

# SAOIRSE

## IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 59 MARTA - MARCH 1992

40p (USA \$24 per year)

# 378,800 UNEMPLOYED

FEBRUARY brought another huge rise in the jobless figures in the 32 Counties with a total of 378,800 people now unemployed, north and south. If the Maastricht Treaty is rejected in the 26-County referendum this year the people will be saying 'No' to a decade of deflation, cutbacks and tax rises - 'No to Maastricht' campaign launch, page 3.

## UDR PAIR JAILED FOR MAGINN MURDER

TWO Ulster Defence Regiment soldiers were jailed for life at Belfast Crown Court on March 3 for involvement in the UFF murder of Loughlin Maginn at his home in Rathfriland, Co. Down on August 25, 1989.

Private Andrew Browne (27) from Lisburn was also given a second life term for involvement in the murder of Liam McKee in the town in June 1989. Both he and Private Andrew Smith (31) whose address was given as Palace Barracks, Holywood, had previously served with other British regiments.

Loughlin Maginn compiled a dossier of harassment from the British Crown Forces over 18 months, including details of incidents when he was told by the RUC that he would be shot. His murder led to the setting up of the Stevens Inquiry into collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads. The inquiry found that there was collusion but said that on the evidence put before it the collusion was not widespread or institutional.

Private Browne was involved in gathering information on Loughlin Maginn which he handed over to the UDA. He obtained intelligence files on Maginn and others from Private Smith, who admitted working for the UFF, the cover-name for the UDA. In the cases of both soldiers, no minimum period of detention was recommended, leaving open the possibility that they could be released at an early date, as was the case with Private Thain who served two years and two months for the murder of Thomas Reilly in Belfast before rejoining his regiment.

Five other men were also sentenced for involvement in the murders of Loughlin Maginn, Patrick Feeney, Donacloney, who was shot dead on February 20, 1989, the killing of 79-year-old Kathleen Mullen and her son Terence (32) at their Ballinahinch home in October 1986, and conspiracy and possession of guns.

A 39-year-old native of Keady, Co. Armagh, James Gray, was shot dead in the cab of his lorry on the Portadown-Markethill road by the UVF on Wednesday, March 4. He was a driver for Clady Quarries and was delivering to a site near Markethill British army base when he was ambushed.

A sectarian gang burned the home of a disabled nationalist woman to the ground while she and her family were away on holidays early on the morning of March 2. Betty Creelman from Aghadowey, Co. Derry returned home on March 4 to find her bungalow

# BRITISH LABOUR TREACHERY



• Neil Kinnock

THE SUDDEN announcement on Friday, February 28 last that the Unionist parties and the SDLP saw "no obstacle" to restarting their talks was a direct consequence of the statement made by British Labour leader Neil Kinnock on the previous day at the Dublin administration's embassy in London.

If the talks were reconvened under a Labour government following an imminent British general election, Mr Kinnock made it clear they would not be designed to facilitate moves towards Irish unity. "That isn't the objective. The first objective is to achieve the political, economic and civil security... in Northern Ireland and elsewhere," he said. An Ulster Unionist Party spokesman quickly described this as "helpful".

With the assurance that the talks would be solely on the basis of the "better governance of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom", as British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd put it, the resumption of the talks was inevitable.

The Unionists had previously refused to continue the talks under a British Labour government "committed" to Irish unity. With Mr Kinnock's statement of their true policy Unionist objections vanished.

### NOTHING NEW

The treachery of the British Labour

party in regard to Irish self-determination is nothing new to anyone who examines its record over the years. On the same day as Neil Kinnock's remarks were reported, his spokesperson on the Six Counties Kevin McNamara was telling readers of the emigrant Irish newspaper *The Irish Post* in Britain that Labour undoubtedly wants a United Ireland and "by definition that means it is for a British disengagement. A declaration is implicit". He also declared his ambition to be the last ever Secretary of State for the Six Counties.

This blatant double-dealing is transparent and insulting to the Irish population in Britain whose electoral support Neil Kinnock so badly wants. In reality the British Labour party continues to guarantee the Unionist veto on Irish unity and will not even give a distant date for British withdrawal.

Electioneering is clearly what the SDLP and the Unionist parties are engaged in also. The resumption of talks, on paper at

least, has been accompanied by rhetoric from the SDLP about their 'Republicanism', and taking their cue from Albert Reynolds, about "everything being on the table". Most of this is aimed at an international audience particularly in the USA, but the long-suffering nationalists in the Six Counties are under no illusions that the talks are based on a British agenda, first and last, and therefore cannot produce a real settlement.

### 'MAINLAND'

Fianna Fáil leader Albert Reynolds, the man who described Britain as the "mainland" after his first talks with British premier John Major on February 26, has been talking about "pooling sovereignty to provide a long-term solution" which suggests he is prepared to accept Garret Fitzgerald's third Forum option of 'joint sovereignty'. In reality this probably means an enlarged Maryfield secretariat which he would be willing to call a long-term solution. His use of the British term gives us a definite indication of his mettle when it comes to challenging British rule in Ireland.

• British Labour's abysmal record on Ireland, page 4.

guttured and sectarian abuse daubed on the walls in red paint.

In the Clifton Street-Carlisle Circus area of North Belfast a 29-year-old man sustained head injuries when he was attacked with a hatchet by loyalists in the early hours of February 28. He is presently in intensive care. The junction has been the scene of many attacks on nationalists in recent times.

### KNIFE ATTACK

Anne-Marie Smyth (26) from Longstone Estate, Armagh was the victim of a knife attack by a sectarian gang early on Monday morning, February 24 in East Belfast. A mother of two children she was last seen alive in the Glentoran soccer supporters' club on the Castlereagh Road. At another nearby soccer club on January 26 Scotsman John McIvor was also knifed to death, raising the possibility of a Shankill Butcher-type gang operating in East Belfast.



• The body of Anne-Marie Smyth is removed from the murder scene.

# Belfast Frame - Up Victims

Le Eimear Ní Bhriain

A MEETING held in Dublin on Thursday, February 13 was shown a video made by "The Voice of the Innocent", a group set up to combat the latest attempt by British Crown Forces to intimidate the young people of West Belfast.

The video consisted of interviews with some of the young men concerned, - Liam Coogan (18), Mark Pierce (19), Jim McCabe (19), Kevin Mulholland (17) and Laurence Hillick (17), the 'Beechmount Five' and others - with their parents and representatives of justice groups in Belfast. In an attempt to break the morale of young people British forces are arresting them under the PTA, bringing them into Castlereagh and using physical and mental torture to force them to make statements.

Ten young men have been charged in connection with various incidents with murder and attempted murder. All of them signed statements after ill-treatment in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre and their parents say it is nothing more than a form of 'Youth internment'.

In many instances the youths had just passed their 17th birthday, allowing them to be interrogated in custody under the PTA without their parents being present.

**'URGENT ACTION'**  
In the case of one youth, Damien Austin,

who was aged 17 years when arrested, Amnesty International issued their first ever 'Urgent Action' order for the Six Counties. Interviewed on the video Austin said he was punched in the back of the head, slapped, kicked and otherwise assaulted. There were marks all over his body. They also told him that he and his father would be shot dead before Christmas by the UVF (a threat made to many of the other youths).

He was eventually released after medical and legal pressure was put on the RUC. The Committee for the Administration of Justice called for an independent complaints mechanism to be set up to monitor the behaviour of the RUC.

At the same meeting a member of the Casement Park Accused Committee, Jim Neeson, gave a graphic description of what happened during the funeral of Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh in Belfast on March 19, 1988, when two undercover British soldiers drove into the funeral procession and were later attacked and killed.



\* Armed Brits confront mourners at Republican funeral.

## 41 CHARGED

To date 41 men have been charged in connection with this, seven of whom are still awaiting trial. Jim Neeson pointed out that while Ulster TV, BBC, French and Spanish television only handed over their tapes of the incident after a court order was obtained, RTE did so voluntarily.

The Diplock Court judge found that the Crown only had to infer that it ran through the accused's mind that somewhere along the line he thought the corporals might be killed to ensure a conviction. The use of hidden witnesses (behind a curtain), the credence given to 'enhanced' video footage ensured that most of those accused were found

guilty.

During the trial Justice Carville commented that some of the accused were 'shoestring Republicans' and therefore were guilty by association.

Five men have been sentenced to life imprisonment, though they were not accused of the actual shootings. Five are awaiting judgements which were reserved, seven are awaiting trial and a number of others have been acquitted. The RUC would like to interview another 20 men.

Relatives and friends are campaigning for the release of those unjustly sentenced in the Diplock Courts and are seeking guidance and support from individuals and groups who wish to help in their struggle for justice.

# GAA attacked in 6 Cos.

THREATS and physical attacks on the GAA, the largest amateur sporting organisation in Ireland from the British Crown Forces and their paramilitary supporters in loyalist death squads continued recently with reports of a deliberate campaign of harassment and victimisation of one GAA club in Tyrone.

An Clochar Éire Óg GFC's committee is seeking a meeting with the President of the GAA, Peter Quinn, after one of its members needed hospital treatment as a result of being beaten up by British soldiers on Friday night, February 14. Players were leaving the club after training when a British army checkpoint on club property stopped all the cars and abused the players verbally and physically. Five soldiers beat up a 20-year-old man for four minutes while the others held the other GAA members back at gunpoint.

In a letter from the club to *The Irish News*, they stated that "this is the latest serious incident in a deliberate campaign of harassment and victimisation against the football club and its members". British army patrols have been noting car registration numbers at all their games and club meetings.

## UFF THREAT

In a separate incident the loyalist death squad the UFF (cover-name for the 'legal' UDA) has threatened GAA clubs in Co. Tyrone following public notices of sympathy from

the clubs with the relatives of the four men who were killed in the shoot-to-kill operation at Clonoe Church on Sunday night, February 16. One of the four dead men played for a GAA club but all were connected through family or friends to a number of clubs.



Unionist MP John Taylor commented that he "understood" why the UFF would act in such a

fashion given that the GAA was "perceived to be a political and divisive force". Last October the UFF said GAA members were legitimate targets, which covers a total of 40,000 people in the Six Counties.

British Direct Ruler Peter Brooke refused to give reasons why the UDA was not 'banned' in the Six Counties when he was asked on February 10 last. His colleague Brian Mawhinney in the British administration in the Six Counties tried to excuse loyalist attacks in a radio interview on February 16, saying they were "reactive".

It has been pointed out that Brooke is attempting to bargain the banning of the UDA against the proscription of Republican organisations and the introduction of internment to satisfy the unionists.

## OUR AIMS

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland . . . The establishment of a true 32-County DEMOCRATIC FEDERAL 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 . . .

# GEARR-SCEALTA

## Credit Union pioneer honoured

A large crowd assembled in the Quex Road Club, Kilburn, London on Friday, February 28 for a social paying tribute to Micheál O Callanáin on the first anniversary of his death. A native of Belfast, Micheál was cathaoirleach of Cumann na Poblachta in England for many years and a committed Republican Socialist in the mould of James Connolly who wanted people to exercise power at the lowest level.

In a speech delivered by one of his comrades, the role Micheál O Callanáin played in initiating the Credit Union movement in Ireland during the 1950s was highlighted. Realising that there was a great need for the people of Ireland to control their own money he believed this could lead to a huge growth in the co-operative movement. If he was disappointed in this hope, Credit Unions "helped change the landscape of Ireland. They gave the Irish people dignity, and limited power, and they more than any other source smashed the money lenders".

The first Credit Union in Ireland was set up with Micheál's guidance in Donore Avenue, South Circular Road, Dublin. He was a tireless worker for the cause of Irish freedom and was imprisoned in the 1970s for speaking out on Ireland in London's Hyde Park.



• Tom Maguire

Tom Maguire 100 years old on March 28

COMDT.-GENERAL Tom Maguire, last and faithful survivor of the Second (All-Ireland) Dail - who is Patron of Sinn Fein Poblachtach - will reach the great age of 100 years on March 28.

SAOIRSE extends congratulations to him on his achievement and on his fidelity to the All-Ireland Republic. General Maguire is also the last surviving general officer of the IRA of 1921 and the sole surviving member of the 1922 IRA Executive. He reads the daily papers and follows the progress of the Republican Movement.

People wishing to send messages of congratulations should address them as follows:

Comdt.-General Tom Maguire, Saleen, Castlebar, Co. Mayo.

