

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

THE VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

UIMH 199 SAMHAIN — NOVEMBER 2003 <http://saoirse.rr.nu> €1 (70p stg, USA \$30 p.a.)

Comóradh
ROBERT
EMMET
agus
Eirí
Amach
1803



NO TO BRITISH RULE

DURING the latest failed talks by the British government and the Dublin administration to revive Stormont and the simultaneous treachery of a further destruction of arms by the Provos military organisation, Gerry Adams called, in effect, on faithful Republicans to do likewise.

In response Republican Sinn Féin said that Mr Adams cannot expect faithful Republicans to endorse the ceding and surrender of sovereignty over the Six Counties to the English government.

This will not happen. We base this on the fact that Ireland is a sovereign nation and as such has the right to defend itself, as have other sovereign nations throughout the world, from

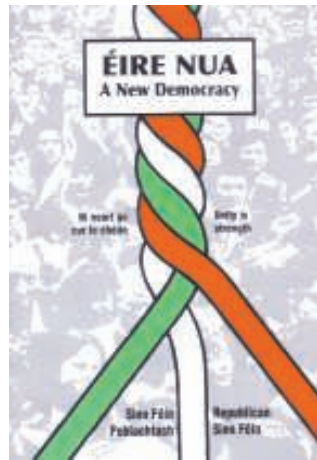
foreign aggression. There can be no "closure of the conflict" until Britain states publicly that it will leave Ireland once and for all.

Neither can we be expected to support the treacherous destruction of arms at the behest of the British Establishment.

Republican Sinn Féin believes that the Stormont Agreement of 1998 will not work in the long run. We ask

the Unionists to look again at the ÉIRE NUA proposals for a four-province federal Ireland (rsf.ie) in which they would have a working majority within a nine-county Ulster. With maximum devolution of power and decision-making the position of nationalists would be safeguarded. This is the positive alternative.

**ÉIRE NUA —
the positive
alternative**



Elections: End England's rule in Ireland BOYCOTT this undemocratic under- taking or SPOIL your vote

By Adams and McGuinness and Provisional Sinn Féin taking part in this election, with the TEST OATH, they are:

1. helping English rule in Ireland with the return of Stormont;
2. denying Republicans and Irishmen and Irishwomen their civil rights; and
3. ENCOURAGING the English occupation.

Below is the test oath supported by Provisional Sinn Féin and the SDLP:

“Elected Authorities (Northern Ireland) Act 1989 (c.3) Occupied Counties of Ireland

Declaration against terrorism

Part 1

Form for inclusion in consent to nomination

I . . . declare that, if elected, I will not by word or deed express support or approval of:

(a) any organization that is for the time being a proscribed organization specified in Schedule 2 to the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1978; or

(b) acts of terrorism (that is to say, violence for political ends) connected with the affairs of Northern Ireland.”

Republican Sinn Féin will NOT (a) disown publicly the organisations of the Republican Movement or (b) deny the right of the Irish people to resist English rule in Ireland.

Féilire Poblachtach Republican Resistance Calendar 2004



€5/£4stg each, €6/£5stg including p&p
Order now from 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1,
Telephone: 872 9747; e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie
Full details in November issue.

RSF
99ú Éirí
ARD-FHEIS 2003
Dublin
November 8-9,
9.30am,
Saturday

For further details,
contact Ard-Ghng, 223
Parnell Street, Dublin 1,
Tel: 872 9747; Fax:
872 9762; e-mail:
saoirse@iol.ie

Limerick rail and bus terminus demand

A NEW bus and rail station for Limerick will be one of the policy proposals on the manifesto for both Republican Sinn Féin candidates in the local elections next year the organisation's Vice-President said on October 10.

Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President Des Long said the present rail and bus terminus is inadequate for the increased demands placed on public transport. He was speaking at the announcement that Republican Sinn Féin will field candidates in Ward One and Ward Four — in the Northside and Southside of the

city in the 2004 local elections. "Our candidates are Mick Ryan in Ballynany and Seán O'Neill in Prospect - and both men are now calling for a new bus and rail terminus to be sited on the former Guinness Depot in the Carey's Road area," Des Long said. "For years the site has been allowed idle and neglected

now we are calling for a major re-development plan to relocate the national Expressway bus station there.

"The site is also ideal for the proposed new rail spur for the Shannon Airport. In fact the location is also adjacent to the existing rail line and the Carey's Road facility could also serve as the station for the proposed urban rail service to Moyross, Bunratty and Shannon Airport. The main Colbert Station dates from the 1850's and it was never intended to cope with the passenger

numbers now using the building. The provision of a rail link from Limerick to Shannon is vital if we are to have a fully integrated public transport system.

"Our candidates will be campaigning for the provision of adequate public transport in addition to highlighting the ongoing cutbacks in social employment schemes and continuing attempts by this discredited Administration to curb the living standards of ordinary people."

Retrial for US plane disarmer

THERE was a good solidarity group outside Kilrush court, Co. Clare, on October 21 as Mary Kelly's re-trial began.

Mary had been given only a few days notice from the DPP about the decision and therefore on Tuesday she appealed the decision to begin her trial with such short notice. Her re-trial is now set to begin at Kilrush court next February 2004.

Mary's first trial ended with a hung jury on the issue of criminal damage, she was found guilty of trespass. It is the 90,000 US troops who have travelled through Shannon during 2003 who have trespassed with impunity. Mary applied for a judicial review of that trial to

investigate what she felt was prejudice by the judge during that trial and she applied for financial legal aid to cover the expenses during that trial. Those applications

were both denied on Tuesday morning at Kilrush court.

At an early stage in her first trial, Judge Karl Moran said, that because Mary had admitted to disarming the US plane, she was therefore a criminal under Irish law. Even though Mary had pleaded not guilty to criminal damage based on the full evidence. Her motive and the full evidence was not considered by the judge before he openly determined her criminality.

Her defence counsel objected to the judge's remark which was prejudiced as it had not allowed her motive or the full evidence to be considered and they asked for the jury to be dismissed. Their objection was over-ruled. The judge also instructed the jury, before

they withdrew to consider their verdict, that they must find Mary guilty of criminal damage under Irish property law as she had admitted to disarming the plane. The judge was demanding that the jury would ignore the full facts of the case, comply with his narrow-minded interpretation of the law and to convict her as a criminal. Her defence counsel objection to this prejudiced instruction was also over-ruled.

Justice and law are clearly different and that's why we have juries, so that judgement and verdict are superior to the technical or individual interpretation of written laws. Judge Karl Moran has attempted to undermine this crucial foundation of justice.

When the jury were in private session considering their verdict they asked the judge to show them a true copy of the specific law which they had been instructed to follow in finding her guilty. The judge told them but the jury insisted on seeing the law as written, for themselves to interpret.

The judge refused to share the crucial legal document with the jury and arrogantly repeated his own biased interpretation of that law to them, possibly fabricating as he spoke. The same deceptive and biased judge has been appointed by the DPP for Mary's re-trial.

Results of Dublin raffle

OCTOBER Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 231; 2nd prize 239; 3rd prize 146; 4th prize 156; 5th prize 181; 6th prize 423; 7th prize 472; 8th prize 340.

Gearscóalta

Scurrilous Provo election leaflet

THE Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, Des Long, Limerick, said on October 21 that the only organisation that has consistently called for an end to feuding in Limerick and that has offered to nominate a go between to negotiate an end to violence is Republican Sinn Féin and for anyone to allege any different is a distortion of the truth, RSF said in a statement.

Des Long said that the facts are well known and on the public record yet the Provo continue to engage in aping the distorted journalism of the tabloid press.

"While I do not wish to dignify the distributed claims of the Provos in their election leaflet which attributed around Limerick, the blatant lies must be answered in case any decent person is fooled by these false claims," he said in the statement. The Provos refer to "breakaway microgroups" and I shall let these groups reply in their own time but as a long-time Republican I wish to state that the true Republican Movement has never taken any side in the Limerick feud.

"In fact Republican Sinn Féin has often called for an end to the feuding and we offered to provide a mediator between both sides in the interests of bringing peace to the city. For the Provos to twist the truth and to use weasel words like "if these reports are true" smacks of the baser acts of the gutter press and shows the Provos are learning fast from their new found friends in the mainstream media.

"The local people who are behind this type of truth twisting must ask themselves what happened to Gareth O'Connor and the other people who were discredited by the Provos. If they are concerned about the suffering of bereaved families let them go to their leadership and ask that the body of Gareth O'Connor be returned to his parents for a proper decent Christian burial. These Provos must cease throwing mud at faithful Republicans whose only desire is to see real peace and lasting brought about by the removal of the root cause of conflict from our country."

Rent allowance caps risk homelessness

WORKERS living in private rented accommodations are faced with extra danger of homelessness if they become unemployed, the local cumann of Republican Sinn Féin warned on October 4.

Seán McGoldrick, spokesperson for the Joe McDonnell Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin, which serves Crumlin and the South Inner City said that recently imposed caps on rent allowance payments along with the high rents that people face in the private rented sector mean that newly redundant workers face a real risk of homelessness.

"People living in landlords flats who may be at risk of being laid off may not know that the Eastern Health Board have imposed rent allowance caps since the start of the year. For a single unemployed person the maximum rent is €107 per week. If their rent is less than €107, they will get 88% of that still be paid by the EHB. If their rent is more than €107 per week then 0% will be paid. For example if a persons rent is €108 per week they will be expected to pay that out of €124.80.

"People just out of work looking for a new job do not need this extra worry, they are already penny-pinching from the government, aiming it's cut-backs at a vulnerable and disorganised part of society."

EU health card plan faces criticism

THE UK civil liberties organisation, Statewatch, has launched strong criticism of the European Union's plans for a microchip-based EU health card from 2008.

The card, the brainchild of the European Commission, is to contain general information about the individual cardholder as well as complete medical records including treatment and medicinal use records, reports the Danish newspaper Jyllands Posten. As a first step, to be completed by 2004, individual European Union member States are to decide what identity details are to be used at the national level — such as pictures, fingerprints, or retina profiles. However, Statewatch fears that the card is one further step towards a "Big Brother" society.

"We all know what this is about. The authorities want a card with all personal information, which is to be used as a driver's licence, passport and health-card, as well as for banking information," says Tony Bunyan, head of Statewatch, according to Jyllands Posten. Many fear that the health-card could be the first step to introducing an EU-wide identity card through the back door.

Tan War Veteran on radio

ON October 22 Tan War Veteran Dan Keating (two months short of his 102nd birthday) was a guest of Radio Kerry to discuss the previous day's treachery at Stormont.

When questioned about the outcome of the "talks," Dan stated the only outcome of these talks was the formation of two puppet parliaments on the island of Ireland. When asked what his solution would be, he stated there is only one and only way that was "a British declaration of withdrawal, leave the island of Ireland for one and for all, erect one parliament for the 32-County Irish Republic."

He finished by saying that as long as there is a British presence in any part of Ireland, there would never be peace.

**SAOIRSE December edition
published 3/12/2003**



*** is committed to supporting prisoners for which CABHAIR is responsible**
*** is generating publicity in support of Irish national independence.**

We need your support. Our website address is:
<http://irishfreedom.net>

I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin

Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Aim:

Seoladh:

Tel: Age (if under

Send to:
Teach Dáithí Ó Connail
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1
Tel: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757.
or 229 Falls Road, Belfast
e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie
<http://rsf.ie>
or contact your local paper seller for details

For a full British withdrawal from Ireland

OUR AIMS

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

OUR HISTORY

Formed in 1905 ... We are the oldest political organisation in the country ... Organised throughout the 32 Counties ... We have continuously rejected the failed political entities of the Six and 26 Counties in existence since the British partitioned our country ...

'Dissidents' aim to restore the All-Ireland Republic

DURING the so-called Civil War in Ireland at the beginning of the twenties of the last century those who opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty were called 'irregulars'. The equivalent today — 'dissenting Republicans'. So as a response to what appears to be a darling phrase of Martin McGuinness I present the *raison d'être* of our position. Which includes our reason for opposing the Belfast Agreement. Please bear with me.

What Patrick Pearse and his fellow Republicans accomplished in Easter Week, 1916, was momentous and truly revolutionary because they did not say that it was their desire to have a republic, or that they sought a republic, but that in fact proclaimed a Republic!

A Republic proclaimed and endorsed two years later (1918) by the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland. For in that general election Sinn Féin asked the Irish people to copper-fasten the Republic proclaimed in 1916 by supporting their candidates with the pledge that with the return of a majority they would ensure that the

Republic proclaimed in Easter Week (Phoblacht na hÉireann) would manifest itself to the nations of the world.

Thus what the result of the 1918 election in Ireland mandated was the establishment of a National Parliament and arising from this assembly was the expressed national will of the Irish people, i.e. the Declaration of Independence from the centuries long military and administrative occupation by a foreign entity, namely Britain.

The people had spoken! In fact the nearest number of candidates to Sinn Féin (with 73 elected) were the Irish Unionists with approximately 26 candidates elected. But in

spite of the overwhelming support by our nation for the implementation of the principles of the 1916 Proclamation the so-called 'mother of democracies' rejected the will of the people of Ireland and attacked the new 32 county Republic.

The Republic was defended by representatives of the people who had mandated it into existence and during this period known as 'The War of Independence' the Irish people suffered immensely from the forces of perhaps the most vile and destructive colonial empire that the world has ever seen. In fact the Black and Tans are forever etched on the national consciousness.

Now when we look at the nineteenth century infamous Act of Union imposed on this country by Britain and consider the consent freely given by the Irish nation to the Republican Parliament (Dáil Éireann) established in 1919 surely that Republic warrants our allegiance. In spite of the

fact that superior forces drove it underground and refused to let it function.

The Act of Union, however undemocratic, had an existence in time as had the Proclamation of the Republic and the Declaration of Independence: the former the expression of political skulduggery and the latter the expression of national sovereignty.

And it is this National Sovereignty that we as a people today must defend against the Belfast Agreement, as the people of an earlier generation defended the Republic during the so-called Civil War.

The latter war was a tragedy and should never have taken place. Its birth however illustrates what can happen when a people break ranks and abandons principle under the threat of force of arms and the snake-like cunning of the British establishment. The result was the so-called Anglo-Irish Treaty of the last century.

As history records the

Republican delegates who attended the Treaty negotiations were not a united body for British threats and propaganda had ensured division within their ranks. Thus in due course Collins and others signed the Treaty: a treaty which was illegal because of the aforementioned British threats and duress but primarily from the fact that Michael Collins and company had not the power to sign on behalf of the Republic. For how can one person or group sign away a Republic democratically endorsed by the great majority of the people?

Now it is this great expression of national sovereignty, a reality fed by the blood of our people, that pseudo-nationalists wish to be replaced by the Belfast Agreement. As in the last century they tried to replace it with the so called Anglo Irish Treaty. It is absurd for anyone to try and equate the momentous happening of the establishment of an Irish Republic

with the expedient concoction of the Treaty and the Belfast Agreement.

Of course The Republic at present is buried beneath the continuing British military and administratively occupation. That is the presence of British military forces in the 6 counties and the two political statelets which they imposed to govern the island. That reality does not invalidate however the reality of Phoblacht na hÉireann which is the expressed will of the Irish people exercised by national ballot.

No partitionist elections or referendums invalidates it. It still lives and in due course it will function. That is the *raison d'être* of Irish revolutionary Republicanism. We are revolutionary because our task is to resurrect the Republic ... which nobody or revolutionary act could imagine. And it does not necessarily imply the use of violence in pursuit of its resurrection.

— Liam Ó Comáin

Bin protest continues in Dublin

DESPITE an almost total black-out on the reporting of such, the Anti-Bin Tax protest is continuing in Dublin.

During the past month the protesters have protested (peacefully) at depots in all areas of Dublin city and County. On October 14 and 15 protesters successfully blocked bin trucks from leaving any depot. However the tactics used by the Councils have resulted in heightened tension between the council and the protesters.

The council are operating a policy of non-collection for those who refuse to pay this unjust double tax.

They now place red stickers on the bins of those who have not paid their 'bin tax' - (in Tallaght for instance, management have been busy placing red stickers on bins) and a green sticker on the bins of those who have a waiver.

Also the Councils have a 'blanket' injunction which covers anyone and everyone from picketing the depots, interfering with bins or lorries or any council property. Also by sending final notices, threatening non-collection and seizure of bins the

Council believes this will break the back of the campaign.

This has not deterred the protesters however. They patrol the areas five days a week operating an 'all or none' system which has been very successful.

In vast majority of the bin workers are sympathetic and in some cases refused to pass the pickets so the bin lorries remained in the depots until the police move the protesters. The bin workers were told they would be taken off the payroll if they did not go to work and also were warned not to collect bins with red stickers.

The Free State and Special Branch have now been called in to assist the councils. At the Griffith Ave depot on 30 October several people were hurt (none seriously) when the Garda used force to try and move the protesters. The protesters however held their ground and refused to move. In Oldcourt, Tallaght on the same day a



• South Dublin County Council removing wheel bins from householders in Walnut Close, Kingswood, Tallaght who have not paid their bin charges.

special branch car along with a squad car, and several vehicles from the council, watched as a small crowd prevented two bin lorries from

leaving the estate because the area had been 'red stickered' and bins were being left behind.

