

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 76 LÚNASA - AUGUST 1993

50p (USA \$24 per year)



398,600 UNEMPLOYED

Unemployment increased in the 26 Counties by 3,200 in the past month while it remained static in the Six Counties. £4 billion EC and taxpayers money is to be used in the south to create 20,000 jobs per year - but the problem remains that for every 10 jobs created, 9 are lost.

Tories sell out Dublin, SDLP

ONCE again the British Tory Party has made a deal with the Unionists in the Six Counties in order to help the British government stay in power. As a result relations between the 26-County administration and the British government are at their lowest point since Margaret Thatcher's "Out, Out, Out" speech of November 1984.

In a series of meetings in the week before the crucial House of Commons vote on the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty on July 22 were held between Conservative Party managers and the nine MPs of the U'ster Unionist Party (UUP) led by James Molyneux.

The votes of the Unionists were secured in return for a package which is not entirely clear (neither is its duration) but it certainly involves continued Tory support for the Unionist veto on ending British rule in Ireland. The creation of a House of Commons select committee on the Six Counties dealing with legislation affecting Occupied Ireland is definitely on the Unionist agenda.

A select committee, such as those in existence for Scotland and Wales, can write its own terms of reference and summon people to appear before it. The Unionists would dominate any select committee for the Six Counties and would have power over the implementation of repressive laws.

OBJECTIVE

It has long been an objective of the integrationist James Molyneux to establish such a committee and he was able to state on July 28 that the UUP "may support John Major in the long-term" This signals that the Unionists are becoming more and more the Tories' allies in the Six Counties. The resignation of Laurence Kennedy, the leading Tory in the Six Counties, from his council seat in North Down at the end of July highlighted the fact that the Conservative

Party organisation as such is now superfluous with the new deal in place.

Sir Patrick Mayhew openly wooed the Unionists on BBC Radio on July 18, saying it would be in their "best interests" to support the British government. The *Irish News* the following day accused him of turning himself from an "honest broker" into a recruiting sergeant for the Tory whips.

The deal does expose the lie of claims by the SDLP and Dublin that Britain is "neutral" on the question of the Six Counties remaining under British rule and that she has "no selfish or strategic interest" in staying in Ireland. The title 'Conservative and Unionist Party' was used for the first time in ages before the Maastricht Treaty vote in Westminster to underline the Tories' side of the deal.

ORANGE CARD

The votes of Unionist MPs have been used to prop up British governments in Westminster since the 1880s when Sir Randolph Churchill proposed that the "Orange card was the one to play". In 1923 an embittered Sir Edward Carson recognised after the partition of Ireland how the Unionists had been used by British governments, saying that they were only pawns in the cynical game being played by Tory politicians in order to retain power.

The British Labour Party have also bought Unionist votes in the past to keep them in power, most recently during the 1976-79 James Callaghan



• John Major's Tory government in Britain plays the Orange card to hold power.

administration. Callaghan's minority Labour government won Unionist support at that time by increasing the number of Westminster MPs elected from the Six Counties from 12 seats to 17.

The present UUP leader James Molyneux played a key role in negotiating this deal with the British Labour Party in the 1970s. He said on July

28 that the current arrangement with the Tories was like their support for the Callaghan government.

The Unionists feel confident now that the 1985 Hillsborough Deal will fade away. This leaves the Dublin administration and SDLP with a lot of explaining to do.

12th Anniversary of 1981 Hunger Strike

Annual Hunger Strike Martyrs Commemoration

Sat. 28th August

BUNDORAN

ASSEMBLE EAST END
AT 3PM

Speakers: Tommy McKeamey, Tyrone, (released POW); Fr Des Wilson, Belfast; Emer O'Connor, Limerick; Bob Loughman, New York;

Bands: Glens of Antrim; Tunnel Band, Portadown; Kevin Lynch Memorial Band, Dungiven; Iona College High School Band, Rockville, New York; Members of Emerald Society Police Band
Attending: Al Madden, NGA Boston; John Hurley, FOIF, Boston, AOH members

Taxi-driver lured to death squad trap

A WEST Belfast nationalist taxi-driver (26) was lucky to escape with his life after he was lured into a loyalist death squad trap at Dunboyne Park, in the Upper Springfield area of the city in the early hours of Thursday, July 15. He was called to collect a fare at about 1.40am and encountered three men, one of whom was armed with a gun. He struggled with the gunman while another assailant tried to hit him with a baseball bat. The Andersonstown taxi-man managed to get free and escaped on foot.

Local people have said that another attempt to lure a nationalist taxi-driver to his

death had been made recently. The driver escaped when he spotted his attacker's gun as he watched in his rearview mirror

the man approaching his vehicle.

The UDA death squad claimed responsibility for the placing of three bombs outside the homes of SDLP politicians in Belfast on Monday night, July 19. Nobody was injured in the attacks, in which the devices were placed under the cars of Dr Joe Hendron MP, Brian Feeney and Mary Muldoon. The same death squad claimed on Friday, July 16 that it had poisoned prod-

ucts in Dublin stores, which turned out to be hoaxes.

Loyalist gangs were blamed for the petrol bombings of the parochial house of a Catholic Church in Dromore, Co Down, the fourth such attack in 1993. Carpets and curtains in St Colman's parochial house were damaged when two petrol bombs were thrown through a window at 11.30pm on Saturday, July 17. The church building itself re-opened only recently after it was badly damaged in a blaze in January. That attack came only three months after a refurbishment costing £175,000. The Catholic parish hall in Dromore has also been set on fire on two occasions.

RUC assault nationalists on 'Twelfth'

NATIONALISTS were assaulted and arrested by British Crown Forces in the Ballygawley Road Estate, Dungannon, Co Tyrone, as a loyalist Orange Order 'Twelfth' parade passed through their area on Monday, July 12, against the wishes of the local residents.

Local man Matt Murphy failed in his Belfast High Court attempt to have the parade rerouted away from the nationalist area. As the parade of loyalists passed by, the RUC stormed a house which flew the Irish Tricolour flag. Women were punched and dragged to RUC armoured vehicles and the paramilitary police ripped the Irish national flag to pieces after breaking down the door of the house.

The previous day (Sunday, July 11) the British Crown Forces raided many houses on the estate and damaged the houses and property. A number of gardens were dug up by the British forces, including Matt Murphy's. On the day of the march, the nationalist estate was blocked off by British army vehicles from early in the morning, placing the residents under siege for the entire day.

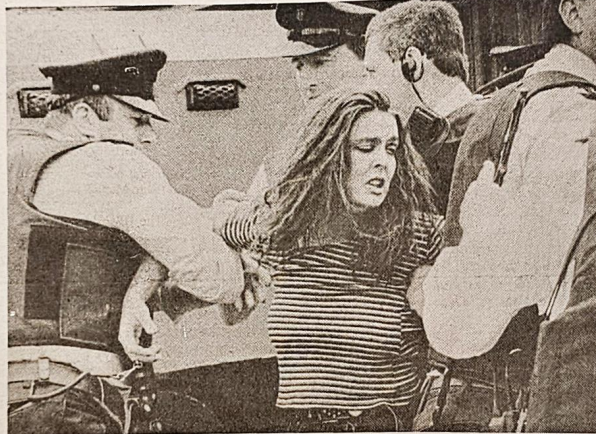
This pattern was repeated in many other areas of the Six Counties over the 'Twelfth'

homes while the parades and traditional 'eleventh night' bonfires were taking place. One hundred thousand people left the Six Counties by sea and air at the weekend, while thousands more travelled south by road and rail.

In Newtownards, north of Belfast, the Catholic church was

Despite the fire-bombing, the parish priest Fr Dan Whyte celebrated Mass in the building the following day.

He told reporters that six nationalist families in the town had been told by British Crown Forces that their houses could be attacked by loyalist mobs. A number of nationalist families have already fled the estate af-



● RUC assault nationalist women in the Ballygawley Road estate on July 12. The driver escaped when he spotted his attacker's gun as he watched in his rearview mirror

'Scrap trial by jury' call

THE British Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, set up in March 1991 after the release of the Birmingham Six, was widely criticised after its final report, published on July 6, proposed the removal of a defendant's automatic right to elect for trial by jury.

This restriction on civil liberties is strongly advocated by the British Director of Public Prosecutions, Barbara Mills, but was condemned by the legal profession, politicians and civil rights campaigners, who have vowed to defend the right, which dates back to the Magna Carta of 1215.

As expected, the Commission recommended the creation of a Criminal Cases Review Authority to review alleged miscarriages of justice and refer them to the Court of Appeal. Civil liberties groups immediately questioned the independence of the authority as its members are to be government-appointed. The proposed authority does not apply to the



● Barbara Mills

Six Occupied Counties, being limited in its jurisdiction to England and Wales.

Lawyer Alistair Logan, who defended some of the Guildford Four, said on Radio Ulster on July 6 that the proposals would not prevent further miscarriages of justice "because the Royal Commission is not recommending that uncorroborated confessions should be prevented from going before the court as the sole evidence against the accused".

This is yet another example of the corruption of the British legal system by its colonial occupation measures in the Six Occupied Counties of Ireland.

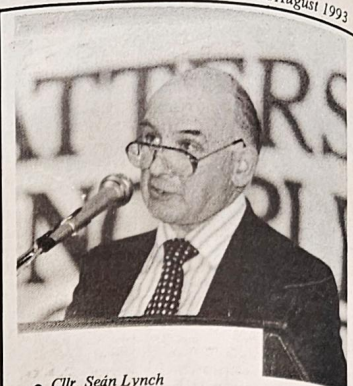
I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Aim
Seoladh



Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA,
41 C6 Arann, BÁC 7.
Tell: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757
or contact your local paper seller for details.

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 . . .



Seán Lynch proposed for Chair

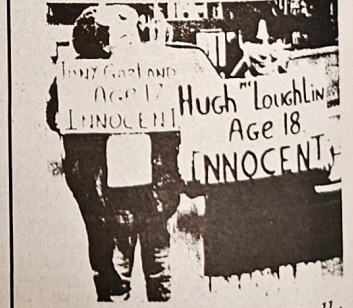
REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin Councillor Seán Lynch was proposed for chairperson of Longford County Council at the annual meeting of that body on July 12. He was nominated by Cllr Mae Sexton (Ind) and received three votes. These were from Cllrs Sexton and Peter Murphy — both Independents — and his own.

This was a challenge to highlight the Fianna Fáil-Fine Gael coalition on the council. Since the 1991 election the major parties have a monopoly on the chair, taking it in turns every second year to the total exclusion of all others.

Shannonside Radio which covers Longford, Roscommon and areas of adjoining counties featured Seán Lynch's attempt on news bulletins every hour for a day and a half. His affiliation to Republican Sinn Féin was mentioned on all occasions.

Brits raid homes in Belfast

NATIONALIST areas in Belfast have been subjected to massive house searches by hundreds of British army and paramilitary police in the past week. A 12-hour house-by-house search of the nationalist Markets area of the city took place on Saturday, July 17. The British armed forces claimed to have found a quantity of arms and explosives in the 9am to 9pm raids but no arrests were made. On Wednesday, July 15, the McKay family of Glenegh Drive, Belfast suffered a four-hour raid on their home while they were away on holidays in Bundoran, Co Donegal. The British forces arrived at 9.15am in two jeeps, one huge Saracen (armoured troop transport) and one unmarked car and broke into the house, ripping off the doors, pulling up living room window sills and bedroom floorboards and breaking electrical equipment. The McKays had to call off their holiday to return to Belfast and repair their damaged home. Mass raids also took place in the Whitecock and Beechmount areas of West Belfast on July 19 and several people were arrested.



US observers for Ballymurphy Seven trial

CAMPAGNERS for seven youths aged between 17 and 21 who face charges of attacking British Crown Forces in Belfast have announced that representatives of several US pressure groups are to act as observers at the young men's trial later this year. "Voice of the Innocent", which campaigns for the seven youths who are from the nationalist Ballymurphy area of Belfast, announced on July 6 that two relatives of the accused are on a three-week tour of the United States to secure the support of influential human rights groups, lawyers, political and church leaders.

A representative of leading US Democrat Jesse Jackson was expected to begin in the autumn. The seven youths — Cianar McAllister, Tony Garland, Danny Pettigrew, Hugh McLaughlin, Stephen McMullan, Michael Beck — are all facing charges arising out of a coffee jar bomb attack on British Crown Forces at the junction of the Whitecock and Springfield roads. Belfast 1993 present only Cianar McAllister has been granted bail, the others are on remand in Crumlin Road jail.

RUC, UNIONISTS MEET UDA

THE collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads was starkly revealed when it emerged that a meeting took place between the RUC, Unionist politicians (including Ian Paisley) and the UDA loyalist death squad's West Belfast commander in a house on the Shankill road on Saturday afternoon, July 3.

The meeting was arranged to try to stop the rioting in loyalist areas of the Six Counties which continued for several days after the funeral on Friday, July 2 of UVF death squad member Brian McCaullum, killed by his own grenade at the Orange march near the nationalist Springfield Road in nationalist West Belfast on June 26. The UVF man's funeral was attended by several Unionist politicians, including Cllr Chris McGimpsey, who later said he had "no objections" and couldn't "see any harm" in the RUC and Unionist politicians meeting with a senior member of the UDA.

STAND-UP

The RUC initially denied they met with the UDA man in the house and then changed their tack, saying that they had a "brief, stand-up encounter" with the UDA leader but left when they realised who he was! The UDA was banned by the British government in the Six Counties recently so nationalists immediate response was to ask why the known UDA man was not arrested by the RUC?

While the RUC treated the loyalist rioters with kid gloves and did not call out the British army (as would invariably happen in nationalist



● A burnt out fire engine on Donegall Road, Belfast, Belfast after rioting by loyalists on Friday, July 2.

areas) loyalist death squads mounted a series of attacks on nationalist areas, injuring several people in gun and bomb attacks. On Friday morning, July 2, a nationalist man was shot and seriously injured as he cycled to work on the outskirts of Antrim town at 8am. Two gunmen opened fire, hitting him in the neck and shoulder. His condition in hospital is described as "comfortable".

Early on Saturday morning, July 3, a Catholic primary school in Ardoyne, North Belfast, was

attacked and badly damaged in a loyalist arson attack. Holy Cross primary school's 260 pupils and 12 staff are on summer holiday at the moment. The fire brigade spent more than eight hours trying to put out the blaze.

BLAST BOMB

In Lisburn, Co Antrim a blast bomb was thrown into an Hibernian club, frequented by nationalists, at 10.15pm on Sunday night, July 4. One man suffered serious leg injuries caused by

shrapnel and a 60-year-old woman was treated for shock at the club in the town's Longstone Street. The club was packed as customers watched high-lights of that day's Ulster hurling final between Antrim and Down. Located near a loyalist housing estate, the premises has been frequently targeted before.

On the New Mossley estate in Newtownabbey, north of Belfast, nationalist families have been forced to flee their homes following a series of attacks by loyalists. Five families left the area after windows were smashed, threatening letters were sent and cars were vandalised. Two other families are looking for emergency transfers from the estate.

This upsurge in loyalist attacks came in the lead-up to the Orange parades on July 12. In Dungannon, Co Tyrone local nationalists in the Ballygawley Road housing estate have failed in their attempts to have an Orange march diverted from their area. The Orange Order has been accused of provocation by choosing the nationalist area for their annual July 12 field demonstration and residents will be made prisoners in their own homes as the parade passes to and from the field.

PORTADOWN

In Portadown, Co Armagh the Drumcree Faith and Justice Group has called for the Orange Twelfth parade not to proceed along the Garvaghy Road. A survey they undertook of local people found that they were opposed to the march through the area. The group says that Orange parades should only be allowed parade in residential areas where they are welcome. Their call for re-routing has also been ignored by the British administration.

Brits planned 1974 bombs, Dublin covered up

A BRITISH TV documentary screened on Tuesday, July 6, revealed that the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of May 17, 1974 which killed 33 people and wounded more than 300, were carried out by loyalists working under the direction of British military intelligence.

Three bombs exploded in parked cars at 5.30pm in Dublin's Parnell Street, Talbot Street and South Leinster Street, killing 26 people. Ninety minutes later another car bomb exploded in the centre of Monaghan town killing another seven people. All the cars were hijacked earlier that day in Belfast and Portadown, Co Armagh.

The bombings were the biggest single act of mass killing in Britain or Ireland in the last 25 years yet the 26-County police investigation into the massacre ended abruptly after three months without a single suspect being interviewed.

The Yorkshire TV documentary, entitled *Hidden Hand - The Forgotten Massacre*, was screened as part of the station's *First Tuesday* documentaries. It named some of the 20 loyalist suspects in 26-County police files believed to have been responsible for the bombings. Four of them were members of the UDR regiment of the British army.

