

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

THE ORGAN OF IRISH REPUBLICANISM



438,639

UNEMPLOYED

THE jobless totals in the 32 Counties are up slightly in the past month to 438,639, according to the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed.

Annual labour force figures published during October revealed that some 31,000 people in the 26 Counties are now on state employment schemes. This figure almost doubled in the 12 months to April 1994.

According to the same survey from the Dublin Central Statistics Office, emigration from the 26 Counties is increasing once again, particularly to the USA and Britain.

UIMH. 91

SAMHAIN - NOVEMBER 1994

50p (USA 75c)

MAJOR WELCOMES RAIDS

60 RSF homes hit across 26 Counties

OVER the weekend of October 22-24 police raids in all 26 Counties targeted the homes of Republican Sinn Féin members. In all cases the political message was that no political opposition to the current "process" would be tolerated and that Republican Sinn Féin must accept the Downing Street Declaration or else . . .

The early morning raids by armed Special Branch and uniformed police took place at more than 60 locations, among them the homes of ten Ard Chomhairle members, local councillors, local election candidates and leading members of the organisation. Six arrests were made under Section

30 of the Offences Against the State Act — Des Long, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin; Seán Ó Conchúir, National Treasurer; Ruairí Óg Ó Brádaigh, National Publicity Officer and editor, SAOIRSE; and prominent local Republicans Tommy McKearney, living hunger-striker from Tyrone, living in Monaghan; Emmett Walsh, Tullamore, Co Offaly; and Bobby Bresnihan, Tralee, Co Kerry. They were held for varying periods up to 24 hours before being released.

It was no coincidence that on Friday, October 21 British Prime Minister John Major was in Belfast. The raids took place during the next 48 hours, followed by the scheduled meeting in Chequers on Monday, October 24 between Major and Albert Reynolds.

The British Prime Minister was quoted in the *Irish News* (Belfast) the following day as "welcoming" the action of the 26-County police over the weekend. Albert Reynolds and Dick Spring were congratulated by him for providing a political spectacle to show that Republicans who continue to reject the British presence in Ireland will be harassed for their political views.

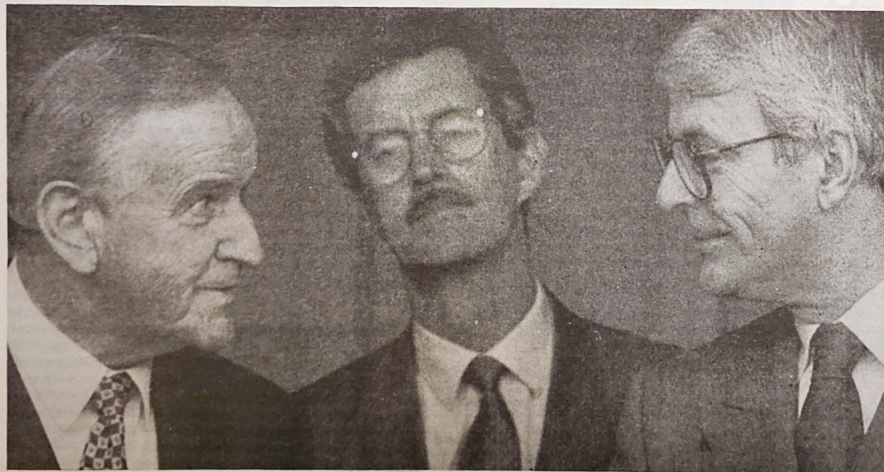
Republican Sinn Féin stood centre-stage over that weekend due to the organisation's uncompromising adherence to Republican principles and the basic Republican position. Nationalists throughout the Six Counties were angered at this "contribution" to the current process, including as it did heavy attempts at political indoctrination in state custody, promising a seat at the "Forum" in Dublin Castle and threatening dire consequences as an alternative.

One member of Republican Sinn Féin under arrest was told by the Special Branch in connection with a letter from him in a local paper a month ago that his views "would not be tolerated" and that "neither the government nor the Provos would tolerate interference in the very delicate process at hand".

This harassment is nothing new. Since the unpublished Hume-Adams document of October 1993 the 26-County police have been giving out the political message that both that document and the Downing Street Declaration must be accepted without exception.

These actions show the strength of the Republican case that the current process will not work because it fails to confront the basic problem in our country — the British presence here. The fact that the 26-County State, along with the Provisionals in Belfast (see page 13 inside), are trying to intimidate and silence that analysis is proof of its continued validity and relevance.

Republican Sinn Féin will not be censored or intimidated. We will continue to put forward the Republican policy which calls for a complete British withdrawal from Ireland so that the Irish people, acting as a unit, can decide their own destiny, with an amnesty for all political prisoners.



• John Major thanked Albert Reynolds and Dick Spring at the Chequers meeting on October 24 for their "action" in raiding Republican Sinn Féin homes.

CHARLIE KERINS
50th
ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATION

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4
Tralee, Co Kerry
Assemble:
Denny Street, 2pm
Speaker:
Ruairí Ó Brádaigh



ÉIRE NUA - The only alternative

**90ú
ARD-
FHEIS
1994**

**November 12-13
Spa Hotel
Lucan
Co Dublin**

For visitors cards please contact
Ard-Oifig, 41 Cé Arann, BÁC 7.
Teil: 01-872 9747.

Last of Ballymurphy Seven released

AFTER being remanded in custody for more than three years the last three members of the Ballymurphy Seven in custody, Michael Beck, Hugh McLaughlin and Tony Garland, were released on bail on Friday, October 27.

The three still face charges of attempted murder relating to a coffee jar bomb attack on a British army vehicle in August 1991. They — along with four others released on two separate occasions earlier this year — had pleaded not guilty to the charges, claiming that confessions had been obtained from them after mistreatment during questioning by the RUC at Castlereagh Interrogation centre. The other four were acquitted after a court ruling that the evidence against them was inadmissible.

On Monday, October 24 several boxes of documents and evidence, which the prosecution had stated earlier this year did not exist, were produced in court. A Crown lawyer also conceded that while other documents had also "technically" not been disclosed, the information had been available during the year-long trial at Belfast Crown Court. He claimed that the problem of disclosure had arisen because of the "oral and written" instructions the prosecution has been given by the detective in charge of the

further documents, "the disclosure of which were well known" were given to the defence.

On Tuesday, October 25 the lawyers for the defence

on bail

case. Defence lawyers argued that it would take quite a time:



● Tony Garland, Michael Beck and Hugh McLaughlin of the Ballymurphy Seven with Des Wilson after their release on bail.

Defence counsel for one of the men, Michael Beck (21), from Ballymurphy Crescent, revealed that as far back as January this year lawyers had sought full disclosure and were told by the prosecution it had been made. He added that it was not until after the case was adjourned last week over the same problem of disclosure that

made a formal application for acquittal following a submission that the three defendants could not possibly receive a fair trial. Justice Kerr said the failure to disclose the documents had "raised serious concerns". However he would need to see examples of the documents to assess whether or not their disclosure would have effected the course of the

as there were at least 10 boxes of statements and documents to wade through. Meanwhile they applied for bail citing changes in the attitude of the crown, which had opposed it, on all previous occasions. Granting bail the judge said that it appeared to be in the interests of justice to accede to the application.

Belfast bus attacked by loyalist gang

THIRTEEN nationalist people were taken to hospital on Sunday, October 23 last and six of them were hospitalised after they were attacked by several men when the late-night Citybus Nightrider service from the city centre stopped in west Belfast.

According to the *Andersonstown News* (Belfast, October 29) at the stop near the loyalist Taughmonaghy estate a group of eight men watched as passengers got off, assuming that the passengers remaining on the bus were heading into west Belfast.

As the last passenger stepped off the bus outside the Fleming Fulton special school,

several of the men approached the driver, threatening his life, ordering him to remain in his seat and to stay still and not use his walkie-talkie.

HORRIFYING ASSAULTS

The men then went through the bus, carrying out a series of horrifying assaults on young nationalist men and women left

on board, yelling anti-Catholic abuse as they did so. Passengers were punched and kicked repeatedly about the head and body, injured men and women had their heads jumped on as they lay bleeding on the floor, others were held by the hair and had their heads and faces banged off the metal frames of the bus seats.

Eyewitnesses said that unconscious and injured passengers were scattered all over the bus when the attackers left after some ten minutes.

Two Citybus inspectors who were in a car following the bus alerted the RUC and injured

general manager, Charlie Collins, said it was "quite a healthy campaign for the station".

Many people phoned the station to protest at the carrying of ads from a discredited and sectarian police force. On a discussion programme on Tuesday, November 1 phone calls against were in a majority and the programme ended with a phone call from an RUC man attempting to justify the campaign. A spokesperson for Republican Sinn Féin in Letterkenny said the RUC were the only so-called police force in Europe apart from the Gestapo convicted of torture in the European Court.

Plastic bullets fired in Cookstown

THE RUC fired plastic bullets to disperse a crowd who were involved in a disturbance outside the Glenavon Hotel in Cookstown, Co Tyrone early on Sunday, October 23. A crowd of about 100 people attacked the hotel and the RUC were called. They were attacked with bottles and stones and retaliated by firing plastic bullets.

Four policemen and seven civilians were injured. Local people condemned the small minority of hoodlums who were responsible for the wanton destruction at the hotel but said that innocent people out for a night's entertainment were also shot at by the RUC, using plastic bullets.

They said that the indiscriminate use of such lethal weapons by British Crown Forces had previously led to serious injuries and fatalities and called for them to be totally banned.

Protests as loyalists march through Ormeau Road

MEMBERS of the Lower Ormeau Residents Action Group said they were attacked by the RUC on Sunday, October 30 for no reason as they took part in a peaceful protest against the decision of the RUC to allow an Orange march along the Lower Ormeau Road where five nationalists were shot dead in Seán Graham's betting shop in 1992. Three people were arrested during scuffles as the march passed by and local people said it was a deliberately provocative anti-Catholic march and that the people of the Lower Ormeau Road were once again fenced in as a heavy RUC force swamped the area to allow the march take place.

Prisoner denied cancer treatment

A DERRY prisoner, Paul Kinsella (31), a married man with one child who is appealing against his conviction for possession of arms and is now suffering from acute myeloid leukaemia is refused bail to undergo cancer treatment.

He had asked the High Court in Belfast on Friday, September 30 to release him on bail pending his appeal which was to be heard on October 19. Lord Justice Kelly said that there was no medical evidence to show that Kinsella's treatment was being compromised.

A spokesperson for the family said that their worries about Paul Kinsella's condition had been compounded by the legal rebuff. "Paul's young daughter Michaela is particularly distraught about what's happening to her daddy. Paul can't move out of the room at the minute.

"His movements are being restricted — he's not allowed to get exercise, move about. We think it would be helpful to his mental state if he could be let out for treatment."

Belfast City Council refuse to honour Down GAA

A CALL for a civic tribute to All-Ireland football champions, Down, was turned down by the unionist-dominated Belfast City Council on Monday, October 4. This followed the decision of the North Down borough council which also refused to honour the champions, who brought the Sam Maguire Cup to Ulster for the fourth time in a row, winning it also in 1991. Down GAA Board secretary Brian McEvoy said: "Dublin missed a penalty against Down in the All-Ireland final. Now loyalist representatives of Belfast have scored an own goal."

Majority in 26 Counties support Irish unity

A POLL commissioned by the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper from Wilton Research in Dublin and published on Sunday, October 9 showed strong support for Irish unity. Eighty-three per cent of the people of the 26 Counties would like to see a united Ireland and of those 28% would like to see unity within twelve months and 35% within five years. Thirty-one per cent said they would be prepared to wait 20-25 years. The poll was conducted at 40 centres in the 26 Counties on Tuesday and Wednesday October 4-5.

Believe it — or Believe it not

THE speaker at the Provisionals' ceremony to "honour" Liam Lynch — who was killed by the 26-County State — on September 11 was none other than Declan Bree, Labour Party TD for Sligo-Leitrim.

This former member of the Connolly Youth Movement was PRO of the H-Block-Armagh Committee in Sligo in 1981. When hunger-striker Joe McDonnell of Belfast was nominated as a candidate in the June 1981 general election in the 26 Counties Declan Bree dropped his H-Block activities and stood as a candidate against the hunger-striker.

Bree got a few hundred votes but these were badly needed by Joe McDonnell and could have bridged the gap for him between victory and defeat. Joe died on hunger-strike the following month. Bree has climbed since 1981 to a seat in Leinster House. The Provisionals have apparently moved over to his side — and away from Joe McDonnell's stand even to death.

RUC's radio mouthpiece

THE Letterkenny-based Highland Radio has been accused of acting as the mouthpiece for the RUC propaganda machine by broadcasting an advertisement encouraging people to co-operate with the RUC and to provide information on the confidential telephone line about "serious crime".

The ads which have been transmitted about ten times daily for the past week and are part of the 'Time for Change' publicity campaign being run at the moment by the British 'Northern Ireland Office' are scheduled to run until Sunday, November 6. Highland's

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

Aimn

Seoladh



**For a full
British
withdrawal
from Ireland**

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

OUR AIMS

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

OUR HISTORY

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

Loyalist death squads say union safe

ON Thursday, October 13 the Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC), which represents the British-backed loyalist death squads the UDA/UFF, UVF and Red Hand Commando, announced at a press conference that they were calling a conditional ceasefire from midnight the same day.

The statement from the death squads was read by Gusty Spence who served a life sentence for the murder of nationalist barman Peter Ward in Malvern Street, Belfast in 1966. Gusty Spence is credited with founding the modern-day UVF in the 1960s and was released from prison in 1985 on grounds of ill-health.

In their statement the CLMC said that they had "received confirmation and guarantees in relation to Northern Ireland's constitutional position within the United Kingdom... The Union is safe". Since 1966 loyalist death squads, often under the direction of British intelligence, have been responsible for the murder of

nearly 1,000 people, the vast majority of them innocent nationalists, killed because of their nationality and religion.

CONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE

In a statement Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, said: "Today's loyalist conditional ceasefire means in effect that British rule stands supreme in the Six Occupied Counties for the present. There is indeed a return to the Boundary sell-out of 1925 which copperfastened Partition at the time and the great sacrifices made by the risen people in the years since 1969 have been set at naught."

"The underlying political realities of today's situation mean that British military force

combined with British-backed loyalist death squads have triumphed for the moment over the nationalist people. Politicians in Dublin, Belfast and London who speak of a way forward now mean through constitutional politics, i.e. through the two partitionist statelets in Ireland and not through all-Ireland democracy. The Unionist Veto remains intact.

"Further, all talk of 'equality between the two communities' means within the context of British rule in part of Ireland. With great common sense the Loyalists have spoken out through a fog of deception. For them the Union is safe, they have received constitutional guarantees and assurances and the wheel has come full circle since 1925 as Dublin, the SDLP and the Provisionals now accept the legitimacy of the Six-County State. Only now is publicity being given to the fact that almost 1,000 innocent and uninvolved nationalists have



●The loyalist death squads' ceasefire announcement on October 13 was based on guarantees received that the Six Counties would be remaining under British rule.

been deliberately killed by loyalists since 1966 as a matter of policy. Now Albert Reynolds offers them a place at his Forum to discuss the new arrangements under which British rule in Ireland will

operate in future.

"But the greatest political reality of all is being ignored by all sides in this process. That is simply that Irish history teaches us that as long as Britain maintains an armed presence in

Ireland, there will always be a revolutionary movement to oppose it. That is the ultimate reality on this island and it will outlive British colonialism here."

British Army bases still staffed in Derry

AS WE go to press the Derry historian Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh reports that while the British Occupation Forces are off the streets and no longer on border checkpoints, things are not exactly what the NIO public relations department claims.

He told SAOIRSE, "I think it's a question of who's fooling you? Local residents living beside British army installations, literally situated at their backyards or front gates, or on almost every side of them, have a very different story to tell about the so-called 'demilitarisation process'. On Monday, October 24 it was claimed that all troops had been withdrawn to barracks and some would have us believe that this is a great victory. However, we know that Big Brother is still watching us all and that we are still being treated similarly to the unfortunate Polish Jews in the Warsaw ghetto.

Rosemount grandmother Bridie Deeney who led a campaign for the removal of a 75-foot army spy tower in the area told Ó Dochartaigh, "The so-called security force personnel are still using the post. They are still up there looking out through their high-powered binoculars. There's no reason for it at all anymore. What are they watching now?"

Mrs Deeney continued: "We're very concerned that the tower is still there, given that most of the Border

checkpoints are now unmanned. The tower should be removed right away. It is not clear if it is the RUC or the British army which is staffing the sangan. Either way it's still a gross and completely unnecessary invasion of our privacy."

