

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM



UIMH. 77 MEÁN FÓMHAIR - SEPTEMBER 1993 50p (USA \$24 per year)

405,888 UNEMPLOYED

IN the 26 Counties unemployment rose by 4,600 to 297,700 last month. The real figure would be much higher if emigration was not running at 500 a week and 12,000 students and school leavers were not removed from the live register by ministerial order. In the Six Counties the number of jobless rose by 5,437 to 108,288 or 14.4%.

British MI5 entrapment activity agents in 26 Cos.

FURTHER evidence of an upsurge in MI5 and British military intelligence recruitment of agents in the 26 Counties was provided at the end of August with the revelations that a Galway-based man spied on Republicans in the West and North-West after he was helped to relocate his business in Co Fermanagh.

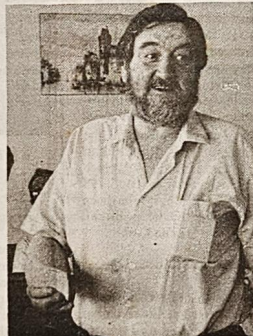
The *Sunday Business Post* story (August 29) on the activities of 31-year-old Thomas Doheny, who was born in London, told of how he was instructed to get friendly with specific people, including Bundoran Republican Sinn Féin Councillor Joe O'Neill. The object possibly was to inveigle O'Neill over the Border or even worse to set him up for a British-controlled death squad in a suitable location.

Doheny approached O'Neill about a year ago offering to pay £500,000 for a 16-acre site at Lough Melvin which O'Neill had advertised as part of his auctioneering business. The high price offered alerted Joe O'Neill and after a number of meetings, "I said, as a joke, that the half million was probably coming from MI5, and he disappeared. We never saw him after that."

Doheny claims to have taken samples of explosives across the Border for detailed examination by his British masters and provided the *Sunday Business Post* with tapes of his conversations with his controller and an RUC superintendent. He was debriefed at Aughnacloy Border checkpoint. He also provided an authentic private extension telephone number for Lieutenant-Commander Tyrell, the female intelligence co-ordinator at the British Ministry of Defence in London.

EXPOSED

Doheny's career as a British agent was exposed, he claims, after he was charged with the theft of a car because of RUC Special Branch/British military intelligence rivalry. He was given a one-year jail sentence last March at Omagh court but this was suspended for four hours to



● **Cllr Joe O'Neill - targeted.** give him time to leave the Six Counties. He is now living in London and no attempt has been made to rearrest him.

This case has many similarities with that of Galwayman Patrick Daly (44) who was exposed in June as an MI5 agent when his cover was blown to enable him to give evidence against two Irishmen arrested in a disused quarry in Somerset four months previously.

In the book of evidence presented to defence lawyers for the two men, Liam Heffernan and Martin McMonagle, Daly says he worked for the British police for 14 years and for MI5 for the



● **British agent Thomas Doheny.**

past four years. During the latter period he lived in Galway, running a driving school with telephone numbers listed in the Golden Pages for Corrib Park, Newcastle and Oranmore.

He has been given or promised a minimum of £374,000 including the cost of a new house, a salary for ten years and other benefits. Daly instigated the attempted robbery of non-existent explosives at the Somerset quarry and provided two cars and tools to be used. His role was like that of Doheny — to entice targeted people into a possibly dangerous or compromising position.

MI5 agent Seán O'Callaghan of Kerry was another case of an agent provocateur who informed and, in one instance, assassinated a Cork man in 1985 in order to cover up his own role as a British spy.

INTENSIFIED

The intensification of MI5 activity in the 26 Counties can be traced to their replacing Scotland

Yard Special Branch as the prime intelligence gatherer on Irish organisations since October 1992. Almost half of their annual budget is now devoted to this task and they are obviously under pressure to produce results.

What that means for Ireland can be seen by the example of the Dublin bombings of 1972 and the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of 1974, which were carried out by British intelligence in order to pressurise the Dublin administration along a pro-British line.

Clearly, when it suits the British government to further their policy of maintaining their role in Ireland to bomb Irish towns and cities they will do so. When the recruitment of agents and spies is required, as in the cases mentioned here, that is also implemented as a policy.

The continuing cover-up by the Dublin administration of the 1972 and 1974 bombings by British intelligence shows that they are prepared to collaborate in orchestrated attacks on their own citizens by a foreign, hostile power.

Compromise 'peace' plan

REPORTS of a peace plan drawn up by the British, consisting of a compromise deal which would involve Britain staying in Ireland along with the 'fuller' working of the Hillsborough Deal, and indications that this would be agreed to by the Provisionals, have been circulating.

This would be a logical continuation of the Provisionals' gradual removal of British withdrawal from its agenda in the past months. No mention of British withdrawal was made by them at their Bodenstown

ceremony last June. And in the Opsahl Report their spokespersons were quoted as saying that British withdrawal could be deferred for 30 years or more.

In this situation there is an urgent need to reiterate the three demands of the Republican Movement:

1. a public British declaration of intention to leave Ireland;
2. a New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves; and
3. a general amnesty for all political prisoners.

EVE OF ALL-IRELAND RALLY
GPO, O'Connell Street, Dublin
Saturday, September 18, 3.30pm
Speakers: Michael McGonigle (Derry)
Mary Ward (Cork)
Cllr Joe O'Neill (Donegal)
Niall Fagan (Meath)

THE fact that John Stevens, the senior British police officer, has begun a new inquiry into collusion in the Six Counties was finally confirmed in a statement issued by the RUC on Monday, August 2. The news that Stevens, the Chief Constable of the Northumbria police force in England, had returned to the Six Counties, was reported in *SAOIRSE* last June.

His original inquiry lasted eight months in 1989-90 and his subsequent report was never published. The present investigation is reported to be on "a smaller scale".

A group representing the relatives of those killed by the British Crown Forces and loyalist death squads published

a report in Belfast on Tuesday, August 3 which points to British collusion in the death squad killings of 48 people since 1990. The report, *Shoot to kill and Collusion* states that the collusion not only involved the provision of information and weaponry but also active participation.

REPORT ON 48 BRITISH COLLUSION KILLINGS

NO FAITH

Regarding the resumed Stevens inquiry a spokesperson for the Relatives for Justice told the *Irish News* (August 3) "We would have no faith in any inquiry carried out by Mr Stevens and feel the nationalist people in general wouldn't have any faith in it. It's still the

police investigating the security forces. It should be an independent

Reports in the *Sunday Times* (London, August 1) state that Stevens is concentrating his investigation on allegations about an inner circle of Unionist politicians, businessmen and RUC officers targeting nationalists for death squads. The *Irish Times* (Dublin,

August 3) on the other hand reports that he is investigating claims made by Brian Nelson in his prison diary and reported in the media.

Murder charges against him were dropped at his trial in 1992 by the British and Nelson pleaded guilty to lesser conspiracy charges to ensure that information about the British intelligence services would not be revealed in cross-examination. Nelson was then sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

• The Relatives for Justice can be contacted at 1 Westend Park, Derry BT489JF.

Nationalist mother shot dead by UDA/UFF

A mother of four children was shot dead in a British-controlled death squad attack in the Fortwilliam Park area of North Belfast on August 30.

Maria Teresa Dowds de Mogollon was hit several times when UDA/UFF gunmen fired through the glass panel of a porch door inside the open front door of the semi-detached end house at about 9pm.

The nationalist victim was in her forties and was from the area. She and her husband, a native of Peru, had been living in the house for about a year. He is a self-employed businessman and was warned by the

RUC a month ago that "his life could be in danger".

The UDA issued a statement on August 31 "deeply regretting her death" and stating that Mr de Mogollon was the intended target. It alleged he "was providing havens for the IRA", a ludicrous charge to attempt to cover-up a blatantly sectarian assassination.

BOOBY-TRAP

A nationalist married couple in their 30s and a baby girl were targeted by the UDA/UFF pro-British death squad on Wednesday morning, August 11 when a booby-trap bomb exploded under their car as they drove into Belfast. No-one was seriously injured when the bomb exploded as they drove along the Saintfield Road at 7.30am, blowing a hole in the floor of their blue Ford Escort car.



• The car under which a UDA booby-trap exploded on August 11 injuring a nationalist family as they drove along Saintfield Road, Belfast.

The couple's 20-month-old daughter was treated for shock and the baby's father, the driver of the vehicle, underwent surgery for shrapnel wounds. The UDA claimed

another named person was the target in their first statement, and then changed the name of their intended targets in a second telephoned statement to the BBC.

A second UDA booby-trap bomb was discovered under a nationalist family's car on August 24 in East Belfast before it exploded and nobody was injured.

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.

Republican SINN FÉIN Poblachtach

MONSTER NATIONAL PRIVATE MEMBERS DRAW

1st Prize:

PEUGEOT 205 CAR
or **CITROËN AX**

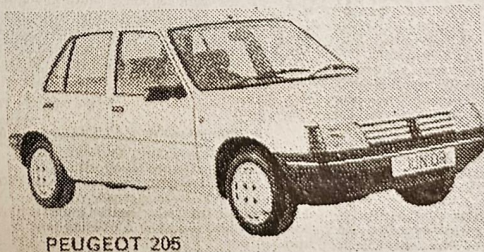
2nd Prize: HOLIDAY IN IRELAND.

3rd Prize: £250.

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.



PEUGEOT 205

Imeachtaí

RIGHT TO MARCH
 COOKTOWN
 COTYRONE
 SUNDAY
 SEPTEMBER 26
 ...
VOICE OF THE INNOCENT
 BALLYMURPHY
 SEVEN
 PICKET
 SATURDAYS
 1-3PM
 Trinity end of Grafton
 Street, Dublin
 ...
MANCHESTER MARTYRS
 1993
COMMEMORATION
 MARCH AND RALLY
 Platt Fields
 MANCHESTER
 SATURDAY
 NOVEMBER 20
 ...

Ballymun flat siege

A DRAMATIC siege-like situation developed in the Ballymun Estate on Dublin's northside on August 25.

The drama began the day before when Ballymun Flatdwellers Association member Maureen Kelly received a very distressed call for help from a John Ward who said that he and his family were due to be put on the side of the road the next morning.

When a SAOIRSE reporter was contacted he arrived at the door of the 14th floor flat at 8.45am to be encountered by the Sheriff and five heavy-handed thugs who proceeded to jostle some neighbours of Mr Ward, and tried to stop photos being taken of the bullics. Not bowing to this official intimidation Flatdwellers representatives volunteered to stay with John and his family through their ordeal.

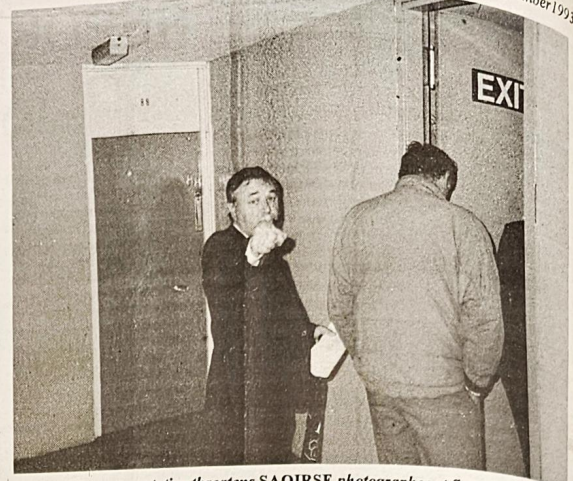
Mr Ward, in a highly-distressed state proceeded to barricade his door, and ran for

the balcony ledge, saying if these people wanted to take a roof from over his head and that of his family they would have his blood on their hands.

CROWDS

As ambulances and crowds gathered the 26-County police arrived with top Dublin Corporation housing officials, and it was decided that negotiations should be carried out on behalf of Mr Ward by a Flatdwellers Association member through the letterbox of the heavily barricaded door.

The ensuing negotiations lasted for over two hours and on a number of occasions were on the point of breaking down. Dublin Corporation eventually acceded to Mr Ward's demands for a roof over the heads of himself and his young family and thankfully this near-tragedy has had a happy ending.



• Sheriff's representative threatens SAOIRSE photographer at flat siege.

Smash Section 31 T-shirts available from STAIR Committee c/o 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7 Price £5 incl p&p

New 'supergrass' trial?

THERE was anger from both nationalists and loyalists in the Six Counties as reports circulated that the RUC were trying to bring forward more 'supergrass' trials. The *Irish News* (Belfast) and *Irish Press* (Dublin) reported on August 9 that "a former IRA man in a secure cell at Maghaberry jail had turned Queen's evidence and was about to spark a new spate of 'supergrass' trials — the first in 10 years". The decision on whether to proceed now rests with the British Director of Public Prosecutions in Belfast, Alasdair Fraser. Civil rights bodies reacted angrily, repeating their criticisms that 'supergrass' trials, based on the uncorroborated evidence of suspects naming alleged accomplices, amounted to "internment by remand", putting suspects behind bars for long pre-trial periods. The use of 'supergrasses' by the RUC followed the exposure of police brutality in interrogation centres, extracting "confessions" by force, which was revealed in the British-sponsored Bennett report (1979) and by Amnesty International (1978). The RUC switched to the use of supergrasses, particularly from 1981-83, when 27 informers were used to secure 120 convictions.

WOLFE TONES

PLUS GUESTS

WEXFORD INN

Wexford Street, Dublin

Tuesday

October 5, 1993

THE WOLFE TONES

• Taille: £6 (door) £5 (prepaid) Doors open at 8pm

FOR THE RECORD..

TUES. JULY 27: The home of Provisional Sinn Féin Councillor Annie Armstrong and her 16-year-old son was targeted by the UDA who raked their home with bullets. Nobody was injured.

THURS. JULY 29: A nationalist man, Joe McLarnon (36) and a 13-year-old boy were ambushed by the Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad after their car broke down on the M2 motorway outside Belfast. Joe McLarnon was shot twice and was seriously injured and the boy was shot in the right shoulder but was discharged from hospital the following day.

FRI. JULY 30: The UDA/UFF loyalist death squad opened fire on two nationalist building workmen in Grand Street, Lisburn, Co Antrim as they climbed out of their van. One received a flesh wound to the chest which fractured a rib.

SAT. JULY 31: The 100th anniversary of the founding of Conradh na Gaeilge was celebrated at a ceremony in Dublin's O'Connell Street where a plaque was unveiled at the building in which the inaugural meeting was held.

MON. AUGUST 2: The RUC confirmed in a statement that John Stevens, the Chief Constable of Northumbria in England, had begun a new inquiry into collusion between loyalist death squads and British Crown Forces.

TUES. AUGUST 3: Belfast High Court was told that a loyalist gang who gathered at bonfires on the July 12 Orange weekend were responsible for burning down St Columba's primary school at New Buildings, near Derry city on July 11, causing damage worth £4,000.

Ninety workers at the Europa Hotel in Belfast were given half-an-hour's notice by the hotel's new owners.

The British administration's Housing Executive in the Six Counties was found guilty of religious discrimination against two Catholic job applicants, Hugh Lewsley and Joseph Maguire, and offered them a five-figure sum in compensation.

WED. AUGUST 4: Three nationalist workmen in Antrim town had a narrow escape when a member of the UVF loyalist death squad threw a grenade at their vehicle.

A survey carried out by the Dublin administration's Department of Enterprise and Employment found that 21.5% of those who left school in 1991 were still without work.



