

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 67 SAMHAIN - NOVEMBER 1992 40p (USA \$24 per year)



397,486

UNEMPLOYED

A winter of discontent is in prospect with the underlying jobless figures continuing to rise in October despite a drop in the official figures, north and south. Both administrations continue to believe like British Chancellor Norman Lamont that high unemployment is a "price worth paying" for low inflation!

British 'frame' Saoirse worker

THE circulation manager of this paper, SAOIRSE - Irish Freedom, Michael Hegarty, was arrested by British Crown Forces in Co Armagh on October 16 and taken to Gough Barracks interrogation centre in Armagh. The next day he was charged with "possession of information which could be useful to terrorists" and remanded in custody to Crumlin Road jail. A man arrested with him was released. Michael Hegarty, a native of Clarecastle, Co Clare, is a former goalkeeper with the Co Clare Senior Hurling team.

Michael Hegarty's duties in connection with SAOIRSE in addition to circulation and distribution included gathering local reports and material for articles. The documents found in his possession were

in connection with an article about loyalist death squad killings in the Armagh area which he was writing for this paper (see 'The Triangle of Death' on page 7 inside).



• Picket at British Embassy, Dublin on October 23 to protest at arrest of SAOIRSE worker Michael Hegarty.

His arrest and charging is a blow deliberately aimed and struck at this Republican newspaper.

It is an extension of a campaign of harassment of SAOIRSE workers. A previous circulation manager, Bob Murray of Belfast had been harried and hounded on the roads and arrested and held in Armagh also. Such activity by British forces in Ireland is an invasion of the press and it will be instructive to see if Michael Hegarty will be subjected to "internment by remand" by being held for years before the transparent case against him is proceeded with.



• Michael Hegarty, on remand in Crumlin Road jail.

possessing a shotgun at a special court the previous Saturday. He was released on bail after the RUC told Lord Justice Murray that they did not believe that he was a member of any "illegal" organisation.

The flimsy charge against Michael Hegarty could be constructed easily from any material for newspaper articles pertaining to life in the Six Occupied Counties. Hundreds of journalists, priests or researchers could be similarly charged with this 'evidence'. SAOIRSE will continue to be published and circulated and will maintain its political commentary in opposition to the present "talks" which are based on the continuation of British rule in the Six Counties.

REFUSED

Lord Justice Murray refused bail in the case on Monday October 26. The same judge released on bail the previous Thursday a 23-year-old ex-UDR soldier who is accused of copying the names, addresses and car registration numbers of Republicans in the South Down area from his official UDR notebook and passing them on to the UVF loyalist death squad.

A lawyer for the British authorities told the court that Rodney Davis from Ringhaddy Avenue, Newtownabbey had admitted the offence and that he had been charged with "recording information useful to terrorists" and also with

Republican
SINN FEIN
Poblachtach

**88ú Ard-Fheis
1992**

FOR A NEW IRELAND

1917 - 1992

Comóradh 75 bliain mar eagrais
Poblachtach
Celebrating 75 years as a Republican
organisation

UACHTARÁIN / PRESIDENTS		
Eamon de Valera	1917-26	Tomas Ó Dubhghaill
Seán Ó Ceallaigh ("Seoil")	1926-31	Patrick Mac Logan
Brian O'Higgins	1931-33	Tomas Mac Giolla
Fx Michael O'Flanagan	1933-35	Ruarí Ó Brádaigh
Charles Murray	1935-37	Gerard Adams
Margaret Buckley	1937-50	Dáithí Ó Conaill (Cathaoirteach)
Patrick Mac Logan	1950-53	Ruarí Ó Brádaigh

Clár agus Rúin na hArd-Fheis
14 - 15 Samhain, 1992

Óstán an Spá, Leamhcán, Co Átha Cliath

BIAS CASE UNITES RESIDENTS

ON Friday, October 23 a picket of 30 people was placed on the Towers Pub in Ballymun by members of the local Ballymun Boys Football team and residents of Coultury Road.

The picketers were protesting at the scandalous treatment they received from the management of the Towers when they tried to organise a benefit do for the late Micky Power's family. Micky Power, a settled traveller in his forties, was tragically killed on September 18 last, in a traffic accident, leaving a wife and ten children.

Arrangements had been agreed upon to hold the fund-raising function in the Towers after Micky's funeral. Football team members set about selling over 400 tickets they had specially printed. A week later the Towers pub management cancelled the booking. It seems they found out Micky Power was a settled traveller. The Coultury Road residents and football team were shocked, as Micky Power had been an up-standing member of their community, and a kind and generous man.

Founder of the Ballymun Boys soccer club he gave his time unsparingly to helping others and organising young people's activities. Ballymun Boys FC reached the final of

the Conway Cup in Dalymount Park, Dublin, in their first year as a club.

Fund-raising committee spokesperson Dennis Ward told SAOIRSE: "We were told to go ahead and sell the tickets by Towers management, then one week before the event they called it off."

OFFERED

Upon hearing of what happened to Ballymun Boys FC and the residents of Coultury Road Murrays of Lusk kindly offered their premises free of charge for the fund-raiser.

So the story does have a happy ending. No thanks however to Tom O'Donohue, manager of the Towers, who when approached by SAOIRSE said: "No comment to the press".



• Picketers outside the Towers public house in Ballymun

When a pub adopts this attitude to the people who spend a lot of their hard-earned money in the place, and blatantly discriminates against members of the community it gets rich on it deserves to be boycotted

by its customers. Ballymun people should stand together on issues like this, and not be walked on by people who think they can ride roughshod over the feelings of the people of the estate.

EDENTUBBER

LED by Paddy Murphy of Dundalk, veteran Republican who was the last man to get the cat-o'-nine-tails in a Free State prison, carrying the National Flag and the Dr Arthur's Memorial Accordion Band from the Glens of Antrim, around 100 people marched from the Old Border Inn outside Dundalk to the Republican Monument at Edentubber, Co Louth on Sunday, November 1.

At this spot five men - Oliver Craven and Paul Smith from Newry, Patrick Parle and George Keegan from Wexford and Michael Watters, owner of the house in which the men were preparing a bomb for use against the enemy - were blown up on November 11, 1957.

At the monument Eamon Larkin, Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin chaired the proceedings, Pádraig Mac Mathúna said a decade of the Rosary in Irish, the Last Post and Reveille was sounded and the piper played a lament. Eamon then introduced

Séamus Leonard, Ard-Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach from Dublin who gave the oration.

"The five men we commemorate here today were killed accidentally while working with technology well below that of the British war machine that



• Patrick Parle (Wexford)

occupied their country and prevented the unity of the Irish people.

"We should take heart from the statement of actor Brian Dennehy who

was one of the invading United States Army into Vietnam with the most technically advanced war machine in existence against a third world people armed with sharp-ended bamboo sticks.

WILL

"Brian Dennehy explained that America was beaten in Vietnam because the people of Vietnam had the will to win and the need to win and this the US could not defeat.

"We have the will and the need to be rid of the British from our country to allow our people to determine our future, and the technical superiority of the British won't stop our struggle any more than it did in 1957 when the Edentubber Martyrs gave their lives."

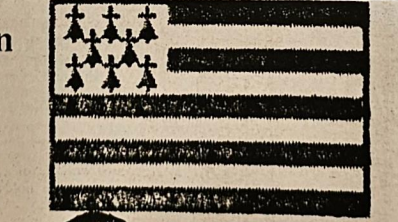
Maastricht Referendum in Corsica and Brittany

WHILE some elements of the ruling French Socialist Party led by Jean-Pierre Chevènement did campaign for a "No" vote, and a number of people voted "Yes" because J-M le Pen and his National Front said "No", our readers will be interested in how Corsica and Brittany fared in the Maastricht referendum in the French state on September 20.

Corsica said "No" by 57 per cent to 43 per cent. The Corsican Independence Movement which sent representatives to the Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin in 1988 was divided into three by the time delegates came again in 1990 to represent the Corsican ANC. The ANC called on people to vote "No". The MPA called for a

"Yes" vote to the great surprise of interested Irish people. Perhaps they believe that the EC bureaucracy will treat Corsicans better than the French state does. This attitude does display an inability to recognise the new imperialism, while the old imperialism is obvious to all.

The attitude adopted by the third section of the double split who publish



U Ribumbu di i Nazione Corsica was to call for abstention on Maastricht.

The strong support for Maastricht in Brittany where there is high unemployment and agriculture is in difficulties is mystifying to Irish people. Again

the motivation may be similar to that which caused the Corsican MPA to say "Yes". Out of the frying pan and into the fire... Brittany voted "Yes".

Republicans will be glad to know that EMGANN, the Breton independence movement called for a boycott of the polls. They would be more pleased of EMGANN had said: "No". EMGANN had a number of representatives at the 1990 Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

GEARR-SCÉALTA

Irishman charged in Paris

THE continuing swoops by French police in Brittany on SAOIRSE who allegedly gave refuge to Basque refugees (see SAOIRSE, July 1992, p 8) has resulted in the arrest and charging on October 23 of a 38-year-old Irishman, Stephen King. Investigating magistrate Levert in Paris on October 26 with "criminal association with a terrorist group". He was released on bail the same day. Stephen King was one of three Irish people wrongly arrested of Vincennes' political scandal.

Arrested with King in Brittany was Annick Monet, prisoner for many years of Irlande Libre, the Irish solidarity group in France. A leading member of Solidarité Irlande, she was detained in the town of Lorient in Brittany for 24 hours before being released.

Dublin plans extradition change

DUBLIN justice minister Pádraig Flynn told the Leinster House assembly during October that legislation is being prepared to amend the 1987 Extradition Act in the light of Supreme Court judgements in extradition cases last year. He was concerned about how some offences were excluded from the political offence exemption in extradition. Donegal TD Neil Blaney said that citizens of this state must be assured of a fair trial and that in the present situation in Britain and the Six Counties "nobody should send their dog out there, never mind one of our citizens, no matter what the situation".

The move by Pádraig Flynn is due to pressure from the British government to block the fact that a charge of possession of weapons comes under the political exemption from extradition, and two men from Belfast (Anthony Sloan and Michael McKee) were not extradited in a Dublin Supreme Court judgement on November 15, 1991 due to this. Dublin promised the British to review the law in the aftermath of that judgement.

Derry files leaked to Loyalists

SEVERAL people in Derry city were told by the RUC recently that their personal details, contained in British Crown Forces files, were in the possession of loyalist death squads. The people concerned were warned to take precautions as they would be targeted for assassinations. This is the latest episode to come to light in the on-going collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads. Files relating to over 1,000 nationalists have now been leaked to the loyalists killer gangs, yet not one RUC member has been charged in connection with the leaks.

Kerry Lily fine

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin member Thomas Noonan, Cappanacuss, Greennane, Killarney, Co Kerry was fined £50 on October 2 for selling Easter Lilies. 26-County police took the box and contents from Thomas in the incident.

Tipperary raid

MEMBERS of Sinn Féin Poblachtach continue to be harassed by 26-County police. John Ryan of Ballinahinch, Newport, Co Tipperary had his home raided by Special Branch on the morning of Saturday, October 24.

Eviction threat lifted

PADDY Foley, the 74-year-old Kerry pensioner has had a threat of eviction by Kerry County Council lifted following an about-turn by the local authority (see SAOIRSE, October 1992, p9).

In a letter dated October 15 to Alice O'Gorman, who has been fighting Paddy Foley's case, the Kerry County secretary stated that the "present position" is that they are not to proceed with the repossession of the house. The Council has agreed to terms for the payment of rent arrears which has built up over a period when the local authority refused to take rent from Paddy Foley. The local campaign has obviously forced the Council to do a U-turn.

DRAW RESULTS

GALWAY Comhairle Ceantair Draw: £100, no 419, B Madden; £50, No 405, S Hoohan; £25, no 113, B MacRúa; £10, no 643, F Lally. CABHAIIR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) Dublin Draw result: £100, no 325, £50, no 360; £30, no 326; £20, no 135; five prizes of £10, nos 362, 183, 67, 171, 126. Next Dublin draw for Sinn Féin Poblachtach on November 8.

PROVOCATION AND HARASSMENT IN SOUTH ARMAGH

LARGE-SCALE military operations by the British Crown Forces were undertaken in the Domintee, Jonesborough, Crossmaglen, Killeen and Carrickbroad areas of South Armagh in recent weeks involving the wrecking of homes and property and the terrorising of residents while the 26-County police and army mounted checkpoints and searched vehicles on the Co Louth side of the Border in what they described as a "joint operation".