BLOCKED

The RUC are believed to have blocked the 26-County police from interviewing any of the suspects and the Dublin

administration did nothing to pursue the matter with the British government. These revelations are deeply embarrassing to all the Dublin administrations since 1974 who have in effect covered-up the massacre of their own citizens by a British-controlled loyalist death squad.

The *First Tuesday* programme revealed how loyalists were trained in the use of explosives by the secret Fourth Field Survey unit of the British army based in Castledillon, Co Armagh and that the bomb which killed five people in Monaghan



● Relatives of the 1974 Dublin bombing victims at the memorial unveiling in Parnell Square on May 17, 1991.

on May 17, 1974 was assembled in a vacant house in Portadown by the same British army unit before being transported to Monaghan by loyalists.

The UVF death squad in

the Lurgan and Portadown area of Co Armagh at the time was led by Billy Hanna, a former British army and UDR member. He was also a British agent for two separate sections of the British army - he was 'run' by the British army's Third Brigade based in Lurgan, where Hanna lived, and also by British military intelligence in their Six-County HQ in Lisburn, Co Antrim.

Hanna was the leader of the loyalist death squads who carried out the Dublin and Monaghan bombings. He was killed by the UVF in 1975 who mistakenly thought he was informing for the IRA.

PETITION

Relatives of the 33 people killed have formed an action group, Bomb Victims 1974, and have launched a petition for an independent public inquiry into the massacre. The 26-County broadcasting service, RTE, refused an offer by Yorkshire TV to simultaneously broadcast the documentary on July 6, for reasons best known to themselves.

UVF TRY TO TAKE HEAT OFF MI5

IN a typed, unsigned statement sent to Ulster Television (UTV) in Belfast on Thursday night, July 15, the British-controlled death squad, the UVF, claimed that its members planned and carried out the Dublin and Monaghan bombings in May 1974 without any outside aid.

The relatives of the 33 victims however said in a statement that they "have incontrovertible proof from Yorkshire Television that British army personnel were involved in the

bombings". The YTV documentary *Hidden Hand - the Forgotten Massacre*, broadcast on July 6 last, found that the bombings were carried out by loyalists working under the di-

rection of British military intelligence. Forensic experts interviewed stated the loyalist death squads had not the expertise in 1974 to make the sophisticated bombs used. The UVF were probably covering up for their British masters who have been embarrassed by the YTV exposé.

In a not-unrelated public-

ity stunt, the MI5 or British Security Service published a glossy brochure about its "activities" on Friday, July 16 to try to dispel its image as the dirty tricks department of the British armed forces. An MI5 officer, still serving in the British army and decorated by the Queen of England, is widely regarded as the planner behind the 1974 Dublin and Mona-

ghan bombings.

The present Director General of MI5, Stella Rimington (58) appeared before the press and television cameras to launch the pamphlet *The Security Service* but refused to be interviewed. The combating of "Irish terrorism" now accounts for 45% of MI5's annual budget, while only 25% of its resources are spent on countering foreign intelligence agencies.

Tebbit calls for more Dublin bombs!

THE former British Conservative Party chairman Lord Tebbit said on Sky TV's *Target* programme on Monday night (July 19) that "the only thing that will take Articles 2 and 3 out of the Irish (sic) constitution is when the bombs will start to blow in Dublin as they have in Belfast". His remarks are a direct incitement to British intelligence and their loyalist death squad allies to repeat the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bomb-

ings, which claimed the lives of 33 innocent Irish citizens.

In a defensive response, a spokesperson for the Dublin administration said that the taxpayers in the 26 Counties "were paying £500 million annually" to police Britain's Border and protect Britain's forces in Ireland. If that expenditure was to be matched by Britain on a per capita basis, the Dublin spokesperson said, it would mean the best part of £3 billion being spent by Westminster. It appears that Dublin's ever-increasing collaboration with British Occupation Forces in the Six Counties can never satisfy the British establishment who still look on Ireland as a colony to be treated with contempt. If an Irish person had made a call for bombs in London there is no doubt that they would be prosecuted for

incitement by the quislings in the 26-County administration. Tebbit, known variously as "Mrs Thatcher's boot boy" and the "Chingford (in Essex) Skinhead", will be immune from any such action, however.

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, said that Tebbit's statement "is the clearest proof yet of collusion between the British Establishment and loyalist death squads". He called on British politicians to cease meddling in internal Irish affairs. "Experience has shown that they have learned nothing from history and the sooner British involvement and the British presence in any part of Ireland ends the better for all the people of the 32 Counties," he added.

Imeachtaí

CONRADH NA GAEILGE COMÓRADH AN CHÉID

1893 - 1993
SATHARN, IUL 31
MORÓCAID
3pm
9. SRAID UÍ CHONAILL
IOCHTAIR BÁC
Nochtfar plaic i gcumhne a raibh i léithair ag cruinniú tionascnaimh an Chonartha 100 bliain agus an iá sin

ROGER CASEMENT COMMEMORATION MURLOUGH BAY CO ANTRIM
SUNDAY, AUGUST 1
3PM

RICHARD GOSS LIAM GAUGHAN COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, AUGUST 8
DUNDALK COLOUTH
Assemble at Adelphi Cinema, 1.30pm

Pat the Baker — 1913 or 1993 ?



On the picket-line at the Pat the Baker Ltd plant in Cherry Orchard, Dublin.

FAILED
SINCE March 1993 the workers of Pat the Baker in Cherry Orchard, Dublin have been on strike for the basic right to join a trade union (SIFTU) and have that union represent them in their dealings with management.

Twenty-five workers at the factory facing their jobs as the management have closed the plant down, alleging "low productivity" and "industrial relations problems".
The low productivity claims are laughable as the workers were on wages of £139 per week before tax, with no pension plan or sick pay scheme.
The Dublin Labour Court upheld the workers' rights to trade union representation and urged management to negotiate

with the union. Management refused and when the workers took industrial action the owners waged an expensive campaign to try to persuade employees to abandon their entitlement to join a trade union.
They offered pay rises of up to £25 a week to keep workers from joining SIFTU. Sophisticated surveillance equipment and security facilities were installed and two public relations companies and a top legal firm were hired.

FAILED
When these measures failed to impress the workers the plant was closed and since then the striking families are existing on

£36 per week strike pay.
The Pat the Baker workers are only seeking the same rights and representation as hundreds of thousands of workers

throughout Ireland. They have asked consumers to remember the workers when they are tempted to buy Pat the Baker products.
In addition Five Star bread, yellow pack burger buns and bakery products are supplied by other Pat the Baker plants to Quinnsworth. Also KV thread, burger buns and bakery products are supplied by Pat the Baker to Crazy Prices except in the Cork, Kerry and Limerick areas where these products are supplied by Fitzgerald's — a unionised bakery.

This autumn marks the 50th anniversary of the famous 1913 lock-out of Dublin workers who wanted union representation by the bosses led by William Martin Murphy. It is a scandal that in 1993 workers can still be put out of their place of employment for trying to exercise the same minimum rights.

Working class flats 'gentrified'

THE selling of the comfortable Mespil Flats on Dublin's southside over the heads and without the knowledge of the tenants was roundly condemned on all sides. This was right and proper.

Temple Buildings in Dominic Street, north of the Liffey, is another case which did not attract anything like the same media attention. These working class flats were originally the property of Dublin

Artisan Dwellings Ltd and were built as such.
In recent years they have changed hands several times, from one company to another. The sale this summer has meant that the rents increase from

about £30 per week per apartment to something like £80 to £90.
The scant publicity attaching to this latter transaction gives the impression that the area is being "gentrified", as has happened working class districts in London, Paris and other European centres. The rich get richer...

FOR THE RECORD..

THURS. JULY 1: The annual report of the British-appointed Standing Advisory Committee on Human Rights (SACHR) in the Six Counties called for a review of the law on the use of lethal force by British Crown Forces.
FRI. JULY 2: A nationalist man was shot and seriously injured as he cycled to work on the outskirts of Antrim town at 8am.
Telecom Eireann is to cut its workforce this year by voluntary redundancies and an early retirement scheme.
SAT. JULY 3: The collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalists death squads was further exposed when it emerged that a meeting took place between the RUC, Unionist politicians and the UDA loyalist death squad's West Belfast commander in a house on the Shankill Road.
That morning a Catholic primary school, Holy Cross in Ardoyne, North Belfast, was attacked and badly damaged in a loyalist arson attack.
The number of people unemployed in the 26 Counties is 294,100.
SUN. JULY 4: A blast bomb was thrown into an Hibernian club in Lisburn, Co Antrim, frequented by nationalists at 10.15pm. One man suffered serious injuries and a 60-year-old woman was treated for shock.
On the New Mossley estate in Newtownabbey, north of Belfast, five nationalist families have been forced to flee their homes following a series of attacks by loyalists. Two other families are looking for emergency transfers from the estate.
MON. JULY 5: Comdt General Tom Maguire, last surviving and faithful member of the Second (All-Ireland) Dáil Eireann and Patron of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, died in Castlesbar, Co Mayo in his 102nd year.
Mark Prior (19), one of the Beemcomb Five was acquitted of all charges and released after more than two years in jail.
TUES. JULY 6: John Matthews (22) from Derry, who was the subject of a frame-up attempt by British police was released by Thames Magistrate Court in London. British police immediately applied for and got an exclusion order against him under the British Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA).
A Yorkshire TV documentary, entitled *Hidden Hand - The Forgotten Massacre*, revealed that the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of May 17, 1974 which killed 33 people and wounded more than 300, were carried out by loyalists working under the direction of British military intelligence.



Anne Tanney, principal of Holy Cross primary school, North Belfast, in a ruined classroom after a loyalist arson attack on July 3.

The British Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, set up in March 1991 after the release of the Birmingham Six proposed a further restriction on civil liberties by the removal of a defendant's automatic right to elect for trial by jury.
WED. JULY 7: Galway Bay FM local radio interviewed Frank Glynn, former Republican Sinn Féin County Councillor. He was introduced by Tom Gilmore, a journalist with the *Tuam Herald* who described him as a former Chairman of Galway Co Council.
A businessman with interests in both Tuam and Milltown Frank said there was too much concentration of shopping in the big towns and cities and that the smaller towns and villages were suffering as a result.
THURS. JULY 8: In its 1993 annual report Amnesty International criticised the British government for not taking steps to stop collusion between its armed forces in Ireland and pro-British loyalist death squads. It also censured the Dublin administration for refusing to hold an independent inquiry into all allegations of beatings in police custody of suspects in the 1976 Salinas train robbery and for its treatment of refugees.
FRI. JULY 9: The four remaining members of the Beemcomb Five — Laurence Hillcock (19), Jim McCabe (19), Kevin Mulholland (17) and Liam Coogan (18) — were sentenced to two years in prison and were released as they had been in prison for more than that time.
In Belfast's High Court Judge John McCollum overruled the decision of coroner John Lecky, who ruled last April 22 that plainclothes British soldiers must appear at an inquest into the shooting death of three men outside a Belfast betting shop in January 1990. "The judge quoted

"national security" interests in supporting the British Ministry of Defence appeal against the coroner's decision.
SAT. JULY 10: One hundred thousand people left the Six Counties by sea and air and thousands more travelled south by road and rail, prior to the "Twelfth" Orange parades in the Six Counties. The Catholic church in Newtownards, north of Belfast, was badly damaged by an arson attack and a number of nationalist families have fled the area after a series of attacks on their homes.
SUN. JULY 11: British Crown Forces raided many houses on the Ballygowan Road estate, Dunganon, Co Tyrone, damaging the houses and property. A number of gardens were dug up by the British soldiers, including that of Matt Murphy who had failed the previous week in his bid to have the July 12 Orange parade re-routed away from the nationalist estate.
MON. JULY 12: As the Orange Order parade passed the Ballygowan Road estate in Dunganon, the RUC stormed a house which flew the Irish Tricolour flag. Women were punched and dragged to RUC armoured vehicles and the RUC ripped the Tricolour to pieces after breaking down the door of the house.
WED. JULY 14: The 26-County President, Mary Robinson has again snubbed the families of the 14 civilians killed by the British paratroop regiment in Derry on Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972 by refusing to meet with them.
Kathleen Caulfield (33) who is expecting twins in two months time was arrested by members of the RUC at a roadblock near Roslea, Co Fermanagh and taken to Castlecreagh interrogation centre outside Belfast. She was released the following night.
A total of 9,667 redundancies was notified to

the 26-County Department of Enterprise and Employment for the first six months of 1993, an increase of 463 in the same period of 1992.
THURS. JULY 15: The UVF issued a statement claiming that their members had planned and carried out the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings without any outside aid. This was refuted by the victims' relatives.
A 25-year-old taxi-driver from West Belfast was attacked by three men at Dunboyne Park, in the Upper Springfield area of Belfast when he was lured to the area to collect a fare. He managed to escape on foot.
The home of the McKay family, who were on holiday in Bundoran, Co Donegal, in Glenewagh Drive, Belfast was subjected to a four-hour raid when British forces broke into their house.
Amnesty International demanded an independent inquiry into the convictions of the Casement Park accused.
Aer Lingus announced that the 1,280 redundancies sought by the airline itself will cut right across the board and that the next two pay increases, due under national agreements such as the PESP, will not be paid.
The jobless total in the Six Counties is 104,500.
FRI. JULY 16: The British Security Service (MI5) published a glossy brochure with its "activities" in an effort to dispel its image as the dirty tricks department of the British armed forces. It stated that the combating of "Irish terrorism" now accounts for 45% of its annual budget.
SAT. JULY 17: The parochial house of a Catholic church in Dronoree, Co Down was attacked for the fourth time by a loyalist gang who threw petrol bombs through a window.
Nationalist homes in the Markets area of Belfast were subjected to a 12-hour house-by-house search by British Crown Forces.
MON. JULY 19: Three SDLP politicians — Dr Joe Hendron, Brian Feeney and Mary Muldowney — were attacked by the UDA death squad who claimed responsibility for placing bombs outside their homes. Nobody was injured.
The former British Conservative Party chairman, Norman Tebbit said on Sky TV's "Target programme" that "the only thing that will take Articles 2 and 3 out of the Irish (sic) constitution is when the bombs will start to blow in Dublin as they have in Belfast".
TUES. JULY 20: 300 jobs are to be lost at the Gallagher cigarette factory in Ballymena, Co Antrim.
WED. JULY 21: Police wicking metal battering rams and rifles burst into two houses in Beemcomb Grove, West Belfast and searched them for about 90 minutes.
THURSDAY, JULY 22: The British Conservative Party government made a secret deal with members of the Official Unionist Party in order to secure their votes in the House of Commons in the adoption of the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty. They still lost by 214 votes to 316.

Street protest targeted by 'Public Order' Bill



SEVERAL provisions in the Public Order Bill represent infringements of the most basic human and civil rights, including the right to peaceful picket, the right to address the public, the right to give and receive information.

Under Section 5 (Disorderly conduct in a public place) the right to hold a peaceful public meeting is abolished. The use of loudspeakers at any such assembly can be prohibited under the heading of "boisterous conduct" — "likely to give reasonable cause for annoyance to any other person".

For example: (a) workers on picket after unjust dismissal; (b) peaceful citizens assembled outside Leinster House, and (c) any lawful public meeting at any time, would be covered by this.

In the case of (a) above, the unjust employer is likely to feel annoyed. This law grants him the power to act as judge and jury in his own case. Similarly, politicians do not welcome pickets outside Leinster House; this law will give them the power to instruct police to forcibly remove any such pickets. In a free society, the right to peaceful picket is readily recognised and accepted. Only in totalitarian regimes is this right denied to citizens.

INFORMATION

Sections 6 and 7 attack the right of the citizen to give and receive information. Subjective terms eg "insulting words" are given legal status. For example, if a picketer should describe an employer's action against employees as "unjust", the use of the word "unjust" could be considered "insulting".

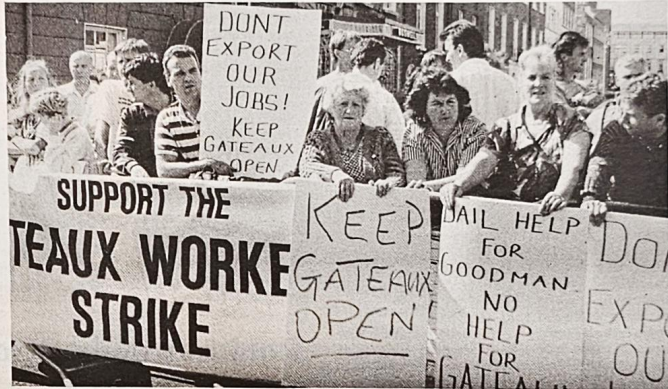
Similarly, to describe a politician as "incompetent" or to say a politician has not told the truth or has not carried out his pre-election promises could be seen as an insult by the politician and thus be a crime punishable by a fine of £500 and a sentence of six months in jail.