• Injured victim of UVF letter bomb in Hilltown, Co Down on August 10.

FRI. AUGUST 6: Joe Doherty, the Republican prisoner from Belfast who escaped from Crumlin Road jail in 1981 and then spent nine years in prison in the USA before being extradited back to the Six Counties, failed in his legal battle to have that time credited against his outstanding sentence.

A bus carrying Cork GAA players who were travelling to Belfast to take part in the annual Fleadh in Ardoyne was wrecked at the Cloghogue British army checkpoint on the Border near Newry. It hit "sharks' teeth" at the checkpoint and crashed into steel bollards. Fifteen people were treated in hospital in Newry and an 11-year-old boy and two men were detained at Daisysihill Hospital overnight.

The jobs total in the 26 Counties is 297,600.

SUN. AUGUST 8: Seán Lavery, son of Provisional Sinn Féin councillor Bobby Lavery was shot dead in an attack on the family home in the New Lodge area of North Belfast.

St Patrick's GAA club in Portlaffery, Co Down was set on fire by the Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad, destroying a changing room and storeroom.

Nationalist families staying in Ashmore Hos-

tel for the homeless at Cupar Street, near the Shankill Road in West Belfast were forced to flee when a sectarian gang attacked the building.

MON. AUGUST 9: The RUC in the Six Counties have re-opened the case of the British army undercover assassination of nationalist Patrick McVeigh (44) more than 20 years after new evidence was handed to them by the victim's family.

It was reported in newspapers in Belfast and Dublin that the RUC were holding a "former IRA man" in a secure cell at Maghaberry prison who had turned Queen's evidence and was about to spark a new spate of 'supergrass' trials, the first in ten years.

TUES. AUGUST 10: Two letter-bombs were sent by the British-controlled UVF death squad to two addresses in Hilltown, Co Down and exploded resulting in serious injuries to Mrs Mary Staunton and Jim Murnin.

Just Books, a community bookshop in Winetavern Street, Belfast which sells papers from across the political divide, received a phone call from the Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad, threatening to burn them out if they continued to sell Republican newspapers.

WED. AUGUST 11: The body of 24-year-old

Seamus Hopkins from North Belfast, who was brain-damaged by loyalist thugs six years ago, was found with severe head wounds on waste grounds in the lower Shankill area of West Belfast. He was stalked, abducted and beaten to death by a loyalist death squad.

A booby-trap bomb placed under the car of a nationalist family exploded as they drove along Saintfield Road, Belfast injuring the driver. His 20-month-old daughter was treated for shock. The UDA/UFF loyalist death squad claimed responsibility for placing the bomb.

The loyalist death squad, the Red Hand Commando, issued a statement saying that it would attack Catholic businessmen in the greater Belfast area.

FRI. AUGUST 13: 108,288 are now unemployed in the Six Counties.

MON. AUGUST 16: The United Nations Human Rights Committee criticised the existence of the Special Criminal Court and Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act in the 26 Counties in a report following last month's meeting in Geneva with representatives of the 26-County administration. The Central Statistics Office in Dublin stated that one-third of those unemployed in the 26 Counties live in the Dublin area.

TUES. AUGUST 17: St Colm's GAA club in Drum, near Dungiven, Co Derry lost equipment in a blaze set deliberately in a storeroom.

WED. AUGUST 18: Sarah Cohen and Sean Hampton, both British students who were assaulted and arrested by British police in the prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), made legal history when they won £12,000 damages from the British police.

Youghal Carpets, Co Cork is to lay off 109 of its 450 employees and a further 10 jobs are to go at Navan Carpets. Both firms are subsidiaries of the US-based Coats Viyella group.

FRI. AUGUST 20: 94 jobs are to go at the Creggan, Derry city, automotive company, United Technology.

MON. AUGUST 23: The Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad threatened to target anyone who went to go at Navan Carpets. Both firms are subsidiaries of the US-based Coats Viyella group.

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TUES. AUGUST 24: The UFF/UDA loyalist death squad claimed responsibility for a booby-trap bomb placed under a nationalist family's car in East Belfast. The explosive device was discovered and nobody was injured.

THURS. AUGUST 26: The Red Hand Commando loyalist death squad, claiming responsibility, issued a statement saying that it would attempt a bombing on the Falls, but that bar in Newtownards in Co Down have said that they plan more attacks on venues which promote Irish folk music.

'LOCK-OUT' GAVE CONFIDENCE TO DUBLIN WORKING CLASS

1913-1993
80th Anniversary

TO fully understand the 1913 'Lock-out' and the events which surrounded it one must first look at the social and economic conditions which then prevailed in Dublin.

The population of Dublin in 1913 stood at 305,000, its death rate was 27.6% per 1,000 people, higher than Moscow and even poverty and disease-ridden Calcutta. Forty-one per cent of all deaths occurred in workhouses as opposed to 22% in England.

The number of families living in one room was as high as 20,000 whilst those living in two rooms numbered 5,000. Of

the 5,000 Dublin tenements at least 1,500 were actually condemned. Most of the tenements were without heat or light and lacked proper sanitation.

Not surprisingly diseases of every kind were rife in the city's slums especially Tuberculosis. Malnutrition was endemic and the infant mortality rate was 142 per 1,000, considerably higher than any city in Britain.

The problems Dublin faced were not only social but economic. The city had for many years been attracting people from rural areas without being able to provide sufficient employment, being a commercial and distribution centre rather than an industrial centre, consequently unemployment was high, contemporary estimates putting it at up to 20% and wages were low with many families existing on 15s a week, sometimes 10s or even lower, working a minimum of 12 hours a day.

Faced with such appalling conditions the working class of Dublin saw in the formation of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) in 1903 a beacon of hope and a means of at least alleviating their situation.

The employers on the other hand saw in it a threat to their position and in response to the growth of the Trade Union Movement they established a Dublin



● Big Jim Larkin, ITGWU union leader who organised the workers.

Employer's Federation in June 1911, in doing so they were following the lead of the Cork employers who established a similar federation in May of the same year.

Among the founders of the Dublin Federation was William Martin Murphy, whose business interests included the Dublin United Tramways Co and the Independent Group of Newspapers. By August 1913 the employers led by Murphy decided it was time to smash the ITGWU once and for all.

On August 15, 1913 Murphy called a meeting of the dispatch department of his newspaper the *Irish*

Independent. His workers were informed that they would have to resign from the ITGWU or face dismissal. Similar orders were given to the workers of the United Tramways Co.

The workers were also required to sign a declaration as to their loyalty and an assurance not to strike. In response to this the ITGWU declared Murphy's papers to be 'black'. Murphy's response was to lock out all members of his dispatch department who were members of the ITGWU.

At 9.40am on Tuesday, August 26, 1913 two workers of the United Tramways Co

walked out. Murphy immediately called a meeting of the employers federation and by September 3,400 employers had agreed to 'lock out' their workers. By September 22 some 25,000 workers were 'locked out' affecting 21 unions making it clear that the policy of the employers federation was not just the emasculation of the ITGWU but the entire Trade Union Movement.

On Bloody Sunday, September 4 Jim Larkin appeared in disguise on the balcony of the Imperial Hotel (owned by William Martin Murphy) in O'Connell Street to address a banned meeting of the workers. He was quickly

arrested and then the Dublin police, backed up by RIC drafted into the capital, batoned the crowd mercilessly for hours. Two men were killed and hundreds injured.

The strike dragged on through the winter of 1913, a winter of hunger, cold and desperation but despite this the workers under the leadership of Jim Larkin and James Connolly struggled on, facing continued brutality and harassment at the hand of police.

By February 1914, isolated and alone with the reformist leadership of the British Trade Union Movement withdrawing its support, the workers of Dublin were finally forced to return to work.

Connolly wrote of this black period: "And so we Irish workers must again go down into Hell, bow our backs to the lash of the slave drivers, let our hearts be scarred by the iron of his hatred and instead of the sacramental wafer of brotherhood and common sacrifice, eat the dust of defeat, of betrayal, Dublin is isolated."

But all was not lost, the ITGWU was not broken and would go on to grow.

The Lock-out gave to the working class a number of things, most importantly a newfound confidence in their own strength and ability to change their condition politically and economically. In fact the 1913 Lock-out could be seen as a prelude to the events of 1916 and the years that followed.

Faoi Ghlas Ag Gallaibh

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS

Michael Hegarty, A9939 C Wing H-Block 1 HMP Magilligan Point Road Magilligan Co Derry BT49 0LP

Seán Grogan Fáilte Abhaile!

Liam Quinn, L4930 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!

Extradition in the dock as victims serve time twice

JOE Doherty (39) and Michael McKee (37), from Belfast, who escaped together from Crumlin Road jail in 1981 both failed in the British courts during August to have credited against their outstanding sentences the time they spent in jail in the USA and the 26 Counties.

On August 6 Michael McKee from Ballymurphy Road in West Belfast won a legal fight in relation to a sentence he received in the 26 Counties. In McKee's case he

was extradited by the Dublin administration on the understanding that he would be given credit for time served in Portlaoise Jail for escaping from the Belfast Jail.

IGNORED

When he was arrested in Belfast this undertaking was ignored by Sir Patrick Mayhew. McKee's lawyer Oliver Kelly said that this was "scandalous. Perhaps it is a reflection on how the legal institutions in the Republic are regarded by some elements within Northern Ireland".

His victory was overturned on appeal by the British

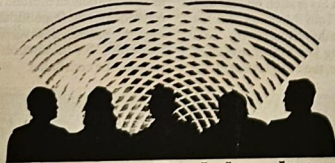
Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew in the Belfast Appeal Court on August 25. McKee will now have to serve at least another eight years in jail.

In Doherty's case however, Mayhew's decision that he must serve at least 10 years was upheld by Lord Justice Murray meaning that he will effectively serve the sentence twice, first in a US jail and now in a British Jail in the Six Occupied Counties.

The Belfast High Court

decision reflects the desire for vengeance against Doherty by the British establishment who invested much time and energy in pursuing him and who were greatly embarrassed by his public exposure of British Occupation from his New York cell for over nine years, from June 1983 until February 1992.

The McKee decision shows the perfidy of extradition by the Dublin administration of Irish citizens into the hands of the British Occupation Forces.



Feis na Poblachta

Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Cé Arann, BÁC7 Fón: 872 9747 Ilam - 6pm

'Scoláirí' Ollscoil an Churraigh agus Bliain an Chéid Ghaeilge

Satharn 4 Meán Fómhair 1993

sa Chultúrlann

Baile na Manach, Co BhÁC

2.00pm **Antoine Mac Giolla Bhríde, Óglach agus Gaeilgeoir**

Léachtóir: Pádraig Ó Baoill (Rann na Feirste)
Cathaoirleach: Tomás Ó Curraoin, (Gaillimh)

4.15pm Cupán tae/caifé

4.45pm **Cás na Solláin — Fiosrú Neamhspleách Poiblí Riachtanach**

Léachtóir: Deasún Breatnach (BÁC)
Cathaoirleach: Dáithí Seoighe (Gaillimh)

2.40pm Plé agus Ceisteanna

3.10pm **Fadhbanna a bhain agus a bhaineann le múineadh agus foghlaim na Gaeilge i ngéibheann**

Siompóisiam le h-iar-chimi Poblachtacha, (Cnoc an Arbhair, 30í, An Churrach, 40í, Ceis Fhada, 80í, Portlaoise, 70í) Plé agus Ceisteanna
Cathaoirleach: Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí (BÁC)

5.20pm Plé agus Ceisteanna

5.55pm Amhrán na bhFiann

6.00pm Seirbhísí Eaglasta ar son gach Poblachtach a fuair bás i rith na bliana.

7.00pm Béile agus Caidreamh



• The crowd gathered on Sunday, August 8 at the spot on the Athlone-Roscommon road where Toby Mannion was shot dead by Free State Forces in August 1923.

SEVERAL hundred local people and members of the Co Roscommon IRA Commemoration Committee gathered on Sunday, August 8 for the unveiling of a memorial stone to mark the grave of Comdt Toby Mannion in Kiltoom Old Cemetery. They first gathered at the roadside cross at the Hill of Berries where Toby Mannion was shot by Free State Forces during the General Election of August 1923. A wreath was laid by Tommy Morris, Newport, Kiltoom, secretary of the organising committee. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Roscommon led the crowd in a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

Toby Mannion Memorial Unveiled

peace' "He then unveiled the memorial stone.

Canon Greene, PP Kiltoom and Curraghboy blessed the memorial. Robert Flynn, Castlerea sounded the Last Post and Reveille as flags were dipped in salute.

Wreaths were laid by Willie Martin, a brother of Tommy Mannion who escaped from Athlone with Toby Mannion; Mrs Kathleen Heagney who knew Toby Mannion and laid a wreath on his grave 70 years ago; Aoife Mannion, Hill of Berries, a grand-niece of Toby on behalf of the relatives and Dermot Mullooly, Strokestown, whose father escaped from British custody in Athlone Barracks in 1921, on behalf of the Co Commemoration Committee.

Rosella Mannion (grand-niece) said a decade of the Rosary in Irish and Liam Mannion (nephew), joint-treasurer of the organising committee with Paddy Halligan, Bogganfin, read the Co Roscommon Roll of Honour.

The chairman then introduced the main speaker Tommy McKearney of The Moy, Co Tyrone as a man whose mother was from Roscommon and who had lost six members of his family due to attacks by the British army and its agents.

In his oration he said that what Toby Mannion and his comrades fought for was nothing less than a sovereign people, the complete and total

sovereignty of the people which Pearse spoke of and every Republican has fought for since the time of Wolfe Tone.

"Sovereignty cannot be divided, diluted or shared. Only when we are masters in our own house can we make the people free and prosperous. When we attempt to hand over our sovereignty we lose confidence in our ability to guide, to steer this country and its people.

"This loss of faith, loss of conviction, loss of confidence, is rampant today. So often we hear people who decry the merits of the country, who disclaim our language. We have the ridiculous situation where our country is still occupied in the North. With 20% of four people unemployed we look to solutions abroad and ask for contributions from Europe.

"This is what men like Toby Mannion realised would happen when we conceded sovereignty in any part of the country. There is no country which can prosper if it hasn't got confidence in its own ability to control its own destiny.

"We honour Toby Mannion and particularly the 40 members of the Co Roscommon IRA Roll of Honour who died for the cause of Irish Freedom. We honour him not just for his contribution in the fight against tyranny, but more so we honour him and his comrades for the Republic they died to create, a sovereign Republic for a sovereign people," he concluded.



• Comdt Toby Mannion.

Maguire's hat and acted as decoy to ensure his escape from the cordon thrown around the graveyard.

"We are standing on the same spot today, standing in their footprints," Dr Maguire said. "We must never deviate one inch from following in their footsteps. How better to

express our thoughts and determination than by quoting Pearse when he said: "They think they have pacified Ireland, think they have provided against everything. But the fools, the fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at

comprising South Roscommon, North Galway and South Mayo Brigades.

In the fight against the 26-County Free State he was captured and interned in Athlone Barracks, narrowly avoiding the firing-squad. He, Toby Mannion and four others escaped in June 1923 and he spoke at Toby's funeral, although an escapee on the run, the following August.

General Maguire's son, Dr Seán Maguire from Castlebar, performed the unveiling. He said that his late father, Commandant General Tom Maguire, in whose command Toby Mannion had soldiered, was the man who they would have wished to unveil the gravestone. General Maguire died on July 5 last at the great age of 101.

