

SAOIRSE



IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 87 IUIL - JULY 1994

50p (USA 75c)

375,100

UNEMPLOYED

AS THE official jobless figures in the 32 Counties dropped by several thousand last month, redundancies continue to pile up - TEAM Aer Lingus has laid off 800 workers, NIE in the Six Counties has laid off 200 while over 1000 jobs are threatened at the Irish Steel plant in Cork Harbour.

SLAUGHTER OF NATIONALISTS

British backed death squads at work



•The scene at O'Toole's Bar, Loughinisland, Co Down after six men were shot dead by the UVF British-backed death squad on June 18.

THE killing of six nationalists by the UVF British-backed death squad in O'Toole's Bar, Loughinisland, Co Down on June 18 as they watched the World Cup resulted in the predictable chorus of ritual condemnations from the British and Irish establishments.

It was not lost on the suffering nationalist population of the Six Counties however that, in the aftermath of the massacre, the political interpretation of their actions was paramount as far as these politicians and church leaders were concerned.

Pope John Paul sent a message of condolences to the bereaved and then, not to be outdone, the Queen of England dispatched a one-line statement. Nationalists commented on the fact that the Dublin administration sent no message to the relatives of the six men and none of their representatives attended the funerals.

Equally the proposed minute's silence before the World Cup match between the 26-County team and Mexico was not widely observed because the Dublin media did not promote it. There were no votes of sympathy by public bodies and no books of condolences being advertised daily on RTE television and radio.

It is important that it be clearly understood why atrocities such as the Loughinisland massacre take place.

The British-backed loyalist death squads have said why very clearly. It is in their words "to remove all threats to the Union". They have a political agenda and it is to break the will of the nationalist people, to terrorise them into

abandoning their opposition to British rule and thus give up their rights to a New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves without outside interference.

The immediate cause has been stated by the UVF to be the shooting of one of the leaders of the death squad by the INLA on Belfast's Shankill Road two days previously. Enraged by a blow which struck home, they hit out blindly on the basis that 'any nationalist will do' and the more the better as far as they are concerned.

These activities from the 1920s through to 1966 to the present have been shown to be promoted by the British Occupation Forces as the work of their irregular wing. From the massacre of the MacMahon family in 1922 through the 'special reprisal unit' led by RIC District Inspector Nixon to British agent Brian Nelson as head of UVF intelligence the pattern has been the same.

It is time it was recognised as such and not dismissed as "tit-for-tat killings". The old question is *cui bono?* who gains by these activities? Certainly British rule stands to gain, certainly not the nationalist people. For them it is the old and familiar situation of 'Croppies Lie Down'.



HUNGER STRIKE MARTYRS COMMEMORATION

BUNDORAN, Saturday August 27, 2pm

Speakers & Bands from Ireland, Scotland and the USA

SAS terrorise Border village

GEARR-SCÉALTA

SAS members have been accused of bringing terror to a tiny Border village following a botched covert operation. Lower Killeavy curate Fr John Travers said residents of Camloch, South Armagh were convinced as assassination bid by undercover British soldiers had been foiled.

During the incident in Camloch, three miles from Newry, at about 5pm on Wednesday, June 15 villagers say the undercover British soldiers:

- smashed a van window with the butt of a machine-gun;
- chased and beat a 16-year-old boy who thought he was the victim of a sectarian attack;
- adopted a firing position and threatened to shoot when he broke free from them;
- used abusive language;
- terrified nuns and their guests

when a convent garden party was buzzed by two apparently civilian helicopters.

The teenager Niall Feely said he had been sitting in his brother's Hiace van when an Isuzu Turbo Trooper vehicle drove up alongside and two armed men in civilian dress climbed out. "One came over and was going hyper," said Niall Feely. He was ordered out of the van and when he refused to do so the van's window was smashed with a machine-gun.

The youth jumped from the van and ran. According to the

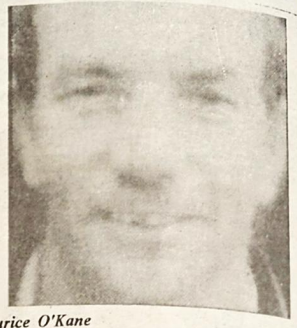


●The real terrorists.

teenager he was caught, dragged back, beaten and had his head banged against the four-wheel drive Isuzu. When his brother Dermot arrived and intervened Niall broke free and ran to the family home. Both said they thought the men were loyalists until they heard English accents. "One dropped to a firing position and shouted that he would fire,

he knelt down on one knee to aim at Niall. I ran at him and shouted 'he's only a boy' and he turned and pointed the gun at me," said Dermot Feely.

Villagers claimed the men then drove off and returned within minutes dressed as British soldiers and accompanied by British Crown Forces members.



●Maurice O'Kane

Shipyard worker killed in death squad attack

A NATIONALIST Harland and Wolff shipyard worker was murdered in a UVF attack on Thursday, June 9. Father-of-three Maurice O'Kane (50) of Hazelbrook Drive, Ligoniel, Belfast was shot once in the back while working on a dry-docked oil tanker at the Belfast harbour complex.

Maurice O'Kane, a welder at the shipyard for almost 20 years, had been working alone in the hold and colleagues who found his body on Thursday evening first thought he died of a heart attack. It was only after a post-mortem that the true cause of death was established. The death squad killer must have spent 30 minutes climbing in and out along bulkhead ladders before shooting the nationalist man, whose two sons also work at Harland & Wolff.

When news reached the yard its 2,000 workers walked out in protest. The plant remained closed until Monday, June 13. Latest available monitoring returns show that of the 2,200 workforce only 5.5 per cent are Catholics.



●The RIR - following in the notorious footsteps of their predecessors, the UDR (above).

Clinton raises Crossmaglen issue with Brits

US President Bill Clinton has disclosed that his administration raised the issue of the increase in the military occupation of the South Armagh town of Crossmaglen with the British government.

In a response on June 6 to a letter from seven members of the House of Representatives, including Ben Gilman of New York, the leading Republican on the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bill Clinton also said that the issue of appointing a US special envoy to the Six Counties remained "under active review".

President Clinton promised to appoint such an envoy during his 1992 election campaign. It is believed that the siege of Crossmaglen was raised during the recent visit to Washington DC of Patrick Mayhew, the British secretary in the Six Counties.

The letter from the congressmen to Clinton was sent during April and stated that the British Crown Forces activity in Crossmaglen was incompatible with British protestations of peace and called for the appointment of a special envoy.

RIR member on murder charge

A BRITISH soldier has been charged with the murder of a nationalist lorry driver in Portadown, Co Armagh earlier this year. Neil Thomas Irwin (24), a member of the British army's Royal Irish Regiment appeared before Belfast Magistrate's Court on Saturday, June 25.

He was accused of murdering four who was killed in March Francis Brown (38), a father-of-when a booby-trap device

exploded under his lorry. The UVF claimed responsibility for the killing. Irwin, who is based at Drumadd Barracks, Armagh was also charged with four attempted murders in the Armagh area and with possession of explosives and weapons.

The attempted murder charges relate to a bomb attack on the mother of a former Provisional Sinn Féin councillor earlier this month, an attack on

workers at a building site in Keady in April and an attack on a married couple in Blackwatertown last year.

Another RIR member was also in court. Maurice James Nicholl (37), a colour sergeant, also based at Drumadd Barracks was charged with possessing an improvised booby-trap device and an assault rifle with intent to endanger life. Both were remanded in custody until July 15.

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

Aimn

Seoladh

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 . . .

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland

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

Mary Robinson to attend Commonwealth Games

MARY Robinson is to represent the 26-County State at the British Commonwealth Games which will be held in Canada later this year. The Commonwealth Games are attended by the British, Welsh, Scottish and most former British colonies. No 26-County head of state has ever been represented at the Games which were first held in October in 1930 and which were known as the British Empire Games until 1958. Can we take it from this that Mary Robinson would favour the 26-County State going back into the British Commonwealth?

Spending on Six Counties "unsustainable"

WILL Hutton, the economics editor of the British Guardian newspaper said on June 10 that the Six Counties has become an "unsustainable" burden on the British economy and urged that business interests there should increase their trade with the rest of Ireland.

The combination of public funding and expenditure on British Crown Forces occupation is too high and is set to rise, he said. A minority have a vested interest in the Troubles continuing, he added, referring to the "war economy" of people employed in the RUC, British army/prison service and ancillary jobs who want the status quo to continue.

He attributed the Six Counties' economic problems and high unemployment (99,000 during May) to Britain's short-term industrial policy. He characterised Belfast as a "more chronic" version of Liverpool in this respect.

Ten killed in three days of attacks

SIX nationalist men were slaughtered in yet another British-backed death squad attack on a quiet, rural public house on Saturday night, June 18. The small Heights Bar at Loughinisland, Co Down was full with 24 people at about 10.20pm watching the second half of the World Cup soccer game between the Irish team and Italy on television.

Two UVF gunmen entered the pub, known locally as O'Toole's Bar, and standing behind the customers opened fire with Kalashnikov automatic rifles, hitting eleven of the customers. Five men aged between 34 and 87, died at the scene while a sixth died about 30 minutes later on his way to hospital. The oldest victim, Barney Green of Ballynahinch, was the eldest person to die in 25 years of the conflict in the Six Occupied Counties. The other victims were Patrick Joseph O'Hare (35), Adrian Joseph Rogan (34), Daniel McCreaner (59) (nephew of Barney Green), Malcolm Jenkinson (52) and Eamon Byrne (39), all from the surrounding area of Co Down.

silence was held at the ground by the players and spectators for the victims of the killings. One of the victims, Adrian Rogan, had a ticket for the match in his pocket when he was shot dead.

Only minutes after the Loughinisland Massacre a nationalist family living at Lisnoe Walk in a loyalist estate in Lisburn, Co Antrim narrowly escaped death when two British-backed death squad members tried to break into their home by the back door. Having failed to gain entry they then fired shots through the kitchen window at 11pm. The family fled upstairs and escaped injury.

BUILDING SITE

On Friday, June 17 a British-backed death squad launched an indiscriminate attack on what they thought were nationalist workmen at a building site in Newtownabbey, north of Belfast. Killed in the attack was a 30-year-old Protestant, Cecil James Dougherty and two other men were wounded, one seriously. The dead man lived in the loyalist Rathcoole estate with his girlfriend and three-year-old



● **Eamon Byrne** daughter. He was the 37th person to be killed in the conflict in the Six Occupied Counties during 1994, the vast majority of them by British-backed death squads.

Earlier, the UVF lured a 27-year-old part-time taxi driver to his death in Carrickfergus a few miles further north along the Co Antrim coast. Gerard Brady (27) picked up a fare in his home town of Antrim and was forced to drive to his death. According to media reports he told his control room "I'm going on" only minutes before he was found dying in his car at about 2am at Blackthorn Park, with gunshot wounds to his head and back. Gerard Brady lived with his Protestant girlfriend and two sons aged two and ten weeks.

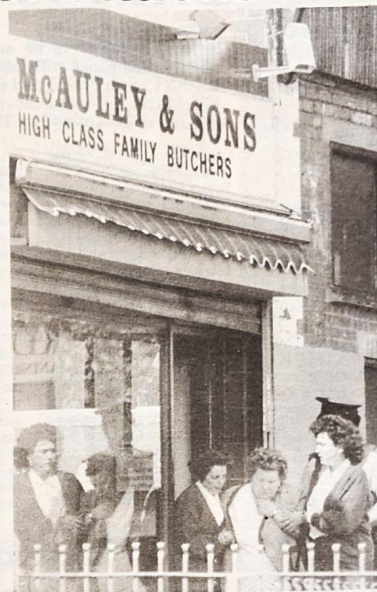
UVF COMMANDER
A UVF death squad

commander was shot dead and three companions injured in an attack by the INLA on the loyalist Shankill Road, Belfast, on Thursday, June 16. Colin Craig (31) from Conlig, Bangor, Co Down was shot dead as he stood talking on the street at lunchtime, apparently following a meeting of the British-backed death squad. An INLA man jumped from a passing car and opened fire on the group as they stood on the street corner. One of the injured UVF men, David Hamilton, died the following day from his injuries. He owned a shop on the Shankill and was aged in his forties. A third man remains seriously ill. Colin Craig was a well-known death squad commander and wears spelling the letters 'UVF' were carried at both men's funerals.

The UDA/UFF British-backed death squad claimed responsibility for a gun attack on a butcher's shop on the Donegall Road, west Belfast shortly before 11am on Thursday, June 16. A lone gunman entered the premises near the junction with the Falls Road and shot the nationalist proprietor three times in the chest. Brendan McAuley aged around 40 was described as "uncomfortable" in hospital after undergoing emergency surgery.

REFUSED LICENCE

He was refused a licence by the RUC to carry a gun for self-protection only three weeks previously. He had applied for the firearm after three nationalist



● **Scene of UDA/UFF murder attempt on nationalist shopkeeper who had been denied a gun licence by the RUC**

businessmen were killed by British-backed death squads in the vulnerable Donegall Road/Falls Road district in the past three years. Seán Hughes (40), a local addresser, was killed by the UDA on September 7, 1993 at his salon. In October 1991 a

newsagent, Larry Murchan (63) died at the hands of the death squads while James Carson (33) was shot dead at his 7-11 newsagents at the same junction. Several months ago the nearby Rock Bar was hit by an RPG 7 rocket fired by loyalists.

US backs Britain re visa

ON Thursday June 8, twenty-four hours before he was due to leave Shannon for New York and three weeks subsequent to his application at the US Embassy in Dublin, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, was refused a visa by Washington to enter the United States.

He had been invited to address the Irish Race Convention in New York on Saturday June 11 and also to make a submission to Congressional hearings in Washington the following week.

No explanation for the refusal was given at the time. In a subsequent letter received on June 13 the embassy cites Section 212 (a)(3)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act for its denial of a visa to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. His returned passport was marked by the US

embassy with the details of his visa application and denial, without his permission.

"I regard this as a renewed ban on freedom of speech", he said. "Even though Section 31 censorship has been suspended here in the 26 Counties, nothing seems to have changed in the United States.

"Spokespersons for other interests including Rev Paisley have been free to visit the US and their treatment contrasts strangely to that accorded to me as President of Republican Sinn

Gibraltar case goes to Euro court

The relatives and legal representatives of the three unarmed Provisional members shot dead by the SAS six years ago in Gibraltar have described as an important victory a decision to refer the case to the European Court of Human Rights.

The European Commission on Human Rights, (the court's subsidiary body) in a majority decision found that the SAS did not use unnecessary force in shooting dead the trio in 1988 but it has left it to the court to adjudicate finally on the controversial killings.

PJ McGrory the solicitor

Féin. It appears to be entirely a political decision with the US State Department once more taking the side of the British Government on the Irish question. It is surely time for a change of attitude".

for the relatives taking the case said that the Commission in reaching an 11-6 verdict in favour of the British government's assertion that it did not breach the European Convention on Human Rights was "hopelessly split".

