

# SAOIRSE

## IRISH FREEDOM



UIMH. 69 EANÁIR - JANUARY 1993 40p (Britain 45p, USA \$24 per year)

# 390,714

# UNEMPLOYED

THE unemployment totals for the start of 1993 show another increase with 286,000 out of work in the 26 Counties and 104,714 in the Six Counties. The influence of interest rates and exchange rates are set to make 320,000 people unemployed in the South during 1993. See 'Buy Irish & create 40,000 Jobs', page 7.

### BRITISH NOTE SOFTER PROVO LINE

# Loyalist 'ferocity' threat

THE BRITISH-BACKED loyalist death squads announced in a New Year threat that they would "intensify and widen our campaign to a ferocity never imagined" in 1993.

Early in December the British Supremo in the Six Occupied Counties, Sir Patrick Mayhew, identified a softer Provo line of policy, as did Cardinal Cahal Daly. Both said this new development was of course "to be encouraged".

Just as 1992 began with the murderous UUVF attack on the McKearney family in Moy, Co Tyrone which claimed the lives of two members, Kevin and Jack, the beginning of 1993 saw the same loyalist death squad target the Shields family in Lisnagleer, a few miles away. Patrick Shields (51) and his youngest

son Diarmuid (20) were both shot dead in the attack on their isolated home adjoining their grocery and post office. A second son, Davóg, was seriously injured in the back as the UVF tried to wipe out the entire family. Along with the McKearney double killings, the same UVF squad from Portadown was responsible for the murders of Charles and Teresa Fox in Moy on September 6 last year and numerous other attacks in recent years.

On Friday, January 1 two men were shot, one seriously, in Manor Street, North Belfast as they cleaned paint from their cars, which had been daubed the previous night in order to lure people on to the street. The Red Hand Commandos claimed the attack, which happened shortly after 11am. Later that evening shots were fired by loyalists at a taxi-driver's home in nearby Cliftonpark Avenue.

The UDA/UUVF once again targeted a bookies shop in Belfast on New Year's Eve when they attempted to spray bullets on men and women in Seán Graham's betting shop in the Ardoyne area at about 3.30pm. Fortunately the machinegun jammed and the loyalists fled firing wildly as they escaped in a brown Vauxhall Cavalier. Eight nationalists were killed in two similar attacks in Belfast during 1992.

### CERTIFICATES

Following the murder of the Shields former Mid-Ulster MP Bernadette Mc Aliskey said that Catholics should apply en masse for firearms certificates to protect themselves. "The 1920s must not be repeated," she said, "the northern nationalists must not a second time permit themselves to be betrayed and abandoned by the southern state on the one hand and on the other to be terrorised into submission to another empire loyalist parliament". As if to reinforce this point the same day, after Séamus Mallon invited loyalist death squads to meet him, the UDA/UUVF responded by accusing him and the SDLP of acting as a "destabilising agent against every institution of state" and exercising a veto on political progress. The killing of nationalist families is therefore designed to terrorise people into accepting British rule and a return to Stormont.



• Diarmuid Shields

Sir Patrick Mayhew's Coleraine speech on December 16 identified "leading Sinn Féin speakers who voice their wish for a peaceful solution and their desire to follow a constitutional path". Cardinal Cahal Daly said that there were people in the Provisionals who were "sincerely interested in establishing peace".

In its editorial on December 30 the *Irish Times* noted that Gerry Adams acknowledged the significance of Mayhew's speech. It continued: "Mr Adams response referred to the need for a process of consent and for a British policy leading to the end of partition. It is some distance from the traditional and simplistic call of 'Brits Out'. The possibilities of progress are not to be dismissed".

Republican Sinn Féin President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh responded to Mayhew's speech on December 17 saying it only served "to highlight the softening of the Provisional line at Bodentown last June and in other public statements since then."

### RETURN

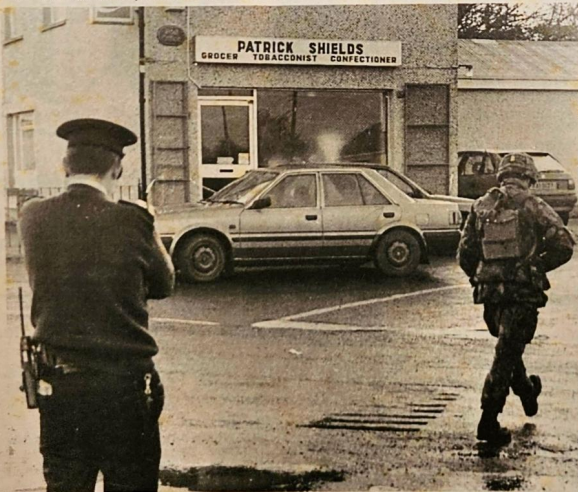
"The British secretary wants a return to what he terms 'normality' - in other words a new Stormont with all its attendant evils protected by an entrenched British presence. Sectarian assassinations took place as early as 1966 and it was against such 'normality' that the nationalist people revolted in 1969. Republican Sinn Féin is adamant that there can be no return to such 'normality' despite what Provisional spokespersons may say."

The British GOC in the Six Counties, Sir John Walsey, in his BBC radio interview *Inside Ulster* on January 5 said that in 1992 "the Garda Síochána had a high level of success against terrorism" and that "there was dissent and uncertainty within terrorist ranks about the way ahead".

### NOT ASHAMED

Wisley also said he was not ashamed about the British army's highest ranking agent in the UDA/UUVF Brian Nelson who was last month transferred to a prison in England and a probable early release. Despite the fact that the British army gave practical assistance to Nelson to assassinate nationalists and to import South African arms into the Six Counties for the ongoing murder campaign against nationalists.

The collusion of the British Crown Forces with loyalist death squads was never clearer. Sir Patrick Mayhew merely displayed his extreme hypocrisy by describing the murder of Patrick and Diarmuid Shields as "a revolting and unspeakable crime" on January 4. His own forces are hand-in-glove with the loyalist death squads who claimed the first innocent victims of 1993. Their joint aim is to bludgeon the nationalist population into passive acceptance of a bogus settlement involving a new Stormont.



• Patrick Shields shop in Lisnagleer, near Dungannon, Co Tyrone where the UUVF shot dead two men on January 30.

## BLIAIN NUA FAOI MHAISE DÁR LÉITHEOIRÍ GO LÉIR

# Nothing But The Same Old Story

THE British government-sponsored Fair Employment Tribunal found four district councils in the Six Counties guilty of religious discrimination in employment during 1992 while another council admitted discrimination, it was revealed on Monday, December 21. The councils concerned were Belfast, North Down, Limavady, Ballymena and Dungannon (who admitted discrimination against a Catholic woman).

In the latest case Belfast City Council was found guilty on December 18 of discriminating against five Catholic job applicants for the job of senior community officer in June 1990. All five are expected to receive financial compensation.

The Tribunal held in its written 35-page judgment that all Catholic candidates were better qualified and educated than the successful Protestant candidate. It said that "in particular, in the face of the very many years' professional experience of many candidates with degrees and professional qualifications and postgraduate achievements it is difficult to comprehend how anyone

might access a child's time in the Brownies (scouts organisation for girls under 12 years of age) deserving of marks. We must look to the interviews for the explanation for the selection of the least qualified and least experienced officer for this senior post."

In the Dungannon Council discrimination case, a Catholic woman received £8,000 and an admission that she was discriminated

against when not being selected for a clerical position. Dungannon Council settled before the Fair Employment Tribunal's (FET) hearing into the case concluded last week.

Last July the FET ruled that two Catholic men were discriminated against by Limavady Borough Council and Ballymena Borough Council when they applied for the respective posts of chief technical services officer and manager of the town's abattoir. In May the Tribunal upheld a similar complaint against North Down Borough Council in relation to selection arrangements for filling the post of deputy administrative officer.

## 11 PER CENT

A British-sponsored Fair Employment Commission report, published on December 1 has shown that Lisburn Borough Council (covering the area just

south of Belfast) employ only 11 per cent Catholics and 89 per cent Protestants in their 295-strong work-force. Of the 111 full-time staff employees only 8 were Catholic (ie 7 per cent).

Lisburn has the second largest population of the 26 district councils in the Six Counties and the number of Catholics in the area has risen by 14 per cent in the past twenty years to make up 28 per cent of the population. This growth in Catholic population is particularly marked in the housing estates of Poleglass and Twinbrook on the outskirts of West Belfast.

In another study, published on December 18, it was revealed that Catholics are under-represented at senior management level in the Northern Health Board, one of four boards controlling health matters in the Six Occupied Counties. Figures revealed by the Board's own equal opportunities unit showed that only 27.3 per cent of the Northern Health Boards' total work-force was Catholic, with 65.2 per cent Protestant. The bias in the ranks of senior management was said to be a "matter of concern".

The *Directory of Discrimination* (published 1991) revealed that in the Northern Health Board only 8.9 per cent of the ambulance staff employed were Catholic while 81.1 per cent were Protestant. Nothing but the same old story . . .

# GEARR-SCEALTA

## Castlereagh prisoner assaulted by RUC

A BRITISH judge in the Six Counties cleared a 35-year-old postgraduate student of 20 charges against him on December 22 after stating that he could not be satisfied that the defendant had not been assaulted while in RUC custody in the notorious Castlereagh interrogation centre outside Belfast. Patrick Leo Nash said that he had been punched, beaten and struck repeatedly on the genitals by RUC interrogators and on admission to prison blood was found in urine samples taken from him. He said he had invented the confessions (the only evidence against him) using information put to him by his interrogators.

The defence claimed during the trial, which began on November 9, that the alleged confessions should not be admitted in evidence because they had been obtained through the use of violence. Patrick Nash, from Coleraine, Co Derry denied the 20 charges brought against him and was found not guilty on all of them by the judge.

## Benn unveils withdrawal plan

BRITISH member of parliament Tony Benn (Labour) re-introduced his Commonwealth of Britain Bill on December 15 last in the British House of Commons. If it became law it would lead to the withdrawal of the British forces of occupation in the Six Counties within a period of two years. The Bill, which is not likely to gain more than the support of about 20 MPs and will therefore not be enacted, makes provision for the withdrawal of all British troops and personnel and the disposal of premises and equipment.



• Sir Patrick Mayhew: more money for oppression in 1993, less for health and housing.

## Britain spends £900 million on Occupation Forces

BRITISH supremo in the Six Counties, Sir Patrick Mayhew, announced the figures for public expenditure in the Six Counties by the British government for 1993-94 on December 8. Included in the figures is a £45 million increase in spending on the British army, RUC, courts and prisons to a total of £900 million or a massive one-eighth of the total budget for the coming year. £26 million extra is being given to the RUC.

At the same time unions involved in healthcare services described as "savage" the cutbacks of £51 million announced in the budget of the Eastern Health Board (which covers the Belfast area) and said it would permanently damage healthcare in the Six Counties. The Eastern Health Board members should "stand up to the (British) government or resign", the unions said. Mayhew also announced a 7.75 per cent increase in rent for tenants in public housing from next April along with cuts of £73 million in the housing budget over the next three years.

<p><b>INTRODUCTION CARD</b></p> <p>MINISTRY OF LABOUR, NORTHERN IRELAND.</p> <p>ALFRED STREET, BELFAST</p> <p>Mr H. G. STEVENSON</p> <p>EMPLOYER'S REPLY</p> <p>Mr H. G. STEVENSON</p>	<p><b>IMPORTANT.</b></p> <p>Refusal of suitable employment is a disqualification for the receipt of Unemployment Benefits</p> <p>In the public interest, therefore, you are asked to state fully why you did not engage the applicant.</p> <p><i>Red pen</i></p> <p>• Discrimination, 1936-style.</p>
--	---

# UDA ATTACKS GAA CLUB FOR ELEVENTH TIME

A UDA/UFF loyalist death squad mounted an attack on the premises of the Glengormley St Enda's GAA club, north of Belfast at 11.30pm on Friday night, December 4, but they were discovered by people leaving the club in a car. The patrons of the club in the car were fired on by the death squad and one woman was grazed on the thigh. More than 50 patrons in the club were attending a quiz night at the time.

they were travelling in was fired on by a lone gunman. One woman was taken to hospital with slight injuries. This incident also happened outside a club on the Highbawn Road.