"But I know that he is here in spirit, just as he is here in body and spirit when Comdt Toby Mannion was interred here 70 years ago," he said.

FIRED ON

His father had described to him Toby Mannion's funeral and of being fired on by the self-styled National Army. After he gave the oration, a comrade exchanged his cap for Tom

A cavalcade of cars then proceeded to Moyvannon Castle gate where the parade formed up behind a colour-party bearing the flags of 1916, the national Tricolour, the Stary Plough of the Irish Citizen Army and the Sunburst of Na Fianna Éireann.

REFUSED

A local pipe band, which was formed up at Moyvannon Castle gates to take part in the parade, refused to do so after the pipe major was spoken to by members of the 26-County political police present. Disregarding this intimidation the crowd marched to the cemetery behind the colour party.

At the graveside, Frank Beattie, Rahara, chairman of the organising committee presided and introduced Ruairí Ó Brádaigh who gave a short historical account of Comdt-General Tom Maguire's links with Toby Mannion and Co Roscommon.

General Maguire was elected Sinn Féin TD in 1921 for South Roscommon-South Mayo. He was later that year appointed GOC Second Western Division, IRA,

MAN DIES IN SECOND LOYALIST ATTACK

A 24-year-old nationalist man from North Belfast who was brain-damaged by loyalist thugs six years ago, was stalked, abducted and beaten to death in a similar attack after he wandered away from his home on Friday night, August 6. Séamas Hopkins' body was found with severe head wounds on waste grounds in the lower Shankill area of West Belfast at 5.20pm on Wednesday, August 11. He had been dead for several days and his corpse lay hidden in undergrowth until playing children stumbled upon it at Sherbrook Street, close to Carlisle Circus.

In 1987 Séamas Hopkins, who lived in Upper Meadow Street in the New Lodge area of North Belfast, was attacked near his home and had breeze blocks dropped on his head. He spent eight weeks in intensive care after the incident and had suffered from severe epilepsy ever since.

His mother Elizabeth Hopkins said that he had never

fully recovered from the assault, had fallen many times and often wandered off from his home. His killers, she said, found him the easiest of targets: "He died because he was easy prey and because he was a Catholic. What sort of people are these who could do that to him once and then do it again — we never thought it would happen again. We are absolutely devastated, my son had a terrible death and he was completely helpless."

Mrs Hopkins said her son sometimes wandered out at night, walking through the New Lodge and up the Crumlin Road to the Mater Hospital where he had convalesced after the first attack and where he was still being treated for his epilepsy.

He was probably ambushed along this route, which borders the loyalist Shankill.



• Tommy McKearney speaking at the unveiled memorial in Kiltoom Old Cemetery.

EVENTS CALENDAR/FÉILIRE IMEACHTAÍ 1993

Ulster/Leinster

GOSS & GAUGHAN Comm., Dundalk, Co Louth, 8/8; EVE OF ALL-IRELAND Public Meeting, GPO, Dublin, 18/9; JIMMY KEENEY Comm., Saggart, Co Dublin, 17/10; EDENTUBBER MAR-

TYRS Comm., Edentubber, Co Louth, 7/11; FRANK DRIVER Comm., Ballymore Eustace, Co Kildare, 1/11; KEVIN BARRY Comm., Rathvilly, Co Carlow, 28/11; LIAM MELLOW'S Comm., Castletown, Co Wexford, 3/12; CHRISTMAS SWIM for Republican prisoners and their dependants, Dublin 25/12.

Munster/Connacht

LIAM LYNCH Comm., Goatensbridge, Knockmealdown Mts., Co Tipperary, 12/9; CHARLIE KERINS Comm., Tralee, Co Kerry, 3/12.

"IF THEY aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won't break you. They won't break me because the desire for freedom, and the freedom of the Irish people, is in my heart. The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland with have the desire for freedom to show.

"It is then we'll see the Rising of the Moon."

—BOBBY SANDS

THE annual Bundoran, Co Donegal hunger strike commemoration march on Saturday, August 28 was led by five bands from the Six Counties as well as the Iona College Band from New Rochelle, New York. They were followed by over 40 relatives of the ten 1981 hunger strikers who died during the world-famous jail protest, and a crowd of 1,000 people. Hundreds more lined the streets to watch the colourful parade.

As well as Bobby Sands and the other nine who died on hunger strike in Long Kesh in 1981, the two Maymen Frank Stagg from Hollymount and Michael Gaughan from Ballina who died in prison in England are included in the annual commemoration, as are all those who have given their lives for Irish freedom.

The parade wound its way through the seaside town in fine weather, led by a Republican colour party, to the carpark where the rally was held. The platform party included hungerstrike relatives Mrs Eileen McDonnell, mother of Joe McDonnell, a nephew of Francis Hughes and brothers of Thomas McElwee and Mickey Devine; Martin Hurson's niece Diana; Patsy O'Hara's mother Peggy; the parents and sister of Kevin Lynch; and the mother of Raymond McCreech. Messages of support were received from the families of Bobby Sands, Kieran Doherty, Frank Stagg and Michael Gaughan.

Also on the platform with the invited speakers were Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, Josie McDermott, a relative of 1916 leader Seán Mac Diarmada and Councillor Joe O'Neill, Bundoran, who chaired the ceremony on behalf of the local committee.

He asked for a minute's silence to remember those people, associated with the annual Bundoran hunger strike march, who have died in the past year. He named Comdt General Tom Maguire, Patron of Republican Sinn Féin; Veteran Derry Republican Seán Keenan; Mrs Mary Stagg, mother of Mayo hunger striker Frank Stagg; Tom McKearney, uncle of Tommy McKearney, The Moy, Co Tyrone; Isabella Cunningham, mother of Willie Cunningham of the Glens of Antrim Pipe band; Kathleen Sheil, Dublin and Offaly, a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Republican Sinn Féin.

EMERALD SOCIETY

The first invited speaker was Bob Loughman of the New York Police Emerald Society, whose pipe band featured in controversy (generated by the 26-County police) on several occasions for its participation in the annual Bundoran march.

He pointed out that three members of the band were present and that the entire band planned to travel from New York to play at Bundoran in 1994, the tenth anniversary of their first appearance there to honour the hunger strikers.

USA

He praised Colleen Withers and the Iona College Pipe Band for travelling from the USA as "giving testimony that we in the United States are willing to stand up and be counted, to let the world know that we believe in Ireland, a country of 32 Counties and no foreign troops".

"Politics' cowardice, incompetence and the slave mentality of the Dublin government" in the aftermath of the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings left that administration guilty of collusion after the fact in the murder of 33 people in 1974.

"The Dublin government are indeed cowards," he said, "because they do not stand up for their own people."

He was followed by Fr Des Wilson of Belfast, a tireless worker for the rights of the nationalist people. He is also deeply involved in social work and adult education in West Belfast. He began his address as Gaeilge: "Beidh daonlathas againn in Éirinn gan dabht ach is mór an streachailt pholaitiúil a bheid againn chun sin a chur i bhfeidhm," a dúirt sé.

HELPED

He thanked everyone for the honour of being able to stand on that platform with so many good people.

H-BLOCK

Hunger Strike showed power of the people



• Relatives of the 1981 hunger strikers lead the parade in Bundoran on August 28.

object of the British government as far as we were concerned.

There are two things very specially that I would like to say. The first is that in the north-east of our country the British government is still persecuting our people. That government is savagely anti-Catholic and anti-Irish, which has persecuted our people for reasons which are racist, greedy and selfish and which never in the past, never in the present and never in the future can have had any justification, has any justification, or ever will.

That persecution of our people must stop. It must be stopped. They will tell you that there are all kinds of humanitarian reasons why a government does what it does. There are none, beside the atrocious treatment of our people which has been meted out by the British government no humanitarian motive on their part could ever be an excuse for what they have done, nor could it ever justify what they have done, nor could it give us any reason for being any less severe in our strictures and our condemnations of them.

CENSORSHIP

The second thing I want to say is that the censorship which is imposed on you by the government in Dublin has prevented you from knowing the full extent and misery of that persecution. It has prevented you from knowing that every week our houses are destroyed by British military and police. That every week more Irish democrats are put in prison, often without a shred of real evidence against them. Censorship imposed by the government in Dublin is supported by the press and continued even against his own conscience by the present minister responsible, Michael D Higgins.

This censorship has prevented you, perhaps, from realising that the British government is one of the sixty or seventy countries in the world which use torture on its own citizens in order to extract information from them. It tortures in order to get political information as a normal means of doing so and therein lies the greatest of the evils of what they are doing.

The British government has succeeded in all this in Ireland because it has threatened the government in Dublin and tried to buy off the rest of us in the north-east by giving huge sums of money to the churches to keep them silent, by giving money to those who might have protested — to the universities and to the journalists — if the money had not been there.

The churches have refused to listen to their suffering people, to protest against this last persecution of Catholics in the European Community. If this took place where there was a left-wing government the church leaders would have protested and ordered prayers at every church service in the country until the persecution stopped.

That silence is their shame. The church leaders and all church members should be on the side of their own people to stop the persecution of Catholics in our country.

FELLOW-CITIZENS

As citizens we must turn to remove the exploitation and destruction of those who are most under threat, namely those who are Irish, those who are Republican, those who are Catholic. We must also turn to destroy once and for all the British exploitation of our Protestant fellow-citizens who have been forced by the British government to treat their Catholic fellow-citizens as if they

Cont on page 8



• Visiting Iona College Pipe Band from New Rochelle, New York, USA.

'It is we the people who

Cont from page 7

were enemies and their Jewish and other non-Christian citizens as if they didn't exist.

I believe that we are now in the last chapter of this long and terrible struggle against oppression and persecution. We need your help. We need the help of the international community to make sure that extradition into the hands of an implacable enemy is stopped as well. We need that help when the last anti-democratic tyranny in Continental Europe is being revealed for what it is, undemocratic, cruel, crude and harsh.

When I go back to my own home in Belfast I always reflect that the reason our people never lost their dignity or their courage was that they never lost their friends.

We remember all the good people who suffered and died, we remember the people who made the most heroic sacrifice that has been made in this century and we welcome their friends and relatives. But that sacrifice should never have to be made and we must make sure, good friends, that it will never have to be made again."

The fourth Bundoran speaker was Emer Quinlivan, an Ard-Chomhairle member of Republican Sinn Féin from Limerick. Emer is a sister of Nessian Quinlivan whose extradition to England is being sought with that of Pearse McAuley of Tyrone. After thanking the organisers of the rally for being invited to speak she said:

"It is a great privilege to be involved in commemorating those who did so much to shape the current course of Ireland's freedom struggle and to meet their relatives who so loyally stood by them.

Why is it this important for us to gather here today? Certainly it is important that we pay tribute to the great courage of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Ray McCreesh, Patsy O'Hara, Joe McDonnell, Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, Tom McElwee and Mickey Devine.

Just as we pay tribute to the memory of Terence MacSwiney, Michael Gaughan, Frank Stagg and other Irish Prisoners of War before them. These men and their comrades had five straight forward demands:

1. the right to wear their own clothes;
2. the right not to go prison work;
3. free association among political prisoners;
4. recreation and visiting facilities;
5. full restoration of remission.

Yet these simple and just demands were enough to rock the London and Dublin administrations. Mass protests on the streets both North and South of the Border demonstrated clearly the amount of public sympathy for the Prisoners of War. Thousands took to the streets demanding justice. Yet when thousands marched on the British Embassy in Dublin, in that State's biggest ever protest, they were met with unprovoked violence by the 26-County police.

The fact that a peaceful protest should be met with such brutal violence came as no surprise to us Republicans. Whenever Irish nationalists attempted to make their voices heard North or South, they have been met with State-controlled violence.

We saw it in the violent reaction of the Orange state to the civil rights movement, right through the H-Blocks protest, and we still see it today in the activities of the loyalist murder gangs, who are financed, directed, led and controlled by the British government.

The message from the political establishment on these islands has



• Emer Quinlivan

always been 'Croppies lie down'. Well the H-Block Martyrs and their comrades were not prepared to lie down and neither should we be.

BY THEIR actions a new generation of Irish youth have come to see the relationship between the Dublin and London administrations in a new light. They saw how both administrations were working hand-in-glove in attempting to damage the H-Block movement.

Simply to attend a H-Block information meeting was enough to invite a visit of the political police to your home, whether you lived north or south. Every method possible was tried to discredit the H-Block prisoners of War, their families and supporters.

Their dirty tricks did not work, but a new generation got to see the old pals act of the Dublin and London establishment in action. Down through the years both governments have consistently acted in tandem to suppress any expression of the right to national self-determination.

It is worthwhile here to consider the true nature of the relationship between Dublin and London. Certainly not a relationship of equals, that's for sure. More like master and puppy. The master snaps his finger and the puppy jumps, the only question is how high.

The often-quoted statement that "The Irish Free State was set up to hold Ireland with an economy of British lives" is as true now as when it was first coined. So can we really be surprised at their attitude to the Hunger Strike movement? The last thing the Dublin ruling class wanted was a popular mass movement questioning the nature of political power on this island.

The 26 Counties has 300,000 people unemployed yet can spend vast sums of money protecting Britain's Border. We didn't create the border, we don't want the border yet our money is paying for it. Think about it, Britain creates a border and then gets Dublin to pay for it. It is not a question of Dublin appeasing London, but more a question of them fulfilling the duties which they were set up to carry out.

Take for instance their disgraceful record on extradition. Now obviously this is a subject I have very strong feelings on, but how can anybody sleep at night knowing they have handed a fellow Irishman over to

what the Birmingham Six describe as "the most corrupt and bigoted judicial system in the world".

Extradition to the occupied Six Counties has been operated in a particularly vindictive fashion. No time is credited for time served in a 26-County jail and in effect a prisoner serves the same sentence twice. This was once more brought home to us in the past week in the case of Michael McKee of Belfast.

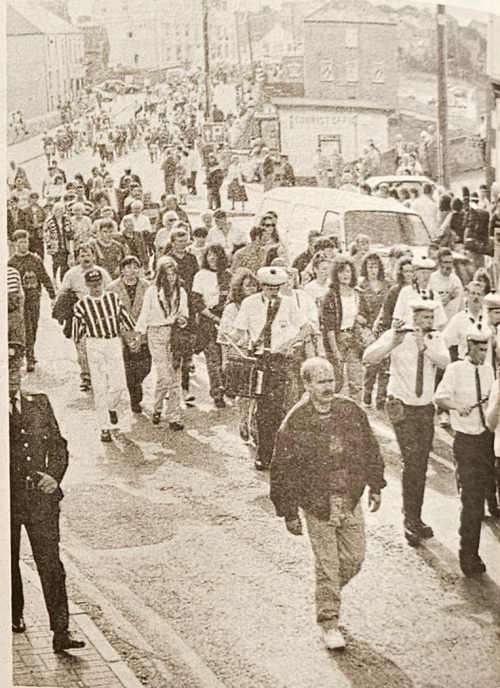
Southern politicians like to indulge in the pretence that it is the courts that decide extradition policy but this clearly is not the case. For instance they were able to stop the extradition of one Irishman when it suited them. Fearing a backlash they invoked the clause which allowed them to refuse extradition on the grounds that "would not get a free trial".