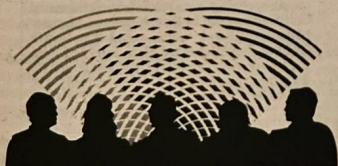
PJ McGrory said that the Commission's function was to act as a filter to keep "impossible cases from reaching the court.

"Only 2 per cent of the cases it considered were sent on to the court for trial and higher adjudication.

"We can now join that elite 2 per cent and we are delighted"



● **SAS killers in Gibraltar, March 6, 1988** headed. Mairéad Farrell, Daniel The three killed were McCann and Sean Savage.



Feis na Poblachta

Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Cé Áránn, BÁC7
Fón: 872 9747 11am - 6pm

Ocáid mhór na gcainteoirí Gaeilge 1994

Téama:
DÁIL ÉIREANN = 32 CONTAE
75Ú BLIAIN COTHROM AN LAE

I measc na léachtaí:

Níall 'Pluincéad' Ó Baoghaill
le Pádraig Ó Baoghaill (Tír Chonaill)

M'athair, Tomás Maguidhir TDÉ
leis an Dr Seán Maguidhir
(Maigh Eo)

An Chultúrlann
Baile na Manach, Co
BhÁC
10 Meán Fómhair 1994
Satharn, 2pm

Tuille Eolais/Sintíúis:
Seosamh Ó Maoileoin
Stiúrthóir
Feis na Poblachta
41 Cé Áránn
BÁC 7
Teil. 01-872 9747

Imeachtaí

HISTORIC TOUR WICKLOW/WEXFORD SATURDAY, JULY 9
 £10. Booking essential - tel. 832 1312/842 3787.

HISTORIC GRAVES TOURS OF GLASNEVIN CEMETERY DUBLIN
 EVERY SUNDAY JULY - AUGUST
 Assemble at main gate 11.30am
 Free of charge
 Organised by the National Graves Association

VOL PATRICK CANNON COMMEMORATION SATURDAY, JULY 16
 BALGRIFFIN CEMETERY DUBLIN
 Assemble at gates 3pm

ROGER CASEMENT COMMEMORATION MURLOUGH BAY CO ANTRIM
 SUNDAY, JULY 31 3PM

OPPOSE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION PUBLIC MEETING TUESDAY, AUGUST 9
 CONWAY MILL BELFAST AT 7pm

Beannachtaí

GET well soon: To Des Long, our Vice-President recovering from a serious operation in hospital in Limerick - Coisite Seasta, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

British intelligence heads wiped out

A MAN believed to be one of Britain's most senior intelligence officials was among the 29 British Crown Forces and intelligence personnel killed in the Chinook helicopter crash on the Mull of Kintyre in Scotland on Thursday, June 2.

John Devereil (57) was one of six people named by the British as "civilian security specialists attached to the Northern Ireland Office". He was previously identified as a senior MIS official in charge of counter intelligence and since some time in the mid 1980s in charge of operations against Irish Republicans.

Amongst those killed was the outgoing head of RUC Special Branch Asst Chief Constable Brian Fitzsimons and his two deputies Desmond Conroy and Maurice Neilly. The military dead included Col Chris Biles the most senior British army officer to be killed while serving in the Six Counties.

The British originally did

not intend to publish the names of the MIS members killed in the crash but this decision was later overturned. It is believed they were on their way to a conference at the covert operations base called QMAC two miles away from where the crash occurred.

One newspaper reported that among the items on their agenda at the conference were lists of people to be interned without trial in the event of internment being introduced by the British.

The total losses suffered by the British in the Chinook crash were as follows: MIS, six killed; British army, nine killed; RUC ten fatalities and four RAF Chinook crew members also died.



British Occupation Forces in Ireland were reeling following the Chinook helicopter crash at the Mull of Kintyre in Scotland. Pictured at a press conference on June 3 were (Left to right) Hugh Annesley, RUC Chief Constable, Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew, British minister John Wheeler and British army GOC in the Six Counties Roger Wheeler.

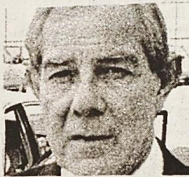
Belfast Council maintains bigoted record

Hugh Smyth a member of the Progressive Unionist Party was elected Lord Mayor of Belfast at the annual meeting of the City Council despite protests from opposition parties.

The vote entrenched Belfast council's record as never having elected a Catholic or Nationalist Lord Mayor. Smyth applied for funds to the British administration in the Six Counties several years ago to renovate the loyalist band hall and drinking den in Meridi Street, Belfast where Margaret Wright (31) was beaten to death by pro-British death

squad members in front of a crowd of 60 people on April 6 last.

The hall is thought to have been leased by members of the smaller pro-British death squad Red Hand Commando. It was demolished a few days after the murder of the Protestant woman who was a stranger in the hall and thought to have been



● Hugh Smyth

mistaken for a Catholic.

Evidence was given in a Toronto, Canada court in October 1988 that messages sent

Financial Appeal

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

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

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

by the UVF death squad in Belfast to Canadian arms smugglers had been typed on a machine in Hugh Smyth's Progressive Unionist Party office in Belfast.

The smugglers had sent up to 18 small arms shipments to the UVF and a former Canadian army officer Howard Wright was convicted of smuggling to the death squad.

FOR THE RECORD

SUN. MAY 29: A nationalist watchman was in a critical condition after being shot by the British-controlled loyalist death squad the UDA/UFF as he manned a gate at the Ederendry Industrial Estate on Belfast's Crumlin Road.

Phelim Gildernew (50) a father-of-ten from Crievelough, Brantry sustained eye and other severe facial injuries when he was dragged by the ankles by an RUC man who had jumped on his back in the village of Middletown, Co Armagh.

Witnesses alleged that the RUC opened fire on his brother-in-law Martin Gormley (40), a civil engineer home from England for a family gathering, who was shot in the left thigh and on his brother Patsy Gildernew who was also shot in the thigh but was not as seriously hurt.

MON. MAY 30: A nationalist family escaped harm when residents of the Ulsterville Drive/Mount Prospect Park area of south Belfast reported suspicious activity. Members of a death squad ran off leaving behind two revolvers, a sledgehammer, gloves, masks and two bicycles.

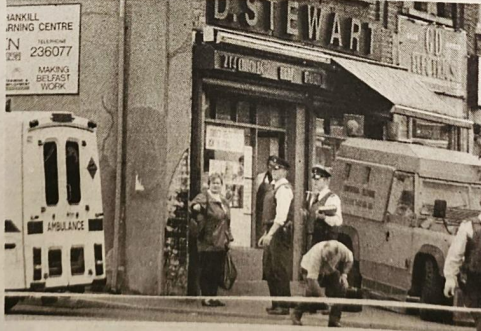
THURS. JUNE 2: Twenty-nine British Crown Forces personnel, including members of the British Intelligence Service, the RUC Special Branch and British army officers were killed when their Chinook helicopter crashed on the Mull of Kintyre in Scotland.

The Six Counties electricity service, Northern Ireland Electricity, is to shed 200 jobs on a voluntary basis.

277,100 or 17.9% of the population are on the live unemployment register in the 26 Counties.

TUES. JUNE 7: Several customers were treated for shock after an attack by a loyalist death squad on Monaghan's public house at the junction of Dock Street and Corporation Street in Belfast.

THURS. JUNE 9: Maurice O'Kane (50) a father-of-three from Hazelbrook Drive, Ligoniel, Belfast was shot dead by the UVF British-backed loyalist



● Scene of INLA attack, Shankill Road, Belfast in which two senior UVF members were shot dead.

death squad as he worked in the Harland and Wolff shipyard.

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin was refused a visa by Washington to enter the United States and address the Irish Race Convention in New York and US Congressional hearings in Washington DC.

The 44.2% turnout of the electorate in the European and District Council elections in the 26 Counties was the lowest ever recorded.

SUN. JUNE 12: The annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration took place at Bodenstein, Co Kildare.

TUES. JUNE 14: A 10lb bomb was defused in a brown Ford Cortina car opposite the Provisional Sinn Féin headquarters in Andersonstown on the Falls Road, Belfast.

WED. JUNE 15: The UVF claimed responsibility for planting a device containing 2lbs of commercial explosive at the Provisional Sinn Féin Press Centre at Sevastopol Street on the Falls Road. A

2lb device was also found in a hold-alike beside an Irish language centre at Fallswater Street in Belfast and in Lurgan, Co Armagh. British army connected to a canister of petrol, found in a Saab car in a car-park at Lake Strand.

Undercover British soldiers terrorised the Border village of Camloch, Co Armagh in an incident in which they smashed a van window with the butt of a machine-gun, chased and beat a 16-year-old boy who machine-gunned and beat a sectarian attack, adopted a firing position and threatened to shoot when he broke free from them, used abusive language and terrified nuns and their guests when a convent garden party was buzzed by two apparently civilian helicopters.

THURS. JUNE 16: A UVF death squad commander, Colin Craig (31), from Conlig, Bangor, Co Down, was shot dead and three companions injured in an attack by the INLA on

the loyalist Shankill Road in Belfast.

The UDA/UFF loyalist death squad shot and critically injured Brendan McAuley, aged around 40, as he worked in his butcher's shop on the Donegall Road, west Belfast. Three weeks earlier Brendan McAuley had been refused a licence by the RUC to carry a gun for self-protection after three nationalist businessmen had been shot dead in the same district in the past three years.

The number of unemployed in the Six Counties is 98,000 (13.1% of the workforce).
FRID. JUNE 17: Gerard Brady (27) a taxi-driver from Antrim town picked up a fare and was forced by the British-backed loyalist death squad the UVF to drive to his death in Blackthorn park, Carrigfergus, Co Antrim.

Later that day a loyalist death squad launched an indiscriminate attack on workmen at a building site in Newtownabbey, north of Belfast, killing a 30-year-old Protestant man, Cecil James Dougherty from the Rathcoole estate on the outskirts of Belfast.

One of the men shot on the Shankill Road on June 16, David Hamilton from the Shankill Road, died from his injuries.

An appeal against a Public Interest Immunity Certificate signed by British Defence Minister Malcolm Rifkind, which stated that British soldiers should give evidence screened from everyone except the coroner, jury and lawyers at the inquest into three men — John McNeill (43), Eddie Hale (24) and Peter Thompson (21) — shot dead by undercover British soldiers in a shoot-to-kill incident in Belfast on January 13, 1990 was turned down by the three British judges.

SAT. JUNE 18: Six nationalist men — Barney Green (87), Adrian Joseph Rogan (34), Daniel McCrea (59), Malcolm Jenkinson (52), Patrick Joseph O'Hare (35) and Eamon Byrne — were murdered by the UVF loyalist death squad as they watched the World Cup soccer match between the Irish team and Italy in the Heights Bar in Loughansland, Co Down.

TUES. JUNE 21: A 60-year-old nationalist man escaped injury when a member of a loyalist death squad fired a single shot through the bedroom window of his home at Shore Road, Belfast.
WED. JUNE 22: Management at TEAM Aer Lingus laid off 800 of its 1,900 employees in the long-running dispute at the semi-State body in Dublin.

Hunger striker would not have accepted Declaration

At a graveside ceremony at the Republican Plot in Leigue Cemetery, Ballina, Co Mayo on Sunday, June 19, to mark the 20th anniversary of the death of Michael Gaughan (24) through force-feeding in an English jail, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin said that the unselfish and idealistic young Ballina man would not have accepted the London Declaration of December last.

"This proposed separate and partitionist referenda in the Six and 26 Counties to decide the future of our country. Nothing less than one person — one vote in an All-Ireland referendum with the British publicly committed to leave Ireland would have satisfied him.

Michael was an unassuming and unexpected young man to undertake hunger strike but he did so to the very end rather than accept the criminalisation policy of the British government.

"His sacrifice in the cause of Irish freedom has inspired and will continue to inspire young people to make their contribution to the same cause; the British leaving Ireland and the Irish people acting as a unit working out the New Ireland together in peace."

PRESENT

Among those present at the

ceremony were Mrs Delia Gaughan (mother), John, Tony and Noel (brothers), Tina Foots (sister), Michael (nephew) and Malachy Foots (brother-in-law), relatives of Frances Hughes present were: Joe Hughes (father), Veronica Donnelly (sister), Francis and Seán Hughes (nephews), Eileen Hughes (sister-in-law) and Frank Donnelly (brother-in-law).

FORCE-FEEDING

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh continued: "The death of Michael Gaughan on June 3, 1974 after 65 days on hunger strike and 43 days of force-feeding had more immediate and obvious consequences in the mid-1970s. (1) Force-feeding of political prisoners in prisons in England ended just as the death of hunger-striker Thomas Ashe in Mountjoy in 1917 ended the same policy by the British



●Michael Gaughan



●Ruairí Ó Brádaigh giving the oration at the 20th Anniversary Commemoration in Leigue Cemetery, Ballina.

government in Ireland. (2) Four other Irish political prisoners on hunger strike in England and being forcibly fed for over six months, Dolours and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerry Kelly were transferred to Long Kesh in Co Antrim where they were accorded political treatment. (3) A fifth such prisoner, Frank Stagg of Holymount, Co Mayo was refused transfer and died on another hunger strike on February 12, 1976. (4) The honours accorded to Michael Gaughan as his funeral passed through London, Dublin and all the towns across Ireland to Ballina with local people turning out in great numbers caused the Dublin government to act in the case of Frank Stagg's funeral. His body was seized in mid-air en route from London and brought to Ballina by a military

convoy of armoured vehicles. The Special Branch dug his grave away from the Republican Plot and sealed it in concrete.

"Public outrage and controversy at these arbitrary actions were such that when Frank Stagg's body was secretly removed to the Republican Plot the following year there was no reaction from the Dublin administration and the whole affair became a cause célèbre," he concluded.

Dan Hoban, Newport presided and a decade of the Rosary in Irish was recited by Seán Mac an Iomaire, Gaillimh. Piper Larry O'Dowd piped the parade to the cemetery gates. The Chairperson recalled that Larry O'Dowd had played at Michael Gaughan's funeral, right from Parkhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight, through London to Quex Road Church in Kilburn, through Dublin and all the towns across Ireland to Ballina.

The chairman said that on the day of Michael Gaughan's funeral in 1974, Republican prisoners in Portlaoise paid their tribute in the prison yard. He, as a Mayo man was selected to address them when they paraded

at a simple ceremony to honour the dead hunger-striker.

He also said that many had forsaken the path of Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg since their heroic deaths for Ireland. He appealed to such people to get back on course for the completion of the unfinished task those men had bequeathed to us.

Wreaths were laid by veteran Republican Peter Spellman of Newport — whose home had been raided by the Special Branch three days previously — on behalf of the Republican Movement; by John Gaughan (brother) on behalf of the Gaughan family; by Carmel Grant on behalf of Cumann na mBan and by Francis Hughes (nephew of hunger-striker Francis Hughes) on behalf of the Hughes family.