## Jail threats in Kerry

26-COUNTY police in Co. Kerry have been making repeated calls on members of Sinn Fein Poblachtach at their homes and workplaces demanding payment of fines imposed for selling Easter Lilies in honour of those who died for Ireland.

At a recent court in Cahersveen James Coffey, Filmore was fined £50 for selling Easter Lilies at O'Connell Street, Cahersveen on the Easter weekend 1991. Since the fine was imposed 26-County police have called to his home three times demanding payment. James Coffey has consistently refused to pay any such fine and has served terms of imprisonment in Cork jail as a result on several occasions.

On February 4 last a similar visit was made to the workplace of John Houlihan, Droumroe, Currow, Killarney in respect of a £25 fine for selling Easter Lilies at Railway Street, Cahersveen on April 20, 1988.

## KERRY AGM

AT the recent Annual General Meeting of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Fein Poblachtach, the following officers were elected: Cathaoirleach: Pat Quirke; Leas-Cathaoirleach: John O'Shea; Rúnaí: Matt Leen; Cisteoir: Maurice Dowling; OCP: Margaret Scanton; Teachtaí Chomhairle na Mumhan: John Brennan and Anthony Conway; Eagraíocht: John Brennan and Liam Cotter.

I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin

Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Ainm .....

Seoladh .....

Play Your Part!



Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA, 13 Plás Aston, BAC 2.

Fón: 01-6799120, Facs: 01-6799206 or contact your local paper seller for details.

# MAASTRICHT 'NO' CAMPAIGN LAUNCH

A liaison and information group advocating a 'No' vote in the upcoming 26-County referendum on the Maastricht Treaty was launched at a press conference in Dublin during February. The 'Platform for Employment, Democracy, Neutrality' called on the Irish media to honestly inform the public what European Political and Monetary Union really entails:

- **NEUTRALITY** abandoned, as the 26 Counties cannot object to a common security and defence policy and therefore a common war policy if the Maastricht Treaty is agreed. "Voting 'No' means voting on behalf of peace-loving people in all 12 EC states" Adi Roche of Irish CND said, as the treaty must be unanimously accepted or it does not come into force anywhere. Conscriptio to a European army a real possibility for Jacques Delors "resource wars of the coming century";
- **CUT-BACKS**, tax rises, deflation. Ten years of cut-backs and recession as the debt/GNP ratio is expected to be reduced to 60 per cent by 1998. Even Garret Fitzgerald has admitted (*The Irish Times*, February 1, 1992) that this target is not going to be reached;
- **AGRICULTURE**, the present CAP policies to reduce output and take land out of production are not in the national interest. Irish people spend 25 per cent of income on food while German citizens only spend 12 per cent. No commitment to

- local production for local needs -
- **UNEMPLOYMENT** resulting from the burden of an overvalued currency in a Monetary Union with more developed countries, making exports dearer and increasing imports, leading to less jobs, emigration and an increasing drain of capital;
- **UNDEMOCRATIC SUPER-POWER** - the existing anti-democratic rule by the EC Council of Ministers and Commission will be tightened making Ireland a peripheral province with no influence on those who rule them - the text of the Maastricht Treaty was not even made available to the public before it was agreed on by the EC foreign ministers on February 7 last;
- **A FAIT ACCOMPLI** for the neutral states of Europe who desire a trading partnership with the EC but do not want to lose their sovereignty and identity;
- **'COHESION'**, the much-vaunted Cohesion Funds are simply a reshuffling of money from the existing Structural Funds. If the treaty is rejected the present Structural Funds are not threatened;



• Patricia McKenna, Anthony Coughlan, Adi Roche and Joe Noonan.

of every £5 worth of fruit and vegetables bought in the 26 Counties, £4 is imported;

Republican Sinn Féin will be liaising with the 'Platform for Employment, Democracy, Neutrality' along with a range of individuals and groups including the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Raymond Crotty, People First/Meitheal, Anthony Coughlan, Pax Christi and the Green Party.

The importance of establishing local groups in every town, parish, village and community in the coming weeks was stressed at the launch - this will be crucial to the outcome of the referendum.

At another public meeting in Dublin on February 17 journalist John

Waters said that people must beware of being presented as anti-Europe because they are anti-EC. The 'Euro-bullies' in the establishment and media represent a set of interests aiming to pool their economic power for the benefit of the strong, not the weak.

The true enemy is the increasing trend toward world convergence and a single planetary economy which will enslave humanity and disconnect man from self-reliance. The choice is between a self-sufficient independent Ireland and an abandonment of independence to a destructive giant economy. The 'Euro-bullies' cannot present a single convincing argument why we need the Maastricht Treaty, he said.

## Nationalists 'expendable'

AT ITS recent AGM in Cootehill, Co. Cavan the Ulster Executive of Republican Sinn Féin called for all nationalists to be very vigilant and show solidarity with their neighbours in the face of the murder campaign in nationalist districts.

Delegates from all nine counties of Ulster attended the meeting on Sunday, February 9, and in a statement issued afterwards expressed its deepest sympathy to all the bereaved families of the victims of British/loyalist murder gangs in Belfast during the previous week.

"Recent murderous attacks on nationalists in Belfast and in Tyrone, no doubt with the collusion of the British Occupation Forces, are intended to force nationalists in these beleaguered districts to feel isolated and betrayed. The recent whitewash of British agent Brian Nelson's actions

provided proof beyond dispute that in this campaign the British are never neutral, nor are they peace-keepers mainly attempting to separate warring factions". Reports to hand indicate that even in nationalist districts there is widespread fear of the British/loyalist murder gangs.

### INTERESTS

"It is clear that these recent attacks benefit only British interests and that the ultimate responsibility for these murders rests with the British government and their native collaborat-

## LONGFORD MESSAGE FOR REYNOLDS

WHEN the members of Longford County Council were queuing up at their February meeting to congratulate Roscommon-born Albert Reynolds on becoming head of the 26-County administration Republican Sinn Féin councillor Sean Lynch dissented, addressing himself instead to the national and local questions that remain to be solved, regardless of who is at the helm of the failed southern state.

Taxpayers in the 26 Counties are now paying a million pounds per day supporting British rule in Ireland, he told the meeting. "When Albert Reynolds meets British Prime Minister John Major (on February 26) he must tell him that the opinion polls in England indicate that most people favour withdrawal of their troops from Ireland. He must tell him that many prominent people in England support withdrawal including the

renowned historian AJP Taylor and Colonel Wilford, commander of the British Parachute Regiment on Bloody Sunday in Derry. Wilford has said that withdrawal 'would be a victory for common-sense'."

He recalled that the names of prominent Roscommon people were being mentioned in the previous days, and that Count Plunkett, elected for Sinn Féin in the famous North Roscommon

by-election of February 1917, was one of them. With the subsequent election of Joe McGuinness in May 1917 a flame was lit that swept across the country and culminated in the national victory of Sinn Féin and the cause of the Republic of Easter 1916 in the December 1918 election.

"When Cathal Brugha presided at the meeting of the First Dáil Eireann on January 21, 1919 he said 'we are now done with England'. That is not the case today. The Government of Ireland Act (1920) divided our country and not one Irish vote was cast for it. The democratic process meant nothing when the result did not suit the rulers in England," Seán Lynch said.

Turning to the proposed visit of Mr Reynolds to North Longford in the near future Cllr. Lynch said that he hoped he would travel over the pot-holes and see for himself the bad state of the roads and take action to have adequate funds made available to have them repaired. "If his state car is intact after the journey it will speak well of the makers!" he added.

In his closing remarks he wished Kathleen Reynolds a recovery to full health. Cllr. Lynch's speech was not covered in the Longford papers and indeed he was wrongly listed among those who "joined in the congratulations" to Albert Reynolds.

ors. We are disgusted but not at all shocked at the silence on these occasions from the very same quarters who jump at every opportunity to condemn Irish Republicans. Where are the books of condolences in Dublin and the public campaign to protest at the murder of young children on these occasions?

"Could it be because the victims on the Falls Road and Lower Ormeau Road happen to be nationalists that their lives are expendable? Their lives are of no consequence to those who hypocritically condemn only Republicans," the statement concluded.

## A Tribute to Michael Flannery (90th Birthday Celebration)

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1992  
TOWER VIEW BALLROOM  
61st Street and Roosevelt Avenue, Woodside, Queens, New York  
Master of Ceremonies: Frank Durkan  
Guest Speakers: Paul O' Dwyer, Mario Biaggi  
Honorary Chairpersons: John "Kerry" O'Donnell, Michael Kennedy  
Francis Beirne, Thomas "Teddy" Gleason  
Chairpersons: Paddy Markham, Charles McLoughlin  
Join us to honour a great Irishman and to wish him many more years of good health to pursue his life-long dream, a Free United Ireland  
Contact numbers: Souvenir Journal Contacts 212-884-3085,  
Chance Books 201-265-4984. Write to PO Box 196,  
Bronx, NY 10470-0272

## DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL MEMORIAL FUND

The Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach has established a National Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund and appointed a committee. All contributions, large or small will be acknowledged. Please send donations to Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund ÉIRE NUA office, 13 Aston Place, Dublin 2.

# Imeachtaí

PARLE, CREANE & HOGAN  
COMMEMORATION  
SUNDAY, MARCH 15  
Parade from Bullring 3pm  
to Republican Garden of  
Remembrance, Hill Street  
WEXFORD TOWN

★ ★ ★

CABHAIR  
TESTIMONIAL  
DINNER  
MAY 15, 1992  
8pm  
WEST COUNTY HOTEL  
Chapelizod, Co. Dublin

★ ★ ★

PICKET ON  
US EMBASSY  
Ballsbridge  
Dublin  
IN PROTEST AT  
US POLICY IN  
CENTRAL AMERICA  
SATURDAYS  
11.30am - 1pm

★ ★ ★

GIBRALTAR  
SAS KILLINGS  
RE-ENACTMENT  
STREET THEATRE  
AT FIANNA FAIL  
ARD-FHEIS  
RDS, Ballsbridge, Dublin  
SAT. MARCH 7  
12.30pm  
Organised by:  
Relatives for Justice

★ ★ ★

FRIENDS OF OSGUR  
BREATNACH  
(Sallins Mail Train  
Frame-up)  
FUNDRAISER  
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8  
National Concert Hall  
Dublin  
Tickets at the NCH, £10,  
£8 and £5 (concessions)

## BRITISH LABOUR'S OPPORTUNISM IN IRELAND

"LABOUR undoubtedly wants a United Ireland, by definition that means it is for British disengagement. A declaration is implicit." So stated Kevin McNamara, British Labour party shadow secretary of state for the Six Counties during February.

While on the other hand the Labour party leader Neil Kinnock has this to say about Irish unity on February 27: "That isn't the objective. The first objective is to achieve the political, economic and civil security that will enable people to take new perspectives and have new confidence in facing the future in Northern Ireland and elsewhere."

These conflicting statements by the Labour party leader and his spokesman on the Six Counties illustrate clearly that the stated British Labour party policy of Irish re-unification is simply an electioneering ploy to win Irish votes in the forthcoming British general election.

Indeed this is nothing new as the British Labour party's record with regard to Irish affairs is abysmal. In 1920 it refused to recognise or support the All-Ireland Republic established by the general election of December 1918. The Labour party instead supported the 1921 'Treaty



• Roy Mason of Surrender' which provided for the establishment of the Six-and-26-County partitionist states. It was a Labour government which introduced the British Government of Ireland Act in 1949 which in effect copperfastened partition and guaranteed the unionist Veto.

## ABORTION: PRESIDENT RE-ITERATES POLICY

IN response to inquiries the Sinn Féin Poblachtach policy on abortion has been reiterated by an t-Uachtarán, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, in a statement issued on Wednesday, February 26. "We are opposed to abortion but we are also opposed to the forces in society which impel women to have abortions," he said.

He continued: "We disagree with the Dublin High Court decision - since overturned by the Supreme Court - to prevent a young girl and her parents from travelling to England or anywhere else abroad.

"The effect of this decision would have been to

turn the 26-County area into a gigantic internment camp for named persons anytime such an action was successfully brought," he stated.

