witnesses to the occupation, peace and human rights activists pose a "security threat" to the state of Israel, as do journalists and anyone else who can provide first hand testimony about the Occupation. Patrick O'Connor's tourist visa has been cancelled by the Ministry of Interior. He is being held in Masiyahu prison and is facing deportation from Israel.

For more information: Attorney Gaby Lasky: + 972 054 441 8988; Patrick O'Connor: + 972 054 553 9078.

WHAT THEY SAID

The SDLP remained convinced that the Wilson government intended to withdraw from Northern Ireland, monitored by British self-interest.

— Irish Times, January 4, 2004, *British 1974 State Papers, SDLP government* [Stormont], Pol II by John Bowman.

Elsewhere in the 1974 [Dublin] cabinet papers there are estimates of the limitations of any military help which the Irish army could provide if a civil war were to follow British withdrawal.

— John Bowman.

On November 22 [1974], a senior delegation of SDLP leaders came to meet the Taoiseach and his senior ministers in Dublin.

There was considerable debate concerning the prospects of a British withdrawal, which Dublin saw as a possibility but which the SDLP reckoned to be almost certain.

— John Bowman.

Former Spanish ministers were jailed for their role in the "dirty war" against ETA, thanks to Europe's most feared investigating judge, Baltasar Garzón.

— Irish Times, January 29, 2005, *article by Martin Mansergh*.

There was, I believe, a concern lest, in the event of our [26-County State] involvement in the war [WWII], the more republican elements in Fianna Fáil might break away and join with the IRA.

That organisation remained a significant force in the early years of the war...

— Irish Times, January 29, 2005, *article by Garret Fitzgerald*.

The Anglo-Irish conflict still loomed large in the public mind in 1939 — only 18 years previously, in July 1921, the last shot in that guerrilla war had been fired. Much of public opinion in this State remained focused on that recent Anglo-Irish War: for many nationalists, the British were still the enemy.

— Garret Fitzgerald.

... the Dáil had voted to introduce internment, which by 1942 had broken the back of the IRA for many years thereafter.

— Garret Fitzgerald.

Much more in the form of secret cooperation with Britain was to follow — most of which was successfully concealed from the Germans. Our wartime neutrality was, in fact, theoretical rather than real, but it suited both de Valera and Churchill, for opposite reasons, to keep up the charade for several decades after the war.

— Garret Fitzgerald.

Even the British proposal in June/July 1940 for Irish political unity in return for belated entry into the war on the Allied side did not strike de Valera's resolve to remain outside the conflict.

— Garret Fitzgerald.

The British government continued its policy of non-cooperation during the recent public hearings on the Barron Report. Two letters from Tony Blair were read into the record of the committee, written on the same day, but containing entirely different messages.

— Village weekly, February 5-11, 2005, *article on the Leinster House public hearings re Dublin-Monaghan bombings and similar atrocities*.

The [Leinster House] sub-committee has continually expressed their disappointment at the lack of cooperation of the British government both in attending the hearings and in opening their files for inspection.

It also raised concerns about the missing files, the effective abandonment of the victims' families by the State and the premature end to the investigations.

— Barron Report public hearings.

Cormac Ó Dúlaicháin, the barrister representing the Justice for the Forgotten, said: "Nobody is above the law. The bombings during 1972, 1973 and 1974 were effectively murder and the Government has to decide on the gravity of this issue."

"Murder has been committed and a key player in the process, the British Government has refused to cooperate and provide information. This is a breach of Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights which the British government has signed up to."

— Barron Report public hearings.

The Justice for the Forgotten group is taking a case against the British government to the European Court of Human Rights on two grounds.

Firstly on their non-cooperation with the inquests and secondly, on the grounds that there was evidence pointing to British collusion in the bombings.

It will be a number of years, however, before the case is heard.

— Barron Report public hearings.

The British government admitted last week that the world is hurtling towards potentially disastrous changes in global temperature in the next 20 to 30 years, and the trend is about to become irreversible.

— Sunday Times, February 6, 2005, "London Eye" column by Johann Hari.

The British environment secretary, Margaret Beckett, speaking to the Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change conference in London last week, said these changes "are already built into the system".

An increase in temperature of just 2-3°C — which is now on course to happen within my lifetime — will cause "irreversible damage to the Amazon rainforest, leading to its collapse."

— Johann Hari.

In the summer of 2003, we suffered an environmental 9/11 right here in Europe. Over 3,000 people — mostly pensioners and the sick — died in a heatwave that brought the highest temperatures in Europe for 500 years.

— Johann Hari.

The DUP has said it would

not return to talks until the [Provisional] IRA disbands. It will also demand up to a year to "verify" that the [Provisional] IRA has been wound down.

[Provisional] Sinn Féin is in the doghouse. The SDLP, the [Dublin] government and the White House have abandoned it.

— Sunday Business Post, February 13, 2005, *article by Paul T Colgan*.

I am conscious that the power relations in society will ordain that the powerful will use freedom of expression to enhance their power and marginalize and further suppress the powerless, a recurrent feature of the journalism of Kevin Myers, as illustrated in the general theme of that column of last week on lone parents.

— Irish Times, February 16, 2005, *Vincent Browne column*.

But the curtailment of freedom of expression, however denigratory and stigmatising, carries with it such hazard to the free communication of ideas and the possible, indeed inevitable, curtailment of truth, that any curtailment is worse than freedom, however abused.

— Vincent Browne.

In any event I am conscious that the powerful would use instruments of curtailment as a further weapon in the consolidation of their advantage and the disadvantage of others.

— Vincent Browne.

The climate crisis and the imminent oil and gas depletion crisis are the results of a dysfunctional economic system which the Kyoto Protocol cannot repair, writes Richard Douthwaite.

— Irish Times, February 16, 2005.

Indeed, if one recalls that the British government's chief scientist, Sir David King, warned the world last April that Antarctica could be the only continent suitable for mammalian life by the end of the present century if greenhouse gas emissions continued to rise unchecked, the [Kyoto] Protocol has to be seen as a grossly inadequate response to what is almost certainly the gravest problem ever to face humankind.

— Richard Douthwaite.

True, the energy required for growth could come from emissions-free sources such as the investment of an enormous amount of energy to get those sources on stream on anything like the required needs.

On the other hand, if the rich countries could find a way of stopping growing without their economies collapsing, they could immediately cut their fossil energy use, and hence their emissions, by roughly half.

— Richard Douthwaite.

Both the climate crisis and the imminent oil and gas depletion are the results of a dysfunctional economic system, and unless the world is prepared to make radical changes to that system, neither can be cured.

— Richard Douthwaite.

Bertie Ahern doesn't want a "plonker" candidate selected by Fianna Fáil tonight to contest the Kildare by-election.

— Fionnán Sheahan,

Political Correspondent, Irish Examiner, February 17, 2005

Last December Mary Harney managed to rush through the Dáil and the Senate in a single day a bill to make lawful retrospectively the theft of over one billion euro from old people in residential institutions over the past 30 years.

