

# SCAIOIRSE

## IRISH FREEDOM

THE VOICE OF IRISH REPUBLICANISM

UIMH 115 SAMHAIN — NOVEMBER 1996

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### Hume welcomes Provisionals' statement



• The aftermath of the bombing of the British army HQ in Lisburn on October 7 — the objective of this attack was to achieve a tactical advantage in the Stormont talks, and not to secure a British withdrawal and Irish national independence.

THE Provisional military operation on October 7 which devastated the British army's Thiepval barracks in Lisburn, County Antrim was undoubtedly something of a coup.

The volunteers involved penetrated the headquarters of the British Army of Occupation in the Six Counties, set up two explosive devices and inflicted casualties on British personnel.

This barracks contains the base of the SAS Regiment, the GOC (General Officer Commanding), the CLF (Commander Land Forces Northern Ireland) and the Royal Irish Regiment of the British army. It is the most heavily fortified post in the Six Counties.

However, the risks undertaken and the act of war carried out was not for the objective of Irish freedom and national independence but for something called an "inclusive negotiated settlement".

After the Provisionals' statement on October 8 accepting responsibility for the bombs John Hume, leader of the reformist SDLP was interviewed on RTE television. In one of his rare statements nowadays Hume was quick to point out that one sentence of the Provisional statement had been lost

sight of in the welter of adverse comment and he wished to underline it.

The bombings were not for a British withdrawal from Ireland, but, as the statement said: "The resolution of the conflict demands an inclusive negotiated settlement". This sentence gave him hope for the future. John Hume said.

It is clear from the terms of reference and parameters of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the Downing Street Declaration of 1993 and the Framework Document of 1994 that "what is available", as John Bruton said in the US in April of this year, is merely a power-sharing executive in a New Stormont together with cross-border committees.

This reformist agenda was available in 1970, so what was the intervening 26 years of struggle and tremendous sacrifice for?

At the British Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth during that same week in October speakers from John Major down repeated that there is no question in

# Bombs NOT for freedom

the current process of the British "ceding sovereignty", getting out of Ireland, or "starting the break-up of the United Kingdom".

The Provisionals' October 8 statement did not mention British withdrawal or Irish freedom but instead this "inclusive negotiated settlement" which patently means a New Stormont rather than a New Ireland with the British government finally out of Ireland.

How do true Republicans view such a statement? Their analysis would be that Provisional attacks are not part of the independence struggle but in order to gain tactical advantage in the Stormont talks. These talks are designed to update British rule in the Six Counties and to include nationalists in its support.

Could anyone seriously imagine Pádraig Pearse standing outside the GPO, having defied the might of the then greatest Empire in the world, and proclaiming his objective as an "inclusive negotiated settlement"? Of course not, because the objective of Irish struggle down the centuries has been Irish

freedom and justice, from which peace will naturally flow.

'Peace for peace's sake', as the Palestine/Israeli peace process was described recently, or 'building peace on this island' as Gerry Adams describes the process here, will not work.

The 1921 settlement was the greatest example of 'peace for peace's sake' on this island during this century and has resulted in more conflict, on a more frequent basis, in the intervening 75 years.

Republican Sinn Féin does not feel that the use of physical force for objectives which fall far short of Irish freedom is justified.

All of this is in marked contrast to the statements issued in January and August last by the Continuity Army Council of the Irish Republican Army and the interview given by them during August to J Bowyer Bell, all of which stated clearly that the objective of their military operations was British withdrawal and Irish national independence.

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## Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

### 92ú Ard-Fheis 1996

### i mBaile Átha Cliath

### 30 Samhain - 1 Nollaig

### (November 30 - December 1)

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# Basher Bates, Shankill Butcher to be released

A PROMINENT member of the British-backed death squad the UVF and its most notorious unit, the Shankill Butchers, is to be released from jail within a year. He began a programme of weekend and day releases on October 26.

Bobby 'Hasher' Bates received 14 life sentences in 1979 for his role in a horrific stream of murders that shocked the world in the mid-1970s. He was personally involved in ten of these attacks. Between 1975 and 1977 an 11-man gang under the leadership of Lenny Murphy carried out a series of gruesome attacks on defenceless members of the nationalist community. Their strategy was simple, if he or she is a Catholic then he or she must be a nationalist therefore a legitimate target.

This bigoted and crazed gang hacked their victims to death with hatchets and sliced their throats to the spinal cord with razor-sharp butcher's knives, dumping their blood-soaked bodies in alleys and on



• Bobby 'Hasher' Bates waste ground. They were caught when they left one of their victims, Gerard McLaverty, for dead with 10-inch gashes on each wrist.

The Shankill Butchers are known to have killed at least 19 people. Bobby 'Hasher' Bates admits his part in the killing of 10 of their victims. According to the colonial 'Northern Ireland Office' Bates

is to be transferred from Maghaberry prison to Crumlin Road jail, from which he will be allowed out each weekday returning to jail at night. He is now being freed at weekends with a full release within a year.

Belfastman Charlie Neeson, whose brother Con was murdered with a butcher's cleaver and meat-hook on a Belfast pavement in the mid-1970s, told the *Irish News* (Belfast, October 28) that he cringed when he heard the decision that a mass-murderer was being released. "They did the job on the spot with butchers' instruments at the junction of Cliftonville Park Avenue and Cliftonville Road as he walked home. Con was so mutilated that I couldn't recognise his face," Charlie Neeson said.

Commenting on reports that Bates had become a 'born-again Christian' Charlie Neeson said: "that's hypocrisy - I've

yet to hear one of them apologise for the atrocities they committed".

The announcement from Britain's colonial office in the Six Occupied Counties of Bates' imminent release contrasts greatly with the NIO's treatment of nationalist political prisoners. It was revealed on October 11 that two Provisional prisoners, Paul Kavanagh and Thomas Quigley, both serving life sentences in Long Kesh concentration camp, would never be considered for release by the parole board.

Paul Norney, who was transferred from an English jail to Maghaberry prison last year but who still remains under the authority of British home secretary Michael Howard, has never been told when he is to be released despite the fact that Norney who served 22 years of incarceration never killed anyone.

# Political prisoners will never be released

TWO Provisional prisoners, Paul Kavanagh and Thomas Quigley, both serving long sentences for a bombing campaign in Britain in 1991 have been told by the authorities in Long Kesh Concentration Camp that a parole board will never consider their release, it was revealed on Wednesday, October 9.

The two, both from Belfast, had been convicted of planting a bomb at Chelsea

British army barracks and another at a Wimpy bar in Oxford Street, London. The Old

Bailey trial judge at the time recommended that they serve not less than 35 years in prison.

A review by the British Lord Chief Justice advised that Kavanagh and Quigley should spend the rest of their natural lives incarcerated. The prisoners were also informed that subsequent reviews of their

case would occur once every 25 years.

Their detention in Long Kesh is on a temporary transfer basis from a jail in England, and as such the vindictive Brits will ensure they don't have the small comfort of being near their families in Ireland for the duration of their sentences.

# South African Bill of Rights drafted in Dublin

THE note of the constitutional Court in reconciling a divided society was the title of the Oliver Tombe Memorial Lecture given by Justice Albie Sachs of the Constitution Court of South Africa in the Oak Room, Mansion House, in Dublin on October 21.

Introducing the speaker to a packed audience the chairman Rev Terence McCaughy traced the background of Albie Sachs who survived an attempt on his life by the South African secret police but was left seriously injured.

There was unstinting praise for his years of unremitting struggle to end apartheid and his work in producing the African National Congress's Bill of Rights, the draft of which was written in the County Dublin home of

Kadar Asmal. Kadar, now a minister in the South African government was the leader of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement for several decades while in exile in Ireland.

During his lecture Albie Sachs referred to the long drawn-out talks about talks leading up to the protracted negotiations which culminated in the final settlement and the election of Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa. He also paid tribute to the murdered Chris Hani whose loss to the

ANC was incalculable.

He took his audience step-by-step through the various stages of the talks and how obstacles were finally surmounted and agreement reached.

Concluding his lecture he said that it had been considered very important to set up a Bill of Rights on a non-racial basis

to avoid what had happened in some countries when freedom had been won and the new leadership had gone on to oppress their own peoples.

A good note on which to end!

The lecture was attended by Cathleen Knowles, Ard-Rúnaí who represented Republican Sinn Féin.

# Roslea boycott

LOYALIST anger at the boycotting by nationalists of the businesses of Orange-men involved in intimidation in July last doesn't extend to the oldest ongoing boycott in the Six Counties. Loyalists began a boycott of nationalist businesses in Roslea, County Fermanagh on August 12, 1995 when a Royal Black Preceptory march was barred from going through the predominantly nationalist village. Now into its fifteenth month, a spokesman for the Royal Black Preceptory said that he didn't see it coming to an end in the short-term.

# Gearrscéalta Crown Forces under attack

A CONTINGENT of Crown Forces consisting of British soldiers and RUC came under attack as they approached the nationalist Kilwikie estate in Lurgan, Co Armagh on Wednesday, October 16. The RUC were allegedly trying to clear a section of the main Belfast-Dublin rail line when youths began their assault by hurling stones. Soon their numbers grew to around 150. The Brits, who fired plastic bullets into the crowd, found themselves having to retreat under a barrage of stones and petrol bombs from the youths. The rail line passes through the town. The Brits reported one of their number injured with facial wounds.

# Loyalist killed in death squad purge

IN what bears all the hallmarks of a purge by a leadership loyal to British Military Intelligence Tommy Stewart, the 32-year-old UVF leader in north Belfast was killed in a hail of gunfire as he and a friend were walking near his home at 2am on Tuesday, October 29.

Stewart was a friend and supporter of Billy Wright (King Rat) who is under a death-threat from the CLMC, the umbrella-group for the British-backed death squads. Wright and other dissident loyalists have the support of paragons of official unionism such as David Trimble.

Both Wright and PUP mouthpiece David Ervine have denied the existence of a purge claiming the killing to be the work of criminals. Stewart had been stood down as commander of the UVF in Ballysillan the previous week.

# Republican Sinn Féin considering contest of Westminster election

AT the monthly meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin in Dublin on October 19 (Saturday) the following resolution was passed:

"That we earnestly consider contesting the forthcoming Westminster election on an abstentionist basis and that we engage in consultation in this regard with our members on the ground."

# Dundalk residents to sue British over Sellafield nuclear plant

A GROUP of Dundalk, County Louth residents are to sue British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) and the 26-County state over the operation of the Sellafield nuclear plant and the failure of the Dublin administration to make effective protests against the plant.

A ruling allowing the Dundalk residents to sue the British-based company in a 26-County court was upheld on October 24. BNFL had been appealing a Dublin High Court decision that the residents could sue in its jurisdiction.

The residents are claiming the commissioning and operation of THORP (Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant) constituted a source of mental distress and psychiatric injury to them and their families. They are also claiming that the 26-County state did not take such action as was open to them to protect the personal rights of the plaintiffs against the alleged attack being made on them by the company.

# Loyalist graffiti threats in north Belfast

FOUR cars belonging to nationalists on Wyndham Street, off the Cliftonville Road, Belfast were daubed with the letters 'UVF' on October 10. The front windows of one woman's home as well as her car outside were covered in the sectarian graffiti "Get out bastards", "Ulster" and "UVF". The windows of the house had previously been broken in July. The nearby Bunscoil Bheann Mhadigan, where primary school children are taught through Irish, was also targeted by the loyalists and had UVF slogans painted on its door. The slogan "Close or be closed" was written on the wall of the school.

# Drunken loyalist gets slap on wrist for possession of gun

ON Friday, October 18 Robert James Stewart, with an address at Selsion Parade, Portadown appeared before Craigavon Magistrates Court on charges of carrying a gun while under the influence of alcohol. The court was told that an RUC mobile patrol car spotted Stewart in Selsion Parade as he took aim at a plastic bucket. He was taken to Portadown RUC barracks where he was found to be under the influence of alcohol. Malachy Hagan, defence lawyer, said Stewart was taking the gun to a friend who lives nearby. He was fined £200 by magistrate Ken Nixon. Guess how he would deal with a nationalist under similar circumstances?

**SAOIRSE December edition published 5/12/1996**

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

Ainm .....

Seoladh .....



**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 . . .

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# Death squads threaten Dublin with bombings

THE UVF British-backed death squad has sent a threat to the Dublin administration to crack down on Republicans or else there will be bombings in the 26 Counties.

Chris Hudson, a Dublin member of the pro-British "Peace Train" organisation acted as the messenger for the UVF and delivered the ultimatum to the 26-County state on October 14. He met the UVF the previous week during which the loyalists were responsible for a bomb hoax outside the Central Bank in Dublin. The warning issued on October 10 contained a

recognised loyalist death squad code word and was described in the *Sunday Tribune* (October 13) as a "trial run" for a genuine bomb attack.

In Belfast on October 13 (the second anniversary of the death squads' conditional ceasefire of 1994) the Rev Roy Magee, another messenger for the loyalist death squads, called for concessions in regard to

loyalist prisoners and a "security crackdown" against Republicans. A British Tory MP and a Labour Party MP visited loyalist prisoners in the H-Blocks on October 14 as attempts were being made to "reward" loyalists with reduced prison sentences.

Andrew Hunter, chairman of the influential Tory backbench committee on the Six Counties visited the jail with Mo Mowlam, Labour's spokesperson on the north. Hunter asked Patrick Mayhew on October 16 to cut prison

terms by two years for loyalist life and non-life prisoners. There would be no similar concessions for Republican prisoners, he added.

He asked Mayhew to reduce by two years the 10 years a life sentence loyalist prisoner has to serve before being considered for parole as well as a reduction of sentences for non-life loyalist prisoners if they "renounce violence".

In a statement on October 14 Ruairi O Brádaigh, Republican Sinn Féin President, deplored the action of the

alleged "Peace" Train spokesperson Chris Hudson in bearing threats of bombing in the 26 Counties by British-backed loyalist death-squads to the Dublin government.

He continued: "This ultimatum is not even described by the media as such; it is not called a 'threat' which it manifestly is but rather a 'warning'. If another citizen brought a similar message threatening bombs in the streets south of the Border from a Republican organisation to the Dublin administration, he/she

would be immediately arrested. That person would certainly not be interviewed on public service radio afterwards.

"Will Leinster House now say publicly that it does not give in to threats of violence? Already the homes of Republican Sinn Féin members are being raided in a most intimidating fashion by the 26-County Special Branch. Such coercive measures will not deter our members and supporters from campaigning for a new democratic and pluralist Ireland free of British rule," he said.

## New RUC chief: stable peace depends on Provisionals staying intact

THE successor to Hugh Annesley is 46-year-old former head of the RUC Special Branch Ronnie Flanagan, and this background in British counter-insurgency and dirty tricks made him the likely choice for the position of Britain's top policeman in Ireland.

He was appointed by Patrick Mayhew following his deception of the nationalist communities in Belfast's lower Ormeau Road and the Garvaghy Road in Portadown over the July 12 period of Orange parades.

Flanagan was responsible for the 24-hour curfew imposed on the tiny nationalist

community of the lower Ormeau Road on July 12 to allow the Orangemen march through. He also directed the forcing through of the Orange parade along the Garvaghy Road in Portadown the previous day.

In an interview during September Flanagan said that the existence of the

Provisionals military organisation was a prerequisite for a "stable peace". He warned that a greater risk to peace came from any fragmentation of those groups.

Flanagan's analysis put into context the remark of the Provisionals' Martin McGuinness as the Apprentice Boys marched along the walls of Derry City on October 19: "The reason I'm here is to keep the peace," he said (*Irish Times*, October 21). The words of Britain's policeman in nationalist Derry, perhaps.

## UUP/SDLP agreement on Stormont agenda provides 'breathing space'

AFTER four months of talks about procedure the Stormont talks moved into a plenary session on October 15 following a deal between the UUP and SDLP late the previous night.

After 1am the UUP announced that agreement had been reached on a five-point agenda including the consideration of progress on the surrender of arms or "decommissioning" alongside negotiations. That issue is now being debated at the Stormont talks and will continue for several weeks, it is expected.

The move signals David Trimble's desire to move to agreement at the talks with the SDLP while the Provisionals are excluded. It also provides the British-backed death squads with political "progress" and therefore copperfastens their conditional ceasefire. The move requires agreement on "mechanisms" for dealing with "decommissioning" before the adoption of a comprehensive

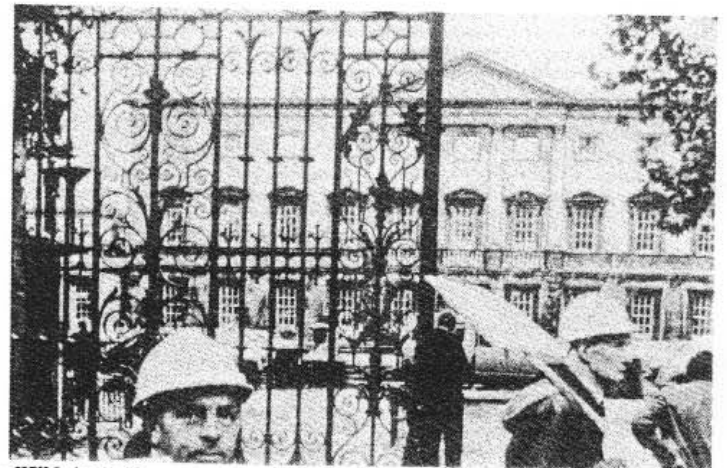
agenda.

Trimble wants John Major to raise new preconditions for the Provisionals if they call a ceasefire so that they will have to totally surrender before being admitted to the Stormont talks. A unionist source told the *Irish Times* (October 16): "If we haven't received a redefinition of ceasefire in such a way that keeps Sinn Féin out, then our position (on decommissioning) is as was." The UUP want Major to issue a statement outlining the terms of the required new Provisional ceasefire or to incorporate their desired terms in the British "decommissioning" legislation to be published later in October.

