

SAOIRSE



IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 78 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR - OCTOBER 1993

50p (USA \$24 per year)

406,691

UNEMPLOYED

THE jobless totals were up again last month, to 297,300 (20%) in the 26 Counties and to 109,391 (15%) in the Six Counties. In Germany the present jobless rate of 8.5% is considered a crisis yet here in Ireland there is no real concern.

Hume-Adams talks suspended

NEW SELL-OUT?



• British troops are set to remain in the Six Counties whatever the outcome of the Hume-Adams talks.

THE SUDDEN suspension of the Hume-Adams talks after five months is due to the British-backed loyalist attacks on SDLP elected representatives during September.

The SDLP promptly yielded to the loyalist blackmail. Within days their four MPs in the British parliament met secretly and decided to suspend the Hume-Adams talks. Publicly they issued a statement expressing confidence in John Hume. The talks then came suddenly to a halt.

Hume was acting with the connivance of the British government, the Dublin administration and the Catholic hierarchy in initiating the talks in April last and he has been a key figure ever since.

Events are undoubtedly moving in a certain direction but fundamentals are being lost sight of. Among such basics are:

British troops would remain in the Six Occupied Counties. The British government will look at any report of the Hume-Adams talks if they received it from the Dublin administration, he said.

As reported by SAOIRSE in September, this is another marker in the deterioration of the

Republican Sinn Féin Three-Point Peace Plan

1. A declaration of intention by the British government to leave Ireland;
2. Freedom for all political prisoners;
3. Right of all the Irish people to decide their own destiny.

1. There is no mention of British withdrawal — only of formulae of words which could mean anything to anybody;
2. All-Ireland self-determination is stated — but is hedged around by various qualifications. There is no agreement as to how self-determination will be implemented, for instance;
3. Republican and other political prisoners are passed over completely.

HYPE

Amid the growing media hype certain elements can be identified. Albert Reynolds, speaking on RTE television on September 29 spoke of "peace on its own, not linked to any solutions" as if there can be any lasting peace without a just political settlement.

Sir Patrick Mayhew equally stated that

Provisionals since they accepted the 26-County state in 1986. The changes in Provisional Sinn Féin policy were clearly stated in the *Irish Times*, September 29, which mark that organisation out now as a ginger group pushing the Dublin administration to prod the British government into considering "interim arrangements" such as joint authority.

But even joint authority is not up for consideration in the present process. The only way forward to true peace, justice and freedom are the three steps published here which have been put forward by the Republican Movement for some time now.

However dangerous the fight or battle the peace is much more dangerous. The Irish never lost anything in battle only their lives. They often lost their good name, honour or reputation in the peace, ie they were often put to shame in peace.

Dá bhaolai an cath, is baolai go mór and t-síocháin. Níor chaill Gaeil riamh i gcath ach a mbeatha; is minic do chaill siad a n-oineach sa sos catha.

— Pádraig Mac Piarais i bPríomh-Alt sa mBarr Bua, Márta 30, 1912.

Republican

SINN FÉIN

Poblachtach

89ú Ard-Fheis 1993

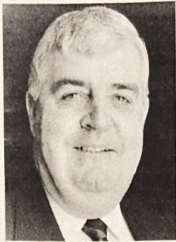
FOR A NEW IRELAND

All Cumainn please return Resolution/Nomination/Delegates Forms immediately. For visitors cards please contact Ard-Oifig, 41 Cé Áránn, BÁC.7. Teil: 01-872 9747.

November 13-14 Spa Hotel Lucan Co Dublin

Taylor "dancing on graves of murdered"

NATIONALISTS in the Six Counties claimed that Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford John Taylor was "dancing on the graves of the dead" murdered by loyalist death squads after he claimed that increasing fear in the nationalist community of loyalist attacks "may be helpful".



● **John Taylor** said: "Generally, the people who loyalist paramilitaries are targeting are active members of organisations which support the IRA bombing and killing campaign, such as members of Sinn Féin. There may have been one or two innocent Catholics tragically killed."

respectability to naked sectarianism.

The RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley also came under attack from nationalists in the Six Counties on September 8 after he defended the RUC's attitude to loyalist death squads. He denied that the RUC was not dealing with loyalist violence "with the same will or effort" as nationalist violence and said that it was impossible to have officers on every street corner or impose curfews. The situation was serious, but not out of control, he said. In a separate interview on RTE he stated that loyalist death squads were developing a sophisticated bomb-making capacity and that when they did there was a significant risk to Catholic estates in the Six Counties and to areas in the 26 Counties.

The increase in the activities of loyalist death squads in the Occupied Six Counties can be traced directly to the shipment of South African weapons brought in to the North in 1988 with the knowledge of British intelligence through their agent in the UDA, Brian Nelson.

VENEER

Of the 143 people killed since the beginning of 1988 by loyalists, 13 were members of Provisional Sinn Féin and nationalist spokespersons said that unionist politicians were trying to give a veneer of verbal

In a Radio Ulster interview on Wednesday, September 8 he said: "All killing is wrong and of course the loyalist paramilitaries in the past week have been killing both Catholics and Protestants. But there is in particular amongst the Catholic community now increasing fear of paramilitary activities. And in a perverse way this is something which may be helpful because they are now beginning to appreciate more clearly the fear that has existed within the Protestant community for the past 20 years as they have been killed at random by the IRA."

He accused the SDLP MP for West Belfast, Dr Joe Hendron, of "unnecessarily raising a suspicion and alarm" after calls from the SDLP man for more patrols in loyalist areas.

In reply Dr Hendron said that Mr Taylor's comments were "Music to the ears of loyalist paramilitaries" and publicly challenged him to denounce the organisations responsible for the recent wave of murders. He also attacked the alleged lack of unionist comment on the escalating campaign against nationalists. On January 22, 1993 John Taylor said that loyalist death squads were now receiving "more community support as they see a pan-nationalist attack on Ulster..."

Taylor caused outrage amongst nationalists once again by saying that most victims of the UFF/UDA and UVF loyalist death squads were "supporters of the IRA".

Speaking on the British television station, Channel 4, he

Pro-British death squad shoots workman

A NATIONALIST building worker was shot several times by a UDA/UFF pro-British death squad when he rushed to tackle them as they opened fire on seven colleagues working in Ava Drive, off the Ormeau Road in South Belfast on September 23.

Two masked gunmen appeared at around 11am in the mixed area of the city and would probably have claimed several victims among the building workers renovating houses but for the injured man's courageous actions. His condition in hospital was later described as serious but stable. The UDA death squad escaped in a white Peugeot estate car, which was later found off nearby Derlett Street.

Later that day a father and grandfather had a lucky escape when at least five shots were fired through the window of the living-room in which they were standing at 10pm, missing them by inches. The UDA/UFF claimed responsibility for the attack on the house, in which the man's four-year-old daughter and her 11-year-old sister were sleeping upstairs, at Ladbrook Drive in the Ardoyne area of North Belfast.

DIVED

The men were preparing to go out at the time and dived to the floor as bullets ricocheted

around the room. "If it had been five seconds later, we would've met them on the path. I don't think they'd have missed them," the father of the two girls said.

His 11-year-old daughter has been badly disturbed by the incident and has been taking medication since. The UDA later named a man who does not live in the house as their intended target. It is thought the intended target was the occupant of a nearby house which has twice come under fire in the past year.

The same death squad carried out early-morning bomb attacks on an SDLP MP and four councillors' homes in Belfast, Lisburn, Co Antrim, Banbridge and Ballinacorney, Co Down. There were no injuries in the attacks, consisting of 11b pipe and incendiary bombs, four of which exploded outside the targeted homes. The fifth device was defused. The UDA said the reason for the attacks was the talks between SDLP leader John Hume and Provisional Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams.



● **Bullet-holes in sitting room wall at Ladbrook Drive, Ardoyne, Belfast.**

In camera witness for B-six police

LAWYERS for three former British policemen involved in the frame-up of the Birmingham Six in 1974-75 have won permission from an Old Bailey judge to allow a witness to give his evidence in camera to protect his identity. Judge Garland said that "There are very good reasons why this person's identity should be kept under wraps". The conspiracy to pervert the course of justice at the court in London on September 27.

Those on trial are former Det Supt George Reade, who led the investigation into the Birmingham bombings, former Det Sgt Colin Morris and former Det Const Terence Woodwiss. They denied fabricating interview notes with Richard Melikony, one of the contemporaneous. The judge ruled on September 27 that any jurors who had read books or watched TV programmes on the case should be omitted and he also dismissed an Irishman and an Englishwoman married to an Irishman from the jury.

This is in marked contrast to the treatment of Irish persons charged with political offences in English courts who appear before juries exposed to 'trial by tabloid', where they are described as 'bombers', 'IRA members' etc. Equally jurors with relatives in the British Crown Forces or political establishment are not excluded. The trial proper will begin next week.

RIR soldier jailed for child abuse

A BRITISH soldier in the Royal Irish Regiment (formerly the notorious UDR) was sentenced to four years imprisonment in Downpatrick, Co Down on September 21 for a series of sex offences against a young girl. A member of the UDR since 1988, the 25-year-old British soldier was convicted on six charges of indecently assaulting a child and two counts of committing an act of gross indecency towards the child.

Another RIR soldier was released the following day on bail of £750 from Belfast High Court after being charged with possessing 49 rounds of ammunition which he said was for "firing practice in fields near his home". The British prosecution accepted Robin McBride's explanation and deny that he stole the ammunition during training at Magilligan to pass them on to loyalist death squads.

Attacks on nationalists across Belfast

A BOMB exploded outside the home of a nationalist family in the Short Strand area of East Belfast in the early hours of Wednesday, September 15. The British-controlled loyalist death squad the UVF claimed responsibility. No-one was injured in the attack. Later that day a bomb was left outside the office of Provisional Sinn Féin in Brompton Park, in the Ardoyne area of North Belfast. The bomb was defused and no-one was injured.

On Sunday, September 19 loyalist gunmen attacked a nationalist house in the Springfield area of West Belfast. According to an eyewitness, a car drove into Springfield Park at 11pm and two gunmen fired from rifles and handguns into the home of a young family. The house was empty at the time and the gunmen abandoned their car and escaped over a nearby peace line wall after a ladder was lowered from the loyalist side.

Amnesty accuses 26 Counties of torture

THE 26 Counties engages in "torture and other cruel treatment of prisoners", according to a booklet issued by the human rights group, Amnesty International, which bases its assertion on allegations surrounding the Sallins train robbery case. A spokesperson for Amnesty in Ireland said that the Danish committee had included the 26 Counties because of a reference in the 1992 Amnesty International annual report which complained that there had been no investigation into allegations of ill-treatment of persons arrested in connection with the 1976 Sallins train robbery. Britain was also included on the list of countries who engaged in "torture and other cruel treatment of prisoners".

Clare house raid

ON Friday, September 17 last plainclothes and uniformed 26-County police raided the home of veteran Republican Martin Calligan, Kilmurry-McMahon, Co Clare.

Following the raid they took with them some items from the house including a book of tickets for the Sinn Féin Poblachtach National Draw and copies of SAOIRSE.

Yet further evidence of the on-going campaign of harassment against Republicans by the 26-County State.

Charlie Kerins

ANYONE who may have newspaper cuttings or books relating to the KERRY Republican martyr Charlie Kerins, executed December 1944, or that period which they please forward them to the Secretary of Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Margaret Scanlon, 13 Parkmore Estate, Currow, Killarney, Co Kerry. All material will be returned safely.

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

Ainm
Seoladh



Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA,
41 Cé Arann, BAC 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 26 Counties in existence since the British partitioned our country . . .

DEATH SQUADS RENEW THREATS

THE UFF/UDA loyalist death squad admitted on Friday, September 17 that it had firebombed two GAA halls and warned that it would continue to target the association. In a statement the British-backed death squad claimed responsibility for a failed attack on Annaclone GAA hall near Banbridge, Co Down on Thursday, September 16 and said that it was responsible also for burning out changing rooms and a bus belonging to the Lámh Dearg GAA club at Hannahstown, West Belfast earlier in the week.

The statement warned that attacks against the GAA would continue while it "supported the IRA war machine" and as long as its "anti-Protestant, sectarian attitudes remained". The attack at Annaclone was the eighth on GAA premises this year, mostly on isolated halls in Co Down. The secretary of the Down County Board, Brian McAvoy appealed to all GAA members to be vigilant.

The GAA has been coming under pressure in recent days to remove its ban on members of the British Crown Forces from the rule books. The President of the Ulster Council, Brian McLernon, said on a BBC Spotlight programme on Thursday, September 16 that "I myself would like to see a situation pertaining where those who do the policing would be eligible for membership of the GAA — that is if they are prepared to accept the ideals and aims of the association (our italics). I would like to see that situation coming about."

The Spotlight programme pointed to evidence that a handful of RUC officers are playing Gaelic games despite the ban. However such members of the RUC have not stated that they are prepared to accept the ideals and aims of the Gaelic Athletic Association, which is a 32-County organisation committed to a United Ireland. The ban has been defended in the past by GAA President Peter Quinn, who is himself from the Six Counties — a Co Fermanagh man.

It is very unlikely that in the situation currently pertaining in the Occupied Six Counties where players of Gaelic games are subject to constant harassment from British Crown Forces, both RUC and British army, and those same Crown Forces are in collusion with the loyalist death squads who are operating throughout the Six Counties almost with impunity that the ban will be removed in the near future.

In 1988 Aidan McAnespie, from Aughnacloy, Co Tyrone was killed while walking through the Aughnacloy Border checkpoint to a Gaelic football match by a British soldier and the Crossmaglen GAA pitch is still occupied by the British Army.

Belfast nationalists slaughtered



• Scene in Belfast where Jimmy Bell was shot dead on September 1.

On Wednesday, September 2 a nationalist van-driver, Jimmy Bell (49) from Chemical Street, in the Short Strand area of Belfast was shot dead after he delivered supplies to the Riada ice-cream factory, off Derwent Street. Later that night the UFF shot dead a prison officer, Jim Peacock (44), at his home in Joannout Gardens after breaking down the front door of the house with a sledgehammer.

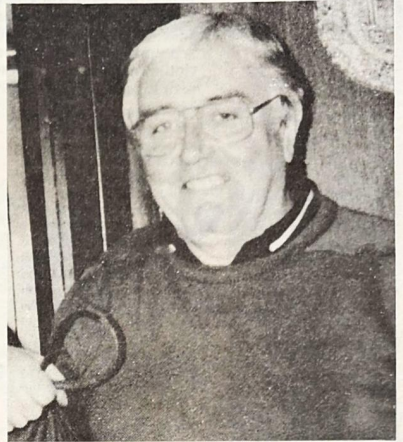
The Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad wounded two nationalist workmen in a gun attack at a house in York Crescent, a mainly loyalist area of North Belfast, also on Wednesday, September 2. One of the men was shot in the back and the other in the arm and one was described as being in a "serious" condition in hospital.

Michael Edwards (39) a nationalist shopkeeper and father of six was shot dead by two hooded gunmen as he lay in bed with his wife at their home in Finaghy Park Central, South Belfast on Friday, September 3. His children ran into the bedroom screaming and begged their father to live but he died one hour later in hospital. The British-backed loyalist death squad, the UDA/UFF, who carried out the attack, claimed that Mr Edwards was in the IRA but this was denied by his

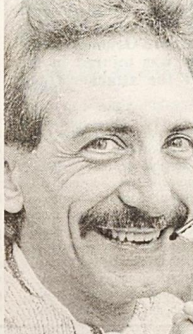
family and the killing is being treated as purely sectarian.

The fifth victim in eight days of loyalist death squads was Sean Hughes, a 40-year-old father of three children from Carryduff, who was shot dead by the UDA/UFF at his hairdressing salon, Jon David's in the Donegall Road/Falls Road area of West Belfast on Tuesday, September 7. The first victim was Maria Theresa Dowds de Mogollon (48), from Fortwilliam Park, North Belfast, shot dead at her home on August 30.

According to the Irish News (Belfast) witnesses, including two schoolgirls watched the gunmen leave their car and approach the shops and noted the registration number of the car. One man had a scarf over his face and both were wearing black, stretch gloves. One was carrying what appeared to be a denim



• Jimmy Bell



• Sean Hughes

satchel. They entered the building and the girls heard "three or four gun shots, like wee cracks, very low". One of the girls ran home and told her father, who phoned the police with the details "but they were not too fussed about taking details over the phone".

The gunmen escaped towards the loyalist Village area in a black Vauxhall Carlton estate car which was later found abandoned in the Shore Road's Greencastle area.



• Michael Edwards

DERRY GAA FANS FIREBOMBED IN COLERAINE

A Co Derry nationalist family were fortunate to escape with their lives when a loyalist gang firebombed their home at 12.30am on Monday morning, September 27. The family was singled out because one of them had been pictured in a local newspaper arriving back from the All-Ireland Gaelic football final in Dublin, won by the Derry team on September 19.

