

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 51 IUIL - JULY 1991

30p (USA \$24 per year)

ISSN

0791 - 0002

Bulk Rate
US Postage
PAID
Hummel
Dist. Corp.

Return Address
SAOIRSE
Box 1053
South Orange
N.J. 07079

LOCAL RADIOS WARNED ON SECTION 31

see page 3

'Brookeside' Collapses



• THE BROOKE TALKS — doomed to failure because Irish aspirations and British rule cannot be reconciled.

AFTER 18 months of 'talks about talks', postponements, and on-again, off-again shenanigans the 'Brookeside' serial has finally finished, collapsing on July 3 with the statement of failure by the British Direct Ruler at Stormont and again in the British House of Commons.

Sinn Féin Poblachtach has consistently maintained that the Brooke talks could not succeed whether in the long or short term because firstly it did not address the national question which can only be resolved on the basis of the sovereignty and unity of the Irish people and secondly, British rule affects all the Irish people and a solution must be found with the participation of all the Irish people.

Mr Brooke said in his House of Commons statement on March 26 last that the Six Counties would remain part of the so-called United Kingdom. Partition and British rule therefore were not on his agenda. When the Unionists and the

SDLP finally came to Stormont a further seven weeks were spent in arguments over the location of talks, the chairperson of the talks and the rules of procedure.

BODENSTOWN

On June 16 at Bodenstown, the day

before the various participants finally agreed to start negotiations, Republican Sinn Féin speaker Tom O'Sullivan predicted failure for the Brooke talks process because "it is based on the premise that England has a right to occupy part of our country". Irish politicians of all shades involved in those talks really want to dress up the old partition system in new clothes, he said (see Bodenstown report, page 5).

In the event even the new clothes did not take shape however. We can be gratified that the proposal to erect Stormont Mark 5 with a share in power under British rule for the SDLP, and with full and active support of the Dublin admin-

istration, has collapsed because it would create vested interests and be a stumbling block rather than a stepping stone on the road to freedom for the Irish people.

Instead of trying to 'square the circle' of Irish national aspirations with British rule in Ireland Republicans and Democrats should work for a way forward as indicated clearly in the EIRE NUA programme; a federation of the four historic provinces of Ireland with maximum devolution of power and decision-making to regional, district and community levels. This would meet the situation in giving majorities and minorities alike the essential control of their own affairs in a completely New Ireland.

MAGUIRES: JUDGEMENT OF DISCREDITED SYSTEM

THERE was joy followed by anger at the British Court of Appeal in London on Wednesday, June 26 when the three judges read their reserved judgement in the Maguire Seven appeal. Before lunch it was learned that the Court was allowing the appeal and quashing the convictions as "unsatisfactory". This joy turned to anger and disbelief in the afternoon when the judgement was read in full to the packed court, which included several of the Maguires, who served sentences of between four and fourteen years following their convictions in 1975.

The judges allowed only one of the six grounds of appeal, namely that there was a possibility that the Maguires were innocently contaminated with the explosive nitroglycerine. This absolved the forensic scientists, police and judiciary who framed the Seven and ignored defence evidence about contamination of swabs in the British Royal Armaments Research and Development

Establishment (RARDE). It has left an implication of guilt or complicity hanging over the Maguires, suggesting that someone who handled explosives was in the Maguire home.

Reaction was strong to this whitewash of the British legal system. Chris Mullin MP, author of the celebrated expose of the Birmingham Six case commented "The British legal system appears to be con-

genitally incapable of owning up to its own mistakes". Gerard Conlon of the Guildford Four, sat beside an Irish radio reporter in the court and commented "it's evil, evil" when he heard the judgement. His father Giuseppe Conlon who was one of the Maguire Seven, died in prison protesting his innocence to the end.

Gerard Conlon said outside the court that there is no British justice for Irish citizens, whose treatment he compared to that of Black South Africans. Annie Maguire (54) (aunt of Gerard Conlon) who was the last of the Maguire Seven to be released in 1985, said that there was "nothing to celebrate".

The other members of the Maguire Seven are her husband Patrick (57), brother Sean Smyth (52),

sons Vincent (32) and Patrick (29), neighbour Pat O'Neill (49) and the late Giuseppe Conlon, who died in custody in 1980.

Ruairí O Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, said that the judgement was "definitely flawed by the nature of the

decision which tries to exonerate the corrupt British scientists, police and judiciary and attempts to tarnish the names of the Maguires. Both they and Judith Ward, who is now 17 years and five months in unjust imprisonment, deserve to be fully exonerated and compensated for their ordeal at the hands of a totally discredited legal system."

RTE Radio listeners heard (on the News at One programme) the Maguire sons (in 1975 aged 16 and 13) describe how they were slapped across the face in custody by British police during interrogation and how Annie Maguire was spreadeagled against a wall for long periods and kicked when she fell to the ground through exhaustion.



• Annie Maguire

KEVIN BOLAND was the third speaker at the public seminar *Ireland's War - A Political Solution?* organised by Sinn Féin Poblachtach during March. A former 26-county minister, Kevin Boland's address is summarised here, along with some of the points raised by the audience and platform in the general discussion that followed. Dr John Robb's and Seán Ó Brádaigh's contributions were published in the April and May editions of SAOIRSE. *Towards a Peaceful Ireland*, Sinn Féin Poblachtach's proposals, are condensed in the panel below.

Solutions To Ireland's War

KEVIN BOLAND began by stating that he would not have come to the meeting if he did not believe that the two documents on which the discussion is to be based (*Towards a Peaceful Ireland* and *EIRE NUA*) "are an important contribution to the creation of conditions in which all the Irish people can live together in real lasting peace in their common homeland without any apprehension of physical or institutional violence against any grouping of people".

"The combined effect of the two documents," he continued, "must demonstrate to anyone capable of taking an objective view that the organisation which is widely perceived as the most rigid manifestation of Republicanism is not, in fact, unreasonable and is not intent on seeking a triumphalist 'victory' over anyone but that, on the contrary, it is confident that agreement can be found."

He described *EIRE NUA* as a "people-operated system of government" which indicates a confidence in the sense of responsibility and integrity of small units of society. From his experience this was not shared by the present political establishment, who "are most cynical about the fitness of the people to participate in a real way in the conduct of their own affairs, while those who have been continually rejected have, somehow, retained an idealistic appreciation of the calibre of the people."

Addressing himself to the three proposals in *Towards a Peaceful Ireland*

Kevin Boland agreed with the principle of an amnesty for all political prisoners contained in point 3.

ROOT

In regard to point 1, the basis of the issue was the lack of democracy at the root of the national issue. "If the present situation is not an absolute breach of the basic principle of democracy, then the national objective is not justified and must be abandoned," he said.

He was critical of the reference to the "existing flawed 26-county document" (i.e. 1937 constitution) and said that it is irrelevant anyway follow-

ing the Single European Act referendum in 1987 which excludes whole areas of government from being subject to the say of the people of the 26 Counties. "In effect the existing Irish constitution is the European body of legislation," Kevin Boland said.