Meanwhile, in Dublin John Bruton appeared to back up the British/Unionist line by saying

on October 16 that a permanent Provisional ceasefire and adherence to the Mitchell principles might not be enough to gain them entry to the Stormont talks. His deputy, Dick Spring, took a different line, saying that the preconditions should be neither "raised nor lowered".

The SDLP have stated that there is still disagreement over the surrender of arms and it is unclear whether they are united in going forward to try to reach an agreement without the inclusion of the Provisionals. As usual the unionists 'bottom line' on what hoops the Provisionals must jump through to get to Stormont is not spelled out, allowing them to pile up preconditions endlessly. The bogus nature of the whole process and the only possible outcome of a return to a Stormont assembly remains unchanged. The UUP/SDLP merely provides a breathing-space for a failed process.



Will Leinster House now say publicly that it does not give in to threats of violence from British-backed death squads?

## Special Branch raids a 'security response'?

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh has said that raids on members in the Six Counties and south of the Border are an attempt to intimidate and may be part of the "security response" demanded of the Dublin government by the British-backed death squads under threat of bombs in the 26 Counties.

Councillor Joe O'Neill, a Republican Sinn Féin member of Buncrana Urban District Council was raided at his home at 10am on October 9.

Ten members of the Special Branch raided Clr O'Neill's home in the County Donegal town for an hour-and-a-half and seized a computer, computer disks and a fax machine used by him in his work as a public representative and in his private business.

Councillor O'Neill is a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin and this move follows the October 1 Belfast raid by British forces on the home of his fellow Ard Chomhairle member Geraldine Taylor. The home of Jimmy

Doyle at Knockdomney, Mount Temple, Moate, Co Westmeath was raided on Friday, October 11 by a party of six Special Branch who arrived from Athlone in two cars.

From 3pm to 3.45pm all rooms of the house, the farmyard and out offices were searched and schoolbooks and presses gone through. Back numbers of the monthly newspaper SAOIRSE as well as a Clár of the Republican Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis of 1994 were seized but no receipt was given.

At the conclusion of the raid Jimmy Doyle and his son Colm (20), the only members of the family present, were arrested and taken to Athlone barracks. There they were separated, photographed, fingerprinted and interrogated. Their heights were estimated and recorded. At 7pm they were released.

Jimmy Doyle has been a member of Republican Sinn Féin for close on 40 years. His son just happened to be present when the raid took place.

"Taken together with similar raids on a Ulster publicity officer in Belfast, a local councillor in Donegal and an active seller of the SAOIRSE newspaper in South Roscommon, these actions represent harassment and attempted intimidation of Republican families," commented Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin.

"Our members will not be

intimidated," he said, but will continue to work for a new four-province Federal Ireland with maximum local democracy and the withdrawal of the British government from our country.

"Is this the 'security response' demanded of the Dublin government by the British-backed loyalist death squads under threat of bombs in the 26 Counties," he asked.

"Meanwhile the media report attacks and robberies on old people in the greater Athlone area with no one made amenable. The latest at Monksland, Athlone was reported in the Sunday newspapers (October 13)," he concluded.

The home of Tommy Morris at Newpark, Kiltloom, County Roscommon was raided by five members of the 26-County Special Branch from Athlone on October 9 from 4 to 4.30pm. Mr Morris was absent at work at the time and his wife Mary was in the home on her own.

All rooms and the attic were searched along with outoffices and the garden. A notebook containing phone numbers and accounts of paper sales was seized as well as a souvenir folder containing documents relating to the Toby Mannion memorial which was erected three years ago. No receipt was given for the material seized.

Tommy Morris is an active member of the Scán Sabhat Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin, South Roscommon and is very active in selling the Republican paper SAOIRSE each month. He was an energetic secretary of the local Toby Mannion Memorial Committee in recent years.

# £17,280

A chairde go léir

The Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Committee wish to thank once again our members and supporters who have contributed so generously to the above Fund.

We continue slowly but surely to reduce our debt which now stands at £17,280 and appeal for financial support in further reducing what remains of this debt. We have no doubt that the membership and friends and supporters will assist in this task.

CATHLEEN KNOWLES  
Cisteoir, Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill

DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL MEMORIAL  
BUILDING FUND

## Time running out for Matt Morrison

MATT Morrison, a former Irish POW and resident of St. Louis for the past 11 years is one step closer to being deported. Although Morrison, from Derry, is married to an American citizen and the father of two American children, the Department of Justice declared him an "excludable alien" due to his involvement as a teenager with the Irish Republican movement.

The Morrison family received their first denial over three years ago. They appealed that denial and have been waiting for the response to the appeal ever since. Finally in a decision dated October 22, 1996, the US Justice Department dismissed Morrison's appeal.

The Morrises are consulting with their attorney, Lilian Hernandez, to determine what steps, if any, are left to them. New immigration law in the US appears to significantly narrow the possibilities. They have 30 days to show cause why he should not be deported.

## Crown dirty tricks: Wallace's conviction quashed

A FORMER British army press officer in Occupied Ireland, Colin Wallace, who received a 10-year prison sentence in 1981 for the manslaughter of antiques dealer Jonathan Lewis in 1980, had his conviction quashed by the London Court of Appeals on Wednesday, October 9.

Wallace, who operated in the British army's disinformation service in the Six Counties during the 1970s and who described himself as a propaganda intelligence officer, claimed he was the victim of a dirty tricks campaign.

According to Wallace he had been given the task of spreading doubt and confusion among 'paramilitary' organisations but himself became the target of an MI5 dirty tricks campaign when he threatened to expose covert operations by British Intelligence against political figures in the Six Counties and Britain.

These included attempts to bring down the government of then British prime minister Harold Wilson, whom the old Empire fanatics in MI5 considered a dangerous leftist. The operation, code-named "Clockwork Orange" used forgery and homosexual blackmail as part of its armoury. It seems there was no end to the right-wing paranoia of MI5 and their targets included Tory leader Edward Heath, John Hume and Ian Paisley.

Wallace, who was dismissed from his post in 1975 for allegedly leaking documents to a journalist, also claims he was sacked for

threatening to publicise how the Crown Forces deliberately covered up the systematic sexual abuse in Kinvara Boy's Home in Belfast. His claims have been backed up by former MI5 officer, Peter Wright, in his book *Spycatcher*.

Wallace was released in 1986 and renewed his campaign against British secret service dirty tricks while maintaining his innocence of the death of Jonathan Lewis. Lewis's body had been seen floating in the River Arun in England on August 5, 1980.

He had been due to attend a party set up by Wallace in his honour, but had not turned up. Pathologists in July contradicted statements by Dr Ian West, a Home Office pathologist, that Lewis had been hit by a karate blow which according to the trial judge was not consistent with the evidence.

## 'Mixed' family forced out by loyalist attacks

A COUPLE in a "mixed" marriage and their 13-year-old daughter were forced to leave their home in Killinchy, County Down on October 18 after four years of sectarian intimidation by loyalists.

David Boyce, a Protestant from County Down and his wife Ann, a Catholic from County Kerry, began to experience intimidation when they moved into Ardview estate in the largely unionist town of Killinchy in 1992.

Since moving in, their home was attacked repeatedly and windows were smashed. Their car was also vandalised a number of times. A few days before the Boyces finally moved, a three-inch nail was driven into their car. Their pet dog was also beaten and required treatment by a vet. The couple's daughter Jacqueline also found herself being intimidated by Protestant schoolchildren who called her a

'Fenian bastard'. Some children also refused to sit beside her on the school bus.

The Boyce family are now living in temporary accommodation and their name has been added to an emergency accommodation waiting-list. The fact that David Boyce requires a wheelchair has added to the accommodation difficulties as housing adapted to suit his disability is needed.

In Belfast's Black's Road, the last remaining nationalist family on the street are unable to move because they can't afford to abandon their home. Brian Gallagher lives next door to the empty house which was occupied by the Lismore family until they fled the area earlier

this year after more than 60 attacks on the house.

Attacks on the Gallagher home increased in frequency at the beginning of October. In one seven-day period windows on the house were broken, Gallagher's teenage son was intimidated and the front of the house was petrol-bombed.

Gallagher's partner and two children have moved out because of the increased level of attacks. He remained in the house to protect it from a firebomb attack.

Brian Gallagher says he cannot afford to leave the house until the British Northern Ireland Office (NIO) agrees to buy it. However, the NIO says it can't sanction the purchase of the house until the RUC British police issue a certificate stating that the Gallaghers are being intimidated, which they refuse to do.

## FOR THE RECORD...

**MON. SEPTEMBER 30:** It was reported that UDA/UFF death squad prisoners in Long Kesh had withdrawn their support for the "peace process".

**TUES. OCTOBER 1:** Amnesty International called for an independent judicial inquiry into the killing by British forces in London of Irishman Diarmaid O'Neill on September 23.

**WED. OCTOBER 2:** Police in New York seized two semi-automatic Uzi machine guns and charged two Irish Americans, Patrick McGinley (33) and Adrian Gallagher (39) in connection with the find.

Twenty-one mortars, frames and mortar tubes were discovered by 26-County police close to the north Louth Border at Hackballscross.

**FRI. OCTOBER 4:** A man was beaten with an iron bar in a sectarian attack in the nationalist Carrick Hill area of Belfast.

The number of people out of work in the 26 Counties was 281,400.

**SAT. OCTOBER 5:** An 83-year-old man was attacked and beaten at Carrick Hill by men who ran off up the Shankill Road. The man was taken to hospital with head injuries. At least three flats on Stanhope Drive had windows broken by ball-bearings over the weekend of October 5-6.

**MON. OCTOBER 7:** A British soldier was critically injured and thirty other troops and civilians were hurt as two bombs went off within ten minutes inside the British army headquarters in Lisburn, outside Belfast.

The 26-County transport company, CIE, announced that it intends to shed between 780 and 800 jobs over the next two years from its three companies. Iarnród Éireann, Bus Éireann and Dublin Bus.

**TUES. OCTOBER 8:** A nationalist house on the loyalist Black's Road area of Belfast was stoned and petrol-bombed.

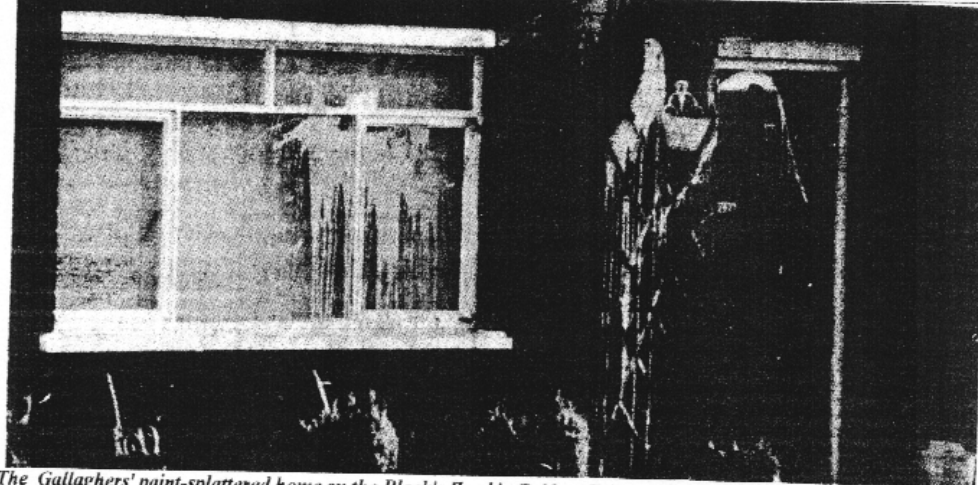
**WED. OCTOBER 9:** Councillor Joe O'Neill, a Republican Sinn Féin member of Buncrana Urban District Council was raided by ten members of the Special Branch at his home at 10am.

The home of Tommy Morris at Newpark, Kiltom, County Roscommon was raided by five members of the 26-County Special Branch from Athlone from 4 to 4.30pm.

A former British army press officer in Occupied Ireland, Colin Wallace, who received a 10-year prison sentence in 1981 for the manslaughter of antiques dealer Jonathan Lewis in 1980, had his conviction quashed by the London Court of Appeals.

Two Provisional prisoners, Paul Kavanagh and Thomas Quigley, both serving long sentences or a bombing campaign in Britain in 1991 were told by the authorities in Long Kesh 'concentration camp' that a parole board will ever consider their release.

The Indian Steel manufacturer, Ispat, which took over the formerly state-owned company



• The Gallaghers' paint-splattered home on the Black's Road in Belfast. Brian Gallagher, the last remaining nationalist on the road moved his family out during October following a campaign of attacks by loyalists (see article above).

Irish Steel in Cork Harbour announced that there are to be 22 redundancies at the plant, leaving the workforce at 340.

**THURS. OCTOBER 10:** Darren Murray, an 11-year-old boy from Garvaghy Park, Portadown, died in Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital two days after he was knocked down by a van on the Corcoran Road in Portadown, Co. Armagh.

Four cars belonging to nationalists on Wyndham Street, off the Cliftonville Road, Belfast were daubed with the letters 'UVF'.

The home of Sean Greene of Auburn Villas in Athlone was subjected to an hour-long search by four plainclothes Special Branch.

**FRI. OCTOBER 11:** The home of Jimmy Doyle at Knockdomney, Mount Temple, Moate, Co. Westmeath was raided by a party of six Special Branch who arrived from Athlone in two cars.

**SUN. OCTOBER 13:** British Conservative MP Peter Thurnham defected to the opposition Liberal Democrats inflicting another blow to Prime Minister John Major on the weekend following the Tory party conference in Bournemouth.

**TUES. OCTOBER 15:** After four months of talks about procedure the Stormont talks moved into a plenary session following a deal between the UUP and SDLP late the previous night.

Verbatim Ltd of Limerick, which manufactures floppy disks for computers, laid off 220 staff at its plant at the Raheen Industrial estate.

**WED. OCTOBER 16:** A contingent of Crown Forces consisting of British soldiers and RUC came under attack as they approached the nationalist Kilwikee estate in Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

**FRI. OCTOBER 18:** A couple in a "mixed" marriage and their 13-year-old daughter were forced to leave their home in Killinchy, County Down after four years of sectarian intimidation by loyalists. David Boyce, a Protestant from County Down and his wife Ann, a Catholic from County Kerry, began to experience intimidation when they moved into Ardview estate in the largely unionist town of Killinchy in 1992.

26-County police and army discovered a large amount of bomb-making material, guns and ammunition on the Louth-Armagh border,

concealed in plastic barrels in loosely constructed stone walls on farmland just 500 metres from the Border.

Robert James Stewart, with an address at the loyalist Selshion Parade, Portadown appeared before Craigavon Magistrates Court on charges of carrying a gun while under the influence of alcohol. He was fined £200.

There are now 102,100 people unemployed in the Six Counties.

**SAT. OCTOBER 19:** At the monthly meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin in Dublin a resolution was passed that the organisation "earnestly consider contesting the forthcoming Westminster election on an abstentionist basis" in consultation with the membership.

Bus-loads of soccer fans, many of them as young as four years old, experienced a night of terror as their coaches came under attack from a frenzied Orange mob in Portadown, County Armagh.

High praise was lavished on pan-nationalist frontman, SDLP leader John Hume, for his assistance in facilitating the march of Orange triumphalists through Derry's Bogside by the Apprentice Boys' governor, Alistair Simpson, who in his tribute to Hume said "his statement had helped to ease tensions". Simpson vowed to maintain contact with Hume.

Loyalists clapped and cheered as Apprentice boot-boys played 'The Sash' and other provocative songs at Society Street within earshot of Bogside residents. The paramilitary British police (RUC) forcibly removed a token two protesting residents from Derry's walls.

Speaking at the annual conference of the Ulster Unionist Party in Ballymena, Co. Antrim, David Burnside, a leading member based in London said that fifteen to twenty per cent of Catholics in the Six Counties are "pure rebels who can never be dealt with and must be defeated."

**TUES. OCTOBER 22:** In his maiden speech to the Dublin and Glendalough Diocesan Synod the Church of Ireland Archbishop Walton Empey, roundly condemned the Orange Order for their use of church property as a springboard for attacks on their Catholic neighbours.

**THURS. OCTOBER 24:** Patrick Kelly was released from Portlaoise jail in the 26 Counties in order to receive medical treatment.

A group of Dundalk, County Louth residents were given leave in a 26-County court to sue British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) and the 26-County state over the operation of the Sellafield nuclear plant and the failure of the Dublin administration to make effective protests against the plant.

**FRI. OCTOBER 25:** The court of appeal in Belfast dismissed applications for a review of the British policy in the Six Counties banning lawyers from being present when their client is being questioned by the RUC.

The High Court in Dublin made an order for the transfer of three Provisional prisoners in Britain to a jail in the 26 Counties. The order was sought by the 26-County minister for justice Nora Owen in respect of Michael O'Brien, Derek Doherty and Pauric Mac Fhloinn.

**SAT. OCTOBER 26:** Bobby 'Basher' Bates, a prominent member of the British-backed death squad the UVF and its most notorious unit, the Shankill Butchers, is to be released from jail within a year having begun a programme of weekend and day releases.

A ruling allowing the Dundalk residents to sue the British-based company in a 26-County court was upheld on October 24.

**SUN. OCTOBER 27:** Five men — Hugh Wilkinson (44), Paul Murray (24), Bernard O'Hagan (35), Patrick Kavanagh (33) and Patrick Gerard McCartney (45) — appeared in the Special Court on October 28 and were charged on seven counts of possession of arms and explosives. An improvised grenade launcher and two automatic rifles, several hundred rounds of ammunition, walkie-talkies, balaclavas, all-weather clothing, food supplies and training manuals were amongst the items seized by the 26-County police.