Bridie, who speaks out fearlessly on the local residents' behalf concluded: "We hope it's not the RUC. That would seem to signify that they would intend to take over where the army left off."

A local businessman, Bill Heaney, who owns the nearby vacant Rosemount Shirt Factory, has told the local press that he is prepared to buy the site and create desperately needed jobs locally, by converting it into a business complex.

SURROUNDED

Meanwhile at the Culmore Road Border-crossing a few miles away, another campaigner Kathleen Rutherford — whose house is surrounded on three sides by a permanent checkpoint — told the *Irish News* that her situation was unchanged: "The troops are still there in their watchtowers

— although they are no longer stopping traffic.



●British watchtower, Rosemount, Derry.

"Somebody's not telling the truth about this withdrawal business. I had to put one soldier out of my garden yesterday. Either they believe there's a truce or not.

Everybody else believes there is, so why can't they be acting like there is one?"

She concluded angrily: "My house is still under siege. I just wish to hell they'd go!"

British perfidy in evidence again

ON Friday, October 21 the British Prime Minister John Major visited the Occupied Six Counties and announced that all blocked Border roads were to be reopened.

He also said that as well as the expected "Framework" document which is currently being prepared by the London and Dublin governments that the British government will also put forward its own independent proposals.

In a statement, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, said: "Mr Major's announcement in Belfast today that parallel with the proposed 'Framework' agreement with the Dublin Administration, the British Government will also put forward its own independent proposals is a further example of British perfidy in its dealings with Ireland.

"Such British proposals we are told will provide for a New Stormont with cross-

Border boards which has been forecast by Republican Sinn Féin for some time now. Re-opening all cross-Border roads and lifting some exclusion orders constitute merely a partial return to the 1968 position, to the *status-quo ante*.

"His earlier announcement in Belfast of a Six-County referendum on all new arrangements simply reinforces the Unionist Veto and allows 18% of the Irish people to dictate to the other 82% as to the future of Ireland.

"A lasting peace will come only with British disengagement from Ireland and Republican Sinn Féin's proposals for a totally New Ireland in the shape of a four-province federation provide for power and protection for all sections and re-assurance all round."

Jobs bias victim awarded £35,000

A 45-YEAR-OLD Catholic man was awarded £35,000 in compensation after failing to be appointed as a milk technician with the Milk Marketing Board in the Six Counties.

The tribunal was told that at the time of the man's job interview in March 1991, only 18.5 per cent of the Milk Marketing Board's employees were Catholic and that there were no Catholic milk machine technicians.

As well as paying compensation the board apologised "unreservedly" to the man for injury to his feelings and distress. The man's interview was conducted in a "negative, stern, frosty, unfriendly and unwelcoming"

atmosphere. When the successful candidate, a 19-year-old Protestant, was being interviewed, the Catholic man said that he heard laughter coming from the room.

A 1987 investigation of one Milk Marketing Board plant at Cookstown, Co Tyrone, where the population is 50/50 between Catholics and Protestants, found that only 22.5 per cent of employees were Catholics and only 9.5 per cent of senior executives were Catholics.

Constitutional but still denies All-Ireland democracy

IN A statement, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh President, Republican Sinn Féin, said of the "Forum for Peace and Reconciliation" that began in Dublin Castle on Friday, October 27 that:

"While today's Dublin Castle Forum is constitutional in that it works within the existing partitionist states in Ireland, it denies All-Ireland democracy in that it gives 18% of the population a veto over the other 82%. In summary then it is constitutional within existing structures but undemocratic in that being

based on the Joint Declaration of December last it contradicts democracy in an All-Ireland framework.

"During the interrogation of Republican Sinn Féin leaders and members and the raids on their homes last week-end, heavy attempts at political indoctrination were engaged in by 26-County police. British



●Ruairi Ó Brádaigh

Prime Minister Major is on record as "welcoming" this action. The burden and thrust of the police operation was that if Republican Sinn Féin did not seek participation in the Dublin Castle Forum, coercive measures would be employed to crush us and that our political analysis and commentary would not be tolerated. The message all over the 26-Counties was clear: the Forum and its sponsors would not tolerate political dissent outside its parameters, i.e. beyond the colonial Six-County and neo-colonial 26-County states. Being constitutional it actually denies democracy."

British army harassment continues

Imeachtaí

EDENTUBBER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6
EDENTUBBER COLOUTH
Assemble

Ravensdale House (Borden Inn), 3pm

NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6
11.15am
ANNUAL MASS

FOR ALL WHO DIED FOR IRELAND
St Joseph's Church
Berkeley Road, Dublin

THE Royal Marine Commando regiment of the British army have been redeployed in South Armagh. The regiment was responsible for the killing of Fergal Caraher and the wounding of his brother Micheál near Cullyhanna in South Armagh on December 30, 1990. Local people called the redeployment of the Marines "highly insensitive" in an area in which they are highly unpopular.

● In Poleglass, west Belfast a nationalist man, Ciaran Gallagher, said that serious damage had been done to his house during a search by the British army and the RUC on Wednesday, October 12. His girlfriend was arrested during the four-hour search but nothing was discovered. Ciaran Gallagher said that he was forced to stay in one room as the soldiers and RUC searched his home. "When the soldiers

left I went upstairs and the place was a mess. The ceiling is damaged and the beds were thrown all over the place," he said.

● In another incident which took place on Saturday, October 8 in the Coagh area of Co Tyrone a nationalist man, Séamus Hurl (29), from Moortown, Co Tyrone, was kicked unconscious after he was stopped by members of the

Royal Irish Regiment (RIR, formerly the UDR). Séamus Hurl said he was knocked to the ground during an unprovoked attack while he was being questioned at a checkpoint.

"When I was on the ground they kicked me between the legs at least three times. I don't know how many because I passed out very quickly but my girlfriend says it was at least three times," he said. He said that after he was knocked down a soldier grabbed him by the neck and banged his head on the ground. He was later treated in hospital.

● A joint British army/RUC patrol conducted door-to-door enquiries at 20 houses in Ballymaguigan, near Magherafelt at the end of

August. The patrol asked for details on the occupants of the houses, including their names, ages and where they worked. They also inspected firearms certificates and even asked for the names of any dogs.

The soldiers and police claimed to be compiling the information for the emergency services but local people who checked with the Fire Brigade were told that it did not keep such information on its database. One person said "grave concern was being expressed as to why such

information is necessary for anyone, given the degree of suspicion there is such information would fall into the hands of loyalist paramilitaries. Why do they want the names of dogs? It must be that they

want to know where they can sneak around without the alarm being raised."

Imeachtaí

ANNUAL TRIBUTE TO KEVIN BARRY
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6
12.15pm
REPUBLICAN PLOT
GLASNEVIN CEMETERY
DUBLIN

50th ANNIVERSARY CHARLIE KERINS COMMEMORATION
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4
TRALEE, CO KERRY

Assemble
Derry Street
2pm

FOR THE RECORD..

FRI. SEPTEMBER 23: The former home of IRSP member Hugh Torney was attacked by members of the British-backed death squad the UVF.

MON. SEPTEMBER 26: The British-backed loyalist death squad the UDA/UFF shot and injured a 23-year-old nationalist man, Harry Cohn, as he walked in the Longridge Road in Newtownabbey outside Belfast.

FRI. SEPTEMBER 30: Michael Flannery, Veteran of the Third Tipperary Brigade IRA, long-time Republican activist in the USA and Patron of Republican Sinn Féin died in New York at the age of 92.

Two civilians were injured, one of them seriously, when the British army fired plastic bullets after a confrontation with local people in Ardoyne, north Belfast. The civilians were being treated in hospital for head wounds.

SUN. OCTOBER 2: Border road campaigners in Tyrone-Monaghan announced that they were suspending their road opening operations "in a bid to successfully negotiate the immediate official reopening of all Border crossings".

MON. OCTOBER 3: It was announced that the First Parachute Regiment of the British army, who were responsible for the murder of 14 innocent civilians in Derry on January 30, 1972 are being deployed in west Belfast.

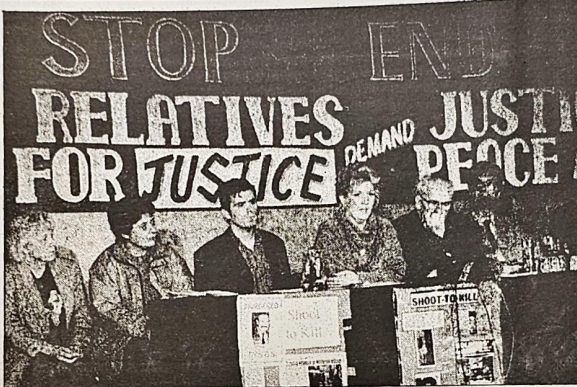
A Republican Sinn Féin supporter in the Falls Road area of Belfast was lured under false pretences to a local house where he was seized by a group of men whom he knew to be Provisionals. He was bound, hooded and interrogated about Republican Sinn Féin for several hours. He was threatened and told that Republican Sinn Féin would be "run out of Belfast".

A member of the Royal Irish Regiment (RIR, formerly the UDR) is to appear at Armagh Magistrates Court on October 18 next, charged with attacking the home of Theresa Carroll (69) in the Callanbridge Estate, Armagh city on Saturday, September 24.

TUES. OCTOBER 4: A nationalist man, Patrick Eley, from Springfield Park in west Belfast, who was shot and injured in the leg when driving a car in which Paul Thompson (25) was shot dead by the UDA/UFF British-backed loyalist death squad in Springfield Park in April, believes that he is now being targeted by loyalists because he gave evidence at an inquiry into the murder.

A booby-trapped device was placed at the front door of his home of his father-in-law in Dermott Hill on Tuesday, October 4 and the following day a bogus caller claiming to represent the *Irish News* (Belfast newspaper) rang another relative asking for his address.

WED. OCTOBER 5: Fresh allegations of collusion between British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads were being levelled when it emerged that 20 families in the Andersonstown area of west Belfast had been warned that their security files were in the hands of the British-



● October 24: Relatives for Justice press conference to protest at the inquest 'whitewash' exonerating the British army undercover squad which executed three Belfast men in a shoot-to-kill incident on January 13, 1990 (see also page 11).

backed death squads.

It was announced that 350 jobs are to go at the missile division of Shorts, the aerospace firm in Belfast.

THURS. OCTOBER 6: A former political prisoner, Gary Roberts (35), a married man with two children who was released from Long Kesh in 1990, said that the RUC had told him his life was in danger after they received a message on the "confidential telephone". They told him that a caller to the "confidential telephone" — a telephone number set up by the British Crown Forces so that people can inform on mainly nationalist activity — had claimed that he and another west Belfast man would be shot dead by the loyalists before they called a ceasefire.

A part-time cab driver was approached to become a paid informer for British intelligence and has since given up his day job out of fear of further pressure. The agents admitted to him that they worked for British intelligence. Two British agents with Scottish accents, a man 'Gerry' and woman 'Mary', became friendly with him by giving him large tips as he drove them from the Lame ferry terminal to Albert Street in Belfast.

The premises of Michael Conlon at Coolderry, four miles from Crossmaglen, Co Armagh was smashed and considerable damage done to the interior when British Crown Forces entered and searched it while the residents were out.

FRI. OCTOBER 7: An RUC man discharged a shot when a crowd of 50 people tried to prevent them making an arrest in Randalstown, Co Antrim at around 11pm in the evening. Three people were arrested and one RUC man was injured in the disturbance, which took place in Lower Main Street.

Local people claimed that a British army foot patrol and an RUC car had made separate incursions across the Border with the 26 Counties in Co Monaghan. The British army patrol was alleged to have crossed into the 26 Counties at Drumilly and the RUC car at Clones, both in Co Monaghan.

The real number of people unemployed in the 26 Counties, according to figures supplied by the National Organisation for the Unemployed, is 302,239.

Premier Power, the company that runs Ballymaguigan power station said that 90 of its 460 employees would have to be made redundant

over the next three years because the station is being converted to gas.

SAT. OCTOBER 8: In the Coagh area of Co Tyrone a nationalist man, Séamus Hurl (29), from Moortown, Co Tyrone, was kicked unconscious after he was stopped by members of the Royal Irish Regiment (RIR, formerly the UDR). Séamus Hurl said he was knocked to the ground during an unprovoked attack while he was being questioned at a checkpoint.

SUN. OCTOBER 9: The RUC fired plastic bullets at a crowd of people who attacked a joint RUC-British army patrol at the corner of the Springfield and Whitecrook roads early on Sunday morning.

A poll commissioned by the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper from Wilton Research in Dublin showed strong support for Irish unity. Eighty-three per cent of the people of the 26 Counties would like to see a united Ireland and of those 28% would like to see unity within twelve months and 35% within five years. Thirty-one per cent said they would be prepared to wait 20-25 years.

MON. OCTOBER 10: The Boundary Bar on the Shore Road in north Belfast was damaged in a bomb planted by the British-backed UVF loyalist death squad early on. The bomb was thrown over a side wall of the pub and exploded, demolishing a storeroom and smashing a number of windows. No-one was injured in the blast. The pub, which is close to the Bawmore Estate in Belfast has been targeted by loyalist death squads in the past.

WED. OCTOBER 12: In Poleglass, west Belfast a nationalist man, Ciaran Gallagher, said that serious damage was done to his house during a search by the British army and the RUC. His girlfriend was arrested during the four-hour search but nothing was found.

THURS. OCTOBER 13: The Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC), which squads the UDA/UFF, UVF and Red Hand Commando, announced at a press conference that they were calling a conditional ceasefire from midnight the same day.

A nationalist man from Co Tyrone was awarded £12,500 damages against the Blue Circle Cement company in Cookstown, Co Tyrone. The man, whose name was not revealed, claimed that he was discriminated against when the firm

failed to shortlist him for the position of mechanical craftsperson at its Cookstown factory in 1991.

The Royal Marine Commando regiment of the British army have been redeployed in South Armagh. The regiment was responsible for the killing of Fergal Caraher and the wounding of his brother Micheál near Cullyhanna in South Armagh on December 30, 1990. Local people called the redeployment of the Marines "highly insensitive" in an area in which they are highly unpopular.

FRI. OCTOBER 14: The Irish Republican Socialist Party said in a statement in reaction to the conditional ceasefire called by loyalist death squads that they welcomed the fact that nationalists are no longer to be persecuted and murdered by British-inspired death squads but that it was obvious that for them to come to that decision they have, in their own words, been given guarantees in relation to the status of the Six-County state being part of the United Kingdom and that they could not agree with the political process which has led to this position.

An attempt was made to intimidate a young member of Republican Sinn Féin who attended a function in a West Belfast club run by a pipe band from Co Antrim and asked the organisers for permission to seek signatures to a petition calling for a single All-Ireland referendum on Ireland's future. She was asked to hand over the petition which was signed by 31 people at the function by a member of the Provisionals.

SAT. OCTOBER 15: Tomás Mac Curtain, former IRA leader from Cork and son of the Lord Mayor of Cork of the same name who was murdered by the Black-and-Tans in 1920 died in Cork at the age of 79.

TUES. OCTOBER 18: The actual number of unemployed in the Six Counties, according to figures supplied by the National Organisation for the Unemployed, is 136,400.

FRI. OCTOBER 21: The British Prime Minister John Major visited the Occupied Six Counties and announced that all blocked Border roads were to be reopened. He also said that as well as the expected "Framework" document which is currently being prepared by the London and Dublin governments that the British government will also put forward its own independent proposals.

SAT. OCTOBER 22: A series of raids by members of the 26-County Special Branch and uniformed police took place on the homes of members of Republican Sinn Féin throughout the 26-Counties. Homes were raided in Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Galway, Leitrim, Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, Monaghan, Donegal, Cavan, Dublin, Kildare, Louth, Longford, Westmeath, Offaly and Wexford. During the raids several members were arrested and held for several hours before being released.

SUN. OCTOBER 23: The raids continued with members and supporters being raided in Dublin.

The RUC fired plastic bullets to disperse a crowd who were involved in a disturbance outside the Glenavon Hotel in Cookstown, Co Tyrone. A crowd of about 100 people attacked the hotel and the RUC were called. They were attacked with bottles and stones and retaliated by firing plastic bullets.

MON. OCTOBER 24: The Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin Des Long was arrested in Limerick on his return from holiday abroad.

THURS. OCTOBER 27: The last three members of the Ballymaguigan Seven in custody, Michael Beck, Hugh McLaughlin and Tony Garland, were released on bail.

FRI. OCTOBER 28: The so-called "Forum for Peace and Reconciliation", sponsored by the Dublin administration, began in Dublin Castle.