TIGHTENED

He made observations about the wording of point 2 and suggested that the first sentence should be tightened up by amending it to run as follows: "Prior to the setting up of the Assembly, the British government must declare that it will withdraw its forces and establishment from Ireland within two calendar years from the date of this announcement or within twelve months of the adoption of a new Constitution of Ireland, whichever period is the shorter." Such an announcement should, before it is promulgated, be endorsed by a vote of the British parliament, he concluded.

In the discussion that followed the dialogue that was started by the meeting was greatly welcomed by speakers from the floor.

CONTRAST

Chairperson, Paddy

Healy contrasted the proposals from the speakers with the proposals of the SDLP in their role as chief spokespersons of constitutional nationalists'. Their call is for a so-called "agreed Ireland" - a formula that will emerge from their talks with the British, and then put to referenda separately in the North and South. The flaw inherent in this is that the people are only consulted to say whether they are "for" or "against" the formula when that choice may not reflect their view at all.

"The strength of the Sinn Féin Poblachtach proposal is that it involves all the people of Ireland in the actual formulation of a solution in a democratic way."

The question was also raised as to how would the British materially express their withdrawal of sovereignty from the Six Counties as Dr John Robb proposed (along with a similar declaration from the Dublin administration).

It was agreed by all present that the 26-county state was not what the 1918 election was all about and therefore it was important to let the Six-county loyalists know that there is no question of

Towards a Peaceful Ireland outlines three practical steps in the securing of self-determination together with a credible timescale in which to implement it.

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

- prior to the setting up of the Assembly the British government must declare that it will withdraw its forces and establishment from Ireland within 12 months of the adoption of a new Constitution by the people of Ireland; thirdly

- an amnesty for all political prisoners and people on the wanted list. All political prisoners must be released one month prior to the election for the Constituent Assembly.

them being absorbed into an extension of the 26-county state. The 26-county state would be dissolved in any democratic resolution of the Irish war.

Seán Ó Brádaigh in a summing up remarked that there was a considerable degree of convergence in the dialogue and that a so-called solution which

does not address the fundamental problem is not a solution at all. The only role for the British is to declare that they are prepared to bow to the will of the Irish people and withdraw at a future date.

It is hoped to continue this process of dialogue in the coming months with a further exchange of views. Contributions to this exchange are invited.

'MOVEMENTS' CHARGES

THREE Derry men were sentenced to six months imprisonment during June under Section 52 of the Offences Against the State Act (OASA) for "failing to give an account of their movements" to 26-county police following their arrest in Burt, County Donegal on October 24, 1990. They were William McGuinness (35), Gary Fleming (32) and Anthony Heaney (30). A fourth man, Paul Gerard McAloon (21) was accused of the same offence in the Special Criminal Court in early July but was freed due to being illegally arrested in January 1991. The use of Section 52 of the OASA is a new departure. More on this point next month.

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

80 PER CENT of Slovenia's voters declared for national independence in a referendum last December. Despite this the 26-county government has said, at the behest of the EC at the Luxembourg summit at

the end of June that if Slovenia and neighbouring Croatia leave Yugoslavia they will refuse to recognise their independence. The US Secretary of State declared that the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia must be maintained, thereby giving the green light to the army to march on Slovenia and Croatia. Haughey and Collins are supporting what is clearly an imperialistic EC foreign policy in opposition to national democracy, whether it is in Ireland, Lithuania or Slovenia.

FURTHER HARASSMENT

OFFICIAL complaints have been lodged by a solicitor acting for local election workers in Galway city following further incidents of harassment by Special Branch political police. In one incident on Tuesday evening June 25 a car-load of canvassers for Republican Sinn Féin candidate Dave Joyce were stopped by Special Branch detectives as they prepared to commence work in Renmore. They were ordered out of their vehicle while the Branchmen examined election literature and engaged in their usual bully-boy tactics. Solicitor

Billy Loughnane has now lodged two complaints with the 26-county police superintendent in Galway city in regard to harassment of clients engaged in election business. Both have been acknowledged but no reply has been received to date.

EASTER LILY FINES

A ROSCOMMON member of Sinn Féin Poblachtach was last month fined a total of £50 for selling Easter Lillies at Carrick-on-Shannon District Court. Seán Fitzpatrick of Drumsna has been prosecuted every year in recent times by the 26-county police for not having a permit to sell Easter Lillies and has each time served a sentence for his refusal to pay the imposed fines.

In the same county a Ballinlough Republican, Paddy McKenna, was fined £100 at Castlereagh District Court for not having a permit for an anti-extradition draw. The Superintendent John Carey admitted in court that he would have opposed the issuing of any such permit if it had been applied for.

Imeachtaí

TIONÓL GAELTACHTA ROSMUC
CO. na GAILLIMHE
24 - 27 Iúil
A eagrú ag Conradh na Gaeilge
Fón: 091-67824 nó 01-757401

75TH ANNIVERSARY OF 1916 ULSTER
AUGUST 3 - 4
MURLOUGH BAY
GLENS OF ANTRIM
Céilí / Concerts
Two-day festival in area associated with 1916 leader Roger Casement executed August 3

RICHARD GOSS & LIAM GAUGHRAN 50TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, AUGUST 11
DUNDALK, CO. LOUTH
Assemble at Adelphi
Cinema 1.30pm
Oration:
Ruairí Ó Brádaigh

HUNGER STRIKE MARTYRS COMMEMORATION
10th ANNIVERSARY
BUNDORAN
Saturday, 31 August
Assemble East End
3pm

FEIS NA POBLACHTA 1991
WEST COUNTY HOTEL
CO. BHÁC
DE SATHAIRN
7u MEÁN FÓMHAIR
Téama: 1916

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.

REPUBLICAN POSITION MAINTAINED

- An t-Uachtaráin

IN A message to the candidates and members of Sinn Féin Poblachtach who took part in the 26-County local elections, an t-Uachtaráin, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh said that they had maintained the Republican position and, indeed, had reclaimed the Republican vote in many areas.

With meagre resources, he said, they had asserted courageously the leadership of Republican supporters in their areas by standing against the rushing tide of anti-Republican propaganda including the efforts of so-called revisionist historians.

"Twenty years of total exclusion from radio and TV - and now even from local radio - had undoubtedly left its mark. However, the young people who rallied to our Cause for the first time during this election campaign give us confidence for the future. It was during such local elections campaigns that notable Republicans such as Daithí Ó Conaill and Frank Glynn

first attached themselves to the Movement.

THANKS

"I wish to thank all the candidates, their election workers and all who voted for them. Congratulations are in order for Seán Lynch on his re-election after a gap of six years to Longford Co. Council, having exceeded the quota on the second count. Gur fada buan thú, a Sheáin.

"I also want to pay tribute to Frank Glynn for his outstanding record of 24 years of continuous service to the people on Galway Co. Council. This included,



•Seán Lynch

like Seán Lynch, a year as Chairman of the Council and the weathering of two major defections from the Movement - in 1969-70 and in 1986.