Section 15 abolished the right to assemble for a peaceful protest; in the case of a person picketed or subject to a peaceful protest, that person may decide that his own or someone else's safety is threatened and that a situation of riot exists for which anyone present shall be liable to a term of 10 years imprisonment.

Section 16 says that it can be a criminal act for three people to assemble or stand together on the street. Section 3 further says that three people can be accused of violent disorder if a person who is not present

The 26-County state is living under the legal fiction that we are in a permanent state of emergency since 1976 and thus authorises the police to use the Offences Against the State Act. The establishment that rules the 26 Counties today suspects all those who hold Republican or nationalist ideals and uses this act against them on a routine basis. The question has to be asked as to why the police need even more sweeping powers than they already have in this act?

- The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Bill 1993 was published by the 26-County State on June 30 last and introduced into Leinster House on July 2. The Fianna Fáil/Labour administration wanted to rush it, and several other Bills including one on extradition, through without any public examination before Leinster House adjourned on July 9 for its summer recess (lasting almost three months).
- After widespread protest by civil liberties campaigners when the contents of the Bill became known, it has now been deferred until the autumn.
- SAOIRSE asked Independent Dublin County Councillor, Richard Greene, to outline the main objections to the Public Order Bill, which has already been sharply criticised by the United Nations Committee on Human Rights, meeting in Geneva on July 14 last.



● Strike pickets (above left) and by Gateaux worker sat Leinster House (above) will be banned under the proposed 'Public Order' Bill.

at the scene. Conviction under this section carries a fine of £1,000 and six months in jail.

Section 25 confers unlimited powers of arrest without warrant on the police with reference to any of the provisions of this act. Arrest without warrant is unacceptable in any free society.

ASSEMBLY

The Bill is unconstitutional in that it denies the public the right to peaceful assembly and it undermines the right to freedom of speech, protected in the 1937 Constitution. It is a charter for a police state and will drive peaceful public protests underground.

The Irish Civil Rights Association calls on all citizens to contact their local TDs, councillors and senators and demand that this Bill be withdrawn and calls on the media to do their duty and inform the people about this Bill.

International civil rights organisations have remarked that if this Bill is passed it will confer powers on the 26-County police detrimental to civil rights and greater than any other police state in Europe.

The answer may lie in the fact that those in power presently anticipate major civil unrest, when issues such as Articles 2 & 3 of the 1937 Constitution are finally bartered away or cuts in social welfare combined with more job losses in state-owned companies could give rise to the unemployed finally taking to the streets, as there is no longer the safety valve of emigration to solve this country's unemployment problem.

THREAT

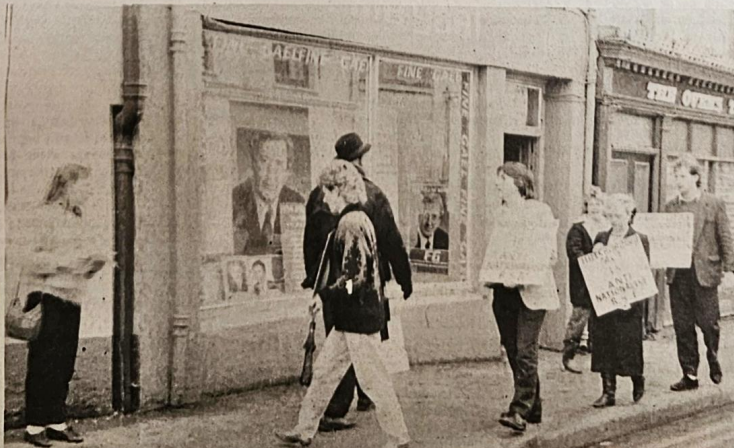
This government obviously sees the so-called ordinary citizen as a threat as previous governments saw Republicans and nationalists and is moving to protect themselves from that threat by attempting to introduce this draconian Bill as they moved against nationally-minded people with the Offences Against the State Act.

The Bill, as proposed would affect all politically active groups, tenants organisations, trade union activists, civil rights activists,

environmental groups and all campaigning organisations, whether they be anti-extradition or anti-abortion. It is in every citizen's interest to campaign to have this Bill withdrawn or at least drastically changed.

Article 5 of the 1937 Constitution states "Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state" and Article 6 states that "all powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people". It goes on to make clear that it is the people who in "final appeal" decide on all matters of national policy "according to the requirement of the common good".

This Bill is unconstitutional under Articles 5 and 6 because it effectively prevents the people from deciding on national policy when it denies them the right to picket and peacefully protest and it is blatantly undemocratic, because it undermines freedom of speech and free association.



● Republican Sinn Féin anti-extradition picket, this right, is targeted in the undemocratic Bill.

Imeachtaí

HISTORIC GRAVES TOURS OF GLASNEVIN CEMETERY DUBLIN

Every Sunday July & August Assemble at main gate 11.50am

Organised by National Graves Association

COMDT TOBY MANNION (died for Ireland August 1923) UNVEILING

of stone at his grave in KILTOOM OLD CEMETERY SUNDAY, AUGUST 8

Athlone Co Roscommon Dr Seán Maguire, Castlebar (son of Comdt-General Tom Maguire)

will perform the unveiling ceremony

Tommy McKearney, Tyrone will give the oration Organised by Co Roscommon IRA Commemoration Committee

1798 HISTORICAL TOUR OF COUNTY WEXFORD

Bus leaving Crescent Quay Wexford

SUNDAY, AUGUST 29

1.30pm

Taille: £5

Matthews exclusion 'ethnic cleansing'

JOHN Matthews (22), the young Derryman who was the subject of a frame-up attempt by British police was released by British Magistrates Court in London on Tuesday, July 6. British police immediately applied for and got an exclusion order against him under the British Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). The order was signed by British Home Secretary Michael Howard.

Matthews was arrested on April 27 last and charged with explosive offences on the basis of alleged forensic evidence. On July 6 the Crown Prosecution Service dropped all charges against him and the magistrate said that he did not have a stain on his character. The following day Matthews was expelled from Britain and flown to Belfast. On the same day Michael Howard said that there was "evidence", inadmissible in court, that Matthews was "concerned with terrorism".

If he re-enters Britain while the exclusion order is in force he could face a jail sentence of five years. In his native Derry city nationalist and loyalist politicians have expressed outrage at the exclusion order and his family said it was done out of "pure spite" and to save British government face. The British Home Secretary's action smeared their son's reputation

and put his life in danger.

On his release John Matthews spoke to the media and said that the British police were prepared to allow him to spend decades in prison, despite knowing he was innocent. A Queen's University, Belfast, graduate Matthews said the police "said to me 'We know that you didn't plant this bomb but we don't give a f... We don't care, we have to get somebody for this bomb and you'll do'. I was just an unfortunate Irishman who was arrested. I didn't even fit the description of the suspect. But that didn't matter to them, they went out of the way to bend the facts to fit the case".

The Belfast paper the *Irish News* described the case as "ethnic cleansing by ministerial order". More than 80 people from the Six Counties are banned from entering Britain under

exclusion orders at the moment. The orders cannot be challenged in the courts and there is no adequate appeal. Neither can the person be told the grounds on which the order was signed.

John Matthews is the second Irishman to be released this year after a British police frame-up collapsed. On February 24, 1993 Patrick Murphy (52) from Armagh was freed after explosive charges were withdrawn against him. He had proved in court that he had been at a meeting at the time of the attack.

SECOND

John Matthews' release is due in no small measure to the vigorous campaign waged on his behalf by his extended family, which includes several professional people. Many Irish people arrested under the PTA would not have such a back-up and would be even more vulnerable to being framed by the British police.



• John Matthews

Robinson snubs Bloody Sunday relatives

THE 26-County President, Mary Robinson, has refused a second invitation to meet the relatives of the Bloody Sunday victims. The group, who represent the families of the 14 civilians killed by the British paratroop regiment in Derry on January 30, 1972, are demanding the British government prosecute those involved and repudiate the Widgery Report into the massacre which "whitewashed" the British troops involved.

John Kelly, whose brother Michael was shot dead on Bloody Sunday, told the *Irish News* on July 14 that "we had hoped to appraise her (Mary Robinson) of the progress of the campaign and to reverse the awful situation which reduces those killed in the north by the state or loyalists to non-status, equivalent to the 'disappeared' in central America". The relatives were disappointed at the latest refusal, he said. Mary Robinson has met relatives of those killed in the 1987 Enniskillen bombing in the past but has not yet met relatives of nationalists killed by British Crown Forces or British-backed loyalist death squads.

Amnesty seeks Casement Accused inquiry

AMNESTY International has demanded an independent inquiry into the convictions of the Casement Park accused in a report released on July 15. Forty-one people were prosecuted and 21 people convicted on charges relating to the deaths of two armed undercover British soldiers who drove into a West Belfast funeral in March 1988 and Amnesty International argues that the prosecutions failed to satisfy international trial standards. Five are serving life sentences for murder and their appeals have been dismissed.

In addition to the general independent inquiry, Amnesty called for the cases of Patrick Kane, Seán Kelly and Michael Timmons — convicted of the corporals' murder — to be immediately referred for further review. Amnesty says that the murder convictions must have rested solely on the application of the controversial "law on common purpose", ie where the accused could have foreseen murder was the potential outcome of a joint enterprise. Amnesty says that the prosecution and defence had unequal access to evidence and experts and complains that inferences of guilt were drawn against some for remaining silent during questioning.

British soldiers need not appear at inquest

A JUDGE in the Belfast High Court on Friday, July 9 overruled the decision of a coroner on April 22 last that plainclothes British soldiers must appear at an inquest into the shooting dead of three men outside a Belfast betting shop in January 1990.

The coroner, John Leckey, had ruled that British undercover soldiers should give evidence in full view of the court and not from behind a screen, as has become the practice in inquests involving shoot-to-kill by the British Crown Forces. In Belfast's High Court Judge McCollum quoted "national security" interests in supporting the British Ministry of Defence appeal against the coroner's decision. The inquest into the killings of John McNeill (43), Edward Hale (25) and Peter Thompson (21) has been adjourned while the court deliberated on the matter.

While the men's relatives welcomed the original coroner's decision they maintained the inquest was still inadequate because the two British soldiers who actually carried out the shootings would not be appearing at all at the proceedings.

British defence secretary Malcolm Rifkind issued a 'Pub-

lic Interest Immunity Certificate' which allows the British soldiers to submit written statements instead of appearing in the witness box themselves and permit those British soldiers who do appear at the inquest to give evidence from behind a screen and limit the nature of the evidence they give to the coroner.

STANDARDS

Fionnuala Ni hAolain of the human rights group, the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) said that the High Court's decision confirms that there is two standards of justice in the inquest system, one for British Crown Forces involved in shoot-to-kill incidents and another for everybody else.

There are 35 outstanding cases of people shot dead by the British army or RUC still pending before the coroner's courts in the Six Counties.

Expectant mother's RUC ordeal

A 33-year-old mother, expecting twins in two months time, was subjected to a 24-hour ordeal by the British paramilitary police, the RUC, when they stopped the car in which she was travelling with other family members at a remote county roadblock near Roslea, Co Fermanagh at 8pm on Tuesday night, July 14.

Kathleen Caulfield, an American citizen originally from Lisnaskea, Co Fermanagh, was visiting her family on a two-week holiday from the USA and was returning from her aunt's home in Clones — just across the British-imposed Border in Co Monaghan — when the car being driven by her mother Josephine was stopped by the RUC.

A sister, Sharon (23), stepped out of the car and was assaulted and prevented from getting back in while her mother was physically lifted out of the vehicle. Two RUC men then drove off with Kathleen Caulfield in the back seat of the car along with her 15-month-old daughter, also named Kathleen, who was in hysterics.

INTERVIEW

The family doctor,

notified by a witness, intervened and ordered the RUC to take the distressed mother to Erne Hospital in Enniskillen after she experienced contractions.

Doctors there said she was not in danger and the RUC arrested her under Section 14 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and rushed her to the notorious Castlereagh interrogation centre outside Belfast. Kathleen was finally released late on Wednesday night, July 15.

Her family were outraged at the "completely over the top" harassment and assault by over 20 RUC men during a two-hour wait at the checkpoint. Kathleen's husband Charles, a native of Monaghan, did not accompany his wife and children to Ireland and was extremely worried about them following the incident.

Volunteer Patrick Cannon

A ceremony was held at the grave of Volunteer Patrick Cannon in Balgriffin Cemetery, Dublin on July 17, organised by Dublin Conhair Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, to mark the 17th anniversary of his death.

Volunteer Patrick Cannon, from Raheny, Dublin, was just 20 years old when he was killed in action on July 17, 1976 at

Castlederg, Co Tyrone along with Volunteer Peter McElear from Donegal.

Peig King, a member of the Patrick Cannon Cumann, Re-

publican Sinn Féin, Raheny, said a decade of the Rosary at the graveside and Paddy King laid a wreath. Andy Connolly, Inchicore, gave a short oration, recalling the young Dublin man that he knew when he first joined the Republican Movement in the 1970s.

"Let us be faithful to his memory," he concluded.



• Patrick Cannon

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 Doubt* 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 Aird Oifig, Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Anraon Quay, Dublin 7. Donations will be gratefully acknowledged.

Commandant General Tom Maguire, 1892-1993 - last link with Second Dáil

A Citizen Soldier for the All-Ireland Republic for 80 years

THE LAST link with the Second Dáil Éireann — the last All-Ireland Parliament — was broken on July 5, 1993 with the death of Commandant General Tom Maguire in Castlebar, Co Mayo. He was 101 years of age. The last person to hold the rank of Comdt-General in the Irish Republican Army, he was elected Sinn Féin TD for South Mayo/South Roscommon in May 1921 and was re-elected in August 1923. He was Patron of Republican Sinn Féin since 1987.

Tom Maguire passed away at the home in Saleen, Castlebar of his son Dr Seán Maguire and daughter-in-law Pauline who had cared for him throughout his final illness. He had lived in his own home beside the Cross River in Cross village, five miles outside Ballinrobe, until 1990.

An immediate tribute was paid by Republican Sinn Féin President, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, who was a frequent visitor to the Maguire home over the years. He described Tom Maguire as "epitomising the unyielding Republican resistance to British interference in internal Irish affairs throughout the 20th century. He represented the continuity, as a faithful survivor, of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann which was never dissolved.

"He adhered to the very end to the fundamental Republican position of giving allegiance to the All-

Ireland Republic of 1916 and of the First Dáil. A fluent Irish speaker, he was an inspiration to several generations of Republicans. He was a close friend and associate of Brian O'Higgins of the *Wolfe Tone Annual*, Count Plunkett, Mary MacSwiney and 'Sceilg' (JJ O'Kelly)."

The historic nature of Tom Maguire's long life as a national figure was underlined again and again as the arrangements for his funeral, in accordance with his wishes and agreed beforehand with his family, proceeded.

RESPECTS

Republicans from all parts of the country travelled to the Maguire home in Castlebar on Tuesday, July 6 to pay their respects and sympathise with the family. General Maguire was predeceased by his wife Christina in 1984. Her brother, Volunteer Pádraic Feeney, was killed by British Crown

Forces at Tourmakeady on May 3, 1921. As well as Dr Seán Maguire, he is survived by sons Tom (Galway), Louis (St Louis) and Frank (Florida), daughter Mary McMonagle (Dublin), and sister Mrs Bridie O'Toole (Portlinton).

General Maguire's remains were removed from his son's house in Castlebar at 6pm as a very large crowd waited outside.

A Republican colour-party dressed in white shorts, black slacks and black berets rendered military honours as the coffin was carried from the house and placed on two chairs outside the front door. Dr Seán Maguire led the attendance in a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

Piper Larry O'Dowd of Slige played a lament as the coffin was then lifted and placed in the hearse, the two chairs having been knocked over in accordance with a West of Ireland custom symbolising the utter finality of the occasion. Meanwhile the colour-party with flags furled and draped in black stood rigidly at attention.

After escorting the cortege a short distance along the Ballinrobe road, the colour-party fell out and the funeral proceeded between the shores of Lough Mask and Lough Carra through Ballinrobe and into Cross village.



•Comdt-General Tom Maguire, TD, GOC, Second Western Division, IRA pictured in 1921.