— Editorial, Village, 19-25 February, 2005

Instead of proposing the restitution of these funds to old people and the estates of old people who had died in the meantime, she managed to procure the passage of a Bill to make lawful that theft/robbery.

— Village

The Supreme Court in considering the constitutionality of the proposed retrospective legitimating of large-scale theft from old people wasn't having it. On the basis of the private property rights enshrined in the constitution, it found this could not be justified and was therefore unconstitutional.

— Village

By every standard this was an inexcusable performance, albeit fully consistent with her confident appraisal of her own righteousness and the other despicable interventions of the Progressive Democrats against every vulnerable group in the country.

— Village

What is certain is that Mary Harney will contrive to place every possible obstacle in the way of those vulnerable people getting repaid the full amount of what was stolen from them.

— Village

It has certainly been an *annus horribilis* for the Provos and it is only February... the Teflon Adams-McGuinness leadership no longer looks infallible.

— Village, Suzanne Breen.

The IRA's "policing" means there is no political or military challenge to Provisional control.

— Suzanne Breen.

Despite the leadership's current difficulties, they have powerful strategic reasons for retaining the IRA as a military force in republican areas. It keeps a check on the growth of the Real and Continuity IRA.

— Suzanne Breen.

Question: how many TDs does it take to have a Dáil Éireann plenary session? Answer: theoretically, from 1 to 166, but in reality, between 3 and 24.

— Village. Vitali Vitaliev writing on his visit to an almost empty Leinster House.

3pm... as the first question about the Middle East peace process is poised to the Taoiseach from the Fine Gael benches, 16 Deputies stand up from their seats and leave the chamber....

— Vitali Vitaliev

3.15pm. Only seven TDs remain in the chamber. The moment Bertie finishes answering (or rather reading the answer to) another question, four of them stand up and leave. Just three politicians still remain in the House... Profound boredom permeates the near deserted Chamber of Ireland's most important legislative body.

— Vitali Vitaliev

Even though the US

nuclear arsenal is a lot smaller than at the height of the cold war, the most recent estimate is that its current deployment still stands at approximately 5,300 operational nuclear warheads, with nearly 5,000 more places in what is termed a "responsive reserve force" or else only partially dismantled.

— Paul Rogers in article in Village.

Many of these weapons contain enormous destructive force; the nearly 400W88 warheads for the Trident submarine missile fleet are each about 30 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb.

— Paul Rogers.

... it turns out that programmes are already underway to design new nuclear warheads using completely different budget lines. Around 100 specialists at the three US nuclear weapons laboratories — Lawrence Livermore in California, Los Alamos in New Mexico and Sandia in Texas — are involved in an initial \$9million project, one that is planned to develop into full-scale programme capable of producing designs for completely new weapons within the next five-to-ten years.

— Paul Rogers

In all, the garda force across the country received €83.5m in overtime last year — an increase of 47%, or €27m, on the 2003 bill of €56.5m.

— Gordon Deegan, reporter, Irish Examiner.

The Special Criminal Court has ruled that Garda interviews with five men accused of IRA membership were not admissible in evidence because they were detained in a Garda station for 20 hours with little or no sleep.

— Irish Times, February 18, 2005.

28% of the Irish people are "in favour" of the draft [EU] constitution with 5% "against". The remaining 67% of Irish people have yet to make up their minds on the issue.

The accompanying chart shows that Irish support for the draft constitution is a lot less than it is in most other countries.

— Irish Times, February 18, 2005. It is presumed that "Irish" here means 26 Counties only.

... the Irish public seems to have considerable difficulty when it comes to giving the green light to EU treaty changes.

It rejected the Nice Treaty on the first occasion and only passed it on the return by a margin that, when account is taken of abstention, was narrow enough (31% Yes, 18% No and 51% abstention).

— Irish Times, article by Fiachra Kennedy and Richard Sinnott.

Tom Maguire withdrew the recognition he had given the Provisional IRA Army Council in 1969 and instead bestowed it on the Continuity IRA.

— Sunday Tribune, February 20, 2005, *article by Stephen Collins, Political Editor*.

Even though they do not take their seats in the [House of] Commons, the four [Provisional] Sinn Féin MPs

draw down expenses and allowances worth over £100,000 (€145,000) a year [each].

On Tuesday, the House of Commons will decide whether these allowances should continue in the light of recent events.

— Stephen Collins.

The Rev Eric Gallagher was certainly the most outstanding minister of the Methodist Church in Ireland during the 20th century. His biography by Dennis Cooke has been published by the Methodist Publishing House and was launched at Edgell College in Belfast at the beginning of this month.

Even in his account of a most serious occasion, the meetings in Feakle, when he was at its most courageous and was bitterly attacked by the unimaginative, that humour comes through, and his reference to the discomfiture of the gardaí is delightful.

— Irish Times, February 26, 2005, *Methodist Notes*.

The jury at the inquest into the 1972 and 1973 Dublin bombings has returned a verdict of "unlawful killing" in the deaths of Mr Thomas Duffy (24), Mr George Bradshaw (29) (on December 1, 1972) and Mr Thomas Douglas (21) (January 30, 1973), all CIE workers.

Ms Margaret Unwin, campaign secretary for Justice for the Forgotten, the group that represents the victims and their families, said she was disappointed by the lack of information in the Garda files. She also said the lack of cooperation on the part of the British authorities was to be "greatly deplored".

— Irish Times, February 26, 2005. The Coroner said the inquests "should have been completed 30 years ago".

Any progress towards a united Ireland by 2016, on the basis of the twin-track [Provisional] republican approach, with or without green papers, is a pipe-dream.

— Irish Times, February 26, 2005, *article by Martin Mansergh*.

Garda John White was facing criminal charges when he first made his claims about a security lapse leading up to the Omagh bombing.

He claims that the bomb was allowed to be transported into the North to protect the man who secured the getaway car, informant Paddy Dixon.

— Sunday Business Post, March 6, 2005, *Barry O'Kelly, Crime Correspondent*.

It has also been claimed that the RUC ignored a tip-off from another informant about the bombing. Further claims involving a third informant are expected to be made during the Omagh civil action.

Two years ago, the North's Ombudsman Nuala O'Loan's investigators interviewed White. They are believed to have accepted his account as accurate.

— Barry O'Kelly.

The allegations will be aired during the forthcoming lawsuit facing Colm Murphy and four others. Murphy (51), said last week that he intended to subpoena the man who made the claim, Garda John White.

— Barry O'Kelly.

Who Signed Away Political Status?

A chara

Recently there has been a lot of speculation concerning Long Kesh Concentration Camp. Of course, the Provos have an idea. They want it turned into a museum so we can remember the hunger strikers of 1981.