Together with this repression there has been an upsurge in harassment and provocation by the British army in Newry town and in the vicinity of Cloughogue school where the notorious new checkpoint is being built on the Dublin road.

In Newry ten-man British army patrols are constantly on the streets, while their armoured vehicles are permanently placed on the approach roads and roundabouts. Local people and even schoolchildren are held up, searched and delayed for long periods.

In one serious incident Liam Devlin, a 23-year-old Newry man was assaulted by a British army patrol as he walked home at night with his girlfriend.

He was hit in the face with a rifle while two other soldiers attacked him from behind. He was taken to Daisy Hill hospital where he received four stitches under his eye, five on the top and one stitch at the back of his head.

OCCUPIERS

Bearna Uladh Sinn Féin Poblachtach said in a statement that it stood with

the nationalist people of South Armagh in opposition to these operations and described those responsible as occupiers who have no rights in the area or in any part of Ireland.

"Sinn Féin Poblachtach calls for the immediate removal of all British forces and their installations, particularly the monstrosity beside Cloughogue school. That this fort and its associated installations are being built, despite widespread demands for the complete removal of the original checkpoint and watchtowers is a sure sign of the utter contempt that the British authorities have for the feelings and welfare of the unfortunate people in the vicinity of Cloughogue school.

"When British colonial minister Michael Mates visited Cloughogue recently he declared that the checkpoint and its personnel were there to protect the people as if by invitation. Sinn Féin Poblachtach has this to say to Mr Mates: 'When, if ever, did you or any British politician consult a single resident of Killeen and Cloughogue about the siting of your checkpoint. If you did you would get your answer'."



British troops crater Border roads

ON Friday, October 23 several hundred British troops took part in a huge operation along the Tyrone/Monaghan Border to crater the crossing between the Six Counties and the 26 Counties that local people had filled-in by themselves earlier the same day. Three earth-moving machines and several diggers were used to dig up a major section of the road north of the Border. Local residents said they were prevented from reaching their homes for several hours and people returning from work in Clogher and Monaghan said they had to make long detours.

Approximately 50 out of 59 roads along the Fermanagh border leading into the South have been closed by the British authorities since 1973. In carrying out these closures the British authorities have re-

ceived the full co-operation of the Dublin administration. When the roads have been reopened by local people they have been quickly reclosed, with the assistance of the 26-County police and army.

Local radio breakthrough in Midlands

IN the 26 Counties, where Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act has banned Republicans from TV and radio for over 20 years, a welcome and interesting experience is being undertaken by two local radio stations, Shannonside (covering Counties Longford and Roscommon) and Northern Sound (County Monaghan). Following the Dublin High Court decision earlier this year the stations maintain that Republican elected representatives and members can be interviewed on local issues.

Republican Sinn Féin Councillor Seán Lynch of Longford County Council was interviewed for the first time on 'Shannonside' on Tuesday, October 20 by journalist Kieran Mullooly. Lasting five minutes the broadcast covered the neglect of the county road network in his own area of North County Longford and the lack of adequate funding from the Dublin administration.

The £40,000 allocation for the next year was not sufficient, Mr Lynch said, recalling that the Longford Co Engineer estimated that £2 million needed to be spent on the roads of North Longford.

Republican Sinn Féin welcomed this loosening of censorship but the High Court judgement is being appealed by RTE to the Dublin Supreme Court in an effort to tighten the censorship edict. RTE is everly the only media organisation in the world that ever sought to reinforce censorship of its broadcasting output!

Escapee double-crossed by British

A 35-year-old Belfast man is being forced to serve his sentence twice following the action of the British colonial administrators who betrayed an agreement made in September 1989. Michael McKee served a sentence in the 26 Counties for escaping from Crumlin Road jail in Belfast in 1982. The British tried to extradite him to the north and promised that he would only have to serve the balance of 16 months of his sentence. When the extradition failed, McKee went back to Belfast, was arrested and has now been told he will have to serve a further nine years.

UDA kill man in South Belfast

A NATIONALIST workman was shot dead by UDA/UFF gunmen as he got out of his car in the Ormeau Road area of South Belfast at lunchtime on Wednesday, November 4. Michael Gilbride (36) was making a regular call to his mother's house on Fernwood Street for lunch when he was targeted in what was another sectarian assassination by the loyalist death squad which massacred five nationalists in Graham's betting shop in the same area on February 5 of this year.

Martin Gilbride was a married man with three children. Local people have rejected UDA/UFF claims that he was politically involved and state that he was killed simply because he was a nationalist and an easy target.

NO MORE JOE DOHERTYS ?

THE landslide election of Democrat Bill Clinton in the US Presidential election on November 3 marks a definite break with the past 12 years of pro-British administrations under Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

The Clinton/Gore ticket managed to regain support of many Irish-American so-called 'Reagan Democrats' to achieve victory and towards the close of their campaign issued what amounted to a policy statement on Irish issues.

Their views were contained in a letter to former Congressman Bruce Morrison of Connecticut, signed late on Friday night, October 23, ten days before polling day. The contents were condensed into four words by journalist Conor O'Clery on RTE's *Questions and Answers* programme from New York on November 2: 'No more Joe Dohertys'.

The letter to Morrison states that a Clinton administration "will work to ensure that political considerations do not hinder

the workings of our courts in asylum cases". In other words the US government will not seek to overthrow judicial decisions as happened in the case of Joe Doherty on nine different occasions.

FAR-REACHING

This could have far-reaching consequences for the cases of two Irishmen, James Joseph Smyth and Kevin Barry Arrh, who were arrested recently in San Francisco. Both escaped from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh in September 1983 and now face asylum hearings.

The Morrison letter is less specific and more aspirational on other issues such as the appointment of a US special envoy to the Six Counties which Bill Clinton believes could be a "catalyst in the effort



• Bill Clinton

to secure a lasting peace". The response to this by British Six-County supreme Sir Patrick Mayhew was that "we do no need a peace envoy, thank you very much".

Elsewhere the letter calls on the British to do more to oppose "the job discrimination that has created unemployment levels two and a half times higher for Catholic workers than Protestant workers". It goes



Imeachtaí

MANCHESTER MARTYRS
125th ANNIVERSARY
NOVEMBER 21
PLATT FIELDS PARK
RUSHOLME
MANCHESTER
★★★

FRANK DRIVER COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY
NOVEMBER 22
BALLYMORE EUSTACE
CO KILDARE
Assemble at the Square
3pm
Speaker:
Deasún Ó Daltuin

★★★
COMÓRADH AN t-ATHAIR Ó GRIOFA
DÉ DOMHNAIGH
SAMHAIN 22
BEARNA, CO NA GAILLIMHE
Tar éis an Aifrin deiridh
Cainteoir:
Eimear Quinlivan

★★★
MANCHESTER MARTYRS MEMORIAL UNVEILING
MONDAY
NOVEMBER 23
GLASNEVIN CEMETERY
DUBLIN
Assemble at the
Cenotaph to Col Kelly
and Capt Deasy
2pm
Organised by:
National Graves
Association

CÉN FHORBAIRT? CÉN TÍR?

FORBAIRT na Tíre le 30 Blain Anuas" ba theideal don léacht a thug Pádraig Ó Muircheartaigh, Cathaoirleach Bhur Soláthair an Leictreachais ag Oireachtas na Gaeilge sa Daingean ar an 25ú Deireadh Fómhair.

Fear nór i saol na seirbhíse poiblí is ea an Muircheartaigh agus bheadh colas maith aige ar chúrsaí riaracháin agus polasaithe rialtais ó 1945 leith.

Labhair sé ar feadh beagnach uair a'chloige agus thug a lán tuairimí uaidh. Tá tuiscint aige do mhuintir na tuaithe chomh maith le pobal na cathrach agus do mhéon an rialtais agus na stáiseirbhíse.

Thagair sé do bheartas Ken Whitaker i 1958 nuair a tugadh cúl le polasaí féin-mhuine agus chuathas i dtuilleamaí na rachmasóirí idirmissiúna. Bhí thoradh áirithe gearraimsire leis seo, ar ndóig, ach mhair Whitaker fada go leor leis na mí-bhuntaistí fad-téarma a fheiceáil agus tá siad fóllasach go leor anois.

Níl áireamh ar fhadhbanna na tíre — an difhostaithe is airde riamh, trian den daonra ag mair-eachtáil ar an leas sóisialach, cán-acha arda ar 'chuile dhuine eile, óg-chiontach sna bailte móra, agus easpa dóchais agus muine go forleathán.

Baineann an Muircheartaigh leis an maorlathas, ar ndóig. Glacann sé leis na polasaithe oifigiúla ar fad, ballraíocht sa CE agus córas airgid amháin don CE céanna. Níl le tairiscint aige d'óige na hEireann ach an méid sin. Níl aon ní eile le tairiscint ag lucht Thí Laighean ach an díol amach seo agus an bréag-"fhás" eacnamaíochta.

Fanaig go fóill agus beimid chomh saibhir le muintir na Stát



• Ar an lína mear

Aontaithe nó na Gearmáine lá éigin. Deir siad é seo linn agus le muintir an tríú domhan freisin. Tíocfaidh bhur lá agus beidh teach agus post agus gluasteán ag gach duine ar domhan, milliúin na Síne agus na hIndia agus na hAfraice san áireamh.

Cé a chreidfeadh é sin? An gcreideann Pádraig Ó Muircheartaigh é? Níl a leithéid de chaint réadúil mar tá caighdeán mair-eachtála na dtíortha saibhre bunaithe ar dhíothú na n-acmhainní nádúrtha agus ar choinníollacha éagóracha trádála leis na tíortha bochta. Agus an bhféadfadh an pláinéad forbairt ar an scála sin a sheasamh?

Chuaigh Máire Mhic Róibín chun na Somáile, agus tá a hiarracht le moladh, fad agus atá sí ag iarraidh aird a tharraingt ar an ngéarchéim sa tír sin. Cé a dhíoltóidh cípla punt a thabhairt do na cistí agus na balliúcháin atá ar bun ó shin?

Sábhálfar daoine. Sábhálfar beatha. Ach ní leigheasfar an ghéarchéim ar an mbealach seo — bealach na carthanachta mar a chleachtar í. Fad agus a bhí an bhean usal ag labhairt leis na meáin, bhí na céadta míle tonna bia i dtaise ag a rialtas féin agus ag rialtais eile an CE, mar shampla, dóthain leis na milliúin a bheathú ar feadh tréimhse fada.

AN córas eacnamaíoch is cúis leis seo agus go dtí go n-athraítear an córas seo beidh bochtaineacht agus anró go forleathán. Córas nua ar fad, bunaithe ar an gceart, atá de dhíth.

Labhair an Muircheartaigh ar fhorbairt na tíre, ach ba iad na 26 Chontae an "tír" a bhí faoi chaibidil aige. Níor thagair sé, olc, maith nó dona, do na Sé Chontae eile. Sin mar a labhraíonn sé féin agus a leithéidí anois agus mheabhraigh cainteoir ón úrlár do an fhailí náireach seo.

Rinne an BSL obair fhónta agus déanann go fóill. Tá an t-am tagtha, áfach, le ceisteanna bun-úsacha a tharraingt anuas maidir le diomáil bheoistí-íontaise.

Má éiríonn le lucht Thí Laighean a guid pholasaithe (nó

easpa pholasaithe) a chur i bhfeidhm dibreofar an óige as an mílte (mar atá á dhéanamh faoi mhaithe le "tás" eacnamaíoch an líar chéanna ach atá pobal Maitear faoi láthair go bhfuil imid in imhne don "tána mear bainte amach ach is iad an thíos leis. Is iad a chuireann ar Bertie Ahern an maíomh seo a dhéanamh os comhair an tsaoil.

TÍOCFAIDH Ard-Fheis Sinn Féin Poblachtach le chéile an mhí seo, Pláifidh na teachtáí clár seo, sóisialta agus eacnamaíochta. Tá gá le clár a bhealach a chuir-feadh an tír ar cheapadh a leas agus ní mór dul i measc an phobail leis anois.

Má tá easpa dóchais ar an bpobal is easpa dóchais sna polaitheoirí is mó atá orthu. Ainneoin Alt 31 agus laicisí eile nach iad tá seans anois go n-éistfead le sóiséal eile, go háirithe i measc na hóige agus an lucht difhostaithe. Tá obair mhór romhainn. Níl sa bhfeirsúra ach neamhdhaoine.

—Colin

UNVEILING CEREMONY TO DAITHÍ Ó CONAILL AND GEARÓID MAC CÁRTHAIGH
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12
REPUBLICAN PLOT, ST FINBARR'S CEMETERY, CORK
Assemble:
Roundabout, Cork Regional Hospital
2pm

FOR THE RECORD..