**MON. OCTOBER 28:** A University of Ulster researcher, PhD student Graham Ellison revealed that he had taped testimony that many members of the British police in the Six Counties, the RUC, would have downed their shields and walked away if the Drummer stand-off in July of this year had continued.



prison campaigns...feachtais sna príosúin...prison campaigns...feachtais sna príosúin...prison

## Republican prisoners refused workshop and classroom

REPUBLICAN POWs in Limerick jail have been denied facilities for education and craftwork at a meeting with the prison governor at the end of September.

The Republican prisoners, who give their allegiance to the Continuity Army Council of the IRA, have been campaigning for political treatment in Limerick since being sentenced in January, 1996.

They have won such treatment but are still being denied a room for a workshop to engage in craftwork and an area for education. The prisoners believe that the Dublin department of justice is responsible for the latest refusal but are determined to carry on their campaign for proper facilities.

A spokesperson for the Relatives Action Committee has said that conditions fought and sacrificed for in the past are being denied to Republicans today. "The Relatives Committee will continue pressing this issue with 26-County representatives. There is a deliberate attempt to deny that these Republican prisoners exist in Limerick Jail.

"Whilst all efforts are made by 26 county officials to repatriate prisoners from English Jails back to jails here in Ireland, the overtures being made to win favours, these same officials deny Republican

prisoners conditions which have always been afforded to Republican prisoners and is their right.

"Efforts made by members of the Relatives committee are being met with indifference by officials both at the Department of Justice and the Limerick Jail authorities. Security passes insisted on by the Dublin administration are deliberately held back with the result of access for visitors being severely limited.

"As a craft shop is denied to prisoners attempts by visitors to leave materials for them is also refused."

The Relatives Committee asks all Republicans support the Committee and the

prisoners in Limerick jail so as not to allow their existence to be denied to the public.

"Funds are needed urgently and the campaign can be boosted enormously by campaigning in your local area.

"There must not be a return to conditions experienced by Republican prisoners in the seventies and before. This should be resisted by all Republicans. The long, hard campaign and the sacrifices made for Republican prison conditions will not have been made in vain.

Republican prisoners in Limerick jail are seeking:

• **Free association** — an end to the lock-ups during the day

• **Education and craft work** — we need a separate area from the other prisoners to use for classes and craftwork

• **Gym** — none available

• **Meals** — facilities to prepare our own food

• **Hygiene** — conditions for Josephine Hayden in C-Wing are not acceptable

• **Visits** — we object to the process of having to apply for "passes" to visit the prison which leaves friends and relatives open to targeting both for police harassment and via information supplied to the RUC, assassination by loyalist death squads. Also there is no facilities for tea/coffee for visitors most of whom have to travel long distances and despite all visitors being subject

to rigorous searches there is still a dividing partition between prisoner and visitor, this of course prevents physical contact between those prisoners who are parents and their children.

• The POW's OC requires a regular visit with Josephine Hayden, the political prisoner in C-Wing, to deal with any problems she may be encountering. This was available to a previous female prisoner from a prisoner in Portlaoise

All correspondence regarding the campaign or donations should be made to the following address: Nuala Moore, 73 Beechgrove Lawns, Monaghan, Co Monaghan.

## Soccer fans in terror ordeal

BUS-LOADS of soccer fans, many of them as young as four years old, experienced a night of terror as their coaches came under attack from a frenzied Orange mob in Portadown, County Armagh on Saturday, October 19.

The ordeal began when supporters of the nationalist Cliftonville club tried to gain access to Shamrock Park where their team was due to play against Portadown.

As the supporters made their way to the ground they were ambushed by a 400-strong mob of angry Portadown loyalists carrying placards saying "Republican scum not welcome in Mid-Ulster". Suddenly an avalanche of rocks, bottles and other missiles crashed through the windows of one of the buses as children screamed in terror.

"We had to rip up the seats and hold them to the windows to try and protect ourselves. There was panic. Everyone was hysterical. At one point

this guy stepped out from the crowd and pulled a gun. It was probably a replica, but we didn't know that. We just saw him and hit the deck," a Cliftonville supporter said. Because of the attacks Cliftonville abandoned the match at half-time.

According to Peter Johnston, chairman of Clifton Red Supporters Club, the blame lay entirely with Portadown loyalists "who came in force to intimidate us today. This wasn't even political - it was just hatred." Fans also accuse the RUC British paramilitary police of having led them straight into the ambush. "They stopped us on the motorway and held us for about 20 minutes. They said there was a

protest up ahead but assured us it would be cleared and that we'd definitely get to the game," said one. "If they'd told us at that stage what was up ahead, there's no way we'd have gone on."

All however were unanimous in the praise they lavished on the bus driver, who through quick action was able to manoeuvre the vehicle out of the Orange maelstrom before anyone was seriously hurt. "I really think some of us owe our lives to that man today. If he hadn't got us out when he did, they might have got onto the bus, and God knows where we'd be."

Inside the battered shell that remained of the bus, fans exhibited some of the missiles including heavy boulder-like lumps of granite weighing as much as two stone. This

## Limerick spokesperson jailed under Public Order Act

JOE Lynch, Limerick Republican Sinn Féin spokesperson, was jailed for three months on October 18 as a result of a 'conviction' under section 6 of the Public Order Act in March of this year. He had not attended the court and did not pay the fine imposed.

He has been incarcerated in Limerick jail with the other Republican prisoners and is due for release on Christmas day. Under section 6 the Special Branchman, Det Serg John O'Reilly, had only to claim in

court that Joe Lynch used "threatening or abusive language" with intent to cause a breach of the peace to guarantee a conviction.

The jailing of Joe Lynch is the culmination of a vindictive

campaign of harassment (see SAOIRSE, October 1996) by the 26-County police using their new powers under the Public Order Act. This in itself is a tribute to Joe's work in promoting the true Republican message in Limerick.

The Public Order Act is also being used to prosecute an Independent Councillor on Limerick City Council, John Gilligan, and three others arising out of a parade in the city earlier this year.

intimidation and the increasing danger to supporters may have the effect of forcing Cliftonville to quit the Six-County Irish League, perhaps to join Derry City in the 26-County league.

This was the second attack on Cliftonville supporters since the beginning of September. Fans travelling to a match with Crusaders were attacked by loyalists in east Belfast on September 4. That match at the Oval ground was delayed and

Cliftonville fans were prevented by loyalists from entering the City End to support their team.

There is a long history of loyalist terror against nationalist teams and their supporters. Back in 1948 Belfast Celtic, which had a highly successful record of 58 years standing, was forced to withdraw from the league when in a contest with loyalist Linfield on St Patrick's Day of

that year Linfield supporters charged onto the pitch and attacked Celtic player Jimmy Jones, a Protestant, savagely beating him and breaking his leg in five places.

The club was disbanded in 1949. If Cliftonville leave the Irish league as a result of the same kind of attacks, there will be no soccer club left in the Six-County League with predominantly nationalist support.

## Dublin/London frame-up of Scottish separatist

SETTING a dangerous precedent for further tyranny against Irish Republicans, the 26 County administration is attempting to convict a Scottish separatist on the evidence of a paid supergrass.

Adam Busby, a member of the Scottish Separatist Group (SSG) who has been living in Ireland since 1983 is due for trial in the non-jury special court on November 19 on the evidence of Scottish supergrass Darin Brown.

Busby is at present on remand in Portlaoise Prison charged with possession of explosives.

In September 1994 a number of alleged Scottish National Liberation Army activists were arrested in Aberdeen, Scotland on charges of attempting to coerce the British government into setting up a separate government in Scotland. The informer Darin Brown was one of them.

Brown was released for two months pending trial. In May 1995 Brown and Busby

were arrested in Dublin along with two other men, Brown admitted other charges against him including that of constructing explosive devices.

In return for total immunity from prosecution Brown agreed to implicate Adam Busby in a letter-bombs campaign to various parts of Britain in March 1995. These letter bombs were actually posted in Birmingham and Busby has not left Ireland since 1983.

Despite admitting to the offences to British police in 26-County police HQ in Dublin 1995, Brown was freed and given an expenses paid trip back to Britain.

The Irish denial of civil liberties and other groups will be closely monitoring the trial of Adam Busby in the Special Criminal Court.

## SINN FEIN POBLACHTACH

### NATIONAL PRIVATE MEMBERS

# DRAW



1st Prize:

**TWO AIRLINE TICKETS**

**IRELAND/NEW YORK or NEW YORK/IRELAND**

**Plus £200.**

**2nd Prize: £200. 3rd Prize: £100**

Donations £2.00, or £5.00 for 3 tickets.

Draw will take place at Ard Fheis in November 1996.

**Tickets now available from local cumainn or from Ard-Oifig, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1. Please return stubs and cash to any of the names printed on the tickets or to Ard-Oifig.**

# Michael Flannery was made of truth

ON October 5, 1996 the Dáithí Ó Conaill Chapter of Cumann na Saoirse (the Irish freedom committee) in New York sponsored the 2nd annual Michael Flannery Memorial Dinner Dance. A large crowd attended at the Corkmen's Club in Long Island City.

Cumann na Saoirse chairman Joseph Salvayon served as MC. In welcoming the assembled guests he reminded them that Michael Flannery spent 70 years of his life in pursuit of a 32-county Irish Republic. With Mike's quest unfinished it was up to them to help make the re-establishment of the 32-county Irish Republic a reality.

He read a message from Michael's comrade George Harrison, who reminded those present that Michael Flannery opposed moves to constitutional politics in the Republican Movement on five separate occasions during his life.

"He did so from a sense of duty," George Harrison said, "and realising that it was by Irish will and not by English pleasure that Ireland would gain control of her own destiny... his long-time friend and comrade, Paul O'Dwyer, said, 'He was made of truth'."

Presentations were then made to the evenings honourees.

**GEORGE HARRISON, New York, outlines the story of eight centuries of Irish resistance to British rule (Part one of two).**

IT STARTED in 1169 with the blessing of the then Pope Adrian acting as the forerunner of MIS, M16, the FBI and the CIA. It has been a long journey throughout eight centuries of struggle to maintain resistance to the invader who came to "civilise" us according to the Vatican but whose purpose was to steal and rob us of all our natural resources and make us subject to their will.

Then as now there were those who resisted and fought back and those who collaborated with the enemy out of weakness.

For a few centuries British rule was confined around Dublin in an area known as the Pale. Slowly but surely they were able to extend their authority to a greater portion of the country until finally they destroyed the old Gaelic civilisation and way of life.

After the rebellion of 1641 the outcome could have been different had the life of an outstanding leader of that period, Eoghan Roe O'Neill,



• Michael Flannery

Each honouree received a specially-commissioned award by Irish American artist Brian Mór O Baoghail. Mary Flannery, a niece of Michael Flannery, made the first presentation to well-known New York Irish-American and guest of honour Hugh O'Lunney.

For the second award, Patrick Moloney McGee, grand niece of Michael Flannery was called on to make the presentation to trade union leader, Pat O'Neill.

The final presentation of the evening was the Michael Flannery Spirit of Freedom Award. This was presented to long time friend and supporter



• (Left to right) Hugh O'Lunney, Des Long, Frank Skuse and Barney Mulligan.

of Mike's, Rev Seamus Quinn of Philadelphia and Derry.

Unfortunately due to Parochial duties Rev Quinn was unable to attend. Accepting on his behalf was Barney Mulligan of New York.

The main speaker was Des Long, Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President who is on a visit to the United States. He complimented the honourees and told those present that the Irish in America had a duty to support Republican prisoners who sent greetings to those gathered in honour of Michael Flannery.

"Michael was an uncompromising Republican who would not bend on the issue of British rule in Ireland, unlike Gerry Adams who told

a London audience on September 27 last that he would 'ultimately' settle for a compromise short of Irish independence.

He recalled that when Michael Flannery visited Ireland for the first time after the 1986 split "he asked if there was a military dimension to it. He was assured that there was and expressed his satisfaction. He stated that the British would not go quietly and that they would have to be forced to go."

Joseph Salvayon thanked the assembled crowd for attending as he put it, "to remember a man we can never forget, honour those who follow his dream and reconsecrate ourselves to its realisation —

Ireland united and free.

As part of his visit to the United States Des Long also attended the October 25 Thirteenth Annual Awards Dinner of the Irish-American Fenian Society in New Jersey.

In a message published in the IAFS Dinner Journal Republican Sinn Féin quoted the words of 1981 H-Block hunger striker Bobby Sands:

"There can never be peace in Ireland until the foreign oppressive British presence is removed, leaving all the Irish people a unit to control their own affairs and determine their own destinies as a sovereign people, free in mind and body, separate and distinct physically, culturally and economically."

## Men of no property

harness all the old traditional forces of resistance and bring them into focus with the fight for modern Republican democracy which then shook the world. Judged in terms of the French and American revolutions, he would go down in defeat, his successor, Robert Emmet, would follow.

But what they enunciated in life, a free and independent Irish Republic, to which they added the rights of man enunciated by Tom Paine in America and the main tenets of the French Revolution, liberty, equality, and fraternity, would find expression later on in the Young Ireland movement. Led by Thomas Francis Meacher, John Mitchell, Thomas Davis, and James Fintan Lalor, they drew their strength from the dispossessed, from "men of no property."

The attempted revolt of 1848 met with defeat, but from its ruins the Fenian

Brotherhood, founded in 1858, which reached great potential and produced great literature but failed in its effort to organise a general uprising. The story of the heroism of O'Donovan Rossa and his comrades in British dungeons is a history in itself and the efforts of prominent people, including the daughters of Karl Marx, to secure their release is a story that deserves telling.

Many of the prisoners would become the founders of the Irish Land League, led by former Fenian prisoner Michael Davitt, which smashed feudal landlordism. The trouble was that the military efforts of the Fenian Brotherhood were unable to co-ordinate with the mass agitation of the fight for land and as a result the dream of a free and independent Ireland was not realised.

But the dream lived on; it never died out. It was kept alive in Ireland and in France by men

like Charles Kickham and John O'Leary, and in America by great exiles like O'Donovan Rossa, Patrick Ford, and Tom Clarke, and later by James Connolly. The Land League after achieving its limited goals went out of existence but the IRB continued to plot and plan. The revival of the language, the Gaelic League, trade unions, and Connolly's ISRP created a fusion of all the forces of dissent against imperialism and economic exploitation which was clearly seen in the great lockout strike in Dublin in 1913.

While the strike was defeated out of that heroic effort emerged the Irish Citizen Army. It would eventually join forces with the IRB Irish Volunteers and declare a free and independent Irish Republic on Easter Monday April 24, 1916. It would go down in defeat, its leaders all executed, crushed mercilessly and bloodily.

In the aftermath came a resurgence of the national spirit resulting in a sweeping victory in the December 1918 national elections. The big mistake then was to admit anti-revolutionaries such as Eoin MacNeill and Arthur Griffith into positions of leadership or authority in the new government set up after the elections.

After four years of intensive struggle and Republican victory the British were forced to negotiate and immediately began their old game of divide and conquer which led to the Treaty of Surrender.

Those who remained true to their oath, sworn to defend the Republic, took control of the IRA and fought until they could fight no more. Seventy-seven of their best and bravest were executed, others as prisoners blown up by landmines but they never surrendered.

(More next month.)

## Imeachtaí

**EDENTUBBER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION**  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 3  
EDENTUBBER  
CO LOUTH  
Assemble:  
Ravensdale House  
3pm  
\*\*\*\*\*

**PEACE WITH JUSTICE PUBLIC MEETING**  
SILVER SWAN HOTEL  
SLIGO  
THURS. NOVEMBER 8  
8.30pm  
Cainteoir:  
Ruairi Ó Brádaigh  
Cllr Seán Lynch  
Organised by Republican Sinn Féin  
\*\*\*\*\*

**MEMORIES OF A HUNGER STRIKER**  
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8  
7.30pm

GUILDHALL, DERRY  
Speakers:  
Mary Ward  
(Republican Sinn Féin)

Bernadette McAliskey  
An tAth Piaras Ó Duill  
(former chair, H-Block/ Armagh Committee)

Paddy Logue  
(Trade unionist)  
Kevin McQuillan  
(IRSP)

Presentation to 12 hunger strikers' families  
Táille: £3  
Proceeds to Derry City Hunger Strikers Memorial Fund  
\*\*\*\*\*

**KEVIN BARRY COMMEMORATION**  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17  
RATHVILLY  
CO CARLOW  
3pm  
\*\*\*\*\*

**MANCHESTER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION**  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24  
GLASNEVIN CEMETERY  
DUBLIN

National Graves Association  
Mass, 12.15pm  
for all who died for Ireland  
Berkeley Road Church  
\*\*\*\*\*

**CHARLIE KERINS COMMEMORATION**  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6  
TRALEE, CO KERRY  
Assemble: Denny Street  
7.30pm

Speaker:  
Cathleen Knowles  
\*\*\*\*\*

**BENEFIT SOCIAL**  
SAT. DECEMBER 7  
8pm

DOYLE'S CORNER  
ASTORIA  
NEW YORK  
Organised by  
Cumann na Saoirse

## CABHAIR

### Special Appeal

The Central Committee of CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund) are once again appealing for funds so that we can continue to support all our prisoners in Limerick jail and also support the families of the prisoners.

This time of the year is always difficult for fund-raising and we appeal to all Republican Sinn Féin cumainn, our friends and supporters to make a special effort during this time for the prisoners.

We would like to hear from anyone who would form a fund-raising committee in their own area. All those interested please contact CABHAIR and help and guidance will be forthcoming.

Hand-painted framed handkerchiefs made by Republican prisoners are now available, price £50 each.