THE church was packed to overflowing for the Removal, presided over by Fr Pat Breen, a native of Omagh, Co Tyrone.

He said he regretted very much never having met Tom Maguire who, he said, advocated and practised armed struggle against tyranny and foreign rule in his country. He quoted from the Book of Ecclesiastes:

All things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven. A time to be born and a time to die. A time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted. A time to kill, and a time to heal. A time to destroy and a time to build. A time to weep and a time to laugh. A time to mourn and a time to dance...

Paying tribute to Tom Maguire's steadfastness and courage he said he had gone to join Michael O'Brien, killed in action at Tourmakeady, as well as his men who were executed in Tuam and Athlone.

He then listed all eleven who faced the firing squad: Comdt Frank Cunnane (Kilcoona), Seán Maguire (Cross, brother of Tom), Seán Newell (Headford), Michael Monaghan (Headford), Martin Moylan (Annaghdown), Séamas Ó Máille (Uachtar Ard), Michael Walsh, Stephen Joyce, Martin Burke (all Caherlistrane), Thomas Hughes (Athlone) and Hubert Collins (Headford).

Fr Breen quoted General Maguire's words when he unveiled a memorial at their graves in the Republican Plot, Donaghpatrick, in North Galway, in August 1952: "The generation of young men today and the coming years would renew those national aspirations and continue to strive for their attainment, namely the unification of Republican Ireland.

YOUTH

"He appealed to the youth especially, to follow in the footsteps of those brave men and not to be led astray by the false promises of politicians and collaborators. It was no shame to the men buried there or in the hundreds of such graves all over Ireland that the attainment of an Irish Republic was still unfinished and that Six Counties remained occupied by the enemy. Those shackles must be broken if they were to be true to the memory of all those generations who had died for Ireland."

The Requiem Mass the following day at 12 noon was attended by an even larger crowd with mourners arriving from as far away as Cork, Kerry, Wexford, Belfast and Dublin.

The overflow from the small village church was accommodated by chairs placed outside as 13 priests concelebrated Requiem Mass, led by Dr Brian P Murphy of Glenstal Abbey, Co Limerick (see homily below).

SPECIAL FLAG

The coffin was draped in a special flag, based on the designs of IRA flags of the past, with an Easter

Cont on page 8



• The large crowd follows the coffin of Tom Maguire through Cross village on July 7.

Commandant General Tom Maguire, 1892-1993 - last link with Second Dáil

Last political will and testament yet to be made public

Cont from page 7

Lily on a blue background with the lettering "Arm Phoblacht na hÉireann". On top of the flag was pinned General Maguire's Sam Browne belt.

The funeral procession was led by two pipers and a Republican Guard of Honour which flanked the coffin as it was carried in turn by Republican comrades and neighbours of Tom Maguire through Cross village.

The cortege halted momentarily at the Maguire home before crossing the bridge and making its way the short distance up the hill to the local cemetery.

AT THE graveside the IRA flag was folded and presented to General Maguire's daughter-in-law Pauline. The Last Post and Reveille was sounded by two buglers after the coffin was lowered into the grave in the family plot where General Maguire's wife, Christina, rests.

Dan Hoban, Newport, chaired the graveside ceremony on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. Wreaths were then laid on behalf of the Republican Movement, Republican Sinn Féin, Cumann na mBan, Mayo Republicans, Connacht Republicans,

Dublin Comhairle Ceantair, and many others.

Dan Hoban recalled his own family connection with Tom Maguire, his mother having sheltered him in Newport when he was training IRA Volunteers in the 1920s. He introduced Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil, Gaillimh, who read *The Grave of Ruairi* by TW Rolleston about the Last High-King of Ireland, Rory O'Connor, who is buried in nearby Cong Abbey.

Republican Sinn Féin President, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, then delivered the oration, in which he said:

"Is tromchúiseach an dualgas atá orainn inniu, cé go bhfuil brón inár gcoirthe an lá seo, tá bród thar cúime orainn mar, a Thomáis, níor ghéill tú don nambaid. Beirimis buíochas go Dhia ar an ré fada a thug tú dó ar an saol seo agus beidh tú mar réalt coilais romhainn san am atá le teacht.

"This was a day we hoped would never come. The man who was our inspiration and was an inspiration for succeeding generations, Tom Maguire, that man who personified Terence MacSwiney's dictum 'If but a few faithful found they must be all the more faithful for being but a few' has gone from us."



• The funeral procession halts momentarily outside Tom Maguire's home in Cross. After the *Tourmakeady* ambush in May 1921, British forces burned the house as a reprisal.

FERMANAGH

He recalled that Tom Maguire's Fermanagh ancestors had travelled to Mayo after the Battle of Aughrim and that Fermanagh was represented at the funeral. An ancestor of his in 1798 joined the United Irish and French forces and fought all the way from Castlebar to Ballinacree in Co Longford and survived. Tom's own father was Fenian and a Land Leaguer.

Outlining General Maguire's Republican career Ruairi Ó Brádaigh referred to his statement as GOC Second Western Division, IRA on July 14, 1922 when the Four Courts was attacked, on the orders of the British government, by the Free State army. The statement declared his, and his Division's allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic, and their willingness to defend it to the attack.

"It went on: 'We have right and principle on our side, and we have as our comrades men who would rather die than surrender our unquestionable right to absolute independence'.

"It was at all times a joy and a privilege to know Tom Maguire. Speaking to him I always felt I áthair na staire a bhí mé, I was there in the presence of living history, and trying to learn.

"He would point out, not far from his house, in prehistoric times, the First Battle of Moytura was fought. He would then refer to Cong Abbey where his predecessor, one may say, Rory O'Connor, the last Irish High King, lived out his declining years and was buried.

SYMBOL

"Is it not a strange irony that the symbol of All-Ireland sovereignty, 800 years ago, lived out his declining years in this part of Ireland, and that 800 years later that the last symbol of All-Ireland sovereignty in the person of Tom Maguire lived out the last days of his life here in Cross, not two-and-a-half miles from the abbey of Cong, until he went to Castlebar to be cared for by his devoted family?"

"Dignity, integrity and loyalty

were Tom Maguire's hallmarks. He was a soldier, a military man but he was not a mercenary or a professional soldier. He was a citizen soldier with a political objective in view and here at his graveside on this historic day we salute his eighty years' service to the All-Ireland Republic, from the day he joined the Volunteers in 1913 up to today, 1993.

STEPPING STONES

"He would teach as the lesson, there should be no stepping stones. They had a stepping stone in 1922 and he would outline the disasters that followed. No 'interim solutions' to give it its modern terminology. British withdrawal and the freedom of Ireland, that was Tom Maguire's national agenda.

"He would point out the consequences of these half-hearted solutions and say that the first thing it would do would be to divide the Movement. Then one half of the Movement would repress the other

Cont on page 9



• Six-County Republicans shoulder the coffin from Cross church, as some young mourners march alongside.

'Steadfast, determined and

In an appreciation at the funeral Mass for Comdt-General Tom Maguire in Cross Church, Co Mayo on July 7, Dr Brian P Murphy of Glenstal Abbey, Co Limerick paid tribute to the man and the great tradition which he embodied. Dr Murphy is a member of the Benedictine Community and author of *Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal* (1991). As part of his research he conducted several interviews with Tom Maguire at his home in Mayo. We publish extracts from his address here:

ONEIS very privileged to speak at the funeral of such a great and good man, Tom Maguire, on this historic occasion. One is also deeply aware of one's lack of qualification to speak. In particular I regret that I cannot address you in Irish, the language of his love — the language that his daughter-in-law, Pauline, told me he spoke most regularly at the end of his days.

Fortunately others have used the Irish language as the last rites were conducted in the family home and at the funeral Mass last night; and it will play a prominent part in today's ceremony. Tom Maguire would be happy to know that intercessions

were made to the Lord on his behalf in the ancient language of his Ireland.

Our first duty is to commend the soul of Commandant General Thomas Maguire to the merciful care of God. While one can take consolation that a good man has gone to his rest and to his reward — has gone home as it were — we all have a sense of loss.

For his family there is the pain of losing a loved one, and for his friends there is a similar sadness and in this particular case an awareness that a great tradition has been broken.

TRADITION

Commandant General Tom Maguire was the last surviving member

of the All-Ireland Republican Dáil Éireann of 1921. His passing is, therefore, a truly historic occasion. It might be claimed that he was also a most fitting survivor of the ideals of the Republican Dáil. He came from an ancient Irish lineage.

I recall asking him about his early family origins and he told me, as if it were yesterday, that his family had fought at the Battle of Aughrim, and it was after that they left Fermanagh and settled in the west. As he grew up in the west that became his family home he developed a love for the land, which he worked so well; for the language, which he spoke so affectionately; and for the Lord, whom he worshipped in the local Catholic Church.

A man of integrity he was related authentically to the ancient past of Ireland. It seems natural to apply to him the sentiments of Aodhán Ó Rathaille uttered in his last days when, despairing that the old Gaelic order and ideals had been lost, he defiantly proclaimed that he would triumph in death.

I will stop from this on — death is near to me without delay, since the Chiefs of the Leamhan, Lein and Lee have been trodden underfoot. I will go under their protection into the cemetery with the 'Beloved One among the Heroes' — with those princes under whom my ancestors lived before Christ died.

Tom Maguire has joined those heroes of the past, but he has brought them a Christian dimension by making his 'Beloved One' Christ the Lord.

The events that give him title to be ranked among the heroes may be briefly recited: he was a member of the Irish Volunteers before the Easter Rising of 1916; in May 1921, despite being badly wounded, he led a successful ambush at Tourmakeady against British troops in the War of Independence; in that year he was elected to Dáil Éireann; he rejected the Treaty in January 1922; he was imprisoned in the Civil War and while

in prison was told that his brother, Seán, had been shot as a reprisal victim, and he rejected de Valera's formation of Fianna Fáil in 1926 and the proposed entry into the Free State.

Until the end of his days he continued to oppose the recognition of a partitioned Ireland.

THE HISTORIC sense is truly inspiring: it is hard to believe that we commit to the soul today a man who rubbed shoulders as an equal, as a Commandant General, with Collins, Brugha, de Valera and other leaders of the War of Independence some seventy-five years ago in the struggle for freedom.

I was vividly reminded of this historical significance a few years ago when, shortly after talking with Tom, I was reading the *Lloyd George papers* in the House of Lords Record Office. Contained in one of the files of documents there was an intelligence report for 30 September 1921, the period of the Truce, which stated that Tom Maguire had made a speech at Ballinrobe threatening that war would be renewed "if England tried to impose

Commandant General Tom Maguire, 1892-1993 - last link with Second Dáil

Cont from page 8

half at the enemy's behest and those who won their stepping stone would stagnate and grow to love it and the dynamic force for forward movement would be missing.

"He would then quote the words of Liam Mellows, speaking to those looking for an interim solution in 1922. Mellows said: 'Who will tell the British government when the time has come to tell it, to keep its hands off? Men will get into positions, men will hold power and men who get into positions and hold power will desire to remain undisturbed and will not want to be removed or will not take a step that will mean removal in the case of failure'.

TESTAMENT

"Tom Maguire's last political will and testament has not yet been published. Suffice it to say that he agreed with Pádraig Pearse: 'Until the English are at last beaten, the Irish have a duty to put a body of people on guard for the nation and it will be necessary for a band of the Irish to

man the gap of danger'.

"Tom Maguire was most fulsome in his praise of the women in the Movement, saying that they were indeed the most loyal, and in particular he spoke of the intellectual Mary MacSwiney.

"He was always interested in the youth and their activities and wished to get regular reports on their progress. On his 100th birthday he asked to speak to representatives of them in private where he could give them encouragement.

PEOPLE of Mayo and indeed of all parts of Ireland were today are grateful to God in his inscrutable wisdom for the long life he gave to our comrade Tom Maguire, for the devoted family he gave him; for his wife and lifelong comrade Christina; for Dr Seán Maguire, his wife Pauline and family who stand high in our estimation and gratitude for the care and loving devotion that they showered on him in those declining years.

"It's a strange coincidence that Tom Maguire died on the 71st



● Ruairí Ó Brádaigh delivers the oration at Cross cemetery on July 7.

anniversary of the fatal wounding of Cathal Brugha in O'Connell Street in Dublin and he is buried today, July 7, the day Cathal Brugha breathed his last in the Mater Hospital in Dublin.

"Tom would mention Brugha and his speech about the Treaty: 'If our last man was lying on the ground,'

Brugha said, 'if our last shilling has been spent and our last cartridge fired and his enemies were howling around him, ready to plunge their bayonets into his body and if they should ask him, now will you come into our Empire, and he would say and he should say, true to the traditions that

have gone before him, NO, and the British Empire and British rule in Ireland will have gone down for ever before that spirit dies out in Ireland'.

"A Thomáís, cuimhneóimís ort. You will live in our hearts and minds. You will live always. Long live the All-Ireland Republic and long live our Commandant General!" he concluded.

Dan Hoban called on piper Larry O'Dowd of Sligo to play one of the oldest Irish laments, *Silent O' Moyle*, which embraces the whole 32 Counties of Ireland, to conclude the ceremony. Larry O'Dowd was the piper who piped the martyred Mayo hunger-striker Michael Gaughan in 1974 all the way from the Isle of Wight to Leigue Cemetery in Ballina.

Among the attendance at the funeral was veteran Republican John Joe Hoey of New Jersey, USA who is a native of Kilmore, Co Roscommon. JJ Hoey (82) was interned at the Curragh in the 1940s and was active in the Irish Freedom Committee in New York in the '50s and '60s. He remains active as an associate of George Harrison in New York.

Last and faithful survivor of last All-Ireland Parliament

TOM MAGUIRE was born in Cross, Co Mayo in 1892 and joined the Irish Volunteers at their foundation in 1913. In 1919 he became OC of the South Mayo Brigade, IRA and later commanded the Brigade Flying Column.

He took part in several engagements against the British Crown Forces, most notably the Kilfall ambush on March 7, 1921 and the Tourmakeady ambush of May 3, 1921. In the latter action his men wiped out a patrol of the British forces at Tourmakeady village on the western shore of Lough Mask.

He was forced to withdraw with his Flying Column up the shores of the Partry Mountains where a force of 600 British troops with aircraft attempted to surround them throughout the long summer day. Wounded six times himself his adjutant Michael O'Brien was fatally wounded after rendering him aid. At nightfall the Flying Column slipped through the British encirclement. Vol Pádraig Feeney, captured earlier in the day, was shot dead by the RIC in Tourmakeady as a reprisal.

General Maguire later wrote about the Tourmakeady ambush in *An t-Oglach* (August 21, 1921) which has been described as "an account of an action which, for modesty and

understatement can rank with anything that Caesar wrote in his commentary upon his wars in Gaul" (see *Raids and Rallies* by Ernie O'Malley, Anvil, 1982 and *With the IRA in the Fight for Freedom*, Kerryman, 1950s).

ELECTED

At the time of the Tourmakeady ambush Tom Maguire was nominated to stand for Sinn Féin in the May 1921 General Election. He was duly elected for the South Mayo/South Roscommon constituency.

He was appointed GOC of the 2nd Western Division by the 32-County Minister for Defence, Cathal Brugha, in 1921, comprising the South and East Mayo, South Roscommon and North Galway Brigades.

He strongly opposed the Treaty of 1921 and when the Civil War broke out, he became the leading Republican figure in the West of Ireland. He was elected a member of the IRA Executive at the famous Army Convention of March 1922 which repudiated the Treaty of Surrender.



● South Mayo Brigade IRA Flying Column 1921. Brigade OC and Column Commander Tom Maguire is pictured on the extreme left (Standing). The Column members hold Lee-Enfield rifles, some with fixed bayonets, captured from British Forces.

He was captured in October 1922 by Free State forces and interned in Athlone Barracks. In January 1923 he was one of six men set aside for execution; the other five faced the firing squad. His younger brother, Seán, at the age of 17 years and three months was executed in April 1923 in Tuam workhouse, along with five other Volunteers under General Maguire's command.

In June 1923 he escaped from Athlone Barracks and was never recaptured. Back on the IRA Executive, Tom Maguire was re-elected in August 1923 as a Sinn Féin TD to the All-Ireland Parliament which had then been suppressed.

IN 1927 he was prevented from nominating as a candidate in the September general

election because of the oath swearing allegiance to the King of England. In 1931 he was elected Vice-President of Sinn Féin.

Along with the other surviving faithful members of the Second Dáil — the last All-Ireland parliament — he delegated executive authority to the Army Council of the IRA in 1938. In December 1969, he recognised the

Cont on page 10

upright...an example of courage'

her will on Ireland".