HEADLINE

"Such unstinting giving of oneself is surely a headline for our young members whose idealism and generosity of spirit is as great in this generation as in any other. It remains for us to analyse and evaluate the election results carefully, to place notes of appreciation in the local papers, to take down our posters and to clear expenses.

"Above all we must gird ourselves for the next round - possibly District Council elections. Ní neart go cur le chéile!"

LONGFORD SEAT WON

SEAN LYNCH regained the seat that he held from 1974-1985 in a very strong showing in the Drumlish electoral area of Co. Longford in the 26-county local elections. He received 536 first preference votes, just 30 short of the quota and was elected on the second count.

Sean was chairman of Longford County Council in 1980-81 during the Long Kesh H-Block/Armagh Hunger Strikes and was election agent for hunger striker Martin Hurson in the Longford/Westmeath constituency in the 26-county general election in 1981.

In other notable performances Frank Glynn received a very creditable vote in the Tuam area of County Galway and was eliminated in the last count with 1217 votes (75 per cent of the quota) narrowly missing taking the last seat. Similarly Dermot Mullooly in the Strokestown Electoral Area of Co. Roscommon polled 500 votes, which was 53 per cent of the quota. The register in his area has 1000 less voters than in 1985 due to emigration.

LOCAL RADIOS WARNED ON SECTION 31

OFFICIAL 26-county state censorship by the Dublin government resulted in a new directive to local radio stations, dated June 13, 1991 to apply Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act in the run-up to the local elections on Thursday, June 27 last. Section 31 bans broadcasts of interviews with spokespersons of Republican Sinn Féin and other

groups on the radio or television and has been implemented in the southern state since 1971.

This new directive (a copy of which was obtained by SAOIRSE) entitled 'Section 31 Practice Directive' was calculated to intimidate the Chief Executives and staffs of local radios from giving any coverage to Republican candidates during the election campaign. One local sta-

tion in Galway (Galway Bay FM) refused to carry even statements from Republican candidates, something which is clearly not prohibited under the censorship act. They reversed their decision when the 'Practice Directive' was exposed in the national and local papers.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, in a statement on June 19 accused the minister for Communications

in Dublin of acting in *terrorer* and said that all other political parties support and implement this censorship, "presumably because of the electoral advantage it offers their own candidates. This ham-fisted and secretive government action is really a tribute to the effectiveness of our campaign to date. We shall not be deterred from pushing it home in its last week in spite of official attempts at stifling it," he said.



VIDEO

Also in Galway, Republican Sinn Féin candidate Tom Curran produced a 30-minute bilingual video

to circumvent the Section 31 ban. It was shown at public meetings, pubs, halls and clubs throughout his electoral constituency.

'TWELFTH' THUGGERY

LOYALIST gangs have attacked homes in the Springfield Park area of West Belfast on several nights in the run-up to the "twelfth". This row of nationalist homes is close to the so-called peace line (a dividing wall between loyalists and nationalists) and mobs of loyalist youths have frequently climbed over it.

In the worst incident so far early on Saturday morning, June 29, a young man in 101 Springfield Park was beaten on the head with baseball bats by a mob trying to break into his girlfriend's home. 21-year-old Siobhán McAllister and her one-year-old daughter Louise left their home on Tuesday, July 2, following the attacks. She said that if neighbours had not intervened her boyfriend would have been killed.

by the Six-county Housing Executive which they could not be granted priority status for re-housing in Belfast because the RUC "Had been unable to confirm" that the family had suffered attacks by loyalists from the Springfield

estate.

COMPENSATED

This was despite the fact that the British authorities in the Six Counties have compensated members of the McLroy family on three occasions, awarding them a total of £1,800 for injuries sustained during attacks.

During Saturday night's rampage the loyalists smashed windows and car windscreens within sight of an RUC look-out post 250 yards away. Calls to the police for help resulted in the RUC arriving two hours later and then they made no attempt to go into the loyalist area behind the dividing wall but patrolled instead outside the nationalist homes. One resident pointed out that there is a ledge up beside the wall which makes it easy for the loyalists to look over and throw bricks at their homes.

This annual terrorism looks set to continue for nationalists throughout the Six Counties in the run-up to the July 12 Orangemen's celebrations of their bigoted and supremacist position.

GRINDING POVERTY ON DHSS

YOU thought it couldn't happen: they wouldn't do it; it couldn't be done; it just is not possible. They're doing it. A decision has been taken in principle to privatise the DHSS (the Department of Health and Social Welfare in the Six Counties).

Hospital cleaners, ambulance drivers, porters, binmen could be privatised but an organisation claiming to oversee the health and social security of a large section of the population in the Six Occupied Counties, that responsibility could not be placed in the hands of the fast-buck merchants. It could and it is.

In the 'South-East' area taking in Banbridge, Killeel and Newry, plans are well on the way to privatise the DHSS. The area is now managed by an accountant with no qualifications or experience in either health or social work.

ABOLISHED

Thatcher abolished single payments for necessary

items a few years ago: this system allowed dependants on social welfare to apply for a grant for furniture, personal clothing etc. The application could be passed or rejected and in the case of rejection, machinery existed whereby a person who was convinced of the necessity of the item or the justice of the case could appeal to a tribunal consisting of an officer of the DHSS, a legal figure and a 'layman'.

Poverty is widespread and grinding. After a number of years of these conditions, areas of high unemployment are now areas of suffering and health problems. Young people especially, cash their approx. £35 giro

(£25 for an unemployed housewife) on a Thursday, go to the slot-machines arcade, then to the pub and finally either to the disco or take-away and then home. For the rest of the week, much of the day is spent in bed as there is no money for coal or food.

LOW PAY

In areas of high unemployment, the wider family are almost all without a job for years and even then, a job means low pay as it is an employers' market. Doing the double is highly risky as the DHSS has an army of touts (£50 per tip-off) and check-up-men and women. The "knock on the door" is very often unanswered as confrontation can make a bad situation worse.

Discrepancies glaringly exist between amounts paid in loyalist areas and nationalist areas. DHSS offices in nationalist areas invariably return money from the annual budget, money that clients are entitled to but are not made aware of loopholes and entitlements. Unionists look after their own more profusely.

Leabhar

Leabhar

Leabhar

PATRICK PEARSE and the LOST REPUBLICAN IDEAL

by Brian P. Murphy. James Duffy, Dublin 1991

HERE is a book that I can recommend, not just to Republicans, but to all who wish to understand the Ireland of today.

The author is a Benedictine monk, with an MA from Oxford and a PhD from the NUI, who read the report of the New Ireland Forum in 1984 and was disturbed by it. He found it facile and superficial. He found that the history of modern Ireland had been written by the winners, that is by those who had accepted the Partition settlement of 1922. He resolved to do his own research and write his own book.

He read a lot, interviewed many people, and had access to the papers of the late J.J. O'Kelly (Sealg) through his son Mortimer O'Kelly, who has since died. Sealg was a member of the Second Dáil.