Anyone willing to make contributions to CABHAIR should send them to:

**CABHAIR, Teach Dáithí Ó Conaill**  
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1



WRITE TO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

**Write to the Republican Prisoners:**

Limerick Prison

Mulgrave Street, Limerick

END their greetings, letters, etc and support CABHAIR — Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents and in its work for political prisoners. Cuimhnigh ar id siúd uilig atá faoi ghlas ar son saoirse na hÉireann.



# The political structure of the Free State

## Neo-Colonial Ireland

*Part three of a series of articles dealing with the realities of Ireland's position in the world. It is our contention that, while the Six-County area is obviously a colonial possession of England, the 26-County 'Republic' is also still in large measure a colonial society, despite the removal of many of the physical colonising institutions.*

THE pro-treaty elements in Sinn Féin broke away and formed their own political party; Cumann na nGaedheal. This party set up a 26-county parliament assembling in Leinster House, with an oath of loyalty to the king of England as a requirement of entry, and formed a government. The Irish Labour Party, which then as now couldn't decide if it was monarchist or Republican, soon joined in.

A constitution was cobbled together, a compromise document that attempted to be democratic enough to satisfy the Irish and at the same time containing enough references to the king to keep London happy. The constitution was passed at Westminster as the Irish Free State constitution Act 1922.

One feature was the introduction of proportional representation in elections. This was done because the Irish insisted on it, not because it was fair but because they hoped the Irish Unionist community would thus be able to obtain a few seats, and indeed there was for many years a few nationalists in Leinster House.

When compared with the three Baltic States the general structure was not the same: all four had a figurehead head-of-state and a parliament elected by proportional representation, but in the Baltic States the head-of-state was elected to 'Senate', a talking shop into which the government invited members of the opposition in the hope that this would give them support.

All four derived ultimately from the French Third Republic. In each of the three Baltic States great difficulty was experienced due to the large number of political parties coupled with the lack of political experience, ultimately leading to the adoption of a more authoritarian form of government with an executive president rather than an American model.

(The French themselves eventually opted this model too). In the Saorstát Eireannach de Valera came to power the 'single strong leader' model also evolved de facto, but was never formalised.

### CLIENTISM

The Saorstát, therefore, had the

structure of a 'Bourgeois Democracy'. This form of government, which evolved in France during the 19th century, is by many people assumed to be the only proper way to run a country. A bourgeois democracy is a state run by and for a particular social class: the bourgeoisie or middle class.

The problem was that the Saorstát had only a very small middle class: too thinly spread to be able to develop as a ruling political entity. Whenever an attempt is made to create a bourgeois democracy without a bourgeoisie, clientism appears.

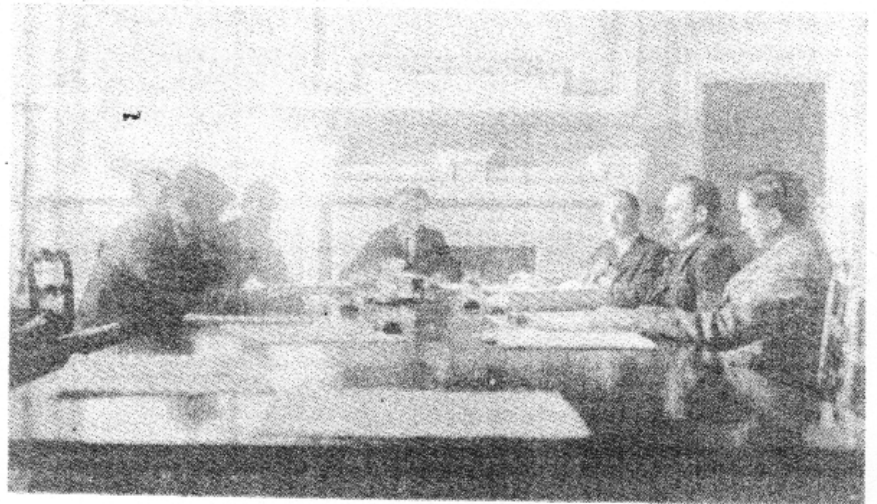
Under a clientist system people vote for a politician not out of enthusiasm for his or her political programme but to do the person the favour of helping them to get a very well-paid job. In return the politician is expected to do favours for the voter. Thence emerged that unique Irish institution: the politician's clinic.

Some bizarre situations have resulted. For many years a Mr Byrne sat in Leinster House as an independent deputy for County Clare. He rarely took part in debates and was in politics purely to get the large salary and eventual pension all deputies received.

Byrne was a 'bone-setter', a kind of unlicensed chiropractor, who provided his services free: his only requirement being that the patient vote for him in the next election.

The favours-for-votes system has led to the evolution of political dynasties ('Da looked after yez, so will I') and also has enabled politicians to shift party allegiance while carrying their vote with them (the Progressive Democrat party could not have emerged otherwise).

Clientist political systems have evolved in Greece and in the south of Italy. In Naples for many years the



• The Free State cabinet in the autumn of 1922 which decided on the policy of executing Republican prisoners (77 were shot dead within seven months). William Cosgrave (centre) is flanked on his left by Ernest Blythe and Kevin O'Higgins.

politically insignificant Monarchist Party controlled the city, because a week before each election they would distribute thousands of left-foot children's shoes free. If they won, then the right shoes would be distributed a week later.

Clientism, which the PR electoral system greatly assists, is inseparable from corruption. This has led many Irish people to despise politicians and to assume they are basically crooks. Thus the situation already observed in ancient times by Aristotle and Cicero arose: decent people decline to get involved in public affairs and the scoundrels get a clear run.

As soon as the Saorstát was up and running, all sorts of left-overs from the old Irish Party at Westminster began to crawl out of their holes and become politically active. These brought with them another baneful tradition.

The old Irish Party had been a small minority at Westminster, with little influence, and had developed a tradition of making long bombastic speeches full of exaggerated statements expressed in convoluted language. The speeches of Irish politicians were a standard butt of England's humorists, and it didn't really matter what they said because they were insignificant players in the Westminster political game.

But they carried this tradition of parliamentary windbagery into Leinster House, with an excessive faith

in the power of words and a dedication to speeches for the sake of speeches and an assumption that rhetoric is an end in itself. James Dillon, an old survivor from the Parliamentary Party who was for many years leader of Fine Gael was perhaps the most notable example.

### 'STEPPING STONES?'

Almost nobody in Ireland had wanted the treaty. Various arguments were used to get people to accept it. The threat of war certainly convinced many. Others argued along the lines that it had been signed and nothing could be done about it. It was argued that it would provide a 'stepping stone' to the Republic. To some it was a 'damn good bargain'.

Unfortunately quite a few decent but misguided Irish patriots were taken in by one or other of these arguments.

Also, some military people were deceived into believing that as soon as the Civil War was over preparations would be made to make a complete break with England and also to recover the Six Counties.

However, when the Civil War ended a large scale demobilisation of troops began: England's work was now done and they were not needed. Some senior officers, realising they had been hoodwinked, began a conspiracy

to overthrow the Leinster House cabal. Before they could make a move they were dismissed on the orders of Kevin O'Higgins and the whole plot, rather grandly called the Army Mutiny by historians, collapsed in a ridiculous fashion.

The regime was so short of support that it was obliged to take on nearly any careerist, place-hunter or chancer that came along. From this there built up an element enormously enamoured of the treaty ('The Treaty') which had enabled them to get positions and careers in no way merited by their abilities.

The treaty became something sacred: Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith were Great Men because they had Signed the Treaty, and so on.

On the other side of the coin, the persecution of Republicans continued unabated after the end of the Civil War and great numbers of them emigrated, mostly to the United States. Because the Republican Movement had drawn to it the best elements in Irish society the country lost a great deal of talent in this way.

Ireland's loss was America's gain. Many of them prospered, and did not forget their native land or their Republican principles. Paradoxically, the economy of the Saorstát later became heavily dependant on money sent back to Ireland by these political exiles to assist impoverished relatives at home.

## British army HQ blasted by two explosions

BRITISH soldier was critically injured and many other troops and civilians were hurt as two bombs went off within ten minutes inside the British army headquarters in Lisburn, outside Belfast, on Monday afternoon, October 7.

The explosions went off at 4 and 4.45pm inside the Tipperary barracks, the base containing the offices of the SAS, the General Officer Commanding (GOC) and the Commander Land Forces (CLF) and other British army units. The British Army's Irish Regiment of the British Army is also commanded in the Lisburn base.

Responsibility for the explosions was claimed by the Provisional IRA on October 8. Rick Mayhew, the British Army's commander in the Six Counties, emerged from a conference with British Army and RUC chiefs stating that the Provisionals

were most likely responsible. In a statement on October 8 Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin said:

"Yesterday's (Monday) explosions at the Headquarters of the British Army of Occupation in the Six Counties bear out what Republican Sinn Féin has been saying since August 1994:

"(a) that since the process then being launched did not provide for British withdrawal from Ireland it would not work and (b) that as long as the British government remains in this country there would always be people to oppose it.

"These are the lessons of history and history did not come to a halt two years ago. The objective of restructuring and updating English rule in Ireland - in the hope of making it more acceptable internationally - has not been reached and the whole process to date has been a signal failure.

"A totally new federation of the four provinces of Ireland, including a nine-county Ulster, can in the context of British withdrawal be a worthwhile and workable alternative."

A man who had been arrested and questioned in relation to the attack was released without charge on October 11.

Also on October 11, one of the British soldiers injured in the attacks, Warrant Officer James Bradwell, died.



• British army personnel and workers run for cover in Tipperary Barracks, Lisburn on October 7.

THE month of November 1920, seventy-six years ago, was a particularly disturbing one for Ireland, then locked in struggle with the mighty British Empire in the defence of the Irish people's right to the Republic they had democratically established through the first Dáil Éireann in January 1919.

The stern British response to this, the most successful attempt to date by the submerged Irish nation to go its own way at the end of the First World War, was little more than one of repression tempered by some modest promises on the Home Rule Westminster had been promising for forty years.

And as we have seen with the honouring of the death on hunger strike of Lord Mayor Terence MacSwiney at the end of October 1920, Cork city and county was particularly deeply involved in this struggle in what came to be known as the Rebel County.

The month of November 1920 started with two highly contentious executions, of Kevin Barry at home in Dublin and Private James Daly the Connaught Ranger mutineer in far-away India.

There followed in the middle of the month the very crucial backing of the Irish Labour movement and Trade Union congress for the Irish cause including the adoption of the then very pro-Irish policies of the British Labour Party.

This was followed a week later on November 20-21 by what became known as "Bloody Sunday" throughout Dublin. Actually the events of Bloody Sunday had three significant parts spread over the week-end.

Firstly and most crucially Michael Collins, as Director of IRA Intelligence decided that he would have to assassinate all the major figures of the infamous "Cairo Gang" that had been brought into Dublin by the British to get a grip on the Republican leadership.

There was some evidence that this highly-skilled counter guerrilla group were building up intelligence on all the main Republican figures and "eliminating" them wherever they could.

## REALISTIC

Collins was bluntly about the realistic threat the British spies posed to the entire Irish freedom effort. Either we get them or they get us he argued — it was as simple and as blunt as that. It was also a pretty cold-blooded affair, as we know from the accounts we later got from those who carried out Collins' operations at 9am on the Sunday morning.

More than a dozen leading British Intelligence personnel were traced to their lodgings in various parts of Dublin city and shot in their bed. Some were not at home for whatever reason and escaped but the impact of the co-ordinated strike around the city with relative ease convinced many that Ireland was no longer a happy colonial hunting ground.

These people made themselves scarce from then on while most of the British military establishment in Dublin at the time had to leave their homes and live within the walls of Dublin Castle from then onwards.

The terror which was involved in the assassination instilled into the young men of Collins' Squad who were ordered to get in and kill like that has also been attested to in archival interviews given much later by people like Dr CS Tod Andrews, father of Niall Andrews MEP and David Andrews, former Fianna Fáil foreign minister.

Tod was one of the minority who found that by the time he called on his target house, the birds had flown and so he was spared the shock of face-to-face killing in that instance. Nor was

They fired on the crowd, killing twelve, including Michael Hogan, the Tipperary Captain, and seriously injuring some 60 others. Truly had terror taken a grip in the streets and



• Deadly foes: Tom Barry (above) the Commander of the Third (West) Cork Brigade Flying Column of the IRA at the time of Kilmichael and (below) the British Auxiliaries pictured outside Union Quay Barracks, Cork.



the IRA terror the only one that struck across the Liffey side on that fateful November weekend.

On the Saturday night, November 20, three Republicans, Dick McKee, Commander and Peadar Clancy, Dublin Brigade leaders, and Conor Clune, a young Volunteer up from Clare for the weekend, had been arrested, taken to Dublin Castle and shot after brutal interrogation in the Guardroom of Dublin Castle by members of the RIC Auxiliary.

Then on Sunday afternoon, November 21, the British surrounded Croke Park, where Tipperary and Dublin were playing a football game, the proceeds of which would go to Republican prisoners dependants.

recreational areas of Dublin itself by that November weekend.

The same weekend that the body of Fr Michael Griffin, one of the three Catholic priests to be shot during that particular phase of the Irish Independence struggle, was found in a shallow grave outside Bearna, a few miles west of Galway city.

## SKILFUL

The real terror group at that time was not so much the Black-and-Tan ruffians who had been brought into the country over the summer of 1920 but the much more skilful, more deadly and up to then unbeaten Auxiliary reserve force, which like the Tans had also been brought in to assist the RIC

but which unlike the Tans consisted of trained professional "crack-troops" who had been through the terrible trench warfare of the First World War.

The 'Auxies' had a reputation all of their own and it was wiping out two lorry loads of these forces in the Kilmichael ambush on November 28, 1920 that clearly marked the major reverse for British policy in Ireland at the end of 1920.

Kilmichael which is on the road between Macroom and Dunmanway in West County Cork, is seen as one of the most outstanding examples of classic guerrilla warfare, of which the propaganda balladeer made *The Boys of Kilmichael* and General Tom Barry and his Third West Cork Brigade Flying Column a household name for a generation — and the object of study in military colleges throughout the world to this very day.

## SUCCESSFUL

Tom Barry who spent two years in the British Army in the Middle East during World War One was one of the most successful members of that small bunch of IRA guerrilla leaders who took the war to the British in the second half of 1920 and who developed a whole new way for smaller nations to liberate themselves from vastly superior forces.

Barry's example has been copied throughout the world since then and ordinary non-military people are fortunate enough to be able to read General Barry's own account of those stirring times in his book *Guerrilla Days in Ireland*.

It is not a nice story and, while one admires the courage of the men who took part and the honesty of the general in his references to the various dilemmas IRA Flying Columns found themselves in one cannot help asking why it always has to come to such brutal killing before political problems and national claims are even addressed.

Nowadays one suspects Irish children, citizens of the Irish state which would hardly exist were it not for "The Boys of Kilmichael," learn very little if anything about the realities of the way its place in the league of nations in the 20th Century was won.

I was fortunate enough to record a detailed interview with General Barry on the 50th anniversary of his historic achievement — back in 1970. The taped conversation was subsequently

broadcast on RTÉ Radio by John Howman.

Again it was not a pleasant account — certainly not of the close hand-to-hand fighting which took place in this fight to the death from which there would be no escape for the defeated side.

General Barry, a man of immense humanity, was as conscious of the brutal nature of the Kilmichael encounter as he was sure of its military correctness and genuinely sad that it had to come to this because of the refusal of Britain to be persuaded of the need for radical political change in Ireland by any other methods.

Yet another deep insight into the honesty of the "Boys of Kilmichael" had been gained by the Irish nation in 1969, the year before I conducted the Barry radio interview, in an RTÉ television *Seven Days* current affairs special in which the station invited all the then surviving members of the famous West Cork Flying Column into studio to reminisce and place on record their memories and feelings about the encounter.

Many of the men present were then in their eighties, old, weak and frail having given a life-time of patriotic service to the Irish nation. But they were clear and frank and proud of what their objects had been and especially about what Kilmichael had meant to the entire Irish struggle at the turning of the tide towards the end of 1920.

Brian Farrell in a summing up said it was important that this generation be allowed to see for themselves what it was the Irish struggle was about and to evaluate such events in context with the survivors of such events while they were still alive.

A generation later, sensibilities about the Northern conflict and in particular the Section 31 censorship system had so turned factual Irish history on its head that the next generation of young Irish people, at home or even further afield were probably unaware of Kilmichael.

## BALLAD

Certainly the once famous ballad was not on the priority play list of any Irish radio programme. Perhaps it is time to ask RTÉ to run that Kilmichael film once again? In this instance the story in black and white is the most effective and the most important.

We should not forget the Boys of Kilmichael . . .

— Nollaig Ó Gadhra

## The Boys of Kilmichael

Whilst we honour in song and in story  
The memory of Pearse and MacBride,  
Whose names are illumined in glory  
With martyrs who long since have died,  
Forget not the boys of Kilmichael  
Those brave lads so gallant and true  
Who fought 'neath the green flag of Erin  
And conquered the Red, White and Blue.

Chorus:

Then here's to the boys of Kilmichael  
Who feared not the might of the foe.  
The day that they marched into battle  
They laid all the Black-and-Tans low.

On the twenty-eighth day of November  
The Tans left the town of Macroom.  
They were sealed in two Crossley tenders  
Which led them right into their doom.  
They were on the road to Kilmichael  
And never expected to stall,  
They there met the boys of the column

Who made a clear sweep of them all.

Chorus:

The sun in the west it was sinking,  
'Twas the eve of a cold winter's day;  
When the Tans were eagerly waiting  
Sailed into the spot where we lay:  
And over the hills went the echo  
The peal of the rifle and gun;  
And the flames from their lorries gave aidings  
That the boys of the column had won.