So far the Council seems to be concentrating their non-collection in the better off estates where the campaign is not as well established and people are not as well informed. And although the figures for non-payment and waivers in working class areas may be high, the figures for non-payment in middle class areas is also very high - despite what the media would lead you to believe.

In Walnut Close, Kingswood, Tallaght on October 24 council workers attempted to seize a number of bins but were prevented from doing so by protesters and the local residents. The bins had been loaded onto trucks but the trucks were prevented from leaving. The 21 bins were returned at about 4pm. However in the Dummore area of Kingswood council workers seized another

21 bins. Garry Keogh of South Dublin Co Council said the "We are thinking about extending the withdrawal of bins to the rest of the county. We are also continuing the practice of non-collection for those who have not paid".

So far 15 protesters have been jailed, from between a week to a month - but instead of people being frightened off the campaign has grown in strength. The tactics adopted by the campaign have a 37% support in Dublin according to a poll in the *Sunday Tribune* of October 26. People have realised that if the councils get their way in this unjust tax then the door is open to privatise waste management.

In a statement the Anti-Bin Tax Campaign has pointed out that 'In 41 local authority areas were the bin tax was introduced privatisation followed. For the bin workers privatisation has resulted in redundancies, wage cuts, a

decimation of working conditions and automatic union representation has gone out the window. The privately owned Oxigen and National Waste Management companies have refused to let their workers join a union.

If the Councils and Government can successfully implement the bin tax, then and only then will a private company be interested in taking over the service. Dublin would be the most profitable of all refuse collection services'.

This campaign looks set to continue for some time as people realise they have been duped. The current coalition in Leinster House believes that it can bully and intimidate people into submission - with the assistance and collusion of the police, who themselves have lots of questions to answer.

Most people in Dublin now accept that everyone is actually paying their bin charges through their taxes and those who refuse to pay the extra tax are justified in doing so. No one is trying to avoid paying their taxes and no one wants to put the bin workers out of a job. The Anti-bin Tax Campaign believes that 'the best way for the bin workers to secure their job is for the anti-bin tax campaign to succeed'. The campaign is now advising the people to scrape the sticker from their bin and to get organised road by road (it is surprising how many red stickers there are). As the Councils try to repeat the same tactic in the coming weeks they suggest that people put their bins out in the streets on the corner of the street or mix up the bins. They also suggest to those whose rubbish was left behind that they dispose of rubbish at the Ballymount Civic Amenity for €8 per car load.

The campaign can be contacted at 01-4934696

SINN FEIN POBLACHTACH
National Private Members

DRAW

**10 Duais: Two 2004 All-Ireland tickets
(1 hurling & 1 football) plus €500
spending money**

20 Duais: €500

30 Duais: €300

40 Duais: Framed picture, 1916 Martyrs

50 Duais: Bodhrán

Donations: €2 / (€1) or €10 / (€5 for book of six)

Draw will take place at Ard-Fheis in Dublin, 9 November 2003

Edentubber Martyrs Commemorated

Republicans gathered at the Border Inn, Ravensdale on Sunday November 2 to pay their respects to Paddy Parle, George Keegan, Oliver Craven, Paul Smith and Michael Watters who gave their lives on November 11th 1957 in the cause of Irish freedom.

The assembled crowd led by a colour party from Armagh and Wexford and Na Fianna Éireann walked the short distance to the Monument. The Monument stands on the spot where the home of one of the men, Michael Watters, once stood.

Sarah Murphy, South Armagh, chaired the proceedings and a decade of the Rosary was recited as Gaeilge by Nuala Moore, Monaghan.

Wreaths were laid by Ruairi White on behalf of the Republican Movement, Niamh Rice on behalf of the Joe Conway/Willie Stewart Cumann Newry/Dundalk; Brendan Tobin on behalf of the Padraig O Parail Cumann, Wexford; Des Dalton on behalf of Kildare/West Wicklow; Josephine Hayden on behalf of Cumann na mBán; Sarah Murphy on behalf of the National Graves and Na Fianna Éireann also laid a wreath.

A fine oration was delivered by Fergal Moore, Monaghan.

"Today we remember Paddy Parle, George Keegan, Oliver Craven, Paul Smith and Michael Watters who were martyrs for Ireland's cause on November 11th 1957. Three of the men were from hereabouts, Smith from Armagh, Craven from Down and of course Michael Watters whose house once stood here. But Parle and Keegan were from Co. Wexford for then as now the Republican struggle was an all-Ireland effort.

British imposed border highlighting the fact that Ireland is a land divided and occupied. This border region has never been lacking in its support for the Republican struggle. Local families like the Watters, the



• The Edentubber Martyrs died for Ireland, November 11, 1957.

"Republicans believe that so long as one Irish man lives under British domination, so long as one square inch of Irish soil is defiled by the Butcher's Apron then it is every Irish person's duty no matter where they are from to free that Irish man and to tear down that hated flag.

"The Edentubber commemoration is in a unique position in that it straddles the

Hanratty's and the Fagans were and still are willing to give support to those who are taking the fight for the All Ireland Republic to our enemies. It is these people that are the foundation stones of the Movement. No revolutionary movement can operate without the logistical support of the people on the ground.

"Without that support the whole movement would col-

Chronology of the Rising of 1803 and its aftermath

24 November: Yeomanry stood down from permanent duty.



lapse. It is this area here that breeds the hardest of Republicans for to them the occupation is a very visible personal affront.

"Republicans are not overly impressed by Armani suits or shaking hands with the leaders of the imperial powers. Rather we are impressed by loyalty and dedication. We admire when we see it Bravery, Honour and Truth. In short we aspire to the Fenian Ideal. 'Purity in our hearts, strength in our Ar

"The smoke and mirrors of the so-called del of a couple of weeks ago was laughable. Only an idiot would have thought that Trimble would go into an election having made a deal with Adams. Trimble's political survival depends on pandering to the most sectarian section of our society. But then perhaps the Provo leadership are idiots. Only an idiot would think that they could wash away 200 years of Republican resistance by bowing and scraping to the Brits. Republicans will fight tooth

and nail, even if these are the only weapons left to us, to remove the foreign power from Ireland. Don't let the propaganda of the enemy fool you.

"The elections that are coming up later this month are for a British parliament. Those who sit there in Stormont will be members of a British parliament, those who are ministers there are ministers of the British Crown. Moreover, even to stand in these British elections a candidate must repudiate the All Ireland Republic. They must deny any support for the army of the Irish Republic. No Republican could ever do this.

"Therefore the Republican Movement asks you to boycott these British elections. If you think that enemies of the Republic might steal your vote then spoil your vote. Tell your friends and your family and your colleagues in work to do likewise. There are no Republicans standing for election to Stormont for to do so is to deny the Republic.

The partitionist assemblies in Stormont and Leinster House stand in direct opposition to the All Ireland Republic and the sovereignty of the Irish nation.

"We in Republican Sinn Fein and the Republican Movement as a whole will never accept the partition of Ireland. We will only accept British disengagement and the re-establishment of the All Ireland Republic. This is what the Edentubber Martyrs fought and died for. This is what we have fought for in the past and what we will continue to fight for. A United Ireland free from the centre to the sea."

Sarah Murphy called on all those present to support the POWs and to join the Republican Movement and to help in any way possible to advance the cause of Irish freedom. The pipe played a lament before leading the parade back to the Border Inn where the commemoration ended with the playing of Amhrán na bhFiann.

For The Record

THURS. OCTOBER 2: A nationalist family were targeted by loyalist gunmen for flying a Tyrone Gaelic football flag at their home in Rochester Court in the predominantly loyalist Ballysally estate Coleraine, Co Derry. The three adults escaped injury when the loyalist gang opened fire. Minor damage was caused to the front door and a window. The house has been targeted on September 30 when the Tyrone flag was removed was taken down, wrapped around a brick and throw through a window. The family, who had lived in the estate for 20 years, have since moved out.

SUN. OCTOBER 6: A primary which caters for both Catholic and Protestant children at Crossgar, Co Down was targeted in an arson attack which caused more than £50,000 damage to a mobile classroom used by children with special needs.

A nationalist family were forced to flee their home at Donegore Drive on the mainly Protestant Parkhall estate in Antrim after nine windows were smashed and the family car was badly damaged by loyalists.

FRI. OCTOBER 10: The homes of two prison warders in Newtownabbey, Co Antrim and Bangor, Co Down were targeted by a petrol bomb and gun attack respectively as part of an escalating campaign of intimidation by loyalists who are unhappy about the introduction of segregation for Republican prisoners in Maghaberry.

SAT. OCTOBER 11: A car bomb containing 130 pounds of explosives which was left outside Roslea police barracks in Co Fermanagh was defused by British army bomb experts.



• The remains of a car containing 130lbs of explosives parted outside Roslea RUC/PSNI barracks in Co Fermanagh on October 12.

TUES. OCTOBER 14: In a statement to the news media the Continuity IRA claimed responsibility for planting an incendiary bomb outside York Road police barracks in north Belfast. The 30lbs device and timer was contained within a gas cylinder in a car parked near the barracks.

THURS. OCTOBER 16: The home of a retired prison warder was attacked with an explosive device by loyalists at Donaghadee,

Co Down.

TUES. OCTOBER 21: Following the further surrender of arms by the Provisionals in an attempt to resuscitate the failed assembly at Stormont, David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party pulled the plug on the process when he refused to accept the report of the British Decommissioning Commission.

SUN. OCTOBER 26: A pregnant woman was forced to flee her new home in the predomi-

nantly loyalist Lisanelly estate in Armagh city following an attack by loyalists in which windows were smashed and a flammable device was thrown at the house.

THURS. OCTOBER 30: The home of Ellen Devnir, a 75-year-old widow, in Newtownabbey, Co Antrim, just outside Belfast was targeted by loyalists who threw red and blue paint bombs at the house.

Nationalist school children targeted

A Belfast Chronology

Tuesday, September 23, 2003: An 18-year-old sixth form schoolboy from Ardoyne was attacked by loyalists as he was walking home from St Gabriel's College on the Crumlin Road in north Belfast. During the attack he suffered a cut lip and had two teeth knocked out.

The student, who didn't wish to be identified because he was too frightened, said later:

"I was walking down the Crumlin Road and was just passing Hesketh [Hesketh cuts through from the Crumlin Road to the loyalist Ardoyne Road and Glen Bryn] when I just saw a piece of wood come at me and someone's hand on it. It hit me up the face and I stepped back. The fella who was wearing a cap, a blue jacket and jeans ran off."

The teenager also claimed that loyalists were using a network of cars, moped and mobile phones to launch attacks on nationalists. The boy's headmaster, Tom Armstrong, said he was dismayed by the attacks.

Thursday, September 25, 2003: Forthwilliam College, a Catholic college in north Belfast, was the target of a pipe bomb attack.

Friday, September 26, 2003: It was reported that a school bus was stoned near the Ardoyne shops. Later in the evening British Occupation Forces were heavy on the ground in the nationalist Bone area of the Oldpark Road. Two British Land Rovers parked on a footpath on the Oldpark Road from around 8pm and were attacked by nationalist youths who threw bricks, bottles and fireworks. The attacks faded when the Brits pulled out of the area.

Saturday, September 27, 2003: There were reports of a number of shots being fired in St George's Gardens in the Sandy Row area of south Belfast at around 9pm.

Sunday, September 28, 2003: A number of people claimed that shots were fired in north Belfast in the early hours of Sunday morning. It was believed that the shooting may have been loyalist test-firing, as is often the case.

Monday, September 29, 2003: Our Lady of Mercy Catholic School, which is in the middle of the loyalist Ballysillan area, was targeted by loyalists. Nationalist Ardoyne and the Bone are about two miles away and the small Ligoniel area is about a mile from the school and the school is an easy target.

Around 12.15 loyalists forced their way into the school grounds and began smashing windows of cars belonging to teachers and school dinner ladies. Petrol

was used to set a number of the cars alight and in all eight cars were burnt out or damaged.

As news of the attack got to the nationalist Ardoyne and Bone areas concerned parents went to the school to collect their daughters. Those parents who didn't have their own cars were driven to the school by local taxi-drivers who drove back and forth to get the children home safely. The loyalists attackers made good their escape, no surprise there.

One parent told SAOIRSE: "This is the second time I've had to come to this school to take my daughter home because of this kind of thing. People have no idea what we here in north Belfast have to go through. In any normal place you send your children to school with what are the normal worries of school, here, you send your children to school always with the worry that they get through the day OK. The terrible fear of this kind of thing never leaves you. The constant waiting for the phone to ring is another fact of life. Today it was the teachers' cars as it was the last time. But what will it be next?"

"We are standing here in the school grounds, look at the flags all round the school, we are in fact in the middle of an area that is run by the UVF. Maybe that will make those who hear that understand better the fears we have to live with. It's a bad situation but what can we do, teach our children once again by the hedgerows? Is that what these sectarian bigots want? Well as far as I'm concerned, the Catholics have come on a hell of a lot since then and there'll be no going back, no way!"

"There are those who would like to make us all believe it's all rosy in north Belfast, they hide the facts, the truth, there's nothing rosy about the sectarianism that is alive and kicking. That's the only fact of north Belfast. Why lie about it! It's just terrible."

There were also reports today of a postman being beaten up in the loyalist Seamore Hill area of Dunmurry, just outside west Belfast. It was believed the postman was mistaken for a nationalist and the attack was carried out by the UDA.

Tuesday, September 30, 2003: There were reports of a school in Ligoniel in north Belfast suffering smoke damage when a fire was started near a window.

A group of loyalists held a protest near Hesketh on the Crumlin Road. There was tension and concern in nationalist Ardoyne as this area that runs into the loyalist Glen Bryn has been the scene of a number of sectarian attacks on nationalists. No trouble



• House damaged in UDA feud-related attacks in north Belfast on October 13.

was reported.

Wednesday, October 1, 2003: Tension was high and groups of nationalists and loyalists faced each other near the Ardoyne shops. British Occupation Forces were on the ground but there was no trouble.

Thursday, October 2, 2003: There were reports that a member of the 32-County Sovereignty Movement has been abducted by a number of armed Provisionals. The man was named as Stephen Moore and it was believed that he was picked up by the Provisionals on the Ormeau Road the previous night.

There were also reports that a member of the RUC/PSNI had been injured when her unmarked car was attacked by nationalist youths in the Markets area. The attack took place on Wednesday night. The policewoman was treated in hospital for a wound to her eye. The nationalist youths made good their escape back into the

Markets.

Friday, October 3, 2003: Stephen Moore, who was abducted by armed Provisionals on Wednesday, was released on Thursday night. He said later that up to 12 Provisionals had placed duct tape over his nose and eyes and said he was stripped and made to wear a boiler suit before being tied up and aggressive questioning started. The Provos threatened to shoot him.

He was taken from his girlfriend's house in the lower Ormeau Road and after his ordeal he was dumped by the Provisionals in the same area. In the afternoon groups of nationalists gathered near the Ardoyne shops to watch across towards the loyalist Woodvale where around 100 loyalists had gathered at around 3pm. The area was also flooded by the RUC/PSNI.

These stand-offs have been going on since the start

of the week after attacks on schools. The loyalists moved off after about an hour and nationalists at the shops went after their shopping. Tension remained high.

Sunday, October 5, 2003: Around 5am a 21-year-old Ardoyne man was attacked and badly beaten as he walked near the Cliftonville Road in north Belfast.

Kevin Milligan had just left a party at a friend's house and was walking along near to St James' Church when a car pulled up and two men got out and set upon him. He was hit in the head with something believed to be either a wheel brace or hammer. There was also a number of women in the car. As the men beat Kevin Milligan, he heard one of the women say, "get in, get in, he's had enough". There is little doubt that the attack was carried out by loyalists and that Kevin Milligan was pointed out by the Celtic football top he was wearing.

He is lucky to be alive and is still in hospital with a fractured skull and other injuries.

Around tea-time there were reports that fireworks were being thrown from the loyalist Glen Bryn area at nationalist houses in the Alliance Avenue in north Belfast.

Monday, October 6, 2003: Tension remained high in a number of areas in north Belfast following attacks on nationalist people and homes over the weekend. Once again, as had been the case in the previous week, loyalist men and women gathered near the Woodvale Road facing the Ardoyne shops.

At the Ardoyne shops, nationalists broke off their shopping to keep an eye on the loyalists. Occupation forces were also heavy on the ground. During the night nationalist houses in the Deepark Road area were attacked.

Cont. on page 7



Local areas are asked to write to Republican prisoners in Portlaoise, Maghaberry and Magilligan prisons, in

particular those from their own province, not forgetting prisoners from the other provinces.

CABHAIR continues to support all true Republican prisoners and their dependants in Irish jails within the 32 Counties.

With this in mind we ask for local areas to form Finance Committees. Help and advice will be given by the Central Committee.

All contributions should be sent to:

**Central Committee
CABHAIR
223 Parnell Street
Dublin 1**



REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin has secured a premises at 229 Falls Road, Belfast as the organisation's public office in the city. This excellent location near the city centre gives a much-needed focus and morale boost to our growing membership in Belfast and throughout Ulster.