When I reported my find to Tom he smiled and was intrigued to know that his name and his actions had come to the attention of Lloyd George in London during the preparations for the Treaty.

RECOGNITION

At that time Tom Maguire opposed the partition of Ireland, and over the last twenty-five years he has persistently opposed recognition by any nationalists of a partitioned country. Difficult decisions inevitably, and sadly, have led to divisions. Some have said of Tom that he lacked reality, that he was not pragmatic enough, that he was too intransigent.

Even his critics, however, have testified to his faithful fidelity to the Republican ideal. And as the litany of suffering and deaths continues more credibility is given to the simple statement of his life that partition was not the best way to reconcile the nationalist aspiration for unity with the unionist aspiration for Britishness. That Republican ideal had a

distinguished pedigree and merits brief consideration.

Patrick Pearse gave expression to one aspect of the ideal in the poem *Renunciation* which was written just before Easter 1916:

*I have turned my face
To this road before me.
To the deed that I see
And the death I shall die.*

Thomas Maguire manifested the same dedication and commitment to the Republican oath and ideal as he walked the long hard road of life for over one hundred years.

Moreover, if the sentiments of Pearse fittingly convey the attitude of Tom Maguire, the qualities of Cathal Brugha tell us much about his own character. When I talked to Tom he praised Cathal Brugha because he was 'steadfast', 'determined', 'upright', and 'stood in the firing line'.

No greater tribute could be paid to Tom Maguire then to say that he lived according to the same ideals of Cathal Brugha as a young man he was in the firing line, and at all times he was steadfast, determined and upright. One



● Dr Brian P Murphy

can discern in his faithful fidelity a touch of religious conviction and, in conclusion, it is fitting to return to the religious dimension of his death.

WHEN I was asked to say this Mass I thought of a suitable text for the sermon. Immediately my mind was drawn to the feast day of St Thomas More and the readings for that Mass which were designed to convey the message of a man who died for a principle. The first reading was taken from the Old Testament Book of Maccabees.

It tells the story of Eleazar. A faithful Jew, he was ordered at the age

of ninety years to eat pig's meat under pain of death. He resisted the threats of his enemies but the enticements of his friends were more difficult to overcome. They wanted him to live and encouraged him to pretend to eat pig's meat, while eating something else.

Keep the King happy they said by pretending to go through the ritual formula of eating pork; but in reality eat some other meat and tell your friends and followers later what you have done. I will leave you to see the full relevance with Tom Maguire.

NO DISSEMBLING

Suffice to say that many times he was encouraged to pretend, to gloss over oaths and terms of treaties, but he always refused, there was no dissembling with him. He never had to explain or to excuse himself to his friends. The words of Eleazar may well be applied to him:

*It does not suit with my time
of life to play a part. Let me
take leave of life with a good
grace, as best suits my
years, bequeathing to men*

younger than myself an example of courage.

That Tom Maguire had done. He has left an example of courage and merits the praise granted to good men in the Book of Ecclesiastics:

Let us now praise famous men,

*and our fathers that begat us.
What high achievement the
Lord has made known in
them, ever since time began.
These men were the glories of
their race, the ornament of
their time; and the sons they
begot have left a memory that
adds to the recital of their
praise...*

*Their bodies lie in peace;
their name lasts on, age after
age.
Their wisdom is yet a legend
among the people; wherever
faithful men assemble, their
story is told.*

For the future we have a trust to be faithful to the memory of Tom Maguire, for the present we have a duty to pray for his soul. May he rest in peace. Amen

Commandant General Tom Maguire, 1892-1993 - last link with Second Dáil



• Historic photo taken at Easter 1928 following a meeting of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann elected in 1921 and never dissolved. Even after the defection of Fianna Fáil the previous year there was still a quorum present to transact business. This photo hung in Tom Maguire's living-room and was proudly shown to visitors. Tom Maguire is on the extreme left, back row.

Cont from page 9

Provisional Army Council as the legitimate successor to the 1938 body. Comdt-General Maguire unveiled the Donaghpatrick Memorial, near Headford, Co Galway over eleven of his executed Volunteers in 1952. On January 21, 1969 he spoke at the 50th

anniversary of the First Dáil ceremony in the Oak Room of the Mansion House, Dublin organised by Sinn Féin. He was pictured on RTÉ television that night.

In 1976 he spoke at the graveside of Mayo hunger striker Frank Stagg, the son of one of his old Volunteers

and the nephew of another.

CHICAGO

Honoured at home and abroad, Tom travelled to Chicago in 1967 for the Clan na Gael Fenian Centenary. In Dublin in 1978 and Mayo in 1979 he himself and his wife Christina were honoured by Republicans. In April

1985 he unveiled a memorial plaque at the Tuam old workhouse site to the eleven of his command who fell before Free State firing squads in 1923.

On October 22, 1986 he issued a statement repudiating those who still called themselves Provisionals and accepted the Leinster House partition parliament. "In so doing they broke faith and betrayed the trust placed in their predecessors in 1969," he said. In an interview with the *Irish Times* around the same time he said: "It may seem strange but the 32-County Dáil, approved by the people by their votes in 1921, is still vested in me". He became patron of Republican Sinn Féin in 1987.

On his 100th birthday in 1992 good wishes came from all over the world. On July 22, 1992 a message of congratulations delineating his record was read into the record of the Congress of the United States of America, in Washington DC.

Tom Maguire refused a state award on his 100th birthday. There was nothing personal in his rejection, he just said "I do not recognise the office of the president of the 26



• Tom Maguire's last public appearance at the 1985 unveiling of the memorial plaque in Tuam, Co Galway.

On his 101st birthday in March this year the *Irish Post* (London) paid tribute: "Generations have passed. Even Sinn Féin led by Gerry Adams now recognise the twenty-six county Dáil. But not Commandant General Tom Maguire and the small but still vocal Republican Sinn Féin led by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh... Tom Maguire will still insist that there is only one colour—an un fading green".



ENTERING LEINSTER HOUSE A VETERAN SPEAKS

There is no difference between entering the partition parliament of Leinster House and entering a partition parliament of Stormont.

I speak as the sole surviving Teachta Dála of the Second Dáil Éireann and as the sole surviving member of the Executive of the Second Dáil Éireann.

In December, 1969, as the sole surviving member of the Executive of the Second Dáil Éireann, I recognised the Provisional Army Council, which remained true to the Irish Republic as the lawful Army of the Thirty-Two County Irish Republic.

I do not recognise the legitimacy of any Army Council styling itself the Council of the Irish Republican Army which lends support to any person or organisation styling itself as Sinn Féin and prepared to enter the partition parliament of Leinster House.

The majority of delegates to a recent IRA Convention purported to accept the Leinster House Partition parliament, and in so doing broke faith and betrayed the trust placed in their predecessors in 1969.

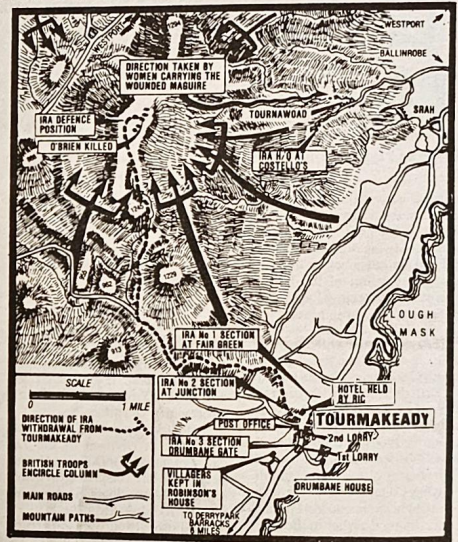
The Irish Republic, proclaimed in arms in Easter Week 1916 and established by the democratic majority vote of the people in the General Election of 1918, has been defended by Irish Republicans for several generations. Many have laid down their lives in that defence. Many others have suffered imprisonment and torture.

I am confident that the Cause so nobly served will yet triumph.

"If but a few are faithful found, they must be all the more steadfast for being but a few".
(Terence MacSwiney in *Principles of Freedom*)

Dated the 22nd day of October, 1986

Signed: *Thomas Maguire*
Thomas Maguire
Tomás Maguidhr
Comdt. General



• Map of Tourmakeady ambush, May 3, 1921 from *Raids and Rallies* by Ernie O'Malley.

MAGUIRE'S 1969 STATEMENT

A chara, — I enclose a leaflet from 1986 which gives the text of Comdt-General Maguire's statement in 1969, repudiating the Official Army Council and legitimising the Provisional body, also his statement in 1986 repudiating the Provisionals. In addition, it contains a brief sketch of his career.

The Green Book quoted by your Security Correspondent (July 8th) is accurate up to 1986, when the Provisionals accepted the 26-county State. Then General Maguire, who authenticated them in 1969, disowned them and denied their right of succession.

To quote his own words at the time, they "broke faith and betrayed the trust placed in their predecessors in 1969." He became patron of Republican Sinn Féin in 1987. Further, you should not demean Tom Maguire's rank by putting inverted commas around the words comdt-general. That rank was conferred on all divisional GOCs in the IRA in 1921. General Maguire held his commission from Cathal Brugha as Minister for Defence in the Second Dáil.

Similarly, the use of the expression "Republican trappings," in another article close by on the same day, is one used by the British army in the Six Counties and is intended by them to demean

and patronise. It is unseemly to argue in the newspapers about the arrangements which surrounded a person's funeral, in this case a national figure who never broke his oath to the All-Ireland Republic. General Maguire in 1984 asked that his coffin not be draped in the Irish Tricolour.

Following the onset of his last illness, this point was discussed with his family and a special flag was made based on the designs of IRA flags of the past. It is a fine flag, showing an Easter Lily on a blue background with the lettering "Arm Phoblacht na h-Eireann". The flag was shown to his family and its use was agreed, as were the other arrangements for his funeral.

In point of fact, the entire crowd waited to hear my oration at Cross, including the majority of Tom Maguire's immediate family. I did mention in the course of it that General Maguire's last political will and testament had not yet been made public. — Beir Beannacht.

RUAIRÍ Ó BRÁDAIGH,
President,
Republican Sinn Féin,
Oifig Éire Nua,
41 Arran Quay,
Dublin 7.

(The leaflet accompanying Mr Ó Brádaigh's letter is headed: "Entering Leinster House: a Veteran Speaks".)

• Tom Maguire's statement of October 22, 1986 repudiating those prepared to accept the 26-County partition parliament of Leinster House.

• Letter from Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to the *Irish Times*, July 13, 1993 correcting errors in media coverage of the death of Tom Maguire.

MacBride Principles forced change in jobs bias

THE New York City Comptroller's Office has reported that the nine-year MacBride Principles campaign in the US has contributed to an increase in Catholic employment in the Six Counties. However, the report's author, NY City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman, states that Catholics are still twice as likely to be unemployed as Protestants.

The MacBride Campaign is supported by President Clinton, 13 of the 50 US States and over 40 municipalities, including New York. The states and municipalities have enacted laws tying their investment and/or procurement policies to adherence to the MacBride Principles.

Meanwhile, in a new report by the British government's Fair Employment Commission the greater chance of Catholic than Protestant men being unemployed in 1991, 2.2 times, was a drop from 2.6 in the mid-1980s. In 1991, 28.4% of Catholic males were out of work compared with 12.7% of

Protestants. But the bias against Catholic women continues to rise — they are now 1.8 times more likely to be unemployed than Protestant women.

Fair enough? Religion and the 1991 (Six-County) Population Census confirms the rise in the Catholic proportion of the Six-County population from 36.8% in 1971 to 43.1% in 1991. In Belfast this increase was from 34% (1971) to 45% (1991).

EMIGRATION

The authors of the report, Dr Bob Osborne from the University of Ulster, Bob Cormack

and Tony Gallagher from Queen's University, Belfast attribute the rise in the Catholic population to the fall-off in emigration from the Six Counties, which in earlier decades was twice as prevalent in Catholic areas.

Some things have not changed, however. Catholic under-representation in administration and management continues with Protestants more likely to be managers, particularly of big firms (ie more than 500 employees). The larger the firm the less likely Catholic men are to be employed there, while Catholic women are more likely to be employed in larger concerns.

Poblachtaigh i bpríosún

AG tabhairt léachta dhó fé'n teideal "Céad Bliain den Chonradh" ag Cluain Aills, Casleán Ríabhach, Co Roscomáin (teach mhuintir Uí Chonchúir Dhoimn) ar fóil 17, d'ainmnigh Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, Uachtarán an Chonartha 15 duine a chuirigh go phríosún le tmaail anuas mar gheall ar a seasamh leis an Gaeilge. Imeach an 15 bhí Margaret Langsdorf, ball gníomhaigh de Shinn Féin Poblachtach agus Cáit Uí Chadhain, ball de Choiste Láir CHABHAIR, cumann fóirtheanta na bpríosúnach. Sheas siad in-aghaidh Alt 31, sé sin cinseireacht ar RTE, chomh maith, ar ndóigh.

Faoi Ghlas Ag Gallaibh

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS

Michael Hegarty, A9999 C Wing H-Block 2 HMP Magilligan Point Road Magilligan Co Derry BT49 0LP

Seán Grogan Fáilte Abhaile!

Liam Quinn, L49930 HMP Parkhurst Isle of Wight England

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

ÓMÓS DO DHÚBHGHLAS DE HÍDE

AR AN Domhnach, 11ú Iúil leag Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge, bláthfhleasc ar uaigh an chéad Uachtaráin, Dúbhghlas de hÍde ag an Portach Ard, Dún Gar, Co Roscomáin.

Dúirt an t-Uarramach Gary Hastings, Béal Féirsteach a bhí fúil pobal aige i gcathair na Gaillimhe agus ar fud Chomhairle, paidreacha ar son na teangeain agus ar son an náisiúin. Labhair Mac Aonghusa le mothú le'n a raibh i láthair.

"Ba thusa an chéad Uachtarán, a Chraoibhín," a dúirt sé. "Is mise an 22ú Uachtarán. Bhí acfhuinn ghriinn ionas, d'ólís doeachach bhí tú id' oibrí thar cinn. Marach thusa ní bhéad an Ghaeilge ann inniu ach ins na h-ollscoltaigh."

"Chuir tú le chéile Amhráin Ghraí Cháige Chonnacht agus

Amhráin Dhiaga Chúige Chonnacht agus d'fhoilsigh tú iad. Fear cúise dob ea thú agus ní hambaínn fear acúadúil.

GIOLLA MEAR

"A Maker of Modern Ireland" a thug muintir Dunleavy ort. B'shin an teideal acu ar a leabhar stúid mar gheall ort. Gael thar Ghaeíl a bhí ionat, a Ghiolla Mhear" téa muid Fé chomaoin agat."

Ghabh Seán Mac Mathúna, Rúnaí an Chonartha, buíochas lena raibh i láthair. In a measc siúd, bhí Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach; Ite Ní Chionnaith, Iar-Uachtarán an Chonartha;

Dómhnaill Ó Lúbhlaí, Clann Lir agus Cumann na bhFiann; Seán Ó Beirn, Cathaoirleach na



Comhairle Contae, Tomás Ó Duibhir, Cluainín Uí Ruairc, Co Liatroma.

Cuireadh fáilte roimh an síua san Ionad Tuigsine atá san Eaglais Protastúnach ar an láthair. I measc na rudaí atá ar taispeáint ansin tá busta de de hÍde leis na focla seo as a léacht cáiliúil, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising the Irish People". Ach ón t-sean-chrann seargtha fuar fáisfaidh aníos planda úr" agus i mBearla: "To make the living present a rational continuation of the living past".

AMHRÁIN

Chan Hazel Shannon as Dún Gar ceithre amhráin: "Fill, Fill a Rúin Ó" agus "Buachaill ón Éirne" le tionlacan an cruite; "Óró Mo Bháidín" agus "Preab san Ól" leis an nguitar. Rinne Seosamh Mac Gabhann, iar-Oide Scoile, Cill Móibhí, stiúradh thart ar an Ionad ansin.

"Bhí dhá chuspóir ag an deichniúr a bhunaigh an Conradh i Sráid Uí Chonaill, Iocht, BÁC ar an 31 Iúil 1893," a dúirt sé: "(1) an teanga a chur i réim; (2) litríocht nu-ainmeartha a chur ag fás."

BEANNACHTAÍ

HEGARTY, Best wishes to Michael Hegarty, POW, H-Block 2, Magilligan from John and Margaret Houlihan and Catherine Doherty, Currow, Killarney, Jim O'Shea, St Joseph's Terrace, Cahersiveen; the Kerry Release Committee, Eamon Breen, Killarney Road, Castleisland; Frank Conway, Over the Water, Cahersiveen; John Foran, Marian Park, Tralee; Margaret Scanlon, Currow, Killarney, and Donie Coffey, Marian Park, Killarney.