MON. SEPTEMBER 28: Ben Hamilton, programme researcher for Box Productions which, with Channel 4 produced *The Committee*, a programme exposing collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads, broadcast on October 2, 1991 as part of the *Dispatches* series was arrested at his home and charged with perjury for refusing to reveal his sources for the programme.

WED. SEPTEMBER 30: Shots were fired by a loyalist death squad in an attack on a nationalist family in Whitewell Drive, North Belfast.

In another incident earlier in the day a 29-year-old nationalist was shot in the face and chest when a gunman fired through a downstairs window of his house in Upper Meadow Street, Belfast.

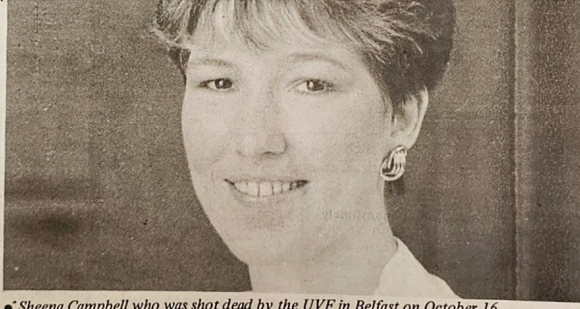
THURS. OCTOBER 1: An unmasked UFF gunman shot and wounded two nationalist workmen in an ambush on their car at the junction of Upper Crumlin and Bilstown roads in North Belfast.

FRI. OCTOBER 2: The unemployment figure in the 26 Counties rose to 287,100.

SAT. OCTOBER 3: A UDA/UVF loyalist gunman shot and slightly injured a taxi-driver in Rosapenna Street, West Belfast.

MON. OCTOBER 5: A loyalist death squad attacked a mobile home at Mullahglass Road, Lisburn, Co Antrim where a family of four were sleeping, injuring the mother.

THURS. OCTOBER 9: An extensive search operation took place along the South Armagh/Louth and Monaghan Border by British Crown Forces on the Six-County side in cooperation with Free State personnel on the 26 County side of the Border.



• Sheena Campbell who was shot dead by the UVF in Belfast on October 16.

The Brooke/Mayhew "talks" ran into trouble again when other participants accused Ian Paisley's DUP of being "obstructive".

SUN. OCTOBER 11: It was revealed by Captain Fred Holroyd, an ex-intelligence agent for the British government, that he had recruited a former Garda commissioner, Ned Garvey, as an agent for MI6 during the mid-1970s.

A team of independent experts to be known as an "Alert Team" whose function would be to take action on controversial killings by members of the British Crown Forces is being set up immediately by members of the "Relatives for Justice" association and the Committee for the Administration of Justice following a meeting in Belfast.

MON. OCTOBER 12: An incendiary device was found in a shop in Letterkenny, Co Donegal. The UFF said that they had planted it and other similar devices in the town.

THURS. OCTOBER 13: It was revealed that people in Derry had been told by the RUC that their personal details had been leaked to loyalist death squads.

WED. OCTOBER 14: A political prisoner who has been on remand in Belfast's

Crumlin Road jail for three-and-a-half years was attacked and badly beaten by loyalists.

THURS. OCTOBER 15: The jobless total in the Six Counties is now 110,386.

FRI. OCTOBER 16: Michael Hegarty, circulation manager of SAOIRSE was arrested in Armagh and charged with "being in possession of information which could be useful to terrorists". He was remanded to Crumlin Road jail.

Sheena Campbell (29) from Lurgan, Co Armagh, mother of a ten-year-old son and a law student at Queens University Belfast was shot dead in a hotel bar in Botanic Avenue, Belfast (near Queens) by the UVF. Two people with her were slightly injured.

The UVF planted a bomb in the Belfast office of the *Sunday World* newspaper. It was defused and no one was injured. Dublin justice minister Pádraig Flynn stated in Leinster House that legislation is being prepared to amend the Extradition Act in order to close off what are seen as "loopholes".

MON. OCTOBER 19: The incoming director-general of the BBC joined his predecessor, Sir Michael Checkland, in calling for an end to political censorship

of the broadcast media in Britain.

Two local radio stations in the 26 Counties, *Shannonville* and *Northern Sound* have decided, in line with the recent High Court judgement on Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, to interview members of banned organisations on local and community matters.

A survey amongst Irish Americans found that 66 per cent believe that the only way to solve the conflict in the Six Counties would be for Britain to withdraw.

WED. OCTOBER 21: James Thomas Harper of Portadown was charged with the murder of three nationalists at a mobile shop in Craigavon, Co Armagh on March 28, 1991. He was also charged with demanding money with menaces, robbery and with membership of the UVF.

Rodney Davis, a former UDR man from Newtownards, Co Down, was charged in Belfast with passing information to Republicans in the South Down area to the UVF. He was granted bail in the High Court.

FRI. OCTOBER 23: Several hundred British troops took part in a large operation on the Tyrone/Monaghan Border, crater the Border crossing at Altadavin, which local people had earlier tried to reopen.

SAT. OCTOBER 24: Vicky Ahitty of Corcairn Walk, Portadown, Co Armagh was charged at a special court in Craigavon with the murder of five nationalists — Desmond Rodgers, Ferny, Maguire and John Lavery — on November 14, 1991 and Kevin and John McKeearney on January 1, 1992. He was also charged with failing to give information on the murders of Teresa and Charles Fox.

MON. OCTOBER 26: SAOIRSE was circulation manager of High Court. A nationalist when two devices were petrol-bombed home in Lisburn were thrown at the home. No one was injured. Residents of Cookstown, Co Tyrone's Greenvale Estate complained of constant harassment from the Coldstream Guards regiment of the British army.

POLICE CHIEF WAS MI6 AGENT

AN ex-intelligence agent for the British government, Captain Fred Holroyd, recruited a former Garda commissioner in Dublin as an agent for the British intelligence service, MI6, during the mid-1970s. This claim was made by Capt Holroyd in a recent interview in the Breton town of Douarnenez which was published in the French magazine, *Solidarité Irlande* (September-October edition). The magazine supports the Irish struggle for self-determination.

Holroyd says that he recruited Ned Garvey, then the second most senior Garda officer, while working as a British agent in Dublin. He states: "I was based in Dublin, I set up networks for MI6 (external espionage). I even recruited Ned Garvey, the Garda No 2 (southern police)."

Garvey, who died in 1989, was head of C3, the intelligence unit of the 26-County police, before he was promoted to commissioner in July 1975 by the Fine Gael/Labour coalition administration. His

term of office was notorious with the systematic beatings of Republicans in custody by the so-called "heavy-gang" of police detectives in order to extract confessions from them.

Three men are still pursuing actions against the state for their wrongful convictions (secured by beatings and extracted "confessions" in custody) of the 1976 Sallins mail train robbery. The number of arrests under emergency laws jumped from 602 in 1974 to 1015 in 1975, the period of Ned



Garvey's first year in office as commissioner. He was sacked by the incoming Fianna Fáil administration in 1977, and he later successfully sued the state over his dismissal.

BORDER

Holroyd said that 26-County policemen he was "running" as MI6 agents along the Border had asked him to go to Dublin and he was introduced there to Ned Garvey (then Deputy Commissioner). Garvey gave him 150 files and photos on the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and said that both

himself and another man who was in the 26-County army wanted to pass on information to the British authorities. He arranged to meet Holroyd every month.

The *Sunday Tribune* reported that Garvey suppressed the fact that a false identification of fingerprints in the case of the assassination of the British ambassador in Dublin in 1976 was made by the 26-County police and the fact only came to light in a newspaper article three months later. He demoted the two policemen who realised the fingerprint identification was that of a colleague and not belonging to a suspect in the case.

Garvey also had the 26-County Director of Public Prosecutions Eamon Barnes placed under secret Garda surveillance after he decided to prosecute two SAS British soldiers who had crossed the Border into Co Louth. Barnes had to resist political pressure to drop the case.



• Gerard O'Hara O'Hara Killing

REPUBLICAN Sinn Fein in Belfast condemned the UFF murder of 18-year-old Gerard O'Hara at his home in the North Queen Street area of the New Lodge on September 27 last.

"The killing of this young man was cold-blooded murder and was carried out for no other reason than that Gerard O'Hara just happened to be a Catholic, spokesperson Seosamh O Leogain said.

Gerard O'Hara was shot dead in front of his mother Bridie. His brother Maurice's life was threatened in daubed graffiti reading "Morris is next" in the loyalist Tiger's Bay area a few days later.

"We also point out that the New Lodge like most Nationalist areas in North Belfast was ringed with RUC and British army road-blocks up until a short time before the murder of Gerard O'Hara. What happened to those road-blocks when Gerard O'Hara was murdered?"

The statement concluded by renewing a call for all Nationalists to be vigilant.

Cabhair Christmas Swim

ONCE again the intrepid members and supporters of Republican Sinn Fein who brave the elements every year on Christmas Day in order to support the prisoners will take to the water at 12 noon this Christmas Day. We will unfortunately be short this year of one of our most faithful swimmers, Michael Hegarty, who is himself a 'guest' of HM Prison, Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

CABHAIR would like to appeal for support for the swim in the form of more swimmers and if that is not possible please sponsor a swimmer. Sponsorship cards are available from CABHAIR at 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

BRITAIN LIKE SOUTH KOREA ?

A public meeting and video on the British Broadcasting Ban and censorship on Ireland, organised by Birmingham Troops Out Movement and supported by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) was held on Wednesday, October 14, at the Sparkhill Social and Cultural Centre, Stratford Road, Birmingham.

The meeting began with the showing of a video called 'The Irish Question - censorship of Irish news'. The video looked for the reasons behind the Broadcasting Ban, and gave a brief outline of the historical and colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland. It highlighted the

case of three programmes - 'Mother Ireland', 'Sixteen Dead', and 'Behind the Mask' - which were banned since the 1988 broadcasting censorship was introduced. It also showed how the media gets more criticism for their coverage of Ireland than any other subject.



Miles Barter, NUJ, spoke about the need to step up the campaign of action against the Broadcasting Ban and censorship, and how the NUJ is currently challenging the government at the European courts. He said the situation in the Six Counties was a testing ground for censorship and repression and asked the question who will be next? And

how long will it be before Britain ends up like South Korea?

Miles Barter, also called for a day of action to coincide with the trial of journalist Ben Hamilton, who was arrested in a dawn raid following a Channel 4 *Dispatches* broadcast in which he exposed links between the RUC and loyalist death squads.

WARNING ON REPRESSION AT DERMODY GRAVESIDE

"IF the current talks to re-structure and update British rule in the Six Counties were successful and were carried in referenda North and South of the Border, a wave of repression not seen since Paddy Dermody's day was possible," warned Ruairi O Bradaigh, President of Republican Sinn Fein at the 50th anniversary commemoration ceremony in Fore, Castlepollard, Co Westmeath on Sunday, October 4 last.

"Any alleged settlement which guaranteed a new lease of life for a tottering British colonialism in

Ireland was certainly not acceptable to Irish Republicans who had borne the brunt of the struggle down through the decades and the generations," said Ruairi O Bradaigh who was speaking at the graveside of Paddy Dermody, shot dead at his sister's wedding near Mount Nugent, Co Cavan 50 years ago.

"When Comdt Paddy Dermody met an untimely and violent death at the age of 22, Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House were collaborating under the cloak of wartime censorship in all-out coercion which included internment camps, Military Tribunals, Drumhead Courtmartial, hunger-strike deaths, shooting dead of unarmed Republicans on the streets and the suppression of inquests on them," he continued.

"Republicans would be well-advised to steel themselves for such an eventuality and to galvanise their followers and as wide a section of the Irish people as possible into opposition to any bogus settlement which underwrote a continuance of British rule in any part of Ireland," he went on.

PARADE

The ceremony was preceded by a parade from the car-park to the cemetery, led by a colour-party bearing the flags of 1916.



• Pat Dermody commemoration at Fore, Co Westmeath on October 4.

the National Tricolour, the Fianna Eireann 'Sunburst' and the 'Starry Plough' of the Irish Citizen Army.

Seosamh O Maoileoin of Tyrrellspass on behalf of the organising committee introduced the chairman, Seán ('Bap') Lynch, Castletown, Finea as a man who was arrested for being a Republican as long ago as 1936, who was active all his life and underwent imprisonment in 1972 on charges later dismissed for speaking on a Sinn Féin platform.