They are now attempting to strip themselves of this power in case they might be forced to use it again. The pro-British element call it "removing loopholes", the rest of us see it as a move towards rubber-stamped extradition on demand. We should not allow the politicians to weasel out of their responsibilities towards their countrymen and women.

TAKE the case of my brother Nessian and Pearse McAuley from Strabane. Their arrest at Stonehenge, subsequent court appearances, escape from Brixton and re-arrest in Ireland received blanket media coverage. The anti-Irish tabloids went into overdrive to bring in a guilty verdict against Nessian Quinlivan and Pearse McAuley long in advance of any trial.

The general lack of evidence was ignored and one tabloid even got so carried away as to accuse them of an act committed while they were actually imprisoned in Brixton. Various groups including the Irish in Britain Representation Group made formal complaints to the British Press Council, but to no avail.

Yet consider the *Alice in Wonderland* type farce which would ensue if either of these men were to appear in a British court. A solemn judge would invite the jury to enter the fantasy world of British law. He would instruct them to "wipe any previous knowledge of this case from their mind". Instantaneously the jury would suffer collective amnesia. Presumably they would also be struck blind so as not to see the predictably



• The O'Neill/Alsopp Flute Band from Belfast.

lurid headlines and security circus associated with such a case.

Albert Reynolds and his government would do well to look back at the way Irish people have been treated by British courts. Irish people involved in these kinds of cases are not political pawns to be used to win favours from Westminster.

We must state clearly that we will not allow our people to be fodder for a corrupt and bigoted judicial system. The answer from the people of Ireland must be a clear 'No' to extradition.

So keen are the Fianna Fáil party to appease their British paymasters that immediately after Nessian and Pearse escaped from Brixton, the Special Branch commenced a policy of house raids and arrests against the

family, friends and neighbours of Nessian. People were arrested, photographed, fingerprinted and questioned simply because they knew him.

On one occasion 13 armed police invaded the home of Nessian's parents. I too have suffered this harassment and on more than one occasion while out with my children have had my car stopped and searched on the side of the road in Limerick. Of course this kind of police harassment is nothing new to the people of the occupied Six Counties.

Whenever I hear people in the 26 Counties complain about lack of police presence in certain areas, I often smile to myself and think, hoist a Tricolour and you very quickly will have all the police you want.

So where do we stand now in 1993?

In the recent past all political initiatives have been poorly thought out attempts to try to isolate Republicans. The so-called Anglo-Irish agreement was simply another in a long line of bogus developments. It involved the pretence that Dublin could be allowed a role in the Six Counties. Through this they hoped to boost the flagging fortunes of the SDLP and for a while we saw a flurry of diplomatic activity.

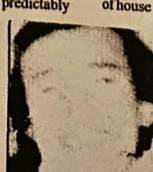
High sounding statements were made about how this would improve the lives of Northern nationalists. So what happened? Job discrimination is still rampant (even Cooper's tame Fair Employment Agency was forced to admit this), savage sectarian murders by loyalist thugs have escalated, aided



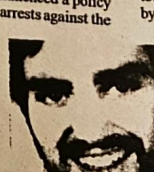
BOBBY SANDS



FRANCIS HUGHES



RAYMOND McCREESH



PATSY O'HARA



JOE McDONNELL

o must free the people'

and abetted by their friends in the RUC (Of course indiscriminate murder has long been an instrument of Orange policy. At the first sign of trouble in Parliament, John Major has played the Orange card and made a deal with the Unionist Party. Dublin reverted to its role of doing what it once again to its role of doing what it is told.

BUT THE nationalist people of 1993 are not prepared to lie down and accept a place as second-class citizens. They are not prepared to be beaten down by loyalist hooligans and no amount of fancy rhetoric will convince them that the Dublin government is anything other than a supporter of the status quo. The sacrifices of the H-Block Martyrs have shown a new generation the way forward, that the juggernaut of British of British Imperialism can

TOMMY MCKEARNEY of the Moy, Co Tyrone was released from Long Kesh this year after 16 years' imprisonment. He was three years "on the blanket" protest and spent 53 days on hunger strike in 1980 for political status. Six of his immediate family have been killed by the British army and its agents. His address at the Bundoran hunger strike commemoration is printed below:

"Is mór an onóir é seo, a bheith anscoimiu in nDún na nGall ag labhairt os comhair slua mar seo.

Fhad is atá na daoine toilteanach omós a thabhairt dona laochra atá imithe ar slí na firinne mhaireann cúis na phoblachta.

There are few events which leave an indelible mark on a people's history and on a people's memory. The great hunger strike of 1981 however was one event which did just that.

some of us may well come to believe this.

WE ARE NOT a powerless, insignificant minority. United — as we were throughout the hunger strike period — we now make up a potent force with a powerful case which none can refute. By what logic do they decide that

living in the austerity of unemployment and with half its younger generation living in the exile of enforced economic emigration.

That is the paramount lesson we must always draw from the great hunger strike of 1981, the power of the common people.

Ten men lit a torch but the people



• Tommy McKearney

INSPIRATION

We can only grasp the greatness of our dead comrades by realising the inspiration they generated among their people. And more — by realising the greatness with which our people responded to the hunger strike.

For truly, this was what made the time of the hunger strike a heroic epoch. Because, 25 years after that first Civil Rights march from Coalisland to Dungannon we are now in a position to accurately judge what makes our opponents reel.

It is the people, mobilised and on the streets which sends alarm bells ringing in those official circles. Make no mistake about it; when a people signals its detestation of those in authority by mass acts of protest and defiance that that authority is there in name only. And where they cannot govern; then they must surely go.

It was to inspire this mass participation in resistance that our ten men died.

Be under no illusions. Over time, the power of a risen people is unstoppable.

We have been told so often by the mighty in Dublin and London that we are a powerless and insignificant minority. There is even a risk that

Lifford is to be administered from Dublin and that, 50 yards over the bridge Strabane must be administered from London? How do they argue that Co Monaghan is Irish and neighbouring Fermanagh is British?

It surely isn't by the voice of the people in these areas. And it surely won't continue to be considered a fact when the people of those areas clearly say that the situation will no longer be tolerated.

When a people en masse refuses to be governed in a certain way, it becomes impossible in practice to do so.

That is why our opponents so feared the mass movement of the hunger strike era. It showed everyone how things could be done and how things could be changed.

It showed how Britain's undemocratic rule could be challenged in the Six Counties. It showed too how Dublin's mismanagement of its domestic affairs would be dealt with by an enraged people awakened to the scope of their power.

SPLENDOUR

What odds would anyone give for the mighty in Dublin and London to splendour while presiding over a country with 20% of its population

as a whole carried it. Had it not been for the valour of the population, the dead would have given their lives in a glorious but failed gesture.

That was not so, was due to the fact that the heroism of the ten was matched by the heroism of their people. A population which was prepared to storm any bastion.

Our beleaguered and frequently slandered Northern people demonstrated then a capacity for struggle which has few equals anywhere.

Our Northern people also showed then that one great strength which makes all oppressive regimes take fearful note. Our people, individually as well as collectively did not hesitate to engage in the great actions of the period.

MASS participation in street action makes rulers fearful. Abraham Lincoln once said that the people have a constitutional right to amend the state but they also have the revolutionary right to overturn it completely too.

That, my friends, is why our opponents will forever attempt to divert a risen people's energy.

Our opponents are devious and perfidious. They will use stealth to



be stopped. Their place in a long line of freedom fighters has shown the world that there is only one way forward. The key to peace on this island lies in the three demands.

- 1. British withdrawal;
- 2. the release of all political prisoners;
- 3. the future of Ireland to be decided by the people of Ireland.

In conclusion I would like to quote from Bobby Sands:

"If they aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won't break you. They won't break me because of the desire for freedom, and the freedom day will always be in my heart. The Irish will always when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to show."

It is then we'll see the Rising of the Moine.

For wherever and whenever people look for an example of selfless dedication to a great cause, they will recount the tale of those ten heroic men who died agony-wracked deaths in prison cells.

It is very proper that we honour their memory. It is indeed a good thing which we do today. And just as those men drew no line beyond which they refused to make sacrifice — we draw no limiting line on our admiration for their glorious courage.

"I was indeed a noble crown they won for a noble deed they done.

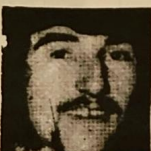
And still, boundless as our admiration for their sacrifice is, and uncurtailed as our praise for their heroism will always be, we cannot adequately honour our heroes by merely heaping adulation on their passing.



• The Kevin Lynch Memorial Band from Dungiven.



MARTIN HURSON



KEVIN LYNCH



KIERAN DOHERTY



THOMAS McELWEE



MICHAEL DEVINE

encourage us to follow paths which they have chosen for us.

Like skilful masters of the boxing ring, they will howl in pain when we do not hurt them yet remain silent when we do.

They will graciously admire our skill when we perform a futile exercise but they will pour scorn and disdain on us if we seem to evolve a technique which threatens them.

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Cont on page 10

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- Tommy McKearney

Be ever watchful, our opponents are experienced and well practised in the arts of ruling.

NOMINATE

They will tell us to nominate spokespersons and through them speak for all from parliamentary seats and council chambers.

They will advise us to challenge repression by seeking redress from within the oppressors' very own judicial establishment.

And while the oppressor attempts to defuse a risen people's righteous anger through the cretinism of ineffective parliamentarism, he will simultaneously attempt to goad a section of the population into precipitous, ill-conceived or unwise military actions.

EITHER both courses plays into the hands of our enemies. Because both these courses of despair separate activists from the people. Because it reduces the population as a whole to the role of spectator instead of central mover.

One finger may at any time point the way but it takes all fingers united firmly together to make a fist. And it's only with a fist you can fight.

Do honour to our ten dead heroes and all of those who gave their lives for the prisoners cause at that time by keeping that message firmly in your minds. It is we the people who must free the people.

We want no condescending saviour to rule us from their judgement halls. Long live the memory of our heroic dead.

Long live our heroic people!"



• Glens of Antrim Pipe Band and the Dr Arthurs Memorial Accordion Band.



• St Patrick's Accordion Band, The Tunnel, Portadown.

The most heroic sacrifice made this century

Cont from page 8

Joe Salvayon, of Cumann na Saoirse in New York spoke briefly and brought best wishes from Veteran Republican Michael Flannery. As a young person in America, he said, it was the hunger strikes that made him question what he was being taught and what was being left out, what was not being reported in the papers, what was not being said on the news.

"The tentacles of 10 Downing Street reach out to the media and the government and every aspect of American life so that we don't hear the real story about what's going on over here.

RE-ESTABLISHED

"When the Republic is re-established for all 32 Counties it will be because of men like the ten hunger strikers, like General Tom Maguire who we lost recently, like the men and women of the Occupied Six Counties

who continue the struggle.

"It won't be due to the men, living in the Pale and call themselves Fianna Fáil, but those who continue the struggle onwards. The cause that has been so nobly served will yet triumph and the Republic will be re-established," he concluded.

Cllr Joe O'Neill, Chairperson, said that the experiences of a man from Donegal, Pat Ward, who died as a result of several hunger strikes, men from Mayo, Frank Stagg and Michael Gaughan who died on hunger strike in England, and a man from Limerick, Nessun Quinlivan, fighting extradition to the British, showed that it was a 32-County problem, not a Six-County one. We must not settle for less than the three demands, he said.

He asked how low can the Special Branch get when they monitor every May the relatives of those killed in the Dublin bombings as they hold

a remembrance Mass for their loved ones?

He appealed to the 26-County police to tell their masters that they are not going to co-operate with the British oppressors in our country any more.

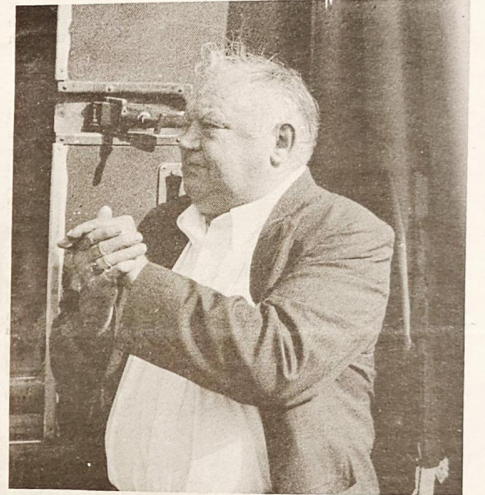
He thanked the hunger strike families for their presence and the bands for travelling and stressed the importance of honouring all Irishmen and Irishwomen who gave their lives for Irish freedom.



MICHAEL GAUGHAN



• Bob Loughman



• John Hurley



• Fr Des Wilson



FRANK STAGG



PAT WARD



'Ní Sasana eile darbh ainm Éire a bhí uathu ach Éire darbh ainm Éire'

Conradh na Gaeilge — Céad Bliain Ann

ÓCÁID chaitréimeach a bhí ann taobh amuigh de Uimhir a 9, Sráid Uí Chonaill Iocht, Baile Átha Cliath ar an Satharn, Iúil 31nuair a rinneadh comóradh ar bhunú Chonradh na Gaeilge céad bliain agus an lá sin.

Dúirt Mícheál Mac Aonghusa ('Comhad Cathrach') in *Anois*, Lúnasa '93 faoin gceannú bunaidh sin: "Tá gan fhios dá raibh i láthair, bhí póitínseal réabhlóide thart timpeall ar an mbord sin, an réabhlóid is bunúsaí agus is polaitiúla a 'd'fhéadadh a bheith in Éirinn, di-chóilínú go feirc.

"Níor tharla an réabhlóid sin fós ach maireann an póitínseal. Is é an póitínseal sin a chiallaíonn gurb é an 31 Iúil 1893 buthal (fulcrum or fixed point on which a lever moves) na nuastaire sa tír seo."

Mh'anam gurab fhuair dhó! Chuir Banna Fíobaireachta Ébhróidí Dáineáin Bhaile Átha Cliath nís brionnair leis na himceachtaí ar an tsráid Breandán Ó Dúill a bhí mar thear a' tí agus príomh-amhránaí. Séamus Mac Mathúna agus baill de Chomhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann a chuir an fáil.

MÓRTAS CHINE

Mínscail Séamus mórtas chine in arábh i láthair leis an mBuachaill Beo agus bhí sár-thaispeántas rinne ann ó Scoll Rince Uí Shé. Labhair Séan Mac Mathúna, Ard-Rúnaí an Chonartha faoi na pearsain agus an obair a rinneadh ag gConradh le céad bliain annas.

Tar éis do Phroinsias Mac Aonghusa óráid spreagúil a thabhairt, nochtaigh na plaic práis ar an mball (le

Bhunaítheoirí an Chonartha ar an 31 Iúil, 1993.

"Cúig scór bliain ó shin ar an láthair seo tháinig deichniúr le chéile ar chuireadh ó Eóin Mac Néill, Ultach idéalach meabhach Gaelach nach raibh ach 26 bliana d'aois san am.

COSÚLACHT

Seachas go raibh inni orthu ar fad faoi mheath na Gaeilge is beag an chosúlacht a bhí eatarthu. Trí scór agus seacht mbliana d'aois a bhí Tomás Ó Néill Ruiseál, an té ba shine díobh, agus ocht mbliana déag a bhí Séamus Ó Cogadháin, an té ab óige.

