

# SAOIRSE

## IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 84 AIBREÁN - APRIL

50p (USA 75c)



# 393, 465 UNEMPLOYED

At the end of last month 293,500 were officially jobless in the Six Counties; and another 99,965 were out of work in the Six Counties. The recent ESRI study confirmed that unemployment remains the single greatest cause of poverty and has increased more than three-fold in the 26 Counties since 1993.

The month of March closed with almost desperate attempts by some of those trying to accommodate themselves to the London Declaration, culminating in the announcement of a limited unilateral and unconditional cease-fire by the Provisionals on March 30.

After four months, as one RTÉ political correspondent put it the same day, the declaration is bogged down in the mire. The list of those on the Republican side who oppose the document grows (see inside pages two and five) and other factors have come into play which have generated unprecedented manoeuvrings between Dublin, London and Washington.

First of all unionist leader Jim Molyneux has effectively withdrawn his conditional acceptance of the London Declaration. It had run its course, he said on March 19, and continued by saying "you can't hang much on a dead Christmas tree". He repeated his claim that the Ulster Unionist Party had removed any trace of North/South mechanisms from the London Declaration before December, thus making it a British-Unionist document.

At the same time the British-backed loyalist death squad the UDA/UFF announced on March 29 that they would continue to attack the so-called "pan-nationalist front" whether the London Declaration is accepted by the Provisionals or not. This rubbishes Albert Reynolds' oft-stated remark that a cessation by the Provisionals would mean a cease-fire also by the loyalist death squads.

Secondly the upcoming EU elections on June 9 has created uncertainty in Britain and Ireland, for the Tory government in London as much as for the UUP and the Provisionals. With nine weeks to go before the poll a flurry of movement along the Dublin-Hume-Adams axis is designed to pressurise John Major into direct contact with the Provisionals and the provision of the 'clarification' that could secure an extension to the cease-fire.

### WEAKENING

The third factor however is crucial, that is the weakening position of John Major himself in the wake of his humiliation over the voting procedures in an enlarged European Union. Having dragged many Tory backbenchers along with him in accepting the London Declaration Major knows that he will not get them to accept public talks with the Provisionals. He runs the risk of losing their support and with it his position as British Prime Minister. If he wrongfoots himself on

Ireland he may fall much sooner than in June after the EU election or in September.

In this situation Major is without any co-operation from the unionists at the very time when he is becoming most dependant on them.

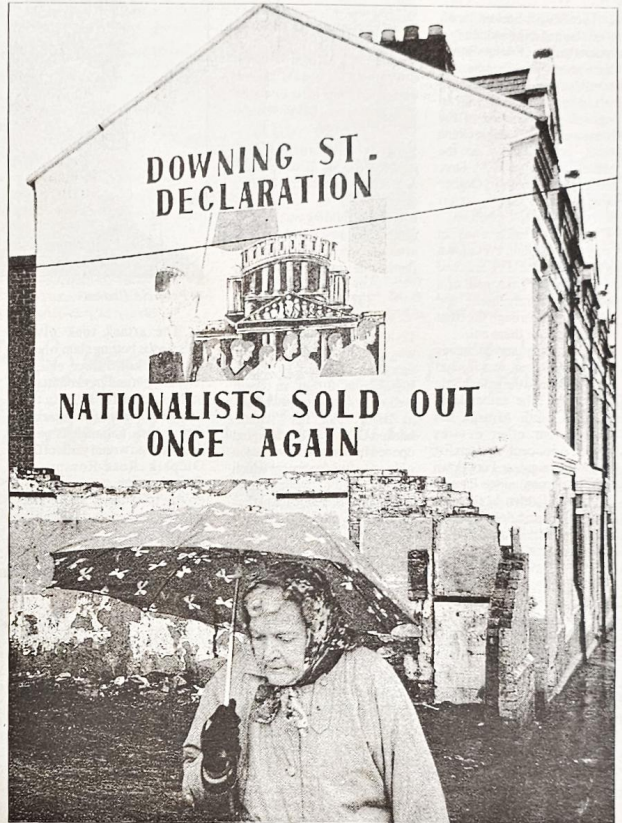
John Hume meanwhile is telling him to give clarification as the Provisionals are having to confront their situation even at the risk of a split. The latest reports following the cease-fire announcement is that support for the move is not unanimous and it is clear that the Provisional's own members are not prepared to accept anything.

Easter 1994 meanwhile has seen no change in the nationalist nightmare in the Six Counties. As pointed out in the Easter statement from the leadership of Republican Sinn Féin (see page 16) British Crown Forces involved in shoot-to-kill operations have been cleared by British courts in Occupied Ireland while death squad attacks have been stepped up.

The renewal of the PTA and the setting up of a Select Committee in Westminster to oversee the Six Counties will ensure the continuation and intensification of repression.

The principles of the London Declaration remain in place with the promised coercion, for the foreseeable future, of the nationalist people of the Six Counties by the con-trick of separate partitionist referenda in the divided parts of Ireland. This means a continuation of the discrimination and repression that has been part and parcel of the Six-County state since its creation.

At this time everyone, and especially Republicans, must not lose sight of essentials. Regardless of the political manoeuvring by the Provisionals, British withdrawal from Ireland together with a general amnesty and a New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves acting as a unit remain the essentials for a just and permanent peace in this country.



● Anti-London Declaration message in a recent wall-mural on the Falls Road at Dunville Park, Belfast.

Regardless of political manoeuvring . . .

# British withdrawal essential

## Cabhair

ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL  
DINNER AND CÉILÍ

FRIDAY, APRIL 15  
1994, 8pm

West County Hotel  
Chapelizod, Co Dublin  
Táille: £12

### 1994 HONOREES

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'The forgotten child victims of British  
occupation' - see inside centre pages

# UVF booby-trap bomb kills driver

ANATIONALIST man was killed in a UVF booby-trap explosion outside his brother's house in the predominantly-loyalist town of Portadown, Co Armagh on Friday morning, March 11. Francie Brown (38) was killed instantly at about 7.30am when he moved a booby-trapped breeze block from under the front wheel of his brother's lorry which was used for construction work.

The British-backed death squad claimed its intended target was another man. Francie Brown was a married man who had recently moved back to Portadown after living in England. The location of the killing was the nationalist Obins Street, better known as the Tunnel, where loyalists have frequently marched in Orange parades every July to assert their sectarian triumphalism.

Only 100 yards away in Craigwell Avenue, Portadown on February 1 the UVF attached a bomb to the front gate of a nationalist family home and threw a brick through the front window to lure them out.

The family stayed inside and an RUC man was injured when he opened the gate shortly afterwards. The same death squad in north Armagh has planted four other devices outside innocent nationalist homes in Craigavon, Portadown and Charlemont since January 7. Francie Brown is the first fatality of this random sectarian campaign, but two nationalist

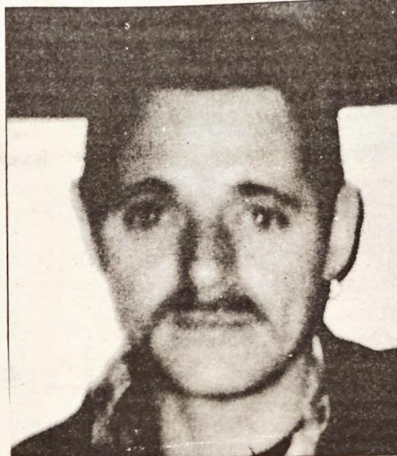
women and a 13-year-old boy have been injured in previous attacks.

One nationalist woman lost a hand and an eye in a bomb attack in the Meadowbank estate, outside Portadown, on February 12 last.

The same morning a UVF pipe bomb was discovered at 8am outside the Belfast offices of the SDLP on the Lisburn Road. The building was cleared for three hours while the bomb, attached to a container of flammable liquid, was defused.

## OLDPARK

On Saturday night, March 12, a nationalist man in his 50s was shot and injured at the junction of Oldpark Road and Rosapenna Street in north Belfast as he chatted to friends at about 9pm. The British-backed UDA/UFF death squad opened fire as they drove past in a blue Austin Maestro car which was hijacked in Sydney Street West and later abandoned at Snugville Street in the nearby Shankill area.



• Francie Brown

The attack took place outside the betting shop where the UDA killed three elderly men in a gun and grenade attack on November 14, 1992. In the two years before that attack a further three nationalists were assassinated within yards of the Oldpark Road-Rosapenna Street junction.

In this latest attack the injured man suffered a shoulder wound.

In the latest loyalist arson attack on nationalist property in the town of Newtownards, Co Down, a fireplace showroom was set alight on Monday evening, March 7 last. The blaze was spotted at about 9pm and caused damage to the building and contents. An intimidation campaign against the small percentage of nationalists in the town has been intensified in the past three months.

# Freedom Committee in USA opposes London Declaration

CUMANN na Saoirse, the Irish Freedom Committee in the USA established in 1987 by Michael Flannery, George Harrison and the late Joe Stynes, issued a statement in New York at the end of March trenchantly opposing the London Declaration of December 15 which it says offers only a "false hope for a false peace".

The strongly-worked statement continues: "On December 15 last British Prime Minister John Major and 26-County Prime Minister Albert Reynolds issued the so-called 'Downing Street Declaration'. This document was to supposedly set the ground work for a new and lasting peace in the British Occupied Six Counties. Wrong!

"This declaration is no different from any preceding document jointly issued by the

majority of the nationalist people of all 32 Counties to placate the unionists in the Six Counties.

"Is this the way to a lasting and just peace in Ireland? Certainly not," the statement says.

Cumann na Saoirse reiterates its support for the three principle Republican demands:

- 1) A statement of Britain's intent to permanently withdraw from Ireland;
- 2) Amnesty for all political prisoners;
- 3) The election of a constituent assembly by the suffrage of the people of all 32 counties to draft a new Irish constitution.

"In ignoring these three

demands," the statement from Cumann na Saoirse says, "this declaration ignores the very core of the problem in Ireland, and thus all avenues to a solution."

"With this said, Cumann na Saoirse goes on record here and now as rejecting this declaration as the latest in a pathetically long line of ill-conceived attempted solutions and compromises.

"As Terence MacSwiney said, 'In matters of principle there can be no compromise!' Cumann na Saoirse holds true to this and knows that the cause so nobly served will yet triumph! An Phoblacht Abú!

"Signed on behalf of and for the membership of Cumann na Saoirse."

## Late moves on First Dáil

IN the United States over St Patrick's Day Albert Reynolds and his party were "roasted" by Irish-Americans for the ignoring of the 75th anniversary parties in Leinster House. The Provisionals did not celebrate it either of course.

Now belatedly moves are being made. SAOIRSE has been told radio over ten weeks, television programmes and a special postage stamp in recognition of the anniversary. A special event will be held in Dublin's Mansion House, the historic venue denied to Republican Sinn Féin last January.

But does the notion of self-determination of the First Dáil not contradict the partitionist and separate 26-County and Six-County "self-determination" of the London Declaration?

## Border road closure victimises farmer

THE British army campaign of blocking Border roads between the Occupied area and the 26 Counties has resulted in one Fermanagh farmer having to pay £100 per day for a hired digger which has been stranded on his land for the past three weeks. The digger was working on Charlie Murray's farm on the Border near Clogh recently when the British army placed a second huge concrete barrier on a half-mile stretch of road, blocking his access to the land completely. The first steel and concrete barrier was erected several years ago.

Local councillor Tony McPhillips told the *Sunday Tribune* (March 20) that road closures were nothing but harassment of nationalist people in the Border area. "There is no security value in having roads closed," he said, "all it does is cause hardship for people". A total of 103 roads are now closed by the British army along the Border, more than one-third of the estimated total of 291 Border crossings.

## £52,500 award against Belfast City Council

BELFAST City Council has to pay £52,500 to five Catholics who were discriminated against on the grounds of religious belief when they applied for a council job, which was awarded to a Protestant.

In December 1992 the Fair Employment Tribunal found the Catholics had more relevant experience and qualifications than the successful candidate for the post of senior community services officer, which was filled in May 1990.

The original bias finding was

made in December 1992 but an adjournment was called to decide on what awards to make to the five Catholics. On March 15 last the tribunal found that each should receive £10,000 for injury to feelings and £500 each for loss of opportunity to compete fairly for the positions.

## Publish Hume-Adams!

A CALL to publish the Hume-Adams document was issued at a meeting of the nine-county Ulster Executive of Republican Sinn Féin in Coochill, Co Cavan on Sunday, March 13. Present at the meeting were Eamon Larkin, South Armagh (Chairperson), Ruairí Ó Bráidigh, President, Josephine Hayden, General Secretary.

The delegates released the following statement after their meeting: "Now that the hype over the London Declaration of December last has faded and the document has lost its impact, attention focuses on the Hume-Adams Report which has been accepted by both the political and military leaderships of the Provisionals.

"Delegates from the nine counties of Ulster of Republican

Sinn Féin meeting in Co Cavan called for the immediate publication of the Hume-Adams Report so that the public can compare both documents and draw their own conclusions.

"The Ulster representatives for their part believe that there can be no peace in Ireland while the British presence remains. The solution lies in a nine-county Ulster parliament with a four-province Federal Ireland."

## Crossbarry Commemoration

CORK Republicans gathered on Saturday March 19 for a wreath-laying ceremony to commemorate the anniversary of the Crossbarry Ambush of March 19, 1921 when seven columns of the Third West Cork Brigade under the command of Comdt General Tom Barry went into action against the Black-and-Tans and Auxiliaries. The wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Frank Kerrigan. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Kitty O'Brien and the Last Post and Reveille was played by Pat Vurrian.

## DÍLSEACHT

THE publicity department of Republican Sinn Féin plans to publish a booklet in the very near future provisionally entitled *Dílseacht, The Story of Tom Maguire and the Second All-Ireland Dáil* in memory of Tom Maguire and to explain how the 32-County Republic was suppressed, betrayed and abandoned.

Donations towards the cost of publishing this worthwhile commemorative booklet would be greatly appreciated. All contributions should be sent to Ard Oifig, Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Donations will be gratefully acknowledged.

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

Ainm .....

Seoladh .....



For a full  
British  
withdrawal  
from Ireland

### OUR AIMS

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

### OUR HISTORY

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

Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA  
41 Cé Arann, BÁC 7  
Teil: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757

or contact your local paper seller for details

# Shoot-to-kill inquest adjourned once again

**THE repeatedly-postponed inquest into British shoot-to-kill assassinations of six unarmed Armagh men in 1982 was convened once again on March 22 in Craigavon — and once again adjourned for a month. This delay was due to the British Crown counsel's application for a Public Interest Immunity Certificate so that it can refuse to provide the coroner with certain documents. In 1988 the then British Attorney-General Patrick Mayhew (now British secretary in the Six Counties) ruled that 11 RUC men involved in the killings would not be prosecuted as it would be against "the national interest".**

Tommy Carroll, a brother of Roddy Carroll, who was ambushed by an RUC undercover squad and shot dead in a car along with Séamus Grew on December 12, 1982, told RTE Radio on March 22 that the further delay was expected but "would be laughable if it were not so serious". The British will do anything rather than admit there is a shoot-to-kill policy, he said.

Earlier, a subpoena was served by lawyers acting for Coroner John Leckey on RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley to compel him to produce the

secret Stalker report into the shoot-to-kill policy. His report was handed to the RUC in 1987 but never made public. Annesley is expected to challenge the subpoena in the Belfast High Court next week.

Six unarmed Armagh men were killed by British Crown Forces in three separate incidents in November-December 1982. The inquests into these shoot-to-kill operations have been delayed so long by legal mechanisms that they have become the longest-running court cases in the Six Occupied Counties.

In the first incident three unarmed IRA Volunteers — Gervaise McKerr, Eugene Toman and Sean Burns — were ambushed in a car they were travelling in at Lurgan, Co Armagh, on November 11, 1982.

## 'FINAL COURT'

Eugene Toman, the front seat passenger, was half out of the passenger door when he was killed as he tried to crawl out of the car. Three RUC members charged with Toman's murder were acquitted by British Lord Justice Gibson in June 1984. Gibson commended the RUC for bringing the three murdered men to "the final court of justice".

Michael Tighe was shot dead and his friend Martin McCauley was seriously injured in a farm shed in Lurgan, Co Armagh on November 24, 1982 when they found three 60-year-old rifles which were being staked out by an RUC undercover squad. They were shot without being asked to surrender. McCauley was



• Tommy Carroll

subsequently charged with possession of firearms and conspiracy to murder.

Séamus Grew and Roddy Carroll, two unarmed INLA Volunteers, were ambushed in

an undercover RUC car near Armagh city on December 12, 1982. RUC man John Robinson got out and shot Carroll dead first in the passenger seat and then went to the driver's side and shot and killed Grew. Eyewitnesses heard the sounds of two single coup-de-grace shots after the initial burst. Robinson was later charged with the murder of Grew and acquitted by British Judge MacDermott. He praised Robinson for his "sharp shooting". The Coroner for Armagh, Gerard Curran, resigned his post in August 1984 due to the "grave irregularities" in the RUC files on the killings of Grew and Carroll.

