

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 57 EANAIR - JANUARY 1992

40p (USA \$24 per year)



372,000 UNEMPLOYED

AT THE beginning of 1992 372,000 people are out of work in Ireland, north and south. When we joined the EC in 1973 less than 100,000 people were jobless and Fianna Fail Taoiseach Jack Lynch said that any government that let unemployment go over that figure would deserve to be put out of office. Radical measures are obviously needed. 'Ireland 1992 - periphery or nation?' pages 6-7.

COLLUSION TOLL MOUNTS

British Forces withdraw for loyalist death squads

1991 ENDED and the New Year commenced with two sectarian attacks by loyalist death squads in the Six Counties which claimed the lives of two nationalists and provided further evidence of close co-operation between their killers and the British Crown Forces.

On Friday evening, January 3, the UVF shot dead Kevin McKearney (32), seriously injured his 70-year-old uncle Jack and wounded a ten-year-old girl in and outside the family butcher shop in Moy, Co. Tyrone, five miles outside Armagh. The attack took place at around 5pm and local people reported that British Crown Forces maintained a heavy presence in the town until about 4pm on the Friday afternoon.

The McKearneys are a well-known Republican family and have previously lost two sons in the struggle for Irish freedom but Kevin McKearney was not politically involved. A father of four young children, he worked each day in his father's shop, making him a "soft" target. Only the courageous action of his elderly uncle saved from harm other members of the family who were present.

Twelve days before, on Sunday December 22, the Devenish Arms pub on Finaghy Road North, Belfast was attacked shortly after 2pm when a UFF gunman opened fire on the crowded snooker hall and public bar. A 22-year-old man, Aidan Wallace, was shot dead and the gunman deliberately singled out an eight-year-old boy, Christopher Lawless, and shot him in the face as he lay under



• Devenish Arms pub, Belfast - British checkpoint removed suddenly on the morning UFF launched a gun attack, killing one man.

a snooker table. He is critically ill in hospital. Two other men were wounded in the incident.

DISAPPEARANCE

Again, local people outside the pub complained about the sudden disappearance of a nearby British Crown Forces checkpoint from the route out of West Belfast used by the escaping UFF killers. The checkpoint was in operation 24-hours-a-day for three weeks prior to the attack and was only removed on the Sunday morning.

This pattern of collusion by withdrawing from an area to allow in loyalist death squads to strike with ease was evident last year in the assassination by

the UVF of four men at Boyle's pub in Cappagh, Co. Tyrone on March 3. The killers were confident enough to track one man down and shoot him outside the building after having shot three people outside in a car.

How, without being in close collusion with the British Crown Forces, could the loyalist death squads in all these incidents be confident:

1. that the patrols and checkpoints were being removed, and removed for a sufficient length of time to allow them to act; and
2. that the checkpoints were not being set up a short distance away on the same route, intercepting their getaway?



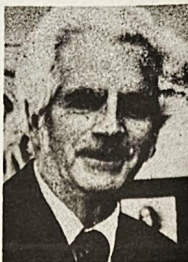
• Kevin McKearney

O'Dwyer resigns over neglect of Six Counties

THE highly-respected New York City Commissioner to the United Nations, Paul O'Dwyer, has resigned from his post in protest over continuing human rights abuses in the Six Counties and around the world and the failure of the United Nations to do anything about them. The announcement by the Irish-American civil rights and labour lawyer was made on December 9 last, almost

two years after Paul O'Dwyer was appointed by New York Mayor David Dinkins. "Unfortunately there has been no improvement in the north of Ireland during my term as Commissioner. If anything the situation has worsened. It is incompatible with my beliefs to remain in my position when there is so much important work still to be done on behalf of oppressed people everywhere."

Interviewed by Seán Cronin, the long-time US correspondent of *The Irish*



• Paul O'Dwyer
Times, Paul O'Dwyer said that the nationalist people of the north are stateless like the Kurds and like them their fate is decided by governments who do not represent their interests. In Kurdistan and Ireland roughly at the same time, 1925-26, British boundary commissions legitimised partitioned

frontiers already drawn by the governments that set them up. As a matter of simple justice, he suggests, the Irish case should be taken before the UN as a territory to which its 1960 Declaration on Decolonisation applies.

His decision to resign co-incided with the designation of December 9 as Irish Human Rights Day, which aimed to show Britain's human rights abuses to the UN diplomatic and human rights corps. Organised by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, an international panel has been drawn up to examine the Six Counties shoot-to-kill incidents, right to silence and effective legal counsel infringements, and standards of evidence (see 'What they said', page 12).

ONE MILLION IRISH HELD UNDER PTA ANNUALLY

IN A newly-published bulletin produced by the Repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act Campaign in Britain, the number of Irish people being stopped and examined at ports of entry every year under the PTA powers is stated to be as high as one million.

The figures of people harassed in this way to gather low-level intelligence and terrorise Irish visitors increased dramatically after 1986 when the British police were no

longer obliged to publish their figures for "searches" in Scotland Yard files. From an average of 50,000 per year, the figures jumped to 101,766 in 1989 alone.

The campaign however states that these figures do not include all those physically stopped and questioned and quotes Lord Carville, appointed by the British government to review the PTA, who estimated that up to one million people may be affected every year.

At present, the police can detain a person for a period under 60 minutes, fingerprint, search, interrogate and open a file on the person without having to record it as a formal

examination. Brendan O'Rourke, the campaign's press officer says: "It points to hidden harassment on a much larger scale than was previously considered to be the case."

Only six people were actually charged under the PTA in the first nine months of 1991. These charges mostly related to breaking an exclusion order or failing to co-operate with an examination.

The campaign can be reached at PO Box 1340, London N22 4TA — the bulletin costs £1.50 sterling.

Sean Sabhat Remembered

MUNSTER and Connacht Republicans assembled in Limerick on Sunday, January 5 for the annual commemoration to honour Sean Sabhat, who gave his life in the cause of Irish freedom with Fergal O hAnluain of Monaghan in the attack on Brookeborough Barracks, Co. Fermanagh, on New Year's Day 1957.

At the 34th annual commemoration organised by Coiste Cúimhneacháin Seán Sabhat, the marchers paraded behind Republican, Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCailíní colour parties from Bedford Row in the city to the Republican Plot in Mount St Lawrence's Cemetery.

At the massive Celtic Cross which marks the last resting place of Seán Sabhat and his Republican comrades, Cathaoirleach Des Long, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach made reference to the murder of Kevin McKearney in Moy, Co. Tyrone the previous Friday. "He was murdered by the same British murder gangs who murdered the Mayor Seoirse Clancy and ex-Mayor Michael O'Callaghan of Limerick in 1921," he said.



• Parade makes its way through Limerick on January 5

The wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement was laid by Republican veteran Alfie Lane from Cork city. A decade of the Rosary was recited by

actions of the revisionists. "Peter Brooke has promised a seat at the conference table for all those willing to debate within the confines of a Six-

County state. Such a conference will fail because British withdrawal is not on the agenda. The Irish people who have suffered so much will not permit their right to freedom to be forfeited by political opportunism from whatever source."

On leaving the cemetery several of those in attendance were subject to the

Proinsias Mac Airt

THE death occurred on Wednesday, January 8, of Proinsias Mac Airt of Belfast. A fluent Irish speaker and traditional Irish singer, he made sever-

al records of Republican ballads. He worked in the publicity department of the Republican Movement for many years.

In the 1940s he was in-

terned in Crumlin Road and was interned again in 'D' Wing during the 1956-62 campaign. Following the discovery of a tunnel in 1958, the internees were brutally beaten by baton-wielding RUC Commandos. Proinsias Mac

Airt was one of those who took a court case to expose this treatment and the presiding judge remarked on his defiance of the RUC during the attack though he was badly injured.

In the early 1970s he was sentenced to five years in Long Kesh with Billy McKee following a British undercover surveillance operation.

GEARR-SCÉALTA

British Embassy picketed in Judith Ward case

A protest picket was held outside the British Embassy in Dublin on January 1, in support of Judith Ward, the innocent woman convicted of bombing a British army bus in England in February 1974. Judith Ward, who has now spent 17 years and 11 months in English prisons, is challenging her conviction and her case was referred to the Court of Appeal by British Home Secretary Kenneth Baker last year.

The picketers called for an early appeal hearing date and called on the British Director of Public Prosecutions not to oppose her appeal and thus ensure her speedy release. Judith Ward was convicted on the basis of scientific tests by Dr Frank Skuse (who also figured in the Birmingham Six frame-up) which have since been discredited. A series of protests are planned by the Dublin Judith Ward Support Group to highlight her plight in the coming weeks.

Orange Order gets 'Community Relations' money

THE British-funded 'Community Relations Council' reveals in its recent first annual report that it gives money to the bigoted and sectarian Orange Order in the Six Counties. Other exclusively loyalist organisations receiving funding include the Somme Association and the Ulster Society, the latter established five years ago to promote the image abroad of the Six Counties as a Protestant part of the United Kingdom. An Ulster Society publication *Rome Our Enemy* states that the "Church of Rome is behind the murders and the bombings". Despite this Dr James Hawthorne, Chairman of the Community Relations Council, claims that their aim is "to bring two sides of the community towards greater understanding".

British magazine calls for Troops Out poll

A COLUMNIST in a recent issue of the right-wing *Spectator* magazine in Britain has called for a referendum in Britain and the Six Counties on whether British troops should be pulled out of Ireland. Neil Lydon says that the interests of one per cent of the population (the Unionists in the Six Counties) are determining policy for the entire nation and that that policy has been hijacked by an extremist minority i.e. the loyalist majority in the Six Counties.

DEATH OF ALF LARKIN

AS we go to press we learn of the death on January 5 of Limerick Republican Alf Larkin (53) after a long illness. He was chairperson of the Brughas/Sabhat Campaign, Sinn Féin Poblachtach and was involved in the last military operation of the Resistance Campaign, 1956-62, for which he was sentenced to seven years by the 26-County Special Military Court. (obituary next month)

DUBLIN PRISONERS DRAW

CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) held their latest Dublin 400 Draw on Sunday, December 8. The winners were: £100, no. 181; £50, no. 151; £30, no. 079; £20, no. 195; five prizes of £10, nos. 187, 016, 251, 306, 047. Next Dublin Draw for Sinn Féin Poblachtach on January 12.

CABHAIR CHRISTMAS RAFFLE

The prizewinner in the CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) Christmas raffle were as follows: 1st Prize, M. Nolan, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary; 2nd Prize, A. Egan, Dublin; 3rd Prize, P. Lynch, Wallingford, Wexford; 4th Prize, A. Barrett, Inchicore, Dublin.

MOY VICTIM WAS ANOTHER EASY TARGET

THE FIRST person killed in the war in the Six Counties in 1992, Kevin McKearney (32), died instantly when a loyalist gunman opened fire on him after entering the butcher's shop where he worked in Moy, Co. Tyrone on Friday, January 3.

