

# SAOIRSE



## Irish Freedom

The Voice of the Republican Movement

UIMH 297 EANÁIR — JANUARY 2012 <http://saoirse.info> €2 (£1.50 stg, USA \$35 p.a.)

**BLOODY SUNDAY IN DERRY**  
JANUARY 30, 1972 - JANUARY 30, 2012

**40th ANNIVERSARY**  
PICKET, SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 12 noon  
GPO, DUBLIN

Organised by Comhairle Laighean,  
Republican Sinn Féin

**DERRY CITY**  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 29, 2.30pm

Assemble: Creggan Shops in Derry City

# A vision of hope and inspiration

**REPUBLICAN Sinn Féin extends fraternal New Year greetings to all of our comrades, friends and supporters both at home and abroad.**

The coming year will be a challenging one for working-class people in Ireland and across Europe. The threats facing us are manifold.

### UNJUST TAX

Economically people are faced with the consequences of the austerity programme imposed on them by the EU political and financial elite.

For Irish Republicans increasing repression highlights the reality of the old imperialism of British rule in Ireland.

The economic policies being pursued by the Leinster House and Stormont regimes are all part and parcel of the same finance capitalism which created the present world economic crisis.

The very markers of a civilised society – the right to

health, education and protection of the most vulnerable – are being sacrificed to uphold a failed and undemocratic EU. This should serve as a call to arms to all who wish to build a new world from the ashes of a failed political and economic model.

In the 26 Counties the introduction of a regressive property tax presents working people with an opportunity to find their own voice and strike the first blows of resistance against the Leinster House political class. Republican Sinn Féin is calling on people to refuse to register as a first step to refusing to pay this unjust tax.

### STREET PROTESTS

In the Middle East people are being applauded for their



• Members of Republican Sinn Féin being manhandled by gardaí at the protest against the 26-County Budget austerity measures at Leinster House on December 6.

courage in taking to the streets to seek political change but in the Occupied Six Counties Irish Republicans are being prosecuted for doing the same thing.

In January our President Des Dalton and Vice-President Fergal Moore, along with 35 others, are being tried in Craigavon, Co Armagh for taking part in a march in Lurgan in January 2011 calling for the release of the interned veteran Republican Martin Corey.

This represents part of a pattern of repression directed against Republican Sinn Féin and all of those who refuse to accept British occupation and the partition of the historic Irish nation. The Craigavon trial is an attempt to force Republicans off the streets. We will not bow to such intimidation and reaffirm our

commitment to resisting British imperialism in Ireland.

We take this opportunity to extend greetings and solidarity to the Republican POWs in Maghaberry and Portlaoise prisons. These men are imprisoned because they refused to compromise on Ireland's right to national freedom.

We pledge our continued support to the Republican prisoners in Maghaberry prison in their ongoing struggle for the right to political status.

We renew our call for the release of Martin Corey and Marian Price, both of whom are political hostages held without trial in Maghaberry prison simply because of their political beliefs.

It is clear from all of this the war is not 'over' for the British regime in the Six

Counties.

### 1916 CENTENARY

In 2012 Republican Sinn Féin will be launching our build-up to the centenary of the 1916 Rising with a one-day seminar in Dublin on April 21 entitled *Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week?*.

We will be appealing to all who wish, as unapologetic Irish Republicans, to commemorate the sacrifices of the men and women of Easter Week to join with us in planning for 2016.

As the legitimate inheritors of the mantle of 1916 Republican Sinn Féin will commemorate the Easter Rising not merely as an historic event but as a task yet to be completed with a living message for the Ireland of today.

As Irish Republicans we are the successors of a revolutionary tradition which stretches back to the foundation of the Society of United Irishmen 220 years ago. For this reason we make no apology for guarding the integrity of that tradition from all impostors or criminal elements who would attempt to besmirch it or misuse its noble title.

The year ahead will be difficult but it also provides many opportunities to further our goal of creating a New Ireland. ÉIRE NUA and SAOL NUA set out a vision of hope and inspiration for an Ireland which truly "cherishes all the children of the nation equally".

Our duty as revolutionaries is to confront the twin imperialisms of British occupation and EU finance capitalism and in so doing shape an Ireland worthy of the high ideals of the 1916 Proclamation.



### 2012 CALENDAR

€5 / £5stg each, plus p&p  
Order now from 223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1

**POW PICKET**  
**CARLOW TOWN**  
**LIBERTY TREE MONUMENT**

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11**  
**1pm - 2pm**

## Collusion in Miami Showband murders

ACCORDING to a report released on December 14 by the British Historical Enquiries Team (HET), loyalist Robin Jackson, a member of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), received a tip-off from a senior member of the RUC that he [Jackson] was wanted in connection with the murders of members of the Miami Showband and was told to "lie low".

Three members of the Miami band were murdered in July 1975 as they returned to Dublin from a gig in the Occupied Six Counties.

A bogus army patrol comprising soldiers from the Ulster Defence Regiment and UVF members in Armagh stopped the band. Members of the band were made to line up at the side of the road while one UVF member tried to hide a bomb on the bus. The plan was that the bomb would explode en route, killing everyone on board as it entered Dublin. But the bomb went off prematurely killing two members of the UDR who were also members of the UVF.

After the explosion the other members of the UVF gang opened fire on the band, killing lead singer Fran O'Toole, guitarist Tony Geraghty, and trumpeter Brian McCoy. The bass player, Stephen Travers, barely survived his injuries.

The HET team said the murders of the showband members raised "disturbing questions about collusive and

"mind-blowing".

Stephen Travers said the survivors and families of those who died would always want to know more about what happened.

"But we're very grateful for what we've got today. What's happened today is that the door

Brian and Fran, as well as survivors Stephen and Des, have waited a very long time, over 36 years in fact, to learn the circumstances surrounding the deaths of our loved ones, who were shot down so brutally and so callously in the early hours of a summer morning."



