

# SAOIRSE



## IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 82 FEABHRA - FEBRUARY 1994

50p (USA 75c)

# 397,868

## UNEMPLOYED

THE official jobs figures in the 26 Counties have risen to 297,100 while 100,768 are out of work in the Six Counties. After the 26-County budget on January 26 it was revealed that more people were living in poverty today than 20 years ago.

Hume/Adams/Reynolds input simply rhetoric

# BRITISH - UNIONIST DECLARATION

THE revelation by the Ulster Unionist Party leader James Molyneux that he "neutralised" proposals from Dublin during twice-weekly meetings with the British Prime Minister John Major in the negotiations leading up to the Major-Reynolds Declaration of December 15 effectively identifies that document as a British-Unionist one with nothing in it for nationalists.

In his interview with the *Scotsman* newspaper on January 31 Molyneux describes the London Declaration as "muddled, tortuous" and which "didn't pose any threat to the union".

This is not new. Molyneux said as much immediately after the Declaration was published, but he has now revealed how he had a power of veto over proposals from Dublin, in particular a demand for a British/Irish convention which would have some power over a new Stormont.

The convention plan is believed to be contained in the Hume/Adams document and the Dublin proposal of June 1993 which was leaked to the *Irish Press* on November 19 last.

### 'UNIONIST CONSENT'

Under this plan, the British would agree to implement the recommendations of an All-Ireland convention. In return Provisional Sinn Féin would accept the principle of "unionist consent", ie that 18% of the people of Ireland could block the wishes of the remaining 82%.

Molyneux claims to have removed this plan from the final Declaration, and to have reluctantly allowed instead the harmless Reynolds forum within the 26 Counties. This would mean that the "second step", the "clarification", the "dynamic" that Gerry Adams is looking for is non-existent.

What we are left with then is what a former Stormont ombudsman, once prominent in GAA circles identified immediately in the Declaration: rhetoric for the nationalists, substance for the unionists.

The *Scotsman* editorial on January 31 concluded that the Declaration's "survival chances have clearly diminished if the Prime

Minister is beholden to the Ulster Unionists to the extent that Mr Molyneux indicates".

The announcement by British Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew on February 3 that he is bringing forward plans for devolution and local government powers during February will also be music to Molyneux's ears. It is clearer than ever that the Ulster Unionists deal with the British Conservative government is holding fast. There is nothing in the Declaration for nationalists or Republicans. You can take James Molyneux's word for it!

### US VISA

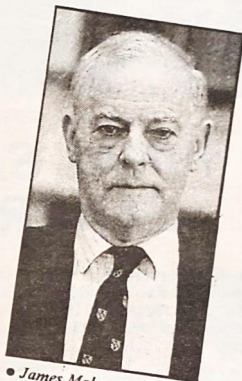
Meanwhile the granting of a visa waiver to Gerry Adams to visit the USA is welcomed but the conditions imposed are completely objectionable. It must be asked what deal if any was done with the US consul in Belfast behind closed doors?

Leaders of Republican Sinn Féin are still banned from the US after more than 20 years. All points of view and all shades of opinion on Ireland should be allowed to be freely and fairly presented to the Irish-American public and indeed to the American people in general.

It is a fair conclusion to reach that the massive coverage given to Gerry Adams and his associates over the past fortnight is aimed to strengthen their hands to have the Declaration accepted by their movement in spite of the considerable opposition to it evident at ground level.

Similarly the granting of a visa waiver to the United States has to be to assist him to grind down opposition to the Declaration among Irish-Americans who have given significant support to the Irish struggle for well over a century now.

James Molyneux's veto pulls the rug from under the Major-Reynolds Declaration



James Molyneux



British Crown Forces intimidation at a Republican funeral in Derry - the London Declaration aims to divide the nationalist people in the interests of British rule.

## PUBLISH HUME-ADAMS

The Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin at its meeting on January 15 called for the immediate publication of the Hume-Adams Report so that the Irish people may assess its merits. In an agreed statement issued after the meeting the organisation said:

"It is being urged in some quarters as an alternative to the London Declaration of December 15 yet it still remains largely undefined - a veritable 'pig in a poke'. Realism demands fact not speculation as the basis for the current debate. We have been treated to selective excerpts from it by Gerry Adams. These have a Republican flavour but Séamus Mallon of the SDLP tells us that other

undisclosed paragraphs are very relevant. He says further that there is no substantial difference between Hume-Adams and the London Declaration.

"The Irish people are entitled to know the full contents of Hume-Adams so that they can see what is acceptable to both the political and military organisations of the Provisionals and what is not.

"Neither document appears to seek a British Declaration of Intent to leave Ireland and therefore stands rejected by Republican Sinn Féin. Nothing less than that will bring a permanent peace to Ireland."

If the Provisionals have swallowed the camel, why are they straining at the gnat?

# Cabhair

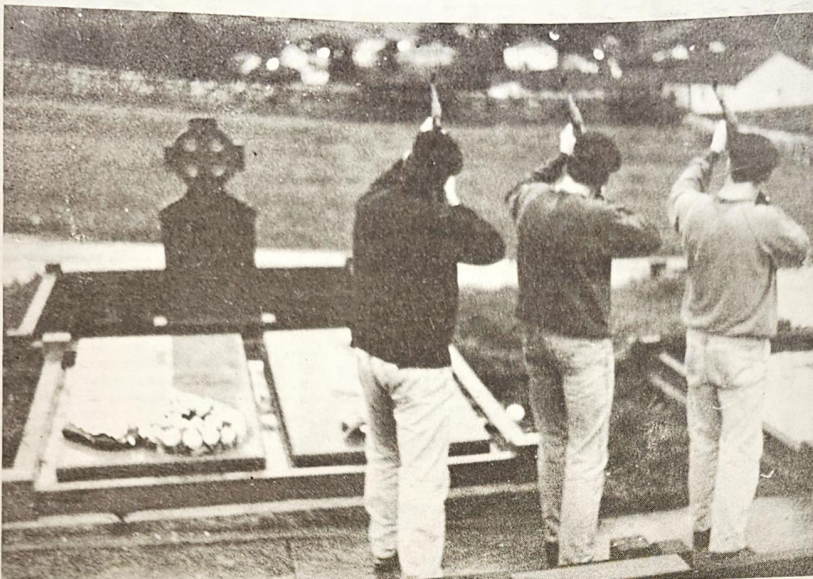
ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER AND CÉILÍ

FRIDAY, APRIL 15 1994, 8pm

West County Hotel Chapelizod, Co Dublin

### 1994 HONOREES

Kevin and Máire McKearney - Ulster  
Frank Grady - Connacht  
Gearóid O Maolmhichíl - Leinster  
Mick MacCarthy - Munster  
Special Honoree -- Elsie Kerins O'Connor  
Tickets available from 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7



● The firing-party at the grave of Comdt-General Tom Maguire on January 21.

## FINAL SALUTE TO COMDT-GENERAL TOM MAGUIRE

We have received a statement headed Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, dated January 21, 1994 and signed B Ó Ruairc, Rúnaí. Two photographs were enclosed and the statement reads:

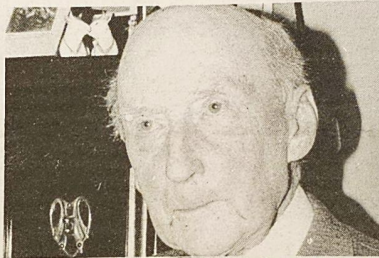
"We have been asked to state:

"On the 75th Anniversary of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann a firing-party of Volunteers of Óglaigh na hÉireann—the Irish Republican Army—loyal to the principles of the late Comdt-General Tom Maguire rendered military

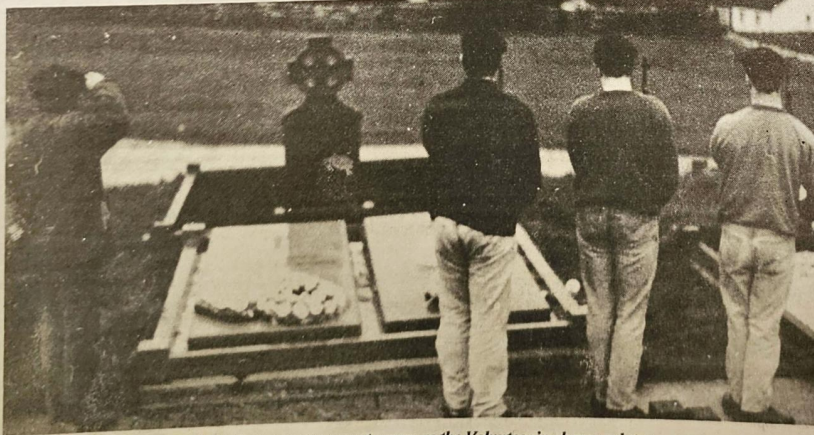
honours at his grave in Cross, Co Mayo.

"Comdt-General Maguire was the last surviving member of the Second (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann and the last general officer of the Irish Republican Army in 1921. He died on July 5 last.

"Footnote: Two photographs are enclosed."



● Comdt-General Tom Maguire who died on July 5, 1993.



● The firing-party presents arms as the Volunteer in charge salutes.

## Bloody Sunday was 'summary execution'

A NEW independent report on Bloody Sunday presented to British Prime Minister John Major on January 27 describes the massacre in Derry 22 years ago as "the summary and arbitrary execution of unarmed civilians".

The report, penned by the British and Irish Rights Watch and the Belfast law firm Madden and Finucane, calls for a new public inquiry into the deaths of the 14 people on January 30, 1972 and the prosecutions of those responsible.

Six main grounds for a new inquiry are cited in the 35-page report, published by the relatives in Westminster. The repudiation of the 1972 Widgery Report is demanded with eight major criticisms noted. The six points include:

- No evidence that British soldiers were attacked or injured on Bloody Sunday,
- British government disinformation about the deceased,
- Widgery was flawed and did not establish the truth,
- Overwhelming eye-witness and media evidence that none of the dead or injured were armed,
- Soldiers deployed to "arrest" conducted a highly-disciplined shoot-to-kill operation,
- Decision to deploy paratroop regiment was opposed by the RUC area chief.

(see also page 3)

## Man (60) shot in face by UDA/UFF

A 60-YEAR-OLD nationalist man was attacked by a UDA/UFF death squad as he arrived for work at a plumbing factory in south Belfast at 7am on Monday, January 10 last.

Two gunmen pulled alongside his car on a motor scooter and as he stepped out one of them drew a pistol and pointed it at his head. A struggle ensued and the nationalist man was shot in the cheek.

The victim remained conscious and was later described as "comfortable" in hospital.

The fifth attack by British-controlled death squads in 1994, the assassination attempt happened at Lemberg Street off the Donegall Road where the injured nationalist has worked as a driver for Pipelawn Westwood Limited for several years.

The attackers failed to re-start their motor scooter and fled on foot down Maldon Street. Local people pointed out that the British Crown Forces only searched vehicles leaving nationalist areas of Belfast and did not search vehicles entering the areas.

In Drumnavaddy, near Banbridge, Co Down on Sunday, January 9 a loyalist gang broke into the local Catholic church with sledgehammers at about 9pm and set the building alight.

Extensive smoke and water damage was caused when building material was piled up in the centre of the church and set ablaze. The church was due to reopen at the end of January after a previous sectarian arson attack had caused £30,000 worth of damage in August 1993.

The attackers also broke stained glass windows and statues in the building and further serious damage was only avoided by an anonymous call to the fire brigade which prevented the fire from engulfing the entire building.

## British refuse probe into shooting

A CALL from Omagh District Council in Co Tyrone for an independent public inquiry into the shooting of a local woman by a British soldier at a checkpoint three months ago has been refused by British minister Sir John Wheeler.

Omagh resident Celine McCluskey was seriously injured when she was shot from behind as she sat in her car at a British army checkpoint near Loughmacrory at 7pm on Sunday, November 7. Three of her four children, who were with her in the car, were injured by flying glass.

The British soldier involved, a member of the notorious Royal Irish Regiment (RIR, formerly named the UDR) has been "removed from patrolling duties" but no decision has been made by the British Director of Public Prosecutions in the Six Counties as to whether charges will be brought against him.

## Man crushed by RUC Land rover

A 27-YEAR OLD man in Glengormley, north Belfast was crushed against a wall by a RUC armoured Land Rover when he tried to escape harassment by British Crown Forces early on Sunday morning, January 9. Martin Spence from Hightown, Glengormley was eating a hamburger at the corner of Howard Street when the abuse began. The RUC threatened to arrest him and he ran off up the street.

"One of the Land Rovers sped after him and crushed him against a wall," an eyewitness said. Martin Spence sustained serious injuries to his pelvis, ribs and internal organs.

## 74% in 26 Counties support United Ireland

IN A poll published in the Irish Independent newspaper (January 15) 74% of people surveyed in the 26 Counties supported a United Ireland; while another survey conducted in the Six Counties found 25% of people in favour of a 32-County state (also rose to 52% among the Catholics surveyed there). In the 26 Counties 64% of those surveyed approved the ending of Section 31 censoring

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

Ainm .....  
Seoladh .....



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

# British-backed death squads kill two nationalists

IN the course of one day at the end of January British-backed death squads claimed the lives of two innocent nationalists in Belfast and Ballymena, Co. Antrim. Angry nationalists demanded to know from the media and the established political parties what were these killings in "retaliation" for, as countless such attacks in the past 25 years have been described in this way.

These first two nationalist victims of 1994 were chosen by the UDA and UVF simply to inspire terror in the whole nationalist community and especially so in very vulnerable areas such as South Belfast and Ballymena.

The first attack occurred shortly before 1am on Thursday, January 27 when a UDA death squad sledgehammered down the front door of a house at Candaher Street off the Ormeau Road in South Belfast and shot a 51-year-old man in the head as he slept.

John Desmond Doherty was a telephone engineer from Letterbreen, near Belcoo, Co. Fermanagh who stayed in Belfast during the week and went home at weekends. He was lodging in the house while he worked on a contract. He was married with three adult children.



● House where Desmond Doherty was shot dead on January 27.

He was the second nationalist to be killed by the UDA/UVF in Candaher Street. In November 1990, James McCaffrey (48) was shot dead as he

prepared to deliver a Chinese meal. A woman who was also lodging in the house escaped injury but was treated for shock.

## FAMILY

Just 17 hours later a nationalist family was targeted by the British-backed UVF in their home in Ballymena, Co Antrim as they were having their tea. Cecilia McDermott answered a knock on the door at 6pm to two men who asked for 'Cormac', her husband. In a BBC interview the following day Mrs McDermott described what happened:

"When I turned around, he was holding the gun with both hands, pointed at me. I threw a dinner plate at him and I went for him by the throat. As a result, he shot me through the chin, up through the palate... At this stage, a second gunman came into the hall and saw that I had a hold of the other gunman, so he shot me in the side of the neck.

"That flung me into the sitting room. My foot caught the door and the door slammed shut. My husband ran forward and, whether he was trying to save the child or whether he was trying to save me, they shot him four times through the glass in the door at point-blank range.

"I got up and I lifted the phone and dialled 999. They kept saying 'repeat, repeat'. So I gave the phone to my daughter and she did the talking for me".

The couple's daughter Saoirse (3), witnessed the killing of her father.

During her struggle with one of the killers, Mrs McDermott, knocked off his glasses which were later taken by the RUC. She has vowed not to be intimidated out of the "dream home" which she and her husband built. Cormac McDermott's funeral took place to Carnlough on Wednesday, February 2.

## INDEPENDENT

The victim's father-in-law Independent Larne Councillor Willie Cuningham was targeted by the RUC man Alan Moore in October 1991 when a parcel bomb sent by Moore exploded in the family home in Carnlough. The councillor's son Joseph suffered arm and hand injuries and the unsuspecting postman delivering the parcel received cuts in the explosion.

Alan Moore shot dead three men at the Falls Road, Belfast offices of Provisional Sinn Fein in 1992 before killing himself on the shores of Lough Neagh.

In a third killing in January 27 a plainclothes RUC man shot dead a 27-year-old man in Donaghadee, Co. Down at 10pm as he was allegedly attempting to rob the High Trees Service Station and garage. Robin Charles Maxwell was shot once in the chest and was said by the RUC to have been carrying a replica gun.

## RUC KILLER BACK ON DUTY

The acquittal of RUC-man Timothy Hanley by a British judge in Belfast Crown Court on January 25 on charges of murdering 19-year-old Kevin McGovern in Cookstown, Co. Tyrone come within a calendar month of the case of Fergal Caraher when two British Marine soldiers walked free after shooting dead the South Armagh man and seriously injuring his brother.

Justice Nicholson said RUC man Hanley had "acted in self-defence" by shooting dead McGovern, a Kinawley, Co Fermanagh student, in the back while he was on his way to a disco in the town. The RUC immediately lifted their suspension on Hanley and he is now back on duty on the streets of the Six Counties.

Both these travesties of justice were preceded by the decision in November 1993 not to charge the RUC members who shot dead Pearse Jordan (21), an unarmed man, on the

Falls Road in Belfast one year previously.

Kevin McGovern's family was disappointed by the acquittal of their brother's killer, but not surprised.

## CORRUPT

Dr Sean McGovern, brother of Kevin, said that a system in which a judge conceded that a defendant acted unreasonably but allowed him to walk out of court was "ethically, morally and legally corrupt".

It could be seen as an



● Kevin McGovern.

endorsement of a police policy "where you can shoot first and think about why you did it later", he said.

Republican Sinn Fein in a statement said that taken together with the Caraher verdict it showed that "despite the fine words of the London Declaration of December 15, nothing has changed on the ground in the Six Counties".

"When it comes to the acid test of British intentions at grassroots level — the administration of justice — the same corrupt system holds sway. By its fruit you shall know it. The British have no intention of leaving the Six Counties and a corrupt justice system is a significant prop to their staying Ireland", the statement said.