For the record the 1983 amendment arose from the capitulation in April-May 1981 of Garret Fitzgerald and Charles Haughey to

the Pro-Life Amendment Campaign's plan to get an anti-abortion article inserted in the 1937 Constitution. In the run-up to the November 1982 26-County general election Fitzgerald and Haughey again promised to hold a referendum if they were elected into power.

### APPROVED

No amendment could have been put to referendum without a wording first being approved in Leinster House. On April 27, 1983 the Fianna Fáil wording - the one that was eventually voted on - was approved by 85 votes to 11. Many of those calling for change were playing a different tune



• Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

in 1983: Mary Harney and Mary O'Rourke both voted for the amendment while Monica Barnes and Alan Shatter abstained along with most of Fine Gael.

Thirteen of the 14 women TDs in Leinster House either voted for the

amendment or abstained, the exception being Eileen Desmond, then 26-County Labour party TD for Cork South-Central who voted against the wording along with Tony Gregory, two Workers Party and seven other Labour members. Seven Fine Gael TDs, three Labour and two Independents voted with Fianna Fáil.

The bandwagon of the anti-abortion amendment campaign was eagerly joined by the Leinster House parties ten years ago. Their expressions of concern and compassion now for the results of their opportunism in 1983 should be treated with the contempt it deserves by the people of the 26 Counties.

## Aristide set to return

THE EXILED Haitian President Fr Jean-Bertrand Aristide spoke to the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva on Thursday, February 27 as a head of state. He said that the present military government in his country is worse than the old Duvalier regime. Already the leaders of Haiti's military-backed National Assembly agreed in Washington on returning the much-acclaimed Fr Aristide to power.

The agreement was signed on Sunday, February 23 under the auspices of the Organisation of American States after two days of negotiations between Fr Aristide, the president of the Haitian Chamber of Deputies Alexander Medard, the president of the Senate Djean Belizaire and the proposed prime minister René Theodore.

Since the September 29 coup the army has been responsible for the deaths of 2,000 people, 2,000 arbitrary arrests as well as widespread torture. But it is still unsure whether or not the Haitian army and its leader General Raoul Cedras, who is hoped by the coup to remain its leader, will allow Fr Aristide to return.

While the talks continue conditions in Haiti, the poorest nation in the West-



• Fr Aristide

ern hemisphere, continue to deteriorate since the military coup ousted its first democratic elected president Fr Aristide. Haiti, which is approximately one-third the size of Ireland, has a population of 6.3 million and is located 600 miles south-east of Florida. The UN Commission re-



port stated that an "atmosphere of terror and massive violations of fundamental rights", under the reign of Haiti's military leader but Fr Aristide was also criticised for mismanaging democracy.

"The Aristide administration's key mistake in the human rights field was its handling of democracy. Violence by the masses calls for a response," the report said.

### APPEAL

Meanwhile in an eight-to-one vote, the judges of the US Supreme Court rejected a formal appeal challenging the policy of the administration to repatriate 15,000 Haitian boat people who fled the country after last year's coup. Ninety-five per cent of Haitian citizens are black, and racism is a factor in US policies to

wards the boat people, according to the UN Human Rights Commission.

During Fr Aristide's eight-month civilian rule promising steps were taken, the report said, such as the announcement of social policy changes, assistance to Haitians deported to the neighbouring Dominican Republic, the drawing up of plans to reduce rural violence and a request for international assistance to improve Haiti's legal system.

The Bush administration has also called for the return of President Aristide but US ambassador Adams has refused to meet with representatives of the constitutional government and its official Foreign Minister Jean Robert Sabat although he has met with military leaders and politicians involved in the coup.

## "Operation Just Cause"

IN December 1989 while the people of Panama still slept in their beds, a large-scale attack - "Operation Just Cause" - was launched on the orders of US President George Bush.

Former US Attorney-General Ramsey Clark publicly condemned the US invasion of Panama to overthrow General Manuel Noriega's government and declared that it is unacceptable to attempt to impose a new world order through violence.

The invasion and occupation of Panama was also described as deplorable and contrary to the UN charter and a violation of national sovereignty and international law by Republican Sinn Féin in a press statement at the time.

Nicaraguan UN ambassador Alejandro Serrano said at the time that "The US attack on Panama is an attack on all of Latin America". The Organisation of American States (OAS) called for US withdrawal and non-inter-

ference in Panama on December 22, 1989.

### CHAIN

Ramsey Clark then went on to point out that Panama was one of a chain of US invasions during the 1980s and 1990s. He referred to the similarities between Panama and Iraq, where infant mortality multiplied as a result of the economic ruin brought about by the US-led multinational war launched against the Arab nation just over one year ago.

Current infant mortality rates are not available for Panama, but recent official reports from Panama reveal that in the last two years, the percentage of Panamanians living in poverty has increased from 44 to 54 per cent, and of this total, 27 per cent live in conditions of extreme poverty.

Meanwhile Fr Aristide's opponent Communist party leader René Theodore said he would head a

new government that would prepare for Aristide's return.

## Suspended sentence for UVF member

A 43-year-old taxi driver who admitted membership of the UVF loyalist death squad in Belfast Crown Court on February 25 was then freed in a suspended three-year jail term. William Trevor Wilson of Westland Road, North Belfast, was in the UVF for almost 15 years but claimed that he was only involved in the 'welfare' section of the organisation. Judge John McKee accepted RUC evidence that Wilson was "no threat to society" and that he was not in the "military wing".

In another trial in Belfast a 24-year-old man who admitted being a member of the UVF was released on continuing bail until the end of the trial of three others, charged with two sectarian murders, which is expected to last several weeks.

Judge McKee sentenced two nationalists the very next day to a total of 37 years for possession of two rifles. Gregory Carroll (28) of Armagh received a sentence of 22 years and his sister-in-law Ailish Carroll (26) was jailed for 15 years.

The pattern of biased treatment in the British courts of the Six Counties continues.

## ALL-IRELAND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION THE ANSWER

"THE deaths in the Six Counties are continuing because British rule persists there," said Ruairi O Bradagh, President, at a public meeting in Cork on February 18 last, organised by Cork Republican Sinn Féin.

The current political deadlock can be broken by an All-Ireland Constituent Assembly, elected on a 32-County basis with the sole task of drafting a new constitution for the entire island.

Such a body would have six months to complete its work, with the result being put to the whole people in referendum, according to the new Republican Sinn Féin policy document *Towards a Peaceful Ireland*.

The British government would have to withdraw from Ireland within 12 months of the adoption of such a constitution and all political prisoners would be released.

Sinn Féin Poblachtach would bring its EIRE NUA

proposals for a New Federal Ireland of the four provinces with maximum devolution of power to local committees to such a Constituent Assembly, he said. Neal Ascherson of the London *Independent* had recently said that such was "the best political solution".

### DO NOT CARE

Meanwhile, Nationalists in the Six Counties feel that the media and leaders of opinion south of the

# Developing the West together

SINN Féin Poblachtach was prominently represented at a series of major seminars on the future of the West of Ireland held throughout Connacht over recent weeks. Among members attending the Tuam seminar on February 2 was former Chairman, Galway County Council and Tuam County Councillor Frank Glynn. An t-Uachtarán Ruairi O Bradagh was one of the members who attended the Ballaghaderreen seminar on March 2.

The meetings have been sponsored by the Western Catholic Bishops Conference and were initiated at a meeting in Galway in November 1991. Chris Mc Inerney of the Galway Diocesan Office has addressed the meetings putting the crisis of the western counties in context.

"Between 1925 and 1991 the population of Connacht declined by 24 per cent, a loss equalled only by the Ulster counties. By comparison, during this time the population of Munster grew by 4 per cent while Leinster grew by a massive 62 per cent".

The seminars attended by crowds of 4-500 people on average were broken up into workshops to discuss solutions. At the Tuam seminar the idea of a Dáil Chonnacht (parliament for Connacht) with representatives from all

sub-regions in the West, co-ordinating the activities of lower-level county and community assemblies was proposed. This is similar to the Republican Sinn Féin proposal in EIRE NUA, envisaging four provincial parliaments in a New Ireland.

Problems identified by the workshop on fiscal issues included the fact that grant-in-aid to multi-nationals was up to ten times the grant-in-aid to small firms per job created. Cash resources which were banked in the West were not re-invested in the West. It was felt that the Credit Unions had a vital role to play in developing the area.

Agriculture was at present weighted against the farmer who tries to produce organic food and the Headage System suits the

very strong farmer. The EC expanding "from the Arctic to the Mediterranean" will mean competition in agriculture from Eastern Europe with the West of Ireland. Any reduction in milk quotas for Connacht should be resisted.

### 'NO DIRTY INDUSTRY'

The workshop in Ballaghaderreen on job creation was adamant that a policy of 'no dirty industry' for the West of Ireland should be followed.

A proposed fell-mongering factory near opposition in Claremorris recently because the effect on the fishing lakes would be disastrous. Ground water supplies were described as deteriorating throughout the area due to overloaded and dated sewage plants and the dumping of carcasses. "In ten years time

we will be drinking water out of supermarket bottles", one delegate said.

The point was made in Tuam that 79 per cent of employment in the USA was from small firms yet industrial policy in the 26 Counties was heavily skewed in favour of large enterprise. There was criticism of Knock airport from some of the delegates who said that it was not "doing it's job" in generating industry in the area.

### YOUTH

The youth seminar at Ballaghaderreen reported that they felt let down by politicians who forgot young people once they emigrated. They demanded resources for investment in job creation in the West.

It was stressed that development in the West of Ireland would benefit the whole country and that central to this was the reform of local government. The seminars have received a very positive response and are being continued in the coming months.

Border do not care about loss of life to innocent and uninvolved people of their community. No one chained themselves to railings in Dublin or elsewhere and no books of condolences were opened by civic figures.

"No section of the people north or south should be excluded from a peaceful settlement and

the British government's job was to put in train a phased and orderly withdrawal from Ireland," he said. Other speakers at the meeting were Eimear O'Connor, Limerick and Tomás O Maolcoilín, Tipperary. The meeting was chaired by Michael Cunningham.

### BOOK APPEAL

A political prisoner serving a life sentence in an English prison appeals to any person who could let him have a copy of Dorothy Macardle's *The Irish Republic*. He would pay any reasonable price. Contact:

SAOIRSE  
13 Aston Place  
Dublin 2

FOR SALE  
ELECTRIC TYPE-  
WRITER, Royal 990.  
Recently serviced, perfect order. Has sineadh fada key. £100 or nearest offer. Box No. 990.

## Comhdháil na Timpeallachta

Cruinniú mullaigh an Domhain, nó na Cruinne, a ghlaotar ar an comhdháil a thionólfadh na Náisiúin Aontaithe i Rio de Janeiro ion gcéad lá go dtí an 12ú lá de mhí Meithimh seo chugainn. An chéad chomhdháil domhanda ar chúrsaí na timpeallachta agus na forbartha faoi scáth na NA a bhéas ar síúl.

Is é Maurice Strong, Ceannadach, atá ina Ardúnaí ar an cruinniú seo agus atá i mbun na réamshocrúithe dó. De réir an fhir seo, níl fás geilleagrach na dtíortha saibhre inmhara thána a thuilleadh mar go gcuireann siad an t-uafás acmhainní nádúrtha amú.

Ar an lámh eile de, sna tíortha tearcforbartha, déanann an bochtanas díobháil don timpeallacht freisin. Deir an tUasal Strong go gcaithfeadh ár nósanna maireachtála a athrú go bunúsach má táimid chun maireachtáil ar an bpláinéad seo.

### FORBAIRT MARTHANACH

Glacfar, ag an cruinniú seo, le

Cairt an Domhain a leagfaidh amach go soiléir prionsabail riachtanacha don saol domhanda feasta. Caithfidh uille dul i dtreo na forbartha marthanach. Beidh gá le polasaithe nua i réimsí an tionscail, an iompair, an fhuinnimh agus na talmhaíochta. Ní mór, freisin, na polasaithe cánach, fíoscacha agus teanntaíochta a athrú.

Beidh ar na truaillitheoirí íoc as an truaillíú agus beidh an saoránach i dteideal eolais iomláin ar na chúrsaí seo agus i dteideal páirt a ghlacadh i leagan amach polasaithe.

Deir an tUasal Strong go nglacann níos mó daoine agus rialtas leis inniu go ngabhann cosaint na timpeallachta agus dea-fheidhmí eacnamaíoch le chéile. Sin athrú bunúsach agus dá fáilte is fiche roimh an dearcadh sin.