In his own words, he found in this collection "original material concerning the early days of the language movement with particular references to Douglas Hyde and to Patrick Pearse which could not be ignored . . . and original material which shed sensational new light on Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera."



• Cathal Brugha

The earlier part of the book traces what the author calls the evolution of Pearse from being a reformer who advocated Home Rule to the revolutionary who joined the IRB in December 1913.

The greater part of the book concerns the aftermath of the 1916 Rising and the major events as they occurred, down to 1938 when the seven faithful members of the Second Dáil delegated their authority to the Army Council of the IRA.

Dr. Murphy outlines how the Republican Movement was reorganised in 1917, principally through contesting the North Roscommon and South Longford By-Elections. The main architects of this reorganisation of the national elements into a 'Republican Sinn Féin' were Cathal Brugha, Count Plunkett, Fr. Michael O'Flanagan and J.J. O'Kelly.

ALIGNMENTS

With great skill, perception and analysis he identifies the various elements and alignments in the Movement which won the General Election in 1918, set up the First Dáil in 1919 and fought the British propaganda and military machines.

Griffith was always prepared to accept the monarchy; Collins emphasised the military struggle; de Valera was always prepared to qualify the complete Republican demand; Brugha was purely and simply a Republican.

He declares:

"In the light of these aspirations it was not so surprising that the least revolutionary group (that of Griffith) should combine with the most military-minded group (that of Collins) and accept the Treaty – their main concern was independence for Ireland, not the Republic; and subsequently it was not surprising that the group prepared to compromise its republican demands (that of de Valera) should find it possible to enter the Free State, while those who stood for the strict republican ideal (the followers of Brugha) should refuse any compromise to the last. The most dedicated republican group has become the most neglected body of



• JJ O'Kelly (Sealg), left and Austin Stack in USA, 1922.

men in modern Irish history. A similar silence has characterised the treatment of their contribution to the election of 1918 and to the first meeting of Dáil Eireann in 1919."

Michael Collins's machinations and dealings with Andy Cope, the Assistant Under-Secretary at the Castle are fully documented. This is followed by a detailed account of what happened between 1922 and 1938, how de Valera used the Republican Second Dáil as a springboard to enter the Free State Parliament, take over most of the funds collected in the US, launch Fianna Fáil and the *Irish Press* newspaper.

FOUND

J. Bowyer Bell in his book on the IRA remarked that "the records of the Second Dáil have disappeared entirely". Not so. Dr. Murphy found them in the possession of the O'Kelly family and has been able to reconstruct the whole nauseating story of de Valera's duplicity. It has to be read to be believed and it is all in this book.

The author's contention is that those who played a vital role in reorganising the Movement in 1917, and in defining the republican and social principles of Dáil Eireann lost out to Collins and de Valera and were faithful to the Republican ideal to the end. But the establishment historians like Lyons and Foster have removed them completely from the story of modern Ireland. Correction is overdue and we have it in this book.

Dr Murphy describes the organisation from 1917 on as Republican Sinn Féin

Those who declared for Pearse and the Republic in Roscommon in 1917 are found to be to the last aligned with Sinn Féin and the IRA, and they were people of proven intellectual and administrative ability.



• Gen. Tom Maguire

General Tom Maguire, born in 1892, figures in this book. "It was my privilege and good fortune to meet such a fine old gentleman – the last survivor of an earlier era."

UNANIMITY

This work of 200 pages is essential reading for all who wish to understand how 75 years after 1916 we have unanimity among the Leinster House parties on extraditing Republicans to the British administration.

This author has produced, and analysed the evidence and draws his conclusions unapologetically – the Republic was betrayed again and again, but some of the betrayers were never really Republicans.

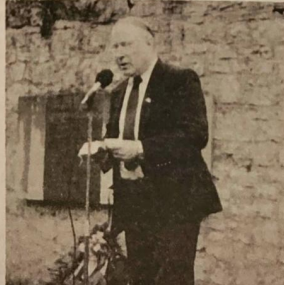
The one criticism I have is that some of the events which are mentioned could have been explained briefly in order the better to inform the reader who is not too familiar with the subject. One example of this is the Sinn Féin Funds Case, where a short note would have explained what exactly this case was.

Otherwise, this is an extremely well-written book. It is based on thorough research and hitherto unused sources. It cannot be ignored. Buy it today and read it. The hard cover edition costs £16.50 and the paperback £10.50.

– Seán Ó Brádaigh



• Veteran Republican Gearóid Mac Carthaigh.



• Chris Fogarty, Friends of Irish Freedom.



• Section of the crowd leaving Sallins village.

REPUBLICANS from all parts of Ireland travelled to Bodenstown, Co. Kildare on Sunday, June 16 to honour the memory of the founder of the United Irishmen, Wolfe Tone. This Republican organisation was established at meetings in Belfast and Dublin 200 years ago in October and November 1791.

Hundreds of people took part in the Republican Sinn Féin parade from Sallins Field to Bodenstown Churchyard, led by a Republican Colour Party and marching bands. The ceremony at Wolfe Tone's grave was chaired by Eamon Larkin, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin. Martin Calligan, Co. Clare, laid the wreath on behalf of the organisation. The assembled crowd were first addressed by Chris Fogarty, Friends of Irish Freedom, USA, and by M. Ní Chearnaigh, on behalf of the National Graves Association.

The main oration was delivered by Tom O' Sullivan, Limerick, a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin. An edited version of his speech is printed here.



•The Glens of Antrim Accordion Band leads the march.

WOLFE TONE was much more than a romantic Irish Patriot of olden times, much more than the brave man he undoubtedly was, who played his part and who ought to be remembered. More than anything it is Tone's intellect that spans the years since his death. His ideals still provide guiding principles for today. Not until his objectives are achieved is Wolfe Tone likely to take his due resting place in the gallery of important historical figures, indeed it could be said that Tone's understanding of his country's problems makes him much more of a prophet than a historical figure.

The republican and democratic ideals he handed down to the generations of Republicans up to the present time have not been achieved. Yet because they are unfulfilled and because they offer the only possible democratic solution to Ireland's present day problem they also present the only possible way to freedom.

We also commemorate the 200th anniversary of the founding of the United Irishmen, who were greatly influenced by the general democratic movement of the times which was instigated by the French and American Revolutions. During the 1798 period Protestants and Presbyterians were in the Vanguard of the National struggle. They were put down ruthlessly by the English Authorities who feared the developing unity of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

THREE PRINCIPLES

The three great principles of Tone and the United Irishmen were:

1. National Sovereignty
2. Democracy
3. The Unity of the People.

Of independence Tone said "From my earliest youth I have regarded the connection between Ireland and England as the curse of the Irish Nation and felt that while it lasted this country could never be free or happy". His object he said was "to subvert the tyranny of our government to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils and to assert the Independence of my country. To unite the whole people of Ireland to

abolish the memory of part dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irish men in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, these were my means."