Re-arming the Orange death squads

From a Special Correspondent

1973: Former member of the notorious Black Watch regiment of the British army, Brian Nelson, is charged with two other members of the UDA with kidnapping a half-blind Catholic, Gerald Higgins, his hands soaked in water before being electrocuted after having his hair burned off. The victim died shortly afterwards. Nelson is arrested and a subsequent court report labelled him the ring-leader. None were charged with attempted murder. Nelson was recruited by British Intelligence (date unknown). He was sentenced by the no-jury Diplock Courts to only seven years.

1974: Loyalists, with expertise supplied by British Intelligence, explode bombs on the same day in Dublin and Monaghan, claiming over 30 lives.

Mid-1970s: Former UDR men recruited as mercenaries by the racist South African regime as part of their drive against the ANC and SWAPO freedom struggles. Apartheid government establish informal links with loyalist death squads, including the UDA which Britain refused to proscribe, and thus remained 'legal' until the early 1990s. Before and throughout these years, hundreds of Catholic civilians were kidnapped and tortured in 'Romper Rooms', or shot or hacked to death by 'counter-groups' such as the 'Shankill Butchers', who employed implements used by the meat trade to dispatch captured civilians, some of whom were Protestants.

1977: UN impose an arms embargo on South Africa.

Mid-1980s: Brian Nelson has been a 'double agent' for British Intelligence for at least a decade. He was transferred to a jail in England. After his release from jail he goes to work in Germany. He agreed to return after a request from his British Intelligence 'handlers', and he subsequently occupied the position of chief intelligence officer within the UDA hierarchy. He is thereby provided with intelligence files which are used in drawing up 'hit lists', and regularly advised by his 'handlers'.

1985: Dick Wright visits Belfast. He is a former merchant-seaman and has adopted the role of intermediary between Orange death squads and the South African racist regime. He is appointed an agent for Armscor, the state-owned arms company. He is also the uncle of Alan Wright, leader of the Ulster Clubs and co-founder of Ulster Resistance. DUP figures such as Peter Robinson MP were publicly associated with the launch of both groups.



● **British agent Brian Nelson.**

1987: Loyalists secure funds by robbing £300,000 from the Northern Bank, Portadown. Half of this is earmarked for South African arms purchases, with a proviso that South Africa will handle any order, if it is worth at least a quarter of a million. Key UDA leaders informed by Wright that the South African regime will accept missile parts or plans as an alternative to any cash short-fall. UDA/British Intelligence agent Nelson will join the crowds travelling from Belfast to London on the weekend of 7/8 June for the McGuigan/Pedroza boxing match en route to South Africa where he spends two weeks. He is a guest of Wright and Armscor. South African government indicates that for a complete Short's missile system they will supply a substantial shipment of arms in addition to £1 million towards the loyalists' sectarian murder campaign.

1987: A decade after the UN arms embargo Armscor becomes one of the world's top ten arms exporters with assistance from Israel which was also keen on obtaining updates on Belfast technology via Orange death squad linkages. A US State Department report named Britain as violating the UN arms embargo.

October: Roy Metcalfe, a key figure in the communications network between UDA/UVF/Ulster Resistance, and Thomas Gibson, are assassinated by an IRA unit. All three groups prepare to share-out South African arms. Ulster Resistance claim that Metcalfe and Gibson were "set up" by British Intelligence. Nelson's position was still holding firm within the loyalists' network.

December: South African arms deal completed. British Military Intelligence are informed by Nelson of every development eg the method of transportation, and destination. No action was taken.

South African authorities decide that the arms will not be those manufactured in their country. Instead, concerned to conceal their origin, Czech-made weapons, initially used by the PLO in Lebanon and captured by the Israelis and sold to Armscor will be dispatched to Belfast. British Intelligence aware of the farmhouse where arms will be stored after landing.

During 1987 Ulster Resistance stole a Javelin missile aiming unit. A few hours before a fully operational Starstreak unit has been part of the same display.

1988: January—Davy Payne, ex-British paratrooper and UDA brigadier stopped and arrested outside Portadown after RUC (police) discover part of the shipment destined for the UDA. The haul included 60 assault rifles, rockets and handguns. Payne had a telephone number written on his hand, it was that of Noel LITTLE, a civil servant and former member of the Ulster Defence Regiment of the British army. He was a close associate of Ian Paisley MP, MEP and Peter Robinson MP, both leaders of the Democratic Unionist Party who sit at Westminster. LITTLE was questioned and released without charge.

The shipment included 200 AK47 rifles, 90 Browning pistols, around 500 fragmentation grenades, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and a dozen RPG7 rocket launchers.

Two-thirds of the arms shipments had landed with the full knowledge of British Intelligence. The other third was seized at an RUC road block.

1989: The Pretoria-Belfast link developed into a well-established two-way traffic. South Africa interested in obtaining documentation relating to the Starstreak missile — the world's most advanced — developed by Shorts in Belfast. Plans existed to use such, or the Blowpipe variety, in Angola and



● **The Starstreak missile, made by Shorts in Belfast, was sought by South Africa's apartheid regime in its arms trade with loyalist death squads.**

Namibia

April: Noel LITTLE, Samuel Quinn and James King arrested in Paris along with arms dealer Douglas Bernhardt and a South African diplomat, Daniel Storm. They were attempting to renegotiate with the South African regime. LITTLE stood for election to local government as a member of Paisley's DUP.

The trio was not only offering parts but Quinn, an NCO in the Ulster Air Defence Regiment, was on hand to offer expertise. He had trained recruits in the use of the Blowpipe missile, a dummy version of which, stolen from Newtownards, was offered to the South African agents. Quinn served in Newtownards.

Storm claimed diplomatic immunity and was duly expelled from France. Bernhardt, a US arms dealer born in South Africa and married to an Englishwoman, had operated a firm called Field Arms for three years in London's Mayfair. It had received assistance from the Department of Employment.

No request by Britain was made for the extradition of the three. However, three of the personnel at the South African Embassy were expelled by Britain. One of them, Etienne Fourie, described as the Embassy's "eyes and ears" had worked as a journalist in British-occupied Ireland during the 1970s.

1990: January — Brian Nelson arrested as part of a major investigation into the blatant leaking of British Intelligence documents to loyalists.

Many of these were bill-posted during the hours of darkness by loyalists in nationalist ghettos in a bid to intimidate residents. Such action was not ignored by the media, and public pressure led to the Stalker Inquiry which British Intelligence eventually managed to abort.

1992: February — A senior judge and former Attorney-General for the unionist government at Stormont, Basil Kelly, handed down a minimum prison sentence to the British agent, Nelson.

The DPP received a letter sent on behalf of the British cabinet minister, Tom King, to aid Nelson's defence team, in which King described him as "a valuable agent". Media and legal experts see King's move as part of a deal with Nelson not to spill the beans on all he knew of British Intelligence activities, including their controlling influences on the Orange death squads.

Fifteen of the 35 charges against Nelson, including two charges of murder were dropped by the Crown Prosecution. Those dropped were in return for entering guilty pleas on 20 lesser charges, five of which related to conspiracy to murder. Foreign media and human rights groups, as well as the Irish Lobby in the USA, seem to have been factors which forced the political wing of the British Establishment to ultimately decide to act.

In 1985 the UDA and UVF killed between them only three people. In the five years following January 1988 more than 160 people were murdered by loyalists.

British Intelligence was released from an English jail in three to four years time.

RUC flaunt death squad badges

AT a time when the RUC is apparently keen to improve upon its sectarian image, the 'bully-boy element', accused over the years of collusion with loyalist death squads, was again recently evident.

During a clash with local traders and farmers who were actively dismantling Border road obstructions, many of the protesters were both surprised and angry on finding RUC police officers openly displaying UDA insignia. To reinforce their comments some pointed to these obviously illegal symbols worn on their official uniforms.

On Sunday, October 16, as part of an on-going campaign by local 'border-busting' committees, and some seven weeks into the Provisionals' ceasefire, fear has gripped several community groups in the remote Border areas. Some

privately anticipate that specific sections of the RUC have become more desperate. They link this to expected job losses or major reform as a result of the end of hostilities.

These sections of the RUC have often been referred to as the 'rotten apples', and many are well known in local communities. Their activities seem to have become more intense and overt in response to the recent loyalist ceasefire announcement. Some observers in the media who cover such activities openly express the view that these elements see their power being eventually eroded and have set out to do

everything to disrupt the 'peace process'.

Their actions include physical assaults and major delays at road-blocks, cat-calling on the streets, needless damage to homes and belongings during on-going raids — all of which strongly suggests that 'demilitarisation' is still a long way off.

Throughout October Provisional Sinn Féin and the SDLP have expressed dissatisfaction at the pace of the anticipated 'demilitarisation process', which was supposedly part of the 'Provos' ceasefire arrangement with the British authorities.

WHAT'S NEW?

At grassroots level many nationalists are asking 'So what's new?' in response to

the current high level of police harassment. All this may yet contribute to a further undermining of confidence in both nationalist parties, particularly in working-class ghettos which are most affected.

Police on October 16 at the clearing of the Lenamore Road, outside Derry city, pointing to unofficial badges told 'Border-busters' "This is your new police service which is here to back up the Downing Street Declaration". Another shouted "Downing Street was to keep the Tuags down, keep the Union on top and keep Dublin out". He was clapped by some 20 other policemen.

Foreign visitors, who carried tape-recorders, later played back most of the proceedings at the offices of the West Bank Research and Development Group in Derry. A statement was duly dispatched to the media abroad and to our own Irish Republican Information Service.

An RUC officer in charge of other said: "In or out of

uniform we have the weapons and training to do a lot of killing". This was later confirmed by another report in the *Irish News* of October 18, on page 1. That report ended: "A spokesman for the RUC said police had received no

complaints about the incident. "If a report is received, it will be investigated," he said.

This and several similar incidents have been witnessed by hundreds of people, civil rights observers and members of the media in recent weeks.

British oppression continues

THE RUC fired plastic bullets at a crowd of people who attacked a joint RUC-British army patrol at the corner of the Springfield and Whiterock roads early on Sunday morning, October 9.

The crowd threw bricks and bottles at the patrol and two members of the RUC were injured. Two plastic bullets were fired to disperse the crowd and one person was arrested.

On Saturday evening at around 11 pm an RUC man discharged a shot when a crowd of 50 people tried to prevent them making an arrest in Randalstown, Co Antrim. Three people were arrested and one RUC man was injured in the disturbance, which took place in Lower Main Street.

Also on Saturday local people claimed that a British army foot patrol and an RUC car had made separate incursions across the Border with the 26 Counties in Co Monaghan. The British army patrol was alleged to have crossed into the 26 Counties at Drumilly and the RUC car at Clones, both in Co Monaghan.

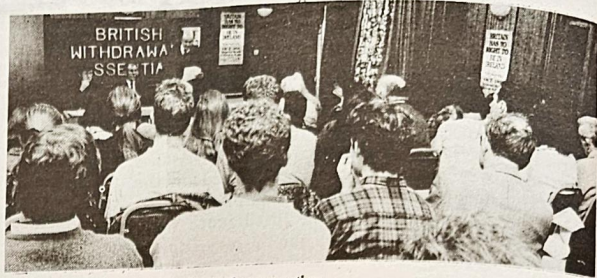
Campaign for single referendum launched at Galway meeting

A CAMPAIGN was launched in Galway for the right of the Irish people to decide their future in a single referendum at a public meeting in Galway on Monday, October 10 last. The meeting, organised by Republican Sinn Féin, was held in the Imperial Hotel and attracted a capacity crowd. The meeting heard former Councillor Eamonn Larkin from South Armagh and Ruairi Óg Ó Brádaigh call the current ceasefire "completely one-sided, with no sign of a British Declaration to withdraw from Ireland".

The petition drive is part of a national campaign launched by Republican Sinn Féin, along with other figures such as Bernadette McAisley and Fr. Des Wilson, and relatives of the dead 1981 hunger-strikers. To hold two separate referenda.

North and South, would be a complete capitulation to the Unionist veto, as the answer to the 6-County referendum will be - as usual - that the British Government stays in Ireland. A single referendum would herald a return to democracy on the island - true self-determination for the Irish people.

According to Eamonn Larkin, there would be "no other result coming out of the current process but a Stormont Mark 2, with token cross-



• Part of the crowd at the Galway meeting.

border boards on drainage and contagious diseases, the same deals which were rejected by Republicans in 1972 and 1975.

Coming to the present situation in the Six-Counties we are witnessing a one-sided ceasefire with no sign of a British declaration to withdraw from Ireland. He continued "The Provisionals have laid down their arms, but the British occupation forces are carrying on as usual. In my own district of South Armagh a number of reported incidents illustrate the extent of Britain's intention:

"A farm was sealed off and raided by the British army and RUC near Crossmaglen and a major military operation was carried out near Jonesborough, while in Dromintee houses were searched from top to bottom, all within the last month of a so-called 'demilitarisation'. Furthermore a group of young men and girls coming home from the All-Ireland Final were held

at the roadside near my home by the RUC from 2am to 4am and during their ordeal they were told that this was the sort of treatment they would be getting from now on.

"Republican Sinn Féin will accept nothing less than a public declaration by the British government of its intention to remove itself, its forces and institutions from Ireland forever and to repeal its shameful 1920 Government of Ireland Act and with it the two failed partition states created by that unjust and undemocratic creation of the British establishment," said Mr. Larkin.

The second speaker at the meeting was Ruairi Óg Ó Brádaigh, National Publicity Officer of Republican Sinn Féin, who said that "British disengagement from Ireland would not come about as a result of the halt to the Provisionals' military campaign, as that decision rests

on the Hume-Adams proposals, which emerged a year ago. Paragraph 5 of the Hume-Adams document reads as follows:

The democratic right to self-determination by the people of the island as a whole must be achieved and exercised with the agreement and consent of the people of Northern Ireland.

This is an acceptance of the Unionist veto by which the British presence in the North-East of Ireland is guaranteed, while 18% of the population of the 32-Counties, the contrived and artificial majority in the 6-Counties, will it to be so.

According to Mr Ó Brádaigh, there "is a world of difference between 'constitutional' nationalist politics in Ireland, which is committed to upholding the partition system, and democratic politics.



• Pictured at the Galway public meeting on October 10: (left to right): Ruairi Óg Ó Brádaigh, National Publicity Officer, Republican Sinn Féin, Tomás Ó Curraoin, Bearna, Cathaoirleach, Eamonn Larkin, former Councillor, South Armagh.

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

MONSTER NATIONAL PRIVATE MEMBERS

★ DRAW ★

£3,000 IN PRIZES

1st Prize: £2000 2nd Prize: £500

3rd & 4th Prizes £250 each

DONATIONS £5 EACH. 5 SHARES: £1 EACH.

Draw will take place at the Spa Hotel, Lucan on
SUNDAY 13th NOVEMBER, 1994.

Tickets now available from local cumainn or from Ard-Oifig, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Please return stubs and cash to any of the names printed on the tickets or to Ard-Oifig.

Michael Flannery 1902-1994 — Patron of Republican Sinn Féin



● Vol Michael Flannery, Tipperary No 1 Brigade, IRA, pictured in 1921.

THE New York Irish American community, and indeed the Irish community worldwide, was deeply saddened by the death of Michael Flannery on Friday, September 30, 1994 at age 92.

Born in Knocksheegowna, Co Tipperary in January 1902, Michael's life was one dedicated to the cause of Irish Freedom. An underage member of the Irish Volunteers and later the IRA, he was 14 and ready for the Rising at Easter 1916. He saw no action during the Rising due to McNeill's countermanding order. Michael was active and saw action in the War of Independence (Black-and-

Tan War). When the truce was called Michael served as an officer in the Republican Courts.

With the signing of the Treaty in 1921, Michael remained loyal to the Republic and found himself fighting his former comrades, now turned traitor in the Free State army. After many close calls, Michael was captured and held in Mountjoy Prison where he later remarked, "There was no joy". While in Mountjoy he met many of the

men whose names have entered into the Pantheon of Irish Republicans. Michael's name now joins them. One of Michael's most vivid memories of the prison was the murder of the Four Martyrs on December 8, 1922 — Rory O'Connor, Joseph McKelvey, Liam Mellows and Richard Barrett — four soldiers true and loyal to the Republic executed without trial by Free State traitors. Michael remained in Mountjoy for two years and took part in the Hunger Strike of 1923 and many other prison protests. He was finally released in 1924.

EMIGRATED

Finding work difficult to come by on release, Michael opted to emigrate to the USA to help organise the thousands of Irish who came before him. After some difficulty, Michael was allowed to leave Ireland and he landed in New York on February 14, 1927.