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach MONSTER NATIONAL PRIVATE MEMBERS DRAW

1st Prize: PEUGEOT 205 CAR or CITROËN AX
2nd Prize: HOLIDAY IN IRELAND.
3rd Prize: £250.



PEUGEOT 205

DONATIONS £5 EACH.

Draw will take place at the Spa Hotel, Lucan on SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1993

Tickets now available from local cumainn or from Ard-Oifig, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Please return stubs and cash to any of the names printed on the tickets or to Ard-Oifig.

General Liam Lynch Ceremony Sept. 12

A chara

Through the columns of your esteemed paper I would like to bring to the notice of all lovers of peace, justice and freedom in Ireland that this is the seventieth anniversary of the death of one of Ireland's noblest sons — General Liam Lynch.

A commemoration will be held at the Knockmealdown Mountains (assembling Goatenbridge), Co Tipperary on Sunday, September 12 at 2.30pm. I appeal to all who never compromised, all who remained faithful to the ideals which Liam Lynch cherished, to come along and re-dedicate themselves to the cause for which he gave the last drop of his heart's blood.

Liam Lynch said: "We have declared for an Irish Republic and we will live under no other law". It is on record that Michael Collins travelling to the south called on a famous Tipperary man, Tom Malone (alias Seán Forde during the Tan War), a political prisoner in Portlaoise Prison, to end the Civil War. Collins had a safe passage from Liam Lynch.

But peace and unity would not suit the imperial masters or reactionary elements in Ireland — a single shot ended Collins' mission. And it should be noted that a single shot ended the life of the noble Liam Lynch. The M15 were active then as today.

It was my privilege to be associated with the men of 1922 and I learned a lot of the great qualities of Liam Lynch from his faithful comrade General Moss Twomey. It will be of interest to Tipperary people that Tipperary men played a major part in erecting the memorial on the hallowed spot where Liam Lynch fell. The memorial was first unveiled by Moss Twomey in 1935. Moss was 'on the run' and Tipperary



• General Liam Lynch, Chief-of-Staff of the IRA.

men prevented his arrest that day.

Liam Lynch fought to overthrow the system under which we live today — a system that has only brought misery to the masses of our people.

Come early and pay tribute to his memory on September 12. Help to bring back the spirit of the days before Britain broke the unity of the Irish people, before she divided our country. You owe it to your children. A just share of the nation's wealth is their God-given right — the wealth that is now squandered and hidden abroad as hot money.

MARTIN CALLIGAN
Kilmurry-McMahon
Co Clare

Long Kesh Thanks

A chara
May I, through the columns of SAOIRSE, take the unusual

step of publicly paying tribute to a group of Glasgow Republicans who over the years have dedicated much time and effort into helping Republicans in prison.

Over the years Stevie Coyle and James Moore along with a number of friends have worked tirelessly to lessen the financial burden on POWs' families, work which sadly often goes unappreciated.

On a personal level, the friendship and comradeship of these Republicans has enabled me to endure my time in prison. Their care and devotion to prisoners along with their work of spreading the Republican message in Scotland is concrete proof of the need to cultivate and strengthen the age-old link with Republicans in Britain and elsewhere.

To Stevie and Jimmy and to all those men and women who work and care for Irish prisoners I thank you.

Onwards to freedom.
EDDIE MCGARRIGLE
Hospital Wing
Long Kesh.

"Sealbh na hÉireann - Cé leis na Machairí Méithe"

Cuid a trí

IS AR phrionsabal an fhéineachais mar chuspá atá Comhar na gComharsan bunaithe (glanta dá dhroch-thréithe agus léiceoir bhathrú is glé lena cheiliúint do shaoil an lae inniu). Ach caithfear faoin a chur anseo — is ar an dlí aiceanta go bunúsach atá leagan polaitiúil agus geillegraich Chomhar na gComharsan tóigthe agus níl sa bhféineachas go fírinneach, ach múnla mar a theitims, le crot dúchasach a chur ar shaoil na hÉireann.

Tá bunphrionsabal amháin den fhéineachas afach nár mhór áird a thabhairt air. "Is fearr duine ná a bheith".

Nuair a tháinig "roin ar an bhfearran" faoi Acht na Talún ba mar mhaith leana chuid ridirí spionta féin ar inne rialtas Shasana an roinn. Ní dhéanadh ach an sreabach — an carachán, an coarín agus an mháiteog a roinn agus fágadh an talamh méith i gcúinn na mbóir mar an sé amháin go dtí an lá atá inniu ann.

Is tuairisc mhéonáirimh den Choimisiún ar an Imreac seala maith de

bhilianta ó shoin, scríobh an Dr Róirímh Ó Luasa, Easpag Chorcaí (nach maireann) mar a leanas — "Tá dhá ghné den tionscal talmaíochta s'againne nach dtig le fiú an fheachtóra isearn-chúis gan sonrú a chur iontu — an méid atá sé cruinnithe i lámha dreama bhig, agus an méid is tionscal innilte é".

GABHÁLTAISI

Tugann na figiúirí is iondúla a faightear le tuisicint dúinn gur tír de ghabháltaisí beaga i seo, de bhíri go bhfuil 289,605 gabháltais is iúl ná 100 acra in aghaidh 29,042 ion de 100 acra nó níos mó.

Ach caithfear cuimhnú air seo — go bhfuil ins 29,042 gabháltas sin oiread is 3,750,000 acra de thalamh cuir, nó 32% d'iomlán an talaimh churálachta san tír. As an 29,042 gabháltas seo tá 7,270 is mó fá seach ná 200 acra gurab é a mór-shuim 1,369,000 acra nó tuairim is 12% de thalamh arúil na tíre.

Is dearb mar sin i dtéarmaí cóimheasa nach fuair i dtiortha eile d'iarthar na hEorpa, mar an Danmhairg, an Olláin, An Bheilg, an Fhrainc ná an

Ghearmáin an oiread sin de thalamh curálachta an náisiúin i seilbh a laighead daoine is atá anseo.

Is ar na tailte méithe atá na gabháltais is mó, sa Mhí, san Iarmhí, i dtíobraid Arann, i bPortlárige, i Luimneach agus mar sin de. Ar na taobh eile den scéal níl feidir le feilméaraí beaga na gConnachta pósadh, clann a thógáil agus tíocti i dtír ar na garraithe domasaí faoin georas mílteanach sandaonach a brúth orthu faoi Acht na Talún.

ISIAD na figiúirí thuasluaite na cinn a bhí ar fáil tilleadh is fiche bliain ó shoin. An tráth sin dúirt an Dr Mac Fearghusa go raibh an dearlann ann go mbeith Connachta bnaiteaí fa cheann leath-chéad bliain. Ach tá'n tuar ag teacht faoin tairngreacht cheana féin aige. Is riachtair ach grásta Déanaois go mbeidh lorras agus ceantrach eile mar é foinna réim ag "an naois: bin agus an crotach glórach".

Níl ach an t-aon tsli amháin ann le beil agus bláth a chur ar na gabháltais beaga seo — sin oibair gcomhar. Agus sa méid is faill le cumann polaitiúchta

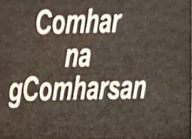
ar bith — poblachtach nó gliall an cuspóir seo a thógairt agus a chur ar aghaidh i gcúrsaí talmaíochta agus tionscail feallans sad ar sheanghnas náisiúnta agus Chríostaí ár muintire.

FINTÍ

Mar a scríobh mé thuas níor leis na taoisigh ná na tairní seilbh na tíre, ach leis na fintí agus mhair an córas seo ins na limistéir nár rith reasta na bainríona (Eilís I) iontu — Cúige Uladh fré chéile, Liadroim, an Cabhán, Iar-Chonnacht, Iorras agus na hoileáin anuas go dtí briseadh Chionn Sáile ar maidin an 24 Nollaig, 1601.

I ndiaidh Phlandáil Uladh agus ionnarbadh na nGael ba é an chloch ba mhó ar phairid na dtírghráitheoirí a throid anuas thri na cianta ar son na hÉireann, ní hé amháin saoirse pholaitiúil bhaint amach ach maoin na hÉireann a thabhairt ar ais i seilbh na nGael.

DÁLÁAN scéil níorbh é Bholf Tón an chéad duine a mhól poblacht mar chóras rialtais in Éirinn ach Eoin Rua Ó Néill. Ach ní raibh an t-áiméar



aige a rún a chur i gcrích agus tá'n teideal "Athair na Poblachta" lán tuilleag Tón. Ba é an cuspóir a bhí aige "Ceart an duine in Éirinn — Is é ceart an duine ceart Dé agus is é cosaint cinn amháin acu cothú an chinn eile".
Ná siltear áfach gur mar gheall ar phrionsabail Mhuirtheacht na Traince ná fós na nÉireannach Aontaithe amháin (cé nach foláir go raibh a nandáil féin acu ar na daoine) a d'éirigh fúmhór na nGael amach i '98, go háirithe in Iorras agus Tír Amhlaidh.
Ba é an fuadar a bhí fúthu dáiríre píre na tailte agus an mhaoin agus na cearta a goideadh uatha ag na Sasanaigh a bhreith ar ais acu féin.
— Fear Domhnann

1893 - Bliain na Gaeilge - 1993

Deireadh Fómhair

4 MEÁN FÓMHAIR. Siompóisiam: Cumann Lúth-Chléis Gael agus Conradh na Gaeilge. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2, 8pm.

10 MEÁN FÓMHAIR, AOINE. Taispeántas de leabhair a bhaineann le stair an Chonartha, BÁC. 12 Meán Fómhair, Domhnach Searmanas le hais Uaigh an Urr. Maxwell Close i reilig Ghraínseach an Déin, BÁC.

12 Meán Fómhair 1903 a cailleadh é **18/19 MEÁN FÓMHAIR, SATHARN/DOMHNACH.** Eigse Scríbhneoirí an Chláir - Comóradh ar mhórscribhneoirí Gaeilge an Chláir. Inis.

24 MEÁN FÓMHAIR, AOINE. Léacht agus Comóradh ar an Athair Eoghan Ó Gramhnaigh agus a chuid oibre mar Chonraitheoir. Baile Átha Bui, Co na Mí.

Rugadh é 24 Meán Fómhair 1863. Eagrán speisialta de FEASTA á sheoladh.

1/3 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, AOINE-DOMHNACH. Cúirt Uí Chadhainn. Á reactáil ag Craobh na Gaillimhe de Chonradh na Gaeilge. Arus na nGael, 45 Sráid Doimnic, Gaillimh.

5 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, MAIRT. Léacht: *Conraitheoirí Loch Garman, 1893-1993.* Inis Córthaídh.

8/10 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, AOINE-DOMHNACH. Daon scoil Osráil, Cill Chaimmigh. Léacht ag Proinsias Mac Aonghusa.

15 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, AOINE. Crochadh Pictiúir ar leith d'Eóin Mac Néill i cCinnáras Chonradh na Gaeilge. C ailleadh é 15 Deireadh Fómhair, 1945.

20 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, CÉADAOIN. Siompóisiam i mBaile Átha Cliath faoi Chraobh na hAiséirí. Cuireadh d'Iarbhail. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2, 8pm.

22/31 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR. OIREACHTAIS NA GAEILGE, GAILLIMH. Láinscáil an leabhair *Ar son na Gaeilge - Conradh na Gaeilge 1893-1993* le Proinsias Mac Aonghusa.

FEIS NA POBLACHTA 1993

Ócáid Mhór na gCainteoirí Gaeilge

Dáta: 4 Meán Fómhair, 1993

Láthair: An Cultúrlann, Baile na Manach Co Átha Cliath, 2in

Téama: 'Scoláirí' Ollscoil an Churraigh agus

Bliain an Chéid Ghaeilge Fáilte Roimh Chách.

Stuathor
Seosamh O Maolcoilín,
Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Cc Arann, BÁC 7

Big Hats and the Multitudes

Renewing the Irish Church by Joe McVeigh, Mercier Press (1993), £6.99.

MANY people would question whether you can renew the church — or the churches — because so many have tried and failed. Joe McVeigh in his latest book says not only that the Catholic church can be renewed, it must be, otherwise it sinks away into irrelevance and even injustice.

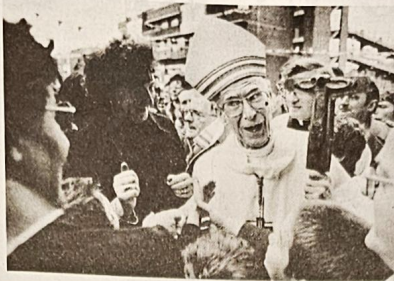
Joe McVeigh being a Catholic priest in Fermanagh is very aware of the need to enlist the church with all its resources in the struggle for justice. This he believes is the church's main purpose, to proclaim a new deal in which people will have their dignity recognised and the message and thrust of religion will be to create freedom for people rather than bondage.

He shows how the record of the Catholic church in Ireland has not been good. High clergy far too often opposed moves for justice by a sad and impoverished people.

Contrary to what some believe today this opposition of churchmen was not because the means people chose were violent — even when the means were as peaceful as could be and more peaceful than might be expected from a tortured people, high church officials were still against popular movements for justice.

The reason is not hard to find. Joe McVeigh traces it through Irish history and shows how it is part of the church's way of life to side with the existing powers. Not the legitimate powers even, or the

LÉ IRMHÉAS



• The Big Hats - Cardinal Cathal Daly in Belfast.

just powers, but the existing powers.

Just because they are there, they have a right to be obeyed, so the doctrine goes. That means the church was committed to upholding the powers in place, whether they were just or unjust. This doctrine had a miserable effect not only on our history but on the history of other nations as well.

In this book, *Renewing the Irish Church*, you see how in France, Spain and Latin America the deadly doctrine of our duty

to obey and uphold existing governments wrought havoc and deflected the church from its true mission which is to liberate people from oppression, not to uphold governments.

At times the doctrine was disregarded — when Catholic church officials supported Franco for instance, or opposed elected left-wing governments. How then can the Irish church help to liberate the people from the oppression of poverty or unjust occupation or indignity?

PURPOSE

In the first place, the author says, by rediscovering its real purpose in life, by rediscovering the real liberating meaning of the Old and New Testaments, by accepting that if a religion is not about setting people free it is not about anything.

For this task of rediscovery, he says, church leadership — which has so often led people astray politically and morally — needs to look at the experiences of other countries, particularly those of Christians in Latin America.

But above all, the thinking, the assessment and the insights have to be found where they really are, among the people, in the small groups of Christians gathering together to find out what God and life teach, not what church officials teach.

One of the curious things about Christianity is that the message was originally given to "the multitudes" and yet within a couple of generations the multitudes were convinced — by somebody other than Jesus Christ — that they had to go off to some fellows with big hats to find out what the message meant.

The big hats had not even heard Jesus whereas the multitudes had.

AUTHENTIC

Joe McVeigh does not put

the matter in such homely terms but what he is saying is precisely this — that if you want to find the authentic message of Jesus Christ you have to go back to the multitudes. Or if you like, the multitudes have to get back into themselves, and in their groups and companionships discuss and formulate the true meaning of the message which after all was theirs to begin with. The fellows with the big hats now have to listen to and learn from them, otherwise the message does not survive authentically.

This is a forthright, clear, concise and particularly in the Irish context, exciting book.

Just as in Latin America Christians are realising that the liberation of God's people is hindered by aggressive foreign domination, so in Ireland it is a Christian duty to open the way to freedom both by "renewing the church" and by removing the aggressive domination which is symbolised and perpetuated by the selfish imperialist partition of Ireland.

A good double read is this book and Denis Carroll's new one from Columbia Press, *They Have Fooled You Again*, the story of Father Michael O'Flanagan.

— Des Wilson

PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICANS An Oral and Interpretive History, by Robert W White, Greenwood Press, 1993, \$55.

THE author of this book is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Indiana University, Indianapolis, USA. His work is presented as a contribution in Political Science, the product of a substantial amount of research in Ireland. Professor White specialises in the study of what is termed "small-group violence".

This particular study involved numerous interviews with a large number of Irish activists, with particular emphasis on the 1969-93 period. It will therefore be of interest to readers of SAOIRSE.

He examines the back-

ground and motivation of a large number of active and former members of the Republican Movement.

What is of especial interest is his analysis of the thinking behind the efforts in 1969 and 1986 to transform the Republican Movement into a reformist political party which would work through the

From Republican Movement to Reformist Politics

partitionist and English structures.