• The scene of the massacre of the Miami Showband, carried out by a loyalist death squad with Crown Forces collusion, in July 1975.

corrupt behaviour". It said the review "has found no means to assuage or rebut these concerns and that is a deeply troubling matter".

Des McAlea, who survived the attack, described the HET findings as "quite shocking" and

has been opened . . . they can't argue when we accuse them of colluding with the paramilitaries."

Keith McCoy, son of Brian McCoy said: "We the families of Tony [Anthony Geraghty],

David O'Toole, a nephew of the band's lead singer, Fran O'Toole, said that the "dreadful murders absolutely tore apart our lives and those of our families".

## Daniel Hegarty's family call for soldier's prosecution

THE sister of a 15-year-old boy shot dead almost 40 years ago said she wants the soldier responsible brought before the courts.

On December 9 jurors at the inquest of Daniel Hegarty unanimously found that he posed no risk when he was shot twice in Derry during Operation Motorman in July 1972. His cousin Christopher (16) was wounded.

Daniel's sister Margaret

Brady said that "at the end of the day this man should be prosecuted. I'm not out for revenge, I'm just out for the truth."

The jury rejected claims that warnings had been shouted to the two teenagers before they were shot.



• Daniel Hegarty

The operation was aimed at reclaiming "no-go areas" in the city from the IRA.

Daniel was shot twice in the head by a soldier close to his home in Creggan. Christopher was shot in the head by the same soldier but survived.

The jury found that none of the soldiers present attempted to "approach the injured youths to either search them or provide medical

assistance".

The initial inquest was held in 1973 and recorded an open verdict. A second inquest was ordered by the Six-County Attorney General in 2009 following an examination by the Historical Enquiries Team.

The report found that the RUC investigation at the time was "hopelessly inadequate and dreadful".

## Gearrscéalta

### Craigavon trial is an attack on civil rights

THE trial of 37 people – including the President of Republican Sinn Féin Des Dalton and Vice-President Fergal Moore – for participation in an anti-internment march in Lurgan Co Armagh in January of last year is due to take place in Craigavon Courthouse, Co Armagh on January 10, 11 and 12.

In a statement on January 5 Republican Sinn Féin described the prosecutions as an attack on the right to publicly express a political opinion.

"In the Middle East people are being applauded for coming out on to the streets to demand political change but in the Occupied Six Counties Irish people are being prosecuted by the British state for doing the same thing. The prosecution of people for participating in a protest march – held on January 23 last to call for the release of veteran Lurgan Republican Martin Corey who has been held without trial in Maghaberry prison since April 2010 – is clearly an attempt to force Irish Republicans off the streets and to silence anyone who refuses to accept British occupation.

"Not for the first time Irish Republicans find themselves before a British Court for upholding the principle of 'the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland' and in defiance of laws designed to silence the voice of protest. This political trial puts the political reality of the Six-County state under the spotlight and shows it to be still fundamentally undemocratic."

### Bloody Sunday march on 40th anniversary

ON December 16, 2011 some of the families of those murdered on Bloody Sunday 1972 in Derry announced their intention mark the 40th anniversary with a march in the city and asked that their "right to commemorate Bloody Sunday by continuing with the traditional march should be respected".

In a statement issued to the *Derry Journal*, signed by, among others, the families of Bloody Sunday victims Jim Wray and William Nash, the march organisers said: "We, as Bloody Sunday family members, feel the need to commemorate this important anniversary in solidarity with the people of Derry by continuing the 'March for Justice' – justice that, in our opinion, has never been achieved.

"Over the years, the Bloody Sunday families have been strongly supported by a broad range of groups and individuals from across the world. Bloody Sunday has become synonymous with injustice and the march has provided a platform for other people who have been denied a voice.

"We respect the right of everyone to commemorate the 40th anniversary in a manner of their choosing. We would encourage everyone to support all commemorative events. Equally, we would expect that our right to commemorate Bloody Sunday by continuing with the traditional march should be respected."

### 'Not members of Republican Sinn Féin'

ON December 3, John Horan, PRO, Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath, Republican Sinn Féin, sent the following letter to the print media:

"In light of media speculation it needs to be clarified that Liam Kenny, Clondalkin, resigned in writing from Republican Sinn Féin on September 23, 2010 and on October 18, 2010, he accepted a letter from the Clondalkin-based Máire Drumm/Kevin Barry Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin confirming that his letter of resignation had been accepted. From September 23, 2010, Liam Kenny had no input, locally or nationally, to or with the Republican Movement."

In a further clarification, National PRO of Republican Sinn Féin, Geraldine McNamara, wrote to the *Limerick Post* newspaper on December 6:

"It has come to my attention that there are persons in your area sending articles to your paper in the name of Republican Sinn Féin.

"I wish to point out to you that these people are not members of our organisation. Des Long is not Vice-President, neither is he a member. Our Vice-Presidents are Fergal Moore and Geraldine Taylor. Our Head Office is 223 Parnell Street, Dublin.

"We do not wish to be associated with these people nor do we wish to see our name used falsely.

"If you wish further information please contact me or our Head Office."

### Results of Dublin raffle

DECEMBER Draw results were as follows: 1st prize ticket no 243; 2nd prize ticket no 269; 3rd prize 346; 4th prize 281; 5th prize 460; 6th prize 585; 7th prize 095; 8th prize 296.

SAOIRSE February edition  
published 8/2/2012

Cumann na Saoirse Náisiúnta  
(National Irish Freedom Committee)



• 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>

## Gearrscéalta

### Plaque unveiled in memory of Nicky Barnes

ON December 17 Cumann Pádraig Ó Pearaill, Loch Garman unveiled a plaque in memory of Nicky Barnes who was the chairman of the Cumann. Many people turned up to the unveiling to pay their respects to this fine young man.

Jimmy Kavanagh chaired the proceedings and asked Mick Hunt to speak on behalf of the Cumann. Mick started by saying it had been a bad year, losing a founder member and lifelong Republican Billy Phillips three days after Easter.