Michael wasted no time in looking up old comrades and getting involved in the Irish organisations in and around New York. From the day he landed there to the day he died Michael never forgot Ireland, her people or his commitment to the cause of Irish freedom.

Michael gained employment with the Metropolitan Insurance Company, where he rose to the position of supervisor before he retired. A few years after arriving in New York, Michael married Dr Margaret Mary "Pearl" Egan of Mullinahone, Co Tipperary. She

herself was a member of Cumann na mBan and present at the opening of the First Dáil. A charming woman and gracious hostess, Mrs Flannery predeceased Michael on November 12, 1991.

Michael never forgot his oath to the Republic and worked for Irish freedom through the War years. He and other Republicans continued to aid those on the ground in Ireland through the 1950s and 1960s.

When the latest campaigns of the armed conflict began, Michael was one of the founding members of Irish Northern Aid Committee in 1970. He continued to speak out against the Brits in Ireland and travelled the length and width of the US to get the message out.

In 1982, Michael, along with Pat Mullin, Danny Gormley, George Harrison and Tom Falvey was indicted in US Federal Court on charges of smuggling guns to the IRA. Michael's dignified and eloquent delivery on the stand won new respect for the cause and refuted the prosecution claim that these five men were "terrorists". All five defendants were found not guilty of all charges.

GRAND MARSHAL

As a mark of the esteem and respect Michael was held in he was elected Grand Marshal of the New York St Patrick's Day Parade in 1983. Despite the Free State government boycott of the parade because of Michael's unwavering Republicanism, the year 1983 still stands as the largest

of all New York St Patrick's Day Parades (itself the largest civil parade in the world). Michael's dignified bearing in the face of the Free State boycott, the refusal of the late Cardinal Cooke to greet him at St Patrick's Cathedral and the failure of some politicians to attend stood out and was a testament to the calibre of man Michael was.

All through the years Michael was never one to back down from challenging those who abandoned or questioned Republicanism. He did so in 1922, 1926, 1946, 1969 and lastly in 1986.

In 1986, after the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, Michael remained with those who remained loyal to the Republic — Republican Sinn Féin. As a result Michael left his position of Trustee of Irish Northern Aid, which remained affiliated with Provisional Sinn Féin. Michael then founded, along with George Harrison and Joe Stynes RIP, Cumann na Saoirse — The Irish Freedom Committee. Michael continued to speak at events organised by Cumann na Saoirse and organisations continuing to champion the cause of Irish freedom.

Michael's death leaves a pair of shoes no man or woman can ever fill in the struggle for Irish freedom. But Michael taught the next generation well. The fruits of his labours will be realised when Ireland is a true 32-County Irish Republic. This generation now picks up the torch and carries on the work.

All Irish organisations represented at wake

MICHAEL Flannery was waked at McGrath's Funeral Home in Jackson Heights in what one mourner described as one of the largest funerals seen in the city. A Guard of Honour was in place both days of the wake; organised on Saturday by Barney Mulligan and on Sunday by Pat O'Connell, both long-time friends of Michael's.

Members of every Irish organisation in the state and several from around the country were represented at the wake. These organisations included: Cumann na Saoirse (New York, New Jersey and Boston); Friends of Irish Freedom (New York, Chicago and Boston); Sean Óglaigh na hÉireann; Gaelic Athletic Association; Ancient Order of Hibernians; Gaelic League; Pioneers Total Abstinence Society; Irish Northern Aid; Clan na Gael (New York and Philadelphia); United Irish Counties; Irish American Unity Conference; Police Emerald Society; Irish American Fenian Society of New Jersey; New York St Patrick's Day Parade Committee; Brehon Law Society; Irish Action Committee; the various 32 Counties' associations; and his own native County Tipperary Association and Tipperary GAA.

Organisations in his own parish — Blessed Sacrament — where he and his late wife Pearl were both active were also present. Members of the Rosary Altar Society, Legion of Mary, St Vincent de Paul Society, Knights of Columbus and the Holy Name Society. As a final farewell to their long-time member, members of the Holy Name Society pinned the Society medal on Michael.

Chief mourners were, in the US: Mike and Eileen Moloney, his nephew with whom he lived, their children Noel, Ann Marie, Geraldine and Patricia, and grandchildren, Saoirse and Michael; Aidan and Pat Moloney and

family; his nephew Enda Moloney, Mary Flannery, his niece; and in Ireland the Moloney and Flannery families. Also, the Egan's of New York and Tipperary, the family of his late wife Pearl, who predeceased him on November 12, 1991.

GUARD OF HONOUR

Many old friends and comrades took part in the Guard of Honour for Michael on both days. The first two on Guard of Honour were long-time friends of Michael's, Paul O'Dwyer and George Harrison (Trustee and co-founder of Cumann na Saoirse). Dozens of others took part in the Guard of Honour.

Many hundreds attended the wake. A sampling of those present would include: Martin Lyons, Danny Gormley, Bob and Ann Loughman (INA-Rockland); Jack Salmon (President — NYGAA); Jim and Helen Grogan (Tipperary Association); Oliver O'Donnell (Tipperary GAA); Dan Danagher (Emerald Societies); Seán McGovern, Jack Sweeney, Willie Joe Cunningham, Mike and Peg Meahan (Donegal Association); Eileen O'Flaherty and Bob Daly (Fenian Society of New Jersey); Mary Shanahan, Doreen Gavin, Pat and Sally Markham, Kathleen Montague, Cathy O'Brien, Charlie and Jeannie McLaughlin (Friends of Irish Freedom, New York); John Hurley, Al Madden, Jim Maunsell, Joe Dillon, Michael Lafferty and Martin O'Sullivan (all Boston, Friends of Irish Freedom),



● The Final Salute to a soldier of the All-Ireland Republic: a volley of shots is fired over Michael Flannery's coffin following the oration.

Frank O'Neill (Friends of Irish Freedom, Chicago), Mike McGinley (Clan na Gael, New York), Matt Regan and Patricia McManus (Clan na Gael, Philadelphia), Ken Tierney (Fort Worth Five), Martin Galvin (INA), Margaret O'Keefe (AUC), Peter and Ellen Farley, Mike and Tom Costello (Cumann na Saoirse, New Jersey), Tim Garvey (Cumann na Saoirse, Boston), Mickey Whelan, Peter Quinn and Joseph Salvayon (Cumann na Saoirse, New York), Judge O'Sullivan, Connie Buckley, Frank Durkan, Adrian Flannery, Mike Skeahan, Bob McCann, Barney McKeown, Bridie McManus, Dorothy Hayden Cudahy

and Mart Holt Moore (both former Grand Marshals of the New York Parade), John Beirne (former Sports Editor of the *Irish Echo*), BJ Keavney, Congressman Tom Manton, DA Charles Hynes, Elizabeth O'Hara (sister of hunger-striker Patsy RIP), Michael Kennedy, Attorney during the Arms Trial, Michael Dowd and the rest of the Arms Trial legal defence team, Bianca Jagger, Seamus O'Doherty and so many, many more who cannot possibly be named due to space and in some cases their own modesty. Apologies to all not named.

In tribute to Michael flags were

blown at half mast on Sunday at Gaelic Park for the former NYGAA President and delegate to the GAA Convention in Ireland; also the Tipperary teams wore black armbands in his memory.

Before the close of the wake on Sunday evening, members of Cumann na Saoirse, of which Michael was a co-founder and Trustee, formed the final Guard of Honour. Orders were given in Irish by Joe O'Neill. The overflow crowd sat in silence for nearly half an hour during this last watch. Members making up the Guard of Honour were: Peter Quinn, Mickey Whelan and Joseph Salvayon. Towards the end of

cont on page 8

of the Fenians John Devoy and O'Donovan Rossa'



• At the 1991 Easter Sunday Commemoration in Gaelic Park, New York: (left to right) Mary Holt Moore, Grand Marshal, St Patrick's Day Parade, Mae Murphy Brennan, 1916 Veteran, Michael Flannery, Chairman, Cumann na Saoirse, Mary Agnes McSweeney Moriarty, Cumann na mBan Veteran, Des Long, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin, John Kerry O'Donnell, New York GAA, Attorney Frank Durcan.



• May 15, 1992: Des Long, Vice-President, Republican Sinn Féin presenting Michael with a framed 1916 Proclamation at his Tribute Dinner in the Towerview Ballroom in Queens, New York. On right is former Congressman Mario Biaggio, a long-time friend of Ireland.

In Loving Memory of the late Michael Flannery

That was read by Pádraig Pearse,
Was to Mike the only road
To a just and lasting peace.

To that famous document
He was loyal, staunch and true.
Next to his Pearl, his only love
Was his beloved Róisín Dubh.

All you rebel Irish men
And Irish women too,
Will mourn the death of Michael,
A faithful son of Róisín Dubh.

He carried his cross to free her.
As he played the patriot game,
And upon the scroll of honour
You will find Mike Flannery's name.

He stood tall as a patriot
In the ranks of the heroes brave.
May his soul be safe in heaven
Ere his body meets the grave.

— Barney Mulligan

His final battle is over.
He has gone on to his reward.
The greatest of all honours,
Will be given to him by God.

An outstanding Irish Catholic,
He would go to any length,
To receive the Blessed Sacrament
The source of all his strength.

He wore his Christian principles
Upon his proverbial sleeve.
And for his tortured homeland
He did openly plead and grieve.

Dignity was his armour,
Justice was his sword,
Principle was reflected
In his unbroken word.

The fulfilment of the document



• The 'Brooklyn Five' pictured after their acquittal on arms smuggling charges in New York in 1983: (left to right) Daniel Gormley, Patrick Mullin, Michael Flannery, Thomas Falsely and George Harrison.

Those of us who are determined to stay on the traditional course will not rebuke those who see events of today in a different light. But neither will we accept intimidation or provocation, overt or covert. The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners including all those held in the United States is a priority. In the long years they have been entombed in dreary dungeons they have learned to never trust the enemy. They will be a major influence in the leadership and events of the future. They will insure that there will be resurrection of the revolutionary spirit of our apostle Theobald Wolfe Tone who saw the

connection with England as the never failing source of all Ireland's problems. They will insure that current events will be a rallying point or staging area for the next advance which will make the first goal of Michael Flannery's life a reality — namely, an Ireland free and unfettered from the shackles of British Imperialism.

The great warrior has now gone to join all the great heroes of the long struggle in the Irish Valhalla of bravery and heroism. We send our condolence to his family and relatives in Ireland and America. Life for some of us will not be the same without him.

— George Harrison



• Michael with Republican Sinn Féin President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh at the 1989 All-Ireland Hurling Final in Croke Park, won by his native Tipperary who overcame a gallant Antrim team.



• Michael Flannery in the Cross, Co Mayo home of the late Comdt General Tom Maguire in September 1989. (seated) Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, General Maguire, Michael Flannery. (standing) Frank Glynn, Bob Murray, Nollaig Ó Gadhra, Dr Seán Maguire.

Michael Flannery 1902-1994 — Patron of Republican Sinn Féin

England out of Ireland his only fitting memorial



● As we shall remember him... Michael Flannery speaking at the 1991 Bundoran H-Block Hunger Strikers Commemoration in Co Donegal. COUNCILLOR O'Neill began by expressing the sympathy of the Republican Movement, Republican Sinn Féin and himself to the Moloney, Flannery and Egan families on the death of Michael. Joe said that many had spoken that day, and if 100 more had spoken each could say something new about Michael:

"This is the greatest honour of my lifetime that Michael requested me to give the oration. The principles that Michael Flannery stood for over the last 70 years was Michael's bond. He had a saying that I first heard from the late Seán Keenan RIP, of Derry, who was also a lifelong Republican and Honorary Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, "Never follow a man or woman, only follow the cause. Men and woman will let you down, but the cause will not!"

Michael did not mind telling a white lie for the cause of Irish freedom. When he was only 14 years old he joined the Irish Volunteers saying he was 17 years of age. From then on he worked to build the Movement. He organised support in the 1918 election for Sinn Féin. He fought the Black-and-Tans and British forces in Ireland from 1920-22. Michael did not accept the Treaty and took the Republican side and fought as he said himself, in that Civil War the Brits put the Irish into. He was jailed by the Free Staters, who by now were worse than the Brits. Michael went on hunger strike for political status in 1923 and was finally released in 1924 and remained with the IRA.

In 1926 Michael was asked to join Fianna Fáil — he would not as they betrayed Republican principles. At

the time, like many other Republicans, there was no work for him. So he emigrated to the USA in 1927. Michael took with him the cause of Irish freedom like his good friend, Joe Stynes, RIP of Dublin. For their lifetimes they never turned their backs on the cause of Irish freedom, or Ireland's people.

TRUE AND LOYAL

In the 1940s Michael continued to send funds to the IRA. In 1946 Republicans were divided again, but Michael remained true to his principles and loyal to the Republic of 1916. From 1956-63 he continued to send funds and whatever else was needed to the IRA. 1969 saw Republicans divided yet again, and again Michael stayed true to the IRA. In 1970 both Dáithí Ó Conaill RIP and Seán Keenan RIP came to New York to help set up an organisation to raise funds for those back home. Michael together with Jack McCarthy RIP, John McGowan RIP, Matt Higgins RIP, Martin Madden RIP and others set up the Irish Northern Aid Committee. You, the Irish in America know the good work that group has done.

1986 again Republicans parted ways and again Michael Flannery stayed with those who backed Republican principles and backed Republican Sinn Féin. Michael founded, together with George

Harrison and Joe Stynes RIP, Cumann na Saoirse. All three served as Trustees of the organisation.

Michael's family was the people of Ireland. Especially the men and women who fought and died for Irish freedom, those in jail and their families. Michael had a great regard for the Hunger Strikers and came to the Annual Commemoration in Bundoran to speak and honour these men. Just three years ago this past August, Michael flew into Ireland on Friday, was picked up and driven to Donegal, got up Saturday and went to Mass before speaking at the commemoration. Spoke, met the families of the Hunger Strikers and many of the people who attended and signed autographs.

remain friends with those whom he differed with.

No matter what house Michael visited, he could always partake of conversation with the young and old. And he would leave that house being known as Uncle Mike. Never great or grand, just plain Uncle Mike. That was one of the many qualities of this great Irishman.

Michael loved his native Tipperary that gave many great men and women for the Irish cause. He had a great regard for Terence Mac Swiney, Lord Mayor of Cork who died on Hunger Strike in London in 1920. And on many occasions he would quote Mac Swiney, "In matters of principle, there can be no compromise".

passed the torch down to the next generation.

Michael was one of those men who carried the link right through to the time of his death. He was worried over the past years about the present situation in Ireland. I hope we are wrong so there is no harm done, but if we are right then we and the Irish people have been fooled again.

Michael often quoted Patrick Pearse. One of his favourites was *Mise Éire*.

Mise Éire, sine mé ná an Cailleadh Bhéara

Mór mo glóir, mé do rug Cúchulainn cróga.

Mór mo náir, mo chlann féin do dhiol a mháthair.



● The coffin being carried from the Blessed Sacrament Church. Pictured (left to right) Jim Maunsell, Friends of Irish Freedom, Barney Mulligan, Frank Durcan, Tim Garvey, Ann Marie Moloney-Stevenson, Peter Quinn, Joe O'Neill, Hugh O'Lunney.

He had his meal and left Bundoran about 8pm that evening for Dublin. On Sunday he attended Mass, and then went to watch the All-Ireland Hurling Final.

His wife Pearl RIP, who predeceased him in November of 1991, at whose funeral I was privileged to speak at as well, always backed him all the way. Both were devoted Catholics and attended Mass daily. They loved everything Irish — games, music, language etc. They also worked to help Irish immigrants for over 60 years. Michael never abandoned the cause of Irish freedom. Though he had many differences of opinion with people over principles of Republicanism, he had that way with him that he could

No matter how bad things were in the Republican Movement we always were left with a link. We had those great Fenians O'Donovan Rossa, the Tyrone man Tom Clarke, they carried the cause of the Fenians to 1915-1916 stage, Tom Clarke being one of those who signed the 1916 Proclamation. Tom Maguire, TD for the Second Dáil from County Mayo who lived to over 100 years died in 1993, passed on the right of Republicans all down the years to those who held onto the Republican principles, the last time being in 1986. Joe Clarke RIP, last surviving member of those who fought on the Mount Street Bridge in 1916, who died in 1976. These are some of the men who held onto Republican principles and

Mise Éire, uaigní mé ná an Cailleadh Bhéara

I am Éire, I am older than the Cailleadh Bhéara,

Great my glory, brave Cúchulainn was my son.