The family of five escaped through the back of the house but the father and two sons suffered burn injuries as the flames spread quickly after the incendiary was thrown through the window of their Portrush Road home. The alertness of the mother, who spotted the device, probably averted a major tragedy. The house was completely gutted.

The attack has been used by the Unionist Mayor of Coleraine, David McClarty, to justify withdrawing an invitation to the victorious Derry Gaelic football team to attend a civic reception at Coleraine Borough Council.

He said the proposed reception was "causing division" in the town, but did not refer to the

provocative statements about the GAA made before the firebomb attack by his fellow-Unionist councillors in the DUP. In a local newspaper article which appeared 48 hours before the firebomb attack the DUP councillors said the GAA was "the IRA at football". Merely to play GAA games in the Six Occupied Counties is of course "causing division" according to Unionists.

Castlerock, just outside Coleraine, was the scene of a UDA/UFF massacre of four nationalist workmen as they arrived for work in a van on March 25 last.

In the early hours of Wednesday, September 22, two homes in Ballykelly, Co Derry

were petrol-bombed by loyalists in reaction to the celebrations of Derry's victory in the All-Ireland football final. At 2.45am the home of a Catholic

couple and their two children at King's Lane, Ballykelly, was attacked. The couple were awake and were able to put out the flames. Within a short time

another petrol bomb was thrown at the home of two elderly Protestant sisters living nearby. Their front wall suffered scorch damage.

WOLFE TONES

PLUS GUESTS

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Tuesday

October 5, 1993

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BENEFIT CONCERT

THE WOLFE TONES

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VOICE OF THE INNOCENT
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SEVEN
PICKET
SATURDAYS
1-3pm
Trinity end of Grafton
Street, Dublin

**JIMMY KEENEY
COMMEMORATION**
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17
SAGGART, CO DUBLIN
Assemble
Saggart Bridge
12.30pm

**EDENTUBBER
MARTYRS
COMMEMORATION**
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7
EDENTUBBER
CO LOUTH
Assemble Ravensdale
House (Border Inn) 3pm

**MANCHESTER
MARTYRS**
1993

**COMMEMORATION
MARCH/RALLY**
Platt Fields
MANCHESTER
SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 20

**PATRICK MCGILL
MEMORIAL LECTURE**
TUESDAY
NOVEMBER 23
GOVANHILL
NEIGHBOURHOOD
CENTRE
GLASGOW

UVF attack man in Tyrone

THE UVF loyalist death squad failed in a bid to kill a 25-year-old nationalist at a garage at Dunmore, near Cookstown, Co Tyrone on Wednesday, September 8. One shot was discharged and the victim received an injury to his hand as he grappled with his masked attacker.

A 31-year-old nationalist man escaped injury by diving from a window of his home at Kerrera Court in Ardoe, North Belfast on Wednesday, August 25. He was alone in the house when UVF gunmen tried to break in by kicking down the front door. When they failed they began firing through the living room window. The man, who asked not to be named, described how he raced for the back door as the bullets

embedded themselves in the settee where he had been sitting. "I was sitting here watching television. The door was closed and bolted. Suddenly I heard a kick at the door and I jumped up and bolted for the back door. As I ran I heard the shooting. The back door was locked and the key wasn't in it so I had to get out the back window," he said. Two bullets pierced a wall separating the kitchen and living room and hit a radiator before

fragmenting.

TARGET

It later emerged that the intended target was the brother of the woman who lives in the house. He was named in the UVF statement and the woman, who only moved into the house six weeks ago said she would be applying to the Housing Executive for an immediate move. The car used by the attackers was hijacked from a family in Raleigh Street, off the Crumlin Road in the Shankill area.

It was the second time in two months that the couple had been caught up in a loyalist attack. At the beginning of July,

during disturbances orchestrated by the UDA, they were stopped at a police checkpoint when a grenade was thrown at the RUC.

The British-backed loyalist death squad, the Red Hand Commando, lifted its threat against bars and hotels running folk nights featuring traditional Irish music. The group had threatened to attack folk venues and claimed responsibility for placing an explosive device in the Jolly Judge bar in Newtownards, Co Down on Thursday, August 26. However, the UDA/UVF loyalist death squad, in a statement issued on Friday,

August 27 warned that senior Stormont civil servants it accused of developing links between the Six Counties and the 26 Counties are now on its list of targets.

The UDA stated that it intended widening its so-called "pan-nationalist front" — which it said includes the Dublin administration, the Maryfield Secretariat of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the SDLP and the Provisionals — and was adding "the quisling activities of many sections of Irish society, especially the establishment". The UDA branded all those involved in cross-border harmonisation "the enemies of freedom and democracy and hence they must face the consequences".

'Purge against nationalist community'

A British-directed death-squad mounted an attack on a nationalist home in the Ardoe area of North Belfast on Monday evening, September 27, firing up to a dozen shots from a red Ford Orion car at the front of the house. Nobody was injured in the incident which ended after the attacker's gun appeared to jam.

British Crown Forces were reported to have had a heavy presence in the Mayfair Court area until shortly before the attack, when they suddenly withdrew from the vicinity. At 6.15pm this latest sectarian shooting happened at the house of a nationalist woman before the car containing the death squad sped off along the Oldpark Road. It was later found

abandoned in Berlin Street in the Shankill area.

Republican Sinn Féin local representative Seosamh Ó Leogáin condemned the attack as another random assassination attempt on an innocent woman living alone. "Once again there are strong indications of Crown Forces collusion in the attack, as the area was saturated with British army and RUC until

shortly before the incident. The same forces took ten minutes to respond to the shooting, even though the Oldpark Road Barracks with its massive observation tower is only a short distance away," he said.

On Saturday morning, September 25, a bomb planted by the pro-British Red Hand Commando death squad was found near the front window of the premises of the Falls Community Centre in West Belfast. The cross-community group's office is at the junction of the Andersonstown Road and Kennedy Way and a spokesperson said families on their way to the nearby Westwood Shopping Centre



• UDA - engaged in onslaught on nationalists.

could have been caught in a blast.

"We see this as an attempt to undermine the work of the council. It is a serious

development in the current purge against the nationalist community and should serve as a warning to all community groups to be extra vigilant," the spokesperson said.

FOR THE RECORD

FRI. AUGUST 27: The UDA/UVF loyalist death squad warned in a statement that senior Stormont civil servants it accused of developing links between the Six Counties and the 26 Counties are now on its list of targets.

The Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad backed down on its threat against bars and hotels running folk nights featuring traditional Irish music.

SAT. AUGUST 28: A large number of people attended the Annual Hunger Strike Commemoration at Bundoran in Co Donegal.

MON. AUGUST 30: Maria Theresa Dowds de Mogollon (48) a nationalist mother of four was shot dead by the UDA/UVF loyalist death squad at her home in the Fortwilliam Park area of North Belfast.

THURS. SEPTEMBER 2: Jimmy Bell (49) a nationalist van-driver from Chemical Street in the Short Strand area of Belfast was shot dead by the British-controlled loyalist death squad, the UVF, after he delivered supplies to the Riada ice-cream factory at Derwent Street. Later that night the UVF shot dead a prison officer, Jim Peacock (44) at his home in Joanmount Gardens in Belfast.

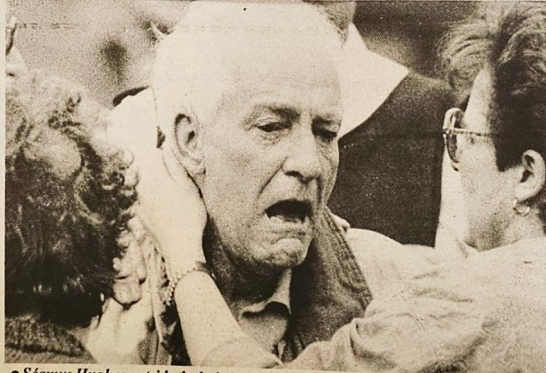
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FRI. SEPTEMBER 3: Michael Edwards (39) a nationalist shopkeeper and father of six was shot dead by the British-backed loyalist death squad the UDA/UVF as he lay in bed with his wife at their home in Finaghy Park Central, South Belfast. The number of unemployed in the 26 Counties is 297,300.

MON. SEPTEMBER 6: The European Commission on Human Rights in Strasbourg ruled that the British authorities have a case to answer in relation to the SAS killings of Máiréad Farrell, Sean Savage and Daniel McCann in Gibraltar in March 1988. The ruling is virtually certain to open the way for the European Court of Human Rights to consider the case.

Loyalist petrol bombers attacked four homes in the mainly nationalist Legarhill Park estate in Armagh city and dubbed "We'll be back" on walls. Two homes sustained major fire damage and two suffered serious marks on walls.

St Colmille's Catholic Church at Holywood



• Seán Hughes outside the hairdressers shop on the Falls Road where his son Seán was shot dead by the UDA on September 7.

A report from the Human Rights Committee of the UN stated that Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act and Article 19 of the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which the 26 Counties ratified in 1989. The UN Committee has asked the Dublin administration to repeal the legislation.

TUES. SEPTEMBER 7: Seán Hughes, a 40-year-old father of three children from Carryduff, was shot dead by the UDA/UVF at his Road/Falls Road area of West Belfast. A 43-year-old nationalist man was described as being "very seriously ill but stable" after he was shot three times in the chest by a lone, unmasked loyalist gunman when he answered the door of his home at Palmerstown Park, off the Holywood Road in East Belfast.

WED. SEPTEMBER 8: Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford, John Taylor, said in a Radio Ulster interview that increasing fear in the nationalist community of loyalist attacks "may be helpful". Chief Constable of the RUC, Sir Hugh Annesley, in a separate interview denied that the RUC was not dealing with loyalist violence "with the same will or effort" as nationalist violence and said it "was impossible to have officers on every

street corner or impose curfews". In a later interview on RTE he stated that loyalist death squads were developing a sophisticated bomb-making capacity and that when they did there the Six Counties and to areas in the 26 Counties.

The UVF loyalist death squad failed in an attempt to kill a 25-year-old nationalist at a garage at Dunmore, near Cookstown, Co Tyrone. One shot was discharged and the victim received an injury to his hand as he grappled with his masked attacker.

THURS. SEPTEMBER 9: Bema Engineering, a Lisburn-based company cut its workforce by one-third after receiving £576,000 FROM the Industrial Development Board in the Six Counties. The workforce fell from 215 to 140 in the past 12 months.

A home-made grenade was thrown at the home of a nationalist family in Farnham Street off the Ormeau Road in Belfast by the UDA/UVF loyalist death squad.

WED. SEPTEMBER 15: A bomb, placed by the British-controlled loyalist death squad the UVF, exploded outside the home of a nationalist family in the Short Strand area of East Belfast. Later in the day a bomb was left outside the office of Provisional Sinn Féin in Brompton Park in Ardoe. No one was injured in either attack. 130 jobs are to go at Montupet car components

THURS. SEPTEMBER 16: De Beers, which manufactures industrial diamonds in Shannon, Co Clare, is to cut its workforce by 106 and

Donnelly Mirrors of Naas, Co Kildare is to let 59 people go.

FRI. SEPTEMBER 17: The UVF/UDA loyalist death squad admitted that it had firebombed two GAA halls and warned that it would continue to target the association. The attack on Annacorney GAA hall near Banbridge, Co Down failed but changing rooms and a bus belonging to the Liam Deary club at Hannahstown, West Belfast were burned out.

The number of people unemployed in the Six Counties is 109,391.

SUN. SEPTEMBER 19: Two loyalist gunmen attacked a nationalist home in the Springfield Park area of West Belfast. The house was empty at the time and the gunmen escaped over a nearby peace line after a ladder was lowered from the loyalist side.

For the third time in a row the All-Ireland football title and the Sam Maguire cup went to an Ulster county when Derry beat Cork by 1-14 to 2-8.

MON. SEPTEMBER 20: Sola Lenses are to let 30 workers go at their plant in Wexford.

TUES. SEPTEMBER 21: The UDA/UVF loyalist death squad firebombed the homes of five members of the SDLP. A pipe bomb exploded outside MP Joe Hendron's home in West Belfast, at the home at Cranmore Park in Belfast of party chairperson John Stephenson; at Councillor Cassie McDermot's home in Banbridge, Co Down; Councillor Peter O'Hagan's home in Waverly Avenue, Lisburn and at the home of Ballynahinch Councillor Patsy Tomon on the Tannahmore Road. No one was injured in the blasts but a great deal of damage was done to the houses.

WED. SEPTEMBER 22: Sola Lenses announced that they are to let another 22 workers go.

THURS. SEPTEMBER 23: The UDA/UVF loyalist death squad carried out a gun attack on nationalist workmen as they were carrying out extension work on houses in Ava Drive, off Sunnyside Street in East Belfast. One man was hit several times and was described as being seriously but stable in hospital.

The Telemara Tso company in Conamara is to make half its workforce redundant with the loss of 85 jobs. Edmund Browne, joint president of SIPTU said that Independent Newspapers is planning to shed 150 jobs. Waterford Crystal planning to shed 100 jobs with the introduction of a new furnace and Packard Electric is considering temporary lay-offs from its plant in Tallaght, Co Dublin.

FRI. SEPTEMBER 24: Members of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment arrived in Dublin to inspect conditions at Mountjoy, Cork and Limerick prisons (Portlaoise is not mentioned). St Patrick's Institution in the two Bridewell detention centres in Cork and Dublin this weekend.

Voters' Rights, MI5 Wrongs

Le Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh

NATIONALIST voters have good reason to feel concerned if recent press reports, particularly those published in the Belfast-based *Sunday Life* newspaper are true. One should add that all voters should be concerned, for when the rights of one section of the community are taken away, the civil rights of all citizens are threatened.

This specific issue needs to be aired internationally to obtain the necessary changes in British law. The issue relates to voters' democratic rights and the apparent ease whereby state employees, ie MI5 agents can undermine the right to confidentiality at the polling booths.

The biggest civil servant union in the Six Counties has taken on the secret service on the issue of the 'secret ballot'. For some years now thousands of files have been 'leaked' to loyalist death squads from the British Crown Forces, and now this latest controversy is causing further concern, as a leading trade unionist claims voters' lives could again be at stake because of the alleged antics by Britain's secret services.

The Six-County Public Service Alliance (NIPSA) has called on the British government to remove identifying numbers from voting forms to ensure that voters' politics will not be identified, and that they cannot be subsequently traced by shadowy figures within officialdom. That our democratic vote is always secret, now seems to have been a myth which has been exploded if the claims of a

retired MI6 officer are found to be true.

He has recently made the very startling claim that MI5 has identified how people vote, by trawling through ballot papers. In the Six-County context such can truly be said to be a grave matter, without needing further elaboration.

FOCUS

It seems that the focus is solely on nationalist voters, and comes at a time when the British government is claiming to be 'neutral' in the internal affairs of north-east Ireland. These revelations further undermine public confidence in the whole democratic process and place that government's 'good faith' in serious doubt. Its emphasis on trying to find a political, rather than military solution, for many, is now open to question.

All this, together with claims that MI5 agents such as Brian Nelson, assisted in the importation of arms from the South African government, is leading to deeper alienation within the minority nationalist community. Nelson, currently serving a long jail sentence, was exposed after an inquiry by the Chief Constable of Northumbria,

John Stevens into the 'leaking' of confidential security forces' files to loyalist paramilitaries.

The arms imported, apparently with the blessing and assistance of MI5, have been used over this past few years to murder countless nationalist civilians at random. John Stevens has recently returned to the Six Counties, and it is claimed that he and the youthful DPP, Alasdair Fraser, are men with fiercely independent minds who are determined to get to the bottom of what has become known as the 'Nelson affair'.

GHOST

The ghost of the 'Stalker affair' warns us against being too optimistic, for there too was a man who fearlessly sought after the truth before the mat was pulled from under him by those who pay the pipers, and didn't like the tune he would otherwise be playing.

The votes issue fits into patterns of operations that have been described as 'dirty tricks'. In a letter to Pat Bradley, the chief electoral officer for the Six Counties, NIPSA general secretary Jim McCusker said his members were seriously concerned by the risk to members of the public. "It is a denial of every citizen's fundamental right to a secret ballot if it is possible to link voters to a particular party," he said.

"If information on a person's political allegiance gained from ballot papers fell into the hands



• Voters lives are at risk due to MI5 'trawling' of ballot papers after elections in the Six Counties.

of unscrupulous individuals such as paramilitaries, then that person's life could be at risk," he continued.

McCusker said his union wanted identifying numbers removed from voting papers to ensure the anonymity of each voter. The union leader told Belfast journalists that Mr Bradley had passed his letter on to the appropriate department of the Northern Ireland Office which drafts electoral laws.