Seán B Lynch said he had known Paddy Dermody very well and was his comrade. He praised him as a selfless patriot who sacrificed everything, even his life, for Irish free-

dom. Local people were shocked and appalled at the attack by 26-County state forces on the wedding celebration at the Tuite farmhouse near Kilmacrott Abbey, he recalled.

Seosamh O Maoileoin led the crowd of local people as well as Republicans from Westmeath and adjoining counties in a decade of the Rosary in Irish. Wreaths were laid on the grave by Matt Casey, Longford on behalf of the Republican Movement, by Domhnall O Lúbhlaí on behalf of the Seán Costello/Martin Hurson Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin, Co Westmeath and Mrs Moore, on behalf of the William Stewart Cumann, Dundalk. A bugler then sounded

the Last Post and Reveille as the flags were dipped and raised again in tribute to the dead.

CIRCUMSTANCES

His unselfish service to Ireland should act as an inspiration to this generation, while the circumstances of his death should motivate young people to make recurrence of such tragedies impossible. They could best do that by opposing sham settlements which would not bring peace with justice, but rather the reinforcement of state repression, Ruairi O Bradaigh concluded.

The proceedings ended in bright sunshine with the crowd singing Amhrán na bhFiann to the accompaniment of the bugler.



• Comdt Paddy Dermody

NATIONWIDE TURN-OUT FOR FREEDOM MEDAL AWARDS



• Chairperson Peter Farley

THE Third Annual SAOIRSE (Irish Freedom News) Medal Dinner was held at Cryans, in Lindon, New Jersey on Sunday, October 25, 1992.

This year's honorees were Molly Murphy, New Jersey and Pat O'Connell (Friends of Irish Freedom), New York. Mike Flannery presented the medals. The guest speaker was Frank McCarry, Republican Sinn Fein, Co Antrim. Peter Farley, SAOIRSE manager in the US, chaired the full house attendance, Frank Durcan was the Master of Ceremonies and Msgr Kevin Flanagan gave the invocation.

This year's event turned out to be national in scope. A huge contingent from New York was led by Pat O'Connell (FOIF). Jim Munsell represented the National FOIF and Boston, Frank O'Neill, FOIF Chicago, Eileen O'Flaherty, the Fenian Society, Al Madden the AOH and over thirty people represented many organisations from Pennsylvania, including Clan na Gael.

On presenting the medals Mike Flannery, as spry as ever, spoke of the long struggle for Irish Freedom and the role that the recipients played in alleviating some of the suffering of the people in Ireland and in the USA.

UNBROKEN CHAIN

Mike noted that John Joe Hoey, a veteran of the forties campaign, was present, in fact he said that the unbroken chain of resistance was represented from 1921 until today.

Frank McCarry congratulated the honorees and the committee and lauded Peter Farley on his great job with the SAOIRSE newspaper in the US. Frank



• 1992 Honorees Pat O'Connell and Molly Murphy.

went on to outline the particularly brutal and oppressive campaign being carried out at present by the British Occupation Forces and their willing loyalist gunmen in the North. He noted that the recent arrest of Michael Hegarty, a SAOIRSE distributor, demonstrates that freedom of the press is very much on a leash.

Frank devoted some time to latter-day revisionists who seek the opportune moment to become fully-fledged lackeys of the crown in another enterprise doomed to failure.

Copies of SAOIRSE and the *Eire Nua* Newsletter was distributed to all present.



• Michael Flannery, Frank McCarry and Aileen McCarry



• Msgr Kevin O'Flanagan with Al Madden and John Hurley of Boston Friends of Irish Freedom..



• Frank Durcan, MC, introducing the guest speaker, Frank McCarry.

THIS article is being gathered Michael Hegarty frame-up by th on October 16 is published her despite being inc was anxious to lished remarks Maginnis that carried out in loyalists. The hi Death' shows th over the past 20

A UVF unit based in Po most of the assassination 24 in all, in the East T area since November 198

This particular group is by a well-known loyalist named "King Rat" who featured in television documentaries and given newspaper interviews in the past. His activities include a driver who born a Catholic but has become a fanatical member of loyalist death squad and a an who was involved in a nationalist taxi-driver Dunganon to his death in 1980. The group's motto is "all cilies are targets" (ACA frequently daubed on wall loyalist areas).

Among the killings carried by this group, some of w were examined by the *Cian Dispatches* documentary in ober 1991 are the follow

- the assassination of nati ist Denis Carville (19 on shores of Lough Neagh in ober 1990. The 'Inner F of serving RUC and UDR bers targeted the youth and 'King Rat' in and out of the to carry out the shootings acing to the *Dispatches* program

- the killing of four me an attack on a bar in Capp Co Tyrone on March 3, 1980. On the *Dispatches* program Portadown loyalist Billy W admitted he was questi about this attack but do that he was 'King Rat'.

MOBILE SHOP

- the attack on a mobile in Craigavon's Drumbar on March 28, 1991 which

REFRESHING AND MOVING PORTRAYAL OF CASEMENT

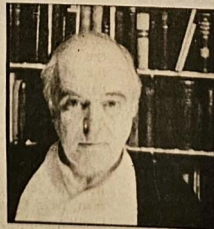
ON Wednesday October 28 last BBC2 screened in its *Timewatch* series a programme on the life of Roger Casement, made by the Welsh actor Kenneth Griffith. In fact, the Casement programme was Griffith's first Irish project to be actually broadcast on British TV. A previous effort, *Curious Journey*, a film about the 1916 Rising had a banning order placed on it. His first Irish film *Hang out Your Brightest Colours*: the life and death of Michael Collins (1973) was banned by Sir Lew Grade of ATV, who commissioned it.

The film (entitled *Heart of Darkness* - Casement inspired Joseph Conrad's famous novel) traced Casement's life from his birth in Sandycove, Co Dublin on September 1, 1864 to his execution in August 1916. Griffith in an at times moving portrayal of Casement quotes liberally from Casement's writings and journals.

The film recounted Casement's time in what was then the Belgian Congo, in Central Africa where he was employed by the British Foreign Office. He worked to expose the degrading and

inhuman treatment meted out by the Belgians to the indigenous people of the area.

Casement by his efforts did much to focus attention on their plight in the United States and Europe but found it almost impossible to move the British Foreign Office into taking any effective action. He stated at the time he felt that as an Irishman he could better understand what it was to be hunted and harassed in one's own country whereas his masters in the British Foreign Office could only see from the perspective of an imperialist



• Kenneth Griffith power with a history of exploitation and oppression in many countries.

PLACATE

In an attempt to placate Casement, who continually protested at their failure to take effective steps to aid the native people of the Congo, the British Crown conferred upon Casement the 'Order of St Michael and St George'. Casement was extrem-

ely reluctant to accept and only did so lest his refusal to do so would affect his work for the people of the Congo and Griffith points out in the programme he never opened the box in which the 'order' was placed.

The film traced Casement's life following his resignation from the British Foreign Office when he took up the cudgels on behalf of the Indian people of Peru and Columbia in South America who faced similar treatment to that meted out to the people of the Congo with one difference, that this time it was not the Belgian government who were responsible but a British company 'The Peruvian Amazon Co' which had its headquarters in London.

For his valiant work here the British conferred upon him a knighthood, something which he again reluctantly accepted. In 1915 as is pointed out in the programme Casement renounced and returned to the British Crown all 'honours' conferred upon him.

Following his work in South America Casement returned to

Ireland for as he stated himself: "The white Indians of Ireland are far closer to my heart than all the Indians upon the earth."

From this time onwards, as Griffith states in the programme, the struggle for Irish self-determination and independence became his sole reason for living. The programme goes on to chart Casement's role in the formation of the Irish Volunteers and his activities in Germany culminating in his arrest at Banna Strand, Co Kerry on Good Friday, April 21, 1916 following his abortive attempt to land arms for the expected rising, his trial and execution in August 1916.

Appeals for a reprieve of the death sentence placed on Casement came from all over the world, including George Bernard Shaw and indeed the 'Negro Fellowship League' in the United States in recognition of his work for oppressed peoples everywhere.

DIARIES

Finally the programme looked at the possibility that the famous 'Black' diaries which allegedly

The Triangle of Death

of these cases machine-guns issued to the UDR were the weapons used.

In the same period seven nationalists were viciously murdered in the Portadown area and in only two cases were those responsible identified and convicted.

In neither the Dungannon, Loughgall or Portadown areas were any loyalists interned during the period while many young nationalists, boys and girls, were being sent to Long Kesh and Armagh.

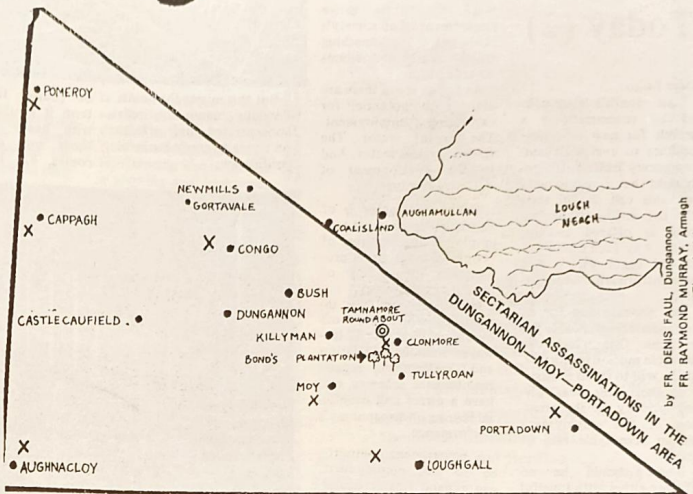
The authors stated in *The Triangle of Death* that "It can be asserted that the British government and the British army/RUC look upon sectarian assassinations as a useful political weapon to crush the legitimate political aspirations of the Catholic community and their complaints about internment, brutality and torture by the army and the RUC."

It is chilling to note that the same pattern of terror by the UVF through the killing of middle-aged and elderly couples (such as in the Fox murders in September 1992) occurred three times previously in the Moy area:

- on August 5, 1973 Francis Mullen (59) and his wife Bernadette (39) were killed with machine gun fire;
- James (46) and Gertrude (43) Devlin were similarly killed by Sterling sub-machine gun fire outside their home on May 6, 1974;
- Peter and Jane McKeearney, both in their 60s, were both shot dead by the UVF in October 1975.

Faul and Murray noted the same features again and again: "the people note that when an assassination takes place the roads are 'open', no UDR blocks", "no arrests were made", "the getaway car was left on the M1". The same features apply to the UVF killings in the Murder Triangle in recent years.

NOTE: It is indeed remarkable that in the weeks following the arrest of Michael Hegarty on October 16 last four men in the Portadown area were charged with loyalist death squad killings listed here. Why the sudden success in bringing charges?



• Cover of Fr Faul and Fr Murray's 1975 pamphlet 'The Triangle of Death'.



• The funeral of UVF victims Charlie and Tess Fox in the Moy, Co Tyrone on September 9, 1992.

THIS article is the result of information being gathered by SAOIRSE reporter Michael Hegarty before his arrest and frame-up by the British Crown Forces on October 16 last (see story p 1). It is published here for the public record despite being incomplete. Michael Hegarty was anxious to refute the widely-published remarks of Unionist MP Ken Maginnis that 'genocide' was being carried out in the Border area against loyalists. The history of 'The Triangle of Death' shows the true story in one area over the past 20 years.

A UVF unit based in Portadown, North Armagh is behind most of the assassinations of nationalists, numbering about 24 in all, in the East Tyrone/North Armagh/South Derry area since November 1988.

This particular group is led by a well-known loyalist nicknamed "King Rat" who has featured in television documentaries and given newspaper interviews in the past. His accomplices include a driver who was born a Catholic but has become a fanatical member of the loyalist death squad and a woman who was involved in luring a nationalist taxi-driver from Dungannon to his death in 1981. The group's motto is "all Catholics are targets" (ACAT is frequently daubed on walls in loyalist areas).