### AN SAOL SIMPLÍ

Tagann an bhagairt ar an timpeallacht ó dhá thaobh: nósanna na saibhir ar thaobh amháin agus an bochtanas agus an fás sa daonra ar an taobh

eile. Caithfeadh gníomhú ar an dá fhadhb seo go tapa.

An chomhairle is tábhachtaí do mhuintir an Iarthair ná seo: níl an tsmháil gheilleagrach atá againn marthanach a thuilleadh. Caithfidh éir as an tsmháil diomailteach. Ach ní hionann sin agus fillleadh ar an mbochtanas arís. Ní áiríme nach bhfuil go leor bochtanaí againne in Eirinn faoi láthair. Is meascán muid den chéad agus den tríú domhan, cás ar leith san Eoraip.

Saol a bheadh níos simplí agus níos sofaisticiúla ar an am céanna a bheadh againn mar mhalairt ar an saol faoi láthair. Bheadh áit níos mó ag an scíth agus chúrsaí cultúrtha i saol an ghnáth-dhuine, le cabhair ó theicneolaíocht an eolais.

### AN COMHAR

Meabhraíonn lucht planála na comhdhála seo dúinn gur chuir na reiligiúin mhóra béim i gcónaí, agus na fealsaimh freisin, ar an saol simplí, agus grá agus comhar na gomharshan. Nach iontach é sin anois: Seo



• MAURICE STRONG - "Saol níos simplí agus níos sofaisticiúla" cuid de thraidisiún na hEireann atá beo fós inár measc agus gur mhaith le Poblachtáigh air a fhorbairt ar an saol nua. Díol spéise dúinn na himeachtaí seo ar fad.

Rugadh Maurice Strong i gCeanada i 1929 agus tá a oifig aige sa Ghinéiv, san Eil-

véis, atá a bntu Acaadamh Idirnáisiúnta na Timpeallachta. Ní haon ionadh go nglacfar "fear láidir an domhain" air in agallamh a thug sé don *Journal de Geneve* ar an 15ú Feabhra.

Cloisfeadh go leor faoin ábhar seo ar ball.

- Cóilín

# START TALKING ABOUT IRISH REPUBLICANISM

WHEN WILL IT ALL END?  
WHEN DID IT ALL START?

WHEN the Irish public ask the above two questions in relation to the ongoing suffering of the Six Counties, they are usually asked in that order. Back to front.

Both the Dublin and British governments would much prefer that neither question be asked, because in an honest and historical answer both will be found to be totally to blame for the carnage of the last 22 years, and indeed for its cause, the festering sore of partition that has claimed lives and blighted every generation for the past seventy years. It is no accident that the public usually ask the last question first and the second question only rarely.

Justification for the existence of both statelets on this island, and the stubborn refusal of the British to ever concede that Irish people have a right to self-determination, coupled with an obvious failure by the 26-County state to advance its milk and water aspiration to unity, has resulted in a campaign of distortion, myths and lies to cover up failure and bestow a form of legitimacy on what are patently failed states.

Keeping a form of credibility for the Dublin state and living with the contradictions of foreign military occupation on what it very feebly calls the national territory requires a massive propaganda exercise and the support of repressive laws to ensure that the Irish people are so misinformed about the origins of the state or question the nonsensical terms applied to it such as 'The Republic'.

The anti-Republican propaganda with which the 26-County state has surrounded itself since its formation in 1921 includes the myth that the present state was a product of and goal of those who rose up against British occupation of Ireland in 1916.

These myths, distortions and lies so often repeated over almost seventy years have been responsible for a confused and misinformed public asking 'When will it all end?' before asking the more logical 'When did it all start?'

The present death, bloodshed, suffering and terror being endured by the people of the Six Occupied Counties can be traced directly to the partition of our country by Britain.

What has become known to our present generation by the weight of historical distortion, myths and lies as on the one hand 'The Republic of Ireland' and on the other 'Northern Ireland' were established by deceit, sectarian head count and the British threat that there would be an immediate and terrible war (Lloyd George, December 6, 1921).

The lust for power for its own sake within a limited and manageable area (26 Counties) and the acceptance of a transient peace, was and is the only reason the operators of the 26-County state could have for abandoning the people of the Six Occupied Counties to the sectarian quarrel then established and still obtaining.

## UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Unemployment, emigration and underdevelopment as a country were the immediate socio-economic evils to spring from the crude and artificial drawing of a line on the map of Ireland to carve two unviable states and rupture the natural cohesion and geographic interdependence of a small island.

Cynically appealing to a perverted form of nationalism (26-

County only) which was no more valid than the stance of the Irish Free State from which they evolved, de Valera's parliament played up the 'old Enemy' card while exporting Irish men and women to the four corners of the world as massive subsidies of British money bolstered and cemented the sectarian Protestant state in the Six Occupied Counties.

Executions, imprisonment and a state apparatus of repression was employed against true and faithful adherents to the Repub-



• Forces of 'law and order' - RUC and British army - in the Six Counties.

since its beginning to ensure population shifts required to gerrymander parliamentary representation. Previous pogroms were just as brutal and in terms of Catholics murdered and displaced by Orange mobs led by Crown Forces some in the 1920s and 1930s were much worse than in 1969.

The pogroms of 1969 differed from those that had occurred regularly in the previous fifty years only in the fact that this time through the medium of

to the contradictions that the 'peace-keeping forces' and would-be protectors of Catholics had from their arrival pointed their guns inwards towards the Catholic ghettos they were supposedly protecting.

The apparent contradiction was not lost on the nationalist/Catholic population of the Six Occupied Counties who knew well the origins of the statelet and that the guns now supposedly 'protecting' them came from the same arsenal as the ones

'Unity' and 'Republic' worth no more than red blankets and bottles, set out on further scandalise name of Republic associating it with sectarianism. It matting to the coward House that men and the Republican Movement had suffered hardship and imprisonment hands of the Dub Branch as well as were now fulfilling defenders of the people which they called Constitution were pledged to d flunked when the truth came.

The undiluted Republic of Tone, accepted by the leaders of the Proclamation of Easter with its promise to the children of the equally be they Catholic or Dissident and will remain for a free, sovereign Ireland with lasting justice for all.

Such a high and was seen as dangerous 'Republic' which had been found wanting watered-down stance had set themselves



• The leaders of the main churches in Ireland with Peter Brooke, British Direct Ruler - backing up the actions of the British state however immoral by not condemning them.

lican cause while an equal amount of state energy was used to fashion a false history and perception of the 26-County partitionist state. They had by now decided that even their brand of "Republicanism" would be relegated to a long-fingered "Aspiration" as they had with unity and set about developing a capitalist state with the blessing of the Catholic church and big business.

## Myths Distortions Doctored History and Lies

THE British government and press have by a process of flattery and subtle threats sought successfully to mould Dublin governments into agents in their quest to keep the eyes of the world off their sectarian slum in the Six Occupied Counties.

Twenty-two years ago when the British-controlled sectarian state erupted in an orgy of bloodthirsty pogroms against its Catholic/nationalist inhabitants, which of itself was not new since pogroms have been a recurring necessity for the unionist state

television the modern world could witness the abscess of Orange hatred bursting.

## NON-STARTER

The absence of a boyeman to which Britain could point as a cause left them with a real propaganda problem and half-hearted attempts to invent a Republican motivator within the Civil Rights Movement didn't wash with the international press corp so the excuse of Protestants being provoked was a non-starter.

Damage limitation had to be the first consideration of the British government since there were already faint sounds coming from the British public and elsewhere like "Where did it all start?" To deflect this question before it emerged openly so that it would be seen that the Orange monster was created by British Imperialism, Britain dispatched its regular army to the Six Counties "to keep the peace". Terms like 'sectarian strife', 'religious strife' and 'peace-keeping forces' were skillfully inserted to create the impression that the British were 'honest brokers' striving to keep the 'mad Irish from killing each other'.

## CONTRADICTION

None of the British media or the Dublin government pointed

that had brought death to their still-smouldering homes.

The deceit and fraudulent origins of the 26-County state now came into sharp focus as its empty claim to national territory and to be the guarantors of the nationalist population was exposed as no more than church-gate rhetoric. Again the myth of the 'Republic of Ireland' to describe the state was trotted out and Dublin's equivalent of the British 'buzz' words were introduced.

'Up there', 'The North' and 'Northern Ireland' were fed from a willing Dublin press to distance the politicians of Leinster House from the suffering of the nationalist people and a cop-out for their so-called Republic.

## DUMPED AGAIN

As the beleaguered nationalist community digested the unpalatable fact that officialdom in Dublin had dumped them again as in 1921 and that Britain's attempts to be seen as neutral was nothing more than a public relations exercise they sought and received the help of Republicans to organise their defence in the face of genocide.

Fianna Fáil under Jack Lynch, having once again demonstrated that their twin 'aspirations' on

fit-the-times Dublin sentiment set about destitute publicanism by slaughtering repression.

## SELF-PRESERVATION

The British aim of ing its link with unionism shoring up the north let found common to the self-preservation of the 26-County state and had a mutual goal of mining Republicanism phase of joint propaganda begin with the church press roped in to press status quo at all cost casualty was to be true

## WHEN DID IT ALL START?

WITHOUT minimising experience of those Irish people who lived their lives and imprisonment, deprivation and hunger under British occupation one kind or another 800 years and their risings against that we will answer their question in relatively brief terms, beginning in

# REPUBLICANISM

anism' was a few hundred by feeding again to the noble anism by violence and nered nothing in Leinster women of ement who ip, harassment at the in Special the RUC the role of nationalist n their so- of 1937 and had moment of

publicanism and enshrined 1916 in the ster Week, cherish all the nation holic, Prot- r, was, is only basis and united peace and

noble ideal s to a bogus d already even by the ards they s, so the



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using the sands of have lost suffered ortation, miliation ation of ner over r various tyran- y, e quest- modern 1916.

defiance of democracy.

WHERE DID IT ALL START ?

WHILE the civil war raged and brother was set against brother the British copperfastened the Six-County



• British brutality on the streets of Belfast.

In 1916 the absolute weight of the British Imperial presence in Ireland was such that it was apparent to the leaders of Republicanism that no British-imposed structures such as membership of the Westminster parliament would ever result in nationhood, sovereignty, national dignity or integrity.

Pearse, Connolly and the other leaders decided that only by striking out in a physical and determined fashion for self-determination would the British Empire take notice, and the Irish people gain the courage and insight to see beyond the servility in which they lived under occupation.

The Rising had as its goal the establishment of a free, sovereign and independent Republic of all Ireland in which all the children of the nation would be equal, be they Catholic, Protestant or Dissenter and that this could only come to pass with the removal of Britain from our country.

The Proclamation has not to this day been openly repudiated by any nationalist political party in Ireland, but its noble and worthy aims have not been fulfilled, and indeed the mere lip-service paid to the Proclamation by the variety of political parties claiming to have descended

from that original group of patriots serves only to act as an insult.

### ROUSED PEOPLE

The defeat of the Rising, and the executions of the leaders coupled with the barbaric reprisals carried out by British occupying forces roused the Irish people to war and in four years had the British suing for peace.

The disastrous Treaty of 1921 sold out the Rising and all it stood for while at the same time robbing Dáil Éireann of its legitimate mandate secured in free and unfettered elections in 1918. De Valera denounced the Treaty by saying it was "In violent conflict with the majority of this nation as expressed in successive elections during the past three years".

The legitimate voice of all the Irish people as represented by the elected members convened in Dáil Éireann in 1919 was suppressed by force of British arms and as yet has not been re-convened. Britain's greatest victory was yet to come as war-tired Republican men and women from all over Ireland had yet again to rally to the defence of the Republic as former comrades conceded the right to Britain to set up a puppet Irish Free State run by Irishmen

state at the behest of the Orange Lodge and gave it a parliament at Stormont outside Belfast. This parliament was later to be referred to as "A Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People".

Founded as it was on a totally sectarian base with contrived boundaries that would always ensure a unionist majority, the nationalist people were no better than hostages to be used as a shield against the inevitable attacks that must surely come on such an artificial and undemocratic state.

To this day the nationalists are used as a shield to ensure the continuance of this rotten enclave.