Michael Ritchie, research officer of the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) said that when British soldiers and RUC opened fire it was virtually impossible to get a conviction in the courts. Out of 350 similar deaths by British Crown Forces in the Six Counties only four were found guilty in the courts, he added.

The McGovern family have also sued the RUC Chief Constable for damages in a civil compensation case which should be heard in the near future. In addition they are to press to have the case raised through the European Court. Dr Sean McGovern pointed to the family's 790 days of waiting for the trial, the number of postponements and the delay in announcing a judgement as additional grounds for such a case.

## Bloody Sunday Picket at GPO

Members and supporters of Republican Sinn Féin held a picket at the GPO in Dublin's O'Connell Street on Saturday, January 29 to commemorate the 22nd Anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry, January 30, 1972 when 14 unarmed civilians were murdered by the British army and many more injured.

The following letter, addressed to the British Ambassador, was handed into the British Embassy in Dublin in protest at the killings and the continued British presence in Ireland:

"A chara  
We would like, on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin, and on this the 22nd Anniversary of the murder by British paratroopers of fourteen unarmed Irish civilians in Derry on January 30, 1972 to protest most strongly at the continued British presence in Ireland.

Britain has no right in Ireland, never had any right in Ireland and never will have

any right in Ireland.

Following the Widgery Tribunal no member of the British Crown Forces was convicted of the murder of Irish civilians as has been the case throughout your occupation of our country. Within the past weeks so-called British justice has acquitted members of the Crown Forces of the murders of two young unarmed Irishmen, Fergal Caraher of Co Armagh and Kevin McGovern of Co Fermanagh.

Loyalist death squads continue to kill and injure the nationalist people of the Six Occupied Counties with the collusion and active assistance

of British Intelligence agents such as Brian Nelson, who also connive at the importation of large quantities of arms to the murder gangs, in the knowledge that such arms will be used against unarmed and innocent nationalist people.

The establishment of the two states in Ireland made a mockery of democracy, which had been expressed by the Irish people in general elections in 1918 and 1920. Britain's guarantee to the unionists ensures that 18% of the Irish people hold a veto over the progress of the other 82%.

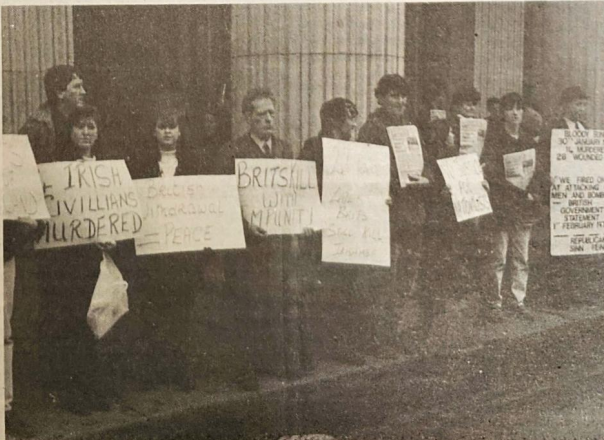
Republican Sinn Féin rejects your Joint Declaration. We say that if the British government is honest when it states that it has no long-term political or strategic interest in Ireland that the only declaration your government should make in relation to our country is a

declaration of its intent to withdraw from Ireland within a stated time, along with an amnesty for all political

prisoners so that the Irish people as a whole can decide their own destiny."

Signed: Peter Cunningham,

Cathaoirleach and Máiread Langsdorf, Rúnaí, Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath, Republican Sinn Féin.



● Republican Sinn Féin members picket outside the GPO, Dublin on January 29.

# Imeachtaí

**"The Road from '68"**  
by Oliver Kearney  
EQUALITY  
Public launch of  
magazine  
THURSDAY  
FEBRUARY 10, 8pm  
Russell Court Hotel  
Harcourt Street  
Dublin  
Organised by Dublin '68  
Committee  
\*\*\*\*\*

**WELCOME HOME  
FUNCTION FOR  
MICHAEL HEGARTY**  
TRINITY LOUNGE  
PEARSE STREET  
DUBLIN  
THURSDAY  
FEBRUARY 17  
Music by Kinvara  
Táille E3 waged  
E2 unwaged  
\*\*\*\*\*

**KATHLEEN SHEIL  
COMMEMORATION  
SATURDAY, MARCH 5**  
BOHERNABREENA  
CEMETERY  
TALLAGHT, DUBLIN  
3pm  
Bus: 49a  
\*\*\*\*\*

**PARLE/CREAN/  
HOGAN  
COMMEMORATION  
SUNDAY, MARCH 6**  
3.30PM  
REPUBLICAN GARDEN  
OF REMEMBRANCE  
HILL STREET  
WEXFORD  
\*\*\*\*\*

**LEO DUIGNAN  
COMMEMORATION  
SUNDAY, MARCH 20**  
3pm  
SHANGANAGH  
CEMETERY  
SHANKILL  
CO DUBLIN  
Buses: 86/45  
\*\*\*\*\*

# Bomb blitz by UDA, UVF

AS the British-backed UDA death squad continued their fire-bomb campaign in Dublin and Dundalk over the last two weekends in January their counterparts in the UVF have twice bombed innocent nationalist families at their homes, resulting in serious injury to a 46-year-old woman and her 13-year-old son.

On Monday, January 24 a mother and son returned home in Highfield Park, Craigavon to find a video cassette box jammed into the letter box. When the boy opened the box it exploded causing him severe facial injuries. He is in danger of losing the sight in his right eye, according to doctors. His mother (46)

suffered injuries from shrapnel. The UVF claimed in its statement that a man they named as a republican was the intended target but he does not live in the area. A note attached to the package was addressed to the woman's Protestant boyfriend who also lives in the house. It told him to be sure he watched

the video. In a second attack by the UVF, a nationalist home in Craigwell Avenue, Portadown had a brick thrown through the front window in the early hours of Tuesday, February 1.

The death squad expected the family of five including a six-week-old baby to leave the house as they had also attached a booby-trap bomb to the front gate. However, the bomb went off when an RUC man arrived on the scene and opened the gate causing him leg injuries.

In the 26 counties the UDA/UVF claimed they planted incendiaries in Dundalk, Co Louth on January 22 which destroyed a Dunnes Stores Clothes shop in Park Street and damaged a Penneys store in the town's shopping centre. Two days later they were also responsible for two parcel bombs addressed for a Dundalk convent school and to Trinity College Library, Dublin. Both devices were in a cigarette box-size packet in 10"x4" envelopes. The bombs intended for Trinity Library was intercepted in Cardiff Lane sorting office in

Dublin at 2.20am when a sorter noticed a burning smell from a pile of letters. The other device Secondary Girls school in Dundalk and was spotted by office staff. It caused no damage. On Saturday, January 29 the UDA planted firebombs in two Dublin city-centre stores in Duinnes Stores in North Earl Street security staff discovered an incendiary at 3.30pm and device was spotted in Arncliffe, Henry Street. They were made up of batteries and packed in cigarette boxes as were the Dundalk incendiaries the previous weekend. No damage was caused to either premises.

## Republican Sinn Féin a political organisation

MONDAY, January 31 saw a concerted campaign in the press and other media to dub Republican Sinn Féin an armed organisation with control over weapons.

A statement issued that evening from Éire Nua Office, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin said: "The Irish Press has taken up and re-worked (Monday, January 31, page 16) a highly suspect "flyer" by a tabloid Sunday paper of January 30. "Very inaccurate statements about Republican Sinn Féin are contained in it and un-named RUC and Garda sources are quoted.

"Extracts from a press statement released from a meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin on December 18 are attributed to a "spokesperson for Republican Sinn Féin", giving the impression that the statement was put out on Saturday last, six weeks after its actual release.

"The Irish Press does not quote from our statement of November 22 last which said: "Republican Sinn Féin wishes to point out that it is and always has been a political organisation. It is not and never has been a

military force and does not have control of war material."

The statement ended with a challenge. The Irish Press did not carry the November 22 statement. Would it carry this one? Of course it did not.

The same day, the Irish Independent and the Cork Examiner carried similarly inaccurate reports.

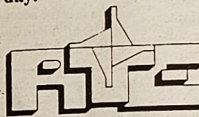
Raidió na Gaeltachta in its Nuacht an Lae (Corca Duibhne) quoted the "personal views" of a Chief Superintendent of the 26-County police which gave the same line.

Cuir Ruairí Ó Brádaigh ráiteas ag an bpointe go seomra nuacht Raidió na Gaeltachta i gCasla a' rá: "Ceangail Nuacht an Lae ó Raidió na Gaeltachta i gCorca Duibhne Sinn Féin Poblachtach le cur síos míleata. Is eagraíocht pholaitiúil muid agus bhíriamh."

The Chief Superintendent's "personal views" were very revealing. Were all these media stories inspired. It would appear so.

## Section 31 replaced by Section 18?

THE ending of Section 31 censorship in the 26 Counties, announced on Tuesday, January 11, has been welcomed by Republicans but restrictions on interviewing members of Republican Sinn Féin and Provisional Sinn Féin will continue under the new guidelines announced by RTE on the following day.



Section 31 lapsed on January 19 the date on which it was annually renewed by Dublin ministerial order for over 20 years, and under which named political organisations such as Republican Sinn Féin were completely banned from the airwaves in the 26 Counties.

RTE's new guidelines came into effect on January 20 and under their provisions broadcasts by members of Republican Sinn Féin or Provisional Sinn Féin must be referred to a divisional head and re-recorded.

Alex White, a senior RTE producer and spokesperson for the SÍPTU trade union said he was concerned at the specific references in the guidelines to Republican Sinn Féin and Provisional Sinn Féin. The use of Section 18 of the 26-County Broadcasting

Authority Act, 1960) placed a ban on what people said rather than the organisations to which they belonged, he said.

This points to a very restrictive interpretation by RTE of Section 18 which merely prohibits the broadcasting of anything "likely to promote, invite to crime, or as tending to undermine the authority of the State".

The new guidelines were described by the Irish Times on January 13 as "to some extent an amalgamation of the existing guidelines covering Sections 31 and 18". The 23 new local Radio

Stations in the 26 Counties are bound to observe Section 9 of the Radio and Television Act 1988 and guidelines from the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) to the stations on January 17 were nowhere near as restrictive as RTE's.

In a statement on January 11 Republican Sinn Féin said that for over 20 years the Section 31 mentality had done great damage to the Irish national psyche and had befogged the national conscience. "The effect of such censorship has had implications much greater than the banning of organisations such as Republican Sinn Féin from the airwaves."

"As far back as the 1961 general election in the 26 Counties, Republican Sinn Féin was denied access to radio. RTE TV had not yet arrived without Section 31 being invoked. While it should never have been used we now welcome its demise but will be found to muzzle and censor Republicans."

# FOR THE RECORD

SUN. JANUARY 2: The British-backed loyalist death squad, the UDA/UVF attacked the home of Provisional Sinn Féin Councillor Alex Maskey in Gartree Place, West Belfast.

TUES. JANUARY 4: The UVF loyalist death squad claimed responsibility for posting two parcel bombs to Provisional Sinn Féin offices in Parnell Square, Dublin which caused injuries to two Free State army bomb disposal unit members.

THURS. JANUARY 6: A 21-year-old nationalist from the Lenadown area of West Belfast was shot in the back and hands by a UDA/UVF death squad who forced their way into his parents' home.

SAT. JANUARY 8: The British-backed death squad, the UDA fired an RPG-7 rocket at a crowded pub in West Belfast shortly after 6pm. The rocket bounced off a protective grille and exploded in the street outside.

A crude bomb was placed by loyalists outside the home of a nationalist family at Charlemont, near Moy, Co Tyrone.

The Shorts aerospace company has announced that a further 430 jobs are to be lost at its operation in the Six Counties.

The jobless figure in the 26 Counties increased to 297,100.

SUN. JANUARY 9: A loyalist gang broke into a Catholic church at Drumnawaddy, near Ballybride, Co Down and set the building alight, causing extensive damage.

MON. JANUARY 10: A 68-year-old nationalist



● The burned-out rooms at the Ógra Chólm Cille GAA club in Drummullan, Co Derry.

was shot in the neck by a UDA/UVF death squad as he arrived for work at a plumbing factory in south Belfast at 7am.

Martin Spence (27) from Hightown, Glengormley, Belfast was badly injured when an RUC Landrover crushed him against a wall after an altercation.

THURS. JANUARY 13: European Components Corporation announced 53 redundancies at their Kennedy Way plant in West Belfast.

SAT. JANUARY 15: In a poll published in the Irish Independent newspaper 74% of people surveyed in the 26 Counties supported a United Ireland, while another survey in the Six Occupied Counties found 25% of people in favour of a 32-County state.

WED. JANUARY 19: The Section 31 censorship legislation was allowed to lapse by the Dublin administration.

Details emerged of the finding by a nationalist building worker in a loyalist area of Belfast of 200 files containing the personal details of nationalists throughout the city.

A receiver was appointed to Kentz Corporation, the Clonmel-based engineering employer at risk.

Forty-five jobs are to go at Dennisson Ireland Ltd, Youghal, Co Cork.

THURS. JANUARY 20: The Dublin administration published a new Extradition Bill.

FRI. JANUARY 21: A lecture on the First Dáil, organised by Republican Sinn Féin to commemorate the 75th Anniversary, was given to a capacity audience in a Dublin city centre hotel by Dr Brian Murphy, historian and author of Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal.

SAT. JANUARY 22: Republican Sinn Féin held

a ceremony at the Mansion House and later a public meeting at the GPO, Dublin to celebrate the 75th Anniversary of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann.

The UDA/UVF loyalist death squad claimed responsibility for planting incendiaries in Dundalk, Co Louth which destroyed a Dunnes Stores clothing shop in Park Street and damaged a Penneys store in the Dundalk Shopping Centre.

MON. JANUARY 24: The offices of Republican Sinn Féin and SAOIRSE in Dublin were raided by six members of the Special Branch political police. The premises were searched, staff interrogated and documents and files seized.

The UDA admitted sending incendiaries through the post to Trinity College Library, Dublin and a convent school in Dundalk. One was intercepted in the post and neither caused any damage.

TUES. JANUARY 25: Timothy Hanley (28) who admitted shooting dead a 19-year-old student Kevin McGovern in Cookstown in September 1991 was acquitted of this murder by a Belfast Crown Court.

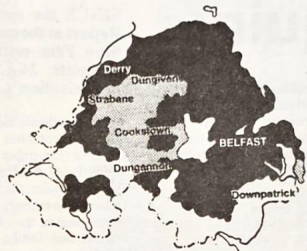
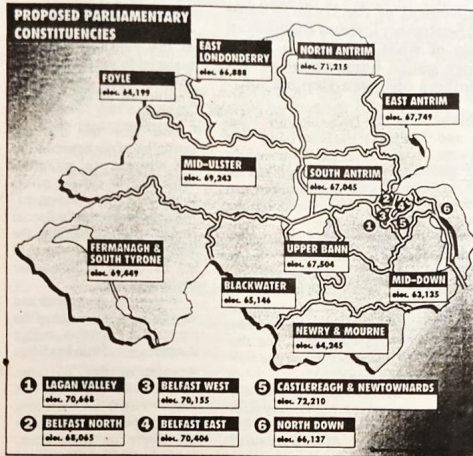
Changing rooms at the Ógra Chólm Cille GAA club in Drummullan, Co Derry were burned down by loyalists.

THURS. JANUARY 27: John Desmond Doherty (51) a married man with three children who lived at Letterbeen, near Belcoo, Co Wick was shot dead by the British-Fermanagh was shot dead by the UDA, at a controlled loyalist death squad, the UDA, at a house in Candaher Street off the Ormeau Road in south Belfast.

Later that day a 31-year-old nationalist, Cormac McDermott was shot dead by the loyalist death squad the UVF at his home in Fisherswick Gardens, Ballymena, Co Antrim. His wife, Cecilia was shot in the neck and underwent surgery in hospital.

The RUC shot dead Robin Maxwell (27) during an attempted robbery at a garage in Donaghadee, Co Down.

# Nationalists attacked on two fronts



• The UDA outline their repatriation 'options' - the grey areas represent 'nationalist territory', destined for ethnic cleansing, while the white areas would be 'ceded' to the Republic.

Their gravity was lessened by the revelation that the maps were 'lifted' from an eight-year-old essay on re-partition by Queen's academic Liam Kennedy.

The reference to "ethnic cleansing" in areas where the UDA has little or no support equally shows the ridiculousness of the plan.

The "Doomsday situation" plans were welcomed as a "very valuable return to reality" by Sammy Wilson, press officer of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).

These remarks amount to more of the incitement from Unionist politicians which results in the deaths of innocent nationalists.

**BOTH the official British Boundary Commission and the British-backed UDA death squad have kept the pressure on the nationalist community in their differing ways in the Six Occupied Counties in recent weeks.**

First the Boundary Commission published their proposed new constituencies for Westminster elections (see maps). Belfast is set to lose one seat and return three instead of the present four. In the West of the city the main effect is to move Shankill to North Belfast and place the large middle-class Balmoral area of South Belfast in with the West Belfast constituency.

This will cement the SDLP's Joe Hendron in his seat, and aims to prevent Gerry Adams from winning the seat back by depriving him of the more natural areas of Poleglass, Twinbrook and Dunmurry.

The new East Belfast constituency is designed to secure a seat for "moderate" Unionist John Alderdice of the Alliance party (he received 32% of the vote in the 1993 election).

### PATTERN

Outside Belfast the pattern of minimising and indeed ghettoising the nationalist vote is repeated. Newry and Armagh and South Down are abolished and the southern half of both are amalgamated into the new constituency of Newry and Mourne. This would reduce the present SDLP two seats to one.