Among the killings carried out by this group, some of which were examined by the Channel 4 *Dispatches* documentary in October 1991 are the following:

- the assassination of nationalist Denis Carville (19) on the shores of Lough Neagh in October 1990. The 'Inner Force' of serving RUC and UDR members targeted the youth and led 'King Rat' in and out of the area to carry out the shooting according to the *Dispatches* programme;
- the killing of four men in an attack on a bar in Cappagh, Co Tyrone on March 3, 1991. On the *Dispatches* programme Portadown loyalist Billy Wright admitted he was questioned about this attack but denied that he was 'King Rat';

MOBILE SHOP

- the attack on a mobile shop in Craiganon's Drumbeeg estate on March 28, 1991 which killed

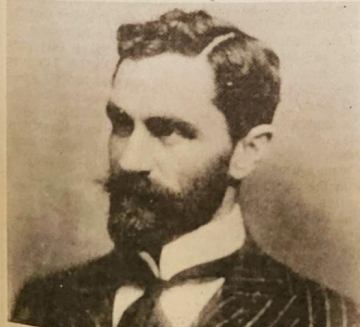
three nationalists Catrina Rennie (16), Eileen Duffy (19) and Brian Frizzell (29). A Portadown man was charged with their murder and membership of the UVF on October 21 last and a second man from Down Royal was similarly charged on October 23;

- the shooting dead of two Catholics and a Protestant as they left work at the Hyster factory in Portadown in November 1991. Another Portadown man was charged with these murders and those of the McKearneys at a court in Craiganon on October 24;
- the killing of Kevin McKeearney and his uncle Jack in Moy village on January 3, 1992; and the

- shooting dead of Charlie and Tess Fox (parents of Kevin McKeearney's wife Bernadette) at their home in Listamlet outside Moy on September 6, 1992.

This pattern of killings in the Cappagh - Moy - Portadown area is not new - the previous sectarian assassination campaign by the UVF during the 1970s in the same vicinity was chronicled by Fr Denis Faul and Fr Raymond Murray in their 1975 booklet entitled *The Triangle of Death*.

They pointed out that in an area about ten miles around Dungannon twelve nationalists had been assassinated in the previous three years without any charges being preferred or convictions being achieved. In nine



• Roger Casement

pointed to the fact that Casement was homosexual were in fact British forgeries. Griffith leaves the question open but does state that even now 76 years after Casement's death the British Foreign Office refused him access to the relevant police files.

Hearts of Darkness made a refreshing change from the usual

'revisionist' view of Irish history and more particularly Irish revolutionary history and gave a balanced view of what was indeed a noble and heroic life. Kenneth Griffith and the programme makers are to be congratulated and indeed the BBC for broadcasting it.

— Deasún Ó Daltúin

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

MONSTER NATIONAL PRIVATE MEMBERS DRAW

1st Prize:

PEUGEOT 205 CAR

or CITROËN AX

2nd Prize: HOLIDAY IN IRELAND.

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Sellers should return stubs and cash as soon as possible to any of the names mentioned on the tickets or to Head Office, 41 Arnan Quay, Dublin 7.

DONATIONS £5 EACH.

Draw will take place at the Spa Hotel, Lucan on SUNDAY 15th NOVEMBER, 1992

or as he stated himself: "I hate Indians of Ireland closer to my heart than any other race of men upon the earth." At this time onwards, as stated in the programme, the struggle for Irish self-determination and independence became the sole reason for living. The programme goes on to chart the formation of the Irish Volunteers and his arrest at Banna Strand, on Good Friday, April 12, following his abortive attempt to land arms for the rising, his trial and execution in August 1916. It is a reprieve of the sentence placed on Casement from all over the world including George Bernard Shaw and indeed the 'Negro League' in the United States in recognition of his role as an oppressed peoples hero.

DIARIES

the programme looked at the possibility that the famous diaries which allegedly

A new Economic Model for Today (2)

Dear Editor,

Last month's letter ended by recommending a search for new economic policies to deal with contemporary Ireland. It's only right that someone making this call should start the ball rolling. What follows is offered in this spirit. Any such discussion should begin with a few straightforward observations.

We should look for an immediately applicable programme. One which can be set in motion tomorrow, if the will to do so exists.

In short, this means giving priority to the creation of full employment at an acceptable rate of pay.

There should be no flirting either with fanciful experiments and no unnecessary agonising over esoteric theoretic points.

Nor should we refuse to recognise existing realities in Europe.

We have to face the fact that with CEMA gone, there is no short term alternative but to trade with the EC.

A new policy would also be obliged to accept the

limitations of old style central planning.

That said though, the need for a carefully planned programme remains. Provision of full employment at an acceptable wage requires the active engagement of all society's resources. Something which clearly necessitates co-ordination.

As things stand there are areas with potential for expanding employment. The export sector. The traded services sector. And in the development of our infrastructure.

This latter sector is of particular interest. It can employ a huge number of people without being prohibitively demanding of capital or technology.

Moreover, it's an investment which pays off over time. First-rate motorways, schools, habitation and widespread repair/maintenance schemes, etc. have a direct and beneficial bearing on an economy's performance.

A government committed to full employment can expand this particular sector at any time.

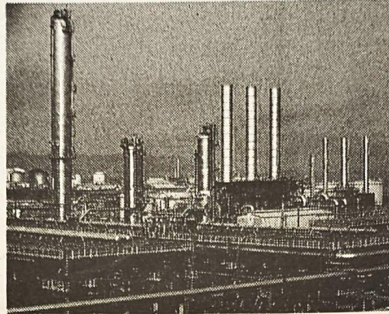
It can become an employment "regulator" with people moving in and out of it as conditions vary elsewhere in the economy.

Some of the work may not always be of the absolutely vital kind. Certain refurbishments might be postponed for a while. Or a particular building project delayed a time.



But this misses the point. Previous administration's concentrated their efforts on trying to create business confidence.

of course. In the short term it would be covered with heavy taxation of those with excessive incomes, e.g. beef barons,



Ireland now needs a government determined to restore working people's confidence.

Doing so would naturally involve a substantial transfer of resources. But then, the economic sclerosis afflicting this country demands substantial action.

There would be a cost

property speculators, freaked out supermarket moguls.

In the longer run though, the strategy would only work if other sectors of the economy a) generate sufficient wealth, and b) expand so as not to place excessive strain on one area.

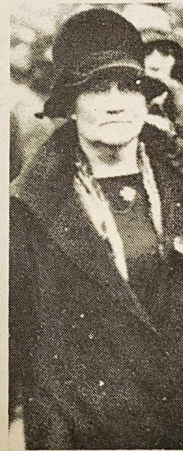
Articles 2 & 3 a "pious wish"

A chara,

Since the inception of the present 26-County Constitution in 1937 embodying the territorial claim for the Six North-Eastern Counties known as Articles 2 & 3, little regard has ever been paid to that claim by Republicans in general, or by the Republican Movement in particular. Prominent spokespeople, like Mary Mac Swiney, Brian O'Higgins, Paddy McLogan and others, regarded it, like the special position extended to the Catholic Church, as a smoke screen, to cover up the more obnoxious Offences Against the State Act, which was included at the same time.

The justification for this attitude may be seen in the dormant position of Articles 2 & 3 for more than fifty years and in the scrapping of the privileged position of the Catholic Church, while at the same time the Offences Against the State Act is claiming a more prominent, obscene position in our legislation.

When the 1937 Constitution was introduced, the main political parties contained strong nationalist representation, and in the case of Fianna Fáil a few Republicans still remained. It was only ten years since they had broken from the parent body "Sinn Féin".



• Mary MacSwiney

The Nationalist Party in the Six Counties was still incensed by the weakness and cowardice of the Boundary Commission. The Northern Republicans had gone underground, and the nationalist population was under constant siege.

This was the atmosphere then prevailing throughout the island, which Articles 2 & 3 intended to relieve, and looking back over the years we can see their total insignificance.

Of course the British and Unionist politicians were also aware of its absurdity in relation to the status quo, recognising it as a sop for nationalist politicians to chew on, which could be quietly ignored by them. Why then have Articles

Exporting is vital. Current government attempts at improving this area are widely recognised as ineffective and inefficient.

Present policy concentrates on attracting foreign investment and/or providing, at most, "seed corn" finance for local manufacturers. The former is fickle while the latter asks too much of an island people, distant from their main outlets.

With a fifth of the population out of work, we cannot afford this type of complacency.

The state must take a "hands on" approach towards exploring and servicing markets abroad. This country's annual output is a tiny fraction of world product. There's no reasons why an outlet can't be found for everything we produce.

A first step might be a government department similar to (but not identical) to Japan's MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry in Japan), an Irish agency for investment and development, plus maintain supervision over existing facilities.

This department could also take a measure of responsibility for the marketing of output. And where appropriate, establish profit-making state-run enterprise.

Step two would be a government-controlled bank-

ing network tasked with financing the development of local industry.

Ireland needs a banking system committed by law to the home economy.

At the moment Irish banks see shareholders' dividends as their main objective.

An essential complementary measure in all of this would be a comprehensive wages/incomes policy. For people to trust this system, income differentials have to be tightly controlled. Entrepreneurs can be encouraged but not pampered.

All told, the above is only a sketch of what a plan might look like. Much more remains to be said on the subject. It avoids though the acceptance of unemployment and tries not to career off into ultra left never never land.

It may be said that it smacks of old fashioned Keynesianism. That wouldn't be absolutely accurate, but what odds if there is a whiff of the old economist's theory there.

If the policy works several crucial objectives are fulfilled.

New Wave capitalism is repulsed. Socialists show themselves capable of running an economy beneficial to working people, and confidence is restored in left-wing hearts as much as left-wing politics.

More important still, Socialism having touched the bottom can resume its forward march.

TOMMY McKEARNEY

2 & 3 become so important, having remained idle and useless all these years? Simply because they are in direct conflict with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which gives a veto to Northern Unionists with regard to Irish unity.

Many other changes have come about in recent years on the Irish political scene, the most important of which being the 'total career' aspect of all the parties, from which Republicanism, in the sense that word has been historically understood, is totally eliminated. In fact it would be true to say that many of our political spokespeople would be embarrassed by the mild nationalism of O'Connell or John Redmond. Following on this new political outlook, the broadcasting, and most of the print media, have faithfully complied. British Army, and RUC press releases, have become the main source of reportage on the northern troubles often accompanied by British or Unionist spokespeople, while attacks, harassment and intimidation of the Nationalist communities are scarcely mentioned, or are given a very low key.

A large share of this blame can be laid on the shoulders of our academics who either through lack of scholarship or the temptation to become over-enthusiastic have revised and distorted history to conform with a partitionist outlook. In many cases they have not stopped short at distorting and misrepresenting the aims and objectives of our heroes of the past, who maintained the separatist spark throughout the centuries.

Even our commemorative songs and ballads are frowned upon and it may not be a coincidence that they have all but disappeared from our airwaves.

It is within the present climate of political evolution that Articles 2 & 3 assume an importance that was missing until now. The British and Unionist leadership are fully aware of this and having assessed the career principles of the 26-County Establishment, believe that the time is now ripe for our Constitution, in all aspects, to be brought into line with the Anglo-Irish Agreement. It has taken fifty years for Articles 2 & 3 to come of age and to have a positive relevance in the Constitution and also become a serious impediment to a frightened establishment, who are planning its speedy demise. It is very unlikely however that our politicians will have the final courage for an eyeball to eyeball confrontation on a national issue, and another compromise must be sought. Perhaps President Robinson may have her wish after all and the people will be asked to have the Anglo-Irish Agreement either fully or in part, included in our Constitution. Thus relegating the offending Articles to the mere 'pious wish', as intended by the original formulators.

EDDIE WILLIAMS
Ballypheane
Cork

ANNOIS COMHAIR

TEORANTA, 5 Rae Mhuirfean, Baile Atha Cliath 2.

Local Newspapers And Irish

Dear Sir,

Of all the minority languages that the EC is generously helping, Irish is the only one that is rapidly dying out. What is wrong with us? (What is right with us, the very many who are ashamed of our language may ask). Scott-Irish Gaidhlig has 80,000 native speakers; Irish has a rapidly dwindling 30,000. There are 50 million minority languages in Europe today. In the former USSR it must be 100,000. None feel deprived; all are proud.

One may leave school in Ireland a potentially fluent speaker; but one may never have an opportunity to read Irish again... a critical disadvantage, as I know well. Our local newspapers can provide a solution for this problem.

If even a few paragraphs of news in Irish, or a short article, were to appear every week in, say *The Leitrim Observer* or *The Angle-Cell* etc, people would have a chance of holding on to their reading

skills in the language. This would confer a small, but vital, advantage on our rapidly dying language.

This can be achieved easily and practically without cost, by syndicating articles from ANNOIS, SAOR, COMHAIR etc to the local newspapers. The local editor, spared the hassle and journalistic cost of producing a suitable article, could just print the Irish article of his choice.

As one who learned Irish the hard way, I know well that this innovation could be of exceptional value in keeping and enhancing reading skills in Irish for the youth and the middle-aged... as well as those who are neither afraid, or ashamed, of Irish.