These killings led to the shoot-to-kill inquiry headed by John Stalker, former Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester police. His report was handed to the RUC in 1987 after he himself was replaced by Colin Sampson, former Chief Constable of West Yorkshire. It has never been made public.

## COLLUSION BRITISH SOLDIER WALKS FREE

**IN another judgement revealing the corrupt and partial nature of the British justice system in the Six Occupied Counties, a judge in Belfast on March 15 freed a British soldier who handed over details of nationalists and Republicans to British-backed death squads.**

David Murdock (24) a part-time soldier with the Royal Irish Regiment (formerly the Ulster Defence Regiment) for more than six years, pleaded guilty to supplying the names of "suspects" from the nationalist community out of his British army notebook was freed on a suspended three-year term after Judge John Curran accepted the information was "never used to plan or mount an attack and was destroyed within 24 hours of it being handed over". Murdock's address was given in court as Abercorn Barracks, Ballykinlar, Co Down.

The man who asked Murdock for the list of names, Brian Appleton (28) from Windsor Terrace, Newtownards, near Belfast, was sentenced to three years. A lawyer for the British Crown said that the information supplied by the RIR soldier was "somewhat dated" and would already have been "in the public domain". A third man who was involved with Appleton in a burglary of a rifle from a house, Keith Jermy (22) of Valetta Park, Newtownards

also received a suspended three-year jail sentence.

The lenient treatment of the British soldier, who first joined the UDR in 1988, and the two other men, is in keeping with the long-established pattern in relation to pro-British offences. It was remarkable for instance that none of the accused were charged with membership of a British-backed death squad such as the UDA/UFF or UVF. In similar circumstances a nationalist would certainly have received a lengthy sentence.

In another British courtroom three days later Judge Pringle told three nationalist men from Co Tyrone he had sentenced to 14 years for conspiracy and possession of arms that serious offences merited lengthy terms of imprisonment and these sentences tended to get larger as the continuing resistance "stays with us".

This does not seem to apply to those who conspire for the British Crown and her agents, who still receive favourable treatment from their masters.

## British forces' assaults, raids in Armagh, Tyrone

**BRITISH Crown Forces assaults on nationalists in Coalisland, Co Tyrone and in the South Armagh area continued at the end of February and the beginning of March. Early on Sunday morning, March 6, clashes occurred between British soldiers, RUC and local people in Coalisland.**

This incident followed an intensive period of harassment in the area by the British Crown Forces, said to be the worst since the British paratroop regiment shot and injured civilians in a rampage through the Co Tyrone town in May 1992.

On Saturday afternoon Coalisland residents had

picketed the town's RUC base in protest at the abuse and it seems the British Crown Forces continued their provocation later that night, which erupted in clashes at 2am.

Several live rounds were fired as well as plastic bullets. One local man was shot in the foot with a plastic bullet by a British soldier standing beside him

Several incidents in South Armagh involving British troops' assaults and detentions of local people have occurred recently. On the night of while others suffered chest injuries and bruising.

Saturday, February 26 a 22-year-old woman motorist was ordered from her car at a lonely checkpoint by eight British soldiers on the Newry to Silverbridge Road. She was pinned across the bonnet of her car for more than an hour, assaulted and interrogated by the Brits.

Two other incidents in South Armagh have come to

light — in one, a young man was physically and verbally abused by British soldiers. In the other reported incident a large number of British soldiers and RUC members with helicopter back-up imprisoned ten civilians by force in a house.

Local people said that six of these civilians were involved in voluntary work for the handicapped. The ten people were held for over four hours and both verbally and physically abused. Despite complaints being made the British Occupation Forces have made no public response about this wholesale harassment and abuse of nationalists.

## Donegal, Wexford choose candidates for local election

**WITH the upcoming Town Council elections in the 26 Counties on June 9 next, on the same day as the EU poll, several Republican Sinn Féin election conventions have been held and candidates selected.**

In the Wexford Corporation area Jimmy Kavanaugh was selected at a convention held in the town and will be standing for the organisation for the first time. Jimmy, a member of a well-known Republican family in Wexford, is a former political prisoner.

In Donegal three candidates

have been chosen at election conventions. In the south of the county Joe O'Neill, well-known publican Republican Sinn Féin member of Bundoran Urban District Council, was selected to contest the poll once again.

In the election for Ballyshannon Town Commissioners local man Gerry Sheeran was chosen to stand for



• Joe O'Neill

Republican Sinn Féin and in the north of the county John McElhinney will go forward for Republican Sinn Féin in the election for Letterkenny Urban District Council.

John is a native of Strabane, Co Tyrone and has been living in Letterkenny since the 1970s. He served several jail sentences arising out of his Republican activities and is now engaged in a hackney business in the town along with his wife Sorcha.

Other conventions are being held as we went to press and full details of all candidates will be published in the May edition of SAOIRSE.

## WHAT THEY SAID

In his RTE radio interview yesterday, the Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams, made a more significant statement than any heard at his party's Ard-Fheis over the weekend. He

said Sinn Féin accepted that unionists have a veto on Irish unity.

— James Downey, Irish Independent, February 28, 1994.

The Hume-Adams document is a bargaining counter.

— Councillor Hugh Lewsley, SDLP, on Spotlight programme, March 3, 1994.

When Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and the members of their Army Council fail to deliver the hard-liners, John Hume will publish the (Hume-Adams) document.

— Jonathan Stephenson, General Secretary of the SDLP, at a debate in Trinity College, Dublin shown on the same Spotlight programme.

You cannot compare something (the joint declaration) with nothing. What is the Hume-Adams document?

— Fr. Denis Faul on the same programme

The objective of Hume-Adams was the joint declaration from the two governments, both governments and Gerry Adams have the document

since last June. It is not helpful to the peace process to publish it.

— John Hume, SDLP leader also on BBC Spotlight, March 3, 1994.

£500,000 compensation was paid in 1993 in unfair employment cases. Many were settled out of court with "no publicity" clauses and for undisclosed sums.

— UTV Counterpoint programme, March 3, 1994.

We have reached the end of involuntary migration by Irish people.

— Ruairi Quinn, 26-County Minister — for

Enterprise and Employment trying to disguise the continuing emigration from the State, Sunday Tribune, March 6, 1994.

You can accommodate a Protestant position in a united Ireland, but how can you accommodate a unionist position?

— Roy Bradford, former unionist minister, addressing Leinster House's Foreign Affairs Committee, March 9, 1994.

Such attacks on Sinn Féin and the so-called pan-nationalist front would continue whether they

accepted the Downing Street Declaration or not.

UDA/UFF statement reported in the Irish Times, March 29, 1994, following their rocket and gun attack on Provisional Sinn Féin offices, Falls Road, Belfast, the previous day.

The UDA — said such attacks on Sinn Féin (sic) are the so-called pan-nationalist front would continue irrespective of whether "Sinn Féin" accepted the Downing Street Declaration.

— Irish Times, March 30, 1994.

**SOCIAL EVENING  
FLYNN'S PUB  
ARIGNA  
CO ROSCOMMON  
EASTER SUNDAY  
NIGHT  
APRIL 3**  
Organised by Republican  
Sinn Féin

**LIAM LYNCH  
COMMEMORATION  
SUNDAY, APRIL 10  
3PM  
KILCRUMPER  
CEMETERY  
FERMOY, CO CORK**  
Speaker:  
Mary Ward  
Vice-President  
Sinn Féin Poblachtach

**NEILL PLUNKETT  
O'BOYLE  
COMMEMORATION  
SUNDAY, MAY 8  
KNOCKNADRUCE  
CO WICKLOW**  
Assemble:  
Hollywood village, 3pm

**SEÁN MAC  
DIARMADA  
COMMEMORATION  
KILTICLOCHER  
COLETRIM  
SUNDAY, MAY 8**  
Assemble Straduff Cross  
3pm

**FRANK RYAN  
50TH ANNIVERSARY  
COMMEMORATION  
GLASNEVIN CEMETERY  
DUBLIN  
SATURDAY, JUNE 11**

# Prolonged raid in Westmeath — home of Gaeilgeoir hit

**AN unprecedented and massive raid lasting four days took place during March on the home and farm of Seosamh Ó Maoileoin at Meedin, Tyrellspass, Co. Westmeath.**

On the morning of Tuesday, March 15 more than 30 members of the 26-county police descended on the townland, 20 of them arriving in 20 minibus dressed in boiler-suit overalls with "Garda" inscribed on them. They all were either wellingtons or heavy training runners and woollen "sock" headgear.

They carried slash-hooks, forks, spades, seven-foot long spikes known as "ferretting bars", crow bars and turf-graipes together with at least six metal-detectors. They marked out the land into squares with engineers' poles topped by yellow flags and proceeded to search.

Meanwhile others who came in squad-cars raided the house. From 10.30am to 5pm Seosamh and his mother were placed under virtual house-arrest, being confined physically to the kitchen and back-kitchen and told to make meals for themselves.

During this time the entire house was ransacked and money, including £40 from sales of SAORISE was seized. Also taken were sackfuls of documents relating to the GAA, Irish language organisations and Republican Sinn Féin. The family car was seized in addition

but no receipt was given for anything.

### TREASURER

Seosamh Ó Maoileoin is treasurer of the Westmeath Co Board of the GAA as well as Irish language officer for the local St Mary's club based in Rochfortbridge. He has held Irish language classes in various places throughout the county for the past six years.

Notes relating to these classes, accounts, lodgements books and a cheque book belonging to the Co Board and accounts of the Irish language collection locally on each St Patrick's Day from 1986 to '94 were seized.

Tá Seosamh gníomhach le Feis na Poblachta, Cumann na bhFiann, Glór na nGael agus Conradh na Gaeilge. Glacadh seibh ar nótaí agus leabhair a bhain leis na h-eagraíochtaí sin ar fad.

A member of An Ard-Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach on several occasions since 1987, Seosamh always had responsibility for Feis na Poblachta and Irish language affairs generally.

On Wednesday, March 16, St Patrick's Day and Friday, March 18 the search of the farm and of an outfarm three miles

away continued. Nothing was found other than old horseshoes, nuts, bolts and pieces of metal.

During all this time marked and unmarked police cars circled the area continually. On the fourth day, Friday the car was returned having been "forensically examined".

During this time at least two other houses in the general locality were raided. In one case two sheds of turf were emptied with grapes, letters were read and diaries and correspondence with the US Embassy in Dublin regarding a visa seized. In another raid a craft workshop was rummaged through.

In the Ó Maoileoin's home books were seized from shelves and Republican Sinn Féin literature packed into sacks and taken away included Presidential Addresses to the Annual Ard-Feis.

### DEFENDED

This house was defended in spirited fashion in Easter Week 1916 by Seosamh's father Joseph with two brothers Séamus and Tomás. They drove away British Crown Forces with gunfire in the only action in Co Westmeath that historic week.

Their mother — Seosamh's grandmother — was dismissed earlier from her post as a national teacher for teaching the children their prayers through Irish. Tomás ("Seán Forde"), Séamus and Joseph senior all fought in the Black-and-Tan and Free

State Wars in various parts of the county.

The great Liam Mellows was a frequent guest in this house as he organised in Westmeath and later as he travelled often to Co Galway.

Of course the modern-day coercionists and collaborators with the British Forces in the Six Counties would be unaware of all this as they trampled the historic house and land. They

were not the first to raid there...

### WOUNDED

Seosamh himself was released from Portlaoise jail in 1986 having served a seven year sentence. Police wounded him in the thigh as he fled from a house they were raiding in Co Kerry in 1979. He is a most enthusiastic Gaeilgeoir.

## Ballyseedy Cross

REPUBLICANS from around Kerry gathered at Ballyseedy Cross on March 6 last, to remember the eight men who paid the supreme price for Ireland on March 6, 1923, when they were murdered in a most foul way by the Free State Forces. A single wreath was laid on behalf of all the Republicans in Kerry who stood by the Irish Republic as proclaimed in 1916.

A ceremony was also held later in the day at Countess Bridge in Killarney where a similar outrage was carried out by the Forces of the Free State on March 6-7, 1923.

## Financial Appeal

IN view of the political situation as it stands Republican Sinn Féin are now the only group adhering to the Republican principles of Easter 1916 and of the First and Second (32-County) Dáil Éireann.

We are going to come under financial restraints if we are to keep the ideals of the All-Ireland Republic alive — as we must. We would appreciate your full moral and financial support.

Any contribution, no matter how small, would be appreciated and all donations will be accepted. Please send any donations to the National Treasurers, Seán Ó Conchúir and Joe O'Neill, at 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

## FOR THE RECORD..

**SUN. FEBRUARY 26:** A 22-year-old woman motorist was ordered from her car at a British army checkpoint by eight British soldiers on the Newry to Silverbridge Road in Co Armagh, pinned against the bonnet of her car for more than an hour, assaulted and interrogated.

**WED. MARCH 2:** A shrapnel pipe bomb was thrown by the UDA/UFF loyalist death squad at the back of a house belonging to Kevin McQuillan, former spokesperson for the IRSP, at Springfield Park in West Belfast. The bomb bounced off a security grille at the house and no one was injured.

Later that night a second UDA/UFF shrapnel bomb was thrown at the home of an elderly nationalist couple in Dundonald, east of Belfast. The couple escaped injury. The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Bill was signed into law in the 26 Counties.

**THURS. MARCH 3:** A petrol bomb was thrown through the front downstairs window of a house at Dunluce Avenue of the Lisburn Road in a random sectarian attack by loyalists. The house was damaged but there were no injuries.

A previously unheard of loyalist group, Protestant Military, claimed responsibility for an arson attack on a former Catholic School in Fenmore Road, Upper Ballinderry, Co Derry. The premises was badly damaged in the attack.

A rocket device was found in the front garden of a house in Stockman's Lane, Belfast, in what appears to have been a failed loyalist attack on a nationalist home.

The Extradition Amendment Bill was passed in Leinster House.

**FRI. MARCH 4:** Michael Donnelly (27) jumped through two windows to escape from a UDA/UFF British-backed death squad which broke into his house in the New Lodge Road area of north Belfast through the back door and opened fire, wounding him in the arm.

293,500 are now jobless in the 26 Counties.  
**SUN. MARCH 6:** Clashes took place between local residents of the Co Tyrone town of Coalisland and British soldiers and the RUC



● Scene of UUVF shooting at McCabe's butchers shop in the Markets area of Belfast on March 22.

following an intense period of harassment in the area by British Crown Forces.

**MON. MARCH 7:** A fireplace showroom was set alight by loyalists in Newtownards, Co Down.

**WED. MARCH 9:** The British parliament renewed the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) by 328 votes to 242. It also voted by 324 votes to 221 to set up a Select Committee of its members to deal with the affairs of the Six Occupied Counties in accordance with the deal done with Unionist MPs in return for their support of the Tory Party in the British House of Commons.

**FRI. MARCH 11:** Francie Brown (38) a nationalist man from Portadown, Co Armagh was killed instantly when he moved a UUVF death squad booby-trapped breeze block from under the front wheel of his brother's lorry at Obinis Street in the town.

At 8am a UUVF pipe bomb was discovered outside the Belfast offices of the SDLP on the Lisburn Road.

Rosaleen McCabe (15) narrowly escaped

injury when a breeze block was thrown by a loyalist gang gathered at the Blacks Road-Stewartstown Road junction through the window of the bus on which she was travelling home to

**SAT. MARCH 12:** A nationalist man in his death squad at the junction of Oldpark Road and Rosapenn Street in north Belfast.

Belfast City Council has to pay £52,500 to five Catholics who were discriminated against on the grounds of religious belief when they applied for a council job, which was awarded to a Protestant. The Fair Employment found last experience and has found that each should receive £10,000 for injuries to feelings and £500 each for loss of opportunity to compete fairly for the positions.

**MON. MARCH 14:** The UDA/UFF held a man and his wife hostage in Riverdale Park South, Belfast. They left after 90 minutes and later the British-backed death squad claimed they were waiting to ambush three named local people.

Thirteen homes in the nationalist Greenvale estate in Cookstown, Co Tyrone were raided by the British Occupation Forces using sledgehammers to break down front doors. One man, Martin Conlan was arrested during one of the raids but was released without charge after 48 hours.

**TUES. MARCH 15:** David Murdock (24), a part-time soldier with the Royal Irish Regiment, was given a suspended three-year sentence after pleading guilty to handing over details of nationalists and Republicans to British-backed death squads.

A shotgun blast ripped through the front door of a nationalist home at Mount Vernon Gardens, Greenacres, in north Belfast. No one was injured.

**WED. MARCH 16:** A UUVF death squad fired shots at a nationalist man as he walked to work through the Old Colm Estate, Poleglass, on the outskirts of west Belfast.

The number of unemployed in the Six Counties is 99,965.

**THURS. MARCH 17:** A booby-trap brick bomb thrown by the UDA/UFF through the window of a car belonging to a west Belfast man was defused after the man raised the alarm.

**SAT. MARCH 19:** Donna O'Neill (19) from the Twinbrook area of south Belfast was sacked from her job as a catering assistant at Hydebank Young Offenders Centre because the Northern Ireland Office considered her a security risk.