"This had been a major blow and his loss hit us badly, but Nicky took over as Chairman and a new zest was put into the cumann. Nicky had been at the forefront of the protests against the British Queen's visit to Ireland and organised a commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the 1981 hunger strikers and also pickets in support of the POWs in Maghaberry and Portlaoise." He said that Nicky was intelligent and articulate and a person that you could be proud to call your son, brother or friend.

Nicky's brothers Adam and Danny unveiled the plaque his other brother Shane then spoke and in the course of his speech he talked about his brother from everything about growing up together to the present day where the two enjoyed doing so much together, not just as brothers but as friends also.

Nicky's interests lay not just with politics but with the GAA where he represented his county at underage level and he also had a keen interest in coursing and was a member of the Wexford Coursing Club. Shane closed his speech by saying: "Nicky... I am proud to call you my friend and my comrade but it is an honour and a privilege to be able to say that I am your brother."

The Chairperson closed the ceremony by asking the colour party to dip the Tricolour and those who attended to observe a minute's silence in respect of a man we all loved so well.

### Wreaths laid at graves of IRA Volunteers

OVER the Christmas period Cumann Pádraig Ó Pearaill held two wreath-laying ceremonies at the graves of fallen IRA Volunteers.

The first was held on Christmas Eve on the anniversary of Joe Lacey who died in the Curragh Prison Hospital as a result of a hunger strike. He was a member of the 4th Battalion, South Wexford Brigade and after his death his comrades erected a fine monument over his grave which also holds his brother Captain Denis Lacey, also of the 4th Battalion South Wexford Brigade.



• Wreath-laying ceremony in Wexford.

The second wreath-laying ceremony was held at the graveside of Michael Morris. Michael Morris, along with the Kyle Flying column of which he was a member, was involved in an engagement with Fec Sate troops and in the withdrawal Michael was killed by the discharge of his own rifle while crossing a fence.

Both men were undoubtedly brave men and died fighting against the partition of their country. Their sacrifice will not be forgotten.

On December 22 Republican Sinn Féin in West Clare laid wreaths on the graves of Comdt Willie Shanahan and Captain Michael McNamara in Doonbeg Cemetery, Co Clare. Willie Shanahan and Michael McNamara were murdered by British Forces on December 22, 1920.

### FBI agents may be trained in Co Tyrone

RUC/PSNI Deputy Chief Constable Judith Gillespie indicated on December 28, 2011 that future US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents could be trained at the new emergency services college Cookstown, Co Tyrone.

The FBI held talks with the PSNI about the possibility of using the €140 million facilities at Desertcreat when they open in 2015.

Sixty-one private developers have shown interest in bidding for the tender to build the "police, fire and prison services college".

Gillespie, who chairs the college's programme board, said the facilities on the 250-acre site will be world class. She said the FBI and other international law enforcement agencies were interested in using the facilities for "anti-terrorism and public order training".

She added: "The FBI are already expressing an interest, our colleagues in An Garda Síochána and the rest of UK(sic). There is the FBI academy in Quantico in Virginia but we have huge experience here..."

## Twenty-six found guilty over parade protest

TWENTY-five men and one woman were found guilty on December 21, 2011 of staging an illegal sit-down protest at a disputed Orange Order parade.

Identification evidence was held to be strong enough to convict them of obstructing lawful activity in public. They staged the protest at the march in north Belfast on 12 July 2010.

Fines of £400 were imposed on each defendant. Nine were also found guilty of

resisting arrest and received additional £200 fines. A 27th accused was acquitted after challenging claims that he had been recognised at the scene on the Crumlin Road, near the Ardoyne shop-fronts in north Belfast.

Deputy District Judge Neil Rafferty said the protest was

likely to have led on to later rioting by others in the area.

The charges were defended with residents and campaigners claiming they were involved in a peaceful sit-down protest which did not breach a Parades Commission determination. Two separate bodies operating in the area have been linked to protests against the parade: The Crumlin Ardoyne Residents' Association (CARA); and the Greater Ardoyne Residents' Coalition (GARC). The demonstration at the centre of the case was said to have been led by GARC.

The coalition claimed its representatives faced "trumped-up charges" but vowed not to be silenced. It further alleged that the "sham of a trial" showed police bias and the willingness of the Parades Commission to allow sectarian parades through unwanted areas.

## 'This is the biggest bank robbery in history'

THE people of Ballyhea, Co Cork have been so enraged by the government's austerity measures that they have taken to marching in the streets every Sunday.

Residents have started marching in the small village, starting from the church they walk along the main Cork to Limerick road for a little over 10 minutes, turning back when they reach the speed-limit sign. Yet it has happened every Sunday, through rain and sun, with rising then dwindling numbers, for 43 weeks.

The march's organiser, Diarmuid O'Flynn sports editor with the *Irish Examiner*, says he was inspired by the Arab spring and the protest is "not about the left and right. It is about right and wrong".

The property boom, fuelled by banks' massive lending and foreign investment, collapsed spectacularly when the financial crises plunged the country into devastating recession in 2008.

Unemployment has risen to 14.4%, with those unable to find work leaving the country in droves; the Economic and

Social Research Institute predicts that next year 40,000 people will emigrate.

What has really angered the residents of Ballyhea is the bond-holder bailout.

In 2008, fearing a run on the banks, the country's former finance minister Brian Lenihan agreed to give an unlimited guarantee covering most of the bonds issued by Irish banks. At the time, it seems, he was unaware how much this could cost.

The IMF, on the other hand, believed the bondholders should be "burned" and made to pay for their own mistakes, but pressure from the European Central Bank ensured this guarantee was retained.

Morgan Kelly, professor of economics at University College, Dublin, has said the true cost of the bank debt could amount to €100bn and warned: "Ireland is facing economic ruin."



• Ballyhea villagers march against the bond-holder bailout

Despite the drastic cuts, house repossessions and job losses, there have been none of the explosive, violent protests of Greece.

A year ago there was a march of 100,000 people in Dublin, but since then protests have been muted, leading commentators to ask why the Irish are taking it so quietly. O'Flynn blames the lack of civil disobedience on "bystander syndrome".