What are the professor's conclusions? He distinguishes two strands, based on the motivation and circumstances of people's original recruitment. On each occasion, 1969 and 1986, those who upheld the Republican position were, almost entirely, those who had joined out of conviction and deep thought. Those who sought the short cut through Leinster House were, almost all, the victims of state violence who joined at a very young age, teens or early 20s, and after a short period of involvement in public demonstrations.

DEDICATION

"Pre-1969 Republicans are a product of family tradition and dedication to a cause. Post-1969 Northern Republicans are a product of events that force them to make political choices."

"Examination of the split suggests that it (like the split of 1969) was greatly influenced by the processes that cause recruitment into Republican politics and shape the postrecruitment vision of the

Republican Movement... recruitment paths provide lines of demarcation that shape the outcome of the disagreement."

This is Mr White's most salient conclusion.

Some quotations from spokespersons for Free State Sinn Féin are revealing, though Republicans will not really be surprised by them. Having accepted Leinster House, Mitchell McLaughlin now declares that "I wouldn't say never even in respect to Westminster". This sentiment is echoed by Martin McGuinness.

Danny Morrison is working to get into Leinster House, but "I am not recognising it as being legitimate". How on earth does one describe that? Native, absurd, illogical or just plainly fraudulent?

All of this deception is given further prominence by the revelations in the Opsahl Report that Free State Sinn Féin would wait "thirty or more years" for an English withdrawal.

Gerry Adams' February 1993 speech in Dundalk is quoted by Opsahl, when he spoke of "steps that would be made to get Northern majority consent to Irish reunification".

The Unionist veto is apparently alive and well in certain erstwhile Republican quarters. The downward gradient on the slippery slope has indeed taken a steep dive in 1993.

Far from winning more support in the 26 Counties, the 1986 decision to recognise Leinster House has resulted in less and less support for the FSSF organisation in each election since then.

Mr White has done an interesting and valuable piece of research. He is obviously painstaking, thorough and perceptive. The working out of policies decided on in 1969-70 has led to the Workers' Party/Democratic Left debacle. Which is the most Unionist party in Leinster House now?

The working out of the Free State departure of 1986 might very well provide Mr White with more interesting material in a few years' time.

Another conclusion drawn by Professor White concerns the relevance of the 1974-75 IRA — English army truce. I quote:

"To argue that the post-1969 Northerners saved the Republican Movement in the aftermath of the 1975 truce

ignores the role that pre-1969 Republicans, North and South, played in the Movement's reorganisation.

ABSTENTIONISM

"If the 1986 split had been caused by personal feelings, it would have occurred in 1978 or 1983. The split of Sinn Féin in 1986 was caused by disagreement over abstentionism."

There are some errors in this book which could have been avoided. Roger Casement was not an Englishman (ref page 19). The Nationalist party members were not abstentionists from Stormont in 1965 (ref page 27).

To write of the people of 12th century Ireland as being "Catholic" (page 13) and of Irish Republicans as seeking "to liberate Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and reunite it with the Republic of Ireland (sic)" (page 8) is not very accurate.

The use of the term "violence" as the equivalent of "physical force" is general now in the media, but totally out of place in academic research where words should be used with precision. "Violence", by definition, is the use of unlawful, excessive or unjustifiable force.

This is an expensive book. But it is a significant analysis and I recommend it to readers. Ask your library for it.

— Seán Mac Craigh

Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund

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

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

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THE FELONS OF OUR LAND

50 YEARS AGO

In mid-August 1943 Churchill and US President Roosevelt met and agreed in principle to confront de Valera on the question of military bases for the Allies in the 26 Counties.

This is what American Ambassador to Dublin David Gray had been working for. However the US Joint Chiefs-of-Staff advised against military action to secure these.

"Gray's proposal was a political, not a military initiative," says Cronin. US Chief-of-Staff, the very able General George C Marshall frowned on military sideshows.

Cronin continues: "The first principle of war is to know one's objective. Marshall's objective was an invasion of Western Europe. If he considered the Irish bases necessary for this objective he would seize them. But that was not his opinion.

"However, if the political goals of the (US) President in Ireland required the use of military force, Marshall would provide it," says Cronin. The Joint Chiefs acted as a brake on any Irish adventure.

In addition US Secretary of State Cordell Hull would not go as far as Roosevelt and British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden saw that de Valera would counter by citing "partition" as an obstacle to cooperation. But Gray pressed on, as we shall see.

In August '43 also Lord Louis Mountbatten was appointed Supreme Allied Commander in South-East Asia. He went on to become in 1947 the last Viceroy of India, chief of NATO forces in the Mediterranean in 1953 and Chief of the British Defence Staff in 1959. An uncle of the Queen of England he was to die from IRA action off Co Sligo in 1979.

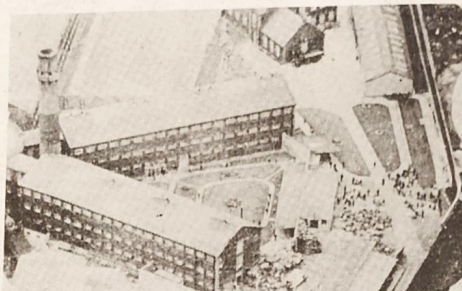
On August 3, 1943 a successful Soviet offensive was launched on the southern sector of their front. By the end of the month they had taken the city of Kharkov in the Ukraine and reached the line of the Dnieper river. The Red Army was beginning to roll up the carpet on the Germans in that theatre of WWII.

ENDURING

Back home in Ireland the IRA was enduring rather than inflicting. An internee, Joseph McGinley of the Waterside in Derry died on August 13 from ill-treatment received on the prison ship *Al-Rawdah*. He is buried in Derry city. The casualty list was lengthening.

Meanwhile in Belfast Jail the strip-strike by Republican sentenced prisoners, begun in June, continued. The original 22 were joined by newcomers as the months wore on.

Harry says: "Refusing to wear prison clothing, their furniture and blankets were removed



● **Crumlin Road jail, Belfast.**

each morning at eight, being left thus through the winter of 1943 into 1944. Although this grim protest was accompanied by hunger strikes, they got nowhere and were forced to conform eventually."

Coogan describes their condition thus: "The authorities retaliated by taking every other article from their cells, including their handkerchiefs. Towels were taken after the morning wash and no reading material was permitted other than religious books."

He continues: "Cells were thus left empty apart from the prisoner himself, the frame of his iron bed, his sanitary vessel and a carafe of water for the whole day."

Coogan goes on: "Conditions seem to have been even colder (in summer) than they would have been in winter for in prison the heating is switched off during the summer and the stone walls have no way of heating up."

STRIKE ACCOUNT

Jimmy Steele writing in 1954 in the little paper he produced named *Resurgent Ulster* gave an account of what it was like to be on the strip strike. He records that on waking in the morning at 7am "the cold bare walls stare back at you and you realise you have another long day to spend naked".

"You ponder how long it will be until you see that bed again — 13 hours — 780 minutes — 46,800 seconds and you have to live thru' every second." The warders came at 7.30am. "Laughing and joking and full of the ordinary joys of life. You wonder if the fight is really worthwhile. But this passes very quickly and you get the courage to at least last another day.

"The breakfast arrives at 8am as you stand naked in your cold, bare cell. It consists of a pint of tea, eight ounces of bread and half an ounce of margarine and you eat it off the old bedstead, slowly and treasuring each morsel. It will be four-and-a-half hours before you get more.

"The day must be spent, eight paces up and eight paces back trying to get the circulation going. The sun shines outside but it does

not reach you. A knock on the wall and then on the pipes. A neighbour wants to speak. An enamel mug placed on the pipes serves as a kind of telephone.

"Your pal is finding it hard also and you try to encourage him. 'Stick it a little longer and there is no knowing what might happen'. Suddenly the spy-hole is opened and an unfriendly eye looks in and gives a sharp order to get off the pipes.

"You begin to parade again or read a few pages of the Bible. You read but do not take it in. Perhaps the part on Job will give a little comfort. He suffered for God and you are suffering for principle. It helps to offer it up.

"Then they search your cell. For what? Your hair and beard are gone through. No razor, no mirror. Perhaps with a razor the death of Tone could be re-enacted? The dinner arrives and you are ravenous. It consists of one pint of soup, two ounces meat, one ounce vegetables and about three small potatoes.

"Well, you eat everything, skins, every scrap — it fills an empty space. Eight-and-a-half hours to go — you lie on the cold bedstead for you have been constantly on the move since morning trying to keep warm. The cold makes you get up and walk up and down again.

"Maybe the prison chaplain calls on you. One is delighted to see him but at the same time embarrassed and ashamed. You do not wish to detain him as he has all the other fighters to see and perhaps some other prisoners as well.

DIFFICULT

"He has a very difficult job. You see he is sympathetic but he indicates to you that he thinks you are up against a stone wall. Perhaps you are. You are in the grip of a mighty machine. Others fought it for years. Some went to an early grave. Others went mad. Yet you must not let your comrades down. We are all in this together.

"At 2pm the other prisoners go out to work. No matter how monotonous and hateful, how content you would be just doing anything?

You climb on the back of the bed and look out the window. There is little to be seen.

"Some hapless creatures marching around in a ring awaiting trial; perhaps some of your own comrades who will get a savage sentence like you. If you are caught looking out, you will receive a sentence of 'bread and water' — eight ounces of bread and one pound of potatoes per day."

"At 4pm the prisoners return from work and tea arrives. It is the same as in the morning with one pint of porridge and half-a-pint of milk. Nothing more till 8am next morning so you must reserve some. The day's back is broken now. Nine hours gone and every hour you do means one more down and one less to do.

"Then you have a string and a weight you had concealed in order to communicate with the prisoner beneath you. Perhaps a few booklets to exchange and while away the evening. If caught punishment will follow but it is worth the risk. Look at the satisfaction if you succeed and beat them, even if it is only a small thing.

"The prisoner below is in sympathy with your ideals and sends you some of his food on the line. He will be punished too if caught but he knows you are fighting his fight too. Will 8.30pm never come?"

"They start at the top. Will they never reach your cell? The door opens and you get your bedding. In a few minutes you are under the clothes and in a few more asleep.

"It does seem a pity to go to sleep as you don't find the time until that awful bell goes again," concludes Jimmy Steele. These were the sacrifices made in 1943-44 for political treatment, specifically to have the right to wear one's own clothes. (We are indebted to Jimmy Steele for his first hand account, recorded 10 years after the events.)

TRADITION

All this was part of a tradition of struggle stretching back to William O'Brien and John Mandeville wearing newspapers only in Tullamore Jail during the Land War of the 1880s right up to the H-Block protest of 1976-81.

The prisoners of the 1940s had little if any publicity for their sacrifices so their contribution was all the greater. At the remove of 50 years in time we salute their bravery and their unselfishness.

*Some in the convicts dreary cell
Have found a living tomb
And some unseen unending felt
Within the dungeon's gloom . . .
Let comrades mock and tyrants from
Ah, little do we care;
A felon's cap is the noblest crown
An Irish head can wear . . .*

— The Felons of Our Land

(More next month. Refs Harry by Harry White; *The IRA* by TP Coogan; *Washington's Irish Policy: 1916-1986* by Sean Cronin; *National Songs, Ballads and Recitations of Ireland* published by the Irish Book Bureau (Joe Clarke).)

50th Anniversary Commemoration in Dublin



● Frank Kerrigan, Cork, laying wreath at grave of Vol Jackie Griffith.

ON the 50th Anniversary of the death of Jackie Griffith a large crowd of people, led by a Republican colour-party, which included members of Cumann na mBan, and members of the Dr Arthurs Memorial Pipe Band from the Glens of Antrim, marched from Berkeley Road Church to his graveside in Glasnevin Cemetery on Saturday, July 3. Jackie, who was by Beggars Bush, Dublin, was cycling down Holles Street when armed Special Branchmen opened fire with a Thompson sub-machinegun, killing him instantly on July 4, 1943.

Peter Cunningham, Chairperson, Dublin Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin chaired the proceedings and introduced Frank Kerrigan from Cork who laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement. Frank, who was in Mountjoy jail with Jackie, helped plan and carry out their escape with Jim Smith, Margaret Langsdorf, who herself has been a "guest of the state" in Mountjoy on more than one occasion, said a decade of the Rosary in Irish and Unseann Mat Eoin spoke about Jackie's

short but eventful life. Liam Cotter, Kerry, in his

oration paid fitting tribute to Jackie Griffith's dedication to his country and his determination to free it all time from "native traitor and foreign foe". He said that Jackie Griffith paid the full price for his love of country on July 4, 1943 as the "native traitors" did the job for the "foreign foe".

The Last Post and Reveille was sounded by one of the pipers from the Glens of Antrim, one of whose members was shot and seriously injured the previous morning by pro-British death squads as he left home to travel to Dublin.



● Vol Jackie Griffith

EVENTS CALENDAR/FÉILIRE IMEACHTAÍ 1993

National
HUNGER STRIKE Comm., Bundoran, 28/8.

Ulster/Leinster
GOSS & GAUGHAN Comm., Dundalk, Co Louth, 8/8; EVE OF ALL-IRELAND Public Meeting, GPO, Dublin, 18/9; JIMMY KEENEY Comm., Saggart, Co Dublin, 17/10; EDENTUBBER MARTYRS Comm., Edentubber, Co Louth, 7/11; FRANK DRIVER Comm., Ballymore Eustace, Co Kildare, 11/1; KEVIN BARRY Comm., Rathvilly, Co Carlow, 28/11; LIAM MELLOWS Comm., Castletown, Co Wexford, 5/12; CHRISTMAS SWIM for Republican prisoners and their dependants, Dublin 25/12.

Munster/Connacht
LIAM LYNCH Comm., Goatenbridge, Knockmealdown Mts., Co Tipperary, 12/9; CHARLIE KERINS Comm., Tralee, Co Kerry, 3/12.

Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent



ALL deaths are tragic and certainly those resulting from the present situation in the North of Ireland are as deeply tragic as are others in any war situation. The worst tragedy is when innocents are killed, especially children whether Irish or English. In recent times there has been officious indignation over the terrible loss of two English children killed by a bomb.

The 26 Counties President attended the funeral, but to the relatives of children killed by the British, Mrs Robinson to her disgrace has not the same time or concern. Isn't an Irish child worth the same as an English child? It's the same old slave mentality once more.

Torture shoot-to-kill, collusion, assassination and general abuse of Irish Republicans evidently do not spoil President Robinson's afternoon tea time, but let Republicans use force to protect themselves or to fight the British which her government should be doing and suddenly it's self-righteous indignation time and "violence" as an option is resoundingly condemned by her kind.

Force utilised for any purpose is categorically rejected by most human beings as utterly distasteful as a policy of pursuit in any sphere for the attainment of a final goal. Finality in essence leaves a bitterness in the quality of the resultant situation if force in fact is employed, yet does it have a place in the promulgation of a set of policies

that has both evolutionary and revolutionary aspects to it, primed by necessity and sustained by an outside force of oppression?

It is my contention that with the essential qualifications imposed upon a given situation, with other alternative methods expended, then force as the last resort can be embraced.

HEALTHY

An abhorrence of violent confrontation is a healthy sign in a given society. This assertion cannot be refuted by any sane man or woman who individually and collectively has an intense desire to preserve living beings without the unnecessary termination of those same lives.

In application of this reasoning to the immediate war now raging in the six Irish counties occupied by the British army through the assumed power of the British government in London (imposed on a sovereign people), there are factors that must be applied in the realm of the preceding rationale.

At the outset, it must be stated unequivocally that the Northern Ireland state is not a normal nor is it a healthy society, but this fact was not perpetrated by the inhabitants of the given territory, rather it was created in the halls of Westminster, fabricating a British plan for the lives of Irish people.

THE inhabitants of the North of Ireland had no intention to use force but instead the

ingredients of violence were infused in the initiative by Britain in the creation of a clearly sectarian state and the resultant polarisation of the two major Irish communities that inhabit it.

An outsider, rejecting the use of force even in the attainment of basic human rights, does not fully comprehend the events that have necessitated the infusion of it into the sought goals of the Irish people deemed righteous by natural law. The outsider cannot be expected to understand such a situation, but a total rejection and condemnation of any group participation must and should be reserved until a full realisation of the situation and its corollary incidents is brought to the core of one's subconscious.

Constructive criticism is certainly welcome, but condemnation of force must be withheld until a viable alternative can be substituted. The substitute means must be created and implemented by the Irish people solely within the confines of their right as an historic national group.

Force categorically rejected on the basis of general distaste is acceptable but a given incident or set of circumstances must be deciphered in a

systematic context of that particular situation.