Where did it all start? It started with the usurping of the freely-elected Dáil Éireann of 1919 and its replacement by an unviable and undemocratic 26-County parliament established in Leinster House by a British act of parliament without reference to the Irish people.

It started with the unlawful and immoral partitioning of our country by the British and the establishment of an artificial enclave of Orange triumphalism which since its foundation has required the nourishment of nationalist blood shed in the name of British expediency.

WHEN WILL IT ALL END ?

IT will end when the British

### ANTI-REPUBLICAN PROPAGANDA - METHODS, MEANS OBJECTIVES

THE current high level of anti-Republican propaganda is not aimed at reducing violence or sheltering the general public from warlike rhetoric.

The main vehicles for delivering anti-Republican propaganda are: television, radio, church leaders, personalities (well-known), politicians, Agent Groups (*New Consensus, Peace Train, FAIT*) establishment newspapers and the gutter press.

Methods include:  
news distortion where censorship does not apply, such as slanting stories to imply that an act of violence by British forces or their agents (loyalists) is the result of some past deed by Republicans;  
refusing to carry Republican statements;  
misrepresenting Republicanism, Republicans or Republican statements;  
using the pulpit to smear Republicanism and representing the well-documented principles of Wolfe Tone as being totally violent or sectarian;  
using the faithful as a captive audience to promote a favoured political stance opposing Republicanism;  
backing up the actions of the state however brutal or immoral by not condemning them;  
using privileged positions in broadcasting to disseminate anti-Republican propaganda.

Some well-known TV and radio personalities can be retained by agencies to promote a particular line in their normal broadcasting work. Foreign embassies frequently pay large sums of money through PR agencies to have the ear and tongue of high profile broadcasters.

Attacking Republicans from privileged places where libel laws do not apply;  
informing on Republicans;  
encouraging boycotts;  
picketing;  
having Republicans sacked and preventing them getting work;

### FEAR AND MALICE

In the two statelets of this island anti-republican propaganda is as often motivated by fear as malice. The fear of the Republican message is particularly strong in the 26-County state because of the roots of some of the political parties and most notably in those who claim to be 'Republican' in origin.

Fear and malice combine in the case of some politicians and parties who desperately strive to create an authenticity of origin for the state which they will distort to imply that it originated with the Rising and use grandiose terms such as the 'Republic of Ireland' which of course is a nonsense since the only name changes that have any documentary or international standing are the 'Irish Free State' and 'Eire' which de Valera used in the so-called 'Constitution' of 1937 when he deliberately avoided using the term Republic.

In the Six-County statelet anti-Republican propaganda and is used by the British for all the same reasons as in the 26 Counties, with the added dimension of setting up Catholics/Nationalists for assassination by loyalists.

Anti-Republican propaganda is also used in the Six County area to dehumanise Republicans in the eyes of the British Crown Forces so that they can more readily shoot, torture or degrade Republicans.

leave Ireland and permit the Irish people of this island to live and develop without the economic or military interference of a larger neighbouring country. It will end when Britain stops manipulating Irish Protestants in the Six Counties and using them as surrogate terror gangs against their Catholic neighbours. The

bloodshed will end when the Catholic and Protestant churches stop supporting the status quo right or wrong and recognise that democracy for Ireland is more important than a favoured political ideology.

It will all end when the people of this island of Ireland are allowed to determine their own destiny.



### START TALKING ABOUT IRISH REPUBLICANISM

As can be verified from the instances elsewhere on this page the Republican position on most issues is ignored by the establishment media, even to the extent that Letters to the Editor are refused publication. To combat this behaviour, Dublin Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin has established a sub-committee called 'STAIR'. The committee aims to produce an educational and publicity pamphlet and video for general distribution. To help achieve this task, we require finance. All donations, big or small, will be gratefully welcomed. We can, on request, forward a photo-copy of our Dublin Comhairle PRO's reply to any of the incidents listed above. Subscriptions can be sent to AIB, Rathmines Branch, Dublin, account number: 21111041

• Loyalist pogroms in the Six Counties forced many refugees south across the Border.

# ECONOMICS AS IF PEOPLE MATTERED

Dr E.F. Schumacher, economist and journalist was born in Germany, lived in many countries, studied in Oxford and taught in Columbia University, New York. He is well-known for his appraisal of western economic attitudes, clearly expressed in his best-selling book *Small is Beautiful*. This was first published in 1973 and has since been reprinted 31 times. He died in 1977.

Fritz Schumacher was greatly interested in the developing third world countries but declared that the developed countries also had major problems. He saw modern society as greedy, inefficient, inhumane and unecological, and he called for a complete reorientation of values.

He saw a looming crisis of oil shortages, environmental destruction, dehumanised organisation of life and work and growing unemployment, all resulting in alienation and massive social problems. He, more than any other person, launched the idea of an intermediate technology.

"Modern technology," he said, "has become increasingly violent. Violence is not just a matter of one person hitting another person over the head, it is employing violent means. We have this in agriculture, where we scatter around very violent chemicals, we call them pesticides, which means killer substances."

## LOW-COST

He advocated the creation of lifestyles and technologies on a human scale which are low-cost, sparing in their use of resources, non-violent towards nature, and, therefore, sustainable.

There are Intermediate Technology groups and Schumacher Societies in many countries today, promoting this man's ideas. Their emphasis is in smaller working units, communal ownership and regional workplaces utilising local labour and resources. As the man himself said: "We need economics as if people mattered".

Here are a few telling quotations from E.F. Schumacher:

## SMALL-SCALE UNITS

What is the meaning of democracy,

freedom, human dignity, standard of living, self-realisation, fulfilment? Is it a matter of goods, or of people? Of course it is a matter of people. But people can be themselves only in small comprehensible groups. There we must learn to think in terms of an articulated structure that can cope with a multiplicity of small-scale units. If economic thinking cannot grasp this it is useless. If it cannot get beyond its vast abstractions, the national income, the rate of growth, capital/output ratio, input-output analysis, labour mobility, capital accumulation; if it cannot get beyond all this and make contact with the human realities of poverty, frustration, alienation, despair, breakdown, crime, escapism, stress, congestion, ugliness, and spiritual death, then let us scrap economics and start afresh.

Are there not indeed enough 'signs of the times' to indicate that a new start is needed?

## CITY AND COUNTRY

Why is it so difficult for the rich to help the poor? The all-pervading disease of the modern world is the total imbalance between city and countryside, an imbalance in terms of wealth, power, culture, attraction, and hope. The former has become over-extended and the latter has atrophied. The city has become the universal magnet, while rural life has lost its savour. Yet it remains an unalterable truth that, just as a sound mind depends on a sound body, so the health of the cities depends on the health of the rural areas. The cities, with all their wealth,

are merely secondary producers, while primary production, the precondition of all economic life, takes place in the countryside. The prevailing lack of balance, based on the age-old exploitation of countryman and raw material producer, today threatens all countries throughout the world, the rich even more than the poor. To restore a proper balance between city and rural life is perhaps the greatest task in front of modern man. It is not simply a matter of raising agricultural yields so as to avoid world hunger. There is no answer to the evils of mass unemployment



ment and mass emigration into cities, unless the whole level of rural life can be raised, and this requires the development of an agro-industrial culture, so that each district, each community, can offer a colourful variety of occupations to its members.

## A POPULAR MOVEMENT

Economic development is something much wider and deeper than economics, let alone econometrics. Its roots lie outside the economic sphere, in education, organisation, discipline and, beyond that, in political independence and a national consciousness of self-reliance. It cannot be 'produced' by skilful grafting operations carried out by foreign technicians or an indigenous élite that has lost contact with the ordinary people. It can succeed only if it is carried forward as a broad, popular 'movement of reconstruction' with primary emphasis on the full utilisation of the drive, enthusiasm, intelligence, and labour power of everyone. Success cannot be obtained by some form of magic produced by scientists, technicians, or economic planners. It can come only through a process of growth involving the education, organisation, and discipline of the whole population. Anything less than this must end in failure.

## EXCESSIVE WEALTH CORRUPTS

Now, one does not have to be a believer in total equality, whatever that may mean, to be able to see that the existence of inordinately rich people in any society today is a very

great evil. Some inequalities of wealth and income are no doubt 'natural' and functionally justifiable, and there are few people who do not spontaneously recognise this. But here again, as in all human affairs, it is a matter of scale. Excessive wealth, like power, tends to corrupt. Even if the rich are not 'idle rich', even when they work harder than anyone else, they work differently, apply different standards, and are set apart from common humanity. They corrupt themselves by practising greed, and they corrupt the rest of society by provoking envy.

## QUALITY OF LIFE

What is at stake is not economics but culture; not the standard of living but the quality of life. Economics and the standard of living can just as well be looked after by a capitalist system, moderated by a bit of planning and redistributive taxation. But culture and, generally, the quality of life, can now only be debased by such a system.

Socialists should insist on using the nationalised industries not simply to out-capitalise the capitalists — an attempt in which they may or may not succeed — but to evolve a more democratic and dignified system of industrial administration, a more humane employment of machinery, and a more intelligent utilisation of the fruits of human ingenuity and effort. If they can do that, they have the future in their hands. If they cannot, they have nothing to offer that is worthy of the sweat of free-born men.

## FOR THE RECORD..

**TUES. FEBRUARY 4:** Three people — Paddy Loughran (61), Pat McBride (40) and Michael O'Dwyer (21) were killed on the Falls Road by RUC man Allen Moore who later shot himself.

**WED. FEBRUARY 5:** James Kennedy (15), Peter Magee (18), Christy Doherty (40), William McManus (52) and Jack Duffin (67) were killed in an Ormeau Road, Belfast betting shop by the UFF loyalist death squad. Many more were injured.

The Committee for the Administration of Justice in Belfast published figures examining inquests on civilians killed by the British Crown Forces since 1974. Out of 74 such killings, 45 inquests are still pending.

Joseph McManus (21) was shot dead by a UDR soldier in a gunbattle near Belleek, Co. Fermanagh.

**FRI. FEBRUARY 7:** The British House of Lords upheld a decision by a coroner in the Six Counties to accept written evidence from unnamed SAS soldiers who shot dead three Strabane, Co. Tyrone men in February 1985.

**SAT. FEBRUARY 8:** SDLP Councillor Cormac Boomer from West Belfast called for the introduction of interment and then resigned from the party. The SDLP

are trying to woo him back.

**MON. FEBRUARY 10:** It was revealed that Brigadier Michael Jackson (MBE), who was adjutant of the Parachute Regiment which shot dead 14 civilians in Derry on Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972, is now the overall commander of British forces in Greater Belfast. He commands the 39th Infantry Brigade, which includes the 1st Parachute Regiment and two Battalions of the UDR.

Peter Brooke was criticised by nationalists for his failure to ban the Ulster Defence Regiment.

*Private Eye* claimed that murder charges were dropped against the British army spy, Brian Nelson, to prevent details of a trip, sanctioned by a British cabinet minister, to South Africa to procure arms for loyalist death squads from the white regime there, from emerging at his trial.

**TUES. FEBRUARY 11:** It was announced that the appeal date in the case of Judith Ward, now in her 19th year of unjust imprisonment in England, has been set for April 27.

Albert Reynolds was elected as leader of the 26-County administration.

Following a meeting with John Major the so-called "constitutional" parties in the Six Counties have agreed to resume talks.

**THURS. FEBRUARY 13:** The Attorney-General in the 26 Counties took out an injunction in the Dublin High Court preventing a 14-year-old girl who was pregnant as a result of being raped, from travelling to England for an abortion.

**FRI. FEBRUARY 14:** 600 extra British troops were sent to the Six Counties

bringing the total number of British soldiers there to 18,400. Together with 12,810 RUC this makes a total of 31,210, a ratio of military to civilians of 48:1.

A nationalist man was shot and seriously injured by two UFF gunmen in Coleraine, Co. Derry.

It was announced that the DPP in the Six Counties had decided not to prosecute the British soldiers who shot dead three unarmed men at a betting shop in Belfast in January 1990.

A member of a GAA club in Co. Tyrone had to have hospital treatment after a beating by British soldiers at a checkpoint on the grounds of the club.

**SUN. FEBRUARY 16:** Four nationalists — Kevin Barry O'Donnell (22), Seán O'Farrell (23), Peter Clancy (22) and Patrick Vincent (21) — were shot dead by undercover British soldiers in the grounds of Clonoe Church, near Coalisland in Co. Tyrone.