A lament was played by a piper from the Balla Pipe Band who had also piped the parade from the cemetery gates to the Republican Plot, besides playing the National Anthem at the conclusion of the ceremonies.

A colour party of young men in white shirts, black pants and black berets and a uniformed member of Cumann na mBan headed the parade.



●Relatives in attendance included (Left to right) John Gaughan, Mrs Delia Gaughan (Mother) Tina Gaughan-Foots, Malachy Foots, Tony Gaughan and Noel Gaughan.

Westmeath arrest: Gaeilgeoir grilled by police

TAKEN from home at Meedin, Tyrrelspass by two squad cars of 26-County police at 8am on Tuesday, June 14 was Westmeath Gaeilgeoir and Republican Seosamh Ó Maoileoin.

He was held under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act and brought to Mullingar Barracks. Questioned by relays of police he refused to answer and remained silent for the two days of detention.

Three months earlier over the week of St Patrick's Day his home, the family farm and the entire area were subjected to a minute search. This was reported in the April issue of SAOIRSE.

A 22 sporting rifle and ammunition allegedly found several miles from his home on land not belonging to the family were produced and the police said his fingerprints were on both. Notes in the Irish language were also produced.

One session of interrogation

lasted five hours while police attempted to trick him into speaking about anything — even going as far as bringing in a tray of tea without a cup. He was threatened with 15 years in Portlaoise — but only two if he would give information.

HANDCUFFED

Finally he was handcuffed and taken by squad car around his home area while the police pointed out the places where the items were allegedly discovered. Then at 10pm on Wednesday, June 15 he was pushed out of the barracks and hitch-hiked home.

He would not ask for a lift. They are obliged to leave a prisoner back where he/she was taken from but Seosamh would



●Seosamh Ó Maoileoin

make no concession to them.

About a week before his arrest most of the huge amount of papers and books including his accounts as Treasurer of Westmeath Co Board GAA and two lots of money in cash were returned to him. Some notes as Ghaeilge are still held by the police.

All of this harassment dates from the Hume-Adams agreement last September when Special Branch men were put into uniform and sent to rural barracks in Co Westmeath as ordinary Gardaí.

It has of course been

stepped up since the Downing Street Declaration in London last December. Indeed one of the points continually put to Seosamh was why were Republican Sinn Féin continuing as usual when the Adams Provisional leadership was "giving in" as they put it!

Seosamh Ó Maoileoin is Director of Feis na Poblachta which is held this year in An Cultúrlann, Monkstown, Dublin on Saturday, September 10. He is to be complimented on his dignified and principled stand in the face of the harassment as outlined here.

Nationalist escapes gun attack

A 60-year-old nationalist man escaped injury when a single shot was fired at him as he looked out the bedroom window of his Belfast home. The bullet hit the windowsill of the man's Shore Road home in the attack which was carried out at 11pm on Monday, June 20. It is believed the attack was carried out by a British-backed loyalist death squad.

Meanwhile a Six-County coroner warned that the separate murders of two men were a deliberate attempt by British-backed loyalist death squads to drive nationalist families out of mixed middle-class areas of east Belfast.

renamed the Royal Irish Regiment).

The second victim was nationalist heating engineer Robert John McKay, who was shot when he answered a knock at the front door of his home at Hillview Avenue in December last year.

Speaking at the inquest Belfast coroner John Leckey said: "I cannot help but think that both murders were carried out to engineer fear in other Roman Catholics in the same area with a view to forcing them out."

Election consolidation

WITH no gains and no losses and an average vote of 4% of first preferences Republican Sinn Féin candidates in the areas contested consolidated their support (see table).

The success story of the town council elections was Joe O'Neill's performance in gaining the third seat out of nine on Bundoran Urban Council. This was a tribute to his leadership and the local work put in by him since the last election.

Jimmy Kavanagh was 13th for 12 seats on Wexford Corporation in the first preference vote. He is very well placed for success next time and his vote is a clear response to his and the local Cumann's work with the people month in month out.

The Wexford People newspaper described the result as an "impressive performance" while the Echo said Republican Sinn Féin "could be very satisfied with the vote" received.

In the contest for Boyle Town Commission Maurice Corrigan in a commendable campaign maintained the 1985 vote but the absence of local work since then prevented success. That work is needed now and will bear fruit.

CREDITABLE

Gerry Sheerin's vote for Ballyshannon Town Commission was a creditable achievement. A planned strategy of local work is needed here.

Paddy Kerr was late in the field for Dundalk Urban Council but the work was put in. A local news sheet is badly needed in this built up area.

John McElhinney is a Strabane, Co Tyrone man who went to live in Letterkenny, Co Donegal on his release from Portlaoise Jail a couple of years ago. With the disadvantage of not being a local man he went all out and fought a really hard campaign. His vote has provided a basis to build on and recruit new members.

LOCAL WORK

Likewise John Ryan for Droichead Nua, Co Kildare Town Commission. Local work between elections is needed. The hard effort of the 1994 campaign is not sufficient. It needs to be ongoing. The lesson in all of this is that the Immediate Tasks of the SAOL NUA - A New Way of Life social and economic programme need to be implemented urgently.

These are — apart from contesting 26-County local elections — 15 in number and the list needs to be consulted in planning a programme of work between this and the next local elections. Two months and even two years before Polling Day is too late. Start now.

ÚDARÁS CAMPAIGN

Tomás Ó Curraoin's whirlwind campaign for Údarás na Gaeltachta over a seven-week period was a model of how to do it. He more than doubled the vote of 1984 — the last time out.

In fact his first preferences were almost twice his Co Council vote in 1991. He has really consolidated his vote in the Co Council area — most of which is in the Údarás constituency. This bodes well for future campaigns.

Tomás was ahead of the sole Labour Party candidate in the contest on first preferences. He maintained this lead and continued in contention even after the Labour man was eliminated. The Labour candidate had the active support of local TD and Minister Michael D Higgins.

One aspect comes to notice. It is difficult in a local election on a grand scale, which is what the Údarás contest really is, to compete with full-time politicians in a personal canvass because of the time factor. Our candidate was employed during the day and distances are immense.

Consideration will have to be given to this angle, ie full-time campaigning, in future contests.

ARD-CHOMHAIRLE VIEW

In a circular letter thanking all candidates An Ard-Chomhairle had this to say:

"By all these means and especially by radio for the first time, Republican principles were put before the people and enormous publicity gained — even nationally in the case of the



● Cllr Joe O'Neill

Údarás election. In the latter campaign over £1,500 was expended and this amount was completely covered. Galway and Roscommon Comhairlí Ceantair contributed, but an appeal to Feis na Poblachta supporters, which raised well over £1,000, was decisive here. Gabhann muid buíochas ó chroí agaih ar fad. Fad saoil agaih!

HINTS

"Following considerations of the various campaigns the Ard-Chomhairle feels that particular attention must continue to be given to local radio now that it is available to us. The campaign for the Údarás won a breakthrough here in that interviews no longer are pre-recorded but are broadcast live. The agitation with Raidió na Gaeltachta was successful in this regard and applies to all aspects of RTE now. It already applied to local radio.

"The Ard-Chomhairle considers that especially in built-up areas local news-sheets should be made available periodically during the year. These must contain 85% local material and comment on local issues, with not more than 15%

REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN Town Council and Údarás na Gaeltachta candidates 1994 — Results

	1st Pref (% of TVP)	% of Quota	Accumulated (%)
Tomás Ó Curraoin Údarás na Gaeltachta, Connacht/Una Mi	666 (4.2%)	16.7%	726 (18.2%)
Joe O'Neill Bundoran UDC (sitting member)	93 (8.4%)	84%	ELECTED 7th count
Jimmy Kavanagh Wexford Corporation	237 (3.7%)	48.4%	299 (61%)
Maurice Corrigan Boyle Town Commission	44 (3.7%)	37%	56 (47.1%)
Gerry Sheerin Ballyshannon Town Commission	45 (2.8%)	27.4%	47 (28.7%)
Paddy Kerr Dundalk UDC	105 (3.9%)	15.7%	105 (15.7%)
John McElhinney Letterkenny UDC	68 (1.3%)	12.7%	68 (12.7%)
John Ryan Droichead Nua Town Commission	47 (1.2%)	11.8%	51 (12.8%)

national Republican coverage plus results of local football and other matches etc.

Further, the Ard-Chomhairle feels that the voters' register must be broken down and studied locally. Tallies of votes from various ballot-boxes must be scrutinised and activity directed accordingly. No votes can ever be taken for granted. All must be sought out and asked for personally. This is the advice of Councillor Joe O'Neill."

DHÁ BHUA SONTASACH AR RAIDÍO

BHÍ dhá bhua sontasach ag feachtas Shinn Féin Poblachtach san toghchán don Údarás.

● Tá deire le réamh-threidh agallamh a chuirtear ar iarrthóirí áirithe ar Raidió na Gaeltachta agus ar RTE féin chomh maith.

A bhuiochas sin ag an agóid a reachtáil leath nuair a diúltaíodh do Tomás Ó Curraoin bheith páirteach i ndiospóireacht bheo. D'fhionn iarrthóir Chumhacht agus Fhine Gailliana amach óndiospóireacht dhá bhár agus rinne iarrthóir Fhianna Fáil sa Mhúthann an rud ceanna an lá dár gcionn. ● Fuair Sinn Féin Poblachtach an lámh in-uahtar ar Galway Bay FM nuair a d'fhógair an raidió áitiúil diospóireacht láis-Bhearla d'iarrthóirí an Údarás.

D'éiligh Tomás Ó Curraoin diospóireacht dhá-theangach ar a laitheach ach thug an bainisteoir droim láimhe dó. Rinne Sinn Féin Poblachtach gearán ansin do Niall Stokes, ceannaire an IRIC.

Chuir sé sin athrú phoir ar an raidió. Thug an bainisteoir agallamh do pháipear áitiúil ag Edinburgh na h-Alban a' rá go mbéadh diospóireacht dhá-theangach an!

Bhí agus ghlac Tomás páirt bhriomhar ann. Cuirteadh ráiteas amach a' rá go raibh Sinn Féin Poblachtach lán-taosta agus an lá aca. Tharraing siad siar an gearán do Niall Stokes.

Níltear ag cur aon mhíleáir ar irisóirí Galway Bay FM a bhí riamh sásta com-obriú béasach gearmíúil a dhéanamh le Shinn Féin Poblachtach.

NOTA: Marach na sintiúisí fiála flaitiúla a chuir lucht Fheis na Poblachta ar fáil go rap niorbh féidir an deagh-obair seo go léir a dhéanamh. Míle buíochas agaih ar fad. Thug sibh-e an íón cogaidh dúinn. Nár laga Dia bhur lámha!

PAPERS REFUSED

VETERAN Republican and Republican Sinn Féin candidate Frank McCaughey had his nomination papers for Clones, Co Monaghan Urban Council refused by the Town Clerk. He rejected the description "Independent" or "Non-Party" instead of Republican Sinn Féin. The official concerned could have simply left the space blank — as happened in all other cases.

Frank served 25 years on the Council and was Chairman for a term. He surely deserved better treatment than that from officialdom!

TIPPERARY

The seat held by Fionnbar Kissane for Republican Sinn Féin on Tipperary Urban Council was grabbed by one of the major 26-County parties in a co-optation when Fionnbar returned to England in 1988. It was not contested by Republican Sinn Féin on this occasion.

British American Tobacco company snubs US Congress

ON June 13 last the British American Tobacco (BAT) company refused a request from a US Congress subcommittee to hand over documents relevant to an investigation of the tobacco industry.

The US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Health and the Environment has already uncovered memos from BAT's US subsidiary, Brown and Williamson, which show that the company has committed serious crimes, including perjury and racketeering.

BAT's solicitor, SP Chaifin, wrote to the House Subcommittee on June 13 saying that it would be "inappropriate" for them to respond to their request for documents and said that the matter was "essentially one

between the Subcommittee and Brown and Williamson".

The documents requested from BAT related to tobacco testing and human disease, environmental tobacco smoke, marketing to women and nicotine enhancement.

DOUBLE DOSE

Already the US Food and Drug Commissioner, David Kessler, has revealed that Brown and Williamson had developed a tobacco with a double dose of nicotine and marketed it as a "light" cigarette. In a counter-attacking move lawyers for BAT

have subpoenaed members of the US Congress and media.

In a comment Helen McClafferty, co-ordinator of the Irish Action Coalition described BAT's stonewalling of Congress as "appalling arrogance" for a foreign company doing business in the United States. "BAT's subsidiary is under investigation by Congress and the home office can provide the documentation necessary to further that investigation, but they refuse."

Brown and Williamson and BAT's license to do business in this country should be revoked until they provide the documentation to Congress," she said.

The Irish Action Coalition is supporting the House Subcommittee's investigation and also requesting that the US Attorney-General launch an

immediate criminal probe into BAT.

The Attorney-General is believed to be actively considering doing so. "The 'special relationship' between the US and Britain must not be allowed to corrupt or obstruct American justice," Helen McClafferty said.

SECRET

Previously secret Brown and Williamson/BAT memos were recently disclosed before the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, chaired by Rep Henry A Waxman.

The documents from 1963 revealed that Addison Yeaman, a Brown & Williamson executive, wrote to British American Tobacco about

company research proving that cigarettes "cause or predispose lung cancer" and "contribute to certain cardiovascular disorders" and "may be truly causative in emphysema, etc. etc". One confidential memo says that "Nicotine is addictive... We are, then, in the business of selling nicotine, an addictive drug..."

Yeaman asked the parent company in Britain to "accept its responsibility" and disclose the research to the US Surgeon-General, who, both executives knew, was preparing a report saying for the first time that cigarettes were a major health hazard. British American Tobacco responded that "it is too early" to disclose. The research has been kept secret for 30 years, and many thousands of Americans have died

needlessly.

Irish Americans are actively working in support of these US Congressmen (Martin T. Meehan, Thomas M. Foglietta, Mike Synar, Pete Stark, Richard J Durbin, James V Hansen and Peter J. Viselocky) who wrote to Attorney-General Janet Reno on May 26, asking her to "initiate a series of criminal investigations into tobacco company activities".

The Congressmen feel that the leaked memos provide "compelling evidence" that tobacco companies have committed a series of serious crimes, including "perjury, conspiracy to obstruct Congress, conspiracy in restraint of trade, conspiracy to defraud the public, mail fraud, wire fraud, and racketeering".

HUNDREDS of Republicans from all over Ireland heard former H-Block hunger striker Tommy McKearney tell the annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration organised by Republican Sinn Féin in Bodenstown, Co Kildare on Sunday, June 12 that instead of pandering to the whims of the most reactionary section of the British ruling class Republicans should take the lead in rejecting the Downing Street Declaration.

A CLEAR rejection of the declaration from Ireland would result in reality dawning on the pragmatists in the British government, he said. "With a British ruling class split by one crisis after another there never has been a better opportunity to break that detrimental, debilitating connection."