His uncle Jack (70) moved to intercept the UVF gunman as he went to enter the storeroom at the back of the shop where other members of the McKearney family were. He was shot several times and is seriously injured in a Belfast hospital. The UVF assassin fired again as he left the shop, grazing a ten-year-old girl sitting in a nearby car, before escaping in an orange Colt car driven by another man.

The UVF later issued a statement saying they shot McKearney in retaliation for the killing of a Protestant student, Robin Farmer, in Moy on December 21. A man has been charged in connection with the Farmer shooting (claimed by the INLA) and local people dismiss the UVF's claim, saying that the loyalist death squad were simply using the previous incident as an excuse to kill any nationalist.

Kevin McKearney lived at Ballymackluff, Moy and is survived by his wife Bernadette and four children, Seana, Cathal, Paul and Pádraigín. His brother Pádraig was killed by the SAS at Loughgall, Co. Armagh in May 1987 and another brother Seán was killed in a premature explosion while on active service in May 1974. His only other brother, Tommy, is in his fifteenth year of imprisonment in Maghaberry Prison, Co. Antrim. He was released for 12 hours for the funeral on Monday.

DESPICABLE

Local Unionist MP John Taylor made a despicable attempt at justification shortly after the killing by stating that the McKearney family had a "bad name" in the Moy area. The lie was given to this by the large crowds who paid their respects to the family and attended the funeral in Moy on Monday, January 6.

Sinn Féin Poblachtach in a statement expressed sympathy to the family on their tragic loss. "The McKearney family have already lost two sons in the fight for Irish freedom and every genuine Irish person will identify with them in their loss."

The RUC delayed the release of the remains by over an hour from Craigavon Hospital on Saturday evening, January 4, and attempted to dictate to the family what route would be taken by the hearse. At the funeral Mass on Monday morning a very large crowd attended, bringing the small town to a standstill. Sinn Féin Poblachtach were represented by Vice-Presidents Eamon Larkin, South Armagh and Des Long, Limerick and Ard Chomhairle members Mary Ward, Michael Heagerty and Séamus Leonard.

Afterward Eamon Larkin condemned the systematic harassment of mourners as they made their way to the funeral, both in the vicinity of the church and on the approaches to the McKearney home.

Kevin McKearney's mother, Mrs Maura McKearney was formerly Maura Murray, of Carnalasson, Four-mile-house, Co. Roscommon. Her father, the late Tom Murray was a veteran of South Roscommon Brigade, IRA. Mrs McKearney said that her youngest son was only interested in earning a living to support his wife and family. "He was singled out because he was an easy target," she said. Kevin McKearney was buried just outside the Republican Plot in Moy Cemetery, near to his two brothers and according to his own expressed wish.

• The UFF shot dead a 28-year-old Catholic, William Johnston, at his home in the loyalist Village area of West Belfast, where he lived with his Protestant girlfriend, just before midnight on Saturday, December 21. They had moved into the house a few weeks previously.



• The McKearney shop, Moy, Co. Tyrone.

Extradition of Belfast man ordered

35-YEAR-OLD Angelo Fusco from Belfast was served with five British extradition warrants just five days before his release date from Portlaoise Jail in the 26 Counties. The extradition warrants relate to the killing of SAS Captain Herbert Westmacott in a gun-battle in Belfast in 1980. He was identified by RUC Detective Cyril Law in Dublin's Green Street Court on December 11. The Dublin District Court ordered his extradition to the Six Counties on January 8.

absence) of killing the SAS captain were partly based on the word of 'supergrass' James Kennedy and the Dublin government are now acting on behalf of the British to return Angelo Fusco to the Six Counties despite their stated opposition to Britain's use of informer evidence such as Kennedy's.

Fusco has already served a ten-year sentence in Portlaoise for escaping from Belfast's Crumlin Road prison along with Joe Doherty and six other Republicans on June 10, 1981. He was convicted

under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act (CLJA) which allows trial in the 26 Counties for alleged offences in the Six Counties.

The charges (for which he was convicted in his

In 1972 Fusco's family were forced to leave Belfast and move to Dublin as a result of loyalist pogroms and British Crown Forces assault and intimidation. His wife and three children are now settled in Co. Kerry.

Le Pádraig Mac Seáin

SINCE JUNE 1973 the Association of Combined Residents Associations (ACRA) have campaigned for the abolition or termination of the payment of ground rent. During the course of their campaign over 14,000 of their members have been summoned to court for non-payment. 176 have received jail sentences of 2-14 days and five people have actually served this sentence.

As a result of the campaign ACRA claim that almost no householders in the Dublin area pay ground rent, although within the business sector ground rent is still being collected.

An estimated £10 million a year is paid to ground rent landlords, half of this going to our own home-grown ground rent landlords and the rest abroad.

The payment of ground rent is an English feudal law whose legal basis is that in England and by extension Ireland all land is owned by the crown and that people occupy or hold land by fee simple either directly or indirectly from the crown. In turn the fee simple owner leased a parcel of land to a lessee for a fixed term up to 99 years at a rent set by the undeveloped value of the land.

Anyone who bought a property built on that land has to pay rent for that piece of ground for the term of the lease.

A CRA fights feudal law

ABSENTEE GROUND RENT LANDLORDS

- GPO, Dublin (a Canadian living in Chicago)
- Arbour Hill, Dublin (where the 1916 leaders are buried - paid through Newry solicitors)
- Dundalk Employment Exchange (Mrs Maud Hill, Liverpool, England)
- Kilkenny Post Office (the Marquis of Ormonde)
- Leinster House offices in Merrion Street and Merrion Square, Dundrum
- Courthouse, Irishtown Garda station (Earl of Pembroke)
- Kildare Garda station and Kildare Free State army barracks (the Duke of Leinster)
- Enniscorthy Garda station (the Earl of Portsmouth)
- (Lord Luçan - has title to over 1,000 ground rents from properties in Castlebar)
- Sligo Post Office (the trustees of the Pollefer Estate, London)
- Collins Free State army barracks, Cork (Mrs HE Dodds, Buckinghamshire, England, among others)
- New Ross Garda station (the Nottenham estate)
- Bridewell Garda station, Cork (JD Penrose, Derbyshire, England)

advances have been made since the campaign began. This includes a 1978 Act which states that no ground rent is due on dwelling houses built since then. Also no tenant can be evicted for the non-payment of ground rent although again as ACRA points out on the expiration of the lease landlords can demand massive increases in ground rent, in one case a tenant who had paid £6 a year found that under a new lease their rent had risen to £375.

Tony O'Toole, chairman of ACRA ground rents sub-committee states that they have repeatedly tried to meet the 26-County minister for justice Ray Burke but to no avail. Tony O'Toole feels that Ray Burke is ignoring ACRA on the matter. One of the excuses for the failure of the Free State to act on the matter is that under the 1937 26-County constitution the rights of private property are held as sacred.

ACRA state that a simple amendment



• Lord Luçan, absentee ground rent landlord.

to allow for the termination of ground rent could resolve the situation and they are calling for such an amendment to be put before the Irish people along with the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty in May or June of this year.

Finally it may surprise many people to know that the 26-County state itself pays out an estimated £14,101 a year in ground rent on such sites of national and historic interest as Arbour Hill, the resting place of the leaders of the 1916 Rising and Kilmalinhall Jail. In fact ground rent is paid on a large number of public buildings throughout the country.

With British feudal laws in force and absentee landlords still around, who can deny that the 26 Counties remains a neo-colony of Britannia?

ACRA point out that some shall

Denial of democracy in Treaty 'Settlement'

"THE effects of the Treaty are still with us and any assessment of their impact should recognise that they represent the triumph of an imperial settlement. Fundamentally the Treaty was a denial of the democratic process and of Ireland's historic unity. Democratic values were denied by the rejection of Home Rule, the creation of a Six-County Ulster and the rejection of a Republic. Ireland's historic unity was denied by the propagation of a two-nation theory."

So stated Dr Brian P Murphy, author of *Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal* published last year, in the course of a lecture, organised by Sinn Féin Poblachtach, in Kinlay House, Dublin, entitled 'The Treaty - 70 Years On' on Friday, December 6 last to mark the 70th anniversary of the signing of the 1921 Treaty.

Despite the fact that the 26-County state emerged from the Treaty 'settlement' it was remarked on by those present that the Dublin political establishment had maintained an embarrassed silence regarding the anniversary. The Treaty as an amendment to, and along with, the British Government of Ireland Act led to the establishment of both partition states but Leinster House politicians were curiously absent from what little media coverage there was.

The meeting began with the chairperson Michael McManus introducing Dr Murphy to those in attendance. Dr Murphy began by thanking Comdt.-Gen. Tom Maguire, the last and faithful survivor of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Eireann for the help he gave him in his historical research. In his lecture Brian Murphy put the Treaty in the context of the British government policy to settle the 'Irish problem' by partitioning the country. Dr Murphy traced for those assembled the process by which this policy was put into effect which culminated in the signing of the Treaty on December 6, 1921.

NEW INFORMATION

Also in the light of new historical information contained in the National Archives, the Imperial War Museum and the House of Lords Records Office Dr Murphy was able to paint a picture of the role played by British intelligence in the negotiations which led to the Truce of July 1921 and the Treaty talks themselves of October-December 1921.

In particular he looked at the role of Alfred 'Andy' Cope, who was Assistant Under Secretary with the Dublin Castle administration and whose special brief was to contact the leadership of the Republican Movement with a view to initiating talks.

This began in December 1920 when Cope contacted Griffith and Duggan who were then im-

prisoned in Mountjoy and who in turn through the offices of Cope (who arranged temporary releases for them) were able to contact Michael Collins.

TWO-PRONGED

Dr Murphy points out that Britain operated a two-pronged strategy of attempting to win the war militarily and secondly encouraging the Irish government to enter negotiations. Cope played a prominent part behind the scenes in the Treaty talks and his close links with Collins, Griffith and Duggan were put to good effect on October 24, 1921 when it was agreed to split the Irish delegation. Following this decision it was mainly Collins and Griffith who met with Lloyd George.

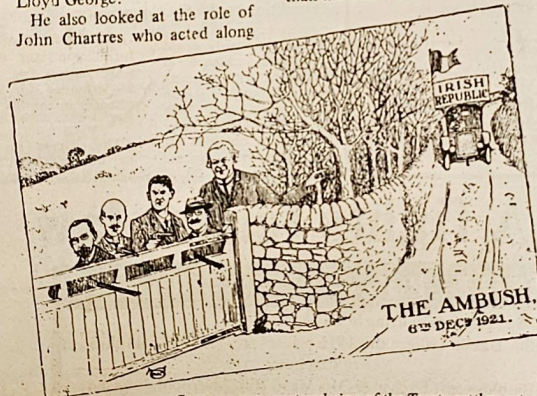
He also looked at the role of John Chartres who acted along



• Brian Murphy

tones especially as his main contribution lay in drafting proposals concerning the British Crown.