Chorus:

The lorries were ours before twilight,  
And high over Dunmanway town  
Our banners in triumph were waving  
To show that the Tans had gone down.  
We gathered our rifles and bayonets,  
And soon left the glens so obscure,  
And never drew rein 'til we halted  
At the faraway camp of Glenure.

Chorus:



## Part 2 — Motivation, Risks and Signs of Drug-Taking

**MOST ADULTS**, it is to be hoped, have reached a level of maturity that makes for a greater degree of independence which makes us unlikely to become easy victims of peer pressure. Young people, on the other hand, are at the opposite end of the scale in this regard. Many are caught in that dangerous age-gap between childhood and adulthood which has been confusing to us all. Poor housing, unemployment, lack of social facilities and life chances are also major factors for consideration.

Motivation can take many forms. Some may be influenced by a degree of excitement of the unknown which may lead them to "just try it". Others may wish to look grown-up, or want to get a buzz from taking a risk, which might be their last where Ecstasy or LSD are concerned.

There are those who may take drugs because their friends do so or because it is offered to them when out socially or in private. They may become introduced to such when their guard is down after a few drinks, or they may stupidly indulge simply to show off.

Most adults, including community workers, may indeed remember similar urges and the real or imagined attraction of that first cigarette or a drink when we were in our teens, or before. These reasons are as true today as they were then. However, these factors now apply to illegal drugs as well.

### DIVERSE RISKS

The one-off experiment seems to be common place among around 33% of younger people in regard to illicit drugs. But there are many factors which may create a habit-forming situation which may lead to dependency, which could last for many years, if the drugs don't kill a person off in the meantime. The common roots for developing "the habit" are a desire for enjoyment, escapism, inability to cope with everyday life, lack of success and negative feelings about one's self.

At this stage it must be stated that only some young people in the Six Counties take illegal drugs on a regular basis but there is no doubt that some have become dependent on them. It must be stressed that all drugs, including cigs and the booze, involves a risk and danger for both the 'first-timers' and regular users alike. One must conclude that the menace of illicit drug-taking is likely to be with us for a long time as the statistical trends rarely show a decline in seizures, arrests and official registration of addicts.

The physical risks depend on the

type and strength of the drug, the amount taken, where it's taken and the person taking it. One person may die from one tablet, or suffer more serious side-effects, whereas another person may survive even after taking a larger dose. There are a range of effects including a change in heart beat and blood pressure, exhaustion, collapse, and, in increasing numbers, death.

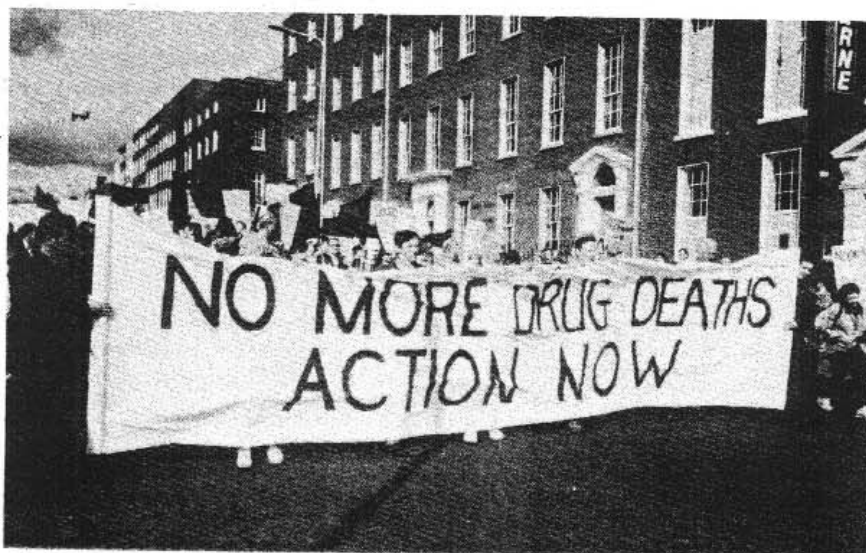
Physical dependence occurs when the body actually wants the drug. If the drug is not provided, withdrawal symptoms will occur, eg literally sweating, being clammy or irritable if 'desperate', stomach cramps, sleeplessness or anxiety.

There are of course the psychological risks as well. Effects include a reduction in self-confidence, feelings of inability to cope, anxiety and blind panic. These feelings can range from being mild or extremely frightening and can continue for several days after using particular drugs. In some cases lasting psychological damage takes place, if there are any underlying mental health problems.

There are what can be termed social risks. These include difficulties with family and friends and poor performance at school, college or work. Illicit drug taking can lead to involvement in anti-social activities, such as 'joy-riding'. Users may also make unwise decisions concerning, for example, their sexual behaviour.

There are of course the legal, and other risks. These include being convicted of a drugs offence, associated publicity, and other factors that can seriously damage one's academic or career prospects, or general standing within various social networks.

But also highly damaging is the urge to feed one's habit as more and more young people may also be convicted of being involved in petty crime to fund their drug-intake. The resulting criminal record can affect a young person's life in many ways including future job prospects and the denial of travel rights to certain countries.



• Protest march through Dublin city centre in 1996.

### CURRENT LEGISLATION

The possession and supplying of a drug, (including giving to friends), which is described as illegal by the Misuse of Drugs Act (1971) is against the law and carried with it the definite risk of fines and/or imprisonment.

Nobody below the age of 10 years of age in the Six Counties can be convicted of a criminal offence. Above this age, it depends on the drug the young person is taking or supplying. Maximum sentences for offending against the Misuse of Drugs Act are severe.

If a person is viewed as a regular offender, dealer or smuggler it could transpire that they might have all their property and goods taken off them and be imprisoned for many years. First offenders who have a drug for their own use are likely to be fined or cautioned by the police.

In the Six Counties, young people under 17 years of age are usually dealt with by a Juvenile Court. This court has powers to fine a parent or child, or to send the offender to a variety of institutions as an alternative to being sent to prison.

Table 2 Drug offences proceeded against in court, 1994

Trafficking in Controlled Drugs:

127 proceeded against; 11 found not guilty; 116 guilty; 2 discharged or bound over; 26 fined; 1 given

Community Service; 2 put on Probation; 41 given suspended custody and 44 immediate custody.

Other Drug Offences:

411 proceeded against; 33 found not guilty; 378 guilty; 17 discharged or bound over; 266 fined; 10 given Community Service; 13 put on probation; 38 given suspended sentence and 34 immediate custody.

Based on these statistics there were a total of 538 persons proceeded against, of which 494 were found guilty. These figures include offences of conspiracy and attempts, but exclude persons appearing at Magistrates' Courts who were committed for trial at Crown Court.

### PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Parents are becoming more and more aware of their legal responsibilities. Many may now be aware that their sons or daughters might be fined or imprisoned for possessing or supplying drugs. However, many don't realise that it is possible to break the law even without touching drugs.

If a parent knows that their son or daughter is sharing illegal drugs with a friend in their house, but does nothing to stop it, then that parent has committed an offence.

Further, it is an offence to fail, without reasonable excuse, to report to the police the commission of some

serious criminal offences, including certain drug offences.

It would be wrong to assume that every parent could easily tell if one of their children is taking drugs, which is often quite a secretive activity. The signs are not always obvious. It is in fact very difficult to tell when a young person first tries drugs or only takes them occasionally.

Many of the 'signs' are just like the normal signs of growing up, eg being moody or distant. People should not jump to the wrong conclusions but rather look for some of the following possible indicators:

Sudden and regular changes of mood; loss of appetite; gradual loss of interest in school, hobbies, sport, friends; increased evidence of lying or other secretive behaviour; money or other objects around the house 'going missing', (including the young person's formerly 'treasured possessions'); unusually tired; unable to sleep at night; sudden appearance of new 'friends'; bouts of talkative, excitable and overactive behaviour.

It is unlikely that a parent or guardian will find any actual drugs themselves, but they may come across possible evidence of drug use. These include: cigarette papers; 'wraps' (square folds of paper which may have contained powder); cling film, foil and small plastic bags used to package small quantities of drugs.

— Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh

(Concluded)

## Orange hatred and Provisional compromise lead to boy's death

**DARREN MURRAY**, an 11-year-old boy from Garvaghy Park, Portadown, died in Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital on Thursday, October 10 two days after he was knocked down by a van on the Corcrain Road in Portadown, Co Armagh. Darren, who had dark features, was often the subject of abuse from Orange bigots.

On Tuesday, October 8 loyalists had gathered at an interface area and proceeded with a stream of abuse against nationalist children. Darren received the brunt of their snide hatred, with taunts of "Fenian migger" being spewed in his direction. His 14-year-old sister Maria said "He hopped off his bike and ran across the road. He never looked and the van just hit him. The crowd cheered when he was hit. They shouted 'Yeah up the UVF, up the UVF' I ran over to Darren and he just closed his eyes."

Darren never recovered consciousness. "I blame the siege of Drumcree and if you come back in six

months time to me, I'll still be the same," his mother Marie-Therese Matchett said after his death. She had taken Darren out of the town during the 1995 Orange marching season but this year she could find nowhere safe, so they remained in Portadown finding themselves under siege from Orange fascists.

"My sister's husband was killed and they wrote something about him on a wall. She had to drive past it every day. If they did that to Darren, I would go and hammer the wall down," she said.

Darren's family lives in Garvaghy Park, one of the housing estates which

*"He saw me in the house scared and that made him angry. He saw the way we couldn't go to the shops. We lived on potatoes for a week. He was hemmed in."*

border the Garvaghy Road. He joined the residents' protests during the Drumcree stand-off in July when he saw his scared mother in the house. She told the *Sunday Tribune* (October 13) that he stood on the road with a placard calling for the parade to be re-routed.

"He saw me in the house scared and that made him angry. He saw the way we couldn't go to the shops. We lived on potatoes for a week. He was hemmed in. He couldn't get out," his mother said.

The compromises of the Provisionals in their attempts to enter the Stormont talks process has led to a situation where loyalists have renewed courage in entering nationalist areas with violence and sectarian taunts. An accommodation with supremacist bigots can only lead to more violence and more deaths.



• Darren Murray protesting during the Drumcree stand-off in July last.

# Union is safe: Mayhew assures Apprentice Boys

HILE the pan-nationalist Gerry Adams continues to jargonise and waffle on about "all-inclusive talks for a real process of negotiation" he attempts to induce a state of somnambulism (sleep-walking) in the nationalist community, dragging them down the road to Stormont Mark his colonial master Patrick Mayhew, Britain's premo in the Six Occupied Counties, has reiterated the Empire and strengthened loyalism his assurance to the Apprentice Boys that the union is safe.

Speaking to a conference members of the Apprentice Boys movement in Blackpool, England on October 27 Mayhew said "There can be no change in the constitutional position of Northern Ireland without the consent of a

majority of the people living there. It is clear to everyone that for the foreseeable future the wish of the majority is for Northern Ireland to stay part of the United Kingdom."

To cheers from the Apprentice boot-boys he went on: "There is no joint authority

and there is not going to be a joint authority, nor does the Dublin government seek it. They know it's a non-starter so they are not looking for it."

In a previous speech of September 7 Mayhew told the British Irish Association in Oxford, England that the Six

Counties would remain under British rule "for as far as we can see into the future". He also stated that any settlement would include "the end of all Irish claims to jurisdiction" over the Six Counties. The real British agenda could not be clearer.

## FIANNA ÉIREANN

Republican Scouts are being reorganised and we would like to hear from past and present scouts who are interested in the progress of this reorganisation.



Please apply to:  
Secretary c/o 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1  
and all enquiries will be dealt with immediately.

# Hume praised for capitulation to Orange terror

HIGH praise was lavished on pan-nationalist frontman, SDLP leader John Hume, for his assistance in facilitating the march of Orange triumphalists through Derry's Bogside on Saturday morning, October 19. The Apprentice Boys' governor, Alistair Simpson, in his tribute to Hume said "his statement had helped to ease tensions". Simpson vowed to maintain contact with Hume. Loyalists clapped and cheered as Apprentice boot-boys played the Sash and other provocative songs at Society Street within earshot of Bogside residents.

The paramilitary British police (RUC) forcibly removed a token two protesting residents from Derry's walls, including Bogside residents' spokesperson Donncha Mac Niallais, who called on the Apprentice Boys to make known any deal reached before the parade.

## Defeat 'rebels' call

FIFTEEN to twenty per cent of Catholics in the Six Counties are "pure rebels who can never be dealt with and must be defeated," a leading Ulster Unionist Party figure told their annual conference in Ballymena, Co Antrim on October 19 last. The speaker was David Burnside, the London-based unionist and "public relations consultant" who is being touted in the media as one of the emerging 'new unionists'. Sounds like the same old unionism...

# The Ballad-Makers

## Part 6 — Eva of the Nation

a Kelly was a native of Headford in County Mayo in 1825. From an early age she contributed poems, ballads and articles to *The Nation* newspaper using the signature 'Eva': in those days it was considered improper for young ladies to have opinions — let alone express them. Thus she became known as 'Eva of *The Nation*' and her actual name was not generally known.

She became engaged to a leading nationalist, Kevin Izod Doherty. When O'Doherty was sentenced to transportation to Van Diemen's Land, Dublin Castle offered him a pardon if he would plead guilty to 'treason-felony': thereby implicitly acknowledging the land's right to rule Ireland. He asked Eva's advice and she told him to reject the offer, and O'Doherty was to spend ten years in Australia. They were married on his return.

In 1886 O'Doherty joined Parnell's party and was elected MP for Meath. But he soon recognised that the entire Home Rule Bill was a waste of time: the game could not be won if played by the rules for the same reason that nobody breaks the bank at Monte Carlo. If you find a way to win, they just change the rules. He resigned his seat and he and Eva went to live in Australia. Eva is believed to have died in Australia about the year 1910.



"EVA" OF THE 'NATION'

## The Rebel's Sermon

My brothers all, who hear me now,  
Give ear to what I say;  
The words are solemn that I speak  
On this my dying day:  
For Ireland's love, for England's hate,  
I swore a solemn vow,  
And if I swore it once before  
I swear it ten times now!

For Ireland! For Ireland  
Upon this drop I stand;  
For Ireland, for Ireland,  
My own native land!

Thrice blacker be the face of death,  
Thrice brighter be the sky!  
And yet for such a cause as this,  
I'm well content to die!  
Never knew what 'twas to fear,  
And still I do not know;  
And for the wrongs that tore my heart  
I strove to deal a blow.

You'll follow! You'll follow!  
The path I went before,  
Like brave men, to save, men  
Their old island shore!

Did the duty of a man;  
Care for life no more;  
Death will bring the cause some good,  
A stroke I won't deplore.  
One more throb of stern resolve  
Raise in any breast,  
One more pulse of bitter hate  
Against England's robber crest —

'Tis welcome! 'Tis welcome!

Right merrily to me;  
Victorious and glorious  
The last hour I see!

And now the word I'd leave behind  
Is Vengeance! Vengeance still!  
O'er every plain I'd ring it out,  
On every lofty hill.  
Who cares a straw for life and limb  
Deserves not to be free;  
Who thinks of caution or of fear  
Will frighten liberty.

Still daring, unceasing,  
For all the might of man,  
There is no other way, my boys,  
To carry out your plan!

## Cahir O'Doherty

By the Spanish plumed hat and the costly attire,  
And the dark eye that's blended of midnight and fire,  
And the bearing and stature so princely and tall,  
Sir Cahir you'll know in the midst of them all.

Like an oak on the land, like a ship on the sea,  
Like the eagle above, strong and haughty is he;  
In the greenness of youth, yet he's crowned as his due,  
With the fear of the false and the love of the true.

Right fiercely he swoops on their plundering hordes,  
Right proudly he dared them — the proud English lords,  
And darkly you'll trace him by many a trail,  
From the hills of the north to the heart of the Pale.

By red field and ruined keep and fire-shrouded hall,

By the tramp of the charger o'er buttress and wall,  
By the courage that springs from the heart of despair,  
Like the bound of a lion erect from his lair.

O'Neill and O'Donnell, Maguire and the rest,  
Have sheathed the sabre and lowered the crest,  
O'Cahan is crushed and MacMahon is bound,  
And Magennis slinks after the foe like a hound.

But high and untrimmed o'er the valley and height,  
Soars the proud sweeping pinion, so young in its flight —  
The toil and the danger are braved all alone  
By the fierce-taloned falcon of old Inishowen.

And thus runs the story: he fought and he fell,  
Young, honoured and brave — so the seanachies tell;  
The foremost of those who have guarded the Green,  
When men wrote their names with the sword and the sear.

## O'Donnell of Tipperary

Place me before your scarlet ranks,  
A thousand men and more,  
And though the chain around me clanks,  
I'll keep the oath I swore.  
Plant gun and bayonet to my teeth,  
And let them pierce me through;  
But while a heart's within my breast  
I'll never speak for you!

You brought me here an honest man,  
You shall not make me slave —  
No eye shall ever 'traitor' scan  
Upon O'Donnell's grave.  
The darkest wrong your power can do  
Can alter not the vow,  
Which says my children ne'er shall see  
That brand upon my brow!

The true man's words are borne aloft,  
To shine among the stars;  
We cherish them within our hearts  
In spite of bolts and bars.  
Mid all our sorrows and our wrongs,  
Our deep and burning shame,  
The brighter, purer for it all  
Appears O'DONNELL'S name!

(These lines were written in praise of a farmer who was jailed in Clonmel for refusing to give evidence against Smith O'Brien following the insurrection at Ballingearry in 1848.)

## On The Sea

Under the skies of the Southern Cross  
The sails are swelling in the breeze,  
Where skims the broad-winged albatross  
Above the rushing, sparkling seas.  
Gaily, dancing, on we go,  
O'er the blue waves tinged with creamy foam,  
Like mountains capped with dazzling snow,  
So far from Erin — far from home!