GAA despite intimidation, harassment and threats by the British Crown Forces.

The convention unanimously backed the Crossmaglen Rangers club in its call for the British government to return the large area of the Crossmaglen playing grounds occupied by British soldiers for many years. Gene Duffy also sympathised with the Killeavy and Naomh Moinne clubs who lost a great nursery for young players when Cloughogue primary school was closed for the purpose of building a British army checkpoint.

## BRITISH HARASSMENT

At the recent annual convention of the County Armagh Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) the re-elected chairman Gene Duffy congratulated members for their dedication and commitment in continuing to promote the

In February 1992 a loyalist death squad tried to firebomb the same clubhouse and destroyed the roof. Since 1972 the club has been targeted by loyalists 11 times, causing the death of one man and injuring dozens. The car used by the attackers was hijacked in the loyalist Rathcoole area.

Also in Glengormley the previous night (December 3) two women survived a murder bid when the car

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

Aim . . . . .  
Seoladh . . . . .

Send to: Oifig EIRE NUA  
41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7  
or contact your local paper seller for details

## Play Your Part!



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

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

# LOYALISTS STRIKE IN BELFAST, BALLYMONEY



• Martin Lavery

NATIONALIST father-of-four was shot dead in the living room of his home in North Belfast Sunday, December 20 as he wrapped Christmas presents with his five-year-old daughter. The UFF loyalist death squad claimed responsibility for the attack which occurred just after 7.30pm. Martin Lavery (40) was holding his daughter Danielle on his lap in their house on the Upper Crumlin Road, just 50 yards from the junction of the loyalist Twaddell Avenue and the nationalist part of the Crumlin Road.

This area is one of the 'hot fields' of North Belfast where hundreds of loyalist nationalists have been assassinated by roaming loyalist death squads in the last 23 years. Martin Lavery's killers were caught up in a blue Ford Transit, sledgehammered

down his back door and walked past his wife Theresa and 16-year-old daughter in the hall and opened fire on him. "I think he must have thrown her (daughter Danielle) to one side because they just walked up to him without hesitating and started fir-

ing," Theresa Lavery said. Her husband died from several bullet wounds to the chest.

Mrs Lavery chased the UFF death squad from the house and threw a flower pot at them, upon which the gang trained the guns on her before jumping into the getaway car, found later in the loyalist Woodvale area of North Belfast. Local people said that the

RUC paramilitary police were not allowed back-up and permission to search a loyalist club in Woodvale to where they had followed a number of people after the shooting. Surgical gloves were reported to have been found in the toilets of this premises.

A UFF claim that Martin Lavery was in the IRA was denied by his family

who said that he was shot because he was a nationalist and an easy target. Fr Kenneth Brady of the Holy Cross Church in the area said that the UFF allegation was "absolutely scurrilous" and had been denied by the RUC themselves who told Theresa Lavery that they knew Martin was not politically involved. Mr Lavery was employed by the Housing Executive in the Six Counties. He was the 88th person to die in the Troubles in the Six Counties in 1992 and the 3,026th since 1969.

## BALLYMONEY

The UDA/UFF loyalist death squad shot 36-year-old Malachy Carey of Rockend Crescent, Corkery, Loughguile, Co Antrim on Saturday, December 12 in Victoria Street, Ballymoney. He died of his injuries the next day, Sunday, December 13, in hospital. Malachy Carey had contested the local elections for Free State Sinn Féin in 1989 and was due to stand again in this year's elections.

On Wednesday, December 16, Archibald Blair (24) of Ballymoney, Co Antrim was charged with his murder. He also became the first person to be charged with membership of the UDA since it was declared 'illegal' by the British on August 11, 1992.

# Faoi Ghlas Ag Gallaibh

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS  
Michael Hegarty, A9999  
C Wing  
HMP Crumlin Road  
Belfast BT14 6AE

Seán Grogan  
Bann House  
HMP Maghaberry  
Co Antrim

Liam Quinn  
HMP Parkhurst  
Isle of Wight  
England

Tommy McKearney  
HMP Maghaberry  
Co Antrim

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

## Imeachtaí

PETER & EAMON McNULTY  
COMMEMORATION  
BRYANSFORD  
CO DOWN



'LET IN THE LIGHT'  
CONFERENCE ON  
CENSORSHIP &  
SECURITY  
JANUARY 14-16  
TRINITY COLLEGE  
DUBLIN

Speakers include Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein



THE STATES WE ARE IN  
CIVIL RIGHTS IN IRELAND, NORTH & SOUTH  
SATURDAY  
JANUARY 30  
TRINITY COLLEGE  
DUBLIN

Contributors include Gareth Pierce, Colm Campbell, representatives from the Beechmount Five, the 'Casement Accused' campaign, Nuala Kelly ICPO, Nicky Kelly, Alan Miller, Margaret Lonergan.

Registration: £5.50 (waged), £2.50 (unwaged) from the conference organisers - Irish Council for Civil Liberties, 4 Seaview Terrace, Dublin 4/Committee on the Administration of Justice, 45-47 Donegall Street, Belfast, BT11 2FG.

NOTICES for inclusion in 'Imeachtaí' should be posted before the end of the calendar month preceding it to SAIRSE, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

## TWO-TIERED JUSTICE

### Branch harassment of Bir. Six man

In contrast to the Nelson County nationalist family County Armagh have had the savage sentences handed out to two members a year which were upheld on appeal on December 22. The judges McDermott and Nicholson agreed with sentences of 22 years to Gregory Carroll and 15 years given to his sister-in-law Ailish for possession of firearms.

ONE of the Birmingham Six, Johnny Walker from Derry, was the victim of Special Branch harassment when he travelled to the South-West during December to support the case of Tralee-based Angelo Fusco who is fighting his extradition by the 26-County administration to the British Occupying Forces in the North.

On Friday night, December 4, Johnny and his companions encountered the Special Branch in Kildimo, Co Limerick. "It was very humiliating. We were leaving the pub and these plainclothes policemen came and shone torches in our eyes. We did not know what was going on. A lot of people saw what was happening. Nothing like this has happened since I was released," the Birmingham Six man said.

### Day-Lewis to star in Guildford Four film

A MAJOR feature film about the Guildford Four will begin production in February 1993, with Oscar-winner Daniel Day-Lewis playing the role of Gerard Conlon, one of the four frame-up victims jailed in 1974 and finally released in 1989. Under the working title *The Conlon Family* the film will be directed by Dubliner Jim Sheridan who also directed *My Left Foot* which brought Oscar success to Day-Lewis and Irish actress Brenda Fricker. The script is said to deal with the period between Conlon's arrest after the Guildford bombings in 1974 and the death in jail of his father Giuseppe in 1980, himself wrongly jailed on bomb-making charges with the Maguire family.

## Amnesty International picket British Embassy in USA

DURING December Amnesty International organised a protest picket at the gates of the British Embassy in Washington to highlight human rights violations in the Six Occupied Counties of Ireland. The picket was the first time Amnesty included Britain in its list of countries' diplomatic missions targeted annually in Washington to mark International Human Rights Day. Other countries on the list include notorious human rights violators such as Uganda, Guatemala, Sudan and China. The picket was joined by Fr Seán McManus of the Irish National Caucus and Congressman Joe Kennedy send a message of support.

## US Congress date for 'Voice of the Innocent'

THE cases of seven West Belfast youths charged with the attempted murder of RUC paramilitary police will be raised at a sub-committee of the United States Congress this month. A New Jersey firm of lawyers will be raising the case at the January meeting of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, according to a letter from the lawyers' group to Kevin Nolan, chairperson of 'Voice of the Innocent', which campaigns for the seven youths - Cianan McAllister (17), Anthony Garland (18), Michael Hugh Beck (19), Hugh McLaughlin (19), James Morgan (20), Stephen McMullan (22), and Danny Pettigrew (17). Kevin Nolan said that all but one of the seven were arrested in the summer of 1991 and the seventh was arrested in April of this year.

# OILSEOFAR SAOL NUA AN MHÍ SEO

SAOL NUA is ainm don Chlár Nua Sóisialta Eacnamaíochta ar ghlas Ard-Fheis Sinn obhlachtach leis i mí na Samhna.

truithe déanta anois gClár seo a fhoilseáil. Ba cheart eadh sé ar fáil le hEireann na míosa ar fad 6

SAOL NUA. Níor cuir-eadh le chéile é ar an mbealach céanna le Clár na goaogadaf agus na seachtóidí. Cuireadh chuige ar bhealach eile ar fad, a léir-

foinn na hathruithe bunúsacha atá ag teastáil agus an cinéal sochaf a d'fhreastáil ar fhíor-riachtanais an duine.

Ní chuirfead SAOL NUA i láthair an phobail ar an seanbhealach ach an oiread. Beidh cuma nuachtáin bhig air, an téacs lomán (8,000 focal) le léaráid

agus dathanna. DEARADH Tá deardh speisialta á dhéanamh don bhfoilseachán seo agus beidh cuma snasta, nua-ainseartha air. De bheis airsin, beidh sé tarraingteach, so-léite agus dúchasach. Tá na pointí seo tábhachtach, nuair a smaoin-

ítear nach é seo an t-ábhar éadroime ar domhan. Agus cóipeanna ar fáil, ba cheart go ndéanfaí scaipeadh agus staidéar leathan ar an gClár seo. Tá nuafocht agus úire agus ionraiceas ag baint leis. Adh móir ar lucht a fhoilsithe.

# A POSITIVE SWISS VOTE

(By a Special Correspondent)

THE people of Switzerland voted on December 6 last to preserve their system of direct participatory democracy, their neutrality, federalism and sovereignty.

They were not voting on the question of joining the EC, but on the issue of joining the proposed European Economic Area (EEA).

Since the late 1950s there have been two major trading blocs in Western Europe. The EC has become much more than a Common Market in recent years and is now well on the way to becoming a supranational state.

The European Free Trade Area, on the other hand, is a much looser free trade body, with each of its members retaining sovereignty in all major respects. The current members of EFTA are Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein (a small state of 30,000 people situated between Austria and Switzerland, and closely linked in a customs union with the latter).

Prolonged negotiations between the EC and EFTA culminated in a decision to establish a free trade area comprising all 19 countries which would have a population of 380 million people.

## HARD BARGAIN

The EC drove a hard bargain. There would be free movement of capital, people and goods and the EFTA countries would have to adapt their laws so as to incorporate in them all of the EC legislation. Furthermore, the EC rejected out of hand an EFTA demand for a right of "co-determination" in framing any new legislation.

The Swiss government advocated the EEA agreement and said that the alternative would be marginalisation and isolation in Europe. Earlier this summer they applied to join the EC as full members, though it was reported that this was a majority cabinet decision, not a unanimous one.

## CANTONS

The Swiss Federal Constitution is such that on an issue of this nature a majority of the electors AND a majority of the cantons must vote for it in order for it to be passed. There are 23 cantons. On December 6, both the people as a whole and 16 cantons said NO.

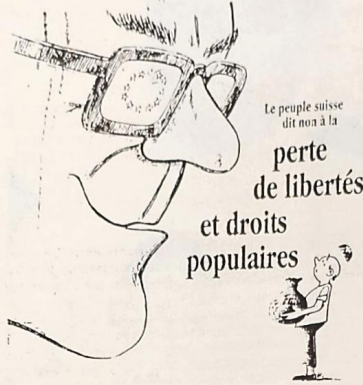
The Swiss majority saw the EEA as a stepping stone to full EC membership. The text of a notice published by the NO campaign's action committee summed up the main points.

"Switzerland is quoted as an example throughout the world. For her openness to the world. For her laws which are inseparable from liberty. For her direct democracy.

"The people of Switzerland are sovereign, the last word belongs to them. They often say NO to what Berne (the federal capital) tries to impose on them.

## BUREAUCRATS

"And now behold. To-



• The Swiss people say No to the loss of liberties and of popular rights.

# NON à l'EEE/CE

day our government would like to deliver these laws into the hands of the bureaucrats of Brussels! Indeed, we could go to the polls, but merely to say YES and AMEN to everything! Due to the primacy of EC law over Swiss law, a NO would be worth nothing.