Contributions, which will be gratefully acknowledged, can be made:

1. To the following: Mary Ward, Co Donegal; Frank McCarthy, Co Antrim; Jimmy McEneaney, Co Tyrone; Geraldine Taylor, Belfast; Michael McGooinigle, Co Derry; Joe O'Neill, Co Donegal; Mick McManus, Co Fermanagh; Larry McMahon, Co Monaghan
2. By sending a donation to: Ard Oifig, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1 or to 229 Falls Road, Belfast.
3. By Standing Order Form published here.

Séamus

MÁS duine thú, bail o Dhia ort, atá fós ag freastal ar an Aifreann, chuala tú, roinnt Domhnaigh o shin, slíocht as litir Naomh Séamais (3.16-43), mar atá a leanas: *Lucht déanta na siochána, nuair a obriorn said ar son na siochána, cuirfidh said an siol a mbeid an naofach mar thordh air.*

"A chlam ionán, an áit a bhfuil éad agus glóimhín, tá achrann agus gach uile chineál drochghnóimh; ach an eagraíocht atá ó neamh, tá sí glan, ar long na siochána, cineálta, sochomb airleach, lán de thrúa. Agus lucht déanta na siochána, nuair a obriorn said ar son na siochána, cuirfidh said an siol a mbeid an naofach mar thordh air.

"Céard fuí deara na cogal agus na cathanna seo eadrábh? Nach iad bhúr n-ainmhianta a bhíonn ag treas le dté chéile in bhúr mbail bheatha faoi deara? Is níl libh rud éigin agus níl sé agabá, agus maraíonn sibh lena tháil, más gá. Bíonn sibh ag mítlé le rud éigin, ach ní fheidir thú é a fháil, agus troideann sibh go bhfaighidh sibh leis an lámh láidir é. Níl an rud agabá atá uathb de bhí na gcaitín sibh ar a shon. M'ághuinn sibh agus nach bhfaighéann sibh, ní fhaigheann sibh de bhí na ch-íarrann sibh ceart é: iarrann sibh le bhúr ainmhianta a shásamh."

CIONTACH CÉANNA

Sin é briathar Dé, trí bheát an naoimh. Chomhinn mé an bhilleog don geolm seo, nó

b'fheidir le Dia go geuirfeadh duine maith éigin an teachtaireacht seo chuig George Bush . . . agus daoine áirithe eile. Éinne a chabhráonn le Bush, Blair, agus eile, táid chomh ciontach céanna as an scríos atá déanta den Iarac.

Níl leithscéal dá laghad ag Ahern, ná ag lucht Fhianna Fáil i gcóimhe. Tá súil agam go n-éirí go seoghe leis an agóid atá gailta d'Acfort na Siannaine, ach bíodh sé déanta go siochánta, thús deireadh, in ainm dhí Dé.

Agus mé ag scríobh, thá gach cuma ar chúrsaí go bhfuil deireadh le "Comhaontas Aoine an Chéasta", mar a thugann said air.

Feachas na siochána a bhí le bhéidh ann, ach i ndeas atá cúrsaí ag dul, agus páirtí scoile ina dtírúid "ceadaithe", anois. Dona go leir, a deir tú; ach nuair a bhíonn Caitlicigh (mar dhean) agus náisiúntóirí (mar dhean) ag léir le Protastáin, tite ma b'Protastáin á scríos acu, nó bídhúir é dtriall, ar chor ar bith?

Cuma faoin griosú, más Críostáithe muid tá thíos agam ó Chríost féin gur é ag léir don gcomhas na dualgas is tábhachtaí. Agus más náisiúntóirí muid is feasaich dhúinn an dualgas céanna ach i bhfocla eile, mar atá Caitlicigh, Protastáin agus

Easantóirí. Ionann an trionóid agus aon náisiún amháin.

Dona go leor go mbeadh "náisiúntóirí" ag ionsai daoine eile toisc gur Protastáin iad, ach céard é do théarma ar iar-Phoblachtóirí a ghoimeann agus a mharaíonn Poblachtóirí toisc iad a bheith dílis don bhpoblachtóir atá agaim ó aimsir Emmet agus Tone?

TRÍ FHOICAL

Ó Réabhlóid na Fraince tá trí fhoical i dtéanga na Fraince a chuireann an réabhlóid agus dá gcealláimh sí go gonta indr geuimhne, mar atá **Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité** (Saoirse, Cothroime, Bráthaireas). Le chéile, daonlathas is ciall don trionóid; agus má bhíonn ceann amháin díobh in eas-namh, níl ciall dá laghad ag an dá cheann atá fágtha.

Cuir an teist sin i bhfeidhm ar an stát a bhfuil cónaí againn acu, agus céard é an toradh? D'eile ach nach bhfuil saoirse again; nach bhfuil cothroime again; agus nach bhfuil bráthaireas again. Ní stát daonlathach é.

Féach, níl cothroime agaim i gcúrsaí sláinte. Mar is eol do dhéach, más duine saibhir thú, gheobhaidh tú leigheas, má bhíonn sin i ndán duit, láithreach bonn.

Más duine bocht thú, nó seanóir (mó dhálta-sa) thú, ní mór duit fanacht ar shaineolaí, ar obráid. Is rí-eol domsa an chaoi a bhfuil cúrsaí, nó ag fanacht le bliain nach mór atáim, le go ndéanfáí rud dom éisteach: "Déanfaidh an otharlann teagmháil leat faoi sin uilig." arsa an dochtúir. Ach níor airigh mé faic, faic na fríde, ó shin!

Sláinte. Sin córas amháin, ach ní ina haonar atá sí. Céard fuí oideachas? Agus nach

bhfuil a fhios agat go bhfuil deireadh le daonlathas ar an leibhéal áitiúil?

NIMH SA DÓ

Deir na 'saineolaíoch' gur fearú críoch a chur le fadhb an bhrucair ach é a dhó. A mhálairt a cheapann an pobal, nó an chuid is mó den pobal: Scaoileann an dó nimh, agus déannann an nimh an-dochar do shláinte an phobail. Díoxín a thugtar ar an diabol céanna.

Fornhór na gcomhairleoirí sa rialtas áitiúil seasaon said leis an pobal. Céard é a rinne an rialtas ach dí a rith a thugann an chumhacht do bhainisteoir an chontae a rogha rud a sheoít fú más in éadan toil an phobail é.

Tá dí ma rite le gur curis eile in éadan toil an phobail, nó mura bhfuil sé rite nuair a léas sibhse an colm seo is gearr go mbeidhí D'eile ach agóid in éadan chéad pleanála a mhéidh nach mór. De réir a chéad, mar sin, cibé saoirse, cibé daonlathas, a bhí agair uair, tá deireadh i ndán dóibh.

Agus céard é mo thuairim, arsa túsa, faoi égalité i gcúrsaí dlú ag an Chúirt déanta id gan choiste cúirte (nó giúire) fós? Leor "tuairim" phóilín éigin le go gcaithfí fear nó bean isteach sa bhriúin go ceann seacht nó a thuilleadh bliana!

An bhféadfaí grúpa a eagrú i garús paróiste le hógóid a eagrú ar son libéiré, égalité, fraternité, nó a gcomhchiall i nGaeilge agus i mBéarla (nó cibé téanga is tuisce id bhéat, bál o Dhia ort)?

Nó an lamhlaidh atair at nós cumma liom faoi chearta daonna?

— Deasún Breatnach

£30,401

Éire Nua Building Fund Belfast / Derry

Standing Order Form

To the Manager _____ Bank _____
 Please pay Bank of Ireland, (26 Courtnell) Drapinstown, Co Derry, an number 14164284, credit code 91 48-43 33 26 Courtnell Bank of Ireland, Letterkenny, Co Donegal for the credit of Éire Nua Building Fund a number 10055/08, Branch code 90-49-15, the sum of £ _____ Amount in words _____
 commencing _____ and thereafter every month until further notice.
 and debiting A/C No. _____
 Name: (please print clearly) _____
 Address _____
 Signature _____ Date _____ Please hand in to your bank.

IMEACHTAÍ

KEVIN BARRY COMMEMORATION
 RATHVILLY CO CARLOW,
 SUNDAY, NOVEMBER, 3pm

EDDIE CARMODY COMMEMORATION
 BALLYLONGFORD, CO KERRY
 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 8.30pm
 Organised by Republican Sinn Féin

CHARLIE KERINS COMMEMORATION
 TRALEE, CO KERRY
 FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5,
 Assemble: Pikeman Monument, Denny Street,
 Tralee, 7.30pm

PICKET FOR POLITICAL STATUS
 GPO, DUBLIN
 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 12.45-1.45pm
 Organised by Republican Sinn Féin, Leinster

Join
CUMANN na mBAN

 For details contact Máiréad Ní Chaoimh
 c/o 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1

JOIN FIANNA ÉIREANN

 For information on joining apply to
<http://fiannaireann.com>

Draft EU Constitution contains strong military dimension

THE Annual General Meeting of the Peace and Neutrality Alliance (PANA) on October 18 adopted the following:

"Noting that the constitutional objectives of the PANA favour a high neutrality, oppose military alliances, and are dedicated to the promotion of European and international security through a policy of disarmament and demilitarisation, and a strengthened United Nations;

"Noting that the Draft EU Constitution represents an EU with a strong military dimension, closely aligned with a nuclear military bloc (NATO), and committed to increased arms spending and support for the arms industry;

"Concerned that the Draft Constitution also takes several giant steps towards a fully-fledged military alliance, armed not just with a military capacity but with mutual solidarity commitments and, in some cases, mutual defence commitments between

Member States, all within the structures of the European Union

"Acknowledging that there is no room for a nuclear state in such a Union;

"Deeply concerned in particular over the impact on world peace of the following Draft EU Constitution provisions:

- A greatly strengthened EU Foreign Minister who will oversee a Foreign Affairs Council and be assisted by a European External Action Service (an EU Foreign Service). He/she will also serve as a Vice-President of the Commission, handling the Commission's external affairs. Any hopes of Ireland ever pursuing an independent foreign policy, which is imperative for any active and positive Irish neutrality, will be further diminished if not

eliminated. [Title IV; Article 27]

- Member States are obliged to make civilian and military capabilities available to the EU's common security and defence. [Title V; Article 40.3]

- Member States shall undertake progressively to improve their military capabilities. This will require Ireland to increase its arms spending, a particularly alarming prospect given the state of the Irish economy and Irish public services, and the levels of poverty existing in Ireland and internationally. [Title V; Article 40.3]

- A European Armaments, Research and Military Capabilities Agency is to be established. It will be directed at improving the EU's military capabilities and strengthening the 'industrial and technological base of the defence sector'. The EU was founded on the principle of peaceful and beneficial cooperation between States, some of

whom were former enemies in war. For the EU Constitution to now promote the military approach to resolving conflicts is to undermine much of what the EU has achieved through cooperative methods. [Title V; Article 40.3]

- Enhanced Cooperation is introduced into the defence area for the first time. The [26-County] government made much of the fact, during the Nice Treaty debate, that enhanced cooperation (which could lead to a two-tier EU) did not apply to defence. This new provision will allow States to form mini-military alliances, using the EU's institutions, and to engage in military operations in the name of the EU. [Title V; Article 40.6]

- One element of this new enhanced cooperation in defence is that certain member states 'shall' establish mutual defence agreements within the Union framework until the EU has agreed a common defence. The formula given in the draft

Constitution for an automatic military response to any attack is from Article 5 of the Western European Union's military treaty. The EU Constitution also states that those states involved in this enhanced cooperation on mutual defence 'shall work in close cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)'. [Title V; Article 40.7]

- A Solidarity Clause has been inserted into the Constitution, stating that Member States and the Union shall act jointly against terrorism and disasters, enabling the Union to mobilise all instruments at its disposal, including military resources. This is a very broad mandate for it covers the threat of terrorism as well as an actual terrorist attack. Such a blank cheque would have, for example, involved Ireland to become involved in attacking Iraq or Afghanistan. This clause is yet another building block in the construction of

EU military alliance. [Title V; Article 42]

"Be it resolved that: (1) PANA calls on the Irish government to insist that the military powers in the new draft EU Constitution are substantially amended during the present negotiations at the EU Intergovernmental Conference.

(2) PANA also, once again, calls on the Government to negotiate a Protocol similar to that of Denmark which will exempt Ireland from the military aspects of the EU. Such a Protocol is provided for in Article IV.6 of the Constitution: 'The Protocols annexed to this Treaty shall form an integral part thereof.'

(3) If such changes in the EU Constitution are not achieved, PANA will be joining with many other organisations and individuals to campaign for rejection of the EU Constitution in the subsequent referendum."

A Belfast Chronology

Cont. from page 5

Tuesday, October 7, 2003: There were claims that loyalist homes had been attacked. The claims were dismissed by nationalists who believe the attacks were staged by the loyalists themselves to cover up for recent attacks on nationalists. Loyalists claimed that attacks took place in several areas: at Ohio Street where they said nationalist cars drove into the area to throw paint at a UDA mural and a house; petrol bombs were said to have been thrown at a house on the loyalist part of the Ardoyne Road.

There was a report of a shooting in Dunmurry, just outside Belfast. A shotgun was said to have been used to blow out a window in a house.

A threat was alleged to have been made by a person who claimed to be a member of the "CRF - Catholic Reaction Force", a group that does not exist, against Protestant homes in west Belfast. This threat is questionable as well as dangerous to those living in the nationalist community of Belfast. Such threats from faceless people, very likely not from within the nationalist community, are only about giving an excuse to those who never need an excuse to attack the nationalists areas. The threat was made in a phone call.

Wednesday, October 8, 2003: There were a number of loyalist attacks on the nationalist community of north Belfast. Around 9.30pm a number of nationalist homes were attacked in Somerdale park off the Crumlin Road. Windows were broken with paint bombs and fireworks.

About 1pm loyalists went to the nationalist Mountanview area, just across from the Ardoyne shops. Here too a number of houses were damaged with paint bombs and fireworks thrown into a number of living rooms. Luckily no one was hurt. There was also a report of a loyalist attack in the New Lodge area.

Thursday, October 9, 2003: Around 5pm a bomb went off beside a speed camera at Chester Road. The bomb was said to have been made of a pipe bomb and two gas bottles and damaged the camera.

In the evening a number of nationalist school boys from St Gabriel's secondary school were attacked by a man on a motor bike. The attacker tried to grab one of the boys and hit him with an iron bar but

he managed to get away. The car then drove off down the Hesketh Road and into the loyalist Hesketh Road.

There were no further reports of trouble although tension remained high.

Friday, October 10, 2003: Loyalists once again gathered at the Woodvale Road, facing the Ardoyne shops at around 3pm. There were fewer than had been the case in recent days and there was no trouble.

Saturday, October 11, 2003: Four young nationalists had a lucky escape as they went to see their team, Cliftonville, play at Windsor Park. The taxi taking them to the ground broke down and the young men stood by the taxi while the driver tried to deal with the problem, a group of loyalists passed.

A number of sectarian remarks were made as well as threats as to what they were going to do to the young nationalists. Some of the loyalists went for reinforcements, the young nationalists were in an area they did not know. A local Protestant woman with two children told the young men to get out of the area or they would be killed, which they did or they may have still been there when the loyalist gangs returned.

As it was they had to run for it, just keeping ahead of the loyalists who pursued them. They ran from the loyalist Village area, crossing four lanes of the Mill Lane area, Westlink and made their way towards the Park Centre. There they met members of Republican Sinn Féin who went to their aid and took them back to north Belfast. These young nationalists were in a very dangerous situation and were lucky to escape unhurt.

Sunday, October 12, 2003: Although fireworks were thrown at nationalist homes on the Alliance Avenue from the Glen Bryn area, there was little trouble.

Monday, October 13, 2003: There was trouble in a number of loyalist areas, mainly centred around the Ballislin, Silverstream and Glen Bryn area.

It is believed that the trouble was between members of the UDA and started over a takeover bid. It was not clear who moved to take over the UDA in north Belfast but it seems that the so-called caretaker brigadier is bigot William Borland, better known as "Bonzer". He is believed

The window of a north Belfast home attacked with a paint-bomb on October 9.

to have stood in for Andre Shoukri, now in Magherry prison.

During the takeover bid a number of houses and shops were attacked. One house was also burned out in the Glen Bryn area, a number of people were put in the boots of cars and further reports stated that trouble had broken out in Tiger's Bay. Loyalist faceman for the UDA in north Belfast Sammy Duddy later claimed that the whole trouble was nothing more than a "storm in a teacup".

Tuesday, October 14, 2003: It has become clear that a number of loyalist families had to leave their homes, after a failed bid by one group of UDA to take over north Belfast.

There were reports of an arms find in a shop in east Belfast. Three hundred bullets were said to have been found as well as gun parts. A man and women were lifted in the loyalist area of east Belfast. There were reports of a bomb scare in a loyalist area of north Belfast, centred around the Castleton Avenue area of the York Road. It was not known if the scare was a part of the ongoing trouble within loyalism.

It was believed the scare started around 8.30pm and the British army used a number of controlled explosions which could be heard over much of Belfast.