We in Republican Sinn Féin remember the hunger strikers only too well and all those who gave their lives for Irish freedom over the centuries. Gerry, Marty and the rest of their lap-dogs can open as many museums, shrines and monuments as they like with their British salaries (oh sorry, have they been suspended?).

The only true way of honouring our patriot dead is on Easter Sunday and the unification of our country from our old enemy England.

We in Republican Sinn Féin call on the Provisionals to drop the good name of Sinn Féin in this our centenary year. I must remind Gerry and the Peacemakers that it wasn't Republican Sinn Féin that signed political status away for which the 1981 hunger strikers gave their lives so courageously. It was the Provos and their British allies.

Shame on you. Ní síocháin go saoirse.

FR

Newry, Co Down

Dresden Atrocity And British Hypocrisy

A chara

It is 60 years since the Dresden bombing. About 40,000 people died. Anyway what difference does one or two make when you are talking in thousands. When WWII was over Winston Churchill never apologised for this atrocity.

When they are called terrorists by the British government Irish Republicans should just ignore hypocrisy like this.

BRENDAN TOBIN
Wexford

Comóradh 100 Blian Sinn Féin

A chara

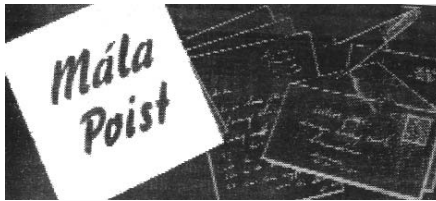
Tá Sinn Féin [Sealadach] níos láidre mar go bhfuil a lán tacaíocht acu mar gheall ar an "peace process" sna Sé Chontae. Caithfidh Sinn Féin Poblachtach agus na grúpaí ceangailte leis fháil níos láidre freisin, tá cúpla smaoinemh agam!

Ag léamh i SAOIRSE faoi an teacht le chéile i nGlaschú

de lucht Albain, Cymru agus Poblachtánaigh, ba mhaith liom moladh go mbeidh comhdháil ar súil in Éirinn do muintir na tíortha ceilteacha, i mBaile Átha Cliath, chun gréasán laidir a bhunú.

Tá an comhdháil in ann bheith mar páirt den comóradh 100 blian Sinn Féin.

Molaim go mbeadh poiblíocht maith le fháil ó



• The Provos and their British allies signed away the political status for which the 1981 hunger strikers gave their lives (see letter on left).

imeachtaí poiblí a eagrú go mbeadh suim ag daoine óga iontu. Mar sampla – scannáin, spóirt, ceol, paintball (as Gaeilge, dar ndóigh!) agus turasanna stairiúla.

Éire saor agus Gaelach
POBLACHTACH ÓG
Baile Átha Cliath

Following The Wrong Agenda

A chara

When in future years the history of the Provisionals is written any author must surely be only to describe the years from 1986 as the lost years and the years since 1998 as the lost years.

Following the wrong agenda, at great cost, now marginalised, caught in a British constitutional trap, their future unsure. Accused of a bank robbery of £26 million. This alleged crime fades into insignificance with the crime of their accusers – they stole Six Counties and Bertie gave them a receipt for it! Naively negotiating with the British is the equivalent of asking someone who is poisoning you.

Tone's words ring as true now as ever, breaking the connection with England is the only way forward. The only dialogue required with them is the time and date of their withdrawal. Then the people of all Ireland can work together to bring peace and equality, respect for each other's traditions and values, building a lasting peace, free of the intemperance of British self-interest.

Republican Sinn Féin has the agenda and events show have been vindicated for remaining resolute. It's time for others to wake up.

SEAMUS WALSH
London

Repression of Offaly Republicans

A chara

As many of you are aware Republican Sinn Féin in Offaly had a function organised for January 28 last in Edenderry.

On January 25 the local gardaí called to the pub and advised the owner not to let the function go ahead there. They told him they could make things very difficult for him in the future.

This is a blatant attempt to suppress the activities of Republican Sinn Féin in Laois/Offaly. Also nationally Republican Sinn Féin has been under a lot of pressure from the Special Branch. We are an open political organisation and will continue to do our work as normal. We will not be intimidated or deterred from doing so despite the harassment etc.

We would also like to point out that the raffle did go ahead on the night and the winners were as follows:

1st prize: €100 to Tamara King, Killane View, Edenderry.
2nd prize: Bodhrán to S Mulpeters, Tullamore.
3rd prize: €50 to Micheál 6 Mhaoir, 76 Boyne Meadows, Edenderry.

We would like to apologise to any of our supporters who turned up on the night. We will be trying to have a function in Edenderry in the near future and we take this opportunity of

thanking you for your continued support

PRO
Republican Sinn Féin
Offaly

'100 Years Ago' Freisin?

A chara

Bainim an-shult as an cholún "50 Years Ago" gach mí i SAOIRSE.

Os rud é go bhfuilimid ag ceiliúradh is ag comóradh an chéid ó bhunadh Shinn Féin, nach mbéadh sé oiriúnach i mbliana an cholún a roinnt i n-a dhá leith "100 Years Ago" agus "50 Years Ago"?

SEÁN Mac ÉOCHAIDH
Co Chill Dara

Jailed for Principled Refusal To buy TV Licence

A chara

I am to be taken to Cork prison at 3pm today (March 4) for consistent refusal to pay a fine for not having a TV licence.

This is a matter of deep principle with me as the case goes back to 1984 when I was a duly accredited candidate for Munster in the European elections of that year.

There were nine candidates – eight of them were interviewed on TV and radio except me, as I was informed that under the notorious Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act of

1960 I was not allowed to be interviewed because of my then party affiliation.

That was blatant censorship and offended against the UN Declaration of Human Rights – indeed it was that type of undemocratic silencing of people that led to the Nazi era.

Why should I pay for a licence to a government media from which I was barred in an

treatment with the insertion of a Stent. He appears to be in good form. The staff of SAOIRSE wish him well.

Scargill Loyal To union principles

A chara

Having read February's issue of SAOIRSE, I was overwhelmed to see Arthur Scargill addressed a large crowd at Liberty Hall, Dublin. This is a man who I admired for many years, not just because of his resistance to Margaret Thatcher and her policies, but for his honesty and solidarity to his members in the NUM.

At the age of 17, I was a galley-boy on a coal-ship (Kelly's Coal Ships, Belfast) in 1984 and we were berthed at a coal quay in Ayr in Scotland with only 14 of a crew. We took a ballot not to load coal and therefore supported the plight of the miners. But to be truthfully honest I voted for the strike on two fronts, firstly because there was a woman in power with no soul, who let 10 men die of hunger and labelled them criminals and the plight of the miners was secondary. I put my 'x' on the ballot to once again resist Thatcher and her cabinet on her Conservative and without doubt capitalist views.

I had the good fortune to meet Arthur Scargill at a NUM rally in Liverpool at its height and asked him, "If Margaret Thatcher was prepared to let 10 men die on a hunger strike in Ireland, how can you and your membership hope to defeat such a government?"