The retired senior official in the counter espionage agency

MI6 permitted his name to be used when he made his 'leak'. James Rushbridge is the cousin of spy-catcher Peter Wright, and went on to claim that trawling ballot papers was "quite common practice" for MI5 officers after elections in Northern Ireland.

By matching Provisional Sinn Féin voters with counterfoil stubs, he claimed they were able to identify that party's voters from the electoral register. It is accepted that ballot papers and

counterfoils are stored for one year after every election. It is unacceptable for the British government to pretend, in the light of these allegations by an acknowledged "insider", that these records are kept in a supposedly secure government storeroom before being destroyed.

The storeroom may be secure, but the information stored there obviously is not, if these claims are proven to be true.

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach MONSTER NATIONAL PRIVATE MEMBERS DRAW

1st Prize:

PEUGEOT 205 CAR

or CITROËN AX

2nd Prize: HOLIDAY IN
IRELAND.

3rd Prize: £250.



PEUGEOT 205

DONATIONS £5 EACH.

Draw will take place at the Spa Hotel, Lucan on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1993

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.

EURO BODY TO PROBE GIBRALTAR KILLINGS

THE European Commission on Human Rights in Strasbourg ruled on Monday, September 6 that the British authorities have a case to answer in relation to the SAS killings of Máiréad Farrell, Seán Savage and Daniel McCann in Gibraltar in March 1988. The ruling follows a four-hour oral hearing before the Commission on Friday, September 3. It is virtually certain to open the way for the European Court of Human Rights to consider the case.

At the hearing on September 3 the solicitor representing the families of the three, Barra McCrory, submitted that the SAS killings violated Article 2 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights which states: "Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally, save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction for a crime for which this penalty is provided".

They further submitted that Article 2 required member-states to exercise strict operational control over the use of legal force and to provide appropriate training and instructions to security personnel. The families maintained that the Gibraltar killings were part of a shoot-to-kill policy by the SAS and that the operation was "neither planned nor executed in such a way



• Members of the SAS standing over bodies of Máiréad Farrell, Seán Savage and Daniel McCann.

as to minimise the need for the use of lethal force". The final element of the families' case related to the Gibraltar inquest in October 1988, which found that the three had been lawfully killed. Shortly before the inquest, the British government issued certificates which stated that certain categories of sensitive security information should not be disclosed in the public interest.

The families argued that the inquest was

inadequate, as the British government had used the public interest to block crucial evidence. They also submitted that there had been a "lack of diligence" in seeking witnesses and that there had been attempts to discredit and intimidate those who did come forward.

INFORMATION

The *Sunday Tribune* (Dublin) newspaper, in a front page article on Sunday, September 12

said that the information which led to the shooting dead of Máiréad Farrell, Seán Savage and Daniel McCann in Gibraltar by the British SAS came from a Provisional IRA informer who is still operational, according to sources within the 26-County police. The informer told his police handlers that the three were planning to carry out a bombing operation on the Continent.

The operation which resulted in the death of the three began in September 1987 when information was given to Chief Superintendent Ned O'Dea of C3 in a written report. He immediately passed it on to his counterparts in the RUC and it was agreed that a joint surveillance operation would take place.

According to the *Sunday Tribune* O'Dea appointed three surveillance officers from C3 to monitor the activities of the three in the 26 Counties and the three forces — the 26-County police, the RUC and MIS — worked as one police force and were in contact on a daily basis. The information collected included details of the three people's movements in the six Counties and in Continental Europe.

In the months prior to the shooting the three never travelled together in the 26 Counties and whenever they travelled abroad they made their own travelling arrangements and used false passports and documentation. O'Dea in turn briefed Garda Commissioner Eamon Doherty and the report stated that the C3 police working on the case were not aware that the three were going to be shot.

Nolan's Transport strike for union rights

IN January 1993 thirty drivers at Nolan's Transport, a New Ross, Co Wexford, haulage firm, decided to join a trade union after years of working for £2-2.50 an hour.

The fifty drivers at Nolans also endured long hours, no overtime and poor conditions of employment. Nolan's management's response to the move was to sack two of the drivers it believed were responsible for contacting the union, SIPTU. The union

members voted overwhelmingly for strike action to begin on February 11, despite threats from the management of layoffs and total closure of the business.

Before the strike took place 23 of the drivers resigned their union membership but the

remaining seven drivers have been on strike for over six months after being dismissed by their employer for exercising their right to join a trade union.

INTIMIDATION

Nolan's have conducted a campaign of intimidation and provocation against the strikers. On several occasions the drivers have been physically assaulted while on picket duty and they

have pressed charges against the employer and his agents. These are now with the Director of Public Prosecutions in Dublin.

The verbal and physical abuse has included an attempted assault with sticks and bars and an attack with a hammer. In one incident filmed by RTE the owner of the company, Jim Nolan, drove a lorry at the picket-line during a visit by SIPTU vice-president Tom

Murphy.

On another occasion management and pro-management employees blocked the bridge at New Ross, one of the main routes for the traffic to the Rosslare ferry, in an attempt to intimidate the picketers.

FAMILIES

The strikers are all married men aged between 30 and 50 with families to support. They

point out that their dispute is not about pay or conditions — the workers have not even been able to table those matters for discussion.

It is about their right to combine together in a trade union to obtain proper working conditions and payment, a right exercised by hundreds of thousands of other workers in Ireland and a right respected by the majority of employers.



• Plan to shorten dole queues by 100,000 over three years.

CMRS propose jobs scheme to employ 100,000

AT the Conference of Major Religious Superiors social policy conference in Dublin on September 22 a detailed proposal was outlined to employ up to 100,000 people, now on the dole, over a three-year period.

The authors, Fr Seán Duffy and Sister Brigid Reynolds, called for unemployed people to be employed on a voluntary basis by local authorities, health boards, education authorities and voluntary and community organisations to do work not being done by them at present.

These employed would be paid the going rate for the job for as many hours as it would take to give them a net income equivalent to what they were receiving in unemployment assistance.

For example, a person receiving £100 on the dole could work in a library for 14 hours at

£7 per hour. Those employed would lose none of their social-welfare entitlements and once they had worked the required number of hours they could take other employment, which would be liable for tax in the normal way.

The employers would be paid by the Department of Social Welfare. The authors claim that their plan "would go some way towards tackling the situation where a large number of unemployed people are forced to do nothing while a great deal of work needs to be done. It would also go some way towards restoring the dignity of unemployed people.

NO COERCION

"Being a voluntary scheme, it involves no compulsion or coercion of unemployed people. It would eliminate the fears of many unemployed people concerning the imposition of meaningless work or training. As it would apply only to work not already being done, it would result in no displacement of people

"Payment being at the going rate for the job, the danger of undercutting these rates would be eliminated. It would free unemployed people for the remainder of the week to do meaningful work."

The scheme is not geared towards private sector jobs but instead towards work in libraries, schools, sports projects and the health sector. It remains to be seen whether this novel scheme attracts anything more than lip service from the Dublin administration.

65 jobs lost as Dunnes drop Irish supplier

DUNNES STORES was blamed for the closure of a Westport clothes manufacturer with the loss of 65 jobs at the end of September.

Laubaun, which made a range of men's and women's underwear for the Dunnes supermarket chain fell victim to the failure of the giant multiple to honour its contract orders with the firm.

In recent times Dunnes Stores had become the sole outlet for the Laubaun range of underwear and when they suddenly

switched to Chinese imports the Co Mayo plant was left with £250,000 worth of goods without a buyer.

SIPTU official Noel Kilfeather blamed Dunnes for the job losses and the courts may now become involved to examine their breach of contract. A buyer for the Westport firm is now being urgently sought.

Meanwhile workers at Telemara Two in Co Mayo wanted to accept 84 redundancies in order to keep the remaining 78 jobs in the Carraro electronics plant, the biggest employer in the area.

An Irish-Japanese owned plant, it manufactures computer cables and harnesses and blamed the depressed nature of the computer market worldwide for the need to cut its workforce in half.



James Smyth extradition case begins in USA

THE first extradition case since the recent amendment to the 1985 British/USA extradition treaty began in San Francisco on Monday, September 27. Before the US court is James Smyth who took part in the famous mass escape of 38 Republican prisoners from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh ten years ago in September 1983.

Expected to last for four weeks, the hearing will focus on the defence case that if Smyth is extradited to the Six Occupied Counties he faces assassination by British-backed death squads. The amendment to the 1985 Treaty states that a defendant

cannot be extradited if he/she faces serious risk of being "punished, detained or restricted . . . by reason of his race, religion, nationality or political opinions". Smyth's lawyer, Karen Snell, said that she aims to prove his life will be

in danger if he returns to the Six Counties "partly because of his notoriety, partly because of the crime he was convicted of, and partly because he is a Republican".

REAGAN

The 1985 Anglo-American extradition treaty was brought forward by then US President Ronald Reagan specifically at the request of the British government, following their annoyance at the decision by Judge John Sprizzo in December



• James Smyth

1984 in the Joe Doherty extradition case. Refusing to extradite, Sprizzo said that Doherty's offences "present

the assertion of the political offence exception [to extradition] in its most classic form". The British want Smyth returned to serve the remainder of a 20-year sentence imposed in 1978 for the attempted murder of a prison guard. Smyth maintains his innocence of the crime and points to the travesty of justice which his trial before the non-jury Diplock Court represented.

The prison guard and his wife did not identify him and fingerprints found at the scene of the attack were not his. The only identification was that of an RUC man who did not see him clearly, 'lost' the man he was chasing twice, and then arrested Smyth.

WITNESSES

Snell is calling 15 witnesses for the defence including Bernadette McAliskey, Ken Livingstone MP and Neil Blaney, Leinster House TD. She will not name her other witnesses until they are safely out of Ireland. "Most are people who have had family members murdered," she said.

Two other Long Kesh escapees, Kevin Barry Artt and Paul Brennan, are also in custody in California awaiting extradition hearings. Judge Barbara Caulfield twice freed Smyth on \$1.5 million bail only to be overruled each time by a higher court. Assistant US Attorney Mark Zanides is prosecuting Smyth on behalf of the British government.

'All-Ireland' needed to end British Occupation

PROPHETIC words were spoken at a public meeting organised by Republican Sinn Féin at the GPO, Dublin on Saturday, September 18, the eve of the All-Ireland Football Final between Cork and Derry, when Micky McGonigle of Dungiven ended his speech by saying that the 'Sam Maguire' would be coming home to Derry for the first time following the historic game in Croke Park the next day.

Describing the All-Ireland Final as one of the greatest occasions in the Irish sporting calendar he said that like Republican Sinn Féin the GAA too refuses to recognise the British-created Border and for this reason GAA members have been targeted for attack and harassment.

He was proud, as a Derryman, he said to be standing on this historic site where the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Easter Week 1916 and said that Sinn Féin Poblachtach was the only organised body of political thought in Ireland still

committed and faithful to that Republic.

Mary Ward, Ard Chomhairle member, Cork and Donegal, sporting the Cork colours of her native county said that seeing people from Cork and Derry mingle in our capital city showed how much they have in common, their love of the Irish language, Irish dancing, our Gaelic games, but above all their love of singing. She was saddened by just how different the lives of Derry and Cork people were. For the nationalist people of Derry their lives were one of oppression, misrepresentation and betrayal.



• Michael McGonigle

The last speaker to address the crowd was Cllr Joe O'Neill, Bundoran who gave a rousing speech in which he reminded the people present that the ongoing struggle in the occupied part of our country was not just a Six-County problem but a 32-County problem to be solved by the Irish people acting as a unit.

FAILED ENTITY

He castigated the Free State administration, which was

a failed entity as was the artificial Six-County state, for their collusion with British Crown Forces who controlled and directed loyalist death squads in their murderous attacks on Northern nationalists. He called on all present to join Republican Sinn Féin and help to bring about the restoration of true democracy and peace to this island.

The meeting was chaired by Peter Cunningham, chairperson of Dublin Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, who thanked the assembled crowd for their attention throughout the proceedings. He then called on Joe O'Neill to bring the meeting to a close by singing *Amhárán na bhFiann*. Members of the organisation handed out leaflets and sold copies of SAOIRSE despite a heavy presence of Special Branch political police.



• Derry captain Henry Downey.

Crown Forces damage bill £3 million

QUARTERLY statistics on the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act released recently show that compensation payments made under Section 83 of the act totalled £2,809,373 during the 1992-93 financial year. The act states that "compensation shall be payable by the Secretary of State in the event that real or personal property is taken, occupied or destroyed under the act". This power is contained in Section 63 of the 1991 act which replaced the 1978 and 1987 Emergency Provisions Acts.

The payments relate mainly to the requisition of property, damage caused during British Occupation Forces searches of property and damage caused by British Crown Force patrols. It is understood that a large slice of the money would have been paid to farmers along the Border whose land was taken for British army checkpoints.

The report also showed that 3,415 houses were searched by the RUC in 1992, a rise of 454 on the previous years, while 751 were searched by the British army, a decrease of 306 on 1992. In the first quarter of 1993 214 houses were searched by the British army, while 801 were searched by the RUC.

Pressure on Clinton to keep promises

THERE is increasing pressure on US President Bill Clinton from Irish-Americans to act on the promises he made during the 1992 presidential election campaign to garner the Irish vote in the USA. In the *Irish Times* recently former US Congressman Bruce Morrison is quoted as being "hopeful" that President Clinton would address the question of a special US envoy to the Six Counties, which was part of the pre-election promises, along with the question of visas for Irish Republican leaders and the extension of the Morrison visa programme for Irish immigrants.

Over 60 Congress members sent a letter to Bill Clinton several weeks ago calling on him to "fulfill your promises to the Irish-American community to work to ease the suffering in Northern Ireland. In the weekly *Irish Voice* paper in New York lawyer Brian O'Dwyer, who along with

Bruce Morrison were prominent in the 'Irish-Americans for Clinton-Gore' in 1991-92, said: "Nearly nine months into the Clinton administration there is a tremendous sense of betrayal as deep and wide as ever existed during the Bush administration". There was ample support



• Bruce Morrison

for the view that "they were betrayed by a President who exploited them during the campaign". The *Irish Times* article states that the appointment of an envoy "is now the issue on which

mainstream Irish-Americans are prepared to finally judge Mr Clinton". His ambassador in Dublin, Jean Kennedy Smith, said on August 19 that President Clinton is "still considering" sending an envoy.

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, Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Donations will be gratefully acknowledged.

RUC, Shankill community split

THE Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ), an independent committee which monitors civil liberties issues in the Six Counties and campaigns for reforms in the administration of justice, stated in its September bulletin that consensual policing in the loyalist Shankill area of Belfast has largely broken down, leading to a split between the police and the community which traditionally supported it.

Michael Ritchie, the organisation's research officer, documents

a series of complaints from residents arising from alleged police harassment and intrusive surveillance in the Shankill Road area and states that a large number of the incidents concerned young males who appeared to be the main group targeted for RUC attention. Tension appears to have been gradually building up since the end of last year and the complaints included claims of harassment, assaults, attempts to recruit informers, aggressive house searches and intrusive surveillance.

Disaffection with the RUC overspilled in the Shankill area two months ago, when three days of serious disturbances took place following the funeral of a loyalist death squad member. As well as rioting and burning of cars, a large number of shots were fired at the RUC.

ANTOINE MAC thug sé a son saoirse a

Nuair a tháinig Antoine 'na bhaile ón Ioruaidh chuaigh sé tamall sa bhaile i Machaire Fiolta agus ansin d'imigh sé arís go Bun Dobhráin. An deireadh seachtaine deirceannach go mhi na Samhain 1984 bhí an mháthair ag crúinniú de Chuariteoirí le Muire ina an Droichead Nua i gCo an Chill Dara. Bhí Antoine le buailéad leithe ansin agus nuair nach dháinig sé bhí sí imníoch.

Labhair sí leis an Athair Ó Laochda faoi go raibh sé mall san oíche. Bhí rud éigin a thabhsáid di go raibh rud éigin cearr. Nuair a tháinig sí 'na bhaile agus d'éist sí le nuacht a 9 baineadh geit aisti nuair a chuala sí go raibh saighdiúir agus sibhialtach marbh i Fearmanach.

Bhí sé den bharúil gur a mac féin

taoibhe ceann amháin acu gar don veain. Chonaic siad an veain ach ní raibh duine ar bith ann. Chuaigh Mac Giolla Bhríde i bfolach nuair a chuala sé ag teacht iad. Síos an bóthar bhí an dá óglach eile ag faire, raidhfíil ag duine amháin acu, gunna gráin (shotgun) ag an duine eile. Chuaigh na saighdiúir ar an radio ag rá go raibh an veain acu.