Wednesday, October 15, 2003: The bomb scare of the previous night was reported to have been a gas cylinder with a timer. A number of houses and a church were damaged when British army bomb disposal

experts carried out controlled explosions.

Thursday, October 16, 2003: No reports of troubles, although two pipe bombs were said to have been found in the St James's area of west Belfast.

Friday, October 17, 2003: Loyalists in the Westland area have claimed a number of windows were broken by nationalists in their area during the night.

This claim brought a counterclaim from nationalists who believe the attack was more likely to be wanton vandalism by local youths in the Westland area.

Saturday, October 18, 2003: The pipe bombs found in the St James's area on October 16 were believed to have been thrown at a house in the area by loyalists. The bombs were found at the homes of nationalist pensioners and the attacks were likely to have been carried out by the UDA/UFF, probably operating from the loyalist Village area.

There were also reports of a shooting in the Somerton Road area of north Belfast. It was believed that a number of shots were fired from a Ford Fiesta car at a house on the Somerton Road. No one was injured and the attack was carried out by loyalists.

Monday, October 20, 2003: Young nationalists in the Bone area used fireworks to attack British army/RUC/PSNI Land Rovers as they patrolled the area but there was no further trouble.

Tuesday, October 21, 2003: The Provisionals (Stormont Fusiliers) did

more dry deals for their British masters.

In the afternoon a bus was attacked by loyalist stone-throwers in west Belfast and a 16-year-old nationalist girl was hit in the eye by flying glass. The clearly sectarian attack took place near Black's Road.

Wednesday, October 22, 2003: Tension remained high within loyalism in north Belfast as the UDA carried out a number of shootings. Several men from a rival gang were shot in the leg. There were claims that the UDA were clearing up the group within the UDA in north Belfast who took part in a takeover bid recently.

Friday, October 24, 2003: There were reports that a number of fireworks were fired towards nationalist houses on the Alliance Avenue from the Glen Bryn estate.

Sunday, October 26, 2003: Stones were thrown over the so-called peace-line at the green in Alliance Avenue where a number of children were playing football. The children were not hurt in the stoning which seemed to be a hit and run.

Monday, October 27, 2003: Nationalist and loyalist youths confronted each other in the Glegormy area just outside north Belfast. Most of the fighting took place around Portland Avenue. Stones, bricks, bottles and fireworks were used in the fighting which lasted for some time.

British Occupation Forces moved into the area in force and tension was high.

Roscommon memorial unveiled

SEVERAL hundred people formed up at the Old Cathedral, Elphin on October 5 and marched in pouring rain to Shankill Cross for the unveiling of the Roll of Honour memorial to 41 Roscommon people who gave their lives from 1916 onwards for Irish freedom.

The parade was led by a colour party and two bands, the local Raheen Pipe Band and from the Glens of Antrim, the Dr. Arthur's Band. The Roscommon Band. Wreath bearers participated in the parade.

The colour party consisted of Sam Cryan, Drumlith, Michael Hannity, Ballymagare and Seán Fitzmaurice, Kilmore. They carried the flags of the 1916 Rising, the Irish National Tricolour, the Sunburst of Fionna Éireann and the Starry Plough of the Irish Citizen Army. Chief Marshal of the parade was Frank Beattie, Rahara.

Dr. Michael Mullooly, Strokeson presided at the ceremonies at the County Memorial which were under the auspices of the Co Roscommon IRA, Ballymagare Committee. He introduced Dr Seán Maguire of Castlebar who then performed the unveiling ceremony.

A minute's silence was observed for the late Addie Clarke of Hillstreet and Michael Hanly, Roscommon, life-long members of the committee who died recently. Pat O'Connell, Elphin, secretary of the committee, recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

The Roll of Honour, which is set on the top of a seven-foot limestone memorial, was read by Pádraic Ryan, Corboret, Chairperson of the organising committee. The Proclamation of the All-Ireland Republic, Easter 1916, was read by Joe Murphy, Ballylough.

Wreaths were laid: on behalf of the committee by Joe Kelly, Kilgass; by Tom Joe Flanagan, Kilgass on behalf of Republican prisoners north and south; by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, President, on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin and by Kathleen Torney, Moate on behalf of the relatives of all on the Roll of Honour.

Relatives present included Kathleen and Mary Torney, Moate, grandnieces of James Torney; Liam Mannion, Hill of Berries, nephew of Toby Mannion; Dermot and Michael Mullooly, Kilturstan, nephews of Michael Mullooly; Mrs Josie Finlay, Clare, sister of Tom Hughes; Tommy Cull, Arigna, nephew of Séamus and Michael Cull.

Also present were Anne Hefferman (niece), Bill Taylor (nephew) and Mary O'Donnell (niece, relatives of Tom Hughes, Boganfán, Athlone, who was executed in Athlone military barracks in 1923 by Free State forces.

Mrs Finlay, who is aged 85, attended in a wheelchair having travelled the long journey from Co Clare.

Flags were dipped in salute as the Last Post was sounded by the bugler and raised again to the notes of Reveille.

Dr Maguire, speaking first in Irish, thanked the committee for their invitation to speak and delivered the oration.

"Forty years ago my late father, Comdt-General Tom Maguire unveiled this out-



• Forty-one Roscommon soldiers who gave their lives for Irish freedom from 1916 onwards were honoured at the county memorial, Elphin, on October 5.

standing monument to the Republican soldiers of Co Roscommon.

"The people respected and admired Tom Maguire who was TD for South Mayo-South Roscommon in the last All-Ireland Dáil. That 32-County assembly elected in 1918 was the parliament of the All-Ireland Republic proclaimed on the steps of Dublin's GPO in 1916.

"Wolfe Tone is the immortal icon of Irish Republicanism. He said: 'Ireland would never be either free, happy or prosperous until she would be independent and that independence was unattainable while the connection with England remained.'

"To break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils and to assert the independence of my country, these were my objects." Tone meant to achieve his objectives by substituting the name of Irishmen and women for the denominations Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

"Five years after the 1798 Rising, in 1803, Robert Emmet, Thomas Russell, Miles Byrne and Michael Dwyer rose out in Dublin. They were not prepared to accept the Act of Union. They were the first dissident Republicans.

"Emmet was tried in Green Street Courthouse in Dublin and executed. Two hundred years later, true Republicans are still being tried in Green Street. Plus ça change . . .

"Emmet's speech from the dock animated those whom we commemorate today whose names are inscribed on this monument before us. 'Let no man write my epitaph until my country takes her place among the nations of the earth.'

"The Young Irelanders, the Fenians and the men and women of 1916 rose out in unbroken succession against British rule. Yet men voted in favour of a Treaty of Surrender in 1922 which divided our country and accepted British

rule here.

"This gave rise in our time to 30 years of armed opposition by Republicans. Unfortunately just as in 1922-23 an Agreement of Surrender was cobbled up and it was signed on a Good Friday.

"People who call themselves Republicans took their seats in the Stormont assembly and acted as Ministers of the British Crown's executive.

"One of the prominent members of the Stormont Executive is quoted as follows in 1986: 'Our position is clear and it will never, never change. The war against British rule must continue until freedom is achieved.'

"Now those who continue towards the achievement of freedom are called dissidents. Pearce, Clarke, Mellows, Plunkett and Connolly too were dissidents. They would not accept British rule in Ireland and they died for their principles.

"Mary MacSwiney TD, speaking in Cork in 1922, said: 'The people of this country will not voluntarily — even under duress — surrender their independence . . . a minority is justified in upholding the independence of their country.'

"The Republican ideal has had its triumphs and disasters. However, more and more links are being forged every day and to the unborn chain that links us back to our sheet anchor, the father of Irish Republicanism, Theobald Wolfe Tone.

"The Polish patriot, Marshal Piłsudski, said: 'To be defeated but not to surrender, that is victory!'

The ceremonies ended with Amhrán na bhFiann played by a pipe and sung by the crowd.

The 'Man from God Knows Where' remembered

ON Sunday, October 19, 2003 Republicans gathered at the Protestant graveyard in Downpatrick, Co Down to remember Thomas Russell, the United Irishman from Cork who was hanged in Downpatrick jail on October 21, 1803.

A simple stone marks the spot where he is buried, set there by Mary Ann McCracken, sister of Henry Joe McCracken, the United man executed in 1798, inscribed with "The Grave of Russell". Proceedings were chaired by local Republican Danny Fitzpatrick and Sarah Murphy, south Armagh, recited the first and last stanza of Florence Wilson's famous poem about Russell, *The Man from God Knows Where*. A wreath, made up of native trees and shrubs, was laid by Niamh Rice, Newry and Margaret Dobbin, north Antrim read the 1803 Roll of Honour.

The oration was delivered by John Joe McCusker, Fermanagh, in the course of which he said:

"Thomas Russell was born on November 11, 1767 in Betsborough House, Drumahane, Co Cork, from Irish Protestant stock. His religious background is only of importance to modern Irish Republicans as a testament to the evil sectarian bitterness sown and nourished by successive British governments in Ireland in order to maintain an unnatural and unwanted hold on our country.

"Having served nine years in the British army Thomas Russell resigned his officer's commission and became the

first Chief Librarian at the Linenhall Library in Belfast. He became involved in nationalist politics and prepared the organisation to receive Wolfe Tone in Belfast. When the declaration was taken by the United Men at Cave Hill, Belfast he was to the fore laying plans for a rebellion against England's occupation and administration of our country.

"Russell was imprisoned in Dublin in 1796 for his political activities and was later transferred to Fort George in Scotland where he served a further two years, being released in 1802. He immediately immersed himself in the planning and execution of what has fittingly been described as Emmet's Rising.

"Following the defeat of the Rising General Thomas Russell was upon capture brought before an English kangaroo court and was sentenced to death by hanging. Those who testified against him did so under the threat of death by hanging. Two officers in the Irish army James Corry and Russell's adjutant, General James Drake, refused to testify against him. They likewise were tried and were also sentenced to death by hanging.

"We here today can hardly begin to imagine the turmoil in the minds of these brave



• Danny Fitzpatrick, Co Down, Sarah Murphy, south Armagh and John Joe McCusker, Fermanagh, at the Grave of Thomas Russell on October 19.

Irishmen at learning their fate. We know nevertheless that they expected nothing less from a hostile judge and jury. We can two hundred years later with hindsight still empathise with their desire to rid this country once and for all of the English connection.

"Again let us ask the ques-

tionless you are not yet endowed with the economic and administrative freedom from which to order the affairs of your own country.

"What right has a foreign parliament to legislate and administer the affairs of Ireland? Speaking strictly in modern terms, what right have two British-sponsored governments in Ireland to trade one with the other on how best to maintain England's grip on the Six Occupied Counties and the status quo, the jobs and corruption in the 26 Counties? What right has a 26-County administration to hold a referendum on a national issue which excludes the democratic rights of all the people in the Nation?"

"These are rights which could have been afforded to all the people of the nation despite the British occupation. These are rights which did not require the use of physical force.

"The Belfast Agreement does not represent progress nor does it pursue a nationalist agenda. The Belfast Agreement has enlisted among others Fianna Fáil, the SDLP and the Provisionals as sponsors of the continued occupation and the continued Partition of our country. The Belfast Agreement has excelled at promoting the partition mentality and the generation of a two-nation concept ably propagated by the Free State and British media.

"The Belfast Agreement is yet another English adjustment to forestall Irish national rights. The Treaty of Limerick, the Act of Union, the Partition of our

country, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the Sunningdale Agreement and now the Belfast Agreement — all represent England's constitutional high-lights in dealing with the troublesome Irish.

"Do you believe that in a peaceable environment Her Majesty's government in England are going to come to grips with Irish nationalism to dismember the Union? Let us look at the evidence of the last 30 years. Let us look at just one case, where the British have employed murder in order to ensure that their political intent and institutions would not fail. I speak of the murder of Pat Finucane and the subsequent murder of Billy Stobie.

"Pat Finucane was not murdered because he was a Republican; he was not murdered because as a solicitor he defended Republican prisoners. Pat Finucane was murdered because he stumbled on information as a consequence of his job, which pointed him in the direction of Stake Knife. Billy Stobie was shot because he was prepared to talk and give evidence, which would see the British security services in the dock in relation to the murder of Pat Finucane.

"Our country is held to ransom — at the best of the political whim of less than 2% of the Irish people. It is intolerable that nationalist and so-called Republican politicians cannot articulate the argument and demonstrate as one the need for the end of English rule in Ireland."

Gathering of stateless nations in Sardinia

SINN Féin Poblachtach were represented at the CONSEU (Conference of the Stateless Nations of Europe) conference held in the Sardinian capital, Cagliari, on September 26, 27, and 28.

Hosted by the Regional Council of Sardinia, the conference was held in the Sardinian Parliament, one of the oldest parliaments in the world according to the President of the Regional Council Efsio Serrenti who formerly opened the conference, expressing his fears that the power of the existing nation states will be reinforced under the proposed EU constitution and his desire to see a "Europe of free peoples".

Independence movements, language and cultural groups, academics and Trade Unions from all over Europe were represented, including Sinn Féin Poblachtach's Assistant Publicity Officer, Des Dalton who also attended the previous CONSEU conference held in Barcelona in January 2001, which ratified the Universal Declaration of the Collective Rights of Peoples.

The nations who took part in the conference were Ireland, Sardinia, Brittany, Scotland, the Basque Country, the Faroe Islands, Corsica, Catalonia, Sicily and the Canary Islands. The agenda over the three days dealt with a number of different topics including the increase of repression aimed at independence movements post September 11 and the US led war on and occupation of Iraq. The impact the proposed EU constitution will have on the stateless peoples of Europe and the question of linguistic and cultural rights.

During the debate on repression Yann Chouca, a Breton lawyer said that: "The American definition of Terrorism is being used to attack the ideology behind the causes of politically inspired physical force." He outlined the case of the British and French states have detained people for years without trial, their use of special courts, "all of which amounts to a denial of Human Rights and the right to mount a defence," he said.

Des Dalton presided the trial earlier this year of eight Republican Sinn Féin members, including Vice President Des Long, before the

non-jury Special Court as a political show trial, pointing out it was part of a wider campaign to criminalise Irish Republicans being carried out by both the British government and the 26-Country State.

A representative of Manca Nazionale, the Corsican Independence Movement, gave an account of the political situation in Corsica where similar repression exists, in one case 15 people are being currently held in prison, charged with the shooting of a policeman 15 years ago, "as of yet no evidence has been presented against them, it is clear they are being held purely on the basis of their political beliefs, France arrests people not on the basis of fact or ideology," he told the conference. He went on to say that political prisoners should be: "defined by their motivation not by the state".

The Sardinian Independence movement, Sardinia Nazione in their submission said that terrorism is defined in the interests of the national states, and again painted a similar picture of arbitrary arrest and coercion at the hands of the Italian state.

Gorka Eljazarrieta, assistant to Basque MEP, K Gorostiza said that every vestige of Basque nationality had been banned by the Spanish State, with only one Basque language newspaper left in existence to date, the banning of the Basque Association of Local Government Bodies, Trade Unions, language and cultural groups, and public demonstrations, all of this accompanied by large scale arrest and torture of political activists.

French Giorgio Salvo, Florence, author of *Prohibited Nations* pointed out that the pledge contained within the proposed EU constitution to "counter terrorism" would enable other states to: "for example aid Spain in quelling Basque resistance". He also said that the EU constitution merely paid lip service to the rights of stateless nations while in effect it reinforces the primacy



of the existing states".

Raul Romeva, Doctor in International Affairs at the University of Barcelona said that George Bush and the group he represented were not thinkers but fundamentalists, "who believe they have a divine right to intervene in all situations with the world following an agenda set by them".

The conference agreed that the international political climate had changed for the worst with increased repression and censorship of independence movements. It was agreed in principle to hold an Anti-Repression conference in Brittany next year. This was supported by Des Dalton.

The conference heard four submissions from Ireland, Scotland, Catalonia and the Faroe Islands, on their proposal for self-government. Des Dalton said that in ÉIRE NUA, Republican Sinn Féin possessed the only credible alternative to the Stormont Agreement.

"The Stormont Agreement is simply about updating British Rule in Ireland. For over 800 years the root cause of conflict in our country has been English rule, we believe that in ÉIRE NUA, which proposes the federalisation of the historic four provinces of Ireland, with maxi-

mum devolution of power down to local and community level, lies the key to a sustainable, just and lasting peace for all of the people of Ireland."

He said that the Provisionals had been co-opted into the apparatus of British Rule, whilst both the 26-Country State and the British Government have attempted to criminalise, suppress or absorb Irish Republicans who reject the Stormont Agreement and refuse to compromise with British Rule in Ireland.

"This has included the denial of political status to political status to political prisoners, rolling back the rights secured by Bobby Sands and his nine comrades following their heroic hunger strike in 1981."

He ended his address by stating that it was Republican Sinn Féin's hope in this year of Robert Emmet's Bicentenary that Ireland and all of the other Stateless nations of Europe "would one day take their place amongst the nations of the earth".

Lloyd Quinan of the Scottish National Party, a former member of the Scottish Parliament said there had been a "fragmentation of Scottish politics arising from autonomy with the SNP irrevocably split between left and right on the question of independence." He pointed out that for many within the leadership of the SNP autonomy had become an end in itself with Scottish independence no longer on the agenda.

