

# SAOIRSE

## IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 71 MÁRTA - MARCH 1993 40p (Britain 45p, USA \$24 per year)

*Appeasement of British rule is useless*

# Futile exercise on North

ARTICLES Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution were never anything more than a smokescreen at best to cover the lack of policy of de Valera, the constitution's architect and the bankruptcy of his own and successive 26-County administrations when addressing the question of Irish unity and independence.

While Article Two correctly states the "national territory" to be the whole island of Ireland, Article Three confines the operation of the Dublin government's rule to the same area as the Free State, ie the 26 Counties.

Mr Haughey saw these articles being changed in the context of a compromise "settlement" with the British government which included yet another Stomton, Albert Reynolds at Bodenstown in October that they were "not for sale" although they had already, in Article Three, sold out the Six Counties.

### OFFICE

Then Dick Spring as Reynolds' Deputy and Minister for Foreign Affairs said within days of securing office that there would be "constitutional change" in this regard. Six weeks later he was saying that Articles Two and Three "were not cast in bronze".

Another Labour minister

Ruairi Quinn said at the same time in *Fortnight* magazine that the Articles should be replaced by something "aspirational", that the nationalist people of the Six Counties can be sold out completely and formally in the here and now.

These statements came on the heels of Albert Reynolds' words to a meeting in Wexford on February 28. "A balanced accommodation of constitutional issues" would be necessary, he said and official sources said he was particularly keen to use the phrase "an agreed Ireland". This is John Hume's term, of course, and can mean just about anything.

The same official sources indicated, according to the *Irish Times* of March 1, that "the speech was in line with the continuing policy of wooing the Unionists in a manner similar to the *ostpolitik* overtures from the West Germans

to their eastern neighbours in the German Democratic Republic before the removal of the Berlin Wall".

### BASIC LAW

But *The Basic Law* for the Federal Republic of Germany (1949) - popularly known as West Germany - Article 23 simply lists the territory in Laender or states where the Basic Law or constitution shall apply. Nowhere does it formally recognise the East German state.

Article 23 speaks of "other parts of Germany" and Article 29 (6) mentions "another part of Germany", just as Irish republicans refer to "the Six Counties" and never recognise the Northern Ireland statelet.

The Berlin Wall came down and the East German state fell after more than 40 years when Stalinism collapsed in the Soviet Union and Soviet power or what was left of it *allowed* German reunification to take place.

### COMPROMISE

Unionist reaction to the Fianna Fáil-Labour offer of further compromise was to stone-wall even further. DUP leader Paisley's abusive answer was to call Reynolds "a lying hypo-

cite" while UUP MP for Upper Bann David Trimble said the offers were of "no significance".

He wanted "not may but would or will".

Even a 'constitutional' nationalist such as Fr Denis Faul has already gone on record as saying that even if all constitutional intention of a United Ireland were abandoned finally, the Unionists would advance other demands such as "divorce, abortion or even letting go of the Irish language".

What Republicans offer to the former Unionists in such a situation is direct and immediate access to power in a nine-county Ulster within a New Federal Ireland of four provinces with the British gone home.

They would have provincial, regional and district power in proportion to their numbers with the Nationalists close behind them at Ulster level and within reach of provincial control. Regions and districts would go either way - if present voting patterns persisted - according to local majority.

### GENEROUS

What the Leinster House parties have been and are engaged in is yet another exercise in futility. The Republican plan is imaginative and generous but cannot be implemented until British power goes - as did Soviet power in Germany.

Meanwhile, of course, the British government has a "territorial claim" to the Six Counties under the Government of Ireland Act 1920 and other legislation. Not alone do they have such a claim but unlike the Dublin government they actually exercise jurisdiction there.

With the aid of 30,000 armed personnel they kill Irish citizens directly or through their unofficial death squads every week that passes in support of that territorial claim.

## WEAR AN EASTER LILY



*Honour Ireland's Dead!*

Easter Lilies now available, £17.50 per 1,000. From: Peig King, 29 All Saints Park, Raheny, Dublin 5.

# 410,209 Unemployed 'Good Europeans'?

THE effects of the EC Single Market and Maastricht which were sold to the people as being for our benefit continue to be felt at the highest level with jacked-up interest rates and mortgage repayments, with closures such as Digital and Lapple in Carlow meaning that a total of 410,209 people are now unemployed in the 32 Counties.

Economic opinion appears to be divided now regarding the ERM and the move towards a Single Currency. Prof Michael MacCormac of UCD on February 26 advocated "floating" the punt. Of course Michael Noonan of Fine Gael said next day that such action would mean the end of the ERM and the Maastricht process, while he did advocate another 10 per cent devaluation.

Noonan said further as reported in *The Irish Times* of February 27 that he did not believe that the state had "the expertise to manage a floating currency after 170 years tied to other currencies". A lot of other skills were hired and then learned by the Irish down the years - as long ago as the Shannon hydro-electro scheme.

The technical expertise is available from Norway, Sweden, Finland or Britain all of which have had the experience of a floating currency. Is the nat-

ional inferiority complex really so great Mr Noonan?

### 'BUY IRISH' OUT

Then at a low level there is the experience of a Skibbereen, Co Cork-based firm which tendered recently to the Co Council to supply wheeled garbage bins at £60 each. The Council gave the contract to a German firm which offered to supply the bins at £50 each and the Co Cork firm went out of business. Even within EC rules a package could have been designed to meet this situation but the national inferiority complex bred by the politicians won out.

Then there was the case of the Free State army wanting 18,000 embroidered badges for sleeves, etc. (Of course uniforms are no longer made in the state - the last company making them closed down a few years ago.)

A Co Dublin firm tendered to supply the badges

*Continued on page 7*

## DEATH OF SEÁN KEENAN

AS we went to press we learned the sad news of the death on March 3 of Seán Keenan, Derry, Honorary Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, in Altagevin Hospital, in his native city. He was 78. Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, paid an immediate tribute to Seán Keenan: "He endured a lifetime of struggle for the freedom of Ireland. Seán was interned for a total of 16 years in the Six Counties yet never stood in a court in his life".

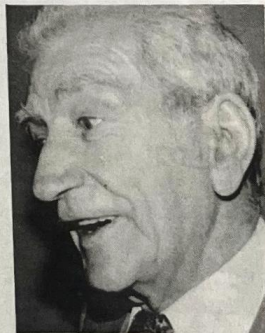
In 1986 he was involved in the walk-out

from the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis when a motion was passed recognising Leinster House and he joined in the re-organisation of Republican Sinn Féin.

In April 1989 he went forward as a Republican Sinn Féin candidate in the Six-County local elections for Derry's Northland district but was refused nomination, along with 22 other candidates, when he would not sign the political test oath introduced by the Thatcher government in Britain. He tore up his nomination papers on the steps of the Derry City offices in protest.

In 1968-71 Seán Keenan was chairman of the Derry Citizens Action Committee. His son, Colm was shot dead by the British army along with another IRA Volunteer, Eugene McGillan, while on patrol in Free Derry on March 14, 1972.

At the time of his son's death Seán



• Seán Keenan

was interned on the prison ship Maidstone. Previous to that he was interned from 1940-45 and again during the 1950s Campaign, when he was OC of the internees in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast. He toured the USA on many occasions in the 1970s and 1980s for the Republican Movement, most recently for the founding of Cumann na Saoirse in 1986-87.

Seán Keenan was married to the late Nancy Ward of Derry who was herself interned in Armagh jail for over three years in the 1940s. She was a sister of Terry Ward, a journalist with the *Irish Press*, and Seán Ward. She died in 1970. Seán Keenan is survived by his daughters Nóra and Róisín and sons Seán and Séamus. To all his family SAOIRSE extends heartfelt sympathy. Ní bheidh a leithéid arís ann.



# UN hears report of British campaign against lawyers

THE report of a recent fact-finding mission to the Six Counties is being put to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights now meeting in Geneva. The New York Lawyers Committee for Human Rights found substantial evidence that for several years before his murder by the UDA in February 1989, lawyer Pat Finucane was a consistent target of British Crown Forces hostility and abuse, including the issuing of death threats against him by RUC detectives.

The 90-page report, launched in Belfast on February 18, states that there is evidence that the British army was complicit in Finucane's murder and that other lawyers representing nationalists are suffering intimidation and systematic harassment. Brian Nelson, the UDA intelligence officer who was an M15 agent, wrote in his diary that he had informed his British "handlers" that a UDA assassin was "showing interest" in Patrick Finucane "some months" before his murder.

The four US lawyers spent a week in the Six Counties at the end of August and the beginning of September, 1992 and the RUC refused to discuss the Patrick Finucane case with them on the grounds that it was ongoing. "If there has been an ongoing investigation, it has been singularly unproductive," the lawyers report said. They called for an independent public inquiry into the British

intimidation of lawyers and criticised emergency powers legislation in the Six Counties.

## HOGG

They said that the then Tory junior minister in the Home Office, Douglas Hogg, should be reprimanded for stating in the British House of Commons less than four weeks before Patrick Finucane was killed that there were a number of lawyers in the Six Counties "unduly sympathetic to the IRA". Typical of the RUC remarks about lawyers to their clients in custody were the following: "Finucane is an IRA man in a suit, another Provie on the payroll", "You must be a Provie bastard because you got one as a solicitor", "That Finucane is a . . . scum bastard".

In an appendix to the lawyers report, the outgoing RUC deputy chief constable Michael McAtamney could only say that it has "so many shortcomings that it did not merit detailed comm-



• Pat Finucane

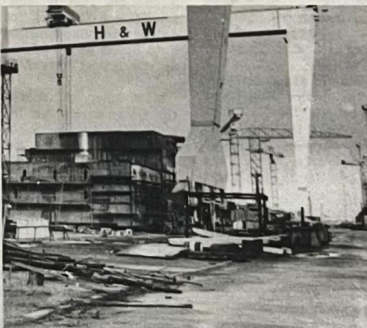
ent". The four lawyers who undertook the fact-finding mission are John J Gibbons, retired chief judge of the US Court of Appeals in New York state; Richard J Hughes, prof-

essor of law at Seton Hall University; Michael Posner, executive director of the Lawyers Committee and Martin Flaherty, associate professor of law at Fordham University.

## HARLAND & WOLFF ARMS FIND

THREE pistols, a sub-machinegun and 1,000 rounds of ammunition were discovered at the Queen's Island complex of Harland & Wolff on Saturday night, February 13. A man was arrested following the find after a fire broke out in a workshop in the shipyard and the RUC were called to investigate. Bullets and part of a gun were found in a scorched locker and in a follow-up search the other weapons and ammunition were found. The RUC have refused to say whether the guns have been linked to loyalist death squad attacks by forensic tests or whether the guns were manufactured in the workshop. The Harland & Wolff shipyard workforce is predominantly loyalist and the workshops there have been used in the past to manufacture sub-machineguns and other weapons.

The find will embarrass the management in its attempts to counter allegations of discrimination in its employment practices. The *Directory of Discrimination* (1991) published figures showing that 95.2 per cent of Harland & Wolff employees were Protestants and 4.8 per cent Catholics. "The shipyard is now in part ownership of the Fred Olsen Shipping Line, Norway. In July 1990 Olsen sent an official visit to the shipyard to inspect a ship under construction for the company. The



• Harland & Wolff shipyard, Belfast.

ship was bedecked from stem to stern with Orange bunting. Management pleaded with the (trade) unions to remove the bunting until after Olsen's visit. This was done and the bunting was restored after Olsen left" (page 20).

## GEARR-SCÉALTA

### US trade union to press Clinton

AN executive board meeting of the American Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees Union (AFSCME), recently adopted the report of a recent three-person delegation to the Six Counties and agreed to press US President Bill Clinton to implement his pre-election pledges on Ireland. The union will support the MacBride Principles on ending job discrimination and will raise human rights issues in the 11 million-strong federation, Public Services International. The team of Dan Donohue, Jack Howard and Frank McAuley reported to the executive board of AFSCME that they got a strong impression that the British government "pursues a repressive policy that affects people living in some areas one-sidedly. In Catholic areas we noted a heavy military presence. By contrast Unionist areas seemed almost free of the police or any overt military presence. Our inference, obviously, had to be that the British government was not acting as an 'honest broker'".

### PEN investigates Michael Hegarty case

THE five-month internment on remand in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast of Michael Hegarty, SAOIRSE reporter and circulation manager, is to be investigated by Playwrights, Editors and Novelists (PEN) the international organisation which concerns itself with freedom of speech violations against media people.