Go gearr ina dhiaidh sin chuala nan-Óglaiha bhí i gCo an Chill Dara agus teacht antas a bóthar agus bhí iontas ortha. Scairt an SAS leis stopadh agus ghuma a ligim síos. Deirtear gur chuir Antoine suas a lámha agus gur dhúirt nach raibh sé armáilte. Chuaigh siad a cheistiú agus ba deirceann an scéil gur scaoil fear acu a sa taoibh chlé agus thit se.

Ba ag an am seo a thoisigh an dá

- Eagraíonn Roinn an Gaeilge, Sinn Féin Poblachtach tionól aonlae gach bliain — Feis na Poblachta — le seans a thabhairt do Phoblachtaigh caint agus caidreamh a dhéanamh tré Ghaeilge. I mbliana bhí sé ar siúl ar an 4 Meán Fómhair sa Chultúrlann i mBaile na Manach, Co Bhaile Átha Cliath.
- Thug Pádraig Ó Baill, Rann na Feirste, léacht Chuimhneacháin uaidh faoin Óglach Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde, Machaire Fiolta, Co Dhoire, a mharaigh saighdiúirí Shasanach an SAS ag an Cheis i gContae Fhear Manach ar 2 Nollaig, 1984. Bhí suim mhóir ag Antoine sa Ghaeilge agus tá tuairisc thíos ar an méid a dúirt Pádraig Ó Baill faoina shaol agus a shaothar.
- Bhí siompóisiam den chéad scoth le h-iar-chimí Poblachtacha faoi múnéadh agus foghlaim na Gaeilge i ngéibheann. Bhí Tomás Mac Cearnaigh (Ceis Fhada, 1980i), Séamas Mac Swain agus Seán Ó Sé (Portlaoise, 1970i-80i) agus Liam de Búrca (Al Rawdah, 1940i) páirteach ann agus tá gear-chuntas ar an chaint a tharla ar leathanach 9.
- Bhí Cás an Solláin agus an gá le fiosrúcháin poiblí neamhspleách ina leith a phlé ag Deasún Breatnach, athair Osguir Breatnach a fuair cúiteamh ó stát 26 Chontae, i ngeall ar an gcás seo le deireannaí. Táimid ag súil le tuairisc a fhoilsiú ar seo in eagrán SAOIRSE na míosa seo chugainn.

'SEISEAR clainne a bhí ag Proinsias agus Nóra Ní Giolla Bhríde agus iad ina gcónaí i mBóthar Woodstock, Willowfield in Iarthar Bhéal Feirste — ceantar nach raibh ró-shábháilte fíil i dtús na seachtóidí. Ní raibh Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde ach aon bhliain déag nuair a thosaigh na trioblóidí i 1969. Bhí a thriúr deartháir, Damien, Oisín agus Lughaidh agus a bheirt deirfiúr Máire agus Pádraigín an duine a b'óige ansin chomh maith. Tógáil a bhí ins an athair Proinsias agus bhí an teaghlach go sona ag leanstan ar aghaidh lena mbun oideachais i mBéal Feirste.

Ba go scoil Naomh Pádraig an Cnoc gar do theacháin an Dúna chuaigh Antoine agus cail eile den teaghlach. Bhí sé cliste sa scoil ach bhí an saol corrach a bhí i mBéal Feirste ag an am le cor a chur ina chinimint. Níorbh as Béal Feirste a athair Proinsias ach chuaigh sé ansin mar go raibh sé ag gabháil don ghnoú tógála.

Ba as Breac Lios Liath (Brackliss) gar do Dhiseart Murtáin i gCo Dhoire Proinsias Mac Giolla Bhríde agus ba duine de chlann Mhic Adam as Béal Átha Scanaigh i dtír Chonaill a bhean céile. Chuaigh an teaghlach mar sin go minic go dtí an taobh sin tire agus bhí dáimh i gcónaí ag Antoine le Béal Átha Scanaigh agus Bun Dobhráin.

VIANDICATOR

Bhí baint ag muintir a mháthara leis an nuachtán *Viandicator* i mBéal Átha Scanaigh, nuachtán a raibh deardard láidir náisiúnaí acu agus a scríob na Dubhchrónaigh le líne a n-imeachtaí i dtír Chonaill. Rinne máthair mhór Antoine — Ailse Nic Adam tréimhe príosúnachta i mBóthar Chroimghilne i mBéal Feirste.

Nuair a bhí an teaghlach óg ag éirí antos i mBéal Feirste ní raibh baint ar bith ag a muintir le ghluaiseacht Phoblachtach. Bhí suim sa cheol ag Antoine. Bhíodh sé ag canadh é féin, agus ag seinm ar an fhuideóg. Fuair sé button accordion ina dhiaidh sin. D'fhoghlaim sé roinnt Gaeilge ar scoil Naomh Pádraig ach ní raibh an caighdeán ró-ard ansin ag an am. Bhí siad ag dul ar aghaidh mar ghná theaghlach sona sa chathair.

IONSAÍ

Bhuail babhta tinnis an t-athair sa bhliain 1972 agus ní raibh sé ach ar aghaidh bisingh an oíche sa Bhealtaine 1972 a rinneadh ionsaí air ina theach conair ar Bhóthar Woodstock — ionsaí a thug a bhás bliain ina dhiaidh sin.

Roinnhe seo rinneadh dhá ionsaí ar theach Mhic Giolla Bhríde (a) caitheadh bliana peitreal ar shomra leaphán Mháire agus (b) fágadh canna chúig ghallán peitreal ag an doras cúl. Go h-admháil níor phléas sé an uair seo.

Ba soléir go raibh na h-Aondachtóirí ag iarraidh Clann Mhic Giolla Bhríde a dhíbirt ar an ceantair mar a rinneadh le Caitlicigh i go leor ceantair eile.

An oíche i mBealtaine 1972 a rinneadh an ionsaí ar an teach, chuaigh an mháthair chuig an doras nuair a chuala sí cnag ar an doras. Chonaic sí beirt fear taobh amuigha dúirt go raibh siad ag cur oibre. Nuair a d'oscail sí an doras scaoil siad seacht nurchair le na fear céile a bhí ina sheasamh ins an halla ar cúl. Buailcáid seacht n-uair é agus chuaigh piléar an sa ghualann, sa lámh agus ins an láirig. D'cáiligh na h-ionsaitheair. Tugadh chun ospidéal é agus cé gur bluisig sé fuair sé bás ceithre mhí dhéag ina dhiaidh sin de bharr an dóigh ar loatáid é an oíche mhí-amhátrach sin.

An oíche sin nuair a tháinig Antoine amach as scoirna scaoilcáid sa chois é. Bhí coiscéimeanna suas go dtí an doras agus de bharr an airdeacht sin níor éirigh leis na fir gunna an buille marfach a bhí i gcéist acu a chur i gceol. Ní raibh Antoine ach ceithre

bliana déag ag an am sin agus ar bhiontas ar bith gur hostáil sé féin agus baill eile den teaghlach i nGluaiseacht na Poblachta ina dhiaidh sin. Sa bhliain 1974 chuaigh sé ins na Fianna mar thúis.

B'éigean don teaghlach Béal Feirste fhágáil. Bhí siad in diaidh go leor a fhuilg. Bhí an teaghlach óg agus níor mhian le na dtuisimtheoirí iad a chur i gceantair. Chuaigh siad go Coan Dúin go Baile Bua na n-Arda. Ní raibh mórán náisiúntoirí sa bhaile seo.

Bhí lucht an UVF láidir ins na ceantair maguairt. Ní raibh i bhfad go raibh bagairt a dhéanamh ortha. Den dara h-uair ina saol in am ghoirb b'éigean daoifa a dtéach conat a fhágáil agus a dhul trasna na cúige go Machaire Fiolta an áit a bhfuil an teaghlach ag baint fútha ó shom.

ÓGLAIGH NA hÉIREANN

I gionn a she bliana déag 1975 chuaigh Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde isteach in Arm an tSaorstáit an áit ar chait sé ceithre bliana go dtí 1979. Ar a theacht na bhaile d'chlaing sé le Óglaiha na hÉireann agus deirceadh na bliana sin beir an RUC air nuair a fuair siad raidhfíil ina sheibh.

Cuireadh trí bliana príosúnachta air agus indiaidh ocht mhí dhéag a chaitheamh sa Cheis Fhada, saoradh é i 1981. Chuaigh sé i mbun grúmh arís ag caitheamh cuid mhuid dhá chuid ama fá Bhun Dobhráin áit a raibh aithne mhaith air. Thigheadh sé ina bhaile go minic go Machaire Fiolta ag an deireadh seachtaine.

I mí Iúil 1984 tháinig siad suas leis indiaidh trí bliana. Beir siad air agus é ag síl leis i dtír Machaire Fiolta agus tugadh go h-Aonad Ceistiúcháin an Chaisleáin Riabhaigh i mBéal Feirste é. Tugadh droch bhail air sa charcar dhámanta seo mar a tugadh ar go leor príosúnáigh Poblachtach eile. Dhúitáigh sé bia agus dooch agus iad a threagairt. Dhúitáigh sé labhairt ar chor ar bith.

IORUAIDH

I mí na Samhna 1984 chuaigh sé go dtí an Ioruaidh ar thuras léachtóireachta an chuireadh in Irish Solidarity Group Turindeim. Bhí teagmáil rialta agus leis an ghrúpa seo mar a bhí ag Poblachtaigh eile le grúpaí den chineál sin ar an mhóir roimn ag an am.



• Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí ag cur na h-iar-chimí in aithne don bhFeis sa Chathair

amháin. Bhí an tuar ag teacht fáin targaireacht. Ins an ionsaí ag an Cheis i gCo Fearmanach maraíodh Alastair Slater ball de chuid an SAS agus maraíodh Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde, Óglaiha na hÉireann ina oisna 26 bliain.

Ní h-ionann an tuairisc a thug Arm na Breataine ar an eacitra seo agus an tuairisc a thug Gluaiseacht na Poblachta. Cuireann cuid de na rudaí a tharla iontas ar go leor.

MIANACH

Oíche an chéad lá de Nollaig 1984 chuir aonad de Óglaiha na hÉireann mianach talún síos gar do Bhiallann Drumrush Lodge ar an bhealach ó Bhéal Reice go dtí an bhealach ó Bhéal Reice a thug ar Forsaí Shandála na Breataine a bhí liomhar go leor fan cheantar seo agus ba ghnáthach cuairt a thabhairt ar an Bhiallann.

Bhí Mac Giolla Bhríde agus an veain ar bhealach taoibheidir bhealach Bhéal Leice agus an Cheis agus bealach Phuite Gabha agus an Cheis. Bhí radio aige. Bhí an dá Óglach eile i gCoil clai ag mian an bhealach taoibhe seo. Ní raibh Mac Giolla Bhríde i bhfad ansin go bhfaic sé gluaiseacht de chuid an RUC ag dul síos bóthar Bhéal Leice i dtreo an bhiallann. Thionntáigh siad an bhealach mhór agus chas siad go dtí an Drumrush Lodge. Tharraing na n-Óglaiha bhí ar an chnocán an sreangán ach níor phléas an mianach.

Ba ag an am seo a tháinig dhá ghluaiséir de chuid an SAS chun. Stop an dá cheann ina an bóthar

Bhí an siompóisiam ag Féis le h-iar-chimí Poblachtach Lúbhlaí mar chathairleac Ghlac baill den lucht éiríse fonnmhar.

Labhair Liam de Búrca, Béal Feirste ar na ranganna Ghaeilge i bPríosún Bhéal Feirste, ar an lóing gheibhimh, an *Al Rawdah*, i gCurraic Dhoire agus ar Churach Chill Dara sna Daicheadaí.

Chabhairgh Liam Stiobhart, Éamon Ó Cianáin agus Liam Ó Maoilchraoibhe (ó Bhéal Feirste) ar (fad) leis ón urlár. Lean Gearóid Ó Maoilmhichail, Gaillimh agus Baile Átha Cliath ansin, fé mar a rinne Pádraig Caomhánaigh, Béal Feirste ach i mBaile Átha Cliath agus Chríostóir Ó Néill ón Ard-Chathair chomh maith.

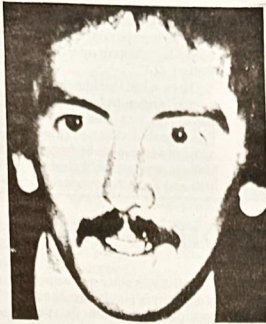
Labhair an t-Uachtarán Ruairí Ó Bréidigh, armthúiteoir Ghaeilge ó Féin sa ngeith-shaol, fé mhúinteán na Gaeilge i Muinteoir agus an gCurraic sna Caogaigí agus an Seascáid.

Seán Ó Sé, Ciarraí agus Baile Átha Cliath agus Séamus Mac Swain, Carmanach a thug an cur síos ar

Gaeil

GIOLLA BHRÍDE

shaol ar mhuintire



• Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde

an mianach talún a phléascadh ach níor éirigh leo. Ní raibh le déanamh ansin acu ach éaló.

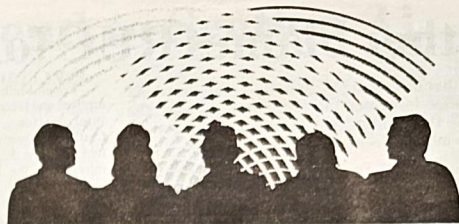
Go díreach nuair a bhí siad ag imeacht chuála siad duine éigin ag scréacháigh — duine a bhí i bpianáigh. Chuála siad scoileadh ó ghruamaímháin thart fá chúig bhormaité déag indiaidh an scoileadh ollmhór gunnair. Ní raibh siad le cluinint ina dhiaidh sin. Is costál gur seoin nuair a cuireadh Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde chun na sioraiochta é ina lú ansin gonta gan chosnamh ar an mbóthair thuair sin oíche cheo agus shiocáin seo i gCo Fhearmanach.

Nuair a chuartaigh siad Mac Giolla Bhríde agus é ina lú ar an bhealach mhór ní bhfuair siad airm ar bith air. Cé gur dhúirt siad go bhfuair siad ábhar pléascadh sa veain ina dhiaidh sin. Mar a rinne Antoine go minic aroimhe dhúitáigh sé ceisteanna a fhreagair. Ba deacair a shamhail go ligfeadh saighdiúirí oílte fá ionlán airm do thear éaló nach raibh oiread agus stacán maide ina ghlaite. Go leor ráite faoi sin.

Bhí griollas troda ag tórramh Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde 4ú Nollag 1984 ins an éstát a raibh cónair ag chlann Mhic Giolla Bhríde i Machaire Fiolta. Thug an RUC le na geuid smaichtin iarraidh brat na dtí ndath a tharraingt ó chónair ach chosain an scaifte i. Cuireadh Antoine faoi fhód ireilig Chúlchaim i nDiseacht Mhartáin an áit a bhfuil a athair chithra.

GOISTE

Léirigh an goiste a cuireadh ar Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde gur tugadh



Feis na Poblachta

Bhí deireadh le Óglach calma nach raibh ach ina mhalrach nuair a thoisigh an tríbhlóidí i 1969 agus nach raibh mórán colais aige ar chogadh den chineál. Ach ina dhiaidh sin thug sé deich mblinná dá shaoil go ghluaiseacht ar son saoirse a mhuintire ó Iostáil sé leis na Fiaanna i 1974 gur maraíodh go tubaisteach é i gCo Fhearmanach mí na Nollag 1984.

Bhí suime aige i ngach gré de chultúr

na tíre agus an ghrá aige don teanga cé nach raibh sé féin chomh h-ábaltá a labhairt. Rinne a dhearthair Lughaidh céim sa Gaeilge agus is cainteoir Iofa é. Bhíodh Antoine ag obair i dtábhairne An Cavan House i mBun Dobhráin agus dá réir an únaera Pádraig Ó Brádaigh bhí sé ar thear chomh maith agus a tháinig isteach chun toighe ariamh. Beidh a ainm i gconáim imeasc na laochra a throid ar son saoirse na tíre.



• **Ag sionspóiam na Feise faoin Gaeilge ag na príosúin (ó chlé) Séamas Mac Suain, Tomás Mac Cearnaigh, Liam de Búrca agus Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí.**

ainide don Óglach seo. Bhuail suas le 10 bpiléaré. Bhí poll amháin sa chorp sa bhog gar don imleacán agus mheas an teaghlach go dtáinig seo de bharr an chéad scoileadh.

Bhí na cnéanna cíle síos an taobh chlé den chorp ó chúl a mhúinéil go dtí na láirig rud a bhéarfadh le fios gur cuireadh rois piléar ann agus é ina lú ar a' talamh. Bhí an corp brúite, geartha, créacht gearr — ghuma ar a lámh, agus gearradh mór ar chúl a chluaise. Bhí an teaghlach cinte gur tugadh anide dó.



• Pádraig Ó Baill

cor.