The conference went on to look at the impact of the proposed EU constitution on the Stateless peoples of Europe and a number of amendments were proposed, however a number of delegates including Des Dalton pointed out that the EU constitution was drafted by the existing nation states it was never likely to uphold or promote the rights of the occupied nations of Europe.

The CONSEU again provided a forum where the stateless peoples of Europe could share and compare their respective experiences, whilst carving out their space in the world community of nations.

Agrarian folly — the political capital of 9/11

WHEN the attacks were launched against the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon two years ago today [September 11, 2001], who had ever heard of Fallujah or Hillah? When the Lebanese hijacker flew his plane into the ground in Pennsylvania, who would ever have believed that President George Bush would be announcing a "new front line in the war on terror" as his troops embarked on a hopeless campaign against the guerrillas of Iraq?

Who could ever have conceived of an American president calling the world to arms against "terrorism" in "Afghanistan, Iraq and Gaza"? Gaza? What do the miserable, crushed, cruelly imprisoned Palestinians of Gaza have to do with the international crimes against humanity in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania?

Nothing, of course. Neither does Iraq have anything to do with 11 September. Nor were there any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, any al-Qaeda links with Iraq, any 45-minute timeline for the deployment of chemical weapons nor was there any "liberation".

No, the attacks on 11 September have nothing to do with Iraq. Neither did 11 September change the way the President Bush cruelly manipulated the grief of the American people — and the sympathy of the rest of the world — to introduce a "world order" dreamed up by a clutch of fanatics advising the Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld.

The Iraq "regime change" as we now know, was planned as part of a Perle-Wolfowitz campaign documented to the world by Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu years before Bush came to power. It beggars belief that Tony Blair should have signed up to this nonsense

without realising that it was no more nor less than a project invented by a group of pro-Israeli American neo-conservatives and right-wing Christian fundamentalists.

But even now, we are fed more fantasy. Afghanistan — its American-paid warlords raping and murdering their enemies, its women still shrouded for the most part in their burqas, its opium production now back as the world's number one export market, and its people being killed at up to a hundred a week (five American troops were shot dead two weekends ago) is a "success", some thing which Messrs Bush and Rumsfeld still boast about. Iraq — a midden of guerrilla hatred and popular resentment — is also a "success".

Yes, Bush wants \$87n to keep Iraq running, he wants to go back to the same United Nations he condemned as a "talking shop" last year, he wants scores of foreign armies to go to Iraq to share the burdens of occupation — though not, of course, the decision-making, which must remain Washington's exclusive imperial preserve.

What's more, the world is supposed to accept the insane notion that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict — the planet's last colonial war, although all mention of the illegal Jewish colonies in the West Bank

• Hopeless campaign — 15 US soldiers died in a missile attack on their helicopter on November 2.

and Gaza have been erased from the Middle East narrative in the American press — is part of the "war on terror", the cosmic clash of religious will that President Bush invented after 11 September. Could Israel's interests be better served by so infantile a gesture from Bush?

The vicious Palestinian suicide bombers and the grotesque implantation of Jews and Jews only in the colonies has now been set in this colossal struggle of "good" against "evil", in which even Ariel Sharon — named as "personally" responsible for the 1982 Sabra and Chatila massacre by Israel's own commission of inquiry — is "a man of peace", according to Mr Bush. And new precedents are set without discussion. Washington kills the leadership of the 1982 Sabra and Chatila massacre by Israel's own commission of inquiry — is "a man of peace", according to Mr Bush. And new precedents are set without discussion. Washington kills the leadership of its enemies with impunity; it tries to kill Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar and does kill Uday

and Qusay Hussein and boasts of its prowess in "liquidating" the al-Qaeda leadership from rocket-firing "drones". It tries to kill Saddam in Baghdad and slaughters 16 civilians and admits that the operation was "not risk-free". In Afghanistan, three men have now been murdered in the US interrogation centre at Bagram. We still don't know what really goes on in Guantanamo.

What do these precedents mean? I have a dark suspicion. From now on, our leaders, our politicians, our statesmen will be fair game too. If we go for the jugular, why shouldn't they? The killing of the UN's Sergio Vieira de Mello, was not, I think, a chance murder. Hamad's most recent statements — and since they've been added to the Bush circus of evil, we should take them seriously — are now, more than ever, personally

threatening Mr Sharon. Why should we expect any other leader to be safe? If Yasser Arafat is driven into exile yet again, will there be any restraints left?

Of course, America's enemies were a grisly bunch. Saddam soiled his country with the mass graves of the innocents, Mullah Omar allowed his misogynist legions to terrify an entire society in Afghanistan. But in their absence, we have created banditry, rape, kidnapping, guerrilla war and anarchy. And all in the name of the dead of 11 September. The future of the Middle East — which is what 11 September was partly about, though we are not allowed to say so — has never looked bleaker or more bloody. The United States and Britain are trapped in a war of their own making, responsible for their own appalling predicament but responsible, too, for the lives of thousands of innocent human beings — cut to pieces by American bombs in Afghanistan and Iraq, shot down in the streets of Iraq by trigger-happy GIs.

As for "terror", our enemies are closing in on our armies in Iraq and our supposed allies in Baghdad and Afghanistan — even in Pakistan. We have done all this in the name of the dead of 11 September. Not since the Second World War have we seen folly on this scale. And it has scarcely begun.

— Robert Fisk

(Robert Fisk is a reporter for *The Independent* and author of *Pity the Nation*. He is also a contributor to *Cockburn* and *St. Clair's* forthcoming book, *The Politics of Anti-Semitism*.)

Launch of book on 'extraordinary Republican women'

No Ordinary Women. Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years. 1900-1923. O'Brien Press €28 (hbk)

SEVERAL hundred people attended the launch of **Sinead McCool's book No Ordinary Women. Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years. 1900-1923, in Kilmainham Jail museum, Dublin on October 1, 2003.**

The chairperson of the evening said they were gathered in "one of the most historic sites in Ireland", Michael O'Brien of the publishers *The O'Brien Press* said there was the making of a TV documentary in the material in the book.

Olivia O'Leary (whose grandfather was in Frongoch) in launching the book said "one can feel the ghosts of the Republican women prisoners in this place in the presence of many of their relatives". She was glad to see some recognition given, at last, to "Irish Female Activists" who were "No Ordinary Women". The last of the women prisoners were released in December 1923.

Dan Hoban of Mayo whose aunt Bridget O'Grady was a prisoner there in 1922-23 was present representing her family. Bridget was 18-year-old when time and resumed activities

with Cumann na mBan on her release. She died at 24 years in 1927 due to illness contracted from the rigours of service.

Sinead McCool thanked all those who had helped her in her research but said she had omitted one acknowledgement — that of Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, President of Republican Sinn Féin. It was Ruairi who pointed her in the direction of Margaret Buckley, Margaret Buckley, who was President of Sinn Féin from 1937-1950 remained an opponent of the Irish Free State until her death and as a result she was "missing from the mainstream history books".

"My disservice to Mr Ó Brádaigh was that I omitted him from my acknowledgements out of fear — fear that I would be seen to be a Republican or 'shiner', which in the south, has rightly or wrongly been perceived as synonymous with violence for the 34 years that I



• Dan and Theresa Hoban, Mayo with photo of Dan's aunt Bridget Fahy, who was imprisoned in Kilmainham jail in 1922-23 at the launch on October 1.

have been alive.

"My omission of Mr Ó Brádaigh's name has led to weeks of soul-searching and reflections on my actions. I have concluded that history has always been manipulated for use of contemporary politics. Revisionism and Section 31 have played their part in obliterating the history of our past in more recent times — and I was guilty of my own censorship."

Sinead spoke of the contribution made by women activists, known and unknown, in the struggle for Irish freedom, ie Máire Comerford, Dorothy Macardle, Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington who after 1923 "continued to command an audience with their words."

"Most of the politicised women were Anti-Treaty and stayed outside the Establishment." Mary McSwiney and Dr Kathleen Lynn (who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown) could not find work in the state as teachers or doctors...[however] they continued to work. Dr Kathleen Lynn founded St Ullan's Children's Hospital and Mary MacSwiney had her own school run without state fund-

ing. Those who remained committed to the physical force tradition continued in Cumann na mBan... but there were many who were forced for economic reasons to leave Ireland never to return, others were silenced..."

Sinead concluded "...sadly, today our disassociation in the modern-day Ireland from our historical past, the drumming down of history in our schools is a direct result of the division in the North. We have moved away from commemoration and have surrendered all our heroes — and what we are left with is no sense of who we are, where we came from or where we are going. By our silence and our fear of guilty by association we leave room for the distortion of the truth.

"Let me conclude with the words of one of the inmates here in 1923, she wrote a simple verse... Nora O'Sullivan wrote: 'Remember me is all I ask and if remembrance proves a task, forget'."

Republicans will not be happy with some of the terminology used by Sinead McCool. However, this is a wonderful book, long overdue and well worth purchasing.

Éamon Healy

REPUBLICANS in the Sligo area and indeed throughout Ireland were saddened to learn of the death on October 3 of Éamon Healy, Sligo town.

Éamon Healy of Sligo joined the Republican Movement in 1956. There was no family background of Republicanism but Éamon read up Irish history and that influenced him in the direction of the Movement.

Dáithí Ó Conaill was organiser in Co Fermanagh in 1956 and visited Sligo on a number of occasions and it was he who recruited Éamon Healy into the IRA.

Active at that time in the Sligo unit of the Irish Republican Army were the Dolan brothers, Charlie and Jimmy, Norbert Ferguson, Jim Healy and Harry Young, a Protestant Republican. Jimmy Dolan had been elected to Sligo Corporation in

1955 for Sinn Féin. Training in arms and allied matters of a military nature was constantly engaged in.

The 1956-62 Campaign of Resistance to British occupation was under way and both Éamon and Johnny Judge volunteered for active service in 1959. Éamon operated in west Fermanagh and recalls participating in an ambush near Belleek on British troops which came close to going badly wrong.

The mine used contained explosives which were not powerful enough for the job. At this period he was in contact with Joe O'Neill and Minnie Donnelly — in Bundoran and Liam Sleavin in Belleek. In 1960 Berny

Br n ar an mBÆs



• Éamon Healy

Barry of Mullaghmore took a seat on Sligo Corporation and in 1967 Norbert Ferguson was elected to Sligo Co Council in place of Jimmy Dolan. He became Mayor for 1967-68 and Éamon remembers.

He wrote two years ago after visits to Jerusalem and the West Bank that Israel's "efforts toward exclusivity and xenophobia toward the Arabs" had strengthened Palestinian determination.

"Palestine and Palestinians remain, despite Israel's concerted efforts from the beginning either to get rid of them or to circumscribe them so much as to make them ineffective." Said wrote in the English-language *Al-Abram Weekly*, published in Cairo.

His outspoken stance made him many enemies; he suffered repeated death threats and in 1985 he was called a Nazi by the Jewish Defence League and his university office was set on fire.

After the signing of the Oslo peace accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Said also criticised Yasser Arafat because he believed the PLO leader had made a bad deal for the

bers him going to Kilmoneil, Co Mayo to unveil a plaque over the grave of Michael Silke in Kilmoneil Abbey.

Michael Silke had worked for the Ursuline nuns in Sligo and was Chief of the Palestinians.

In a 1995 lecture, he said Arafat and the Palestinian Authority "have become willing collaborators with the (Israeli) military occupation, a sort of Vichy government for Palestinians."

Salman Rushdie once said of Said that he "reads the world as closely as he reads books".

The Irish critic Seamus Deane described him as: "That rare figure: a truly public intellectual who has a powerful influence within the academy and also a potent public presence. He's a very brilliant reader, of both texts and political situations."

Hamid Dabshi, chairman of Columbia's Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures Department, said: "Over the past three decades he was the most eloquent spokesman for the plight of the Palestinians."

Said is survived by Miriam, his second wife. (From *The Guardian*, September 25, 2003)

Republican Police in the county 1920-22. He was interned without trial in the Curragh 1941-44. Norbert Ferguson died suddenly at an early age in 1969, but not before he had declared his opposition to the Officials or the Workers' Party as they became.

Éamon opposed the "Stickies" because in his words "they were not Republicans". He was now associated with Mick Mooney, a Dublin man who came to work in Sligo. Back operating again in west Fermanagh Éamon had as a comrade Pat Ward of Donegal and later Ciarán Mac Muir, another Sligo man and enthusiastic Gaelgoir.

Kevin McGoldrick and Seán Coen, both of Kilmoneil, also shared the risks. Kevin was killed in action at Cassidy's Cross in Co Fermanagh, on the main Swinlinbar-Emmiskillen road,

by undercover British troops on January 20, 1975. Éamon rejected the Provos in 1986 for the same reasons as before — "they were no longer Republicans and stood with Republican Sinn Féin since then."

A Guard of Honour of his comrades in Republican Sinn Féin accompanied his remains, draped with the National flag at the removal to the Cathedral in Sligo and again at the funeral the following day. At the graveside proceedings were chaired by Con Darcy and Dan Hoban, Mayo, gave a fitting oration.

Éamon Healy is survived by his wife Roseleen and two daughters, Sarah and Deirdre.

SAOIRSE extends deepest sympathy to the family circle and to his friends and comrades. I meanse Laochra na nGael go raibh sé.

John Stack

THE death took place at Tralee General Hospital on October 14 of John Stack of Milk Market Lane, Tralee, Co Kerry. John was 85-year-old when he passed away and was predeceased by his wife some 26 years ago.

A life-long Republican, John Stack was one of the last of that gallant band of Republicans of the 1940s period, noble and honourable men who suffered so much in the internment camps of the Curragh and Arbour Hill.

He was interned for a number of years in Arbour Hill and later the Curragh where "cage visits" were the order of the day. John refused a "cage visit", as he said himself, he would not allow his loved ones to undergo humiliating and degrading strip searches. Indeed, he endured his entire time of internment without a visit.

He was released in 1944 and married Madge O'Connor and together they operated a very successful restaurant business and also trained and bred many outstanding greyhounds.

A guard of honour from Republican Sinn Féin accompanied his remains to the church and burial place on October 18, with a lobepiper leading the cortege. George Rice delivered a fitting oration both in Irish and English, outlining John's steadfast dedication and loyalty to the 32-County Irish Republic. John Stack was true to the spirit of the men of 1916, his gallant comrades of the 1940s, Charles Kerins, Maurice O'Neill and Seán McCaughey.

The pipper playing a lament as the remains were lowered into the grave. George Rice, on behalf of the Republican Movement, extended sincere sympathy to the nieces and nephews of John and Madge Stack. Proceedings closed with the singing and playing of Anárán na bhFiann.

Edward Said

EDWARD Said, the world-renowned scholar, writer and critic died at a New York hospital on September 25 aged 67. He had suffered from leukaemia since the early 1990s.

He was born in 1935 in Jerusalem — then part of British-ruled Palestine — and raised in Egypt before moving to the United States as a student. He was for many years the leading US advocate for the Palestinian cause.

His writings have been translated into 26 languages and his most influential book, *Orientalism* (1978), was credited with forcing Westerners to re-examine their perceptions of the Islamic world.

His works cover a plethora of other subjects, from English literature, his academic speciality, to music and culture. His later books include *Musical Elaborations* in 1991, and *Cultural Imperialism* in 1993.

Many of his books — including *The Question of*

Said, a professor at Columbia University for most of his academic career, was consistently critical of Israel for what he regarded as mistreatment of the Palestinians. He prompted a controversy in 2000 when he threw a rock toward an Israeli guardhouse on the Lebanese border.

Columbia did not censure him, saying the stone was not directed at anyone, no law was broken and that his actions were protected by principles of academic free-

WHAT THEY SAID

But what did the 26 Counties make of that moment at the end of Sunday's game, when the Tyrone team went into their dressing-room, put their arms round each other and sang the Soldiers' Song?

— Irish Times, October 3, 2003, column by Fionnuala O'Connor headed "Northern Gaels show confidence".

Whatever you did on Bloody Sunday, it clearly did not count against you in terms of your career within the army.

— Séamus Treacy, barrister for some of the families of Bloody Sunday victims, questions a British soldier in the Saville inquiry who was promoted several times, Irish Times, October 4, 2003, This Week They Said column.

The most important point is that they can confirm they have not found any stocks or weapons of mass destruction of any kind.

Hans Blix, former chief UN weapons inspector, as a report delivered to US Congress says no trace of WMD has been covered in Iraq, Irish Times.

Indignant charges that US intelligence estimates were willfully perverted have come from the US Congress in the person of the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Henry Hyde, Republican, Illinois, a former CIA officer. Similar charges have been rightly leveled in Britain.

— Sunday Business Post Agenda, opinion column by US journalist Alex Cockburn, October 3, 2003.

The Hutton inquiry into the circumstances of [Dr David] Kelly's death was intended by the Blair government as a diversion from the main issue of bogus, government-endorsed 'intelligence' about Saddam's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons arsenal.

— Alex Cockburn. In those days [1968] when television news on this side of the Atlantic consisted mainly of formal, static reporting, the RUC seemed to forget that there were cameramen present.

Or perhaps, more significantly given the political climate of the time, they didn't seem to care.