Based in New York City, PEN has been made aware by the Friends of Irish Freedom in Chicago of the circumstances of Michael's arrest, refusal of bail and continuing detention and will be closely monitoring his forthcoming March court appearance. At the time of his arrest at a British Crown Forces road-block on October 16, 1992 Michael Hegarty, (from Clarecastle, Co Clare) was gathering material for an article on the British-backed UVF death squad which has killed at least 27 nationalists in the Mid-Ulster area of the Six Counties since 1989. To date not one person has been charged or convicted in connection with any of these murders. This material was the "evidence" used by the British to place a charge of "possession of information which could be useful to terrorists" against the SAOIRSE worker.

### MacBride passes in New Mexico

THE MacBride Principles were passed by the House of Representatives of the state of New Mexico at the end of February, making it certain to become law providing the state's Governor assents. Fr Seán McManus, President of the Irish National Caucus, said on February 23 that the news was "an appropriate present for the British Prime Minister John Major on the eve of his visit to the White House". The previous week the MacBride Principles were also approved by the City Council of Chicago in a move which was welcomed by the Friends of Irish Freedom in the mid-western city, and by Oliver Kearney of the EQUALITY organisation in Belfast.

### Amnesty call on Carroll killing

IN THE case of the remaining one of the UDR Four in prison, Amnesty International has said that, while it took no position on Neil Latimer's guilt or innocence, the case should be reviewed.

The organisation expressed concern about "police misconduct during the interrogation of all four men and conflicting eyewitness accounts in Latimer's case". It also called for the British Government to set up an investigation into the murder in 1983 of Adrian Carroll, the Armagh nationalist whose shooting was the basis for the charges against the UDR Four.

### Pledge to oppose British royal visits

A member of the British royal family, Princess Anne, paid a flying visit to Dublin on Thursday, February 4 last to attend an international transport conference in Jury's Hotel in Ballsbridge. Her visit was kept secret to the last minute by the Dublin administration, who described it as a "private" visit. However she was pictured in press photographs the following day with Brian Cowen, the 26-County minister for transport, and there was heavy security at the airport, along the route her bomb-proof car (provided by the British Embassy in Dublin) took and in the hotel itself, at great cost to the Irish taxpayer. In a statement on February 4 Republican Sinn Féin described the visit as "surreptitious" and another step in the process of gradually disowning the Nationalist people of the Six Occupied Counties. Active opposition was promised to any future British Royal visits.

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

Ainm . . . . .

Seoladh . . . . .

Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA,  
41 Cé Arann, BÁC 7.

Teil.: 01-729747; Facs: 01-729757  
or contact your local paper seller  
for details.

### Play Your Part !



#### OUR AIMS

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

#### OUR HISTORY

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



THE OPSAHL Commission held 19 days of oral hearings at different venues in the Six Counties during January and February. The hearings were part of the initiative '92 process, ie an independent citizen's inquiry to seek the public's views on breaking the political impasse in the Six Occupied Counties.

Republican Sinn Féin submitted proposals based on the organisation's principles and policy documents to the Commission in November 1992 and on February 23 last Ard Chomhairle member Geraldine Taylor, Belfast, addressed the public session of the hearings, held that day in the city's Old Museum Arts Centre.

She summarised Republican Sinn Féin's views as contained in the written submission and also welcomed in her address the fact that a federal Ireland plan — similar to EIRE NUA — had already been advocated at the hearings by a group of grammar school students from Co. Tyrone.

## REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN ADDRESSES OPSAHL COMMISSION



• Geraldine Taylor

"ON behalf of Republican Sinn Féin I welcome this opportunity to address the Opsahl Commission on our submission, which was received by you in November 1992.

As an All-Ireland organisation Republican Sinn Féin has always sought to promote a political solution to end the conflict here. In *Towards A Peaceful Ireland* (1991) Republican Sinn Féin outlines three practical steps to break the political deadlock.

In summary our proposals seek:

1. The establishment of a Constituent Assembly for the 32 Counties, elected by the people to draft a new Constitution within a six-month period. The agreed Constitution would then be submitted to the people in a referendum;

2. Prior to the setting up of the Assembly the British government must declare that it will withdraw its forces from Ireland within twelve months of the adoption of a new Constitution by the people of Ireland; and

3. An Amnesty for all political prisoners and people on the wanted list. All political prisoners must be released one month prior to the election of the Constituent Assembly.

If Britain has no "selfish strategic or economic interest" in staying in Ireland as Peter Brooke said on November 9, 1990, then the British government should renounce the use of force to remain in

Ireland and renounce Britain's claim to sovereignty. Britain should publicly commit themselves to withdraw from Ireland after the Irish people have adopted a new Constitution.

### FUTURE

This mechanism would involve all the people of Ireland in deciding their future. A similar Constituent Assembly is being proposed at present in South Africa to move from a situation of colonial rule to one of true democracy. Given the acceptance of these three proposals there would be no necessity for the continuance of armed struggle and all armed elements should cease action immediately.

Republican Sinn Féin believes that drafting a new 32-County Constitution would be more democratic, just and lasting than amending an existing 26-County document. An open democratic forum

such as a Constituent Assembly would be more meaningful to the Irish people than meetings behind closed doors between politicians who have failed the people so often.

*"An open democratic forum such as a Constituent Assembly would be more meaningful to the Irish people than meetings behind closed doors between politicians who have failed the people so often."*

Republican Sinn Féin has prepared proposals for a New Ireland to be discussed at such a democratic forum. EIRE NUA updated in 1991, puts forward a radical change of the government system established by the British, north and south. A federation of the four historic provinces and maximum decentralisation of power and decision-making within Ireland would provide for the majority and minorities after British withdrawal.

We welcome the fact that a federal Ireland, which was first proposed by Republicans over 20 years ago, has also been recommended by the Omagh Grammar

School Senior Prefects Committee in their submission to you on February 5.

### UNWORKABLE

Unlike a Six Counties—26 Counties confederation a four-province federation means the end of the unnatural and artificial entity of the Six Counties which has been shown to be unworkable. A nine-county Ulster with its own parliament would mean a far better balance providing one section of the population (ex-Unionists) with a possible working majority while the other (Nationalists) would be within reach of power. Former Unionists would have a lot to contribute to a New Ireland.

We propose that a Charter of Rights be included in any 32-County Constitution and also that the European Convention of Human Rights be made part of the internal domestic law of the New Ireland.

Republican Sinn Féin also advocates in SAOL NUA — A New Way Of Life a new system of economics in which human beings and human development is placed before the interests of finance and the maximisation of profits. We believe the pursuit of endless economic "growth" must be replaced by a completely new decentralised and humane system. This would include local community banking and the development of natural resources in a non-polluting manner.

### NEW IRELAND

There is overwhelming agreement that the present war situation in Britain's last colony cannot continue. We feel that it is our duty to present an alternative to the present failed political and economic systems in the two states of Ireland. We believe that the Irish people of all traditions can fashion a New Ireland. The only essential is that Britain should recognise Irish sovereignty. The only role Britain has is to allow Irish people decide for themselves how to live together and to withdraw their forces to enable that to happen.

Thank you for this opportunity to address the public session of the hearings."

The Opsahl Commissioners are expected to issue a report of their findings in late Spring / early Summer 1993.

## British raids in Ardoyne, Ballymurphy

BRITISH army and RUC paramilitary police raids have increased in nationalist areas of North and West Belfast in the past weeks with boiler-suited men sledgehammering down doors, often late at night. This tactic creates maximum terror as loyalist death squads often break into nationalist homes in the same fashion in order to assassinate people.

On Wednesday, February 17 the British army and RUC smashed their way into the home of Bernie and James Morris in Ballymurphy, West Belfast and ordered the couple's ten-year-old son James, upstairs at gunpoint. The raiders refused to allow his mother give him his medicine during the ordeal when three men in the house were forced to lie down and then kneel with their hands behind their heads for half-an-hour by over a dozen British soldiers and police.

"They said if we moved they would shoot us," James Morris said. Both himself and his wife Bernie are taking legal action against the raiders who smashed in an open glass front door, and hit two women with rifle butts.

Pensioners' homes were targeted in late-night terror raids by the RUC in Havana Walk, Ardoyne,

North Belfast on February 6. Four houses in all were smashed into by axe-wielding raiders at 12.30am in an operation designed to increase a sense of terror in the residents.

On Monday afternoon, February 8 an Ardoyne man was knocked unconscious with a rifle butt in an unprovoked attack by a

British soldier. Andrew Foster (29) was left bleeding on the street after meeting a foot patrol who asked him for his name and address. "Then one of them said 'hold on for two seconds' and as I turned around he lifted his rifle and smashed the rifle into my face. I fell to the ground on my face and they just left me there," he said.

He received 17 stitches

to the wound in hospital. Local people have complained that 13 attacks on nationalist areas from the loyalist Shankill have occurred since Christmas yet no mass raids take place in that area. In one incident the RUC said they "backed off" when confronted with thugs who stopped them from reaching a house taken over by the UVF on the Shankill. There is no such leniency in their approach to nationalist homes where maximum force is always applied.

## Faoi Ghlas Ag Gallaibh

### REMEMBER THE PRISONERS

Michael Hegarty, A9999  
C Wing  
HMP Crumlin Road  
Belfast BT14 6AE

Seán Grogan  
Bann House  
HMP Maghaberry  
Co Antrim

Liam Quinn  
HMP Parkhurst  
Isle of Wight  
England

They wish us well — you can wish them well by sending them greetings, letters, books, etc and by supporting CABHAIR — Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund in its work. Cuimhnigh ar iad siúd uilig atá faoi ghlas ag Gallaibh!



• Andrew Foster had rifle smashed into his face.

## Kathleen Sheil

AS WE went to press we learned with sadness of the death after a short illness of Kathleen Sheil, an Ard Chomhairle member of Republican Sinn Féin. A native of Co Offaly Kathleen lived in Tallaght, Co Dublin for many years. SAOIRSE extends sincere sympathy to her grieving family.

Kathleen was a lifelong Republican who stood firm when the latest departure from Republican principles took place in 1986. She was elected to the Executive of the re-organised Republican Sinn Féin for 1986-87 and held many positions in the organisation since then.

Up to the time of her death Kathleen Sheil was rúnai, Comhairle Cúige Laighean and was one of the delegates from the province of Leinster to the Ard Chomhairle. A full obituary and tribute will be published next month.



• Kathleen Sheil



## Imeachtaí

70th ANNIVERSARY  
BALLYSEEDY  
TRALEE, CO KERRY  
MARCH 7, 1993

Assemble:  
1.30pm outside  
Ballyseedy Castle  
Hotel  
Oration:  
Cllr Sean Lynch

PARLE/CREAN/  
HOGAN  
COMMEMORATION  
WEXFORD  
SUNDAY, MARCH 14  
3.30pm

Republican Garden  
of Remembrance  
Hill Street.

LEO DUIGAN  
COMMEMORATION  
DUBLIN  
SUNDAY, MARCH 21  
3pm  
Shangannagh  
Cemetery, Shankill  
Co Dublin  
Buses: 86/45

BORDER ROAD  
OPENING  
SUNDAY, MARCH 21  
DOOARD CROSSING  
NORTH LEITRIM  
Organised by Combined  
Border Roads Campaign  
tel. Michael McPhillips  
Newtownbutler 735579

WREATH-LAYING  
CEREMONY  
REPUBLICAN PLOT  
CASTLEISLAND  
CO KERRY  
GOOD FRIDAY  
APRIL 9, 1993  
Assemble 5pm  
Castleisland Cemetery  
Organised by Brendan  
Doherty Cumann  
Republican Sinn Féin

TELEX FOR  
SALE  
Phillips PACT 250 (1987).  
Mint condition, perfect  
order. Apply to Box No  
214.

# Loyalist informer freed in British deal

A LOYALIST informer sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of two nationalists has been freed from Maghaberry jail in the Six Counties after serving only seven years, it was revealed on February 24. Leonard Campbell (44) from Derry was sentenced in 1983 for a series of vicious armed robberies. In 1986 he admitted the murders of Kevin Mulhern and John Toland who were shot dead in Derry city within the space of one month in 1976.

Campbell then turned informer for the RUC, after they reportedly offered him £40,000. For the past six years he has been in the isolation wing of Maghaberry jail and his evidence is thought to have implicated several other loyalists. Last October he went on hunger and thirst strike for nine days when he alleged that a deal he had struck with the British authorities regarding his release had been renegeed. A letter smuggled from the jail claimed that Campbell ended his fast minutes after he was visited by two British officials.

### SOURCES

The news of his release has not been confirmed

by the British, who refused to comment to the media, but separate sources within the jail and in Derry told *The Irish News* in Belfast (February 24) that he has been released. A former neighbour of Campbell's told of recognising him at Belfast's Aldergrove airport before Campbell was bundled away by two men.

It appears his freedom was agreed with the British in a deal reached last October.

Marie Toland, whose husband was shot dead by Campbell in 1976 said that it was a disgrace. These events show once again that so-called justice system in the Six Counties is totally corrupt. Campbell's early release contrasts with the cases of Republican prisoners sentenced to life who have not even been granted release dates by the British.