"Do bhí deiseanna nib thearr le fáil sa chíos, sa scormar scith, agus sa céardlanna. An cuid is mó den am a bhí na cimi ar na hailéir, bhíodh faoi ghlas. Ach bhí fadhb amháin againn. Bhíodh drochnós agáinn tiontú ar an mBéarla nuair a bhuailfeadh duine gan Gaeilge isteach ar an gcomhlucht. Fadhb ba ea é mur bhíodh gur léir faoi ghlas le chéile agus cairdiúil.

AR AGHAIDH

"Ach in ainneoin gach rud ón uair sin amach chuig an Gaeilge ar aghaidh. Cé nach raibh céad raidió gearrtonna a bhí agáinn, in aineim Dé an (Saor Stáit, "Slándáil", bhí léipeanna le fáil ar chuid de chláiracha Raidió na Gaeltachta. An fhadhb a bhain le sin na easpa téip taifadán. Do bhí dóthain leabhair agáinn agus i gceann cpla mí bunaíodh nuachtán Gaeilge a fhoilsíodh gach seachtain.

"Tháinig an Gaeilge i bhfaisean. Thoshaigh gach réime ar a bhoghlaim. Bhí ranganna éagsúla ar siúl de 16 is d'óiche. Do shuigh cuid againn le

ghaighidh na hArdeisimeireachta agus ní dóigh liom gur theip ar aoinne. Nuair a d'fhágas Carcair Phortaíose um Nollag 1984 do bhí an teanga ag dul ar aghaidh niba shásúla ná mar a bhí coime ag aoinne leis i 1976. Na fadhbanna go léir sáráithe.

DÍCHEALL

"Sula chriochnóidh mé ba mhaith liom a rá go raibh a lán mhúinteoir maíthe agáinn dhéan andicheall ar son na Gaeilge, Pádraig Dollard sin áireamh. Sár-mhúinteoir a bhí ann. Cé go raibh rang nó dhó aige gach lá den seachtain bhí sé toilteanach dá uair a cloig gach tráthóna a chaitheamh ag múineadh Gaeilge domsa agus sa samhradh uair amháin eile agus sinn ag siúl timpeall an chlois.

"Bhí Pádraig ina dhúine uasail cruthanta agus ba leas leis mo dhroch — Ghaolainn a cheartú. Tá Pádraig ar síl na firinne anois. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam uasal agus anamacha a chomráidithe go léir áit ar síl na firinne leis. Sin a bhfuil."



u Lúbhlaí.

eilge ins na príosúin

Feis na Poblachta i mblíana
ntach agus Domhnall Ó
each air thar bárr ar fad.
éisteachta páirt ann go

Chailimis gach a bhí againn, ár leapacha, ár leabhair, an siopa, na ceardlanna, an cairdeamh saor a bhí againn. Agus dar ndóigh, ár rang Ghaeilge. Agus mar bhiarrar gach donais bhímis i mbairdeanas anois.

STAILC OCAIRIS

"Maidir leis an stailc ocairis féin i 1977, cé cur beag an Ion Gaeilgeoir sa charcair ag an am, bhí naonair acu i measc an fiche a bhí páirteach ann. N'fheadar, an bhfuil ceacht le foghlaim ón bhfiric sin? Mo léan tá beirt den naonair úd ar shíl na firinne anois agus beirt eile desna stailcooirí chomh maith. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a n-anamacha.

"Leanamh orainn. Uimhir a dhó, easpa suime ag an geuid is mó dena cimi polaitiúla, agus easpa mhúinteoirí oílte ar dtús. Easpa eile na leabhair agus chomh maith leis sin raidió gearrtonn chun Raidió na Gaeltachta a fháil. Ach athraíonn na heasainmh úd ó am go am.

"Uimhir a trí, easpa príobháideachta. Uair amháin ar feadh tamaill thada gach óiche bhíodh go léir, timpeall céad fear, brúite le chéile faoi ghlas sa scormar scith. Bhí cuid desna fir ag seinn cooil ar an ngramafóin, cuid eile ag feachtaint ar an

teifís, cuid eile ag caint, agus cuid eile fós ag imirt fichille, cártaí agus mar sin de.

MEASCÁN CEART

"I 1977 bhog muintir na teangean go dtí taobh amháin de aileáir na Dnanna chun a bheith seartha ón na Bearáirí agus Jaillteachta bhunú. "Sea, Jaillteacht mar go firinneacht ní Fíor-Ghaeltacht a bhí ann in aon cor. Dhí chúis leis sin. Bhíomar i gearcair agus bhí meascán ceart de Gaeilge le fáil ann idir Gaeilge na Mumhan, Connachta agus Uladh.

"Bhí "tírgrá" ag cuid againn agus "cheagrá" ag cuid eile, bhí "áit" agus "aite", "dearg" agus "Jarug", bhí "rang" agus "wrong". "An féidir leat?" agus "An jig leat?", "Taa" agus "léw", "Rowe" agus "rev" agus mar sin de.

"Taobh amuigh de sin bhí focail éagsúla ann freisin leis an mbri céanna. Do bhí mar shampla, "cuiosach", "measarthá" agus "réasúna". Agus a lán eile den sórt céanna.

"Ina dhiaidh tamaill bhig thit an Jaillteacht úd as a chéile. An príomh chúis le sin ná go raibh daoine ann gan fíú an corrthocal Gaeilge agus bhí siad ag labhairt i mBéarla an t-am go léir. N'fheadar dá bhí ar an t-intinn acu bogadh isteach sa Jaillteacht anois

Phortaíose 'sna Seachtóidí agus na h-Octáidí.

CEIS FHADA

Labhair Tomás Mac Cearnaigh, Tír Eoghain, le mothó fé foghlaim na Gaeilge i gCampa na Ceis Fada le linn stailc na pluide 1976-81 rud a rinneadh go briomhar gan peann nó páipéar. Ina caint ar fadhbanna a bhain le múineadh agus foghlaim na Gaeilge i gCarcair Phortaíose 1975-1984, dúirt Séamas Mac Suain:

"Anois, caitheamh cuimhneamh go dtarraigh na fadhbanna a bhí ann i rith na mblianta, cé gur lean cuid acu i sliabháin nó síl eile ar feadh an ama. Bhí na fadhbanna, costail leis an cimi, thuas seal agus thíos seal.

"Uimhir a haon, agóidí, caitheamh, stailc ocairis, iarracht chun éaló, agus mar sin de. An ghlúth phléascadh i measc de dheasca ccairí ar son sin bhíodh sé dian agus fada.

Father blames RUC for son's death

THE father of a young West Belfast man shot dead as a police informer last June has accused the RUC of threatening his life to get his son to become an agent.

On September 23 Frank Mulhern, a charity worker from the Falls Road, Belfast, sent a letter to the RUC Chief Constable, Sir Hugh Annesley, accusing the RUC of blackmail "which eventually led to the death of my son".

He hopes to initiate legal action against the Chief Constable and have his son Joseph's three Special Branch "handlers" charged with blackmail and murder. Two of these were based in Castlereagh and one in Lisburn.

Joseph Mulhern (24) was arrested and taken to the RUC interrogation centre at Castlereagh three years ago and told that if he did not provide information the RUC would have his father shot "using the known and proven contacts that they had with the loyalist organisations and assassination squads".

Frank Mulhern told the Irish Times (September 24) that

the RUC later "actually pushed him into joining the IRA and not only into joining the IRA, but they also were pushing him into becoming a quartermaster in the Belfast IRA".

His son had told him this in a letter written to him shortly before he was shot by the Provisionals. Extracts of a transcript of a tape made by Joseph Mulhern have been published in Irish and English newspapers

SAOIRSE - Deireadh Fómhair/October 1993



● Frank Mulhern

and reveal the same story. Joseph Mulhern's body was found near the Border in Co Tyrone on June 23.

Frank Mulhern still feels his life and those of his family are threatened by the RUC Special Branch, which "stooped to its lowest by threatening a father's life to get at a son". He urged other young people who were trapped into working for the British Crown Forces to get in touch with him before it was too late.

Catholic/Protestant family incomes gap

A NEWLY-published study shows that average income for Catholic families in the Six Counties was £122 a week compared to £136 a week for Protestants. The study, published on September 22, was undertaken for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation by researchers from the University of Ulster, led by Professor Vani K Borooah.

The tendency towards larger families in the Catholic community meant that the income gap in terms of disposable income per head was even wider.

Analysing the Family Expenditure Survey in the Six

Counties for 1989 and 1990 the study found that where the household head was unemployed, Protestant families were 24 per cent better off, where the household head was in paid work Protestants had seven per cent more income and where the head of the family was self-employed, Protestant families were 17 per cent better off. A higher rate of unemployment among

Catholics was noted as a cause of disparity in family income as was discrimination in the amount of wages paid by employers to Catholics.

The researchers estimated that 18 per cent of the difference in net incomes between Catholics and Protestants was the result of labour market discrimination ie Catholics with similar qualifications and jobs

were receiving less pay than their Protestant counterparts.

the inequality between the two communities. Professor Borooah said that action aimed at reducing the unemployment disadvantage suffered by Catholics specifically would do more to improve their incomes relative to Protestants than action to cut the overall number of unemployed.

INTENSIFIERS

This points to the fact that less Catholics are employed in the better-paid jobs in the Six Counties, as the sectarian jobs bias intensifies the more you go up the jobs (and incomes) ladder. The researchers also found that overall the gap between rich and poor within the Protestant and Catholic communities in the Six Counties is far greater than

● *Catholic-Protestant Income Differences in Northern Ireland, Social Policy Findings No 43* is published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 40 Water End, York YO3 6AP, England.

British exclusion order legal battle

JOHN Gallagher (30), from Co Donegal is fighting the decision of the British government two years ago to ban him from entering Britain and the Six Counties by exclusion order issued under the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). Exclusion orders have been described as "ethnic cleansing by ministerial order" and simply require the signature of the British Home Secretary to ban a person without the possibility of a court or independent appeal.

Neither can the person be told the grounds on which the order was signed. John Gallagher maintains that the decision to exclude him from Britain was only taken because

he refused to turn informer for the English government.

He is appealing the refusal to grant a judicial review of his case in British courts and is

contesting on the grounds that a legal point in European Community treaties ensures free movement of workers between member states. An exception allows "national security" to be given as grounds for excluding a person from entering a jurisdiction but provision is supposed to be made for an independent review.

Under the PTA the British Home Office serves the exclusion order and decides on appeal whether to rescind it or not. Those accused are not told what accusations they face or

the identity of the official adjudicating in their case.

Michael Farrell, lawyer for John Gallagher, expects the case to be referred to the European Court of Justice on a point of law, and he considers the fact that the case has got as far as the Court of Appeal to be "a significant advance".

The Scottish view

AN opinion poll conducted in Scotland recently found that 50% of those asked favoured British withdrawal from the Six Counties.

The poll was jointly undertaken by the *Glasgow Herald* and BBC Scotland based on a representative sample of 1,057 street interviews.

Given a choice of political options for the future the most popular choice, at 34 per cent of those polled, was for a United Ireland completely separate from Britain. Only 15 per cent of the Scottish people favoured continued British rule in Ireland.

All opinion polls in England, Scotland and Wales for two decades have favoured British disengagement from Ireland.



TÁ stáisiún raidió pobail nua ar an aer i mBÁC ó Dé Sathairn, 25ú Meán Fómhair. Raidió na Life — atá á chraoladh ar 102FM ó 5pm go 10.30pm gach lá.

Ag 8pm gach oíche beidh *An Tuar Ceatha*, irisclár eile agus óna 9pm beidh *Ceolta na Cruinne* le saghasanna difriúil ceoil gach oíche. Chomh maith leis sin beidh dhá uair a chloig craolta maidin Shathairn is Domhnaigh.

Tá Raidió na Life á stiúradh ag comharchumann Raidió Átha Cliath agus fuair eadar cabhair airgead uaidh Bord na Gaeilge. Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge agus Gael Linn chomh maith le daoine príobháideacha.

I nGaeilge a chraolfaí na cláracha ar fud Baile Átha Cliath agus na ceantair máguaird agus deir an lucht triartha gur bhé an phríomhadh atá ag an stáisiún ná deis chumarsáide a thabhairt do phobal na Gaeilge i mBaile Átha Cliath agus meán Gaeilge a chur ar fáil a chuirfidh síos ar shaol na cathrach.

Óna 5pm go 6.30pm gach lá beidh clár ceoil agus ina dhiaidh beidh *An Jeaicín Beo*, irisclár imeachtai agus ceoil. Ag 7pm craolfaí cinnlíní nuacht (uaidh scéirbhís nuacht 89FM) agus tar éis tá cláracha sainspeise éagsúla ó lá go lá faoin cheol traidisiúnta, chúrsaí na mban, dhéagóirí srl.

Faoi Ghlas Ag Gallaibh

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS

Michael Hegarty, A9999
C Wing
H-Block 1
HMP Magilligan
Point Road
Magilligan
Co Derry
BT49 0LP

Liam Quinn, L49930
HMP Parkhurst
Isle of Wight
England

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



● British police use PTA to terrorise Irish.

Dublin bombings inquiry call

DUBLIN County councillors called for a sworn public inquiry to investigate the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings at its meeting on Monday, September 13.

The Council wants the Dublin administration to set up an inquiry presided over by a member of the judiciary "in order that the relatives of those that died and those that were injured in these atrocities may know the identities of those responsible".

The inquiry should examine the "alleged failure of the Gardaí to bring those responsible to justice, the alleged non-co-operation of the RUC in the Garda investigation,

and the alleged assistance given to the bombers by the British intelligence services".

● At the same meeting councillors opposed the Criminal Justice Bill 1993 which they described as setting out to outlaw the right of the individual to protest or picket publicly.

The Council called for parts of the Bill to be changed to ensure that it does not restrict the rights of the general public to engage in peaceful protest.



● Scene at Talbot Street, Dublin, May 17, 1974.

United Nations calls for end to Section 31

A REPORT from the Human Rights Committee of the UN states that Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act infringes Article 19 of the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the 26 Counties ratified in 1989 and has asked the Dublin administration to repeal the legislation.

The report, which followed hearings with representatives of the Dublin administration by the UN Committee on Human Rights in Geneva in July, says that "the prohibition of interviews with certain groups outside the borders by the broadcast media infringes on the freedom to receive and impart information under Article 19, paragraph 2 of the Covenant". Article 19 guarantees freedom of expression.

The committee further stated that the necessary measures should now be taken to ensure the "enjoyment of the freedom of expression as set out

in Article 19 of the covenant. In this regard the committee suggests that steps be taken to repeal strict laws on censorship and ensure judicial review of decisions taken by the Censorship of Publications Board".

The decision by the UN committee contrasts with that of the European Commission on Human Rights which in 1991 refused to admit for a full hearing a case challenging Section 31 which was taken by the National Union of Journalists and broadcasting members of the union, SIPTU. Unlike the European Commission, the UN

committee did not accept Dublin's defence that the security situation demanded such legislation as Section 31.

Even though Article 19 allows some curtailment of freedom of expression in order to protect the state, the UN committee stated that while it recognised that problems had been encountered from acts related to "the situation outside its borders, at the same time, it notes with satisfaction that the rule of law has been firmly established in Ireland and that the institutions of government and public order are not under serious threat."

The lawyer, Michael Farrell, of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL), one of the bodies which made a submission to the UN committee, said that the Dublin administration was now obliged to change the law.

RTÉ GUIDELINES

Meanwhile, RTÉ have issued their staff with new guidelines, dated September 17, 1993, on how to apply a Dublin Supreme Court ruling on Section 31. These allow journalists to interview members of Republican Sinn Féin and Provisional Sinn Féin "but only after referral to a Divisional Executive who may consult with the Director General".

RTÉ staff must consider the "status" of a member of these two organisations, "the capacity in which they are speaking and the content of what is said or expected to be said".

Joe Mulholland, RTÉ's Head of News, has recently suggested that Section 31 censorship be suspended for a trial period of one year.



LIFT CAMPAIGN TO CONTINUE IN BALLYMUN

DESPITE concessions by Dublin Corporation to have the lifts in Ballymun fixed on Sundays the Ballymun Flatdwellers' Association says the fight to get their four demands implemented in order to obtain a decent lift service on the estate is to continue.

Tom Ryan, co-ordinator of the Association said the great response by the people of Ballymun to their petition which gathered 5,000 signatures and the general support throughout the estate has given the Association the strength and will to continue this important campaign until their demands are satisfied to the full.

He continued: "Though the lift company now has to work Sundays this is only a limited success. There were many issues that people brought to us which we highlighted in our submission to the Ballymun Special Committee that were totally ignored."

REMOVED
Maureen Kelly, an Association member, said: "The TDs and Councillors that make up the Special Committee are so far removed from the bread-and-butter issues of the people of Ballymun that they are hopeless. All they are really interested in is lining their own pockets and getting votes at election time."