— Sunday Business Post, October 5, 2003, Tom McGurk column. The RTE coverage of that moment in Duke Street [Derry, October 5, 1968] was like a starting pistol fired across the sleeping landscape of an Ireland then a mere two generations into partition.

There could hardly have been a more articulate expression for the state of Northern society than the casual brutality of the RUC, which was, of course,

defended by the Stormont government.

— Tom McGurk. What nationalists were demanding — at that moment anyway — was full British rights in a British state. Perhaps it was only a tactic, but it was the furthest a nationalist hand had ever reached out towards acceptance of the Six Counties as a political entity.

— Tom McGurk. Within a very short time those nationalists who had originally withdrawn their consent from the state because it treated them as second-class citizens, and had then tried the experiment of civil rights, were once again withdrawing consent because the state had now proved itself to be unreformable.

And it was into this new catharsis that militant Republicans eagerly stepped.

— Tom McGurk. Take the loyal citizens who tore down a Tyrone GAA flag from a house in Coleraine last week, wrapped it around a brick and fired it through the living room window, then returned two nights later and fired shots into the house.

Sectarian? "Oh no," they might say, "that flag was hung out there to alienate and intimidate us. We are the victims here."

— Sunday Tribune, Susan McKay, October 5, 2003, Susan McKay, Northern Editor.

The sorry truth is, there are Protestants in the North who think there would be no sectarian problem if Catholics would just keep their heads down.

The same goes for homosexuals and racial minorities.

— Susan McKay. "Trinble might be able to get into a [Stormont] executive, but how do you keep him there?" His executive's [IUP] decision to keep the anti-sectarian element outside at all costs will come back to haunt him."

— Susan McKay quotes Brian Feeney, commentator and historian. After all, if [Roger] Casement's private life really had been as his detractors claim, how is it that his Belgian and other enemies hadn't used such information to discredit a man whose work was so damaging to them?

— Irish Times Weekend Review, October 11, 2003. Book review by Declan Kiberd of Casement by Angus Mitchell, Hans Publishing, £8.99 sterling.

Mitchell wished to establish what can be known with absolute certainty, that Casement was one of the inventors of those ideas of human rights for which today many enlightened activists are working in yet another noble but precarious stand in the face of the latest imperium.

— Declan Kiberd book review. He [Dershowitz] says, for example, that he



• The Irish fishing industry is being undermined once again by the reduction of the Irish fish to one-third of its size by the EU (see quotes, October 14, 2003, below).

believes reasoned criticism of Israel to be valid, and he even registers his own opposition to one key element of current Israeli policy: the establishment and expansion of the settlements.

— Sunday Business Post Agenda, October 12, 2003. Niall Stange reviews The Case for Israel by Alan Dershowitz.

At certain points, he also disgraces his own civil libertarian credentials, as when he argues in favour of Israel's blatantly unjust policy of destroying the houses of families alleged to have "assisted" terrorism.

"Recall the 2002 poll that found 87% of Palestinians supported terrorist attacks."

— Niall Stange. The Government will receive the Barron report into the 1974 bombings in Dublin and Monaghan in the next two weeks, it has emerged.

The attacks remain the biggest unsolved crime in the history of the State with the worst single loss of life (33 dead) in the Troubles.

— Irish Times, Arthur Beasley, Political Reporter, October 13, 2003.

While the report was originally expected last October, the work was frustrated by a lack of cooperation from the British authorities.

— Irish Times. The PSNI Chief Constable, Mr Hugh Orde, last October, has said dissident Republicans still pose a significant danger to security in Northern Ireland following the attempted car-bomb attack on a police station [at Roslea] in Co Fermanagh.

— Irish Times. "If you look at the work we have done and the Garda Síochána have done, there are a lot of dissidents in prisons north and south of the Border.

"But, in a way, the more successful we become, the more dangerous that small minority have become," he said.

— Irish Times. It [CORI] recommends that corporation tax be increased to 17%, capital gains tax be raised and that the levy on financial institutions be added to.

Carbon taxes should also be introduced and tax on wealth [eg DIRT] be increased, said CORI.

The tax-take on property should also be raised through a land rent tax for instance.

— Irish Times, pre-Budget submission by CORI, October 13, 2003. European Union fisheries ministers have agreed to replace the Irish Box, a 50-mile, protected fishing zone around the Irish coast, with a conservation area one-third of the size.

— Irish Times, October 14, 2003. The Irish Box was created to protect fish stocks in Irish waters when Spain and Portugal joined the EU in 1985, both countries were banned from fishing in the zone until 1996, when a maximum of 40 Spanish trawlers were allowed to fish there.

— Irish Times. The new area stretches a little further south than the Irish Box, north-western eastern and south-eastern waters.

All fishing vessels more than 10 metres long will have to report each time they enter and exit the zone, recording their catch every two hours.

— Irish Times. Spain's fisheries minister added that Madrid would fight in the courts for full access to Irish waters.

— Irish Times. A former battalion commander in the Ulster Defence Association confirmed yesterday that he was among the paratroopers deployed into the Bogside area of Derry on Bloody Sunday . . .

— Irish Times, October 14, 2003. Known as Soldier 203, he told the Saville inquiry into the shootings on January 30th, 1972, that he was also an associate of John McMichael, the deputy leader of the UDA . . .

— Irish Times. A boy who was 14 years old at the time he was ordered to strip and stand naked in front of gardai in a police station has been awarded €8,500 damages against the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law

Reform.

— Irish Times, October 15, 2003. The award brings to €429,481 the total paid out in 2003 in settlements and awards to people who made complaints against gardai, mainly of unlawful detention and assault.

— Irish Times. In a damning assessment of the police investigation, [Ombudsman Nuala] O'Loan discovered that the RUC Special Branch were told by sources outside the Garda of RIRA plans to strike but failed to alert officers on the ground in Omagh.

— Sunday Business Post, Crime Correspondent Barry O'Kelly, October 19, 2003. The Anglo/American invasion of Iraq has created not a liberated space but an enormous political vacuum into which all the historic and bitter political and religious divisions of the Middle East have now flowed.

We have another Afghanistan on our hands, another patient killed by the doctors.

— Sunday Business Post, Tom McGurk column, October 19, 2003. But lately people have a sense that Fianna Fáil is ushering through a long series of petty laws and taxes with the cumulative effect of making everyone's life a little harder.

— Sunday Business Post, Seán Mac Carthaigh, Political Correspondent, October 19, 2003. The lack of respect displayed by the three governments [London, Dublin and Washington] to the party of constitutional nationalism [SDLP] was deeply insulting.

— Sunday Tribune, Stephen Collins, Politics column, October 19, 2003. Maybe it was just another instance of the law of the political jungle so eloquently summed up by British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli who, a century and a half ago, wrote:

"There is no act of treachery, of meanness, of which a political party is not capable; for in politics there is no honour."

— Stephen Collins. However, according to the Loyalist Commission, which includes the IUP's David McNarry, Trimble's adviser, "there arguably remains a potential role for loyalist paramilitaries . . ."

— Sunday Tribune, Northern Editor Susan McKay, October 19, 2003. The commission, in a leaked internal document, goes on to argue that, because of the "running down" of the security forces, loyalist paramilitaries may be needed "in respect of defending local communities."

— Susan McKay. It is accepted that all organizations need funds to function, not least paramilitaries with all their associated costs" and urges loyalist armaments to seek alternatives to armed robberies, loan sharking, extortion and the like.

— Susan McKay. After all, loyalists have, in recent years, described sectarianism as a "measured response" to "republican provocation". The commission, set up two years ago to try to stop feuding among loyalists and to seek alternatives to loyalist communities peaceful, includes several Protestant clergy.

— Susan McKay. Northern secretary Paul Murphy is still trying to avoid Loyalist paramilitaries as "joint sovereignty"; but it just won't go away and examples of how it works in reality keep appearing.

Murphy and other intransigent unionists might like to note that, at last Friday's EU summit meeting, Germany was represented by . . . French President Jacques Chirac.

— Sunday Business Post Agenda, last Post column, October 19, 2003. The Provos are now the Fianna Fáil of the North.

— Pat Kenny on the Pat Kenny Show, RTE Radio One, October 20, 2003. The [Provisional] IRA's third act of decommissioning has been labelled a "treacherous destruction of arms at the behest of the British government" by Republican Sinn Féin.

— Irish News (Belfast), October 22, 2003. President Ruairi Ó Brádaigh said "faithful Republicans" could not be expected to support [Provisional] Sinn Féin's President Gerry Adams whom he said had surrendered Northern Ireland to the British government.

— Irish News. Senior security sources later told this newspaper that the [Provisional] IRA had destroyed all its deadly heavy weapons, imported from Libya in the decommissioning process.

This was regarded by the sources as a highly significant move and a full inventory of what was put beyond use was given by General de Chastelain to the two governments.

— Irish Independent, October 24, 2003, article by Tom Brady, Security Editor.

Support The Political Prisoners

A chara
As another year draws to a close, I would like to remind Republicans of the difficult task facing CABHAIR in 2004.

If possible get in touch with CABHAIR and see what you could do to help as there will surely be hardships faced by the prisoners' families this Christmas.

Republicans could seek contributions from their areas and if possible take part in the Christmas Swim in Dublin. They must not forget to send Christmas greetings to the prisoners, be it by post or in the December issue of SAOIRSE.

After all, the prisoners themselves have sacrificed so much for us, it is only fair we don't forget them.

I would like to commend CABHAIR on the terrific work they are doing for the prisoners and their families and to keep up the good work.

JOHNNY KEOGH
Limerick

Remember The Prisoners And their Dependents

A chara
One of the greatest challenges facing the supporters of Irish freedom is in sustaining and giving the much-needed aid and support to the Irish Republican POWs and their loved ones at home. Those dependent families whose meagre means are stretched to the breaking point require and deserve our support during their hour of need.

There is no more a generous group than Irish Republicans in taking care of their own. Hundreds of years of resistance have proven this. As the Irish Republican POWs and members of the freedom struggle are held by the occupied north and collaborationist south, an all-out campaign for full political status is ongoing. Status was stripped by the signers of the failed Stormont Agreement, including the Provos. So now we are back to the conditions in the mid 1970s where "dirty protests" were ongoing and the threat of more drastic measures by the POWs was contemplated. Although we have seen a cautious victory in Republicans being segregated from loyalists in Maghaberry much more needs to be won.

To give those front-line fighters for freedom the assurance that their dependants at home are being looked after is as great a gift as can be given. The Irish POWs' peace of mind goes a long way to their continuing resistance to the forces of occupation and suppression. It must also be brought out that the Free State political police have been targeting members and supporters of political resistance groups and political parties such as

[Republican] Sinn Féin, to an onslaught of intimidation, harassment and censorship. No better example would be the recent "show" trial of the Limerick 8. An attempt by the Free State to use a non-independent judicial to stop the cause of freedom. The consequences of these "show" trials and draconian bail conditions set upon those whose aim is Irish freedom has proven to be a costly hardship to the Republican political activists and their families. Their needs must be met as well.

The Republican freedom movement will not die and go away, it is here for the duration, we must show those front-line forces of Irish freedom their dependants are being looked after, especially the children. Warm coats, shoes that fit, nutritional food for the body and mind, goes a long way to ease the mental anguish of Irish POWs. Never forget those youngsters are the future and the next generation of Irish Republicanism.

SEAN O'LUBAIGH
Ohio, USA

Unjust Bail Conditions

A chara
In the High Court on October 10 I was granted so-called bail, with a huge sum of money required as security. The conditions were that I should sign in a police barracks every day, stay within a 20-mile radius and apply to a Garda Chief Superintendent if I wanted to go outside the area. I would be allowed to sell SAOIRSE, yet I can buy and read this paper.

This is nothing more than curfew and selective censorship. I am not entering into these unjust conditions set by a corrupt establishment, until I am free of any chains and steps to walk out of prison gates.

PADDY DEERY
Political Prisoner
Remand Ed
Portlaoise jail

Unemployed Second-Class Citizens

A chara
Having recently to the sign on at the Tallaght Labour Exchange I was amazed at the changes which have taken place within that system.

I have worked over a long number of years and though I expected no special favours I certainly did not expect to be treated as if I was a serious sponger of some kind. Yes, I have on occasion taken time out to have and rear children but apart from that I have been a tax-paying citizen since I was 18-years-old, many moons ago!

I was given an A4 sheet of paper with several columns on it relating to application of jobs.

Date; Name of Company; Name of contact person; phone no of contact person; application type; outcome (please note that if you attend an interview, state exact date); extra information and finally; Please note that all



jobs should be advertised.

I was informed that 'it is proposed to confirm your application with the company'.

A very important notice attached told me that I had to apply for at least five jobs per week.

Even if I were 18 again I could not understand or accept the use of such tactics. Taking all factors into consideration I certainly believe that any person capable of working should work. Every citizen has a duty to its country, but the country has a duty to its citizens too. Those unable and incapable of working should be looked after.

However what the Social Welfare is trying to do is to coerce people to take any sort of job no matter what the persons training. Am I now expected to apply for jobs that may be the minimum wage?

If we refuse to play by the Social Welfare rules we are given the red card so to speak. The forcing of people to accept jobs for which they are overqualified and such jobs are generally underpaid, will cover up the disastrous unemployment figures, massaged and all as they are they are still disastrous. I am slowly but surely the state is moving in the direction of a dictatorship. We are expected to accept anything that's thrown at us and put up with any inconvenience (look at the health, education, transport systems also).

Excuse me now while I go looking for my five jobs today. I have little time for anything else.

NAME AND ADDRESS
with editor for feedback
reprints.

Big Brother Inc

A chara
George Orwell's dystopian vision of the future in his novel 1984 foresaw a time when privacy would be disallowed to the population at large coming under surveillance by agents and agencies of the State.

Pornography would become a State-run enterprise calculated to distract the masses into, ironically enough, a kind of conformity.

Big Brother, the ever present and authoritarian control regularly issued commands to distract the masses into the streets for ritualised hate sessions where they were exhorted to vent their anger on a mythical enemy depicted on a giant screen as Monster, the Great Satan or the modern-day equivalent of Vlad the Impaler.

Licence to Kill as the order of the day related to the largest mythical enemy had many variations in everyday life in proletarian circles

where alcohol and drugs and poverty resulted in conflicts amongst members of the proletariat principally with the folks who live on the hill tucked away in their increasingly fortress-like places of residence.

Appal, fear and suspicion of "outsiders" and "aliens" characterised what passed for normal life in the televised era depicted by George Orwell where it was a crime to switch off your centrally-controlled television set presided over by Big Brother. Neighbours were instructed to inform on those in their midst who might dare to form loving relationships with the word "love" itself having been excised both from official and everyday language.

Love even if only a kind of loving not being supportive of the war effort.

The ultimate irony is that men and women and no doubt children across the world have been inducted into a process whereby they have been propagandised into a degraded sense of humankind, sometimes it seems with no comprehension whatsoever of what not all that long ago might have been defined as the brotherhood of man.

All that is greed oriented and barbarous and cruel and thoughtless is adulated in this era of the New World Disorder and it may not be fashionable to say so but hedonism is not the answer and neither most assuredly is sadism and masochism or a combination of both.

If it is true, as a character in Nelson Algren's novel The Man with the Golden Arm put it, that "we are all responsible for one another" then we must share a form of collective guilt. Unfortunately it is not we voice our concerns at the desensitising nature of television constantly presenting as "normal" life all that is anti-life and negative voyeuristic misanthropic and most of all misogynistic.

Big Brother in George Orwell's book represented totalitarian control.

The inheritors of his mantle in the so-called public relations and associated areas with consummate cynicism have turned the whole thing around.

Big Brother Inc as in Murder Inc.

You too or should we say U2 can be your own Big Brother making us to war.

Men, women and children dressed as often as not in military gear and carrying their mobile telephones as combatants in the theatre of war do with mobility the essence of the exercise giving no pause for reflection or thought of any kind, with emphasis wholly and solely and obsessively with all the physical and mental devil take the hindmost often to include the physically handi-

capped and the sick and the elderly unable to keep pace with the frenzied and entirely unnecessary pace of modern-day living.

Seats no longer provided in shopping malls as another trend to keep people on the move.

Moving forward as is the message coming to us again and again and again and again. In the middle of inescapable radio programmes littered everywhere with obsessed with trivia and egomania and revelations of the most embarrassing kind related to sexual behaviour and aberration and the gynaecological apparatus, a non-stop commentary by male presenters which should rightfully be causing outrage amongst men and women who believe that this comment masquerading as a form of liberalism is nothing more nor less than chauvinism objectifying women in the most degraded fashion.

It should be time to stop in our tracks and contemplate where we are headed collectively if anywhere and to hell with moving forward for the moment at least.

JOHN KELLY
Mullingar
Co Westmeath

Unfinished Business

A chara

Nothing new in the Provos latest surrender of more arms and principles. The pro-Agreement lobby especially in Ireland and Britain may want us to believe that the latest betrayal is "startling". True Republicans will look at this act of treachery by the Provos as a means to re-energise the Republican Movement.