In the west a line drawn north/south through Dungannon creates a new constituency, Blackwater, which is aimed to feather bed the present Unionist MP for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, Ken Maginness.

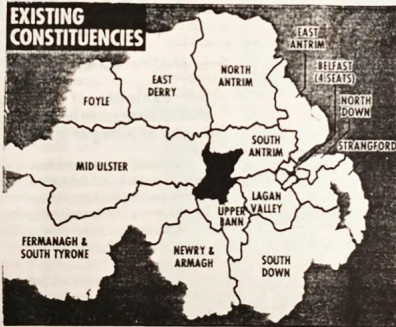
Likewise, the Strabane area of the Foyle constituency is transferred into Mid-Ulster.

In a clear attempt to terrorise the nationalist community in the Six Occupied Counties into accepting British rule the UDA pro-British

squad has published plans to establish an "ethnic Protestant homeland" in three of the Six Counties.

### NULLIFIED

The remaining nationalists in this area would have to be either expelled, "nullified" or interned, according to the plan which it is believed was drawn up with the help of a serving or former member of the British army.



# New York interview



• An tUachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh.

**NEW York-based radio WBAL interviewed Ruairi Ó Brádaigh live by telephone on Saturday evening, January 29 for over half an hour.**

Following the weekly news from Ireland compiled by Nollaig O Gadhra, Gaillimh who also contributed a commentary the Republican Sinn Féin President was asked questions by presenter Brian McDonagh and interviewer John Mor O Baoill.

Subject's covered included the London Declaration, the question of visas to enter the US for Republican spokespersons and analysis and solutions including ÉIRE NUA, to the Irish

national question.

The station is also known as **Radio Free Éireann** and of course there are no Section 31-type restrictions, as well as the constant news coverage prominent people in Ireland are interviewed each week on what Cumanna na Saoirse member Pete Quinn (Longford) has called a most interesting programme.

The indications are that the regular listenership among Irish Americans in the New York-New Jersey area is increasing.

## SCRAP DOWNING STREET DECLARATION - McAliskey

**BERNADETTE McALISKEY, the former MP for Mid-Ulster and human rights campaigner, speaking at the annual Bloody Sunday Memorial Lecture in Derry, said if the dream of a united Ireland was abandoned it would be taken up by a new generation of young men and women in the North. She said it was time to get the Downing Street Declaration "off the table" and tell the British Government to "come back with something better or don't come back at all".**

Speaking to several hundred people Ms McAliskey said the British Government had devised the Declaration as a ploy to "isolate, criminalise and marginalise Provisional Sinn Féin". She stated: "It does not lie within Sinn Féin or any organisation in this country to stop the struggle."

She said it was time the party stopped following the agenda set by the British Government on December 15 and said further discussions on the Declaration were a waste of

time. The former MP stated: "How dare Albert Reynolds lecture me on peace. I have been working for peace these twenty-five years while he was twiddling his thumbs."

She described the Declaration as "a clever little document". Ms McAliskey stated: "I'm not performing in a circus and I'm not dancing to their tune. As the song goes, it ain't over till the fat lady sings and I'm not singing for a very long time".

# Councillor's live interview - 20 years on

**REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin member of Longford Co Council, Sean Lynch, was interviewed live on Shannonside radio on 20 January - the day after the Section 31 ban expired.**

In response to questions by John Morrin, Councillor Lynch thanked his colleagues on Longford Co Council who supported the resolutions down the years calling for an end to Section 31 censorship.

He said that prior to the 1991 local elections he had been denied local radio interviews. Following his election he found that all other successful candidates had their remarks broadcast but not the Republican Sinn Féin councillor. He had been censored for 20 years, since first being elected in 1974.

Asked about the big question of the moment he said the British could not be trusted. "We have had Treaties, Forums and Agreements. The latest agreement in 1985 was supposed to 'end the nationalist nightmare'. Now we have a Declaration".

Queried about the continuing resistance to British rule in the Six-Counties, he said

that there had been such resistance in every generation.

### PROUD

It could be expected in future times until the British leave Ireland. He was proud of the part his own relatives had played in such activities in the 1920s.

The next day would be the 75th anniversary of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil. If the act of self-determination demonstrated that day had been accepted by the British Government, then this point would not be debated today, nor would Shannonside be asking him these questions, he concluded.

The interview lasted for seven minutes.

"Ever since the English first set foot in Ireland there have been Irish people to dispute with them any right to be in our country. Sometimes that resistance was more organised



• Seán Lynch

than others", he said.

### RELATIVES

"Nevertheless it was made quite clear that the invader was never welcome. My own near relatives had been involved and I am proud of the part they played.

"The majority in the Six

Counties could not be accepted. It was an artificial majority and 18% of the population could not tell the rest what to do.

"The steps forward were (a) a British declaration of intent to leave Ireland (b) a new Ireland created by the Irish people alone and (c) a general amnesty for all political prisoners," he concluded.

## DÍLSEACHT

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

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

# Relatives to establish 1974 bomb inquiry

**THE Dublin and Monaghan Bombings Relatives Committee announced at the end of January that they are to organise their own public inquiry later this year into the mass murder of 33 people on May 17, 1974.**

They said they had no confidence in the 26-county Minister for justice Maire Geoghegan-Quinn.

The bombings are widely believed to have been planned and directed by British crown forces intelligence personnel using loyalist death squad members. This was also the conclusion reached by the Yorkshire Television documentary called *The Forgotten Massacre* broadcast during 1993.

Following that programme, Minister Geoghegan-Quinn promised a 26-County police inquiry but this has never been

published. The families are also demanding that this be done and announced in Dublin on January 27 that they would be seeking to call 26-County police witnesses to give evidence at the inquiry.

The inquiry jurists will be announced at another press conference in a few weeks time and the format will be similar to the Killyhanna Inquiry held into the killing of Armagh man Fergal Caraher in 1990.

The 20th anniversary of what was the worst atrocity in the 25-year history of the Troubles falls in May 1994. The relatives expect evidence from Yorkshire Television which

it could not broadcast because of libel and other legal reasons.

Speaking at the press conference, Paddy Doyle, who lost four members of his family in the bombings, said there was no co-operation from the RUC in the investigations into the bombings. He asked why the Dublin administration had not pressed this point with the British authorities.

Alice O'Brien, who also lost four close relatives in the bombings said the Parnell Street bombers had been identified by three witnesses. Michelle Byrne, whose mother died in Dublin appealed for anyone with information to make submissions to the inquiry.

Singer Christy Moore and Dublin solicitor Cathal O'Donovan are among the trustees of the inquiry funds.

# SAOIRSE production disrupted by raid

**SINCE the announcement of the Hume-Adams Report at the end of September last and Republican Sinn Féin criticism of what appears to be its contents, 26-County police harassment of the organisation's members has been stepped up.**

● Ard Chomhairle members in Kerry (December 1) and Limerick (December 13) were arrested and held under the Offences Against the State Act. Other members were approached in their homes in Galway and Dublin while a Dublin member was arrested and held in Limerick while attending the Seán Sabhaid commemoration on January 2;

● Republican Sinn Féin offices in Arran Quay, Dublin have been watched and beset around the clock in recent months by carloads of Special Branch who access visitors to our premises and demand name and address. They also seek information to which they are not entitled such as place of work, date of birth, etc;

● UCG students were stopped and questioned by the Special Branch leaving campus after a public meeting in the University on December 13 was addressed by Republican Sinn Féin's Ruairi Óg O'Brádaigh and former hunger striker Tommy McKearney, Co Tyrone;

● On December 16 Vice-President Des Long was stopped in Co Westmeath by 26-County police and had the keys of his car taken for an hour (to be copied) before being returned to him;

● Following a Republican Sinn Féin public meeting on the Major-Reynolds Declaration in Belfast's Conway Mill on February 1, an Ardoyne member's home was raided by British Crown Forces the following morning for one-and-a-half hours;

● In all cases there has been only one subject raised: why does Republican Sinn Féin not accept Hume-Adams? SAOIRSE has campaigned — as have our members — for four months now against Hume-Adams and the London Declaration.

On Monday, January 25 our offices at 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7 were raided, correspondence and files seized and the editorial room of our newspaper SAOIRSE - Irish

Freedom thrashed. With just a week to go to the publication of the February issue all material in preparation was seized thus disrupting production of our 16-page monthly.

We view this raid and disruption of our newspaper as an attempt to suppress opposition to current moves towards a new Stormont. Nothing of interest to the Special Branch could be found in the SAOIRSE office which would not be found in any other newspaper office.

We call on journalists and all who support freedom of the press to condemn this beset at suppression of an independent view of current affairs. We see those in power and out of it at Leinster House that while they may ignore and deride our needs and where we came from, Republican Sinn Féin and SAOIRSE will continue to do their work among the Irish people at home and in exile.

They may hamper and impede but the net effect of their attempts at suppression and to force us to change our policies will be to raise the morale of our workers and our supporters. We promise them that.



● Ballymun Shopping Centre: open market for drug dealing.

## Ballymun — a paradise for pushers

**OPEN AIR drug dealing in full view of the public continues right through the day in the shopping centre in Ballymun on Dublin's northside.**

Occasionally you might see a squad car cruise through to make it look like they are doing something about the drug dealing. In actual fact nothing has changed and the couldn't-care-less attitude of the 26-County establishment can be seen clearly by allowing the

shopping centre to continue as a drugs market over the years.

Drugs are being dealt openly 50 yards from the local 26-County police barracks, while 50 yards in the other direction outside Joseph Plunkett Tower a high-tech security camera watches the

tenants come and go! Maybe a better idea would be to have a camera on the drug dealers and to keep their nose out of the lives of ordinary people. There is little enough privacy in people's lives without a camera recording every time residents sneeze and come and go out of their flats.

This taped film is kept for 10 days and shown to the police. A worry to a lot of the tenants is who else sees this film, social welfare inspectors for instance.

As it is one well-placed camera in the shopping centre would record more drug activity on film than the *French Connection!*

## Lift problems continue

**AN example of Dublin Corporation's lift maintenance can be seen from the case of Raymond Leahy of Sillogue Road.**

Raymond is on crutches for over a week and has had to hobble up four flights of stairs many times a day because the lift maintenance men on the estate are not fixing the lift properly.

Raymond has pursued the normal channels to get the lift fixed and had come up against a stone wall of official indifference.

He reported the matter to Peter Dempsey, a Dublin Corporation Complaints officer but nothing was done. Finally Ballymun Flatdwellers Coordinator Tom Ryan contacted Corpilift inspector Des Feeney who in the past has promised to respond quickly to any complaints brought. After a visit from the maintenance men the lift was in fact in worse shape than before.

Tom Ryan told SAOIRSE that dealing with the Corpo and



● Raymond Leahy: stranded on fourth floor.

trying to get any sort of direct response is proving to be a complete waste of time. But this sort of indifference to the tenants needs will not deflect Ballymun Flatdwellers Association from their aim of getting a decent lift service installed on the estate, he said.

## Kildare communities under threat

**THE West Kildare area has received a major blow with the announcement of the closure of the Allenwood ESB power plant resulting in the loss of 66 jobs.**

The decision to close the plant has aroused much local protest with particular resentment at the off-hand manner in which the workers were treated. Brian Cowen, 26-County Minister for Energy, failed to even meet union

representatives of the ESB workers or members of the Action Group in the area.

According to the Bord na Móna group of unions the closure was unjustified because there are adequate peat reserves to maintain the station for several

more years. Group Secretary Kevin McMahon said Bord na Móna workers will lose their jobs and their union representatives are seeking a meeting with Bord na Móna management.

It has been reported that the jobs of the 118 workers at the Bord na Móna plant at Ballydermot are now at risk.

**DEPRIVE** The local Workers' Action

Group also criticised Cowen for closing the station without contacting the unions as he has promised. "The decision and the way it was announced smacks of a cynical plan by the government, with the help of the ESB and Bord na Móna to deprive people who have given a lifetime's service to Allenwood of any say in their future," a spokesperson said.

The group added that in July 1990 the Leinster House administration made a commitment to keep Allenwood open for as long as turfs supplies lasted and that at that time it was estimated that there was enough turf to last 10-12 years.

Free State Tourism Minister Charlie McCreery and Junior Minister Emmet Stagg were singled out by the group for particular criticism for their failure to take effective steps to avert the closure of the plant. "We fail to understand how two ministers from the constituency have failed to convince the Minister for Energy to keep Allenwood open".

The group says that West Kildare is sinking into poverty and rural decay. "A community is being wiped out. The bogs have been the mainstay of the area. More than 650 jobs have been lost in the area during the past seven years."

In a reference to suggestions that a replacement industry was imminent they said: "Where is the toilet roll factory, Minister McCreery promised when the Lullymore briquette factory closed?" The group called on McCreery and Stagg to have the closure decision suspended until the workers have been consulted.

Meanwhile the jobs crisis hit another area of Co Kildare with the closure by Eurowest of the Foods Ltd of its plant in the South Kildare town of Aghy, resulting in the loss of 40 jobs and the announcement by Peerless Rugs Europe Ltd also based in Aghy that it is to lay off 62 workers.

# First Dáil anniversary celebrated

THE 75th anniversary of the establishment of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann in Dublin's Mansion House was celebrated by true Republicans over the two days, January 21 and 22 last. Saturday January 22, a ceremony was held outside the Mansion House in Dawson Street, Dublin at which the Declaration of Independence, the Democratic Programme and the Address to the Free Nations of the World were read out in turn in English, Irish and French, in a re-enactment of the proceedings 75 years ago.

Republican Sinn Féin was denied a booking for this ceremony in the Oak Room of the Mansion House by Dublin's current Lord Mayor. This was due to the hypocritical and McCarthyite policy of demanding that the organisation "renounce the use of violence".

A march then took place to the GPO in O'Connell Street where a public meeting took place attended by over 400 people and chaired by Bundoran Councillor Joe O'Neill.

At the meeting a call for an All-Ireland election to a Constituent Assembly on the lines of the First Dáil to draw up a new constitution was advocated by Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin. He said that Republican Sinn Féin would bring to such an assembly their Éire Nua proposals for a four-province federation in a completely New Ireland.

When the new arrangements were accepted in referendum the British Government and Army would have to leave Ireland.

## CONTRADICTED

"The present Leinster House set-up contradicted the Declaration of Independence, Democratic Programme and Message to the Free Nations of the World adopted by the First All-Ireland Dáil 75 years ago. A nine-county Ulster would exercise all powers of government except defence, foreign affairs and overall financing under the Éire Nua scheme. The former unionists would have a working majority but the nationalists would be within reach of power.

This was the way out of the present impasse, he said. "It would give power to majorities and minorities alike with maximum devolution within each province. It would also correct East-West economic imbalance and bring power nearer to the people."

The neutrality proclaimed by the First Dáil was under attack now as never before. As the EU tightened its grip Dick Spring saw no obstacle to the final abandonment of neutrality in 1996. While the First Dáil sought to end "perpetuating military dominion for the profit of empire", the power blocs today continued to dominate and exploit the peoples of the Third World.

Referring to the Major-Reynolds Declaration Ruairi Ó Brádaigh said that: "We deny it, we reject it straight away. Those who entertain it or have played



● Tommy McKearney

footsie with it for four or five weeks, we say they are letting down the cause of an all-Ireland Republic and the cause of the First Dáil. The Irish people would never rest until the British left and he called on the nationalist people of the Six Counties not to be divided by the London Declaration.

## HUNGER STRIKER

The next speaker was former H-Block hunger striker Tommy McKearney, Moy, Co Tyrone, who was released in March 1993, having spent 16 years in Long Kesh and Maghaberry prison. He began by quoting a great Irish Republican of the 19th century:

"Ireland shall be free", James Fintan Lalor said, "when her leaders are true to the people and the people are true to themselves". The establishment of Dáil Éireann in 1919 fulfilled this excellent observation.

"For years prior to that first meeting in Dublin's Mansion House, England had promised much and delivered little. For those same years the Nationalist Party had accepted the bogus assurances of British politicians.

"All that petty fogging was swept aside by the heroic decision of the Irish people in 1918 and by the equally heroic decision of the Republican leadership in 1919.

## DEED

"By sizing the initiative that January day, Irish Republicans declared in deed as well as in word that self-determination was a matter for the Irish people alone.

"With one purposeful action, the deputies repaired the damage done by those who led Ireland prior to Easter 1916. Those of whom Pearse said, "the men who have led Ireland for 25 years



● Cllr Joe O'Neill addressing the crowd outside the GPO.

have done evil and they are bankrupt. They are bankrupt in policy, bankrupt in credit, bankrupt now even in words".

"It was to lay to rest forever that sterile inertia that Dáil Éireann met in separatist convention.

"It was to energise the cause of an independent and autonomous Ireland that Dáil Éireann took responsibility for Ireland's freedom.

## DIFFERENCE

"We may differ among ourselves on how we order our affairs that First Dáil said. We may even have differences which take years to heal it was declaring. But there is only one way for us to do so and that is on our own and free from external influence.

"And that message is as important today as it was then.

"The bankrupt leadership of Albert Reynolds, Dick Spring and John Hume — the present day equivalent of the old

opposition — so with us in Ireland.

"If the noble dreams and aspirations of those people who proclaimed our liberty with the First Dáil are not to be completely replaced with the bankruptcy of a native shoneenism, we must reject the machinations of Reynolds, Spring and Hume.

"We must reject them just as the First Dáil Éireann rejected. So comprehensively the bankrupt machinations of Redmondism in January 1919.