Bhí Caitlicigh ina measc; bhí Protastúnaigh ina measc. Sagart de Chumann Iosa ba ea an Athair Uiliam Ó hÉidéain; comhalta de Chuallacht na gCaraid a bhí in Tomás Ó Néill Ruiseál. Ní féidir ará gur Éireannaigh a bhí iontu ar fad. Is i Yorkshire a rugadh agus a tógadh Thomas Walter Ellerker agus ní léir aon thuil Éireannach a bheith ina chuisil.

Bhí cúigear acu ag obair sna Ceithre Chúirt mar a raibh Eóin Mac Néill féin fostaíthe.

Thuigeadar tábacht teanga. Bhí brúil acu den dochar a dhéanadh sé den phobal dá séalfadán an Ghaeilge agus dá nglacfaí leis nach raibh aon locht ar Éire a bheith ina cúige Briotanach.



● Ag comóradh 100 bliain Conradh na Gaeilge i siopa Clery's, Sráid Uí Chonaill, BÁC.

Chuireadar an bás ó dhoras. Rinneadar éacht. Tharraing siad meas agus ómós ar theanga a bhí faoi chois agus faoi dhimheas. Chuardar in aghaidh srutha.

Thuagadar dúshlán na maithé móra.

Tá an cogadh cultúrtha in aghaidh an ghalldachaísa a thosaíodar anseo ar an ócáid stairiúil sin ar siúl fós.

Gnóthaíodh a lán cathanna; tá meirgí na geathanna sin go cairbéimeach agaimi i gcóir. Cailleadh cathanna eile. Bítear de shíor ag gnóthú

Language known by one and a quarter million people

AT a ceremony in Dublin city centre on July 31 last a plaque was unveiled at 9, Lower O'Connell Street to mark the spot where Conradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League) was founded 100 years ago. In his address to the large crowd that blocked off Dublin's main thoroughfare the organisation's Mac President Proinsias Mac Aonghusa said that their 100th birthday was being celebrated that day all over Ireland, in the United States and Australia, Canada and Scotland, France, England and Wales.

"The notion of setting up a mass movement, as opposed to a more discreet cultural pressure group, came from Eoin MacNeill of Antrim. His associates at the O'Connell Street gathering were Martin Kelly from Clare, in whose grind school for civil service candidates the meeting was held, Douglas Hyde, a scholar from Roscommon, Father William Hayden SJ from Carrickbeg in Waterford, PJ Hogan of Limerick, Thomas Walter Ellerker from Yorkshire, Thomas O'Neill Russell, a Quaker from Moate in County Westmeath, James Michael Cogan from Dublin, Charles Percy Bushe from Dublin, and Pádraig Ó Briain, a printer from Ballydeobh in Cork.

The State's half-hearted attitude towards Irish may most clearly be seen in the ludicrous and offensive fact that 70 years after the creation of a separate Irish State it is all but impossible to conduct business with that State in Irish and that in areas officially recognised as Irish-speaking hardly any state services are freely available in Irish.

That then is the position of

Irish one hundred years after Eoin MacNeill and Douglas Hyde raised the flag of the Gaelic League and declared that action must be and would be taken to ensure that the language of Ireland was again given proper status. From darkness Irish has been promoted to a twilight zone. Advances have been significant on many levels; there also have been retreats and defeats.

KNOWLEDGE

This weekend's birthday celebrations highlight the fact that about one and a quarter million people now claim a knowledge of Irish. When the Gaelic League was founded some 800,000 people spoke the language as their normal everyday tongue. But most of these wanted to drop it. They had been convinced that English offered more to their children and to themselves. Their minds had been colonised; they accepted the moral and cultural superiority of their foreign masters.

Conradh na Gaeilge and all that came from it restored pride to Irish people; only the most ignorant would now claim that Irish people should not have their own distinctive and unique language, or that that language is not in every respect as developed and as practical as any other modern language.

This is a special weekend. Conradh na Gaeilge begins its Second Century on Sunday. Its more than 200 branches enter that Second Century with pride; if it achieved as much in the next one hundred years as it has in the past century, Ireland will be more distinctly and spectacularly Irish in years ahead.

An Ghaeilge Abú.



● Ag seinm ceoil ag an mórócáid ar 21 Iúil.

cead Sainmí Fabrics Lts). Chan a raibh i láthair gach bhéarsa agus curfa de Oro, 'Se do Bheatha Abhaile le Fáilín Mac Piaras, ansin.

Ócáid chorrathach gan aon agó. Ortha siúd a bhí i láthair bhí Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Sinn Féin Poblachtach; Pádraig Caomhánach; Eamon Mac Thomáis; Seán Mac Siocháin (a bhfuil bíseach ag teacht air); Mícheál Ó Ríordáin, Páirtí Cumannach na hÉireann; Alan Heasail, An Conradh Ceilteach; Albert Fry, Nollag Ó Gadhra; Seán agus Bláhdán Ó Brádaigh; Risteárd Ó Ghlaiste; Mícheál Ó Muircheartaigh; Dáidíní Dhonnáil, atá ar ais ag meánuicéad scoile, agus go leor, leor eile.

Aige seo, tá éacs an aithis a thug Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge Proinsias Mac Aonghusa nuair a noch sé plaic i gcuimhne agus in ónóir

Bhí aising acu siúd ar fad a bhailigh le chéile anseo céad bliain agus an lá inniu. Séard a bhí uathu Éire Ghaelach ina mbeadh glacadh an tséal agus os ard leis an Ghaeilge mar theanga pobail.

Ní raibh ríocht ná poblacht nó flaitheas polaitiúchá a leith d'áon sórt uathu, pé rud a bhí uathu siúd ar a ndeachaigh a soiscéil i gcion ina dhiaidh sin.

Ceanróidithe cultúrtha a bhí iontu ar fad ón té ab óige go dtí an té ba shine. Agus thuigeadar nach bhféadadh cultúr Éireannach ar leith a bheith sa tír seo gan an Ghaeilge. Ní Sasana eile darbh ainm Éire a bhí uathu ach Éire darbh ainm Éire.

DÚSHLÁN

Is dá mbar a mháireann an Ghaeilge agus atá sí ag dul chun cinn.

agus ag cailleadh. Leantar leis an gcohad cultúrtha.

Bhí námhadh na Gaeilge láidir agus bhíodar glic céad bliain ag ham seo. Tá námhadh na Gaeilge láidir agus tá siad glic anois freisin.

Ach tá aising na mbunaitheoirí, go háirithe aising Eóin Mhic Néill agus aising Chéad Uachtarán an Chonartha Dúbhglas de h-Ide, beo fós.

Éire na nGael, Éire na Gaeilge a bhí uathu, leathnú agus lairdiú na gceantar Gaelachta, meas an phobail trí chéile a tharraing ar bhean agus ar thearna Gaeilge. An saol a athrú a bhí uathu.

Sin freisin atá uainne, Conraitheoirí

ar lean lch 12

Comdt-General Maguire's Legacy

Editor
This refers to Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh's July 13, 1993, letter published in *The Irish Times* concerning the recent passing of Commandant General Tom Maguire at the age of 101. I express total agreement with the Ó Brádaigh letter and only add God Bless Tom Maguire and his undeviating commitment to his people. There is, however, an important issue which I would like to address.

The legacy of General Maguire is who holds the legitimacy of Republicanism, a legacy only he as the last surviving member of Second Dáil Éireann has a right to bestow. I would offer some thoughts on this issue from a legal as well as a moral basis.

Legitimacy must flow from a genuine source which is maintained by a descending nexus as the original source of legitimacy is properly inherited. That which is passed on is the adherence to the standard as initiated in this instance by those who commanded the Easter Rising 1916, and that is the pursuit by any and all means of an all-Ireland Republic. To deviate from that standard and its attendant trappings nullifies legitimacy.

The mortal sin against the Republic as baptised in blood in 1916 is partition and its cancerous outgrowths. Recognition of and participation in any form or derivative of partitionism negates any claim to the holy standard of the 1916 Republic.

Stormont and Leinster House are the two bastard children of the marriage of Treaty forces and British and others who recognise any part or parcel of that shotgun wedding called partition. The British prop up Dublin by the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the



North by terror and thousands upon thousands of security forces. None of these can lay claim to legitimacy.

The purveyor of the nexus of legitimacy was General Tom Maguire as the rightful standard bearer of the 1916 Republic, through the War of Independence, enshrined in the Second Dáil Éireann, continued on the Republican side in the Civil War, through to the Army Council of the IRA after de Valera's abandonment of Republicanism, to the Provisionals until they abandoned abstentionism in 1986.

The legacy of General Maguire is his action taken in

1987 sponsoring Republican Sinn Féin, his selected vehicle to carry on the all-Ireland Republic's standard which in some form has been abandoned by all others.

From the action of the only man holding authority to give legitimacy to a standard bearer, the Republican Mantle of legitimacy falls to the leadership of Republican Sinn Féin. They do not recognise the slightest trappings of partition as manifest in the rump parliament in Dublin, direct rule from London in the North and the various parties that excuse it for self-aggrandisement.

The 1916 standard is an Irish one while all others come

from the Crown's handouts which is unacceptable to a true believer.

Dr Fredrico P Burns-O'Brien
Co-Founder, Irish National Caucus
PO Box 14126
Washington, DC, 20044

Peacekeepers Becoming Warlords

A chara
The master of the U-turn may have retired but has left two apprentices, Spring and Reynolds.

What has happened to the idealistic (?) 'pacifist' Labour party led by Spring, who now proposes to turn Irishmen from being peacekeepers into warriors? Shades of the 'Wild Geese':

'War-battered dogs are we, knowing a naked bone (for 1993 read Trimmings from intervention boxes)'

Fighters in every clime — and — every clime but our own.'

Also, from our Skibbereen hero, Diarmuid Ó Donnabháin Rossa, to whom we pay lip-service. Last two verses of *The Soldier's Fortune*, 1863.

'If I can swear my lifelong days To fight from pole to pole, For any power, however base, With safety to my soul'

'It cannot be by God's decree I'm cursed, denounced and banned Because I swear one day to free My trampled native land'

When the coffins begin to come home, maybe, we will call to mind Sarsfield's poignant words "Oh, that this were for Ireland".

MICHEÁL Ó DONNABHÁIN, MARA An Charraig i dtír Chonail

An Bunreacht a rith an Dara Dáil

Cuid a ceathair

BA I SEO fosta aidhm na bhFínni agus an Phiarasaigh "na bitear in aimirh fá ce bhéas íreim in Éirinn nuair a bhéas Éire saor. Is iad na daoine a bhéas íreim agus í máistreacht." Agus féach Séamas Ó Conghaile ina shaothar mór *Labour in Irish History*.

"An troid a rinneadh ag cuallachta na nGael in aghaidh na Galltachtacha ar bhain léithe, spairn tuathánach agus scáibhéalte an 18ú agus an 19ú céad, spairn mhór chomhdhaonach na n-aoiseann uilig, éiríochas sí arís agus cumfadh i fein i bhfeiliúint do na coimníochta úra.

Agus dá bhí sin beidh troid scáibhéalte na hÉireann ar son na saoirse buaithe feasta ní ar gnóthachan ná ar chailliúint an cheart le labhairt i nDáil Éireannagh ach ar a gearr chun cinn smachta a fháil ar na ceardlanna agus na feimeacha úd ar a mbíonn arán agus saoirsi na ndaoine ag brath.

Séard is brí i ndeireadh na dála de choimheascar cian-aosta na nGael in éadan d'na ndaoirse troid ar son

máistreacht ar na gléasanna beatha, na córacha tairgthe in Éirinn.

Léiríodh seo i bhFógra na Poblachta faoi Shléibh Luan Cásca 1916.

"Fuairimid go bhfuil ceart do-sháraithe thar gach éileamh eile ag muintir na hÉireann do sheilbh na hÉireann agus do smacht gan bacain ar a ndán féin." Agus,

"Deimhníonn an Poblacht . . . agus agus deiseanna cothroima dá cuid saoránach go léir, agus darbaíonn a rin-séan agus sonas an chindh go léir maille lena chodacha uilig a lorg, ag cotú chlánn an náisiúin fré chéile go hionann."

Ar na scríobhnoirí ba mhó a raibh éifeacht acu ar smaoineamh chomhdhaonach na Poblachtaíoch na linn chogadh na saoirse bhí Liam Ó Maoliosa. Dá bhri sin — ag tionól: de Chéad Dáil na Poblachta i mí Eanáir 1919 ar mhóladh na bainiarla Markievicz, agus Cathal Brugha sa gathair glacadh le clár daonlathach ina raibh an t-ail seo a leanas:

"Beidh sé mar dhuilgias ar an

bPoblacht, gach síl is gá a cheapadh le beatha agus beocht a chur ar ais in árguid tionscal agus a chintú go ndéanfar a bhforbairt ar na módhanna comharthaíochta is tairbhí agus is foirchéimní."

I ndeabhaidh cogaidh mar ab ea niorbh thóladh do théarma na bhforgrai seo a bheith leitheadach go leor, ach tá a gcleonadh soiléir — i dtreo na comhairíochta.

IMÍ Eanáir 1929 rith na teachtá dílse den Dara Dáil bílle a chuir Máire Nic Shuibhne ina láthair agus bronnadh Bunreacht ar Poblacht na hÉireann agus a cuireadh i gcló faoin teideal "Rialtas Poblachta na hÉireann".

Léigheann aite XI: "Is leis na saoránaigh uilig iomlán shealúchas náisiúnta Poblacht na hÉireann, talamh an Náisiúnta, agus a chuid gastaí go léir, an mhaoin go léir, agus na meáin go léir le maoin a tháirgeadh atá san náisiún.

Aithnítear dílse seilbh ach beidh sí faoi réir an chirt agus an leasphoiblí. Sangaíuas ar alta X agus XI léitear seo:

"Roinnfear na fearainn mhóra ina ngabháltais eacnamaíochta, srl . . . agus faoin gceimteal "Tionscal" atá

"Beidh tionscal a tionscainíodh, le cabhair na n-achmhaí náisiúnta, thriaisacht nó deontas, ar bhonn comhair agus faoi stiúir oile agus iniúilt. Is cosúil go mbeidh gá le smacht an rialtas ar luacha chun ollbhrabach a sheachaint agus le hiníúchadh gearr chun an isliú cáighdeán ina na hearraí a táirgeadh a bhacain."

Faisníonn alt XV: "Séard a bhéas i rialtas Poblachta na hÉireann:

1. Uachtarán a thoghfar ag na daoine
 2. Oireachtas Náisiúnta darab ainm Dáil Éireann
 3. Comhairle Náisiúnta Gaeilgeagrach."
- Anois céard é an ceart seo an duine a luaigh Tón. Dar le *Qudragressimo Anna* "Tá ceart ag an uile dhúine do sheilbh dá chuid féin.

DE RÉIRÁN díl aicionta is sine agus is trise an ceart seo an chéart an stáit . . . mar do bhronn Dia an Domhan ar an gceine daonna i gcoitinne . . . agus fágadh teoranta na seilbh dílse lena sócrú ag



tionscal an duine féin agus ag dlithe na mbanúil éagsúla . . . agus fós . . . nuair a dhéanann an-údar sibhialta sealúchas a chéigeartú do riachtanna an leasa chaitim, ní mar nármbáid a dhéanann sé éach mar charaid do shealbhóir dílse."

Seo Tón, tairghairíocht, reabhóidí agus libráilí Protastúnach, agus Pápa na Róimhe ar an focal agus an son infinn. Mar ní bhaineann tóir na córach le haon dream ná le haon chreideamh faoi léithe.