He said that the Republican Sinn Féin's message to loyalism was 'straight and honest'.
"It is this. Republicans will never entertain a British presence or, mark you, involvement in the Six Counties. And you the loyalist people distrust Britain's presence and involvement in the Six Counties. Let us therefore remove that element which we Republicans cannot tolerate and which you loyalists do not trust and then let us talk. Let's talk about how best to share and govern the land where history and fate has placed us," he said.

A situation of healthy negotiation is contingent on equal negotiating positions and therefore the distorting imbalance of a British presence must be removed, he added. He told his listeners that they were the representatives of "that most respectable section of Irish society, the men of no property" who sought no stake — "financial, political or sentimental" — in preserving the status quo in Ireland.

"You cannot be bought since you have no price. That is your great and irresistible strength: your relentless determination to pursue our noble objective. You will surely turn England's difficulty into Ireland's opportunity."

Referring to all other parties in

Ireland Tommy McKearney said that the Downing Street Declaration was a ruse and a ploy to deceive the Irish. "As long as you, the other Irish parties, entertain hopes and give credibility to that process — so long are you postponing a reasonable and widely acceptable denouement," he told them.

EARLIER the parade had formed up at Sallins village for the most important annual event on the Republican calendar, the annual pilgrimage to the grave of Wolfe Tone, founder of Irish Republicanism.

On a warm, still afternoon the pipers from the Glens of Antrim Pipe Band stirred the marchers to fall in behind the Republican Colour Party and contingents from Cumann na mBan and Fianna Éireann. Local residents came out from their homes to watch the colourful parade, with banners being carried by Republican Sinn Féin cumainn from Ireland and Scotland.

At the graveside in Bodenstown Cemetery Séamas Mac Suain, Cathaoirleach, welcomed the crowd and made special mention of the comrades from Glasgow who were present.

Seán Ó Dúgáin made an appeal for support on behalf of the National Graves Association, who are embarking on a complete renovation of the Wolfe Tone grave and memorial during the next year. Seán gave the address at Bodenstown to an earlier generation in 1957.

The Last Post and Reveille was then sounded as the flags were dipped. After the oration by Tommy McKearney the parade marched back to Sallins where Amhrán na bhFiann was played to conclude the ceremony.

WE PRINT below the Bodenstown oration delivered by Tommy McKearney, Co Tyrone, who was released in March 1993 having served 16 years of a life sentence in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and in Maghaberry prison. He spent 53 days on the first hunger strike in the H-Blocks which ended at Christmas 1980 with a 32-page British settlement document which they later reneged on. Six members of Tommy's immediate family have been killed by British or British-controlled forces in the last 20 years. In his speech he said:

I AM going to remind you today of an old truth. It is something with which you are all familiar — England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.

And what you may well ask could be England's difficulty? Her hired gunmen are confidently reinforcing their garrisons in Ulster, while a majority of the Irish people appear overjoyed with the Downing Street Declaration. A declaration which by any reading simply repeats a British declaration of intent to remain in Ireland.

Well, let me tell you of England's difficulty. Her ruling class is deeply divided. Not just the cabal which exercises governmental power, but that entire section of British society which believes God created it superior to the rest of humankind.

That entire class is riven with dissension. Not, mind you, on the question of its right to rule. On that point there is unanimity in the belief that their power must be perpetuated.

No, the division is over how to rule or to be more exact — how best to ensure the continuity of their rule.

LOSS OF EMPIRE

Along with loss of empire, England has also experienced this past 40 years, a severe decline in economic prowess. How to rectify that situation is a matter of the utmost contention within Britain's ruling class. This dispute has produced two camps within the Tory and/or ruling class.

(1) There are those who believe the best means of preserving British power and influence is by a process of modernising British society. These people are pro EC and often opposed to the older establishment.

(2) And then there are those who are convinced that the only way to restore British "greatness" is by returning British society to the dark days of Victoria.

In short it is a case of radical right/ Euro Tories versus Empire loyalists/little Englanders.

Bear in mind though that both camps wish to maintain an outward appearance of unity and confidence. The reason being that both sides hope to triumph while doing as little damage as possible to the mantle of British ruling class invincibility — as they like to see it anyhow.

Evidence of the conflict is therefore indirect. Rather than the two camps lining up for public battle, the cherished institutions and leading lights of either side are attacked.

ENGLAND IRELAND



•Colour party and piper leading the parade to the graveside

NO ACCIDENT

Note for example their recent and hitherto unprecedented onslaught on Britain's monarchy and aristocracy. That is no accident. Look too at the incredible procession of humiliating scandals befalling Tory politicians. These are not clever or even unscrupulous journalists prying. It is inside information deviously leaked from within the inner sanctums.

And while this conflict continues neither camp has yet achieved a decisive advantage. The result is a Prime Minister who was a compromise — a man of neither persuasion. Don't be fooled — Major is neither a fool nor a softie but he is more of an umpire in the dispute, a man with no firm party group. He is striving frantically to maintain party

unity and at the same time create a bastion for himself in the process.

What therefore are the implications of this essentially very English situation for our homeland? For a start let us realise that the ultra-reactionary Empire loyalist section of Torydom views the Six Counties as part of the bedrock of British power.

LOSS OF FACE

Any retreat from what they like to call Ulster would in their view endanger not just their United Kingdom. It would also be a calamitous loss of face and prestige for a class which has been in constant flight since the fall of Singapore.

This body of opinion will resist the liberation of Ireland with all the filthy tenacity they demonstrated in the Malaya's, Malaya or Zimbabwe.

You won't find any liberals in this closet waiting to assure us they have no strategic interest — selfish or otherwise — in Ireland.

They are unionist and woe befall any Irish Republican who fails to recognise and take account of their determination to preserve the union.

As for the other faction — the Radical Right or Euro Tories. Let us make something clear from the start. These people are not friends of Ireland. They do not champion peace, justice and liberation for Ireland. They are simple determined to gain the upper-hand in a power struggle.

In the process though, they are disrupting and destabilising old certainties in British ruling circles. Moreover, they are not adverse to attacking icons of their opponents. And as propagandists for a supposedly



ÉIRE NUA

A Four-Province Federal Ireland

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtaich
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NEW POSTER NOW AVAILABLE

4/4 = 1, A Four-Province Federal Ireland — new poster (A3 size, two colours) available from Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Price £6 per 100.



•Margaret Langsdorf laying a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement.

WORLD'S DIFFICULTY IS OUR OPPORTUNITY



... of Wolfe Tone at Bodenstov Cemetery.

that declaration is the very antithesis of democracy. It seeks to make permanent that arbitrary creation of 1920 — the Six-County state.

By what yard-stick was the boundary of the Six County state drawn up? The region was certainly not an historic entity, it had no obvious geographic logic nor could it claim ethnic or cultural distinctions.

We all know the Six Counties was established by dint of sectarian head-count and British imperial machination. And it has been maintained by the same.

Talk about the democratic consent of a northern majority has about as much relevance to democracy as if we were to underwrite the "democratic rights" of a white majority in Alabama or of Chief Buthelezi in Kwazulu-Natal or indeed of Spanish speakers to claim south California on behalf of Mexico.

If and when democracy and/or the region of democracy is arbitrarily and unilaterally truncated, democracy is negated. The situation becomes unreal if not bizarre.

For if the Six Counties were entitled to secede from Ireland in 1920 why not give the same rights to Tyrone, Fermanagh, west Belfast etc. to secede from the UK. If autonomous development is allowed to one then surely it must be allowed for all.

MYTH

In reality, these people who labour us with the myth of preserving democracy by upholding the wishes of an artificially created majority in north-east Ireland are perpetuating a profoundly undemocratic arrangement. Moreover, by perpetuating this undemocratic arrangement they are condemning the inhabitants of the region to an on going never-never land at best or endless terror at worst.

Yet this need not be the case. With a British ruling class split by one crisis after another there never has been a better opportunity to break that detrimental, debilitating connection.

Instead of pandering to the whims of the most reactionary section of the British ruling class if a clear rejection of the Downing Street Declaration were to come from Ireland, how much sooner might reality dawn on pragmatists in London.

Remember too, the clearer our rejection of British involvement the more realistic becomes our approach to Northern loyalists and unionists.

Keep in mind that for the most part Northern loyalists and unionists now distrust London as much as they distrust the rest of Ireland

We must never give Northern loyalists reasons to believe that we will ever seek to use Britain against them.

Because our message to loyalism is straight and honest. It's this: Republicans will never entertain a British presence or mark you involvement in the Six Counties.

And the loyalist people distrust Britain's presence and involvement in the Six Counties. Let us therefore remove that element which we Republicans cannot tolerate and which you loyalists do not trust and then let us talk.

Let's talk about how best to share and govern the land where history and fate has placed us. And rest assured by two powerful factors that the position of the Protestant/loyalist people will always be guaranteed and safeguarded.

First and foremost is the factor that Republicanism is a democratic and secular philosophy. We desire only our own freedom — and yours — but never the suppression of others.

Secondly, Irish Republicanism is neither interested in nor even capable of practising the scale of genocidal assault on Protestant people which might disenfranchise your community.

We must repeat though, that this situation of healthy negotiation is contingent on equal negotiating positions. The distorting imbalance of a British presence must be removed.

And let our message to all other parties in Ireland be this.

The divided British ruling class is desirous of a settlement to the Irish problem. Some of them insist on it being on their terms alone, others may be ambivalent while the rest are open to persuasion as to the conditions.

Yet none are so desirous of a settlement at present that they will not first attempt a ruse. A ploy to once again deceive the Irish. This they attempted with their delivery of December 15 last.

And for so long as you, the other Irish parties, entertain hopes and give credibility to that process — so long are you postponing a reasonable and widely acceptable denouement.

ALLOW me finally to address a message directly to you present today.

There comes a time in every revolution when certain elements on the revolutionary side falter. There are those who grow weary and that is understandable.

However there are those who are simply bought over. The benefits to be gained by freezing the existing *status quo* are too tempting for these people to exist. We've seen them too often.

And then of course there are those



●Tommy McKearney who will never be killed. Tonedescribed them as the men of no property.

MEN OF NO PROPERTY

For us today it is the people who seek no stake — financial, political or sentimental in preserving the *status quo* in Ireland.

And this afternoon I'm addressing the representatives of that most respectable section of Irish society.

Those whose dedication to a free and democratic Ireland has left them uncorrupted, left them without access to the perks and privileges of power. And better still — left them not hungry and selfish for it either.

Such people are unstoppable. You cannot be bought since you have no price. That is your great and irresistible strength: your relentless determination to pursue our noble objective.

And that is our guarantee of ultimate success. You of the spirit which marches on relentlessly.

You who marched on from Ballyseedy to still march with Frank Ryan across Ireland and Spain, to march with Sean McCaughey through Portlaoise and then again with O'Hanlon to Brookeborough.

You marched with Gaughan in England and are still marching past Downing Street. You will surely turn England's difficulty into Ireland's opportunity.

The very gates of Heaven can be stormed by such tenacity.

Guard well our Irish Republic. An Phoblacht Abú!

"brave new European Bri" they may well be open to persuasion on the benefits of dispensing with Britain's oldest colonial outpost.

WHAT is being said here is that objective conditions may not be favourable for Republican Ireland just now. However the potential exists to change these conditions dramatically in our favour.

Difficulties within the English ruling class obviously present Irish Republicans with a real opportunity.

Yet still my comrades, be wary. As with every plus there is a minus. So with every opportunity there exists a risk.

The risk is that by misreading the situation opportunity may become calamity and the realisation of a dream can be dissipated in mirage.

The people who walk the

uncommitted path in the great Tory dispute — Major and his supporters that is — are most anxious to create their own deal in Ireland. Any arrangement which they feel might appease all sections of Torydom would have the added advantage from Major's point of view of prolonging his own stay at No 10. For Major such an arrangement would require a subdued and acquiescent Six Counties and a Six Counties still firmly within the UK — in short the Downing Street Declaration accepted.

Should John Major and his supporters prove able to gain total acceptance in Ireland for the Downing Street Declaration — and the process involved therein — they will have satisfied certain British political ambitions at the expense of Irish democracy. Because make no mistake about it

Rwandan tragedy underlines neutrality sell-out

RECENT months have seen the biggest mass-slaughter since World War II in the former Belgian colony of Rwanda in Central Africa.

When the Belgians took over the country in 1919 after more than 20 years of German rule they used the minority Tutsi tribe against the majority Hutu people to "divide and rule" in classic imperial fashion.

This has led to several instances of mass-killings there and in neighbouring Burundi since the Belgians were forced to leave in 1962.

In 1994 French and Belgian policy influenced a shameful pull-out of UN peace-keeping forces during April when quick reaction by those international forces could have stopped the beginnings of ethnic slaughter.

NO PROTEST

The 26-County State did not protest in March and April at the UN failure to fulfil its

peace-keeping mandate while there was still time. Its Foreign Affairs Department is obsessed with EC/EU foreign policy cooperation.

Consistently the Fianna Fáil-Labour coalition have subordinated an independent stand on foreign affairs to the search for an EC/EU consensus. This is part of Euro-Political co-operation arising out of Maastricht (1992) and the Single European Act (1987).

Policy from Leinster House

must always be in line with their long-term plans to abandon neutrality at the 1996 EC/EU Inter-governmental Conference in Dublin when they wish to sign up formally to "defending Europe".

Jacques Delors put it better when he said it would be in preparation for "the resource wars of the 21st century", ie ransacking the Third World for scarce natural resources.

For Republicans the position is clear. We must

organise to defeat this proposed sell-out in Dublin in 1996 of neutrality and an independent foreign policy. Now is the time to prepare.

A statement from the National Platform (which organised opposition to Maastricht) on May 26 last said it was EC/EU "actions" which brought about the disaster in former Yugoslavia and EU "inaction" which was significantly responsible for the

horrors in Rwanda.

AGENCIES

Meanwhile caring international agencies try to pick up the pieces in situations resulting from the interested decisions of the former colonial powers of the EU.

The Irish people's stand had never been with the colonial and neo-colonial exploiters. That is the message for Leinster House's Dublin Euro-conference in 1996. Organise for it and prepare public opinion for it now.

Families of slain battle for truth

The Derry writer, Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, concludes his three-part expose of anti-nationalist repression in British-occupied Ireland. He is the international editor of *Ar nDúthchas (Our Heritage)* and a first time author with the recent release of *'Ulster's White Negroes - From Civil Rights to Insurrection'*. Published by AK Press, Edinburgh the books foreword was written by Bernadette McAliskey, formerly a Mid-Ulster MP. This title is now available from Irish Freedom Press, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7 (£5.95 plus p&p)

Killings by members of the British Crown Forces have been a source of major controversy since the outbreak of 'The Troubles'. They have been responsible for killing 357 people in the Six Counties since 1969, according to figures compiled by the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ). A large percentage of these killings have involved disputed circumstances. More than half the victims, or 190, were civilians uninvolved in militant groupings.