British-backed loyalist death squads organised the hijacking and burning of cars and buses in the loyalist Shankill, Oldpark and Duncairn areas of north and west Belfast in response to several house raids by British Crown Forces in loyalist areas in recent days.

**MON. MARCH 21:** Marie Daly, a nationalist employee of the Ford motor company in Belfast who is taking a case against Ford on the grounds of both sexual and religious discrimination, received a death threat from a Ford's US loyalist death squad after a letter to Ford's US headquarters complaining of discrimination was leaked to other employees.

At 6.15am loyalists set fire to a car belong to the SDLP MP for west Belfast Joe Hendron.

**TUES. MARCH 22:** The repeatedly-postponed inquest into British shoot-to-kill assassinations of six unnamed Armagh men in 1982 was convened again on March 22 and once again adjourned for a month.

The UUVF loyalist death squad sprayed a butcher's shop at Cromac Street in the nationalist Markets area of Belfast with machine-gun fire. The four people present escaped serious injury.

Du Pont Chemical Engineering in Derry is to shed another 80 jobs, three months after 183 workers at the maintenance department were made redundant.

London Declaration will not bring peace - Cumann na mBan

# IRELAND'S UNMANAGEABLE SISTERS

**Opposition to the Downing Street Declaration continues to grow within the nationalist community, and calls for the Hume-Adams document to be published, so that people can make up their own minds, are becoming an almost weekly occurrence at grass-roots level. The Hume-Adams document was the end product of five months of intense dialogue between the two nationalist leaders of the SDLP and Provisional Sinn Féin. Only selected paragraphs have so far been released, yet Seamus Mallon, the SDLP's 'Security' spokesman, speaking in the British House of Commons claimed that there was little difference between Hume-Adams and the December 15 London Declaration. Others who have seen Hume-Adams claim the difference is "but a few words". It is this latter point that is causing most concern within the nationalist communities, both at home and abroad.**

*Le Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh*

The now lengthy list of those who have publicly spoken out against the London Declaration reflects an opposition which is widespread, rather than marginal, and seems to contradict recent public opinion polls on this issue. Many feel that these polls reflect the opinions of a comfortable middle-class, stressing that people in the ghetto areas are rarely canvassed, yet it is in the ghettos that political militancy is strongest. It would seem logical therefore that the people in the poorer working-class areas should be canvassed first as their opinions would give a truer reflection of the chances for a lasting peace.

This ever-growing opposition has been fuelled also by the revelation that Ulster Unionist Party leader James Molyneux and leading conservatives consider that they have "neutralised" proposals from Dublin during twice-weekly meetings with the British Prime Minister John Major in the negotiations leading up to the Major-Reynolds Declaration of December 15. Such, claim the Orange and British Tories, has resulted in that document being so influenced that it "offers nothing for Irish nationalists". Few grassroots nationalists have ever believed that it did offer hope, but the Unionist leader's comments have greatly embarrassed Albert Reynolds and figures such as John Hume, of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), in the north. Essentially, the London Declaration is thus being viewed as a British-Unionist consensus document, designed to split the Republican forces as part of an age-old divide and conquer strategy. Specific US politicians, as well as leading SDLP figures are suspected of being heavily engaged in this tactic, which many feel is being cunningly disguised as a 'peace process'.

*Cum na mBan*

As in the 1920s when Britain proposed and later imposed partition in Ireland (using 40,000 troops), thus turning its back on the 1918 election results where the majority favoured the

establishment of a 32-County Irish Republic, women have become the backbone of resistance to the latest declaration from Downing Street. In the 1920s such women were described as "Unmanageable Revolutionaries", yet not all women dissidents today would describe themselves as either Republican or revolutionary. They agree on one thing however, and that is that they need to mobilise around their own radical agenda, within their own organisations.

## SECRECY

They say that they are sick of the secrecy surrounding the 'peace initiative' in nationalist areas. They want an open and democratic debate. They want the Hume-Adams document to be published. They don't want to be kept in the dark while the men set the London Declaration's future.

Mary Ward, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, gave a lead to other women when she declared that any peace settlement must include an amnesty for political prisoners and a British 'declaration of intent' to leave the Six Counties of north-east Ireland. She told a well attended meeting in Belfast's Conway Mill:

"We require no further clarification. Republican Sinn Féin does not merely seek a united Ireland. That is an inadequate objective. We are working to establish a peaceful, democratic Ireland of self-governing communities which would replace both the Six and

Twenty Six County states".

Mary Ward said the three steps to "lasting peace" were:

- British declaration of intent to leave Ireland;
- a new Ireland negotiated by the Irish people;
- general amnesty for all political prisoners.

Mary Ward, for many, symbolises the pain of this past twenty-five years. She lost her husband Pat in his early

intention to withdraw to allow the Irish people to exercise All-Ireland self-determination."

Cumann na mBan (the historic Republican Women's League) in late February rejected the London Declaration because of its "reiteration of the right of Britain to rule in any part of Ireland". It continued, "We stand for the 32-County All-Ireland Republic, based on the 1916 Proclamation and the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann of 1919 and we reject the right of a small section of the Irish people to veto the progress of the entire nation".

Their statement warned that: "The London Declaration will not bring peace. It does not address the issue of Irish freedom. No organisation has the right to tell the nationalist people of the Occupied Six Counties that the last 25 years of sacrifice have been ended in order to produce a second guarantor to the unionist veto in the form of the Dublin administration. The adoption of the declaration can only lead to further and more terrible resistance against British rule in the near future..

"Cumann na mBan stands ready,

Street Declaration.

"At the conference I told the women that I had not devoted my life to resisting British rule merely to watch a small group of men play high-class intellectual poker with Ireland's future while refusing to consult or inform the masses. By expecting blind obedience and not practising democracy, a movement could not secure democracy", she lamented.

The grand-daughter of Éamon de Valera, a former President of the 26-County state, Síle de Valera, Independent TD for Clare, said that she believed that the London Declaration on peace in the Six Counties is not radical enough. She felt there was "little new" in the document, adding: "I would have hoped that the document would have contained a radical approach to encourage everyone to take part in the political process".

Reports of the Belfast conference, held in the Culturann on the Falls Road in West Belfast on the Saturday, March 12 was evidence of the alienation of many nationalist women in the North from a male-dominated peace process. The *Irish Times* reporter, Suzanne



● Cumann na mBan colour party at Bodenstown.

forties. He died on March 7, 1988, and had participated in four hunger strikes: Curragh, 10 days in 1972; Mountjoy Jail, 21 days, October 1973; Portlaoise and Curragh, 48 days from January 1, 1975; and a hunger and thirst strike, again in Portlaoise in August, 1975.

## CLEAR

Most women interviewed by this correspondent were quite clear about why they oppose both the Joint Declaration and what they know of Hume-Adams. Central to their opposition is the fact that the Unionists are approximately 2% of the populations of Britain and Ireland, and that the majority of people canvassed throughout these islands favour both troops out and a united Ireland. Within an Irish context those who support the union with the (slightly) United Kingdom, represent mere 18% which in effect means that the wishes of the remaining 82% of the Irish electorate, are being blocked by a veto which Westminster openly supports as it did in 1920.

Mary Ward from Donegal, posed a central question for many women when she asked:

*Cum na mBan*

"What is in the Hume-Adams report? We have called for its immediate publication so that Irish people may assess its merits. It is being urged in some quarters as an alternative to the London Declaration, yet it still remains largely undefined-a veritable 'pig in a poke'. Realism demands fact, not speculation as the basis of current debate.

"The disclosure of the so-called 'principles' of Hume-Adams would allow people to see what is acceptable to both the political and military organisations of the Provisionals and what is not. Republican Sinn Féin offer a new Ireland to be negotiated by the Irish people themselves. There would be no room for the British-in such a situation and they must declare their

as in the past, to defend the All-Ireland Republic in the face of this new sell-out".

This correspondent interviewed Bernadette McAliskey, former Independent MP (Mid-Ulster), for SAOIRSE. She is one of the most vocal opponents since the signing of the declaration. When asked what should be done about the declaration she makes her own firm declaration: "Get it off the table, put it in the bin, go back to the drawing-board and come back with something better!"

## NO DOZERS

She continues: "I recently went to Belfast and attended the most productive conference so far and addressed its 150 women delegates. It was organised by a new group, about a year old, called Clár na mBan, that means Women's Agenda. Its main concern was to contribute to the creation of a genuine peace process. These women were no dozers. Not one delegate spoke in favour of the London Declaration, yet most believed that a British withdrawal from Ireland would be achieved".

Taking over the interviewing process she demanded: "Now ask me something about a real peace process". Q. "OK... what do you think?" A. "I do not believe that a real peace process exists because the mechanisms needed to end the conflict are obviously missing. The British still are refusing to recognise that a war has existed here for quarter of a century. When they talk about 'an end to violence' they are very selective.

"What they mean is the Provisionals handing over their guns, not the repeal of emergency legislation which brings state violence into our homes every day, and general repression day and daily, or stopping sexual violence in general, or against female prisoners in particular. There is no genuine discussion about peace, instead it is being presented as a commodity up Gerry Adams' sleeve, in John Hume's backpocket, on several bits of paper in the [Dublin] Department of foreign Affairs and tangibly in the Downing

Breen, on March 13 conveyed the mood of that conference when she wrote that: "The women's voices were full of anger and resentment".

## DICTATING

Other prominent speakers, besides the former Mid-Ulster MP, were highly critical of Provisional Sinn Féin: Brenda Murphy, a west Belfast Republican, said that organisation was dictating what questions could be asked about the peace process at meetings, often refusing answers, and then ordering people not to speculate. Margaret Caraher, of Cullyhanna in South Armagh, whose husband Fergal was shot dead by the British army on December 30, 1990, said that Provisional Sinn Féin was "refusing clarification to its own voters" on the secret Hume-Adams document. Marie Mulholland, a community worker in Derry, said that a just and fair state, striving for sexual equality, could not emerge from a secret, male-dominated, elitist process.

Many other women who lost husbands, brothers sisters, sons and daughters in the conflict for British withdrawal, including some mothers of the ten dead 1981 hunger-strikers expressed solidarity with the Clár na mBan movement, during recent days. They say that they would gladly rally to the banners and join 'Ireland's Unmanageable Sisters' in struggle.

One delegate told the conference, "Gerry Adams wants me to trust him. I would like him to trust me back. I don't want to wake up some morning in a 32-County Republic. I want to know what is going on now".

Bernadette McAliskey concluded the interview by talking about some of the responses to her publicly stated position on the declaration:

"When I refused some elements my support, some men patronised me. They described me as 'rural, female, too old, too bitter, too narrow, too long in the struggle'. Perhaps they thought that I should take a wee break, go back home and wash the dishes, mind the children, look after the family".

# SALUTE TO ROGER CASEMENT

**IN HOMAGE** to Roger Casement whose memory is now under attack again we publish the elegy on him by the Irish poet Pádraic Colum written immediately on the announcement of his death in August 1916.

"Justice for Casement is not a matter of morality versus immorality. Justice for Casement is because his character was diabolically calumniated the world over, so

Equally cruel and pitiless were they as Normand, the pitiless Butcher of the Putumayo."  
The attempt by the "dirty tricks department" of British Intelligence to blacken Casement's name in 1916 arose out of the events of Easter Week 78 years ago. They hoped to mollify American opinion, outraged at the executions, into tolerating Casement's hanging and thus smooth the way for the entry of the US into WWI on England's side.



● Roger Casement (left) and John Devoy in New York in 1914. Foreign Office to do so. them to be subjected to computerised and forensic examination.

## THE REBEL Roger Casement

They have hanged Roger Casement to the tolling of a bell,  
Ochone, och, ochone, ochone!  
And their Smiths and their Murrays and their Cecils say it's well,  
Ochone, och, ochone, ochone!  
But there are outcast peoples to lift that spirit high,  
Flayed men and breastless women who laboured fearfully,  
And they will lift him, lift him for the eyes of God to see,  
And it's well, after all, Roger Casement!

They've taken the strangled body and laid in the pit,  
Ochone, och, ochone, ochone!  
And brought the stealthy fire to waste it bit by bit,  
Ochone, och, ochone, ochone!  
To waste that noble stature, that grave and brightening face  
That set courtesy and kindness in eminence of place,  
While 'twas yours to die to dust that no poet e'er will trace,

**TWO 'DIARIES'**  
There are two "diaries" for 1910. One, a so-called "White Diary" is in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin and is without homosexual references. The other alleged "Black Diary" for the same year is in British hands and contains ordinary material plus homosexual matter.

Witnesses Bulmer Hobson and PS O'Hegarty separately placed documents in the National Library stating that Casement told them that he translated and transcribed in his own handwriting the diary of Armand Normand, the cruel persecutor of the native Indians in the interests of the English-owned (and predominantly English-run) Amazon Peruvian Rubber Company. Casement had been asked by the British

Colum says that it came out of a realisation that Casement's passing "had augmented the Irish spirit in formative years... [Casement] contributed to a movement and took character from it".

Casement and others "were all touched by the passion that is in Irish history and was perhaps more present in their day than since or before," Colum wrote in 1958.

Eoin Ó Máille, inveterate defender of the Irish patriot and author of *Roger Casement - The Forged Diaries Exposed* makes these points among others in reply to a BBC Radio 4 programme last September.

"In 1924 the police could pick up and charge their own Assistant Chief of the CID, Scotland Yard, Sir Basil Thomson, one of the main conspirators, for gross sexual indecency. If Casement was such an inveterate sodomist even in London, how is it the police never picked him up and charged him likewise?"

**DAMNING**  
"This, perhaps, is the most damning evidence of forgery, because in the vast millions of

people comprising Britain, Ireland, Germany, Africa, Brazil and America, not alone was there not one single police charge against Casement for immorality, there was not even a single case of a well-bribed homosexual partner offering to give evidence against him in Casement's whole lifetime nor to the present day (1993).

that there would be no public or official sympathy for his appeal against the death sentence.

"Justice for Casement is in reparation for the premeditated scheme, devised in cold blood by FE Smith (Lord Birkenhead), Sir Basil Thomson and Admiral Reginald Hall to have him judicially killed in a most ignominious and cruel manner.

## Reynolds' standing ovation for Michael Flannery!

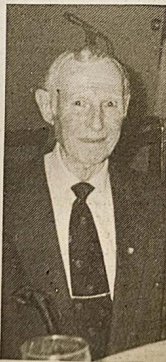
**CUMANN na Saoirse** the Irish Freedom Committee in the USA founded by Michael Flannery, George Harrison and the late Joe Stynes took part in several events around the St Patrick's Day festival period, culminating in the 233rd parade in New York City on March 17 last.

On Sunday March 13, Trustee and Founder Michael Flannery was present at a luncheon for the 1994 Parade Grand Marshal US Congressman Tom Maranton, (D-NY). Also present at the luncheon were many politicians from the metropolitan area.

Flannery was singled out by the MC of the luncheon and introduced from his seat to the assembled crowd. As a sign of their recognition and appreciation for Mr Flannery's lifetime of service to the cause of a free and united Ireland, the crowd gave him a standing ovation.

Interestingly enough, one of the politicians present and seated on the dias was 26-County Prime Minister, Albert Reynolds who was caught by surprise by the standing ovation and forced to join in. Later, when Reynolds was introduced before he addressed the crowd, there was no standing ovation.

On St Patrick's Day there was the traditional Mass at St Patrick's Cathedral celebrated by His Eminence, John Cardinal O'Connor. In an interesting turn around from 11 years ago when Michael Flannery was Grand Marshal of the Parade, and the late Cardinal Cooke refused to greet him, Cardinal O'Connor



● Michael Flannery out from the crowd in the Cathedral and praised him for his work from the pulpit, to the applause of the hundreds at the Mass. Later

Cardinal O'Connor greeted and shook hands with Michael Flannery at the altar rail.

Cumann na Saoirse advised members and friends of where to meet to line up for the Parade earlier and were pleased with the turnout. The line of march reflected members from the Dáithí Ó Conaill Chapter in Astoria, NY; Seán Keenan Chapter, Rockland, NY; the Liam Lynch Chapter, Poughkeepsie, NY; General Maguire Chapter, Bronx, NY; and the National Executive.

Cumann na Saoirse was led up the Avenue by a bodhrán drummer, the banner, and the flags of the United States and Ireland.

A Cumann na Saoirse spokesperson commented: "As always it was a great day for the Irish in New York, and Cumann na Saoirse was proud to be a part of it."

## Irish pressure kills repressive bill

**LOBBYING** by Irish-American activists has killed a section of the Crime Bill that was scheduled to be voted on in the US Congress on March 10 last.

The Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice and author of the provision, Congressman Charles Schumer of New York, accepted the concerns expressed by Irish-Americans and decided not to bring the measure up for discussion and a vote.

The Congressman's office called Fr Seán McManus, President of the Irish National Caucus, at 9.45pm on March 8 to inform him.

"I am very grateful to

Congressman Schumer," said Fr Seán McManus. "He has consistently shown concern for justice and peace. I had pointed out to Congressman Schumer that although aimed at countering terrorism, the provision could have the unintended effect of infringing on the rights of Irish-Americans who are involved in First Amendment protected activity."