—Fear Domhnann

ó lch 11
an lae inniu — Éire eile, Éire athraithe, Éire Gaelach.

DAOINE IONTACHA

Sin atá agus a bhí ó na daoine a bhí ag obair go gairmiúil do Chonradh na Gaeilge le céad bliain anall, leithéid Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, Stíofán Bairéad, Séamus Mac Conghlaine, an té is faide a bhí ag obair don Chonradh, Máirín Ó Cadhain, Seamsa Ó Cadhain, Séamus Ó Grianna, Seán Ó Murthuile, Seán T Ó Ceallaigh, Donnchadh Ó Bristin, Tomás Bán Ó Concheanainn, Seán Ó Ruadháin, Colm Ó Goara, Proinsias Mac Uinseannáin, Peadar Ó hAnracháin, Eoghan Ó Neachtain, Pádraig Óg Ó Conaire, Donnchadh Ó Súilleabháin, Seán Ó hÉalaí, Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí, Seán Mac Mathúna.

Murach iadsan agus a leithéidí agus muraibí na céadair maíthe craoibhe agus na scrótha Timirí agus Múinteoirí Taisid, ní bhféadfaí an oiread den Aisling, a thabhairt chun críche is a tugadh. Is ar éigean a thugann go sí is pobal na Gaeilge féin an oiread is a deiméad nó méad na n-athruithe. Níor bhain an t-éigean go leor imeallach le saol na threoseo nuair a tháinig an deichniúr bunaitheoir le chéile ar an láthair seo. Is cuid innhéach de shaoil na t-éigean is ainneoin í bheith fós faoi léigear. Níl an cogadh buaithe. Ach níl an Ghaeilge buaithe ach an oiread. Is obair mhall í reabhóidí chulúirtha

a chur i gceion, obair nach foláir neamhghnáthach a bheith acu siúd atá dá chur chun cinn.

Bhí foighid ag na chéad Chonraitheoirí cé go mb'fhéidir gur shíl cuid mhaith dóibh go bhféadfaí an Ghaeilge a shlánú in aghair gearr.

Tá foighid againne. Le cónamh Dhéithe ársa na nGael beidh foighid freisin acu siúd a thiocfas inár ndiaidh.

Tiocfaidh an Aisling i gcercho de bharr dúthachta, de bharr dhóchaís, de bharr grá.

Is le gach Éireannach an Ghaeilge, náisiúntóir agus aondachtóir, Protastúnach, Caitliceach, neamhchreidimheach, an té a bhfuil sí aige agus an té atá ina heansamh.

Táim ag lua anseo anois tuabh amuigh de Uimhir a 9, Sráid Uí Chonail, lochtair, i mBaile Átha Cliath, ar a dnuagat an uair sin Sráid Sackville, lochtair, an-áimheasach siúd ar a bhfuil sinne go háirithe ag smaoineamh inniu.

Mártan Ó Ceallaigh as an gClár, Séamus Ó Cogadháin as Baile Átha Cliath; Pádraig Ó hÓgáin as Luimneach; Thomas Walter Ellerker as Yorkshaire; Charles Perry Bushe as Baile Átha Cliath; Tomás Ó Néill Ruiseál as an Iarnród; An tAthair Uilliam Ó hÉideáin de Chumann Íosa as Port Láirge; Pádraig Ó Briain as Corcaigh; Dóibhgas de h-Ide as Ros Comáin; Eóin Mac Néill as Aontroim.

Ná ligtear i ndearmad iad go deo.

1893 - Bliain na Gaeilge - 1993

Meán Fómhair **Deireadh Fómhair**

4 MEÁN FÓMHAIR. Siompóisiam: Cumann Lúth-Chleas Gael agus Conradh na Gaeilge. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2, 8pm.

10 MEÁN FÓMHAIR. AOINE. Taispeánas de leabhair a bhaineann le stair an Chonraithe, BÁC.

12 Meán Fómhair. Domhnach Searmnas le hais Uaigh an Urr. Maxwell Close i reilig Ghraíneach an Déin, BÁC.

12 Meán Fómhair 1903 a cailleadh é.

18/19 MEÁN FÓMHAIR, SATHARN/DOMHNACH. Eigse Scríbhneoirí an Chláir - Comórach ar mhórchairbhneoirí Gaeilge an Chláir. Inis.

24 MEÁN FÓMHAIR. AOINE. Léacht agus Comórach ar an Athair Eoghan Ó Gramhnaigh agus a chuid oibre mar Chonraitheoir. Baile Átha Bui, Co na MÍ.

Rugadh é 24 Meán Fómhair 1863. Eagraín speisialta de FEASTA á sheoladh.

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

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

8/10 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR. AOINE-DOMHNACH. Daonúil Osráil, 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. CÉADA OIN. Siompóisiam i mBaile Átha Cliath faoi Chraobh na hAiséirí. Cuireadh d'iarbhaill. Ostan Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2, 8pm.

22/31 DEIREADH FÓMHAIR. OIREACHTAIS NA GAEILGE, GAILLIMH. Línseáil an leabhair *Arson na Gaeilge - Conradh na Gaeilge 1893-1993* le Proinsias Mac Aonghusa.

Chronicle of Resistance

THE UNIONJACKING OF IRELAND by Jack O'Brien, Mercier Press (1993), £7.99. Jack O'Brien's book chronicles resistance to British rule in Ireland from the early 1970s to the present day. O'Brien, a retired civil servant in Dublin and ex-Free State army officer, is author of a previous book *British Brutality in Ireland*.

The book begins by describing the conditions under which the Irish people existed in the first half of the 18th century, a people reduced to the level of serfs, deprived of their land, music, culture and indeed the right to speak their own language.

O'Brien looks at the rise of the 'Whiteboy' movement in the 1760s, the people's response to these intolerable conditions. This was a locally based agrarian organisation committed to the protection of small tenant farmers from arbitrary eviction, confiscation of livestock etc.

The Whiteboy movement has been commonly regarded as an ill-organised body although many of its activities point to it being a disciplined, organised group and as O'Brien points out the oath taken by its members shows that they understood the importance of secrecy, speed, co-operation and had a grasp of military tactics.

The book goes on to chart the rise of the United Irishmen in the 1790s and the risings of 1798 and 1803.

O'Brien also deals with the role of the Orange Order in fomenting sectarian hatred and

LE IRMHEAS

in subduing and suppressing all dissent or protest, all at the instigation of the British government, of course.

ASSOCIATION

As is pointed out in the book there has long been a close association between the Orange Order and the English Tory (Conservative) Party. In fact the Tories have on many occasions "played the Orange card", to quote the words of Lord Randolph Churchill, as a means of achieving or consolidating their power at Westminster.

This willingness on the part of the Tories to "play the

Orange card" was brought home just a matter of weeks ago when yet another 'deal' was brokered.

The book continued with the formation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1859, the rising of 1867, the Land War of the 1880s and the activities of the Irish National Invincibles dealing in particular with the assassination in 1882 of TH Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish, Under-Secretary

and Chief Secretary respectively of the Dublin Castle administration.

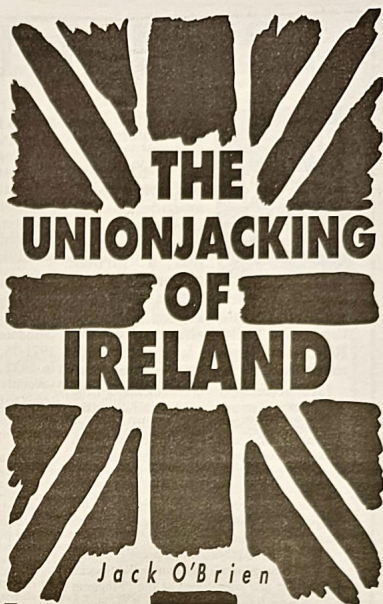
O'Brien also covers the period 1916-1921 dealing with the 1916 Rising itself, the election of December 1918, the Tan War and Partition. He deals briefly with the period from 1969 to the present.

FLAW

The main and indeed the crucial flaw in the book is O'Brien's failure to deal with the role of the 26-County State in upholding Partition. He seems totally unable to grasp the neo-colonial nature of the 26-County state but considering his background this is probably not surprising.

As a record of British rule in Ireland and Irish resistance to it from the early 1700s to 1921 *The Unionjacking of Ireland* is a useful guide but because of the author's failure to deal with the reactionary role of the Free State in upholding partition since 1921 the latter section of the book is, this writer believes, fatally flawed.

— Deasún Ó Daltúin



Glens remember Casement

On Sunday, August 1 Republicans gathered at Murlough Bay in the Glens of Antrim for the annual Roger Casement commemoration. Casement, one of the leaders of the 1916 Rising, was executed in Pentonville Prison, England on August 3, 1916.

Born in Sandycove, Co Dublin, Casement's parents were natives of Co Antrim and it was his expressed wish that this remains be buried by his beloved Murlough Bay, a wish ignored by the British following his execution. When his remains were repatriated to Ireland in 1965 the Free State government also ignored his wishes, encasing his body in concrete in Dublin's Glasnevin Cemetery.

Taking part in this year's ceremony were the Dr Arthurs Memorial Accordion Band and the Glens of Antrim Pipe Band.

The proceedings were chaired by Frank McCarry, former Moyle District Councillor and a wreath was laid on behalf of Sinn Féin Poblachtach by Frank McCarry jnr. Aileen McCarry recited a decade of the Rosary as Gaeilge. Following a minute's silence a lament was played by a piper

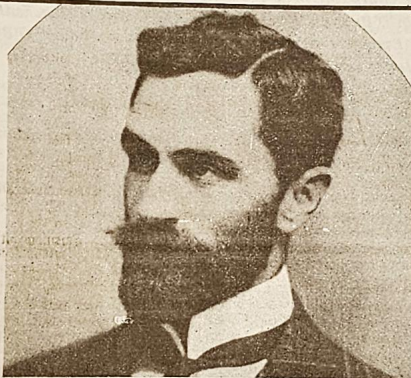
from the Glens of Antrim Pipe Band.

Des Dalton, Kildare, a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, in his oration said of the recent British Tory government/Unionist 'Agreement': "Historically those who have suffered most as a result of these 'cosy little arrangements' have been the people of Ireland."

THREE DEMANDS

He went on to say that Republicans must never cease to put forward the three basic demands of the Irish people which were a British withdrawal, the right of the Irish people themselves to draw up an agenda for a New Ireland and the release of all political prisoners and an amnesty for those on the wanted list.

The ceremonies ended with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann.



• Roger Casement

Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund

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

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

Alienated from our own Culture

The Cultural Conquest of Ireland by Kevin Collins, The Mercier Press (1990), £5.00.

I WAS visiting a hospital recently, but my friend was not in his bed. The Matron and some nurses were nearby. I said "I'm sorry that my friend is somewhat slurred in his speech". The Matron said "Why wouldn't it be and he speaking that language?" I think she was being "witty" in front of the nurses.

I had this book, said nothing, but held it up to her. It is a paperback and has a map of Ireland on the front in colour covered by the Union Jack. There was a general gasp: "Oh, you shouldn't have done that!"

The Irish language is little regarded in the capital city and the Matron would not be considered odd.

This is an important book, but I have not seen a review of it and have not seen it prominently displayed. It gives much food for thought and examination of conscience in its 126 pages. One could read it at a sitting, but it requires serious thought.

*Our instinct as a nation

still encourages some of us to regret the changes, to hold doubts and to ask questions about the alienation of the Irish people from the spirit of our own culture. Others do not regret the adoption of English "civilisation", they merely want a bigger slice of the English controlled cake."

October edition published 30/9/93

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SPECIAL POWERS ACT AMENDED

**50
YEARS
AGO**

DURING 1943 the notorious Special Powers Act of Stormont was once more amended and strengthened. This in itself was a further tribute to the

impact of the 1942-44 Northern Campaign which forced curfew in the Lower Falls, Belfast and put the RUC into "caged" lorries through more than 60 military operations.

Like its counterparts in the 26 Counties, the Public Safety Acts and the Offences Against the State Acts, this Coercion Act was the successor of a long line of special emergency powers given to Dublin Castle by the British Government to help suppress Irish disaffection to British rule.

Between 1800 and December 1921, 105 of these were passed giving testimony to the Irish people's resilience in struggle against English tyranny during that period.

The Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act 1922 was generally known as the Special Powers Act and sometimes as the "Flogging Bill". Under it the Belfast Minister for Home Affairs had extraordinary powers.

He could arrest without warrant and intern without trial, prohibit coroners' inquests, flog, execute, requisition land or property, ban any organisation, prohibit meetings and suppress publications and so on and so forth.

It was one of the first enactments of the "Northern Ireland Parliament" after it was opened by the King of England in June 1921. The Special Powers Act received the "Royal Assent" in April 1922 and was renewed every year until 1928 when it was extended for five years. In 1933 it was made permanent.

At its inception Northern Premier Sir James Craig had refused to institute Martial Law. "Our cause in England would suffer immediately and intensely", he said in the Belfast Parliament on March 14, 1922. The Special Powers Act was his alternative.

In 1936 the British National Council for Civil Liberties published the Report of a Commission of Inquiry appointed the previous year to examine the Special Powers Acts 1922 and 1933.

DICTATORSHIP

It reported: "Under these Acts the Home Minister of Northern Ireland is furnished with what are practically dictatorship powers, and he may delegate these powers to any police officer."

The Report said the Acts treated with contempt "the fundamental principles of democratic government". It went on to cite clause 22B-3: "a person examined under this regulation shall not be excused from answering any question on the ground that the answer thereto may incriminate or tend to incriminate himself".

In Dorothy Macardle's *Irish Republic*, pages 619-620 deal with the inception of these Acts while pages 640 and 641 give further coverage of the 1936 British Council for Civil Liberties Report.

The 1943 amendment was the responsibility of Stormont Home Affairs Minister Sir Dawson Bates. He had held that position since 1921 and had sponsored the original Special Powers Act, its renewals and permanency all along the line.

This founder member of the original Ulster Volunteer Force in 1912 ("the very dictionary of anarchy") was ridiculed by Brian O'Higgins when he banned the *Wolfe Tone Weekly* newspaper edited by Brian in 1937. In what he called "deplorable verse" and an "atrocious" he satirised Basil Brooke and

Dawson Bates:

"Sir Dawson Bates Bannagher, and Bannagher Bates the devil!"

In 1943 also Bates was removed and replaced at Stormont Home Affairs office by a man called Lowry until 1944 when JE Warnock took over until 1945. Brian Magness, later to be Stormont Attorney-General, held the office then until 1953.

INTERMENT

Under the terms of the infamous Special Powers Act, interment without trial was introduced for 1922-24, 1938-45, 1956-61 and 1971-75. It was also used for very short periods in 1932 and 1951. As one journalist put it succinctly in the 1970s "Life in Northern Ireland tends to be just one long emergency!"

Born in 1859, Willie Stockley was a close friend of Douglas Hyde during their years together in Trinity College Dublin. Hyde mentions him and JJ Stockley many times in his diary in the 1880s when associating with John O'Leary, the Fenian leader who had returned from 15 years enforced exile in Paris, and the beautiful and spirited Maud Gonne.

An entry in Hyde's diary for October 14, 1885 records how after a dinner in Ailesbury Road "Stockley sang *Who Fears to Speak of '98* in Ingram's presence". Thereby hangs a tale. Dr Dominic Daly, OSA tells it in his *The Young; Douglas Hyde* (1974).