**TUES. FEBRUARY 18:** Two British army helicopters flew over the Border at Faghart, Co. Louth.

**WED. FEBRUARY 19:** A 17-year-old Protestant, Andrew Johnston, was shot dead in Belfast by the IPLD.

A nationalist man was shot by a loyalist death squad in Newtownabbey, near Belfast.

Joe Doherty is deported from the USA to Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail.

The family of 17-year-old student Kevin McGovern, shot dead by a RUC undercover squad in Cookstown, Co. Tyrone on September 29, 1991 are to make a submission to a human rights conference in London on April 6-10 next.

The Dublin High Court upheld the injunction taken by the Attorney-General to prevent a 14-year old rape victim going to England for an abortion.

**FRI. FEBRUARY 21:** A number of GAA clubs, who placed messages of condolence in local papers following the killing of four men at Clonoe Church by the British army, have received death threats from the UFF loyalist death squad.

A prisoner, Brendan Seery (44) from Ballinacloch, Co. Westmeath died suddenly in Portlaoise Prison.

**SAT. FEBRUARY 22:** The Workers Party splits — six Leinster House TDs leave to form a new party. One remains with the WP.

**MON. FEBRUARY 24:** An Armagh woman, Anne-Marie Smyth, was stabbed to death in Belfast in what was believed to be a sectarian murder.

**TUES. FEBRUARY 25:** A self-confessed UVF man, William Trevor Wilson, got a suspended sentence in Belfast Crown Court.

**WED. FEBRUARY 26:** The Prevention of Terrorism Act is renewed in the British parliament.

The Dublin Supreme Court lifts the injunction preventing the 14-year-old rape victim from going to England for an abortion.

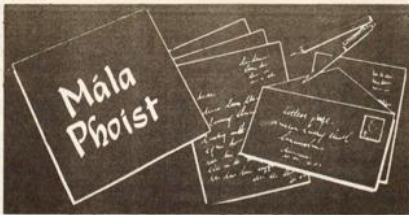
**THURS. FEBRUARY 27:** The Land Commission, set up in 1881 as a rent-fixing body and which later took the responsibility for buying out landlords and appointing tenants as proprietors of their holdings, was abolished by the Free State administration.

# Cainteanna - Níl Ach Dul Amú Iontru

A chara  
Níl aon dabht ar bith ann anois - má bhí dabht ar bith riamh ann - ach go bhfuil ceangal láidir idir na dúmhar-fóir dílseora agus forsaí na Breataine í dtaca liomsa de, léiríonn cáis Bhrian Nelson an mhéid sin.

Is dóicéil ná a mhalairt go mbeidh sé saor taobh istigh de bhliain nó beirt, mar is eol dúinn go léir, go háirithe an pobal náisiúnacha ó thuaidh, ainneoin gur thug sé eolas don UDA (agus é ag obair leis ar son airm na Breataine) faoi náisiúnaíthe, cuid acu a mharraigh an UDA ar ball.

Anuas air sin uilig, ní dheachaigh an Choróin ar



agaidh leis an dá ion-chúiseamh dúmharaithe in éadan Nelson. Ar ndóigh, ní raibh iontu ach beirt Chaitliceach. I ndiaidh corradh le fiche bliain, tá daoine ann atá fós ag labhairt faoi 'cainteanna'. Is gá go bhfuil siad ag magadh fúinn! Is iad siúd atá ag chur faid leis an cogadh leis a gcuid 'cainteanna' agus ag saothrú tuarastail mhóra i rith an ama agus ag teacht i dtír ar an bpobal náisiúnach. Cá bhfuil Gerry Fitt anois? Cá bhfuil Austin Currie? An nglaofar John Hume

go dtí 'na Tiarna' in aicearracht? An bhfuil mé ró-chiniúil? Ní dóigh liom é.

I ndeireadh na dála, tá eagla orm go n-aontaíom leis an seanfhocal Ghaeilge "an té nach ngleacann comhairle, glacaidh sé comhrac" ó thaobh cainteanna de - ní suim dá laghad ag na h-Aontachtaithe, i ndeireadh 'na mbeart. An bhfuil aon tuairim ag muintir Consensus faoin chás Brian Nelson? Níor chuala mé faic uathu go fóill.

COLM P. Ó DOMHNAILL  
Baile an Bhóthair  
Co. Átha Cliath

# SDLP On The Sidelines

A chara  
In John Hume's statement published in the *Irish News* on February 7, he calls on church leaders to "get off the sidelines".

I don't share the SDLP attitude to the Six-County state. Why do they not "come off the sidelines" themselves and be honest?

They are attempting to ride two horses at the same time: (a) they accept this statelet and partition; (b) they won't accept majority rule within it. They want to devise artificial means to govern an artificial statelet.

I do not accept this Six-County state. I want normal majority rule in all-Ireland with strong local powers down even to community level to prevent minorities dominating minorities.

While accusing the church leaders of being on the sidelines, they are definitely on the sidelines themselves in their ambivalent attitude to the Six-County state.

EAMON LARKIN  
Leas-Uachtarán  
Sinn Féin Poblachtach  
Bearna Uladh

# Glasgow Band Members Wanted

Dear Sir  
Would you like to be so kind as to put the following in your next edition of SAOIRSE.  
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GERRY McNULTY  
Public Relations Officer



# WEXFORD'S LEGENDARY LEADER

Fr John Murphy of Boolavogue 1753 - 1798, Nicholas Furlong, Geography Publications, Dublin, 1991 £9.95 (paperback).

THIS BOOK, the result of 17 years of research which led its author, the well-known local historian Nicholas Furlong from Wexford to Seville in southern Spain, sheds much new light on a figure in Irish history who, almost since his death, has remained shrouded in myth and legend.

The publishers, Geography Publications, have already in recent years published two books on Irish revolutionary history *The Flying Column, West Kilkenny (1916-21)* and a biography of Wexford United Irish leader Thomas Cloney.

The first two chapters trace Fr Murphy's early life, his hedge school education, the period he spent in Seville from 1780 to 1785 studying for the priesthood through to his appointment as curate to the small Wexford townland of Boolavogue.

**FOLLOWED**  
For as is pointed out in the book up to 1798 Fr Murphy closely followed the Catholic church line of the period which opposed all revolution and revolutionary movements. Nicholas Furlong documents how Fr Murphy actively discouraged his people from joining the Society of United Irishmen and notes that he actually refused the sacraments and confession to sworn members.

The book vividly brings to life all the horror, brutality and heroism of '98. The pitch cappings, floggings and terror, the

activities of the notorious North Cork Militia, the battles of Oulart Hill, Three Rocks, the taking of Enniscorthy and Wexford, the drama and heroism of 20,000 untrained and ill-equipped men facing in arms what was then the most powerful state in the world - all this is graphically described.

Something which is still very hard to explain or understand is how a man such as Fr Murphy with no military or political experience could achieve so much with so little. One advantage which stood to him was the fact that the United Irish leadership in Wexford had remained largely intact, with most of the leaders evading arrest or capture in the round up which followed the arrest of the Leinster Directory in March 1798. And so Fr Murphy had available to him the military and political experience of such men as Edward Fitzgerald, Bagenal Harvey Miles Byrne, Thomas Cloney etc. Nevertheless it is clear Fr Murphy must have been a man of exceptional leadership and charisma, capable of inspiring and instilling discipline in leading a large force.

# FR. JOHN MURPHY OF BOOLAVOGUE 1753 ~ 1798



NICHOLAS FURLONG

The book culminates with the Irish defeat at Vinegar Hill and the capture and death of Fr Murphy in Tullow, Co. Carlow.

## CLEAR

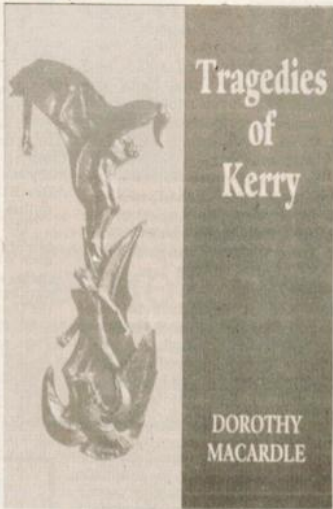
It is clear from reading this book that the rising in Wexford was not the sectarian bloodbath so much talked about by the revisionist historians, but very much part of the Republican struggle to achieve democracy and freedom, the leaders of the Rising in Wexford were committed to the ideals and aims of Republicanism and to the republic outlined by Tone and

the other United leaders. In fact Wexford was among the first areas outside Dublin and Belfast to organise a branch of the Society of the United Irishmen, with one being established in Gorey in December 1791.

This book is a welcome addition to and fills a gap in the story of '98, and hopefully will deepen people's understanding of this tumultuous period in Irish history. We can only hope that the spate of books which will surely come in the lead up to the bicentenary of the Rising in 1998 will be of an equal standard.

-Deasún Ó Daltún

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# "THE PRIDE OF TIPPERARY" — GEORGE PLANT

**50 YEARS AGO:**

"IN THE COOL air of morning another hero fell, He died as he lived for the land he loved so well; They raised him no caoine, they tolled no mourning knell When they murdered the Pride of Tipperary."

This contemporary ballad, to an air close to that of *The Legion of the Rearguard* was sung by a new generation from that of George Plant in the IRA units of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Plant was an inspiration to them as they prepared to complete the work for which he had given his life. Born in 1904 near Fethard in South Tipperary he and his brother Jim (aged 12 and 13) were "detained" by RIC men on a Sunday morning in 1916.

They were returning from the local Protestant church service in Killeaule village when they were grabbed passing the police barracks. Michael Moroney in "George Plant and the Rule of Law" says they were questioned about two local Republicans, Dan Breen and Seán Hayes.

The boys knew nothing about either but the RIC ill-treated them — pulling out their hair, tearing their clothes and dragging them along the ground. Despite all this the boys became obstinate and uncooperative saying that even if they did know anything of the two men they would not tell.

By 1918 both boys were members of Fianna Éireann and George was very much to the fore in the organisation locally. But that was only the beginning...

An article entitled "The Judicial Murder of George Plant" in *An t-Eireannach Aontuighthe* about 1950 takes up the story: "George Plant was barely 17 when he joined the Army of the Republic in his native Moyglass, at the height of what is popularly called the Tan War.

"The Moyglass unit was in the Seventh Battalion of Seán Treacy's Third Tipperary Brigade. The Battalion OC at the time was Tom Donovan with Nicholas Moroney as his Adjutant.

## FEARLESS

"Eager, fearless and enthusiastic, the young Protestant farmer was soon promoted to the Company Staff and took part not only in all that unit's engagements, but in many Battalion and Brigade activities up to the Truce (July 1921)."

When the Treaty of Surrender was forced on the Irish people George remained true to his allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic. Once more he was on active service "fearless and enthusiastic as ever, but sad to think that some of his former comrades, who had deserted the Army of the Republic, were now his bitter enemies," enforcing the Free State and Partition on the people.

In 1923 George was captured and imprisoned in Templemore Jail whence he escaped. Following the "Cease Fire Order" in May of that year, he joined the exodus into exile caused by the Free State economic boycott of Republicans.

In 1924 he and his brother Jim were in Canada. A letter he wrote to Frank Aiken, C/S IRA 1923-5, from Toronto is extant. The brothers later made their way to the US and came home in 1928 at the request of the IRA to carry out a military operation.

With a third man they raided a bank in Tipperary town. Some time afterwards they were arrested and received prison sentences which they served in Portlaoise Jail. On release both returned to the United States.

## QUICKLY PROMOTED

After Seán Russell became Chief-of-Staff in 1938, George Plant returned to Ireland for the last time. He wanted to

take part in a more active military policy at home. An experienced soldier, a veteran of both the Black-and-Tan and Free State Wars, he was quickly promoted.

Plant became OC of the South-Eastern Division of the Irish Republican Army in a full-time capacity. This was his rank when he was arrested in 1941 and lodged in Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin. On November 11 of that year he was charged with the murder of a Wexford man Michael Devereux, who it was alleged, had been shot as an informer by the Army.

"The manner of Plant's 'trial' and ultimate conviction and execution has gone down in history as one of the most glaring examples ever of a political opponent being 'railroaded to death,'" says the *United Irishman* article.