Tone's three principles were for him inseparable, you cannot have one without the other. If any one of these principles is to retain meaning they must be all applied simultaneously because to yield to one of them involves the denial of the others. What is particularly absurd in the Ireland of today is the attempt by the politicians North and South to apply the principle of unity of the people to sanction their sectarian division under the partition set-up, as this means a rejection of the principles of independence and democracy.

Any politician who tries to use Tone's democratic principles to grant some validity to the sectarian basis of England's claim over Ireland's territory is certainly in conflict with all of Tone's three great principles - self-determination, democracy and a free union of all the people of this land of ours. Because self-determination is the foundation stone on which democracy, unity and civil rights of our people can be built.

TONE'S IDEALS - The Only Way To Freedom

Leinster House politicians would have the Irish people believe that Ireland may still freely run her own affairs, while England sits on our neck, occupies part of our country, distorts our political and economic progress and denies us democracy. This is why the Brooke talks are doomed to failure, because it is based on the premise that England has a right to occupy part of our country. Irish politicians of all shades involved in those talks really want to dress up the old partition system in new clothes.

DIVIDED

But still Ireland will remain divided, the struggle for freedom will continue and the same old system will remain and its political leaders will hold on to their positions of power and privilege and continue to rule over a land of misery and death that they have helped to create and maintain. It has been very sickening to listen to Free State ministers over the past 20 years condemning violence when by their collaboration with British Crown Forces they have been playing an active role in its continuance. They are playing an active role in maintaining a border which the British imposed and the Irish pay for in hundreds of millions of pounds of taxpayers money every year.

If in the past 20 years the same amount of energy and money was used to dismantle partition and bring about a free and democratic Ireland the need for violence would be long gone, many lives would be saved and Ireland would be on the road to recovery economically and politically. 26 County politicians have grovelled at the feet of their English masters since 1922 but they have really excelled themselves over the past twenty years spurred on by an anti-Republican and anti-democratic media working in close co-operation with British army propaganda department in the Six Counties.

This is akin to the expression of servility contained in the words of Daniel O'Connell's son John when he spoke in glowing terms of some Irish peasants who starved to death rather than fail to pay their rent to the landlords "I thank God I live among a people who would rather die of hunger than defraud the landlords of their rent". Have things changed much since ? Charlie Haughey & Co. could say today: "I thank God I live among 250,000 unemployed people who would rather stay unemployed than deprive the English government of the £500 million a year it costs us to keep Ireland divided".

Events of the past years have

clearly shown the evil of British rule in Ireland. The nightmare of the nationalist people in the Six Counties continues unabated. Loyalist murder gangs and their British army handlers have tried to break the resistance of the nationalist people with their campaign of murder and terror. The recent brutal murder of Eddie Fullerton in Donegal has shown that border security is a one-way street which enables British murder gangs to strike anywhere they wish.

The shoot-to-kill policy of the RUC and British army still continues as shown by the recent killings in Coagh of Peter Ryan, Tony Doris and Laurence McNally. These actions are a striking example of British negotiations in action. The message to the Dublin government is clear: Capitulate or else we will escalate the war we have declared on the Irish people. Republicans are under no illusion as to what the 26 county government will do. They will continue to collaborate with the enemies of our country and persecute those who demand our freedom.

STRENGTHEN RESISTANCE

Republicans must in the coming months strengthen resistance to British rule in our country. We must get out our EIRE NUA Programme to the people North and South along with our document *Towards a Peaceful Ireland*.

This document puts forward a practical solution to Ireland's National question and outlines



•Tom O'Sullivan

three practical steps in the securing of self-determination together with a credible time-scale in which to implement it (see page 2).

FUSION

It is only in the context of a British withdrawal could there be a fusion of the Catholic and Protestant ethics, which would release a dynamic for progress in Ireland. To the British government we say leave our country and take your killer gangs and your weapons of destruction with you and let us live in peace.

To the Irish people we say, as William Orr, the first Protestant martyr for Irish freedom (1797) said: "There is nothing surer than that Irishmen of every denomination must stand or fall together". Far too many have fallen, it is time - we must stand together on a programme of genuine democracy, based on local councils and a federal structure and build a new Ireland together.



•Martin Calligan lays a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

Tony Ruane: Cast in

EAST MAYO Brigade IRA Veteran and Honorary Life Vice-President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Tony Ruane died in Dublin's Mater Hospital in the early hours of Thursday, June 13. He was 84. Ruairi O Brádaigh, President, Sinn Féin Poblachtach paid tribute to Tony later that day, describing him as "cast in the mould of the heroic generation of 1916-23. Republican Sinn Féin salutes his passing as an unselfish, devoted and uncompromising Republican."

A native of Bohola, Co. Mayo, Tony lived in Dublin since 1936 and was a founder member of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin, Dublin Central with Jack Guiney, Dinny Casey and others in 1947. His comrades in the Liam Mellows Cumann formed a Guard of Honour at the removal of the remains from Carpenter's Funeral Home, Carlow Town to the nearby Cathedral on Saturday evening, June 15.

A Guard of Honour of Cumann na mBan formed up in front of the large funeral procession after 10 o'clock Mass on Monday, June 17. Earlier an t-Athair Piaras O Duíll spoke during the bilingual celebrated Mass of how Tony Ruane's imprint on the course of his country's history covered many de-

ades. "He never lost hope, he always continued on, hoping that the divisions and consequent sufferings of his people would sometime be at an end," he said. An t-Athair O Duíll remarked also on Tony's sincerity and fervour and also his good humour and "roughish banter" even in the midst of serious circumstances.

FLANKED

Flanked once again by his comrades in the Liam Mellows Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, members of the organisation's Ard Chomhairle carried the coffin, draped in the National Flag, to the graveside in Carlow Cemetery.

The funeral oration there was delivered by Ruairi O Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn



• Tony Ruane

Féin who began by outlining Tony Ruane's remarkable career over seven decades in the Republican Movement. Active with Fianna Eireann and later with the East Mayo Brigade, IRA, Tony took part in many actions in Co. Mayo, including the burning of the RIC barracks in Bohola and the capture of the barracks in Ballyvary.

"He volunteered for active service in England and operated around St. Helens in Lancashire. Tony rejected the Treaty of Surrender and continued the fight. Due to the economic boycott against Republicans in the mid-1920s he with many others was forced, in a new Flight of Wild Geese, to cross the Atlantic. In the ten years he spent there, from 1926-

36, he was an active member of the Clan na Gael and IRA Veterans of America, supporting the Republican cause in Ireland and also the welfare of those who were forced to emigrate.

"He worked there with people like Pete Kearney of the West Cork Flying Column, Mick McLoughlin of the Third Western Division Staff, North Roscommon and the late Frank Colgan, like himself from Co. Mayo. Also with John Snee and Michael Flannery who are still with us.

SOLDIER

"A soldier to his fingertips he joined the National Guard in the USA to continue his military training and rose to the rank of sergeant. When he returned to Ireland in 1936 he rejoined the Republican Army in the Dublin Unit and was active in reorganising there until the 1940s. Fifty years ago in 1941 he was sentenced to two years in the Special Military Courts in Collins Barracks and served that term in Arbour Hill Prison. He was sent to the Curragh as an internee until 1945.