One of these prisoners, Felim O'Hagan from Lurgan who has been in jail since 1977 is to take a court challenge against Sir Patrick Mayhew's decision to turn down a recommendation that he be released.

weather. Despite the bad snow-storm on the night the turn-out for the memorial was a great success.

### SPONSORS

The Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Buffet Dinner Dance was sponsored by Friends of Irish Freedom, Cumann na Saoirse and the Irish American Fenian Society of New Jersey. Secretary of the Memorial Committee is Doreen Gavin and the Co-Treasurers are Tom McGrath and Pat O'Connell.

All contributions to the fund in the USA can be sent to the Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial, 122 East 238 Street, Bronx, NY 10470.

## Black Taxi Drivers Shot by UFF

THE UDA/UFF loyalist death squad said on Sunday, February 21 that all drivers of black taxis were "legitimate targets" after two attacks during the day in Belfast that left three men injured. At 5.30pm one gunman opened fire at the taxi rank in a carpark at Castle Street in the city where three drivers, who work for West Belfast Taxis based on the Falls Road, were standing chatting as they waited for customers.

## Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Function in New York

ON Saturday, December 12, 1992 the Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Buffet Dinner Dance was held at the Tower View Centre in Woodside, Queens, New York, USA.

The honorees for the evening were Michael Kennedy of the Brehon Law Society and Liam Treacy, Treasurer of the International Union of Operating Engineers Local No30. Frank Durkan was the Master of Ceremonies and Thomas Manton was the guest speaker.

Michael Flannery, founder of Cumann na Saoirse and Chairman of the Mem-

orial Dance presented the honorees with their plaques and thanked everyone for coming out in the bad

## Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund

FOLLOWING the death on January 1, 1991 of Sinn Féin Poblachtach Vice-President, Dáithí Ó Conaill, the Ard Chomhairle established a National Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund and appointed a Committee. Those elected to the Committee are: Joe O'Neill, Cathleen Knowles, Michael McManus and Tom Malone.

The Fund is ongoing and we are appealing for donations to this worthy cause. All contributions, large or small will be gratefully acknowledged. Please send your donation to the Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund, ÉIRE NUA office, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

## FOR THE RECORD..

SAT. JANUARY 30: The punt was devalued by 10 per cent by the Dublin administration after sustained attack by speculators on the money markets.

TUES. FEBRUARY 2: Eugene Martin (28) was shot dead by three UVF gunmen who called to his home in the village of Ballyronan, Co Derry on the shores of Lough Neagh.

THURS. FEBRUARY 4: A member of the British royal family visited Dublin and was pictured with Brian Cowen, 26-County minister for transport.

23 workers have been made redundant at the Dia Norm Teoranta factory in the Donegal Gaeltacht.

St Enda's GAA club in North Belfast was attacked by arsonists, believed to be loyalist, for the fifteenth time.

FRI. FEBRUARY 5: Sir Patrick Mayhew, British director-ruler in the Six Counties, said in a speech to the Conservative Association in Tunbridge Wells in England that the Six Counties was as much a part of Britain as "England, Scotland and Wales".

The total on the Live Register of the Unemployed in the 26 Counties has risen by 8,500 to 302,200.

Lt General Roger Wheeler (51) has been appointed new General Officer Commanding of British troops in the Occupied Six Counties.

SUN. FEBRUARY 7: Four armed and masked members of the UFF loyalist death squad attempted to break into a house at Finlay Park, Bawnmore estate, Belfast. The householder managed to bar the door and the attackers shouted "we'll be back for you" before escaping in a car.

Four pensioners homes in Havana Walk, Ardoyne, North Belfast were smashed into by bar-wielding members of the RUC at 12.30am.

MON. FEBRUARY 8: Andrew Foster (29) from Ardoyne in Belfast had to have 17 stitches to his face after being hit by a rifle butt by a British soldier.

TUES. FEBRUARY 9: The British Prime Minister John Major refused to order a new inquiry into the Bloody Sunday massacre 21 years ago in Derry.

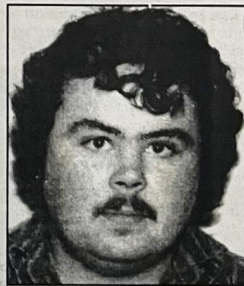
THURS. FEBRUARY 11: Tommy Molloy (32), a builder, was shot dead at his home at Derrymagowan Road, between Moy and Loughgall, Co Tyrone by a UVF loyalist death squad.

FRI. FEBRUARY 12: A 44-year-old nationalist man was shot at his home on the Springfield Road by a loyalist death squad. He was hit in the thigh and hand.

SAT. FEBRUARY 13: A nationalist taxi-driver was lured to the Lisburn Road in South Belfast by a loyalist gunman. The taxi-driver grappled with the gunman and managed to escape.

Three pistols, a sub-machinegun and 1,000 rounds of ammunition were found at the Queen's Island complex of Harland & Wolff. They are believed to belong to a loyalist death squad.

TUES. FEBRUARY 16: Queen's University Belfast "enthusiastically welcomed"



• Eugene Martin, shot dead by the UVF on February 2.

a report which proposes a complete overhaul of its employment practices. The report recommended 93 specific ways to prevent religious and sex discrimination.

WED. FEBRUARY 17: A 34-year-old nationalist man was wounded in the right arm and right leg as he arrived at the Enterprise Training Centre in Belfast. He was described as "stable" in hospital and the attack was claimed by the UVF loyalist death squad, who had also been responsible for injuring him at his home in Castlewellan, Co Down in 1990.

In Rathcoole, on the outskirts of Belfast, a nationalist man escaped injury when the loyalist death squad, the Red Hand Commandos, fired several shots at him through a window of his house.

The British army and the RUC smashed their way into the home of Bernie and James Morris in Ballymurphy, West Belfast and held the family at gunpoint while they searched their house.

THURS. FEBRUARY 18: The total unemployed in the Six Counties rose to 108,009.

SUN. FEBRUARY 1: The UDA/UFF loyalist death squad said that all drivers of black taxis were "legitimate targets" after two attacks during the day in Belfast. At 5.30pm one gunman opened fire on a taxi rank in Castle Street where three taxi-drivers, who work for West Belfast Taxis on the Falls Road were standing chatting. Two of the drivers were hit but were not seriously injured. In the second attack at 8pm a taxi-driver was driving home in North Belfast when two men in a black car opened fire with a sub-machinegun. He managed to escape without injury.

THURS. FEBRUARY 25: 780 full-time and part-time workers are to be made redundant at the Digital computer plant in Galway when the US factory closes its hardware manufacturing plant in the next year.

The ESB are seeking 50 redundancies at their Marina plant in Cork city and Ford plant to cut their workforce there by 19 to 61.

FRI. FEBRUARY 26: Lapple (Carlow) who manufacture parts for the car industry are to make 110 of their 300 workforce redundant before the end of March.

In Derry, the Maydown Precision Engineering firm announced the loss of 93 jobs.



# British-controlled death squads kill again in 'Murder Triangle'

BRITISH-controlled loyalist death squads mounted attacks in the Mid-Ulster area and in Belfast in February, resulting in the death of one man and serious injuries to two others. The UVF death squad, believed to be based in Portadown, Co Armagh, struck again on Thursday night, February 11, when they fired through the window of a house near Moy, Co Tyrone at about 9.20pm. Sitting inside was Tommy Molloy (32) a builder, and his wife Gabrielle, his three daughters aged seven, 10 and 11 and his infant son. Tommy Molloy was shot dead and his 14-month-old baby son was slightly injured.

The victim was an innocent nationalist living in an isolated area on the Derrymogowan Road between Moy and Loughgall, which is in the 'murder triangle' where hundreds of similar killings by British-controlled loyalist death squads have occurred in the past 23 years.

In North Belfast four armed and masked members of the UDA/UFF death squad tried to break into a house at Finlay Park on the Bawnmore housing estate at 7am on Sunday, February 7, but the householder was alerted by the barking of a neighbour's dog and managed to block the front door. The Bawnmore estate is a nationalist enclave of just over 100 homes in the predominantly-loyalist borough of Newtownabbey and has often been

targeted by loyalist death squads.

In another loyalist attack on Friday evening, February 12, a 44-year-old nationalist was shot in his home on the Springfield Road in West Belfast. At 6pm two masked men burst into the house and shot the man in an upstairs room, hitting him in the thigh and hand. The house is the last in a small terrace of houses close to the West Circular Road and the loyalist Shankill Road.

## LURED

The following night (February 13) a nationalist taxi-driver was lured to the Lisburn Road in South Belfast by a man who went to the taxi depot at 11.15. He produced a gun on the Lisburn Road and said "You've nothing to worry about - I'm just going to rob you", and then ordered the driver to pull into a side street. The 23-year-old taximan grappled with the gunman before jumping out of the vehicle and running away.

The gunman fled into Fitzwilliam Street, where a pistol, magazine and ammunition were later found. A friend of the taximan, who was too afraid himself to speak about his ordeal, said that the gunman's ploy about merely "going to rob him" was intended to get him off the main road.

## SECOND ATTACK

A 34-year-old nationalist man was wounded in the right arm and right leg as he arrived at the Enterprise Training Centre in Belfast on Wednesday morning February 17. He was described as



● Scene of Tommy Molloy's murder near Moy, Co Tyrone.

"stable" in hospital after the attack, claimed by the UVF loyalist death squad. This was the second time he has been targeted by them.

In December 1990 he managed to fight off a gunman who leaned through his bedroom window in Castlewellan, Co Down and opened fire. He was hit in the wrist on that occasion and his wife escaped injury. The man was attending the training centre, which helps rehabilitate people with disabilities. An appearance by him on a UTV television programme about rehabilitation of disabled people just ten days before the attack may have alerted the UVF to his workplace. In 1990 it was revealed that his personal details on a British Forces intelligence file had been leaked to loyalists.

The fact that a crowd gathered when the attack took place last week may have saved the injured man's life as the lone gunman, dressed in a white boiler suit and

unmasked, ran off to a waiting car when he saw the people watching him. The car used had been hijacked in the Shankill and was later found in the loyalist Village area of Belfast. On the same day (February 17) a nationalist man escaped injury when the loyalist death squad, Red Hand Commandos, fired several shots at him through his livingroom window in Rathcoole, on the outskirts of Belfast.

## ARMAGH

On Sunday night, February 28, in Armagh city a 21-year-old woman, Patricia Trainor, had a narrow escape when a shotgun blast was fired through her bathroom window just after she had left the room in her ground-floor flat off the Killilea Road. British-backed loyalists are believed to be responsible for the incident. Patricia and her husband Brian had only moved into the flat two days previously.

## Cahersiveen man jailed for selling Easter Lilies

A CAHERSIVEEN man was arrested by 26-County police at his place of work on January 21 last and taken to Cork jail to serve a sentence of one month's imprisonment for refusing to pay a £50 fine imposed for selling Easter Lilies. This harsh sentence was handed down at Cahersiveen court in June 1992 and the Republican involved, James Coffey, Kippahs, Cahersiveen has served a number of terms in Cork jail for selling Easter Lilies over the past ten years.

## NA FIANNA

FIANNA MOTTO: *Glaine inár gcroíthe  
Neart inár néaga  
Is Beart de réir ár mbriathar*

Na Fianna are the Irish National Boy Scouts, founded in 1909 by Countess Markievicz and Bulmer Hobson.

- Its aims are to train boys of six years and over (irrespective of creed or class) mentally and physically so that they may be good citizens, fulfilling their duties to the community.
- Scouting makes a boy self-reliant and teaches him how to look after himself in the outdoors.
- Na Fianna places a great stress on the importance of our National Heritage and Culture and so strives to implant a love of all things Irish in Boys.

If you are a parent and would like your son to join or if you are over sixteen then please fill in the following form:

### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Send to: Fianna Éireann, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7

Name .....  
Address .....

wish to join Na Fianna Éireann  
Age .....

### BEARNA ULADH DRAW RESULTS

FIRST Prize: Kevin Muhlolland, Meigh; Second Prize: M Donegan, Dromintie.

## 'ANEXERCISEINFUTILITY'

"SINCE his acceptance of the 26-County state in 1986, Gerry Adams has led his party steadily downhill to the position (as stated at his Ard-Fheis in February) that they now act as a ginger-group committed to pushing and prodding the Dublin administration into confrontation with the British government on the national question."

Speaking at the Annual General Meeting in Tralee on Sunday, February 21 of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin, President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh added:

"For faithful Republicans who have never accepted partition either in its Northern or Southern manifestations, the Dublin government with its confessional and collaborationist neo-colonial state is part of the problem rather than part of the solution. For them a fresh beginning with the building of a completely New Ireland, neutral and non-aligned

and with separation of church and state, maximum decentralisation of power and decision-making and a totally new direction in social and economic policy is what is required.