Congressman Schumer had planned to offer an amendment to the Crime Bill HR 1301-in

effect an alternative Bill. The Schumer Bill, according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) (1) focused too much on ideology rather than on specific criminal activity, and (2) authorized the FBI to investigate lawful groups suspected of "supporting" terrorist organizations (Section 108).

"The British government suspects every Irish-American group of supporting terrorism," explained Fr McManus. "Therefore, this Bill, in effect, would have given the FBI carte blanche to harass Irish-Americans."

### BLITZED

Fr McManus explained how the provision was killed: "Our members blitzed the subcommittee with calls. I called John Finucane, President of the American Irish Political Education Committee (PEC) and Cody McCone, President of the Brehon Law Society. They activated their members, and a united effort accomplished the mission."

The American Civil Liberties Union, Arab-American groups, and other civil rights activists were also very much involved in the successful effort.

## Tribute to Seán Keenan

AMONGST the large attendance at the 1st Anniversary commemoration to Seán Keenan in the City Cemetery in Derry on Sunday, March 6 were members of his family and friends, Deirdre and Fergal Ó Conaill, widow and son of the late Dáithí Ó Conaill, who travelled from Dublin and Republicans from Derry, Donegal and Tyrone.

The proceedings at the graveside were chaired by Seán's lifelong friend and former Republican Sinn Féin councillor, Michael McGonigle, Dúngiven and a decade of the Rosary was said as Gaeltóg by Feargus Mac Caba, Omagh.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Keenan family by his daughters Nora and Róisín and on behalf of the Ard Chomhairle, Comhairle Uladh, the Derry Martyrs Cumann, Derry City, the Mitch Mitchell Cumann, Dúngiven and the Seán Sabhat Cumann, Omagh, Republican Sinn Féin. The oration was delivered by Mary Ward, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin.

## George Plunkett remembered

REPUBLICANS from Co Louth gathered at Ravensdale, Dundalk, Co Louth on Sunday, March 20 to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the death of 1916 Veteran George Plunkett, a brother of Joseph Plunkett, the signatory of the Proclamation. Those assembled at the cemetery gates were led to the grave by Veteran Republican Frank Hanratty who carried the National Flag. A wreath was laid on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtaigh by Paddy Murphy, Dundalk and the oration was given by Eamon Larkin, South Armagh.

## West Belfast woman black-listed by British

In another case of victimisation of a young nationalist woman, the British administration in the Six Counties has sacked an employee after three days, labelling her a "security risk" because she comes from west Belfast.

The local community newspaper, *Andersonstown News* (March 19) reported that Donna O'Neill (19) from the Twinbrook area had given up her job to take the better-paid position as a catering assistant at Hydebank Young Offenders Centre in south Belfast, having been assured that she had been given "security clearance" by her employers there, Quadrant Catering.

After three days however Donna was taken aside by two executives of the company and told that her services were no longer required. She was told that the 'Northern Ireland Office' (NIO), British administration in the Six Counties) considered her a security risk.

Having lost two jobs she has now been refused unemployment benefit because she was sacked from her job. The NIO and Quadrant Catering refused to make any comment on the affair.

## Tomás Mac Curtáin

A wreathlaying ceremony was held at Blackpool Bridge, Cork on Sunday, March 27 at the home of Tomás Mac Curtáin who was shot dead by the Black-and-Tans on March 20, 1920. John Murphy, Cork laid a wreath on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtaigh.

# BRITISH OCCUPATION COSTS FOR IRISH, BRITISH TAXPAYERS

**THE British government annually spends £300 million on intelligence gathering in Ireland, and so huge has the cost of its operations against Irish resistance become that Whitehall has ordered a review to try and reduce spending.**

According to the *Sunday Business Post* (Dublin, February 20, 1994) three civilian British intelligence agencies operate in Ireland — the Security Service (MI5), the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) and the GCHQ electronic intelligence centre based in Cheltenham, England which operates in Ireland under two different cover names.

The spending review was prompted by the fact that British spending in intelligence since 1979 "had grown faster in real terms than most areas of the public service".

The GCHQ operates eavesdropping centres in Ireland under the name Composite Signals Organisation (CSO) in the Six Counties and the Diplomatic Telecommunications Maintenance Service (DTMS) in the 26 Counties. It is estimated that MI5's annual budget for Ireland is £60 million, some 44 per cent of the total allocation from British taxpayers to the spy organisation per annum.

Both MI5 and MI6 have named the heads of their organisations in the past year as a publicity exercise designed to show that their huge budgets

were justified. Stella Rimington is the head of MI5 and David Spedding (51) will take over from Sir Colin McColl as the head of MI6 in September.

The war economy in the Six Occupied Counties has resulted in large financial rewards for the unionist community there, according to a second article in the *Sunday Business Post*. An estimated one out of every 10 unionists employed in the economy is at work in some part of the British war machine in Ireland, according to the newspaper. The RUC, which is 92.6 per cent Protestant, pays its members an average of £30,000 per annum.

## LIFESTYLE

Oliver Kearney, honorary secretary of EQUALITY, the anti-discrimination group, said that a Protestant male in his mid-twenties who joins the RUC can enjoy a lifestyle similar to a Home Counties [England] yuppie. The extent of the war economy, which would be decimated by the ending of the war, comprises the following:

- 8,400 full-time RUC; 3,100 full-time RUC Reserve; administrative staff of 2,950;

- 1,500 part-time RUC;
- 5,412 British soldiers in the Royal Irish Regiment (formerly the UDR, mainly recruited locally among loyalists);
- an estimated 3,000 civilian workers at British army bases in the Six Counties;
- combined with other British army troops to make a total of 32,000 armed British police and soldiers in the occupied area;
- thousands more unionists are employed as judges, court staff, prison warders, parole officers; and the
- extra work in the emergency situation for lawyers, clerks, private security firms, builders, glaziers etc.

There is one British policeman or soldier in the Six Occupied Counties for every 3.7 Catholic male in the 16-44 years age bracket, according to Mike Tomlinson, a Belfast-based researcher quoted in the article.

It all amounts to a huge vested interest on the British side in keeping the conflict going in Ireland against the wishes of the majorities of the people of Britain and Ireland, as expressed in countless opinion polls in the past 25 years.

Meanwhile taxpayers in the 26 Counties are now paying three times more than their British counterparts on protecting the British-imposed



● Stella Rimington, head of MI5.

Border in Ireland. Since 1969 this has amounted to some £2.4 billion and 1994 will add another £200 million to this total.



● (Left to right) Tony Gregory, Declan Bree and Vincent Doherty.

## Time NOT to go!

**TIME for peace — Time to go** was the title of the campaign launched at a Dublin press conference on March 23. It emerged at the proceedings however that the real aims of the organisers are: (1) first of all, the cessation of the Provisionals military campaign, dressed up as "demilitarisation", and (2) secondly, all-party talks to build support for what they call national self-determination with the "widest possible consent".

Chaired by Vincent Doherty, former People's Democracy and Provisional Sinn Féin member, the main address at the press conference was by 26-County Labour TD for Sligo-Leitrim, Declan Bree. He gave the party line from the outset by expressing complete support for the London Declaration.

The Provisionals should immediately call a permanent cease-fire, he said, and if they "stall too long to avoid a split in their own ranks, then they may lose everything". The declaration provides the framework for the development of a genuine peace process, Declan Bree said.

Nothing there that his party leader Dick Spring, or indeed Fianna Fáil's Albert Reynolds, could disagree with.

When questioned by journalists present what his reaction would be to an immediate British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland Bree said that that would be "premature". What was needed first was a "cessation of violence" and then talks, he said.

### POSITION

The chairperson gave the Time for peace — Time to go campaign's position on the London Declaration which was that it "arose as a result of the Hume-Adams document" and was "a part of a process which has to involve more than the two governments".

SAOIRSE asked the campaign spokespersons to respond to the view of many Republicans that the London Declaration reinforces the veto of 18% of the people of Ireland over the other 82%, seeks to divide the nationalist people and confer British rule. Declan Bree responded by denying that the declaration

reinforced the unionist veto. Vincent Doherty agreed with Bree's view, as did Independent TD Tony Gregory, despite the fact that the veto is specifically mentioned five times in the London Declaration! These responses were

received with dismay by many members of the public who were present and commented on the fact to SAOIRSE. The series of events organised by the campaign for 1994, the 25th anniversary of the appearance of British troops on the streets

of the Six Counties, will be tarnished by the fact that the organisers refuse to place the demand for a British declaration of intent to withdraw to the forefront as the title 'Time to go' clearly implies.

'Time NOT to go' might be a better title, or 'Time to go — but not yet!'

## Self-government for Connacht needed

Republican Sinn Féin welcomed the recent publication of the *Developing the West Together* Report in Castlebar, Co Mayo but mentioned that it did not go far enough.

"Massive investment in the West to further indigenous industry is undoubtedly required. However a Western Development Board while welcome does not go far enough, nor does the Minister for the West proposal.

"A century ago the British government established the Congested Districts Board which did very good work for 30 years. It was of course part of the Tory policy at the time of "killing Home Rule with kindness".

"Much more is needed now that the damage to the West has been accelerated especially with EC membership. Nothing less than self-government for Connacht is necessary at this stage.

"The destiny of the province can be vested in the hands of the people who live there themselves. A Dáil Chonnacht with control of every power of government other than foreign affairs, national defence and over-all financing is surely the way forward.

"Maximum devolution within the province to regional administrations in North and



South Connacht and to powerful local district and voluntary community councils would involve people directly in their own future.

### Charlie Kerins committee formed

To mark the 50th Anniversary of the execution of Charlie Kerins, Chief-of-Staff of the IRA on December 1, 1944, an organising committee has been formed in Kerry to commemorate him and his sacrifice in the cause of Irish Freedom.

This will include much-needed attention to his monument in Tralee, lectures, parades and the issue of a booklet to enshrine his memory.

The committee appeal to you for financial help towards making these events worthy of this great Irish patriot from our own county. Finance Committee: Maurice Dowling, John Brennan, Mick Murphy, Liam Cotter, Mossie Higgins.

Booklet Committee: Elsie Kerins, George Rice, John Foran. The Committee Secretary is Matt Leen; Chairman, John Mangion; and Joint Treasurers, Pat Quirke and Michael O'Brien.

"The hugely-attended and enthusiastic public meetings sponsored by the Western Bishops throughout the province over the past two years showed decisively that there is a popular will for the people of Connacht to take their future into their own hands.

"Radical action is needed now before the damage becomes irreversible and before it spreads at the same deadly rate to other parts of Ireland. The *Developing the West Together* Report is most welcome and deserves discussion, debate and implementation.

"Its only fault is that at this late stage it does not go far enough," the statement ended.

Dáil Chonnacht                      Dáil Uladh

4/4 = 1

Dáil na Mumhan                      Dáil Laighean

## ÉIRE NUA

A Four-Province Federal Ireland

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach  
41 Cé Arann, BÁC 7.



### NEW POSTER NOW AVAILABLE

4/4 = 1, A Four-Province Federal Ireland — new poster (A3 size, two colours) available from Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Price £5 per 100.

# THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN OF BRITISH OCCUPATION

THE tragic deaths of two children, killed by a Provisionals bomb in Warrington in March 1993, hit the world headlines, simply because of the power of the British media networks. Every Republican mourned their deaths, but many felt angry because the powers-that-be, as formerly, remained highly selective in their condemnations.

When Warrington occurred we witnessed what amounted to political amnesia which was a studied insult to the intelligence of the ordinary people of the occupied zone. Those who felt such most intensely included scores of families who witnessed their children being killed by the British so-called 'security forces'. What follows is a reminder and a memorial to their memory. This research topic is ongoing and is therefore currently incomplete, yet worthy of publication as it is at an advanced stage.

After Warrington the anti-Republican forces came out of the woodwork, and many were fooled with their slogans about peace, for which one should read, 'surrender' by one specific element to the conflict. The British government were quick to channel funds to this latest wave of born-again 'peace-makers', and there are several fat bank balances, as a result.

The fact that the International Fund for Ireland followed Westminster's example is a cause of concern, as the IFI appears to have compromised its original terms of reference. Protests have been, and should continue to be lodged with the IFI's offices world-wide. The various governments and individuals who contribute annually to the IFI budget should be alerted to this latter development.

## BANKROLLED

The 'peace-makers' are a diverse lot, but they are easily manipulated by the self-appointed middle-class unionist elites such as New Consensus and the Peace Train people, both bank-rolled out of Britain's war kitty.

Words to describe them come to mind, but even these may be too strong for the columns of a respectable paper such as SAOIRSE. Suffice to say that visions of collaborators and Vichy France spring to mind, but there too reactionary elements never expected the coming of Liberation!!!

It must be said that the Warrington deaths were blatantly exploited, by a number of diverse reactionary forces which jockeyed for position (or short-lived popularity). They really didn't give a damn about the deaths of English children, particularly when there were scores of native incidents that warranted similar expressions of outrage.

They remained silent because these deaths were at the hands of the forces they support i.e. the British Occupation Forces including the paramilitary RUC in the Six Counties. Those killed as a result of operations by Republican

resistance units are included in the list published here because they too were victims of the continuing occupation by foreign troops on Irish soil.

## BLINKERED

For many reasons 'the peace people' have been, and remain, blinkered hypocrites. If the men who planted the Warrington bomb are ever proven guilty they will serve long terms of imprisonment, unlike the British soldier or RUC member who is unlikely to even face charges, let alone be tried (see centre-pages of SAOIRSE, March 1994).

One remembers Mrs Marion Bowen and her brother, Marion was an expectant mother, in the last stages of pregnancy. Her unborn child perished with her. Now, it seems their deaths should be forgotten, and that Irish statistics should be buried with them, and that no one should be so impolite as to remember them, except their immediate loved ones.

The main reason for writing this article is not merely to criticise one-sided 'peace-movements', but rather,

## PLASTIC BULLETS

I am a plastic bullet and through the air I fly, don't try to catch me in your mouth or stop me with your eye. I love the little children their skulls are paper thin, but even adults' heads are fun to bash and batter in. I love the Irish people for wishing to be free. I'm not allowed in Britain where they have liberty.....

## 1969

14 August: Patrick Rooney (9): shot dead by RUC, Belfast

## 1970

06 April: Francis McGuigan (2): Asphyxiated by CS Gas, fired by British Troops, at Ballymurphy, Belfast  
27 June: Carol Ann McCool (3); Bernadette McCool (9): The two little sisters were killed in a premature explosion, along with their father and two other men, who were preparing explosive devices for use, in the defence of the Bogside

## 1971

08 Feb: Denise Ann Dickson (5) Catholic: Killed by British army: Belfast  
Angela Gallagher (17 months): Desmond Healy (14)  
James McCallum (14): Killed by UVF pub bomb: Belfast  
24 Jul: Damien Harkin (6): Catholic: Killed by British army: Derry



## British Occupation Forces...

to place in the public domain, a documented memorial to the child victims of British Occupation. This memorial is not of stone, but deserves to be maintained, even if it is on mere paper, for others may also wish to view it and ponder upon it for a few moments.

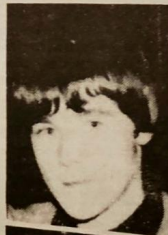
## PASSAGE OF TIME

This list may well be incomplete as it was extremely difficult to compile, after the passage of considerable time.

The unofficial ban by some newspaper editors in 'The North' on access to their archives, by known anti-imperialists, has been a major obstacle in research. Those who have data to add should forward such to the editor of SAOIRSE, who will forward it to the relevant researchers.

May they rest in peace, may we never rest until justice has been seen to be done.