"Long before when John Kells Ingram was a 20-year old student at TCD he had written the ballad that became and to this day remains one of the most popular of Irish nationalist

When cowards mock the patriot's fate who hangs his head for shame?

He's all a knave or half a lave who slights his country thus;

But a true man, like you, man will fill your glass with us.

Then here's their memory - may it be for us a guiding light

To cheer our strife for liberty and teach us to unite!

Through good and ill be Ireland's still, though sad as theirs your fate:

And true men be you, men, like those of Ninety Eight.

Stockley did not change his national principles over his long life (1859-1943). He did not "fear to speak of '98" and when the time came he did not "Fear to Speak of Easter Week" either — when "All the circumstances were radically altered".

CANADA

He went to Canada where he taught English until 1905. On his return to Ireland he taught at UCC where he was later Professor of English. His publications included critical works on Shakespeare and Newman.

Prof Stockley joined Sinn Féin and at the age of 60 became an Alderman of Cork Corporation with Tomás MacCurtáin, Terence MacSwiney and others in 1920. He was a member of the city council till 1925 and was again elected TD for the NUI constituency in 1922, as a member of the Third (All-Ireland) Dáil which never met because of the Treaty of Surrender.

Stockley spoke trenchantly against that Treaty in December 1921 (see Treaty Debates pp 88-91 inclusive). He quoted a letter he had received from Terence MacSwiney's widow Muriel who wrote from Wiesbaden, Germany three days after the Articles of Agreement were signed in London. Her message to the Dáil in Irish and in English was one of outright rejection of the Treaty.

Following de Valera's break with Sinn Féin, Art O'Connor became President of the Second Dáil and of the All-Ireland Republic. In December 1927 when Art O'Connor resigned as President, that office was allowed to lapse and an Executive Council was substituted for it.

1932 MEETING

A published official report of a meeting of the Second Dáil on April 2, 1932 gives Professor Stockley as attending but not as a member of the Executive Council. When Seán O'Mahony, TD for Tyrone and Fermanagh died in 1934, Stockley may have filled the vacancy thus created on the Council.

Certainly, when the executive powers of government were delegated to the Army Council of the IRA in December 1938, WFP Stockley is listed among the members of the Executive Council of the Second (All-Ireland) Dáil Éireann which did so. He had filled the position left vacant by Seán O'Mahony's passing.

In 1943, five years later Willie Stockley passed to his eternal reward aged 84 and faithful to his trust to the very end - dilis go héag.

One wonders if towards the end he ever recalled that evening almost 60 years previously in Ailesbury Road, Dublin when face to face with John Kells Ingram he did not *Fear to Speak of '98*, much to the satisfaction of Douglas Hyde et al.

(More next month. Refs: *A Dictionary of Irish Biography 1800-1980* by JE Doherty and DJ Hickey (1980), *The Young Douglas Hyde* by Dominic Daly; *(Second) Dáil Éireann Report*, April 16, 1932; *The Irish Republic*, by Dorothy Macardle (1968 Corgi edition) and *Ireland Since the Treaty (Fifty Years After)* by Seán Cronin (1971).)

DÁIL ÉIREANN

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

16, SAIBÚ DAINNELL,
Baile Átha Cliath.

16, Parnell Sq.,
Dublin.

A special session of Dáil Éireann held on Saturday, April 2, 1932, was attended by Seán Ó Ceallaigh (Ceann Comhairle), Miss Mary McSwiney, Count Plunkett, Sean O'Mahony, Brian O'Higgins, Tom McGuire and Cathal O'Murchadha of the Executive Council; Mrs. O'Callaghan, Count O'Byrne, Professor Stockley, and Tomás O'Donoghue. Deputies Mrs. Cathal Brugha, Dr. Kathleen Lynn, Dr. Madden, Sean O'Farrell and Sean Buckley were also present.

Letters regretting inability to attend were read from Dr. Crowley, Sean MacSwiney, and Seamus Lennon.

A vote of sympathy with the relatives of the late Deputy Tom Hunter was passed in silence.

Official Report of a meeting of the Second Dáil, April 2, 1932.

In the face of the people's struggle in 1969 a commission under the then Stormont Attorney-General examined the Act and recommended that an end be put to it but that power to intern be retained.

In 1973 the current Emergency Provisions Act replaced the Special Powers Acts 1922-43 but with coercive powers which were identical in many respects. These of course included internment. "A rose by any other name..."

But the men and women of 1942-44 had left their mark on the history of British coercion in Ireland. They forced the 1943 Special Powers (Amendment) Act on the occupying power.

Coercion is defined as government by force (why not "violence"?), and government without the consent of the governed by the British in Ireland had to be strengthened further. Irish resistance to British aggression 50 years ago caused this.

STALWART

Also during 1943 another of the stalwarts of the Second (All-Ireland) Dáil passed away. He was Professor William F P Stockley of University College Cork and he had represented the National University of Ireland constituency.

With Dr Ada English (also NUI) of Ballinasloe, Co. Galway he had opposed both the Treaty of Surrender in 1921-22 and the Fianna Fáil breakaway in 1926. They are both included in the famous picture of the Second Dáil at Easter 1928 which hung in Tom Maguire's sitting room at Cross, Co Mayo.

songs.

"Ingram went on to become Professor of Oratory and English Literature, Regius Professor of Greek, Librarian, Senior Fellow and finally Vice-Provost of Trinity College. All this seems incongruous to the soul-stirring sentiments of the lyric which first appeared in the *Nation* on April 1, 1843 (the author had dropped it, anonymously, into the *Nation* letterbox).

Daly goes on to say that Ingram in 1900 included it in a slim volume of his verses entitled *Sonnets and other poems* because some people pretended to believe that he was ashamed of it and would gladly disclaim it... he denied.

GRATEFUL

But Ingram went on: "I think that the Irish race should be grateful to the men, who in other times, however mistaken may have been their policy, gave their lives for their country."

"But I have no sympathy with those who preach sedition in our own day when all the circumstances are radically altered. In my opinion no real popular interest can be furthered by violence."

Given Ingram's changed view over a long life (1823-1907), young Willie Stockley's rendering of *The Memory of the Dead* (as it is also titled) in that fashionable Dublin drawing room in 1885 must have made him uncomfortable. John O'Leary, Maud Gonne and even the young Douglas Hyde would have appreciated a spirited rendering of:

Who fears to speak of Ninety Eight? Who blushes at the name?

in Ballina where he had asked to be interred.

The removal to Robben Church on August 3 was attended by Paddy O'Reilly, Killimogh and Frank Glynn, former chairman of Galway Co Council, representing Republican Sinn Féin in Mayo and Galway.

The funeral mass next day saw an overflow attendance at that same church which was locked and surrounded overnight in February 1976 by the heavily armed forces of the

26-County State. The violated body of her hunger-striker son had been placed there following its seizure at Shannon Airport and forcibly removed by State helicopter.

Republican Sinn Féin was represented by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán and Joe O'Neill, Ard-Chomhairle. Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil, Séamus Ó Nárait, Mait Ó Brádaigh, Pat O'Brien (Ballinrobe and Roscommon), Walter Hughes, Carnaon, Seán Mac an Iomhair were among the

Republicans and Gaelgeoirí present.

Deep and sincere sympathy is extended to Seán, Hollymount, George, Meath, Joe, Dublin, (sons), Brid (Donohue), Cavan, Rosaleen (Doyle), An Uaimh, Co na Mí, (daughters), Ronnie (daughter-in-law) and six other sons and daughters. They should be eternally proud of their valiant mother

Her late husband Henry Stagg and his only brother Jim both served under Tom Maguire

in the South Mayo Brigade, IRA during the Black-and-Tan War. Her brother Vol Patrick Vahey, who died in 1922 as a result of the rigours of the struggle, is mentioned as assisting the Brigade Flying Column from his work in Ballinrobe in Tom Maguire's interview in the book Survivors.

Despite intense pressure by the 26-County State, Mrs Stagg was faithful to all their memories and particularly to that of her son Proinsias.

Brón ar an mBás Mary Stagg

REPUBLICANS were deeply saddened by the death on August 2 of Mrs Mary Stagg (86), Bloomfield, Hollymount, Co Mayo. She had been ill for ten weeks and was grieved for widely.

Mrs Stagg is remembered with intense feeling because of her unshakeable stand 17 years ago when her son Proinsias was on hunger strike in Wakefield

Prison, Yorkshire, England and when the 26-County state seized his body and buried it at the hands of the Special Branch away from the Republican Plot

Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

IT HAS been 20 years since Sinn Féin President, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, had his visitors visa cancelled by President Richard M. Nixon, who acted at the request of the Free State and British governments. The twenty-year ban on Ruairi Ó Brádaigh is a gross injustice both against him personally and against the Irish community in the US as a class under whose constitutional rights have been violated.

Control of visas to the US was limited as a protection against threats to the national security of the USA. It has evolved into a political tool of successive administrations to control the flow of ideas into the country. Regarding Ireland, it has been the practice to permit a free flow of spokesmen who favour the British position or in some cases those individuals who aspire to the non-violent approach, that is, non-violence by the Irish. This type of governmental conduct is arbitrary and selective censorship which is unconstitutional.

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh's visa case is particularly disturbing because he has not advocated force as the preferable option, yet the US allows proponents of torture and shoot-to-kill and other atrocities into the country permitting free access to the collective ear of America.

Let us examine the scenario of the Ó Brádaigh case from his last trips in 1973 and attempts to get him in. This should give the reader a picture of how the US government operates, and the extent it will go in violation of its own law, international treaties and a long-lost thing called honour just to accommodate the array of moral cowards that walk the halls of Leinster House and Westminster.

CONFERENCE

In a major press conference on July 31, 1973, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Sinn Féin set out the reasons for his trip to America. He charged the US with aiding the British with military hardware, training British troops and supplying bomber bullets (made in Ohio) that had maimed and killed 70 Irish citizens to date. All of this is documented fact.

Ó Brádaigh then outlined the threefold purpose of his trip:

1. to bring Irish-Americans in closer contact with the struggle at home in Ireland;
2. to counteract massive British propaganda about the fighting in the Six Counties;
3. to relate the distress in the Six Counties and to increase aid to the

Republican distressed.

He then went on to outline the Sinn Féin peace plan for a settlement of the bloody conflict. He said the implementation of the plan would be contingent upon a specified date for a British withdrawal; British recognition of the Irish right to self-determination and a general amnesty for political prisoners. It was a specific, reasonable, and genuine proposal to bring peace with justice to Ireland.

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh returned to the States in October 1973, at the request of the US Congress to testify before the Subcommittee on International Organisations of the US House of Representatives. He was complimented by Chairman Donald Fraser for his eloquent presentation.

THAT evening after Ruairi Ó Brádaigh's testimony, an official Congressional Reception was held in his honour sponsored by Majority Leader Tip O'Neill. During that reception O'Neill said he supported everything Ó Brádaigh stood for because that is what the Irish in Boston were taught. He compared the Irish fight against the British as identical to that of the Americans two hundred years ago. He said all Americans should support men like Ó Brádaigh.

Ruairi Ó Brádaigh was scheduled to come to New York in January 1974 to be the main speaker at the Northern Aid Annual Testimonial Dinner, and to have further meetings with members of Congress which has been scheduled. He was called on the telephone by the US Embassy in Dublin and his visa was cancelled.

It seemed odd that a visa would be cancelled for an individual who had been honoured by the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives three months earlier. O'Neill did not lend his name and presence to the reception without checking Ó Brádaigh out. O'Neill knew who Ruairi was and approved according to his own words.

ENRAGED

Collectively, the Irish community was enraged filing appropriate protests to the State Department and White House, but to no avail. We targeted the Republican party for defeat in 1976, because no matter how bad the Democrats were, the Republicans were worse. In fact, the Republicans have worked with the British against the cause of Irish Freedom. There are some exceptions in the party, but not many.

During a meeting with Democratic nominee, Jimmy Carter, and the Irish



community in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania on October 27, 1976, Dr Fred Burns O'Brien of the Irish National Caucus publicly asked candidate Carter to change the politics of the visa office. Specifically, he asked Carter to let in people like Sinn Féin President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh. Carter promised publicly to change the visa policy and said further the US had been wrong in withholding visas.

After Carter was in power, the Irish community decided to pursue the visa issue and made Ó Brádaigh the target. President Carter stated at a press conference on February 23, 1977: "The United States may have unfairly withheld visas".

A memorandum was sent by the Irish National Caucus on behalf of all its endorsing organisations to Marilyn Haft, Director of the Office of Public Liaison at the White House concerning the Ó Brádaigh case setting out all of the above and ending with the revocation of the visa of Ruairi Ó Brádaigh which constituted a violation of his right to travel under the Helsinki Final Act 1975 and a violation of the constitutional rights of Irish Americans under the constitutional umbrella of free speech and assembly. The President of the Anti-Order of Hibernians, Jack Keane set up a meeting with John DeWitt of the State Department at which he was represented by Dr Fred Burns O'Brien.

SOURCE

State claimed Ó Brádaigh was an active member of the IRA inner council. He was told to prove it and he said it was what they heard. Burns-O'Brien told him the source was the Dublin government and specifically, Garret Fitzgerald, the Foreign Minister. State was accused of trying to set Ó Brádaigh up to justify their own illegal actions.

At this point the Irish community should have brought a class action law suit on grounds of the government denying constitutional rights to its citizens. It would have been an international embarrassment and brought the issue on the world stage. It can still be done.

Northern Aid, the Irish National Caucus, the AOH and others must equally share the blame for not pursuing legal action for US human and constitutional rights violations. There

have been law suits for individuals, but the political lawsuit is needed to defeat the political nature of the denial.

LOBBIED

A final effort on behalf of Ó Brádaigh was undertaken in September 1978 by Michael Costelloe of the Irish National Caucus in New Jersey. He and his

visas. So it is purely political which in my opinion is illegal. The catch-all of national security is suggested, but must be rejected. An individual has to present a threat to the US directly and Ó Brádaigh clearly does not when he has been checked out by former Speaker of the House O'Neill who endorsed him and honoured him. There is no threat as

CHAPTER XIX — CONCLUSIONS

A. VISA INSURANCE POLICY APPLICABLE TO IRISH NATIONALS

The delegation feels that the Department of State may have acted unfairly and unjustifiably in denying or revoking non-immigrant visas to certain Irish nationals desirous of visiting the United States.

Records of detention, in the absence of valid criminal convictions, were used in some cases as a justification for these actions.

Presumption of participation in terrorist groups and activities in some cases were made on the basis of political affiliation.

Some cases indicated a distrust of the motives set forth by the applicant for visiting the United States as a reason for refusing applications.

Interviews with various applicants whose visas were denied or revoked demonstrated that Department of State personnel frequently dealt with applicants in an unsympathetic and high-handed manner. Conflicting reasons were given as a basis for denial. Interviews were delayed. There was a general reluctance to discuss the merits of a case with the applicant. Personal travel or appointment arrangements made by the applicants were often disregarded without adequate basis or excuse.

It appeared to the delegation that the basic information on which decisions were made were mainly forthcoming from official sources from the British or Irish Republic governments. Terrorist allegations were accepted without any attempt to seek impartial or independent corroborating information from other sources.