"The more witnesses you

have to a crime the less likely people are to intervene - I think that's what happening. This is the biggest bank robbery in history. The difference is it's the banks robbing us."

One protester says many people are worried about being seen protesting, fearing it may affect their jobs, or their ability to borrow money from the banks and many Irish people just feel too despairing to believe they can make a difference.

## No just resolution for Vita Cortex workers

GERALDINE McNamara, PRO, Republican Sinn Féin said on January 2 that the treatment of the workers at the Vita Cortex plant in Ballyphehane, Cork was disgraceful and was nothing short of robbing the poor by NAMA who have frozen the assets of the parent company and are refusing to allow money to be used for redundancy payments to the workers who are left unemployed and penniless by the State and the company.

She continued: "€1.2 million is the cost of a redundancy package she said, compare this to the payouts within the banking system which is breaking the state and it is a mere drop in the ocean."

"All workers should be supporting the Vita Cortex staff and should fully support the unions in the fight for justice. At present the 26 Counties has five businesses a day closing, all of which have a devastating

effect on the workers and their families.

"What protection is there for them?" she asked,

"The workers at Vita Cortex are being sent from department to department in an effort to fob them off and break their spirit."

"They have staged a sit in on the factory premises since December 17th and will continue to do so until justice prevails."



• A protest in support of the Vita Cortex workers in Cork who have been staging a sit-in at the plant following its closure just before Christmas. The owners said they had no money to pay redundancy to the workers, some of whom have worked there for 40 years.

"This small group of workers are to be applauded for their conviction and strength of spirit and determination

"Republican Sinn Féin

wishes to show solidarity with the workers and their fight to be treated with respect and dignity after many years with Vita Cortex."

# For The Record

**SUN. DECEMBER 4:** A petrol bomb was thrown at a house in Carrickfergus, setting fire to a shed. No one was injured.

**MON. DECEMBER 5:** Wexford TD Mick Wallace was fined €7,000 for failing to pay his construction workers' pension contributions on time.

Up to 17,447 public sector workers in the 26-County State earned over €100,000 in 2009.

Doctors in Co Fermanagh added their voices to those opposing fracking in the area – extracting gas from shale rock – on health grounds.

**TUES. DECEMBER 6:** The case involving the shooting of two workmen, Gary Moore, Dungiven, Co Derry in December 2000 and Gavin Brett seven months later in Glengormley, in the mistaken belief that they were Catholics, by the south-east Antrim UDA, is to be reinvestigated. Both murders were carried out by the same weapon.

Michael Ó Muircheartaigh, veteran GAA broadcaster is to travel to Killeel, Co Down to promote the benefits of bi-lingual education at an open evening for Gaelscoil na mBeann.

Ciarán Farrell, originally from Belfast but living in Newry, received an 18-month sentence, suspended for three years, for his part in the bombing of the courthouse in Newry in 2010.

Ninety years ago the Treaty of Surrender (Anglo-Irish Treaty) was signed.

The families of the 15 people murdered in the McGurk's Bar bombing held a series of events over the weekend to mark the 40th anniversary.

The number of deaths caused by drug abuse in the 26 Counties has risen by 51% in six years.

Hundreds turned out for the anti-government/austerity measure protests outside Leinster House in Dublin. Some protesters, including members of Republican Sinn Féin, who staged a sit-down protest to block the back gates of Leinster House, were removed by Gardai.

**FRI. DECEMBER 9:** Mustafa a-Tamimi, a Palestinian demonstrator from a-Nabi Saleh, Ramallah, was hit in the face by a tear-gas canister fired by an Israeli soldier sitting in the jeep. He died the following day in Beilinson Hospital. B'Tselem has documented many cases in which tear-gas canisters were fired directly at people during the weekly protest in a-Nabi Saleh, including other occasions during the same demonstration, and elsewhere in the West Bank.

**SUN. DECEMBER 11:** Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, author, folklorist and Republican activist from Co Limerick died. He published over 20 books, ranging from academic works on pre-Christian Ireland to collections of folk tales and directories of Irish surnames. He was an associate Professor of Irish folklore at University College Dublin.

**MON. DECEMBER 12:** The Quarterly National Household Survey for Quarter 3, 2011 was released by the Central Statistics Office in Dublin. This period covered the months July to September. There was a 26% increase in the numbers of people who are long-term unemployed bringing that figure up to 177,200 people or 56.3% of those who are unemployed. The long-term unemployment rate is now 8.4%. Since the same quarter in 2008 unemployment has increased by 97% while long-term unemployment has increased by a staggering 365%. In this quarterly report it stated that for the first time female unemployment went over 100,000 to 108,600.

Cases of drug addicts seeking treatment and rehab in the 26 Counties rose by 52% over the last six years. The figures went from 5,167 in 2005 to 7,878 in 2009.

**TUES. DECEMBER 13:** Francis Devlin, Cookstown, Co Tyrone reached a settlement in his Belfast High Court action against the chief constable of the RUC/PSNI who wrongly claimed he was a member of the IRA. Devlin was refused a civil service job because the claim. The RUC found a gun and ammunition in the Bonds Street area of Derry's waterside.

Almost 100 prison wardens eligible for a lucrative redundancy package are over the age of 60, with almost one-fifth over 65. They could receive up to €110,000 in a retirement package.

The number of acute hospitals in the Occupied Six Counties could be halved within six years according to a major review of the health service.

**WED. DECEMBER 14:** The high court in Dublin rejected a request to extradite Sean Garland to the US over alleged links to a North Korean counterfeiting plot. Garland, a former Workers' Party president, has been fighting extradition since his arrest in Dublin in 2009. The court will give its reasons on January 13, 2012.



• Members of the Occupy Cork group picketing the office of Anglo-Irish bank in the city. They have taken over a NAMA premises and intend to run it as a community resource.

Under new legislation being drafted by the 26 County Administration, The Water Services (Amendment) Bill 2011, householders with septic tanks will have to pay a registration fee of €50.