His answer to me was, "Hindsight and presumptions, young comrade. Help no one but our oppressor."

I'm sure all who attended to listen to Arthur Scargill at Liberty hall were moved by the sincerity and comradeship he possesses.

As I stated at the start of this letter, I have the utmost respect and admiration of Arthur Scargill. Why? Because he was loyal to the principles of the National Union of Mineworkers and honest to his members.

He led from the front.
BELFAST READER

Please note that all material for publication, articles, features, news reports, comhbhróin, congratulations and good wishes greetings, etc must be accompanied by a name, address, signature and telephone number for verification.

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 sent by e-mail to saoirse@iol.ie

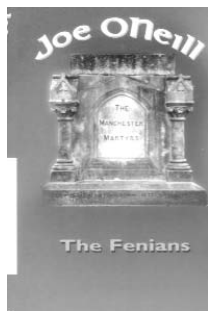
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• *Legion of the Rearguard, The Best of Kathleen Largey, CD, €15.*



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• *The Fenians, Joe O'Neill, tape, €7, CD €12.*



• *The Songs and Ballads of Irish History and Rebellion, Derek Warfield, tape, €7.*

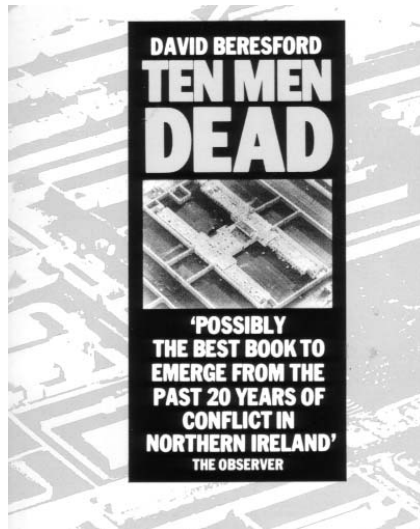
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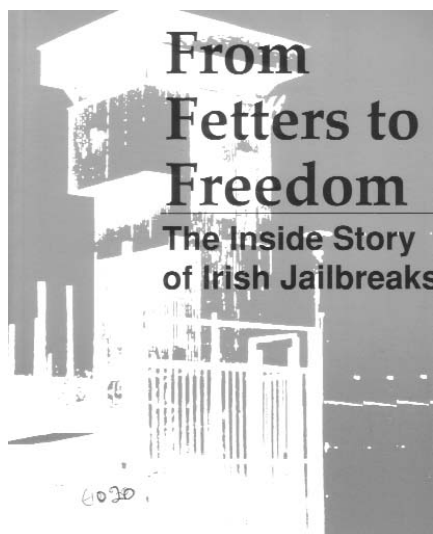
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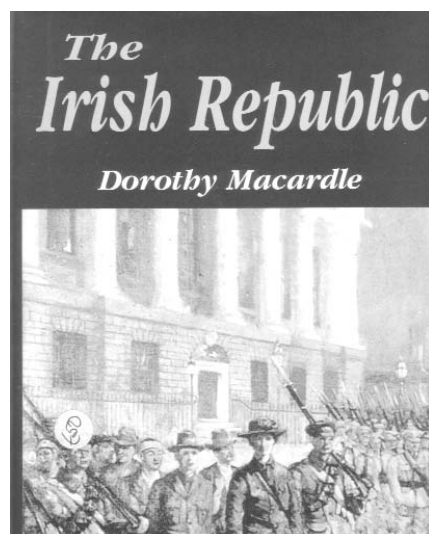
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KILLING AND WOUNDING BY B-SPECIALS

50 Years Ago

ARTHUR Leonard (18) Clady more, Markethill, Co Armagh was shot dead when a B-Special patrol opened fire on a van he was driving in South Armagh at

11.30pm on Saturday night, March 5, 1955.

A 16-year-old girl, Clare Mallon of Main Street, Darkley – a passenger in the van – was wounded. Her sister Alice (15) and Peter McKernan (17) who were also traveling in the van escaped unhurt.

It was found that three rifle bullets pierced the windscreen, one lodged in the radiator, another struck the panel of the driver's door and another bullet hole was found in the back of the vehicle.

Peter McKernan of Ballymacnab described the shooting to an *Irish Independent* reporter. He said he was sitting in the back of the van. It started to slow up and he looked ahead and saw a red light.

"Almost immediately after that I heard four or five shots fired. As the van came to a stop Arthur slumped over the wheel. A B-man came to me and said: 'He knew what was coming to him when he did not stop'. I said: 'Sure he was stopping'."

Peter McKernan said he was sure the bullets came from the front. Clare Mallon, at home in bed, told the reporter that she and her sister Alice went to confession at St Patrick's, Keady and afterwards to the pictures at the Town Hall.

Afterwards they met the two boys whom they knew and accepted a lift home from them. They came to a fork in the road and saw a car stopped by a van across the road. B-men were standing around.

Arthur said: "It must be an accident. We'd better go by Newtownhamilton". He turned into the Newtownhamilton Road when a shot was fired and the van stopped. More shots were fired from the road in front of us.

She was sitting in the front seat beside Arthur. She then realised that a bullet had hit her in the right leg above the knee. Arthur was struck in the head by the first bullet. He never spoke after that.

It seems B-Specials were on both roads of the fork. The patrol was part of a general mobilisation of RUC and B-Specials throughout the Six Counties that weekend.

The *Irish Independent* of March 7 also reported that "thousands of members of the RUC and B-Specials" were out on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights. All vehicles were stopped and drivers questioned. The Crown Forces were armed with rifles and Sten guns.

"Police authorities would not say whether the mobilisation of the Specials was a snap test of their efficiency or was the result of some information received by the police".

Road-blocks were at random and often consisted of a vehicle or vehicles placed across the road. A tractor or a section of barbed wire fencing placed into position, or a plank balanced on two old tar barrels sufficed in some cases.

Then on Sunday night the B-men shot and seriously wounded one of their own. Austin Stinson (23) of Monea, Derrygonnelly, Co Fermanagh was driving a car on the Aughnacloy-Aughur road in Co Tyrone.

RUC Headquarters in Belfast in a statement said Stinson "was signaled to stop but either he did not see the signal or ignored it".

The shooting took place at the Y-junction at 10.30pm. The police also said that Stinson apparently took the wrong road and was reversing when "a number of warning shots" were fired. One of the shots hit him in the chest, seriously wounding him.

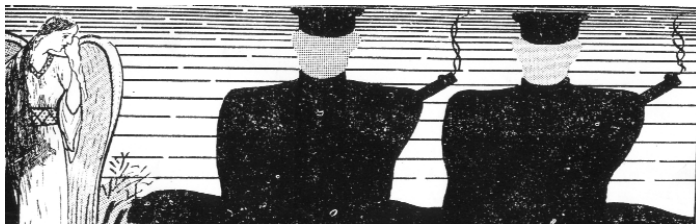
The injured B-man in Tyrone County Hospital, Omagh, told visitors according to the *Irish Press* of March 8 "that he saw no signal nor heard any shout to halt. He did not realise that anything was wrong until a bullet hit him". A second bullet lodged in his right arm.