According to CAJ's figures, of the last 80 state killings since November 1982, five were from the Protestant community and the remaining 75 were from the Catholic community.

Many families of those killed find it difficult to believe that we are really citizens of Europe, for civilised standards seem to have been put on hold when they seek out the truth behind such grim statistics.

The NI Office consistently claim that all allegations of abuses by the British Crown Forces are carefully investigated and they assure the public that action is taken whenever such allegations are found to be true. But how can such assertion of rectitude be made when we observe the incessant manoeuvrings around the inquests of Gervaise McKerr, Eugene Toman, Sean Burns, Michael Tighe, Séamus Grew and Roddy Carroll (to name but a few)?

STALKER / SAMPSON

These six young men were killed almost thirteen years ago but we are little nearer knowing what happened now than in 1982. British Government supporters, with knowledge of developments here, may quickly point to the fact that in two of the incidents members of the RUC E4A Special Support Unit were brought to court to face murder charges only to be acquitted.

However, it must be stressed that Amnesty International reports how it emerged in the course of the trials that senior police had concocted a false version of events and had instructed subordinates, under the Official Secrets Act, to give false testimony.

The circumstances surrounding the abrupt and dubious ending of John Stalker's inquiry into these deaths has alerted many international agencies, in addition to Amnesty International, to allegations of "cover-ups" etc.

The subsequent Sampson inquiry

seems to have been another farce that followed tragedy when the British Attorney General was forced to admit that evidence existed showing that RUC officers had attempted or conspired to pervert the course of justice.

Stalker in fact believed that the evidence he had uncovered could point to unlawful killings in all six deaths and the BBC reported that Sampson (appointed to head the inquiry when Stalker was suspended) believed that there were grounds for 'conspiracy to murder' charges in at least one case.

However it is noteworthy that none of this evidence has been subjected to independent test and public scrutiny because prosecutions were determined by Sir Patrick Mayhew, then British Attorney-General, to be inimical to 'national security' and 'public interest' considerations.



INQUESTS

It is highly inhumane that the families of the deceased cannot even place their trust in the holding of an inquest, because this once hallowed

●Bullet riddled car in which Toman, McKerr and Burns were killed by RUC special unit in November 1982

procedure has also become so distorted as to become yet another institutionalised farce. Even the coroner has had his powers seriously diluted.

Throughout the world human rights agencies are observing the brave stand by the coroner for Belfast, John Leckey, who is endeavouring merely to perform his job conscientiously against a background of years of delays, adjournments, and apparent brick walls of official silences and obstructions. In his search for justice he is not alone, as many eyes and ears are focused on each turn and twist of this saga and other ongoing battles for the truth.

This situation does not assist the search for peace, as people's respect for the law and procedures such as inquests, have been seriously undermined. The powers of the coroner are extremely limited, and on occasions the coroner has not even sought to exercise those rights that he/she has.

Fortunately for the interests of public accountability and justice, John Leckey, responsible for investigating the causes of death of these six men, has been trying hard to find out what happened. Since the formal re-opening of the inquests last summer, there have been numerous delays and adjournments, but a crucial issue is now being tested in the courts.

This coroner was denied direct access to the Stalker/Sampson reports,

he then asked that a senior member of the Manchester inquiry team be given access to his own working documents (now in the possession of the RUC) so that he might refresh his memory and be in a position to give evidence to the coroner. Subpoenas were served on the Chief Constable to ensure that such access was granted, but Public Interest Immunity Certificates (PIIC) are being prepared.

In addition, the coroner's actions are being challenged; the RUC Chief Constable is arguing to the court that subpoenas requiring his presence at the inquest, and the provision of the Stalker/Sampson reports, should be set aside.

COURT CASE

The outcome of this application is as yet unclear — but every indication over the years is that his attempts to discover the truth are not welcomed either by the Tory government at Westminster or by the RUC, a force which claims to be the upholders of British law and the guardians of the Queen's peace.

Many are amazed that the main 'nationalist' party in the Six Counties rarely, if ever, publicly comments on such blatant efforts to frustrate attempts by loved ones and human rights agencies to establish the truth.

Their spokesmen, including my erstwhile Derry civil rights colleague, John Hume MP, MEP, have remained

mute on this and many other issues, both within the Westminster and European parliaments, and particularly when visiting the United States.

Other related issues include the ongoing 'shoot-to-kill' strategy, British Crown Forces' collusion with loyalist death squads, the importation by MI5 of arms from South Africa to these murder-gangs using British intelligence agent Brian Nelson, etc, etc. The platforms provided to the SDLP have never been adequately utilised internationally and such an omission cannot be considered as either an oversight or unintentional, particularly as these are matters of life, death and social justice for tens of thousands of their constituents.

Writing recently in the CAJ's monthly newsletter Maggie Beirne, an English human rights activist stressed:

"While it may be a proper function of government to protect its intelligence sources it is not the function of government to allow the circumstances of the deaths of unarmed civilians to be covered up.

Moreover, it is certainly not the function of government to place every conceivable obstacle in the way of officials seeking to establish the facts.

John Leckey is merely trying to perform his job conscientiously, in so doing he is — perhaps inadvertently — providing a litmus-test of the government's good faith."



●Three victims of British Crown Forces, shoot-to-kill policy in 1982 (left to right) Seamus Grew, Roddy Carroll and Michael Tighe.

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, EIRE NUA office, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

● Now available: Dáithí Ó Conaill In Memoriam Cards price £1 each or bulk orders 60p.

Tony Ruane Commemoration

REPUBLICANS from Carlow, Kildare, West Wicklow, Wexford and Dublin attended the 3rd anniversary commemoration of the death of Tony Ruane, Honorary Life Vice-President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach in Carlow Cemetery on Sunday, June 19.

Assembling at the gates of the cemetery the crowd marched in orderly fashion led by Tommy O'Neill, Dublin bearing the National Flag, to the graveside where Tom Concannon, Chairman of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central opened the proceedings by reading an excerpt from the last letter written by Liam Mellows before his execution.

He called on Tony Ruane's granddaughter Joanne to say a decade of the Rosary as gaeilge following which a wreath was laid by Tom Ryan on behalf of the Cumann.

The Last Post and Reveille was sounded and the Flag dipped. The Chairman then called on Cathleen Knowles, Ard Chomhairle to give the oration. She paid tribute to Tony's long years of dedicated service to the cause of Irish freedom and said:

MEANS

"Tony was an upholder of the physical force tradition in the fight for Irish freedom because he saw it as the only means whereby the anti-democratic imposition of partition in Ireland and its equally undemocratic maintenance could be over-



● Tony Ruane thrown and the Republic of 1916 restored."

She said that Tony all through the decades even during his years of exile in America never lost hope that the long struggle for independence would be brought to fruition.

Before concluding she paid tribute to Tony's wife Bridget who is buried beside him and who died just three months before him. The ceremony then came to an end with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann.

Springfield Park remains exposed

THE RUC has finally admitted that it plans to build a new RUC station on the Springfield Road in Belfast. In a letter to lawyers acting for Springfield Park Residents Association Chairwoman, Brenda Murphy, RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley confirmed that a new RUC station is planned for the former Farset farm site between Springfield Park and the loyalist Springmartin estates.

The letter also reveals that the Northern Ireland Office has given in to nationalist demands for a wall along the peace line at Springfield Park. Brenda Murphy has criticised the RUC's refusal to give a date when work on the wall will begin. "As for as we can make out, when the RUC talk about building a wall at the peace line they are actually referring to a new security wall for their barracks" she said.

"For the past two years the RUC have known that a new station was to be built in this area. That's why they

stubbornly refused to build the wall we needed to protect our families against sectarian attack.

"They knew their refusal to build the wall left us exposed dreadfully to loyalist gun gangs but they just didn't care. We are holding the RUC and the NIO responsible for every attack that took place as a result of their couldn't-care-less policies".

The Springfield Park spokeswoman said the local community was determined "to bring the RUC and NIO to book" for the loyalist murder of Dermott Hill man Paul Thompson in the street in April.



● Paul Thompson

His killers entered and left Springfield Park through a hole in the corrugated iron fence at the peace line.

Independent inquiry evidence rejected

FORMER nationalist MP for Mid-Ulster Bernadette McAlisley failed in a bid to have the finding of an independent inquiry accepted as evidence to an inquest into the deaths of four Co Tyrone men shot dead by the UVF three years ago.

Coroner Roger McLennon

rejected her request to have 34

statements admitted as evidence. Along with Fermanagh priest Fr Joe McVeigh the former MP conducted an independent probe into the circumstances surrounding the murder of 52-year-old Thomas Armstrong and three young members of the military wing of the Provisionals John Quinn (23), Malcolm Nugent (20) and Dwayne O'Donnell (17) all from Cappagh. They were shot dead in an attack at Boyle's Pub in the

village in March 1991. Bernadette McAlisley said many of the witnesses from whom she took statements had been unwilling to be interviewed by the RUC or to be identified. She also said there were allegations that the names of people present in the bar had been given to a British-backed loyalist death squad by British Crown Force members. No one has ever been charged with the murders.

Glasgow Social honours Frank McGowan

AFTER an enjoyable and well-attended Easter Sunday Commemoration earlier this year at a wet and windy Pearse Park, Glasgow's Irish community converged on a city centre location. They had gathered for the social to raise funds for CABHAIR and to make a very special presentation.

With so much on the agenda the large turn-out was more than expected and is a tribute in itself to the ongoing support, both moral and financial, enjoyed by

Irish Republicans in Scotland. The event was once again well supported by Conradh na Gaeilge, Comhaltas and the GAA, all of whom gave of their



● Frank McGowan

time to make the night a successful Cois Time. Music and recitations blended with the reading of the Easter Proclamation and a raffle and exhibition to give everyone a lively and varied night.

Unfortunately the recipient of the evening's presentation, the Veteran Republican Frank McGowan, could not attend due to unforeseen circumstances. However the presentation of a harp made by Long Kesh POWs went ahead as planned. Stephen Coyle made the presentation to Seán Ó Ciaraín who accepted on behalf of his friend and comrade

Frank McGowan.

Few Republicans in Scotland have a record of involvement and dedication equal to that of Frank McGowan. He epitomises all the truest qualities of the Irish Republican in exile and like the late Commdt Gen Tom Maguire has never wavered over the decades.

Frank first became involved in the 'thirties and remained a very active Republican well into the 'fifties, along with many of his comrades in Scotland who have now passed on. Men such as Peter Marron, Neil

McSheffrey, Liam Morris, Jimmy Cunningham, Jimmy Power, Patrick Mohan, Seán O'Shea, Tom Brady and Felix Jordan. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ara anam.

These men were pillars of the Fénián faith sacrificing their lives to the cause they held so dear and no weapon in the state's armoury could break them or steer them from the path they had chosen.

The seeds they and Frank McGowan planted diligently over the years are continuing to bear fruit in Scotland and the success of the social night is a tribute to their labours.

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- Selection of other books available, book-list available on request

Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

SPEAKER of the House, Tom Foley, first publicly showed his contempt for those engaged in resistance to British presence in Ireland at a hastily called Congressional meeting called by then Speaker Tip O'Neill. The featured speaker at the meeting was SDLP leader, John Hume, who was to elucidate his opinion on the current events in the North of Ireland.

Instead of focusing on the given topic, Hume launched into a tirade exhorting Irish Americans and Irish organizations in the US, some of whom were present in the Hearing Room. His conduct was contemptuous and inexcusable and insulted the hallowed halls he was given privilege to utilize for the moment.

Those attacked were not given leave to defend themselves from Hume's charges such as that we in the States were responsible for the killings of innocents inclusive of small children because of our refusal to tolerate the use of physical force.

By the way, never once during his remarks did John Hume ever mention British human rights abuses, he excused their conduct. Hume was angry because he had no access to grass roots US organizations and unfortunately, in this column's opinion, he was half-potted. This condition makes us all look bad and supports the myth of the Irishman and his drink.

In the interest of fairness, Hume should have been silenced or those attacked given leave to offer counter arguments. Instead, Tom Foley agreed with Mr Hume and started his own ranting exhortations against Irish organizations which he knew were utter lies. Hume and Foley came across as two members of the British Foreign Office.

HARANGUED

Foley harangued those present with his narrow opinions that IRA people should continue to be kept out of the US and he was committed to keeping them out and having John Hume as the sole spokesman for the

Irish nationalists. Hume had earned Foley's respect for not fighting the British, but talking as a reasonable man to the British.

Headed that what Irish Americans accuse the British of committing is a lot of propaganda Foley became irrational at this point and called the IRA the worst vermin trying to wreck a democracy established by the British. Hume knew better, but he said nothing to embarrass Foley.

OVER the years, Tom Foley has always been under the British umbrella, attacking Irish Republicans and excusing British atrocities. At the meeting mentioned above, Foley said any abuse of the IRA by the British was brought on by those who choose violence.

He did not distinguish between combatants and civilians because he views supporters and sympathizers as one and the same. This is the British line.

For an Irish American to be a persuader for the British in the US Congress puts the disgrace upon him for maligning those of his own race who never did anything to him and are resisting one of history's worst tyrants.

This strongly infers that he is an unabashed anglophile, or the British have something on him that he wants kept secret. Is Foley buying silence by being an advocate of the British?

Tom Foley, you will recall, would not meet Republicans in his past trips to Ireland. He alone of the US Irish Congressional delegation opposed the Adams visa. He did this after consultation with the British Embassy. In more recent times, Foley hosted meetings with James Molyneux, Ian Paisley and Patrick Mayhew. Each thanked him for his steadfast anti-Republican position and especially his total opposition to visas for Gerry Adams and for Republican leaders.

Isn't it peculiar that Speaker Foley met with Paisley and Peter Robinson who have had their hands in violence, yet he condemns Republican violence.



Speaker Foley is well briefed by the British Embassy and British intelligence agents operating out of the Embassy, and well knows their affiliations.

INTIMATE

The late John McKeague and the late John McMichael both told congressmen in the 1970s that Ian Paisley is intimate with all loyalist paramilitaries. He was consulted and participated in the formation of all the paramilitaries, and continues liaison today. Paisley and Robinson are charter members of the "Third Force" and have called for the killing of Catholics.

Tom Foley's goal is to destroy Irish Republicanism in favour of whatever it is that John Hume and his cohorts propose for an "internal" British settlement. It now appears that Mr Foley is prepared to cozy up to Paisley, Molyneux, and Mayhew as well as Hume in order to impose a peace.

Peace and justice will not be served by an imposed peace such as the Downing Street Declaration. Foley is in the mould of Conor Cruise O'Brien who has no use for his own race which he considers inferior to the British, with some obvious exceptions.

MANY factions in Ireland blame others for the continuing violence which seems at times unending. Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh once said: **We must end violence in this generation and not sentence another generation to another round of violence. One Ireland is to be the Republican legacy, not violence. Violence must stop now and the means to that end if the ending of partition and the British setting a date for a withdrawal from Ireland.**



•Birds of a feather - John Hume and Tom Foley.