Enda Kenny conceded that 428 teaching posts will be cut over the next three years in disadvantaged schools in the 26 Counties.

**THURS. DECEMBER 15:** The Institute of Public Health in a new report claims that 51% of older people forgo essentials like food and clothes to pay for heating in their homes.

Eleven TDs in the Leinster House Administration in the 26 Counties launched a campaign calling on people to *Boycott the Household tax, Make the rich pay for their crisis*. Up to 1.6m households will have to pay the charge after the Local Government (Household Charges) Bill was passed.

**FRI. DECEMBER 16:** Sharon Wootton, facing charges of "perverting the course of justice by removing a computer from her home address and giving false information to the RUC", in connection with the murder of RUC Constable Carroll in March 2009 was allowed to change her defence team. The case was halted and will now go ahead on January 9 in Belfast Crown Court. Sharon Wootton denies the charges. Two others are also charged in connection with the death of Constable Carroll.

An estimated 229,000 US military personnel passed through Shannon airport in 2010.

A report by the Historical Enquiries Team (HET) into the murders by the loyalist UVF of three members of the Miami Showband found collusion with RUC Special Branch.

100 members of the UNITE trade union working at EBS Building Society delivered a letter of protest to the department of Finance in Dublin, ahead of next Tuesday's strike action over the non-payment of wages due last week.

**SAT. DECEMBER 17:** Up to 12 families had to vacate their homes in the Marlborough Terrace area of Derry after a retaining wall collapsed sending thousands of tonnes of earth crashing into a laneway yards from their homes. Three days previously, a 30ft section of wall collapsed after torrential rain, causing a landslide which crushed two cars and a lorry.

**SUN. DECEMBER 18:** The last convoy of US soldiers pulled out of Iraq after nearly nine years of war that cost tens of thousands of Iraqi lives and almost 4,500 American lives. "We don't think about America... We think about electricity, jobs, our oil, our daily problems," said Abbas Jaber, a government employee in Baghdad. "They [the Americans] left chaos."

**WED. DECEMBER 21:** The 'marathon' supergrass trial involving 14 [UVF] loyalists implicated by two brothers [loyalists] was adjourned until the New Year.

Coroner John Lecky referred the case of Daniel Hegarty (15) to the PPS asking him to consider if the soldier responsible for his death in 1972 should be prosecuted.

The British Court of Appeal decided that a failure to provide a life sentence prisoner with a minimum of one hour in the open air each day did not constitute a breach of his human rights under Article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR). Between April 26 and October 2, 2007, a period of 159 days, Leslie Malcolm was detained in the Segregation Unit at HMP Frankland. During that time, he was provided with an average of 30 minutes in the open air each day (Matthew Flinn, UK Human Rights Blog, 29th December 2011).

An asylum seeker may not be sent back to the first EU member state he landed in from outside the EU if he risks being subjected to inhuman treatment there, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has ruled. This means asylum seekers in Ireland who landed first in Greece from outside the EU cannot be sent back there. The ECJ stated in its judgment, delivered yesterday, that EU law does not mean a state can presume that member states observe asylum seekers' fundamental rights, especially if they have good

reasons for considering that these rights are not observed.

The National Asset Management Agency (NAMA) is to make 2,000 homes available to those on waiting-lists for social housing from next year.

A ruling from the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has given the green light to charges on airlines for carbon emissions on long-haul flights to and from Europe from January 1. Under the scheme, airlines will be given pollution permits set just below their average historical emissions record. They will have to buy permits from other less polluting carriers if they exceed their allocation.

Executive director of the Irish Penal Reform Trust, Liam Herrick, said the current system under which deaths in jails were investigated internally by the Irish Prison Service and also by the Garda was in breach of the European Convention on Human Rights. He called on Minister for Justice and Defence [in the 26 Counties] Alan Shatter to begin the process of establishing a prisons' ombudsman. It would investigate deaths in an independent and speedy manner and in consultation with the family of deceased persons, he said.

**THURS. DECEMBER 22:** The family of a man who took his own life while in custody for just one week called for an Ombudsman-style inquiry into his death in the interests of other vulnerable prisoners. Shane Rogers was found dead in the holding cell in Clover Hill Prison/courthouse.

The case against Private Bradley Manning, the US army private accused of leaking 700,000 documents from a 'supposedly' secure computer network to WikiLeaks, was adjourned awaiting a decision on whether he will face a court-marshal or not. The defence said the US army is piling on charges in an attempt to force him into pleading guilty.

Fourteen co-ordinated bombings in Baghdad killed at least 72 people and injured almost 200.

**FRI. DECEMBER 23:** At least 40 people were killed and over 100 injured when two bombs exploded outside the Syrian intelligence buildings.

**SUN. DECEMBER 25:** Christmas swims took place in Dublin, Wexford and Craigavon to raise funds for CABHAR.

**TUES. DECEMBER 27:** A judge in the US ordered Boston College to hand over the transcript of the interview with Dolores Price, held in the college, to the British Government. The recording was part of a project, known as the Belfast Project, with former members of the IRA. The decision by the court will have far-reaching consequences for future academic research.

It was announced that households will pay between €250 and €400 water charges per annum by the end of 2014 in the 26 Counties. Water meters will be installed in all homes.

Vacant local authority homes in Dublin, Cork, Galway and Limerick number almost 1,800.

Almost 7,000 people were committed to prison in the 26 Counties for non-payment for fines in 2010.

**WED. DECEMBER 28:** The Seán Dolan GAA clubhouse in Derry was badly damaged in a fire.

An Israeli naval warship attacked the international observers and Palestinian captain of the Civil Peace Service Gaza (CPSGAZA) boat *Oliva*, injuring its captain in an apparent attempt to capsize it. *Oliva* was rescued by a small Palestinian fishing boat, or hasaka, which threw it a line and towed it toward the shore.