She stated again the four demands the Association is fighting for:

1. a 24-hour lift repair service for all the lifts on the estate;

2. a lift company with enough manpower and resources to do the job;
3. a comprehensive checking system of the work said to be done by the lift companies; and
4. in the long term Dublin Corporation to set up its own lift depot on the estate.

Pickerings Lifts Head Office is a mansion in Clonsilla, Co Dublin on the grounds of a stud farm. The Ballymun Flatdwellers Association asks tenants to phone John O'Brien (tel 203399), their managing director and demand the work be done.

Lift depot phone number: 842 9005 and the page number for after hours: 901902.



• Campaign secures Sunday working from lift company.

Sealbh i bpáirt agus obair i gcomhar

Cuid a cúig

IS é príomhphrionsabal Comhar na gComharsan córas geillegraigh agus comhdhánaíocht a bhíonn ina mbeadh cothrom na Féinne ag an uile Éireannach agus seilbh eacnamaíoch ins na córacha táirgthe roimne chomh leitheadach sin ar na daoine go mbeadh bun-nós na seilbhe d'ús go firinneach náisiúnta. Córas ina mbeadh an ceart ag an uile neach do seilbh, i gcomh-sheilbh lena bhean/fear máis pósta, agus mar an gcéanna le lánúin i gcuimrigh sheasnachta, agus a gclainn cleithiúnach agus ina mbeadh seilbh ag fúmhóir mór na ndaoine, i n-sonad eacnamaíoch de na córacha sin.

Is féidir anad eacnamaíoch a shannbhíú mar "an oiread de mhaoine táirgthe an tsaoil is a chuirfeas ar chumas a shealbhóra a bheatha a chaitheamh mar is oir."

Sealbhúch toirúil de btreis air seo is de cheart maoine seilbhe a bheadh sé ag duine agus bheadh sé de dhualgas air é úsáid chun an leasa phoiblí. Tiomaithe sin bheadh sé de cheart ag an Stát mar mháir the leis an leas poiblí an btreis seilbhe seo a ghabháil dó féin (msh lena roinn ar dhaoine gan seilbh) le cúiteamh nó gan é do na sealbhóirí (mar a déantar chomha féin le cáin ioncaim srl).

PRIONSABAL

Bheadh sé de príomhdhualgas ar an Stát an prionsabal seo a chomhlíonadh agus i gcás go mbeadh céatáin réimhshocráithe den daonra gan seilbh nó diomscail tuaithe, nó seilbh i mbád nó chiontach leis an bhfailli dá bhri sin uaidh féin.

Thiocfaid leis an anad eacnamaíoch seo a bheith mar ghabháltas fónta, nó seilbh i gcomhar i ndíche mhóir nó i dtionscal tuaithe, nó seilbh i gearrdáin — agus in aisceiracht seilbh i mbád nó scair i dtáirge mór nó i dtionscal eile mara — agus maidir leis na tionscail mhóra déantúsaíochta, seilbh i bpáirt i monarchain nó in aon chomhlucht táirghe nó seirbhíse eile.

BHEADH an bhéim ar obair i gcomhar agus ba é dualgas an Stáit airgead saor a chur ar fáil (agus deontaisi más gá) thri bhancanna talmaíochta nó tionscail d'oirbthe aonair nó fínti nó comharchumain (le téarmaí speisialta do na comharchumain) le stoc, úirlis agus sásach a cheannach a rachadh chun brian-tóir tháirgthe an talaimh a mbeadh, agus le foirntí agus tuchtairianna a thógáil agus díol agus ceannach i gcomhar a dhéanamh.

Ba é a fhearracht chéanna é ag tionscail na h-iascaireachta le bail cheart a chur ar

phróiseáil, díol agus onnmhúirt na h-eadáil a bhearfai isteach ón tonn.

Is iomaí cineál comhairíochta a bheadh an áfach ón ngé shimpli ina mbeadh seilbh i bpáirt ag na feilmearaí i geineálacha áithrí dá sáslagh a d'oirbteidís i gcomhar (ach a gcuid feilmeacha a choimeáil i leithi acu féin) go dtí an ghné is iomláine ina gcuirfí roinnt feilmeacha i gceann a chéile (nó duiche mhór anáim gan roinn) in aon chomharchumain nó le huachtarlanna, stórtha, córacha tampaig agus siopaí dá chuid féin aige.

Agus mar an gcéanna, i gcás báid, monarchana próiseála srl leis an aisceiracht. Ima leithde seo de chomhar bheadh gach feilmeara/aisceir agus gach oibrí a bhí ina theideal ina shealbhóir i bpáirt agus dá bhri sin guth aige i gcomhairle riarta an chomhluchta.

ROIINN

Ar an gcuma céanna ní tuilleamh ná tuarastal a gheobhadh sé ar a chuid saothair ach roinn de shochar glan an chomharchumain (i gceim b'fhéidir líntáisi pósta, clainne agus tabhartha, agus cúiteamh i leith cúraim speisialta nó déicéil oibre.)

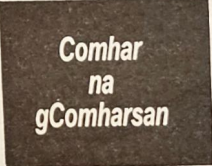
Maidir le tionscail tuaithe nó bhaile mhóir nó chathrach ar dual dófa gléasradh

éiníthir nó clainne mar a bheadh siopaí, céardlanna agus a liacht gnáthe beag eile, gheobhadhís gach comair agus cúntóir rialtas agus bheadh gach caoithiúlacht ar fáil acu le gabháil i bpáirtíocht stóráil ná diolacháin nó sáslagh mhóir le haghaidh céimeanna áithrí tionscail a bheadh thar a chumas nó a n-acmhainn féin.

Bheadh gléasra mór mar mar mhonarchain, formhargadh srl á rith ag na hoibríthe mar chomharchumain ina mbeadh seilbh i bpáirt ag gach oibrí cáilithe ann, agus bheadh comhairlí áitúla agus náisiúnta ag feidhmíú chun ceisteanna luacha, ceangail agus páirt a shocrú idir ranna eagsúla ar aon tionscail. S.A. gceim sin arís bheadh Bord Láir Margaíochta nó a leithde le réiteach a dhéanamh idir na céardchomhluchtaí agus na tionscail eagsúla. Is iad na daoine a bheadh i dteideal seilbh de mhaoine táirgíúil eacnamaíoch a bheadh — gach duine fásra le muirín nó daoine cleithiúnacha aige/aici, gach duine de thriocha bliain agus gach duine a bheadh aonad eacnamaíoch é oirdheacht nó ó shanadh aige/aici.

OIDHREACHT

D'fhéadfaí córas oidhreachta a réiteach ar mhúlna na fine curtha i bhfeidhmíocht do rianachais an lae inniu nó



sealúchas a chur ó dhúine go duine ar mhóid an chiste rothlath a thionscain Godin i lár an 19ú aois nuair a rinne sé comharchumain oibrítheoirí dá theilcheartáin i nGúise ar chuspa "Phalanstère" an tsóiselaí Fourier mar do bhí fosta comharchumain talmaíochta agus déantúsaíochta Raláhine (Co an Chláir) i 1831.

I gcás nach bheadh sé ar a chumas ag duine aonad eacnamaíoch a fháil thri oirdheacht nó thri shanadh nó ar aon bhealach rialta eile bheadh sé de príomhdhualgas an stáit ceann a sholáthar dhó nó daithé.

I gcás mar seo i n-éis na chéad ranna bheadh fáil agus dáil na n-aonad eacnamaíoch móran uathoibrícheach, agus i bheadh feidhm ag an rialtas ach an gcuma a choimeáil ag obair go-éascaí.

—Fear Domhnann

Glasgow Smashing Of the Van

A chara

I wonder if any of your readers can help me with information about the famous Glasgow Prison Van Case, otherwise known as The Smashing of the Van.

This was an incident that occurred on May 4, 1921 when the Scottish Brigade of the IRA carried out an unsuccessful bid to rescue a prisoner, Frank Carty, Commandant of the Sligo Brigade, from a prison van outside the city's Duke Street Prison. In the melee, a police inspector was killed and the wave of arrests that followed included that of a pro-Sinn Féin priest, Fr Patrick McRory, which caused indignation amongst the Irish community. All those charged were either released or found not guilty at the subsequent trial.

I am researching a booklet about the episode and would appreciate any help your readers can provide.

STEPHENCOWLE
Glasgow

Defend Arts 2 & 3?

A chara

Could you please explain to readers how it is possible for Sinn Féin Poblachtach to campaign in defence of Articles 2 & 3 of the Irish Constitution and still refuse to recognise the legitimacy of the existing 26-County State? There would appear to be an obvious contradiction here.

Surely you cannot defend the articles in question without supporting them. However if you support them then you have to support the Constitution of which they are a part. This in turn must logically commit you to accepting the 26-County state as a legitimate Irish state and to recognising the Dublin government as the legal representative of the people of Ireland.

Older, more experienced comrades will probably know the answer to this apparent conundrum, but there is a real danger that younger readers will accuse you of political inconsistency and this in turn could lead them to doubt other aspects of Republican Sinn Féin's politics.

May I suggest that SAOIRSE publish a short article on this subject in order that the issue can be discussed and the confusion dispelled.

WILLIE WALLIS
Glasgow

Missed The Main Lesson

A chara

It is a pity that Deasún Ó Daltuín (Review September 1993) seems to have missed the main lesson to be learned from Jack O'Brien's latest book *The Unionjacking of Ireland*.

To use the phrase of Yeats:

"Let us not casually reduce that great past to a trouble of fools, for we need not feel the bitterness of the past to discover its meaning for the present and the future."

Jack O'Brien endeavoured to show in successive chapters of his book that the continued disregard of the British government and parliament for the democratically expressed wishes of the Irish people since 1800 led inevitably to physical violence as the weapon of last resort for achieving political ends. The rejection of the democratic methods of O'Connell, Parnell and Sinn Féin led in turn to Young Ireland, the Fenians, the Invincibles and the IRA. This disregard for Irish democracy by Britain is the fundamental point of the book and I think has been well established by O'Brien.

The Unionjacking of Ireland has nothing to do with 'neo-colonialism' or the role of the Irish government since 1921. These are obviously outside the scope of the book. Perhaps Ó Daltuín will now do a separate book on them and tell us what he means.

While valid criticism is always welcome, reviewers of books should, I suggest, be accurate in their comments and avoid pejorative and personal remarks about an author. *The Unionjacking of Ireland* does not chronicle resistance to British rule from the early 1970s as stated in para one of the review. What is 'ex-Free State army officer' (para one) meant to imply? What does Mr Ó Daltuín know about Jack O'Brien's background (penultimate paragraph) apart from what appears on the back cover of his book?

MARY HAYES
Sráid Anraí
Gaillimh

• The reference in the review to the 'early 1970s' should of course have read the 'early 1790s' and was due to a typesetting error.

—Eagarthóir

The State Versus Democracy

A chara

During the 1992 General Election in the 26 Counties, a Progressive Democrats broadcast on RTE started with the words "70 years since the foundation of our nation..." This statement called a few points to mind. The first point was that the PDs would make a good rap group instead of being... (bearing in mind the laws of libel I'll leave the reader to finish the sentence).

The second point that this little statement called to mind was how powerful "the state" has become. A nation is a collection of humanity who come together and develop a sense of belonging over thousands of years and a few decades or centuries can't make or destroy a nation. But with one insipid sentence in a political broadcast on a state-owned and controlled television station, one of the state's parties tried to give us the impression that Irish history started (and finished) in 1922.

Democracy started in Greece thousands of years before anyone had even heard of Mary Robinson. The word itself is made up of two Greek words which translate as "power to the people". The ideal behind it was that the local people elect



• Location in Glasgow where the Smashing of the Van took place in May 1921.

issues that concerned them by and for themselves. Of course it wasn't that perfect in practise. The voice of a poor man would hardly have been as loud as the voice of a wealthier man.

Also, in ancient Greece (or at least in Athens where democracy was practised) democracy more realistically meant "power to the men". But at least with the ideal of democracy, the Greeks were onto a winner.

There is a problem with democracy as we know it. The problem is state democracy (a contradiction in terms). In the days of poor long distance communication, for all the people to decide on issues of government would have been impossible. Seeing this, the people created middle-men who would take care of the day-to-day issues of government and would act in the best interests of the people. From time to time new people would be elected to the government by the people. The area which the government was allowed by the people to rule over became the state. This is how the democratic state began. The state owed its existence to the people it governed. The state could only exist as long as the people allowed it to.

Once these states were formed by the people, the armies were formed by the states, on the grounds of self-defence. What the armies were defending were the states. In addition to the army, the state also created a police force on the grounds of defending the people from themselves. The idea was that the police would go bravely forth and capture criminals in the process of obtaining money which didn't belong to them (the earliest and most honest form of capitalism).

The state began imprisoning its own people. From time to time it went one better and killed them by the handful. With each victim the state grew and as it grew, it forgot where it began.

The 26-County-State (the one I live in... but not for much longer) has now become so big in its own mind that it now believes itself to be a nation.

In the late 1980s Chinese students attempted to bring democracy (power to the people) to their own country. Out of the student protests came one of the most powerful images of the state versus democracy.

That image was of a young man standing in front of a column of tanks. This man wasn't allowed to elect the people who

governed his country but what he did was democracy in action. Democracy doesn't always mean "power to the people", sometimes (out of necessity) it means "power to the person". That one man who forcefully prevented a column of tanks from crushing his comrades symbolised democracy.

Democracy doesn't just mean pushing a piece of paper into a ballot box whenever the

Protestant minister of Co Louth, Rev Neilson. His connection with Dromiskin is particularly of interest to me as my late wife Una comes from a village between Annagassan and Dromiskin. His love of the language must have set him back in his religious career at such a period to identify with the people then put one "beyond the pale".

I wonder how many know too of the great author, now coming back into popularity — partly because John Major is said to read his work! — Anthony Trollope.

Appointed in the early 1800s as postmaster-inspector in the West of Ireland he wrote — in his early works mainly — of his love for Ireland and its people. And in the Famine days of his fury and indignation at what was caused — exporting corn while tossing a handful of maize to the starving, who were made to slave on the "new" roads for literally chicken-feed.

His description of the dying woman and her dead child and dying baby in the tiny house in which he takes shelter would bring tears to anyone's eyes. Maybe if indeed Major reads the works of Trollope he will know why the "Irish have such long memories". Even grope his way to realise why so many young Irish go to Somalia and similar places. And why others are — now so unfashionable — willing to die for their country.

Still in Ireland one island is not one nation, nor is Tone's gravestone set and if the present crowd who sit in Leinster House keeps on as they are it never will be. The words banned from being uttered in Leinster House, put together in one sentence really sum up all those who sit in that "version of Vichy" in Dublin.

Some of course would say that they want to effect change from within. Perhaps Charles de Gaulle should have joined Pétain in Vichy in 1940 if that is the case!

From Oxford one can perhaps quote Plato: "The natural form of government is the Republic".

He did not add, a real one, not a vassal state ("Free" or not!).

JOHN HOUDLY
Oxford
England

A chara

I read with interest in a recent SAOIRSE the story of

Leinster House And Vichy

Seán McGoldrick
Drunmucall
Sligo

1893 - Bliain na Gaeilge - 1993
Deireadh Fómhair

12/13 SAMHAIN, AOINE/SATHARN. Léachtaí agus Seisiúin Cheoil. Baile Bhuirne.

12 SAMHAIN, AOINE. Siompóisiam i mBaile Átha Cliath faoi chraobhaicha ionráiteacha an tseanóil — An Ard-Chraobh, Craobh na gCúig Chúigí, Craobh na Gaillimhe, Craobh Londain, Craobh an Chéitinnigh, Craobh Chúil an tSáidair, srí. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2. 8pm. Bronnfar Gradam an Chéid ar dhúine a shaothraigh ar son na Gaeilge i gContae an Chláir. Ócáid in Inis.

19/20 SAMHAIN, AOINE/SATHARN. Ócáid i Lumneach.

22/28 SAMHAIN, LUAN/DOMHNACH. Comóradh Seachtaine ar Chonraitheoirí Chontae Choraí, An tAthair Peadar Ó Laoighaire ina measc. Áras an Chraobhín Aobhinn, 13 Paráid na Dige, Corcaigh.

24 SAMHAIN, CÉADAOIN. Oseailt Taispeántas i mBaile Átha Cliath d'hoilseacháin éagsúla an Chonartha: leabhair, leabhráin, irisí, bíoga, painmídeá srí 1893-1993. Léacht faoi thábhacht Chlódhanna Teoranta go stairiúil. BÁC.

1/3 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, AOINE-DOMHNACH. Cúirt Uí Chadhain. A reachtáil ag Craobh na Gaillimhe de Chonradh na Gaeilge. Áras na nGael, 45 Sráid Deimhne, Gaillimh.

5 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, MÁIRT. Léacht: *Conraitheoirí Loch Garman, 1893-1993.* Inis Córthúidh.