"Is that not a good reason, while there is still time, to say NO to the EEA and the EC?"

In many cases the state class tried to bully the electorate. In Geneva, the president of Hewlett-Packard wrote to all his employees and said that a NO vote would result in his company pulling out of the country.

Two pro-EC newspapers,

the *Journal de Geneve* and *Le Matin*, published special editions in Geneva and distributed them free in the German-speaking cantons, where the strongest NO votes were registered.

When one government minister went to address a meeting in the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino there was a bomb threat against him. This was unusual for Switzerland.

So, one of the most progressive countries in Europe, with a population of six million people, has decided for now that her sovereignty will remain intact. Jacques Delors and the other bureaucrats talked of the Swiss isolating themselves from Europe.

But the Swiss, like ourselves, have always been a part of Europe and have contributed much to its development.

## ENCOURAGING

The Danish vote against the Maastricht Treaty, the 49 per cent French vote against it and now the double Swiss rejection of even a lesser link-up with the EC, is all very encouraging for those who value democracy.

And will the Swiss survive outside the EC, asked a report in the *Irish Times* after the vote. This 'IN TIMES'S EYE' piece from their own paper of November 18 last gives an idea of their capacity for survival.

## KEEPING TROUT IN THE BATH

Talking of the small subsistence farmer, here from an old diary is one such, struggling under wartime conditions in Switzerland, *anno 1942*. He is master of seven acres. He has a good mix of vegetables and small fruits. Flowering

## Sr Sarah recovering in hospital

SR Sarah Clarke, the Galway-born nun who championed the cases of Irish prisoners in English jails for over 20 years, is recovering in hospital in London after an accident on November 29. Making her way to Mass at Westminster Cathedral she was knocked down crossing the road. Her injuries are extensive but not life-threatening, according to friends, and she will remain in hospital for some time. Messages and get-well cards can be sent to Sr Sarah at King George's Ward, Westminster Hospital, Dean Lisle Street, off Horseferry Road, London SW, England.

# FOR THE RECORD..

WED, NOVEMBER 30: Nationalist taxmen in the Armagh area were told by the RUC of phoned threats from the UVF that one of them would be shot.

TUES, DECEMBER 1: The British-sponsored Fair Employment Commission report, published today, revealed that Lisburn District Council employed only 11 per cent Catholics compared to 89 per cent Protestants in its 295-strong work force.

THURS, DECEMBER 3: The final report by Sir John May into the frame-up of the Maguire Seven called for a new independent tribunal to review miscarriages of justice in Britain.

Two women were fired on while travelling in a car by a loyalist gunman in Glengormley, North Belfast. One of the women was slightly injured.

130 people were laid off at a fish processing plant in Castletownere, Co Cork. FRI, DECEMBER 4: The UDA/UFF loyalist death squad fired on the premises of the Glengormley St Enda's GAA club. One woman was injured.

The number of people unemployed in the 26 Counties rose by 2,200 to 286,000.

SUN, DECEMBER 6: In a referendum Switzerland rejected a proposal to join the European Economic Area.

TUES, DECEMBER 8: Sir Patrick Mayhew, British direct-ruler in the Six Counties, announced a £45 million increase in spending on the British army, RUC, courts and prisons to a total of £900 million.

The Catholic Bishops issued a pastoral



• Gerard Maginn (17) Springfield Road, Belfast, shot dead on November 3, 1991 in a stationery stolen car by the RUC, who opened fire without warning. On December 13, 1992 the DPP announced that no prosecution would be taken against the RUC members involved.

entitled "Work Is The Key" which said that "the unsatisfied hunger for jobs" was a grave evil and that outside forces could not be blamed for the unemployment crisis.

WED./THURS, DECEMBER 9 - 10: Incendiary bombs were planted by the UDA/UFF loyalist death squad in Dublin city, Dundalk, Co Louth, Buncrana and Moville, Co Donegal. The UDA/UFF said it had planted firebombs in many other towns and said that sheer bad luck had prevented them bringing a "fiery

Christmas" to the 26 Counties and "you will not be so lucky in 1993".

THURS./FRI, DECEMBER 10 - 11: Fires which swept through Duncree Industrial Estate in East Belfast and which gutted, amongst others, the premises of a Dublin-based firm, were thought to be the work of loyalists.

25-year-old Peter Feeney became the third homeless person to be found dead while sleeping rough in Dublin in recent weeks. He was discovered in the grounds of Grangeorman Hospital.

SUN, DECEMBER 13: A rocket attack on Belfast's Crumlin Road jail by the so-called Combined Loyalist Military Command was launched from a nearby street. It was intended to kill Republican prisoners in a dining hall in the prison but hit a wall and nobody was injured.

Malachy Carey (36) of Rockend Crescent, Corkey, Loughguale, Co Antrim, died of injuries inflicted the previous day in Victoria Street, Ballymoney by the recently-outlawed UDA.

The Six-County DPP announced that no member of the British Occupation Forces would be prosecuted in the case shot dead by the British army over a year ago.

WED, DECEMBER 16: The RUC fired on a car at a checkpoint in Lurgan, Co Armagh.

Gary Archibald Blair (25) of Ballymoney, Co Antrim was charged with the murder of Malachy Carey on December 13. He was also the first person to be charged with membership of the UDA.

FRI, DECEMBER 18: The number of unemployed in the Six Counties is 104,714.

159 workers at PCV in Clones, Co Monaghan staged a sit-in at the plant after it closed unexpectedly.

SUN, DECEMBER 20: Martin Lavery (40) was shot dead at his home on the

Crumlin Road, Belfast by the UVF.

MON, DECEMBER 1: The British-sponsored Fair Employment Commission found five district councils in the Six Counties guilty of religious discrimination during 1992 - Belfast, North Down, Limavady, Ballymena and Dungannon.

TUES, DECEMBER 22: 98 workers were made redundant in Co Galway with 60 workers losing their jobs at Telemara in Carraroe, Co Manara and 38 at Top Quarries in Ballinasloe.

THURS, DECEMBER 24: Up to 20 people escaped injury when a machine-gunned jammed as the UFF loyalist death squad tried to spray customers in Sean Graham's betting shop in Ardoyne, Belfast with gunfire.

FRI, JANUARY 1: The loyalist death squad, the Red Hand Commandos shot and injured two men in Manor Street, North Belfast as they cleaned loyalist graffiti off their cars.

More than 50 people lost their jobs when Cavan Fabrics Ltd of Cavan town closed.

## Easter Lily Fines

TWO members of the Pádraig Mac Piarais Republican Sinn Féin, Kerry, Maurice Smith and Eugene O'Sullivan, were each fined £80 in court recently for selling Easter Lilies.

## AGM

AT the annual general meeting of the Pádraig Pearse Cumann, Victoria, Australia the following officer bearers were elected: President, Les Lambert; Secretary, Cáit Butler; Treasurer, John Caney; POW officer, Bridgid Lambert.

# TORY INTERFERENCE IN US ELECTION

US President-elect Clinton snubbed the British Prime Minister by refusing to meet him when he travelled to Washington in December. Instead he said on Sunday, December 6, that he would meet Major after the inauguration in January and that he was too busy assembling his administration to do so sooner.

This follows revelations of British Home Office and Conservative party involvement in tawling through confidential immigration during the closing stages of the presidential campaign to check whether Bill Clinton had applied for British citizenship in order to dodge the draft. Clinton was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, England during the late 1960s.

British Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke admitted in the British House of Commons on Monday, December 7, that Home Office officials gave detailed briefings to their US Republican party counterparts and some of the ads for George Bush were closely based upon Tory party broadcasts in the 1991 British General Election.

The British embassy in Washington also sent a letter to the US state department last August, the contents of which have now emerged, which was highly critical of the way American courts handled



• **Bill Clinton**  
extradition cases concerning Irish citizens. The letter details the case of Kevin Barry Artt and Jimmy Smyth, both Long Kesh escapees, and was sent by embassy Chargé d'Affaires Christopher Meyer to the Undersecretary for Political

up the Affairs of Irish rights. This in the US that Britain is placing undue pressure on the American justice department in cases involving Irish people wanted by the British authorities on political charges.

## SURFACED

The row surfaced as Jimmy Smyth, whom Britain wants extradited, returned voluntarily to a San Francisco jail after his bail had been revoked by the court. He is to make a direct appeal to President-elect Clinton on his case.

In a related move President-elect Clinton has despatched the No 2 man in the US embassy in London on a fact-finding mission



• **John Major**  
to the Six Counties to study the British government's fair employment record. Top diplomat Timothy Deal arrived in the Six Counties on December 7 and has visited workplaces and met politicians and officials from the British government-sponsored Fair Employment Commission.

He discussed the MacBride Principles with those he met and is understood to be drafting a report for Bill Clinton. Oliver Kearney, honorary secretary of the EQUALITY group which promotes the MacBride Principles in the Six Occupied Counties, said on December 8 that he was anticipating a US policy shift and he described Timothy Deal's visit as "significant".

In an editorial on December 9 *The Irish News* in Belfast said that "it seems clear that Mr Clinton is determined to make up his own mind on the Irish question... he is not too busy to be taking a keen interest in the problems of Northern Ireland (sic) and commissioning a report on them".

## CORK HONOURS NATIVE SONS

"BOTH Daithí O Conaill and Gearóid Mac Carthaigh were natives of Cork city and Republican activists in the great tradition of their place of birth and upbringing," said Ruairí O Brádaigh, president of Republican Sinn Féin at the unveiling of memorial plaques in their honour at the Republican Plot, St Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork on Saturday, December 12. Both men died in 1991, Daithí on New Year's Day and Gearóid on November 26.

A very large crowd of people attended the unveiling, which took place on the 36th anniversary of the start of the 1956 Resistance Campaign against British Occupation Forces in the Six Counties in which both men played prominent parts.

Assembling at the Cork Regional Hospital Roundabout at 2pm the parade, led by a three-man colour party and three pipers, also included uniformed members of Cumann na mBan, Cumann na nGall and Fianna Éireann. At the Republican Plot Donal



• **Daithí O Conaill**

Varian, Cathaoirleach, called on Fr Higgins to recite the plaques and recite a decade of the Rosary as Gaelige.

Alfie Lane then unveiled the plaque to Daithí O Conaill located in front of the main monument and laid a wreath. Kitty O'Brien unveiled the second plaque to Gearóid Mac Carthaigh and also laid a wreath. Deirdre O



• **Gearóid Mac Carthaigh**

Conaill, Daithí's widow, then laid a wreath on behalf of the O Conaill family.

Wreaths were also laid by Veteran Republican Michael McCarthy on behalf of the Republican Movement, by Richard Behal on behalf of the Active Service Units 1956-62 and by Una McCarthy on behalf of the McCarthy family. Buglers Pádraig Varian and Diarmuid Murphy sounded the Last Post and Reveille.

In his oration Ruairí O Brádaigh said: "In 1969 Daithí O Conaill grasped the power of the moment for successful revolutionary action towards a new and better Ireland free of British control. His was the creative mind behind the EIRE NUA programme which marked the most original thinking on the national question since the establishment of the First (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann in 1919.

## FALL OF STORMONT

"This was testified to when *Cork Examiner* reporter Val Hogan interviewed him after the fall of Stormont and before the first Bilateral Truce with the British in 1972. This in-depth interview was given front-page banner headlines by the Cork-based daily paper in its

report. "Gearóid Mac Carthaigh spanned the generations between the late 1930s and the early 1990s in his service to Ireland. He too gave of his best at leadership level in both Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Army at various periods.

"He was a prisoner in the Curragh Camp in the 1940s and '50s and took part in several hunger-strikes in Portlaoise jail in the 1970s. But his greatest contribution was in helping to build the shattered Republican Movement between 1946 and 1956."

The ceremony ended with the pipers playing the National Anthem. Refreshments were provided by the organisers, Cois Ceimhneacháin Daithí O Conaill agus Gearóid Mac Carthaigh.

## DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL COMMEMORATION

REPUBLICANS from Dublin, Donegal, Wexford, Louth, Monaghan, Roscommon, Galway and Leitrim attended the 2nd Anniversary of the death of Daithí O Conaill, Leas-Uachtarán, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin on New Year's Day, January 1.