It isn't important that the Provos do or don't. They've decided to ditch their Republican principles and throw their lot in with the British for more power and money in the main. If there are any Republicans left in the Provos, how they can take this in and accept it completely baffles me. We have finally arrived at their endgame and it's time they decided thus far and no further and get out now!

The Provisons say that Republican Sinn Féin have no mandate, no support and no strategy. This of course is not true and the true Republican Movement is increasing in size throughout Ireland, not to mention in Scotland and England.

Republican Sinn Féin's

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written or typed in double-spacing on one side of the page. Name and address must be included, but on request will not be published.

Letters printed do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of SAOIRSE.

Postal address: 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1. Letters may also be faxed to Dublin 872 9757 or by e-mail to saoirse@iol.ie

voice is being silenced by the pro-Agreement media. Their spokespersons cannot get visas to travel to put their case in the US, although Provisional spokespersons can travel there at will because they love the British line and have surrendered.

Republicans will carry on to achieve the aspirations of Wolfe Tone, Emmet and Pearse.

No surrender to British rule.
JOHN BANNON
Belfast 14

Independent Inquiry Needed Into Police Brutality

A chara

It has recently been proven that a majority of people in police custody will experience physical or threatening abuse by members of the 26-County police and surely there are grounds for an independent commission to be formed once and for all.

The Garda Complainants Board was doomed to failure from its formation. How can you have one member of the Garda investigating another?

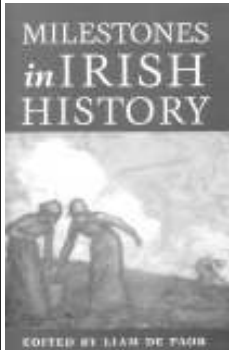
You have members of the police manhandling people and if a person is caught with drugs or other crimes, being set free once they agree to make false statements or inform on certain people the police want to put away for promotional gains.

There are numerous accounts of complaints being made about members of the 26-County police kicking or punching people in custody and also Special Branch intimidating some people by making threatening gestures with their firearms and throwing food in on top of people in custody in their holding cells.

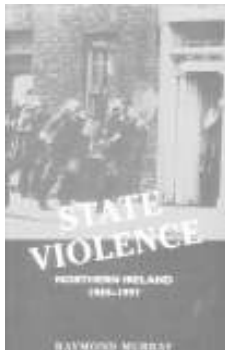
From the moment you enter the barracks through to being directly put into the holding cell (not forgetting the interview rooms) all movements by the members of the Special Branch/police should at all times be monitored by cameras to make sure that members of the public aren't subjected to ill treatment by this dishonest force. An independent commission is the only answer.

JOHNNY O'BRIEN
Limerick

Selection of goods from Irish Freedom Press



• *Milestones in Irish History*, (ed) Liam de Paor, €10.95.



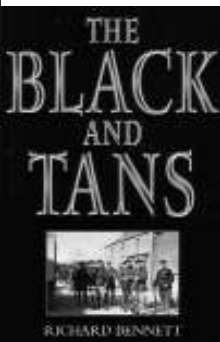
• *State Violence, Northern Ireland 1969-1997*, Raymond Murray €12.68



• *The 1916 Poets*, Pearse, Plunkett, MacDonagh, €11.99.



• *The IRA 1926-1936*, Brian Hanley, €24.95 HB.



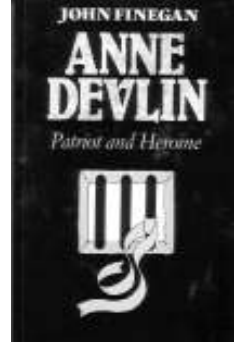
• *The Black and Tans*, Richard Bennett, €21.70.



• *The IRA 1968-2000, Analysis of a Secret Army*, J Bower Bell, €26.80.



• *Illustrated Irish History*, (ed) Séamus Mac Annaidh HB €14.95.



• *Ann Devlin, Patriot and Heroine*, John Finnigan, €5.

Voyage of the Catalpa, the escape to freedom of six Irish rebels Peter Stevens €20.99

Republican Wexford Remember €3.80

Songs of Resistance 1968-2000 €6.35

Bold Robert Emmet 1778-1803 Seán Ó Brádaigh €7.50

Holy Well Traditions: St Declans, Ardmore Stiofán Ó Cadhla €9.95

In Search of a State, Catholics in Northern Ireland Fionnuala O'Connor €11.35

In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism Margaret Ward €10.15

Irish Counter Revolution 1921-1936 John M O'Regan €16.99

Irish Ballads, Words and Music (various contributors) €13.75

Irish Rebellions 1798-1916, an Illustrated History. Helen Litton €10.15

Jottings in Solitary Michael Davitt €21.50

MacBride's Brigade. Irish Commandos in the Anglo-Boer War Donal P McCracken €24.95

The Making of Ireland, from Ancient times to the Present James Lydon €24.45

Matter of Minutes, The Enduring legacy of Bloody Sunday JoAnne O'Brien €16.50

Northern Divisions, The Old IRA & the Belfast Pogroms 1920-22 Jim McDermott €18.80

The Irish, A Photohistory S Sexton & C Kenealy €38.00

On Another Mans Wound Ernie O'Malley €15.00

A Secret History of the IRA Ed Moloney €25.00

Ten Men Dead David Beresford €12.20

Far from the Shamrock Shore. The story in song and writing of life in America €25.50

Frongoch Seán O'Mahony €10.00

Kevin Barry Seán Cronin €3.75

My Fight for Irish Freedom Dan Breen €14.00

Dublin Monaghan Bombings Don Mulllan €12.85

Soul on Fire, Life of Thomas Russell €49.50

A Servant of the Queen Maude Gonne McBride €11.35

An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993 Malcolm Sutton €12.65

Borstal Boy Brendan Behan €12.20

Tragedies of Kerry Dorothy Macardle €3.25

Bolivian Diary Ernesto Che Guevara €13.00

Fellowship of Freedom Kevin Whelan €19.00

The Táin translated by Thomas Kinsella €15.30

Bloody Sunday Dermot P Walsh €19.00

Irish Republican Women in America €27.00

Joanne Mooney Eichacker €27.00

No Ordinary Women. Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years 1900-1923 Sinéad McCool €28.00

Post and packing extra. Send orders with cheques or postal orders only to Irish Freedom Press, 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1.

REPUBLICAN AID COMMITTEE LAUNCHED

IN November 1953 a committee "to raise funds to provide for the dependants of Republican Prisoners" was formally inaugurated in Dublin.

**50
Years
Ago**

The committee was named "An Cumann Cabhrach (Republican Aid Committee)".

It had been informally in existence since the previous July when Joe Campbell of Newry was sentenced to five years for possession of explosives.

It was simply called the Republican Aid Committee for the first few months. Then in October three Republicans were sentenced to eight years in England. There would be demands on a prisoners' dependants' fund for some time and it was decided to put matters on a firm footing.

The committee became known as An Cumann Cabhrach, subtitled Republican Aid Committee, and its terms of reference and structure set out clearly in a small folder that Republicans called it "constitution".

The objects of the Committee were stated to be:

- (a) to raise funds to provide for the dependants of Republicans prisoners.
- (b) To look after the welfare of such prisoners pending release.
- (c) To create a Central Fund from which grants may be made at the discretion of the Committee in cases of distress arising directly out of Republican activities.

The structure was laid down as follows: The governing body shall be the Central Committee which shall be composed of a Chairman (sic), Secretary, and Treasurer, and at least four members, with powers to co-opt. The quorum for meetings shall be five.

The Central Committee shall elect three Trustees for the funds of the Committee.

The Central Committee shall be empowered to set up Sub-Committees, if necessary, to deal with different branches of the work.

Branches will be formed under the direction of the Central Committee to organise local collections, céilíes, etc. to help the fund.

All monies raised (by Branches or otherwise) shall be paid into the Central Fund, and all grants will be made direct from that fund.

All account books and minute books in use by the branches shall become the property of the Committee and shall be open to inspection by the Central Committee on request.

It should be noted that all funds raised were to be paid into the Central Committee fund and all disbursements were to be made direct from that fund.

In that way all Republican prisoners and their dependants would be assisted in equal manner, regardless of personal popularity or other circumstances such as prominence, etc.

The front page of the folder of "constitution" read as follows:

An Cumann Cabhrach, the Republican Aid Committee (For the Relief of Republican Prisoners and their Dependents).

The address was then given: c/o United Irishman office, Sean Treacy House, 94 Talbot Street, Dublin.

The back page read: November 1953 Central Committee: Chairman: Donal O'Connor. Secretary: Tomás Ó Dubhghaill. Treasurer: Mrs E Woods.

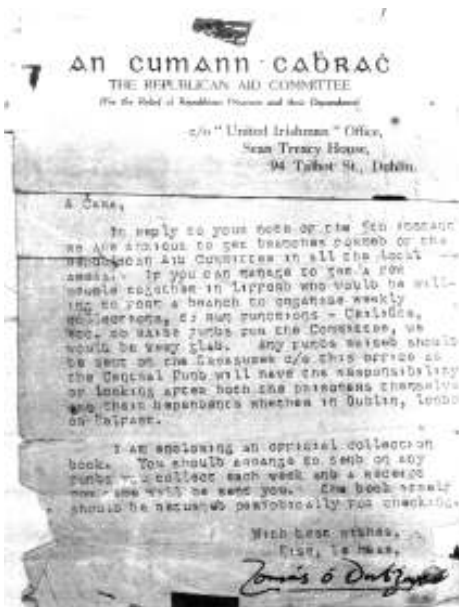
Committee: Gearóid Ó Broin, Seán Goulding, Miss Dillon, E Ni Sculláin, Miss McGlínn.

Trustees: Joe Clarke, Laurence Grogan and Mrs Russell.

The imprint was: Ardriof Printer, Kilmainham.

Donal O'Connor was the owner of the Castle Hotel, Gardiner Row, Dublin and a veteran Republican of the 1916-23 period.

Tomás Ó Dubhghaill was a trade union official, President of Sinn Féin and had been a Republican prisoner during the 1940s. Ella May Woods had served a ten-year sentence in England from 1939.



• 1953 letter from An Cumann Cabhrach secretary Tomás Ó Dubhghaill about forming a branch in Lifford, Co Donegal.

Gearóid Ó Broin was a motor mechanic who had once been an organiser with Aitiri na h-Aiséirí. Emily Ni Sculláin came from a Republican family and with her sister was very active with the staff of an *Aireamach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*.

Rita McGlínn, nee McSweeney, had served a sentence in England in the 1940s while at the same time her husband-to-be Paddy McGlínn was in prison in the 26 Counties. Indeed the majority of the Central Committee had been Republican prisoners themselves.

1916 VETERAN

Of the trustees, Joe Clarke was a 1916 Veteran who with Larry Grogan had served the Republican Cause right through from the 1920s. Mrs Russell was Lily Coventry of Dublin who had married a brother of Seán Russell and was active all her life. She spend a period interned without trial in Kilmainham jail in 1922-23.

The flavour of the activity of An Cumann Cabhrach may be obtained from this letter to a Donegal man who had offered to help. It was signed "Tomás Ó Dubhghaill" and went as follows:

"In reply to your note of the 5th instanc we are anxious to get branches formed of the Republican Aid Committee in all the local areas.

"If you can manage to get a few people together in Lifford who would be willing to form a branch to organise weekly collections, to run functions — céilíes, etc to raise funds for the Committee, we would be very glad.

"Any funds raised should be sent to the Treasurer c/o this office as the Central Fund will have the responsibility of looking after both the prisoners themselves and their dependants whether in Dublin, London or Belfast.

"I am enclosing an official collection book. You should arrange to send on any funds you collect each week and a receipt for same will be sent to you. The book itself should be returned periodically for checking."

The valuable work done by An Cumann Cabhrach for several decades had been carried out since the 1916 Rising by various bodies: Irish National Aid and Volunteers'

Dependants' Fund, White Cross, Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents' Fund, Green Cross in the 1940s, Green Cross 1973 from that year on, etc, etc.

From 1953 right through the '50s, '60s, '70s and up to 1986, it faithfully discharged its duties. With the departure of the Provos from the revolutionary path, the Central Committee, as it was constituted in 1986, went with them.

The Dublin and Cork branches rejected this move and remained loyal to the Republican cause. A number of Republican prisoners in Long Kesh, Portlaoise and England refused support from An Cumann Cabhrach and the Dublin and Cork branches undertook to care for them.

These branches were reorganised into a new organisation named CBAHRI (Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents' Fund) with an identical "constitution" or terms of reference and structure as An Cumann Cabhrach had.

Ever since 1986 CBAHRI has had prisoners to support and has carried out this duty fearlessly and faithfully. Never does it need support more than at present as the jails fill up steadily again. While British rule remains there will be resistance to it and consequently prisoners to be cared for.

The November 1953 issue of an *Aireamach Aontaithe/The United Irishman* carried on its front page a piece from the *Cork Weekly Examiner* of October 24. It told of the fear of continuing protests against the coronation of Elizabeth Windsor as "Queen of Northern Ireland" (sic).

"Fifty Gardai from adjoining districts were drafted into Athlone to assist the local force in protection duty during the showing of the Coronation film in the Church of Ireland Hall. Inside the hall twelve Gardai stood watch over the projector. There were no incidents.

"The film show, to which admission was by invitation, was under the auspices of the local Women's Branch of the British Legion.

"Over 1,000 saw the matinee and night performance and the audience included people from many parts of the Midlands and the West. The hall had been under police protec-

tion day and night for the previous week."

A different story was told by the *Irish Independent* of November 14. It was headed "IRA Disclaimer — removal of wreaths from Cork Cenotaph" and read as follows:

"Lt-Col John Lucey, CBE, who was in charge of the Remembrance Day parade ceremony at Cork last Sunday when wreaths were laid on the 1914-18 War Memorial informed an *Irish Independent* representative that he had received a letter from Cork No 1 Brigade, IRA as follows:

"Dear Sir — Re the removal of wreaths from the Cenotaph at the South Mall, it seems to be the popular opinion that this was an action organised by members of the IRA.

"I wish to inform you that no member of the above-mentioned organisation took any part in this indecent action and furthermore that the IRA authorities do not agree with or uphold acts of this nature."

Meanwhile, it was noted that in Glasgow 1,000 copies of the Republican newspaper were confiscated by the police because of an allegedly seditious article which appeared on the front page of the September edition concerning the three IRA men who were then awaiting trial in England on an arms capture charge.

Also in Glasgow, a young man, William Hall Brown, was held on an arms capture charge. He was brought before Paisley Sheriff Court. The charge against Brown was similar to that with which the three IRA men were accused and awaiting trial in Brixton prison.

He was alleged to have captured arms from a British army cadet hut. Marked in the hut were the letters used to indicate that the capture was the work of the Scottish Republican Army.

In Africa and Asia in 1953 the British Empire was fighting to maintain its hold. Armed resistance to English rule was taking place in Kenya and Malaysia.

'SCORCHED EARTH POLICIES'

The Republican organ commented: "Scorched earth policies to starve out whole country-sides, mass public executions, cannibalistic tortures among the declared lines of policy now being used to suppress what are being termed 'terrorists', 'communists' and 'murders'.

"In Kenya in a wide area surrounding the Aberdare Mountains all livestock has been driven off to the British farms in the highlands, and food growing forbidden in the area."

Another article on the same page is headed "Hirelings commemorate Battle of Britain". There were over 200 guests at the RAF Association (Dublin Branch) in the Royal Hibemian Hotel. Maurice Dockrell, a Fine Gael TD attended and said: "We will do all in our power to help the Association.

"The Dublin police were also there in strength to ensure that no young Irishman took exception to the proceedings."

A piece headed "Conflicting News" makes interesting reading:

"1. Leinster House Minister for Foreign Affairs wails bare-headed in homage behind the corpse of the late King George VI of England and Seán T (O'Ceallaigh, 26-County President) sends a telegram of sympathy expressing Ireland's sorrow."

"2. Leinster House will not attend Garden Party given by the British Ambassador on the occasion of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth of England; it would be inconsistent with their 'republicanism'."

"3. Mr de Valera and his shadow [Mr Aiken] are entertained to luncheon in London by England's Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill."

"4. Meanwhile Major de Valera denounces Partition in Bradford [England] at a meeting commemorating the death of Robert Emmet."

The contradictions here remind one of the behaviour of the Provos fifty years later: laying wreaths on British war memorials in memory of British soldiers including those shot in the Six Counties since 1971 — perhaps by themselves.

(More next month. Refs. An *Aireamach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, October and November 1953 and *Irish Independent*,

Fenian Notes

From our Washington Correspondent

The United States Government has not provided additional security to America as its public pronouncements would suggest and in fact the campaign emanating from the Bush junta has made America less safe and the propensity for terrorism far greater than pre 9/11.

The gut reaction by Iraq was to invade Afghanistan, then Iraq which has set off the Muslim world who have taken it personally and are planning revenge.

Any work you need done on any project, know the background of every individual. You should never hire a stranger as a messenger. If you think an office or home is bugged you can have it swept for electronic surveillance, but it is only effective for a limited time. You should keep a camera available to take pictures of any suspicious people who visit.

Electronic surveillance has become extremely sophisticated and the US Government has state of the art technology. Many experts maintain that most sophisticated items are in possession of the US Federal Government and private agencies and taps like those cannot be detected.

distorted, to the public. This was very common in the 1970s and is still in play.