"Building on false foundations - which were never more exposed than at present - is not the way forward. Pushing the 26-County state on the Unionist and Nationalist populations is surely an exercise in futility."

### ELECTED

Officers elected were: Cathaoirleach, Pat Quirke, Derrymore; Leas-Chath-

oirleach, Jimmy McGann-on, Tralee; Rúnaí, Margaret Scanlon, Currow, Killarney; Cisteoirí, Moss Dowling, The Spa and John Shea, Cloghane, Castlegregory; PRO, John Houltham, Currow, Killarney; County Organiser, John Brennan, Ballyheigue; Education, Eamon Breen, Castlesland and Maitias O Dubhda, An Clochán.

Delegates to Comhairle na Mumhan: John Brennan, John Shea and Stephen Bresnahan, Tralee. Cumainn represented were: Tralee, Listowel, Derrymore, Cloghane-Castlegregory, Ballyheigue, Castlesland, Kilflynn, The Spa, Killarney and Cahersiveen.

Other personnel present included Lita Ní Chathmaoil, Ard-Rúnaí; Emer O'Connor, Limerick and Tom O'Sullivan, Tipperary representing the Ard Chomhairle and Comhairle na Mumhan. Votes of sym-

pathy were passed with the families of the late Seán Savage, Tralee and Ballymacelligott and Con Dálaigh, Currans.

## Imeachtaí

GLASGOW  
EASTER  
COMMEMORATION  
EASTER SUNDAY  
APRIL 11, 1993

Pearse Park GAA grounds, Cambuslang, Glasgow, Scotland. Assemble 12 noon.

\*EASTER\*  
CEREMONIES  
\*1993\*

All Cumainn please notify SAOIRSE of their Easter commemorations in writing by Friday, March 19.

CABHAIR  
TESTIMONIAL  
DINNER

MAY 14, 1993  
WEST COUNTY  
HOTEL  
Chapelizod, Co Dublin  
Táille: £10

VOL. JACKIE  
GRIFFITH  
50th ANNIVERSARY  
COMMEMORATION  
SAT. JULY 3

Glasnevin Cemetery  
DUBLIN  
Assemble Berkeley Road  
Church, 2.30pm.

## Irishman freed as frame-up collapses

PATRICK Murphy (52) who was charged by British police in connection with the mini-cab bombing of Whitehall, London last October, was freed on Wednesday, February 24 after he proved that he had been at a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous at the time of the attack (October 30, 1992).

A native of Keady, Co Armagh, he had been arrested at his London flat on January 20 and later charged with the Whitehall explosion and the abduction of a mini-cab driver (see SAOIRSE,

February 1993, p.2). Patrick Murphy said after his release that he planned to seek compensation for wrongful arrest.

"If I hadn't been able to prove that I was at that AA meeting I'd have been facing 20 years in prison. For a couple of days I couldn't remember where I'd been when the bombing happened and was really in a panic. It just goes to show how easy it is for innocent people to go to jail," he said.



**SEÁN DONLON, 26-County Ambassador to the USA from 1977-81, has tried to cover himself in glory in a recent newspaper article regarding his role as representative of the Dublin administration in Washington, DC. In the following letter sent to The Irish Times on February 9, 1993 (but as yet not published) Fr Seán McManus of the Irish National Caucus sets the record straight on Seán Donlon's activities in collusion with the British Embassy in blocking any US criticism of British rule in Ireland.**

# Seán Donlon in Washington: THE FACTS

February 9, 1993

"Dear Sir,  
"Seán Donlon's 'Bringing Irish Diplomatic and Political influence to bear on Washington' (*Irish Times*, January 25, 1993) gives new meaning to the term 'revisionism'. He would actually have people believe that as Irish Ambassador he gallantly labored to expose British violations of human rights in Northern Ireland and to exert American pressure to end those violations.

"Donlon did the exact opposite. No one did more than he to cover up British violations and stop anti-British momentum in Washington. That is why the Irish National Caucus, with the backing of Neil Blaney TD, MEP, launched a campaign for his recall in 1979-80. It almost worked, too, but Donlon rallied his friends in Washington who did not want to see him replaced by someone who would take a tougher line against the British government.

"Donlon refers to efforts to get President Jimmy Carter involved. It is a simple fact that it was the Irish National Caucus that first got Carter speaking about Northern Ireland. On Wednesday, October 27, 1976 — just a few days before he was elected President — the Irish National Caucus arranged a meeting with Carter in Pittsburgh. About 50 Irish-American leaders from around the US attended. I made the opening statement in which I criticized US policy on Northern Ireland and urged Carter to set a new policy if elected. Carter replied:

"... We see... specific instances where human rights are subjugated and where quite often our nation as was pointed out by Father (McManus) stands mute and doesn't speak... it is a mistake for our country's government to stand quiet on the struggle of the Irish for peace, for respect, for human rights and for unifying Ireland."

## SCARE

"Instead of the Irish Embassy welcoming the fact that the next President saw Northern Ireland as a human rights problem, they set out to scare him off. Then Foreign Minister Garret Fitzgerald telegraphed Carter demanding he prove that he was not a supporter of violence in Northern Ireland.

"The Irish Embassy — with the active encouragement of the British Embassy — recruited Tip O'Neill and Ted Kennedy to further 'sandwich' Carter. How, after all, could a non-Irish, Protestant from Georgia take a different stand than that of the two most famous Irish Catholics in the US?

"Garret Fitzgerald met with Carter on March 14, 1977 and tried to persuade him not to speak about Northern Ireland in human rights terms. But on March 15, 1977 Carter in a speech in Clinton, Massachusetts said the US must stand up for human rights in Northern Ireland.

"But then, two days later, O'Neill and Kennedy issued their Saint Patrick's Day statement. It contained not one word of censure of the British government for human rights violations. It simply appealed to Irish-Americans not to support violence — as if Irish-Americans were the cause of the problem, not the



• Seán Donlon

British government.

"The Irish National Caucus got President Carter speaking about Northern Ireland as a human rights issue; the Irish Embassy got O'Neill and Kennedy talking about Northern Ireland as a terrorist issue.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

"Neither the Dublin nor the London governments wanted Carter to see Northern Ireland as a human rights problem. They wanted Carter to stop speaking about human rights and instead talk about sending money to support both governments' interest. Money is so much less troublesome than pressure about human rights.

"Donlon's revisionism becomes absurd when he talks about the great importance of the formation of the Friends of Ireland — the group that evolved from what Donlon calls 'the harnessing of Irish power'... without doubt the most significant development in the Irish

American political connection for a century'. How ridiculous! (Furthermore, one of the real problems with saying extravagant things about Tip O'Neill and others, is that it trivializes the Irish issue. Why should they lionized for making a statement on Saint Patrick's Day? Would that be the criterion for their work on South Africa, Central America or other really pressing issues — a statement once a year? Of course not! Donlon, therefore, is really offensive in attributing greatness to such token gestures. How dare he trivialise the gravity of the suffering and pain in Northern Ireland. In fairness, however, to Teddy Kennedy or Tip O'Neill it must be said that had it not been for the Irish Embassy, these two Irish-Americans would have been much stronger on the Irish issue. As Mary Holland reported in *Hibernia*, April 26 1979, 'Irish Embassy officials in Washington often found that their difficulty lies not in pressuring Kennedy et al to intervene on the North, but in restraining them from doing so'.

"Here's the real scoop on the Friends of Ireland. In September 1977, the Irish National Caucus initiated the formation of the Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs. In December 1978 Rita Mullan and I opened the national office of the Irish National Caucus on Capitol Hill — the first time in history that the Irish had an office to lobby for justice and peace in Ireland. That was the really 'significant development' that Mr. Donlon simply did not care for. When the Irish National Caucus started organizing the Congress, Sean Donlon began to lobby to offset what we were doing. He boasted that he would destroy the Caucus in six weeks. We told Members of Congress there was an important role for them to play.

## NO ROLE

"Donlon's position was that there was no Congressional role and that it should be left to the Dublin and London Governments and the White House. The Irish Embassy spent its time trying to get Members to resign from the Committee for Irish Affairs. Prime Minister Jack Lynch on February 17, 1978, sent an extraordinary letter to the Chairman of the Committee, Mario Biaggi, denouncing him and the Irish National Caucus and released it to the US media.

"I knew something was going to happen, because one of our members tipped me off that an Irish Embassy official at an Irish

party had bragged 'By Saint Patrick's Day, there will only be Biaggi and McManus left'. Donlon thought the Lynch letter would be his trump card and that we would be put out of business. Lynch's attack failed miserably and, in about a week, we increased the membership of the Congressional Committee by 20, bring the membership to over 100.

"Donlon was now outflanked. He had been claiming that there was no role for Congress, yet we had over 100 Congressmen signed up (Donlon only succeeded in getting one member to resign).

"What could Donlon now do? He had to try to pre-empt and co-opt our work — enter the Friends of Ireland, a safe group that would not put pressure on the British nor embarrass the Dublin Government (the Irish National Caucus, however, advised members of the Con-

gressional Committee when they applied for US contracts.

• In 1983, the Irish National Caucus initiated legislation that would outlaw discrimination by US companies in Northern Ireland — the first time such a Bill was ever introduced in the US Congress (The Irish Embassy told Members of Congress not to support this Bill).

• In 1988, the Irish National Caucus fought for a couple of years the change in the Anglo-US extradition treaty. While not winning, we stopped the British getting the treaty they wanted.

• And most important of all, in November 1984, the Irish National Caucus initiated and launched the MacBride Principles — the most effective campaign ever launched against anti-Catholic discrimination in Northern Ireland.

## BIRMINGHAM SIX

"But it was in the case of the



• 'Irish Press' November 4, 1985

gressional Committee for Irish Affairs to join the Friends of Ireland).

## NICE THINGS

"Donlon's idea of political power was getting the US government to say nice things about the work of the London and Dublin governments.

"To the Caucus, unless 'power' exerts pressure on the British Government to end its oppression and discrimination in Northern Ireland, it is useless. In this context, it is, also, silly for Donlon to speak about the great influence of John Hume in Washington. Hume had 'access' because he was approved by the London and Dublin governments and therefore acceptable to the US State Department, which historically has been pro-British to the core.

"Donlon, naturally, ignores the examples of real pressure on the British Government:

• In August, 1979, the Irish National Caucus initiated the ban on the sale of US weapons to the RUC. The ban is still on.

• In 1983, the Irish National Caucus initiated the campaign to make an issue of Short's

Birmingham Six that Donlon revealed his true colours.

"The Irish National Caucus — despite Donlon's opposition — had been vigorously campaigning to free the Birmingham six. For that purpose, we brought over from Ireland, Fr Raymond Murray of Armagh. Fr Murray, Rita Mullan and myself had long meetings with congressman Hamilton Fish. The Congressman became convinced of the innocence of the Birmingham Six, and agreed to head up a campaign for their release.

"Fish, a very proper man, wanting to do the right thing, met with Donlon at the Irish Embassy to inform him. Donlon went berserk. Fish told me that he had never been talked to in such a disrespectful fashion.

"Donlon followed up the meeting with a letter on November 6, 1979:

Dear Mr Fish,  
In view of our recent conversations and correspondence I thought it might be useful to let you have the attached recent reports from the Irish Times. The report



• Fr Seán McManus



# DIGITAL COLLAPSE: GALWAY LEAFLETED

THE Digital computer multinational in Galway collapsed on February 25 with the loss of 780 jobs out of 1100. Located there for over twenty years, Digital was regarded as the ideal multinational company.

It was linked to local industry, was engaged in Research and Development, and revealed that the IDA grants aids multinationals setting up in the 26 Counties to

ourselves".

Within two days Galway and its residents were leafletted by local Republican Sinn Féin members who distributed 1,000 copies of the handbill reproduced below. The point of attack



ment and had a working relationship with University College Galway. If a company such as Digital can fold up what possibilities remain for other less firmly-rooted multinationals in the 26-County State?

## FOLLY

The Digital disaster exposes the IDA's folly in promoting job-creation by foreign multinationals rather than by local initiative. Figures broadcast on RTE (February 25) re-

the tune of £23,000 per job created. In contrast indigenous employers receive only £5-6,000 per new job.

One Digital worker who lost his employment was heard to say "Where is the Single Market now? Small countries were supposed to be able to supply the larger countries with goods sought by these on a level playing-field. But look what the larger countries can offer compared with smaller ones like Ireland? We're back to relying on

was, once more, the rallying-post.

## CSO mistakes equal £2bn in five years

ECONOMIC decisions taken by the 26-County Government are based on figures made available by the Central Statistics Office. Mistakes made by it have run to billions of pounds in recent years, it was admitted on February 27.