On a cold Winter's morning the assembled crowd, led by National Flag bearer, Declan Curneen, Ard Chomhairle, marched in formation from the main gates to the Republican Plot where Daithí O Conaill is buried. An t-Uachtarán, Ruairí O Brádaigh was present as was Deirdre O Conaill and other members of the family, and Rosemary Doran, sister of Richard Goss along with her husband Tom.

The chairperson, Peter Cunningham, Dublin Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach opened the ceremonies by calling for a minute's silence for all who had died in the cause of Irish freedom. Wreaths were laid by Cathleen Knowles, Ard Rúnaí, on behalf of the Republican Movement, by John

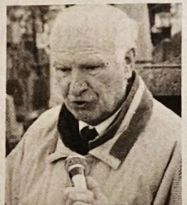
Gilraine on behalf of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Baile Atha Cliath and by Deirdre O Conaill on behalf of the family.

## LAMENT

Domhnall O Lúbhlaí recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaelige and Seán O Sé, Dublin played a lament on the tin whistle. This was followed by a moving and heartfelt oration by Séamus Mac Suain, Loch Garman, a comrade of Daithí's.

Referring to the 1977 hunger-strike undertaken in Portlaoise jail for 47 days in protest against the inhumane conditions by 20 Republican prisoners, including both Daithí and Séamus Mac Suain, he said:

"I can recall no greater



• **Séamus Mac Suain**

example of his integrity and humanity than during and after the hunger-strike. Although he had lost over four stone and was confined to a wheelchair, Daithí, together with Kevin Mallon, visited every man of the twenty hunger-strikers, scattered over three wards in the Curragh Military Hospital, to discuss the terms on offer for calling the hunger-strike off. The more exposed he was to suffering and distress, the more he seemed able to endure.

## PRICE

"But the price of his

unwavering patriotism and unremitting labour for Ireland was high. The many generous sacrifices he made shortened his life. He died for Ireland as surely as did any of our heroic dead whether on the scaff-

old, before the firing squad, on active service or on hunger-strike, or fell a victim to either a Brit or Free State murder gang."

A young bugler then played the Last Post and

Reveille as the Flag was dipped. The ceremonies concluded with the bugler playing Amhrán na bhFiann, the chairperson having thanked all those who had travelled to the commemoration.



• **Republicans gathered at the graveside of Daithí O Conaill in the Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.**

SAOIRSE reported in its March 'Cloping the West Together' seminars in West of Ireland which were initiated at a way in November 1991 and sponsored by the 'Dev-Catholic Bishops Conference'. Ten meetings attended thousands of people were subsequently held in Tuam, Ballaghaderreen, Sligo, Ballina, Loughrea and other locations through 1992.

The DTWT seminars promoted regional autonomy and development - including the idea of a parliament for Connacht situated in Tuam - and the whole idea of decentralisation that has for 20 years been promoted by Republicans in the EIRE NUA policy.

It is interesting to note also that the Catholic Bishops pastoral 'Work is the Key' published on December 9, 1992 similarly favoured decentralisation, local enterprise and regional development amongst its proposals for job creation.

The publication this month of Republican Sinn Féin's new social and economic programme, SAOL NUA therefore represents

a timely and credible alternative to the failed economic system which has devastated Ireland north and south for the past decades. Nowhere have the results of this mass unemployment, mass emigration and mass deprivation been more starkly evident than in the West of Ireland (see SAOIRSE, December 1992).

At the end of 1992 Developing the West Together published its first interim report entitled *Economic and Social Situation of the West of Ireland* which covers the five counties of Connacht - Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, Roscommon - and Donegal. It represents a picture of where the West is today

# SOUNDING THE ALARM FOR THE WEST OF IRELAND

under various headings.

## DEMOGRAPHY

The report finds that the population of the West continues its long-term decline with outmigration of the young, low birth rates, a predominance of

older people, often single, living on small farms. Population growth has occurred in Galway County Borough, in Co Donegal and in rural areas close to the growing urban centres. Rural areas in Central and East Connacht (Leitrim, South Sligo, North

Roscommon, East Mayo and Northeast Galway) are "seriously at risk demographically".

## LABOUR MARKET

One in six of the workforce is unemployed and the numbers at work are below those of the rest of the 26 Counties. Men

A lawyers' association in New York has asked the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation to examine "the case of Northern Ireland" as a non-self-governing territory under the United Nations Charter. The Brehon Law Society of New York which has made the request, represents several hundred Irish-American lawyers and judges and is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) registered at the UN.

Brehon Law Society spokesperson and human rights lawyer Paul O'Dwyer (a native of Co Mayo) in his letter to the UN said that the question has increasingly been raised as to why the United Nations has never attempted to mediate or control this conflict, "which has threatened international peace and security not only in all parts of Ireland, but in Britain and Europe as well.

"Our society believes that the time has come for the United Nations to address this long bloody struggle - a conflict which has cost over 3,000 lives and nearly 10 times as many wounded in a relatively tiny geographical area with a population of less than two million persons".

## HILLERY

Paul O'Dwyer's letter to the UN, carried in part in *The Irish Times* (January 4, 1993), also quoted from Paddy Hillery's address (as Dublin's Minister for External Affairs) to the Security Council in August 1969. Hillery's analysis is a long way from the political line adopted by Dublin in the 'Anglo-Irish Agreement' of 1985 and since then. Of course the Dublin administration in 1969 backed down from any attempt to back their words with actions.

Speaking as British troops were being deployed once again on the streets of the Six Counties Hillery told the United Nations: "Ireland was divided as a result of the Act of the British Parliament in 1920, for which not one Irish vote, either North or South, was cast and which explicitly contemplated the re-union of Ireland.

"The presence of foreign - British - force in Ireland (Hillery said) and the intransigence of the Northern unionists remain the two elements in the division of Ireland. The Irish government believes and has never failed to reiterate that the only lasting settlement to the recurring cycle of discrimination, bitterness, violence and reprisal is the reunification of our country."

• The UN General Assembly in session.

## UN COMMITTEE ASKED TO INTERVENE



• The UN General Assembly in session.

## COMÓRADH EOGHAIN UÍ GHRAMHNA

CUIREADH tús le Bliain na Gaeilge - bunaíodh Conradh na Gaeilge céad bliain ó shoin - le comóradh an Athar Eoghain Uí Ghramhna ag a uaign gar do Choláiste Phádraig, Má Nuat lá cinn-bhlíana 1993.

Duine de mhór-cheannróidithe aithbhécaint na Gaeilge a b'ea an t-Athair Ó Gramhna a d'éag i gCalifornia i 1899. Coiste Dúiche na Mí de Chonradh na Gaeilge a d'eagraigh an ócaid.

Seán Mac Stíofáin a bhí mar chathaoirleach thar cheann an Choiste Dúiche. Lámh le h-Ath Buí i gCo. na Mí a rugadh Eoghain Ó Gramhna i 1863 agus bhí sé mar Ollamh le Gaeilge i Má Nuat 1891-94 gur bhris ar a shláinte.

Proinsias Mac Aonghusa,

Uachtarán an Chonartha, a thug an oráid uaidh agus bhí trí scór daoine i láthair. Bhí Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán agus Tom Curran, Comhairle Ceantair na Gaillimhe ann thar cheann Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Dúirt an t-Uasal Mac Aonghusa nach raibh fhios ag Ó Gramhna an Ghaeilge a bheith ann chor ar bith go raibh sé 14 bliain d'aois. Tháinig sé ar leabhar Ghaeilge i dteach chomharsan gar do h-Ath Buí agus chuir sé chuige



• Eoghain Ó Gramhna

## 1893 - Bliain na Gaeilge - 1993

raibh sé sásta le dul chun cinn na Gaeilge sin ó 1935. Dá mbéadh gach aon duine i láthair inam duine amháin eile a chur ag labhairt Ghaeilge i 1993, b'fhain céim chun tosaigh, ar sé.

## CLIÚ AGUS CÁIL

D'fhoilsigh sé gramadach Ghaeilge agus téacs-leabhair eile. Bhí cliú agus cáil air as *Simple Lessons in Irish* a scríobh agus dúradh "his publication was probably the greatest individual service rendered to the Irish language movement."

Bhí sé thar sáile san Albain ar Iúil 31, 1893 nuair a bunaíodh an Conradh. Murach sin, is cinnte go mbeadh sé ag an gcéad chruinniú sin. Bhuail an eittinn é i 1894 agus béig-in dó dul go Los Angeles, áit a bhfuair sé bás in aois a 36.

In 1903 tugadh a chorp abhaile agus bhí socráid mhór ann. Tá a chuimhne beo go fóill agus mar ionspiorad ag lucht na Gaeilge, a dúirt sé.

Labhair Pádraic Mac Donncha thar cheann mhuintir Ráth Cairn. Ní

raibh sé sásta le dul chun cinn na Gaeilge sin ó 1935. Dá mbéadh gach aon duine i láthair inam duine amháin eile a chur ag labhairt Ghaeilge i 1993, b'fhain céim chun tosaigh, ar sé.

Dúirt Sagart Paróiste Atha Buí deichniúr den Phaidrín. Leag Antoine Ó Dúinshléibhe, cathaoirleach an Choiste Dúiche bláth-fhleasc ar an uaign. Bronnadh cóip den Bhíobla Naofa as Ghaeilge ar an Athair Pádraig Ó Cuill, Proinsiasach in Ráth Eanna, Baile Atha Cliath. Cainteoir dúchais as Múscraí Uí Fhloinn i gCo. Chorcaí is ea é.

Ar na daoine a bhí i láthair bhí Donhnaill Ó Lúbhlaif, Nollaig Ó Gadhra, Pádraic Ó Snodaigh, iar-Uachtarán an Chonartha, Tomás de Bhaldrath, Tomás Mac Ruairí agus mór-slua as Ráth Cairn agus Co na Mí i gcoitinne.

Ba mhaith an tús é ar Bhlíain na Gaeilge.

working are almost evenly divided between agriculture, industry and services while three quarters of women are involved in the service sector.

Small towns were found to be over-dependent on the provision of services to their hinterland, placing them at risk if the population continues to decline in rural areas. Non-market services, often directly dependent on the Dublin government, make up a full 20 per cent of the jobs in the West.

The report reveals that 13,000 men and 2,500 women in the West run their own businesses, "a considerable pool of potential entrepreneurial talent". The detection of job creation programmes by the Dublin administration was found by the DTWT seminars to be heavily skewed in favour of large enterprises, thus ignoring the huge potential for the indigenous self-employed to become employees.

**AGRICULTURE**

In agriculture two-thirds of the land is marginal with a low percentage of land in tillage, hay or pasture. Dairy herds have declined by 42 per cent in the years 1980-87 while sheep numbers have increased to such an extent that they have exceeded the vegetation capacity on the Western hills. Poultry numbers

have almost halved in the 1980s and there is little horticulture or farmyard enterprises.

Eighty per cent of holdings are less than 50 acres and three-quarters of farms are part-time. There is a critical dependence by small-scale producers on CAP compensation by way of headage and premium payments for declining product prices. With nearly half of farmers earning less than £2,500 per annum from farming the importance of non-farming employment used in the report.

The West has over 3,000 people employed in fishing and processing and two-thirds of the total fish catch in the 26 Counties in 1989 came into ports in Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Donegal. The value of the catch however amounted to only 41 per cent of the total.

With 16 per cent of EC waters out quota is only 9 per cent of the total EC catch, and lack of proper equipment means only 5 per cent of the total catch is landed. The plan by the EC to reduce the 26-County fishing fleet from 53,000 tonnes to 35,000 tonnes would have a profound effect on the West if it were pushed through by Brussels.

**MANUFACTURING**  
Almost 50 per cent of employ-



• Part of the attendance at the DTWT seminar in Ballaghadereen in February 1992.

ment in this sector is in 120 subsidiaries of overseas multinationals with four-fifths of the average earnings in the 26 Counties as a whole. Only one job in five lost in agriculture between 1966 and 1986 (a total of 65,000 jobs lost) was made up for in manufacturing between 1966 and 1986.

**INNOVATION**

"Bottom up" involvement and planning has led to many locally-

based enterprises in recent years, whether community based, supported by local authorities and the third level institutions, or private enterprises. Examples of the latter are given: Rowear Ltd and Killala Precision Components (Mayo); Ballyleague Community Cooperative Society (Roscommon) and the Connacht and Court Group (Galway).