Recently, I sent full details of this little plan to two Irish editors, two societies, and one government official, all of them in Ireland. Not even a one-line acknowledgement did I receive.

Yet, one must ask is there a conspiracy of silence afoot in Ireland so as not to disturb the death agony of our language.

C O'BEIRNE
Huntingdon
Camps
England

ANDRE KEHOE - MAN WITH A MISSION ?

Christian Contradictions and the World Revolution by Andre Kehoe. Glendale Press, 4 Haddington Tce., Dun Laoghaire, Co Dublin, £12.95.

IT IS perhaps, possible, to argue that there never was a time when things did not look terrible in this world - a world which is, after all, a valley of tears. And while accepting the basic Christian idea that it is only a short and temporary location through which we must all pass on the way to eternity, we must always balance that idea with the further reality that we will have to give an account of our stewardship while on this earth.

Based on our imperfect human understandings of these matters, it still seems pretty obvious that we have made a monumental mess of the 20th century, given the new and vast technological and communications resources that are available to us for the first time. Indeed, the horrors of World War I and World War II and all the other wars are so difficult to fully consider particularly because modern technology, communications and industrial resources have all combined to make them so horrible. We have in fact mobilised the fruits of human invention, learning and scientific progress in the cause of war and conflicts. We have prostituted modern mass-media internationally and have converted so many medical achievements into life-taking as well as life-giving processes.

And yet we know that there has been progress; the evil of imperial domination has been overthrown at least as far as the old and cruel colonial masters of Europe are considered, and tremendous improvements have taken place in the lives of several million ordinary people who, quite simply, counted for nothing in our grandparents' time.

PREDICTIONS
Indeed if one were foolish enough to make predictions in this vast area, or to attempt to generalise about trends in our time, it might be possible to argue that while people rarely predict the future accurately (hands up all those who believed the Berlin Wall would come down in 1989 at the beginning of that year as they set about the commemoration of the French Revolution ?) we are equally poor at predicting the problems which will be faced as soon as a new stage is reached.

Some people it is true, to take the Berlin case again, did see a danger to whatever German goodwill there was for special regional funding for Ireland within the EC once they had to rehabilitate their fellow-Germans - some 18 million of them ! - from the harsh neglect and underdevelopment of the East German state since 1949.

The collapse of Communist Russia (remember all those prayers we used to say in the old days for this intention - though few expected the "miracle" to happen in their life-

time ?) is only one confusing factor in the modern world that gave rise to hopes of a fresh beginning. Only to find shortly after the celebrations, that the problems of re-adjustment have thrown up unpleasant side-issues for all of us.

In a word, the horrors of the world today are, above all else, a product of man's cruelty to his neighbours, to the animals and indeed to the overall environment, bearing in mind the human limitations of any given situation.

It is also clear, perhaps, that people are even still not fully aware of the logical follow-on of some

In this new massive 500-page work, André Kehoe, a native of Co Wexford but now living in France sets about the daunting task of trying to make some sense or at least rational criticism of our modern dilemma; tracing however vaguely and inadequately, an outline, a pattern and mixing a combination of moral imperatives with cold and rational arguments.

While the author obviously tries to set a pitch that is not beyond the well-informed general reader and does this by adopting a form of letters to his son, the work, the thesis and the conclusions deserve more than the normal academic interest, if only because of Mr Kehoe's background.

HUMANE

Behind the humane Irish Catholic ethos that is evident in the lively text, lies over twenty years of administrative experience with OECD in Paris, the FAO in Rome, the United Nations Development Programme in Africa and work on consultant missions elsewhere with UNESCO and the World Bank. Kehoe therefore has been around over the

globe rarely if ever belong to the rich club of nations. There is political and diplomatic intrigue in almost every situation that has become more complex and more confused since the old East-West Cold War came to an end.

At least the old conflict, however dangerous, was predictable. Now nothing seems as certain - apart from the fact that there is strong evidence to suggest that the world is being divided up in an even more sinister North/South way, representing above all else a growing and frightening gap between the rich and the poor.

That the gap is both urgent and terrible is no longer questioned. That things have been getting worse throughout the 1980s - when the world economic order came under the iron grip of the Thatcher/Reagan school of economics that has now led to the collapse of the British Pound, the value of the US dollar and much more beside ? - few will now dispute either.

DELAYING MECHANISM

What is most disturbing if yet to be fully proven, in spite of the signals is the sneaking suspicion of some schools of humanitarian thought and even socialist thinking (where anybody now even admits to that vaguely Left concept !) that world aid and development, commodity strategy and other programmes - like the attitude to AIDS in central Africa where the disease is most rampant - all seem to have an in-built delaying mechanism that will do little too late and too inefficiently to prevent the total elimination of certain nations, and groups of poor in the Third World Society.

One is reluctant to suggest that any Somalian child's life is worth less than that of a life in Yugoslavia - not to mention Israel, West Belfast, East Side New York not to mention Calcutta. Yet those who justify the differing attitudes and priorities of officialdom, nationally and internationally, or even the amount of television time given to the various types of deaths, their scale and causes, must prove to others that the unwritten suggestion is not true.

That is why Mr Kehoe's overview and complex perspective makes such interesting and valuable reading. Even if one does not agree with it all and some of the details have already been overtaken by events. What is equally gratifying to Irish readers no doubt is the way in which the author views the true situation of life in Ireland today as being somewhat unique and offering some hopes of a way forward, if we rely on our own resources and seek to forge our own destiny from the strengths of our historical evolution.

Chapter seven on "Ireland's Strategic Position" is one of the finest essays in this book - though I doubt if it will be welcome

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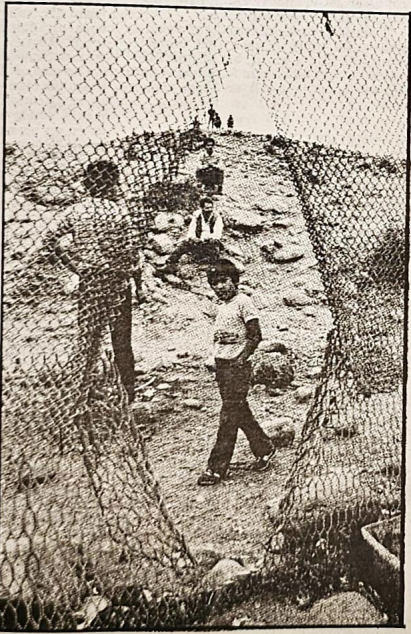
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• "Dividing up the world in a North/South way" - the chain-linked fence on the Mexican-United States border is now being replaced by steel sheeting.

of their own actions - be that smoking and the threat it presents to all human beings, or the current famine nightmares in Africa that most logically, be at their worst where government has broken down and a traditional state is reduced to a series of factions, each anxious to cooperate in the distribution of food as soon as it arrives, but totally unable to bring any sort of stability that would ensure a new self-reliant confidence in the self-governing abilities of ordinary people at community level.

past few turbulent decades, close to the action within the major international agencies which we all seem to think are charged with and have the ability to solve the world's huge problems, if only we all took a little more interest and notice - and if the big industrial powers in particular were prepared to pay their fair share of the costs of UN operations. We know of course that they are not and that governments fail to fund the UN. We also know that those most active in relieving the urgent famine in whatever part of the

ed by all those who see the solution to our problems in terms of imitating more and more from outside including a false and slavish devotion to a 'European' life-style that has failed on the continent already and has more to do with EC economics and Maastricht than anything else.

BRAVE

The author, brave person that he is, attempts a solution in his essay titled "What Went Wrong ?" and later writing. And while few would disagree with his emphasis on a need for rejuvenation of

the priorities given to family, the media and education in the raising of the next generation, the relative importance attached to these and the relationship between them in forming the child's character in late 20th century Ireland is a topic which is still far from resolved.

However André Kehoe

has at least had the courage to draw our attention to these issues in a formidable way at a time when everybody else seems to be talking about money markets, bringing us as he does his scholarship, humanity and vast political experience to all the areas of life that should concern us today.

Irish nationalists and Irish democrats will be particularly pleased to note, once again, that the more educated and informed the outside observers of the Irish scene are the more they realise the superficiality and the ultimate futility of current overall development policies.

Kehoe may not have all the answers either - or even half of them. But at least it is refreshing to note that he tries to raise the right questions, the ones that rarely if ever surface in our West British Fourth Estate these days. Molann an saothar an fear

Nollaig O. Gadhra

MAURICE O'NEILL IS EXECUTED

50 YEARS AGO:

FROM October 23 to November 5, 1942 the second Battle of El Alamein raged in North Africa. It has been seen by many as the point at which WW2 turned finally and decisively in favour of the Allies.

Field Marshal Rommel's Afrika Korps was ultimately forced to withdraw from Egypt towards Tunisia by the British Eighth Army under its new commander General Montgomery.

This success has been said to have been possible only because of the brilliance of the battle plans devised by Dorman Smith for the first battle there in July when Rommel was initially halted (see July '92 instalment).

Meanwhile, back in Ireland the IRA got a shot in the arm when three Republican prisoners, JACKIE GRIFFITH and JIM SMITH of Dublin with FRANK KERR-IGAN of Cork, escaped from Mountjoy Jail at Hollow Fen.

It was the forerunner of another dramatic jailbreak by three leading Republicans on that date in 1973 when they were rescued by helicopter from the exercise yard of "D" Wing of the same prison!

Using a long stool or form as a lever they prised apart the vertical bars of the window of their exercise room in the acute angle of the jail where "B" Wing and "C" Wing join the centrally commanding Circle.

Slipping through the space thus made into the early evening darkness, they crossed the high boundary wall by creeping up the steps to an elevated military sentry post situated right on top of the wall.

Sliding across by the bottom of the post they dropped down on the outside, apparently noiselessly or at least without arousing suspicion. Whether or not they had a "rope" for this purpose is not clear.

Jackie Griffith's arm was badly injured on impact with the ground, something which made him obvious in public and was to have tragic consequences later.

Outside they linked up with Charlie Kerins and Archie Doyle who provided safe refuges for them - a scarce commodity at the time.

During November military operations by the IRA continued in the Six Counties but more sporadically and less frequently than in September and October. The curfew in the Lower Falls area of Belfast was maintained right through the month.

DUBLIN

But an event had taken place in Dublin on Saturday night, October 24 which was very similar to the shoot-out at Lisnacangan, Mount Nugent, Co Cavan three short weeks earlier. This time too there were tragic results.

Again Harry White was involved and those seeking a full and dramatic account of what happened should read chapter 14 of *Harry*. The later chapters 17 and 18 detail the sequence of what happened that night as presented before the Military Tribunal four years later. Chapter 19 gives the very illuminating and revealing proceedings and outcome at the Court of Criminal Appeal.

GHQ Staff in October 1942, with the heat turned on fully from 26-County forces, were using five houses in Dublin - two in Rathmines and three on the north side. All were well known and liable to be raided at any time.

On Monday night, October 19, Harry White was moved to a new house, Kelly's of 14 Holly Road, Donnycarney. Mrs Kelly was a sister of Miss Rosanne Collins whose house at 22 Northbrook Avenue, North Strand was one of the five already mentioned.

With Harry was Maurice O'Neill of Letter, Cahersiveen, Co Kerry who had participated in the South Armagh Raid on the morning Tom Williams was hanged. He had been OC of the local Company in Cahersiveen and had arrived in Dublin in time to take part in the new Northern Campaign.

Aged 25, he is described by Harry as "a fine big fellow, yet he was real polite". Maurice could move around relatively freely as he was not on the run or wanted

for anything, yet when a known Republican leaves home for some months his absence is bound to be noted.

On the Saturday night following the move to Donnycarney, a courier named Maggie O'Halloran of 32 Gardiner Place arrived at Kelly's by bicycle saying that the two men would have to leave immediately as the house was no longer safe.

SURROUNDED

But already, unknown to its occupants, the house was surrounded by a double cordon of Special Branch backed up by Free State troops. The narrow laneway at the rear was of course blocked.

Harry, now under the nom-de-guerre John Boyle and O'Neill also known to the household under a pseudonym of Maurice O'Connell finished their game of cards and left at Maggie's insistence. They went out the back door, collected their bicycles under the scullery window and were wheeling them down the 3'6" wide back laneway with hedges on either side when "Halt" was shouted and guns started to flash.

Harry was first and saw nothing only flashes from the end of the laneway. Both men dropped their bikes and fired back. Harry then jumped over a hedge into the rear garden of 3 Oak Road, nearly backing on Kelly's house.