09 Aug: Leo McGuigan (15): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
06 Sep: Annette McGavigan (14): Catholic: Shot by British army: Derry  
04 Dec: Marie McGurk (13); James Cromie (13): Catholic: Both killed in the MRF/UVF bomb explosion at McGurk's Bar: Belfast  
11 Dec: Tracey Munn (1); Colin Nicholl (7 months): Both children were killed by a bomb, at a Shankill Rd furniture store  
14 Dec: Martin McShane (15) Catholic: Killed by British army: Coalisland  
Margaret Gargan (13)  
William Crothers (15)



**KILLED**  
Paul Whitters  
aged 15, died 25 April  
1981



**KILLED**  
Brian Stewart  
aged 13, died 10  
October 1976.

14 May: Michael McGee (16): Catholic: Shot by UDA  
15 May: Martha Campbell (13): Catholic: Shot by UDA  
19 May: Manus Deery (15): Catholic: Shot by UDA  
09 Jul: John Dougal (15): Catholic: Shot by British army  
12 Jul: David McCleneghan (15): Catholic: He had a  
attacked him and his mother in their home. His mother  
forced to watch. After murdering the boy, the killers shot  
but she survived.  
14 Jul: Harold Morris (14): Protestant: Shot by UDA  
16 Jul: Tobias Molloy (15): Catholic: Shot by British  
19 Jul: Alan Jack (5 months): Killed in bomb explosion  
21 Jul: Stephen Parker (14): Killed by IRA bomb  
31 Jul: Catherine Eakin (9); Joseph Connolly (16)  
Protestant: All three children killed in the Claudy, Co  
31 July: Daniel Hegarty (16): Catholic: Shot by UDA  
22 Sep: Daniel Rooney (15): Catholic: Shot by British  
07 Oct: Alec Moorehead (15): Protestant: Shot by UDA  
14 Oct: Michael Turner (15): Catholic: Shot by M  
15 Oct: William Doherty (4): Catholic: Shot by British  
01 Oct: William Warnock (15): Protestant: Shot by UDA  
31 Oct: Paula Strong (6); Claire Hughes (4): Both children  
Bennys' Bar, Ship St, Belfast, when a bomb, planted  
exploded, killing both children  
27 Nov: Rory Gormley (14): Catholic: Shot by UVF  
16 Dec: James Reynolds (16): Catholic: Shot by UVF  
27 Dec: Eugene Devlin (15): Catholic: Shot by British  
30 Dec: Bernard Fox (16): Catholic: Shot by British

## 1973

29 Jan: Peter Watterson (14): Catholic: Shot by British  
Belfast  
30 Jan: Philip Rafferty (14): Catholic: Shot by British  
Belfast  
27 Feb: Kevin Heatley (13): Catholic: Shot by British  
23 Mar: Sean O'Riordan (13): Shot by British Army  
19 Apr: Anthony McDowell (12): Shot by British Army  
17 May: Eileen Mackin (14): Catholic: Shot by British  
Belfast  
16 Jun: Daniel Rouse (15): Catholic: Shot by British  
Belfast  
09 Aug: Paul Crumney (4): Catholic: Shot by British  
Belfast  
14 Aug: Henry Cunningham (16): Protestant: Shot by  
squad: Belfast  
08 Sep: Brian McDermott (10): Protestant: His body  
he had been missing for several days. The child had been  
tortured by his killer, alleged to have been John McKeegan  
gang boss, who had been involved in the Kinora child  
14 Nov: Kathleen Feeney (15): Shot during IRA attack



**KILLED**  
Francis Rowntree  
aged 11½, died 23  
April 1972



**KILLED**  
Stephen  
aged 11  
August

## 1974

29 May: Michelle Osborne (13): Catholic: Killed by UVF  
outside Belfast  
11 Jul: Michael Browne (16): Catholic: Shot by UDA  
12 Jul: Barbara Leatham (8): Beaten by UDA  
Anthony McDonnell (13)  
Michael McCreech (15)  
Joseph McGuinness (13)  
Patrick McGreavy (15)

## 1972

07 Jan: Shaun O'Riordan (14): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
19 Feb: David McAuley (13): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
01 Mar: Michael Connors (14): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
20 Apr: Francis Rowntree (11): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
29 Apr: Rosaleen Gavin (8): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
11 May: Joan Scott (12): Protestant: Shot during a gun battle between the British  
Army, and UDA/UVF: Belfast

## 1975

Patrick Toner (7)  
James Templeton (14)  
Eileen Kelly (6)  
Michael Donnelly (10)

# CHILD VICTIMS OF

## 118 young victims of the war in Britain's last colony

by UDA: Belfast  
Shot by UDA: Belfast  
by British army: Derry  
by British army: Belfast  
by UUVF gang  
at a mental age of 7: A UUVF gang  
mother was raped, as the child was  
killed his mother, three times,  
by UDA: Shankill Rd, Belfast  
by British army: Strabane  
by explosion: Strabane  
by British army: Belfast  
by UDR: Newtownstewart  
by British army: Belfast  
by British Army: Belfast  
by British Army: Belfast  
by British Army: Strabane  
by British Army: Belfast

23 Mar: **Robert Allsop** (15): Catholic: Accidentally shot, in West Belfast  
29 Apr: **Anthony Meli** (10): Catholic: Killed by a UVF bomb, at his father's Belfast cafe  
17 Jul: **Charles Irvine** (16): Catholic: Shot by a "nervous" British soldier, after the car in which the youth was travelling "backfired" as an army foot patrol was passing: Belfast  
06 Aug: **Siobhan McCabe** (4): Catholic: Shot by British troops at Andersonstown: Belfast  
07 Aug: **Patrick Crawford** (15): Shot by British troops at Andersonstown: Belfast  
28 Aug: **Stephen Geddis** (10): Catholic: Shot by British troops: Belfast: A rubber bullet victim.



● **Stephen McConomy, Derry, killed by a plastic bullet in April 1982.**

### 1976

**Thomas Rafferty** (14)  
**Anthony Doherty** (15)  
**James MaGahey** (12)  
**Patrick Bernard** (13)

10 Aug: British soldiers opened fire on the occupants of a car at Finaghy Road, killing the driver. Out of control the vehicle moved down three children. Although the cause of the children's deaths was generally accepted as having been the result of injuries sustained from the impact of the runaway vehicle, the children's mother did in fact state that each of the children had also been wounded by bullets fired by soldiers. The children who died were: **Andrew Maguire** (6 weeks), **John Maguire** (2) and **Joanne Maguire** (8).

14 Aug: **Majella O'Hare** (12): Catholic: Shot by British army: Whitecross  
27 Aug: **Brigen Dempsey** (10 months): Killed along with her parents when British-backed death squads petrol-bombed their home as they slept during the night: New Lodge Road, Belfast  
10 Oct: **Brian Stewart** (13): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast: Plastic bullet victim

20 Oct: An unborn child escaped death in its mother's womb when a British-backed death squad shot and wounded Mrs Patricia Brennan in the back as she left a GAA hall with her husband: Belfast  
11 Oct: **Anne Magee** (15): Catholic: Shot by UFF/UDA: Belfast  
09 Nov: **Cornelius McCrory** (16): Catholic: Shot by UFF/UDA: Belfast  
10 Nov: **Carol McMenamy** (15): Catholic: Shot by UFF/UDA: Belfast  
24 Dec: **Geraldine McKeown** (14): Shot by UFF/UDA: Belfast



**Stephen Geddis**  
aged 10, died 30 August 1975.



**Julie Livingstone**  
aged 14, died 13 May 1981.



**Carol Ann Kelly**  
aged 12, died 22 May 1981.

### 1977

**Greame Dougan** (15 months)  
24 Oct: **Michael Neill** (16): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
16 Nov: **Marcia Gregg** (15): Killed when loyalists burned her home at Ligoniel, Belfast

### 1978

**Leslie Gordon** (10)  
Feb: **Michael Scott** (10): Catholic: Both he and his grandmother were killed by



● ... and the inevitable and often youthful resistance to those forces.

a British-backed death squad bomb on their doorstep: Belfast  
09 April: **Kevin McMenamin** (10): Catholic: Killed by Shankill Butcher's bomb on Easter Sunday: West Belfast  
11 Jul: **John Boyle** (15): Catholic: Shot dead by the SAS: Dunloy, Co Antrim  
01 Oct: **Grahame Lewis** (13): Protestant: Accidentally shot when playing with his father's legally-held gun: Belfast  
09 Oct: **Denis Neill** (16): Catholic: Shot by British army Belfast

### 1980

01 Jan: **Doreen McGuinness** (16): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
31 Mar: **Paul Moan** (15): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
23 Jul: **Michael McCartan** (15): Catholic: Shot by RUC: Belfast: The reason? He was painting a slogan on a school wall.  
**Hugh Maguire** (9)

### 1981

15 Apl: **Paul Whitters** (15): Catholic: Shot dead by British army in Derry: Plastic bullet victim  
07 May: **Desmond Guiney** (14): He and his father died after a stoning attack on their milk float during a Belfast riot.  
12 May: **Julie Livingstone** (13): Catholic: Killed by the British army: Belfast: Plastic Bullet victim  
22 May: **Carol Ann Kelly** (12): Catholic: Killed by British army: Belfast: Plastic Bullet victim  
08 Jul: **John Dempsey** (16): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast  
09 Jul: **Daniel Barrett** (15): Catholic: Shot by British army: Belfast

### 1982

**Alan McCrumm** (11)  
**Stephen Bennett** (14)  
11 Apl: **Stephen McConomy** (11): Catholic: Shot by RUC: Derry: Plastic Bullet victim

### 1988

06 Jul: **David Hanna** (6): Killed with his parents by a Provisionals landmine: Co Armagh  
24 Jul: **Emma Donnelly** (14): Killed with her grandfather during a Provisionals bomb attack on Benburb RUC base

### 1991

09 Nov: **Colin Lundy** (16): He and his mother were burnt to death by loyalist petrol bombers: Belfast

### 1992

05 Feb: **James Kennedy** (15): Murdered by UFF/UDA at Graham's Bookies: Lr Orneau Road, Belfast

### 1993

23 Oct: **Michelle Baird** (7): **Leanne Murray** (13): Killed by a premature Provisionals bomb blast: Shankill Road: Belfast  
5 Dec: **Brian Duffy** (15): Catholic: Shot by UFF/UDA: Belfast

# 'War Drums and Peace Talks' conference in London

THE British-based Campaign against Militarism (CAM) held a very successful two-day conference recently. Organised around the theme "War Drums and Peace Talks" over 1,000 delegates assembled in the Wembley Conference Centre on March 5 and 6 last.

CAM launched its founding manifesto in 1992. The key points of this declaration pledged the movement to struggle:

- (1) against the moral rearmament of imperialism;
- (2) against western chauvinism;
- (3) against race hatred;
- (4) against the rewriting of history;
- (5) against the cultural war (waged on behalf of imperialist values).

In order to further these aims CAM invited a number of speakers from outside Britain to address this year's conference.

The first of these guests spoke on a range of topics throughout Saturday's programme. Events included a report on Russian fascism, a discussion about racial violence, a film dealing with the US invasion of Panama and an inquiry into the scapegoating of some so-called "terrorist States".

On day two the Irish Question was introduced.

Mike Freeman of the Irish Freedom Movement (IFM) convened a plenary meeting. This session was entitled "Behind the peace processes: eyewitness accounts of what's really happening in Ireland, South Africa and Yugoslavia".

Tommy McKearney, former H-Block hunger striker from Tyrone, speaking about Ireland, shared the platform with Jenny Graham who briefed the conference on South Africa and Joan Phillips who reported on the Battle of Sarajevo.

In his address, Tommy McKearney told the conference



• Tommy McKearney

that the British Establishment had long practised deceptive stereotyping of its opponents.

## PURPOSE

The purpose of their stratagem has always been to allow British governments to implement otherwise unacceptable actions.

He dismissed the often touted "warring religious factions" theory about the Irish conflict, one of many which have gained currency in Britain. Also dismissed was the "mindless violence" lie and also that of outdated nationalism.

An undemocratically-created entity (the Six-County State) was what lay at the root of the problem. And only when Britain ended its involvement in Ireland would conditions prevail capable of ending the conflict.

Expanding on this point McKearney said that the Downing Street Declaration was just on more duplicitous British action. The declaration makes no change to the existing status

quo he added. It simply reiterates London's long-standing determination to maintain British rule in Ireland.

## WORKSHOP

Later in the day Phil Murphy convened a round-table workshop on the topic: "War and Peace in Ireland".

On this occasion Eilish McAnespie, Mark Ryan and Tommy McKearney were on the platform. Each spoke on the situation in Ireland and thereafter took part in a question and answer session.

Eilish McAnespie gave a moving account of her brother Aidan's murder by British troops. She also explained in detail what life is like for ordinary nationalist and Republican people in the north of Ireland.

Eilish painted a stark picture and refuted claims that the Downing Street Declaration will change the situation. Her last words to the gathering were a promise to continue to resist injustice in Ireland.

Mark Ryan made a very interesting contribution. He was at pains to underline the fact that Britain was not neutral in the Irish conflict.

## INTEGRAL

The British State, Mark emphasised, views the Six Counties as integral to the United Kingdom. Any attempt to sunder one region would endanger the whole.

Therefore, Tories (indeed all English unionists) refuse to willingly countenance a British withdrawal from Ireland. As Mark said "a regime which feels itself entitled to intervene in Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia etc is hardly likely to be disinterested in its first and oldest colony".

Quite often sections of the British Left attempt to remove Ireland from the anti-imperialist struggle.



• Eilish McAnespie

Returning to the theme of his earlier speech, Tommy McKearney said that the current so-called peace process in Ireland was fraudulent. Britain is merely trying to put a better face on its occupation of Ireland, he insisted.

He further warned of the risk in being credulous about British promises. Accepting assurances from British officials in private is the mark of a political ingénue, he said.

## SUCCESSFUL

When the conference ended on Sunday evening, it was clear that it had been as useful as it had been successful. Like-minded people had gathered to play a part in the struggle against imperialism world-wide.

It was encouraging to find so many young people committed to this great cause. From an Irish point of view it was doubly heart-warming.

Nothing similar was experienced at this conference. In fact the Irish delegation was warmly received and encountered people with a keen understanding of the Irish conflict. It is always encouraging to know that the prejudicial mass media has failed to fool all its population.

Such gatherings remind us all that there remains a section of the British people with a healthy conscience. It is a point worth remembering.

# Tribute To Kathleen Sheil

REPUBLICANS on Dublin's southside travelled to Bohernabreena cemetery on Saturday, March 5 to honour the late Kathleen Sheil on the first anniversary of her death.

Kathleen was a member of the Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin at the time of her last illness and also served as secretary to the organisation's Comhairle Cúige Laighne. A native of Offaly she lived in Dublin for many years.

Pride of place at the ceremony was taken by Kathleen's young family, daughters Carmel and Fiona, sons Shane and Niall and grandson Craig.

Her pride would have been greatest as her family stood up to the harassment of the large Special Branch presence at Bohernabreena when they were stopped and questioned as they left the cemetery by these political policemen, just as Kathleen herself had been on many occasions.

The ceremony itself was organised by Kathleen's comrades in the Anne Devlin Cumann, Rathfarnham, Cathaoirleach Ruairi Óg, Ó Brádaigh called on Niall Sheil, Kathleen's youngest son, to lay the wreath and a minute's silence was then held while the National Flag was dipped.

Veteran Republican Mairéad Langsdorf, in a short tribute to Kathleen, said that she first met her in 1983 when she joined the Rathfarnham cumann.

## WILLINGLY

"No task was too hard for her and anything that was required of her she gave willingly. She worked day and night selling the paper, picketing and going to meetings, while at the time looking after a young family. She looked after them well and still managed to work hard for the Republican Movement".



• Kathleen Sheil

"She instilled in her family a love of all things Irish and was herself a well-known Carnogie player for Offaly. When the Republican Movement was again threatened Kathleen took her stand with those who had prevented its demise, and she was elected in 1986 to the National Executive set up by Republican Sinn Féin in Rathfarnham and was an inspiration to us all. She travelled the length and breadth of the cumann area selling the SAOIRSE and the Easter Lilies, always in good humour with a ready smile".

"If she were here today Kathleen would be to the fore opposing the sell-out of our Country. She would have said to your declarations we will be true to the Republic of 1916 and accept nothing less".

Mairéad Langsdorf concluded with a word to Kathleen's family: "To her family I say be proud of what your mother did and was. If we had more like her to help us carry out the task of carrying on the fight that is still ahead of us we would be well on the way to achieving our goals".

## NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION

### EVENTS CALENDAR 1994

#### April

Sunday 3 Commemoration in Ballygunner, Co Waterford.  
Saturday 23 Annual Mass for deceased members in Oratory of Capuchin Friary Church St at 6pm. Refreshments afterwards.

#### May

Saturday 21 full day bus tour to historic sites in Co Louth. Bus will leave Parnell Square at 10am, and tour will include Ballyboughill, Drogheda, Ardce, Castlebellingham, Dundalk, Ravensdale, Faughart, Cooley Peninsula, Monasterboice, Salne, Ashbourn, and return to Dublin 7pm approx. Cost £8.

#### June

Sunday 5, 12, 19, 26 conducted tours of historic graves in Glasnevin 11.45am.

#### July

Sunday 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 tours in Glasnevin Cemetery 11.45am.  
Saturday full day bus tour Wicklow and North Wexford. Bus leaves Parnell Square at 10am. Tour will include visit to Glencree, Roundwood, Avondale, Aughrim, Arklow, The Harrow, Tullow, Baltinglass, Vinegar Hill, Blessington and return to Dublin at 7.30pm approx. Fare £10. Pre-booking essential for all bus tours.

#### August

Sunday 7, 14 conducted tour of Historic Graves in Glasnevin 11.45am

#### September

Sunday 25 famine commemoration committee meeting in Tullamore 3pm.

#### October

Sunday 9 Commemoration at grave of Jos. Holt the 1798 leader at 2pm in the cemetery at Carrickbrannan Monkstown Co Dublin 2pm

#### November

Sunday 6 Mass Berkeley Rd Church for "All who died for Ireland" 11.15am

Sunday 6 Annual commemoration to the 10 Volunteers who were executed during the period 1920-1921 who are still interred in the prison grounds. Meet at gate of prison at 12.10pm.