He had left his fiancée, Ms Jean McClurg, home to Downpatrick and was returning to his own home in Fermanagh. In the back of the car were Mervyn Hassard, Gillyholm, Springfield, Enniskillen and Ms Mary Thompson, Letterbreen, Florencecourt, Fermanagh.

Mervyn Hassard (25) himself a B-Special, said he and Mary Thompson were in the back of the car. Near Augher, Stinson said, "I think I have taken the wrong road". He stopped the car and reversed. They had barely gone 100 yards when they heard a shot and a bullet crashed into the left-hand window of the car.

"There was a cry from Stinson, 'I'm shot', and he immediately stopped the car. I thought he was only joking until he slumped over at the wheel. No signal was given. There was no barrier on the road".

Among the visitors was the wounded man's



• Illustration from the *United Irishman* following the killing of Arthur Leonard.

brother, Claude, another B-Special.

Austin Stinson was a member of the Orange Order. His uncle, the late Loftus Reid, Toronto, Canada was for many years Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge Council of the World, the *Irish Press* reported concluded.

The inquest on Arthur Leonard was held on Monday, March 7 in Armagh city. It opened at 3pm and concluded about 11.30pm. The jury took an hour and a quarter to return a verdict. The Coroner was GC Anderson, solicitor, and an open verdict that death was due to wounds caused by gunshot fired by the Special Constabulary was returned.

The Crown and the B-Specials were separately represented at the proceedings. Mr P Gerard Curran, solicitor, Newry, appeared for the next of kin.

Medical evidence was given by Dr Patricia Cole of Armagh City Hospital. "There was an extensive shattering of the whole of the left side of skull with brain destruction" she said. Lacerations to the right thigh were several inches long and there was also a fracture of the shaft of the right femur.

The *Irish Press* report of March 8 said witnesses agreed that wounds on the left eyebrow were caused by a shot fired from in front. A half-crown taken from the dead man's pocket was badly bent and a piece of it was missing.

It was possible, due to the wounds being at the same level, that the same bullet entered the left thigh. (The missing part of the coin was later taken from Clare Mallon's thigh.)

Sergeant Gordon H Watson of the B-Specials was in charge of the patrol. It evidence he said that he checked the ammunition afterwards and found four bullets were missing. Mr Curran then produced a live round of ammunition which was found on the road.

Sergeant Edward Joseph Duffy RUC Keady said, "the bullet which struck the radiator must have been fired by a man standing in front of the van and the bullet which hit Leonard's eyebrow would seem to have come from in front of the van through the windscreen".

He agreed that the bullet which hit the back door of the van must have come from a gun over four feet from the ground. It could not have been made by a gun pointing downwards.

B-Special Reginald Gibson, who was on the patrol and the van was travelling at about 25 miles an hour. He agreed that the van did not stop with a jerk, but came to a smooth standstill.

Here a jurymen intervened: "Is it true that the van stopped only when the first shot was fired and then it stopped in an ordinary way?"

Gibson: "Yes". Jurymen: "Yet the driver then had a bullet in his brain. How could a van with such a driver stop in an ordinary way?"

Gibson: "I don't know." Constable John Bingham, RUC Keady said he examined the van at the scene. It was in third gear, indicating that the driver was trying to stop. In a road test, applying both hand and footbrakes at 30 miles per hour, it took the van 90 feet to stop.

The efficiency of the brakes was only 32%. He described them as "very dangerous".

Earlier Sgt Watson, in evidence, was asked what allowances would be made if a man was unable to stop through bad brakes? – It is against the law to have bad brakes, he replied.

Mr Curran – Yes, but the penalty is not death. Sergt Duffy said in evidence that when he arrived at the scene of the shooting he found the van parked about 15 yards beyond the fork of the Darkley road.

Alice Mallon (15) said she looked out and saw a man in uniform with a gun up to his eye. The next thing she heard was a shot. Arthur's head fell back and forward and the van stopped.

There were three or four shots after that. She saw no red torch waving. The man with the gun was standing in front of the van about three yards away on the verge of the road.

The man with the gun was standing standing in front of the van about three yards away on the verge of the road.

Mr Curran said there was no question of any political or religious significance in the case. It was only by mere accident that the people in the van happened to be Catholics. He suggested that there had been untruth in the case on the part of the Specials.

The evidence, he said, showed that Arthur Leonard was also shot through the leg which he would use for braking. That showed that the car must have been

stopped.

According to the law, he said, officers of justice who wilfully exceeded their duty without just cause would be guilty of murder. He was merely asking the jury to judge.

"I invite you to say," he concluded, "that the Specials wilfully exceeded their duty, with the result that an innocent boy is lying dead tonight. If you find that they are guilty of murder."

After an hour and a quarter the jury returned the open verdict as quoted above. Hundreds of people thronged the courthouse awaiting the verdict. (End of the *Irish Press* report.)

Reaction to the shootings and particularly the death of young Arthur Leonard was immediate and spontaneous. The veteran Nationalist MP for Fermanagh, Cahir Healy (78) said: "These incidents indicate the [Stormont] government are giving these people carte blanche to do whatever they wish."

"They can say that a driver refused to stop and there is no evidence to controvert them. This leaves the ordinary citizen at the mercy of trigger-happy thugs – men who have had no experience in the proper use or handling of guns."

From Waterford Co Council came a resolution protesting against the shooting. Said proposer Seán Ormond, Fianna Fáil TD: "These children – I cannot refer to them as anything else – were murdered in the innocent pursuit of their simple duties."

"It is horrible to think that such a pleasant and happy evening should have such a terrible termination." The excuse given (that the van did not stop) he said was "very reminiscent of the Black-and-Tan days".

From Westmeath Co Council came a similar condemning resolution, calling on the [Dublin] government to protest against "the murder of innocent people on the Border by the Black-and-Tans of 1955".

Eddie McAtee, Nationalist MP for Derry City said: "Something must be done to protect the public from these over-armed, overbearing, over-excitable and under-intelligent commandos. We will insist for the future that maneuvers of this type shall be notified in advance in order that the innocent public may be safeguarded."

"I have no personal objection to the B-Specials playing cowboys and Indians around the Border but I have the most strenuous objection to this kind of live-target practice, which seems to have been the rule this weekend," he added.

But while the storm of protest mounted, Belfast police officials and Stormont Ministry of Home Affairs kept a rigid silence. Premier Lord Brookeborough was touring Australia and New Zealand.

Anthony P Leonard, father of the dead youth said: "Arthur was the second of our family of nine boys and four girls and had just started dealing in cattle like myself." Clare (16) and Alice (15) Mallon were dofers in the local linen mill. (See front page of *Irish Press* of March 8).