Dr Murphy concluded by saying that any talks on a settlement to the National Question must have as its basis the Government of Ireland Act 1920 and the 1921 Treaty rather than the 26-County constitution of 1937, as it is the British claim to the Six Counties which is the kernel of the problem rather than the Irish claim.



• Contemporary postcard view of the Treaty settlement.

with Erskine Childers as secretary to the Irish delegation. Dr Murphy pointed out that Chartres had worked for British intelligence during the First World War. The reason for his selection as secretary is still shrouded in mystery, and is believed by many to have had sinister over-

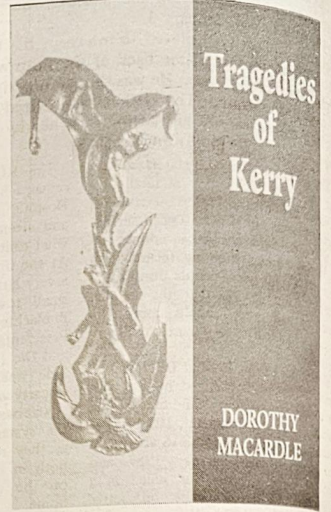
The economic and political failure of the 26-County state is clearer than ever in 1992 and as Dr Murphy pointed out only a solution based on democratic principles and recognising Ireland's right to unity and freedom can ever bring true peace and justice to our troubled land.

BRITAIN "TERROR STATE"

BRITAIN'S abuse of human rights, mainly in relation to her occupation forces in the Six Counties, places it amongst "terror states" like Chile, Turkey and Cambodia according to *The New State of the World Atlas* published by Simon and Schuster (1991). The atlas provides a "visual survey of worldwide political and economic change" according to the publishers and includes 50 full-colour maps ranging from broadcasting powers to global warming.

Map no. 27 focuses on human rights and Britain appears key-coded in red, which places it amongst "terror states" where there is a "use of assassination, disappearance and torture". Britain is also described as "obstructive or unhelpful to international human rights bodies". Sources for the description are listed as the US Department of State and Amnesty International.

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MEMORIAL UNVEILED IN GLASNEVIN ON NEW YEAR'S DAY

Lifetime Service in an Unbroken Tradition

ON WEDNESDAY, January 1, at 12.45pm Republicans from all over Ireland gathered outside the gates of Glasnevin Cemetery for the unveiling of a memorial over the grave of the late Dáithí Ó Conaill, former Vice-President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, who died suddenly on New Year's Day, 1991, aged 52. The ceremony began with a march from the Finglas Road led by a Republican colour party to the graveside in the Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery.

The proceedings were chaired by Michael McManus, Fermanagh, a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. He began by welcoming all those assembled. Cathleen Knowles, Ard Rúnaí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, unveiled the memorial. Following this an tAthair Piaras Ó Dúill blessed the memorial stone. An tUachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh laid a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement. Deirdre Ó Conaill, wife of the late Dáithí, and his daughter Ciara both laid wreaths on behalf of the family.

A wreath was then laid on behalf of Dundalk Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Wreaths were also laid by Elma Kelleher, sister of Dáithí and by Rosemary Doran, sister of Richard Goss, executed by the Free State in 1941.

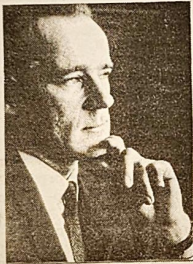
POEM

This was followed by a lament played on the flute by Cormac Breathnach. Caoimhghnín Mac Cathmhaoil of Galway read a poem written for the occasion. Cathleen Knowles read a message from Cumann na Saoirse in the USA for the unveiling, signed by Michael Flannery, Frank Durcan, George Harrison and John Snee, it concluded: "with you, with him, in death as well as in life, we share a common goal: recover the lost Republic".

A bugler played the Last Post and Reveille during which the colour party dipped flags. Fr Piaras Ó Dúill recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaelige.

The Chairman then introduced the main speaker, Des Long, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. During the course of his oration he outlined the life and times of Dáithí Ó Conaill. He said Ó Conaill, who was born in Cork in 1938 had come from a Republican family. His uncle Michael O'Sullivan was a member of the 1st Cork Brigade and was murdered by Crown Forces in 1921 when he and a party of six unarmed Volunteers were captured and bayoneted to death at Ballylannon, Clogheen, Co. Cork in what is known as the infamous Kerry Pike Massacre.

He went on to chart Ó Conaill's involvement with the Republican Movement from when he



• Dáithí Ó Conaill, RIP.

first joined Sinn Féin during the local elections in Cork during 1955 through his activities as an organiser attached to GHQ IRA Staff in Ulster during the lead up to the Resistance Campaign of 1956-62.

He told how Dáithí, as second in command of the Pearse Flying Column, took command of the unit during the raid on Brookeborough RUC barracks on January 1, 1957 following the wounding of his commanding officer and the deaths of his two comrades Seán South of Limerick and Fergal Ó Hanlon of Monaghan.

Following this Ó Conaill was captured by Free State forces and escaped from the Curragh Concentration Camp in September 1958. In November 1959 he was captured by Crown Forces following an engagement during which he received six bullet wounds.

Des Long referred to Dáithí's role during 1969/70 "In 1969 when the movement was under attack from within by those who wanted to abandon its guiding principles which made it a bastion against the British occupation of our country and when the nationalist people in the Six Counties were being attacked and their homes burned out, Dáithí Ó Conaill was one of those who re-organised the Irish Republican Army and the Movement until it was in the position to take on the might of the British Army. He was to be one of the Republican Movement's best military and political brains over the next 20 years."

Des Long continued by highlighting the work carried out by Dáithí throughout the 1970s and



• Scene at the Republican Plot in Glasnevin Cemetery for the unveiling of the memorial headstone to the late Dáithí Ó Conaill. (Below right) Facial view of the memorial headstone.

1980s. This included the drawing up of the EIRE NUA programme which proposed a four province federal Ireland. This policy was updated by Ó Conaill two years before his death.

In his speech Des Long claimed that the reason for Dáithí Ó Conaill's arrest by the Free State in 1975 was to sabotage the talks being held between the British government and the Republican Movement, as at the time it is believed the British government were giving serious consideration to making a declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland, he said. To back up his claim he quoted from the recently-published autobiography of Garret Fitzgerald.

"This is a clear example of the policy of the Free State. There can be no doubt but that the last thing any 26 County government wishes is a British withdrawal," he said.

Des Long also mentioned the deaths of Tony Ruane and Gearóid MacCarthy during the year, both honorary Life Vice-Presidents of Sinn Féin Poblachtach. He said that they, along with Dáithí Ó Conaill were all links in the Republican chain. "One man's life overlapping and linking with the others to form that unbroken tradition which can be traced back through the history of Irish Republicanism right to its founder Wolfe Tone."



• (Left to Right) Des Long, Michael McManus, Cathleen Knowles and Deirdre Ó Conaill.



He paid tribute in his speech to the wife and family of Dáithí Ó Conaill for the support they gave him during his years of service with the Republican Movement. He also praised Dáithí's other qualities, such as his sense of humour, his sincerity, his great personal courage and his concern for other people.

TACTICS

He concluded by saying that the military and political tactics of the Republican Movement will have to return to a more traditional approach if the British are to be brought to the negotiating table. "Any military campaign must be a controlled and disciplined one," he said. Speaking of Sinn Féin Poblachtach's proposals for the settlement of the National Question Towards a Peaceful Ireland he said the approach they took mirrored the current talks taking place in South Africa. "Surely it is only a matter of time until similar dialogue takes place here."

He finished by saying that the best tribute that can be paid to Dáithí Ó Conaill is to continue to serve the cause to which he had dedicated his life.

Following the oration Deirdre Ó Conaill, the widow of Dáithí, said a few brief words on behalf of the family. She said that Dáithí Ó Conaill should be taken as a role model by young people today. In conclusion Cormac Breathnach played a number of reels on the flute.

COTHROM AN LAE LA COILLE 1991

Béidh muid brónach i gcónaí in do dhíadh, a Dháithí.
 Béidh muid bródúil i gcónaí asat, a Dháithí.
 Béidh sé éasca i gcónaí cuimhneamh ar dháta do bháis.
 Bhí an Lá Coille féin mar lá faoi leith in do chuimhne.
 Cothrom an lae chuile bhliain ó Chaoga is Seacht,
 Smaoinigh tú ar an mbeirt a loscadh sa geath fíochmhar in Achadh Lon,
 Seán South as Luimneach agus Feargál Ó hAnluain as Muineachán.
 Smaoinigh tú freisin ar an gceathrar gonta a thóg tú slán.

Cuimhníonn féin ort mar óglach fearúil,
 Mar óráidí chumachtach, mar cheannaire na Poblachta,
 Le dearcadh amach díreach.
 Romhat i gcónaí bhí Bóthar na Síochána.
 Sul a d'hág tú ar mease thaispeáin tú dúinn a chomhartha.

Is cuimhin liom féin thú ar bhruach na canáile
 i mBaile Bóidín ar Dhómhnaigh an chómóraidh,
 In do shuíle do bhean agus do chlann ag caitheamh béile,
 Agus roinn sibh an bia le cáird na féile.
 San Eirinn Nua a shamhlaigh tú bhí saoire agus aontacht,
 Agus daoine saor ó ocras agus saol fíochmhar sástuil ag gach aoine.

Caoimhghnín Mac Cathmhaoil
 Nollaig 1991

DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL MEMORIAL FUND

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

Ireland 1992 — Periphery

FOR WHAT DIED THE SONS OF ROISÍN?

For what died the sons of Róisín? Was it fame?
 For what died the sons of Róisín? Was it fame?

For what flowed Ireland's blood in rivers that began when Brian chased the Dane
 and did not cease nor has not ceased with the brave sons of '16?

For what died the sons of Róisín? Was it fame?
 For what died the sons of Róisín? Was it greed?
 For what died the sons of Róisín? Was it greed?
 Was it greed that drove Wolfe Tone to a pauper's death
 in a cell of cold wet stone?
 Will German, French or Dutch inscribe the epitaph of Emmet
 when we've sold enough of Ireland to be but strangers in it?
 For what died the sons of Róisín? Was it greed?

To whom do we owe our allegiance today?
 To whom do we owe our allegiance today?
 To those brave men who fought and died that Róisín live again with pride,
 Her sons at home to work and sing, her youth to dance
 and make her valleys ring?
 Or the faceless men who for mark and dollar betray her to the highest bidder?
 To whom do we owe our allegiance today?

For what suffer our patriots today?
 For what suffer our patriots today?
 They have a language problem, so they say
 How to write 'no trespass' must grieve their heart full sore
 We got rid of one strange language now we're faced with many, many more
 For what suffer our patriots today?

— Luke Kelly



• 1992 will not remove this blocked Border road in North Fermanagh or the British occupation last forcibly-divided land in Europe?

A Region Called Periphery

By a Special Correspondent

“We're not supposed to refer to “countries” anymore. That's old-fashioned, nationalistic, leads to war and terrorism, etc. No, we have regions now. (That way there'll be no more wars, and therefore we don't need to be neutral anymore. Follow?) We thought we lived in a country, but no, we live in a region. And the name of our region is “the periphery”, as in “the special,”

So wrote Nuala O Faoláin in the *Irish Times* recently.