The delegation failed to understand the rationale of labeling only individuals in the provisional IRA as terrorists and excluding others. This practice is reflected in the issuance of visas to well-known members of these Protestant paramilitary organizations, and the denial of U.S. visas to alleged members of the IRA.

It was also noted that there was a general presumption by consular officials that applicants identified with the Republican movement were visiting the United States for purposes of raising funds for the purchase of arms and munitions subsequently smuggled into Northern Ireland for use by the terrorists.

The delegation recommends that the Department of State make every effort to investigate the circumstances and details of any detention, arrest or conviction record reported to the Consul on any applicant for a visa. The criminal and jurisprudence system in Northern Ireland certainly makes it incumbent upon the Consul to go behind each of these records.

Considerably more effort should be made to differentiate between political activity and terrorist activity which now appears to be regarded as synonymous.

US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee Report 1978.

people had successfully lobbied Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino who authorised Congressmen Josh Eilberg and Hamilton Fish to go to England and both parts of Ireland and report to him on allegations of the State Department denying visas to Irish nationals on evidence from anonymous sources. Costelloe requested Fr Seán McManus to go with the delegation and he declined, but did not object to his deputy, Dr Fred Burns O'Brien going, which he did.

Interviews were conducted with Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, Dáithí Ó Conaill, Joe Cahill, John Joe McGill and by phone Seán Keenan. The conclusion reached after intense examination of all these gentlemen was that nothing was found that could legally bar their admission and the Department of State was admonished to reconsider and reevaluate the applications of all these people should they desire to reapply for visas. The full text of the official report is printed above.

THE reader can clearly see that there is no legal basis for denying Ó Brádaigh et al their

determined by an official Congressional delegation.

This charade is akin to Ruairi Ó Brádaigh being tried, found innocent, found innocent again and again and the judge, the White House and State Department, saying well he is going to be punished severely for daring to be innocent when Her Majesty's government wants him to be adjudged guilty and her lapdogs in Dublin acquiesce.

Where can we go in 1993 on this issue? We need to proceed with political actions in the World Court of public opinion and show the US is violating international agreements to which they hold others to strict standards. Also, we need a class action law suit against the US government for a denial of our rights to choose who we would hear. We have won legally thanks to the insight of Michael Costelloe in 1978, but that needs to be taken to the next step and that is a political lawsuit.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

Michael O'Neill

ONE of the 'old stock' of Cahersveen, veteran Republican Michael O'Neill of Old Road, Cahersveen has died. RIP. Michael, affectionately known far and wide as "Jaycus", was in his 79th year and had never deviated from or revised his Republican principles. He defended and upheld the Republic of 1916 and the 32-County Republic of the Second Dáil to the day of his death.

Mike was pre-deceased a few years ago by his wife Joan, a member of the Foinneor Fenian, John Golden who was transported to Australia for his part in the raid of Kells Coastguard Station.

Mike ran a hackney service back in the 1940s and rendered invaluable service to the Republican Movement in those years.

On his return to his native Cahersveen Mike was engaged in sheep farming, turf production and market gardening. Engaging in all these activities, he was very active during the Hunger Strike of 1981. He was singled

out for visitation by the police on a number of occasions. Mike was laid to rest, beside his late wife, in Holy Cross Cemetery on August 3 last. His Tricolour-draped coffin was escorted all the way from church to graveyard by a large Guard of Honour of his comrades, drawn from Cumann Maurice O'Neill of Republican Sinn Féin and other Republicans.

Sympathy is tendered to his relatives and it was due to his Quirkie family relatives for their insistence that Mike be paid the Republican tribute he so richly deserved, that enabled his comrades to render him the appropriate honours. Go ndéinídh Dia trócaire ara anam.

Brigid McGowan

WITH regret Republicans learned of the death of Mrs Brigid McGowan, Spa Brae, Kinlough, Co Leitrim on August 16.

A sister of Vol Jack McCabe, Omagh Raid prisoner, who served from 1954 to 1961 in Belfast jail and died in 1967, Brigid was a true Republican in her own right and a staunch supporter of Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Councillor Joe O'Neill,

Donegal spoke at her funeral on August 19 and praised her solidarity with the Republican Movement. Declan Curran, Glenade, Ard-Chomhairle member introduced him.

Sympathy is expressed to her husband Séamas and her family.

Comhbhrón

CUNNING, An Ard-Chomhairle at its August meeting on the 21st voted sympathy with Willie Cunningham of the Glens of Antrim on the death of his mother Mrs Isabella Cunningham. Willie is leader of Dr Arthurs Memorial Band and is a familiar figure at commemorations, especially at Bodinstown and the annual Bandarra march.

CUNNING, Deepest sympathy to Willie Cunningham, Glens of Antrim on the death of his mother, Isabella, from Michael Hegarty, Magilligan.

KIRBY, Deepest sympathy was extended to the relatives of Martin Kirby, Ballyfinane, Cross, Firtles, Killymore, Co Kerry Comhairle Centair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

McGOWAN, An Ard-Chomhairle, at its August meeting, voted sympathy with the husband and family of Brigid McGowan, Spa Brae, Kinlough, Co Leitrim who died in August.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy was extended to the family of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, Co Mayo, faithful survivor of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann who died on July 5 from Kerry Comhairle Centair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

MAGUIRE, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Comdt-General Tom Maguire, Patron of Republican Sinn Féin, last and faithful survivor of the Second All-Ireland Dáil Éireann. From Comhairle na Mumhan.

McKEARNEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the McKearney family, the Moy, Co Tyrone on the death of Tom, brother of Kevin, McKearney, Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin. Suaimhneas síora dá anam.

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy was extended to the relatives of Michael O'Neill, Old Road, Cahersveen who died on August 1 and to his comrades in the Maurice O'Neill Cumann, Comhairle Centair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy was extended at the August meeting of Kerry

Comhairle Centair to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan, Doon, Co Limerick and family on the death of their son Seán on July 13.

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to Tom Fein, Cahersveen and family, Doon, Co Limerick on the death of their son Seán on July 13. From Comhairle na Mumhan.

O'SULLIVAN, Deepest sympathy is extended to Tom and Mary O'Sullivan and family, Doon, Co Limerick on the death of their son Seán who died on July 13. From the Jack Lawlor Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, Ballyheigue, Co Kerry.

RYAN, An Ard-Chomhairle has voted sympathy to the family of the late Mrs Nora Ryan (85), Renmore, Galway who died on August 1. In particular they wished her condolences to be conveyed to her sons Al (Waterford) and Vincent (Galway); also her daughter-in-law Peggy (Waterford). Ar dheis Dé go raib a hanam.

I gCúimhne

BRODY, Michael, 3rd Anniversary — In proud memory of Michael Brody, Killyman, Co Clare who died on September 14, 1990. Always remembered by his friends in East Clare.



MAJOR GETS MINOR MARKS ON NORTH

JOHNN Bull (sorry, Ball), who changed his name by deed poll to Major when he entered the murky world of militarist politics and economic double-think, is like his favourite England cricket team — completely useless. Or so suggest the Euro-rebels in his own Tory party and the combined Westminster opposition.

As with the pathetic performers against Australian aggression and guile with bat and ball, the Conservative Premier has yet to emulate the England Test cricket chairman, bumbling Ted Dexter, and bite on the cyanide capsule after repeated failures in the jobs.

Major got a minus for his handling of the Maastricht Treaty vote, and was saved from the guillotine of forced resignation that usually follows a defeat of the government, by the coincidental collapse of the French franc before the might of the marching Deutschmark.

On top of his weakness in staving off a full frontal backbench revolt, Major made a mess of his message of hope to the divided unionist parties.

Instead of help from the Tories, he pledged to boost the numbers of Tommies in a fresh bid to overcome loyalist paramilitaries (as well as the ubiquitous nationalist guerrillas?). He strangely omitted to mention the latter in one speech.

This may have been a slip (like so many English cricket catch attempts) because the man who was afraid of having made a ball of things in so many other areas, took it for granted that everyone who mattered knew he meant nationalist guerrillas mainly. Well, almost entirely, don't you know.

Reliable Whitehall sources have confirmed that a Third Force may be on the way, with Major's blessing, in order to reinforce the collusion between British army intelligence agents and loyalist gangs in the latest phase of sectarian assassinations.

In an attempt to appease the angry right wing, who feel jaw-jaw John is too soft on socialists and Euro-rebels, and foresee electoral decimation if a snap election has to be called as the Tories depend on the volatile loyalty of the UUP, Major is prepared to pump an extra £200 million into the creation of a new, Salisbury-trained corps of elitist officers who will mastermind murderous attacks on prominent nationalists.

This corps will recruit from the gaols a collection of psychopaths and brutal sex offenders to promote an army of deviant sadists who will make the Black and Tans look like playful schoolboys. Or so is the semi-secret state terror scenario repeated to this correspondent.

Of course, it may all be part of the big bluff, just as with the propaganda designed to put the 26-County police into a panic with a "nationwide" arms search in the Eighties after reports of shipments being landed from Wales via Continental and Libyan rocket dealers were "leaked" to the gullible media.

STEVENS PROBE A SQUIB

THE resumption of inquiries by John Stevens, Northumbria Chief Constable, into collusion between British armed and intelligence groups and loyalist murder gangs will achieve little.

The Stevens investigation is officially said to be focused on such matters as the exposure of double agent Brian Nelson, who led UDA (UFF) intelligence activities and ensured the deaths of many nationalist and Republican sympathisers while under direct orders from military brass.

Most charges of murder and conspiracy were mysteriously dropped against Nelson, whose imprisonment on lesser offences is expected to be briefer by far than the sentences decided by judges.



• RUC Chief Hugh Annesley and John Stevens announcing the resumed inquiry into collusion on August 2.

What put the Stevens show back on the road, probably, was the outrage expressed by law organisations on both sides of the water about the assassination of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane, who dared to act for defendants accused of political offences.

But when all is said and done, much will be said and very little done as a consequence of the collusion inquiry. Even the relatives of loyalists killed are agreed on this with families of victims of fatal attacks by the British Army, UDA, UVF, and RUC.

As with previous Tory leaders, John Major may escape the noose if British deaths in the We Six escalate. But a successful repeat of the multi-billion sterling losses from bombs on London financial centres and big banks (with their vulnerable computer link-ups) will surely place his head in the basket.

SPRING HOPES ETERNALLY

AREPORTED remark by tricky Dick Spring to the effect that Britain bore responsibility for the political stagnation in the We Six conflict, which got a one line mention on RTE Radio News, was conspicuously absent from the metropolitan media, unless buried in an unspotted obscure corner.

Groucho Spring, whose spreading moustache has not sprouted a smile since he was outsmarted in the publicity and popularity stakes by his protégé, President Noddy Robinson, is said to have made his accidental statement of the truth in Sligo.

But it may have been in a tired and emotional aside that he exploded the fallacy that the Irish are wholly responsible for their sad subservience to colonial rule in Six Counties and neo-colonial dependency in the other 26.

The highly fallible Foreign Affairs supreme at Leinster House won no response from Westminster or Whitehall, so perhaps it was all uttered quietly in pique at the British government's galactic indifference to his bizarre suggestion of shared Dublin-London sovereignty for the future of the fractured and parliamentless north.

recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish. A wreath was laid on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin, Dundalk by Rosalcan Lavery. The bugler S Callan sounded the Last Post as the flag was dipped.

The chairman introduced the main speaker, Michael Donegan, South Armagh who delivered a splendid oration. He outlined the life and dedication of Richard Goss to a 32-County free Ireland, mentioning that there was no compromise in his principles.

"Republicans can never compromise with Ireland's



• Richard Goss

enemies. The Dundalk men who lie here know that well. It was England's hireling regime in Dublin which sent Richard Goss to his death and it was England's prison system which released a dying Liam Gaughran to die in 1947. These two patriots were lifelong friends and comrades in struggle who fought Ireland's foes, foreign and domestic. They endured hardship and suffering, so strong was their desire to see Ireland free."

The Commemoration ended with the playing of our National Anthem.

Groucho Spring hopes eternally that he can surmount the Robinson peak of Castle Catholic popularity, and his rumoured latest gambit of trying to outdo Fianna Failures in verbal Republicanism misfired, and left him without even a remnant of the credibility as a Labour Party leader of minimal socialist ideals.

Like the Emperor without his clothes, Dick can only cover his embarrassment with that sprouting moustache, and trust in the inherent blindness of Cabinet colleagues to his bare and bold slip into truthdom.

As Commissioners commented at the Kildare St. Home for the Bewildered: People here are so crooked that they don't know when they are telling the truth.

While the politicians continue their prolonged summer siesta, the Leinster House staff show signs of new rumbling discontents.

After the siege of sack-threatened secretaries, and the battle of ushers against redundancies, not to mention the anguish of deposed parliamentary recorders (official House reporters) on the grounds of inadequate qualifications, union chiefs are getting ready to give Rabbit Reynolds and company a fresh-demands roasting on their October return.

Incidentally, the Dublin media are getting too fond of failing to report what they don't want. The Spring remark is not the first to receive the self-censorship treatment.

THE COLLINS 'MURDER MYTH'

A FEW years ago, a blockbuster series on the life of Michael Collins was focused by RTE programmers especially on Colm Connolly's controversial examination of the shooting dead of the Free State Army general and finance chief in an ambush at Béal na Bláth in West Cork, near Clonakilty.

In his misadventurous, if not entirely mischievous, conclusions, Connolly stated he had discovered the "murderer" of Collins, namely one Sonny O'Neill, who is supposed to have fired a shotgun (from 400 yards at an angle from the top of a hill) which reputedly contained the fatal bullet.

Anyone even cursorily acquainted with the power and accuracy of firearms would rapidly recognise this claim as outlandish, more so even than the unblushing claim of the Warren Commission that US president John Fitzgerald Kennedy was assassinated by bullets from the gun of Lee Harvey Oswald from high up in a bookstore building in Dallas.

But Colm Connolly persisted with the unsonny myth, certain that no libel action could ensue because Sonny O'Neill had long before died in England. Relatives protested officially.

Some time afterwards, the Broadcasting Complaints Commission upheld the protest and condemned the Connolly conclusion as unfounded and somewhat irresponsible.

RTE did not apologise, as the situation demanded, the censorious decision having been made by a statutory State body paid for by the taxpayers.

Only the *Cork Examiner*, of all the Irish dailies, carried a comprehensive front page story on the rapping of the alleged RTE "exclusive revelations", which had been widely advertised in advance as a sort of scoop.

In reality, the viewers had been duped by yet another piece of partial journalistic imagination, even though Connolly had been warned by Sonny's relatives that his contention was clearly wrong.

It is of small importance who shot Michael Collins during the Uncivil War (or British-manoeuvred counter-revolution, to be precise) unless the new myths of revisionists are designed to conceal a War Office conspiracy to get rid of Collins and put the blame on former comrades.

— DRAPIER II

Dundalk honours Goss and Gaughran

ON Sunday August 8 the annual Richard Goss and Liam Gaughran commemoration took place in Dundalk. About fifty marchers lined up behind Veteran Republican Paddy Murphy carrying the National Flag.

The marchers moved off from the cemetery gates of St Patrick's to the marching airs of the Murphy family, grandchildren of Paddy's.

At the graveside of Richard Goss Joe Cunningham, South Armagh chaired the proceedings. He welcomed all in attendance, especially Rosemary Doran, sister of Richard Goss and her husband Tom. Pádraig Mac Mathúna

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