That is a statement with which I concur and it is a statement of a man who wants peace, but not at the price of his soul. The peace-at-any-price crowd is willing to accept peace without justice because they have no soul and Tom Foley, the US Speaker is one of that frozen few.

I accuse Speaker Foley as one of those who prolongs violence because he is intransigent and narrow-minded, unwilling to listen or allow others to listen to the voice of reason which is contained within the peace plan ÉIRE NUA.

Foley wants to impose a renamed status quo that will sentence another generation to violence because there will always be those with the courage to fight injustice. The Foleys of this world cave in to the likes of London and are craven cowards.

SURROGATES

In order to insure that only the British or British-inspired surrogates such as Mr Hume and his friends are heard, Mr Foley has taken a firm stand against visas to Republicans. He has to oppose the visa of Gerry Adams to look consistent, but it is obvious that

John Hume had made a deal with Adams, and Hume got Senator Ted Kennedy to grease the skids at the White House for Adams.

Let us look closely at Tom Foley. To be so anti-Irish Republican and embracing the British/Free State/Hume colluders, the British must have something on Foley that he does not want made public. It is better to think that than to admit another Irishman has sold out, but better the truth than the continuing lies that the colluders use over in the States without debates from qualified debaters.

When true Republicans have free speech in the States, Ireland will take a step toward freedom. Until then, we have to battle the new pro-Treaty forces. Almost 75 years later and we have Irish fools who believe the British have good intentions.

Republican Sinn Féin holds the soul of Ireland. It alone continues the tradition of the tortured O'Donovan Rossa who could not be broken; Cathal Brugha who would not surrender; and Tom Maguire who would take no Free State dirty money and died as he lived with a clear Irish conscience.

— Peadar Mac Fhírin

Launch of Ulster's White Negroes

DURING this past six weeks events have been held in Derry city, Donegal, Scotland, Australia and the USA to mark the appearance of a new paperback which has been published by the international publishers AK Press, whose head office is in Edinburgh. These included its Irish launch in Derry at the Bookworm Community Bookshop on May 18, which attracted many who are mentioned in its pages, as well as various sections of the media.

Ulster's White Negroes - From Civil Rights to Insurrection, written by Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, a co-founder of the Civil Rights Movement in 1967 is dedicated to his late father, Harry "Baker" O'Doherty, a veteran of the Black-and-Tan War and the second defence of the Republic (1916-23). He died in his 90th year and prided himself in being one of the few survivors of Derry's "Old Brigade".

The work took some four years in research and writing and draws heavily on such primary sources as minute books, internal documents, diaries and other records, carefully preserved down the years by the author and his late father. Such are of much interest to both historians and academics, but also to those of the author's generation and particularly younger people who wish to be further enlightened as to the social conditions in the Six Counties during previous decades.

The *Derry Journal* remarked: "This author was well equipped to tackle specific research projects as he was honorary secretary within various agitational groupings concerned with campaigning for jobs, houses, electoral reform and the abolition of repressive legislation enforced during the days of one-party Stormont rule, under which he and other members of his family circle were imprisoned or interned over that fifty-year period."

Copies of this new paperback have been requested by former US Congressman Mario Biaggi, Tony Benn MP and Tony Gregory TD, each of whom will review the book before lodging the new title in the libraries of Congress, House of Commons and Dublin's Leinster House respectively.

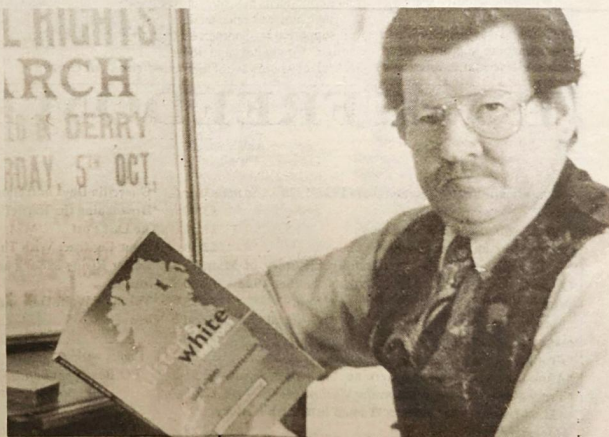
In recent weeks messages of congratulations have poured into the Donegal and Derry offices of ÁrnDúthchas (Our Heritage), a cultural periodical with an international circulation of

7,000 copies. It has been edited by the author since 1988. The proceeds from the book are being donated to the West Bank R & D Group in Derry, which has as one of its aims the exposing of discrimination and the tackling of high levels of unemployment in the North-West via the practical help to those endeavouring to set up workers' co-operatives or become self-employed.

Several public representatives in Britain, America and the 26 Counties sent individual greetings, as well as Mrs Bernadette McAlisley, the former Mid-Ulster MP who wrote the foreword to the book. Bishop Edward Daly of Derry and several campaigning priests including Fr Seán McManus, Irish National Caucus, Washington DC; Fr Joe McVeigh of Clergy for Justice and Fr Des Wilson, a Belfast community leader and human rights activist sent written and verbal messages to the various gatherings held to mark the launch of this new paperback. The publishers have forwarded some fifty copies to reviewers at home and abroad.

The author informed SAOIRSE that he particularly pleased to receive greetings by telephone from Michael Flannery in New York, one of the few surviving insurgents of the 1916-23 period.

In addition to the above



•Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh

messages one was received from Republican Sinn Féin and read, with others, at the various events. In the main these were organised by veterans of several civil rights committees, or friends of the author.

The Republican Sinn Féin statement read: "Best wishes and congratulations to Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh and AK Press on the publication of *Ulster's White Negroes* - From

Civil Rights to Insurrection, from everyone at Republican Sinn Féin Head Office and SAOIRSE, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. We congratulate Fionnbarra on setting the record straight in his account of the struggle in Derry from his unique position as part of it all.

"This radical testimony will help refute the revisionist establishment north and south, who want the nationalist people

of north-east Ireland to accept a new Stormont. The message of Fionnbarra's book is that there can be no return to the failed two-state Ireland. The Croppies will not lie down! We look forward with him to the day when British occupation in our country is ended and we can all build a New Ireland that caters for majorities and minorities alike. Adh mór oraibh go léir, a chairde."

LÉIRMHEAS

Getting Down to Work — creating jobs in your community by Fintan Tallon, Brandon Books (1993) £5.95.

Fintan Tallon is a management consultant with over thirty years experience in economic planning and business development", to quote the cover of his book. He also helped plan the cover of the country's Action Tallaght, a community enterprise programme set up to help tackle the huge unemployment problem in the area.

Getting Down to Work outlines a strategy for tackling the unemployment crisis which is community centred and proposes the economic empowerment of people at local level.

The book begins by looking at the economic development of the 26 Counties from 1921 to the 1980s. Tallon points out that the British attitude that Ireland was an agricultural based economy with no role for native industry was accepted totally and unchallenged by the 26-County State.

It was also assumed that Ireland possessed no natural resources, with no attempt made either then or since to access fully the resources we possess. Tallon is also critical of the governmental structure adopted by the 26-County State "we perpetuated a system more suited to colonial power, one which absorbed more and more of the country's precious financial resources, generating a false dependency on illusory hopes and auction politics" (p 48).

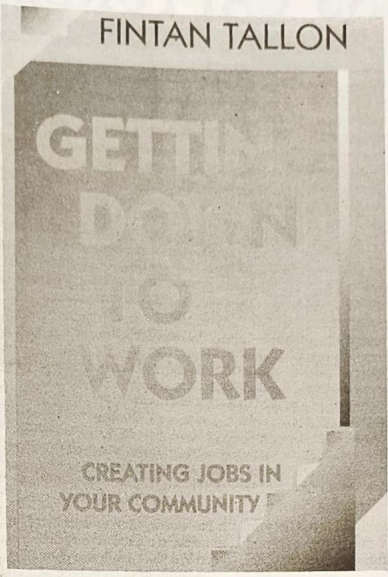
Tallon goes on to look at the industrial development policies adopted by the various 26-County administrations and contends that indigenous industry was ignored in favour

of foreign multinationals and as Tallon says: "Economic planners failed to recognise that Irish industries were operated and controlled by people with strong local roots who had, in general, made a commitment to their area. The motives of the foreign investors were far more self-interested" (p 29).

BLANK CHEQUES
Tallon says that Irish industry was allowed to die in many cases whilst multinationals were written in effect a blank cheque in the form of grants and tax concessions which if directed at native industry he argues could have saved a number of industries such as leather, chipboard, paper, clothing and milling. In Tallon's words "we have developed an unhealthy overdependency" on foreign multinationals.

This neglect of the native economy was exacerbated by the 26-County State's admission to the then EEC in 1973. Other EU member states see the importance of native industry, but not it seems the

Community action is the key



26-County state.

"The British opt out of the Social Chapter. The French, Germans, Belgians, Dutch and Spanish use dubious protective, positive discrimination in favour of their native products to enhance market production. But the Irish, like good Christians, abide by all the EC commandments, losing jobs and markets to their competitors" in a quote from a senior European Commission official (p 33).

It seems, says Tallon, that

the 26-County State has come to the conclusion that its economic policy has failed and they can only survive now on EU support. Tallon also points to the huge debt incurred in the late 1970s in a last ditch attempt to prop up the ailing 26-County economy which led to a crisis in national finances with politicians and economists lecturing the Irish people on the sacrifices they would have to make so as to repay the so-called national debt.

Every budget since has had

this aim as its central thrust whilst the numbers of unemployed have grown each year reaching 300,000 in the early 1990s.

And so turning to the immoral waste of human resources that mass unemployment represents Tallon says that two factors are needed: "a consensus that full employment is of vital national importance and institutions to put this national priority into effect" (p 41). But, he continues, "neither of these factors have been much in evidence in Ireland where political and administrative structures have fostered a kind of development which increased national wealth, but excluded many hundreds of thousands of people from any share in it" (p 41).

EMPOWERED

Tallon argues that any policy aimed at tackling unemployment and economic regeneration must begin at community on local level. They key message of the book is that people must be politically and economically empowered.

Tallon proposes the establishment of Community Enterprise Groups to foster and support local industry. "To build a common vision of how our locality might be developed, we need first of all to look around at what we have and what we lack.

"The Community Enterprise Group's work begins with research which draws a picture of the local economy in its entirety. It looks at how the community as a whole gains its income and how

it spends it, it examines the needs of the community with the aim of identifying how these needs can be met locally, and it gathers together a register of all the skills which the community possesses. All of these economic elements are audited, the information gathered in a comprehensive bank of knowledge which helps the Enterprise Group to see where it might begin to act so as to influence the local situation to the advantage of the community" (pp 62-63). If we learn to source our needs locally to the maximum extent then, Tallon says we have recovered control of the local economy.

SUIT NEEDS

Tallon asserts that no single overall policy will work but must be varied to suit the individual needs of each local area. Proposing a "building block" strategy he says the process of economic regeneration outlined can begin at local, then regional and finally national level.

Fintan Tallon's book represents just some of the refreshing and original thought which is being brought to bear on Ireland's many political and economic ills by such people as Desmond Fennell, John Waters and of course in Sinn Féin Poblachtach's political, economic and social programmes SAOL NUA and EIRE NUA. As Tallon states in the book "change is desperately needed if we are, as John F Kennedy said, to have any chance of writing history rather than merely reading it."

— Deasún Ó Daltuín

War and Peace in Ireland

War and Peace in Ireland — Britain and the IRA in the New World Order by Mark Ryan, published by Pluto, paperback £7.50; hardback £27.50.

MICHAEL COLLINS: "I always had to have said that Irish Republicanism often fails to understand the nature and dynamic of its adversaries. Whatever we might feel about 'The Big Fellow's' other thoughts, there was and still remains a disturbing measure of truth in this particular observation.

Therefore Mark Ryan's latest book *War and Peace in Ireland — Britain and the IRA in the New World Order* is a valuable asset. It helps correct the above mentioned deficiency, specifically in our understanding of the current so-called peace process.

Mark Ryan — a graduate of TCD and presently lecturing in England — has compiled what is the best and most in-depth analysis to date of the Downing Street Declaration/Peace Process bandwagon.

Originally conceived as a paper to be delivered at a symposium in the University of North London, this book strives to place the peace process syndrome in context.

The author begins by examining the international political scene which has helped create the climate for peace talks in Ireland.

The demise of Warsaw Treaty states in conjunction with a retreat by Left forces in general, has weakened anti-imperialist movements worldwide. Mark Ryan argues convincingly that imperial powers are now taking advantage of this situation to

Gone are the days he notes when Sinn Féin used to daub gable walls with the slogan SDLP = Stoop Down Low Party.

As the final sentence in this chapter says: "... once Hume has achieved his mission of integrating the Republican Movement into some British-imposed settlement, then Adams risks becoming just another constitutional politician, and Sinn Féin merely a radical appendage of the SDLP"

ASSESSMENT

The book continues with a broad assessment of Ireland, south and north.

The chapter dealing with 26 Counties Ireland is entitled: "The South — a quest for identity". Mark Ryan records here that the Southern establishment has over the past twenty-five years rejected Republicanism and Irish nationalism. Terrified by realities thrown up by the Northern Troubles since 1969, the Southern establishment now seeks an accommodation (at any price) with unionism. It no longer pays even lip service to breaking the connection with Britain.

In the process, Southern revisionism has found it necessary to denigrate Republicanism and the Northern struggle. It has also found it necessary to denigrate the very events which led to the foundation of the state.

So pusillanimous is the

Southern establishment that it fails to understand the inherent risks in this course for itself. After all: by bringing into question the legitimacy of events which brought about the formation of a state there inevitably arises a question about the legitimacy of the continued existence of that state.

In dealing with Six Counties Ireland the author covers some ground that has already been well reported: the dearth of economic activity; continuing discrimination in employment (where employment exists); and of course the all pervasiveness of an undemocratic police state with the ever present evidence of its coercive arm, the RUC and British military.

The author does record other less well known changes in North-East Ireland. He refers to the dramatic loss of influence and power suffered by unionism. He also highlights the fact that the Six Counties Catholic middle-class has emerged triumphant from the events of the past 25 years. Eamon McCann from Derry has argued this for sometime but it bears repeating.

It is though in Mark Ryan's concluding chapter that arguably he makes his most significant contribution. He claims quite simply that the British ruling class wishes to remain in Ireland, come what may.

It is his contention that those people who wield power in London look on the Six

Counties as integral not just to the UK but more importantly to the very integrity of their state. These people believe therefore that any loss of will to rule the Six Counties would undermine their authority to rule the entire British state. And as this class is losing its influence on a global scale, it guards all the more jealously its influence "domestically".

PROPOSITION

This relatively straightforward proposition carries profound implications for the current "peace process". Much of the Adams/McGuinness strategy is predicated on the proposition that Britain is neutral in Ireland; that Britain has no long-term strategic interest here; and that Britain accepts the inevitability of her leaving Ireland and the island becoming united politically.