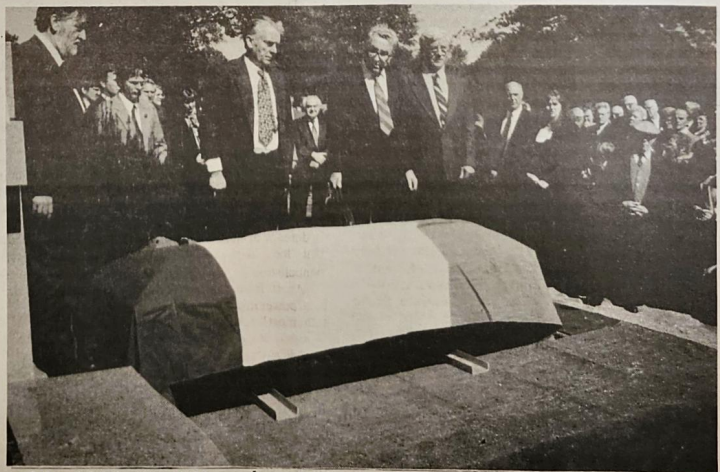
Great my shame, my own sons sold their mother.

I am Éire, I am lonelier than the Cailleadh Bhéara.

Michael is a great loss to the Irish in America, but a greater loss to the Irish at home and the cause of Irish freedom. If we are to build a memorial to this great Irishman than let us work for what he believed in — in short England out of Ireland. That is the only fitting memorial we can build to this great Irishman."



● Mary Ward, Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President was one of Michael Flannery's last visitors in Flushing Hospital, Queens where she spoke to him during her September 1994 US tour on behalf of the organisation.



● (left to right) Joe O'Neill, Séamas Ó Dubhda, George Harrison and Peter Quinn, who folded the National Flag and presented it to Mike Moloney, nephew of Michael Flannery.

George Harrison: A tireless campaigner for justice

OVER 300 people packed into the convention hall of Local 1199 on West 43rd Street, Manhattan, New York on October 7 last to pay tribute to veteran Irish Republican and activist for struggling peoples throughout the world, George Harrison.

A founder of Cumann na Saoirse in 1987, George has unequivocally backed Republican Sinn Féin in the current situation and Councillor Joe O'Neill, National Treasurer, attended the tribute in New York on behalf of the organisation.

The testimonials and tributes to George were many on the night, with the main speaker Bernadette McAliskey travelling from Ireland for the occasion. Irish-American organisations represented included the IAUC, Friends of Irish Freedom, the Irish American Fenian Society and the Brehon Law Society. A minute's silence was observed in memory of Michael Flannery, who died the previous week.

Ruth Messinger, President of New York City Borough Council, read the framed testimonial and declared October 7 to be "George Harrison Day" in Manhattan. Also there to speak in praise of George was Charlene Mitchell the first woman candidate for the Presidency of the United States, who described him as "a tireless campaigner for justice". Richard Harvey and Frank Durkan of the Brehon Law Society also addressed the gathering.

A message was read on behalf of his fellow Mayo native Paul O'Dwyer who was unable to attend. In the said that from his earliest childhood George has dedicated himself tirelessly

to the betterment of the lot of his fellow men.

"Born of humble beginnings—the son of a stone-cutter who emigrated to New Hampshire and later returned to Ireland—George received his early tutelage from a dedicated and vigorous nationalist, the late Martin Casey, commander of the East Mayo Brigade of the Irish Republican Army.

"It was from Casey that George learned history—not as it was taught in the local school in his native Shammur but from the lips of a man who had taken up arms against the might of the British Empire and who subscribed to the teachings of the great Parnell that "no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation".

"Casey was also an ardent socialist who exposed his eager pupil to the teachings of Connolly and Larkin and thereby set in motion a career whose focus was the betterment of the lot of others. George's creed is 'Workers of the World unite - you have nothing to lose but your chains'.

"No barrier of race or creed prevented George from extending the hand of comfort and support. Although attaining the freedom of Ireland always was and still is his burning passion, George has always found the time and the energy to help out others—the beleaguered Spaniards under the heel of Franco, the disenfranchised Blacks in South Africa, the Cuban people in

their opposition to American Imperialism," Paul O'Dwyer said.

Mario Medina, Secretary to the Cuban mission to the United Nations, said "It is people like George all over the world who helped the Cuban people find the strength and determination to continue our struggle. On behalf of the Cuban people allow me to thank you for your solidarity."

FUNDAMENTALS

In her address Bernadette McAliskey praised George for his support for the Irish struggle throughout his life. Turning to current events she spelled out the fundamentals of her and George's position: Britain has no right to govern Ireland; Britain's decision to leave Ireland must be a unilateral one; self-determination cannot be exercised by the people of Ireland while Britain remains in the Six Counties.

She added a warning directed at the provisional leadership: "Beware of men bearing beads to the natives... The day you decide to make concessions on principles to win friends, you end up with many friends and no principles."

She said that there may be a misapprehension on the part of the State Department and others in the US that throwing money at Ireland will bring peace. She questioned where the process is by which the peace will be built.

In his own address George Harrison said he would continue on the road of Michael Flannery until a free and independent Irish Socialist Republic was achieved.



●(left to right) Bernadette McAliskey, George Harrison and Secretary to the Cuban mission to the United Nations, Mario Medina at the Tribute in New York on October 7.

United Nations condemns 34-year blockade on Cuba

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin has become one of the 50 initial signatories to the Irish Appeal Against the Embargo of Cuba, organised by the Caribbean nation's support group in Ireland.

The campaign petition — copies of which can be obtained from the Cuba Support Group - Ireland at 15 Merrion Square, Dublin 2 — is being circulated following the UN General Assembly vote on October 26 condemning the US blockade on Cuba, which is now operating for 34 years.

The UN vote showed a substantial increase in the number of countries supporting Cuba compared to the 1993 vote, while only the US and Israel voted against it. Overall, 101 countries (up from 88 in 1993) condemned the blockade with 48 abstentions (down from 57 last year) including the 26-County state. Other EU countries, such as Luxembourg,

Denmark, France, Belgium, Greece and Spain, voted against the trade embargo, as did EU applicant countries Norway, Sweden, Austria and Finland.

The Irish appeal is worded as follows: "Independently of our differing views on the course chosen by the Cuban people, we are joining together to denounce the economic, commercial and trade embargo of Cuba. We call on the United States Government to respect and comply with the relevant United Nations and European Parliament resolutions calling for an end to the embargo and respect for Cuban sovereignty."

The UN General Assembly resolutions were 47/19 and 48/

16 and the European assembly resolution was passed on September 13, 1993.

MEDICINES

The Cuba Support Group points out that the blockade affects medicines, medical equipment and food as well as other traded commodities. Currently attempts are being made by the US to oblige third countries to apply the same discriminatory legislation.

The Irish Appeal will be forwarded to the UN Secretary-General and to the World Solidarity Meeting in the Cuban capitol, Havana November 21-25 next. In addition, the Cuba Support Group has been sending humanitarian assistance to four health and educational facilities in Cuba "to help them maintain the high standards of health and education during the current economic difficulties".

Inquest 'whitewash' on shoot-to-kill victims

THE brother of one of three men executed by an undercover British army unit on the Falls Road, Belfast in January 1990 has described the recent inquest verdict on the killings as a "total whitewash".

Mark Thompson, whose brother Peter Thompson was shot at least ten times, twice through the head, joined

relatives of the other two victims at a press conference organised by the Relatives for Justice group in the Conway Mill, Belfast on October 24.

Four days previously the inquest jury verdict had



●Two of the men executed by a British army unit, January 1990.

completely exonerated the shoot-to-kill squad maintaining that they had "no alternative" but to execute the men, who were taking part in a raid on a bookmaker's shop. The men were "mistaken for terrorists", according to the inquest jury. The relatives of the dead men — John McNeill (42), Edward Hales (25) and Peter Thompson (21) — said that they were not challenged or given a chance to surrender before being cut down.

An eyewitness account read to the inquest said that Thompson and Hales were shot by machine-gun as they came out of the betting shop. As they lay on the ground not

moving, he said, they were lifted up and shot several times at point blank range by the second British soldier who was armed with a pistol. The two soldiers who opened fire did not give evidence at the inquest. The British Defence Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, issued a Public Interest Immunity Certificate allowing them avoid attending the inquest. Two other members of the unit gave evidence from behind screens.

The third man killed, John McNeill, was shot through the windscreen as he sat in the getaway car, unmasked and in ordinary clothing. He was hit by six bullets.

Also speaking at the press conference, Fr Des Wilson, west Belfast, said that the inquest verdict reflected "something of the contempt in which the lives of our people are held". The relatives and their lawyers are considering setting up a public inquiry into the inquest, as well as the possibility of a judicial review or taking the case to the European Court of Human Rights.

There were patent irregularities in the choice of jury and in their written findings, which were altered three times, casting doubt on the outcome, the press conference was told.

There are persistent allegations that the three men, part of a criminal gang, were killed in a planned act of revenge for stealing weapons and documents from an unmarked car belonging to the same British undercover unit several weeks before they met their deaths.

A fourth member of the gang escaped detection and certain death by mingling with the customers in Grahams' bookmaker's shop at the junction of the Whiterock Road and Falls Road on January 13, 1990. Michael Ritchie of the Committee on the Administration of Justice said they believed it was a prima facie case of murder, and prosecutions should have been brought against the soldiers. However, he said, "the authorities seem absolutely determined that these sorts of incidents are not resolved".

Dublin Corporation to bring in water rates

DUBLIN City Council, which along with Limerick Corporation are the only local authorities in the 26 Counties which do not currently levy local charges, is looking set to introduce water charges in 1995.

Dublin city manager Frank Feeley has indicated that the budget for the upcoming year will include service charges, following the example of the three new county council areas — Fingal, South Dublin and Dún Laoghaire/Rathdown.

An Anti-Water Charges Conference in Dublin on September 24 was told that an intensified campaign against water charges would see plumbers organised to reconnect households who have been cut off for non-payment.

The conference plans a co-ordinated response of advice and assistance if non-payers are summoned to court and protest and lobbies to coincide with court hearings. Organisations represented included ACRA, NATO and local anti-service charges groups.

The Fianna Fáil administration abolished domestic rates after the 1977 general election and simultaneously increased the levels of PAYE and VAT. They gave a commitment at the time that local services would be funded through a Rate Support Grant to local authorities.

This grant has not been increased since 1984, however, and since then local authorities have introduced water, refuse, library and even fire brigade charges.

UNPAID TAXES

One writer in a local Ballymun news sheet pointed out recently that at the same time as these charges are being imposed, the tax inspectors union is on record as saying that if they were given the necessary

staff at least £2 billion in unpaid taxes could be collected!

There is of course no political will in Leinster House to tax their own political backers. Earlier in 1994 the Dublin Minister for the Environment threatened to abolish the new county councils if they refused to levy water rates.

The councillors, many of whom were elected on an anti-water rates platform, swiftly fell in line and voted for the service charges. Their argument in defence of their action was that "local democracy would be abolished".

Apart from the fact that local power in the 26 Counties is the most limited in Europe, it is ironic that the defence of local democracy is put forward as a reason for ignoring the democratic mandate given by the voters.

Especially when the threat of losing their perks and expenses is held in front of them by the Dublin administration!

50TH ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY FOR CHARLIE KERINS

A chara

The 50th Anniversary of the execution of Charlie Kerins, Chief-of-Staff, Irish Republican Army, will take place on Sunday, December 4 next in his native town of Tralee, Co Kerry.

I would appeal to all Republicans and readers of SAOIRSE to attend this ceremony. Not alone would it be a fitting tribute to a noble soldier of Ogligh na hÉireann, but it would also be a rallying point for all true Republicans.

Charlie Kerins gave his life for a 32 County social Republic and nothing less.

MATTELEN

Secretary

Charlie Kerins Memorial Committee

Tralee, Co Kerry

WARNING TO NATIONALLY-MINDED PEOPLE

A chara

A word of warning to nationally-minded people in the Six Counties. An attempt will be made to trap them into the British forces — the RUC. When de Valera took over in 1932 the Free State army and the CID were hated. Fianna Fáil got around it by forming what they called a new army called Frank Aiken's Volunteers and a new branch to replace the CID under Colonel Brody — later called the Brody Harriers and now called Special Branch.

As time went on all were members of the regular state forces. This will be tried in the Six Counties in the future. Don't be fooled — don't get caught in the web or you will be a member of the RUC. We did long prison terms in Arbour Hill and the Glasshouse prisons for showing them up in the Thirties.

I am now 82 years of age and it will be said that people like me are senile. When Fianna Fáil banned the great and noble Brian O'Higgins' Wolfe Tone Annual they said he was senile.

Brian replied "I was born the same year as de Valera and I am 20 years younger than the head of the 26-County state — Douglas Hyde".

MARTIN CALLIGAN
Sinn Féin Poblachtaich
Kilmurry McMahon
Co Clare

PEACE PROCESS OR PROCESSED PEACE?

A chara

I write to comment on the alleged Peace Process or is it a processed peace? The Americans won the cold war, as part of their new world order they took a decision to try to

enforce peace in Somalia, Haiti and bring the Palestinian conflict to a halt.

Our former comrades 'Na Scaidach' who still claim to be Republican (they use the name Sinn Féin and use the name Irish Republican Army) have entered into an alliance with collaborationist such as Hume and Reynolds. "They have turned to that most treacherous



•Brits are dug in deep in the Six Counties - see letter 'First Impressions of Derry City'.

class of the Irish people—the moneyed and politically privileged those who rejoiced at the death of Connolly", IRA Army Council Statement, Easter 1986.

Gerry Adams do you forget what Wolfe Tone said regarding 'the men of no property'? Or Tone's comrade Henry Joy McCracken in his final letter to his sister "The rich always betrayed the poor".

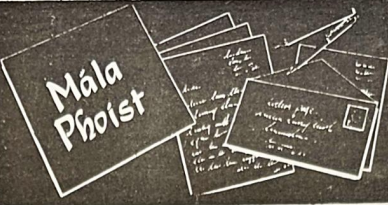
To quote Connolly, "The working class are the sole incorruptible inheritors of the fight for Irish freedom". In eight years this former section of the Republican Movement have dropped from strident revolutionary to armed reformists to a pro-socialist democrat civil rights organisation.

John Joe McGill said at the 1986 Ard Fheis, during which the Republic was betrayed, "A year before the split of 1969 it was clear that the then leadership had abandoned Irish freedom, but today we have an army which has been fighting for 16 years and will continue to fight until British rule is ended".

In Ireland history keeps repeating itself. In 1942 in his last letter to Hugh McAteer, IRA Chief-of-Staff, Tom Williams said "But shall we make the mistake of '21? No, No 'tis men like you and your staff will see to it that no farcial so-called treaty shall in anyway be signed by a bunch of weak-kneed and willed Irishmen. Better would be that the heavens would open and send fire to accept another treaty like it. In writing this dear Hugh, do not think that I am saying it to you or the gallant soldiers of Ogligh na hÉireann, it is from my heart that it comes to the ignorant Irishmen who put any trust in England".

Today, what the lad who 'lies in a Belfast Prison Grave' said in 1942 is even more relevant. We of Sinn Féin Poblachtaich have no quarrel with the grassroot Provisional activist. They are being misled by their leaders.

Dodie McGuinness, Provisional Councillor in Derry



City spoke recently at a meeting organised by the Irish Bands Association (This organisation banned the sale of Republican Sinn Féin literature at their rallies in Glasgow. The reason was "RSF have been causing adverse publicity for the Republican Movement". In very bad taste came this ban the day after the British lifted their broadcasting ban).

McGuinness said "We are leaving dealing with the loyalist death squads to the British government".

In 1972 the Stickies declared a ceasefire but at least still maintained the right to defend nationalist areas. In 1994 "The only army capable of defending the nationalist community" abandoned, as in 1969, the defence of the nationalists, to the British army and RUC.

In conclusion I'd just like to say to Gerry Adams etc, The sacrifices of revolutionary war cannot be justified by mere reform. We will have our 32-County Irish Republic irrespective of what Hume/Reynolds and their US allies have in store.

An Phoblacht Ail
BRIÁN ÓHANLUÍAN
Ghliascú, Albain.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF DERRY CITY

A chara

Having recently arrived in Derry from 'foreign parts' I felt obliged to write so I can convey my first impressions of this Irish city in the wake of the apparently new conditions which ushered in the Provisionals' capitulation.