On the negative side the tax system and the cost of capital were identified as inhibiting factors in the setting up and

survival of small business, as were planning problems and the costs of ESB connections.

After providing this account of the present situation in the West of Ireland, DTWT hopes to produce further studies relating the organisation of development in the area. The enthusiasm created for the task so far hopefully can be translated into real change for the people at local level. If they are convinced of their own potential then surely anything is possible.

# BUY IRISH AND CREATE 40,000 JOBS

AT the Annual General Meeting of Comhairle Uladh (representing the nine counties of Ulster) Republican Sinn Féin held in Cotehill, Co Cavan recently and attended by the organisation's President, Ruairi O Bradaigh a call was made for fundamental change in the running of the Irish economy, north and south. A statement issued at the meeting said:

"Now that the 26-County elections are over it is beyond all doubt that the two partition states are failed entities. With unemployment figures north and south rapidly and inevitably approaching a total of half-a-million, the politicians are engaged in a cynical attempt to disguise these dreadful figures

and so escape from blame in that regard.

"The appalling politicians' debt of £28 billion south of the Border, misused and misspent since 1972, coupled with the total bankruptcy of the northern economy, gives no hope that these states will provide

a living for the Irish people or ever be viable.

**SPECULATION**

"With punitively high mortgage rates and interest rates weighing down upon the people, causing untold hardship with foreclosures reaching alarming proportions the 'constitutional' politicians in the partition states have done nothing to confront the banks in their currency speculation and sabotage of the punt.

"The recent election results in the 26 Counties will solve nothing as decision-making becomes

more and more remote from local communities - at GATT, Maastricht, the 'G7', Brussels, the IMF and other world capitalist institutions. Rather than changing the personnel which operate the existing system, the necessity is for fundamental change to redirect the economy towards community, the environment and a sustainable future. Republican Sinn Féin advocates such a course but does not underestimate the task involved.

"We call on the people of All-Ireland to join with Republican Sinn Féin in building a new Ireland that would be socially and economically honest with its people.

**BUY IRISH**

"We ask the Irish people to consciously decide to buy Irish-made products. Only by buying Irish can we do something constructive in helping our economy fight against external competition. Such a policy could immediately produce 30-40,000 new jobs in Ireland. Republican

Sinn Féin is the only organisation which can make such a call since we are the only organisation which is not constrained by EC legislation which tie the hands of Dublin and Six-County Politicians.

"We in Republican Sinn Féin support developments towards community control of banking and worker/producer-owned co-operatives in local areas which is in line with our EIRE NUA policy of decentralisation and decision-making and is the only viable alternative to the bankrupt situation that prevails. Better that the community has control over the interest rates and banking than the high-flying financiers who are sabotaging our economy and inflating high interest rates upon our people.

"In conclusion we ask the Irish people to join with us in building the new Ireland and to read our policy documents EIRE NUA and SAOL NUA, our new social and economic programme," the statement said.

## COURT ORDERS RTE TO RELAX CENSORSHIP

DUBLIN High Court Justice Rory O'Hanlon ordered RTE on December 19 last to change its staff guidelines which imposes a blanket ban on members of Republican Sinn Féin, Free State Sinn Féin and other groups. The judge repeated his previous judgement of July 1992 that the blanket ban under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act was "bad, null and void".

RTE did not relax the guidelines to its own staff however, and appealed to the Dublin Supreme Court against the lower court ruling. Again on December 19 RTE went to the Supreme Court for a stay on the High Court order and on Monday, December 21 the station was allowed continue its ban until March 1993 when the full appeal will be heard in the Supreme Court.

In a statement Republican Sinn Féin President Ruairi O Brádaigh said that RTE has continued to engage in self-censorship in

defiance of the High Court ruling, saying that the station should instead be asserting the freedom of the media.

**BOWS**

"RTE management apparently bows to the dictates of its political masters at every juncture in this sorry story of political censorship, while RTE journalists - with certain honourable exceptions - flout the policy of the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in this regard", he said. He added that certain local radio

stations in the 26 Counties had acted on the High Court ruling last July and broadcast interviews

with Republican Sinn Féin local elected representatives on local issues in their areas (see panel).

• A two-day conference on censorship and secrecy is being held in Dublin on January 15-16, sponsored by the trade union

movement, including the NUJ and SIPTU. For details see *Imeachtaí* page 3

SINN Féin Poblachtach Councillor Sean Lynch was again interviewed on Shannonside local radio on November 30. This time it was on the Frankie Kilbride Show and the subject was the local Colmcille Senior GAA Football team.

In the course of a visit to the North Longford parish of Colmcille Frankie Kilbride interviewed Sean Lynch in the local community centre for five to seven minutes.

The occasion was the celebration of the veterans of the Colmcille team which won the County championship in 1952.

In the course of his interview, Councillor Lynch expressed disappointment that the Colmcille team had not won the championship since 1971 when the Sean Connolly Memorial Cup was first presented as a trophy to the winners each year.

Sean Connolly was captain of the Clonbrooney senior team which won the county championship in 1917. Four years later as Brigadier Connolly he was killed in action at Selton Hill, Co Leitrim by British Forces. His local team was then named in his honour.

Sean Lynch was first interviewed on Shannonside in October about the deplorable condition of the roads in North Longford.



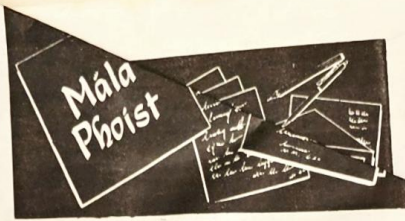
• Cllr. Sean Lynch

# Politicians In the Hands of The Financiers

A chara,  
We read of statements made by a spokesperson for a political party on job creation that emigration was a "human intervention system". Well the system responsible for emigration is inhuman. It denies the individual the right to live and earn a livelihood in his own land. The spokesperson went on to say that those who take financial risks in providing money for jobs should be better rewarded financially.

Such people are the root cause of all the problems. Money is now bought and sold as a commodity. This was never intended, its real use is as a go between, like the cup that conveys the tea to the mouth.

The great James Connolly wrote: "If you remove the English soldiers and hoist the Green Flag over Dublin, it would not constitute freedom - you could still be exploited by the financiers, the landlords and a whole array of financial institutions planted in this country". James Connolly believed in social justice - you did not have socialism in Russia, it was state capitalism - a tyrannical sys-



• James Connolly - Labour ignores his teachings.

tem run by the state machine.

There are only two systems - capitalism and socialism. There is a lot of bad in capitalism and a little good and the same goes for socialism. We must strike a balance. Man is not perfect. There is no such thing as a perfect social system. The aim must be the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers. The progress of science and modern invention made it possible

to eliminate drudgery and produce wealth and food to feed mankind.

But the greed of the few under the system gives power to amass wealth, bringing strife and misery to mankind. All because the people have no say over their lives. In our system of 'democracy' the people you vote for have no say under the system, they must vote as ordered by the political hierarchy at the top who are in the

hands of the financiers.

If you want to create jobs and put our young people to work you must change the system. The people must have a say over their own lives at local level. All financial institutions and land speculation must come under allowed control. No than an econoshould be land, a family farmmore would produce food for the people. Today we have beef and milk powder mountains going rotten while millions die of hunger. Every £4 out of £5 bought in our shops are imported goods.

All financial institutions must come under state control. The Labour Party and unions have turned their back on James Connolly's teaching. The unions sit down with the employers to find ways and means to tax the working people, to give them greater profit to invest abroad. Billions are exported out of the 26 Counties each year. Money that should be invested at home to give a decent livelihood to our young people. It is useless to be talking about job creation or eliminating poverty under the present system.

The people must change and change the present system. A system that robs the poor that the rich might prosper.

MARTIN CALLIGAN  
Sinn Féin Poblachtach  
Kilmurry McMahon  
Co Clare

# Champion Of the Small Farmers Recalled

A chara,  
Reading about the indomitable Fr Michael O'Riagan in 'Saoirse' recently brought to mind a John Fahy of his, Fr native of Lough (1869), a County Galway.

Fr Fahy will best be remembered as a champion of the small farming community in the West of Ireland. In the 1920s he was prominent in the 'Land for the People' movement and helped to physically resist the bailiffs. He penned the following catechism:-

How did England establish a claim to the land of Ireland?  
By robbery.

What is rent?

Rent is a tribute of slavery enforced by the arms of the robber landlord.

What is a landlord?  
A landlord is a descendant of a landrobber.

What is a bailiff?

A bailiff is a landrobber's assistant.

What should be done with a bailiff? ... with a landlord?

- An Phoblacht, February 11, 1928.

During the period 1920-21 Fr Fahy served at St Andrew's Cathedral in

SAOIRSE - Eanáir/January 1993  
Dundee, Scotland. There was a famous Dundee story about an incident while he was there. A number of soldiers from the Black Watch, Irishmen by birth, came to him for Mass. However, along with the Mass he gave them a severe lecture, telling them they should be ashamed of themselves for serving in the British army, adding they should be patriotic Irishmen and go home to fight for Ireland. Apparently one of the soldiers reported the incident and Fr Fahy was carpeted.

While in Dundee he never ceased to protest against the hardships of the workers and was prominent in the ranks of the Scottish Nationalists. Perhaps some of your readers can shed more light on this courageous Irishman.

STEPHEN COYLE  
Glasgow

# POW'S Thanks

A chara  
I send my best wishes and thanks to your readers and supporters during this holiday season. Your letters of support have been an unending source of encouragement to me.

I have enclosed a photo of myself wearing my Saoirse/Eire Nua shirt.

Wishing you much success in the year to come.

BRIAN J FLEMING  
08022-002  
Box PMB  
Atlanta, Georgia, USA

# Clareman's jailing slammed at Sabhat ceremony

THE National Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, Des Long, has hit out strongly at the continued imprisonment of a Clareman in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast.

Speaking at the 35th Annual Seán Sabhat commemoration in Limerick city on Sunday, January 3, Des Long stated "Michael Hegarty's continued detention has no basis in law. He is in effect being 'interned by remand'. The British authorities are con-



• Séamus Leonard delivering the oration at the Seán Sabhat Commemoration.

# Lubicons in line for human rights award

THE Austrian Society for Endangered Peoples has nominated the Lubicon Lake Indian Nation and Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak for the prestigious Bruno Kreisky Human Rights Award.

Such recognition of the Lubicon people and Chief Ominayak is not only well deserved but would help to address the frightful odds faced by the Lubicon people in their continuing up-hill struggle to achieve respect for their human rights and the human rights of indigenous people everywhere.

Letters supporting the Lubicon nomination have been requested and should mention the courageous struggle of this small indigenous society to survive

the well-documented efforts of the Canadian government and dozens of multi-national resource exploitation companies to steal indigenous lands and resources.

The international recognition which the Lubicon people have achieved is evidenced by the conclusions of such respected international bodies as the World Council of Churches (which charged possible genocidal consequences) and the UN Human Rights Committee (which found



that the Lubicons couldn't achieve effective legal or political redress within Canada).

Also, the widely recognised and respected role of the Lubicons and particularly Lubicon Chief Ominayak in the international struggle to achieve respect for the human rights of indigenous peoples everywhere, and the great poignancy of giving the prestigious Bruno Kreisky Human Rights Award to

an indigenous people in the International Year of Indigenous People, should be mentioned.

Letters supporting the Lubicon nomination should be sent as soon as possible to: Bruno Kreisky Henschenschrechtsstiftung, Attn. Director Alfred Stroer, Wienzeile 97, A-1050 Vienna, Austria. Telephone: 001-43-222-545-12-14, FAX: 001-43-222-545-30-97.

ment to keep him in prison for the foreseeable future by refusing to fix a trial date. Michael Hegarty's arrest and continued imprisonment is a blow deliberately aimed and struck at SAOIRSE, the Republican Sinn Féin newspaper, for whom he was working as circulation manager at the time of his arrest.

"His only 'crime' was to attempt to gather information for a newspaper article to expose the activities of loyalist murder gangs in County Armagh."

Michael Hegarty is a former Clare county hurler and is well known in Clare GAA and trade union circles.