On his release again he engaged in organising work with the Republican Movement, more particularly within Sinn Féin for the last 40 years of his life. He was active in the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central and rose to become National Treasurer in 1966, a post he held until 1980.

FATHER FIGURE

"He worked full-time in the Sinn Féin public office from 1970, on his retirement from the South of Ireland Asphalt Company, firstly in Kevin Street and later in Parnell Square. He was in many ways a father figure and also a good sturdy oak tree in his support of the Republican cause.

"With regard to Tony's character it has been said already that he engaged in witty banter. This was his expression of comradeship, because to him there was no difference between the generations, they were all one generation and stood equally before him.

"He was direct and open at all times and it can really be said that he had no personal enemies, even

among the forces opposed to the Republican Movement. Tony could neither be cajoled nor flattered at any time. For more than three score and ten years he jealously guarded the interests of the Republican Movement.

MORAL

"Above all, this was a moral man, a most just man, and on the many boards of inquiry and internal tribunals within the Movement on which he sat, he could be at all times relied on to give a balanced and a fair verdict.

"He rejected compromise in 1922, in 1926, and in 1946. In 1969 there was no agonising for Tony Ruane. He saw clearly what needed to be done and he followed the open road. Similarly in 1986 there was no questioning by him. He saw the direct course and he followed that.

"Peadar O'Donnell in the introduction to his outstanding book, *The Gates Flew Open*, dedicated his work to the 'unbreakables, the men and women who milled the stampe of 1922'. Here

'Midsummer Madness'

50 YEARS AGO:

IN MAY, June and July 1941 the whole nature of the world conflict changed, while at home in Ireland there were

further developments of a dramatic nature.

During May Belfast was "blitzed" by the Luftwaffe causing up to 1,000 civilian casualties. De Valera sent fire engines across the Border to burning Belfast from Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk. "After all, they are our own people," he said.

Later in the month German bombs were accidentally dropped on Dublin's North Strand killing 28 people. British radar - a new weapon - was disorienting German air force navigation. But even stronger feelings were aroused and tensions built up with England.

On May 21, Winston Churchill announced that the British Government was considering extending conscription to the Six Counties. Five days later at an emergency meeting of the 26-county parliament de Valera declared there could be no more grievous attack on fundamental human rights than to force an individual to fight in the Forces of another country.

"The Six Counties are part of Ireland," he said. They have always been a part of Ireland. Their inhabitants are Irishmen (sic), and no Act of Parliament can alter this fact, present and historic.

OPPOSED

The whole of the Liberal and Socialist press - even in England itself - opposed the plan and brought about its defeat. The *Manchester Guardian* declared that the British Government was in danger of making a grave and irreparable political blunder.

The *News Chronicle* remarked that it

could hardly believe that the government could be planning such an incredibly stupid measure. The *Daily Express* feared that the introduction of conscription could lead to civil war throughout Ireland and that it might even facilitate German invasion.

But it was the neutral Swiss *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* which put its finger on the essential point: "It is the opinion in London that in the event of a serious conflict with England, which to all appearances might emerge through the introduction of conscription in Ulster, the IRA would immediately gain considerable reinforcements, which would enable it to unleash a highly dangerous guerilla war with completely unforeseeable consequences."

1918 THREAT

De Valera knew what had happened in 1918 when conscription was threatened by the British. But for the IRA and the arms under its control, he would not have considered the position of the 26-county state to a "neutrality" friendly to Britain, as even Dr. Garret Fitzgerald admitted on RTE radio some years ago.

Also in May 1941, Rudolf Hess, Deputy-Fuehrer of Nazi Germany made a parachute jump into Scotland with a peace offer to the British. He came on his own initiative and his action startled the world. At the same time German air raids on England eased as squadrons were moved East.

Then on June 22, 140 German divisions were suddenly thrown against the Soviet Union. "Operation Barbarossa" went from victory to victory. The step from war to world war had been taken. "It was only a football match up to this," said an old Republican as the German Army and the Red Army were locked in combat.

Stalin had not used the breathing space afforded by the "Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact" of 1939 to build

up his forces which he had decimated by the mass purges of military officers in 1936, '37 and '38. Leningrad and Moscow were within reach of the Germans, the Crimea was conquered and the entire South Russia industrial area fell.

Then developed the "Midsummer Madness" of which Prof. Desmond Williams, the Dublin historian wrote in his *Study in Neutrality*. Herman Goertz described it as follows: "senators and deputies of the Dáil, former IRA members, representatives of political parties of all shades, students and other people wished to make my acquaintance."

CAMPAIGN

He urged them all to prepare and commence a revolutionary campaign in the Six Counties. They could count on German help, he told them. Were the 26-county police really looking for him, he asked himself, as he received so many (and so prominent) visitors?

He reported to Berlin: "If they should be attacked, the State army will fight against the British to the last man. They will probably also fight against the Germans - if they land - though in part this would be with a heavy heart. I do not know what would happen in the event of an American landing."

Meanwhile, the IRA was running short of funds and banks were raided at Oldcastle, Co. Meath and Castlepollard on May 5 and June 9 yielding a total of £1,400. Both Eoin McNamee and Hugh McAteer, IRA leaders during the war, told TP Coogan that such raids "were necessary to pay IRA debts and to get money to continue operations. Over \$8,000 had been seized by the State in September 1939 from Republican hands.

The Northern Command Staff of the Army were getting increasingly suspicious of GHQ on account of all the security failures. Sean McCaughey of Belfast



• Seán MacCaughey

was appointed Adjutant-General and Charlie McGlade Quartermaster-General in May.

INVESTIGATION

Liam Rice and Liam Burke, also of Belfast, with Eoin McNamee and Pearse Kelly of Tyrone conducted an investigation. On June 30, the Acting Chief-of-Staff, since Russell's departure to the US in April of 1939, Stephen Hayes of Co. Wexford, was arrested by his own Staff at gun-point and made prisoner!

Then on July 18, Free State troops and armed police surrounded the late Barney Casey's home at Ohill, Drumlish, Co. Longford. Following a gun-battle in which a Free State officer and a soldier, as well as Barney's younger brother Joe, were wounded, Richard Goss - the Divisional OC - was captured with Joe O'Callaghan, both of Dundalk. They were handcuffed back-to-back and put on a military lorry. Joe Casey and his father - a Black-and-Tan War Veteran of the same name - were also manacled back-to-back and put on a second lorry. Tragedy awaited them...

(More next month. Refs. *Spies in Ireland* by Enno Stephan (1963), *The IRA* by TP Coogan and *The Secret Army* by J. Bowyer Bell)

Heroic Mould



● The late Tony Ruane (right) at the 1991 Testimonial Dinner on May 24 last with Derry Republican Seán Keenan, who was one who threw himself across the stampeade of a nation in 1922 and in 1926, in 1946, 1969 and 1986, five times in his lifetime. "Tony was an inspiration to youth who

respected him and were inspired by him. He was active to the last and like his great comrade Joe Clarke, Tony served right through to the very end. Here we perform the last sad duty and we lay him to rest in Carlow, historic Carlow, where the United Irish army was slaughtered

in the streets in 1798. Here we have left Tony, far from Bohola, indeed, he rests alongside his wife Brigid.