Approaching the main city across the Craigavon Bridge I was taken with the towering spires of St. Columb's and St. Eugene's Cathedrals, but I was drawn away from their fairytale splendour at the sound of a dull whirring high above. Yes, you've guessed it, Brits in the

sky, and I was immediately reminded that this was not the second city of ecclesiastical Ireland as much as it was the second city of British-occupied Ireland.

Nearby at the bus station tourists and visitors to Derry were met by a threatening shady figure, fully armed and loosely described as a policeman, patrolling by the entrance. Then, no sooner would they have taken their first few steps around the city when they would be confronted by a joint RUC/British army motorcade such as I saw tearing along the Strand Road.

These sights, combined with closed circuit television cameras, concrete bollards, fortified bases and watchtowers did not at any time indicate to me, as a newcomer to the city that anything is about to change, or indeed has changed since the struggle began.

Also the piecemeal cosmetic surgery the Provisionals call demilitarisation, and which is, needless to say, completely unacceptable to Republicans as a solution, is not in itself apparent either. Even a headless Irishman could see that the Crown Forces have dug in deep here and the last thing that is going to extricate them is street protest. Have the Provos here forgotten what street protest achieved the last time it was mobilised? I, and many other Republicans haven't — 14 unarmed civilians shot dead in broad daylight.

Those in this city who now hang out their tricolours as a symbol of what they perceive to be victory should hang their heads in shame for betrayal does not equal victory. Because betrayal is the only word for those who have consigned 25 years of the most valorous struggle to the waste bin for a seat among the lords of partition and oppression.

Despite what I'm told here I have yet to enter free Derry and between you, me and the Provos, I'm beginning to wonder if it exists at all, either now or in the near future.

MAIRÍN Ó CATHÁIN

RE: JOLLY PLOUGHBOY SONG

A chara

Can any of your readers assist me with an author's name?

*Oh I am a merry ploughboy
And I plough the fields all day*

Till the liking came within my mind

*That I should run away,
Oh I am tired of civilian life
Since the say that I was born*

*So I'm off to join the IRA
And I'm off tomorrow morn.*

It is said to be based upon an English midlands pastoral song, and indeed its author may have resided there.

It will be footnoted in my forthcoming (May 1995) *Curragh Testimony: The IRA in the Twilight Years 1923-1948*, a 600-page work containing 100 specially prepared and never before seen photographs. I would be very pleased to know this author's name.

UINSEANN MACEOIN
BÁC

FALLEN FOR THE BRIT

A chara

During his time as President of Sinn Féin Eamon de Valera spared no effort to try and convince the Irish people that he was the man to lead them to freedom.

His greed for power was the driving force, together with his determination and political ability.

His hold on Republicans was so great that when he broke with the movement in 1926 many sincere people followed him in the belief that he was still right. Before long they were to find out they he was to become a bitter enemy of Irish Republicanism.

A similar situation exists in the country at present. Over the years Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin President, along with his top brass have been presenting themselves as the standard bearers of the Republican cause. The people trusted them, as is evident from election results in recent years.

Great must be the disappointment of these people when their so-called leaders let them down. Adams and friends, who carried the coffins of murdered Republicans, waved the Tricolour at commemorations, have fallen for the Brit.

A new Stormont, open border roads, the promise of a seat at some conference table, USA visas for a select few. These concessions fall short of the demand for a 32-County Republic.

Wouldn't it be honourable of these people if, like de Valera, they would re-name their grouping and not be stealing the Republican mantle and name?

Remember the old song: "Take it down from the mast Irish traitor."

Le beannacht ar son na Poblachta.

PA Mac SAMHRAIN
An Moileann Iaraínn
Cabhán

US VIEW OF CURRENT PROCESS

A chara

Pendar Mac Fhínn, in *Fenian Notes* (October issue) at last raises an issue which, like many others, seems to have been obscured by the premature euphoria of even the most recent developments. That issue is the role of the United States Government in the peace process and even more importantly, its motives.

There is much to question in Ireland and elsewhere, such as the so-called New World Order and the imposition of American-style democracy and American notions of economic reform upon other nations. It is wise to recall how the US armed the Nicaraguan Contras, how it befriended then bombed Saddam Hussein and General Noriega.

It's a good idea that the US grants Most Favoured Nation Status to China and allows Congress to become Israeli-occupied territory, like Palestine. The US protects its own interests above all else, no matter what lip service is paid to higher principles.

The US has given the Haitian people American-brand democracy by installing a puppet president whose three year exile has neutralised him into a champagne marxist who will fill his cabinet with the elite class.

What *de facto* British control would the US put in place in a "peaceful" Six Counties? What kind of political and sectarian cleansing will it achieve with visas?

Remember President Clinton looking so smugly as Arafat and Rabin shook hands at the White House, and consider if the plight of the Palestinians has improved or perhaps deteriorated since then? When an Israeli dies, Arafat's police raid his own people. The settlement building continues "for security reasons". Clinton may get his votes and perhaps a Nobel prize but will the Irish people get their chance to vote for a united Ireland.

ANNETTE MUDZISZ
Chicago, Illinois, USA

UNITED IRELAND NOT ON AGENDA

A chara

The recent raids and arrests by the 26-County Special Branch of Republican Sinn Féin members only goes to prove what organisation has been saying all along — that a united Ireland is not on the agenda of Major or Reynolds. And that anyone who calls for national self-determination for the Irish people without outside interference will be subject to arrest, intimidation and harassment.

TOM RYAN, PRO
Liam Mellows Cumann,
Dublin Central

Brit propoganda breaking US criminal law

IN A new book published early in November entitled *Don't Mention the War: Northern Ireland, Propaganda and the Media*, author David Miller alleges that the British government is engaged in semi-covert and illegal propoganda operations in the United States, particularly in relation to the Six Counties.

The book reveals the existence of the propoganda unit, the London Radio Service (LRS), based at the Central Office of Information (COI) in London. The service produces its own news reports mainly featuring government ministers and excluding opposition parties and other government critics.

According to COI sources, the Service is more sophisticated than previous Foreign Office-run propoganda efforts. One LRS journalist is quoted on page 126 as saying: "... you can't take the old approach by saying there's good guys and bad guys, and the bad guys have to be shown ... having babies. Now you have to be totally impartial, while still pushing the line."

LRS bulletins are supplied free of charge and copyright restrictions to radio stations around the world. Their most

important target is the USA where a potential market of 10,000 radio stations is available. According to the COI, LRS bulletins are broadcast by the recipient station "as if it were its own".

MANAGING NEWS COVERAGE

In the United States, the British government has expended considerable effort in managing news coverage of the conflict in the Six Counties. Under US Foreign Agents Registration Act, all publicity and propoganda material emanating from a "foreign principal" is required to be identified as such. Yet, as Miller reveals in this book, the products of the London Radio Service are not identified as the product of the British government, nor are copies lodged with the Department of

Justice as required. This constitutes a criminal offence under United States law.

Don't Mention the War also chronicles the continuing use of misinformation and deception by official sources in the Six Counties. The British government claims that disinformation is used only for "absolutely honourable security reasons". However, Miller demonstrates in the book that disinformation has been used to protect British Crown Forces personnel from the due process of law and to legitimise what would otherwise be regarded by the media, the public and the legal process as extra judicial executions.

The author was, according to the publishers, Pluto Press, "given unprecedented access to senior officials and key spokespersons for all the major political groupings in the Six Counties". He paints a disturbing picture of the success of media managers in manipulating the news and public opinion.

(Don't Mention the War will be reviewed in *SAOIRSE* in the December issue.)

Provo political repression continues in Belfast

A further incident has taken place in the campaign of political repression being organised by the Provo so-called police against Republican Sinn Féin. They have attempted to prevent the collection of signatures in a campaign calling for a single All-Ireland referendum on Ireland's future.

In a statement Republican Sinn Féin said that on Friday, October 14 the young member in question attended a function in a West Belfast club run by a pipe band from Co Antrim. She asked the organisers for permission to seek signatures at the social and that was granted.

The statement went on: "She had received 31 signatures when a Provisional supporter who was present refused to sign. He then apparently made a complaint to the barman who took no action. Later she was told there was a man at the door of the club who sought to speak to her and wanted to take possession of the list of names. This message was relayed twice to her but she refused to comply. (The text of the petition is in the public domain so it could only be the names and addresses that were of interest, thus exposing those signatories to intimidation.)

"When eventually our member left the premises with another girl, two men sitting

in a white car outside shone their headlights on them. The two girls were then driven to another club in North Belfast but were followed all the way by the same car.

"When their own car circled they lost the white car but it picked them up again later on and resumed the 'tail'. At the North Belfast club our member was visited by a Belfast member of the Ard-Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin and the list of names is now deposited at Head Office in Dublin.

"In the past sellers of our newspaper *SAOIRSE*, Easter Lily distributors and Prisoners Dependents Fund collectors have been told to desist and were threatened by Provisionals. During September such activities have resumed.

WOMEN ACTIVISTS THREATENED

"Two women activists in South Armagh were threatened while in Belfast on October 3 a

Downing Street Declaration, sheaded.

The ICCL/CAJ report is available for £3.50 from ICCL.

Republican Sinn Féin supporter was abducted, hooded, interrogated, threatened and told "Republican Sinn Féin would be run out of Belfast".

"We call on all publicity outlets to give space to these events as the only means of stopping them. We shall report them as is usual to reliable third parties and ask them to log them.

"Further Comhairle Uladh, our Ulster Executive, at its meeting on Sunday, October 16, directed all members and supporters not to co-operate with the so-called Provisional police since such action could prove to be a trap for them personally as had happened in Belfast recently.

"Republican Sinn Féin will not be intimidated by the terror tactics of the new Broy Harriers. We shall continue with our political activities and we invite the media to investigate and report on this new repression at the hands of those who in classic fashion are being sucked into the establishment.

"They want to silence us, their former comrades who by our political analysis and commentary are pricking their consciences and exposing their sell-out to the Irish people."

35-36 Arran Quay, Dublin 7 and from the CAJ, 45-47 Donegall Street, Belfast BT1 3FE, Co Antrim.

'Emergency' goes, oppressive laws remain

OPPRESSIVE laws in Britain and in both states in Ireland should be scrapped and the Special Criminal Court and the Offences Against the State Act should be ended along with the 'state of emergency' in the 26 Counties, a public meeting in Dublin on October 26 was told.

On Tuesday, Dublin Minister for Justice Máire Geoghegan-Quinn announced that the state of emergency, in force in the 26 Counties since 1976, would be ended shortly. However the emergency laws contained in the Offences Against the State Act (OASA) and the juries Special Criminal Court would be

retained, she said.

The ending of the state of emergency is therefore a largely cosmetic exercise with no tangible benefit for ordinary citizens. A previous emergency existed in the 26 Counties between 1939, when the OASA was enacted and 1976.

Speaking at the meeting lawyer Michael Farrell of the

Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL) said the emergency laws in the 26 Counties had already been criticised by the UN Human Rights Committee. He said a review of cases of prisoners tried by the Special Criminal Court was also needed as had happened when the previous special court was disbanded in 1962. The ICCL and the Belfast-based Committee on the Administration of Justice were jointly launching a report on civil rights in Ireland entitled *The States We Are In*.

Christine Bell, on behalf of

the CAJ, said that emergency legislation facilitated human rights abuses and was therefore "part of the problem, not part of the solution". In the Six Counties, despite the ceasefire, there were continued claims of police harassment.

Mechanisms such as the denial of access to lawyers by a defendant during detention and questioning, together with the courts' power to infer guilt from silence, violated minimum international standards for a fair trial. The British government had ignored the question of human rights in the

DÍLSEACHT

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

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

IRISH FREEDOM PRESS

ORDER NOW FOR CHRISTMAS

- *Republican Wexford Remembers 1922-1923... Séamus Mac Swain £3.00
- *Longford/Dundalk Remembers £1.50
- *Tom Harte and his comrades £2.50
- *50th Anniversary booklet detailing the story of Maurice O'Neill executed by the Free State, November 1942 £2.00
- *Who framed Colin Wallace? ... Paul Foot £4.95
- Irish Reporter £1.80
- Cateach Troda agus Scéalta Eile. Pádraig Ó Baoighill £4.50
- *Frongoch ... Seán Ó Mahony £4.00
- *Anne Devlin, Patriot and Heroine ... John Finegan £3.95
- *Tragedies of Kerry ... Dorothy Macardle £2.50
- The Missing Sex - Putting Women into Irish History £2.99
- Margaret Ward £2.99
- *The Trial of the IRA Five ... Thomas J Cox £15.00
- *My Fight for Irish Freedom ... Dan Breen £6.95
- *No Other Law ... Florence O'Donoghue £5.95
- Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal ... Dr Brian Murphy £10.50
- Soul of Fire, Mary MacSwiney ... Charlotte Fallon £3.95
- Breaking the Deadlock ... Robert Heatley £1.50
- The Unlucky Jack of Ireland ... Jack O'Brien £7.99
- Ernie O'Malley Books: *Raids and Rallies £7.50
- *On Another Man's Wound £7.95
- *The Singing Flame £7.99
- The Civil War Letters of Ernie O'Malley £2.5
- *The Murder Machine ... PH Pearse £5.95
- *Guerrilla Days in Ireland ... Tom Barry £3.95
- *Broadening the Battlefield ... Liam Clarke £3.95
- The Last Post ... NGA

- Under Contract With The Enemy ... Kevin Boland £4.95
- *Easter Rising in Song and Ballad ... C Desmond Greaves £4.95
- *Thebald Wolfe Tone and the Irish Nation ... C Desmond Greaves £7.00

Books with asterisks * denote titles available also from PO Box 1053, South Orange, New Jersey 07079, USA. Please add post/package when ordering

- NEW BOOKS ... NEW BOOKS ... NEW BOOKS
- *Ulster's White Negroes - from Civil Rights to Insurrection ... £5.95
- ... Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh £1.00
- Civil Rights? Stormont Wrongs ... Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh £6.99
- On the Arm of Time ... Míchéal Ó Cúinneagáin £5
- Dord na bhFiann ... Domhnall Ó Lúbhail £9.95
- *They have failed you again - Michael O'Flanagan, Priest, Republican, Social Critic ... Denis Carroll £12.99
- *The SAS in Ireland ... Raymond Murray £8.95
- *In Search of a State - Catholics in Northern Ireland ... Fionnuala O'Connor £14.95
- Women in Early Modern Ireland ... Margaret MacCurtain and Mary Dowd £6.99
- *Requiem for a Spy ... Anthony Bradley £6.50
- Kevin Barry and his Time ... Donal O'Donovan £12.99
- The Irish Troubles ... J Bowyer Bell £3.95
- The Brudgruders' Guide to Irish Politics ... Brendan Ó hÉithir £6.99
- Web of Punishment ... Carol Coulter

Send cash with orders plus post/package to: IRISH FREEDOM PRESS 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7

- Lip Pamphlet - Glass Slippers and Tough Bargains ... Maureen Gaffney £2.99
- Sinn Féin, the first election 1908 ... Ciarán Ó Duibhir £4.95
- The Irish Hunger Strike ... Tom Collins £7.95
- The Centre Cannot Hold ... Tom Collins £7.95
- An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993 ... Malcolm Sutton £9.95
- Nor Meekly Serve My Time - The H-Block Struggle 1976-1981 ... £9.95
- Drawing Support (Murals in the Six Counties) ... £10.95
- Is Ireland a Third World Country ... £4.50

SINN FEIN POBLACHTACH Policy Documents Towards a Peaceful Ireland 40p for p&p ÉIRE NUA - A New Democracy £1.00 SAOL NUA - A New Way of Life 70p

T-shirts: 800 Years is Too Long - Brits Out - two-colour on black Put it Back Thief Now!; Freedom to Ireland 26+6=1; Ulster has 9 counties, Brits Out! White £6 White £5 plus p&p

Sweat-shirts: 26+6=1; Put it Back Thief Now! ... two-colour on black or navy £9.00 1916 Proclamations; Plaques: 1916 Leaders / Hunger Strikers £1.00 Brits Out pens and keyrings 60p Brits Out lighters £1 James Connolly badges (metal) £2.50 Metal Easter Lily badges £2.00

H/B£10.50

CHARLIE KERINS SENTENCED TO HANG

50 YEARS AGO

DURING November and early December 1944 there was heavy fighting on the Western Front but only minor Allied gains were registered.

On the Eastern Front, the Soviets broke into the Balkans and overran Bulgaria, Rumania and much of Hungary. All three countries promptly changed aides under Soviet-controlled governments.

However in the Far East a dramatic event had taken place during October. When forced to evacuate his forces from the Philippine Islands in the spring of 1942 US General Douglas MacArthur vowed publicly: "I shall return".