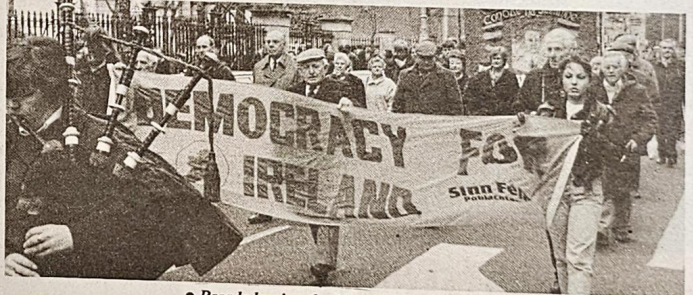
"These supporters of Britain's continued involvement in Ireland must be exposed for what they are. They must not be allowed shift the blame for a continuing conflict onto Irish Republicanism.

"Let us reaffirm our loyalty to the ideals of the First Dáil by rejecting

"Our problem has never been that we lacked thinkers and planners who knew how to create a modern democracy but that we were hampered, harassed and attacked by those, whether in Ireland or Britain, for whom democracy is an unacceptable form of government.

"To this day our people of vision are still working, still putting forward modern democratic ideas, still insisting against all vested interests that Irish people can and will create the world's most advanced democracy and this time, nothing will be allowed to stop them.

"The current Downing Street Declaration is as flawed as the Downing Street Declaration of 1969, every one of whose promises was later denied to Irish democrats by the British government. Democrats in Ireland want justice and peace for themselves and they want to be peace makers abroad,



● Parade leaving the Mansion House.

Nationalist party — repeats the old mistakes of Redmondism. They attempt to convince us that a lasting solution can be found within an Irish-British context.

"This is the perennial claim of all Irish politicians who reject the democratic right of our people to the unfettered control of their own destiny. "Let us hold no illusions. There can be self-determination where a minority of the population retains the ability to involve a foreign power in the affairs of their own country.

"When a decadent class introduced US influence into Cuba it was called Yankee Imperialism. When a colonial elite retained foreign troops in Algeria we called it French Imperialism. When financiers attempted to overthrow Lenin's Bolsheviks it was decreed as International Imperialism.

## BANKRUPT

"So let us be blunt in our description. When a bankrupt class in Ireland seeks by subterfuge and bullying to have us retain Britain's presence in this island. Let us describe them for what they are — the camp followers of British Imperialism.

"And just as in every struggle for freedom it has been necessary to also struggle against the domestic

the neo-Redmondites of this decade and by reaffirming our loyalty to the unvetted right of the Irish people to unqualified self-determination.

Éamon Larkin, South Armagh was next to read the following message to the crowd from Des Wilson, Belfast:

"I hope your demonstration and celebration will go well. I am sorry I cannot be there because I will be away in America from January 17th until the 25th.

"But I would be grateful if you would say to the meeting on my behalf that I would be with them if I could and that I wish them great success in their work and in their striving towards the ideal of a free and just and internationally-independent Ireland.

"I would like to say also that the best of our idealists, writers and political thinkers worked out long years ago the best course for us to follow in order to create a democracy in Ireland. You are celebrating them today. They created a programme of government which was excellent. We would today construct the most advanced and free democracy the world has ever seen by putting into effect the ideas of these people of ours who were pioneers of democracy, so great has been their contribution to democratic thought.

not to gain partial independence only to be sucked into the war machines of any foreign governments. We want to be a democracy whose prosperity we can share with all other peoples, not a war machine with which to threaten them. It is a tragedy that so many of those who have diminished the dignity of our people are sitting in cosy offices while those who have kept our best ideals alive are so often left standing on the streets.

"I hope that some say soon the roles will be reversed and that those ideals of good government which good people like yourselves have kept alive and cherished will one day be shown to be not only right but irresistibly right."

Scheduled speaker Bernadette McAlisley was unable to travel from Coalisland at the last moment due to illness. Messages of support were also read from Pete Farley, SAOIRSE, North America and Éire Nua Inc, New Jersey.

Following closing remarks by Cllr Joe O'Neill the ceremony and the entire weekend celebrations concluded with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiain by two pipers from the Glens of Antrim Pipe Band. (For coverage of the 75th Anniversary lecture by Dr. Brian Murphy, see pages 8, 9, 10.)



● Ruairi Ó Brádaigh and Éamon Larkin.

# 75th Anniversary of the First Dáil Éireann 1919-1994



• Elected TDs of the last 32-County Democratic Assembly in Ireland pictured on January 21, 1919.

**THE** Dublin venue for historian Dr Brian Murphy's lecture on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann on the evening of January 21 last was filled to capacity for the occasion.

Those in attendance included several close relatives of TDs who were elected to the first and second All-Ireland democratic assemblies 1919-22: *Caitriona* and *Murt Ó Ceallaigh*, grandchildren of *Seán Ó Ceallaigh (Sceilg)*, *Leas-Cheann Comhairle* and Minister for Irish in the First Dáil; *Dr Seán Maguire*, son of Tom Maguire, last and faithful survivor of the Second Dáil; *Eoin Ó Máille*, staunch defender of Roger Casement and son of *Pádraic Ó Máille*, *Conamara* TD in the First and Second Dáil, and *Kevin Boland*, nephew of Harry Boland, who represented South Roscommon in the First and Second Dáil.

We print here an edited version of Dr Brian Murphy's address:

Féin principle. His words were resisted by the League Executive but had an enduring impact through Keating Branch of the League which had a pronounced separatist attitude. The revived IRB, under the influence of Tom Clarke, became especially influential in the Keating Branch, and remained influential, if controversial, after 1916.

Two developments made the Home Rule policy unacceptable: firstly, the executions and suppression that followed the 1916 Rising, and, secondly, the realisation that fighting in the trenches was not going to bring Home Rule for all of Ireland. In this climate of opinion the structure of politics in Ireland was dramatically changed.

## Events after 1916

NEW parties and new names emerged on the political scene after the Easter Rising. The provisional committee that was appointed in June 1917 to draw up a new Sinn Féin constitution was made up of many groups that derived their origin from the post-1916 period.

Apart from Arthur Griffith's Sinn Féin and the IRB, the other bodies were all of recent existence: the Mansion House Committee, the Liberty Clubs (or Volunteers), the Irish Nation League, the released prisoners organisation. Following Count Plunkett's election victory at Roscommon on February 3, 1917 most of these groups had been in contact with each other.

Plunkett stood for the ideals of 1916 and for abstention from Westminster. He was supported by Cathal Brugha who held a leading position in the revived Volunteers and was Republican in principle. Griffith's Sinn Féin still retained a commitment to his original ideal of the "King, Lords and Commons of Ireland."

## FORMER

The Irish Nation League was made up of former members of the Irish Party who were opposed to any Home Rule solution that envisaged partition of Ireland. They had been prepared to wage war in the belief that Home Rule would be granted as promised; they now joined ranks to secure the united Ireland in which they had always believed. Their aspirations and attitudes were effectively symbolised by Thomas Kettle, who died in the Somme in 1916, but who, in reply to Kipling, had written:

*Ulster is ours, not yours,  
Is ours to have and hold,  
Our hills and lakes and moors  
Have shaped her in our mould  
Derry to Limerick Walls  
Fused us in battle flame;  
Limerick to Derry calls  
One strong-shared Irish name.*

Kettle is acknowledged by Conor Cruise O'Brien as a distinguished relation of his, but neither these words nor these sentiments have any place in O'Brien's current vision of Ireland. The same sentiments, were, however, shared by all the groups which combined to

form the new Sinn Féin.

The Mansion House Committee, set up on April 19, 1917, was a composite body of all groups together with representation from the Labour Party — a party that had entered into talks with Count Plunkett immediately after his election. The last group that helped to formulate the new Sinn Féin constitution were the released prisoners group. In this grouping the IRB were represented, and they, like the Labour Party, had engaged in talks with Count Plunkett from the first.

## Republican Sinn Féin

A UNIFIED declaration of purpose was achieved at the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis of 25-26 October 1917. Indeed, the delegates, who had been elected, viewed themselves as "representatives of the Irish people" — a type of parliamentary assembly that foreshadowed the meeting of Dáil Éireann. They looked back to the Proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916 and declared that their aim as a new Sinn Féin organisation was to secure "the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic".

"Having achieved that status", it was added, "the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of Government".

While it is right to stress the unity that was attained and to see the declaration as a step towards the election victory of the following year, the qualifying clause serves as a warning that all issues, even the vital issue of the Republic, had not been absolutely resolved.

It was reported that "de Valera had found a formula to satisfy Brugha (who wanted a clear cut declaration for the Republic) and Griffith (who had been insisting on the old Sinn Féin programme)". Differences between Brugha and Griffith, embracing both principle and method, were not the only lines of division to emerge; similar differences arose between Brugha and Collins concerning the respective roles of the Volunteers and the IRB.

## Constitution

THE constitution of Sinn Féin and an analysis of the motives of its founding fathers lead one to conclude that there was an inherent ambivalence towards a strict republican ideal among the members. However, in October 1917, these differences were not to the fore.

The ordinary member of Sinn Féin and the ordinary man who voted for Sinn Féin did so because, in the words

## Introduction

THE MEETING of the First Dáil Éireann was regarded as special by the vast gathering that filled the Round Room of the Mansion House on the afternoon of January 21 1919. "Formal, almost liturgical", is how a modern commentator (Brian Farrell) has described the scene, and this description accords with the view of the British agent present who reported that "the solemn air of the meeting seems to have produced an almost sacramental effect on sympathisers who were present". All those present would have been happy with such a report because they regarded their task as a sacred and holy trust.

Ironically, as if to illustrate the disparate loyalties permeating Irish life, a few minutes before the Dáil sat another group of Irishmen had conducted a meeting elsewhere in the Mansion House. They were 400 members of the Dublin Fusiliers. They had been commemorating their battles in the trenches for the British Empire, and they departed with the words of their chaplain ringing in their ears: "Be true to your faith and to your country". Whose country, Irish or British, was to prove the fundamental issue facing Dáil Éireann. Decrees and proclamations were passed asserting the sovereignty of the Irish nation.

## Events prior to 1916

IN ORDER to understand the men/women who fashioned the policy of the First Dáil, and the principles by which they were motivated, it is necessary to return to the events that led up to the 1916 election. Such an examination not only sheds light on the character of the first Dáil, but also helps to explain the future development of the Republican ideal. It was events after the 1916 Rising, in the main, that refined and refashioned the Irish nationalist movement, and which culminated in the creation of Republican Sinn Féin in October 1917.

However, some strands of that nationalist movement had their origin in the years prior to the Rising. Some, in particular, may be noted. The foundation of the Gaelic League undoubtedly contributed to an increase in Irish patriotism. As we celebrate the centenary of the organisation, however, it is of interest to record that in all the contemporary tributes paid to the League, no mention has been made of the fact that its original motto was "Sinn Féin, Sinn Féin anhláim".

## SPEECH

In 1899 Ft York, in a stirring speech in Dublin, entitled "The Turning of the Tide", encouraged all League members to be true to the Sinn



• Dr Brian Murphy

Arthur Griffith's Sinn Féin, although monarchical in principle and moribund in practice by 1916, had formulated constitutional ideals which allowed for greater independence for Ireland. He had also expressed a programme of economic reform for Irish industry. At a popular level the continuing struggle for land and social reform brought many into the nationalist movement, while on an intellectual level the young members of the newly-created National University were articulating their criticism of the British regime.

At the outbreak of War in 1914 however, these and other Irish movements, such as the newly founded Irish Volunteers, were more or less content to follow the vast majority of the country and to entrust their aspirations to the Irish Parliamentary Party and the promise of Home Rule. The mood of the country cannot be better summed up than by the words of Rory O'Connor, a future Republican of unwavering principle, when he said that it was time to "Concentrate on Home Rule. Never mind essentials!"



• (Left to right) IRA Volunteers James took part in the Soloheadbeg ambush at 21, 1919.

# 'Whereas the Irish people is by rights a free people...'

## DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JANUARY 21, 1919

### Self-determination

THE principle of self-determination came to dominate all political discussion. Self-determination had been an aim, explicit or implicit, which had coloured many Irish nationalist appeals for help after 1916; it was, after all, the basic demand of the separatist ideal. The call had been especially made to America.

A year later, almost to the day, June 11, 1918, a national appeal had been made by all parties to protest against conscription. It was pointed out "that the sudden and unlooked for departure of British politicians from their past military procedure towards this island provokes acutely the fundamental issue of self-determination... Ireland is a nation more ancient than England, and is one of the oldest in Christendom. Its geographical boundaries are clearly defined. Yet while self-determination is refused, we are required by law to bleed to make the world safe for democracy - in every country except our own." The ending of the War gave renewed prominence to the self-determination issue.

### IMMEDIATE

It had an immediate and important effect on Labour Party policy. Labour leaders advised their members that the transition from a "War Election" to a "Peace Election" forced them to reconsider their position. It was proposed that as national issues were to be the principal items on the Peace Conference agenda, they should withdraw from the election to allow "a clear expression of the people's opinion upon the question of self-determination". The withdrawal of Labour certainly advanced the cause of Sinn Féin.

These sentiments were formulated as part of the General Election Manifesto to the Irish people. Part of the manifesto referred to the appeal to the Peace Conference as based "on our unbroken tradition of nationhood, on a unity in a national name which has never been challenged". The police raided Sinn Féin headquarters on November 20, seized the copies of the manifesto, and subjected it to censorship - the passage that I have just read was blacked out. They were not acceptable to the British authorities.

Nevertheless, the appeal of Sinn Féin and of self-determination carried the day. When the election results were announced on December 28 it was evident that Sinn Féin had replaced the Irish Party as the largest party in Irish politics.

### First Dáil Éireann

FOR the most part the meeting of the First Dáil on January 21, 1919 was conducted in Irish and it began with a prayer in Irish delivered by Fr Michael O'Flanagan. The initial business was conducted swiftly: the appointment of a speaker, Cathal Brugha, the appointment of clerks, and the calling of the roll.

Then the main resolutions of the assembly were formulated: the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Address to the Free Nations of the world, and the Democratic Programme. The Constitution was read in Irish alone; the other three declarations were read in Irish, French and English. The resolutions, although familiar, are worthy of recall.

### FREE PEOPLE

The Declaration of Independence proclaimed that "whereas the Irish people is by right a free people, and whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people; and whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic: now therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command... we solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison..."

The lineage of claim running from 1916 to 1918 and to 1919 was seen as of paramount importance.

The Message to the Free Nations of the world called for Ireland's national status to be vindicated at the Peace Congress. Several reasons were adduced to support the concept of Irish nationhood, and it concluded "Ireland - resolutely and irrevocably determined at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty that she will suffer foreign domination no longer calls upon every free nation to uphold her national claim to complete independence as an Irish Republic against the arrogant pretensions of England founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the Congress of the Nations, in order that the civilised world having judged between English wrong and Irish right may guarantee to Ireland its permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence"

As a practical measure three delegates were nominated to present Ireland's claim at the Versailles conference.

The Democratic Programme looked back to the aspirations of Pearse,

"our first President", and stated that "we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions, the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation", and with him we reaffirm that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

Principles were enunciated governing the attitude to children and to education, practical advice was outlined concerning industry at home and the developments of markets abroad, and it was agreed that initiatives should be taken to secure "a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour". Such were the radical, even revolutionary, ideals expressed at the first meeting of Dáil Éireann.

### OATH

One item has not been adverted to: the oath. There was no oath administered on January 21! A Republican pledge had been signed at a meeting on January 7 by the elected deputies present which read "I hereby pledge myself to work for the establishment of an Independent Irish Republic; that I will accept nothing less than complete separation from England in settlement of Ireland's claims; and that I will abstain from attending the English Parliament".

There was no formal oath applied to members until the proposal by Cathal Brugha, seconded by Terence MacSwiney, on August 20, 1919. It would appear that members of the Dáil returning from English jails, many of whom played a prominent part in the second session of the First Dáil on April 1, 1919, including de Valera himself, took neither a pledge nor an oath to the Republic! Brugha's proposed oath was designed to repair this anomaly. It contained the words "I will support and defend the Irish Republic and the

Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dáil Éireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic..."

Brugha wanted the oath applied to deputies and officials of the Dáil, and to the Irish Volunteers. Some deputies expressed caveats about the oath, but most were in favour, including Arthur Griffith, and the motion was passed. The Army was now subordinate to Dáil Éireann; the isolated killing of two policemen, which had also occurred on 21 January, was made less likely as the political and military struggle against British rule was unified. The scene was set for the War of Independence.

### First Dáil & self-determination

THE promised era of self-determination that had been welcomed in the Message to the Free Nations of the World and the ideals of the Declaration of Independence constituted the main political aim of Dáil Éireann - the recognition of the independent Irish Republic.

Patrick McCartan had announced to the citizens of the Republic of Ireland residing in America on December 30, 1918 that the people of Ireland have "finally achieved the Independence of Ireland. In the elections which took place on December 14 last, Ireland exercised her right of self-determination" This was the message that was hammered home at every opportunity.

The Peace Conference in Paris provided the ideal opportunity to make Ireland's views known. Sean T O'Kelly, acting for Dáil Éireann, delivered a statement of Ireland's position to all delegates to the conference on March 31, 1919. "Ireland", he declared, "is a nation which has exercised the right of self-determination in harmony with

Cont on page 10

## Declaration of Independence

Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people:

And Whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation:

And Whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people:

And Whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people:

And Whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defence, to insure peace at home and goodwill with all nations and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen:

And Whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic:

Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command:

We ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance:

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison:

We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation in the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter:

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through long centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this the last stage of the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to Freedom.

of Kingsmill Moore, "for him the Republic was a battle cry, a symbol, an executive word of immense power. It released a long suppressed desire for national realisation, national independence... the institution of an Irish Republic, if possible and practical, was the simplest and most immediate way of achieving his desires".

That was the spirit that inspired the Sinn Féin movement in 1918 and led to the election victory at the end of the year. The spirit, however, was further encouraged by other events and was sustained by practical hard work.