But what if this is not the actual reality. What indeed. Shades of what leading Belfast Sinn Féin person used to say sixteen years ago. If the Brits want to go he used to maintain, they would simply go — they don't need an excuse or to be facilitated by anybody.

Notwithstanding all of this there are a few points in Mark Ryan's book with which we might agree.

There is a certain tendency to imply that Republicanism may be a spent force and this is surely open to question.

For the past 200 years Irish Republicanism has been a major influence for progress and democracy in Ireland. Its weakness hasn't been so much

its cross-class character as the inadequacies of whatever class dominated the Republican cause at any given time.

As different class interests were satisfied, sections fell away and/or opposed the cause. The most recent may prove to be the time-honoured deflection of lumpen elements. Objectively, the Irish working class remains unfulfilled. The question isn't therefore whether Irish Republicanism is spent but when it becomes reinvigorated?

Another question may well be just how monolithic is the British ruling class? Is there not a profound division within High-Church Torydom over the EEC? And might this not be advantageous for Ireland?

Previous splits within the British ruling class over the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the re-introduction of trade tariffs had powerful effects on political life in London of the last century. It had dramatic effect on Ireland too.

Such points are of interest but in no way detract from the overall value of this book. Mark Ryan has done a real service to the debate on the Downing Street Declaration/Peace Process syndrome.

His book sets out an insightful and critical critique of the entire process which goes in tandem with the current initiative. There may be a convincing rebuttal to all the author has written, but in the absence of just such a rebuttal his case stands.

— Tommy McKearney

CHARLIE KERINS CAPTURED IN DUBLIN

50 YEARS AGO

ON JUNE 16, 1944 Charles Kerins, Chief-of-Staff, Irish Republican Army was captured in Dublin. He had returned from Kerry to recover some papers and

weapons he had left at a house in Rathmines.

That house at 50 Upper Rathmines Road was owned by the actor Dr Paul Farrell and his wife Dr Kathleen Murphy. In the front page article of *Ant-Eireannach Aontúithe*, September-October 1948 Dr Murphy tells the story.

He had come to Dublin originally, she says, in 1942 to take the place of GHQ Staff, IRA of a comrade who had been arrested and imprisoned. Leaving his native town of Tralee at the age of 24, he had put himself "on the run" automatically.

At this time treachery had struck a deadly blow at the Army, "suspicion was rife, friends few, safe houses fewer still and funds low. Surely if ever men stepped into the gap of danger it was the small band who kept the flag flying in the sad and depressing years between 1940 and 1942," she continues.

"One by one his comrades paid the price of their fidelity to the Irish Republic. Finally Charlie was left alone in the Bearna Baoghail. He was Chief-of-Staff of a scattered and depleted army.

SINGLEMINDEDNESS

"Those who are in a position to do so will one day testify to the fidelity and single-mindedness with which he fulfilled his duties. There was a price on his head and he knew he could be shot on sight by Free State detectives. In spite of this knowledge, he risked his life on more than one occasion to bring his men to safety."

Dr Bowyer Bell writes: "The year 1944 was so bad that he could not find a single man to go by the Farrells' and collect his dump. In June he came back to Dublin and hired a pony cart to move the things from the Farrell house."

"He called in a disguised message over the tapped phone that he would be over that evening, June 15. There was no sign of the police when he arrived at 50 Rathmines Road and he slipped in quietly."

Bell continues: "Late that night the trap finally closed. The police arrived with squad-cars, ambulances, tin hats, coats of mail, and machine guns."

"They tried off the side door lock and went up six flights to the room where Kerins and Dr Farrell's seventeen-year-old son were sleeping. The detectives burst through the door."

"Kerins had a Thompson under the bed but he never had a chance to use it for he was seized before he was fully awake."

Dr Farrell gives the following account of events: "On June 15, 1944, Dublin Castle detectives had information as to where Charlie Kerins could be arrested. The preparations were complete so that this 'desperate criminal' should not escape."

"The house was surrounded, there were ambulances and machine guns and a large force of detectives — the chiefs at least wearing armour under their coats."

"At five o'clock in the morning the lock was taken off the side door and the servants of the Castle crept through the house in their stocking feet and went straight to the room and the bed where Charlie was sleeping."

"An enemy hath done this", for information had certainly been given. Charlie Kerins awoke to find the machine gun trained on him."

Earlier Dr Farrell, who with her husband and family knew Charlie well, gives us some insight into the man.

"Whenever" she writes, "in Kerry or Dublin Charlie Kerins is remembered by his intimate friends, there you may be sure that merriment will not long be absent. Someone will recall his adventures, the odd characters he met, the pranks he played, the tight corners he was in."

LAUGHTER

"In memory we see him with his head thrown back, laughing most when the joke was against him — and the echoes of his laughter ring out once more. For how was it possible to endure life if he could not see whatever fun there was in it."



• Charlie Kerins

"As Terence MacSwiney said, 'It is because we must talk of grave things that we must preserve our gaiety, otherwise we could not preserve our balance.'"

Seán Cronin gives us some indication of the nature of the papers Charlie Kerins sought to recover from the Rathmines house. He says that a US Legation report from Dublin by Aaron S. Brown, Second Secretary to the Secretary of State in Washington dated October 21, 1944 included the following:

"Documents in his possession — mentioned Seán MacBride, Mrs Austin Stack and Dan Spring, a National Labour TD from Tralee, 'as sympathisers or members of the IRA'. (Dan Spring was also an ITGWU organiser, a Kerry county footballer and was father of Dick Spring, the present 26-County Labour Party leader.)"

"Some of the documents mentioned 'formation of a new Republican Party and discussed the advisability of contesting certain seats'. Some of the material was censored, the Legation said, indicating that the government was using the case for political purposes."

These were echoes of the IRA GHQ conference decision in Belfast in February 1943 to launch a new Republican political arm and of the attempts in Belfast about Easter that year to implement that decision.

With Kerins' arrest the only GHQ officer left in Dublin was Archie Doyle with whom he possibly had no contact from Kerry. In Belfast, Harry White as OC Northern Command and senior GHQ man automatically assumed the position of Chief of Staff.

Archie did not survive long after Charlie's arrest. Harry says "he was such a seemingly colourless, transparent person, he could merge into any group and cease to be noticed."

The veteran of the Tan and Free State wars, of the '30s and '40s was eventually arrested in the autumn of 1944 and sent to the Curragh Concentration Camp. After all his activities, north and south of the Border, nothing could be pinned on this physically mercurial Republican.

CASUALTY

Also in June 1944 came another casualty. Charles O'Hare died a prisoner in the Isle of Man Internment Camp on the second of the month. He was buried in Armagh. The toll of deaths was lengthening.

Meanwhile, the dribble of unconditional releases from the Curragh continued. In July 1944, the great Irish writer Máirtín Ó Cadhain was released. He had been held for four years and three months since April 1940 when he was arrested on the evening of Tony Darcy's funeral in North Galway.

Two years later Máirtín started on the *magnum opus* of his life *Cré na Cille*, his novel published in 1949, which was chosen by UNESCO for translation into several languages. It won great praise and the Oireachtas prize, as Tomás Bairéad records in his *Réamhrá do 'Asan n'Geibheann'*, litreacha chuig Tomás Bairéad ó Máirtín Ó Cadhain ar an gCurrach:

"Céim suas do Ghaeilge Chonamara agus eile é, arsa mise le Máirtín nuair a tugadh an duais agus an t-ard-nholadh *Chré na Cille*. Ba bheag a mheas ar an gcaint sin.

"Onóir, agus moladh agus céim suas don IRA



• Máirtín Ó Cadhain

a bhí ann, a dhuine, agus droch-mheas agus sásamh ar an muintir a chuir géibheann orthu, agus ar an té a bhris é féin as a phostal!"

Máirtín went on to become a civil servant acting as a translator on the Leinster House staff in 1949. Fluent in eight languages and a lecturer in Modern Irish at Trinity College Dublin from 1956, he became Professor in 1969 and a Fellow in 1970. Trodaire cróga ar son na Gaeilge a bhí ann go lá a bháis 1970.

He spoke last to a Republican audience at the unveiling of a memorial in Donnyloop Cemetery, Castletin Co Donegal to Comdt John James Kelly IRA, killed on active service in 1938. That was at the end of August 1969. Ar dheis Dé go raibh d'anam dásachtach, a Mháirtín.

CLIMAX

But events in WWII had escalated and were moving to a climax. On the morning of June 6, known forever as D-Day, 150,000 Allied troops in many thousands of ships and landing craft engaged in the greatest amphibious movement of men and equipment in history across the English Channel and landed on a 60-mile wide beach-head in Normandy, France.

Two factors combined to weaken the German defences. The Allies through disinformation and a *ruse-de-guerre* had convinced the German High Command that the Normandy landings were only a feint and that the real invasion would take place later across the Straits of Dover to the Calais area.

Therefore the German 15th Army remained in position there manning the heavily fortified Mur Atlantique or Atlantic Wall. Secondly, June 6 was the 50th birthday of the wife of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel of North African fame, and the Desert Fox was at his home in Germany and absent from his command of Army Group B comprising both the 7th Army in Normandy and Brittany and the 15th in the area east of the River Seine.

He already had intended seeking additional

Panzer (armoured) Divisions from Hitler and when the invasion struck it took him two days to prise these from the German Dictator. The Allies had overwhelming air superiority and had wrecked river bridges over the Seine and Loire and bombed French railways before D-Day thus isolating the battlefield.

Paratroopers and glider-borne troops landed behind the German lines while a naval bombardment pounded coastal defences. The Germans needed to repel the invaders in the first 24 or 48 hours before they established their bridgehead. They fought magnificently but failed to do so.

The British had decided after 1940 that they would wait until the German Army bled in Russia before facing them again on the continent. Hence the delay in opening the Second Front repeatedly demanded by Stalin to help relieve his situation in the Soviet Union.

In North Africa the British always fought the Afrika Korps with greatly superior numbers and in Sicily and Italy they had the support of US forces. In Normandy the Germans had superior technology in all but transport and artillery.

TIGER TANKS

Their Tiger and Panther tanks with their famous 88mm guns made short work of the Allies' Sherman and Churchill models in the sunken lanes and *bocage* (thick foliage, woodland) countryside of Normandy. The British had not re-modelled their tanks since the North African campaign of 1942.

But Allied supplies built up through their Mulberry Harbours floated across the Channel and a breakthrough was made by US forces on the German left flank. Encirclement was threatened in the famous Falaise "pocket" and by late July the Germans were in retreat across the River Seine, leaving much of their armour behind.

15,000 KILLED

Some 15,000 French civilians were killed in the saturation bombing of towns by Allied planes, including 6,000 in Caen, the industrial city in the paths of the Allied advance.

That town was reduced to rubble in an "over-kill" which rubble in turn blocked roads and impeded the progress of the Allies.

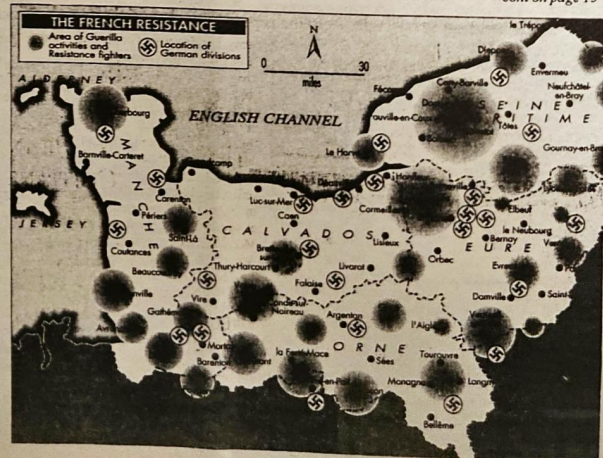
The story is told of an Allied soldier standing with a French farmer within view of Caen as the planes circled it on a summer's evening and devastated it with bombs. The farmer had two children married with families and living in the city.

"Cette liberation, c'est cher, c'est cher." (This liberation, it's dear, it's dear) said the farmer contemplating the possible wiping out of all his children and grandchildren. This brings us to the role of the French Resistance.

General Eisenhower, Allied Supreme Commander said that it was worth 15 divisions and shortened the campaign for the liberation of France by two months. Montgomery, British Commander influenced no doubt by his experiences against the IRA in Cork in 1921, "never displayed interest in or respect for them", according to the writer Max Hastings.

By 1944 the Resistance in France had 200,000 men and women. They acted behind the German lines and made their contribution bravely in pain

cont on page 15



Frank Ryan remembered 50 years on

"FRANK RYAN was, in mental and physical terms, so big that it was inevitable his Republican revolutionary principles could not be contained within his native country." Seamus Leonard told the assembled crowd in his oration at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin on Saturday June 11 on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the death of Frank Ryan.

The crowd had turned out to honour the man who fought for freedom in his own country but for the freedom of Spain against the fascist Franco.

The parade assembled at Berkeley Road Church and waited behind a Cumann na nGaedheal and two Antrim Pipe Band, to Glasnevin Cemetery.

The chairperson, Peadar Ó Cuinn again, opened the proceedings by welcoming Bob Doyle, a comrade of Frank's in the XV International Brigade and called on Frank's sister, Eilís Ní Riain to lay a wreath on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin. A decade of the rosary was recited in Irish by Peig King and a lament was played by the two pipers for the dipping of the flag.

Seamus continued "He gave to the Free State slander that Republicanism was nothing more than a justifiable military reaction to occupation and that the political and social policy as set out in the Democratic Programme was unworkable and applicable to Irish society", and



● **Frank Ryan** quoted part of Frank's speech in New York at Easter 1930 when he said "Our aim is the complete overthrow of the British government in Ireland as a preliminary to abolishing the present social system which impoverishes Ireland and her people".

DEEP-THINKING

"How accurate he was, how accurate he is", said Seamus. "This deep thinking Irishman speaking 64 years ago might have been speaking in the last year when he reiterated this Republican truth. His going to the aid of the fledgling Republican Government of Spain was significant for two things, the quality of intellect of the comrades that went with him and the depth of personal commitment he himself had to the ideals he had propagated here at home.

"The man who had fought for a Republic of small farmers and workers would not have sought the votes of franchisers and multi-national exploiters. Neither would he have repeated the mistake of 1932 in believing that the succession of the Valera would seek to undermine the two British parliaments on the island which has so well served Free State politicians since the betrayal of 1920-1921. Above all he was never fooled or taken in by the enemies of the Irish people—native or occupier—we owe it to him to be vigilant for the Republic, his own and ours. An Phoblacht Abú", he concluded.

Before the ceremony closed with the playing of Anúráin na bhFiann Eilís Ní Riain thanked the people for attending and also Republican Sinn Féin for organising the commemoration.



● Frank Ryan's sister Eilís (pictured centre) with some members of Cumann na mBan

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British MI5 entrapment activity agents in 26 Cos.