We are of course being downgraded or relegated and made to feel that we are an insignificant lot who inhabit a somewhat remote island off the coast or ‘mainland’ of Europe. We are told, in effect, that we should know our place and cease having notions about our being a nation.

We are old enough and have endured enough to realise that we have experienced this kind of condescension before and for a long time. We had it at the hands of one empire and are now about to have it at the hands of another. We know all about what it is like to be exploited and plundered and then insulted for being ‘poor’.

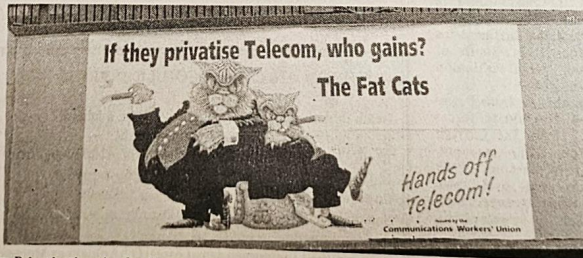
What about this ‘periphery’ business anyhow? Geographically, we are what we are, and no apologies to anyone.

INESCAPABLE

What is much more significant is the inescapable fact that Ireland has failed, throughout the last century and a half, to provide a living for her people. We

have lost one out of every two people born here, through emigration, and we have been no more successful since 1921 than before it in developing our country. The figures are there and cannot be denied.

Any serious analysis of the Ireland of today and any earnest plan for the Ireland of tomorrow must confront this economic and social failure. Anyone or



• Privatisation is the latest scheme to enrich the few at the expense of the public.

any body which sets out to race this reality is immediately bombarded with facile talk of our peripheral location, our lack of natural resources and the utter hopelessness of our situation. So hopeless, in fact, that we must hand over control to bigger and stronger powers who will do the job for us.

Connacht is apparently the first of the provinces to be cleared of her people, in the process of stripping the periphery to add to the wealth of the centre.

COMPARISON

And, talking of handicaps, a comparison with several other small European countries shows that some of them labour under immense natural impediments. Yet,

they have left us far behind, with the lowest population density in Western or Central Europe, except for snowy Lapland.

Almost one-third of the land area of Switzerland consists of icy crags, rocks and lakes. Because of the topography of the country (altitude, mountains, glaciers, etc.) arable land is a scarce commodity.

A large part of the land area of the Netherlands is below sea level and has had to be reclaimed and arable land created, inch by inch.

Finland has to keep ice-breakers working in the Baltic Sea for four months of the year to keep her ports open for traffic and shipping lanes free for navigation.

Because of its mountainous terrain, Switzerland has had to invest heavily in

With only four gunboats they took on the British fishing fleet and the Royal Navy, appealed to world opinion and won their case (the ‘Cod War’ in the 1970s).

FISHERIES

Here in Ireland fisheries contribute less than one per cent of GNP. In Iceland the figure is 70 per cent and in Norway 15 per cent. Being an “offshore island”, as John Hume would call us, surely has its advantages just as much as its disadvantages.

Any analysis and plan for Ireland must take stock of resources and then indicate how they can be used. An inventory would show that we are a wealthy but underdeveloped country.

We have a lot of high quality arable land; rich fisheries; some minerals and potential for afforestation (Austria's greatest wealth is her forests which cover one-third of the country); an equable climate without extremes which produces growth for almost all of the year.

While our location may be peripheral, we have the advantage now of being removed from a lot of modern pollution and that has considerable advantages, particularly for exports of food. Breton farmers can produce organically grown artichokes which command four times the normal price on the German market.

Why can all of these advantages not be organised to provide a living for our people? We have a high level of literacy and skills, but fail to make the most of them. Why have we not got faith and confidence in our own country?

DRUGGED

Apart from a few people like Raymond Crotty, nobody is providing an honest, frank analysis today. We are drugged into accepting that our only role is one of dependency on the EC and others.

Open debate is stifled because a few well-heeled politicians, media managers, civil servants and business people make a good living from the present system. They fear an honest analysis of our problems because it would upset their intrigues.

In the 26 Counties one-third of the

...y or Nation?

Partition and EC Rule

HOW MANY of the 'national aims' have now been abandoned by the various parties who have run the 26-County state, as a kind of Crown Dependency, since 1922?

Ending partition must surely be one. Restoring the Irish language must be another. Settling as many families as possible on the land would be another one. Neutrality is disappearing fast, if it has not already gone. What is left, as we drift along and the youth quit the country?

The Business Editor of the *Evening Press*, Dublin, Colm Rappale, did a review of the year just passed for their December 31 issue. He headed one section of his commentary:

FULL EMPLOYMENT IS BEING QUIETLY DROPPED AS AN ECONOMIC AIM.

Remarking that "we are no closer to achieving it than we were in 1922", he went on to say that "it is no longer seen as a real objective by those in positions of power in government, the public service or private business".

A 20 per cent rate of unemployment in the 26 Counties in 1992 is truly remarkable; it is the highest rate ever since the state was founded. The current rate in the Six Counties is 14.2 per cent. The total number unemployed in Ireland is 372,000.

How can the politicians get away with abandoning this important aim? Quite simply, as Colm Rappale explains:

"Albert Reynolds is on record as saying that he did not consider emigration to other EC countries as emigration in the old sense of the word. There is no essential difference between a person moving from Kerry to Dublin or to Hamburg if the EC is seen as one large superstate."

So there we have it, unemployment will no longer be a problem. It is of course the largest single cause of poverty in our society, and the source of immense social problems.

ESTIMATE

Indeed, the Dublin government's own publicly declared estimate is that the live register figure of 269,200 unemployed will jump to 275,000 in 1992. Davy Stockbrokers predict that it will even hit 300,000.

As Mr Rappale points out, the live register does not tell the whole story, because it excludes many other jobless people; "those in FAS job schemes; a growing number of people over 55 who have been redefined as early retirees; and many housewives who would join the labour force if there were jobs."

It is sobering to recall that when we joined the EC in 1973 there were less than 100,000 unemployed in the 26 Counties. The Fianna Fáil leader and Taoiseach, Jack Lynch, declared that any government that let unemployment go over 100,000 would deserve to be put out of office.

Our unique position in Western Europe is that since 1840 we have exported one out of every two people born in Ireland. Whether it was direct Act of Union British rule up to 1922 or partition rule since, the story is still the same. Radical measures are really needed.

FARMERS

Raymond Crotty, also in the *Evening Press* (January 1 and 2) contrasts the situation of the farmers now with their position in 1972.

"Farmers, at the beginning of 1972, were preparing to mobilise the country for an overwhelming referendum vote in favour of joining the EC. The great attraction of the EC for Irish farmers was the Common Agricultural Policy and its promise of limitless markets at ever higher prices for farmers' output. The CAP was to abolish for ever the spectre of low prices and restricted markets".

But the proof of the pudding was in the eating.



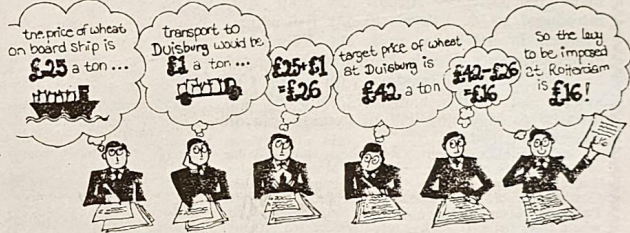
• Farmers protest at EC Commission office in Dublin

Our experience of the EC has not been a good one. Yet, we are being asked to enmesh ourselves even further in it. Opinion polls show that a majority of people favour a "European political union" or "a federal Europe", EMU and all the rest.

How informed are these opinions which are being quoted. How many people in Ireland today know what this is all about? Is anybody telling them? Certainly not the politicians.

COMPLETE FAILURES

Is it not a fact that the two states founded in 1922 have been complete



• Cartoon ridiculing the Common Agricultural Prices (CAP) policy introduced in 1973.

"Farmers are ensnared in debt at record high interest rates. Payments on that debt now consume nearly 20 per cent of farmers' falling incomes compared to less than 2 per cent of rising incomes twenty years ago."

The warnings issued by Sinn Féin in 1972, and by Raymond Crotty himself, have been proved to be accurate. Farmers' incomes have been falling steadily since 1985.

Mr Crotty comments now:

"Not since the Economic War of the 1930s, a period of distress engraved in the folk-memory of Irish farmers have prices fallen by so much in two consecutive years."

failures and that this explains the apparent headlong rush for deeper EC involvement?

Raymond Crotty concludes:

"Nor is it surprising that, at the beginning of 1992, there is none of the farmers' enthusiasm for a 'yes' vote in this year's EMU referendum that there was in the 1972 referendum on the EEC. Without farmers' support the EMU referendum could be a close-run business."

What does Ireland need now above all else? Clear thinking, courageous media and honest leadership. If we had these we could transform our country within 20 years. We may curse the darkness, but who will light the first candle?

- Cóilín

...population forces who placed it there. Will Ireland be the

population is living on social welfare. There is material, cultural and social deprivation on a vast scale.

Imagine if 18 million people in France were in similar circumstances in the 1990s, with half of their youth emigrating in search of work. Would this be accepted as inevitable? Would they be content to remain docile while their senior politicians appealed to the US for more visas for their emigrants?

Not at all. There would be a demand for change, heads would roll, possibly from Madame la Guillotine herself. Centuries of colonisation have certainly left us in a bad way; we accept far too much when we should be outraged at what is happening.

WRONG

Despite the ignorance of these issues, and the hopelessness, people still feel instinctively that there is something seriously wrong. There is an enormous job of information and education to be done, simply to explain why things are as they are.

Planning for an alternative social and economic system must also be done, even though the national issue and the British presence in the Six Counties remain the primary issue.

And what is to stop us putting together some of the elements of an alternative system here and now?