Wednesday 23 annual wreath-laying ceremony at the Cenotaph to the Manchester Martyrs in Glasnevin at 2pm

# COLLUSION EVIDENCE IN DEATH SQUAD SHOOTING

EVIDENCE of collusion between British Occupation Forces and a loyalist death squad was presented by a young nationalist man in the past month after he was shot in the hand in a UDA/UFF assassination attempt in north Belfast on Friday, March 4.

Michael Donnelly, a married man with two children, was shot by a gang who entered the open back door of his wife's home on the New Lodge Road at teatime. He was shot once in the front room of the house before he escaped by jumping through the front window, running across the road and jumping through the window of another house. The attackers escaped in a car into the Tiger's Bay loyalist district.

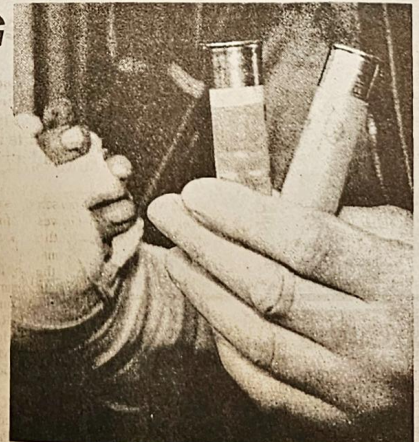
In an Irish News (Belfast) interview (March 10) he said that his life had been threatened by two RUC Special Branch officers in the last year and that he has been subjected to constant harassment by them. He was also told that his RUC file had "gone missing" and was believed to be in the hands of British-backed death squads.

Also, he said that a week before he was shot the RUC had raided the house and sketched a

plan of the building, telling him it was to be passed on to a leading loyalist death squad member.

Michael Donnelly lives apart from his wife and was visiting at the time of the attack to see how she was progressing in an appeal against the British administration's "Northern Ireland Office" who refused to give her a grant for security equipment to protect the house.

The crucial point he made in his Irish News interview was that the back door of the house (which is normally locked) was left open for the 20 minutes before the attack and is clearly visible from a British Crown Forces observation post. He continued: "They [the UDA/UFF] were told that the door was open. There was no other way they could have known. The car was only hijacked 10 minutes before the shooting.



• Michael Donnelly with two cartridges left behind by the RUC forensic team.

I'm convinced it was the security forces that set me up. I've been getting stopped constantly by the Special Branch and they keep making death threats — there's been about 20 within the last couple of months.

"It's not only me," he continued, "other people in the area are constantly being

harassed, but the threats against me came to life." In an additional show of contempt for his safety an RUC forensic team who examined the room where Michael Donnelly was shot left behind two shotgun cartridges — one spent and one live — which were used by the shotgun-wielding UDA/UFF death squad.

# Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

THE present state of Irish America is one in flux as we progress through 1994. The various factions have moulded their own agendas as each reaches for political sophistication within the American political system.

Status and acceptability are the order of the day. Groups may wish to retain their roots in Irish Republicanism, but compromise them in order to gain a seat at the conference table of public opinion constructed by Anglo-American distortions.

There are many these days in the community who are disaffected because the mission of Irish unification has been derailed by diversionary issues and by the swelling egos of many leaders of various organisations.

In this present era, people became involved in direct response to the defensive campaign of the IRA against British/Loyalist collusionists, but time has worn away the determination of some who give primacy to the MacBride campaign rather than the only true campaign against the Brits. This is a new form of divide and conquer. Irish Americans need only one issue BRITS OUT - ANY MEANS ACCEPTABLE.

Historically, Irish American activity has been in support of physical force against the British. This present era is no exception. Without the campaign of active resistance to British misrule, by the IRA, Irish America could not have been mobilised.

## ONE ISSUE

There is only one issue. That is the national question and that involves removal of the British. All other issues are diversionary issues within the status quo.

Like the two wings of the Republican Movement in Ireland, its complement in America was started with two wings. Irish Northern Aid was started to support the dependants of political prisoners. Later, the Irish National Caucus was formed to lobby Congress on behalf of the ideals of the Republican Movement.

Both NorAid and the INC were given their imprimatur from the Republican Movement - BOTH WINGS. Republicans in the US

pursued the ending of partition and British presence in Ireland with a vengeance during the 1970s. In the 1980s things changed, and diversions set in.

NORAI continued to fund raise, but got into politics which was the prerogative of the INC. The INC became self-perpetuating within the US political system and got into heavy fund-raising in America to the detriment of NorAid. Tension set in.

US spokespersons for the movement took precedence over those from the front lines in Ireland. Ego upon ego grew. The INC felt that spokespersons from Ireland were no longer needed in the States, that they could handle things.

It appeared the leader of the INC, Sean McManus, felt he was in more of a position to state the views of the Irish people than spokespersons from Ireland and he wanted to distance himself from Republicanism in order to gain acceptability and respectability with the Kennedy group which he appeared to prize. He dropped the visa issue and forsook old comrades who gave him his start in the Republican cause.

The INC started as part of the world-wide Republican Movement building support around the US on the back of NorAid. The membership of the two groups was next to identical with chapters in the same locales. Sean McManus and Fred Burns-O'Brien toured the country for NorAid so it was easy to set up a base for the INC.

When the INC distanced itself from the Republican Movement, it was calculated to shed its radical roots to groove into the mainstream and respectability. This meant a change in philosophical primacy dropping the national issue to nominal support and pushing diversionary issues to the fore such as the MacBride campaign.

Quick victories brought cash to keep the organisation going. McManus became an expert direct mail fundraiser and a businessman par excellence.

To take up the slack of the INC, other groups were formed such as the Unity Conference. The INC was no longer chapter based, so Unity filled in the gap and took away much of its



support.

## GRASSROOTS

The Unity Conference with many former INC leaders like Dan O'Kennedy went to the grassroots to take that portion of the INC support and make it its own. They have done a credible job, leaving the INC to its direct mail and lobby office on Capitol Hill.

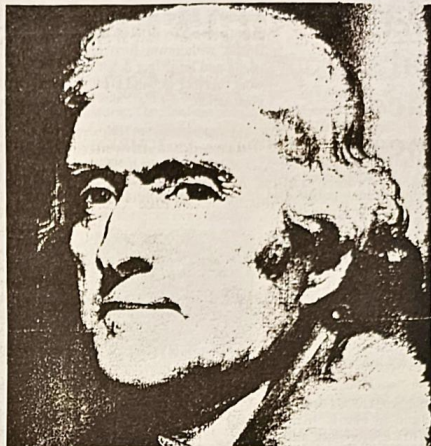
That is still very powerful because there is still no one to top McManus on one. If Sean McManus had stuck to his Republican roots and pushed for an end to partition as hard as he does the MacBride Principles, the cause would be stronger.

MacBride brought victories and money, but it bolstered the status quo because it operated within the US and British systems to gain jobs which is not a bad thing, but takes away from the national issue. Priorities must once again needs be reoriented back to the beginning.

THE talk these days is the so-called peace process and that is a misnomer. That is another diversionary issue because it offers nothing, but following the British lead of guaranteeing a Unionist veto with the backing of Dublin and all groups who support it, but it is embraced as a respectable thing to do.

It is the peace at any price group - London-Dublin-SDLP-Alliance-UUP-Kennedy-Clinton-and so many fools being led to the slaughter, who don't give a damn about true Irish aspirations which are guaranteed under the UN Charter.

The Irish in the States too often follow an Anglo-American standard to settle internal Irish problems. That is wrong. The above standard always starts by demanding groups renounce the option to use physical force. This is the basis of the Downing Street Declaration. The Brits need to



• Thomas Jefferson, 3rd US President and freedom fighter.

renounce brutality, torture and physical force on territory which is not theirs.

That is the correct and only standard. Nelson Mandela has repeatedly told the IRA to hold their arms and not to renounce the right to a physical force option. British withdrawal is the only guarantee of long-term justice and peace. Groups which give up their strength become eunuchs.

Groups in the States which fall into the trap of renouncing the right to use physical force also become eunuchs. American groups that pursue other than the national issue are contributing to prolonging the inevitable and are just playing games while suffering continues because the only issue that deserves attention is not getting it done.

Because of the redirection of many Irish groups away from Republicanism, many people who want to be involved have become disaffected with the direction of once well intended groups. Irish America need to examine its collective conscience and tell the British to make a declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland, release all political prisoners and be prepared to pay reparations.

## WILL FORGET

When the Irish give up the gun, the

British will forget about the North and we will return to pre-1968 and we will have to start over again. Another generation does not need war. Let Irish Americans make demands and retrieve the courage they have lost in the name of respectability.

Americans should memorise the following which aptly applies to Ireland:

"Our cause is just. Our union is perfect - our internal resources are great...we fight not for glory or conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilisation, and yet proffer no milder condition than servitude or death.

In our native land, in defence of freedom that is our birthright, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before".

Bill Clinton's hero is Thomas Jefferson and it is his hero that wrote those words in 1776 against British presence in the US. Read them, Bill, and apply them equally to Ireland.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

## Parle, Crean and Hogan honoured in Wexford



• Jimmy Kavanagh

A crowd of about seventy people gathered in the Republican Garden of Remembrance in Wexford to commemorate the seventy-first anniversary of the execution by Free State firing squad of James Parle, John Crean and Patrick Hogan.

Matt Murphy, chairperson of Wexford National Graves Association, opened the proceedings by calling on Donal Ó Néill to lead the crowd in the

saying of the Rosary. This was followed by a wreath laying ceremony.

Wreaths were laid by Paddy Hogan, nephew of Patrick Hogan and by Bernie Radford, whose uncles Michael and Bernie Radford were killed in action during the Civil War. Séamus Mac Suain laid a wreath on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin.

In his oration, Jimmy Kavanagh paid tribute to the courage and self-sacrifice of Parle, Crean and Hogan who had laid down their lives for the Irish Republic as declared in the Proclamation of 1916 and ratified by the First Dáil and for nothing less. He went on to denounce the Joint Declaration as another attempt to impose a British solution in Ireland. A solution which would serve only British and unionist interests.

The ceremony concluded with the playing of the Last Post.

## Leo Duignan Commemoration

Republicans gathered in Shanganagh Cemetery, Co Dublin on Sunday, March 20 to pay tribute to Leo Duignan, Aughnashelinn, Co Leitrim who died in 1990.



• Eoin Duignan playing Amhrán na bhFiann.

Led by the National Flag, carried by Malachy Steenson, the assembled people marched to the graveside where the proceedings were chaired by John Gilraine, Dublin who welcomed Leo's widow Gonnait, daughter Muireann, son Eoin and grandchildren to the commemoration. A wreath was laid on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach by his old comrade, Charlie Dineen and a decade of

Republicans "criminals". When he was finally released in 1948 he took a full part in the reorganisation of the Republican Movement, after the devastation of the 1940s when both the British, Stormont and Free State regimes combined in an attempt to crush Republicanism, north and south. Leo was a member of GHQ staff of the IRA in the early 1950s.

"Throughout his life Leo remained true and faithful to the ideals of the 32 County Irish Republic, proclaimed at Easter 1916 and established by the votes of the Irish people in 1919.

"Since we gathered here last year we lost our patron, Comdt-General Tom Maguire, who died in July last at the great age of 101, who personified the 32-County Republic of 1916 and 1918 and it is up to all of us to follow in the footsteps of men like General Maguire and Leo Duignan, who never compromised their Republican principles, who remained faithful no matter who else deviated from the Republican path and who serve as an inspiration to all of us," she concluded.

The ceremony ended with Eoin Duignan playing Amhrán na bhFiann ar an feadóg.

## IgCuimhne

KEENAN — 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Seán Keenan, Derry. Always remembered by his comrades in Republican Sinn Féin, Derry, KEENAN — 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Seán Keenan. Never forgotten by the Seán Sabhát Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Omagh, Co Tyrone. KEENAN — 1st Anniversary. The Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, remember with pride Seán Keenan, Derry who died in March 1993.

## Comhghairdeachas

WELCOMP home! Hucker it is great to have you in our midst again. From Michael Hegarty

# Start the Real Peace Process

A chara

In the present political climate with some groups waiting for clarification, some not, with who is talking to whom and who is not talking to whoever at the table or behind closed doors, with every new day bringing more confusion, contradiction and counter contradiction, it is no wonder that some people feel they are watching a soap opera.

Republicans have a duty to the people to clarify their position first and foremost, and maybe help clear some of the fog from the ongoing debate and say what we see as the only workable solution to the problems that have continually plagued this afflicted nation for more than 800 years.

My point is that two artificial and defective statelets on this island is a totally unworkable combination, in fact it creates and nurtures political malaise, division and sectarianism.

Ireland divided by Partition is about as functional as a car with three wheels. Through unity comes strength and purpose. Outside influence from a nation that has exploited and bled half the globe is about as welcome as a hole in the head.

The Irish people left to their own devices are more than capable of settling and managing their own affairs and creating a strong, solid and stable self-sufficient society, with sound economic policies and a cultural heritage and traditions second to none.

Sensible unionist people must surely now see the dead-end street the siege mentality is leading them down and they should see the sense in a United Ireland, provided that that Ireland encompasses their beliefs and traditions in a secular, pluralist and tolerant state, their rights enshrined and guaranteed in a new constitution.

The siege mentality of unionists has been created and nurtured by British colonialism. It is a state of mind born of the unknown which is understandable. Not so acceptable though is when the siege mentality is born from a need to dominate and exclude. The fear of the unknown can be assuaged by guaranteed rights for unionists in the new Ireland. This guarantee meaning no more or no less than any other citizen.

The time has come for everyone on this beautiful island to move forward in unity and harmony. Time to build a strong united Ireland, with the walls of fear and misunderstanding swept aside and together as brothers and sisters we can build a bright and prosperous future for

ourselves. Let us start the real peace process by demanding a British withdrawal from our island and let us get down to work together to build a truly great nation.

TOMRYAN  
Liam Mellows Cumann  
Republican Sinn Féin  
Dublin Central



• Real peace can only be built on a British withdrawal.

## Church Out of Politics

A chara

May I start by saying that I don't wish to offend any readers and that while I am not a member I am a supporter of Sinn Féin politics. The question I wish to ask is; why is it customary to say a decade of the Rosary as Gaeilge at Sinn Féin assemblies such as 1916 commemorations for example?

Is there not a danger that this act sends out all kinds of wrong signals to observers, gives excuses to bigots who con the Ulster Protestant working class into hating the Catholics so much that they forget they are on the dole and confesses potential Sinn Féin supporters in the 26 Counties? I do not believe that the dragging of religion into a political commemoration is compatible with a socialist, pluralist organisation.

While there is no great difference between socialism and Christianity there is a great difference between socialism and organised religion as represented by the RC Church. I admit that I go to Mass, out of habit like most people. Today I heard the priest take the opportunity in his sermon to tell the people that it was evil to work while

drawing the dole (the unemployed = industrial set-aside). He claimed to have gleaned this information out of the Ten Commandments although it is more likely to have come from the *Irish Independent*. So is it correct to associate such an unworthy Church with names like Connolly and Clarke? Recently I heard a person speak of Sinn Féin in the same breath as the Ku Klux Klan. How could anybody make such a mistake? I have to say that this person was not a south Dubliner, Anglicised yuppie with champagne tastes and the intelligence quota of a "point of hoi-nickin". She was a down-to-earth type of person, going about her life who happened to believe that Sinn Féin policy was Ireland for the Irish Catholics and the North Atlantic for Irish Protestants.

It will be hard to correct such misconceptions in peoples minds in view of the absence of a Republican voice speaking on RTE. While Section 31 is gone (for the minute) censorship lives on. So far I have not seen or heard any Republican Sinn Féin representatives being interviewed on the television.

The only question the Provisionals are asked by the media is, "Will you accept the Downing Street Declaration". If they say no to that it won't be long until Michael D Higgins changes colour like litmus paper to suit the conditions and reintroduces Section 31 which is not dead but sleeping.

Since Sinn Féin can't (and indeed shouldn't) expect to be treated fairly by the state-owned media or the state-controlled media, it must be totally correct on the only opportunity that the majority of people have of getting to know the party's views, ie commemorations and street assemblies. And there is nothing correct about standing with a Tricolour (green, white and orange equals Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter united)

in one hand, a rosary beads in the other and repeating "sé do bheatha Mhuire" ten times.

Once again I have to say that there is no offence intended. However I feel this has to be said. It is time to dispel the religious smoke-screen of incense and reveal people's common enemy, the collective establishment. It is time to forget about negative politics.

You must prove to the greatest number of people possible that Sinn Féin's policy is not merely to get the Brits out. It is to create a progressive, free-thinking political establishment to govern a progressive, free-thinking nation of rebels who love freedom, and this can only be achieved after the British government and its military wing, the British army, leaves Ireland and takes its class-conscious capitalist system with it.

Whatever Church you owe your allegiance to, or if you owe it none, is a private matter. So isn't it time to leave the friend of authority, the Catholic Church out of politics and say to the people: "Éirí amach, tá an réabhlóid ag teacht".  
SEÁN MCGOLDRICK  
Co Sligo

**AN important distinction needs to be made, I think, between Republican commemorations at the graveside of fallen comrades, where the religion, if any, of the deceased might indicate a religious prayer be it Catholic/Protestant or otherwise, and a public commemoration, ie outside the GPO in Dublin where any religious element would not be appropriate in the context of a secular location.**

In practice this means that at the grave of a Protestant Republican, ie George Plant of Tipperary, a Protestant prayer would be appropriate, while at the grave of a Catholic Republican a decade of the Rosary would be

appropriate. The intention is to pay respects to the deceased and their religious beliefs (again, if any) and in consultation with the surviving relatives.