### Events in 1918 & self-determination

THE major event that inspired the Sinn Féin organisation in 1918 and which brought many into its ranks was the anti-conscription campaign of March. The Catholic Church, the Irish Party, the Labour Party and Sinn Féin were united in their opposition to conscription; but many drew the conclusion that only an independent Irish Parliament on the Sinn Féin model would prevent Irishmen being called up by an English Parliament to fight an English war.

There was a striking growth in membership of national organisations: Sinn Féin had 1,300 registered clubs with a membership of 250,000 by the end of 1917, the Gaelic League also expanded from 312 branches in 1917 to 700 branches in 1920; and the membership of the Irish Volunteers and the IRB also grew.

The popular base existed to conduct an election campaign, if the direction was provided. The standing committee of Sinn Féin provided that direction. Robert Brennan from May 1918 began planning an election strategy, and after his arrest, James O'Mara continued his programme. Fr Michael O'Flanagan was responsible for propaganda and publicity, and as Vice-President of Sinn Féin, after the arrest of de Valera and Griffith, remained the senior Sinn Féin figure in the field. Despite the difficulties created by the arrests of leading figures, the election campaign ran smoothly.

A new impetus, almost a new direction, was given to the election campaign by the announcement of the end of the World War on 11 November 1918.



James Robinson, Sean Treacy, Dan Breen and Michael Brennan, who stood at the beginning of the War of Independence 75 years ago on January 21, 1919.

# 'Self-determination not accepted in the new Declaration'

Cont from page 9

principles formulated by President Wilson and accepted by the belligerents as the only sure foundation for a world peace".

## British response & end of First Dáil

THE British, after minimising the Dáil's influence, had not only banned it (September 1919), but also had taken measures to destroy its influence. These measures advanced on two fronts: on the one hand a military campaign was conducted to suppress the Republic, on the other hand a constitutional process was initiated to subvert the Republic.

On the constitutional front the main driving force was the Irish Committee of the British Cabinet, newly re-created in October 1919. The proposals of this Committee were negated by Unionist influence, notably by Sir Walter Long, and the Government of Ireland Act of December 23, 1920 was the result. Partition was introduced into Ireland.

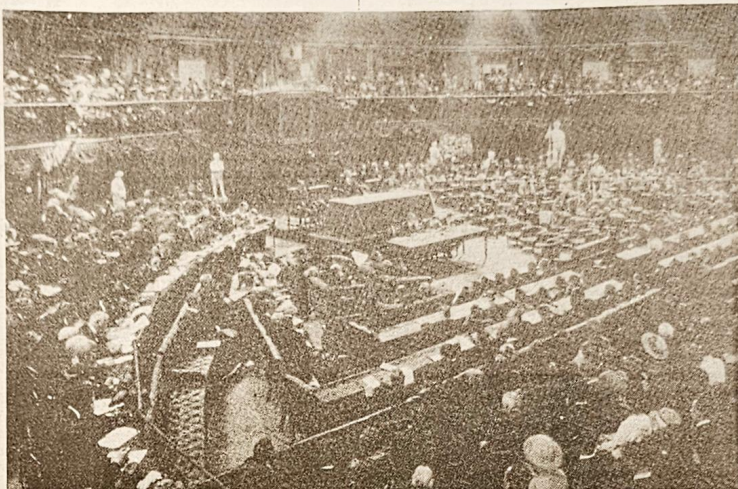
Members of the Dáil appear to have been slow to realise the full implications of the Act, but it dealt a severe blow to the Dáil's battle for self-determination: firstly, the unity of Ireland was denied, and, secondly, the sovereignty of England was asserted not only in "Northern Ireland," but also over all Ireland.

### TACTIC

By this time the British resistance to the Republican Dáil had adopted another tactic. Since about October 1920 secret negotiations had begun with leading Sinn Féiners and members of Dáil Éireann. War and secret negotiations marched side by side until the Truce of July 11, 1921. In the meantime the Government of Ireland Act had been implemented in the North of Ireland and its separate Parliament was inaugurated on June 7 and publicly opened by the King on June 22.

The last action of the First Dáil, through the Ministry, was to reply to Lloyd George. This they did at meetings on July 25 and August 8, 1921. The reply, tendered to Lloyd George on August 10, was fully consonant with the declaration of ideals made at the first meeting of the Dáil. De Valera informed Lloyd George that Dominion status was "illusory", and that "absolute separation" provided the only solution.

He added, in regard to the north, that "we cannot admit the right of the British Government to mutilate our country, either in its own interest or at the call of any section of our population." Behind the facade of unity, however, differences were appearing in Republican ranks.



• Meeting of First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann in the Round Room of the Mansion House.

Negotiation, and the compromise attendant to it, exposed the differences in approach that had brought many into the Sinn Féin movement.

The principles of the First Dáil and the unity of its members were lost as first the Cabinet, December 8, 1921, and then the Dáil, January 7, 1922, split over the Treaty proposals. The rending of Irish unity and the abandonment of Republican ideals was marked most dramatically by the meeting of the pro-treaty group as the Parliament of Southern Ireland on January 14 in order to ratify the Treaty.

Their action symbolised a recognition of the British claim that Dáil Éireann was not a lawful authority — it could not act for the people. On the same day the Provisional Government was created. The same Provisional Government acting in co-operation with the British Government, prevented the Second Dáil (elected May 13, 1921) from dissolving itself thus giving rise to the question of the lawful lineage of the Republican Dáil.

At the same time the unity of Sinn Féin was also destroyed. After two Ard-Fheis in 1922 Sinn Féin as a "band of brothers," committed to its 1917 constitution, was no more. Division is part of the legacy of the failure of the First Dáil to implement its programme: division between Ireland, north and south; division between Irish people who accept the Treaty of 1921 and those who reject it; and division among those who reject the Treaty into those who abstain from the institutions

of the state and those who participate in them.

As one marks the occasion of the 75th anniversary, therefore, one happily celebrates an ideal proudly proclaimed, but with regret one also commemorates an ideal not yet attained.

## Conclusion

A PARTIAL explanation for the failure to secure the Republican ideal has been provided by Judge Kingsmill Moore's analysis of the contrasting motives of those who joined Sinn Féin in 1917 — they were not, he has pointed out, all committed Republicans. This analysis had previously been made by Fr Michael O'Flanagan who showed that the original officials of Republican Sinn Féin of 1917 divided almost equally into pro and anti-Treaty supporters.

And yet to focus on the internal division in the Irish ranks is to miss one important point: the role of the British Government in creating that division. Judge Kingsmill Moore shrewdly noted that "if (in 1921) England had offered a little more or a little less there would have been unanimity in acceptance or rejection, but the English terms were exactly, though I think fortuitously, of such a nature as to reveal and accentuate some of the most fundamental divisions in human temperaments."

While accept; the implications of the judgement of Irish nationalism, the term "fort tously," may be contested in reg to British policy.

The terms of the English proposals in regard to the Government of Ireland Act and the Treaty not only revealed and accentuated divisions amongst the Irish people, but also caused and promoted those differences. Herein lies a warning for today's deliberations: British proposals produce Irish divisions.

## Downing Street Declaration

COMMENTATORS and politicians have compared the Downing Street Declaration to the Treaty of 1921; the present declaration has been hailed as "historic" — a breakthrough that cannot be ignored. Lloyd George used the same word "historic" to bring de Valera to the negotiating table. At the conference table in 1921 the Irish had to respond to British proposals that guaranteed the partition of Ireland and the continuation of British sovereignty in Ireland.

At the conference table in 1994, it would appear, that the same guarantees will still be in operation. The principle of self-determination for the island of Ireland, proclaimed so assuredly by the First Dáil, has not been accepted in the new Declaration.

In the Declaration the Taoiseach accepts "on behalf of the Irish Government, that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with, and subject to the

agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland".

In a subsequent address to the Irish Association on January 10, 1994 the Taoiseach clarified the reasons for this approach, and quoted with approval an article by Dr John Bowman which claimed that the Declaration was "the most separatist" by a British Government in two centuries.

### AMAZING

Bowman's article maintained that "the principle of national self-determination has never been scrutinised seriously in Ireland", an amazing claim. It was scrutinised most carefully, but never questioned. Bowman's scrutiny however raised questions and led him to favour recognition of the Unionist claim to the six counties, basing his opinion, to a large extent, on the 1918 election result.

No mention was made in his article of the electoral balance in 1916, no mention was made of the character of Unionist opposition to Home Rule, no mention was made of Unionist influence to frame the Government of Ireland Act to their own requirements; no mention was made of the broader historical claim against the "two nation theory". One could go on.

However, the very careful scrutiny of the principle of self-determination made by de Valera in October 1920, and presented to President Wilson in pamphlet form, provides a precise refutation of the principle accepted by Bowman. Commenting specifically on the 1918 election results, de Valera declared that "to pretend that absolute unanimity must be obtained, or to refuse to accept as final in determining the will of the nation such a majority as that in Ireland, is to cut at the foundation, not merely of the principle of self-determination, but at the foundation of democracy itself, for democracy, in the last analysis, stands on the principle of majority rule".

It seems reasonable to question — to seek "clarification" — of a Declaration in which the recognition of the political status of Northern Ireland is backed by a British guarantee, while the recognition of self-determination for the island of Ireland is not backed by any guarantee at all — indeed several qualifications are made against it.

It would seem preferable to acknowledge that partition has not proved the best way of reconciling the Unionist aspiration for Britishness with the nationalist aspiration for unity, and, if it is not being either too frivolous or naive, to present as a basis for talks the formula that was devised in 1921, namely to come together "to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations."

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# Cos i dTaca san Eilvéis

Le Comhfhreagróir Speisialta

Bhí tuairisc ar an bpáipéar seo i mí Eanáir, 1993 ar ar gcaoi an dhiúltú muintir na hEilvéise i reifreann don tairiscint go nglacadh an tír le ballraíocht i Limistéar Eacnamaíoch na hEorpa.

Tá an Eilvéis ina ball de Chomhlachas Saorthrádaí na hEorpa (EFTA) le fada, maraon leis An tSualainn, An Ostair, An Iorua, An Ioslainn, An Fhionlainn agus Liechtenstein. Aontóidh conradh a cheadóidh saorthrádaí idir thiortha an Aontais Eorpach (AE) agus thiortha an Chomhlachais Saorthrádaí. Dhúlaigh na hEilvéiseigh

don chonradh seo i reifreann ar 6ú Nollaig, 1992. Céis moite de sin, tá lucht gnó agus airgeadais agus polaitíochta ag brú na tíre le dul isteach go hiomlán san AE, agus iarradh ballraíocht go foirmeálta i 1992. Chuir vóta mhi na Nollag brú de chineál eile orthu-sí agus bheartaigh an rialtas gan dul ar aghaidh leis an iarrtas go fóill.

Idir an dá linn tá



idirbheartaíocht ar siúl idir an AE agus an tSualainn, An Fhionlainn, An Iorua agus An Ostair maidir le ballraíocht iomlán. Vótáil muintir na hEorpa i gcoime ballraíochta, ar ndóig, i 1972 agus tá gach seans ann go ndéanfaidh siad amhlaidh arís.

## MÓRÁLACH

Tá na hEilvéiseigh mórálach as an daonlathas rannpháirtíoch agus as an gcóras feidarálach atá acu. Bhainfeadh córas na Bruiséile bonn ón daonlathas sin. Tá cearta áirithe ag na suoiráigh. Sampla de na cearta sin is ea an d'roth 'initiative. Má bheistear dóthain siníochán ar cheist ar bhith caithear reifreann a chur ar bun agus ligint do na daoine a mbreith a thabhairt.

Dé hAoine, an 21ú Eanáir, leagadh na cáipéisí cúl, le 106,879 siníochán, i láthair an rialtais i mBern ag éileamh go gcuirfí an tairiscint seo os comhair na rdaíne—

1. go dtarraingeofaí siar an t-íarratas ar bhallaíocht san AE, agus nach mbeadh cead ag rialtas na hEilvéise íarratas eile a dhéanamh agus idirbheartaíocht a chur ar bun gan cead a tháil iomráir ón bpobal chuige sin — i reifreann.

Ghearmáinis is mó a bailíodh na siníochán, Zurich, Bern agus Saint-Gallen go háirithe, agus i Ticino, an ceantar Iodáilise.

Is tír shábháir fhorbartha í An Eilvéis anois, a bhfuil chas san do pholasaithe fadradharcacha agus do shaothar crua a muintire. Beidh sé deacair dóibh fanacht amuigh as an AE, má théann an chuid is mó de thiortha an Chomhlachais Saorthrádaí isteach ann.

Ni scaoifidh na hEilvéiseigh lena neodracht ná lena ndaonlathas go héasca mar sin féin.

Beimid san airdeall agus coinnéimid ár léitheoirí ar an eolas.

Caithear, de réir bunreacht, an tairiscint nua seo a chur faoi bhráid na ndaoine taobh istigh de dhá bhliain.

## LIMISTÉIR

Ba sna limistéir

# RADIATION EMISSIONS -- A POTENTIAL HAZARD

In recent weeks the Derry-based West Bank Research and Development Group has been carrying out intense research into such matters as non-ionising radiations and the risk of cancers from electromagnetic fields. The research is ongoing and will be made available to interested parties, including environmentalists.

The groups co-ordinator, Fionnbarra O Dochartaigh, explained that the group first became interested in this subject after a weekend fact-finding visit to Crossmaglen in South Armagh where members welcomed in the new year with local environmentalists.

A leading American environmentalist, who travelled with the group, poured scorn on local claims that particular military installations could be a potential health hazard as a result of suspected radiation emissions.

However research to date can neither confirm or deny popular apprehensions in various areas of the north, including those expressed by those campaigning for the removal of the 'Rosemount Tower'.

O Dochartaigh, a post-graduate of the Open University told the SAOIRSE in January: "Our R & D group has been in touch with several organisations and governmental agencies during our research. These have included Friends of the Earth, the British Medical Association (BMA), Science Faculty of Oxford University, the Health and Safety Protectorate and the National Radiological Protection Board.

## APPREHENSIONS

"None of these organisations or agencies can totally reject the popular apprehensions expressed to us by people living near various sites of possible emissions".

He continued: "It is a complex area of research that involves various sources including power lines, lasers, sunbeds, satellite earth stations, air traffic control, magnetic resonance imaging and of course microwave telecommunications which we are particularly interested in researching further."

"It is important to emphasise that people in various occupations, including the health service itself, are concerned with matters relating to this area of research, and political considerations should not be the prime factors in any such studies. I feel however that vested interests may wish to frustrate such investigations."

He continued: "Some groups have confirmed that their findings are not conclusive and say that interpretation of the findings that have been

DNA, implying that these fields may not be capable of initiating cancer in a matter that parallels that of ionising radiation and many chemical agents. The results of some whole animal and cellular studies suggest the possibility that electromagnetic fields might act as co-carcinogens or tumour promoters but, taken overall, the data is inconclusive".

## EUROPEAN

He explained that documentation which has arrived from European sources in Sweden, Denmark and Norway are currently being studied in some detail. "These are much more enlightening because these countries are at a more advanced stage of research."

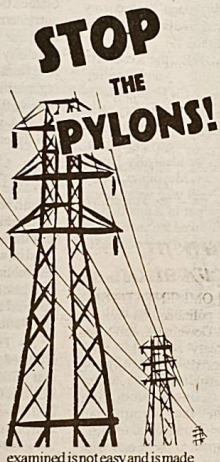
"The three new European occupational studies strengthened the evidence for believing that some group of workers in industries where exposure to EM fields may have been elevated, have an increased risk of leukaemia, but not of brain cancers. However, the recently published epidemiological studies were reviewed at a meeting of the Committee on the Medical Aspects of Radiation in the Environment, held in March 11, 1993.

"The Committee stressed that any evidence for an association between residential exposure of electromagnetic fields and cancer was weak and based on a very small number of cases. However, in the UK the National Study of Childhood Cancer is examining the possible influence of a number of agents, including magnetic fields, on the incidence of childhood cancer."

## EXPOSURE

"New guidelines on exposure to electromagnetic fields are currently being formulated by the Chilton-based National Radiological Protection Board. Their May bulletin would indicate that "at present epidemiological studies do not provide an effective basis for quantitative restrictions on exposure to electromagnetic fields".

"In time, if they are proven wrong, as has happened in so many occupations, including the British armed forces during A-bomb tests, then future governments and taxpayers will be facing high compensation claims", the West Bank R & D Group's director concluded.



examined is not easy and is made even more difficult by the realisation that an incorrect assessment could have serious medical and socio-economic implications. It is clear that there is more involved than purely scientific considerations, or concern for tenants, health workers, farmers or livestock.

## TRADE UNIONS

"The Trade Union movement has the resources and could hold the financial key to unlocking many mysteries if positive decisions were made at the level of the ICTU's national and provincial executives."

"This area of research has all the barriers of jargon and for that reason we welcome the renewed interest being shown by at least one influential agency. Too much of the research has been described as 'experimental' and these findings are, unfortunately, not very helpful."

"It cannot be concluded either that electromagnetic fields have no effect on the physiology of cells, even if the fields are weak, or that they produce effects that would, in other circumstances, be regarded as suggestive of potential carcinogenicity," he added.

In general, the available experimental evidence weighs against electromagnetic fields acting directly to damage cellular

# Volunteer Peter McNulty remembered

SOUTH Down Republicans gathered in Bryansford cemetery on Sunday, January 23 to commemorate the 22nd Anniversary of the death on active service of Vol Peter McNulty from Castlewellan.

At this year's ceremony a wreath was laid by Christy Devlin on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and Danny Fitzpatrick led the crowd in a decade of the Rosary. The national flag was held aloft by PJ Travers and a lament was played by Patrick Rooney. The chairperson Marie Carlin then introduced the speaker, Michael Donegan from South Armagh.