Tá Pobal na hÉireann ag fanacht

Táimid ar thairseach na bliana nua. Is tráthúil an t-am é le machnamh ar staid na hÉireann, agus muid ag druidim le deireadh an chéid. Céard a cheapaimid féin agus céard a cheapann Sinn Féin Poblachtach: Níl rath ar an tír gan saoire, gan chinnireacht, gan aising, gan eagar orainn féin. De réir na bpobalbhreitheanna níl an pobal mór dall, ach an

oiread. Is rí-shoiléir anois nach bhfuil dóchas ag a bhfómhór as na Sasanaigh, as baicle Theach Laighean ná as boic mhóra chúrsaí gnó. Agus sin amhlaidh tá seans iontach ag Poblachtach tar éis 70 bliana den chriochdheighilt agus den chur i gcéill. An chéad chéim ná eagar a chur orthu féin agus polasaí daonna, náisiúnta a chur le chéile, a bheadh ag freastal ar riachtanais an lae inniu agus an lae amárach; polasaí a chuir-

feadh an pobal i gceannas agus a spreagfadh an oíge chun tacaíochta agus seirbhíse dá dtír. Cé go mairimid i ré ábharachais tá idéalachas i gcónaí ag an oíge. Tá creatlach de pholasaí in ÉIRE NUA ach ní mór feoil a chur ar an bplean sin go luath. Bheadh polasaí uileghabhálach ann ansin. C éim a dó, ina dhiaidh sin. Agus an gléas déanta ná mór dul i mbun-

oibre leis, i measc an phobail. Beidh an dara céim seo níos deacra ar bhealaí ná an chéad cheann. Níor mhair córas Brooke agus Haughey chomh fada sin gan chinsireacht agus cúbúil ar na meáin, mar is eol dúinn. Ach anois tá siad clisúinach agus ní bheadh sé ró-dheacair é sin a mhíniú don phobal. An dúshlán is mó, modhanna a cheapadh agus a úsáid le dul i bhfeidhm ar an bpobal, le dul-

ina measc agus i dteagmháil leo. Ainneoin cumhacht na cin-síreachta éistfidh chuid mhór acu anois nach n-éistfeadh cheana. Tá port na 'meirleach' á sheinm, muna bhfuil sé seinte agus tá cluas ar dhaoine ag fanacht le rosc nua. An bhfuil cumadóir in ár measc? An bhfuil gripa ceoil réidh chun saothair? Anois an t-am leis an deis a tháip. - Cóilín

CABHAIR CHRISTMAS SWIM RESOUNDING SUCCESS

— Le Séamus Doyle

IT had to happen. The CABHAIR Christmas morning swimmers have gone snobby, caused by the luxuriousness of the new swim venue (it is sheltered from the Naas Road by a large wall) which, in turn, has made them soft and unwilling to take a fourth or fifth dip.

Yes, indeed, "uncensored news" we promise and uncensored news you get, no matter how painful it is for us to report it. When the Editor contacted me with this assignment, I immediately queried the

new venue, opposite the Blackhorse Inn in Inchicore, and voiced my opinion that we should stick to the neolithic conditions, completely without shelter of any kind, provided by the old spot.

Right so, - pride of place and first mention, of course, to the first of our five swimmers, 'he-who-has-the-window-seat', our all-seeing and etc etc Editor, Ruairí Óg O Brádaigh, who went where no editor



• Two of the participants who braved the weather on Christmas morning.

had voluntarily gone before and was bravely followed by Mick Hegarty (or



'Mick Header' as 3-year-old onlooker Carl Horan called him.)

Those two 'men from Atlantis' were followed by our two lady swimmers, sisters Maureen and Anne Egan.

Anyway, a truly enjoyable morning for all concerned except, perhaps, the two goldfish sitting in their state bowl watching the proceedings.

All monies raised by the sponsored swimmers goes, as usual, to the Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund CABHAIR, and please, if you owe a few bob, don't spoil the event - send it in now, as this time of year is a particularly demanding one on the CABHAIR coffers. Our thanks to Bernard Hickey and the 'Christmas Crew' for arranging the 'beverages', fire, banners etc, and the usual tall stories!

Charlie Kerins commemoration

THE 47th anniversary of the execution by Free State forces of IRA Chief-of-Staff Charlie Kerins, from Tralee, Co. Kerry, was marked by a commemoration in the town on Friday, December 6. 'Tried' by a military court set up under the Offences Against the State Act, introduced by de Valera's Fianna Fail administration in 1939 to crush the Republican Movement, once Charlie Kerins was convicted he faced the death sentence with no right of appeal. An English hangman, Pierpoint, was brought to Mountjoy Jail to execute him on December 1, 1944.

Local Republicans formed up at Denny Street, Tralee and paraded to the Charlie Kerins Memorial Park at Strand Road, where the ceremony took place. George Rice, Cathaoirleach, called on Elsie O'Connor, sister of Charlie Kerins, to lay a wreath in memory of all those who gave their lives in the cause of Irish freedom.

A wreath was also laid by Jacob Lovett on behalf of Kerry Comrades Ceannair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Eamon Breen recited a decade of the Rosary.

Republican veterans Willie Walsh, Mossie Higgins, John Kissane and others were present. A minutes silence was observed for recently-deceased Republicans, Eibhlín Tablóid, Tralee and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh, Cork. Michael Cunningham, Cork delivered the oration.

The O'Rahilly GAA club in Tralee was renamed the Kerins/O'Rahilly GAA club after Charlie Kerins' death. His remains were re-interred in a Republican Plot in Rath Cemetery, Tralee, in September 1948.



• Charlie Kerins

PUNISHMENT

Finally, a man whose idea of fun, must be to inflict punishment on himself, our last swimmer, John 'Seaweed' Callaghan, who apparently carries swimming togs around with him like the rest of us carry handies. At one stage the bould 'Seaweed' dived off the Lough gate and I swear he still had half his clothes on him.

FOR THE RECORD.

MON. DECEMBER 2: It emerged after an arms cache was discovered in a stolen car stopped by the RUC in West Belfast, that these guns were part of a huge arms haul supplied to loyalist death squads in 1988 by the apartheid regime in South Africa.

FRI. DECEMBER 6: It was revealed in a bulletin produced by the Repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act Committee in London that the number of people stopped and examined at ports of entry into Britain annually under the PTA may be as high as one million. Only six people were actually charged under this act in the first nine months of 1991.

SUN. DECEMBER 8: A woman and five men, believed to be part of a UFF loyalist death squad, attempted to kidnap a 54-year-old South Belfast man in broad daylight. He managed to escape through traffic.

MON. DECEMBER 9: British Stormont minister Lord Belstead is sacked over his handling of the segregation issue in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

TUES. DECEMBER 10: Three UDR soldiers were arrested, and questioned in

connection with sectarian attacks in Tyrone and South Derry. They were later released.

WED. DECEMBER 11: Angelo Fusco, Belfast, was served with five extradition warrants in Portlaoise Jail. He was due for release five days later after serving a 10-year sentence for escaping from Crumlin Road Jail in 1983.

THURS. DECEMBER 12: An opinion poll commissioned by *Today Tonight* for RTE, showed that 89 per cent of those questioned in the 26 Counties felt that a "golden circle" of business people and politicians are using power to enrich themselves.

A UDR soldier shot a man in the neck during a row in a bar in Anne Street in Belfast.

FRI. DECEMBER 13: A Fair Employment tribunal in the Six Counties found that a head cook in a nursing home in Co. Down, who was sacked because a resident had objected to her being a Catholic, had been unlawfully discriminated against.

SAT. DECEMBER 14: Paul Naughton from West Belfast was shot in the back by a loyalist death squad. He is in a critical condition.

SUN. DECEMBER 15: Merlyn Rees, former Labour direct-ruler in the Six Counties, called for the release of Judith Ward, who, he said, had been "wrongly convicted".

TUES. DECEMBER 17: In an opinion poll published by the *Irish Times* 63 per cent of those questioned were opposed

to the introduction of internment. The same poll found that a majority of women in the 26 Counties were opposed to the concept of European political union.

THURS. DECEMBER 19: Loyalists planted an incendiary device in a shop in Dublin. It was discovered and disarmed.

SAT. DECEMBER 21: Robin Farmer (19) was shot dead in the Moy, Co. Tyrone by the INLA. Later that night the IPLO shot dead Thomas Gorman (55) and Barry Watson (25) in the Donegal Arms pub in the loyalist Roden Street area of Belfast. Just before midnight the UFF shot Catholic William Johnston at his home in the loyalist Village area of West Belfast, where he lived with his Protestant girlfriend.

The latest unemployment figure in the Six Counties is 102,900 or 14.2 per cent of the workforce.

SUN. DECEMBER 22: The UFF shot dead Aidan Wallace (22) in the Devenish Arms pub on Finaghy Road North in Belfast. They also shot eight-year-old Christopher Lawless in the face.

MON. DECEMBER 23: The Church of Ireland Primate, Dr Robin Eames, said that internment "may have to be looked at".

TUES. DECEMBER 24: Bishop Finnegan, Catholic Bishop of Killala, called on the Free State administration to assist the Irish homeless in Britain.

FRI. DECEMBER 27: Loyalist gunmen attacked the home of a nationalist family in Whitcross, Co. Armagh.

SAT. DECEMBER 28: A Catholic man from Rosaspenna Street in Belfast was forced to run for his life when he was chased by a car-load of armed loyalists.

MON. DECEMBER 30: The British army opened fire on a car in West Belfast and injured two men.

Extra SAS units were sent to the Six Counties.

Fr Raymond Murray unveiled a memorial in Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh at the spot where Fergal Caraher was shot dead by the British army on December 30, 1990. It was stated that 345 people have been slain by the so-called "security forces" in 20 years.

The Campaign for Economic Equality challenged the Fair Employment Commission in the Six Counties to publish monitoring returns from 1,500 employment centres or it will publish its own independent figures.

TUES. DECEMBER 31: British troops fired shots at houses in Turf Lodge and Norglen Crescent, Belfast.

WED. JANUARY 1: Brendan Joseph McCrossan (26) died in the RUC barracks in Strabane, Co. Tyrone. The RUC are "investigating" the circumstances.

FRI. JANUARY 3: Kevin McKearney (32) was shot dead by a loyalist death squad in the family butchers shop in the Moy, Co. Tyrone. His uncle was badly injured in the attack and a ten-year-old girl was shot in a car outside the shop.

Ireland's Forgotten Patriot Sisters

FANNY AND ANNA PARNELL, Ireland's patriot sisters by Jane Mac L. Cote, Gill and MacMillan, £12.99.

REVISIONIST rewriting of Irish history has, in recent years, changed to a large extent the way people view their history. From being proud of our race and nationality the young people of Ireland are now being persuaded that most of our past was shameful. We are asked to accept the views of pro-British historians and academics that events such as the 1798 Rebellion, the Fenian Rising and the 1916 Rising were "unnecessary" and "glorified bloodshed". Even the Great Famine is not now mentioned in polite Dublin 4 circles or if it does come up, is treated as a "regrettable mistake, probably exaggerated".

Of course these same historians/academics ignored the terrorism inflicted on the Irish by the British throughout many centuries.

Thankfully there is now a move away from these revisionist views and the past few years has seen the emergence of a new school of academics, who seek to establish by checking and cross-checking whatever records are available, the facts of Irish history, taking into account that history is usually written by the victors, in this case by the British.

While this is very welcome there is one huge body of Irish history that has been ignored except by a very few and that is the role of women in Irish history. Irish women were written out of history not

only by the revisionists but by all historians and it requires a great deal of research by dedicated people (usually women) to try and bring their achievements back to the notice of the Irish people.

EXAMPLE

One of the best examples of this is the Ladies Land League, led by the sisters of Charles Stewart Parnell, Fanny and Anna. The Ladies Land League took over from the Land League in 1881 when the male leaders were arrested under the Coercion Act. Its campaign of action was far more radical and much better organised than had previously been the case. It was forced to disband almost immediately after the signing of the Kilmainham Treaty by Charles Stewart Parnell

and subsequent release of himself and the other men, when Parnell withdrew its funding.