Through sunny, breezy Capricorn  
The sweet airs freshly round us play;  
We seek the fair and distant bourne,  
Thus dancing onward, wild and gay.  
With speed of sea-bird's pinions light  
The good ship hurries through the foam,  
As if we swept not in our flight  
Far, far from Erin — far from home!



# Léirmheas

*The Mighty Wave, The 1798 Rebellion in Wexford*, edited by Dáire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong, Four Courts Press, £7.95.

AS we approach the bicentenary of the 1798 insurrection we can expect a spate of books dealing with the Rising and its consequences. This collection of essays edited by Dáire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong deals with the rising in Wexford and helps to place it in its national context.

Contributors include a number of eminent historians and local historians such as Kevin Whelan, Thomas Graham, Louis Cullen, Anna Kinsella and Daniel Gahan.

The Wexford Rebellion has long been portrayed as either a sectarian-inspired insurrection or simply the unorganised reaction of a frightened people goaded into rebellion. Kevin Whelan in his contribution points out that Wexford was in fact a highly politicised county, with solid structures put in place by the United Irishmen. Whelan makes the point that what happened after is as important to our perceptions of it as what happened during the Rising. The view of the rising as an unorganised peasant revolt originated in the years immediately following 1798.

Whelan places the post-rising interpretation into three phases. The years following the Act of Union, when great efforts were made to portray the rising as a sectarian and agrarian revolt of Catholic peasants. This post-rebellion propaganda was in the interest of a British government anxious

to detach the Ulster Presbyterians from their anti-establishment stance and to diminish the threat of an emerging democratic movement.

This view of the rising was given weight by the less radical wing of the United Irishmen who played down their role in organising the rebellion, as in the accounts of Edward Hay, Thomas Cloney, Joseph Holt and William Farrell. However in stating this, Whelan fails to acknowledge the state of fear and paranoia prevailing in Ireland following the rising, when it was seen as extremely dangerous to be linked in any way with the rising, both for your family and yourself.

## CASUALTY FIGURES

As to the alleged brutality of the Wexford insurgents and the United Irish movement Whelan points out the overall casualty figures for the rising clearly shows where the balance of violence lay. Of 20,000 casualties nationwide, a maximum of 3,000 were inflicted by the United

Irishmen.

Kevin Whelan points out that the United Irishmen were at pains to distinguish between loyalists, ie politically active Protestants who had joined the yeomanry or the Orange Order and neutrals such as liberal Protestants and Quakers.

Edward Roche's proclamation after the United Irishmen had taken Wexford town promised "to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us". Sectarian incidents such as Scullabogue and Wexford bridge occurred only after the authority of the United Irish leadership had broken down.

The second phase in the interpretation of the rising came in the 1840s with the writings of Thomas Davis, RM Madden and Luke Cullen being more willing to acknowledge the revolutionary and Republican principles of the United Irishmen which inspired the rising.

The third phase came from the Catholic church in the 1870s. Caught up in a campaign of anti-Fenian hysteria it was anxious to distance 1798 from any links with the Fenian Brotherhood. Fr Patrick Kavanagh's book *The Wexford Rebellion* has left us with what is to a great extent the prevailing view of the rising, that of a Catholic crusade for faith and fatherland, with little or no United Irish influence.

The other essays in the book including "The Battle of Oulart Hill: context and strategy" by Brian Cleary and "The military planning of the 1798

Rebellion in Wexford" by Daniel Gahan all point to the organised nature of the rising and to the fact that the leadership structure remained almost intact in the months leading up to the rising despite the roundups in Dublin.

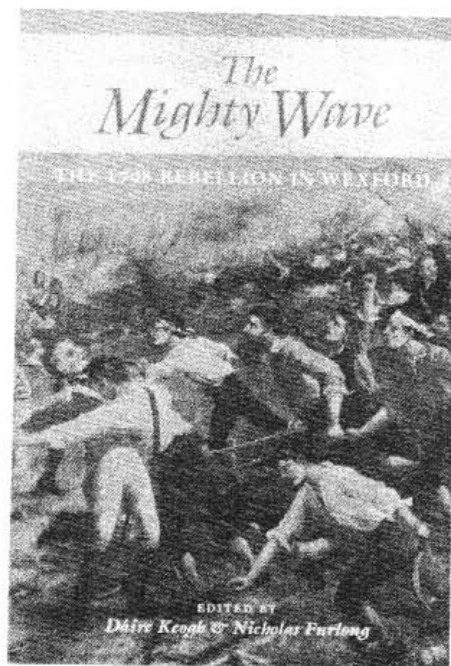
## VITAL WITNESS

A vital witness is quoted by Thomas Bartlett in his contribution "Miles Byrne: United Irishman, Irish exile and Beau Sabreur". Byrne, a veteran of the rising in Wexford and of Emmet's Rebellion of 1803, following which he was to have a distinguished military career in the French army, gave the lie in his memoirs to any notion that the Wexford rising was not organised and planned. Byrne's memoirs, written from the perspective of a youthful insurgent, as an Irish exile and especially as a military veteran, give them a unique value.

This collection of interesting and thought-provoking essays provides the basis for further study of this seminal event in Irish revolutionary history and helps to reclaim its proud democratic principles for the people of Ireland.

## EMOTIVE EFFECT

1798 continues to have an emotive effect in the Ireland of the 1990s, evidenced only this summer when the Wexford Senior Hurling manager Liam Griffen evoked



the memory of the Wexford Pikemen to encourage his charges to greater efforts on the hurling field.

As we approach the bicentenary of the 1798 rising we need, as Kevin Whelan writes, "to constantly adhere to the international perspective of the United Irishmen - to link Bunker Hill, the Bastille and Boolavogue, to stress the

enduring links which '98 forged with America, France and Australia.

We need to constantly stress that 1798 in Wexford was not cabbage patch skirmishes, but part of a national campaign indelibly linked to what happened elsewhere - an Irish echo of the distant drums of the Atlantic revolution."

— Deasún Ó Daltuín

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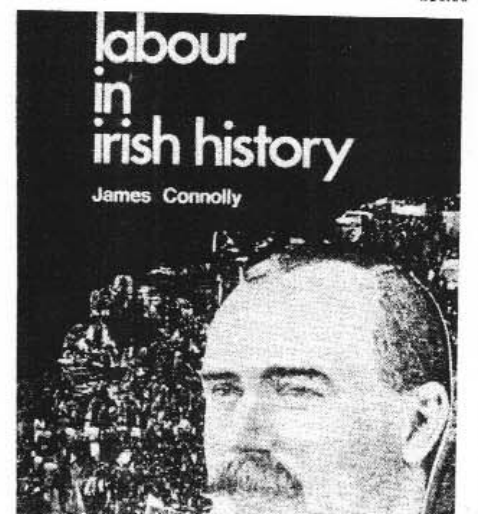
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## A SILENT PEOPLE NO LONGER

Achara

Are you Liverpool Irish? Are you descended from Irish Famine refugees and the vanquished of land clearance of the 1900s in Ireland?

Legal moved are to be taken to demand from the present British government through the European Court financial reparation from the immense degradation, death and suffering that was inflicted on your forebears through forced starvation and forced exile. You owe your life to their struggle.

Similar cases on behalf of the native American, the Afro American and Australian Aborigine are now going through the courts of those respective countries. In some cases large cash payments have been won, and land rights claimed back from settlers. We mean to target this also at British aristocratic land owners in Ireland.

Governments must be made accountable and pay for their actions whether in the short term or the long term. Why should we pay with our lives?

We need as many cash reparation claimants as possible. We need you to contact and put under pressure councillors and MPs. Contact media outlets with this just demand.

We need you to contact us at James Larkin Society, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69, for future meeting dates/activities, organise claims.

Hit the state where it hurts most: in the pocket. Help us give them a bit of stick.

Help us give voice to those that perished and suffered so unjustly at the hands of the British.

We would like to know of other groups in Ireland or across the world with similar aims?

HUGHHYLAND  
James Larkin Society

## BRITISH ARE NOT SERIOUS ABOUT PEACE

Achara

"They tell you that it is inevitable that the war against British rule will be brought down. They deliberately refer that the present leadership of Sinn Féin and the IRA are intent on edging a constitutional path. Shame, shame, shame. Don't

walk away from the struggle. We will lead you to the Republic."

Some of you may remember the above rhetoric of Martin McGuinness and his ilk at the 1986 Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. Some of you may not. But one thing remains certain, and that is that McGuinness will look



\* Refusing to be herded into the arms of Leinster House and Stormont: delegates at the 1986 Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin voting to retain the Republican principle of abstention from partition assemblies, north and south.

back in anguish at the above statement (ie that it "holds in all circumstances").

The Provisionals' political wing may wish to bury and forget about the events of November 1986. But it is vital that they are made to recall the "sophistry and illusion" which they poured on the delegates at the aforementioned gathering.

Adams and McGuinness have neither led the Irish people to the Republic nor have they led them on the road to peace. Instead they have herded their followers into the arms of Leinster House and Stormont.

The Stormont talks which the Provisionals demand access to are not about bringing peace to Ireland. They are merely about realigning and redefining the conditions and grounds upon which the next phase of war shall occur.

The British government are not serious about peace, and those who seek to build such an entity without providing an avenue for a British withdrawal are not serious either.

Gerry Adams may whine in self-righteous pain regarding "British bad faith". But the fact remains that real peace was never on offer, as the vital factor "justice" was never provided for.

The Provisionals may wait for a change of

government at Westminster. They may pin their hopes on Tony Blair's "New Labour Party" but even if they were to wait for Screaming Lord Sutch and his Raving Monster Looney Party to come to power, peace would never emerge.

Peace will never emerge from within the constitutional framework of the Six Counties. National self-determination for the entire island of Ireland within the context of a British withdrawal is the only true way forward. Shopping and buying anything less only sells out the nationalist people of Ireland.

But then again some people will buy any old junk once it is repackaged and labelled.

PAUL FINN  
Waterford

## GRAVES OF PATRIOT DEAD

Achara

The National Graves Association is an autonomous body not affiliated to any political party or group.

The National Graves Association has members in every county throughout

Ireland. If any of your readers are interested in becoming an associate member, why not contact the address below.

Associated members pay a small annual membership fee. Members can avail of our special rate tours which cover places of historic interest throughout Ireland.

The Association's aims have always been:

1. To restore, where necessary, and maintain fittingly, the graves and memorials of our patriot dead of every generation.

2. To commemorate those who died in the cause of Irish freedom.

3. To compile a list of such graves and memorials.

Associate members can also maintain graves, memorials, plots, plaques and wayside crosses with the permission from the registered office. No person has the authority to collect or raise money on behalf of the National Graves Association, unless authorised by the registered office. The Association is a non-sectarian body.

Any queries regarding the National Graves Association should be addressed to the Rúnai at their registered office.

MNÍCHEARNAIGH  
74 Dame Street  
Dublin 2

## STALINISM OR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM?

Achara

Nollaig Ó Gadhra's commentary in last month's

which eventually led to the collapse of socialism in the USSR. Could Gorbachev and his "market socialism" have taken Russia from a feudal relic through collectivisation and industrialisation to the defeat of the Nazis in less than three decades?

Finally, what of Ó Gadhra's "democratic socialism". Well who remembers much of Proudhon or Bakunin or indeed William Walker? But maybe like the old woman watching the military parade "Everyone's out of step except my Johnny..."

I wonder will the "educational and intellectual injustice" of Irish revolutionaries not having Marx and Engels' extensive writings on Ireland be remedied by Irish Freedom Press stocking the same?

MICHAEL  
CUNNINGHAM  
Australia

## WHITE CROSSES APPEAL

Achara

The Kerry Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin is at the moment in the process of repairing/replacing all the white crosses that mark the places where the noble soldiers of the Republic were done to death, either by the Black-and-Tans, Free Staters or by any other forces used by the invader.

We are sure that people who have read Dorothy Macardle's *Tragedies of Kerry*, or anyone who has travelled around Kerry, from Ballyseedy to Cahersiveen, from Glencar to Dingle or from Ballylongford to Banna Strand, would have these crosses.

They stand in silent witness to the crimes that were committed against the soldiers of the Republic, and while these crosses stand, no one can forget or deny the evil deeds that were done in Kerry.

These crosses are now in urgent need of repair/replacement. Any donation no matter how small would be greatly appreciated to help keep down costs. Receipts will only be issued on request. All donations can be sent to:

Maurice Dowling  
Mounthawk  
Tralee  
Co Kerry.

MATT LEEN  
Cathaoirleach  
Kerry Comhairle Ceantair  
Republican Sinn Féin

SAOIRSE on democratic socialism, Marx and Stalinism should not pass without reply.

While Ó Gadhra relegates Marx to the position of a mere historian this contrasts with Connolly's description of Marx as "the greatest of modern thinkers" and the devotion of millions of oppressed people worldwide to parties based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This is not out of reverence for dry scholastic detail but because of the profoundly scientific nature of the Marxist analysis of economics, politics and culture, which is of the greatest practical importance in their lives. From Kurdistan's PKK to Nepal, India and (God forbid) even Russia, Marxism is not "detested" but is increasingly gaining more adherents.

Regarding Ó Gadhra's use of the *Time* magazine catchphrase of the "Stalinist nightmare" it is interesting to note that those most often described as Stalinist were his greatest enemies.

Namely, those leaders of the USSR from Krushchev to Gorbachev who adopted revisionist practices in the system of economic accounting and in international relations



## Our links with other anti-colonial struggles

**A READER of mixed Irish/Asian descent writes further about Shaheed Udhham Singh, who took revenge for the Amritsar Massacre by assassinating Sir Michael O'Dwyer in London on March 13, 1940:**

IN THE August edition of SAOIRSE, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh asked "How is the brave Udhham Singh remembered?" I am pleased to say that Udhham Singh is remembered very ardently by many members of the Indian Community in Britain.

Every year in July there is a conference in memory of Udhham Singh organised by the Indian Workers' Association, this year, on July 31 an estimated six hundred people attended. In Handsworth, Birmingham, the Shaheed Udhham Singh Centre gives local people advice on questions such as immigration and welfare rights, and helps organise campaigns against racial harassment, deportations etc.

Since 1978, there has been a campaign to release the papers pertaining to Udhham Singh's arrest, trial and execution, and in March of this year the Home Secretary agreed to release the relevant papers. Some of the papers are available for public inspection at the Shaheed Udhham Singh Trust Office, at 346, Soho Road, Handsworth, Birmingham, B21. The trust is hoping to get all the papers released by the end of this year.

Reading through some of the papers relating to Udhham Singh's trial, I was struck by the similarities of experience that Udhham Singh suffered and what many Irish Republicans have gone through.

Udhham Singh was an ordinary man imbued with an extraordinary passion in his hatred for British Imperialism, which inspired him to act in a selfless way.

I was most moved when I read through Udhham Singh's final statement, after the judge asked him if he had anything to say as to why sentence should not be passed; despite Udhham Singh's relatively poor English, he was determined to get his point across.

Facing the judge he exclaimed: "I say down with British Imperialism. You say India do not have peace. We have only slavery. Generations of so-called civilisation have brought for us everything filthy and degenerating known to the human race. All you have to do is read your own history. If you have any human decency about you, you should die with shame. The brutality and blood thirsty way in which the so-called intellectuals, who call themselves rulers of civilisation in the world are of bastard blood."

The judge then intervened, saying he wasn't going to listen to a political speech, Udhham Singh then shouted: "... I do not care about sentence of death. It means nothing at all. I do not care about dying of anything. I do not worry about it at all. I am dying for a purpose."

Thumping the rail of the dock he exclaimed, "We are all suffering from the British Empire." He continued more quietly, "I am not afraid to die, I am proud to die, to have to free my native land and I hope that when I am gone - I hope that in my place will come thousands of my countrymen to drive you dirty dogs out, to free my country..."

"... I am standing before an English jury. I am in an English court. You people go to India and when you come back you are given a prize and put in the House of Commons. We come to England and we are sentenced to death... There comes a time when you will be cleaned out of India. All your British Imperialism will be smashed..."

"... Machine guns on the streets of India mow down thousands of poor women and children wherever your so-called flag of democracy and Christianity flies."

Your conduct... I am talking about the British Government. I have nothing against the English people at all... I have great sympathy with the workers of England. I am against the Imperialist Government..."

The judge interrupted Udhham Singh several times, and Singh eventually finished with "... You ask me what I have to say. I am saying it. Because you people are dirty. You do not want to hear from us what you are doing in India." Thrusting his glasses back into his pocket, Udhham Singh exclaimed three words in Hindustani and then shouted, "Down with British Imperialism! Down with British dirty dogs!"

As he turned to leave the dock, the accused spat across the solicitors' table.

After Singh had left the dock, the judge, being the true upholder of the British Democratic tradition turned to the press and said, "I give a direction to the Press not to report any of the statement made by the accused in the dock. You understand, members of the Press?"

One activist in the Birmingham Asian community said that the rumour is that Udhham Singh obtained his gun for killing O'Dwyer from the IRA, however, this was not substantiated. A book on Shaheed Udhham Singh is in the process of being written, and any further information can be obtained from the Shaheed Udhham Singh Welfare Trust (address above).

Finally, I think it is uplifting and inspiring to read about other struggles against British Imperialism, and I hope that your paper will continue to give coverage to such topics, especially in a period in Ireland when racism is raising its ugly head (just listening to the coverage given on the Pat Kenny show to racist comments during the week of September 30). It is important for Republicans to keep the perspective of our common links with other anti-colonial struggles, and to keep emphasising our common links, and learning from each other.

The following was written, with the photograph above, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the execution of Udhham Singh in 1990.