He spoke of the Republican tradition from which the McNultys came, of Peter's father Patrick who fought in the

Castlewellan company, Fourth Northern Division, Irish Republican Army in the 1920s.

"Peter McNulty would not surrender to Stormont nor could he accept British rule in Ireland—and he laid down his precious life in proclaiming his faith in an Irish Republic on January 26, 1972.

"The youth of today have a similar choice to make, faced with a shamed leadership, no longer Republican in anything but name, which touts

agreements and compromises, that would once again secure British rule in occupied Ireland," Michael Donegan said.

He hoped that in the days ahead enough men like Peter McNulty, unshakeable and true, will renew their faith in the Republican ideal and reject anything less than British withdrawal from the Six Counties.

He concluded by remembering two of Peter's brothers Jim, who died on November 19 last and Eamon (Ned) who died on February 17, 1990, and two Down Republicans, Joe McCrickard, Leitrim, Castlewellan and Paddy Devlin, Kilcoo, who died recently.

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# Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

ON January 5, 1994, former Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Thomas P "Tip" O'Neill died. This writer knew Mr O'Neill all his life, in fact, I can't remember not knowing him. Both of us had been born into working-class Irish immigrant neighbourhoods. To give him credit, Tip never forgot where he came from and would always do a favour for a constituent.



Tip O'Neill loved being Irish and he flaunted it as a badge of honour. When the present war exploded in Ireland, Tip was approached for his support and he gave it, willingly. The approach was initially made by those in his district who became involved.

All of those who talked to Tip regarding the Six-Counties were supporters of the Republican Movement and that was told him up front. Tip said he agreed with them. There was instant trust because O'Neill knew everyone and he knew their families. In addition, O'Neill followed his heart and conscience which he said was very anti-British.

He despised the injustices they were doing to the Irish people, his people. Had there been no injustice by the British in Ireland, Tip O'Neill would have been born in Cork, Ireland, not Cambridge, Massachusetts.

### SUPPORTER

Congressman O'Neill was an early supporter of the Republican Movement's goals and he said so publicly and he identified with them because they were anti-British. He even went a step further and said he supported the Irish Republican Army who were fighting British injustice. He later repeated this on CBS News. Tip said his initial instincts were usually correct.

In 1973 Tip O'Neill sponsored a Congressional Reception for Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh. During a private meeting in his office prior to the reception, O'Neill said he and his colleagues get only one side of the story, the British-US State Department line. They need to be kept informed of Irish views. The British control propaganda, he said, and the American people believed the lies.

At that time, Tip said the Dublin government was useless and did nothing to keep Congress informed. He said, they did not seem interested at all and this he could not understand. He was informed that the British created two states in 1922, Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State—two illegitimate statelets of the same mother. This situation has never been addressed and rectified by the British.

Tip enjoyed telling the story of how his father and his friends sent guns to the IRA in the false bottoms of coffins going back to Ireland in the 1916 era. He said maybe that should be done again.

He said the Jews sent money and weapons to the so-called Jewish terrorists, why shouldn't the Irish do the same. The Jews never worried if it was legal, only that it was right. Tip thought the Irish need to be strong like that.

The previously mentioned congressional reception was a spectacle to behold. For a normal reception in Congress one is doing well to attract 10 members, but the O'Neill / Ó Brádaigh one drew 70. It was unheard of. Tip came at 7pm and stayed until 2am in the morning shouting to one and all, if you don't support the IRA get the hell out.

At the end of 1973, panic set in and the Brits and Free State realised they had to co-ordinate a move to stop similar endorsements of Irish Republicans by such as O'Neill. An infiltrator was needed, a man without conscience, who could peddle the big lie and be believable and he had to be Irish born, shallow and persuasive.

### DISTORT

Enter John Hume. Here was



• The late Thomas P 'Tip' O'Neill (second from right) at the US Congressional Reception for Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh and Fermanagh-South Tyrone MP Frank McManus in Washington in October 1973.

a man whose intent in the States was to distort the situation in Ireland and to sell a plan, any plan, that did not necessitate the end of partition or a British withdrawal. His targets were Senators Kennedy, Moynihan, Governor Carey of New York and Tip O'Neill. To assist him Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil set up a slush fund for Hume and a second source also lent support - the enemy British government.

Hume played the martyr role with Kennedy to lure his sympathy. Hume implied he carried the weight of the Six Counties on his shoulders and his way did not involve "violence" but dialogue. He was portrayed as a determined man of peace who alone could turn the divided communities of Ireland. Hume was a good actor who could turn on the tears especially after drink.

Hume engaged in personal slander against Irish-American leaders who were anti-British and anti-Free State. Kennedy bought all Hume was selling because it was the easy way out. The line became we support the Irish government which was the same as saying they support the Brits because Dublin had no courage to defy them and no courage to oppose them by threats.

### COWARDS

Successive Dublin governments have proved to be physical cowards unwilling to fight Ireland's only enemy - the Brits. Cowardice is synonymous with the Free State.

REMEMBER, the Kennedys never did anything for the Irish in the United States or in Ireland. They are very pro-British. To those not wanting to show courage and shut down the British, John Hume was the ideal ally. Hume won over Kennedy, Moynihan, Carey and finally O'Neill who went along because he was put in a position of looking like he backed the use of force which he had. It was a way out and is not excused.

Tip had honestly believed in the IRA campaign. He believed the Irish people had a right to fight the British. His initial instincts were from the heart and when he listened to it he remained right. One of his oldest friends was John Mackin the Boston lawyer who was an uncompromising supporter of the Republican Movement and Tip listened to him.

Hume worked O'Neill and with Kennedy's help convinced him he should back the Dublin government and follow their lead. After all, they were the government and elected officials like himself.

### BOUGHT IT

Tip finally bought it and once in, he had to stick it out even though he blamed the 26-County government's concern over the Six Counties as the element which contributed to the necessity for the IRA to exist. Hume filled him with lies against people and organisations, which was to make him believe that his continued support of the IRA would further unnecessary bloodshed.

Tip met with and tried to persuade Irish Republicans to back Dublin without success and lost his old friend John Mackin in the process and that hurt him. Tip was set up, lured in, and his intentions being good, his Dublin handlers had only one thing in mind: do nothing, keep the status quo and back the British position on the North of Ireland.

As Tip O'Neill, my old friend, is buried, I am going to remember the real Irishman who told me that the IRA of a few hundred holding 30,000 British soldiers to a standstill makes him proud to be Irish and makes them the greatest army in the world. That was the real Tip who stood with Ruairi Ó Brádaigh and said he believed in the cause of Irish freedom. Rest easy old pal, you are forgiven.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

## Nothing In it For Nationalists

A chara

James Molyneux agrees that the Joint Declaration gives nationalists nothing. The unionists, he said, have now a guarantee from Dublin as well as

the things the Joint Declaration was doing and which was totally central to it, was to address the Republican Movement".

An obvious factor emanating from the widely acknowledged ambiguity of this document is the constant rhetorical pandering to the proponents of the Loyalist veto - that British guarantee to unionists which has been the prime obstacle to resolving the 70-year-old nightmare and the real stumbling block to political



endorsement of traditional unionist demands, ahead of the proposed negotiations, is all the more remarkable. The "statutory constitutional guarantees" which copper fastened the unionist position in the past, are now reaffirmed thus consolidating the unionists and depriving them of motivation for change.

If the Joint Declaration was meant to woo the warring Republicans, it is difficult to see why it was designed to be so partisan in its preparation and so belligerent in its policies and proposals. There is nothing in it to reassure nationalists. Not once are they mentioned by name. Despite the discrimination they endured for years, they don't even merit a footnote - nothing that would address their grievances, while the hopes and aspirations of the majority people of Ireland are flagrantly and heavily qualified.

A paramount example of this is the document's affirmation that it is for "the people of the island of Ireland" alone to decide the future of the country. This seems, at first, like a shift in the British position. But when we consider it in context, what in fact we are being told is that the right of self-determination may only be exercised subject to the agreement and consent of the minority community in Ireland, thus revealing the resolve of both governments to circumvent the right of Ireland as a whole to self-determination.

Both Mr Major and Mr Spring continue to insist that time is of the essence for all nationalists to take up the "challenge". In my opinion time could not be more inauspicious while the ongoing alliance between Molyneux and Major is reliant upon the Unionist veto. Clearly Mr Major's

vulnerability to parliamentary defeat will impede London from any meaningful arrangement for peace in the foreseeable future.

For good or for bad, the Joint Declaration is now seen by Republicans and others as a rehash of the old rules under which the new game of Irish politics will be played. This, of course, would be considerably enhanced if the Provos would deem to succumb. "Peace must have meaning beyond the cessation of violence" (Brian Keenan). Where then is the recipe for peace! Whence the sweeping media euphoria, the concerted political and church pretence that we were somehow on the verge of peace!

The editorial in a popular west Belfast newspaper has warned: "Let no person, no matter how exalted in either church or state, make you accept this agreement on the false premise that you are for violence if you reject it. Nothing could be further from the truth".

It should not have been a surprise to anyone when John Major, in his Commons speech following the Downing Street agreement, asserted that the declaration means no to the value of achieving a united Ireland, no to Britain joining the persuaders, no to any timetable for a united Ireland, no to joint authority, no

to any change in the unionist veto and no to any Dublin say in the affairs of the north. Is this what the Taoiseach understands the Joint Declaration to mean? AN T-AITHAIR PIARAS Ó

DUILL  
Sráid na hEaglaise  
Baile Átha Cliath 7

## British Trickery In 1980-81 Hunger Strikes

A chara

A Trojan priest and two sons were crushed to death by two great sea-serpents as a warning to the Trojans against drawing the huge wooden horse of the Greeks into Troy. The incident is the subject of one of the most famous examples of ancient sculpture, now in the Vatican Museum.

This masterpiece, probably of the Pergamene school, (100-200 BC) in Pliny's time stood in the palace of the Emperor Titus in Rome but later disappeared. It was dramatically rediscovered in 1506, when it made a great impression, especially on Michelangelo.



• London Declaration - no to any change in the Unionist veto.

From London, John Hume insists the document is not supposed to be a solution and that, "among

alternatives and progress. Since the document is purported to be a solution, its

# LÉIRMHEAS

# Truth always lags last

*On the Arm of Time* by Michael Ó Cuinneagáin  
 Nolan Press (1992)  
*On the Arm of Time* by Michael Ó Cuinneagáin, Donegal writer and historian is an account of the period 1916-22 drawing its title from a quotation by Baltasar Gracian: "Truth always lags last, limping along on the arm of time".

The book deals with the 1916 Rising, the 1918 General Election and the convening of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil and goes on to look at the period leading up to the Truce and the Treaty of 1921 and the Civil War which followed.  
 Ó Cuinneagáin casts new light on a number of central figures of the time such as Collins and de Valera and in the process poses some intriguing questions about the events of the period which are at best worthy of further investigation.

One of the more interesting claims made in the book is that Collins was 'blackmailed' into signing the 1921 Treaty due to a relationship between him and Moya Lewellyn Davies, a member of 'London Society' which resulted in a child.  
 Ó Cuinneagáin states that Collins was removed from the Free State cabinet in July 1922 partly because of the embarrassment caused by his alleged involvement in the shooting of Sir Henry Wilson and his unwillingness to step up



● **Michael Collins (left) and Richard Mulcahy.**  
 the war on Republican forces. He was instead replaced as chairman of the 'Executive Council' of the Free State by W T Cosgrave and appointed 'Commander-in-Chief' of the

Free State Army. These changes were not made public at the time. At the time of his death, Ó Cuinneagáin believes Collins was on the point of negotiating a truce with Republican leaders, a development not welcomed in Westminster or by elements within the Free State Cabinet. The book names Emmet Dalton, who Ó Cuinneagáin believes was a British double agent, as Collins likely assassin.  
 Interestingly, Richard Mulcahy who succeeded Collins as Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army did not vacate his cabinet seat and remained as Minister of Defence in the Free State Government.

General of the Irish Free State was in fact a British Intelligence agent who operated as such within Irish National Organisations from 1882 onwards.

Ó Cuinneagáin believes that it was Healy and not James Carey who was the informer following the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke, British Chief Secretary and Under Secretary respectively in the Phoenix Park in 1882, which led to the execution of five members of the 'Irish National Invincibles'.

Michael Ó Cuinneagáin has written a provocative and thought provoking book which certainly lays the ground for further study of this turbulent period in Irish history.  
 — **Deasún Ó Daltuinn.**

## BRITISH AGENT

Ó Cuinneagáin also claims that Tim Healy first Governor

## BELATED

However Oliver Kearney, secretary of the pressure group Equality, qualified his welcome in so far as he described the development as "belated and grudging acknowledgement of the pervasiveness of discrimination".

Bob Cooper, the FEC chairman, said a "twin-track strategy" of investment and tougher anti-bias laws was essential to the elimination of job discrimination.

"This joint call is an important and welcome contribution to efforts to eradicate a problem that has blighted the North of Ireland for far too long".

Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, the northern correspondent of the *Catholic Herald* (London) told SAOIRSE, "It is highly unlikely that this initiative would have occurred without years of dedicated and effective work by campaigners in America and Europe for the MacBride Principles. I recall efforts to highlight this issue years before we gathered in Belfast to establish the civil rights movement.

Increased investment may yet come, but without any guarantees of equality if MacBride is diluted in any way as a result of 'respectable' elements introducing a less demanding code of practice. We must all remain vigilant on this issue".

One of SAOIRSE's regular correspondents faxed the Irish National Caucus office on Washington's Capital Hill and

Fr Seán McManus outlined his organisation's response. This Fermanagh-born priest pointed out that the INC had spearheaded the MacBride campaign, and felt that the church leaders should be congratulated for their "moral leadership and ecumenical solidarity".

The joint declaration was prompted by a visit to America last February by the leaders of the four main Irish churches, which focused on investment and fair employment concerns. Some observers believe that the initial proposal came from leading Christian churches in America, which may be confirmed by subsequent announcements.

## ACTION

Cardinal Cahal Daly said its intention was to depoliticise the issue of fair employment and encourage constructive change through consensus. Yet, as seasoned observers quickly relate, it was effective political action which brought this matter to the attention of the international community, rather than supposedly non-political agencies.

Dr Eric Gallagher, a former president of the Methodist Church, said the North was "crying out for employment". "All of us need to recognise that this part of the world is crying out for investment. It's bleeding to death, and unless we get more investment, jobs and more justice, I tremble to think what the future of Northern Ireland will be," he said.

# US/Irish churchmen condemn jobs bias

By a Special Correspondent

A JOINT DECLARATION via a trans-Atlantic video link, connecting leading churchmen in Belfast and Washington, is being hailed as a major development in the campaign against jobs discrimination and for increased US investment to create more jobs in the Six Counties. Such comes after some decades of campaigning. Throughout the years of the Troubles nationalists have been 2.5 times more likely to be unemployed than other sections of the workforce. In 1967, when the civil rights movement was founded, the figure was 2.6.

The link-up took place on Friday, January 14. Representatives of the countries' Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist churches participated in dialogue and agreed their joint statement, after months of preparation.

They urged more investment, job creation and greater equality, but said their stance was intended neither to endorse nor undermine the nine MacBride Principles for fair employment, which have attracted the support of some fourteen states in the USA and many city administrations over recent years.

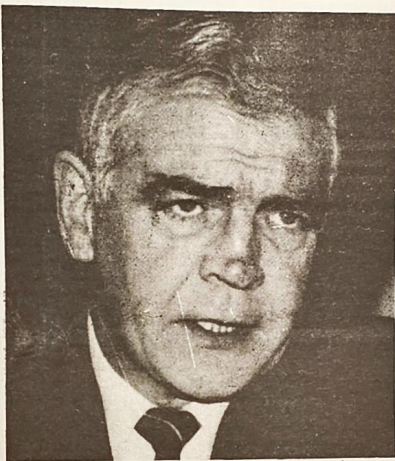
The churchmen appealed to the British government to heed the submissions of the British-appointed Fair Employment Commission (FEC) and the Standing Advisory Commission on

Human Rights to the forthcoming review of fair employment legislation. Such a call has proved highly embarrassing to the British government who have always insisted that current legislation successfully tackled this issue. To press this point home the Conservatives have spent millions of dollars in the US to convey such misinformation.

## BRITISH LINE

High-ranking SDLP spokesmen, who also echoed the British line during several visits to America, are known to be privately furious at the implication of the churchmen's statement.

Leading Irish-American public representatives, who went along with the SDLP line, in a series of fax messages to a Derry freelance journalist revealed a sense of anger and



● **Oliver Kearney: 'a belated acknowledgement of discrimination'.**

outrage because they feel they have been deliberately misled by the SDLP leader John Hume and other officials of that party. Some are puzzled as to why John Hume and others in the SDLP have taken such an unprincipled position, when they knew the truth on the ground.

The truth was that the status quo remained unchanged for more than 25 years, and that Britain was peddling a blatant falsehood in their country,

which they feel the SDLP leader should have corrected on any one of his frequent visits to America. However they feel that as a result of the churchmen's statement they are now fully aware of the actual status of nationalists within the labour market of British-Occupied Ireland.

The churchmen's document was widely welcomed by the Fair Employment Commission, politicians and civil rights campaigners.

wearing usual prison uniform but their own choice of clothing. Kieran Nugent said that the warders would have to nail the prison-issue uniform to his back before he would wear it.

That was in 1976, the same year that the European Commission found that "deep interrogation" techniques of prisoners, used in RUC barracks constituted inhuman treatment and torture. Britain is guilty of torture in the Six-County state.

As the second hunger strike progressed, different bodies tried to mediate and find a solution. "Clarification" was impossible.

"We will not negotiate with terrorists until they get involved with the political process", said Maggie Thatcher in 1979. After Bobby Sands' election, "We will not negotiate with terrorists until they call a ceasefire", and this has been the British position since 1981.