The *Irish Times* of March 9 reported: "Cork Corporation was among a number of public bodies ... which passed resolutions" of protest. Mr J Galvin described the shootings as brutal murder by a gang of hooligans. Mr R Anthony said that such occurrences would continue as long as the Border remained.

They should ask the [Dublin] government to exploit every means to seek termination of the Border. Lord Mayor Patrick McGrath TD (Fianna Fáil) said that the shooting showed complete lack of responsibility.

Speaking on a similar resolution at Cork County Health services Committee, Mr CJ Bryan said that in the "South of Ireland" they found tolerance everywhere. "I can tell that to my friends in the North" he said.

Senator John L O'Sullivan (Fine Gael) congratulated Mr Bryan on his remarks. He was the only member of the committee of the minority faith.

Kilkenny Corporation and Kilkenny Town Council unanimously extended sympathy and condemned the action of the B-Special patrol. Sligo Corporation, Sligo Mental Hospital Board and Killybegs Urban Council passed similar resolutions of protest.

Mr M Horgan, proposing the Killybegs resolution, said they should "ask the government to protest strongly against the murder of this young boy."

The *Irish Press* of March 9 carried a photograph of Arthur Leonard's funeral the previous day. On page 2, the author and writer, Benedict Kiely from Omagh

gave a moving and lyrical account of the event.

"They came from all over the North to Clady more in a quiet valley in the Fews ..." it began and went on in two columns with about twenty paragraphs. It deserves to be read by anyone researching the period.

A leading article in the same newspaper on the same day was headed 'B Men'. It said: "The activities of a force like the 'B' Specials, and especially these night patrols at an hour when large numbers of people are returning to their homes, are a menace to the lives of the community."

The *Irish Independent* of March 10 reported on proceedings in Leinster House when Seán Dunne TD (Labour) asked "what steps the Government proposed to take to protect our people in Border areas from this menace?"

John A Costello, head of government, referred to the Stormont Administration's intention to persist in a course that had already caused the loss of one innocent life and personal injury to others could not fail to shock impartial public opinion.

He spoke of innocent wayfarers placed "at the mercy of armed undisciplined youths who are let loose by night on the roads of the Six Counties".

But when Jack McQuillan TD (Independent) asked if Mr Costello would make "strong representations to the British Government to restrain the puppet Government in the North of Ireland", the reply was one word "No".

Did not John A Costello say publicly in May 1949: "We will hit England in her pride, her pocket and her prestige?"

In Stormont on March 8, Home Affairs Minister B Hanna did not consider that there was any reason for holding a public inquiry. A report would be made to him by the RUC and that would be sufficient.

He went on to criticise the Dublin government for not arresting IRA men responsible for activity in the Six Counties but was interrupted when Seán Dunne TD and S Bohan, Rathgar Road, Dublin rose in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery and shouted at the government front bench:

"Don't try to justify the murders you have carried out," shouted Seán Dunne, "You nearly murdered your own in your anxiety to murder our people".

Mr. Bohan shouted: "You need crossroads murder gangs to keep you in this house. The Republic doesn't need crossroad gangs."

As they were leaving Mr. Bohan cried: "You are trying to justify murder. Ordinary law and order is not sufficient. You need a murder gang." Seán Dunne shouted: "This is not a government; it is a masquerade." They were removed by the sergeant-at-arms and handed over to the RUC who eventually released them.

Seán Dunne, a giant of a man from Bray, had been interned without trial in the Curragh Concentration Camp in the 1940s. He later joined the Labour Party and became a TD at Leinster House.

Co Down Branch of the Anti-Partition League (later the Nationalist Party) called a demonstration for Castlewellan on March 27 to protest against shootings by B-Specials. Stormont MPs and Senators were invited as well as Seán Dunne, TD.

The *Irish Independent* of March 14 also recorded protests against the shootings by the Federation of IRA 1916-21 and Longford UDC. Of March 14 also recorded protests against the shootings by the Federation of IRA 1916-21 and Longford UDC. Youghal UDC voted sympathy with Arthur Leonard's family.

On March 12 students from various Irish universities protested to a large crowd in O'Connell Street, Dublin under a banner inscribed "Students Condemn Black and Tan Killers". Séamus Soraghan BL presided and Murt Qualter, Galway; Oliver Moylan, UCD; Oisita Eke, Kenya and Kara Kaye of Colombia (USA) and London Universities spoke. (*Sunday Press*, March 13).

The "Ulster Special Constabulary" developed from the remnants of the UVF. Formed in November 1920, it was armed and financed by the British government and divided into A,B,C and C1 categories. A was full-time B was part-time and C and C1 were reserve.

After the Boundary Agreement in December 1925, categories A, C and C1 were abolished. The B-Specials remained until 1970 when they were replaced by the UDR and the RUC Reserve. The UDR was replaced by the RIR, Royal Irish Regiment of the British Army.

On Monday night March 7, B-Special patrols were again mobilized, the *Irish Independent* of March 9 reported. Since the Saturday night shots were fired at a number of other cars which did not stop in time. The *Irish Press* of the same date headed a report "Motorists' close shaves in Weekend of Shootings".

Some people urged the IRA to retaliate for Arthur Leonard's death. Tomás Mac Curtáin, asked about this, said "We preferred to have the focus of attention sole on the excesses of the British Forces – echoing down the days, weeks and months. Later the action would come."

(More next month. Refs. *Irish Independent*, March 7, 9, 10, 14; *Irish Press*, March 8 and 9; *Irish Times*, March 9; *Sunday Press*, March 3; An *tÉireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, March 1955.)

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent

HAMILTON Fish, the late Congressman from New York, became a great friend of the Irish people at home and in exile. His concern was one based on justice and an abhorrence of tyranny that he acknowledged the British were guilty of practicing in the Six Occupied Counties.

Mr Fish has served as an attaché in the US Embassy in Dublin, Ireland and was quite fond of the Irish. He was also an American realist who viewed a necessity in having a relationship with the British based on mutual concerns, but he could not understand why the British insisted on continuing to control six of Ireland's counties.

When asked why, he said the occupation of Ireland was based on an illegal taking of land against the wished of its rightful owner, the people of Ireland. He based this premise on English Common Law. When he made this statement on the British Broadcasting Network he was cut off. The British feared the truth.

Many are aware of the official investigation conducted by Mr Fish and his colleague Joshua Ellberg in 1978, at the direction of the Chairman, Peter Rodino of the Judiciary Committee, of the United States House of Representatives.

That trip was undertaken to determine if the US State Department was justified in denying visitor's visas to members of the Irish Republican Movement.

After an extensive probing of the victims of the denials, Irish and British government officials and Irish and British judicial officials, it was determined that that there was no reason to deny the visas and the State Department had acted on information that were lies supplied by the London and Dublin governments and that the State Department had colluded with

them to bring that about.