**THURS. DECEMBER 29:** A section of British Cabinet papers from 1981 were made public under the 30-year rule.

Clothing chain D2 Jeans is closing 19 of its 47 stores making 200 staff redundant - nine in the Occupied Six Counties. In Scotland a total of 22 people have been made redundant at the company's headquarters in Ayrshire and two of the company's three stores in Dublin have closed, with the loss of 39 jobs.

High street lingerie chain La Senza, which has 146 stores and 18 concessions in Britain, announced last week that it plans to enter administration in the coming days. There has also been speculation that Blacks Leisure, which owns 98 Blacks outlets and 208 Millets stores and employs 3,600 staff, will go into administration, which would allow rivals to cherry-pick its best assets.

Egyptian prosecutors and police raided the offices of 17 pro-democracy and human rights groups.

The US is selling F-15 fighter jets to the Royal Saudi Air Force for \$30bn.

The Court Service in the 26 Counties is merging the district and circuit court offices in several rural areas, resulting in more rural closures of courts.

The number of Irish people emigrating to Britain, Canada, New Zealand, the USA and Australia increased substantially over the last year.

**FRI. DECEMBER 30:** SIPTU announced it will escalate its action in support of the 32 workers made redundant from Vita Cortex in Cork and are staging a sit-in at the factory.

An appeal was lodged in Boston which blocked the release of an interview with Dolores Price from being handed over to the British Government. The appeal was lodged by journalist Ed Moloney and former IRA POW Anthony McIntyre who recorded the research project.

Tear gas was fired at several hundred protesters in Bahrain who took to the streets demanding the resignation of the government.

**SAT. DECEMBER 31:** The Irish Palestinian Solidarity Committee (IPSC) held a New Year's Eve vigil on the Halfpenny Bridge in Dublin to commemorate the third anniversary of the attack on Gaza.

**SUN. JANUARY 1:** The new household tax came into effect in the 26 Counties. The new tax, irrespective of income, of €100 per house must be paid by March 31.

The 26 Counties is seeking election to the United Nations Human Rights Council, an intergovernmental body within the UN consisting of 47 member states.

A major social housing development regeneration project which was to have been built in Charlemont Street, Dublin as part of the public-private partnership (PPP) with Dublin City Council has been shelved.

**MON. JANUARY 2:** A group of former workers at a building materials company in Co Cavan are continuing a demonstration over its sudden closure. Lagan Brick announced it was ceasing its operations at its plant in Kingscourt with immediate effect two weeks before Christmas. Since then, its 27 former employees have mounted a protest at the factory's entrance. The workers say they are deeply unhappy at how the company dealt with the sudden closure. SIPTU has written to Minister for Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation Richard Bruton to investigate whether Lagan Brick contravened legislation regarding the 30-day consultation period.

Troika officials monitoring the 26-County bailout programme warned that welfare cuts and income tax rises "look unavoidable".

The 26-County State's Military Archives went online for the first time.

Almost 24,000 children were on hospital outpatients waiting-lists at Dublin's three children's hospitals last year.

Members of the Occupy Cork Movement have taken over what they claim is a NAMA property in Oliver Plunkett Street in the city. They plan to turn it into a community resource centre.

**WED. JANUARY 4:** A 31-year-old has been arrested after two firearms were discovered during an RUC search at a house in Newry. The items, which were taken away from a property in the Mountain View Drive area on Wednesday, will now undergo forensic testing. The man was later released on bail pending further enquiries.

**THURS. JANUARY 5:** An agricultural supply business was completely destroyed by a suspected arson attack in Ballyclare, Co Antrim. The fire broke out at Clare Farm Supplies on Park Street shortly after 3.30am. The stormy conditions made the operation more dangerous, with up to 45 fire-fighters and nine appliances required to bring the blaze under control.

**FRI. JANUARY 6:** A bid to host Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann in Derry in 2013 has run into difficulties. Many members of Comhaltas na hÉireann, which has to ratify the bid, have objected to holding the Fleadh Cheoil in the city as it claims the title of British City of Culture 2013.

Lawyers for Gerry McGeough, allegedly a former IRA member, seeking a Royal pardon after being jailed for the attempted murder of a unionist councillor claimed he was being treated differently to other so-called political prisoners because he is no longer a member of the Provisionals.

**MON. JANUARY 9:** A survey by the Irish League of Credit Unions found that more than half-a-million Irish people grieve nothing left after paying monthly bills and a further one million have "very little" money to spend on anything other than essentials.

**News from the Occupied Six Counties...News from the Occupied Six Counties...News from the Occupied Six Counties...**

**SIMON LA UNCH FREE-PHONE SERVICE FOR HOMELESS**

**A Belfast Chronology**

**Tuesday, December 6, 2011.** The trade union Unite erected a tall hoarding around its former headquarters in Belfast city centre, Transport House at High Street, the steps of which were regularly used by the homeless for a bit of shelter. Belfast homeless charity the Welcome Organisation said it had seen an increase in the number of people in need of their help over the previous months.

Catherine McCartney, a sister of Robert McCartney, murdered in Belfast in 2005, launched an unfair dismissal case against Women into Politics and the Training for Woman Network for

discrimination on the grounds of political opinion.

**Wednesday, December 7, 2011.** The Simon Community in the Six Counties marked their 40th anniversary, by launching a free-phone helpline number for people who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless in the Occupied Six Counties. The line is open 24-hours a day, seven days a week.

**Sunday, December 11, 2011.** A 69-year-old pensioner from Belfast Francis Morgan removed the hoarding erected around Transport House. He said he wanted to turn the building into a refuge for homeless people.

**Wednesday, December 14, 2011.** Christy Walsh, Belfast, convicted in 1992 for a coffee-jar bomb issued a statement appealing for people to view his case at [www.christywalth.com](http://www.christywalth.com) in his continued fight to clear his name. He accuses the Justice Minister at Stormont, David Ford, of being "actively involved in a cover-up of what appears to be serious criminal conduct by a Crown Prosecutor".