We all know now that negotiations were in progress the whole time. The Mountain Man has been acquainted with Martin McGuinness since 1972 and even though he retired from MI5 in the early 1980s, he was brought out of retirement a few years ago to renew the contact.

Cardinal Ó Fiaich worked tirelessly for the prisoners, as did some other clergy as well. The Irish Commission for Justice and Peace and a Swiss Red Cross team failed to mediate in the issue.

The tenth hunger striker, Michael Devine, died on August 20, the day before Owen Carron won Bobby Sands seat at Westminster.

The campaign continued until October 23. Within days of its conclusion most of the demands were granted.

LIAM Ó CÚINN  
 Newry  
 Co Down



Let's hope we won't suffer the same fate as the Trojan priest.

History does repeat itself on the Irish side would do well to remember the tricks and tribulations of the 1980 and 1981 hunger strikes.

At that time the issue was political status for Republican prisoners; nowadays it is (or is it?) political status for a Republic.

The 1980 hunger strike by seven prisoners ended on December 12, 1980 with

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# ROCKY BURNS KILLED IN ACTION

**50  
YEARS  
AGO**

On February 21, 1944 the US Ambassador to Dublin David Gray — no friend of Ireland — delivered a note to de Valera which could be regarded as an ultimatum.

It sought the removal from Éire (sic) of German and Japanese diplomatic and consular representatives. The next day Sir John Maffey, the British "Representative", as he was then styled also delivered a note.

It welcomed the US initiative and "fully supported" their "request" to the Dublin Government. All of this had of course been carefully staged and managed.

It has emerged now from State papers available to researchers that the British and the Americans conspired together to put pressure on the 26-County state. Gray had been preparing such a situation for a year.

The US would lead because if the British did so Irish opinion could be very quickly roused and united in rejection. The Canadians were reported to be upset because they had been ignored.

Ottawa would not call for the notes to be withdrawn as requested by Dublin but they advised no publicity in the matter. The Australians when sounded out rebuffed the Dublin Government. Irish-born Archbishop Mannix attacked Prime Minister Curtin for his attitude.

But at least the Allies were divided on the question and that helped de Valera. The whole purpose behind the moves was to use a refusal to blunt a post-war anti-partition campaign in the US.

As Jack Hickerson of the American State Department noted on February 28, "the principal sanction which we had in mind, in the event of a refusal, was the wrath of American mothers whose sons' lives would be placed in jeopardy".

He added in conversation with Robert Brennan, the Dublin Administration's Ambassador in Washington, that Roosevelt's assurance of not infringing 26-County neutrality, given a year earlier, still stood. Mr Brennan could advise his government accordingly.

De Valera had told Gray immediately he received the note that as long as he was in office the answer would be "no". "For a year and a half you have been advertising the invasion of Europe and what has got out about it has not been from Éire", he continued.

## NEUTRAL

The German Minister had behaved very correctly and decently and as a neutral de Valera would not send him away. And he acted immediately on the military side.

All that night the Free State Defence Council was in session, its army moved into defensive positions and the LDF was mobilised and armed.

Seán Cronin is in our debt for documenting this whole episode most painstakingly. In fact he told this writer in conversation that he (Cronin) then a serving officer with the Free State Army was with a unit deployed on the actual



● Séamas 'Rocky' Burns, OC Belfast 1943-44, pictured in his coffin.

Border and that they had Observation Posts and Listening Posts inside the Six Counties.

De Valera's response was given on March 6 and delivered by Brennan the following day. It said that a break in diplomatic relations was universally recognised as the first step to war. The answer was "no". Neutrality had a united people behind it and was the logical consequence of Irish history and of the forced partition of the national territory.

Indeed Gray had mentioned, when delivering the famous note on February 21, Cardinal MacRory's Lenten pastoral letter in that day's papers. The Cardinal had said that the Anglo-Americans should be grateful the Irish were not fighting on the side of the Axis because of partition!

Gray on February 29 assured de Valera orally that "the Americans would not invade Éire". Then the newspaper leaks of secret notes came, first in Washington on March 10. The London *Evening News* put the story on its front page and said the Free State Army was on stand-to alert.

## RALLIED

Cronin says "de Valera rallied Nationalist Ireland behind him in a way not seen since 1918. It was perhaps the greatest triumph of his political career." Churchill was given much of the blame for the crisis by the Irish because on March 13 he halted travel and trade "between the United Kingdom and Éire for military reasons".

This was of course right into de Valera's alley. The move was designed "to isolate Great Britain from Southern Ireland, and also to isolate Southern Ireland from the outer world during the critical period which is now approaching", the British Premier told the Commons two days later.

He threatened that if a catastrophe befell the Allied armies that could be traced to Axis diplomats in Dublin "a gulf would be opened between Great Britain and Southern Ireland which even generations would not bridge". De Valera made hay here while the sun shone!

Churchill's act alarmed Gray. It played into de Valera's hands, he told Washington. Gray was given a Special Branch guard. He asked

Geny Boland — "the best man in the Cabinet", he called him — to remove the armed escort and it was done.

Cronin concludes that this was a "concocted espionage charge against a small state at the height of WWII". Even the Allied Joint Chiefs-of-Staff would not say that 26-County bases were essential to the war effort.

The State Departments real purpose was to pre-empt anti-partition agitation in the US after the war. A letter to Senator John A Danaher of Connecticut dated June 7, 1944 (the day after D-Day) from Hickerson of the State Department made the point that the Irish had failed the US in her hour of need.

## CONGRESS

This letter was cleared by the White House, he told Gray on February 11, 1946. "We have heard nothing from Congress on this subject (the partition of Ireland) for a long time", he concluded. The 1944 note had been worthwhile.

Gray wrote an introduction to a Unionist booklet while in retirement in the 1950s. He claimed neutrality had "served only Hitler's objectives". Cronin says there was a lot of venom in Gray's remarks and absolutely no truth — except for his statement on the ports.

Neutrality served Irish objectives — not Hitler's, Churchill's or Roosevelt's objectives — Cronin says. It must be judged on that basis alone, he concludes.

Meanwhile on the global scene the Red Army had now penetrated into Poland. In Italy there was an amphibious landing at Anzio near Rome by the Allies but the Germans confined it to a beach-head.

Lower down the Italian peninsula at the actual war front, the Germans entrenched at the famous Monte Cassino abbey were besieged but not over-run or dislodged.

In the Pacific General MacArthur's forces advanced along the north coast of New Guinea. US forces took the Admiralty Islands with a deep-water port nearer to Japan.

## RESISTANCE

February 1944 was the anniversary of the first noteworthy resistance to Hitler's regime within Germany itself. On February 17, 1943 -

four days after Von Paulus's surrender and the German defeat at Stalingrad - two students Hans and Sophie Scholl were arrested for distributing leaflets against the war. They acted for the White Rose movement and they were promptly executed. 1944 would see more of this.

Back home in Ireland during February another hero fell before the guns of Britannia. Séamus Burns of Cupar Street, Belfast, known to his comrades and friends as Rocky, was a great Gaelicgoir. In fact he was a first class Irish speaker. Interred without trial in Crumlin Road, Belfast and in Derry Jail, he was among the 21 internees that escaped in March 1943.

Arrested with the others soon after crossing the Border into the 26 Counties he was interned again at the Curragh Concentration Camp. Harry White recommended that a selected number of them "sign out" to take part in the Northern Campaign, then under way.

Albert Price, Billy Perry and Rocky Burns were among these. They returned to Belfast and were re-admitted to the Army. Rocky replaced Jimmy Steele as OC Belfast when Steele was arrested in May.

Harry says Rocky was "permanently armed and permanently on the run" and recounts some of his narrow shaves. In prison he was something of a joker and helped to keep morale up.

Then one afternoon in February 1944 in daylight Rocky and a companion were stopped by two RUC in Chapel Lane, Belfast. Not satisfied with their identity cards they began escorting them to nearby Queen Street barracks. Rocky, knowing that this would be the end, broke away and pulled his gun. The RUC did likewise.

Shots were exchanged at close range on both sides and Rocky's unarmed companion succeeded in escaping. One of the RUC was hit in the shoulder but a third in plain clothes coming from the barracks drew his revolver and shot Rocky in the stomach.

He died a few days later on February 12 at the age of 23. Brendan Behan in his poem *The Dead March Past* acknowledges him.

"Rocky Burns rises up from Chapel Lane And Charlie Kerins lives and laughs again." Rocky's story has always been an inspiration, especially in Belfast where he is looked on as the prototype Volunteer going down fighting gun in hand as did Cathal Brugha in Dublin over twenty years earlier.

The last word is from Harry, his comrade throughout that last year of the Northern Campaign 1942-44:

"We gave him (Rocky) a soldiers' funeral into Milltown, even though the few of us that were left had to stay away. All traffic on the Falls was stopped and thousands turned out to watch the cortege.

"There were hundreds of RUC men there and two cage lorries as well. The authorities had their final kick at him: his sister Madge who was interned for over two years in Amagh jail had her request for parole turned down.

"*A bhuaicail aoiibhim álainn Óg Ba leathan do chroí, ba dheas do phóg. Mo léan gan mise leat féin go deo. Is go dtéighidh tú, a mhúirín, slán.*"

(More next month. Refs. *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-1986-Independence, Partition, Neutrality* by Seán Cronin, published 1987 by Anvil Books and *Harry*, the story of Harry White as related to Uinséann MacFoin, published 1985 by Argenta Publications.)

## Paddy Devlin

The death took place of Paddy Devlin, Kilcoo, Co Down on Thursday 20 January 1994. The funeral on Saturday morning left his home Mullandra Park, Kilcoo for 12 o'clock Mass in St Malachys Church.

The coffin was draped in the Tricolour and accompanied by a Republican Sinn Féin Guard of Honour. The graveside proceedings were chaired by Seamus McCrickard. Among the wreaths laid were one from his South Down comrades and Republican Sinn Féin which was laid by Marie Carlin.

The Tricolour was presented to his widow Elizabeth at the graveside by Johnny Cowen. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Danny Fitzpatrick. Republicans from all over Ulster attend the very large funeral. The oration

was delivered by Michael Hegarty, Ard-Chomhairle Republican Sinn Féin, who said:

"It is a sad day today that we all gathered here in Kilcoo, yet it is a great honour for me to speak at the laying to rest of a true soldier of the Irish Republic. Paddy Devlin a Gael and soldier of South Down, knew who he was and what he was.

"After the betrayal of 1969 when the might and spite of the Unionist/British planters was vented on the Nationalist people of the Six Counties, without reply or support from the so-called IRA stickies or the Free

State, Paddy did not stand idly by.

## GENEROUS

"No, Paddy Devlin was of too generous a nature to bow down before the idol of power because success has crowned it or to forsake a just cause because it has not proved triumphant. Irish soldiers like Paddy know that the charter of their country's liberty has been written. So Paddy Devlin along with Peter McNulty and James Carlin reorganised the noble cause of Republicanism. These great men did not need to clarify any documents drawn up by the Free State or British. Yet these men were to become known as a core of active resistance in the occupied Six Counties.

"Hardship, and risk" was their daily diet as Republicanism was redeemed in those lonely

and dangerous days of the 70s. Paddy was a man of small stature with a huge intellect and heart of gold for all the oppressed in his country.

"During this period and while on the run Paddy got married in Dundalk to Libby and their first child was born while Paddy was on remand in Crumlin Road Prison and Long Kesh. Again on his release Paddy became active.

"Yet again in his short life Paddy was to witness the betrayal of Republicanism by stickies in 1969 in their headlong rush to Leinster House. So too did he read the signs when once again in 1986 the same heresy of recognising the Free State forced Republicans once again to choose the hard and principled path and set up Republican Sinn Féin.

"As we stand here today in

honour of a great South Down Republican we offer to Libby, his great and supportive wife, and his eight lovely children, Patrick, Francis, Anne, Anthony, Mícaela, Orla, Ruairi, and Mícael, his brothers Christie, Michael, Peter, Vincent, and sister Theresa the sympathy of the Republican Movement.

"We know Paddy, of all men, would see the error in trusting a combination of Free State and British politicians to deliver peace with justice to the beleaguered people of the six-counties. We know what Paddy Devlin, Eamonn McNulty and James Carlin would say to Reynolds and Major and we say it too.

"(1) Republicans are not in the business of capitulation (2) Republicans will not be put

under any British imposed quarantine (3) Republicans will not be giving up their arms to either the British or Free State.

"They were procured for the re-establishment of the Republic of Pearse and Tone and for its defence.

"Indeed no country has laboured so long and diligently, has suffered so much, has failed so often and yet has the courage, the strength and the character to try again. We owe it to Paddy Devlin to continue the struggle to secure the Irish Republic to which he dedicated his life. Paddy, an O/C of South Down your name will be like a beacon to us to keep going when we feel down.

"May the sod of Kilcoo rest lightly on this true soldier of the Irish Republic.

"An Phoblacht Abú!"

# John Joe Long

THE death occurred on January 13 at the Cork Regional Hospital of John Joe Long, a very popular ex-Scoutmaster of Na Fianna Eireann in the early fifties.

John Joe was also a Volunteer in the Irish Republican Army. He emigrated to the USA in the fifties where he stayed about 10 years. On his return to Cork he joined the staff of UCC as a laboratory technician, where he remained until shortly before his death. On his return he renewed his activities with the Republican Movement. He trained many a boy in Cork over the years.

He was a member of the Irish Republican Comrades and was a very active worker on behalf of Republican Prisoners Dependents. He was also a member of Lough Rovers Hurling and Football Club.

His draped coffin was escorted by a guard of honour drawn from Republican Comrades and Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Members of Cumann na mBan preceded the hearse which was led by two pipers.

Along with the many wreaths and floral tributes

## Criostóir Ó Néill

CHAILL Poblachtaigh agus lucht na Gaeilge cara mór nuair a fuair Criostóir Ó Néill as Bhaile Átha Cliath bás go gairid roimh Nollaig.

Bhí sé féin, a dhíotháir Máinín mac maireann agus a dhíotháirí Ceardaigh Carmel agus Máire ar fad gabtha le Gaeilgeacht na Poblachtaí thar na blianta. Bóid amháid dá n-ádhúlacht. Bhí sé seán ar Ard-Chomhairle Shinn Féin Uí Uachtaráinacht Mháiread Uí Fhinnéalla sna daiteachdai.

Bhí phríontaigh iad Criostóir agus Máinín gCampa Ceardaigh ann Chuirraigh ag an am sin. Na dhá dhíon sin ghlac Máinín páirt mór san ITGWU agus inghlaiseacht na Gaeilge. Chuirigh Criostóir ar ais go

Glúaiseacht na Poblachta agus chabhraigh go mór chun é a chur ar bonnairis go lára na Gaeilge. Pósadh é le Mollí Gallagher nach maireann a chaith na blianta i bpríosún i Sasana de bharr an Feachtas Bua mála ann ag Ogláigh na hÉireann 1939-40.

Bhí Criostóir i láthair ag Feis na Poblachta san Chluírláinn, Baile na Manach, Baile Átha Cliath i Mí Meán Fómhair seo caite. Cé go raib sé tinn ag an am labhair sé ag na díospóireachtaí an lá sin.

Beannacht Dé lena amán dílis.

**McDERMOTT**, Deepest sympathy is extended to Cecilia and Saoirse, wife and daughter of Cormac McDermott who was murdered on January 27. Also to his father-in-law Willie Cumming. From Coiste Cuimhneacháin Náisiúnta (National Commemoration Committee).

**McDERMOTT**, Sincere sympathy is extended to Cecilia and Saoirse McDermott on the murder of Cormac by a loyalist death squad on January 27, 1994. From Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

**McDERMOTT**, Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach extends deepest sympathy to Cecilia and Saoirse McDermott on the death of Cormac who was murdered by pro-British forces on January 27.

**McNULTY**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the McNulty family, Castlewellan, Co Down on the recent death of Jimmy McNulty. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin.

**O'CEALLAIGH**, Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe extends deepest sympathy to the wife and family of the late Pádraig O'Ceallaigh, Ballygar, Co Galway, who died recently.

**O'SULLIVAN**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the O'Sullivan family, Farranfore, Co Kerry on the death of their father Patrick. From the Brendan Doherty Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Currow, Castleisland and Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

**TRAINOR**, Deepest sympathy is extended to Anthony Trainor n the death of his grandmother. Lily

Mahey who died on January 7, 1994. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BAC.

**TRAINOR**, Sincere sympathy is extended to Anthony Trainor on the death of his grandmother on January 7, 1994. From the Anne Devlin Cumann, Rathfarnham, Dublin. Uí MhUIMHNEACHÁIN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Cáit Uí Mhuimhneacháin, Muilleann gCeair, Co na hIar-Mhí who died on January 28. From the Ard-Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Solas na bhFíatheid dá hanam.

**Uí MhUIMHNEACHÁIN**, CABHAR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) extend sincere sympathy to the family of Cáit Uí Mhuimhneacháin, Muilleann gCeair, Co na hIar-Mhí who died on January 28. I mease Laochra na nGael go raibh aici.

**Uí MhUIMHNEACHÁIN**, The Executive and members of Cumann na mBan extend deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Cáit Uí Mhuimhneacháin, Muilleann gCeair, Co na hIar-Mhí who died on January 28. Suiamhneas síorná dá hanam.

# Brón ar an mBás

## Cáit Uí Mhuimhneacháin

Republicans, Irish music lovers, lucht na Gaeilge and all who know her were deeply saddened by the death on January 28 in Mullingar of Cáit Uí Mhuimhneacháin (72).

She was waked in her own house in Oliver Plunkett Street where she had given election offices in 1981 for the campaign of Martin Hurson, H-Block hunger-striker. At the removal to Christ the King Cathedral and funeral to Ballyglas Cemetery very large crowds took part.