On October 20, 1944 as commander of the Allied forces in the south-eastern Pacific, MacArthur personally led the liberation of the Philippines and waded ashore to Leyte Island, two and a half years after he had pledged to retake the islands from the Japanese.

Two Japanese naval striking forces composed of battleships and cruisers converged on Leyte Gulf to destroy MacArthur's landing force and all seaborne supplies and reinforcements. They were defeated on October 25 by the US Seventh Fleet. The most powerful Japanese naval force to be encountered since the Battle of Midway in June 1942 was destroyed.

This battle was a much more important victory than the Americans realised. They knew they had defeated the major Japanese naval force in the Philippines. What they did not know was that this had been the only major naval force the Japanese still possessed.

Had they known after Leyte that they were already supreme at sea, the US forces might have fought the rest of WWII in a different way and might have spared many lives.

CRUEL MESSENGER

As it was, however, they thought that they needed yet more islands before launching a direct attack on Japan itself. Hindsight, especially as regards warfare, can indeed be a cruel messenger.

Meanwhile, in Collins Barracks, Dublin Charlie Kerins (26) of Tralee, Co Kerry, the last active wartime Chief-of-Staff of the IRA appeared before the Military Tribunal. The Dublin Administration had decided to send him before a Special Criminal Court staffed by military officers rather than the drumhead Special Military Court or the ordinary court.

He was charged with the death of Detective-Sergeant Dinny O'Brien in Dublin in September



● Charlie Kerins

1942. "As a soldier of the Irish Republican Army", he refused to recognise the court.

In this his attitude was the same as that of Section-Leader Kevin Barry 24 years earlier. When charged with the "murder" of a British soldier in combat he had replied: "As a soldier of the Irish Republic I refuse to recognise the court". Barry had then read a newspaper for the remainder of his court-martial. Other direct links with Kevin Barry's fate will be mentioned later.

Harry White mentions the legal line-up against Charlie Kerins: "McLoughlin, Murnaghan, Hooper and Humphries along with the military officers Bennett, Joyce, Whelan and Tuite being arrayed against him".

The case brought by the 26-County state was that Kerins had the "motive, means and opportunity" to take O'Brien's life. The evidence was entirely circumstantial.

BROY HARRIERS

O'Brien had been a member of the Broy Harriers and was very diligent in hunting down IRA members. Kerins was on his own admission an IRA member, had control of arms and was on the run at the time O'Brien was shot in Co Dublin by four men who escaped on bicycles.

A bicycle abandoned a couple of hundred yards from the scene was alleged to have half a thumbprint on it which corresponded with Kerins's. But then many bicycles were used at that time by the IRA Headquarters Staff and these were interchanged frequently among the officers. Besides there was quite an industry of bicycle stealing during WWII.

Bell says: "The government was quite sure that Kerins had given the order to kill Sergeant O'Brien, even if he had not fired the shot, so no one was too fussy about the details of his case. On October 9, as expected, Kerins was found guilty and sentenced to hang."

DELAYED SENTENCE

Cogogan's version is interesting: "At the end of his trial (sic) the president of the Military Court delayed sentence until later in the day to allow Kerins, if he so wished, to make an application whereby he might have avoided the capital sentence. When the court resumed Kerins said:

"You could have adjourned it for six years as far as I'm concerned, as my attitude to this court will always be the same". He thus deprived himself of the right to give evidence, to face cross-examination or to call witnesses." Apparently the adjournment had been for six hours, but it made no impression on Charles Kerins.

Cronin is more penetrating in his account: "O'Brien was a member of the Four Courts garrison with his two brothers when the Civil War began in June 1922. He had remained in the IRA until after Fianna Fáil came to power. He joined the 'Broy Harriers', defenders of the state against the Blueshirts. During the war he became an assiduous hunter of the IRA."

Cronin then quotes Aaron S Brown, Second Secretary, in a report from the US Legation in Dublin to the Secretary of State in Washington. His report was dated October 21, 1944 and

having referred to prominent sympathisers and the formation of a new Republican Party, etc it noted that some of the material read into the trial record was censored, "indicating that the government was using the case for political purposes".

SPECIALLY EMPLOYED

The Legation report continued: "Other evidence to the fact that O'Brien had formerly been a member of the IRA and that this was a motive for the murder could not be printed by the newspapers. It indicated that O'Brien and others of his unit were specially employed to watch the activities of the IRA because of their former connections with it.

"The censor also would not permit the newspaper to print the names and addresses of certain witnesses, at least one of whom was obviously frightened about identifying Kerins."

Cronin goes on: "In the Dáil (sic), Jim Larkin (Junior) asked about the use of the censorship to prohibit an advertisement for a Kerins reprieve rally. This was justified by de Valera as necessary 'to maintain order and preserve the state and to prevent an organisation getting ahead and using this as a cloak for reorganisation."

"Larkin, Dan Spring and Paddy Finucane, an independent Republican deputy from Kerry, were suspended by the Ceann Comhairle when they insisted on pursuing the matter in the Dáil."

"The US Legation reported on December 11, after the execution, that 'Kerins's friends sought by every means to have the sentence delayed and commuted but the government was able to lessen the force of the appeals by the use of censorship and the police power'. A newspaper story out of Tralee on local reaction to the case was banned by censorship.

"It was not the pitifully weak IRA of November 1944 that de Valera feared but its power to mobilise Republican support in times of crisis. As he had told Lord Cranborne in December 1941, the IRA represented that 'section who, on account of our history and the existence of partition, were still strongly opposed' to Britain (quoted from de Valera's own memorandum of the meeting: see de Valera p 394).

"Because of the IRA, neutrality was the only policy the Irish state could pursue in the second world war. De Valera would never forget the example of John Redmond who had been driven from the political stage by his own generation of 1916 rebels. He made sure it would not happen a second time.

(More next month. Refs: *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell; *The IRA* by Tim Pat Coogan; *Harry by Harry White*; *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-1986* by Seán Cronin and Kevin Barry and *His Time* by Dónal O'Donovan.)

Brón ar an mBás

Tomás Mac Curtáin

Republicans at home in Ireland and in exile were deeply saddened by the death in Cork on October 16 of Tomás Mac Curtáin, formerly OC Cork No 1 of Brigáde, Irish Republican Army. He was 79.

A son of Lord Mayor Mac Curtáin of that city, he was five years of age when his father was assassinated in his own home by British forces in 1920. Tomás Mac Curtáin joined the Republican Movement at the age of 16 and by the late 1930s was recognised nationally as a leading Republican. In 1940 he was sentenced to be hanged by the Military Tribunal for the death of a Special Branch man but was reprieved with hours to go to execution.

HUNGER STRIKE

While on remand he spent 56 days on a hunger strike for political treatment during which two hunger-striking comrades died. Moved to

Portlaoise Jail following reprieve he refused to wear convict uniform and led a strike which resulted in his spending seven years clad only in a prison blanket, the first three of which were in continual solitary confinement.

Another comrade died on hunger and thirst strike before a change of government in the 26 Counties led to an amnesty for political prisoners in 1948. Tomás Mac Curtáin was prominently associated with the 1956 IRA Campaign and he was again imprisoned this time in Mountjoy and later interned without trial at the Curragh. He stood as a Sinn Féin candidate in the Co Armagh constituency

in 1955 when he polled over 21,000 votes and again in East Cork in 1957.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin, who was associated with him in the 1950s, paid tribute to him: "He was at that time the public face of the IRA, being the link with the past and the proven prison martyr. He was admired as such by the 1950s generation of Republican youth and was an inspiration on both sides of the Border as well as among Irish exiles.

MOST HONOURABLE

"A fellow-blanket man of Portlaoise described him as most honourable, bringing great dignity to their unknown ordeal during the war years and afterwards. To my own knowledge he carried this through as OC Republican internees in the Curragh in the 1950s. A fluent Irish speaker, he lectured to fellow-prisoners there on Brian Merriman's *Sáirt an Mheán-Oíche*. His pride in his heritage and his devotion to the Republican Cause carried him through all his trials. Ar

dheis Dé go raibh a nam usal calma."

The removal took place from Cork Regional Hospital to St Columba's Church, Douglas on October 17 and was largely attended. The coffin was draped in the Tricolour and a lone piper played *The First Cork Brigáde*.

The attendance included comrades who had served with him: Kitty O'Brien, Cumann na mBan; Derrick McKenna, Cahersiveen; Mick McCarthy, Mick Fitzgibbon and Donnacadh Ó Murchú, all of Cork.

Representatives of a younger generation included Alfie Lane, Timmy O'Connor and John O'Neill of Republican Sinn Féin. The Lord Mayor of Cork, Clr Falvey was also in attendance.

After 11am Mass the following morning the funeral took place to St Finbarr's Cemetery. At the Republican Plot the cortege halted briefly while a wreath was placed on the grave of Tomás's father, also Tomás Mac Curtáin who was assassinated by British Crown Forces in his home on March 20, 1920. (It was his

36th birthday and his 50th day as first Republican Lord Mayor of Cork.)

Tomás Mac Curtáin is survived by his wife Mai, daughters Órla and Finola, sisters Éilís, Síle and Dr Máire, and grandchildren. He was predeceased by his son Tomás Óg.

In the course of an interview with the *Cork Evening Echo* his sister Dr Máire Mac Curtáin Ward said: "He (Tomás) was a convinced, adamant Republican. He lived and died by the principle".

Ba Ghaeilgeoiri liofa é comh maith, Gaeilge ghlhan Mhúscraí ara thoil aige agus ior leas leis i a labhairt. An comhrua fada deira a bhí ag Ruairí Ó Brádaigh leis i 1983 i gCorcaigh, is i nGaeilge ar fad a bhí sé.

Is dona ag Phoblachtáin bás Thomáis. Ritheada rún chomhbhróin lena chlan agus a cháird ar fad ag cruinnú de Ard-Chomhairle Shinn Féin Poblachtach an Satham, Deire Fómhair 22.

Ar Dheis Láimh Dé go raibh anam usal calma Thomáis Mhic Curtáin. Suimne a thaobh aithne ag ainm air agus a oibrigh leasur

son na Cúise, is fearde muid mar bhaill den chime daonna dá bháir sin.

The *Cork Examiner* of October 22 carried the full statement of Tomás Mac Curtáin's address to the Military Tribunal which sentenced him to death in 1940. It was supplied by his family.

TRIBUTE

A wreath-laying ceremony took place at the grave of Tomás Mac Curtáin in St Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork on Sunday, October 23, 1994. Republicans from the 1940s to the present day attended the ceremony which was chaired by Alfie Lane.

A Cumann na mBan Colour Party was in attendance, a decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaeilge by Antín Ó hAnracháin, the Last Post and Reveille was sounded by Pat Varian and a lament played by Norman O'Rourke. Wreaths were laid by Kitty O'Brien on behalf of Cumann na mBan, by Frank Kerrigan on behalf of the Republican Comrades and by John Murphy on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin.

Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin Vice-President, Mary Ward worked in the corridors of power in Washington, DC on September 27 and 28, 1994 on behalf of the Republican Movement of Ireland. Since Gerry Adams and the Provos have gone to the United States to establish a Republican presence, I believe it is appropriate to refer to these former Republicans as the Provisional Republican Movement.

Mrs Ward was ably assisted by Michael Costello of Eire Nua, Inc. of New Jersey and Dr. Fred Burns-O'Brien, a Republican Sinn Féin sympathiser, residing in nearby Virginia. They did not set their sights high, but were realistic in what could be achieved.

The Republican programme was explained to Congressmen and top staffers by Mary Ward. She explained the proposed constituent assembly, the EIRE NUA plan as well as the social programme and took questions giving forth straight answers without equivocation, and drilling home the impetus to it all — a British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland.

The consensus derived from meetings by the delegation was that none of those they met had any fundamental problem with the withdrawal declaration. The Chief of Staff of the House Foreign Affairs Committee (Mike Van Dusen) told the delegation that the Congress would only go to a certain point in pushing the British and no further.

He agreed that the withdrawal declaration would force the Unionists to negotiate on an all-Ireland perspective. He personally was quite interested in the Republican Sinn Féin programme.

Mary Ward also presented the Republican Sinn Féin platform to Congressmen Tom Manton and Peter King, leaders of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish

Affairs. She also spent some time with top staffers for Congressman Joe Kennedy, Rule Committee Chairman Joe Moakley, Foreign Affairs member Ben Gilman, Black Caucus Chairman for Foreign Affairs Donald Payne.

In addition she met Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell, Speaker of the House Tom Foley, Democratic Caucus Chairman Steny Hoyer, and two important chief of staffs, Foley's Mike O'Neill and Foreign Affairs Chief Mike Van Dusen. The latter two spent considerable time with Mrs Ward's delegation.

IN contradistinction to Mary Ward, Gerry Adams, who arrived after her in Washington had set very lofty expectations. The prerequisite for his optimistic presumption was the Morrison Mission to the Six Counties on behalf of the Administration in August, 1994. Morrison offered Adams perks, a peace dividend, for an immediate IRA ceasefire.

WHITE HOUSE ACCESS

Morrison Led Adams to believe there would be White House access just like the other players from Ireland, ie Reynolds, Hume and Molyneux, but he first needed to join the Irish team of Free State and SDLP. Adams bought it, and has been lured into surrender of the 25-year struggle.

When Mr Adams landed in Washington, he met instant resistance in regard to White House contacts. In order to appease him and to keep him viable, a deal was worked out to save face all round.

The Provisional President would not get his meeting with Clinton or Gore, nor be allowed on White House grounds. This was cool off the British who only endorse John Hume for White House contacts.

As a consolation prize, Adams



met at the State Department with less than major figures. He did receive a phone call from Vice-President Gore informing him the ban on Sinn Féin contacts with the Administration had been lifted.

Gerry Adams' partners, Reynolds and Hume, have White House access, but the new player is being manipulated. Let's face it, Adams gets nothing without the imprimatur of John Hume. Once Adams embraced Hume, he relegated himself to second fiddle and he sacrificed Republican principles on the altar of self-aggrandisement.

SURRENDERED

The Provos have surrendered not only to the Brits, but also to the Free State and SDLP. Adams is now on the political dole of John Hume. Senator Kennedy and Speaker Foley listen exclusively to Mr Hume. Kennedy influences Clinton, so Adams has a chain of command to which he must adhere. Mr Adams had been elevated, but at a price, a very high price.

Adams came to Washington as a media star to be sought after, but there was no substance to his visit. Conversely, Mary Ward brought a peace plan which was well received especially by the Speaker of the House's office, his Chief of Staff spent close to an hour listening to and asking questions about EIRENUA.

Mary Ward got Republican Sinn Féin documents to Washington's major players including the White House, National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake was to meet with Gerry Adams, but this was cancelled. Mr Lake's office accepted all the Republican Sinn Féin documents with the assurance they would be studied, and Mr Lake's



• Mary Ward and Tom Foley, Speaker of the US House of Representatives.

assistant acknowledged the difference between the Provos and RSF, and that Adams did not represent all Republicans.

Wherever Adams went in Washington, he had been preceded by Mary Ward. Gerry had been ambushed and he got no free run at the power structure.

CLEAR

What was clear to Congressmen was Adams was part of the British peace process, but Ward had a peace plan spelled out in detail. Adams never met his high expectations, yet Republican Sinn Féin's Vice President far exceeded hers. Adams answers now to Reynolds and Hume, but Mary Ward answers only to the Republican Movement.

WHAT Mary Ward successfully accomplished was to show Congress that Mr Adams did not represent the Republican Movement in its totality, nor did he have the support of all of grassroots Irish America.

For the record Speaker Foley was quite cordial to Mary Ward, a far cry from the grudging meeting he later had with Gerry Adams. She assured that

Mr Adams would be asked questions he didn't want to answer, such as the Provisionals abandonment of the declaration of intent to withdraw by the British.

Well let's give Ian Paisley credit for calling Hume-Reynolds-Adams the Pan-Nationalist Front, for surely they are not Republicans. By the way, Gerry Adams stayed at the Kennedy estate near Washington. What part of his soul did Mr Adams sell for such elitist treatment. Well he is now establishment and the people on the Falls Road should bend a knee as he passes.