8/10 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, AOINE-DOMHNACH. Daon scoil Osraí, Cill Chainnigh. Léacht ag Proinsias Mac Aonghusa.

15 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, AOINE. Crochadh Pictiúir ar leith d'Eóin Mac Néill i gCeannáras Chonradh na Gaeilge. Cailleadh é 15 Deireadh Fómhair, 1945.

20 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR, CÉADAOIN. Siompóisiam i mBaile Átha Cliath faoi Craobh na hAiséirí. Cúireadh d'iarbhaill. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2, 8pm.

22/31 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR. **OIREACHTAISNA GAEILGE, GAILLIMH.** Láinseáil an leabhair *Ar son na Gaeilge - Ccuradh na Gaeilge 1893-1993* le Proinsias Mac Aonghusa.

The politics of women's history

THE 1993 Desmond Greaves Weekend Summer School was held recently at the Irish Labour History Museum in Haddington Road, Dublin. The opening lecture on Friday night was given by Dr Mary Cullen of the Department of Modern History, Maynooth College on the theme: "History Women and History Men — the Politics of Women's History." During the course of her address she said:

History serves as group memory, as vital for our self-knowledge of ourselves as members of societies, nations, cultures or women or men as in individual history. As custodians of group memory historians have not served women well.

The current wave of feminism which emerged in Western society around 1960 challenged the prevailing stereotype which insisted that every female, by virtue of her biological sex, was best fulfilled as a person and made her best contribution to society by confining herself to the role of wife and mother and leaving responsibility for the running of society to males.

Finding their assertion of autonomy and responsibility for decisions about their own lives challenged in its turn by the claim that history showed that women had always been satisfied with this role — woman's "life within the home" as out 1937 constitution aptly expresses it — feminists turned to the historical evidence with the question: what did women do? The answers they found raise radical challenges to conventional history.

DISCOVERY

One discovery has been that of the feminist movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the causes that gave rise to them. In virtually every country in Western society, including Ireland, organised feminist movements campaigned to change laws, regulations and customs which confined women to strictly limited areas of human activity and which directed political, social and economic power to men.

Women were excluded from political life, whether as government ministers, elected representatives or voters. They were barred from higher education and the professions. Titles and property passed to sons in preference to daughters. The home was seen as "women's sphere", yet under English common law in force in Ireland when a woman married she lost her legal identity, her husband had authority over her and their children, and her property, earned and inherited, passed under his control to dispose of as he pleased.

Between 1850 and 1930 feminists succeeded in

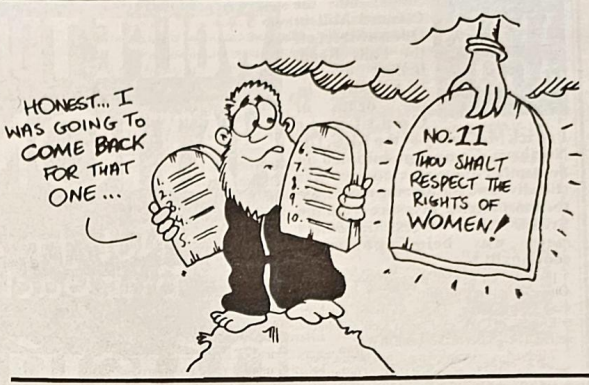
revolutionising the legal status of women and the opportunities open to them. By any standards it was a sizeable achievement even though with hindsight we know that the underlying stereotypes of proper feminine and masculine behaviour were harder to shift.

GROUP MEMORY

The rediscovered history of feminism begins to restore to women some of their lost group history. It tells them that their past includes a complex story of struggle to achieve autonomy as individuals and full citizenship of society. Women can start from a history of dissent to imposed patterns of behaviour instead of re-inventing the wheel in each new generation.

With the revelation that there have been real political, social and economic differences consequent on being born a male or female at a specific time or place, sex emerges as a category of historical analysis. It interacts with other analyses such as class, colour, religion, race, age, marital and parental situation, in locating individuals or groups in their historical context. Gender is used to express this definition of sex as a social construction as distinct from narrowly biological sex differences.

Gender analysis is as relevant to men in history, and to men's group memory and present-day identity, as it is to women. Feminist history and feminist studies refute the fallacy that men's roles have been and are in some way the human norm to which women aspire.



PRIVILEGE

Male privilege, control of resources, freedom from daily family responsibility, freedom to be full-time politicians, intellectuals, artists or whatever, have depended on women's role being defined as one of subordination and service. Male dominance over female cannot co-exist with women's autonomy. The stereotypes for both sexes have to change if either one does.

Why have the historical realities that the political, social and economic life of societies was organised around a model that systematically limited women's autonomy and that feminists campaigned successfully for change, not appeared in the general histories of Irish society?

If we dismiss a conspiracy theory of deliberate suppression the explanation can only be that most historians have not and still do not see women as important or "significant" in the history of their societies. In this they share the prevailing value-system of their society.

History, like all human knowledge, is not an absolute handed down from above. It is created by human beings who inevitably bring to it value systems which can blind them to some of the evidence and distort the history they produce. It cannot be value-free or potentially neutral, and the more we accept and allow for this the closer we may get to an accurate recreation of the past.

DISTANT

History written from the perspective of groups distant from the centres which control access to power and privilege, such as women's history, labour history, marxist history, black history, is often labelled as "political" and open to bias. Granted, but historians who believe they themselves are value-free and "neutral" are likely to be in more danger.

Our values are developed in our own milieu, so that history is always that dialogue between the present and the past the ED Carr described. An assumption that the current political or intellectual status-quo is "right" and that all who dissent from it likely to be "wrong" is as political a perspective as a feminist or marxist one and, if unconsciously held, more likely to distort the way history is written.

Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund

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

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

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



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WOLFE TONE ANNUAL BANNED

50 YEARS AGO

ON October 1, 1943 a raid for funds on the Clonard Mill in Odessa Street off the Falls Road, Belfast by the IRA resulted in the death of Constable

Patrick McCarthy of the RUC. The Northern Campaign initiated in September of the previous year was still alive and spluttering on despite the most intense pressure from the British Crown Forces. *Republican News* was being published continually too.

South of the Border, the first unconditional releases from the Curragh Concentration Camp were taking place. These included Michael O'Riordan of Cork, ex-Fianna scout and International Brigadier in the Spanish War.

Michael, a principled man, has been a leading figure in the Communist Party of Ireland for over 50 years now. Not alone were some of the few communists in the 26 Counties interned with the Republicans but so also were incorrigible land agitators, smugglers and others the police could not get evidence against. Internment always means lazy police work.

On the global scene Allied successes in WWII continued. Italian resistance collapsed as the new Prime Minister, veteran soldier Marshal Badoglio had secretly agreed to armistice terms in early September. Later the new Italian government declared war on Germany.

The Italian fleet surrendered on September 8 and next day US and British forces landed in Italy itself. The Germans had no intention of letting Italy go and rushed reinforcements under Field Marshal Kesselring to their troops there. He mounted a vigorous counter-attack.

On the Eastern Front, the Red Army in October recaptured Smolensk, Gomel and Kiev and cut off the German Seventeenth Army in the Crimea because Hitler had refused to allow it to withdraw.

OVERWHELMING

The Soviets were now overwhelmingly superior, not only in manpower but also in artillery, air power and armour. Through experience they had developed capable staff officers and commanders who could lead large armies in the field. To the fore in autumn 1943 were General Malinovsky and Marshals Konen and Rokossovsky.

In the Far East the US advance from the Solomon Islands to New Guinea was based on concentrating sea, air and amphibious forces on the few points necessary to establish a chain of air and logistic bases for the final advance towards the Philippines and Japan itself.

This leap-frog strategy of simply bypassing the strongest Japanese garrisons and softening them up by air bombardment was in place in October. Such islands of Japanese power were left isolated and useless.

Back home in Ireland the Fianna Fáil regime in the 26 Counties was engaged in mopping-up operations against the Republican Movement's fringes. In mid-October the 1944 edition of the *Wolfe Tone Annual* published by Brian O'Higgins at 38 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin was "stopped by censor".

Brian, in his own words, "decided to devote the 1944 issue of the *Annual* to a brief, clear history of Irish Nationality, believing with the great French Catholic philosopher, Maritain, that men must know who they are before they can fully grasp the significance of the task that lies before them". How true!

It was due for publication on October 23, 1943 and all the type was set but not printed. The printers, The Kerryman Ltd, submitted the proofs for censorship under the Emergency Powers Acts on October 11.

1944 Iris Ceoin 13th YEAR WOLFE TONE ANNUAL NATIONALITY

"Not free merely
But Gaelic as well"

NÁISIÚNTA

"Not Gaelic merely
But free as well"

NATIONHOOD

Published by

Brian O'Higgins
38 Upr. O'Connell St.
Dublin

120 PAGES

1/

Cover of the 1944 *Wolfe Tone Annual*, stopped by the 26-County censor in October 1943. It was eventually published in August 1945.

They felt that as it contained no mention of WWII, nor of current politics, nor of anything which might endanger the neutrality of the 26 Counties, there was no real reason why the Censor should have been troubled with it at all.

At first they were told that as it was a purely historical publication there would be no delay, and that no excisions were anticipated. Time went by and several phone calls gave no reason to worry.

Then suddenly the printers were told by the Censor's office that printing was not to be proceeded with as "publication of the *Annual* had been forbidden by the Minister for the Co-Ordination of Defensive Measures, Mr Frank Aiken".

No reason was given for this total and unjust suppression, says Brian in his supplement to the banned *Annual* which he published in its entirety in August 1945 when WWII was over.

On October 22, 1943 Brian wrote to the Censor's office at the request of the printers. His letter and the reply are given in full in the *Annual* and are revealing. Brian calls it an "almost incredible story of petty vindictiveness and injustice".

He says: "And I want to stress the fact that no organisation or group or individual, apart from myself, had anything to do with the *Annual*".

On the day following the suppression he met by accident an old friend of more than 30 years, Séamus O'Farrell then Director of Organisation to the Labour Party. On learning of the suppression O'Farrell said he would bring the matter to the notice of Mr Norton, the Party leader, "as he considered that the throttling of a man because of

his opinions was a matter of vital concern to every Trade Unionist in Ireland".

Some days later James Larkin Junior, TD called on Brian, saying Mr Norton had deputed him to deal with the matter. He asked for a set of proofs and copies of the letters.

Young Jim was a stranger to Brian and knowing that "we were poles apart in our opinions on many matters", Brian gave him all the information. The outcome in Leinster House in November will be dealt with later.

Suffice it to say that the blunt instrument of censorship, like the blunt instrument of internment without trial already referred to in this article, was being used capriciously in what amounted to dictatorial abuse of power.

The suppressed 1944 *Annual*, as published in August 1945, is on this writer's desk. "Stoppa ag an Scrúdóir" or Stopped by Censor" is stamped on every one of its 148 pages.

The teachings of Tone, Davis, Mitchel, Willie Rooney, Fr O'Growney, Pearse, MacSwiney and many others were included, not even excepting a sermon in Irish by Canon O'Leary or An tUthair Feardóir Ó Laoghaire as he is better known.

Searching the suppressed *Annual* for quotable quotes the following come to hand:

(1) Pearse: "Freedom is a condition which can be lost and won and lost again. Nationality is a life which if once lost, can never be recovered. Anation is a stubborn thing, very

hard to kill, but a dead nation does not come back to life any more than a dead man. There will never again be a Ligurian nation, nor an Aztec nation, nor a Cornish nation.

"Irish nationality is an ancient spiritual tradition, and the Irish nation could not die as long as that tradition lived in the heart of one faithful man or woman. But had the last repositior of the Gaelic tradition, the last unconquered Gael died, the Irish nation was no more. Any free State that might thereafter be erected in Ireland, whatever it might call itself, would certainly not be the historic Irish nation."

(2) Máire Nic Shuibhne (Mary MacSwiney): "It must be the task of all of us to work and prepare again for the day when the National faith of the people will quicken once more and they will realise that 'peace, final and honourable' can never come 'while any part of our independence is denied'.

NO DOUBTERS

"Let there be no doubters among us now. Let no worker for Ireland's untrammelled freedom say a word more than he believes. Let our faith be great enough, and soon the mountain of National apostasy, of Imperial aggression, of cultivated servility, will disappear before it."

(3) An Englishman on Irish Nationality: "In his Lenten Pastoral of 1921, the Bishop of Cork, Dr Cohalan, made it pretty plain he had no respect for Dáil Éireann or its just and lawful claim, and still regarded the usurping invaders from England as the rightful rulers of this country.

"If Ireland is a Sovereign State, she has a right to use physical force, but if Ireland is not a Sovereign State, she has a right to use physical force," said Dr Cohalan in the course of his pastoral.

"An English priest, the Rev Anthony Lowe, OP wrote a reasoned and spirited reply to the slavish pronouncement from Cork: 'As an Englishman, I say that Ireland is a Sovereign State. There are several factors and vital characteristics that go to make a nation. A nation is an organism, and not an organisation, a moral entity, a racial unit ...

INHERENT RIGHTS

"A nation is a Sovereign State not by the will of other nations, but by its own inherent rights. A nation does not cease to be a Sovereign State merely because other nations do not recognise her as such. No amount of foreign servitude, of external alien pressure can destroy this inalienable national right ... It is no fungible growth but indigenous to the soil ...

"You do not forfeit a just claim merely because someone stronger than you robs you of its exercise or title. Because Ireland, for long ages, has not been able to exercise that right, she does not thereby relinquish or renounce it.

"Because England has for centuries rendered that right and just claim and possession of Ireland nugatory and inoperative, the right of Ireland to act as a Sovereign State does not cease to exist."

(4) Art Ó Cleirigh (Professor Arthur Clery of UCD, judge of the Supreme Court of the All-Ireland Republic): "There are no Half-Principles. It is only when the most striking feature of Christian discipline has perished, and society is sinking into paganism, that men come to see that there are no half-principles — that half-principles are like half-watches — that the tremendous dynamic force of a principle is lost for ever if once you attempt to compromise with it."

And so in 1943, a year when the Golden Jubilee of the foundation of Conradh na Gaeltige was being celebrated with of course de Valera and his Fianna Fáil minions to the fore, the gospel of Irish Nationality, of Thomas Davis and An tAthair Eoghan Ó Gramhna, was suppressed in a mean and, it was thought, silent manner.

But this suppression was soon to be seen in the light of day ...

(More next month. Refs. The *IRA* by TP Coogan; *Wolfe Tone Annual*, 1944, published in 1945, by Brian O'Higgins.)

TORIES CALL FOR 'ETHNIC CLEANSING'

THE Young Tories in Glasgow have published a cartoon, shown here, in their official magazine which calls for "ethnic cleansing" in the Six Counties, against a background of a hooded gunman standing in front of a Union Jack.

The magazine, The Baby Blues is distributed in the

Provan and Easterhouse areas of Glasgow and its editor, John France said that he meant the cartoon as a "joke". He obviously has a very sick sense of humour.



EVENTS CALENDAR/FÉILIRE IMEACHTAÍ 1993

JIMMY KEENEY Comm., Saggart, Co Dublin, 17/10; EDENTUBBER MARTYRS Comm., Edentubber, Co Louth, 7/11; FRANK DRIVER Comm., Ballymore Eustace, Co Kildare, 11/1; KEVIN BARRY Comm., Rathvilly, Co Carlow, 28/11; LIAM MELLOWS

Comm., Castletown, Co Wexford, 5/12; CHRISTMAS SWIM for Republican prisoners and their dependants, Dublin 25/12.

CHARLIE KERINS Comm., Tralee, Co Kerry, 3/12.

Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent



being used to perpetuate the fictitious conspiracy.

5. Trained British troops under NATO in the US for duty in Ireland which violates the NATO arrangement.

In the past 20 years, the United States government has acted at the behest of the British government to disrupt with the intent of discouraging constitutional-protected activity in the US by Irish activists. Unfortunately, the US has complied with various requests resulting in the use of various government agencies to engage in intimidating investigations meant to strike fear into the Irish. The tactics of the Feds are at a minimum questionable and at best illegal, perhaps even criminal.

What follows are actions already taken over this period of time by the Feds. There is no speculation here, only fact based incidents. Police-state tactics are set out and the picture is bleak such as that of a totalitarian state as the democracy becomes hypocrisy. Abuses are broken down by agency.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1. Revoked the visas of Irish Republicans which served the British to block opinions against the British position from being given in the US even though a significant number of Irish and Americans demanded to hear them.

2. The State Department has

been in collusion with the British and Irish Free State governments passing confidential information from investigations as well as personal information about individuals that could cause them danger and be a threat to their lives.