On the 13 March 1940 Shaheed Udhham Singh avenged the



• Shaheed Udhham Singh under arrest at Caxton Hall on March 13, 1940 after assassinating the British colonialist Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

massacre of Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar. At a meeting in Caxton Hall, London, in the presence of 200 people, he fired six shots, killing Sir Michael O'Dwyer, former Lieutenant Governor of Punjab. Three prominent, notorious colonists, Lord Zetland, Sir Louis Dane and Lord Lamington were wounded.

On arrest, Shaheed Udhham Singh, gave his name as [Ram Mohammed Singh Azad demonstrating the unity of the people of India from all religions and faiths and for the independence of the country.

At his trial at the Old Bailey Law Courts in London, Shaheed Udhham Singh said, "I am not scared of death, I have seen my people starving in India under British rule. I have protested against this. It was my duty. What greater honour could be bestowed upon me than death for the sake of my Motherland?"

On the 31st July 1940 Shaheed Udhham Singh was hanged in Pentonville prison, London.

The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre took place on the 13th April 1919, where 20,000 unarmed workers and peasants had gathered for a peaceful rally to protest against the British repression in India. Without warning troops under the command of General R E Dyer opened fire indiscriminately. Over 2,000 people were killed and wounded.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Shaheed Udhham Singh's Martyrdom, Indian Workers Association of Great Britain calls upon all people of different religions, faiths and beliefs to strive for unity and struggle against the evil forces of racism, fascism and communalism.

Published by the Indian Workers Association (GB) 346, Soho Road, Handsworth, Birmingham Tel: 021 551 4679.

## Palme murder inquiry detectives fly to South Africa to investigate fresh leads

THE police investigation into the 10-year-old unsolved murder of Olaf Palme has taken a dramatic new turn following claims that the former Social Democratic prime minister was assassinated by South Africa's former apartheid regime.

The allegations that Palme was killed by South African security services were made of an apartheid era hit squad, Eugene de Kock, who told a Pretoria court that a former South African spy had co-ordinated the mission to kill Palme, an operation codenamed "Long Reach". Swedish newspapers hailed the claim as one of the most significant developments in the case since Palme was shot in the back by a lone gunman on a Stockholm street as he walked home from the cinema with his wife in February 1986.

Sweden's chief state prosecutor, Jan Danielsson, and the detective leading the murder inquiry, Hans Olvebro, are in South Africa attempting to verify de Kock's version of events. The foreign minister, Lena Hjelm-Wallen, will also travel to the republic next week on a previously scheduled visit and is due to raise the matter with government officials.

In the past, police inquiries have filtered a wide variety of

theories, among them the possibility that Palme was killed by foreign interests. But efforts in recent years have crystallised around a belief that the gunman acted alone.

Some detectives still believe the most likely culprit to be Christer Pettersson, a petty criminal who was convicted of the murder largely on evidence from Palme's widow. He was later acquitted on appeal.

But the case against Pettersson has always suffered from one key weakness, the lack of a credible motive. Palme was an outspoken critic of South Africa under apartheid and under his leadership Sweden channelled substantial funds to the black resistance organisation, the African National Congress.

De Kock, who has been convicted of six murders, offered the confession in mitigation against his pending sentence. He claimed in an interview Aftonbladet that the South Africans had enlisted a Swedish assassin who was now living in Turkey.

The claims were treated sceptically at first by Swedish police, whose inaction was underlined by the fact that Swedish

newspapers and television launched a major news-gathering operation resulting in a string of prominent interviews with South Africans thought to have knowledge of the killing.

A series of editorials attacking the police's lack of urgency resulted in justice minister Laila Freivalds summoning inquiry leader Olvebro to explain the way the organisation was being conducted. It emerged that the police had received evidence of a South African link in March 1986, less than a month after Palme's killing.

## Labour takes power in Malta

IN a resounding victory the staunch pro-sovereignty Labour Party was confirmed victorious in Malta's general election on Monday, October 28. The election brought a record turnout with 97.16% of voters taking part.

Labour Party leader Alfred Sant stressed his party's commitment to pulling Malta out of NATO's Partnership for Peace programme and to scrapping Malta's application for EU membership, both policies being pursued by the ruling Nationalist Party. According to Fenech Adami, the Nationalist Party leader, "Europe is the only way Malta can go, in our own best interests". He sees Malta being ready for membership in 1998.

Alternatively, Labour seeks "a special relationship with the EU" and "positive neutrality" as best suited to the island's needs. The party warned of Malta being turned back into a fortress island if it became part of the NATO military bloc.

## Nicaraguan election win by right-winger

Preliminary results from Nicaragua's October national elections showed former Managua mayor Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo of the right-wing Liberal Alliance winning the presidency in the first round with 811,628 votes, 49.3% of the valid votes.

The results, released by the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE) with 87.48% of the vote tallied, gave former president Daniel Ortega Saavedra of the leftist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) second place with 626,644 votes (38.1%); Guillermo Antonio Osorio of the evangelical Nicaraguan Christian Path (CCN) was a distant third with 67,955 votes (4.1%), followed by Conservative Party of Nicaragua (PCN) candidate Noel Vidaurre Arguello with 37,826 (2.3%).

Turnout was over 80%. The voting was much closer to the predictions of the opinion than in the last elections, when Ortega lost to current president Violeta Barrios Chamorro in 1990 by about 41% to 55%.

Liberal Alliance candidates for deputy in the National Assembly won 44 seats, according to the CSE count, followed by the FSLN with 37; the PCN had three seats, and the other minor parties had nine, making a total of 93.

(Source: Weekly News Update, Nicaraguan Solidarity Network, New York)

# 'RESURGENCE' BANNED IN THE 26 COUNTIES

50  
YEARS  
AGO

THE November-December 1946 issue of the new Republican monthly newspaper **RESURGENCE** was banned by the Free State.

It was accused of strongly criticising in an editorial the arrest, kidnapping across the Border and "trial" before the Military Tribunal of Harry White. According to Bell it was a "scathing attack".

**RESURGENCE**, published following Seán McCaughey's death on hunger and thirst strike the previous May, had lasted only six months. Its banning, the continued denial of political status to the "blanketmen" in Portlaoise and the fate that clearly awaited Harry White indicated that there would be no let-up as regards coercion by the 26-County government of Fianna Fáil.

Its arrogance fifty years ago went beyond just settling old scores. Newspaper criticism of its policies with regard to the Republican Movement would be ruthlessly suppressed.

To give readers the flavour of the time a news report of the banning of **RESURGENCE** is quoted here. It will be remembered that the so-called Emergency declared at the outbreak of WWII had been announced as being officially over at the beginning of September 1946 – even though it was technically retained in law up to 1976.

This report on proceedings in the Dublin High Court is taken from a daily or evening paper at the time:

"The seizure by detectives on Saturday night in premises in Parnell Square, Dublin of copies of the publication **RESURGENCE** had a sequel in the High Court yesterday when Mr Justice Dixon granted a conditional order of attachment against Edmund Saul, proprietor of the Frederick Press, Frederick Lane, Dublin and returnable for Friday next requiring him to show cause why he should not be attached for contempt of court.

"Mr McGonigal, SC who with Mr Murmahan SC and Mr F Sherry (instructed by the Chief State Solicitor) applied for the order, said that the contempt alleged against Mr Saul was contained in the November-December issue of the publication which was printed at the Frederick Press of which he was the sole proprietor.

"The publication contained an editorial entitled Henry White.

## 'UNJUST COMMENTS'

"Having read the editorial which referred to the arrest and trial of Henry White, counsel said: 'Now, those unjust comments upon the Special Criminal Court and its members constitute, in my submission, a serious contempt of Court.'

"Mr Justice Dixon – Contempt of the Special Criminal Court?

"Mr McGonigal – Yes.

"Counsel read an affidavit by Det. Inspector M Wynnes who stated he searched the premises at 9 Parnell Square occupied by an organisation styling itself 'Sinn Féin'.

"He had a search warrant, issued to him under the provisions of the Offences Against the State Act 1939, and found approximately 5,000 copies of **RESURGENCE** which he seized. A number of the copies were wrapped in bundles and addressed and stamped for posting to addresses in Ireland and in one case in the USA.

## '10,000 COPIES'

"Det Thomas Boyle stated in an affidavit that he saw copies of **RESURGENCE** in a newsagent's shop in Parnell Street on Saturday and purchased one. Later in the day he interviewed Mr Saul who told him he had printed the November-December issue.

"On Sunday in the presence of Mr Saul, he interviewed Arthur Ennis, an employee of the Frederick Press. Arthur Ennis handed him what he described as two sheets of 'make-up' consisting of the proofs of the several articles, including the editorial, appearing in the issue. Mr Saul informed him that he had printed and delivered 10,000 copies of the issue.

"Mr McGonigal said the matter was one of urgency. They had only been able to recover 4,000 copies of the total print of 10,000. The seizure, he added, was made because these were seditious documents, not because of the contempt of Court.



• Harry White emerging from a preliminary court hearing at Chancery Place, Dublin, in October 1946, handcuffed, and accompanied by eight armed Branch men.

"Mr Justice Dixon said that, in view of the fact that the trial of Henry White was at present proceeding he would abridge the time for showing cause until Friday next."

Note that the text of the famous editorial was not carried in the press, although it was alleged to be the heart of the matter. Sinn Féin Head-Office was described as "the premises occupied by an organisation styling itself 'Sinn Féin'."

Was the state implying that it was not entitled to the name Sinn Féin, or that it ceased to be Sinn Féin when de Valera and his followers left it 20 years earlier to form Fianna Fáil? (**RESURGENCE** was published by the Seán McCaughey Cumann of Sinn Féin.)

In the circumstances of the time a circulation of 10,000 was impressive but the State contended that the November-December 1946 **RESURGENCE** was a seditious document because it bitterly criticised 26-County Government policy in the Henry White case!

Let it be recorded that the Frederick Press, in all fairness to it, was back printing *An t-Éireannach Aontaithe, the United Irishman*, eighteen months later.

For years from May 1948 it carried out this work. Of course from February of that year Fianna Fáil was gone from office and cooling its heels in opposition.

Meanwhile on November 15 proceedings were initiated in court in Belfast before Lord Justice Andrews for a conditional writ of *Habeas Corpus* which in effect sought the return of Harry White to the Six Counties on the grounds that he would not receive a fair trial by military officers in Dublin, unassisted by a judge advocate, and in the absence of a jury.

White had been kidnapped, his Counsel said, and illegally deported. The application was refused five days later and an appeal was lodged.

Harry considers it noteworthy that both sides in the Belfast court referred constantly "to what is now officially called Northern Ireland as the Six Counties."

But that was before Seán Lemass in 1965 sent his notorious edict down to RTE ordering them to call the Six Counties "Northern Ireland". He had returned from his much-publicised visit to Captain O'Neill in Stormont.

Harry goes on: "The Belfast proceedings were begun as a desperate attempt to bring the case back there where he could not be charged with murder."

But it was not to be. On November 18, the Military Tribunal fixed Tuesday, December 3 as the date for the "trial" to begin. Coogan says (p.265) that "the IRA gained useful publicity from the trial of Harry White."

A further instalment from the Labour Party report, which became its official policy, on conditions in Portlaoise Prison in 1946 is now given:

"There are seven persons in Portlaoise who claim political status, ie Tomás MacCurtain, Liam

Rice, E Mullen, Smyth, Kerrigan, Murphy and Stewart. We interviewed and talked to all of them and had a particularly full discussion of the prison situation, as it affects them, with Tomás MacCurtain.

"Having refused to wear convict clothes, these men are deprived of what in prison jargon are called 'privileges'. That is to say, they are not permitted –

to exercise in the open air;  
to receive visits from friends;  
the normal facilities for writing and receiving letters accorded to other prisoners.

"Being subject to 'special observation', they are searched in the nude at frequent intervals and their cell light is switched on for a minute or so every fifteen minutes throughout the night. Both these practices are indefensible. An effective search of the person can be made without stripping the body, especially as these men wear only a thin garment made in the form of a smock. The turning on of the cell light each quarter of an hour throughout the night is aggravating – it is switched on only once every two hours in the case of other prisoners.

"Strictly these men are not now in solitary confinement; that phase terminated on 2nd June, 1943. There is no doubt, however, that prior to that date they were subjected to the full rigours of this form of punishment. In Tomás MacCurtain's case, we were informed, it commenced on 24th July, 1940, in Mountjoy Prison and terminated on 2nd June, 1943, ie after he had been two years and eleven months in Portlaoise. On this evidence he was subjected to the punishment of solitary confinement in Mountjoy for five days.

## SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

"As we understand the matter, solitary confinement is a special form of punishment authorised by Prison Rules and inflicted only for breaches of discipline on persons already in lawful custody. Furthermore, it may be inflicted only by order of the Visiting Committee (except for a period of 24 hours) after inquiry on oath into the charge preferred against the prisoner and for repeated offences. What is involved in solitary confinement is this:

- (1) the prisoner is locked into his cell for 24 hours per day;
- (2) he has no contact with any person except a prison official;
- (3) he may not send or receive letters;
- (4) he may not receive visits from friends or from anybody else;
- (5) he cannot get a newspaper;
- (6) he may not go out into the open air; and
- (7) he is not permitted exercise outside his cell.

"According to the statement made to us by Tomás MacCurtain, he was subjected to all these restrictions from July 24th to July 29th 1940, while a prisoner in Mountjoy, before any question arose regarding breaches of prison discipline, or a refusal on his part to wear convict

dress. He further informed us that this was not ordered by the Visiting Committee and that he was not charged before the Committee at any time.

"On his arrival in Portlaoise on 29th July, 1940, MacCurtain states he was deprived of his clothes and issued with a convict outfit, which he refused to wear. As he expressed it 'to hide his nakedness' he covered himself with a prison blanket and continued for a time to dress himself in this fashion. Later, the blanket was converted into a loose-fitting garment which in style resembles a child's smock of a one-piece cotton frock as worn by young girls. It reaches from the neck almost to the knees; the arms and legs are bare. This is the only garment now worn by MacCurtain and his six colleagues.

"These prisoners express themselves as satisfied with the garment mentioned in the absence of more orthodox civilian clothing, but the prison authorities insist that in order to obtain prison 'privileges' they must wear convict dress. This they have refused to do. Hence, they continued to be deprived of all 'privileges' and subjected to solitary confinement until 2nd June, 1943; since that date the punishment has been relaxed to the extent that they are now permitted to exercise in association within the prison for three hours each day except on Sundays or Catholic Holydays; they are allowed to exercise on Bank Holidays for one and a half hours only. During the Whit weekend they were locked in their cells from 4.30 o'clock on Saturday afternoon until 10.30 o'clock on the following Tuesday morning, except for one spell of an hour and a half between 10.30am and 12 noon on Whit Monday. They are not permitted to go out on the prison grounds, they are denied exercise in the open air, they see no visitors, they are permitted only one newspaper per week. Unless they put on convict dress, they are not allowed to attend Mass; three of the seven men concerned temporarily dress in prison clothes in order to attend Mass; the remainder refuse to make any concession to Prison Rules and accordingly are not permitted to assist at Mass.

"We endeavoured to ascertain what, if any, objection (other than insistence on prison discipline) there is to permitting these men take open-air exercise and to attend Mass, clothed as they are in converted blankets. It was represented to us that apart from the obligation there is on prisoners to conform to Prison Rules (which *inter alia* prescribe the wearing of convict dress) serious objection must be taken on two grounds to these men being outside the prison in their improvised raiment, ie

- (1) it would endanger their health;
  - (2) their improvised clothing is immodest.
- (More next month. Refs. *Harry by Harry White; The IRA by TP Coogan; Prisons and Prisoners in Ireland* published by the Labour Party, 1946 and *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell. A newspaper cutting. Dated only "1946", from a Dublin daily or evening paper was quoted.)



# Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

THERE have been rumours surfacing from time to time about US spies operating in nations friendly to the United States.

This question concerns individuals who do not support US-designated policy in a given nation or in a specific region.

Dissidents fear that their role is resisted by the US which supports the government challenged by its opposition. Dissidents believe US agents infiltrate on behalf of the host government passing on intelligence detrimental to them.

The simple answer is yes, of course, the US has many operatives carrying on in friendly countries such as Britain and Ireland. In the case of Irish dissidents (the Republican Movement) the US has assisted the British government by furnishing information obtained from numerous sources.

Spies have a variety of categories and their status is weighed accordingly. Within any US embassy there are personnel among whom are full-time trained professional spies. Also, there are those in a given nation such as Ireland, residents of that nation, who are paid for gathering information. Then, there are those who willingly give information intended to deter or compromise rivals.

This diverse web of contacts allows the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to monitor the heartbeat of the foreign country in order to construct and designate US foreign policy accordingly and to guide or disrupt trends in the target nation. Contacts, conversely, are utilised to

feed information into the same nation to work intelligence both ways.

Information alone is not the only sources of barter used to "control" events in a country. Money, weapons and endless other resources can and are supplied, depending on the constructive need of those designed to perform a service in return for aid.

For example, in the 1980s, the US concocted a scenario whereby the Reagan Administration became embroiled in Nicaragua because, Reagan said, the American hemisphere was under attack by the Communists. It was a rebirth of the Red scare of the 1950s, an extreme right-wing creation.

## SANDINISTAS

To refresh your memory, the Sandinista movement took control of Nicaragua in 1979. The Sandinistas were wanted by the people of Nicaragua, but not by the Reagan Administration, which created a covert operation to arm and supply an army to overthrow the Sandinistas by force.

WHEN the US-backed slaughter got out of hand, the US Congress passed the Boland Law which prohibited aid to the Nicaraguan opposition known as the Contras. Reagan was not to be denied his holy war and was determined to ignore the law.

Reagan created a secret group, an illegal organisation, to obtain funds privately and through illegal CIA contacts. Reagan's wealthy friends gave him money to initiate his project to sustain the nasty little war. President Reagan went into the business of drug trafficking.