Republican commemorations are organised by local or county committees in all cases and they are usually guided by these considerations. It is not in

Some Gaels demand only fluent speakers on TV. I do not share this view some actors speak Gaelic very clear and can be understood. I agree with the director of CTG that the Gháidhlig belongs to us all from Caithness to Borders and regional accents should be accepted.

Grampian have now added extra TV news (Telefios) twice daily now and on the day this Opinion Poll was published Grampian added an extra programme on Saturday. The fact that STV are putting their Gaelic TV on late at night and early in the morning is insulting to the substantial number of Gaelic speakers in Strathclyde (Roinn Strath Chluaidh) or almost 10% Gaelic speakers live in Glasgow (Glaschu).

This strengthens the arguments of Gaels that grassroots control of Gaelic communities rather than spent by Aberdeen (Obar Dheathain) or 'Courcaddens' (Glaschu). Jobs have gone to Gaels in TV but not enough.

I hope you find some of these points I cover relevant and may also apply in Ireland. Certainly STV/CTG/Canan programmes 'speaking our language' and back up material are helping me a lot.

Gaelic by not being on a separate channel in Scotland has forced people to consider viewing and has educated people about a 'Ghaidhealtachd'. In a country where Placenames have Gaelic origin every body benefits and is more satisfied by knowing a little Gaelic. My friends are interested anyway. In the Highlands they are finding youngsters who know a little Gaelic grow up and at least do not despise the language.

keeping with the aim of a pluralist Ireland for a national organisation to ban religious practices of whatever denomination at the graves of Republicans who held religious views.

Pluralism is defined in my dictionary as a "form of society in which minority groups retain independent traditions". It does not mean outlawing all public expressions of religion practice at Republican commemorations, regardless of venue, as this would mean enforcing another belief system, ie irreligion or atheism.

Above all the wishes of the people on the ground and especially relatives of a deceased person being honoured, should be respected. That is real pluralism.

—Eagarthóir

## Gaelic TV in Scotland

A chara

I have included below the results of a recent Grampian TV opinion poll perhaps of interest to Irish enthusiasts and readers of SAOIRSE. In Scotland there is an emotive argument going on about how the mere £9 million CTG budget should be spent on Gaelic TV. This money is spent also by big TV companies Grampian/STV.

It has been said that the Irish will be probably wanting a soap/drama like 'Maclair' in Scotland which carries English subtitles. Some argue this drama does not best reflect life in a 'Ghaidhealtachd' community e.g. too serious, lacks real humour of people. That this drama is not educational. However, opinions on Gaelic TV programmes are diverse.

In the NOP Poll, conducted at the end of 1993 140 people were interviewed, 92 of them were fluent speakers. The majority of Grampian viewers do not want a Gaelic TV channel (i.e. only 25% support for a separate channel). 62% said subtitles were not distracting and 51% thought they made the programmes more enjoyable. 29% thought programmes in general were very good while 46% offered no opinion.

Telefios na Seachdainn, Teleshéine Grampian, Crois na Banrigh, Obar Dheathain AB9 2XJ welcome views on this and news about music arts etc.

LAWRENCE MORTON  
Dundee  
Scotland

## On the Arm of Time

A chara

In his review of my book, *On the Arm of Time*, Deasún Ó Daltúin failed to give price or where the book may be bought. It is priced £6.99 and if not in local shops may be obtained from the author, Mícheál Ó Cuinneagáin, Tanatallon, Donegal Town, price £7 (post free).

I take this opportunity to thank Deasún for a very fair review and you, Mr Editor, for publishing it—the first review in a Dublin-based newspaper. I hope that my book will result in further detailed research into the period in question.

MÍCHEÁL Ó  
CUINNEAGÁIN  
Tanatallon  
Donegal Town

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# 1908: Denying England's right to rule Ireland

**Sinn Féin** — *The First Election 1908* by Ciarán Ó Duibhir. Drumlin Publications (1993), £4.95. This book, the fourth in the North Leitrim History Series, deals with Sinn Féin's first parliamentary election test, in the North Leitrim by-election of 1908. The by-election took place due to the resignation of Charles Dolan from the Irish Parliamentary Party in protest at its lack of success in achieving worthwhile concessions for Ireland from Westminster.

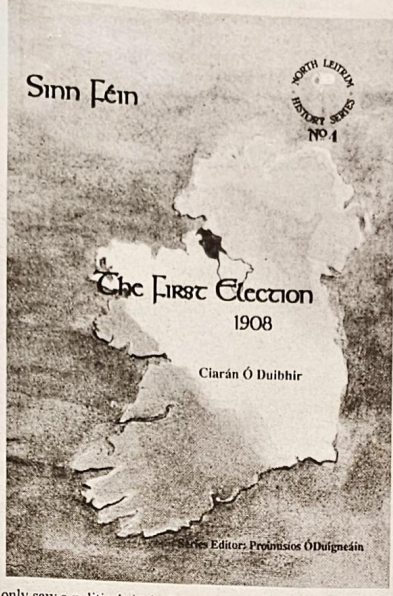
Remaining for a time as an abstentionist MP, he spent several months educating the people of North Leitrim about Sinn Féin's policies. He then resigned his seat and stood in the by-election as a Sinn Féin candidate.

Dolan faced high odds, being opposed by the clergy and being subjected to "violent misrepresentation in the press". Although the parliamentarians claimed to have no fears about North Leitrim leaving the parliamentary fold they were obviously worried enough to expunge a campaign of personal abuse. Dolan was described as "an unmanly and cowardly man" as well as a factionist (ie splitter) because of his blatant rivalry in saying that Redmond and the Home Rulers were achieving nothing worthwhile. People who supported Dolan were also seriously slandered, eg Bulmer Hobson, an IRB member down from Belfast to support Dolan, was described by the *Sígo Champion* as an Orangeman.

## FIRST TIME

The author emphasises the importance of the by-election from the national perspective by pointing out that this was the first time in forty years of its existence that the Home Rule movement faced opposition from a true Nationalist (or "advanced" Nationalist as the author puts it) movement. He also paraphrases Arthur Griffith who said that the by-election was the first time since the Act of Union that Irish people had denied (electorally) England's right to rule Ireland.

An interesting point raised by the book is that while Dolan's newly-adapted Sinn Féin policies were condemned by the constitutional Nationalists as a faction the Unionist paper the *Impartial Reporter* welcomed Dolan's (and Sinn Féin's) call for a building up of industry in Ireland. These differing responses show that while the Unionists of the time were prepared to at least consider parts of Sinn Féin's programme the constitutional Nationalists



only saw a political rival who had to be condemned at every turn in order to cling on to support.

We are given descriptions of various public meetings which were never too far from violence. One of the incidents recorded in

the book tells of a meeting of supporters of parliamentarianism at a Fair in Killyclogher. While the meeting was in progress Dolan and some supporters, accompanied by a band, arrived in Killyclogher.

The Sinn Féin group

marched past the constitutionalist meeting and stopped about thirty yards from the meeting. The Sinn Féin band then began to musically interfere with the speakers at the meeting as they dropped out the meeting. At this point the supporters of constitutional Nationalism attacked the Sinn Féin group, who were outnumbered and made a tactical withdrawal.

## DRUM

Unfortunately the band member carrying the big drum was unable to tactically withdraw fast enough. The book doesn't say what happened to the drummer other than that he was "suitably punished" but the Fenian drum itself was smashed on account of its convictions and a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians proceeded to dance a hornpipe on the remains of the by-now deceased drum.

Another violent incident during the campaign occurred when Anna Parnell (Charles Stewart's sister) came to North Leitrim to campaign for Dolan. She attempted to hold a meeting but was knocked off her feet by a mob and had a jug of water thrown in her face.

## PROPHETIC

The book reveals a prophetic side to Arthur Griffith's character and mentions

his prediction immediately after the by-election that ten years on, "five-sixths of Ireland would be bonded together in Nation Brotherhood". In this he was right. (Unfortunately super-glue hadn't been invented at the time and the bond didn't last long).

To sum up, this book provides an interesting glimpse into the politics of the time. The narrative style of the book makes it easy to get into the story, so much so that even though I already knew the outcome of the election I felt at times reading the book that Sinn Féin might win.

The ballads and cartoons included give an added flavour to the book as do the letters from and to figures of the time which are included as an appendix. Unless you are well acquainted with the period you will find the introduction useful as it gives a brief overview of the political situation before the election. In the final chapter the author goes beyond 1908 and gives a summary of national events up to 1916. These events are already well known and recorded.

This book would be worthwhile reading to those interested in the history of the north-west and Leitrim in particular, as well as those interested in the early years of the Sinn Féin movement. — **Seán McGoldrick**

# Dissenter roots of Irish Republicanism

*An open letter to Ian Paisley. Demythologising History*, by Derry Kelleher, Justice Books, £5.00.

Derry Kelleher has been throughout his life an active political campaigner. At an early age he became involved with the Republican Movement firstly with Na Fianna Éireann and subsequently the IRA. During the 1940s he was interned in the Curragh and he was later involved with the Connolly Association in Britain and the trade union movement.

In the 1960s he returned to Ireland joining first the Dublin Willie Tone Society and later joining Sinn Féin. He is currently a member of the Green Party continuing to endeavour, as he puts it, to teach "Republicanism to Socialists and Socialism to Republicans" and his previous books include *An Alien Ideology* and *The Perversion of Science and Technology in Ireland*.

Kelleher firstly in *An open letter to Ian Paisley* attempts to persuade the Protestant community in the six counties that their true place lies alongside their fellow Catholic countrymen and women in defence of Irish unity and self-determination. He does so by pointing out that the roots of Republicanism and democratic politics in fact lies within the

Protestant Dissenter tradition.

He concludes his letter with an exhortation to the Protestant community to reassess their genuine historical role and to take up once more "your green banner which you have allowed to repose in the dust for far too long".

He goes on in the rest of the book to chart the evolution of Republican and democratic thought from the Levellers and Diggers in the English Civil War in the 1640s through to the United Irishmen of the 1790s and on to the Civil Rights campaign of the late 1960s.

## EUROPE

He places the Jacobite War of the 1690s in Ireland in the context of the wide political conflicts taking place in Europe

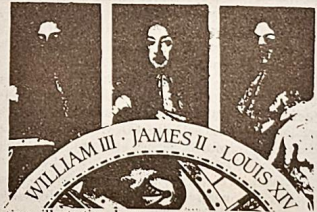
## 1791 DERRY KELLEHER 1991

### AN OPEN LETTER



TO

### IAN PAISLEY



at the time illustrating how Irishmen both Protestant and Catholic were used simply as pawns in an Imperial power game.

He goes on to look at the development of Republican thought through the 18th century

in Ireland and the impact and influence of international political movements here.

He also looks at the roll of Britain in fermenting religious hatred in Ireland seeing such organisations as the AOH (Ancient Order of Hibernians) and the Orange Order as two sides of the same imperial aim of 'divide and rule'.

Kelleher goes on to deal with the struggle for Irish Independence through 1916-21 and the enforced partition of Ireland up to the period 1969-72.

While Republicans would disagree with his analysis of the armed struggle in the post-1969 period, the book overall remains an interesting, penetrative and revealing study of Republicanism and its evolution. One fault this reviewer found with the book is the quality of the production with the small closely-set type making it difficult on the reader.

— **Deasún Ó Daltún**

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# DR ADA ENGLISH OF BALLINASLOE

## 50 YEARS AGO

**EASTER Sunday 1944 was on April 9, but it was a very quiet Easter for Republicans compared to 1943 and 1942. The handful of active Volunteers in Belfast and the rest of the Six Occupied Counties who were still at liberty kept a low profile. Republican News was still brought out regularly in mimeographed form.**

On Easter Monday however, came another blow when young Seán Doyle of Belfast, a member of Na Fianna Éireann was accidentally shot dead while training. He is buried in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, Solas Flaitheas Dé dhó.

In the 26 Counties at the Drumboe Commemoration in Stranorlar, Co Donegal Dan Ward gave the oration. It did not pass without incident. CJ (Joe) Carlin of Newtownuningham — not far from the Derry Border — was arrested and taken to Sligo Jail.

Further south the Chief-of-Staff Charlie Kerins had sought refuge in his native Kerry. Archie Doyle, the other active GHQ officer south of the Border managed to maintain himself in Dublin.

The trickle of unconditional releases from internment without trial at the Curragh continued steadily. The big problem for these men was finding work in order to keep body and soul together.

Many were employed stacking turf into ricks in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Here was a huge storage area where the ricks of peat stretched along the roads having been brought by lorry from the bogs of the midlands.

### RELEASED

Geaóid Mac Carthaigh of Cork, released from the Curragh the previous autumn, was now a ganger at this work. Another charge-hand there was the late Peter Rogers of Ballinalree, Co Longford and later of Multyfarnham, Co Westmeath.

Uninvolved at this time, Peter was later to become a very active Republican himself from the mid-1950s to his death about 1976. His association with the ex-internees in the Phoenix Park formed his mind greatly in this regard.

Meanwhile, on the Eastern Front in WWII the Red Army recovered the Black Sea port of Odessa during April and pushed on into Romania. A desperate German attempt to evacuate the cut-off Seventeenth Army from the Crimea was only partly successful.

### ANZIO

In Italy, the Germans under Field-Marshal Kesselring contained the Allies at Anzio near Rome and at Monte Cassino Abbey farther south. In the Far-East the Japanese renewed their offensive in China on April 17.

Five days later on April 22, US troops under General Douglas MacArthur landed at Hollandia (now Kotabaru) on the northern coast of New Guinea. They took this base after hard fighting.

Mac Arthur was aiming for the extreme northwest tip of New Guinea, the Vogelkop Peninsula, 550 miles from Hollandia. There he would face the southernmost islands of the Philippines across the Celebes Sea.

A promise was made last month to relate the story of Dr Ada English of Ballinasloe, Co Galway who died there on January 27, 1944. A liberated woman of the revolutionary period 1916-'23 she represented the National University of Ireland constituency in the Second (All-Ireland) Dáil along with Professor WFP Stockley of UCC and others.

She rejected the Treaty of Surrender and remained with Sinn Féin and the Second Dáil after Fianna Fáil was formed. Dr English was among the group of faithful Deputies photographed at the rear of Fleming's Hotel in Gardiner Place, Dublin at Easter 1928. A copy of that photo hung in Tom Maguire's sitting room at Cross, Co Mayo.

Ada English, or Eithne Inglis as she wrote her



● Faithful Deputies of the Second Dáil at Easter 1928 (Dr Ada English on right with white cloche hat).

name in Irish, was born in Mullingar and educated at the Loreto Convent there. She later graduated from the Royal University, being one of the first woman doctors in Ireland. The Royal University was a forerunner of the National University of Ireland established in 1908.

### APPOINTMENT

Before her appointment to Ballinasloe and Castlereagh Mental Hospitals in 1904 she served for a period in the Mater, Richmond and Temple Street Hospitals in Dublin. In 1921 she was offered promotion to be RMS, Sligo Mental Hospital by the All-Ireland Minister for Local Government WT Cosgrave. She refused to be parted from her patients in Ballinasloe.

There with the RMS of the time she joined in a campaign in favour of the use of Irish manufacturers in institutions. This included substituting the Arms of Galway for the image of Queen Victoria on the uniform buttons worn by the staff.

She was an intimate friend of Joseph MacDonagh, Sinn Féin TD for North Tipperary who died from ill-treatment in Mountjoy Jail on Christmas Day 1922. Pádraic Pearse, Arthur Griffith, Eamon de Valera, Liam Mellows and other national figures.

A Medical Officer to the Irish Volunteers from their inception, she attended at Athenry during the 1916 Rising. She was a fluent Irish speaker and was politically very active in the years after Easter Week.

Arrested by the British in 1920, she spent six months in Galway Jail with Geraldine Plunkett, daughter of Count Plunkett and wife of Professor Tomás Dillon of UCC. Another fellow-prisoner was Alice Cashin, a national organiser for Cumann na mBan.

Sentenced to nine months imprisonment she was released with piousaiming before she had completed her term. While in prison she was elected in May 1921 to represent the NUI in the Second Dáil.

### MEMBER

For many years Dr English was an active member of Cumann na mBan. She was on duty with Cathal Brugha and units of the Dublin Brigade, IRA at the Hamman Hotel, Dublin in June and July 1922 before and after the fall of the Four Courts to Free State forces.

Other medical staff in attendance in O'Connell Street during that week were Dr Teresa Jones of Westmeath, Dr JP Brennan and Nurse Linda Keane, both of Dublin. The flamman was the last outpost in Dublin to hold out. Brugha, with 17 men and three women to care for the wounded, was defiant to the last.