If your organisation has a mailing or donor list keep them out of sight and also keep a duplicate copy at a different location. The FBI might take the list and use it for disinformation or give it to a rival group. If your organisation prints pamphlets etc. know your printer and if you keep material on disks keep them off sight at an undisclosed location.

Any work you need done on any project, know the background of every individual. You should never hire a stranger as a messenger. If you think an office or home is bugged you can have it swept for electronic surveillance, but it is only effective for a limited time. You should keep a camera available to take pictures of any suspicious people who visit.

Electronic surveillance has become extremely sophisticated and the US Government has state of the art technology. Many experts maintain that most sophisticated items are in possession of the US Federal Government and private agencies and taps like those cannot be detected.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

Private agencies are selected to work with the government if they are run by retired government agents, so the government continues with an extension of their own. Illegal blackbag jobs are done by the FBI and CIA but to gain deniability they bring ex-agents to do the job and if they are caught those investigating them are the very agents who hired them. It is a self-perpetuating network of agents and ex-agents as one.

People think that thrash is discarded never to be seen again but the Watergate scandal and others like it have shown that reporters and investigators love perusing thrash.

What you might consider thrash could become hidden treasure for someone looking for information about you or your group or some activity. Don't throw information in the trash. Put it in a burn file handy and treat political documents as valuable and box it to burn.

Telephones are a major area of concern and peripheral things concerning phones become part of the battle. First of all don't list your address with your phone number in directories. This makes things too easy for snoops. Unlist yourself in phone directories or consider using an alias.



If you receive a threatening call(s) on your answer machine remove the tap and save it. If an unknown person calls and asks questions never respond to any question regardless of what is asked because it is best to use the theory that it is an FBI agent at the other end.

During any conversation concerning Irish matters do not say anything you do not want to hear repeated and don't talk in code because an agent can allege the coded conversation to mean anything to justify further investigation. Avoid any gossip about sensitive people or activity on the telephone to tip people off. When you are talking on the phone keep pen and paper next to the phone in case of suspicious calls. Jot down the time, date and a note on the speaker.

Don't waste a lot of time worrying about taps because you control the conversation. Trust your instinct and if you think someone is monitoring your calls, provide false information to lure agents to a location then spy on them. If you receive threatening letters put them in a plastic bag and file them. You can make a copy and give the original to the local police for tracing and fingerprints.

Police or FBI find it easy to get into your automobile so you need to prepare yourself for that eventually. You should keep your car clean so you can visualize if there is an addition or loss. Do not put bumper stickers on your vehicle that identify you as a member of a group that arouses suspicion or suspicious people. If you have literature keep it out of sight in your trunk and keep the car locked at all times to hinder entry.

If you feel there is a compromising incident report it to the local police because they do not have the FBI or CIA agenda and they have to live in the local community. Again, if you are threatened or are subjected to harassment report it to the local police and if there are threats materials from your office or home, notify the police. Demand that they take a report and protect you if necessary.

YOU should warn others, especially members of your organisation of suspicious surveillance and inform them how to react. You need to be vigilant at all times and never dismiss complaints of others as paranoia. Warn people of the probability of informers. If

you have important matters to discuss do it in public and keep secrets to yourself!

If someone follows you and if it is possible, take a photograph. If a car follows you get the licence plate number and the state. In any incident, call a friend to inform them. Keep your own records of calls, people following you or anything else. When you are treated this way by your own government it becomes a personal war.

Every incident that confronts you is a battle and you do not go into battle unprepared and come out whole. Because we are at war with those who deny our rights, we must combat their foot soldiers sometimes one on one. The enemy is the FBI who have been proven to be corrupt throughout and in fact organised crime in its most devious form because it is of the government.

Do not talk to the FBI or any government investigator without your attorney present. If you have need of legal assistance about your rights get in touch with the American Civil Liberties Union and there are other such organisations that provide assistance.

The FBI will rarely set up an interview with a lawyer present because that throws their game off. Their game is to trip you up to stumble and create an aura of guilt. They are usually looking for you to finger someone else or a number of people suggesting a conspiracy. Conspiracy and the suggestion and perception of wrongdoing keeps the FBI in business. Never under any circumstances invite the FBI into your home. Speak with agents outside.

Inside your home they look for information about your lifestyle. Do not let agents threaten you into having a short informal talk suggesting an off the record personal conversation without a lawyer because they never save a word of the record conversations. They are searching and fishing at all times. Their intent is accusing. Don't try to play mind games or try to out-wit with the FBI. They have been in the game a long time.

TRICK

FBI agents intent is to trick you into giving information about yourself and others with a play that you will be helping someone. Lying to the FBI is a criminal act but you can avoid any charges by saying absolutely nothing because refusing to talk is not a crime.

Do not let them intimidate you or frighten you which is their battle plan. If they are successful in frightening you they feel they can loosen you up and you will blurt out information you do not think is important. The FBI prides itself in distorting information.

Most of what has been set out

here is basically common sense but under duress sometimes you do not think on your feet and going over your needs of security. If you have your plan in mind at all times you will react accordingly.

Instincts and feelings are never to be ignored because there is a reason you feel the way you feel. Knowledge of the strategies and tactics of your adversaries will strengthen your resolve and will assist the movement if all activists are well trained.

With new powers, the FBI and CIA will become more vicious and more determined. We Irish are in the target pool of domestic terrorism. The less the British have to do in Ireland the more they can contribute to America's imperial ambitions. Britain is a partner, not quite a full partner, but partner none the less.

The campaign of occupation of Iraq is patterned after British occupation in the Six Occupied Counties, involving an inhuman treatment. Guantanamo Bay looks a lot like Long Kesh and the continued complaints of abuse and brutality are similar. There have been confirmed cases of physical abuse and at least one death.

The British and Irish forces in Iraq are a police force like the British Army in the Occupied Six Counties. They are being picked off by guerrillas and the population are becoming angrier every day as an imposed peace plan is being forced on the Iraqi people similar to the peace process in the Occupied Six Counties. The people in any country need to create their own solution, not have an imposed one because it does not work anywhere. They are in a quagmire and paying a price.

The Irish in America need to politically themselves against Bush's political police because they are no better than the special branch who have nothing better than to spy on people. Irish people who have a political point of view have a right to express and they should not be stalked by mindless people who think they are policeman.

Our unity on behalf of the Republican Movement is not illegal but because it is anti-British we are suspect. Bush has assured the British he will keep on top of the Irish activity in the States. Irish groups, RIRA, and CIA are on the US list of foreign terrorist organisations so any support makes us domestic terrorists under the Patriot Act.

We need to be careful, but we do not need to curtail our activity. After all, we are legal. It is the FBI that has been into illegal activity well documented over the last few decades. Remember we are the good guys.

— Peadar Mac Fhinn

Pól Ó Croidheáin

SAOIRSE has learned with sadness of the death on October 7 of Pól Ó Croidheáin, Republican writer and contributor to this newspaper for many years. Aged 67, his roots were in Loughlynny, Co Roscommon.

Pól Ó Croidheáin was active in Republican Sinn Féin in the 1960s and 1970s in America. He promoted the Republican policy of ÉIRE NUA, for the four-province federal Ireland, from its launch in 1970, he opposed the defection from the Republican Movement of 1969-70 and later in 1986.

Returning to live in Galway city Pól worked in Digital and later lectured in Limerick. He was a familiar face at all Republican protests and activities in the city. He was the Republican Sinn Féin Easter Sunday ceremony at the Liam Mellows statue in Eyre Square

earlier this year. His involvement with SAOIRSE was not widely known as he did not write under his own name. His contributions were always authoritative, thoroughly researched and informative. Over two years ago he wrote *New Colonial Ireland* which he described as 'dealing with the realities of Ireland's position in the world'. It is our contention that while the Six-County area is obviously a colonial possession of England, the 26-County 'Republic' is also still in large measure a colonial society, despite the removal of many of the physical colonizing institu-

tions."

Dealing with topics as varied as Industry, Public Health, Women, Intellectuals and Television in the 2000s, amongst others, he concluded that the Free State had failed to re-structure society, allowing Ireland to be here at second-hand, as James Connolly had predicted.

In another guise, Pól penned the 53-part *Ballad-Makers* series which was published in SAOIRSE up to January 2002. Pen-pictures, songs and verses, both well-known and forgotten balladeers of Irish history were featured, from Zozimus to Thomas Maguire, Phil O'Neill and

Sigerson Clifford.

His most recent column, *A European Federation or Third Reich?* (May 2002-August 2003), dissected the attempts at building European empires and superstates over the centuries, culminating in the European Union. He called for a European superstate that hardly anybody wants while promoting the values of a specific European civilization.

In a reference to the Iraq War he noted the death of a young Dubliner there fighting for the British army. "This illustrates the future role vis-a-vis for Ireland, North and South alike, as a source of cannon-fodder for similar future wars."

He wrote many brief and incisive letters on the national question to the Dublin newspapers over the years, most notably the Irish Times. He hoped that his articles for SAOIRSE will be published in booklet form by Republican Sinn Féin in the future for the Republics in Ireland and England, along with the staff of

SAOIRSE and our readers at home and around the world, send a final farewell to a man of thought and action. Republican Sinn Féin members attended the funeral Mass in Galway city on October 11 following which he was laid to rest in Athleague Co. Wick. Family: Mrs Roscommon, Slán laet, a Póil.

Comhroinn

Charles Street, Listowel, Co Kerry on the death of their mother, From Kerry City Centre, Republican Sinn Féin.

HEALY: The Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin, extends deepest sympathy to the Healy family, especially the bereaved family of James GOLD, Deeprest sympathy is extended to Carmel Gould, Greencrook on the death of her father. From the Francis Hughes Cumann, Sinn Féin Public Schools.

MCGILLICUDDY: Sincere sympathy is extended to the McGillicuddy family, Leetroot, Tralee, Co Kerry.

MCLEOD: The Ard Chomhairle, Republican Sinn Féin, extends deepest sympathy to the family of James G. McLeod, Ballynaghy, Tuske, Co Kerry.

KERRY: Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, extends deepest sympathy to the family of James MORTARTY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Mortarty family,

Charles Street, Listowel, Co Kerry on the death of their mother, From Kerry City Centre, Republican Sinn Féin.

STACK: Sincere sympathy is extended to the Stack family, Milk Market Lane, Tralee, Co Kerry on the death of John. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

IGuimhne

CROSSLEY — 33rd Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol. 10000 Crossley, Co. Rathfriland, Angharad Brigade, Oghinga an Iffriú. November 22, 1971, always remembered. From the Irish Cumann and Seán Moore and family, Monaghan.

Beannachtaí

GET well wishes to Larry McMahon, Monaghan. From Nuala and Seán Moore and family. GET well wishes to Larry McMahon, Monaghan. From the Dáithí Ó Conaill Cumann, Republican Sinn Féin.

Simply British

SLOGANS for elections are usually based around the policies of the political parties involved. They involve promises of what the candidates will do if elected. This new Six-County election has caused problems for all involved. The election takes place on November 29. The candidates are asking people to vote. Yet what people are voting for presents a dilemma.

David Trimble has shown that all electoral mandates are meaningless as he turns the volume up or down or turns everything off at will. Why people should vote for anyone else is confusing.

David selected a slogan, "Simply British", which at least is unambiguous. Other parties, one suspects, are having greater difficulties.

John Hume (the real leader of the SDLP) doesn't go in for slogans, relying as usual on meaningless jargon like "there are no losers, everybody wins" etc (try saying that when you present your lottery ticket to your local post office!).

In Paisley, in deference to his membership of the European Parliament believed to have toyed with the idea of "Not a millimeter", however, settled on "kill a Teague a day" — keep the bogeyman away".

Of course when it came to Gerry Adams and the lads, real problems arose. Nothing to be elected too. No policies other than sell-out. David Trimble, showing the impunity with which elected mandates can be pushed aside. And having to

come up with an electoral slogan.

It's not hard to imagine some of the suggestions made to Gerry by Republicans. However, his own party membership have had to consider the matter seriously and come up with something. "Equality" has always figured in Gerry's vocabulary and as a result on his political headings.

HOWEVER David Trimble's dismissal of all agreements and Tony Blair's and Aherli's endorsement of that unionist stance has meant that the word "equality" may figure less prominently in the future than in the past. "No need to remind the peasants of unpleasantness", as Gerry might say.

Rumour has it that one of the first slogans suggested to

Gerry was "Election to re-election", another was "Back to storming — if David lets us". Another was "Vote for us and we'll give it all away next time". (However, a quick poll of residents of the Shankill showed that not many votes were to be gained by this and the idea was dropped.)

Brendan Behan wrote about a group of advertising experts who were sitting around trying to think up an advertising slogan for an insurance company. One man suggested "from birth to death", another "from the cradle to the grave". Yet another, carried away in the excitement of the moment, suggested "from election to resurrection!"

Not much help to Gerry and his friends but probably reflects the type of desperation

which may have enveloped party headquarters as people tried to please Gerry.

THERE is a slogan suitable for Gerry's election platform. David Trimble, however, grabbed it first. The fact is that David Trimble and all the unionists standing in this election have done less in their political careers to copper-fasten British rule on this island than has Gerry Adams and his friends.

The fact is that all Gerry can achieve is further undermining of Republicanism. This election — to nothing — is an example of where Gerry's policies are heading. It is an example of the contempt Gerry and his friends hold for ordinary working-class people in the Six Counties. Five years into their

"deal" they are more interested in saving face than in producing housing, jobs, education and health.

This election is about how the "Cult of the personality" is being exposed among the Gerry meanders. We should all remember that after this election is over another will take its place and yet another and yet another. Each of those elections will be about issues which the British create and not about the unity of this nation.

Over the next few weeks it might be interesting to note how many times Gerry and his friends talk about unity, if they do they are talking about the "Simply British" version.

— Mac Cool

Plan to block Shannon Airport

THE Irish Anti-War Movement (IAWM) said on October 27 that it is planning to step up its protests against the refuelling of US warplanes at Shannon airport.

A demonstration due to take place on Saturday, December 6, will now take the form of a mass blockade aimed at disrupting normal business at the airport. Demonstrators will gather at 2pm in the town centre before marching to the airport terminal to participate in the blockade.

According to IAWM spokesperson, and chief organiser, Dr Fintan Lane: "This will be about people power. It will be about ordinary people taking action for themselves and refusing to accept the integration of an Irish civilian airport into the U.S. war machine."

Dr Lane continued: "It is worth remembering that on February 15 more than 100,000 people marched in Dublin against U.S. plans to invade Iraq and against Irish complicity with the American military. They were treated with contempt by the Irish government, which ignored the huge turnout and instead continued to assist the build

up to war.

"Tens of thousands also marched in other urban centres and on Shannon airport itself, and they were similarly treated with contempt by Fianna Fáil and the PDs. This attitude persists and Shannon airport continues to be shamed by the presence of US warplanes. In fact, the airport is openly assisting the occupations of both Iraq and Afghanistan. That is simply not acceptable."

He continued: "This is not some minor disagreement regarding Irish foreign policy. Shannon airport has played a role in the killings of thousands of men, women and children in Iraq and Afghanistan. This is about protecting the lives of our fellow human beings."

"That is the issue at stake, and that is why we feel so strongly, and why we will continue to protest until the U.S. military are denied access. The Irish government has blood on its hands and has dragged Ireland into com-



• US navy transport plane at Shannon Airport earlier this year.

licity with a war that most Irish people opposed. They are kidding themselves if they think that we are simply going to go away.

"Civil disobedience has a long and honourable tradition in anti-war and civil rights movements throughout the world. Think of Carners Point, CND in the 1960s, the American civil rights movement, or those who opposed

the Vietnam war. Civil disobedience is an entirely appropriate tactic when human lives are at stake.

"Some commentators who are hostile to the anti-war movement may accuse us of planning violence. That is nonsense. This will be a peaceful act of mass civil disobedience and will be conducted in a spirit of non-violence. That said, it will also

be a determined effort to disrupt the operation of the airport in order to make clear just how strongly people feel on the issue."

Dr Lane concluded: "What is happening at Shannon airport is immoral and politically reprehensible. An Irish civilian airport has effectively become a U.S. airbase. The government refuses to withdraw these facilities,

so it is up to Irish people to take action themselves to force an end to this outrageous complicity with Bush's war machine.

"The more people that travel to Shannon on December 6, the more effective the blockade will be, so we are appealing for a large turnout. We intend to make our presence felt."

Don't sell out to Stormont or Leinster House . . .

Buy SAOIRSE every month!



SUBSCRIPTION RATES PER YEAR

Ireland	€17.00	
Britain	Stg£14.00	Airm
Rest of Europe	€22.00	
World (airmail)	€27.00	Seoladh
US edition	\$30.00	

(Available from PO Box 1912, Point Pleasant New Jersey, 08742, USA)

SAOIRSE Online
Newsroom
<http://saoirse.rr.nu>

45,000
visitors per year
SAOIRSE
Online
Newsroom

ISSN 0791-0002
SAOIRSE - Irish Freedom
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1
Tel: 872 9747; Facs: 872 9757
e-mail: saoirse@iol.ie