"We express our heartfelt sympathy, but also our pride, to his daughters Nuala and Frances. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí i measc na bhFíneá agat de shíor, a Antoine."

SAOIRSE extends sympathy to his daughter Nuala, son-in-law James and family, Carlow and daughter Frances and family, USA.

Brón ar an mBás LIAM EARLEY

REPUBLICANS of the 'Fifties era will be saddened to hear of the death, in Scotland, after a very long illness of Liam Earley late of Cork, on June 18 last.

Liam, perhaps better known to some as Billy, was a very prominent Republican in the 1950s, being O/C of Cork No. 1 Brigade and a Sinn Féin member of Cork Corporation. He took part in a number of historic actions

in the run up to the '56 Campaign. Arrested, with others in Cork in January 1957, he served a period in Mountjoy Jail and subsequently was interned in the Curragh.

Sincere sympathy is extended to all his family.

BARNEY LENNON

BARNEY Lennon of Curraoreehan, Moydow, Co. Longford who died on May 10 was a life-long Republican. He was an untiring worker in the H-Block-Armagh and the Martin Hurson election campaigns and was closely identified with the annual Co. Longford Easter Commemoration.

The removal from St. Joseph's Hospital to Carrickedmond Church was attended by Ruairí O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Seán

Lynch and local Republicans were present at the funeral to the local cemetery next day. Sympathy is extended to his widow and family.

JACK DENNEHY

REPUBLICANS with Cork connections will be saddened to hear of the death, on June 6 last, of Jack Dennehy at his home in Douglas West, Cork. Jack was connected with the Republican Movement in Cork from the early 1950s.

Jack was a carpenter by trade and a building contractor by occupation, indeed, the late Dáithí O Conaill was in his employment when he left Cork to go North as an organiser prior to the 1956 campaign. In the run up to that campaign "Dennehy's red van" played its part, and later it and its owner held fond memories for Cork Volunteers of that period. Especially the day it arrived with a supply of Armagh rifles.

Jack, forerunner of CABHAIR; the 'Dan O' Regan Memorial Committee'; and the 'Fox Walsh Memorial Committee'. Up to recent years he travelled to Bodenstown.

May the Cork Jack rest lightly on this great-hearted, convivial comrade and sound Republican. RIP. Deepest sympathy is tendered to his widow Mollie and to all members of the Dennehy family.

- Derrick McKenna Cahersiveen Co. Kerry

JULIA D'ARCY

THE death occurred on Monday, June 26 last of Mrs Julia D'Arcy (nee Langan) of Mervue Road, Galway. A native of Co. Galway Mrs D'Arcy was the wife of the hunger striker Tony D'Arcy who died in St. Bricin's Military Hospital, Dublin on April 16, 1940 after 52 days on hunger strike.

She was widowed at a young age and reared three children, sons, Joe and Noel and daughter Maura. All the family co-operated last year in the production of the 50th anniversary commemorative booklet remembering Tony D'Arcy and his comrade Seán MacNeela from Ballycrov, Co. Mayo who died on hunger strike shortly after him on

April 19, 1940. At the funeral to Donagh Patrick Cemetery, Headford, Paddy Fox, Carnmore, commanded a Republican Guard of Honour on the coffin, draped in the National Flag. Ruairí O Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, delivered the oration.

PADDY KELLY

GALWAY Republicans learned with sorrow of the death, after a long illness, of Paddy Kelly, Shanaglish, Gort, Co. Galway on June 12. He was interned in the Curragh in the 1940s together with many others in the Shanaglish area and remained a Republican all his life.

bás agus go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam. From the Colgan Group.

SHEEHY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Seán Sheehy, Dublin, who died recently. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin Central. Leaba i measc na bhFíneá go raibh aige.

I gCuimhne

HIGHSTEAD, Derek - 15th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Derek Highstead who died in England on July 16, 1976. RIP. God rest you and all who have fallen for freedom. God guide us to follow your footsteps to the end of the fight. Remembered with pride by Derek Highstead Cumann Sinn Féin Poblachtach, London.

HIGHSTEAD, Derek - 15th Anniversary. In loving memory of Derek Highstead who died on July 16, 1976.

Deep in our hearts your memory is kept. To treasure, to love, and never forget. With loving thoughts and silent tears, Our constant wish that you were here. Always remembered and sadly missed by your loving wife Mena, son Brendan and daughter Bride.

JEAN TONER

REPUBLICANS in Co. Derry and surrounding areas were saddened to learn of the death of Mrs Jean Toner of Priory Road, Dungiven, on Tuesday, June 25 last.

Jean Toner was a staunch Republican who gave great service to the cause especially in the 1950s and again in the 1970s along with her husband Tommy. On Thursday, June 27, an A-Thank Piaras O Duill, Dublin celebrated the Funeral Mass in St. Patrick's Church,

Dungiven. At the graveside a wreath was laid on behalf of the John Mitchell Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dungiven, by Veteran Republican Seán Keenan. SAOIRSE extends sincere sympathy to Tommy Toner, relatives and friends.

Comhbhrón

DENNEHY, At a recent meeting of Cumann MacSwiney/Mac Curtain, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Cork city, one minute's silence and a vote of sympathy was accorded to Mollie and all members of the Dennehy family on the death of Jack on June 6 last. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

FAGAN, Beama Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, South Armagh and Newry, tender its deepest sympathy to the family and friends of the late Alice Fagan, Proleek, County Louth, whose death occurred recently. Alice was the sister of our late esteemed friend, comrade and Honorary Life Vice-President Liam Fagan and, like her renowned brother, she was known and respected by Republicans far and wide who were always granted hospitality by the Fagan family. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh sí.

GOLDEN, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Golden family, Glenbeigh, Co. Kerry on the recent death of Mrs. Doreen Golden, a life-long Republican and winner of 6 All-Ireland medals for Camogie. Doreen never missed the Wolfe Tone Commemoration at Bodenstown. Will always be remembered by John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs. Doherty, Droumure, Currow, Killyroney, Co. Kerry.

GOLDEN, Sympathy is extended to the Golden family, Glenbeigh, Co. Kerry, on the death of Mrs. Doreen Golden, a life-

long Republican. From Jim O'Shea, St. Joseph's Terrace, Cahersiveen, Co. Kerry.

HAYES, The Carroll O'Donovan Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BAC, regret the death of Tom Hayes, 9 Captain's Ave., Crumlin, Dublin 12, who died recently. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

KELLY, Gearóid O Maolmíchíll, Curbeen, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway and Dublin, deeply regrets the recent death of Paddy Kelly, Shanaglish, Gort, Co. Galway, who was buried on June 13 last. Go ndéana Dia grásta ar a anam.