The annual commemor-

ation, led by a piper and Republican colour party carrying the National and Provincial flags, marched from its traditional starting point in Bedford Row, Limerick, to the Republican Plot, Mount St Lawrence's Cemetery. Here wreaths were laid on behalf of the Munster and National Republican Movement.

The crowd was addressed by Des Long and the oration was given by Séamus Leonard, a prominent member of Republican Sinn Féin from Co Fermanagh. This is the 35th commemoration to be held under the auspices of Coiste Cuimhneacháin Seán Sabhat.



• Chief Bernard Ominayak

# LÉIRMHEAS

## A DEDICATED LIFE

Maurice O'Neill 1917-1942, The Maurice O'Neill Commemoration Committee (available from Irish Freedom Press, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7) £2 plus p+p.

AT the age of 25 years the Free State ended Maurice O'Neill's life. His short but eventful life was committed to the Republican cause in a new paid the full price for his dedication. 1917-1942 his booklet called *Maurice O'Neill* is well worth reading. Not only is his story told but songs written in his honour and several others are also included, some of them in print for the first time.

One of the most interesting items to come from the book is the difference between the trial of Maurice and the trial four years later of his comrade on the night of October 24, 1942, Harry White.

While Maurice was charged only with resisting arrest, conviction before

the Military Court meant the death sentence. Maurice knew only of two verdicts were possible, freedom or death. No appeal if he was found guilty and the Free State were not going to free a man whom they knew that once released would take up arms again to fight

# MAURICE O'NEILL

1917 - 1942



Comórath Leath-chéad Bliain Dá Dhás  
1942 - - - - - 1992

"Noble Bearer of a Noble Name!  
You lie in hallowed soil,  
Your sacrifice is made!"  
Luach £2.00

"foreign foe and native traitor".

Harry on the other hand was found guilty too and

### CONDUCT

The President of the High Court of the time, Charles Gavan Duffy, had some harsh things to say about the Special Branch and their conduct on the night of October 24. Duffy also stated that "arrest is not a right, it is a power conferred for the protection of society, and that the police could not, for reasons of convenience take the law into their own hands". The 26-County Special Branch and the plainclothes police had not identified themselves at any stage or addressed White or O'Neill, Gavan Duffy said. They had opened fire without

warning on spotting the two men.

Maurice O'Neill was one of many Kerry Republicans who fought long and hard for freedom with never a thought for themselves, only for others. That county can be proud of its sons and daughters and their contribution to the struggle for Irish Freedom; several of whom are mentioned in the book. The Roll of Honour on the inside cover speaks for itself.

Maurice O'Neill's "true grit" obviously runs in the family as his brother Michael, who still resides in the family home at Letter, Cahersiven, proved in 1986. He was one of the people who ensured that South Kerry remained true to the Republican Movement. *Maurice O'Neill 1917-1942* makes for good reading as the history and songs between its covers will not be found elsewhere.

Seosaimhín Ní Chaoimh

## COBH'S FIGHTING STORY

*Cobh's Contribution to the Fight for Irish Freedom, 1913-1990* by Kieran McCarthy and Maj-Britt Christensen, published by Oileann Mór Publications, £6.99.

COBH in the early part of this century was the hub of British military power in the south of Ireland with its large army bases on Spike Island and Haubowline and Forts Camden and Carlisle. There was also, of course, a very strong naval presence in the town. Coupled with a strong pro-British merchant class Cobh did not on the surface make for a fertile area in which the Republican Movement of the time would flourish. However as McCarthy and Christensen's story unfolds the reader discovers that Cobh, like every other town in Cork, was not found wanting when the call to arms came.

The authors skillfully tell the story of Cobh's part in the Republican struggle for independence. In parts it could be the latest news story with chilling accounts of British army death threats and an open shoot-to-kill policy. The account of the death of one George Walker and its aftermath shows how little British army policy has changed in seventy-odd years.

The daring arms raids in and around the town of Cobh show how well-trained the Volunteers were. The reader should at all times bear in mind that Cobh is an island linked to the mainland by one bridge. Of course some of

the Cobh men were active service men with the East Cork Flying Column and took part in many of its actions under the command of Commandant Dermot O'Hurley who was a West Cork man from Bandon. Oddly enough Cobh gave West Cork Vol Peter Monahan, a strange tale in itself (see pages 76-77).

During the Civil War Cobh again gave of its best. The pursuit and capture of the arms ship *Upnor* off the Cork coast was just one example of their courage and ingenuity. The planning and execution of a daring rescue of Republican pris-

oners on Spike Island was another. In the long years after the defeat of the Republicans in the Civil War the flame may have dimmed but never went out. The Stockdales and the Conroy brothers carried on the struggle. The late 'fifties, early 'sixties saw Jack Hartnett building up the Movement all over East Cork, travelling from his home in Carrigtwohill to Cobh, Midleton and Youghal. Jack fanned the flickering flame until it was strong enough to pass on to a younger generation.

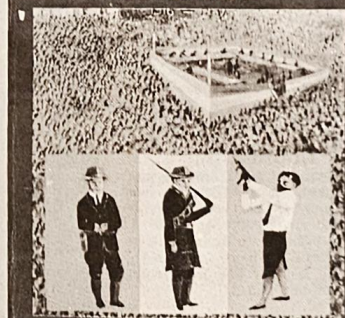
This is a book of interest to students of Irish history in general, but of immense interest and importance to any person in the East Cork area. However it contains some inaccuracies, the principal one being the assertion by the authors that the historic Cumann na mBan organisation, to which they give due praise for its unflinching loyalty and service to the Republican cause down through the years, was "incorporated" into the IRA in the 1970s. We are pleased to be able to reassure them that Cumann na mBan remains very much to the fore in the Republican Movement and in 1986, when Republican principles were once again sold out by elements within the Movement the Cum-

ann na mBan organisation remained steadfast in refusing to recognise the Free State parliament set up in 1921 by Britain.

The book also states that those who did not agree with the dropping of abstentionism in relation to Leinster House formed a "new" party - Republican Sinn Féin. Of course it was those who compromised who formed the new party, while holding on to the name Sinn Féin, which they dishonoured.

This shows up the paradoxical position which McCarthy and Christensen adopt. Having described the activities of successive Free State administrations, the atrocities they perpetrated on Republicans down the years since the signing of the Treaty of Surrender, having covered the pitfalls that some Republicans had fallen into at different times, from the formation of Fianna Fáil to the Stickers, they themselves fall into the same trap, McCarthy himself approving of the Provisional recognition of the state set up in 26 Counties of Ireland in 1921 by the British by standing for election to that assembly on a participatory basis for that organisation. The party 534 votes achieved in 1987 which by 1992 had dropped to 366 showed that the strategy adopted in 1986 was faulty and ill-thought out.

## COBH'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIGHT FOR IRISH FREEDOM 1913-1990



Kieran McCarthy/Maj-Britt Christensen

Oileann Mór Publications

## IRISH FREEDOM PRESS

### NEWLY PUBLISHED

- 50th Anniversary booklet detailing the story of Maurice O'Neill executed by the Free State, November 1942 Price £2.00
- The Trial of the IRA Five . . . . . Thomas J. Cox . . . . . £15.00
- Video - Maurice O'Neill 1917-1942 . . . . . £12.00
- Anne Devlin, Patriot and Heroine . . . . . John Finnegan . . . . . £ 3.95
- Tragedies of Kerry . . . D. Macardle . . £2.50
- IRISH REPORTER - Independent political, social and cultural magazine . . . £1.80
- Latest Issue - "Stating Our Case - The Many Voices of Feminism"

- Christian Contradictions and the World Revolution . . . . . Andre Kehoe . . . £12.95
- Breaking the Deadlock . . . Robert Heatley . . . £1.50
- Soul of Fire, Mary Mac Swiney . . Charlotte H. Fallon . . . . . £3.95
- The Missing Sex - Putting Women into Irish History . . . Margaret Ward . . . £2.99

T-SHIRTS - "800 Years is Too Long - Brits Out" 2 colour on white or black front £6 plus P&P. "26+6=1" Green on white front £5 plus P&P. Also "Brits Out" Keyrings and Pens 60p "Brits Out" Lighters £1

- The Words of James Connolly . . . Edited by James Connolly Heron . . . . . £2.95
- The Murder Machine . . . P.H. Pearse . . . . . £2.50
- Guerilla Days in Ireland . . . Tom Barry . . . £5.95
- The Last Post . . . . . NGA . . . . . H/B£10.50
- Broadening the Battlefield. Liam Clarke £3.95

\* Send cash with orders PLUS post/package to : IRISH FREEDOM PRESS, 41 Arran Quay, D7.

## GIBGATE



GIBGATE The Untold Story . . . William Flynn . . . . . £9.95

# BRITISH AGENTS TRANSFERRED TO LUDA

NATIONALIST politicians have predicted that last month's transfer to an English jail of Brian Nelson, the British army's highest-ranking agent in the UDA/UFF loyalist death squad, is the first step towards his early release from a 10-year sentence imposed last January. He has now been moved from solitary confinement in Belfast's Crumlin Road jail to an unknown prison in England, where his wife and children have been living since 1990.

At his trial last January it was revealed that Nelson (44) was the UDA's chief intelligence officer and despite clear evidence of

his involvement in the murders of two nationalists a plea-bargaining cover-up resulted in all murder charges being dropped. His ten-year sentence meant

he would not now even serve that period.

A BBC 'Panorama' programme last June said that Nelson played a vital role in 10 murders and targeted 16 other people including slain human rights lawyer Pat Finucane. The programme also revealed the British army's "practical assistance" to loyalist death squads in the murders of nationalists.

# CALENDAR OF EVENTS/FÉILIRE IMEACHTAÍ 1993

## NATIONAL

Bodens, 11/4; HUNTER, 13/6; COMM., 13/6; BUNDOURAN, 14/4; WARE, 14/4

## ULSTER/LEINSTER

PETER McNULTY Comm., Co Down, 1/1; PARLE/CREAN/HOGAN Comm., Wexford, 14/3; TESTIMONIAL DINNER, Dublin, 14/5; NIALL PLUNKETT O'BOYLE Comm.,

Knocknadrice, Co Wick, 16/5; FRANCIS BELL, 16/5; HUGHES, 16/5; RAY McAGHEY, 16/5; CREESE Comm., Camloch, South Armagh, 20/5; TONY RUANE Comm., 20/6; JACKIE CANNON, 20/6; 50th Anniversary, 23/7; PAT griffin Cemetery, Balbriggan, 17/7; GOSS & GAUGHRAN Comm., Dundalk, Co Louth, 8/8; EVE OF ALL-IRELAND Public Meeting,

GPO, Dublin, 13/9; JIMMY KEENEY Comm., Saggart, Co Dublin, 17/10; EDENTUBBER MARYS Comm., Edentubber, Co Louth, 7/11; FRANK DRIVER Comm., Ballymore Eustace, Co Wick, 11/1; KEVIN BARRY Comm., Rathvilly, Co Carlow, 28/11; LIAM MELLOW Comm., Castletown, Co Wexford, 5/12; CHRISTMAS SWIM for Prisoners and their Dependants, Dublin 25/12.

## 50 YEARS AGO:

IN JANUARY 1943 "the grand campaign against the rearguard of the enemy", as Harry White describes it, was grinding to a halt. It would still splutter and there would be spectacular and even brilliant flashes in early 1943.

Hope rose when Mick Quill (25) of Listowel, Co Kerry, escaped with his life from the Military Tribunal at the opening of the New Year. Pushed across the Border at Carrickarnon, Co Louth on October 4 in a new "unofficial" extradition from North to South, he was put on trial on January 11 for the "murder" of Det-Serg Dinny O'Brien on September 9.

A Special Branch man gave evidence of cycling to the mountains to cut turf on the morning of the shooting. He met two men on bikes coming towards him and in the Dublin Bridewell five weeks later he identified one of them as Quill.

At the Tribunal the identification began to break down. Before going on the identification parade, he was told Quill would be on it, and was given a photograph and description of him. "Such nudging was standard police procedure," says Harry, "when they wanted to nail a suspect."

He did not think he had any doubts but that Quill was the man he saw. Pressed further, he said he was almost sure of it.