All three Governments, off the record, feared that if the Irish Republicans were allowed to come to the US and speak freely, they would be believed and pressure would be intense to have the US become involved in unifying Ireland which was, in the long range, in best interests of the Irish people.

HONEST CONCLUSIONS

They did not want the truth to set free honest conclusions in the minds of the American people who would be in favour of a united and free Ireland if they had all the facts.

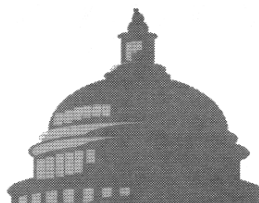
Prior to his leaving for Ireland and the UK, Mr Fish called his former colleagues at the State Department to have a meeting to discuss the situation and get the official US position on the issue.

Fish said he was warmly received and it was assumed he was going to be favourable to what he would be told off the record and as a courtesy to him as a Congressman and former State Department official. He found the US government position was to back the British government and treat the entire matter as if it were a sole domestic issue of the British.

Fish met with the Irish experts at State and said he wanted them to explain the basis of the refusal of visas to the named to the named individuals in his brief. They admitted they used different reasons to justify the denials each time the applicants sought the visa. He wanted to know why.

Thinking he was with them the staffers were completely open and honest. Fish said he was taken aback and decided it was best to listen and not editorialise their information.

He was shocked and thought they would be fair and impartial. He learned that the charges of his Irish



voters that State acted for the British and in their interests was true.

He said what surprised him was the people told him that the Irish government was, for the most part, fully supportive of the British and really did not want the Six Counties back. They wanted more rights for Catholics but there was no appeal to govern them.

They could never admit that publicly. The Dublin government got involved in the visa denial issue after Ruairí Ó Brádaigh visited the United States twice 1972 and again twice in 1973.

It seems Mr Ó Brádaigh was well received in the US Congress and got favourable press as well. He made an impression on the then Majority Leader, Tip O'Neill who endorsed Ó Brádaigh, Sinn Féin and said he was brought up to believe that the Irish Republican Army were the greatest Freedom Fighters since the Sons of Liberty in his native Boston took on the same British 200 years ago.

O'NEILL said the British called anyone who fought for freedom terrorists as they had the Americans. He said he was behind the IRA just like his parents were. He said that voluntarily from the heart with no prompting and were his true feelings.

The State people were contacted by the two governments that Ó Brádaigh and his colleagues had to be stopped from coming over and speaking. Action would have been taken but Ó Brádaigh was summoned by the US Congress to give testimony in October 1973 on human rights violations by the Dublin government which he did.

In addition his new friend, Tip O'Neill, insisted in sponsoring a

congressional reception for him and other Irishmen. Over one hundred Congressmen attended and Senator Barry Goldwater, a former presidential candidate, endorsed the Irish fight for freedom and Ó Brádaigh.

The staffers told Fish that the three governments joined as one to stop the Irish from coming to the US and igniting opinion in favour of a United Ireland despite the fact that the position was endorsed by every major US Irish group and 90% of US voters of Irish descent.

They asked Fish to assist them in the ban and to carefully support the position of Americas closest ally. They reminded him of the 'Special Relationship'.

When he asked they responded the State backed the British position and did not want to do anything to make them look bad. They admitted the British had violated human rights but they had helped spin the coverage in the US to lessen the impact.

He wanted to know why abuse would be covered up and they said that if the US got in a position where they abused people, the British would help cover it up as they had with US atrocities in Vietnam.

Fish was taken aback by the open pursuit of his assistance in not disturbing State aid to the British in their attempt to keep out dissenting views to their official policy. The staffers told him that it was in the best interests of the US to assist the British.

Fish asked if there was any consideration for the truth. They said truth had many versions and they accepted the British version. He said why not let all versions be given an audience and allow the good judgement of the American to take its course.

ONE VERSION

They insisted there could only be one version acceptable since it was being given by two friendly governments, Ireland and Britain.

Fish reiterated that if their version of the truth was supported by evidence then they would win the day. He said he believed in fairness and wanted to

hear all sides on an issue before he made any judgement.

They strongly urged him not to be moved by sentiment or emotion, but keeping in mind that America would look bad if the British were demonised because State has backed Britain to the wall over the Six Occupied Counties against a large Irish-American community putting pressure on politicians.

Later the same day, Fish met with the delegation and said he believed that State wanted the Congressional delegation to cover up British indiscretions and not go public on any evidence they might find of British official abuse. They were adamant that they would use any excuse to deny visas as long as Dublin and London so desired.

He was convinced that they would suggest meeting with a scripted cast of pro-British groups when they met the American Consul for his input when they arrived in Belfast, but they had sent a member of the delegation ahead to line up witnesses of all persuasions with priority given those denied visas. He was shocked at how State was more interested in diplomacy than in truth.

The delegation would keep an open mind during their deliberations and would ask hard questions of all they interviewed. They would find the truth.

The delegation appointed by Chairman Peter Rodino:

Congressman Joshua Ellberg (D-PA)

Congressman Hamilton Fish (R-NY)

Chief-of-Staff (Jim) Cline

Chief of Legislation

Special Counsel Frederico Burns-O'Brien LLD

They set out on their mission with an open mind to the truth, but were not in a good mood over the subtle strong-arm tactics of the State Department on behalf of the British and Irish governments.

— Peadár MacFhínnín

CoI rector speaks out against Orange Order invitation

A CHURCH of Ireland Rector, forced to leave the Six Counties after vicious threats and intimidation from the sectarian Orange Order, spoke out on February 16 about the controversial invitation to Order members to march in Cork's St Patrick's Day Parade.

Reverend David Armstrong, 56, a rector at St Mary's Church in Carrigaline Union, Co Cork, said he felt a deep sense of bewilderment and disbelief when he heard the Cork 2005 office had issued the invitation.

"I fear that ordinary decent Catholic people in the North will see Cork open its doors for this tribe of bigots to march through their streets," he said. "I feel a desire to tell my Catholic friends in Carrigaline that these people do not march in Cork representing me. You have to stand up as a Christian and say no more bigotry and no more hate. These men have very little to offer us in Cork."

The Orange Order have subsequently decided against travelling to take part in the parade.

Rev David Armstrong, his wife June, and their children Sarah and Mark, were forced to flee their home in Limavady, Co Derry, in the mid 1980s after extending the hand of friendship to their Nationalist neighbours. They lived across the road from a Catholic Church, which was bombed in 1985.

"I was angry and I spoke out at the time and made it clear I was angry," he said. "Threats came long. Men in bowler hats who said this was God's work quoted the bible to me. I was invited to go to the reopening of the church. My colleagues said they were too busy but I said I was going. The Orange Order then opened all their machines to stop me. Every means possible was used. But I went.

"I went through hell, utter hell after that. The abuse towards my family was disgusting. And each Christmas Day, the Catholic parish priest, Fr Kevin Mulligan, invited me to speak in his church, and I invited him to my church to speak. I paid a very, very heavy price for this. Hell wasn't hot enough for our family, we were put through the ringer."