**Tuesday, December 13, 2011.** A 21-year-old south Belfast man, Gareth Marcus, went on trial charged with a bomb attack on a nationalist family near Broadway in Belfast on July 13, 2010.

**Thursday, December 15,**

**2011.** Excrement was smeared on the office door and window of the Alliance Party headquarters in south Belfast in protest at the inaction of David Ford, Alliance member and minister of justice at Stormont, to resolve the problems encountered by the Republican POWs in Maghaberry Jail.

**Sunday, December 18, 2011.** Republican Sinn Féin held a public meeting at the shops in the Ardoyne to highlight awareness of the conditions endured by the protesting Republican POWs in Maghaberry jail.

**Wednesday, December 21, 2011.** Barratt's shoe stores in Belfast and Strabane are to close with a loss of 127 jobs.

**Thursday, December 22, 2011.** Twenty-six people were found guilty of staging "an illegal sit-down protest" at the Ardoyne shops in Belfast at a Twelfth of July parade in 2010. Two others had previously been convicted for taking part in the protest. The Greater Ardoyne Residents Association (GARC) organised the protest and have accused the RUC's 'one-sided policing'.

**Thursday, January 5, 2012.** A bomb was planted inside the car of a serving British soldier in the Black Dam Court area off the Ligoneil Road, north Belfast.

Two women escaped without injury after a petrol bomb was thrown at a house in

the Jamaica Street area of Ardoyne, north Belfast. It is understood the device ignited during the incident.

A fire crew came under attack in west Belfast by a gang of up to 30 youths throwing bottles and stones. The firefighters were called to Mount Eagles in Lagmore at around 9pm to deal with a rubbish bin which had been deliberately set on fire.

SDLP Councillor Pat McCarthy proposed a motion which was passed at Belfast City Council that the 26-County government (*sic*) be invited to participate in the Somme and Remembrance Sunday commemorations in Belfast.

**Harassment ongoing in the Lurgan/Craigavon areas**

**December 2.** Three Republican Sinn Féin members, from the Drumbeg Estate, were followed by the RUC/PSNI before being pulled out off the car. They were searched under the Justice and Security Act.

**December 6.** An unmarked RUC/PSNI Land Rover came under attack from Republicans in the Drumbeg estate. Bricks and other missiles were thrown because the RUC/PSNI were intimidating and making rude hand gestures to the residents in the area.

**December 11.** An RUC/PSNI RUC helicopter was hovering continually over the Craigavon and Lurgan areas.

**December 18.** Three Republican Sinn Féin members were stopped and searched by RUC/PSNI, who lay in wait for

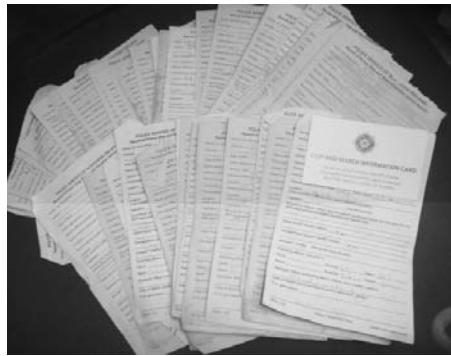
them coming out of Victoria Street, in Lurgan. They, and the car, were searched under the Justice and Security Act.

**December 22.** A man was found injured near a roundabout on the lake Road in Craigavon, Co Armagh. He was taken to Craigavon Area Hospital but later transferred to Belfast Victoria Hospital.

**December 24.** Republican Sinn Féin members stopped and searched, under the Justice and Security Act, at the 24-hour garage in Portadown.

**December 25.** Republican Sinn Féin members from the Thomas Harte Cumann took part in a sponsored swim at Craigavon Lakes for Republican POWs.

A Republican Sinn Féin member was taken from his car outside his home by the TSG and searched under the Justice



• A small sample of the many hundreds of stop-and-search dockets issued by the RUC to nationalists in the Craigavon and Lurgan area over the last few months. Stop and search is used on a daily basis in an attempt to intimidate nationalists and Republicans from from going about their business.

and Security Act. The member was subjected to verbal abuse while the search was taking place.

**December 27.** Local residents in the Drumbeg Estate came forward saying they had spotted a patrol of RUC/PSNI personnel. They said they were dressed all in black, carrying heavy machine guns and with radios on their backs.

**December 29.** Two teenagers were stopped and asked questions about certain Republicans in the Craigavon area. This was cut short when a local resident, who was passing in a taxi, decided to intervene. The resident took responsibility for the youngsters and told the RUC/PSNI to clear off and stop harassing children. He then took the youngsters home.

**December 31.** The RUC/PSNI again questioned youngsters about certain people in the Drumbeg/Meadowbrook area.

The parents made Republican Sinn Féin aware of this. As stated in the previous month this sort of harassment is a common happening and a big thanks to all who come forward with information so it can be made public.

**January 6, 2012.** A 20-year-old man is being questioned about an attack in Craigavon last month, which left another man in a serious condition in hospital. The 36-year-old victim was found covered in blood with suspected head injuries near a roundabout in the Lake Road area of Craigavon on Thursday, December 22.

**Fearghal Ó hAnluain commemorated in Monaghan**

**THE annual Fearghal Ó hAnluain commemoration took place at Latluran Cemetery, Monaghan on January 8.**

The oration was delivered by one of the joint National Treasurers of Republican Sinn Féin, Diarmuid Mac Dubhghlais, who said:

"Tá muid bailithe anseo arís inniu chun onóir a thabhairt ar saol Fergal ó hAnluain, fear óg a fuair bás ag troid in aghaidh fórsaí Shasana an mhí seo 55 bliain ó shin.

"As a member of the Pearse column, Fergal along with Seán Sabhat and other comrades took part in an operation against the British garrison in Brookeborough on New Year's Day 1957; sadly this day was to end in the deaths of both Fergal and Sean. They understood the risks involved in opposing British rule in Ireland but also understood that Ireland's unending problem is the presence of British rule in any

part of Ireland.