The original 'Black Hole' in the economy of the state was discovered in 1988 from the declared 1986-87 figures. A balance of payments deficit for the two years originally announced at £270 million was in fact found to be £400 million greater at £670 million!

Yet Charlie Haughey as Head of the Dublin Ad-

ministration and Jacques Delors as President of the EC Commission made arrangements for the removal of currency exchange controls in the state for the Single Market on the basis of the original Balance of Payments figures which were £400 million wide of the mark.

Undeclared profits by the alleged saviours of the economy were responsible

for the 1988 'Black Hole'. In 1993 it is a different and even more serious story.

## DISCOVERY

The 1993 discovery of another 'Black Hole' in the economy has highlighted the size of payments taken out of the state by the multinationals over the years 1988-90. The CSO now reports that hundreds of millions of pounds are taken out of the 26 Counties annually by transnational firms in management fees and charges for research and advertising.

Over the five years 1986-90 the amount of this error by the CSO has been £2 billion. An economist on RTE Radio One on March 1, said it would not be surprising if another error which he had christened a 'Black Hole' in 1988 were found in five years time, in 1998.

To frame economic policy correctly statistics are necessary. Yet the multinationals have been cheating us all the way in order to maximise their profits. So much for current economic policy in the 26 Counties . . .

## 'Good Europeans'

Continued from page 1

but were undercut by a Birmingham concern which got the contract. Then the Birmingham company proved unable to deliver. What happened? The Co Dublin firm was awarded the contract for 6,000 badges and the remaining 12,000 are being put up for tender again.

Soon the Free State soldiers will be wearing flashes and chevrons made in the Far East at exploitively depressed wage levels. While every other country in the EC attends to its own national interest first, the Leinster House politicians must be "good Europeans" first at all times.

## DANES AND IRISH

Consider Denmark. They rejected Maastricht last June. When the Edinburgh conference came up at the end of the year, the EC yielded to them on all four points of objection: (1) Common Defence (2) Common Currency (3) Common Citizenship and (4) Common Justice and Policing System. Then when their currency came under pressure at the beginning of February, four EC Central Banks rallied to their aid led by the German Bundesbank and staved off devaluation for them. So much for backbone and self-respect.

Likewise France which voted 49 per cent against Maastricht. The Germans

rescued the French Franc at the end of 1993 when it was being attacked.

Consider the 26-County state. A great consensus of politicians and social interest groups led the people to an uncritical and unconditional acceptance of Maastricht by 69 per cent to 31 per cent. Television and radio were hijacked by the Administration and public funds used to support a "Yes" vote.

## NO CONDITIONS

No conditions or opting out or special consideration was sought or obtained apart from a controversial clause on abortion which boomeranged completely. Then when sterling devalued and left the ERM in September,

the punt was under pressure for four-and-a-half months.

Who came to the rescue of the punt when foreign reserves were spent freely to defend it? No one. And a bare week after the punt devalued the Bundesbank brought down interest rates to facilitate the Danish kroner.

The lesson is that those who keep their self-respect are respected themselves in turn. The politicians had their chance when negotiating Maastricht and again in the referendum. They fluffed it because they are all going in the wrong direction - towards complete dependency and disintegration as a nation.

dated October 27 describes a recent interest of yours in the Birmingham bombings case as "the fruit of the work of Fr Raymond Murray of Armagh . . ." In the report of October 22, Fr Murray is criticised by the leading elected representatives of both sections of the divided Northern Ireland community. . .

"The two elected representatives" were Gerry Fitt and Martin Smyth, the head of the Orange Order, who was not then an MP.

## ORANGE ORDER

"So here was the Irish Ambassador in Washington using the head of the Orange Order to discredit a Catholic priest of the calibre of Fr Murray, all with a view to stopping the campaign to free the Birmingham Six!

"In November 1985 Donlon's opposition to the campaign to free the Birmingham Six surfaced again in the Irish newspapers. The Irish Press reported 'In yesterday's Sunday Press Mr Donlon said that any action he had taken had been on the instructions of the Irish Government. But last night, the then Foreign Minister, Mr O'Kennedy, to whom the diplomat was answerable, rejected the claim . . .

Mr O'Kennedy said . . . he did not give Mr Donlon any authority to write such a letter,' ('Birmingham Six case' discredited

ed', Monday, November 4, 1985). "Donlon strains credulity and invites ridicule when he implies he was dedicated to saving the Hunger Strikers of 1981. He made it clear by his actions that he held the Hunger Strikers in contempt.

## BOBBY SANDS

"On the day Bobby Sands was buried, Seán Donlon hosted a lavish reception at the Irish Embassy for a delegation of Protestant Clergymen from Northern Ireland. I am certain those Clergymen would have had the decency to understand the Irish Embassy postponing the reception in the circumstances. But Donlon wanted to stick the boot in, and the reception went ahead.

"Finally a little anecdote may say it all. A couple of years ago, I was at an Irish function in Washington. A group of us were standing talking. I was criticising the Dublin Government for something or other. A person in the group whom I didn't know suddenly shouted out, 'There are no more Seán Donlons at the Irish Embassy'. The defensive voice belonged to an Irish Embassy official. Even the Irish Embassy now winces at the name of Seán Donlon."

Sincerely  
Father Seán McManus  
President  
Irish National Caucus



•Ballyseedy Memorial, Tralee, Co Kerry.



## Léirmheas in 'Anois', Feabhra 13-14 TRAGEDIES OF KERRY

FAOIN teideal 'Laochas Cois Baile agus i gCéin' - rinne Sean O Cearnaigh léirmheas ar thri leabhair: *Anne Devlin: Patriot and Heroine* le John Finnegan, Elo Publications, £3.95; *Tragedies of Kerry* le Dorothy Macardle, Irish Freedom Press, £2.50 agus *Even the Olives are Bleeding: The Life and Times of Charles Donnelly* le Joseph O'Connor, New Island Books, £6.95.

Deir sé go nglacann muintir na hÉireann i gcoitinne leis gur tréith ionmholta í an laochas agus gurb iad na gnáth-dhaoine is mó a léirigh an laochas a stair na hÉireann.

### MOLADH

Molann sé na leabhair faoi Anne Devlin agus Charlie Donnelly agus ansin tugann sé aghaidh ar na *Tragedies*. Is suimíil a bhfuil le rá ag an bhfoinse neamhspleách seo agus an 70ú cuimhneachán ar Bhaile Uí Shléda, ar Dhroichead na Cuntaise agus ar Bhathach in Uíbh Rathach buailte linn an mhí seo.

"Leabhar eile a bhí as cló le fada agus atá ar fáil arís ná *Tragedies of Kerry*. Foilsíodh an saothar seo

den chéad uair sa bhliain 1924 tráth a raibh eachtraí choscracha 1922 agus 1923 go húr i gcumhne na ndaoine. Ré an uafáis a tugadh ar an tréimhse seo. Rinne Dorothy Macardle, scríbhneoir poblachtach de bhunadh aontachtaíthe, éacht gan amhras. Bhailligh sí scéalta agus giotat eolais nach mbeadh teacht orthu, chuile murach go ndeachaigh sí i mbun gnímh.

"Insítear na heachtraí bhrónacha uile anseo - Baile Uí Shléda, Droichead na Cuntaise, Phlúscanna Chlais Mhíolcinn agus go leor eile. Ardaítear ainmneacha na laochra - SEOSAMH agus SEAMUS TAILLIURA, SEAN O MUIRCHÉARTAIGH, DIARMUID O CATHAS-

AIGH, SEOIRSE de NÓGLA, an Sasanach calma RUDGE HATHAWAY a d'éag ar son saoirse na hÉireann i gClais Mhíolcinn agus go leor leor eile. (Dála an scéil, nach trua agus nach míle trua é nach bhfuil níos mó eolais againn faoi Hathaway!).

### SAOIRSE

"Rinne na Ciarraigh a gcion féin ar son na saoirse ón gcéad lá riamh a sheas na Sasanaigh ar thalamh na hÉireann. D'fhulaing siad

pianpháis agus céasadh sna blianta 1922 agus 1923 i ngeall ar a ndílseacht. Cuimhneofar orthu go broinn na brátha. Udar áthais dom *Tragedies of Kerry* a bheith ar fáil arís.

"Is údar áthais dom, ach go háirithe, go bhfuil ainmneacha mairtígh na 1940í CHARLIE KERINS agus MUIRIS O NEILL, luaithe san eagrán nua seo agus go bhfuil teacht ann ar na hamhráin bhyréatha a scríobh BRIAN O MUIGIN faoin dá laoch."

## 1893 - Bliain na Gaelige - 1993

### Márta

1 MÁRТА, LUAN. Omós agus Cuimhne ar Éoin Mac Néill, Cead Rúnai agus Dara Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaelige agus an té a chinn an eagraíocht a bhunú. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BAC 2, 8pm.

5-7 MÁRТА, AOINE-DOMHNACH. Eigse Uladh, Gaoth Dobhair. Téama: 100 Bliain de Chonradh na Gaelige 1893-1993. Tionchar a oidhreacht arainn agus ar an Ghaeltacht.

1-13 MÁRТА. Féile na hInse.

1047 MÁRТА. SEACHTAIN MHOR NA GAELIGE. Ar fud na tíre.

11 MÁRТА, DEARDAOIN. Léacht ag Proinsias Mac Aonghusa ar an Athair Míchéal O hIcedha a rugadh 12 Márta 1860. Carraig na Siúire.

12/14 MÁRТА, AOINE-DOMHNACH. Dúchas. Caiseal Mumhan. Téama: *Carr-aig Chaisil*.

14 MÁRТА, DOMHNACH. Oíche amhránaíochta, cheoil agus spóirt i Ráth Cairn.

15 MÁRТА, LUAN. Léacht: *Conradh na Gaelige, inné agus inniu* - Proinsias Mac Aonghusa. Caisleán an Bharraigh.

16, 17, 18 MÁRТА. Bailiúchán do Chonradh na Gaelige. Ar fud na tíre.

17 MÁRТА, CEADAOIN. Oíche Rince agus Cheoil. Seomraí Scoithín, Ostan Brandon, Trá Lí. 9pm.

19 MÁRТА, AOINE. Léacht: *Oidhreacht Ghaelach Loch Garman*. Inis Córthaidh.

19 MÁRТА, AOINE. An *Pháirc* le John B. Keane, Aisteoirí Choláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh. Halla Mhic Easmainn, Trá Lí. 8pm.

22 MÁRТА, LUAN. Siompóisiam - *Ath 31 den Acht Craolacháin*. Aras Chonradh na Gaelige, Corrán Grattan, Inse Chór, BAC 8, 8pm.

26/27 MÁRТА, AOINE/SATHARN. Océidí i nDoire Cholm Cille.

29 MÁRТА - 3 AIBREAN. Feis na Laoi. Aras an Chraoibhín Aoibhinn, 13 Paraid na Díge, Corcaigh.

### Aibreán

Taispeántas ar Stair Chonradh na Gaelige i gCo an Chláir. Inis. (Chomhairle Chontae an Chláir, Iontaobhas Cathartha na hInse, FAS).

## EDUCATION FUND APPEAL

*Sinn Féin Poblachtach is currently in the process of re-drafting and updating its National Education Programme. Consequently we are in need of funds and would appeal to all members and supporters for donations towards this end.*

*All subscriptions, which will be received, should be sent to:*

NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Oifig EIRE NUA.

41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

Mála Phóist

## Votes For Emigrants?

Dear sir,

As an exile for many years, and deeply interested in exile affairs, I would urge all voters in the 26 Counties, as well as their public representatives, not to grant the right to vote in Irish elections to exiles. This would be unfair to the people in Ireland and harmful to the exile.

Votes for exiles would mean that those voting and living in Ireland would be elbowed aside by distant, ill-informed people abroad who did not understand the electoral issues. They could also have ulterior motives in voting. The local votes would be thus devalued. Local democracy could suffer, or even cease to function. Exiles quickly lose touch with electoral issues in the homeland.

Overseas, it could mean that votes would be bought and sold among

innocent exiles. The standing of Irish exiles in their new community could be impaired once it became media-fodder that they had two votes... one in each country... and were acting irresponsibly in both. Much public money is spent in the UK to ensure that all exiles (Irish included) are registered. There is no Gerry-mandering in the UK. Sadly, very few Irish bother to vote in the UK.

Most unjust of all is the attempt to exclude the older exiles from the "new wave" Irish votes, while enfranchising the new exiles... three-year-olds or seven-year-olds. The younger people are the least useful to Ireland of her exiles. The older ones have, in the main, heavily supported families and the Irish economy in general with investment etc. Yet they would be denied the new Irish vote. Are they just too old? Or is it ageism in the raw?

I intend that no exile should have an Irish vote.



• Commemorative bronze statue of Annie Moore and her brothers Anthony and Phillip, who emigrated from Cobh, Co Cork 100 years ago.