At Collins Barracks, Dublin George Plant and Joseph O'Connor (also known as O'Donnell) of Brosna, Co. Kerry were charged before the 'Special Criminal Court' consisting of three military officers without any legal training whatever. O'Connor was charged with "commanding" Plant to shoot Devereux.

Corpus order in the Dublin High Court. Such an order was refused on January 15 as was an appeal on behalf of the four men to the Supreme Court on January 27.

The Fianna Fáil regime had moved again on December 30. They made another emergency powers order (No. 139 of 1941) to permit the taking and giving of evidence that would otherwise not be admissible.

TP Coogan says: "it provided that whether the offence was committed before the making of the order or not... i.e. it was retroactive, another breach of the rule of law.

Coogan goes on: "The powers of the court concerning such a statement were that it could act on the statement against the accused and that an application to read a statement could be made even though the person who made it was not present at the trial, or was dead, or was present at the trial even though he did not give evidence".

He also says: "The order further provided that if a military court consider-

subsequent co-operation with the government, in particular his testimony in court against McCaughey, lends evidence to the view that he was in collusion with the government." Moroney does note that in 1951, ten years later, Hayes denied in a magazine article that his famous confession was true.

"The summary execution of Devereux may be a crucial piece in this whole jigsaw," says Moroney. Invariably the IRA court-martialled its own offenders but "to have court-martialled Devereux would have presented him with an opportunity to prove his innocence", something his alleged remark to Plant "suggests he seemed certain he could do".

Hayes was in Free State custody all this time — from September 1941 — but never was he charged with "commanding" Devereux's death, as the police believed him to have done.

The Labour Party at the time and some Fine Gael TDs, to all their credit, attempted to upset Order 139 in Leinster House. Frank Aiken, former IRA Chief-of-Staff, was its principal defender in the 26-County Dáil. When this attempt was unsuccessful, the Labour Party fought it in the Senate and lost again.

## COMBINATION

Harry White lists those who spoke in favour of No. 139 as Doctors Alton, Barnville and Farran, Miss Pearse, Séamus Robinson, Bill Quirk, 'Cú Uladh' Mc Ginley, Frank McDermot and JJ Mc Ellin, a neat combination of Anglos and former Republicans." Dan Breen and Seán Hayes, whose activities in 1916 led directly to George and Jim Plant joining the Republican Movement were now respectively a Fianna Fáil TD and Senator.

The way was clear now for the Special Military Court to go ahead to its inevitable conclusion. A ten-day trial started on February 12 and concluded on February 27. Several times Order No. 139 was invoked and statements made and disowned by Murphy, Walsh and Davern were read by a policeman and accepted as evidence.

Joe O'Connor was acquitted, shook hands with the other three, but was re-arrested and interned without trial as he left the court. The other three were sentenced to the firing squad. Sentence on Plant was quickly confirmed by the Fianna Fáil Cabinet while those on Walsh and Davern were commuted to life imprisonment.

Sent to Portlaoise, they immediately joined the "blanket" protest. The Cabinet papers reveal that it "was not intended originally that Walsh and Davern should be put on trial on a capital charge" yet they were as a reprisal for refusing to swear against Plant.

George Plant's family, including his mother, got no chance to visit him in the short time between sentence and execution. A request by Plant to see his infant son, George, was agreed provided a screen separated them. Since he understandably wished to hold his child in his arms for the last time, Plant refused.

Moved from Arbour Hill to Portlaoise on the night before his execution, Plant bore his sentence philosophically. Seán MacBride told TP Coogan that of all the Republican trials of the 1940s, he found that of Plant the most harrowing.

"He was a particularly nice fellow and seemed to have no fear," said MacBride. "The night before his execution he sat up reading, completely composed all night, and went to his death wearing his best suit."

John McGrath, speaking at Plant's graveside in 1948 said that before he stepped from the condemned cell he requested his spiritual attendant "to give his sole worldly possessions — the garments which he wore — to some poor, deserving man. There we had George Plant, the Christian."

## SOLDIER

According to prison warders who were present, Plant went to his death like the



• George Plant

Three men who were the principal State witnesses refused to be sworn or to give evidence. They maintained that statements made by them had been literally beaten out of them by the police.

The court ordered their arrest. Simon Murphy of Wexford town was sentenced to six months imprisonment for contempt of court. Michael Walsh of Kilmacow, Co. Kilkenny and the third witness Patrick Davern of Grangemockler, Co. Tipperary had similar charges to those against Plant and O'Connor brought against them.

A "nolle prosequi" was entered by the prosecution against both O'Connor and Plant who were then discharged by the court. They were both re-arrested, however, and held in detention.

On December 31, 1941, the Leinster House Administration made an order (No. 41F) under the Emergency Powers (Amendment No. 2) Act 1940 directing that Walsh and Davern together with O'Connor and Plant (who had the same charges brought against them once more) be tried before the "Special Military Court".

This court consisted only of three military officers again but with this difference — death by shooting within 72 hours was the *only sentence* possible regardless of the charge, and no appeal could be made against either conviction or sentence.

## DOUBLE JEOPARDY

Seán MacBride SC argued that it was a fundamental rule of law that a person could not be put in jeopardy twice for the same offence (the principle of "double jeopardy"). The President of the court said he could not question the "government order".

MacBride then applied for a Habeas

ed it proper on any occasion during a trial that it should not be bound by any rule of evidence, whether of military or common law, then the court should not be bound by such rule.

## NO APPEAL

Thus by military "drumhead" court-martial with no appeal and mandatory firing squad sentence, with retroactive legislation, and with all rules of evidence set at naught, were Plant, O'Connor, Davern and Walsh brought before the Special Military Court on February 12. Coogan calls the FF regime's action "a manipulation of the law".

Moroney considers the Hayes Affair (see September 1991 SAOIRSE) and concludes: "First a plausible case can be made (and was made at the time) for the proposition that it was Hayes who, as Chief-of-Staff, had ordered Devereux's execution (without any pretence of a trial such as Hayes himself was accorded), and that he did so in order to divert the suspicion of his colleagues in the IRA away from his own activities as an informer."

"Secondly it is incontrovertible that barely had Hayes reached the comparative safety of Garda custody than the Devereux mystery was solved. Within weeks the latter's car and body were found.

"It was not only the IRA at the time that held the view that it was Stephen Hayes who gave the order for Devereux's killing. The relevant Cabinet File (now available at the Public Records Office) shows that this view was also then held by the Gardai. (Ref. 'Dept. of Justice Memorandum to Govt., 7 Nov. 1945, Cabinet File No. S12741, SPO Dublin Castle).

"It can be argued too that Hayes'

## JIM KENNY

"THE late Jim Kenny was a native of Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim and joined the Leitrim Battalion of the Irish Republican Army as a young man in the late 1930s," said Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, in a grave-side oration at the funeral to Drumlish New Cemetery on Wednesday, January 30.

He continued: "Jim was one of a party of riflemen under the command of Comdt. Richard Goss that rendered military honours at the funeral to Killoe Cemetery of Barney Casey of Ohill who was shot dead while an internee at the Curragh in 1940.

"When the funeral of Curragh internee Jack McLoughlin of Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim was en route to Fenagh Cemetery in 1942, Jim Kenny was one of a party who discharged three volleys over the coffin at Edintiny. Jim set up house in Drumlish in the early 1950s and started a successful business as a blacksmith.

"He was active in Sinn Féin at all elections after that and worked for the Prisoners Dependants Fund. He will be remembered for his great courage, his hard work and his great love of people — the Irish people and indeed all humanity.

"Jim Kenny was a lover of all things Irish, a good Irishman, a skilled craftsman and a good person for the local community," Ruairí Ó Brádaigh concluded. The speaker was introduced by Matt Casey, Drumlish and Republican Sinn Féin in Longford and Leitrim was

WITH the death in London on February 8 of Kerryman Paddy Hartigan the cause of Irish freedom in exile lost one of its most fervent advocates.

A native of Knocknagoshel, Co. Kerry, for over 40 years every Sunday Paddy sold Republican newspapers and books at London's Marble Arch. During the 1950s and 60s you would find him on Saturday nights outside the then Irish dance clubs in Ealing, Fulham and the Holloway Road, enlisting support for the Republican cause from that generation of Irish exiles in London. In the 1970s and 80s he was still there selling his papers and collecting funds to help the latest phase in the Irish struggle for freedom.

represented by Councillor Seán Lynch, Aghnaciliffe and Michael Kennedy, Gorgavagh, Mohill.

"To his wife Mary and

pathy is expressed with the wife and family of Paddy Hartigan, Kerry and London, whose death occurred recently. From the Boys at Marble Arch.

**HARTIGAN**, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Paddy Hartigan, Kerry and London, whose death occurred on February 8. From the Boys and Girls, Ruislip GAA grounds.

**HARTIGAN**, Sincere sympathy is extended to Maisey Hartigan and family on the recent death of Paddy Hartigan, Kerry and London. From Michael Kennedy, London.

**HARTIGAN**, Deepest sympathy is extended to Maisey Hartigan and family and friends on the death of Paddy Hartigan, Kerry and London. From his friends in Surrey.

**HARTIGAN**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Paddy

## Paddy Hartigan



• Paddy Hartigan

in London.

In a short graveside oration a member of Sinn Féin

Poblachtach recalled the many years of service

that Paddy had given to the Republican Movement and said that it was sad that the cause to which he had given such sterling service over the years had not yet been brought to a successful conclusion.

He urged all present to do whatever they could to complete the task as that would be Paddy Hartigan's dearest wish.

To his wife, Maisey, family and friends in England and Ireland we extend our deepest sympathy.

## DERMOT KING

REPUBLICANS in South Down were saddened to learn of the death of one of the county's oldest Republicans in the person of Dermot King, Annsborough, who died on February 22 in his 81st year.

Throughout his long life he was a faithful helper in every way for the unity of his country. The very large funeral which accompanied his coffin, draped in the National Flag, to the cemetery in Agh-

linsafin, on Sunday, February 24 was an expression of the affection he was held in by the people of County Down.

He was a faithful, straightforward Irishman. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

mother, Mrs O'Connor. VOTES of sympathy were expressed by Cumann Pádraig Ó Pearail, Wexford, to Michael Donegan, Dromintee on the death of his father and Andy Connolly, on the death of his father.

### Beannachtá

**KELLY** Cummins, born Thursday, February 6, 1992 a sister to Jennifer, and daughter No. 2 for proud parents John and Paula, Clondalkin — and we don't just see Kelly's arrival as another ticket sale (honest !). Congratulations from the Clondalkin 'rafflers' (second Sunday each month . . .) We sincerely hope you have twins next, Paula, . . .

and friends of Kevin Barry O'Donnell who died while on active service. Always remembered by your friends in Loughrey College '87/88. "Mother Éire I have loved you with a love that knew no fear."

**Ó MURCHÚ**, At a recent meeting of Coiste Cuimhneacháin Dáithí Ó Conaill agus Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, a vote of sympathy was passed with the widow of Oliver Ó Murchú, Cork, who acted as rúnaf of the committee until his death.

VOTES of sympathy were expressed by the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BAC, with Andy Connolly on the death of his father and Ruairí Óg Ó Brádaigh on the death of his grand-

Notices for inclusion in SAOIRSE should be written clearly and arrive at 13 Aston Place, Dublin 2 by the end of the calendar month to ensure inclusion. There is no charge but donations are welcome.

## Comhbhrón

AT a meeting of the National Graves Association held on February 13 a vote of sympathy was passed with the relatives and friends of the eight men and youths massacred in the Falls Road area of Belfast. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a n-anamach dháís.

**CABHAIR**, Irish Republican Prisoners Dependants Fund, extend deepest sympathy to Andy Connolly, Dublin, and Michael Donegan, Dromintee, on the deaths of their fathers, to the Hartigan family, London on the death of Paddy Hartigan and to the O'Brádaigh and O'Connor families on the death of Barbara O'Connor.

**CONWAY**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Conway family on the

death of Joe Conway. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a n-anam. From Cumann William Stewart, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dundalk.

**DONEGAN**, Sincere sympathy is extended to Michael Donegan, Dromintee, on the death of his father Kevin. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a n-anam. From Cumann William Stewart, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dundalk.

**GARGAN**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Ned Gargan, Dublin and Meath, who died on January 30 last. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a n-anam. From Cumann William Stewart, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dundalk.

**HARTIGAN**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the wife, family and friends of Paddy Hartigan, Kerry and London, who died on February 8. From Sinn Féin Poblachtach, London.