The coffin was draped in the Tricolour as the cortege made its way over the same route as at the re-interment of Barnes and McCormack 25 years earlier. At the graveside Labhrás Ó Murchú, Ard-Stiúrthóir, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and Ruairí Ó Brádaigh both spoke orations.

"A Cháit, a chraobhinn, aobhinn, álainn ó, tá tú imithe uainn ar deire thiar, sciothba uainn ag an mbás tar eis diot bóithrin carmn ach rannach na beatha a chur diot.

"Leag Dia ualach from ort ar bhás d'ádhúlacht. Éamonn 30 bliain ó shin; ualach mór from aris nuair a bhuaill an acid mhí-thrócaireach sin thú. Ach mhair tú iad i ndiaidh a chéile.

"Tá do shaoil éachtach curtha diot ag anois agus seasann tú ar Dheas-Láimh Dú. "Cáit was born Kathleen Mulreedy in Mullingar in the early twenties about the time the All-Ireland Republic of 1916 and of the First and Second Dáilleana was overturned by British force which gave us the two-state Ireland we have today.

"Growing up in the '20s and '30s Cáit with the rest of the Mulreedy family were intensely Gaelic and involved in the games and language movements. Her love of Irish music remained

with her through life. "She and her sister May became members of Cumann na mBan while their brothers Sean and Dick were active in the Irish Republican Army. All the family — all four of them — were interned without trial in the 1940s, the boys in the Curragh Concentration Camp and the girls in Mountjoy Jail.

"While there Cáit heard the firing squads at work in the prison yard as they took the lives of her comrades Paddy McGrath, Tom Harte and Maurice O'Neill. Yet she returned to Mullingar on release unscathed in her mind and unmemorized.

"Marriage followed to Éamonn Moynihan, himself an ex-internee, a teacher and hurler who was for years Chairman of Westmeath Co Board of the GAA. He died in 1961 leaving her with seven children whom she cared for and bonded together in exceptional fashion. She imbued them with a love of their fellow-men and of all things Irish.

"In 1951 Cáit was among a small group of people who founded in Mullingar the Irish music organisation which has spread all over the world — Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann. She was its first chairperson. She was also active with the annual Feis Lárna h-Éireann in Mullingar.

"Active once more with the Republican Movement in the late '50s, the '60s and '70s she was an officer of the Barnes and McCormack Cumann of Sinn Féin in Mullingar. In 1966 at the time of the 50th Anniversary of 1916, she distinguished herself as a powerful platform speaker at

Independence he was interned in the notorious Drumboe Castle, having been arrested in Bunclara, Co Donegal. While held there, four of his comrades-in-arms were dragged from their beds, taken from their cells, shot without trial and buried in the woods of Drumboe, uncoffined, wrapped up only in their great-coats.

Ever since they and others who died for a 32-County Republic are remembered every Easter Sunday by commemorative marches to the woods of Drumboe situated near Ballybofey/Stranorlar. Liam was the last man released from internment there after the Free Staters' general release of Republican soldiers and political activists.

Liam had wide-ranging interests. He was a colourful



Cáit Uí Mhuimhneacháin and the late Joe Clarke.

protest meetings in Mullingar, Athlone and other places. "But the peak of her career was in 1969 as Secretary of the Barnes and McCormack Repatriation Committee. These two Irish Republicans from Mullingar and Banagher, Co Offaly were unjustly hanged by the British government in 1940.

"Cáit said that but for a short time she would make these two humble working-men from the Irish midlands heroes before the local youth in place of the celluloid pop-stars of television and radio.

"These men were the predecessors of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Maguire Family and Judith Ward. Through the efforts of Cáit and her committee their bodies were brought home to this cemetery where they lie in the Republican Plot.

"The media reported that 20,000 people thronged Mullingar for their funeral with many bands and a colour-party with furled flags. Every honour was paid to them after the indignity of being buried in the English prison yard where they had died for Ireland.

"Immediately after that came the attempted pogrom of 1969 in the Six Counties when thousands of nationalist people, victims of British imperialism, fled south as refugees. Cáit re-activated her committee and provided food, shelter and moral support for them in the midland counties.

"No stranger to

## Liam Brady

THE death has taken place of a noted Republican, Liam Brady, who was laid to rest on New Year's Eve in his native Derry City. Liam was aged 94 and prided himself as among the last of the Old Brigade.

He was a remarkable character who was personally involved in the events which helped shape modern Ireland. A lifelong Republican, Liam, who came from a well-known Waterloo Street family, was involved in the events of 1916, the War of Independence and the Second Defence of the Republic. He had the distinction of being the last man released from internment in Donegal by the Free State army after the 'Civil War'.

He was the local Commander of na Fianna Éireann and mobilised in Easter Week, having joined the youth branch of the Republican Movement three years previously. Like many others in Derry he was unable to play any role in Easter Week after the Commander of the Irish Volunteers, Eoin MacNeill, countermanded orders to mobilise shortly before the planned revolt in Dublin.

Throughout the War of Independence Liam Brady played a vital role in events there, acting as a courier between Derry and Donegal. It was during his active service with the IRA that he met his wife Catherine McKelvey, who pre-deceased him a few years ago.

After the War of

controversy, she stood firmly by the All-Ireland Republic in the division which beset the Movement later that year and served on the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin in the period of re-organisation.

"By that time the fatal illness had struck her and she bore it with great fortitude and even a sense of humour for over 20 years.

"Veterans of the Black-and-Tan and Free State Wars like Tom Maguire of Glenidan, Collinstown, John Macken, Whitehall, Castlepollard and Berny Kelly, Mount Temple, Moate — shrewd judges of character — had an extremely high opinion of Cáit.

"So too had the 1940s veterans, Victor Fagg and Billy Dowling of Athlone, Matt Casey of Longford and John Reynolds of Leitrim, all of whom worked with her in the Movement. I had met her first in the Conamara Gaeltacht around An Spidéal more than 40 years ago.

"Her outstanding characteristics were her indomitable persistence and her devotion to her ideals both national and Gaelic. She firmly believed that these would ultimately triumph.

"Her compassion was exemplified in her care for the refugees and the prisoners' dependants. Her forthrightness in confronting wrong and injustice was seen when she travelled to Carrickmacross to take part in a protest against the eviction of a family from their home.

"Above all Cáit had a love of people, an attachment to them 'shown not in an emotional fashion but rather in a slightly cynical and irreverent way. To her sister May (Bean Mháirtín Stáidín) and her brother Dick, her children Déaglán, Aodán, Colmán, Ciarán, Niall, Muiris and Móirín, her grandchildren and all her family the heartfelt sympathy of the Republican Movement goes at this time.

"Leaba i mease Naomh na hÉireann agus na sean-Fhínní go raibh aici."

and inventive character and throughout his life was interested in chemistry, science, geology, history, theology and archaeology. His knowledge in certain topics was freely given as required.



Liam Brady (left) with fellow Derryman Harry O'Doherty.

He opened a newsagents in Richmond Street in the 1930s and his shop is commemorated in the Richmond Centre at Derry's Diamond. The shop attracted many of his old comrades and was a favourite meeting place, and fitted into the tradition established by Tom Clarke, the oldest of the executed 1916 leaders, who was also a shopkeeper.

During the 1950s, a series of articles by Liam on the events in the North West during the years 1916-22 appeared in the Derry Journal.

Our photograph, taken in the mid-80s, shows Liam (left) shaking hands with his old comrade-in-arms Harry 'Baker' O'Doherty, who died at the close of 1989 a few days before his 90th birthday.

## IgCuimhne

**HARTIGAN** — 2nd Anniversary. In proud memory of Paddy Hartigan who died on February 9, 1992. Never forgotten by Republican Sinn Féin, London.

**O'CALLANAIN** — 3rd Anniversary. In proud memory of Michael O'Callanain who died on February 8, 1991. Always remembered by Republican Sinn Féin, London.



## SEX SCANDALS MAKE MAJOR SPENT FORCE

**E**XTRA-marital affairs are a prerequisite for a successful career in the British Cabinet, despite the risk that they may result in ultimate exposure and demotion, according to psychologists who have written a survey on stress at top government level.

The mistress-keeping Ministers have been falling like flies in recent weeks, and according to London School of Economics experts and political psychologists, the evidence of growing arrogance and unreality that accompany the rise and rise to Cabinet rank make Department chiefs vulnerable to the notion that they are irresistible.

Power and sexual potency are reputed to be as adhesive as Siamese twins, and this singular British Cabinet obsession with sex may save Gerry Adams and his Provisional lieutenants from the embarrassment of having to admit that the joint Reynolds-Major Declaration is an empty piece of paper containing 12 Articles, and no agreement on most claimed principles.

If Adams and company can continue their elucubration search tactics and repeated calls for clarification of the self-evident contradictions in a hollow document of much rhetoric and chiefly pro-unionist "substance" (where there is any such), the Downing Street Degradation will be subsumed into the other affairs of State and lost in the consequent whitewash.

Mediocre John Major's days as Premier are surely numbered now that his Back-to-Basics course for family values and greater responsibility for individual actions has misfired in a plethora of forced resignations of Ministers caught with their pants down.

In a few months time only, the Reynolds-Major Declaration will be as dead as the dodo, and just as relevant to the future of our fellow islanders, Republican or nationalist, unionist or indifferent alike.

The reason: articles were signed by either Major or Reynolds in a personal capacity only, and die with the removal from office of either or both.

The notion that the document is something that is a mutual responsibility of the Dublin and London governments is hogwash, though it is a fiction that has been encouraged by winks and nods to the uninformed voters. The fact is the Hillsborough Pact stands as international law, and puts the declaration offside.

It is a mere arbitrary framework of aspirational statements described loosely as principles, and if, as anticipated widely in Whitehall, the latest sex and gerrymandering scandals are too much to stomach for the real plutocracy that rules Westminster, Major will be thrown overboard and become the merest minor footnote in Conservative Party history.

This will cause glee not only in the household of the uncrowned queen of England (Baroness Margaret Thatcher), but in the homes of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness.

The deposing of mediocre Major will effectively write off the illusionist's game that is contained in the joint declaration, and it will be chucked out like last week's roast lefflors.

## FOOLING THE PEACE-HOPERS

**S**ONOW you have guessed correctly that the so-called declaration is a time-consuming exercise and a piece of prime propaganda deployed in order to dupe peace-hopefuls into thinking that an end to British rule and counter-violence in Ireland is on the way.

The declaration was designer-doomed to fail. It is obvious in the Major maintenance of the unionist veto on this island's shape



● Head in hands - John Major.

of the future; and especially conspicuous is the absence of the Reynolds trump card: his year-long insistence that any final agreement must include a review of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 (better known as the Partition pact).

Poor colourless Major was right on one thing. The declaration cannot lead to negotiations with the Provisionals, or anyone else living in the real world, because it does not even have the strength or statutory effect of a Council by law governing the use of lamps on cycles after dark, for example.

Bernadette McAleiskey (née Devlin), former Westminster anti-unionist MP for Mid-Ulster, said she read the document with her spectacles one, and with them off. It made no difference. The document contained nothing.

It was a bit like trying to identify fresh air in a paper bag.

## ADDICTION TO ADULTERY

**M**R MAJOR has been a useful tool to the Tories who wanted to get the Amazonian Maggie Thatcher off their backs (whoops!), but his Back to Basics idea proved his undoing because in Britain there is a puritanical tradition lurking behind all that legally approved buggery, sodomy, and mere heterosexuality.

Ordinary, politically naive Britons like their Establishment figures to be more than human. For many, it is a soothing substitute for religion and its ritual pagantry to have royals, who can revoke democratic ideas to their hearts' content so long as they act as if

divinely appointed.

It was divine to have a commoner like Di (actually she has more authentic aristocratic blood in her veins than her estranged husband and heir, Prince Charles) doing the rounds of the caring agencies and hospitals, "just as if she was one of us".

The Saxons were not so amused when the royals showed an addiction to adultery. That was frailty permitted only to lesser mortals than Duchesses or Princesses, or even Dames of the extinguished Empire. Cabinet rankers were also expected to give the old exclusion order to fancies of the flesh.

Yet English history is studded with upper class obsessions with fornication, adultery and buggery. The Queen's official yacht, HMS Britannia, had to be recrewed and scrubbed clean when sodomy became the favourite pastime and the vessel was dubbed by journalists HMS Buggery before its sanitised relaunch.

A London School of Economics researcher into the sex lives of the royals through the centuries discovered only four monarchs since Richard II who weren't partial to a bit of adultery. Three of these were executed (for other reasons) and George III went mad.

Politicos in Downing Street have a raunchy record at times. Gladstone, who affected shock and horror when the affair of Irish party leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, with Kitty O'Shea, separated wife of one of his MPs, was leaked in order to ruin hopes of Home Rule having to be granted, had cynically admitted earlier that at least seven of his Cabinet were adulterers.

Yet Parnell was a single Protestant man, and he married the woman after the usual divorce was finalised. But it suited some Catholic Bishops and the Commons leaders of Tory and Liberal parties to share moral outrage when it suited the Westminster establishment to down The Chief and so undermine Irish independence (or at least native parliament) hopes.

When the Downing Street document of discontent is long forgotten, there will remain the sad picture of a discarded John Major, perhaps the only man at that near-future time to be in the Cabinet and not having sexual affairs outside wedlock.

No one wanting him any longer, except the patient Norma, not even the Whitehall-organised bordello girls. Ah, if he had only passed that bus conductor's arithmetic test and stuck to cricket.

No one suggested — as yet — that Rabbit Reynolds or fellow Leinster House Yahoos suffered the Anglo addiction to adultery in the Cabinet (Albert's buck-rabbitting is of the verbal sort). And he will probably escape the Major fate with a more minor role in the next 26 Counties administration.

## CENSORSHIP STAYS IN RTÉ

**F**OR ALL the guff by Arts and Culture vulture-in-chief Michael D Higgins, that Section 311 of the Broadcasting Act has gone, and that he has fulfilled his pledge, censorship remains an integral part of the Montrose regime.

Indeed, there are fears among the journalists in Donnybrook that, the government having passed the buck, the RTÉ Authority will be super-scrupulous in scrutinising those parties now said to be free to go on the national airwaves. Nationalist guerrilla spokespersons could be putting their heads in a noose. Remember the RTÉ betrayal of Seán Mac Stiofáin.

RTÉ has a poor record in resisting political censorship. Its annual union protests were token affairs. Most scribes and producers were afraid of the Montrose axe. The place is so full of cliques that it makes Leinster House appear an institution devoted to selfless works of charity.

Of course, there are honourable journalists who have fought the evil of this selective censorship system, but it is unlikely that there will be a rush to put leaders of Republican Sinn Féin on current affairs programmes. Not live broadcasts, certainly.

RTÉ guidelines ensure strict management vetting, and pre-recorded interviews could be counter-productive if edited with usual careful prejudice.

— DRAPIER II

## SHORTS FIRM TO LAY OFF 430 WORKERS

**THE Shorts aerospace company has announced that a further 430 jobs are to be lost at its operations in the Six Counties, which has frequently been targeted by anti-discrimination campaigners for its work-force bias.**

At the main aerospace manufacturing facility at Queen's Island, East Belfast, a total of 229 jobs are to go while a further 200 workers will be laid off in the missile division. Shorts is wholly owned by the Bombardier Corporation of Canada and employs a total of 7,122 workers, 89% Protestant and 11% Catholic.

At its current rate of progress towards a balanced

work-force, according to the *Directory of Discrimination* (1991) it will have 40% Catholic representation in 2020!

### RECEIVED

Union sources pointed to the fact that Shorts had received some £1,000 million sterling of public money.

Jackie Nicholl of the MSF union said that the news of the job losses was a "shattering blow to the people of Shorts".

The decision could lead to serious skills shortages with apprentices having to be sent abroad for training.

The company blamed British defence spending cuts and a downturn in the aircraft and missile business for the redundancies.

Shorts is expected to manufacture the engine nacelle for the new Global Express business jet programme announced by Bombardier in December 1993. The heralded increase in the work-force by 700 has not materialised however and instead the deterioration in the company's fortunes continues.

## WHAT THEY SAID

not only did this document seem to be secret, why it was secret seemed to be a secret.

— Irish Times, February 1, 1994

Adams said it was not necessary for the British to leave Ireland if they became part of the peace process. "They have to become persuaders once they become part of the peace process, they will be able to build a peaceful country", Adams said.

— The Star-Ledger report, New Jersey, USA, February 1, 1994.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 was the moment of truth which decided rightly or wrongly how self-determination was in fact to be exercised in Ireland at that time.

— Albert Reynolds in the Irish Times, January 21, 1994 (the 75th anniversary of the First All-Ireland Dáil totally ignored by all parties in Leinster House, government and opposition).

Downing Street sources said last night they understood that the vis was granted on the basis that Mr Adams wanted to end violence and to embrace the Joint Declaration.

— Irish Times, January 31, 1994

The (US) President said Mr Adams' comments renouncing all violence and expressing support for the Downing Street Declaration justified a limited visa for the conference.

— Irish Times, February 1, 1994.

He (Eamonn McCann) called for the Hume-Adams document to be published —

We cannot go back to the 1918 Election, or to the First or Second Dáil, and persuade ourselves that neither the Republic (26-County) nor Northern Ireland really exist.

— Albert Reynolds again in the Irish Times, January 21, 1994.

Changes in extradition law have been driven more by political considerations than by concerns for the quality of justice, writes Denis Coghlan, Chief Political Correspondent.

— Irish Times, January 21, 1994.

We built that house up from a shambles. I will be returning to it and there will be nobody or nothing will put me out of our home.

— Cecilia McDermott, widow of Cormac McDermott, murdered by the loyalist death squad, the UVF on January 27 in the Irish News, January 28.

NOTICES for SAOIRSE may have missed publication this month because of additional disruption due to the delays in the delivery of letters in the Dublin area. Please check against publication and contact us at 41 Arran Quay if your notice has not appeared.