Very little documentary evidence has been available on the activities of the Parnell sisters. Anna Parnell's book on the Land League *The Tale of a Great Sham* was finally published in 1986 after years lying on a shelf and Margaret Ward dealt with it in her excellent *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*.

It is therefore a great pleasure to read *Fanny and Anna Parnell, Ireland's patriot sisters* by Jane Mac L. Côté, published recently. A well researched book it follows the progress of the two sisters, daughters of an Anglo-Irish landowner and his American wife, from membership of the privileged Anglo-Irish ruling class to their adoption of radical nationalist views and particularly in Anna's case, a fierce belief that English involvement in Ireland was the cause of all the problems in the country.

'INCORRUPTIBLES'

Sir John Parnell, their great-grandfather was one of the 'Incorruptibles' - one of the few members of the Irish parliament who refused to accept British bribes to vote for the Act of Union in 1800. William Parnell, their grandfather, wrote several pamphlets and studies in an effort to achieve Catholic emancipation and as MP for Wicklow spoke forcefully on the need for humanitarian reform in Ireland.



• The RIC dispersing a meeting of the Ladies Land League.

Its weakness is in the poor opinion the author has of the Fenian movement and of physical force and she goes to great lengths to prove (to her satisfaction anyway) that the Parnell sisters were pacifists, something which is certainly not 100 per cent true of Anna, particularly in later years.

There are only 12 references to the Fenians in the book and most of these are quite derogatory and it seems that the author did not research them in any way, something that weakens the historical context of the book.

FOUNDATION

However her account of the foundation of the Ladies Land League, first in the US by Fanny Parnell and later in Ireland, at the behest of Michael Davitt, by Anna Parnell,

is very well written and researched and shows the enormous amount of work accomplished by the Ladies throughout the country. The cynicism of the male leaders comes across very much, as well as their inefficiency in running the Land League itself and there is no doubt that the opportunity of building a new order for Irish farmers was lost through the greed of the better off who were not prepared to suffer in order to help their less fortunate comrades.

Fanny died in 1882 and perhaps was spared the disillusionment which scarred Anna for the rest of her life. After the disbanding of the Ladies Land League she never spoke again to her brother Charles.

In *The Tale of a Great*

Sham she wrote: "How-ever long I might live, I knew it would never again be possible for me to believe that any body of Irishmen meant a word of anything they said." She was unable to find a publisher for her book during her lifetime. She was drowned in Tunnels Baths in Devon, England, where she spent the last year of her life, in 1911.

With the reservations expressed regarding the Fenians, this book is well worth reading for the great detail it gives on a section of the history of Irishwomen that has largely been forgotten. It is time that Irishwomen such as Fanny and Anna Parnell were given their proper place amongst the great leaders of Irish history.

- Emer Ní Bhríain

Exposing Dublin 4's Opinion Shapers

JIVING AT THE CROSSROADS by John Waters, Blackstaff Press, £6.99. JOHN WATERS was recently interviewed in his former magazine *Hot Press*. When asked "Who would be the last person that you would invite to a party?", he replied "any PD politician". So as the saying goes, this guy can't be bad.

But that typically honest reply reveals in a sense what *Jiving at the Crossroads* is about. The PDs have come to represent, for many people, something distasteful trying to worm its way centre stage in Irish life. The bile from which they were spawned is brilliantly described in this book. The author paints a broad picture of modern

Ireland in a strong, passionate and well-argued style, drawing heavily on personal observation. We are spared the condescending tones of the "Garret the Good" school of boring, self-righteous prose, in favour of an unobtrusive meeting with the real Ireland. Here we are taken from Roscommon to Dublin and invited to share in the reality of scraping

JOHN WATERS

Jiving
AT THE
CROSSROADS

utterly fascinating in its insights and conclusions
BRIAN DAN KENNEDY

a day-to-day living in a county which has nothing in common with the 'Fantasy Ireland' being promoted by Gay Byrne and company.

He makes the point that Dublin 4 is a state of mind populated by those who are ashamed of Ireland's past and have decided among themselves on a narrow path along which the country must be pushed to be called 'modern'.

They have christened themselves as liberals, progressives or whatever is flavour of the month and dismiss those who have the insolence to question their version as backwood peasants, or as John Waters states: "Those speaking for modern Ireland appear to regard whole sections of the country as priest-ridden, tribal and untouchable" and that "there seems to be an unspoken suggestion that those who wish to belong to modern Ireland would have to leave behind all that nonsense of the past".

CLOSED GROUP

The reality is, of course, that this closed group have access to the newspapers and airways at the

drop of a hat. To even attempt to engage them in debate about their dogma for a modern Ireland would result in a black-listing as quick as you could say "Section 31".

No sensible person, least of all Republicans, can possibly be opposed to Ireland taking her place as a modern nation. But the debate must be shaped and honed by vigorous public debate and analysis. It is not something which will emerge from Dublin 4 watering holes. These self-appointed shapers of Irish opinion do the country no favours by stifling debate.

So the next time you smell a "consensus" among the national media, you might start to reflect on the lack of public debate. The cold reality must be that we are perceived as mere "hewers of wood" and "drawers of water" by our very own chattering classes.

John Waters has written one of the best Irish books of 1991. Buy it, read it and read it again. It will give you new insights into the ramblings of "Uncle Gaybo" and the Montrose circle.

- Mícheál Ó Nuanáin



No Parole For US Prisoner

In a recent letter Brian Fleming, writing from the federal prison in Atlanta, USA, speaks about his jail conditions. For the background to his entrapment case see SAOIRSE, Sept. 1991, August, May, 1990.

A chara
My wife and I have four children and they come three out of four kids every other weekend. The prison will allow only three children at a time, at least that is what they limit me to.

I don't know if you are aware that Federal prisoners are not given any parole these days, so I

still have a little more than a year left to do. Everyone is hoping that the law will change.

I have requested some additional documents to complete my legal work. It is taking a long time.



• Brian J. Fleming

The Irish language course I have fought for over a year-and-a-half arrived recently. I will start up the officially recognised class, the first and only that I know of in the federal prison system.

I keep myself very busy and productive. In addition to teaching Irish I also help prisoners get their GED (high school) secondary education. My regular job here is a Suicide

Companion at the prison hospital. In my "free" time I am writing a book titled *The last free man in the World*. On Sunday afternoons I play Irish music for a group of prisoners interested in Irish culture.

I'll close here and hope to hear from you again soon. Slán, yours in the service of Ireland.

BRIAN J. FLEMING
08022-002
Box PMB
Atlanta, Georgia, 30315
USA
Defence Fund
GEORGIA FLEMING
309 Adams Street
Enterprise
AL 36330
USA



• Bloody Sunday January 30, 1972 — 14 people were shot dead by the British army during a Civil Rights march.

'Just Ireland' Poster Competition

A chara

We would like to avail of your letters' page to publicise a nationwide poster, poetry and essay competition which the Bloody Sunday Initiative is running to mark the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. The Initiative is an independent group in Derry whose purpose is to encourage creative and imaginative political action around the future of Ire-

land. However we are not a backward looking group, our focus is the future: helping to work for British withdrawal and to build an independent and pluralistic non-sectarian Ireland. The Initiative will especially seek to promote respect of human rights, dignity and justice within Ireland and internationally.

Entrants are asked to produce a poster, poem or essay expressing their view of a "Just Ireland".

The details of the com-

SAOIRSE welcomes Letters to the Editor which should be kept as short as possible and to the point. Letters should arrive no later than the 25th of the month.

petition are as follows:
Age groups 12-14, 14-16, 16-18.
Essay length 12-14, 100-150 words; 14-16, 200-250 words; 16-18, 400-500 words.
There is no limit in the poetry competition.

First prize in all categories is a framed Bloody Sunday poster. Second prize in the 12-14 group is a £15.00 book token. Other groups will receive a copy of the new book by Eamon McCann, entitled *Bloody Sunday in Derry*, which is due to be published in January. The poster competition will be judged by artist Robert Ballagh, the poetry competition by the poet Thomas Kinsella and the essay competition by Prof. Séamus Deane.

The closing date for all entries is Friday, January 17, 1992. Entries should be sent or handed in to the above address and clearly marked "Bloody Sunday Competition".

—STEPHEN GARGAN
Bloody Sunday Initiative
1 Westend Park
Derry city
BT 48 9JF

U.S. Troops in Six Counties

50 YEARS AGO:

DURING January 1942, Japanese forces continued their unstoppable advance into South-East Asia, getting as far as the Dutch East Indies colony — now Indonesia.

Global war required the security of the sea-lanes as supply lines. During the first six months of 1942, Allied shipping losses in the North Atlantic leaped to an enormous monthly average of more than 700,000 tons.

The number of German submarines had increased from 49 in 1939 to 249 in 1942; they operated under the brilliant top-level direction of Admiral Karl Doenitz and penetrated as far as US coastal waters, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Anglo-American losses at sea were approaching disaster level.

The US did not only supply Britain. The Soviet Union was reached on the famous "Murmansk run" through the stormy Arctic Ocean, American troops were also rushed to Britain and on January 26, 4,000 of them disembarked in the Six Counties.

De Valera protested immediately in a public speech. No matter whose troops occupied the Six North-Eastern Counties, the Irish people's "claim for the union of the whole national territory and for supreme jurisdiction over it" would stand.

CLOSE LINKS

Earlier, in Cork on December 14 he expressed sympathy for the United States on their entry into WWII. While there were close family links between Ireland and America, the 26-County state's foreign policy would not change. "We can only be a friendly neutral," he said.

With the US at war, de Valera's interpretation of neutrality appeared to undergo a subtle shift, says Seán Cronin in *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-86*. Partition did not permit any other policy, Cronin continues, such as supporting America in the war, for instance. That would divide the people and destroy the state.

Even before Pearl Harbour on December 7 the US had "injected itself into the Irish problem on the side of Britain". When the Dublin administration had queried the State Department in October and November about US technicians building bases in the Six Counties, an official communication in reply said that the US "considered Northern Ireland part of the United Kingdom". There was no ambiguity about that, says Cronin.

At Christmas 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt had met at the White House to plan their war strategy. Roosevelt "offered to take over the defence of Northern Ireland, freeing British troops for use elsewhere", according to the historian James McGregor Burns, quoted by Cronin.

The American President did not deem it necessary to consult de Valera about stationing his troops on Irish soil. He did, of course, send him a message of thanks on December 22 for his sympathy speech at Cork.

Following the landing of the first US troops de Valera in a message to Washington called the Six Counties "disputed territories" and said that the American government appeared to be giving unreserved recognition to British sovereignty, seemingly "taking sides", which action his government "could not but deplore".

This was two months after January 26 and Roosevelt instructed the State Department not to reply. Thereafter the matter was dropped as more and more

American troops, aircraft and other equipment of war flooded into Ireland.