Yet if Leinster House does grant votes, ALL exiles should be included. Rather than granting exiles votes, an attempt should be made to encourage them to buy Irish goods and products in their new country. They could holiday more frequently in Ireland, and invest there too. They could thus help cut Ireland's horrendous unemployment figures.

Irish exiles go to rich, giant economies (the UK with a GNP per head of about \$14,000 a year; and the USA with a GNP of

\$19,000 a year) where they generally have immediate access to fair employment and the social services. It is unworthy of our exiles to pester the 26-County administration for votes. It is far worse for them to dabble in, or to distort, Ireland's democracy. Moreover, it would be "representation without taxation". Unless we pay taxes in Ireland, we should not vote there.

C O'BEIRNE  
Huntingdon  
Cambs  
England

## Percival's Surrender

A chara,

Your article '50 Years Ago' in the February issue, the writer states that General Montgomery operated against the IRA in Cork 1921.

This is not correct as it was Major Percival, not Montgomery. Percival was transferred to Singapore where he spent most of his military experience. A few years ago I spent ten days in Singapore. In Singapore there is a historic building called the surrender house, on the walls of the house television screens show the history of events leading up to the surrender of

80,000 British and Australian troops to a much smaller force of Japanese.

Percival had to make the formal surrender while the General commanding the area absconded.

General Wavell was the man in charge of the area. He was the man who retreated before the Italian army in the desert of North Africa early in 1941.

SEAN LAVIN  
Melbourne  
Australia

EDITOR'S NOTE: Both Percival and Montgomery operated as British army majors against the IRA in Cork in 1920-21 (see Seán Cronin "Washington's Irish Policy 1916-86" p 112).

## Costly Easter Lily antics

It would appear that the 26-County state will spare no expense when it comes to dealing with Easter Lily sellers, as witness the following:

Brothers Sam and Dick Cryan, both members of Republican Sinn Féin, were fined £25 each in Carrick-on-Shannon court last July for selling Easter Lilies outside their local Drumlin Church on Good Friday, April 17.

On February 10 they

were arrested by police and taken by hackney car to Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, a distance of over 100 miles. On arrival, they were told, "Your one day of imprisonment is now served." They were then given railway vouchers to return them to Carrick-on-Shannon that evening!



## Sligo Volunteer remembered

THE Kevin Coen commemoration took place on January 10 at Sooley Churchyard in Co Sligo. About 30 Republicans from Sligo, Leitrim and Roscommon attended.

Kevin Coen, an IRA Volunteer, died in action against British Crown Forces at Cassidy's Cross, Co Fermanagh, on January 20, 1975.

The ceremonies were chaired by Con Darcy, Sligo and wreaths were laid by Emmet Curneen on behalf of the Republican Movement and by Jim Neary, Galway on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. A decade of the Rosary was recited by Seán McGoldrick, Rivers-town, Co Sligo and a stirring oration was delivered by Dáithí Joyce, Galway.

Five carloads of Special Branch were at the scene



● Kevin Coen

using a video camera to record the events.

## AGM

THE Annual General Meeting of the Brendan Doherty Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Currow/Castleland, Co Kerry took place recently. Officers elected were: Cathaoirleach, Eamon Breen; Leas-Chathaoirleach, Bernard O'Connor; Rúnaí, John Houlihan; Cisteoir, Margaret Scanlon. Delegates to Kerry Comhairle Ceantair: John Houlihan, Margaret Scanlon and Eamon Breen.

## LÉIRMHEAS KILLERS FOR THE CROWN

The McMahon Family Murders Belfast 1922 by Joe Baker, published by the Glenravel Local History Project, 1992 (£3 stg.).

SEVENTY-one years ago this month one of the most infamous incidents of mass murder took place in Belfast when a murder gang comprised of RIC officers broke into a house at 3, Kincaid Terrace off the Antrim Road and lined up all the male members found in the McMahon home (eight in all) in the front parlour and opened fire on them.

The date was March 24, 1922 and the target of the RUC murder gang was Owen McMahon, proprietor of the Capstan Bar in Ann Street and a prosperous middle-class Catholic who was a Home Rule supporter of the Nationalist MP Joe Devlin.

What happened next was testified by John McMahon from his hospital bed in the Mater Hospital: "The leader said, 'You boys say your prayers', and at the same time he and the others fired volley after volley at us". Of the eight only John McMahon and his eleven-year-old brother Michael survived the slaughter.



● Five of the victims lying in Belfast morgue: Gerald, Frank, Owen and Patrick McMahon and Edward McKinney.

The organisers of this mass murder are identified by Joe Baker as two senior RIC officers - County Inspector RDW Harrison and District Inspector JW Nixon.

The book presents evidence of these death squad units shooting RIC members to ensure they were let loose on Catholic areas for widespread slaughter. After the McMahon murders Catholic RIC members signed affidavits testifying to Nixon's and Harrison's roles in planning and carrying out sectarian murders. These affidavits were handed over to Michael Collins, then commander-in-chief of the Free State army, and included a long list of RIC members in-

which listed the members of the Stormont cabinet, Unionist party and RUC members who were involved in sectarian attacks on Catholics.

The author of this book-let recounts how the 'Northern Ireland' cabinet and the Unionist party established 'Cromwell Clubs' within each RUC barracks in Belfast to do nothing but assassinate Catholics. They ensured that there were no investigations into the murders and no prosecutions.

This publication is

available in bookshops throughout Belfast and from the Glenravel Local History Project, Ashton Centre, 5 Churchill Street, New Lodge, Belfast BT15 2BP.

## Seán Fitzpatrick

Founder and First Gen.-Sec., National Graves Association 1926-62

ON March 8, 1963 Sean Fitzpatrick died. Thus ended a life devoted to the establishment of the Republic envisaged by Tone, Connolly, Pearse and Liam Mellows. Some three days later his friend and fellow Republican, Brian O'Higgins also died.

Sean Fitzpatrick was born on October 7, 1887 in James' Street, Dublin, the seventh child of Fenian activist John Fitzpatrick. The Fitzpatrick family lived in this locality for almost 150 years.

Leaving school early young Sean took up employment with the Grand Canal Company. Gifted with a natural aptitude for leadership he came to the notice of James Larkin, who was impressed by the way Sean had worked himself up from General Operative to the responsible post of Storeman.

It was inevitable Sean would lead the workers out of the Canal Yard at the time of the Lock-Out

of 1913, in support of Jim Larkin and the others being persecuted by the Employers Association led by William Martin Murphy. When the strike petered out the workers returned to work but there was no work for Sean Fitzpatrick.

The following year he secured a job with Dublin Corporation where he was employed for the following forty years, retiring in 1954 as Chief Inspector in Dublin Corporation Cleansing Department.

Unlike many of his contemporaries Sean did not take part in the Easter Rising while supporting Connolly's Citizen Army. However an event of Easter Monday 1916 changed things radically. Walking home from the city he observed the first fatal shooting of the Rising, the shooting of his Corporation colleague Capt Sean Connolly on the roof of Dublin City Hall.

In November 1917 Sean

Fitzpatrick joined 'A' Coy, Third Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Oglagh na hEirinn - he never resigned from the Irish Republican Army. A natural talent for military intelligence saw

Sean rapidly promoted to Battalion IO and later to the position of Brigade Intelligence Officer. He came to the notice of Collins with whom he served during the Tan War.



● Seán Fitzpatrick laying a wreath at the Donnchadh Mac Niallais Memorial, Glencolmille, Co Donegal on August 5, 1962.

## DECISION

When the time for decision arrived after the Truce Sean remained true to his Republican principles and immediately reorganised the remnants of 'A' Coy under the command of Dr TJ Carty O/C 'A' Coy. Sean set up his own intelligence network despite efforts by Collins to smash the unit and with it Sean's unique ability to decode Free State intelligence.

At this time he met his friend Joe Bergin from Co Offaly who Sean encouraged to join the Free State Army as a double agent. Joe Bergin's torture and humiliating death at the hands of a Free State General hurt him greatly. Many years later he was to walk out of a Hotel Dining Room in Carlow when that same General walked in to the room.

When the soldiers of the Republic dumped their arms and the jails emptied a meeting of the Army Executive was held in Dundalk in February 1926.

## CHALLENGE

On the way back to Dublin by train the germ of the National Graves

Association was sown. Sean took up the challenge with relish to commemorate the sacrifices of those who died for the establishment of the Republic proclaimed in arms in 1916.

The first task was the 1916 Memorial in Glasnevin followed by the erection of the Fenian Memorial also in Glasnevin. Space would not be adequate to outline the tremendous work performed to a great extent solely by this man. A full list of the achievements of the NGA are contained in the publication *The Last Post*.

Sean Fitzpatrick supported the Campaign of the Forties and those who were participants know of his tremendous help during the 1956-62 Campaign when his shop in James' Street was of great help to Volunteers. Sean guarded the total Republicanism of the National Graves Association. He would not allow the Association to be used by political parties or organisations.

Like his friends Moss Twomey and Ben Doyle he fervently guarded his Republicanism.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

## IRISH FREEDOM PRESS

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# DERRY JAIL MASS ESCAPE

**50  
YEARS  
AGO**

ON St Patrick's Day 1943, de Valera as Head of the Dublin administration made his oft-

ten-quoted broadcast on Radio Eireann. Addressing as many of the Irish people at home and abroad as he could reach, he referred first to WW2:

"Acutely conscious though we all are of the misery and desolation in which the greater part of the world is plunged, let us turn aside for a moment to that ideal Ireland that we would have.

"That Ireland which we dreamed of would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as the basis of right living, of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit — a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads..."

"It was the idea of such an Ireland, happy, vigorous, spiritual, that fired the imagination of our poets; that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty, and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved..."

"Perserved?" one may ask. Apparently they had already been achieved in 1943, according to de Valera. Then why the one to two thousand men and women in jails and internment camps North and South of the Border and in England too? Why the military courts and the firing squads, the hangman's rope and the political prisoners naked and in solitary confinement in Portlaoise and not allowed to attend Mass under de Valera's jurisdiction because he would not recognise them as such?

## HOLLOW

The sketching of such a rural idyll must have sounded hollow to those men and women suffering in prison — those who could know of it — and their deprived families on the outside. And then with wartime censorship how many Irish people were aware of these political prisoners? But at least what was outlined was a vision, something sadly lacking in today's politicians...

So much for de Valera's public view. Privately and officially he had put other views on the record to the Dublin Ambassador of the US Government, John Cudahy in January 1940. Of the Magazine Fort Raid the previous month he said (see Cronin p 80) that there was "no evidence that this was the beginning of an attempt to take over the government".

"The whole IRA movement was inspired, stimulated and finally sustained from American sources," he said. He thought the Clan-na-Gael was largely responsible. Large sums of money came to the IRA from America, and he intimated that Clan-na-Gael obtained much of these funds through sales of Sweep tickets, although he said he had no evidence of this — only a well-founded suspicion."

The report continues: "When Cudahy asked what the IRA wanted, de Valera replied that 'the whole emphasis of the movement was on the word Republic; the IRA was made up of (wait for it!) recalcitrant, vindictive, venomous, violent Irishmen who could not bring themselves to believe that twenty-six counties in the country were united in a government which has achieved Irish emancipation'."

## THUMB

"They sincerely believe," de Valera continued, "that I am under the British thumb." The IRA was not satisfied with the way freedom had been achieved. There in the early morning of February 2,

They believed in more combative methods. They wanted to see England 'severely trounced with the Irish on top and victorious'. He called partition the root of the evil."

Cudahy also reported to the State Department in Washington on another conversation, this time with the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Paschal Robinson whom he described as "a most delightful personality... very active and alert mentally" and well informed, Cudahy believed, about the IRA.

The Nuncio stated that many of the leaders were IRA Veterans and therefore colleagues of de Valera and members of his government in the Easter Rising of 1916. It was not believed they contemplated an attack on the Free State or Civil War.

"Their activities were directed against England to induce that country by fair means or foul to relinquish its hold on the six Northern counties," the Papal Nuncio told the American Ambassador in January 1940.

De Valera's private opinion of those he had once soldiered with and their young followers as he was poised for the most vicious repression and coercion for two decades is surely illuminating. Where

The OC Tyrone, Jim Toner and his Adjutant, Joe Carolan shone a strong light on the driver, ordered him and his helper to alight, removed the registered mail packages and made off on bicycles. The operation netted £1,500, a considerable sum in 1943.

Neither Volunteer knew the purpose of the raid — there was no need at that stage. Both Toner and Carolan were Donegal men and both figured in the 1956-62 Campaign. Jim Toner was charged with ferrying gelignite through the Bearnas Mór Gap in 1958 and was acquitted by a Dublin jury, although found in possession. He was then interned at the Curragh. CJ Carolan was sentenced by the Military Tribunal for having a rifle and ammunition in his house in December 1961.