CIA operatives flew aircraft into the United States loaded with drugs such as cocaine and heroin which were allocated to drug dealers for sale to and by street gangs who could turn quick dollars.

The money was divided between the drug dealers and the CIA. The CIA used its share to buy weapons for the Contras.

The CIA put the weapons on their planes and delivered them where they were distributed to the CIA-controlled Contra army. The Contra leaders then supplied more drugs to the CIA to repeat the continuing process. The Contra/CIA connection became a prime source for illicit drugs.

I thought the CIA was supposed to stop gun-running and drug-running, not encourage it. The US drug problem today was exacerbated because President Reagan ordered the CIA into the drug business. Reagan is as guilty as the worst imaginable drug baron.

## WAR CRIMINAL

Reagan's dirty little war violated international law and US law making Reagan a war criminal. He had the secret backing of his best political friend, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who had her motives.

Now, returning to the issue of US spies in friendly countries, the CIA

has operatives in US embassies and consulates posing as commercial advisors and in other equitable positions.

The CIA has its spies operating out of Dublin and London and the Consulate in Belfast, in order to monitor the activities of Republican and loyalist groups. Intelligence is shared with MI5.

Gun-running activity by Republican and loyalist armies are monitored by the CIA through international contacts in every country including Libya and Eastern Europe.

Where MI5 operatives may be known to Irish Republicans or at the least suspected, the CIA ones are not so easily ferreted out. Any US embassy officer is a potential spy and it should be so assumed.

IRISH Republicans should monitor the two embassies and their employees and remember the success of the Brits in uncovering arms depots was partially due to the contributions of US operatives. The Republican Movement needs to expand their own contacts in like fashion.

Secondary US operatives include journalists, right-wing religious types soliciting in people's homes. They observe and pass on low-grade information, sometimes innocently, sometimes not.

The dirty question must now be asked based on facts known about the CIA and that is its probable involvement with drug gangs in Britain and Ireland.

Dirty tricks by the British in Ireland have been well exposed and part of that has been using drug gangs to destabilise Ireland.

TRACING drug trafficking in Ireland to the 1980s shows a growth industry and it was part of Thatcher's plan to ruin Ireland

which she despises. She solicited the assistance of Ronald Reagan knowing well what he had done in Nicaragua. The idea was to pose an internal threat to the IRA and to create rivals for community power.

Today in Ireland, the Republican Movement has to fight drugs in the community as well as fight the British army. The Thatcher strategy to tear down Irish society has had its effect.

It is well known that the British and now American covert operations involved drug trafficking. It was initiated as a tactic by the British in the Opium War in China.

The dirty world of espionage is rooted in the conflict in Ireland and it makes sense for MI5 and the CIA to use English and Irish drug gangs for information on arms and other matters.

Someone needs to investigate the relation of drug trafficking in Ireland and British and American intelligence agencies. Therein will be found British success in finding arms supplies to the Republican Movement.

The Intelligence community in the US has a life of its own that survives elections, changes in presidents and external pressure. At the top leaders change by appointment, but the operational control that goes on with career spies remains constant and it is married to its British counterpart. That is why despite talk by politicians nothing changes.

Ronald Reagan increased intelligence work to assist the Brits in the Six Counties and drugs are a tool as they are in Nicaragua.

The Republican Movement now has two wars, one for national liberation and one to protect against the deterioration of the fabric of Irish society through drugs. Real Republicans will always answer the call.

— Peadar Mac Fhinín

## Pádraig Caomhánach

Tá Pádraig Caomhánach, Gaeilgeoir cruthanta agus Poblachtach dílis, tar-eis bháis. Bhí sé 86 bliain d'aois.

Le deireannai cuirceadh agallamh air le linn clár theilifíse mar gheall ar an gcomra a chuirtear ar shean-daoine agus bhí sé chomh lóga agus gear-chúiseach is a bhí riamh.

B'as Ithéal Féirte dó ó dhúchas. Tháinig sé go Baile Átha Cliath i dtús na daicheadaí agus cheangail le h-Arm

na Poblachta.

Gabhadh é agus sáitheadh isteach sa gCampa Geibhinn ar an gCurraich é. Le linn na mblianta ansin chuir sé snas ar a chuid Ghaeilge agus sheas sé leis an teanga go daingean sa sin amach.

Níor phós Pádraig ariamh cé go mbhíodh sé go sondasach ag na céilithe

i dTeach an Ard-Mhaoir sa bpríomh-chathair i ndeire na ndaicheadaí agus ins na caogaidí.

Sheas sé le Gluaisceacht na Poblachta riamh anall agus le deich mbliain anuas d'fhan sé dílis do Shinn Féin Poblachtach. Chabhair sé go rial le CABHAIR, Coiste Cuidithe na bPríosúnach Poblachtach. Ní raibh sé sásta ariamh glacadh leis an ngradam a thugtar do shean-thionúirí na Gluaisceachta ag dinneáir bliantúil CHABHAIR áfach.

Thángthas aniar aduaidh air ag

deáid chomhórtha an chéid do Chonradh na Gaeilge ag Coláiste Lir sa gCúil, Contae na h-Iarmhí i 1993. Bronnadh Gradam Lir air féin agus ar Ghearáid Ó Maolmíchil gan fógra roimh ré.

Ní mó ná sásta a bhí Pádraig cé gur cheap a raih i láthair go raibh sé tuille go mó aige.

Mar Thuaisceartach labhair sé

amach go lóm díreach i geonai agus nocht a chuid tuairimí go neamhleithscéileach. Duine ar bith a chuala caint uaidh ag Feis bhliantúil na Poblachta nó a léigh na litreacha uaidh sa nuachtán SAOIRSE, thuigfidis sin.

Beannacht dílis Dé ar an am uasal cróga. Leaba i measc na bhFínní go raibh agat, a Phádraig. Cuimhneófar ort.

## Beannachtaí

BEST wishes to John and Jacqueline Foran, Tralee, Co Kerry on their recent marriage. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair.

## Terry Keenan

WIDELY known and respected throughout his native city, Terry Keenan died in the early hours of Friday, September 27 at Alltnagelvin Hospital after a short illness. He was 75 and a soldier of the Irish Republic.

Born just a few years after his famous brother, the hero of the Battle of the Bogside and veteran Republican Seán, James Terence Keenan grew up in a staunchly Republican Derry family. Like another brother Dan, Terry was to follow Seán into the ranks of Óglagh na hÉireann while still a youth. These three inexperienced but courageous and dedicated young men with but a handful of other families of other families such as the Gillespies, Shields and O'Doherty's held up the integrity of the Irish Republican ideal in Derry — keepers of the flame who would not flinch nor falter, retreat or retire before the enemy.

At one point, around 1940, all three brothers were imprisoned in Crumlin Road Jail, where they were when their father, James died. He himself had been a guest of His Majesty for a number of years, and had narrowly escaped the hangman's noose for the shooting of an RIC inspector during the Tan War.

The Keenans were friends and comrades of Tom Williams executed by the British on September 2, 1941, and did time with him in Crumlin Road. His murder affected them all deeply as it did so many Republican POWs

who knew him, and Terry Keenan was not alone in weeping whenever he spoke of the young volunteer in later years.

Terry was also incarcerated on that iron tomb, the *Al Rawdah* which sapped the spirits, health and lives of so many good men, and it left an indelible mark on the life of this quiet and gentle Derryman. Those prison years left Terry steadfast in spirit but shadowed in health and his active involvement was limited when the struggle was renewed by a later generation.

After funeral Mass at St Columba's, Long Tower on the Sunday, his coffin was draped with the national flag and he was laid to rest in the City Cemetery. Republican Sinn Féin was represented at the funeral.

On that day someone quipped on the passing of the 'Last of the Mohicans', but while Terry may well have been the last of his name and generation, his soul and the soul of Republican Derry shall not rest until freedom is won. The Keenans are dead. Long live the Keenans. And long live the Irish Republic.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam uasal.

## Comhbhrón

GRIFFIN, Cahersiveen Republicans extend their sincere sympathy to the family and relatives of John Griffin, Carlan, who died recently, and especially to his six children. RIP John was a regular attendee at the Easter and other Republican Commemorations. He was a nephew of John Clifford shot by Free State firing squad in Tralee Jail on January 20th, 1923, their 36th 'official' execution. From Cumann Mairice O'Neill, Republican Sinn Féin, Cahersiveen.

KENNEDY, Sincere sympathy is expressed to Paddy Kennedy, The Square, Claremorris, Co Mayo on the death of his brother Mick on October 3. From Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Roscommon and the staff of SAOIRSE.

LEONARD, Sincere sympathy is offered to Séamus Leonard, Dublin and Fermanagh on the death of his wife Mary on October 21. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam. From the Liam Mellowes Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Dublin.

LEONARD, Deepest sympathy to Séamus Leonard, Dublin and Fermanagh, on the death of his wife Mary. From Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath, Republican Sinn Féin.

LEONARD, Deepest sympathy is extended to Séamus Leonard and family, Dublin and Fermanagh, on the death of his wife Mary from the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin.

SPELLACY, Republican Sinn Féin,

Limerick extend deepest sympathy to Breda Spellacy on the death of her mother, Bridget.

SPELLACY, Deepest sympathy to Breda Spellacy on the death of her mother Bridget. From the Republican Movement, Limerick.

SPELLACY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Breda Spellacy on the death of her mother from the Republican POWs, Limerick jail.

SPELLACY, Deepest sympathy to Breda Spellacy on the death of her mother Bridget. From Johnny O'Brien, Limerick.

STANLEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Paul Stanley, sisters and brother on the death on October 27 of May Stanley of Staffan, County Kildare. From Kildare Republican Sinn Féin.

TRACY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Jimmi Tracy and the family of Seán Tracy (aged 72 years) Ballymun, Dublin and formerly of the Antrim Road, Belfast, whose death occurred during October. A former engineer with Dublin County Council he gave sterling service to the movement and for prisoners in the '70s and '80s. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam. From the staff of an Ard-Oifig, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

WOODLAND, Deepest sympathy is extended to Peter Woodland and the Woodland family. From Joe and Nora Lynch and family, Limerick.

WOODLAND, Deepest sympathy to Peter Woodland and the Woodland family. From Dickie and Joe, Republican POWs, Limerick jail.

WOODLAND, Deepest sympathy to Peter Woodland and the Woodland family. From the Republican POWs, Limerick jail. Limerick.

VOTES of sympathy to the following families from the Kerry Comhairle

Ceantair and from the Rice/Sheehy Cumann, Tralee: The family of Con Casey, Tralee; the family of Mrs Coffey, Killarney; Ó Dálaigh family, the Spa, Tralee on the death of their mother.

VOTES of sympathy passed by an Ard-Chomhairle at its October meeting: Joe Murphy, Ballinlough on the death of his uncle Johnny; Peter Gilmartin, Brandra, Bundoran on the death of his father James; Carmel Doyle and family, Sandford, Co Dublin on the death of her husband Breen; the Keenan family, Derry on the death of Terry, brother of the late Seán Keenan.

## I gCuimhne

CROSSBY — 25th anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Michael Crossby, 1st Battalion, North Armagh Brigade Óglagh na hÉireann who died on active service 22nd November, 1971. Always remembered by his friends Nuala, Seán and Fergal, Monaghan. Seán Óg, POW Limerick Prison.

EDENTUBBER Martyrs — 39th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Paddy Farle, George Keegan and the Edentubber Martyrs. Killed in action November 11, 1957. From the Pádraig Ó Pearraill Cumann, Loch Garman.

MAC CURTÁIN — 2nd Anniversary. In memoriam Tomás Mac Curtáin, former OC Cork No 1 Brigade, Irish Republican Army in proud succession to his martyred father Tomás Mac Curtáin and Terence MacSwiney who died uncompromising to the end. A great privilege to have shared his hopes and dreams for a free and independent Ireland for many long and difficult years. In proud remembrance. From the staff of an Ard-Oifig, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

**H**OW Basher Bates found God and earned freedom. Having escaped negative for BSE (Mad Cow Disease, Basher is to be released from prison.

Other loyalists will follow shortly. It appears that since CJD in humans is directly associated with the eating of British beef products then the risk of this human form of BSE is a loyalists proves they have overcome their bloodlust...

Enough of the technical stuff. In plain man's language it is clear that the loyalist killers have decided it's time they were out of jail and a compliant British government has agreed. Meanwhile nationalists

sentenced to life imprisonment are being told it means just that. "For the rest of your natural life means for the rest of your natural life."

Such are the vagaries of parity of esteem "and equality of treatment" in fact it is rumoured that a new word has entered both the English and Irish language.

"Getstuffedpaddy" the precise definition of this word has yet to be formulated in full — however, Thesauruses list it with "Ha, ha — usable — compliant" and "an endangered species".

**A**S is my wont I applied to UVF bosses for permission to interview

Basher Bates immediately. Their reply reads as follows.

"Dear Mr Mac Cool. Regarding your application to meet former, that is, as once was but now isn't UVF Commander Basher Bates we regret to inform you that he is at prayer meeting until he is released from jail. You may of course interview him after his release at the 'Heroes of Ulster' bar, Shankill Road, Belfast.

Undeterred by this I arrived at Long Kesh Prison. I had disguised myself as a minister of the faith. Basher was greatly impressed by this.

"Great get up," he said. "I like the trousers creased sharp as a knife, and I should know all about knives — not that I

like to gloat though — of course I chopped up quite a few for God and Ulster but I'm not a man to boast..."

"Basher," I asked directly. "What is the meaning of life?" He considered for quite a while.

"Ask me something I know about," he said petulantly.

"Got any tips on the Grand National," I asked.

"OK, you've got me," he gasped. "I can't take it anymore. What do you really want to know?"

**S**ATISFIED that the interrogation method had worked once again I stared him directly in the eyes and asked.

"Basher, do you believe in God?"

"Course I do," he answered cheerfully. "If there was no God we wouldn't have beat the Provies and I wouldn't be getting out of prison would I?"

"Do you know God's name?" I asked tentatively.

"Course I do," he answered equally cheerfully.

"Would you tell me his name?" he answered.

"You know I can't do that," he answered.

"Why not?" I asked.

"Cause he lives on the Falls Road and I can't tell my mates in here or they wouldn't believe me... I mean they wouldn't

listen to my sermons if they knew that..."

There it was, the opportunity of a lifetime, the opportunity to interview God! Yet I hesitated. It wasn't that I didn't believe Basher Bates — from his point of view he was probably right.

**N**O, no, it wasn't just that God might have presented me with his biography "Beef or the Con". I'd already met with Basher Bates and the retired butchers — BSE and CJD — what is the moon? Some days are like that. They start out full of promise and then they ended up on the back page of a newspaper...

— Mac Cool

## Cabhair



## Support the Republican Prisoners in Limerick Jail

NEW T-shirt with the logo shown above has been produced by CABHAIR (Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund). Printed in black and green on a white T-shirt, price £5 plus post and packing, and available now from CABHAIR, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1.

## WHAT THEY SAID

[Provisional] Sinn Féin's insistence on all-party talks as a way to reach a settlement here was at best naive and at worst stupid.

— Andersonstown News (Belfast) editorial, quoted in the November 1996 edition of *Saoirse*, published by the Information on Ireland group in New Zealand.

Michael Stone and Johnny Adair: the unsung heroes of the peace process.

— Mo Mowlam, British Labour Party spokesperson on the Six Counties, showing how out of touch with reality she is after visiting the loyalist death-squad killers in Long Kesh, October 14, 1996.

The threat of loyalist violence works as regards people in the 26 Counties.

— Fintan O'Toole, *Counterpoint*, UTV, October 17, 1996. Whatever about the people, it certainly works as regards Leinster House politicians.

The Stormont talks were set up by the two governments to establish what minimum the Provisionals would accept to join in and then get the

unionists to accept that minimum.

— Bob McCartney of the UK Unionist Party, *Counterpoint*, UTV, October 17, 1996.

Last month Mr Flanagan (the new RUC Chief Constable) spoke of a genuine drive for peace within the upper echelons of the republican movement, and asserted that the existence of the IRA as an organisation was a prerequisite for a stable peace. He warned that a greater risk to peace came from any fragmentation of those groups.

— Irish News report, October 18, 1996.

The [Provisional] IRA has certainly altered irrevocably when former diehard opponents want it to stay around to help the peace.

— Fortnight (October 1996) political columnist Suzanne Breen commenting on Ronnie Flanagan's statement.

He is leading the [Provisional] IRA to its last walk.

— Fortnight (October 1996) political columnist Suzanne Breen on Gerry Adams.

When EMU (European Monetary Union) arrives we won't have any say in the quantity of money being spent, only the quality we get for the money.

— Fine Gael retiring TD Jim Mitchell on the lack of democracy involved in the EU and its plans for a single

European currency, *RTE Radio 1* interview, October 18, 1996.

Sinn Féin, despite a sweeping victory over the "legitimate constitutional party" was still somehow not "legitimate". The Irish are not to be allowed, apparently, to determine who their "legitimate" representatives are. The English will decide that.

The real issue at stake is the legitimacy of an Irish revolt against British forces. The *Telegraph* mind cannot concede that right.

— Joe Lee on British perceptions of Ireland brought to the surface by newspaper commentary on the Michael Collins film, *Sunday Tribune*, October 20, 1996.

Because in Anglo-Irish relations, it is only Anglo violence that is legitimate. Irish violence is by definition, terrorist.

— Joe Lee.

The reason I'm here is to keep the peace.

— Martin McGuinness, leading Provisional, explaining his role at a nationalist protest against an Apprentice Boys march in Derry, *Irish Times*, October 21, 1996.

Fifteen to 20 per cent of Catholics are pure rebels who can never be dealt with and must be defeated.

— David Burnside, 'Public Relations Consultant', speaking at the Ulster Unionist Party conference in Ballymena, *Irish Times*, October 21, 1996.

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