DYNAMITE

America had acquired "a vested interest in a keg of dynamite", one academic (Warner Moss, Professor of Government at the College of William and Mary in Virginia) had warned Cordell Hull, Secretary of State.

Senator Elbert D. Thomas (Democrat, Utah) said US forces in Ireland, North or South, "would involve us in domestic Irish politics". Thomas told Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State that in the long run "it would be wiser to make our presence a contribution to the solution of the Irish problem rather than its aggravation".

He had been a professor of political science before he ran for office and also used Moss's phrase about "acquiring a vested interest in a keg of dynamite". — a very apt description of the American intervention into Irish affairs.

Back home in Ireland, the Northern Command HQ of the Irish Republican Army had more than enough on its plate with the planning of a campaign against British forces without being faced with a "problem of high policy", as Bowyer Bell describes the January landing of US troops. They were faced "with a particularly delicate foreign policy decision".

While de Valera might fulminate from the other side of the Border, they were face to face with the situation. The IRA was not just claiming jurisdiction over the Six Counties, it was exercising that right day after day in parts of that territory.

Now Republican Volunteers were eyeball-to-eyeball with US troops on a war footing. This was an invasion in Irish eyes — a view both the IRA and de Valera (who had been stabbing their

sincere efforts in the back since 1939) shared.

The delicate point was that America who had always been a source of help in times of want and a home to millions of Irish emigrants was now in WWII on the side of the "base and bloody Saxon". Bell sums up the situation: "Not to protest might be craven but to protest too much would be foolish".

CONTACT

He continues: "The Americans were not unaware of the potential problem with the IRA and Major-General Harknett had a Catholic chaplain make contact with Northern Command. Harknett indicated he wanted no involvement in IRA - British trouble and was willing to initiate discussions on the matter.

"HQ considered the problem; and although there was a brief interest in a proposal to kidnap Harknett, the staff decided to ignore the feeler. John Graham and Hugh McAteer did write a 'Manifesto', published in the *Belfast Telegraph*, advising the United States not to become an agent of the British; but after that the matter was dropped — the first faint sign of political realism," Bell concludes.

The Americans for their part did not participate actively with the British or the RUC. They confined themselves to WWII strictly. But their attitude to Irish freedom was clear — they recognised the British presence in Ireland as legitimate. The decision not to tangle with the liberation movement was politically realistic on their part too.

(More next month. Refs. *The Secret Army* by J. Bowyer Bell; *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-1986: Independence, Partition, Neutrality* by Seán Cronin — Anvil Books, 1987).

GALWAY HONOURS LIAM MELLOWS

On the 69th anniversary of his execution by the Free State in Mountjoy Jail, Galway Republicans held a ceremony in Athenry to honour Liam Mellows, the 1916 leader in the Galway area who became a leader of the Republican Movement during the Tan War and the Civil War and was one of its foremost political and social thinkers.

Brón ar an mBás EIBHLIN NÍ TALBOID

EIBHLIN NÍ TALBOID was given a Guard of Honour by Republican Sinn Féin members at her funeral from the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Rathass to Rath Cemetery, Tralee, Co. Kerry on Friday, November 14.

In a graveside oration Liam Cotter of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach said:

"Eibhlín Ní Talbóid is being laid to rest with an uncle, Michael Flynn, who was executed by an alien force in 1922 in defence of the Republic. For that, Republicans do not apologise, nor do the Flynn or Talbóid family apologise for their defence of the Republic.



"Eibhlín Ní Talbóid was loyal to that cause until the day she was called to her eternal reward. In that cause she worked for our language, our culture and for everything Irish. She was a teacher in the true spirit of Pádraig Pearse,

• *Eibhlín Ní Talbóid* teaching the Irish children what Ireland is all about, not giving preference to an alien culture as has been expounded by various ministers of Education today.

"While Ireland has

The parade, the largest for many years, proceeded through the streets of Athenry at 12 noon on December 8 as far as the national school where a memorial to Liam Mellows stands. John Joe Ruane, Athenry, presided at the commemoration and Tomás Ó Curraoin and Mattie Keenan laid wreaths on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and Veteran Republicans.

Mary Ward, Donegal, gave the oration and recalled how Liam Mellows was sent to the West as an organiser in the winter of 1915. His efforts resulted in a force of 1,200 men mobilising on Easter Monday, 1916 in the Galway area. He escaped to the USA and later became Director of Purchases in the GHQ staff of O'Leigh na hÉireann.

Mary Ward added it was ironic that seventy years

after the Treaty of Surrender the Maastricht Treaty was being debated, which will undermine Ireland's sovereignty and neutrality. Compulsory military service for Irish youth is one of the consequences of EC political union and the placing of non-IRish bases or facilities as part of the new "defence force" and automatic access for nuclear weapon carriers to our ports and airports is another, she warned.

"The children and grandchildren of those who voted for the Common Market in 1972 are now having to take the full brunt of the decisions made then."

On Sunday, December 15, members of Wexford Republican Sinn Féin held a wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of Liam Mellows in Castletown Cemetery, Gorey, Co. Wexford.

people like her, the Republican cause will always be honoured in the proper way. We have lost a friend, we have lost a true Republican."

The staff of SAOIRSE extends sincere sympathy to her family and friends. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sí.

SEAN DUFFY

THE death of Sean Duffy (67) of Demacrieve, Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan in November saddened his Republican comrades and friends.

The removal took place from St. Patrick's Hospital, Cavan to Cullough Church, West Cavan. The coffin was draped in the National Flag and escorted by a Guard of Honour of local Sinn Féin Poblachtach members including Ben McHugh, Swanlinbar, John Glancy, Demacrieve and Hugh McGovern, Cullough. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, an old friend and comrade of the deceased Republican was among the huge attendance present.

In a graveside oration the next day Councillor Seán Lynch, Longford said that Sean Duffy came of a Republican family who lived within three miles of the Fermanagh border.

He gave up a job as a CIE bus driver in Dublin to work in the *United Irishman* paper office on the commencement of in-

terment without trial at the Curragh in 1957.

He gave service there with Seán Ó Brádaigh and Mícheál Ó Donnabháin ("Pasha") under the editorship of Seán Cronin. He returned home to Cavan in the early 1960s and contested his brother Paddy's seat on the County Council in 1967.

He was married to a daughter of the McCarthaigh family, Cork (Gearóid and Agnes); the Flannery family, New York (Pearl); and the Grealy family, Mayo (May).

I gCuimhne

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In loving and sad memory of Dave, husband and father who died on New Year's Day 1991. Never forgotten by Deirdre, Fergal, Ciara and Dfóg. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh sé.

O CONAILL, - Lá Chinn-Bhliana agus cuimhní chroí ar mo chomrádaí dlíth thar 35 bhliain. Three and a half decades - 1955-1991 - of service, and loyal comradeship are recalled. Dáithí, you do not die, you march with us in Sinn Féin Poblachtach. From Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Dave O'Connell, exceptional Republican, who died on January 1, 1991. Leaba i measc na nGael go raibh aige. Never forgotten by his comrades in Cumann Cathal Brugha, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Baile Átha Cliath.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell, friend and comrade, who died on January 1, 1991. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam. Always remembered by Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Bundoran, Co. Donegal.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In loving memory of our friend and comrade Dave, whose death has left such a gap in our lives. Leaba i measc na bhFíneál go raibh aige. From Cathleen and Dermot.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Dáithí O'Connell, Leas-

ary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, who died 1 January, 1991. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar an am. From Michael Kennedy, Republican Sinn Féin, London.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. We remember with pride, on the 1st anniversary of his death, our comrade Dáithí O'Connell. Never has a loss been so deeply felt. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé. From Cumann Maurice O'Neill, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Cahersveen, Co. Kerry.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell who died on January 1, 1991. No man ever loved Ireland more. Always remembered by John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs Doherty, Dromurroe, Currow, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. Remembered with pride, and sorrow, that so much was lost to the Republican Movement by his early and tragic death. From Eileen Durand, Cumann na Saoirse, New Jersey.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell, friend and comrade, who died on January 1, 1991. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam. Always remembered by Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Bundoran, Co. Donegal.

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O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Dáithí O'Connell, Leas-

DUTY

In the early 1970s he again took up duty for a number of years in the office of *An Phoblacht* under Seán Keenan of Derry as manager and Eamonn Mac Thomáis as editor.

He was active locally to the end, rejecting both the Workers' Party in 1970 and the latest Free State tendency and defection in 1986.

Sympathy is extended to his brother Paddy, Dublin, a member of the Teeling

Column in 1956, who was Sinn Féin candidate in the 1957 General Election in Cavan and a County Councillor 1960-67. Paddy also served a sentence in Mountjoy and was a prisoner later in the Curragh Concentration Camp.

Also included in offering of sympathy are his sisters in the US and in Fermanagh, his brother and sister in-laws, nieces and nephews.

Grást' ó Dhia air an am dlíth.

ANNE GALVIN

ANNE GALVIN died in Dublin on November 14. Born Anne Murphy her family had a long association with the Republican Movement.

In 1969 when most of her family went with the reformists she and her sister Phylis stood firm with the Republican Movement. She was a member of Cumann na mBan throughout the early 1970s and only became inactive because of ill health.

She worked unceasingly for prisoners and their dependants and she and her husband Séan put up many people who had to

flee their homes because of the pogroms in the Occupied Six Counties.

A large crowd attended her funeral in Swords on Saturday, November 16. Republican Sinn Féin was represented by Lifa Ní Chathmaoil, Ard-Rúnaí, Deirdre O'Connell and Eileen Hughes.

Sincere sympathy is extended to her husband Séan and to her children. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, who died 1 January, 1991. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar an am. From Michael Kennedy, Republican Sinn Féin, London.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Dáithí O'Connell whose 1st Anniversary occurred on New Year's Day last. Remembered always by the Mooney family, Dún Laoghaire.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell who died on January 1, 1991. No man ever loved Ireland more. Always remembered by John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs Doherty, Dromurroe, Currow, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. Remembered with pride, and sorrow, that so much was lost to the Republican Movement by his early and tragic death. From Eileen Durand, Cumann na Saoirse, New Jersey.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell, friend and comrade, who died on January 1, 1991. Suaimhneas síoraí dá anam. Always remembered by Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Bundoran, Co. Donegal.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In loving memory of our friend and comrade Dave, whose death has left such a gap in our lives. Leaba i measc na bhFíneál go raibh aige. From Cathleen and Dermot.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Dáithí O'Connell, Leas-

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O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. We remember with pride, on the 1st anniversary of his death, our comrade Dáithí O'Connell. Never has a loss been so deeply felt. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé. From Cumann Maurice O'Neill, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Cahersveen, Co. Kerry.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell who died on January 1, 1991. No man ever loved Ireland more. Always remembered by John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs Doherty, Dromurroe, Currow, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach who died on New Year's Day 1991. Leaba i measc na bhFíneál go raibh aige. From his friends and comrades in Tipperary.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. We remember with pride, on the 1st anniversary of his death, our comrade Dáithí O'Connell. Never has a loss been so deeply felt. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé. From Cumann Maurice O'Neill, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Cahersveen, Co. Kerry.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Dáithí O'Connell. Mairfidh sé go deo i measc gcoitíne na nGael. Always remembered by Tom and Corrie, Rathurles.