About 300 Republicans were held without trial in the grim Gothic edifice that was Derry Jail. (It was never used as a prison after the 1940s although it did house a detachment of the RUC Commando — an elite "anti-terrorist" force from 1957 to 1962.) In November of '42 Billy Graham and Eddie Steele had commenced a tunnel from under the floorboards of their cell with Harry O'Rawe and Jimmy O'Hagan in support.



● Collaboration 1943: The Derry jail escapees being loaded into a lorry following their arrest by Free State troops. They were then interned at the Curragh.

## VERTICAL SHAFT

First they had to sink a vertical shaft fifteen feet deep and then excavate a tunnel eighty feet long. They worked with "candles" made from salvaged cooking fat carried on tin lids. Fifteen tons of clay were removed, placed under other cell floors, flushed down manholes or discreetly scattered on beds of soil in the yard.

It all took nearly five months and Graham only just escaped suffocation when a roof collapse took place. Boards and "sandbags" made from pillow cases were used as props in places. Outside, the Volunteers could only direct them to Logue's house in Harding Street, giving them a fix on a tall chimney behind it.

Signals could be exchanged from a high window in the jail with Liam Burke on the outside. Burke knew the layout well, having been in the jail himself before he escaped with four others — having been moved to Crumlin Road Prison. Meantime a flood of underground water had to be bailed out and plugged and a well preserved coffin — most disquieting — circumvented!

Finally on Saturday morning March 20, twenty-one young men belied through the suffocating tube — some fainted and had to be dragged along by the hair by their preceding comrades. They poked their way upwards into the coal-hole of the Logues at 15 Harding Street, off Abercorn Road, south-east of the prison.

Passing through the small kitchen they left the family in consternation as, muddled over, they ran down the short street to a parked furniture van which had been hired the previous day. One man got stuck in the tunnel, managed to free himself but missed the van. Hiding

around Derry he was accosted the following night by RUC in the black-out and recaptured. He was Jimmy O'Rawe.

Five others also missed the van but the main body of 15 men climbed aboard and with Ned Maguire and the driver (who had agreed to cooperate) headed for Donegal. They "jumped" the Border and were followed from the Customs post by 26-County police as they sped through Carrigans village.

Free State troops and Special Branch at Letterkenny were alerted by the British and started a sweep for the escapees. Ten were found in a quarry near the top of windswept Kinacally mountains. The other five had detached themselves from the main body and escaped. A lorry which was to have met them all did not materialise.

The man with the money — he had £700 in cash — was to hand and he slipped it to a local farmer as the troops moved in. Paddy Clarke's adroit move paid off and the money was later recovered. He was a native of Ardee, Co Louth. A local woman with a box camera was hiding behind a hedge as the Derry internees were loaded onto a Free State army lorry as prisoners. Unknown to all she photographed the scene for posterity, thus making a tangible record of this blatant collaboration. The photo is reproduced here.

The escapees were held for a week at Rockhill military barracks, Letterkenny where they were viewed by RUC and warders brought from Derry. Then they were moved to the Curragh Concentration Camp where they were held under much more rigorous conditions than they had endured in Derry.

The furniture van was left near Sion Mills, Co Tyrone and the hire charge of £9 was forwarded to Curran Bros, Belfast. Liam Burke and Jimmy Steele who had travelled to Derry to oversee the operation returned to Belfast by train, Burke dressed as a priest and Steele wearing his Fire Service uniform.

The five others who did not make the van in Derry, Harry O'Rawe, Hubert McInerney, Brendan O'Boyle, "Chips" McCusker and Billy Graham went into the City Cemetery and eventually reached Letterkenny on foot. There a priest took them to a restaurant and stood them a four-course meal before driving them to Ballybofey.

## POSED

They passed from Dan McCool to his training officer Jimmy Clarke to Sligo where they boarded the Dublin train armed with ash plants and posing as cattle dealers. Arriving penniless in the capital they headed directly for the Republican digs in North Frederick Street, *An Stad*. Early next morning all were arrested and interned, except for O'Boyle who had remained up north.

Even Maud Gonne MacBride's house at Roebuck, Clonskeagh was raided in the hunt for them. Brendan O'Boyle was active in the 1950s with the Laochra Ulladh splinter-group and died tragically in an accidental explosion at a telephone exchange near Stormont in July 1955. He had a jeweller's shop in Dublin area some years in Ann Street or Duke Street between Dawson Street and Grafton Street.

The full list of the 21 escapees is as follows: Hubert McInerney, Billy Graham, Tom McArdle, Jimmy O'Rawe, "Chips" McCusker, Brendan O'Boyle, Seán Hamill, Alfie White, Jimmy Trainor, "Rocky" Burns, Paddy Adams, Billy Perry, Dan McAllister, Albert Price (all from Belfast), Jim O'Hagan, Kevin Kelly (Tyrone), Jimmy McGreevy (Co Down), Jimmy McCann and Hugh Mór O'Neill (Lurgan), Seán McArdle (Newry) and Pat Scullion from South Derry.

Albert Price was to be the father of the famous sisters of the 1970s, Dolours and Marion, while Paddy Adams was uncle of the West Belfast abstentionist MP 1983-92 and of course Séamus "Rocky" Burns was to die of wounds received in action against the Crown Forces within the year.

Continued on page 11



# Mick Humphreys

REPUBLICANS in Leinster and indeed throughout Ireland were saddened by the death on February 26 of Mick Humphreys of Glenmore, Ballymore Eustace, Co Kildare. Mick and his sister Kitty Hawkins have been involved all their life in work for the Republican Movement. Until his illness last year Mick Humphreys worked as a linesman with the ESB.



• Mick Humphreys

His Tricolour-draped coffin was removed from Clane Nursing Home to Ballymore Eustace Church on Saturday, February 27 and a large group of GAA members from the local Ballymore club, of which Mick was a member, provided the Guard of Honour.

Mick was buried on Sunday in Bursage Cemetery, Blessington, Co Wicklow. A very large crowd was in attendance and the Guard of Honour at the Church was again provided by Ballymore GAA. At the graveside Matt Conway, Republican Sinn Féin, Kilcullen, introduced Pádraig Ó Baoighill from the Rosses in Donegal and now living in Monaghan to give the oration on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin at the graveside.

Speaking in Irish and in English Pádraig Ó Baoighill spoke of Mick Humphreys' life of dedication to the Republican cause. Mick and Kitty came from a Republican family who never refused help or support to the cause of Irish

freedom. In recent years Mick and the late Tom O'Connor, Kill, were very much involved in the smooth running of the annual Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodinstown in Co Kildare.

They had worked hard to establish a Sinn Féin cumann in the area in 1957 and had been constant workers for all aspects of the struggle since. Pádraig pointed out that the British presence was the root cause of the trouble in the Six Counties and that problem must be tackled if peace is to be achieved.

## REALISED

Pádraig said: "Mick Humphreys realised that there was no half-way measures or acceptance of partition situations and he was strong in his conviction in that regard."

Representing Sinn Féin Poblachtach at the removal and the funeral were Leas-Uachtarán Des Long and Eamon Larkin, Ard-Rúnaí Lita Ní Chathmhaoil, Publicity Officer Ruairí Óg O Brádaigh, Ard Chomhairle members Des Dalton and Mick Donegan and many members from the province of Leinster.

SAOIRSE expresses its sympathy to his sister Kitty, niece Sínead and nephew Ibar and to all Mick's relatives and friends. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh a anam.

# Brón ar an mBás

## Pat Mugan

ONE of the last links with the Black-and-Tan War in Mayo was broken when Patrick Mugan, Cloonkeen, Castlebar, last survivor of the Islandeedy Ambush of May 1921, died on January 31 at the great age of 97.

His comrade Vols O'Malley and Lally of the West Mayo Brigade, IRA were killed in that attack on British Forces at Clonkeen Bridge. While the ambush site on the main Castlebar-Westport road was appropriately marked years ago, Pat Mugan as the last survivor wrote to the local papers in the mid-1980s asking that his two martyred comrades' graves be also marked.

Local Republicans took up the challenge and in June 1990 a handsome Celtic cross was erected over their grave in Islandeedy Cemetery. Pat Mugan performed the unveiling and Ruairí O Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, delivered the oration.

At the removal to the Holy Rosary Church, Castlebar on February 2 the coffin was draped in the Irish Tricolour. The funeral next day was to Islandeedy Cemetery and was largely attended. A wreath on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin was laid by Patrick O'Reilly, Kiltimagh.

Dan Hoban, Newport gave the oration. He sketched Pat Mugan's career and said that he had known him from his earliest youth. His parents had taught him to respect Pat Mugan and all like him who in their day had fought the Brit-

ish Occupation Forces in Ireland.

## FIVE MORE

Within two weeks of the Islandeedy attack, five more active service Volunteers were killed by British Forces in what is known as the Kilmeena Ambush. A cousin of the speaker lost a leg on that day also.



• Pat Mugan

"Pat Mugan was faithful to the All-Ireland Republican down the years," Dan Hoban continued. He was an inspiration to all those from Co Mayo who took part in subsequent campaigns against British rule in Ireland - from Seán McNeela in 1939-40 to Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg in 1974 and 1976.

While the Leinster House politicians went about the business of collaborating with the British Forces still in Ireland, the grave of O'

# Denis Conroy

DENIS Conroy (80) GAA stalwart and uncompromising Republican died in his native Cork on February 10 just four months after the demise of his wife Eileen in October.

Denis is best remembered as a GAA official for many years with Cork Co Board and the Munster Council and as a representative at the Annual Congress. He had a strong sense of humour and ably defended the GAA stand, particularly the rule excluding the British Forces from membership, on radio talk-shows and other public occasions.

His proudest moment of the many years he served as Chairman of Cork Co Board was when the county won both the Football and Hurling All-Irelands in 1990. But Denis was an active Republican in his earlier days.

## INTERNEED

He was interned without trial for years in the Curragh Concentration Camp in the 1940s and the late Tony Ruane spoke highly of his stand during that time.

In recent years Republicans remember his outspoken address at the graveside of his friend,

Malley and Lally went unmarked. In 1989 Republican Sinn Féin took up the work and rallied support on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the US, Mayo-man George Harrison and IRA veteran Mike Flannery headed the list of donors to the Islandeedy Memorial Fund.

## GREATEST

It was the greatest day in Pat Mugan's life - apart from his participation in

IRA Veteran Frank Colgan in Lucan, Co Dublin in 1986. "Frank was a man", he said, "who believed that the only way to speak to the British was down the barrel of a gun."

The GAA rendered due honours at his removal to St Patrick's Church, Cork and at the funeral to Carrigrohilly Cemetery next day. Republican Sinn Féin members attended on both occasions as did members of Cumann na mBan.

## DRAPED

When his wife Eileen died on October 8 last, the coffin was draped in the Cumann na mBan flag at the removal, and at the funeral to Carrigrohilly, representatives of the organisation accompanied the remains. Eileen had been an active Cumann na mBan member over many years.

Sincere sympathy is extended to their son Liam and other members of their family.

Ar dheis Dé go rabhadar beirt.

the Islandeedy Ambush itself - when at the age of 95 he unveiled the memorial over his two fallen comrades. He would die happily as a result, he said.

"His memory and that of his generation lives on and will always be an inspiration to those who seek to complete his work," the speaker concluded.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam uasal.

# Beannachtaí

HEGARTY, Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. Wishing Mick many happy returns on the occasion of his Birthday which falls on March 8. From Cathleen and Dermot.

HEGARTY, Best wishes to Michael Hegarty from Tom Malone and friends, Miltown Malbay, Co Clare.

MAGUIRE, Congratulations to Comdt-General Tom Maguire on his 101st birthday which occurs in March. From Chomhairle na Mumhan, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

# I gCuimhne

DUIGNAN, Leo - 3rd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Leo Duignan, late of Leitrim and Dublin, who died on March 20, 1990. Always remembered by his friends in the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin Central.

FARRELL, Máiréad; McCANN, Daniel; SAVAGE, Seán - 5th Anniversary. Máiréad Farrell, Seán Savage, Daniel McCann. Slain on Sunday morning, March 6, 1988, in Gibraltar. We love them yet; we can't forget. Tom and Vita Cox, Florida, USA.

# Comhbhrón

CONROY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Conroy family, Cork on the death of Denis Conroy, former chairman of Cork County Board, GAA. From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Solas na bhFálaitheas dá anam.

HUMPHREYS, Deepest sympathy is expressed to Kitty Hawkins and family on the death of her brother Mick Humphreys. Always remembered by his friends in the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin Central.

HUMPHREYS, Deepest

sympathy is extended to Kitty Hawkins and family, Ballymore Eustace, Co. Wicklow on the death of her brother Michael on February 26, from the Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin. Leaba i measc na bhFíníní go raibh aige.