Further evidence included recognition by a fellow-guest at 12A Grosvenor Square, Rathmines. Quill had resided at the boarding house for a short time as "Michael Barrett", a student of chemistry.

## TRAP-HOUSE

Others there had been "Seán Maguire" (Liam Burke), Chris O'Callaghan and "Charlie Hanly" (Kerins) before a massive Branch raid on it on September 16 which found that all the birds had flown. It was used as a trap-house for some days and netted at least one unsuspecting Republican from Dundalk.

Quill said in evidence that he had been in Belfast from August 23 to October 2, returning to Dublin once on September 4. At this juncture, three Belfast women were put in the witness box by Seán Mac Bride, BL. Mrs Sara Malone, her daughter Maureen and Mary McGuigan said Quill had been in their houses in Belfast on September 9 and for a period before and after.

Harry's version is as follows: "The IRA had cobbled together a strong alibi for Quill, and were determined to meet Free State subterfuge with their own. Sara, Maureen and Mary were three attractive Republican girls from the Falls: both Quill and MacAteer had stayed in their houses."

"Con Lehane (soir) was deputed to go over the case carefully with them beforehand, as to what they would say and not say. Using his office over the Bank of Ireland on Ormond Quay (near the present Eire Nua Office) as a mock-up, he rehearsed them through the proceedings of the military court at Collins Barracks. They had never been in court before but they emerged from it with flying colours."

The evidence, in camera, was given under a State undertaking that their names would not be passed back to the RUC.

# BELFAST JAIL ESCAPE

This was, of course, dishonoured and their houses were promptly raided, nothing being found.

Mick Quill was cleared of the death charge but was interned without trial at the Curragh for a further two-and-a-half years. "Army funds did not extend to meeting the expenses of counsel," says Harry, "MacBride never received nor took money from the Movement".

Early on January 15, Republican morale received another boost when Hugh MacAteer, Jimmy Steele, Pat Donnelly and Ned Maguire escaped from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. They had been serving 15 years, 10 years, 12 years and six years respectively for their Republican activities.

MacAteer was determined to redeem himself after his rather foolish capture in October. For a breakout he estimated that the roof was the weakest place and conveyed this opinion to the OC Prisoners Pat Donnelly.

## PERMISSION

Permission was given. The escape team included these two, Jimmy Steele, the best-known IRA man in Belfast and Ned Maguire who was a slater and would be useful in breaking through the roof.

A trapdoor in the ceiling of a top-floor toilet would give access to the roof space. For weeks they worked on a bed sheet rope-ladder and a grappling hook made from a brass bed end swathed in bandages

court-martialling a suspected informer and were unaware of the plan.

The prisoners decided to go ahead. On January 15 all four excused themselves separately to go to the toilet. A table they climbed on to reach the trap-door was removed after they used it.

From the attic they broke through the slates on a dark frosty morning. They slid forty feet down into the yard and made their way to the front wall. Here they discovered that the jointed stick was six feet short to reach the top of the wall.

Maguire in his boots stood on MacAteer's thin shoulders. The other three climbed up and disappeared over the top. MacAteer, when his turn came last, lost his grip and fell back inside, severely injuring his ankle.

Nothing daunted he tried again, struggling back up the rope, dragged himself over the wire but ripped open his hand badly and fell to the ground again, this time on the outside.

In the gloom of the January morning they were not noticed as they rushed out and mingled with the crowds with their coats buttoned up. Their strange attire - prison uniform - went unobserved amid Belfast's wartime shabbiness.

## BACKTRACK

Hugh became separated from the others and had to backtrack in the face of a search party of warders. Jimmy Steele had plenty of friends in nearby North Queen St where he knew of an empty house. The three made their way there.

MacAteer was found and guided there too. Inside, Jimmy got word to friends who provided food which lasted a few days until Liam Burke and Harry White arrived back. They then moved the escapees to other and safer houses.

A few weeks later Donnelly and Maguire were moved to Dublin and were never recaptured. Pat Donnelly lived there, a faithful Republican, with a small business until his death in 1992.

Ned Maguire's two daughters, it will be remembered were shot dead by the British Army while travelling by car through the streets of West Belfast in October 1971, shortly after that round of internment. They were Dorothy Maguire and her sister Mrs Maire Meehan.

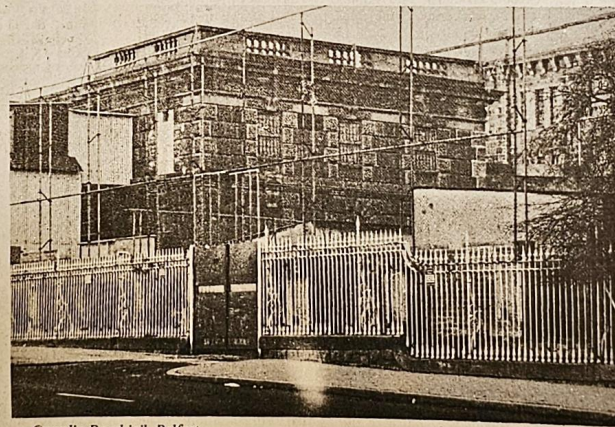
Steele and MacAteer stayed in Belfast to face what Harry calls "the biggest security rumpus the North had seen". Coogan says: "The escape gave the IRA a brief injection of life" and goes on to describe other spectacular exploits of MacAteer and Steele soon afterwards.

## SATURATED

The streets of Belfast were saturated by Crown Forces and homes were raided on a massive scale. Bell's assessment: "As MacAteer had anticipated the break recouped considerable prestige for the IRA. The RUC clamped down even harder. A reward of £3,000 was offered but there were no takers".

At mid-January 1943, morale was again high and most valuable personnel were available once more to GHQ. The campaign was moving once again. . . .

(More next month. Refs. Harry by Harry White, *The IRA* by TP Coogan, *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell) CORRECTION: The German "Armada" in the fourth paragraph of the December instalment should have read the German Armies.



● Crumlin Road jail, Belfast.

They made their plan and carried out the escape without outside help. A few days beforehand they sent out word through a warder who used to call to a small general shop owned by Harry's two sisters, Cathleen and Susan.

He used to accept messages for the prisoners and deliver answers for the sake of getting sweets and chocolate in addition to the amount allowed by rationing. "The authorities were perplexed and annoyed but they never found out," Harry says.

The walls of the jail are more than three feet thick, the windows are barred with thick glass set into steel frames. A twenty-foot wall - since raised another five feet - surrounded the prison in 1943 and was patrolled by armed RUC and B-Specials at the time.

If a prisoner did succeed in getting out of the jail and over the wall he had to run past the windows of the warders' cottages on the outside. Then there was a constant RUC patrol on the Crumlin Road itself, a busy artery near the heart of the city.

to catch quietly in the barbed wire on top of the boundary wall.

These and a demountable pole made from brush shafts and attached together by leather jointing made in the bootshop were their implements. Even when the trap-door was found to be padlocked and an ordinary prisoner became aware of their activities they pushed ahead.

Bell notes the detail of their preparations: "After a careful study of the moon calendar a day was selected when the moon set early and the sun rose late; in fact with summertime still in effect as a war measure daylight did not come until nearly ten o'clock. The four could step out during the breakfast hour between half-eight and nine when the warders were eating."

## NO REPLY

All the preliminary work went unnoticed and when the message was sent out to GHQ to have a reception ready, no reply came. The bulk of Northern Command and Staff and available GHQ officers were in South Derry near Swatragh

# MARTYRED ON A DECEMBER DAY

ON December 8, 1922, 70 years ago, an event took place which was to shock and horrify a nation and people who had already during the previous seven years witnessed so much suffering and so many deeds of horror.

At 3am on December 8 Liam Mellows, Rory O'Connor, Joe McKeveley and Richard Barrett were awakened, asked to gather their belongings and moved to another cell in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin. Each assumed they were being transferred to another prison or internment camp and so were not alarmed. On arrival in the new cell each man was presented with a notice, signed by Richard Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief of the Free State army informing them that they were to be executed at 8am.

Each of the four, Mellows, O'Connor, McKeveley and Barrett had been imprisoned in Mountjoy since the surrender of the Four Courts garrison in June of that year at the beginning of the Civil War and all were men committed to the progressive and revolutionary All-Ireland Republic. In short, it could be said of each that he possessed the "intellect of a dangerous man".

Described by his friend and comrade Ernie O'Malley as 'a clear flame, steadfast, burning of its own strength' Liam Mellows joined the Republican Movement in 1911 and was the first National Organiser of Na Fianna Éireann. In 1916 he was in command of the Rising in Galway following which he escaped to the United States. On his return to Ireland in 1920 Mellows was appointed to GHQ staff as Director of Purchase. Along with Rory O'Connor he was one of only four GHQ staff officers to oppose the 1921 Treaty, the others being Sean Russell, Director of Munitions and Seamus O'Donovan, Director of Chemicals. In August 1922 in his famous 'Notes from Mountjoy' Mellows attempted to formulate a military and political programme for the Republican Movement.

## PROMINENT

On November 24 the most prominent victim of the Act,

Erskine Childers, Director of Publicity, was executed in possession of a Colt .45 and which he had won by Michael had been given to him by Michael Collins. On November 27 the IRA Chief of Staff Liam Lynch issued a directive that unless the Free State were prepared to adhere to the basic rules of war and rescind the Act all members of the Free State parliament who voted for the Bill would be targeted.

On December 7 as they left their hotel on Ormond Quay for a sitting of the Free State parliament Sean Hales and Pádraig O'Maille were fired on. Hales was shot dead and O'Maille was badly wounded.

In a state of near panic and fear the Free State cabinet met. Richard Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief of the Free State army and Free State minister for defence suggested the execution of prominent Republican prisoners as a reprisal. After much debate and discussion they decided on this course of action. The gravity of this blow to their state seemed to them to call for drastic action and immediate reprisal.

And so at 3am on December 8 Mellows, O'Connor, McKeveley and Barrett were awakened, moved to new cells and told to prepare for execution.

The question as to the choice of the four to be executed is not as clear as it would seem. The common reason given is that each represented a province but this poses the question who represented Connacht? Mellows was clearly a Leinster man of Wexford origin, his only connection with Connacht was as leader of the Rising in Galway in 1916.

## INTRIGUING

One of the most intriguing and indeed plausible reasons is given by C Desmond Greaves in his biography of Mellows



• (Clockwise from top left) Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe. (Below) Free State cabinet, 1922

Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution "all were IRB men who had left the fold and above all, they knew too much. Mellows knew the revolutionary movement from its inception and was in the midst of all the unity negotiations. O'Connor knew the intrigues that surrounded the Plunkett Convention and the unification of Sinn Féin and more embarrassing still, the campaign in England. McKeveley knew of the relations with the North. And finally, Barrett had been close to Collins and was familiar with the affairs of the 'Squad'.

Already Childers had carried to the grave his unrivalled knowledge of the 'Treaty' negotiations. "Who can deny," Greaves concludes "that when those four tongues were silenced the world became much safer for 'official' history?"

## BLATANT

The executions of December 8 were a blatant act of terrorism

with absolutely no basis in law and marked a point of no return for both sides in the Civil War or Counter Revolution of 1922-23. From this point there could be little hope of compromise or reconciliation, as Greaves points out "The price of Counter-Revolution was that neither in the Six Counties or 26 Counties could the government survive a return to normal conditions". Both states would require from this point on and continue to require the most repressive and draconian legislation and measures to remain in place.

December 8, 1922 deprived Ireland, particularly in the case of Mellows, of "the richest mind our race had achieved for many a long day", to quote Peadar O'Donnell, minds we could ill afford to lose, but as Mellows stated himself in his last letter to his mother "the Republic lives, our deaths make it a certainty".

Rory O'Connor like Mellows had a long association with the Republican Movement and had been a close friend of the 1916 leader Joseph Mary Plunkett. During the Rising of Easter Week he served as a staff officer in the GPO. O'Connor, Director of Engineering during the Tan War was one of the organisers of the famous Army Convention of March 1922 which voted to oppose the Treaty of Surrender and to establish an independent executive.