**HARTIGAN**, Sincere sym-

THE "KANGAROO" court trial and fate of George Plant has reverberated down through the years. Some of the echoes are listed here:

During his re-interment in September 1948, his coffin, draped in the Tricolour with his Sam Browne belt placed over it, rested overnight before the High Altar in Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin with an IRA Guard of Honour in attendance.

Speaking at Dolphin's Barn, Dublin during the 26-County General Election in May 1951, Jim Larkin, jnr. recalled being thrown out of Leinster House in the 1940s when as a TD he raised the question of "the rail-roading to death" of George Plant.

Sean O'Neill, OS, brother of Maurice O'Neill, spoke at the unveiling of a Celtic Cross over Plant's grave in St. Johnston, Fethard, Co. Tipperary in May 1953. He said that "George Plant's death had been encompassed by the

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soldier he was, like the other IRA Veteran, Paddy McGrath before him, like Goss and Harte who were only infants in 1916 when McGrath and Plant himself stood their ground for Ireland.

He smoked a cigarette stoically before standing with his back to a barricade of sandbags and railway sleepers to face the guns for the last time. His grave was unmarked and like that of Richard Goss the previous August was covered by a rubbish dump.

## ECHOES DOWN THE YEARS

foulest means of all, the use of the agent provocateur".

The very first programme ever to be banned on RTE television by Leinster House order was an interview in Irish by Proinsias Mac Aonghusa with Con Lehane, solicitor, in the series "An Fear agus a Sceal" in the early 1960s. Con, who with Sean MacBride, SC defended George Plant, made reference to the case and the reaction was prompt.

### BLACKEST MARKS

An article in *The Irish Times* on October 15, 1962 for de Valera's 80th birthday was written by the famous Owen Sheehy-Skeffington. In it he said that the two blackest marks against de Valera in his whole career were (a) the death of Sean MacCaughy on hunger and thirst strike arising out of the six-year "blanket" protest in Portlaoise Jail and (b) the

case of George Plant, Protestant Republican.

Defending his actions in the case of Plant in an *Irish Times* interview with Michael McInerney in 1968, Gerry Boland, Free State Minister for Justice in the 1940s said: "If we could not have law, at least we had order". Yes, "order" in support of British rule in the Six Counties.

Sean MacBride SC in an interview on RTE television in the 1970s told how he arrived at Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin to see George Plant for the last time before his execution. He found the Protestant minister who was to attend Plant locked outside the prison and walking up and down to warm himself in the hail and sleet of early March. MacBride admitted with success on his immediate admission to the prison.

In 1989, Co. Tipperary Historical Soc-

ety published in booklet form a revised version of history coursework submitted by Michael Moroney in part-fulfillment of the regulations of a B.Ed degree by Mary Immaculate College of Education, Limerick in 1986. It sells in bookshops at £2.50.

### SUPPRESSED

Then in *Anois* of January 18-19, 1992 Proinsias Mac Aonghusa tells again the story of Con Lehane's suppressed interview. Con said that the court case which affected him most as a lawyer was that of George Plant, a case in which the State murdered a person in a legal manner. "The law was changed so that Plant could be killed," he said.

But the *Evening Herald* had the censorship as the lead story the following evening and other papers took it up. For the first time in many years there were accounts of the George Plant case. The censorship failed.

It is not only the Ghost of Roger Casement which is beating on the door . . .

*Remember Barnes and Darcy McNeela, Goss and Harte; Remember too, our comrade George Plant, the Pride of Tipperary.*

(More next month. Refs. An t-Eireannach Aonluigh, Sept.-Oct. 1948 and June 1953; *George Plant and the Rule of Law* by Michael Moroney, publishers Tipperary Historical Society 1989; *The IRA* by TP Coogan; *Anois*, 18-19 Eanáir 1992).

A retired warder was brought back in 1948 to find their graves. Ex-British Major Barrows, the Prison Governor, did not show the same care that Governor Seán Kavanagh did in Mountjoy to the graves of executed Republicans. Every respect was shown by Plant's comrades at first opportunity in 1948 and at the various commemorations ever since.

George Plant was an inspiration to

au who came in contact with him. His fellow prisoners in Arbour Hill speak highly of him. Jack Lynch of Dunmanway in West Cork said: "A great soldier, and one with a great outlook, I knew him in the good years. What a pity we had not more like him . . ."

*"Arise then, Plant's own comrades and rally to his Cause; Arise the suffering Irish race, ground down by brutal laws.*



## BRITS MANDATE IRISH ARMED RESISTANCE!

At his wit's end to restore dipping government popularity and flagging Fianna Fáil morale, the new leader of the Leinster House Yahoos, anguished Albert Reynolds, scoured old records to offset a secret deal between the intransigent unionist parties and beleaguered Tory Premier John Major.

Facing an almost certain general election defeat, Mr Major had a brief to lure the pseudo-loyalist factions into a pro-Conservative line so that in the likely event of a close Spring poll, the northerners would be offered "sweeteners" in return for Westminster support.

These included the equivalent of martial law for parts of Belfast, Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh as a last resort. Aware of the intrigue, the Reynolds regime searched anxiously for a counter weapon.

He found it, how did you guess, in the basis of our ÉIRE NUA policy for a united federal Ireland of 32 Counties. This could not be confessed openly, so harassed Albert plucked the root cause that created this commensurate policy by insisting that any new shaping of the stagnating Stormont part-province should review the partitionist Government of Ireland Act 1920.

This was on the Westminster statute books long before the 1921 Treaty of Surrender and envisaged two subordinate colonial parliaments in Dublin and Belfast, with reduced Irish representation in London and Whitehall remaining the taxation tool and paymaster.

The Reynolds move, carefully announced to a Dublin press conference before he met a Major mesmerised by plummeting industrial exports and rising unemployment, was designed to concentrate British minds on the billions sterling annual costs of occupation, spawned by the original partition legislation.

It took the gloss off claims that removal of territorial integrity in Articles One and Two in Dev's Constitution would somehow free paranoid unionist leaders from their isolationist obsessions with the increasingly illusory benefits of the Union.

This recall of the underlying roots of Anglo-Irish conflict surprised many in Fianna Fáil and Leinster House opposition groups.

It disclosed the collective memory lapse of so-called national legislators who for decades have condemned the struggle for liberty in arms on the ground that today's guerrillas have no mandate for their actions to end British misrule.

Here was proof indeed that what Lord Longford (Frank Pakenham) described in his book, *Peace by Ordeal*, on the independence struggle of the Twenties as an "undemocratic" bid by the British to ignore the electoral will of three-quarters of the Irish in 1918 meant a continuation of tyrannical overlordship of an ancient nation.



### • Martial Law being considered?

The British had already banned the Dáil, permitted a secessionary option to the colonialist unionists, against the will of the great national majority, and thus mandated the oppressed to restore democracy by force of arms since the ballot box had been made redundant.

The Treaty, signed under duress a year later, merely copperfastened the Westminster-Whitehall dictat that the voting verdicts of the Irish meant nothing to the "mother of all parliaments".

The myth that the Treaty was valid, despite threats of immediate and terrible war, gave birth to another bizarre illusion that partition came with it and not, as was the case, imposed long before without reference to the expressed electoral hunger for an independent Republic.

Politics in the Kildare Street Home for the Bewildered have misinstructed generations of youngsters and blinded them

to the crucial imposition of a Border that didn't even please the alleged author, unionist chief and Dublin-born barrister Edward Carson.

Carson was disgusted by the partitionist trick of twisty Lloyd George, who appeared to be offering the long-term prospect of 29 Counties to the nationalist/republicans, and nine counties to the loyalists.

Ireland would have required 38 Counties to make sense of this enigmatic double lure!

The apparent Reynolds *volte face* is a temporary expedient. Pragmatics persuade him and his type, not principles. It will not be long before his correct sourcing of the conflict in the Partition Act of 1920 is shelved in favour of pseudo-conciliation talks with the next British government.

Peace with honour is as much a priority for Albert as is the greater good of the Irish as a whole for Ian Paisley, Archibigot of Belfast.

The definition of war seems to depend on how much military power you control. The slaughter of about 200,000 innocents in the Gulf Oil massacre compared with the derisory losses of less than 400 from 28 "allied countries" is seemingly OK with Geneva Convention signatories.

But if 300 guerrillas in the sick Six Counties, where plutocracy of a fascist kind dominates, are set against 30,000 armed troops and police auxiliaries, this is terrorism, not war.

It is worth remembering that President Kenyatta, onetime reviled leader of the Mau Mau freedom fighters in Kenya, was on his death hailed by the *London Times* as "the model statesman for Africa".

The Whitehall propaganda machine is getting desperate in its attempts to undermine resistance to the brutal British war tactics against besieged nationalist civilians who live in the murder target districts of the North.

Most of the Irish national media joined in the charade of repeating the childish jingles of the fiction writers paid by the War Office to justify the indefensible untruths contained in Lisburn GHQ press releases.

A typical bomb explosion that seriously damages or virtually destroys an Army-style RUC fortress results in unalloyed duplicities. The frenetic PR officers point always to the peripherals of attack.

For example: "The bomb was placed 100 yards from an infant school, 50 yards from an old folks home: it could have killed dozens if the home had not been evacuated and the school closed at the time".

Omitted are the facts that guerrillas gave a 40 minutes warning of a night attack.

— DRAPIER II

## INNOCENT VICTIMS OF BRITISH INJUSTICE



### JUDITH WARD

18 years and one month in jail

### GULDFORD FOUR AND MAGUIRE SEVEN

still seeking to have their names cleared. Giuseppe Conlon died in prison, in January 1980

## Imeachtaí

GEORGE PLANT 50th ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION SUNDAY, MARCH 8 St. Johnston, Fethard Co. Tipperary

Assemble: Coolbawn Cross, 2.30pm Cathaoirleach: Paddy O'Connell, Thurles

Speaker Michael McManus Bus leaves Durdalk, 9am and Aston Quay, Dublin at 10am

## WHAT THEY SAID

There is no evidence of large-scale sweeps for arms in the areas harbouring the loyalist death squads, no evidence of a shoot-to-kill policy in these same areas, no special operations where units of UDA men are taken out by SAS on the back of information bought from informers

Tuesday's multi-

ple killings were carried out, like other recent sectarian killings, under the noses of British forces who had a clear view of the scene from an observation post. There was no effort to intervene.

— *Editorial*, The Sunday Business Post, February 9. It is as if the forces of the state continue to give expression to the fundamental sectarianism which lies beneath the creation of the state itself. This process of anti-Catholic genocide, conducted within the jurisdiction of one of Europe's most prosperous states, is accepted in almost

casual fashion. To the shame of the Dublin administration, it has scarcely raised a finger to draw world attention to the almost casual process of genocide being conducted against Belfast's small Catholic community.

— The Sunday Business Post, February 9.

And once Fine Gael gave their commitment to an amendment, Fianna Fáil naturally followed suit. So the parties which then enjoyed 80 to 90 per cent of public support between them made pledges that have brought us to this pretty pass.

— *'Drapier' column*, The Irish Times, February 22 on the dispute over the Dublin High Court injunction banning a 14-year-old rape victim travelling to Britain for an abortion.

A new arrangement? What about the possibility of four provincial assemblies, with a national parliament on the Border between Dublin and Belfast ...

— *Letter from Councillor and Fr Pat Buckley, Larne, echoing Republican Sinn Féin's ÉIRE NUA proposal*, The Irish Times, February 19.

We have a labour surplus, highly trained, highly educated competent people are coming on to the labour market and not all of them will be accommodated in this economy.

— *26-County Minister for Labour Brian Cowan proposing to export 10,000 Irish people to Europe to seek employment*.

Normally, a great deal of opinionated waffle chokes the airwaves, with only an occasional glimpse of the hidden Ireland, in such programmes as *Queueing for a Living*.

As for political de-

bate, it comes to us in the form of Punch and Judy fights between politicians whose differences are entirely spurious and who share the same base motives — the acquisition and maintenance of power for its own sake, at any cost.

Informed criticism of our order and radical proposals to change it for the better are rarely seen or heard on RTE, even though such rigorous and searching debate was never more urgently needed.

— *Letter from Robert Francis*, Sunday Tribune, February 9.

## SAOIRSE IRISH FREEDOM

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