Maggie O'Halloran had left by the front door at the same time and was grabbed by Chief-Supt Gantly, Det-Sergt Gill and Branch men Foley and Mordant. The latter ran right through the house and into a back garden.

BLOCKED

Meanwhile, Maurice O'Neill finding his way blocked in the back passageway returned to the house and was promptly arrested. *Harry* says on pages 120 and 121 "Police evidence at his trial was that he had five shots fired from his revolver which, if it happened at all, must have occurred when both of us fired back at the flashes in the passageway."



• Maurice O'Neill

Harry White passed into the garden of No 5 Oak Road and burst in the back door telling the terrified occupants he would not harm them but had to enter or he would be killed. He went out their front door, crossed through the front gardens to No 15.

He then crossed the road but a man with a machine-gun opened up on him. Harry fired back, dived down a cul-de-sac, jumped another hedge, passed through another house on the Malahide Road, crossed that road, scrambled over a wall and into Clontarf Golf Course.

He ran and ran, jumped a low wall, fell into briars on the side of a railway cutting. There he hid, listening to the voices of the searchers. Later he crossed the line, and lay in undergrowth in a garden for the rest of the night, all next day and the following night as well. Patience, Harry...

He lost his overcoat along the way, also his Parabellum, found later near the



• Passageway at rear of 14 Holly Road, Donnycarney, where Maurice O'Neill was captured.

Howth Road. Afterwards he found out that he had ventured out at last at 116 Howth Road; he saw a bus for O'Connell Street, took it, walked up O'Connell Street and got a No 2 back again to Brown's at Swilly Road, Cabra.

Maurice O'Neill wrote a letter dated October 31, 1942 from Mountjoy Jail to his brother Seán, a National Teacher then interned without trial at the Curragh Concentration Camp:

"I suppose you saw in the papers that I met my Waterloo last Saturday night. Well such are the fortunes of war. I must say we were very unlucky. If we had left the house one hour earlier we would have got clear away, and we could have gone, only we delayed playing cards.

"I am glad that my friend got away. I would also, only I went back when I heard him give a groan, but should have realised it was every man for himself, but it is no good to dwell on those things now.

BLOODTHIRSTY BILL

"I am to be tried under Emergency Powers (41 G). That is a bloodthirsty Bill, there is only one sentence - death or release, so I believe it is the full penalty for me. There is no good having false hopes, hard facts must be faced."

Maurice O'Neill was brought before the Special Military Court in Collins Barracks on November 2. He had had three days to consult his lawyers on a death charge before his "trial". The charge was "Shooting at State forces with intent to resist arrest".

Detective Mordaunt was found shot dead in one of the gardens in the vicinity of Kelly's house. He had served in the Free State Army 1922 to 1935 when he joined the Special Branch. At no stage was it inferred that Maurice O'Neill had shot him.

Seán MacBride, for the defence stressed that O'Neill's intent was self-preservation. He had not shot anyone. The court should be careful not to allow recent events to weigh against the accused.

PREJUDICED

Harry quotes MacBride as saying that the defence would be prejudiced by not having all the information which the authorities had. Harry then lists the defects:

- (1) The nature of the court;
- (2) Deliberate withholding of information eg failure to exhibit the police record book of weapons issued and ammunition expended;
- (3) Withholding of information as to targets found by police shooting which was wildly off target;
- (4) Selection and coaching of witnesses; and
- (5) Police collusion to iron out ambiguities and frustrate the defence.

The subsequent trial of Harry White four years later showed up these weaknesses. The death of Chief-Supt Gantly in January 1948 at the hands of his own men while leading a search at the Hammond Lane Foundry off Pearse Street, Dublin for unarmed house-breakers Laverty and Nolan demonstrated that Special Branch shooting could be "a wild orgy" as Bell describes it, on such occasions. Was Mordaunt shot by his own men too? Maurice O'Neill in evidence spelled out the stark facts of the case. He refused to answer five questions about his comrades and contacts put to him by the prosecution.

He was sentenced to death by shooting - the only possible sentence if found guilty regardless of the charge. The Death Court consisted of Majors Felix Devlin and Patrick Tuitt with Colonel John Joyce. If the government did not remit the sentence, the President of the court said, execution would follow within 48 hours. That was on November 5.

On November 10 came the refusal to commute the sentence and on November 12 execution took place. Maurice O'Neill was shot by a firing party of PAs (military police) against a barricade of railway sleepers and sandbags erected at the boundary wall with the Women's Prison.

The Republican women prisoners there heard the volley and noted that the pigeons were startled and flew wildly around inside the roof of the wing. One of the women composed a short poem.

The men of the Movement in the prison heard the crash of gunfire and stood rigidly at attention out of respect for their manly young comrade from Kerry, cut down on his way to return to the struggle in the North.

The short space of time did not allow for a reprieve campaign or protest meetings. Wartime censorship did its work too. Harry notes that nine weeks previously a protest meeting for Tom Williams had filled the Mansion House and had overflowed down Dawson Street.

Cronin (p.103) says that "there was outrage in South Kerry where Republicanism of the Civil War variety was strong". Coogan (p.198) makes the point that "his execution provoked particularly widespread protests as he was a popular figure in his native Kerry".

In 1948 Maurice O'Neill's body was handed over, with his five executed comrades, to the families for re-interment. His six O'Neill brothers bore him to the grave in Keelavogue Cemetery, Cahersiveen amid a huge congregation of people.

MILITARY HONOURS

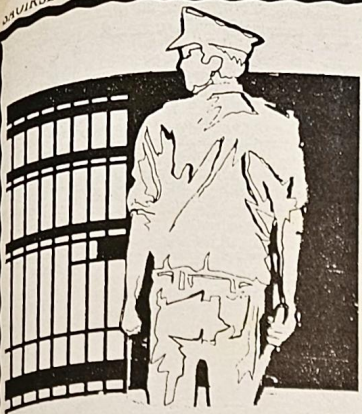
Full military honours were rendered and IRA Veteran Sean H Ryan of Tralee spoke. A fitting memorial was later unveiled. When de Valera visited Cahersiveen to address a public meeting at the 1951 general election, a near riot ensued and his car was damaged. Maurice O'Neill's name was loudly invoked that night for all to hear.

As late as 1970, the new bridge linking Valentia Island nearby to the mainland at Portmagee was named formally Maurice O'Neill Bridge / Droichead Muiris O'Neill by Kerry Co Council and plaques stating this mark it for all who use it to see.

In Dublin in the 1940s and '50s a Camogie Club named "Maurice O'Neill's" was affiliated by the Co Board and took part in championship and league matches. His 50th anniversary will be commemorated this month at his grave in Uibh Rathach / Iveragh.

Brian na Banban, Brian O'Higgins has left us a fine ballad in his honour composed at the time of his death. Sung to the air of *Fineon O'Driscoll the Rover*, it is perhaps the finest monument to Maurice O'Neill. It is sung by Kerry people at home and abroad - a salute to one of their own who fought and died for Ireland at a most difficult time.

(More next month. Refs. *Harry* by Harry White; *The IRA* by TP Coogan; *Washington's Irish policy: 1916-86* by Seán Cronin and *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell.)



THE SPIRIT

As I sit in my cold, dark prison cell
I look out the small slit they call a window.
I see through the bars and razor wire
A dark fierce storm growing on the horizon.
It speaks to me of the current time
And the terrible times to come.
I think of the road I've been forced to travel here
And I search for meaning.
I find the long drawn bitter faces of those other
victims
With bewildered questioning eyes staring at me.
These eyes penetrate my soul and ask what we
are to do.
They look to me, a man of struggle and say
What is the way out of this hellish night
Which has descended upon the world.
The world has changed, good and evil are
No longer clearly indistinguishable.
We are in the time of newspeak and doublethink.
War is peace/freedom is slavery/ignorance is
strength.
Not words out of an old novel but words in
practice
Used by tyrants and hypocrites to achieve a
new world order.
They have control of the past and
Therefore control the present and the future.
They ridicule my people saying we live in the past
In an attempt to get us to forget.
If we forget they can change what was
Into what serves their interest today
And change it again to meet their needs tomorrow.
What future have we-the-people if today
We are enslaved by ignorance and self-centred
greed.
The people are being programmed in greed and
ignorance day in
And day out; yet there are faint voices crying out
For truth, peace and justice.
They lack control and influence;
They write but do not publish;
They sing but do not record.
Listen and learn so that you will remember
When their voices are silenced.

— BRIAN J FLEMING, POW
08022-002, Box PMB
Atlanta, Georgia 30315, USA

HUNGER-STRIKE MARTYRS Commemoration

THE eleventh anniversary of the heroic hunger strike of 1981 was marked in Glasgow with a public meeting in the City Hall on September 18.

Over 200 people heard Robert Ballagh and Fr Des Wilson lambaste both Statelets in Ireland for their inherent corruption and failure to face up to the great question that retards the whole island, namely Partition and British occupation.

Robert Ballagh questioned the sort of mentality, so prevalent in the Southern Statelet, where people who claim they live in a Republic are so enthralled by royalty. This can be seen in the names of innumerable clubs with the prefix 'Royal'. He went on to examine how 'revisionism' had portrayed the 1798 Rising as a

sectarian squabble, the Fenians as madmen and the 1916 Rising as an unnecessary act of violence when, they claim, Britain was on the brink of granting Home Rule.

He concluded a very interesting talk by pointing out that only when Partition is tackled will a true Republic become a reality.



• Fr Des Wilson

Fr Des Wilson recounted his personal experience of living under British rule in the Six Counties. He asked those present to join in the boycott on the Northern Bank and its sister bank in Scotland, the Clydesdale Bank.

The evening concluded with a social event at which the Glasgow Irish group 'Clantara' played.

This event had originally been planned for last year, the tenth anniversary, but two days beforehand the

Lorne Hotel, where it was to be held, cancelled the booking, "following death threats" from loyalists. The committee took the hotel group to court to claim for expenses which they incurred.

The hotel's original defence hinged on their claim that the Special Branch visited the hotel and said the real purpose of the event was to "raise funds for the IRA". The Chief Constable of Glasgow denied this to the committee's lawyer and three days before the court case the hotel's lawyers settled the claim in full on the condition that no court hearing would take place. This saved the Special Branch the embarrassment of these allegations becoming public. Especially in view of the fact that three Labour MPs were due to attend the commemoration.

Brón ar an mBás MYLES REILLY

WEST Wicklow Republicans learned with sadness of the death on Saturday, October 31 of Veteran Republican Myles Reilly of Hollywood. Aged 92 he was the only surviving member of the Plunkett Column of the IRA under the leadership of Neil 'Plunkett' O'Boyle which operated in Counties Wicklow/Dublin/Kildare. His brother Thomas of the 3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade was killed while on active service in Timahoe in July 1922.

Despite his great age and failing health Myles was an annual participant up to this year at the Plunkett O'Boyle Commemoration in Knocknadrace where the Donegal man was shot dead by the Free State forces on May 1, 1923. He laid the wreath on these occasions at the spot outside Nolan's farm-

house where O'Boyle was killed. His removal took place at 7pm Sunday, November 1 from Balinglass Hospital to Knocknadrace where a guard of honour of Republican Sinn Féin members was placed on the coffin, which was draped in the National Flag.



• Myles Reilly

Again at the funeral Mass and burial on Monday a Republican Guard of Honour was present and escorted the remains to the adjoining Hollywood Cemetery. Myles Reilly was laid to rest there in the Republican Plot along with his brother Thomas.

At the graveside Pádraig O Baoighill, speaking on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin, said that Myles had joined the Republican Movement in his teens and "served with distinction in the Plunkett Column along

with local men Paddy Farrell, Tom Shannon, Christy Barry and his brother Paddy Reilly. It was one of the last columns that served on the Republican side in the Civil War.

"Myles opposed the unfortunate Treaty that split the Irish nation in the twenties and was a steadfast Republican to the end. He was an inspiration to us to carry on that long struggle until ultimate freedom for the 32 Counties is achieved.

"The Republican Movement has lost a great friend today, as has his family, but Myles Reilly will never be forgotten. To his wife Tess, his son Paddy and daughters Peg and Tess we offer our sincere sympathy. Ar dheis Dé go raibh anam Myles - Oglach dílis de chuid na Poblachta."

"We lay to rest a great Republican and a staunch Irishman. Michael Carroll is gone and he joins our fallen comrades of the Irish Republic in his eternal rest. To his family we tender our most profound sympathy," Eamon Larkin said.

MICHAEL CARROLL

THE recent death of Michael Carroll of Carrickasticken, saddened his many comrades in the Republican Movement in the surrounding districts of Jonesborough and Dromintee, South Armagh.