With the building in flames he ordered the tiny garrison to surrender. Then, shouting "No" to calls to capitulate the fearless Cathal Brugha faced the machine guns revolver in hand in a heroic last stand. He went down mortally wounded.

dá anam. From Cathleen Knowles.

**CURNEEN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Declan and family on the death of his father Frank on March 19 last.

From **CABHAIR** (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund). Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

*"Crimson the roadside, the prison wall, the cave,  
Trumpet the story of the gallant fight they made;  
Weary, outnumbered, undaunted, unafraid,  
True Gaels, the soldiers of the Rearguard.*

*Shell-shattered fortress and shot-scarred  
barricade,  
Proof of their valour, go sleep in peace ye brave  
Comrade tread lightly, you're near a hero's grave.*

*There sleeps a soldier of the Rearguard."  
(Soldiers of the Legion of the Rearguard by Jack O'Sheehan)*

In her professional work Dr Ada English gave her life's service to Ballinasloe and Castlereagh Mental Hospitals. For the last three of her 40 years there she was Resident Medical Superintendent.

Dr English was foremost in urging and helping the changes which transformed the one-time "Lunatic Asylum" to be one of the finest psychiatric hospitals in the country. She developed Occupational Therapy to high degree and Ballinasloe was the first mental hospital in Ireland to start Electric Convulsant Therapy.

It must be borne in mind that these were the circumstances of fifty years ago. Dr English was also a lecturer and examiner on mental diseases in University College Galway from 1944.

An Dr Eithne Inglis made her mark in her speech in opposition to the Treaty of Surrender on January 4, 1922. A young Republican Sinn Féin member today in Ballinasloe looked up the Official Report of the Dáil to see her contribution.

### PARTITION

"It was quite worthy," he writes, "Dr English being one of the few TDs who actually made reference to Partition, condemning it out of hand."

She said in her speech that it was claimed that the women Deputies only stood against the Treaty because they had a grievance against England on account of their menfolk who were "killed and murdered by England's representatives in this country." She thanked God she had no dead men to be thrown in her teeth as a reason for holding the opinions she held.

(Neither did Countess Markievicz have relations lost in the struggle. All six women Deputies voted against the Treaty. They were Dr Ada English (NUI), Countess Markievicz (Dublin South); Mrs Margaret Pearse (Co Dublin); Mrs Kathleen Clarke (Dublin Mid); Mrs Kate O'Callaghan (Limerick City-Limerick East) and Mary Mac Swiney (Cork city). Cumann na mBan at its convention had the largest vote against the Treaty of any Republican organisation: 419 to 63 or 87% to 13%. Those members in favour of the Treaty were asked to resign.)

Argus pray for him. From Eddie LAGAN, Deepest sympathy to the Lagan family on the death of their father. From Michael Hegarty.

**MCGLINCHY.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family, relatives and friends of Dominic, who was brutally murdered on February 11: From

In her address on January 4, 1922 Dr English said that they had been told the country was for the Treaty. She denied this and said that what the country wanted was peace. So did they all, she continued but they wanted "a real peace and a lasting peace, a peace based on honour and on friendship and a peace which we can keep, a peace that we can put our names to and stand by".

She went on: "It is only because the country is misled into believing that this Treaty gives such a peace that the country wants it". It was a complete surrender and would not give peace but a bitter split. Those opposed to it "cannot sit down with our hands across. We will work and fight for the complete freedom and independence of Ireland." "The only chance you could have of unity is by having the whole Dáil unanimously reject this thing".

Evacuation of English troops was promised but she held that Ulster was part of Ireland and she had not heard a promise that British troops were to evacuate Ulster. They were still there and were to be drawn there from the rest of Ireland.

### SELECTED

She concluded by saying that after she got out of jail she had asked her constituents why they had selected her. They told her they wanted "someone they could depend on to stand fast by the Republic and who would not let Galway down again".

She was very sorry to be in opposition to — she nodded her head to Griffith and Collins. Dr English was magnanimous but later on January 7 she would not allow herself to be misrepresented.

"What I said was: If this Treaty be accepted and a Government put in power — if a Free State Government be in power — that they would have to use the army if they wanted to keep the Treaty, and keep true to it; that they would have to use the army to support the Treaty and to keep the Free State in power, which I consider is holding Ireland for England."

Eithne Inglis gave a life of service to the least privileged of her people. She lacked neither moral nor physical courage in defence of the Republic — she did not shirk a principled stand for Ireland's freedom nor did she evade the trap of Danger when duty called.

What better role model could the young professionals of our own time have than this liberated Irish woman — medical and psychiatric practitioner, political activist and psychist of Cumann na mBan?

When she died on a January day 50 years ago she was buried by her own often expressed wish beside some of her old patients in Creagh cemetery adjoining the Mental Hospital. The inscription on her headstone reads:

*Indil-chuimne ar an*

*Dr Eithne Inglis*

*Dr Ada English*

*RMS Mental Hospital*

*Ballinasloe*

*Ball de Chumann na mBan*

*Teachta den Dara Dáil*

*a d'éag ar an*

*27ú d'Eanáir 1944*

*Go ndéantar Do thoil, a Dhia.*

**Addendum to March instalment:**

George Plunkett was "strongly left-wing" according to George Gilmore (*Survivors*, p566) and agreed with the Army Council decision in 1926 to support Peadar O'Donnell's campaign against paying the Land Annuities to the British Government.

George also helped to unseat Frank Aiken as Chief-of-Staff by confronting him during the General Army Convention of November 1925, held in the Queen's Hotel, Dalkey, Co Dublin. He faced Aiken with a report that he was one of those considering entering the Free State Parliament. Dr Andy Cooney replaced Aiken as CS.

(More next month. Refs. *Survivors*, edited by Unseann Mac Eoin (1987 edition); *East Galway Democrat*, January 29, 1944; *Dáil Éireann - Official Report of Treaty Debates*; *The Irish Republic* by Dorothy Macardle and *A Dictionary of Irish History 1800-1980* by Hickey and Doherty.)

## Comhbhrón

**CURNEEN.** An Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach expresses their deepest sympathy to Declan and family on the death of his father Frank on March 19. **CURNEEN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the

Curneen family on the death of their father Frank. From Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

**CURNEEN.** Sincere sympathy is offered to Declan Curneen, Aughamore, Co Leitrim on the death of his father, Frank on March 19 last. Suaimhneas ar

dá anam. From Cathleen Knowles.

**CURNEEN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Declan and family on the death of his father Frank on March 19 last. From **CABHAIR** (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund). Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

**LAGAN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Gerard Lagan who died on March 15. From the McKelvey/Steele Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Belfast.

**LAGAN.** Deepest sympathy to Mrs Lagan, Joe, Linda and all the clan. Thinking of you at this time. Blessed Charles of Mount

Argus pray for him. From Eddie LAGAN, Deepest sympathy to the Lagan family on the death of their father. From Michael Hegarty.

**MCGLINCHY.** Sincere sympathy is extended to the family, relatives and friends of Dominic, who was brutally murdered on February 11: From

Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

**O'CONNELL.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Ann O'Connell, Bishopstown, Cork on the death on March 20 of her husband Stephen, brother of the late Dáithí O'Connell. Also to Elma, Eoghán and Jackie, Cork

# Sighle Uí Dhonnachadha

VETERAN Republicans and those active today were gripped at the passing on March 14 of Sighle Uí Dhonnachadha, better known by her maiden name as Sighle Humphries, at the great age of 95.

A niece of The O'Rahilly killed in action outside the GPO in 1916, Sighle was a witness as a young girl to the Easter Rising in which her family was involved.

In 1919 she was active with Cumann na mBan and eventually became its Vice-President. Sighle was intensely patriotic and was fluent in the Irish language. She was in the Irish Republic in 1922 when her family had a holiday in the area.

Her home at Aylesbury Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin was a centre of Republican activity and it was there in November 1922 that Ernie O'Malley was severely wounded and captured after a fierce gun battle with Free State troops.

Sighle herself was extremely active in Cumann na mBan over the decades and Margaret Langsdorf remembers her

attending meetings of the organisation into the 1950s.

She was imprisoned six times and endured hunger-strike twice, on one occasion for 31 days. An advanced political thinker she was on the Executive of Saor Éire, the Republican civil arm, in 1931.

In 1934 she and Eithne Coyle of Cumann na mBan signed the famous Athlone Manifesto of the Republican Congress but they both later felt that body because they felt it was pulling the Republican Movement apart.

In 1937 she married Domhnall Ó Donnachadha of the Dublin Brigade IRA who had

# Brón ar an mBás



● Sighle Uí Dhonnachadha been editor of *An Phoblacht* in the mid-1930s and was later Adjutant-General. He

predeceased her in 1952.

Always an activist - such an Irish speaking activist at that - Sighle would listen to theories and discussion patiently and politely and then invariably she would ask "What are you going to do about it?"

## FRIEND

Right into the 1950s and up to her last illness seven years ago she was active as a friend of the prisoners, including those of the hunger-strike, North and South of the border. Very well spoken and extremely mannerly she made no secret of her Republican views.

Again she would listen courteously to an opposing viewpoint and then graciously and courageously she would state her own perspective on the question at issue. To people she knew to have Irish she never, ever spoke except as Ghaeilge.

A reading of her 20 page interview in 1980 with Uinseann MacEoin in *Survivors* is most rewarding. On the signing of the

Treaty of Surrender she made these observations:

"Lloyd George, who had studied every speech they ever made from de Valera's Cuban interview to the Westminster Gazette onwards, knew just how much he should offer them, in other words where their breaking point would be.

"And a broken and divided movement was a bigger victory for the British than a defeated one". There is surely a lesson in those words.

Sighle also compared the present struggle to the Black-and-Tan War and declared her position:

"I was in Cumann na mBan throughout the 1919-1921 period. It all seems so short now, so abbreviated. A mere eighteen months of military struggle before the Truce.

## ADMIRATION

"That is why I have so much admiration for the people in the North - twelve years now, they have suffered far more than the people down here, and all because of that decision to put things off until the next generation".

Margaret Langsdorf, Josephine Hayden and Lita Ni Chathmhaoil represented Cumann na mBan at the removal to Donnybrook Church on March 18.

At the family funeral next day to Glasnevin Cemetery they were joined by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Deirdre Ó Conaill and Cathleen Knowles on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

A wreath was laid on behalf of Cumann na mBan. An t-Athair Piaras Ó Duill said a decade of the rosary in Irish. Sincere sympathy is extended to her daughter Cróine and grandchildren Róach, Ruán, Mhancháin agus Liadh.

The attendance included: Michael Farrell; Michael McEvilly, Eamonn Boyce and his wife Dymna; Charlie Murphy; Gerry Jones; Eilís Ryan; Mícheál Kearney-Walsh; Danny Donnelly and his wife Catriona; Pádraig Ó Snodaigh; Liam Ó Murchú; Eibhlín Ni Mhurchú; Donncha Lehane; Uinseann Mac Eoin; Anna Barron and Seamus Fitzpatrick.

# Muintir Chorca Dhuibhne ag fágáil sláin

TRE Ghaeilge ar fad a léadh an t-Aifreann ar son anam Sighle. Tar éis an Aifreinn labhair seán-chara léi, Eibhlín Uí Mhurchú as Chorca Dhuibhne, a bhfuil cianáil uirthi anois i mBaile Átha Cliath. Rinne seisear hian an t-aisteoir ó Chorca Dhuibhne don t-íosradáil, a dhéir sí.

Len a si arghaidh: Bhi gpi ar leith ag Sighle don Ghabhacht agus bhi teach ag a muintir i Chorca Dhuibhne na síocháid. Bhi an dílseacht go snior inti, dílseacht dá croíleamh is dá tír.

"Dílseacht dá tír, dá mba p, go bás. Níor cheannaigh sí rianach ach carraí déanta in Éirinn dáir eadach, abharthine agus eile. 'Dóigh gach rud ó Sionasa ach a gcuil guail' adreádh sí.

"Dílseacht don chultúr is do theanga na hÉireann. Cumáil fada is d'fhéad sí níor

labhair sí ach Gaelainn - no Gaeilge. Níor fhreagair sí an teileafón riamh le 'Hello' (mar a dheineann cuid againn, go bhfoiridh Dia orainn). 'Dia dhuit' adreádh sí le gach duine, biodh Gaeilge acu nó ná biodh.

"Ba chás le Sighle staid na tíre seo. Níor tháinig an teoirinn léi. Bhi sí ar dhuine de bhunaitheoiri Cumann na mBan. Chuir sí isteach téarmaí príosúin mar gheall ar a dílseacht agus ar a seasamh i gcoinne deighilt an oileáin seo, i gCill Mhaighneáin, i Moineo agus in áiteanna eile. Dá mhéid a fhulaing sí áfach ní raibh sí ag gearan ach 'ag déanamh grinn de is a insint ar só' mar a dúirt Máire Bhui Ni Laoghaire fadó.

"Uair dá raibh lá agus tríocha curtha isteach aici ar

stailc ocráis is é a bhi le rá aici go raibh a craiceann chomh min leis an síoda agus mhol sí d'aon oigbhean a chuir suim ina gnúis m'ar stailc ocráis a chuir isteach!

"Chomharsa maith ab ea Sighle agus b'fheasach son do mhuintir Chorca Dhuibhne. Bhi doras oscailte aici do dhaoine agus go speisialta do Ghaeilgeoiri. Dá mbéin ag caint go deo ní fhéadfaínn cur síos i gceart ar a cineáltach agus ar a carthannacht - ach mo léir, ní bhfuair eas 'go deo' chuin labhairt anso.

"Bhi sí líofa i dtíre teangacha. Sa Ghaeilinn, sa Bhéarla agus sa bhFraincis. Déarfadh Gaeilgeoir gur bhean íosal, usáil. Déarfadh Béarfoir gur 'real lady' agus déarfadh Francach go raibh sí 'tres, tres gentile'.

"Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam dílis."

# Frank Curneen

Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon and Donegal Republicans were among the large attendance at the funeral of Frank Curneen (84) of Glendale, Co Leitrim on March 22. He was father of Declan Curneen, Ard-Chomhairle member and Rúnaí of Comhairle Chonnacht of Republican Sinn Féin.

Frank was a noted traditional fiddler, being very active with Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann. He died in Manorhamilton Hospital on March 19 after a protracted illness. The sympathy of all Republicans goes to his son and daughter-in-law Eileen and grandsons Emmet and Declan.

The coffin was draped in the Tricolour and escorted by a Republican Guard of Honour at the removal to St Michael's Church, Glendale on March 21. A large attendance was present in spite of the incessant snow.

and Michael, New York on the day of their brother. Gondána na Cúilcraige ar anam. From O'NEILL, Deepest sympathy is extended to Tommy O'Neill on the death of his wife Theresa. From Comhairle Poblachtach, Glendale on March 21. A large attendance was present in spite of the incessant snow.

Following the Mass and the funeral procession next day to Conwell Cemetery - noted for the old Irish legend of the Dobhair-Chú - Patrick Doherty, Bundoran presided at the graveside. Many floral tributes were laid including a wreath from An Ard-Chomhairle.

Republican Sinn Féin President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh led the attendance in the recitation of a decade of the rosary in Irish. Paddy McKenna, Roscommon represented An Ard-Chomhairle at the obsequies.

Councillor Joe O'Neill, Bundoran paid a moving tribute

family on the death of his wife Theresa in March. From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, O'NEILL, CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) extend deepest sympathy to Tommy O'Neill on the recent death of his wife Theresa. O'NEILL, Sincere sympathy to Tommy O'Neill and family

to the deceased saying that throughout his long life he never closed his door on any of the men and women fighting for Ireland.

"Frank's love of his native country and her culture knew no bounds. He very often organised groups which always included himself to play at functions for the dependants of Republican prisoners. His cultural activity involved both himself and the community in general" he said.

"After 27 years he has gone to join his good wife Nora who was sister of the famous North Leitrim Republican, Martin Bernard McGowan. Ar dheis Dé go rabhadar beirt" he concluded.

A group of twelve Comhaltas musicians who were present then played traditional Irish airs in a final tribute to one of their own much loved members.

From Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta, UÍ DHONNACHADHA, Deepest sympathy is extended to Cróine and family on the death of her mother Sighle Uí Dhonnachadha on March 14. O Cumann na mBan. I mbeas Laochra na nGael go raibh sí. UÍ DHONNACHADHA, The Ard, Chomhairle, Sinn Féin

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Poblachtach expressed sincere sympathy to the family of Sighle who died on March 14. Go raibh suimhneas síoraí dá hanam. UÍ DHONNACHADHA, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Sighle who died on March 14. From CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund), WARD, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Ward family of

Woodstock, Bushy Park, Galway on the recent death of Michael Ward. From Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, VOTES of sympathy were passed with the following at a recent meeting of Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht: Declan Curneen on the death of his father Frank on March 19 and the family of Cáit Uí

Mhúinecháin, Mullingar. VOTES of sympathy were passed with the following at a recent meeting of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin Central: Tommy O'Neill on the death of his wife Theresa; Ann O'Connell and family, Cork on the death of Stephen; and the family of Sighle Humphreys, Donnybrook who died on March 14.