403,116 UNEMPLOYED



Election Candidates Banned

Comhbhrón

FITZGERALD. A vote of sympathy was passed at a recent meeting of the Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin in respect to the wife of Michael Fitzgerald, Chicago, USA who died recently. Ar dheis lámh Dé gearraibh a hanam.

McMAHON. Deepest sympathy is extended to the McMahon family, West Clare and to Paddy, Dundalk on the death of their mother. From the Michael Keane Cumann, Clare.

McNALLY. Sincere sympathy to the McNally family, Dromintee, Co Armagh on the

death of their mother, Mary, From Republican Sinn Féin, Dromintee.

O'GRADY. Deepest sympathy to the O'Grady family, Dromintee, Co Armagh on the death of a husband and father. Michael. From Republican Sinn Féin, Dromintee.

the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central.

MANNION. Welcome home to John Mannion after a recent stay in hospital. Beir Bua a Sheáin. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

I gCuimhne

MAGUIRE, Comdt-Gen Tom — 1st Anniversary. In proud memory of Comdt-Gen Tom Maguire, Cross, Co Mayo, Patron, Sinn Féin Poblachtach who died on July 5, 1993. From

Beannachtaí

MANNION, Welcome home to John Mannion after a recent stay in hospital. Beir Bua a Sheáin. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

CAVAN DRAW

The winners of the Corlough, Co Cavan, Republican Sinn Féin draw held recently were as follows: £60, Declan Beaty, Ballyconnell; £30, Patsy Dolan, Corlough; £10, Kevin McGovern, Knockmore. The organisers wish to thank all those who took part.

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Ainm.....
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cont from page 14
and death. They did not count the cost. The groups, collectively known as Maquis ("Mackee" means rough country where they sought refuge) were in two categories.
Two-thirds were created by General de Gaulle's government in exile or by Allied military intelligence. These were the underground arm of the Allied forces, organising escape lines and gathering intelligence. Some were kept in reserve for an Allied landing with barely concealed political motives as to control of the liberated France.

SPIRIT
The rest, "Francs-Tireurs et Partisans" (FTP) reflected the spirit of the rejection of German occupation and served to uphold the morale of the population. Soon they took on themselves the task of sabotaging the German war effort: the economy, transport and military. Originally set up by the Communist Party, these latter groups became very broad-based and aimed at uniting all strands of opinion against the

common enemy. London was of course reluctant to recognise or even supply them.
To the German occupation forces they were, of course, "bandits" and terrible reprisals were taken for their activities. In June 1944 the German tanks burnt the entire population of Oradour-sur-Glane in the village church for an act of sabotage committed somewhere else.
As in this case, German reprisals in occupied countries were ruthless, swift and like the Black-and-Tans in Ireland, did not even pretend to punish the "guilty". To wear the coveted Resistance Medal in France ever since the liberation of Paris on August 24, 1944 is a very great honour indeed. The shame of 1940 and of Vichy collaboration 1940-42 was redeemed by small bands of men and women. So what is new...?
Incidentally, German policy actually came to the aid of the French Resistance. The "Service de Travail Obligatoire" (Forced Labour) took thousands of young Frenchmen from their homes — generally to Germany — but it drove thousands more into the Maquis. It was like the Conscription threat by the British in Ireland in 1918 or the

Vietnam War draft in the US; the bourgeoisie became involved for the first time whether they liked it or not!
On July 20, German resistance to the Nazi regime mounted its boldest stroke yet. A group of Army officers led by Colonel Klaus Count Von Stauffenberg exploded a bomb at Hitler's headquarters in Rastenburg, East Prussia (now Ketrzyn, Poland).
Hitler escaped with wounds, several staff officers were killed and terrible reprisals were visited on the conspirators. They and Hitler's military enemies were hanged — from meat hooks — to the number of several thousand. The immediate effect was to strengthen the German Dictator's position.
On June 13, the German V-weapons had been launched against England from the Calais area. The V-1 was a small pilotless plane or robot bomb while the V-2 was an unguided rocket. However, they were not sent against the teeming British seaports which supplied the Normandy invasion but against London and civilian targets. Not for

the first time in WWII was a decision not to concentrate on military targets a fatal error.
Elsewhere in WWII, Rome fell to the Allies on June 4, Assisi on the 18th and Siena on July 3. The Russians broke through the German Mannerheim Line on June 18 and captured Minsk on July 3. The Japanese were defeated at Imphal after three months of siege on July 4.
The Americans took Saipan Island on July 9 after three weeks of fierce combat. It then became a key base from which the air attack on Japan's key cities was directed. On July 18, General Tojo Premier of Japan and his Cabinet were forced to resign.
Later in the month, US Marines landed on Guam and Tinian Islands taking Tinian after a week's fighting. The noise was tightening —
(More next month. *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell; *Harry* by Harry White; *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-1936* by Seán Cronin; *A Dictionary of Irish History* by Hickey and Doherty agus *An tAinm Gúthán* — *Lirreacha Chuig Tomás Bairre* le Máirtín Ó Cúadhain.)

FORD DIRTY TRICKS EXPOSED

THE Ford factory in Andersonstown, Belfast continues to take a daily hammering before a Fair Employment Tribunal hearing in Belfast.

On Friday, June 24 when it was revealed that an order had gone out to destroy 30 letters written by one of the management team involved in a religious discrimination controversy on the day he was to take the stand.

Fair Employment campaigners have branded the case "the Ford Motor Company's own Watergate".

The revelations came just as Carlisle McAuley, a member of the interview panel which heard Marie Daly's application, was about to take the stand. Marie Daly's barrister Seamus Treacy told the Tribunal that he had received information that a senior systems analyst at the plant had ordered removal of computers all letters written by McAuley, who retired from the company last year. After a 45-minute adjournment, Nicholas Hanna, representing the company confirmed that such an order had been given.

The case was brought by Ms Marie Daly who is charging Ford with religious and sexual discrimination. Marie Daly's application for promotion was rejected in favour of a senior

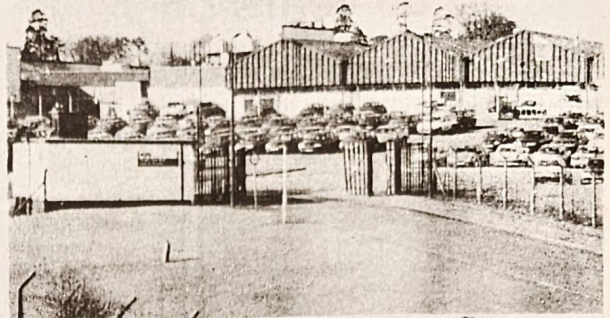
Orange Order member without any qualifications. Marie Daly has a University degree.

The latest embarrassing detail to emerge is an admission by a Ford official "that he tore out pages of his work diary before handing it over to the Fair Employment Tribunal" according to the *Irish News* (June 15). "The shredding of evidence is not just an American practice," commented Father Seán McManus, President of the Irish National Caucus, the Washington-based group that is conducting a boycott of Ford.

"Then again, maybe the shredding was inspired from

oath admitted to the hearing that a letter bearing the forged signature of Ms Daly could only have come from top management. The letter in question appeared in the *Andersonstown News* (March 8, 1994). It thanked the newspaper for exposing anti-Catholic discrimination at Ford and announced that two Catholics would soon be appointed to top jobs. The purpose of the letter was clearly to use Marie Daly's name to discredit her and at the same time to sabotage the appointment of Catholics.

The existence of a letter to Ford headquarters complaining about the promotion of Catholics was also revealed at the hearing. Catholic workers at



• Ford factory, Belfast



America. Is it possible that Ford headquarters ordered the official to shred the evidence?" he wondered.

In another development the plant manager Jim Collins under

the plant are outraged over Ford's failure to discipline any of the nine members of the management team who signed the letter. Many of them remain on job interview panels.

same suffering that I endured before being finally cleared of committing a crime" added Judith Ward.

Sadie Matthew of the Friends of Pat McLaughlin said that Judith Ward's involvement was "another great step forward for us".

The new lobby group will be based in York eight miles away from where Pat McLaughlin is imprisoned in Full Sutton prison.

Branch intimidation of Dublin raffle

ON the second Sunday of each month for the past 14 years a raffle has been held in the Central Bar, Clondalkin, Dublin to raise funds for CABHAIR, Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund and for Dublin Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

For many locals, the 'Second Sunday' raffle and the atmosphere it created in the pub was an ideal and safe venue to bring their babies and toddlers along to and, indeed, there was one particular family (the O'Connor clan) which used the raffle as the opportunity for the monthly get together.

The raffle had established itself to such a degree that the babies and toddlers mentioned above grew to their teenage years and arrived early to the pub and held seats for their parents. It was not unusual for the ticket sellers to sell eighty or ninety tickets in the space of forty-five minutes, such was the success of this particular

When the June 12 raffle was underway, a uniformed member of the 26-County police entered the bar, approached a member of the bar staff and asked him (in "a very direct and short manner", exactly to a customer) what activity was going on.

venture. And that success did not go unnoticed.

CALLED ASIDE

As the organisers took up their usual positions on June 12 last one of them was called aside by a staff member and informed that the raffle could not be held on the premises any more. The reason given was that "pressure had been applied" by the Special Branch.

When asked was this not the usual hassle (as the Special Branch had mentioned) the raffle to the pub's owner and his staff on a good number of occasions over the past 14 years but the bar employer assured him that "this time they meant it".

UNFAIR

The staff member told his interrogator that it would be unfair to prevent that day's raffle from going ahead on such short notice but that he had "explained the situation" to the raffle committee (ie that this would be the last raffle on the premises). The uniformed 'raffle-buster' then left the pub.

Down, but not out - the 'Second Sunday' raffle is to continue, same prizes (£100, £50, £20 and three tenners), same crew. But a different venue. Here's to the next 14 years!

Ward leads McLaughlin group

Judith Ward who spent 18 years in an English prison for a bombing she did not commit is to head a new British campaign for the release of Pat McLaughlin.

Pat McLaughlin, a native of Derry was jailed for life in 1985 for the INLA bombing of Chelsea Barracks the previous year. He has consistently denied any involvement but has been told that he will not be eligible for parole until 2006.

Judith Ward who has

already applied to visit Pat McLaughlin in prison said the case was not nearly as well known in Britain as it was in Ireland.

"I am aware of what a miscarriage of justice is," she said. "It is outrageous that Pat McLaughlin has to endure the

WHAT THEY SAID

The Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland has claimed that the "total disintegration" of the United Kingdom would follow any break of the Union with Northern Ireland.

— Newsletter (Belfast), December 6 1993.

They [the UVF] felt this was the way to respond.

— Ulster Unionist Belfast City Councillor Jim Rodgers justifying the UVF killing of innocent nationalist shipyard worker Maurice O'Kane (50), shot dead while working in the hold of a tanker at the Harland & Wolff plant in Belfast on June 9, 1994.

Instead of pandering to the whims of the most reactionary section of the British ruling class if a clear rejection of the Downing Street Declaration were to come

from Ireland, how much sooner might reality dawn on pragmatists in London.

— Former hunger striker Tommy McEearney, Republican Sinn Féin speaker at Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown, Co Kildare, June 12, 1994 (see also pages 8-9).

The Progressive Democrats... has a tremendous amount of unemployed people in it and a lot of people who are employed in low-paid jobs.

— Bobby Molloy (PD), Hot Press, June 15, 1994. Talk about "Turkeys voting for Christmas"!

I have made no money out of politics. I've been a minister on a few occasions and a minister gets a bit more money than a TD does but it doesn't make you a fortune.

— Bobby Molloy again; a Leinster House TD is paid a salary of £655 per week, and also pockets an extra £901 per week in expenses/allowances. In other words £1,556 per week. A 26-County minister gets more again. Wonder that the "unemployed" and "low-paid" PD members think of that? Would they not consider it "a fortune"?

The demand by Argentine President



• Paul O'Dwyer

Carlos Menem to have Margaret Thatcher extradited for trial for war crimes committed during her election-boosting Falklands War has been ignored almost totally by BBC and ITV news. Why?

If the same demand were to be made by any other head of state (eg Thatcher herself) about another (eg Saddam Hussein) it would undoubtedly receive saturation coverage on all news bulletins...

— Hot Press 'Phantom'

column, June 15, 1994. RTE dare not publicise Menem's call to have Thatcher extradited, as it would effect its 'love-affair' with the Iron Lady and all things British.

I absolutely believe peace is possible but only if the British get out.

— Paul O'Dwyer, May-born New York defence attorney and civil rights activist, Irish Times, June 16, 1994.

In Paul O'Dwyer's opinion, the tension which exists between the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland has been heightened by the presence of the British soldiers.

— Irish Times, June 16, 1994.

The UDA and UVF level of activity had been particularly low bearing in mind what the Protestant people have had to suffer.

— Ulster Unionist MP for North Belfast, Cecil Walker, speaking after the INLA shot dead two UVF men on the Shankill Road, June 16, 1994.

It took a reporter from the BBC to point out to Mr Walker that loyalists had been responsible in the previous 48 hours for four bombings and an attempted murder.

— Editorial, Anderson-

stown News, Belfast, June 25, 1994.

What the outcome shows, I believe is that people are sick and tired of being talked at, about and down to, or treated as niches to be targeted rather than people to be listened to and spoken to with intelligence and sympathy.

— John Waters, columnist, Irish Times, June 21, 1994.

I find it extremely offensive of Colonel Doyle to accuse any Resistance movement of banditry. I am particularly offended by his imputation that the Resistance should be held responsible for "bringing terrible reprisals on innocent people". This is a terrible slur on the memory of millions of victims of Nazi oppression in Europe. May I take it from that quotation that Colonel Doyle condones reprisals against innocent civilian by the military?

— Former member of the Belgian Resistance, Frans L Frison, Irish Times, June 21, 1994.

In the event, some 60,000 volunteers from the South joined 40,000 volunteers from the North as part of the British component of the Allied war effort — perhaps not

surprising when we recall that there were some 80,000 Catholic Irishmen and 50,000 Protestant Irishmen enlisted in the Forces of the Crown in 1915, in a war which was fought ostensibly to protect the right to independence of small nations.

— Surgeon John Robb, Ballymoney, Co Antrim, Irish Times, June 21, 1994.

The UVF lost two of its own members in an INLA attack on the Shankill Road on June 16. At the funeral of one of those killed, Colin Craig, his coffin was draped in a UVF flag, at least three UVF wreaths could be seen on the back of a coal lorry (in spite of attempts to hide them from press cameramen) and a uniformed "guard of honour" was present.

At the funeral of [the] second UVF victim, David Hamilton, paramilitary wreaths were also present, from the UVF and the "Red Hand Commando" in Scotland. The Lord Mayor of Belfast, Alderman Hugh Smyth (Progressive Unionist Party) along with Councillors Eric Smyth, Joe Coggle, Jim Rogers and Fred Cabain attended.

— Anne Cadwallader, Sunday Press, June 26, 1994.