Laid to rest among his deceased comrades after Requiem Mass, celebrated by Fr McGuckian, PP at St Patrick's Church, Dromintee, his Tricolour-draped coffin was borne to the grave by members of the Red Hugh O'Donnell Branch of the Irish National Foresters.

Michael was the last surviving member of the Dromintee Company

which fought with the Irish Republican Army's 4th Northern Division during the War of Independence, and the War against the Treaty.

Delivering the oration at the graveside, Eamon Larkin, Vice-President of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, recounted the origins of the Dromintee Company, and identified many of those who played major roles

in its activities during that historic period in Ireland's struggle for freedom.

Michael Carroll and his brothers Owen and Pat were active throughout this period, seeing active involvement in South Armagh, South Down and North Louth.

In all about 125 men from Dromintee, Jonesborough and surrounding districts distinguished themselves as members of the Dromintee Company. John Halpin of Moira Castle paid the supreme sacrifice, said Eamon Larkin, when he was shot dead at Ravensdale by Free State forces on October 8 1922.

I gCúimhne

HALPENNY - 70th Anniversary. In proud memory of John Halpenny, Moyra Castle, Jonesboro, Co Armagh, killed in action by Free State Forces in Ravensdale, Co Louth on October 8, 1922 and buried in the Republican Plot, Dundalk. From Beama Uladh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Breithlá

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS, Heartiest congratulations to Martin Calligan, Kilmurry-McMahon, Co Clare on reaching his 80th birthday on November 18. We hope you will enjoy many more. Martin - From the Peadar Clancy / Bobby Sands Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Ennis, Co Clare.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS, Comhairle na Mumhan, Sinn Féin Poblachtach wishes Martin Calligan, Kilmurry-McMahon, Co Clare a very happy 80th birthday on November 18. Go mairiú thú i bhfad, a Mháirtín.

Comhbhrón

BUTTERFIELD, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Butterfield family, Limerick on the death of Mr and Mrs Butterfield. From the Brugha/Sabbath Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Limerick.
CARROLL, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Dromintee, South Armagh extends deepest sympathy to the Carroll family on the death of their brother-in-law and uncle Michael Carroll on October 15 last. Leaba i measc na nGael go raibh anam.
CONROY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Denis and family on the death of Eileen (née Coughlan)

on October 8 last. From Cumann Mac Curtáin/Mac Suibhne, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Corcaigh. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam uasail.
CONROY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Conroy family on the death of Eileen (née Coughlan) on October 8. From Cumann na mBan, Craobh Corcaigh. Go raibh suaimhneasoraif dá hanam.
CONROY, Deepest sympathy is extended to Denis and family on the death of Eileen on October 8. From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach. I measc na bhFínnín go raibh sí.
GRAHAM, Deepest sympathy is extended to Jimmy Graham and family, Dublin on the sudden death of

Jimmy's wife, Marjorie. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, BAC.
GRAHAM, Sincere sympathy is extended to Jimmy Graham and family, Dublin on the death of Jimmy's wife, Marjorie. From Tommy O'Neill and family, Dublin. Ar dheis hÍde go raibh a hanam.
HICKEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Hickey family, Dublin on the death of Eugene Hickey. From the raffle organisers, Dublin.
HICKEY, Sincere sympathy is extended to Bernard Hickey and family on the death of Eugene, who died in hospital on Saturday, September 12. From Dublin-West Sinn

Féin Poblachtach.
HICKEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Hickey family, Dublin on the death of Eugene who died on September 12. From all at Head Office.
O'CARROLL, Deepest sympathy is extended to the O'Carroll family on the death of their mother. From the Brugha/Sabbath Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Limerick.
O'REILLY, Sincere sympathy is offered to Tess O'Reilly and family on the death of Myles O'Reilly Hollywood, Co Wicklow on October 31. From the members of the Moore/O'Reilly Cumann, West Wicklow. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam dílis.

O'REILLY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Myles O'Reilly, Balinglass, whose death occurred on October 31. From Kildare Comhairle Ceantair. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.
O'SHEA, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and relatives of Jackie O'Shea, who died on September 13. From Cumann Liam Mellows, BAC. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.
SOUTH, Deepest sympathy is extended to husband Jim and the South family, Limerick on the death of Nora. From the Brugha/Sabbath Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Limerick.



RABBIT REYNOLDS ON RUN AGAIN

RABBIT Reynolds, head lad at the Leinster House stables, where royals used to horse around when the 18th century Duke was away hunting, is making a right regal mess of his bid to mate unionist stallions with slightly nationalist mares of the SDLP breed.

His PLP for a new pact to replace the Anglo-Irish Agreement (so hated by bigoted loyalists who want to keep the Sick Counties part of the Slightly United Kingdom) are going astray as he retreats from his rush-of-blood remark that the 1937 Constitution's protection of territorial integrity of this island is "not for sale".

A referendum on Articles Two and Three is not now out of the question after a sharp reminder from British Premier John Ball (née Major) that Rabbit Reynolds and his cabinet hold their Kildare Street lease on a tenure granted under the Broken Treaty of 1921.

Reynolds also received a less than diplomatic reminder that this country is really ruled by the Better Government of Ireland (Partition) Act 1920 and not by an unapproved Dáil (it was banned after the 1918 general election rejection of British authority).

Foreign Affairs supremo David Andrews has been warned again that the re-occupation of the 26 Counties, dropped from the Whitehall doomsday agenda in 1976 when politicians here pledged collusion against armed insurgents, can be put back on the "for urgent consideration" list.

Redundant BA (British Army, not Bloody Ass) generals are conspiring to end their own recession depression by formulating a gungho policy to further undermine this 70-years-young Free State.

It will involve the recruitment of a fresh fifth column of West Brits and covert allies among the gombeens, and provide information to make viable a murder machine geared to target Republican activists for assassination.

In the North? No, south of the border, if you don't mind. A master backer of this scheme is none other than Michael Heseltine, multi-millionaire estate owner, one-time combat-uniformed Defence Madhatter and leader of the attack on the coal industry.

CROMWELLIAN AMBITION

Trade and Industry Minister Heseltine has his own pressing problems to sidetrack his Cromwellian ambitions from further deprivations in Ireland at present.

The Irish can thank the brave resistance of the pitmen who fight the closure of mines with the estimated loss of 30,000 jobs, and threaten to pull down yet another uncompassionate Tory administration.

The weakness of the Yahoos in Kildare Street is reflected in the supine acceptance of an unpublished order from the London War Office to supply extra troops along the British-imposed border by next year so that more Tommies can be sent to war-torn areas in disintegrating Yugoslavia.

Talking about royal upstarts and dodging the temp-

WHAT THEY SAID

She claimed the north was no different from Brighton or Basildon but the only difference was that "we are not governed in

the same way".

— *Shades of the "less-er breeds without the law" from Margaret Redpath at the British Conservative party conference, quoted in The Irish News, October 8, 1992.*

An economy is successful in so far as it serves the development of people, rather than sectional interests.

— *Bishop Michael Murphy of Cork quoted in The Irish Post*

tation to look into their seedy sex lives, the Queen of Southern Angles (or the Home Counties) was despatched to Germany on a fence-mending mission after the con-crements over sterling's slump before the might of the Deutschmark.

Her royal passage was ruffled when one of the police outriders was thrown off his bike with a heart attack. Elizabeth II's personal doctor naturally decided not to intervene, and so protocol was neatly preserved.

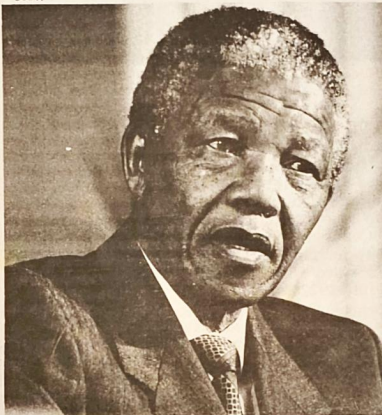
A SENIOR civil servant in south Dublin asked me recently (apropos his detestation of republicans, being a son of the relict of Dublin Castle administration before 1922) why I opposed monarchy.

I don't, do you, I replied, pointing to the slaughter of the Irish kings by the Anglo-Normans and domestic traitors of the time. The astonished assistant secretary of a none-too-industrious Department had to be informed that Elizabeth II and her yearlings are imposters.

Remnants of the Hanoverian regime, their first family allegiance used to be to the Kaiser, and even Lord Mountbatten's father had to change his name from Battenburg before he took charge of the British Admiralty.

If you still believe the 26 Counties is other than an ersatz republic, look to the names of 50 professional and sporting organisations in the Dublin telephone directory, not to mention hospitals. Their common prefix is Royal.

And any walkabout between Dún Laoghaire and Delgany will show you that the most fashionable roads are named after English monarchs. No, the Albert Roads are not honouring the Longford leader, but Victoria's consort.



MANDELA CRITICS IN A MUDDLE

FREEMAN of Dublin City and charismatic leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela's endorsement of the moral rectitude of a continuing struggle against British colonialism in the Sick Counties stunned the capital's establishment.

He told a baffled Channel 4 chat show host Bob Geldof that Republicans here were "conducting a struggle for self-assertion. They do not want Britain, a foreign country, to run a colony".

When a rocked Geldof sang out his complaint that a majority of Irish did not back the armed struggle, the

didn't. Bill Clinton didn't. George Bush's sons didn't. The reason for this is simple. It is that the sons of the wealthy do not go to war.

— *Joe O'Connor, referring to George Bush in The Sunday Tribune, October 11, 1992.*

We don't want any form of colonialism and wherever colonialism is . . . we support those who fight it because people should

ANC chief simply repeated his distaste for colonialism and those misguided enough to support it (wherever it showed its ugly and tyrannical head).

Dublin was the world's first capital to grant freedom of the city to the then imprisoned Mandela in 1988, and the Lord Mayor of the time, Ben Briscoe, was swift to suggest that Nelson had now been used by a radical wing of the ANC, a spurious attempt to denigrate the intelligence and integrity of Africa's greatest new statesman.

Even Kadar Asmal, former TCD lecturer in international law and an advisor to the ANC when it was outlawed in South Africa, tried to pour oil on troubled waters by suggesting that the ANC had no relationship with subversive Irish groups.

But friends recall all too well that he was active in the Eighties in fighting the case for Republicans in the abstentionist Sinn Féin to keep their posts on the committees of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Association against any attempts of covert Tory Conor Cruise O'Brien to have them chucked out as "terrorists or supporters of terrorism".

It's a funny old world for renegades, and reminds me

of the U-turn by the London Times which condemned Jomo Kenyatta as a Mau Mau murderer before he was made president of the newly-independent Kenya. In an obituary tribute to Kenyatta, the Times described him as a model statesman.

FEW EXILES BLAME GUERRILLAS

THE disinformation machine, operated by the Leinster House Yahoos in order to bamboozle forced economic exiles into believing that the British-imposed and Dublin-based "Southern Parliament" really is the true inheritor of the First Dáil, has run aground in Uncle Sam's territory, which boasts 40 million of Irish birth or descent.

Despite the spending of millions of punts, in addition to Britain's hundreds of millions sterling invested by Whitehall Departments in anti-Republican propaganda campaigns, our US exiles are not being fooled by the notion that John Bull is a neutral referee in the North's insurrection.

The idea that the Sick Counties' struggle is simply a tribal conflict based on religious division has won more ground among Dublin 4 West Brits (and even seeped into Baggot Street bank snuggeries) than 60 miles away in occupied Newry and points north.

The pseudo-politicising of the differences between people who worship at different altars (or none) has been halted on the rock of common sense, as perceived in a survey of the chiefs of more than 200 leading Irish-American groups.

Almost half of these influential opinion makers insist that the British government carries prime responsibility for the current conflict. Only two percent place main responsibility on the armed struggle by guerrillas.

What is even more significant is that the survey, conducted in 1991 from the University of Massachusetts by Pádraig O'Malley, senior fellow of the John W McCormack Institute of Public Affairs there (Boston), deliberately excluded groups sympathetic to Republican separatism in Ireland.

And yet the strong conclusion was that only a British withdrawal would provide a platform towards a peaceful settlement, though 17 percent felt the troops would not be pulled out while the British believed the Sick Counties remained of strategic importance to Whitehall war contingency policies.

— DRAPRIER II

Imeachtaí

MAURICE O'NEILL
50th ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8
CAHERSIVEEN
CO KERRY
Assemble at Fair Green
2pm
Speaker:
Ruairi Ó Brádaigh
President
Sinn Féin Poblachtach
(Cont on page 4)

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