The 25-year struggle and the sacrifice of so many was not meant to end in a surrender in order to sit at a table to talk about talks of a British settlement. The war was about a British Declaration of Intent to Withdraw at a future date. After Mary Ward's trip, Congress knows where Republican Sinn Féin stands and they also know where the Provos no longer stand. Our day will come, not with Armani suits for the Provos, but with full self-determination for the people of the 32 Counties. Only then does the struggle end in victory.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

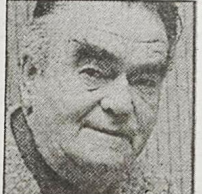
Máirtín Standún

DÉANANN Sinn Féin Poblachtach comhbhrón ó chroí le May, Bean Mháirtín Standún, le Dónall Dearbháil, Caoimhín agus Tomás. Iláthair ag an socráid thar cheann na Gluaiseachta bhí Ruairí Ó Bricáid, Uachtarán; Tomás Ó Curraoin, Bearna; Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil, Gaillimh, Dónall Ó U-Obáin, Mhuineog; Séamas Ó Náraigh, Seán Mac an Iomaire agus sula mór de Phoblachtáigh na Gaillimhe.

Bhí Séamas Ó Mongáin agus Gearóid Ó Maoilmhíchil ina bhean Síle ann comh maith. Léig Joe Steve Ó Neachtain, Gáidhlinn, An Spidéal dán nuachtán aige cois na h-uaigne. Chas Pat Phádraig Tom Ó Conaill an t-amhrán Liam Ó Bhrádaigh, chas Meatai Joe Deaneall Ó Fatharta ceol Uilleall Óg ab'annsa le Máirtín Standún.

Deir Tuarascáil san Irish Times faoi "D'fhág an tréimhse a chaitheadh Máirtín Standún i gceannairdeirí an Churraigh le h-ádhúl ar a shaoil. Ansin a d'bhogáil sé Gaeilige óna áit i tUachtara, Máirtín Ó Cadhain. Mínteoir den scoth réitreach sé féin gur bhí an bháireamhán dalta ab'hearr a bhí ag Máirtín. Go deimhin bhí Gaeilige Chos Pharraige thar ceollí gCannamara."

Cuirteadh Máirtín Standún ina bhean Síle bhábháin Dé Luain 16 Márta 1940. Fómhair, 1994. Tugadh chun an t-scéipéil sa



•Máirtín Standún bpríosún i Mounjoig agus rialtas de Valera. Go mba mídear Flaithes Dé a anam gearl.

STANDÚN

Beidh dórdán dánta is ceol le clos anocht i gCré na Cille Tráth bháilteoidh mairbh roimh fhear den scoth mar charad atá tar éis fílleadh

Ni sa gíllín fuair ar gaolíodh é a scollfarr caint is scéal Beidh Dónal Óg sa t-siorraocht leis mar thíocht óna bhéail.

Thar saile anoir a tháinig sé in aghaidh an t-sruth ar phocail fómhair. Is ba lom an leic a roghnaigh sé chun rútaí a chur i dtalamh.

— Joe Steve

Comhbhrón

AT the last meeting of An Ard Chomhairle votes of sympathy were passed with the families of the following: Michael Flannery, New York and Tipperary; Máirtín Standún, An Spidéal; Tomás Mac Curtáin, Cork and Eddie Joe Gallagher, Mayo.

CULL, Deepest sympathy is expressed to Tommy Cull on the death of his brother Jimmy. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central. FLANNERY, The Central Committee of CABHARR (Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund) extends deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of Michael Flannery, New York who died on September 30.

FLANNERY, The Executive of Cumann na mBan extend sincere sympathy to the family and friends of Michael Flannery, Tipperary and New York, who died on September 30. FLANNERY, Sincere sympathy is extended to the relatives of Michael Flannery, New York, USA. A loyal soldier of the Republic of All Ireland. From the Pádraig Pearse Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Melbourne, Australia. Comrade, tread lightly, your near a hero's grave For there lies a soldier of the Rearguard — of 1994.

FLANNERY, At a meeting of the Mac Curtáin/Mac Suibhne Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Cork during October, a vote of sympathy was passed and two minutes silence was observed to the memory of our friend and comrade the late Michael Flannery. An Irish Lámh Dé go raibh a anam.

FLANNERY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the relatives of Michael Flannery

who died recently. "May the young man be faithful forever to the cause. When the deathless Republic of Ireland Is rescued from slavery and shame I ask for only a place in her memory. And a soldier's salute to my name."

From Brian Ó hAnluáin, Glashú. FLANNERY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Moloney and Flannery families, New York and Ireland, on the death of their uncle Michael on September 30, 1994. May his soul and the soul of all the faithful departed rest in peace. National Executive and membership of Cumann na Saoirse — The Irish Freedom Committee, USA join Republicans worldwide in mourning the death of our esteemed founder and life trustee, Michael J Flannery. We who stood with you will continue to work. Death cannot break the bonds nor erase the memories.

FLANNERY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Michael Flannery, New York, whose death occurred on September 30, 1994. From the Liam Mellows Cumann, Dublin Central. An arís Dé go raibh a anam usáil.

FLANNERY, Sincerest sympathy is offered to Eileen and Noel Moloney and family and friends of Michael Flannery, Tipperary and New York, fearless fighter and unrepentant Republican, who died on September 30 last. From Cathleen Knowles, Dublin. Go ndéana Dia tróicire ar a anam dílis.

FLANNERY, Deepest sympathy is expressed to the relatives of Michael Flannery,

Tipperary and New York and Patron of Republican Sinn Féin, who died on September 30. From Cumann na Wolfe Tone, Tamlacht, BÁC. LIDDY, Deepest sympathy is expressed to Vincent Liddy and family on the death of Vincent's wife Kitty, from Michael Hegarty.

MAC CURTÁIN, At a recent meeting of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, a vote of sympathy was passed to the family of Tomás Mac Curtáin, Cork who died recently. MAC CURTÁIN, Sincere sympathy is expressed to the wife and children of Tomás Mac Curtáin, who died in October. From Cumann Mac Curtáin/Mac Suibhne, Republican Sinn Féin, Cork.

MAC CURTÁIN, The Executive of Cumann na mBan extend deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Tomás Mac Curtáin, Cork who died recently. Leaba i measc na bhFínni go raibh acu.

VOTES of sympathy were passed and a minute's silence observed in memory of the following at the October meeting of Comhairle na Mumhan: Vincent Liddy and family on the death of Kitty and the niece and nephews of Michael Flannery who died on October 30.

VOTES of sympathy were passed at the October meeting of Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath with Tomny O'Neill on the death of his son and with the family of Michael Flannery who died recently.

I gCuirmhne

McNamara, Michael — 2nd Anniversary. In proud memory of Michael McNamara, Doora, O'Callaghan Mills, Co Clare on this his 2nd anniversary. From his friend Michael Hegarty.



BRITISH RUSE CHEQUEMATES PROVISIONALS

BRITISH diplomacy's chessmasters in the game to trap Gerry Adams and his settlement-seeking Provisionals have succeeded in leaving no escape from the military encasulation of the nationalist armed struggle.

Peace-declaring leaders of the loyalist death squads have been given a Whitehall veto which effectively makes the Six Counties' non-unionists, and the rest of the Irish opponents of Partition and colonial conquest, hostages to the Shankill murder gangs and allies.

By offering "reformed, religion-finding" Gusto Spence, a convicted killer of Catholics, a guarantee that the Union is safe, and a financial reward for making the loyalist ceasefire conditional on nationalist acquiescence, the British have cut off the retreat route.

The centuries-experienced Whitehall war hawks have accomplished by trickery what their armed services were unable to do in 25 years of combat. Gerry Adams and company will be blamed for any breach of the Provisionals' ill-conceived and one-sided ceasefire.

Not only that. Loyalists threaten retaliation against the innocent victims of the ghettos if Dublin or London administrations are perceived to be too intrusive into northern affairs.

British premier John Major can be pleased with 26 Counties collusion in his plan to bribe loyalist murderers and bully opponents of the occupation. Albert Reynolds' answer to the threats was to invite trusty Gusto and fringe loyalist parties to join the embryonic Forum for Peace and Reconciliation!

For the present, the Whitehall paymasters and the War Office strategists have halted the independence struggle. Gerry Adams was warned against too close an encounter with the wily Pail Mall pals of the old moneyed power that robbed an empire, but felt he was too clever to be taken in.

But now he has been chequed by earls and barons rich enough to keep Ireland divided.

INSTEAD OF A JUST PEACE, IT'S THE PARAS

INSTEAD of a just and lasting settlement to the Irish question, the British answer is to increase the military pressure on the Six Counties, notably with the provocative return of a fresh battalion from the infamous Parachute Regiment, most notorious for its Bloody Sunday massacre of civil rights protesters in Derry nearly 23 years ago.

The recently deceased former head chaplain for Catholics in the British armed forces, Bishop Tickle, shamed the Church by propagating the untruth that all 14 killed on that dreadful day bore arms and fired first when mown down by the cowardly Paras.

It is a deceit that has never been withdrawn despite overwhelming evidence from platform speakers who included Westminster Labour MPs and many neutral international observers.

They were as one in stating that the civil rights rally was peacefully conducted and that the lie that it was a cover for a guerrilla-style attack on the khaki gunners was a gutter response from irresponsible representatives of the occupation establishment.

Socialist MP for Chesterfield, Tony Benn, who have up an earldom inheritance in order to fight the party of sleaze, and the Conservatives are now being perceived among their own disillusioned supporters, campaigned almost alone in the House of Cards to try to summon fellow parliamentarians to a sense of decency. To small avail.

But it did have one long-term result: disillusionment among a majority of British voters with the militarisation of the North, and the Troops Out Movement across the water has done more to highlight the continuing injustices of direct or army rule than ever emanated from the Kildare Street serfs in silk shirts, who prefer comfortable subjection to the dangers of contesting the evils of alien government.

Having declared severe cutbacks in navy, airforce and army numbers in order to save the Tories about £1 billion annually, there has been a rapid turnabout in policy since the Provisionals announced an indefinite ceasefire.

A PENTAGON PAY-OFF

BEFORE the claimed new Gulf crisis, John Major's Washington friends persuaded the Pentagon that Britain, as the chief western ally of the United States, required

support if it was to maintain its strength in NATO.

In other words, if the US desired to keep the island of Britain as a permanent aircraft carrier for its expansionist foreign policies, there would have to be extra cash made available.

This has been done through miscellaneous expenses which add up to multi-millions in secret reserve dollars that are usually employed to pay spies and informers in Haiti, Cuba, and—in the past—throughout the now shrunken Soviet power bloc.

One consequence, which was almost completely ignored by Tory critics, was the emergence of a new recruiting campaign for 13,000 troops and 750 officers. Defence cuts? Tut, tut. This was a safeguard against a national emergency.



●British paratrooper with another British soldier in the Beechmount area of west Belfast at the end of October.

That phoney requirement was met, fortuitously, or through the machinations of CIA agents who penetrated the Iraqi military command structures, Kuwait border manoeuvres mounted by a besieged Saddam Hussein, whose dictatorship was irritating other ambitious generals and colonels.

Saddam, himself a former CIA chief agent for the Iran-Iraq area, a poacher turned gamekeeper, had to show macho muscle in face of soaring hardships for his sanctions-hit population, suffering food and other essential goods shortages. He also had to prove to ambitious subordinates that he had not lost his appetite to fight the American infidels.

Once the Gulf show is off the road, Britain will be better placed in terms of military hardware and subsidised extramanpower, and all the aspirations of Gerry Adams and company can be safely short-circuited. The return of the Paras is a symbol of that aggressive intent against northern nationalists.

British diplomacy (a euphemism for duplicity) has achieved a major objective in getting the Provisionals to call a unilateral or one-sided ceasefire. The media hysteria which demanded this has become muted when dealing with the armed loyalist organisations.

SILENCE OF THE LAMBS

THE silence of the lambs (or should it be doves?) who screamed for peace from the Provisionals was stunning while the loyalists refused to match the courage or foolishness of nationalists who gave up the armed struggle and put their future in the hands of the Sleaze Party at Westminster.

There Maggie's only son, Mark Thatcher, became a multi-millionaire through arms deals with the Saudi Arabian sheikhs worth £20 billion, with commission spin-offs adding up to a massive £140 million to the Mark team.

All this time Mummy was Prime Minister, don't you know. And sure where's the harm in helping one's own? Isn't it a great Irish custom, too?

But Albert Reynolds and his revolving deputy, Dick Spring, who has been in a bit of a spin since the pollsters predicted he would be put out to dry in an unnecessary general election over judicial perks, and where they should go, can be relied on to keep the Irish public ignorant on the more crucial matter of the British U-turn which gives a fresh mandate to the military mandarins.

Yet it is to characters like arrogant Albert and tricky Dickie that the Provisionals have entrusted the vulnerable lives of the pogrom-hit nationalists. It is upon chancers who worry about concealing the relief they felt that the new Chief Justice-designate stopped short of putting the leading Beef Tribunal politicians before the Director of Public Prosecutions that Gerry Adams depends for fair play.

MEDIA BEEFED COVER UP

THE mass media murdered truth in the messy attempt to cover up the real purpose behind making the presidency of the High Court such a hyped issue.

They could not query the political integrity of the appointment of Mr Justice Liam Hamilton as Chief Justice ahead of arguably better experienced judges already sitting in the Supreme Court.

Nor dare they risk suggesting that it was even remotely possible that the judge who chaired the Beef Tribunal, and allowed immunity to politicians from disclosing information sources, a luxury denied to investigative journalist Susan O'Keefe, who is facing (as I write) contempt charges for refusing to reveal confidential sources, was being rewarded for his political prudence.

Only Church of Ireland Synod leaders argued publicly that the Beef Tribunal, which it correctly described as a court, had issued a report whose judgements fell short of what might have been expected, given the weight of evidence that political witnesses had been at least economical with the truth.

This was shorthand for Seán Citizen's puzzled wonderment that £35 million of taxpayers' money was spent on investigating abuses of the export credit insurance scheme to cover beef barons in a high-risk trading venture in the warning Middle East, and the only apparent victim was the woman journalist whose pertinacity uncovered the sleaze.

The craft of politics at the highest diplomatic level demands that the truth be turned upside down, a la Mark and Maggie Thatcher, Albert and Dickie, Clinton and Major—and so on, ad nauseum.

Into such scandal-stained hands do the bemused Provisionals place trust, though not all. Some Derry discontent has been voiced by the Provisionals, including ex-prisoners who are afraid that a tie-up with Fianna Fáil is retrogressive, and point to the Reynolds remark that he did not expect to see unity within 20 to 25 years, a nice distance from responsibility.

HOW GREAT A FAMINE . . .

THE famine of truth in Leinster House, which starves voters of knowledge about how national interests are being subverted to the status quo, is never so obvious as in its attitudes to commemorations.

The next one is dedicated to the 150th anniversary in 1995 of the start of what has been variously described as The Great Famine, The Great Hunger (in Cecil Woodham Smith's admirable book), and The Great Starvation, which is the most accurate.

It was in 1845 that the first big failure of the potato crop was employed as an excuse by the British administration in Ireland to cull the population which at eight million, was getting uncomfortably close to England's nine million.

There had been crop failures before, especially hitting the spud, which was made the staple diet of the peasant who could afford no other because of the rack-renting system which gave generally absentee landlords the power of life and death over their penurious tenants.

In Strokestown House, Co Roscommon, there is a Famine Museum, where the politicians can expound on how well the Irish are doing now compared with the starvation years from 1845-48 and the resultant depressions.

It is wise to remember that the Land League and legislation that came from that brave struggle against agri-capitalism gave to the Irish tenant farmers freehold rights on their land, and that this was accomplished—long before the Free State was set up—by such heroes as former Fenian Michael Davitt, and the foresight of Wyndham who devised ameliorative Land Acts.

These freehold rights are still denied to the average British farmer of middle to small acres. It was a battle that had to be won because patriots like John Mitchell really realised that the so-called Great Famine was a device to complete the slavery of the native Irish.

If I to Leinster House thinkers, the "Famine Remembrance", to be led by 26-County President Mary Robinson, would somehow be transformed into a sort of celebration, with Kildare Street binges for inmates of that terrifying Home For the Bewildered.

LIKENED TO BELSEN

IT might fester as something like the premature soccer success festival in the Park after we were kicked out of the World Cup by a double hiccup against the Dutch, and be utilised by slimming clubs as a gateway to understanding one's own body. God alone knows what excesses the Access crowd would invent.

But we have the stark reminder of an Oxford scholar and History Professor, AJP Taylor, who pertinently defined British policy towards Ireland, during the years when grain and cattle were exported under military guard while the Irish starved, as "Genocide".

This was the title of a major work in his book of *Essays in English History*, and Taylor, a dedicated socialist and anti-imperialist, likened the policy killing of two million Irish to the war crime of Belsen where 50,000 victims of starvation died and people were hanged for it.

You won't be surprised to learn that Taylor never figured, or wanted to figure, in Queen Elizabeth's honours list.

—DRAPIER II