LENNON, Comhairle Chúige Chonnacht, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, expresses deepest sympathy to Mrs. Annie Lennon and family, Moydow, Co. Longford on the death of Barney Lennon, a long-standing Republican. Solas na bhFíneá de a anam.

MCGOWAN, Comhairle Chúige Chonnacht, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, extends deepest sympathy to Séamus McGowan, Kinslough, Co. Leitrim, on the recent death of his mother, Mrs Mary McGowan. Solas na bhFíneá de a anam.

McMANUS, Deepest sympathy is extended to Frank McManus, ex-MP and solicitor, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh and Fr Seán McManus, Irish National Caucus, Washington, DC, USA, on the recent death of their mother, Celia, on June 28. Her son Pat McManus died while on active service at Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan in July, 1958. From Fermanagh Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn

Féin Poblachtach. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam.

RUANE, A vote of sympathy was passed by Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, with the Ruane family on the death of Tony. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

RUANE, Comhairle Laighnean, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, extends deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Tony Ruane. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam usal.

RUANE, At a specially convened meeting of the Máire Drumm Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Clondalkin, Dublin, a vote of sympathy was extended to the family of the late Tony Ruane. The meeting was then adjourned as a mark of respect.

RUANE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Tony Ruane, who died recently. From the Executive, Cumann na mBan. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

RUANE, Sincere sympathy to the family and friends of Tony, who died recently. Always remembered by Lita Ní Chathmaíola. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

RUANE, The Wolfe Tone Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Tallaght, Dublin, deeply regrets the death of Tony Ruane and extends deepest sympathy to his family and friends. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

RUANE, Deepest sympathy is extended to Frances, Nuala and James on the death of Tony from his comrade and friend Seán O Conchúir and family, Baile Atha Cliath. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

RUANE, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Ruane family on the death of Tony. From his comrades in the Derek Highstead Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, London. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

RUANE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ruane family on the death of Tony. From his comrades Mick Kennedy, Paddy Hartigan and Finbar Kissane, London. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

RUANE, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Ruane family on the death of Tony. From his comrades in Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Luton and Herts. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

RUANE, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Tony Ruane, who died recently. From Trudy Mullally, Tallaght, Dublin. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

RUANE, A vote of sympathy was passed by Cumann MacSwiney/Mac Curtain, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Cork city, with the family of Tony Ruane. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam usal.



AMNESTY REPORT BRITISH Human rights concerns



THE abuse of human rights in Britain and the Six Counties is the theme of Amnesty International's latest report entitled *United Kingdom, Human Rights Concerns*, which was launched recently.

The report deals with such issues as Britain's shoot-to-kill campaign in Ireland and in doing so calls for an independent judicial inquiry to investigate all disputed killings in the North since 1982. It also documents the ill-treatment meted out to detainees held under the various pieces of legislation which deal with political offences, again in doing so they also look at the whole question of uncorroborated confessions which have led to so many miscarriages of justice.

Amnesty outlines its concerns about collusion between the RUC/British Army and loyalist terror groups, the passing-on by the Crown Forces to these

groups of files relating to republican activists and the many cases of verbal and physical abuse of Nationalists on the streets by the RUC/British Army.

One of the most frightening revelations made in the report are the discrepancies in Human Rights protection between England and Wales and the Six Counties, with fewer safeguards in existence in North-East Ireland where non-jury trials etc exist.

The report also examines the treatment of Arab nationalists living in Britain during 1990-91, many of whom were detained on

the grounds of national security. The facts as highlighted in the report points to their detention being based on their non-violent political views and/or their nationality rather than legitimate security reasons.

GRAVITY

The issues raised, are, as the report states, "of such gravity as to seriously undermine confidence in human rights safeguards in the United Kingdom (sic)". The silence of the British government with regard to the findings in the Amnesty Report speaks volumes for the state of the British system of justice. The fact

that since 1969 only 21 members of the British Army have faced charges relating to deaths in Ireland and of those 21 only one was ever convicted, serving only two years of his sentence and being reinstated in the British Army on his release, is in itself a damning indictment of Britain's role in Ireland.

It can only be hoped that this report will be widely read and will help to give the lie to Britain's claim in the present 'Brooke Talks' to be an honest broker in Irish affairs.

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF BRITISH INJUSTICE



JUDITH WARD

17 years and five months in jail

* * *
GUILDFORD FOUR AND MAGUIRE SEVEN

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

SHOOT-TO-KILL RE-ENACTED

THE independent public inquiry into the shooting dead by British troops of Fergal Caraher (20) and the wounding of his brother Michael (23) in Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh on December 30, 1990 was held near the site of the incident on the weekend June 22-23. Five jurists formed the inquiry panel: Michael Mansfield QC (senior British lawyer who led the Birmingham Six Appeal), Judge Andrew Somers (Illinois, USA), Kevin Burke from the Brehon Law Society, USA, Veronika Ardent Rojahn of the Berlin Bar Council, Germany and Anne-Carinne Jacoby, Paris Bar, France.

They heard 21 witnesses including Michael Caraher himself describe how British troops fired without warning on the car in which the two young men were travelling. At the conclusion on Sunday construction of the shooting at the spot, using actors to play Fergal Caraher and the British soldiers. The jury is expected to publish its findings at the beginning of September.



• Reconstruction of the shooting.



• The Caraher family at the independent public inquiry in Cullyhanna.

IRISH FREEDOM PRESS BOOK LIST

- Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal ... Brian P. Murphy£10.50
- Breaking the Deadlock Robert Heatley.....£1.50
- Comdt. General Tom Maguire and Michael Flannery 1989 video.....£10
- 1916 Proclamations A3 size.....£1.50
- Quotations from PH Pearse.....£2.95
- Frank Ryan Seán Cronin.....£5.95
- Beyond Nationalism..... Desmond Fennell.....£9.50
- The Irish Hunger Strike..... Tom Collins.....£7.95
- Blind Justice..... Joyce/Murtagh.....£6.50
- The Centre Cannot Hold..... Tom Collins.....£7.95
- Walk The Last Mile With Us..... Nelson Mandela in Ireland.....£3
- Presidential Address 1990..... Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.....£2
- 1991 Calendars A3 Three Colour£1
- EIRE NUA - A NEW DEMOCRACY ... Sinn Féin Poblachtach ..£1
- 50th ANNIVERSARY PUBLICATIONS:
- Tom Harte and his Comrades.....£2.50
- Tony D'Arcy and Seán McNeela.....£3
- Longford Remembers (Barney Casey/Richard Goss)£1.50

WHAT THEY SAID

"... the programme makers after months of research, have claimed that in the Six Counties the Official IRA continue to function and is involved in regular shootings and beatings, in printing counterfeit currency, in racketeering netting millions of pounds and in armed robberies.

- Editorial, *Sunday Business Post*, June 30, 1991 on the BBC *Spotlight* programme highlighting the links between the 'Official IRA' and the Workers Party which are of course common knowledge to Six-county nationalists.

★★★
"Nothing has been gained by the use of Section 31, and what has been lost in the restriction of our democratic freedom is something that ought to concern every citizen."

Editorial, *The Irish Times* June 11, 1991

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