3. Attempted to disrupt the legislation process in derogation of the Separation of Powers Doctrine. Interference with hearings and Congressional inquiries on visas.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE

1. At US taxpayers expense, replaced British troops in NATO with US troops so they would be sent to Ireland.

2. Supplied weapons under NATO cover that are used in Ireland for offensive purpose which violates NATO agreement.

3. In a report on stolen weapons from US bases, accused American Irish without evidence serving to create a conspiracy theory to allow FBI to go after innocent Irish people.

4. Accused the IRA of a highly detailed plot for stealing weapons from 1971 onwards with not the slightest evidence ever produced. It only is

THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

1. Audited the tax records of individuals involved in the cause of Irish freedom.

2. Audited the records of organisations connected to Irish causes. We Irish are on the enemies' list.

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

1. CIA agents in England and Ireland gather information which is given to British and 26-County State authorities to be used against American citizens and others.

2. CIA agents in Europe and other areas have acted for the British

government and with US taxpayers' money engaged in efforts to detect gun-running routes of the IRA which has no bearing on the national security of the US and is not the brief of the agency.

3. Assisted the British army and government in disbursing false and misleading information of events in Ireland to the public and the media.

4. Purloined mail, opened it, read it and in some instances destroyed it.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND FBI

1. The FBI initiated investigations on individuals and organisations solely because they are anti-British though they pose no threat to the US.

2. The investigations above are intended to discourage activity and to have a chilling effect on constitutionally protected acts.

3. FBI sent agents to Ireland and England to compile information on American Irish and others which is given to the British and 26-County State authorities to be used as they see fit. Information is passed to loyalist paramilitaries by the British. At least one Irish American has been killed through this collusion, and others have had attempts on their lives.

4. FBI agents have been assigned to London and Dublin Embassies to assist Scotland Yard and the Special Branch in harassing Irish Americans.

5. There have been attempts at character assassination by the FBI through dissemination of false

information and information obtained through illegal means.

6. The FBI has planted misleading information with the media and at places of employment to hinder activists' jobs.

7. The FBI has broken into offices of organisations and stolen files and other information which later is distorted during interviews. Also, false information is issued to the media on stolen letterhead.

8. The FBI has brought RUC undercover police to interviews in the US as well as allowed Scotland Yard detectives to question people in the States.

9. The FBI has set up people with alleged gun buys through entrapment which is of course a crime.

10. The FBI has threatened people to become informers on groups and individuals.

11. The FBI have used both legal and illegal wiretaps to create spliced and doctored tapes to be used as threatening evidence against people totally innocent of any crime other than being Irish and concerned for their own.

This is not a pretty picture of the land of the free, but it is fact. There will be an attempt at a solution to this lack of security afforded people and it will be spelled out in a future column. Irish people who intend coming to America should know the truth before arriving.

—Peadar Mac Fhínn

Danger of so-called interim settlement

General Liam Lynch —70th anniversary

The 70th anniversary of the death of General Liam Lynch, Chief-of-Staff of the IRA who was killed in action defending the Republic in the Knockmealdon Mountains, Co Tipperary in 1923 was held on Sunday, September 26 at the spot where he fell.

Republicans from Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, Cork and Kerry marched from the carpark at Goutenbridge, led by a

Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCaiflin colour party to the Memorial. The National Flag was carried at the head by Tony

McCarthy, Ennis.

The proceedings were chaired by Tom O'Sullivan, Ard Chomhairle, a wreath was laid by Cork veteran Frank Kerrigan and a decade of the Rosary was recited by Gearóid Ó Broin, Tipperary. The oration was delivered by Ard Chomhairle member Mick McManus, Fermanagh.

He traced the life of Liam Lynch who he said had been imbued with the ideal of an Ireland free from foreign domination and was unyielding in his belief that nothing less than total disengagement was acceptable. Mick McManus

said that this was the policy of Republican Sinn Féin and likened the present political climate to that of the Treaty of 1921.

He reminded those present of the inherent dangers in any so-called interim settlement and said that no one has the right to negotiate away the rights of the people of the occupied counties, or the rights of generations yet unborn. He then recited the poem *Salute* written in memory of the fallen Chief and ended by quoting from the words of Liam Lynch himself "....even if I were to stand alone I will not voluntarily accept being part of the British Empire."



IRA Chief-of-Staff General Liam Lynch

US visitors see Ireland's Border wall

TWO Irish-American representatives included a tour of the blocked Border roads between the 26 and Six Counties of Ireland during their recent visit to take part in the annual Hunger Strike Martyrs rally in Bundoran, Co Donegal.

John Hurley of the Friends of Irish Freedom, Boston, Massachusetts and Al Madden of the National Graves Association, Boston, are pictured above at the blocked Doard Border Crossing with Declan Curneen, Leitrim member of the Ard

Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin.

While in Leitrim they also visited and met Katie B Keane, niece of the 1916 leader Seán Mac Diarmada, at her home in the Border village of Kiltyclogher. A staunch Repub-

lican in her own right, Katie proudly showed her American visitors the Memorial to her uncle in the centre of Kiltyclogher. They later visited the Mac Diarmada family home outside the village.

The present situation with regard to closed Border roads is as follows:

- All roads leading from Fermanagh to Leitrim are blocked. None of the four main roads directly linking



John Hurley, FOIF Boston, Declan Curneen and Al Madden, NGA Boston at the Leitrim/Fermanagh blocked Border road crossing at Doard.

from Fermanagh to Monaghan are closed. Four remain open. These have permanent vehicle checkpoints.

- Twelve roads from Fermanagh to Donegal are closed. Two are open — one at Pettigo and one at Belleek. Families are cut off.
- Twenty-seven roads

from Fermanagh to Monaghan are closed. Four remain open. These have permanent vehicle checkpoints.

- Six roads from Fermanagh to Cavan are closed. Three are open. They have permanent checkpoints. The main road from Enniskillen to Dublin is blocked at Aghalane bridge which was blown

up more than 15 years ago.

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BEANNACHTAI

O'CONNOR. Best wishes are extended to Bernard O'Connor, Castlefield, Co Kerry and many years of happiness and good health for the future. From his comrades and friends in the Brendan Cumann, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Currow, Castlefield, Co Kerry.

Comhbhrón

CASSIDY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Brid and Dublin on the death of their brother Joe on August 1. From Poblachtach, Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibí tu a nam.

CASSIDY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Brid and Dublin on the death of their brother Joe on August 1. From Sinn Féin Poblachtach,

standing to the Movement Minnie's hospitality over the years knew no bounds. She will be sadly missed by all who knew her. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a hanam.

MAGUIRE. The Pádraig Pearse Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Melbourne, Australia, sends sincere sympathy to the family of the late Tom Comd-Genral Tom Maguire, Cross, Co Mayo, Patron of Republican Sinn Féin, who died on July 5 last. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a nam usall.

McKEARNEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the McKearney family, The Moy, Co Tyrone on the death of August 20 of their uncle Tom. From Mick Hegarty, Magilligan prison, Co Derry. Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach learned with sadness of the death on August 31 last of May (Minnie) Donnelly, Bundoran, Co Donegal. A friend of long



SAS KILLINGS IN GIB FOR EURO COURT

ANXIOUS twitterings in Whitehall have heightened in the wake of the ruling by the European Commission on Human Rights that the British government has a case to answer over the cynical SAS killings of three Irish guerrilla activists in Gibraltar five years ago.

This will lead to embarrassment not only for the sinister architects of the deliberate murder of three unarmed people "on a reconnaissance mission", Danny McCann, Máiréad Farrell and Seán Savage, but to frenetic reassessment of their service role in the sleazy affair by the Leinster House Cabinet Yahoos.

There was scarcely a whispered booh from the Kildare Street Home for the Bewildered when the news filtered through that the trio were shot down, rather than arrested, in the streets of the Rock that commands the Mediterranean straits for the almost extinct empire.

The Spanish government, which naturally claims Gibraltar is part of its Iberian territory (seized in a long-ago war and used in recent years as a naval fortress by NATO forces) was suitably ambivalent about the 1988 murders — thanks to the money lords of the USA and EC putting on the pressure.

The 26 Counties' administration was mute of malice before the facts of the case, which showed that suspicion equates with guilt in British justice terms. No one — certainly not the families of the victims — suggested that the doomed three were in the Med merely for a sunshine holiday.

No one pretended either that Gibraltar was other than a key British base and a valid target as a military and naval headquarters for Irish insurgents. But none of the three was armed and no bomb equipment was connected to their visit, though for a time the tabloid press tried to link the alleged discovery of a car near Marbella with their presence 80 miles away.

The car was supposed to contain explosives and/or bomb making devices, but that story rapidly dissipated when Spanish police contradicted some newspaper reports.

The case of the Gib Three will, almost certainly, go before a court of 31 judges from the Council of Europe. *Buist* will take up to 18 months to organise witnesses for the hearings.

The court will decide whether the killings violated Article Two of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Life and, in view of legal precedents highlighted (but later suppressed) at the Gibraltar inquest, relatives are confident that the British will be found to have used lethal force that was unnecessary as arrests would have been easy.

As usual in such shoot-to-kill cases, the British persuaded the soldiers that the three were armed, and that a car bomb was in place to kill or maim people at a military parade (later reported untrue on both counts by independent witnesses).

Inquest witnesses were intimidated into failing to give evidence. Where this did not work, some were wrongly discredited, and more than one prepared to sue for character damages.

Most damning was the manufacture of fiction purporting to prove that Spanish civilians were the target of any proposed bombing mission. Lies won that day. But the Euro-judges will not

of the security forces, two were loyalist paramilitaries and one was a Protestant worker repairing a security base.

— Editorial, *Andersons-town News*, September 11, 1993.

It was, I think, Lord Birkenhead (the notorious FE Smith) who said of the Civil War in Ireland that it provided 'an economy of British lives'. I wonder if the Israelis are having similar thoughts regarding the planned deal with the PLO. If it goes through how long will it be before the PLO, assisted by Israel, is intermingling in Gaza the 'irregulars' of Hamas and the other Palestinians who see the deal as a sell-out?

— Frank Dolan's column

be so easily fooled, one hopes.

THE ARAFAT PARALLEL?

ROBERT Fisk, respected *London Independent* war correspondent and author of several books, notably on the Middle East conflicts, focused in an article that there was a likely parallel between the fates of Michael Collins, killed in an Uisceall War ambush in West Cork in 1922, and PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

Arafat has been restored to a position of prestige among Palestinians and other Arab peoples because of the pact forced on



● PLO leader Yasser Arafat — another Michael Collins?

Israel by world opinion to liberate part of occupied territory, as an interim package, in order to give a secure homeland to some of a million Palestinian refugees.

Bob Fisk, whose brave articles exposed the US-dominated UN double deals in the war against Iraq, after Saddam Hussein's invasion (or reposition?) of Kuwait, believes that Arafat, like Collins, will suffer death from former comrades because he accepted much less territory than the people want, and traditionally owned.

Pointing out that Collins accepted 26 instead of the whole 32 Counties and paid for what Republicans saw as a betrayal, the Fisk view is that something similar faces Arafat.

The uneasy parallel is more pertinent where Fisk describes to Arafat the British handing over artillery to Free State soldiers to "destroy their former comrades". It wasn't only Irish lives they took away — but the people's right to the full Republic they mandated.

THE CHAMELEON CONOR CRUISE

FOR a quarter of a century, Conor Cruise O'Brien, intellectual darling of the revisionist historians, whose prejudices have blinded them to the authentic tradition of republicanism between the 1790s and the 1990s, has proved a formidable-if-unwitting-friend of freedom fighters in Ireland.

A fashionable liberal in the Sixties, when he sat down in the streets of New York in a protest at the injustices done to blacks by American capitalism's secret godfathers, Conor jumped hastily off the civil rights bandwagon when it impugned Britain's claim

administration's Green Paper on Education as seen by *Fr Dara Molloy, Aran Islands*, quoted in the *Irish Times*, September 22, 1993.

Leading to the destruction of cultural diversity and culture itself. Languages, ways of living, belief systems, crafts, sources of wisdom, types of music, dancing, art, ceremonial, customs, methods of healing — all are being reduced to one-way and one way only... the school produces a 'product' which is marketable.

— *Fr Dara Molloy on the Green Paper on Education.*

The inescapable conclusion, of course, is that their agenda all along has

to the territory of the Six Counties.

Converted to pinkish socialism when it permitted him an easy path to the Cabinet as a Labour Party TD, he was often mistaken by outsiders as the Fine Gael-Labour spokesman on Northern Ireland, though his portfolio was confined to the Ministry for Late Posts and Occasional Telegraphs.

This was before the Department was split by the semi-privatisation into high-charges Telecom and the Lottery-plump Post Office.

After his conversion to covert, and then open, unionism which followed a humiliating exit from Leinster House in the Seventies, Conor completed the chameleon career by backing the British Conservative Party in the North in the last Westminster general election.

So it could come as no surprise that the crusty Conor, foiled in his egomania by the voters, has used his *Irish Independent* column to call for the re-introduction of internment — a euphemism for imprisonment without trial — on both sides of the Border.

He wants what he perceives as the guerrilla godfathers in both nationalist and loyalist camps to be arrested on a selective basis. Yet it was the same Cruise-O'Brien who admitted a decade ago that picking the guilty from the innocent by such a dubious method (when internment was proposed against Mandela supporters in apartheid South Africa) was both dangerous and unjust.

Especially so when police files were outdated or tainted by racist or religious prejudice. Apparently, there are two kinds of O'Brien justice — one for oppressed peoples overseas, and another for the native Irish.

INTERMENT — A CUCKOO CALL

WHAT IS repugnant to Conor Cruise, when applied to the blacks of New York or old Capetown, is fair enough if the mere Irish are the victims.

Despite the demonstrably contradictory COB stances, the ex-academic and sometime supporter of Irish unity now seems to insist that the lessons of the 1970s internment disaster, when innocents galore found themselves hostages, can now safely be ignored.

With no logical evidence, he assumes that the British bullies and their colonial police serfs have undergone an operation by which what was Black Preceptory bigotry is now transformed into a Lily White search for justice — by the same RUC heavy gangs that support sectarian loyalist murders, masterminded by British intelligence agents.

Still, cranky Conor has had his cuckoo-land uses. His regular misreadings of the nature and history of true Republicanism angered even the Fianna Failures and fellow travellers into waship ripples, and fuelled real Republicans into fresh battles against the media lie machines.

Conor has recently been engaged in verbal warfare with the Revenue Commissioners who claim that he owed £60,000 in income tax arrears on journalistic writings. Conor counters by categorising such work as "creative writing", exempt from tax.

Draper II agrees that much of what the holder of a Bradford college doctorate has written (on the freedom struggle in particular) belongs more to excited imagination than factual argument. In other words, the creative reshaping of events to suit the propaganda of the conqueror.

The dear old donnish scribbler seemed to have reached the mellowing stage when encountered on a Bally, Howth, Co Dublin cliffpath one recent sunny morning. But it's a long, long time from May to December, and the mind gets fogged when you reach September.

The much-converted political doctor of strange letters and astringing double talk is in the dotage of his influence. It is not true, however, that when accused of memory lapse, Conor Cruise retorted that he might be an amnesiac, but did not have Alzheimer's, so far as he could remember.

— DRAPER II

WHAT THEY SAID

The only way to combat this distortion of the truth is by stating the facts again and again. Facts which show that of the 26 victims killed this year by loyalist paramilitaries 23 of them had absolutely no political or paramilitary connections.

Of the 16 victims killed by the IRA this year, 11 were members of former members

in the *Irish Post* (London), September 11.

The loyalist perception is that the GAA is the IRA at play.

— DUP spokesperson *Sanny Wilson*, *Irish News*, September 20 whose incitement to assassination comments were echoed by his party colleagues in *Coleraine District Council* a few days later.

Based on a new nameless religion... run by faceless men — the men who hold the power behind the multinational corporations, the large banks and the political parties. These men are not elected, are not visible and are not accountable, but they handle vast budgets and they pull mighty strings.

— *The Dublin*

been anti-national but has been dressed up as being pro-peace. They are simply reviving old Civil War, pro-Treaty instincts and dressing them up in new designer platitudes.

— *Tom McGurk in the Sunday Business Post*, September 26 on "Southern neo-unionists or neo-colonialist who are journalists" (his terms).

At least the old Republicans, who were vanquished by Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, had the Daithi O'Connell concept of Dáil Uladh which allowed the Unionists their identity within an Irish Republic.

— *Kevin Myers on Questions and Answers, RTE One TV* September 27.

There is a rumour which will not accept. What about South Armagh and Tyrone who barely endure Adams? They have fought a very dogged war.

— *Kevin Myers on the same programme.*

I could not support the proposal (of a reserve police force) because of the association in the public's folk memory of such forces with groups like the Black- and-Tans and the B-Specials in the North. People who join might be exposed to the odium of their neighbours.

— *Clr Dermot Fitzpatrick (FF) at a meeting of Dublin City Council's Prevention of Crime Sub-Committee*, September 28.

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