## ESCAPED

Dick Barrett was a native of Cork. In November 1921 along with Moss Twomey and five other Volunteers he escaped from Spike Island prison, Cobh. Barrett, possessed of great ability and intellect, was attached to GHQ staff following the occupation of the Four Courts in April 1922.

The last of the four Joe McKeveley was a native of Stewartstown, Co Tyrone. McKeveley and his family moved to Belfast when his father, a member of the RIC, was transferred there. Active in organising Na Fianna Éireann in Belfast McKeveley was eventually appointed OC of the Third Northern Division IRA. At the Army Convention of March 1922 he was made Assistant Chief-of-Staff. For a brief period following the walk-out by Rory O'Connor, Mellows, Ernie O'Malley and other members of the Four Courts garrison from the Army Convention of June 18, 1922 McKeveley served as Chief-of-Staff.

The events which led to the executions on December 8, 1922 can be traced from October 15 of the same year when the Free State parliament passed the 'Emergency Powers Act' giving sweeping powers to the Free State army, the Act allowed for the passing of the death penalty on all those caught in possession "without proper authority" of arms or ammunition. On November 17 four young Dublin Volunteers, James Fisher, Richard Twohig, Peter Cassidy and John Gaffney were executed under the Act.

NEW Year's Greetings to our friend Mick Hegarty incarcerated in Crumlin Road prison, Belfast. Hope you didn't overdo the Christmas 'cheer' Mick. From Tom & Corrie.

NEW Year's Greetings to Michael Hegarty, Republican prisoner, Crumlin Road jail, Belfast and to all Republican prisoners in jail in Ireland, England and the USA. From John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs Doherty, Droumroe, Currow, Killarney, Co Kerry.

NEW Year's Greetings to Sr Sarah Clarke, recovering in Westminster Hospital, London from injuries received in an accident last month. From the staff at Head Office, Republican Sinn Féin, Dublin. NEW Year's Greetings to Mick Hegarty, Republican prisoner, Crumlin Road jail, Belfast. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dublin Central.

## BEANNACHAÍ

CABHAIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) sends New Year's Greetings and good wishes for an early recovery to Sr Sarah Clarke, who is in Westminster Hospital in London, following an accident.

MANY thanks to all those who have written to me and sent cards in the past weeks. It wouldn't be possible for me to answer every one. Go raibh maith agab go léir. Michael Hegarty POW, Crumlin Road jail, Belfast.

HEGARTY, New Year's Greetings and best wishes for the future, Mick. Don't wear out the "pads" in the yard. See you soon. Seán and Betty.

## DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL MEMORIAL FUND

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

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

comrade Dáithí Ó Conaill, Máirtín sé go deo i mease goifthe na nGael. Remembered always by Tom and Corrie, Rathurles.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí Ó Conaill, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, who died January 1, 1991. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a nam. From Michael Kennedy, Republican Sinn Féin, London.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd Anniversary. In proud memory of Dáithí Ó Conaill whose 2nd Anniversary occurred on New Year's Day last. Remembered always by Seán Ó Conchúir, BAC.

## Comhbhrón

BRADY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Pat McManus of The Horse and Jockey, Inchicore, on the death of his sister Mary Brady. From Seán Ó Conchúir, BAC. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a hanam usáil.

CALLAGHAN, Sincere sympathy is expressed to Jack Callaghan and family on the recent death of his father. From Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath, Republican Sinn Féin. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a nam.

CALLAGHAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Callaghan family, Dublin on the recent death of their father and grandfather. From the Máire Dromm Cumann Repub-

## I gCuimhne

LOCHRIE, Jim, CAMPBELL, Seán - 17th Anniversary. Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach, South Armagh remembers with pride two fallen volunteers, Jim Lochrie, Dromintee, South Armagh and Seán Campbell, Fagharta, North Louth who were killed in action on December 6, 1975. Jim and Seán, two of the finest and most committed Republicans of

lican Sinn Féin, Clondalkin, Dublin.

CALLAGHAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to the Callaghan family, Dublin on the death of their father and grandfather. From the Carroll/O'Donovan Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Inchicore. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá nam.

MACMANUS, Deepest sympathy is extended to Pat MacManus and family, Inchicore, Dublin on the recent death of his sister. From Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

SLOAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of John Sloan, Bryansford, Co Down who died recently. From Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

their time, with a keen interest in the affairs of their local GAA club for which they excelled at underage level, were killed by a premature explosion at Kelly's Road, Killeen, while courageously asserting their country's freedom.

McKEARNEY, Kevin and Jack - 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Kevin McKearney, Moy, Co Tyrone and his uncle Jack McKearney, killed by loyalist death squads on Jan-

uary 3, 1992. Remembered by Cathleen Knowles.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd 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 Dióg. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh sé.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Dave, whose death occurred on January 1, 1991. Suaimhneas síoraí dá nam. Always remembered by Cathleen and Dermot.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí Ó Conaill who died on 1 January, 1991. Always remembered by John and Margaret Houlihan and Mrs Doherty, Droumroe, Currow, Killarney, Co Kerry.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Dáithí Ó Conaill who died on New Year's Day 1991. "History will record his name, youth in his footsteps will be read." Always remembered by the Seán South Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Omagh.

O CONAILL, Dáithí - 2nd Anniversary. In proud memory of our friend and



## PUBLIC GOOD BEFORE PRIVATE GAIN *An Irish fairytale ?*

**N**OWADAYS you can be a gomben, a shoneen, a chancer, a spoiled priest, a spalpeen, a secularist, a pseudo-liberal (like Conor Cruise O'Brien), a fixer, a usurer, a land grabber. And people will have a good idea of what you mean by these terms.

You can even be a cute hoor and the ordinary citizenry will not mistake this as meaning a loose woman.

Indeed, it is usually applied to opportunist politicians of the Leinster House Yahoo shades of greed, and these are generally male, cunning, and addicted to maudlin reminiscences of how they put one over a party colleague who appeared to be blocking their Ministerial ambitions.

You can get most folk to understand that a border dealer is a smuggler who is not beyond selling hard drugs or porn books "at the right price, of course".

And a grants expert is universally understood to be someone who can fiddle the system and harvest EC subsidies in a slightly illegal way.

But when the barber was trimming the lessening locks of Drapier II's grey hair the other day and, apropos the long yawning count called the general election, asked me what kind of government I would prefer, he seemed bemused by my answer.

"A true republic for the 32 Counties," I replied, and he looked even more bewildered when I pointed out that this was the verdict of the great majority on the rare occasions that British governments had permitted an all-Ireland poll some 70 years ago.



## WHAT THEY SAID

*It is his family that I feel for and it is they who will suffer most if he is extradited. To extradite any Irishman to a state where there is so much injustice would be wrong.*

— Johnny Walker of the Birmingham Six

supporting the case of Angelo Fusco, who is fighting against his extradition to the Six Counties Kerryman, December 11, 1992.

*There cannot be free and fair elections without adequate access to radio and television.*

— Jim Kilfeather, Indpt. Unionist MP, who participated in a British Foreign Office team which monitored the elections in Serbia, interviewed on RTE Radio 1 News at One, December 23, 1992.

"Haven't we got a republic now?" queried the threat-esser.  
He stopped and thought that our inheritance had been disheveled though he was musers who settled for a lot less under I realised with horish war in the early Twenties, something best left to boogked completely baffled, ears to know better.

## WHAT IS A REPUBLICAN ?

**T**he barber was not a bad man, but he symbolised the professional deafness that so many Irish people give to thoughts of how we became what we are.

"What is a Republican?" was the next question he put to me, almost in tones of despair, as if asking a dear friend if he could describe the anatomy of a dinosaur. Someone who puts the public good over private gain, I said.

Scratching his poll, and waving the points of the scissors too distractedly for my liking, he seemed to think such a response too terse by far, and wanted to hear more (much to Drapier's delight).

I referred him to the question that Sir Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, put to Brackenbury prize scholar, Hilaire Belloc, exactly one hundred years ago: "What, young Belloc, is the ideal form of government?"

"A republic", came the unhesitating reply from the founder of the Republican Club when President of the university Union. (It had only five members, including French-born Hilaire, but three went on to be Cabinet Ministers or Professors or both).

"Ah, yes," said Sir Benjamin, a benevolent type, "but



• (Left and above) Christmas Eve and Christmas Day swimmers who braved the elements for CABHAIR, the Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund. A reminder to those who have sponsorship cards to return all monies as soon as possible.

for a republic you need republicans".

The College Master, tolerant of the eccentricities of the young, said no more, dismissing naturally the notion that enough good men and women could be found in England (at the height of its imperial rule), but very few with the pertinacity to take up such an ideal.

Putting the public good of the greatest number before private gain is predominantly regarded in the Ireland of today as such a high ideal as to be impossible of achievement.

The barber and his ilk should not be blamed overmuch for believing that history is a dustbin designed for the arid study of peculiarly preoccupied professors and the like.

**I**n the late Forties Belloc told me in an interview that he despaired of the English understanding a system of pure democracy that demanded radical redistribution of property and lifting the common level of opportunity and prospects of prosperity.

The money power would not tolerate such idealism from the English people, who had become "wage slaves", said a saddened Belloc.

The Belloc-Chesterton social Theory of Distribution, aimed at broad ownership that would break the monopolies of the rich, is outlined in Republican Sinn Féin's policy document, EIRE NUA.

Economic enslavement, and creating an ethos in which people would fear the loss of jobs, however ill-paid or servile, more than injustice, is still a tool of greedy capitalists, in Ireland as well as in England.

The sharp edge of anxiety is razed to a terrible keenness as jobless figures soar, and even owner-occupiers are being thrown out of their homes because of the usurious climb in interest rates.

But still the unhistoried majority, cheated by the educational establishment of a knowledge as to why they are still subjects, not of a particular government, but of the manipulations of international financiers, find ignorance undemanding, if not exactly bliss.

False profit takers kill more thousands annually in these islands than all armed State forces and freedom fighters combined. It is a salutary thought for 1993.

## BRENDAN BEHAN'S WRITTEN DRAMA

**R**ebel, who was a republican poet-playwright Brendan Behan, long enough to witness 30 years ago, did not live perhaps too fantastic for theatrical purposes and romantic comedies, when not bored by kitchen ketchup with exaggerated rural dialects.

It concerned a plumber, born in the north of England who had two funerals, and on the one day, too, if you don't mind. He was recruited into the IRA by an accidental encounter with a céil band who banged more than drums in 1938-39.

He became an explosives expert and his family never knew a thing about his success in blowing up a military intelligence headquarters in London, for example.

A humerous character, he was fond of whistling and took such great pains with his homework that no innocents were injured or killed by his devices. On the morning of his burial, family and friends stood by his graveside and wept for a good father and husband. Only his granny, on the mother's side, was Irish.

That same night the cemetery scene changed as a unit of volunteers fired silencer shots over his grave. It is a true story.

## BUSH GUNS FOR SOMALIA

**D**o we ever learn? So soon after US-dominated military intervention in Kuwait was transformed from a mission to rescue the oil-wellheads from Iraqi rule into a slaughter of the innocent (on such a scale as makes Herod appear a minor mercantile), defeated interim President George Bush initiated another dangerous adventure.

This time the unfortunate victims of Bush's ailing imperialism are the starving people of Somalia. Excuse for sending in the marines, to be followed by 20,000 UN "peacekeepers", is that a relief route of supplies to hungry thousands, caught between fighting lines, must be kept open.

Without a blink, the discredited Bush says UN forces must be used to prevent killing. That's rather like saying a soldier's bullets are not lethal if his loyal belongs to Uncle Sam.

In the Kildare Street Club for the Bewildered, a rare decision of sense was taken, Irish UNIFIL troops are being kept out "till the military intervention is ended".

— DRAPIER

**SAOIRSE**  
IRISH FREEDOM

Official Organ of Sinn Féin Poblachtach published monthly. At home or abroad make sure of your copy by taking out a subscription.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES PER YEAR:**

Ireland and Britain .....	£9.00
Other EC countries .....	£10.00
Rest of Europe and World .....	£11.00
US edition .....	\$24.00
(Available from P.O. Box 1063, South Orange, New Jersey, 07079, USA)	

Ainm (name) .....

Seoladh (address) .....

ISSN 0791-0002

Send to: SAOIRSE — Irish Freedom  
41 Arran Quay  
Dublin 7