HUMPHREYS, Sincere sympathy is extended to Kitty Hawkins and family on the recent death of her brother Mick Humphreys. From Cathleen Knowles. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam uasal.

MALONE, Sincere sympathy is expressed to Tom Malone and family, Rathurles, Nenagh, Co Tipperary on the death of their brother Bill in Dublin. From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

MALONE, Deepest sympathy is expressed to Tom Malone and family, Tipperary, on the death of their brother Bill who died in Dublin. From Chomhairle na Mumhan, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

MALONE, Deepest sympathy is expressed to the Malone family, Tipperary, on the death of Bill who died on February 13. From the Brennan family, Ballyheigue, Co Kerry.

MALONE, Cathleen and Dermot extend sincere sympathy to Tom, Donald and Maura, on the death last month of their brother

Bill. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

MARTIN, Sympathy is expressed with the relatives of Jim Martin, Longstone, Co Down whose death occurred recently. From Sinn Féin Poblachtach, South Down. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

SHEIL, It is with deep sadness that we learn of the death after a short illness of Kathleen Sheil, Offaly and Dublin. The Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach extends sincere sympathy to Kathleen's family on their sad bereavement. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

SHEIL, Her comrades in the Anne Devlin Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BAC extend deepest sympathy to the Sheil family. Tallaght on the death of Kathleen on March 2. A loyal comrade and an inspiration to all members, she will be sorely missed. Ní dhéanfaimid dearmad ort, a Chaitlín.

SHEIL, Cumann Cathal Brugha, Sinn Féin Poblachtach extends sincere sympathy to Carmel, Shane, Niall and Fiona on the death of their mother Kathleen. Also to her brother Joe and family members. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

SHEIL, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and relatives of Kathleen Sheil, Dublin who died on March 2. From the McKelvey/Steele Cumann Republican Sinn Féin, Bel-

fast.

SHEIL, Sincere sympathy is extended to Carmel, Shane, Fiona and Niall Sheil on the death of their mother Kathleen. Also to her brother Joe and family members and friends. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam. From Cathleen and Dermot.

SHEIL, Deepest sympathy to the Sheil family, Tallaght, Dublin on the death of Kathleen on March 2. From Cumann Wolfe Tone. Tallaght. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sí.

SHEIL, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Kathleen Sheil, Dublin who died on March 2. From CABHAIR, Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

SHEIL, Sincere sympathy to the family of Kathleen Sheil who died on March 2. From Chomhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

WALSH, Deepest sympathy is extended to Willie Walsh, Listowel, Co Kerry on the death of his sister. From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

WALSH, Deepest sympathy is extended to Willie Walsh, Listowel, on the recent death of his sister. From the Brendan Doherty Cumann, Currow, Castleisland, Co Kerry. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh sí.

Continued from page 10

## IMPACT

Coogan says: "This escape created a fantastic impact on Nationalist sentiment coming on top of the Crumlin Road breakout. Bell says that "Irish opinion was outraged" at the imprisonment without trial of the escapees in the 26 Counties. He continues: "Always a sporting nation, it seemed to the country very unfair, unsporting, to pop the men who had tweaked the lion's tail into a concentration camp."

The last word on the Derry Jail mass escape and its aftermath is left to Hugh McAteer, himself a Derry man and at the time the 26-year-old Chief-of-Staff of the IRA. Harry says he was "particularly galled" at the re-capture of the escapees across the Border.

"The Southern government is co-oper-

ating with the British," he said. "Internees guilty of no crime are imprisoned in what is supposed to be the sympathetic South." Hugh died in 1970 but not before he took his stand once more with the true Republicans.

Had he lived he would have seen escapees from Six-County jails sentenced to seven years south of the Border for escaping from the British and even, in addition, extradited back to them. In the 1940s, with de Valera's patriotic fervour in public, all the while he repressed Republicans in an all-out fashion, what happened to the escaped Derry internees shamed even Fianna Fáil members and supporters.

It was to be a landmark for the future...

(More next month. Refs. Harry by Harry White, The IRA by TP Coogan and The Secret Army by J Bowyer Bell.)





## GUNGHO GENERALS FIGHT CUTS

**A** GENERAL without an army is as useful as a gelding at stud, and the top British military brass are now fighting a fierce rearguard action to thwart Cabinet plans to reduce their combat strength by up to a quarter.

The almost secret war at Whitehall to prevent recession-hit Britain from cutting the complement of troops and auxiliary services by up to 40,000 is more than a matter of life and death, according to one whimsical War Office source. It is a battle to save the BA (British Army) promotion and pay ladder from falling.

Naturally, it will have minimal effect on besieged nationalists in the Occupied Counties. Their continued oppression is guaranteed by the scheme to replace regulars with part-time soldiers drawn from one-time UDR recruits and loyalist gangs who have been trained in terror and torture tactics.

According to BBC figures, 20,000 will remain the standing figure for the Six Counties, and the 45,000 employed on NATO duties in Germany will be only slightly trimmed.

The chief casualties will be in so-called mainland barracks, and on the fringes of the dying empire. The Americans will help out at places like Grenada and Las Malvinas (the Falklands), which is virtually a US-dominated air base since the Argentinian war ended.

As predicted in this column several months ago, the strategy for the North is unchanged. Tactics will continue to be based on a distorted propaganda campaign in which members of the notorious Ulster Defence Regiment, now disguised as real soldiers in so-called Royal Irish regiments, will harass and kill innocents in the Tyrone-Armagh murder triangle.

The idea of Irishmen killing Irishmen tickles the fancy of the Whitehall sadists, and this is the firm policy for pseudo-military action designed to subdue insurgency.

## THE DUKES OF LEINSTER

**I**TS effectiveness at times is consolidated by the supine attitude of Leinster House Yahoos who have agreed a covert deal to ignore State-directed murders and blame the armed struggle on Republican "terrorists", though loyalist psychopaths favour the Union at the price of the lives of women and children.

And, of course, the modern British version of the Black and Tans in the SAS are regarded by the dupes of Kildare Street as neutral referees in a sectarian mini-war. They run from the reality that independence and unity are not mutually exclusive, and that the freedom fight has still to be won.

The gunggho generals realise that their cause is lost in Hong Kong, due to revert to the rule of 1.2 billion Chinese by 1997, and a mass exodus of troops from there, from Singapore, from the former Yugoslavia, and outposts of their own colonies, has become inevitable, they conclude.

But Ireland still offers a rich harvest in killing streets, and is a useful training ground, though the strategic importance of the beleaguered north has been greatly eroded by the new technologies of air and naval nuclear missiles.

Still, those despairing enough, who see the only solution as casting the unionist-dominated enclaves into the Atlantic, need to be reminded that if there is a British military withdrawal, the Westminster politicians fear this will spark separation moves by Scotland and even Wales.

Then supporters of the Slightly United Common Kingdom (SUCK to you, general) will splinter into chaos. This is why the gunggho top brass reckon that they must beat the proposed Whitehall cuts, or at least remove their threat to the senior officer class.

Some 40 years ago I interviewed a nonagenarian senior British general who had bivouacked in comfort during the Boer War. In old age, this survivor of many a

cushy campaign, wistfully recalled that if the First World War had lasted only another six months, he would have made Field Marshal.

No regrets were expressed for the ignoble Somme slaughter of hundreds of thousands so that opposing chiefs-of-staff could boast a quarter-mile advance through shell-pocked fields of mud.

## NOSTALGIA FOR COLONIAL PERKS

**T**HE Victorian days of shame when half the British Army were Irish, the bulk of them economic exiles, are gone, but they are nostalgically recalled by Ballsbridge-Donnybrook descendants of beneficiaries of the old Castle rule, and as far south as north Wicklow (!) incipient fifth columnists pray for the return of the Queen's writ.

These are the folk who still call the Great Starvation of the 1840s a mere potato famine and turn blind from the fact that a dozen other crops were safely harvested, but taken out of this country under military guard so that absentee landlords could join in the London society sprees.



• Bobby Sands

These relics of privileged colonial exploitation are still with us. But their usefulness as recruiting agents for the British armed forces is fast fading in face of the deeply-rooted recession.

And as for jeering at the Irish as a nation that fought for every country but its own, they can choke on the revelation that thousands of Tommies on the dole have become mercenaries in the former Yugoslavia, fighting on three sides, and set for killing each other.

Aw - from this fratricidal scene, the heart bleeds for poor - like that general who reached out to grasp a Field Marshal's baton - only inches short of a career's consummation because peace came too soon.

Republicans cherish peace because they have been the main victims of the British-Irish conflict. But peace and justice are indivisible.

## ABSTENTIONIST BOBBY SANDS

**A** RECENT rereading of the Pluto Press edition of Bobby Sands' harrowing story of his hunger strike, *One Day in My Life*, reminds me that he died aged 27 almost 12 years ago. He began his fatal fast for prisoners' rights to recognition as politicians on March 1, 1981 after an earlier "Special Status" agreement by the British with Cardinal O'Flaherty had been broken.

He proved to be one of ten to die by this tradition-honoured method of protest by oppressed peoples worldwide. But his tortures, daily beatings, and humiliations became a global media focus because he had been elected a Westminster MP for Fermanagh/South Tyrone, as an abstentionist, of course.

Though one of the nine others who died in 1981 was also elected, to Leinster House as a TD (again a committed abstentionist from the British-created assembly to replace the original Dáil Éireann whose members refused to sign an oath of allegiance to the Crown), Kieran

Doherty was not as charismatic a figure, perhaps partly because he did not write a diary, or at least publish one.

The H-Blocks ordeal at Long Kesh embarrassed both British and Irish administrations because they colluded in trying to distort the rights of political prisoners as unrealistic and arrogant, though these had been approved by Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists as legally acceptable and morally reasonable.

The British have tried every way possible to human ingenuity to avoid a withdrawal from this island, despite repeated democratic mandates urging such a settlement. Direct and indirect rule have failed. So, too, has genocide, apartheid, puppet parliaments, real parliaments, martial law, civil law, colonialism, land reform, partition.

These are the sentiments expressed by Paul Johnson, editor of the *Spectator*, and an ardent supporter of Margaret Thatcher. Paul admitted in the early Seventies that "nothing has worked."

"The only solution we have not tried is absolute and unconditional withdrawal", wrote Paul. Why not try it now? It will happen in any event, forecast Sean MacBride SC - one-time IRA chief-of-staff, and distinguished international lawyer who won both the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes - in the Sands' book foreword.

## TRICKIE DICKIE READY TO TRADE

**T**RICKY Dickie Spring, who used the unexpected Presidential triumph of Mary Robinson SC (when Brian Lenihan stood over a lie on television and blew his chances) to put Labour into a government partnership position, is showing opportunist fans.

As Dublin Foreign Affairs Minister (and power-neutered Tánaiste), semi-socialist Dickie insisted on a new office. It cost the taxpayer over £800,000. No matter to the Kerry opportunist, whose logic reminds one of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator.

Daniel told massive crowds that "freedom was not worth the shedding of one drop of blood" - this from the former Yeoman officer who hunted pike-armed 1798 insurgents with muskets and cavalry like so many surplus foxes. He was also a ferocious duellist and is reputed to have killed a friend over a bibulous difference of opinion.

Opposition to violence is selective, and tricky Dickie has vomited out a principle by pretending that Articles Two and Three of de Valera's 1937 Constitution can be changed, though not entirely (whatever that means) to appease unionist fears, and without diminishing sovereignty.

No mention of the isolation of northern nationalists that this would compound as they witnessed the abandonment of the last legal safeguard of their ambition to see a free and fair-minded 32 Counties protected in its territorial integrity.

## THE DAY OF THE DONKEY

**S**OMEONE who agreed with this view in the mid-Sixties was a former British Major who had become disgusted with British misrule after sharing a Fermoy barracks in Co Cork with the hated Auxiliaries. Interested in things Irish, notably the songs and airs of the Gael, the innocent Major quit the company of the mercenaries and went into a little pub snug where silence among a dozen or so regulars greeted his entry.

After it became clear that here was no spy, but a culture-loving type, the Major was cautiously welcomed into the select company and they shared drinks on several nights, he recounted for me in a Dublin pub, having made a holiday home here.

But one twilight evening, before curfew, a young man rushed in and implored the friendly officer to make a dash for barracks via a rear window to an unpaired lane because there had been an ambush of Tans and reprisals were expected.

As he ran up the lane, it dawned on the Major that he had been stupid. The pub confreres were probably Republican comrades. He chilled as he heard following steps. There must be at least two after me, he thought bleakly.

The Major nipped round a corner and, with revolver at the ready, awaited his fate as the steps came distinctly nearer.

"Though I hated it, I was about to level the gun at whoever came", he said.

Then a donkey trotted past.

- DRAPRIER II

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