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell who died on January 1, 1991. No man ever loved Ireland more. Always remembered by John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs Doherty, Dromurroe, Currow, Killarney, Co. Kerry.

PURCELL, What's another year? Greetings to 'Granda' Purcell on his 80th birthday, and also thinking of 'Nana' Purcell for putting in with him for most of those 80 years! From your 'kids' and grandkids in Crumlin and elsewhere. Also from the Clondalkin 'trafflers' ("second Sunday every month etc, etc...") All together now - "We're all off to Dublin (Lourdes?) in the green, in the green..."

O CONAILL, - 1st Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí O'Connell, Leas-

Comhbhrón

AT a recent meeting of Comhairle Chonnacht, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, sincere sympathy was extended to the family and friends of Jimmy Collins and his aunt who died tragically at Carrmore, Co. Galway; Paddy Duffy and the family of Seán Duffy, Cavan, who died on November 28 last; to the family of Gearóid and Agnes MacCárthaigh, Corcaigh, who both died in November 1991; to Michael Flannery, New York, on the death of his wife Pearl on November 12, 1991, and to Vincent Hutchinson and family on the death on November 29 of Máire, Bundoran, wife and mother. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh síad.

D'ARCY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the D'Arcy family, Tyrone, on the death of their uncle and their sister-in-law. From Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

COMHAIRLE ULADH extended deepest sympathy at a recent meeting to the Donegan family, Dromintee, on the death of their uncle; to the family of Gearóid MacCárthaigh and Agnes MacCárthaigh, Cork, who both died in November 1991. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá nanamacha.

DEEPLY, Comhairle Uladh, deeply regrets the passing of Seán Duffy, Dublin and West Cavan, who died on November 28 last. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

DUFFY, The Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin, offers sincere sympathy to the family of Seán Duffy who died on November 28 last. Solas na bhFíneálhas

and Gearóid MacCárthaigh who both died in November 1991. From Cumann Willie Stewart, Dundalk. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh síad.

McKEARNEY, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family of Kevin McKearney, Moy, Co. Tyrone. From MacCurtain/MacSuihne Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Cork.

MAGEE, Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, passed a vote of sympathy with Jim Magee, Annsborough, Co. Down, on the death of his mother. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar an am.

MALLON, Comhairle Uladh offers sincere sympathy to the Mallon family, Newry, Co. Down, on the death of their father. Solas na bhFíneálhas dá anam.

McKEARNEY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Mr and Mrs McKearney, Tommy, Margaret and Angela on the tragic death of their son and brother Kevin. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar an am. From Cathleen and Dermot.

McKEARNEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Kevin McKearney, Moy, Co. Tyrone, murdered by pro-British elements on January 3 last. From CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund). Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

McKEARNEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of the Kevin McKearney, Moy, Co. Tyrone. From Michael Hegarty.

VOTES of sympathy were passed at a recent meeting of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin with the following families, recently

FLANNERY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Michael Flannery on the recent death of his wife Pearl. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá nanamacha. From Michael Kennedy and friends, Republican Sinn Féin, London.

HUTCHINSON, Sympathy is extended by the Patrick Carty Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Bundoran, Co. Donegal, to Vincent Hutchinson and family on the death on November 29, 1991, of Máire, wife and mother. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sí.

HUTCHINSON, Sincere sympathy is extended to Vincent Hutchinson and family, Donegal, on the death of Máire. From Comhairle Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

LARKIN, Sincere sympathy is extended to Breda, and to the family and friends of our comrade Alf Larkin, Cecil Street, Limerick, who died on January 8. From Limerick Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

McCARTHY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Mick McCarthy on the death of his brother Tom McCarthy, Cork. From Cumann MacSuihne/MacCurtain, Cork.

McCARTHAIGH, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Agnes



THE GREAT YAHOOOS

The Yahooos of Leinster House have slunk off to their luxurious lairs, having left the poor to reflect that again they are to become the chief victims of Exchequer spending cuts.

A Yahoo, according to the great Protestant defender of the poor, Dean Swift of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, is a brute in human shape (*Gulliver's Travels*), a coarse person of bestial passions and habits.

Before bolting from their legislative double-speak, in which Deputies vainly tried to reconcile extra expenses to offset their loss of tax-free salary allowances, they made it clear that disabled pensioners and other deprived sections of the social welfare underclasses will pay for over-spending by the Kildare Street profligates through PRSI exactions.

The Budget will reflect the bestial passions of Ministers for attacking the weakest, those least able to bear the brunt of an estimated £600 million shortfall.

Charlie Haughey and company blandly proclaim that it is vital to the health of the economy that the sick and the aged should go short by another £20 million while announcing the acquisition of a £15 million jet to carry Ministers on their begging bowl trips.

This is part of the programme carefully engineered (with the tacit consent of Opposition parties) to conceal the collapse of Kildare Street policies and the decline of the 26 Counties into Third World penury.

The Yahooos are ready to accept Yankee dollars as part of a so-called rescue package in return for turning a blind eye to the imminent abandonment of neutrality.

This will put at risk thousands of Irish lives as the true impact of the incipient military alliance with the Gulf massacre architects is revealed through compulsory complicity in future US and UK imperial adventures, made all too easy by the end of the Soviet empire.

While the Leinster House placemen whimper over their champagne and caviar about the plight of the new poor, and pray that more youngsters will get an economic haven in the States through visa deals, the less fortunate are down and out in London's sleazy centre: its Cardboard City.

The financial jackals go free while an estimated one-third of the English capital's 90,000 homeless, imprisoned in cardboard box beds (and without an address essential for them to secure minimal welfare support) wait vainly for their Irish legislators to boost sagging funds of voluntary exile organisations.

Even the most sanguine Bishops have protested at the contrast between high flying lifestyles of the Kildare Street Mob and the Dickensian squalor in which so many of our abandoned exiles exist.

But complacency is the key to survival of politicians without conscience. Embankment scenes of frosty unconcern for our victims of economic instability made it impossible to

record unemployment, economic emigration, and endemic obedience before the much worshipped god of money.

If there is one deity that is fashionable, it is Mammon. That's why a reliable Whitehall source leaked the fact that the British establishment view is that so-called sectarian killings in the North are at a "highly acceptable level".

The reason is that the fatal casualties of Whitehall-inspired strategies are being achieved, it is reckoned, with an economy of English soldiers' lives. The bolstering of UDR numbers was to make certain that the conflict would be seen in the world's media as an internal struggle between native Irishry.

It is paramount for Whitehall overlordship



● Bolstering the UDR — 250 of its members have been charged since 1970 with crimes ranging from murder to rape.

get one response to the vehemence of the gentry to firebombs in luxury stores close to the Chelsea military intelligence headquarters, and havens for the SAS.

A shivering and hungry youngster from inner city Dublin had other priorities, would you believe.

When Swift suggested to the oppressed Irish of his time that they should burn everything British except their coal, he was damning the cynicism with which this country's leaders watched the destruction of native industry.

Let's not be too beastly to the Yahooos of 1992, but are we not witnessing a repeat performance?

★★★★★★

The Yuppies, Yobs and Yahooos have one common hunger — the greed for riches, their own or someone else's. They also share a monumental indifference to the suffering of this island, and the political fall-out in

of the politically-barren Six Counties that any fighting is perceived as tribal. That is why, Pontius Pilate-like, they wash their hands of responsibility.

That is why the threat of internment has been put on hold. A euphemism for mass imprisonment without trial for one's political beliefs or religious adherences, internment was tried in the early Seventies and failed miserably.

Whitehall regards 100 deaths a year in the North as a reasonable figure, so long as a minuscule proportion only are British troops. Public opinion on both sides of the border has rejected internment as a viable alternative to peace attempts.

Nearly two-thirds of those questioned in a December poll are firmly opposed to internment. Ironically, the twenty per cent who were for it, both North and South, are alleged peace people of the pro-1921 Treaty tradition.

Does anything change?

— DRAPIER II

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF BRITISH INJUSTICE



JUDITH WARD

17 years and eleven months in jail

* * *
GUILDFORD
FOUR
AND
MAGUIRE
SEVEN

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

Imeachtaí

KEVIN COEN
COMMEMORATION
SATURDAY, JANUARY 19
Soeey, Co. Sligo
Assemble after last Mass
outside church and parade
to Soeey Cemetery

PETER McNULTY
20th ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATION
SATURDAY, JANUARY 26
Bryansford, Co. Down
Assemble 10.45am

Speaker:
Mick Hegarty

BLOODY SUNDAY
WREATH-LAYING
CEREMONY
SATURDAY,
FEBRUARY 1
British Embassy
Merrion Road
Dublin
1pm

BLOODY SUNDAY
WREATH-LAYING
CEREMONY
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2
Free Derry Corner
Derry
Assemble
12 noon

WHAT THEY SAID

"The unilateral abandonment of Articles Two and Three would mark a complete victory for and vindication of the unionist position... If the Republic were to renounce its claim to the north, Northern nationalists would simply be abandoned to

their fate. It would give unionists a perfect excuse to refuse to enter into dialogue."

— Editorial, *The Irish News*, Belfast, January 6, responding to former Dublin Justice Minister and Fine Gael MEP Paddy Cooney's call for the scrapping of Articles 2 and 3 of the 26-County 1937 constitution.

"Unionists, like Mr Cooney, believe that nationalist aspirations must be repudiated before discussions can take place... He must be a bigger fool than he looks."
— *The Irish News* editorial again on Paddy Cooney.

"The electorate will be delighted to have an opportunity to display its disdain for its elected representatives."

— "Drapier" column, *The Irish Times*, January 4, on the forthcoming referendum in mid-1992 on the Maastricht proposals for EC political and monetary union.

"Despite being offered numerous opportunities to bring the problem before a world forum and have it peacefully resolved there, successive Irish and British governments have chosen to ignore the violations of human rights and allow

the situation to descend into a state of near civil war which has destroyed the quality of life for all in the Six Counties."

— Paul O'Dwyer, former New York City Commissioner to the United Nations, *The Irish Times*, December 9.

"Our young people respond magnificently to appeals from poorer countries; there is no reason to think they wouldn't answer a call from their own. I believe that when they began to trickle away in the 1980s it wasn't because Ireland was poor — we've always been that — but because they correctly

sensed that their leaders had no vision."
— Declan Kiberd, *Irish Press*, December 31.

"... Particularly appalling in view of the possibility that it might have gone to the paramilitaries."
— Workers' Party TD Pat

McCartan on the £2.5m Waterford bank robbery, *Irish Press*, January 8, 1992.

"Two men jailed this week for their involvement in a sit£13,000 drinks robbery on behalf of the Official IRA had links with the Workers' Party in Belfast, it has emerged."
— *The Irish Times*, news item, January 8, 1992.

SAOIRSE

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