There are perhaps outside forces playing on the will of the society to resist force as a means and this was certainly the case in Ireland where the British nation coerced the two communities in the North to accept a governmental system of British construction that was inherently undemocratic and discriminatory against one group, being completely favourable to the leadership of the other. This is a grave injustice laying the very seeds for violence.

The State of Northern Ireland as devised by the British is by its creation a tinderbox waiting for the spark of ignition. The North is a conjured state not a democratic one as deceptively alleged by London, as the status of democracy was rejected at its very creation and holds the same status at the instant moment.

PLEBISCITE

As those cognisant of the events following the First World War are well aware, an Irish Plebiscite was held in 1918 and 83% of the entire nation voted for independence, but it was denied by Britain in contradiction of both international principles and those set out by the Westminster Parliament as well.

A state concocted in violation of the democratic will of the people is the very ingredient for violent confrontation, as it becomes obvious that legitimate means are only to be rejected by the assumed authority.

Even effects of peaceful protest are not heeded and fifty years of subjugation can only culminate by standing with backs to the wall crying for justice and staring down the barrel

of an enemy weapon.

From the frustration of consequence, the people must turn to a more divisive means and there is only one road left — violent insurrection in pursuit of freedom. This is despised and basically objectionable by those utilising it in pursuit of self-determination, but it is necessitated by a lack of any other method when the lot of all is exhausted, and there is only the hope of winning the rights sought by a means coerced by circumstance.

YET those in criticism of resistance live in the day-to-day circumstance of those they condemn and make the same remark. They might opt for peace, but without the inherent justice for which force, it seems, is the only means of attainment. Without basic justice and human rights and dignity, life itself cannot have the fulfilment that is guaranteed by a free nation.

Americans from Bill Clinton, Ted Kennedy, Tom Foley on down should live under British oppression before they criticise Irish Republicans. It takes great courage to fight the British and these three and others are in this context utter cowards.

American leaders cheered the bombing of Iraq when tens of thousands of innocent people were killed and now they would do the same in Bosnia. Who the hell do they think they are to play God?

I remember Ronald Reagan rejoicing over the bombing of military targets in Libya, when in fact he bombed Col Gaddafi's home and killed his little girl. Many Americans dictate to the Irish that they are immoral to employ the violent option, but America kills innocents and doesn't give a damn. — Peadar Mac Fhínn

Brón ar an mBás

Paddy Holden

The last surviving member of 'K' Company, 8th Battalion, South Tipperary Brigade, Irish Republican Army, died recently at his home in Hemel Hempstead, England, aged 88. Paddy Holden, born in Killonerry, Carrick-on-Suir, was a life-long Republican activist.

Paddy joined the Movement in 1919. Volunteering for active service with the newly-formed 'K' Company in this area, he was sent to Fiddens in Co Waterford to commence his training in the use of firearms. Paddy took part in many actions against the Black-and-Tans, RIC and British army, and was among the Volunteers who occupied the RIC Barracks in Carrick-on-Suir as the Black and Tans and RIC withdrew in 1921.

Following the Treaty, Paddy remained steadfast to his Republican principles. Carrick was in Republican hands in 1922, and the Free State army advancing

from Waterford and Kilkenny surrounded the town. The defenders led by Dinny Lacey and local OC Dennis O'Driscoll held out for several days but were forced to retreat under cover of darkness across the River Suir into County Waterford and the Comeragh Mountains.

Their plan was to link up with members of the Waterford Brigade, then move cross-country to the Knockmealdown Mountains and join forces with General Liam Lynch, then fighting a rearguard action against the Free State army — who were equipped by the British army who also provided training and



● Paddy Holden

officers for them. It was ironic that many Free State soldiers who only a year earlier had been fighting the British army were now being led by their officers.

Paddy, and several others, were captured in the townland of Ooing, Co Kilkenny by a Free State army patrol. They had been felling trees and digging trenches to slow the advance of the enemy. They were taken to Clonmel, then by train to Kilkenny gaoil where conditions were notoriously bad.

On arrival, in the winter of 1922, they discovered the previous occupants had stripped bare the tiles on the cell-blocks roofs and the new prisoners were forced to sleep under the sky. Next morning they awoke to find themselves covered by snow.

MURDERED

Paddy remained a prisoner there for over a year and saw

several of his comrades murdered — one, shot by a Free State soldier — for asking for a drink of water. He took part in

several escape attempts and was finally released in early 1924.

He was still supporting the liberation struggle in 1972, when he became a founder member of Sinn Féin in Luton — a meeting attended by the then National Organiser of Sinn Féin, Brendan Magill. He was a well-known figure at prison protests in London and Long Lartin and demonstrations calling for the withdrawal of troops from Ireland.

In 1986 at the age of 82 he led the march at the Francis Hughes commemoration at Bellaghy, spoke from the platform and on behalf of Oglaiha na hÉireann, laid the wreath at the graveside.

His body was flown home to Ireland and he was buried in St Mary's Cemetery, Carrickbeg with his wife Mary who pre-deceased him by several years.

He is survived by his son Michael, daughters Mary and Wanda, three grandsons and a granddaughter.

Comhbhrón

CORRIGAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the relatives and Republican comrades of Paddy Corrigan, Badford, Louth, Co Kerry who died recently. A lifelong Republican and faithful comrade. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

CURRAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to Tom Curran, Beerna, Co Galway on the recent death of his mother Julia. From the Hightstead/Hurligan Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, London.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, Patron of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, last and faithful survivor of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann. From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Maguire family on the death of their father, Comdt-General Tom Maguire IRA, and also to his sister. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BÁC.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Maguire family on the death of our patron Comdt-General Tom Maguire on July 5. Ní bheidh a leithéid arís ann. Ó Chumann Aine Ní Dhoibhlinn, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Ráth Fearnáin, BÁC.

MAGUIRE, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Maguire family on the death of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, last surviving and faithful member of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann. He will never be forgotten by the Executive and Volunteers of Cumann na mBan. **MAGUIRE**, Deepest sympathy is expressed with the family of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, Cross, Co Mayo, who

remained true to the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 to the very end. From the officers and members of Cumann Maurice O'Neill, Cahersiven, Co Kerry. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam usal.

MAGUIRE, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Glasgow extends its sympathy to the family of Comdt-General Tom Maguire. "The only message I have for anybody is 'Hold on and stick to the Republic' ". - Kevin Barry.

MAGUIRE, The Cathal Brugha Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dún Laoghaire extends sincere sympathy to the family of our Patron, Comdt-General Tom Maguire, Cross, Co Mayo, whose death occurred on July 5. Go ndéana Dia troicair at a anam usal.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy on the death of the last surviving member of the Second All-Ireland Dáil to the family, friends and comrades of Comdt-General Tom Maguire.

We will carry his name and theories with honour and pride. From Mick Latimer and family, Dublin.

MAGUIRE, The Friends of Irish Freedom of Chicago are profoundly saddened to learn of the death of Comdt-General Tom Maguire. His integrity will continue to inspire us. To his relatives we offer our respectful condolences.

MAGUIRE, Cumann Pádraig O'Pearail, Loch Garman extends deepest sympathy to the family, friends and comrades of Comdt-General Tom Maguire who died on July 5. I mease Laochra na nGaeil go raibh sé. **MAGUIRE**, The Central Committee of CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) extend deepest sympathy to the family of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, last surviving and faithful member of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann. Go raibh suasmeas sioral dá anam.

MAGUIRE, Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta (National Commemoration Committee) extends deepest sympathy to the family of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, Cross, Co Mayo who died on July 5 at the age of 101. I mease Laochra na nGaeil go raibh sé.

MAGUIRE, Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamlacht, Co BÁC, extends deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, who died on July 5. His memory will be an inspiration to us all.

O'SULLIVAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan and family, Doon, Co Limerick on the death of their son, Seán. From the Hightstead/Hurligan Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, London.

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan and family, Doon, Co Limerick on the death last month of their son Seán. From John O'Connor, Dublin,

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan, Doon, Co Limerick on the sad and tragic death of their youngest son Seán on July 13. From Cathleen Knowles and family. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh sé.

O'SULLIVAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan and family on the death of Seán. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BÁC.

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan on the death of their son Seán. Thinking of you from Mick Hegarty, Magilligan prison.

O'SULLIVAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan on the tragic death of their son Seán. From the Executive and Volunteers of Cumann na mBan.

O'SULLIVAN, Cumann Wolfe Tone, Tamlacht, Co BÁC extends deepest sympathy to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan on the death of their son Seán.



'SOVEREIGNTY' SUGGESTION A CON TRICK

TRICKY Dick Spring's puerile suggestion that, in the predicted event of unionist refusals to resume the so-called constitutional talks on the future of the Six Counties, the British should join the 26 Counties administration in enforcing joint sovereignty over the disputed territory is the biggest confidence trick since Maggie Thatcher lured council tenants into buying out the homes on which they had paid rents for up to 30 years.

Maggie conned almost a million working class dupes with her plan to make them feel middle class and vote Tory, then saddled them with soaring mortgage rates, causing thousands of repossessions.

In a similar illusionist's game, the Foreign Affairs chief at Leinster House is seeking to bypass the Constitutional declaration that the territorial integrity of the 32 Counties is indefeasible.

Six Counties occupation supremo, Sir Patrick Mayhew, naturally gave a chilly reception to the outlandish idea that the Irish had any real say in the affairs of what the British still claim is "an integral part of the United Kingdom".

Mayhew prefers militarist mayhem to a settlement that would bring stability and peace and even a tincture of unity to this island, and rapped the Labour Party leader on the knuckles, warning him that this was going too far.

Tricky Dick doesn't seem to have learned yet that the constitutional talks process, that has hopped from crisis to crisis in its infamous years of repeated failures, wasn't designed to solve anything; but simply to buy time for a besieged Tory administration, tied up with recession and rebellion in its ranks among Euro-sceptics.

Spring knows that when in trouble the Tories can always produce the Orange card and have done so for three centuries whenever Irish frustration with the conquest has threatened a successful new insurgency and ultimate independence for all.

He may have been called to the Bar (not the Shelbourne Horseshoe of dubious repute), but Dick's knowledge of international law has not stretched enough to irritate a gnat's brist.

THE FEDERAL ALTERNATIVE

He must be aware that joint sovereignty is a contradiction in terms. Sovereignty is indivisible if legal phraseology has any valid meaning. The British and Irish administrations are not siamese twins.

In any event, an agreement between the Reynolds and Major mobs, under the heads of the minority of loyal unionists in the nation as a whole, could not be imposed without a bloodier conflict.

It would be a pathetically illogical alternative to the Republican Sinn Féin plan for four-province parliaments with a central Federal government designed to cede to a nine-county Ulster virtual autonomy compared with the current, oppressive direct military rule in the Six Counties.

This autonomy would for the first time make unionists first-class citizens, rather than precariously privileged fodder for Westminster-imposed colonialism.

WHAT THEY SAID

I welcome the minister's decision about the Shannon stopover. I never believed that a government decision to desert Shannon would help Aer Lingus, and I have always

argued that the Shannon issue should be treated as an issue of regional rather than aviation policy.

- Dick Spring, (then in opposition), welcoming the retention of Shannon indicated in Leinster House in October 1992, quoted in the Irish Times, June 26, 1993.

Well, nobody is dead. At the end of this opera, everybody's dead.

Sir Patrick Mayhew's reaction to the loyalist grenade



Jobs are treated as privileges to be doled out by those who victimise Irish people of all denominations.

But then Dick is scarcely fit to mind mice in a cheese barrel, much less a diplomatic mission to woo loyalists diarchs from their lemming path.

YAHOO'S REAL SUBVERSIVES

THOSE loyalists who attacked their RUC former friends during the July 12 Battle of the Boyne commemorations must be puzzled to realise that they are the victims, like Republicans and nationalists, of British oppression, especially the ones trapped in working-class ghettos.

Increasingly without jobs, this underclass of subjects to Whitehall whims, has begun to rebel. Like Republicans, some loyalist leaders recognise belatedly that to subvert tyranny is a duty not confined to those who worship at a different altar or none.

Misrule crosses boundaries of religion and party. Despite black propaganda, which has politicised natural religious differences in order to divide and conquer both sides, unionists who query the right of a London government to push their problem onto the backburner are in a sound tradition.

It was the Presbyterians and Catholics of the late 18th century who jointly recognised that both were victims of despotism. It was the French Revolution that blew the seeds of political freedom across the Irish Sea, and made Irishmen and women better aware of their common need for unity against pseudo-aristocratic and capitalist enemies.

These enemies still exist to split ordinary working folk in the Wee Six and their tools of tyranny have not changed. Jobs

explosion which injured 28 people at the Orange march on the Shankill Road, June 26, 1993. He was about to see Donizetti's 'Lucia di Lammermoor' with John Major at Castleward mansion, Co Down.

The political Sinn Féin "mantle" would pass to Republican Sinn Féin as they are the only part of the broader republican movement who are abstentionist.

Letter to Irish Times by Malachy Steenson, Dublin on July 15, 1993.

If another military army were to be formed which had the support of RSF and were abstentionists obviously the mantle would pass to them.

Same letter headed "The Republican Mantle" in Irish Times, July 15, 1993.

Thatcher was a late

and housing are treated as privileges to be doled out by the political masters, and not as the natural rights humans share.

It is not only in the Wee Six that working people are oppressed. The 300,000 signing on in the 26 Counties pretence of a Republic have more in common with the inhabitants of the Falls and Shankill than with Home Rule citizens of the posher parts of Dublin.

The real subversives are not the Republicans who want a share in the future of this island, or the ordinary loyalists who fear betrayal of their traditions of religious and political independence. The real subversions are practised ruthlessly by the Yahoos of Westminster and Leinster House, who share a common ambition in keeping ordinary people passive before social injustices, and falsely divided by reference to prejudices that are archaic, except in the damage they do to progress towards a wider prosperity.

Urging British or Irish administrations at present in power to protect the less well off against crude rackrenting, welfare cutbacks, and health service inadequacies, is a bit like asking the foxes to mind the hens.

Equity and the promotion of amity from the exploitative groups of corporate billionaires who rule industries here, on both sides of the Border, and whose chief ambition is to extend cheap labour schemes, is expected by neither nationalist or loyalist.

Neither side of the community should apologise for adherence to their traditions. When peace comes out of the capitalist mess of militarist profit-making, when militarism gives way to the pursuit of harmony, and munitions dealers are deposed, then the working class will soldier together for decency, the common cause.

WAR, PEACE NOT TWINS

YOU cannot make peace and war at the same time. This erudite remark by General Bob Gaudre, deputy commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia, went largely unreported in the commercial media.

Little wonder while the UN remains the shabby creature of squalid expansionist policies of the United States in both the former Yugoslavia and starving Somalia.

The UN Secretary General had announced a decision to send 7,500 more troops to war-torn Bosnia. Yet the UN role was supposed to be as peacekeepers not war-spreaders.

The UN had already lost much credibility after its dubious support for the US-led attacks that ended with at least 150,000 Iraqi civilians and peasant conscripts killed in the Middle East massacre a few short years ago.

Now spinning with indecisions, the UN is talking of pulling out of Bosnia where, like the Irish, the people are resisting imposed and arbitrary solutions.

US air attacks on the alleged headquarters of a so-called warlord general had the effect of killing many civilians. Journalists were murdered in revenge by angry mobs. But the guilty ones were those who gave the orders in Washington without first seeking UN approval.

President Clinton is now making vague threats against the North Koreans — these from a man who dodged conscription.

In Ireland there are "draft dodgers", too. These are craven politicians who ignore the people's basic needs for work and housing and health care, and improve hypocritical proposals for joint British-Irish rule without a mandate.

A BOUNCER

The impending visit to Ireland by Australian Premier Paul Keating, of Irish descent, may embarrass the class-conscious and wealthy inmates of Dublin 4.

Outspoken Paul bowled a bouncer when he pledged to transform Australia into a Republic before he won the recent general election for Labour. Members of the Aussie team that trounced Ireland in a cricket friendly told the press people were tired of paying to support tax-dodging royals.

— DRAPIER II

convert to the notion that the move towards European union, as opposed to a free trade area, would lead to the end of national sovereignty. By the time she admitted her mistake and started railing against Maastricht, the process was well underway. It will be little consolation to her and the rest of us who have doubts about Maastricht if those fears prove well-founded.

— Frank Fitz-

gibbon, The Sunday Tribune, July 18, 1993.

I suspect that the only thing that will take [Articles 2 and 3] out of the Irish Constitution is when the bombs begin to blow in Dublin in the way that they have been in Belfast and London.

— Lord Tebbitt, former British Tory Party chairman, calling for more bombs in Dublin, Sky television, July 19.

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