Rev Armstrong said he received a coffin with his name on the plate, wreaths were laid at his door and people would point their hands, shaped like a gun, at him and use finger movements to pull the trigger.

"They would phone up at night with people shouting down phone telling me how my children were going to be killed. They said we know you are changing the route you use to take your kids to school - we're watching you. We had to flee after long consultation with the security forces."

The Armstrongs moved to England with the help of Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich, who

described the events as one of the saddest moments in his life.

"In 2000, we came back to our native Ireland, saying 'thank goodness' we can live in peace and harmony with our wonderful Catholic neighbours in Cork and we don't have to put up with those bigots," Rev Armstrong said of his decision to live in the 26 Counties.

"But I fear we spoke too soon for down they come. The standard of an Orange Parade is a territorial claim — where they walk they own."

"I am speaking out to keep clear blue water between their behaviour and what I believe. They believe Catholics are not Christian. I am not a parade blocker. There is no use fighting intolerance by physically harming someone. That is wrong."

But Rev David Armstrong said if the Order takes part in the parade, he and his wife would not attend.

"We ignore bigotry, we turn our backs on bigotry," he said.

I gCuimhne

MCCAUGHEY — 29th anniversary. In proud and living memory of Fian James Francis McCaughy aged 13, murdered by loyalist death squads on St Patrick's Day, 1976. Always remembered by his parents Norbert & Mary, his brothers & sisters in Dungannon, Donagore, Pearl River USA and Sydney Australia. The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these Patriot graves Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

MCCAUGHEY — 29th anniversary. In Proud and loving memory of Fian James Francis McCaughy, killed by forces off the Crown on March 17, 1976, Always remembered by his comrades in the McKearney/McCaughy Cumann, Dungannon and East Tyrone, Republican Sinn Féin. Ni bhrisfidh said mé mar tá an fonn saoire, agus saoire mhuintir na hÉireann i mo chroí. Tíocfaidh lá éigin nuair a bheid an fonn saoire seo le taiseaint ag daoine go léir na hÉireann ansin. Chifidh muid éirí na gealaí.

Beannachtaí

EASTER greetings to all Republican POWs in Maghaberry and Portlaoise prisons. From Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, England.

EASTER greetings to all Republican POWs in Maghaberry and Portlaoise from Republican Sinn Féin POW Department, Belfast.

EASTER greetings are extended to the Republican prisoners in Portlaoise jail, especially Jock and PJ. From Cumann Pádraig Ó Pearaill, Loch Garman.

EASTER greetings to Stephen Daly and the entire Daly family, Co Tyrone. From Kevin, Kate, Eimhear, and Orla McCann, Belfast.

EASTER greetings to all Republican POWs incarcerated at home and abroad. From Kevin and Kate McCann, Belfast.

EASTER greetings to all Republican POWs incarcerated in Maghaberry jail — your strength is our motivation. Kevin and Kate McCann, Belfast.

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin, Belfast sends Easter greetings to all Republican POWs in Maghaberry and Portlaoise jails.

REVOLUTIONARY greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise and Maghaberry this easter from the Republican Movement Belfast.

THE committee and members of the Republican Prisoners Action Group sends Easter greetings to all Republican POWs in Maghaberry and Portlaoise jails.

THE staff of 229 Falls Road Belfast sends Easter greetings to all Republican POWs in Portlaoise and Maghaberry.

Adams declares open season on Republicans

FOLLOWING the banning of blood sports in England a vacuum was created which many believed would be difficult to fill. Gerry Adams has come to the rescue of the Hooray Harrys.

As many will know, Tony Blair's government decided that to allow upper-class Brits to use hound-dogs to chase down and kill foxes was distasteful. They decided to put an end to this sport, however it was always envisaged that the people involved would have to find some other way to ingratiate themselves and replace their perverse pastime with another. Of course, when the words

sport, blood, chase down and kill arise, the British mind is instantly drawn to Ireland. Following the banning of blood sports in England it is now clear that the sport will be re-vitalised here on this island. It seems a Republican victim will replace the fox and the hounds are to be replaced by drug pushers, hoods and drunkards.

The Hooray Harrys can watch the action on every news channel as nationalists are encouraged to become involved by putting the hounds onto the scent of the victim. Gerry Adams himself has shown the way when he furnished the RUC/PSNI with detailed information on those

suspected of attacking and killing a man outside a bar in Belfast. It seems now the hounds of vengeance will be set on the scent and the families of the men involved will be included in the process of chasing them down.

In the past, in such circumstances, the IRA would have court-martialled their men and dealt with them in a way which was visible to the community in which they lived. It seems that this would have excluded the Hooray Harrys and not constituted a 'blood sport' in the truest sense of the word, hence the need for the RUC to be involved as well as the discredited British court

system in the Six Counties.

Some readers may believe that this article is trivialising a serious subject and of course they are right. This recent development is more serious and complex than any previous attack on Republicanism by Gerry Adams and his 'limited intelligence' group. In the past Limited Intelligence has simply played along with Establishment norms and gathered together what ever wealth and power resulted from the collaboration. On this occasion Adams is attempting to corrupt the entire nationalist community of the Six Counties and set them against Republicans.

IT is those two words that are most significant in this respect. Nationalism and Republicanism.

Nationalism is a word Adams and Limited Intelligence would like to adopt to describe what they represent. It is a vague term. It can be inclusive of religious freaks, SDLP middle-class Castle Catholics and ignorant working-class Catholics. It is a catch-all which allows for a colonial power within Ireland, it allows for monarchy within a democracy and allows for quaint practices (such as wearing a kilt in Scotland) to replace true freedom.

Republicanism — a government of the people, for

the people and by the people, is less vague and allows for much less tinkering. It required that the people who rule Ireland live here. It requires that they are elected by the people who live here.

Back to the new blood sport. It is clear that if Adams recognises an IRA, then by definition it is the duty of that organisation to discipline its members. If Adams and Limited Intelligence want the British courts to judge the IRA then they are clearly at one with Trimble and Paisley. In my book that means they are unionists.

— Mac Cool



• Work has begun on the Republican Garden in Bundoran, Co Donegal.

Republican Garden Bundoran

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

Special Appeal for Funds

In remembrance

1973 Volunteer Paddy Carty, Bundoran, Dungannon

1973 Dermot Crowley, Cork City

1973 Sean Loughran, Dungannon

1984 Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde, Magherafelt

1984 Ciaran Fleming, Derry City

The Hunger Strikers who died 1974 -1981

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

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

Chairperson: Joe O' Neill

Vice Chairperson: Jimmy McElhinney

Treasurers: Mick Cullen & Joe Dillon

Joint Secretaries: Mary O'Neill & Phyllis Cullen

Trustees: Pat Barry, Ann Sheerin, Martin McGrath, Declan Curneen, Séamus McGowan, Thomas Kelly and Mary Ward.

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