"Fearghal, like all true republicans was not a greedy man. All he wanted was that Ireland be returned to the ownership of the Irish people, for the benefit of the people of Ireland. "In recent times people purporting to be Republicans have been using the good name of Republican Sinn Féin, have been exporting money from both the anti-social elements of society and from honest citizens, well I am here today to state that we are not now and never have been involved in such activity, we are a movement of the people and as such rely on the support of the people. We would never be involved in such activities

"Since the times of Fearghal, many have followed in his footsteps having realised



• Diarmuid Mac Dubhghlais addressing those present at the Fearghal Ó hAnluain commemoration on January 8.

that the Ireland of today is no different than that of 1957, we still have the same occupying forces in our six north-eastern provinces. But equally as bad now is the presence of the troika of, the EU, IMF, ECB, these unelected groups now decide policy and tax issues for the people of Ireland.

"Just this week many

soon follow. Owners of peat bogs can no longer cut turf and people with septic tanks will have another tax imposed.

"A chairde, this at a time when former 26-County ministers receive massive pensions at our expense. I call on all people here to get involved in opposing unfair and unjust taxes and cuts, and to demand a fairer deal for all. Just because you're not a homeowner doesn't mean you can't get involved in opposing property tax; likewise, people on the mains sewage system should get involved in the septic tank protests. The men and women of Leinster House have shown that they do not represent the people of Ireland, their main interest is "self-interest", to maintain the status quo.

"As we start into the New Year let us not forget our prisoners, these people are in a struggle inside the prison for political status. This status was

given away

by the leadership of the Provisionals for short-term political gain. The POWs now endure degrading and inhumane conditions in Maghaberry due to the intransigence of the prison staff. In August 2010 a deal was reached between the prison and the POWs whereby a simple electronic device would be used instead of strip-searching, but this deal was reneged on by the prison staff and the Stormont Justice Minister. A chairde, I implore you to get involved in getting this agreement implemented in full, before we leave I ask you to recommit yourselves to the struggle for a better Ireland, encourage your friends and family to get involved. In the words of Bobby Sands "everyone has a part to play".

"Fágfaidh mé sibh anois, a chairde, go raibh maith agaibh as éisteacht liom inniú. "An Phoblacht Abú."

# Boston College surrender: The end of oral history?

IN late December, Boston College (BC) handed over material resulting out of interviews with former IRA members and loyalists to US authorities on the behest of the RUC/PSNI. The participants were previously promised their material would be kept confidential until death. Historian Dieter Reinisch outlines the consequences of this shameful move for political activists and historical research.

In the last days of December, Boston College announced that it had already surrendered most if not all of the material collected through the so-called *Belfast Project*. Under the auspices of main researcher Ed Moloney, author of *A Secret History of the IRA*, former Republican Blanketman Anthony McIntyre and Wilson McArthur conducted a few dozens of interviews with former members of the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries. All participants were promised that their testimony would be kept confidential until death.

After the death of Republican Brendan Hughes and loyalist David Ervine their contributions resulted in Ed Moloney's book and TV documentary *Voices from the Grave*. In spring 2011 US authorities issued two subpoenas, presumably at the behest of the British RUC/PSNI. The reasons for this move, the timing and the shameful behaviour of some journalists, including *Irish News'* Allison Morris and *Sunday Life's* Ciarán Barnes, are widely outlined by Ed Moloney in his blog *The Broken Elbow*. So I will not go into that now.

Main researchers Ed Moloney and Anthony McIntyre were literally left alone by Boston College to secure their sources and the material. In the midst of a legal battle, BC surrendered not only the requested interviews and transcripts of Republican Dolours Price but most of the material gathered in the archive despite promising confidence to the contributors and interviewees.

The interviewees signed a confidentiality agreement and were given assurance that the tapes would not be released until after their deaths. What neither the researchers nor the contributors were told is that such a guarantee could not be protected by BC.

While some Republican activists complain that the contributors were misused and even go so far as saying "McIntyre made an ill Brendan Hughes speak" we have to hold the tremendous work done by the researchers in high esteem, not just from a historical point of view but even from a political point of view.

Irish Republicans stretch their tradition back for more than 200 years. Since the founding of the Republican Movement at the beginning of the last century, Irish Republicanism has seen many splits and betrayals by former members. More than once, the Republican Movement lay dying on its knees. Since the founding of the *United Irishmen*, each generation stood up fighting British oppression in Ireland and the reunification of

their country. While this is a proud history, each previous generation failed in securing a united and independent Ireland. The New Year's Statement 2012 from Republican Sinn Féin



• Anthony McIntyre

describes the 1916 Rising as "a task yet to be completed". Or as Dan Hoban said on New Year's Day 2012 at the Seán Sabhat

## 'All oral history material in Boston College should be destroyed'

**ANTHONY McIntyre is a former IRA volunteer and ex-prisoner, who spent 18 years in Long Kesh, including four years on the blanket and no-wash/no-work protest which led to the hunger strikes of the 1980s.**

He completed a PhD at Queens University Belfast upon release from prison and went on to become a political commentator and journalist. He was member of the *Republican Writers' Group* and co-founder of *The Blanket*, an online magazine that critically analysed the surrender of the Provisional Movement. With journalist and writer Ed Moloney, author of *A Secret History of the IRA*, he is the main researcher of the *Boston College Oral History Project*. Dieter Reinisch spoke with him on the consequences of handing over interview material by the Boston College (BC) to US authorities.

**DR: Dieter Reinisch: What was your reaction when you first heard about the subpoena?**

Anthony McIntyre: One of anger. The notion of any legal incursion was ruled out by BC from the outset otherwise the project would never have gone ahead.

**DR: Commentators say BC promised confidence, a guarantee not possible from the start just to get people to give the interviews. Do you think the whole situation could have been prevented?**

AM: It would have been prevented by ourselves had we suspected BC were so negligent. It has a law school, an in-house legal team and still failed to get their act together.

**DR: How should BC have reacted?**

AM: They should have fought the issue all the way to the Supreme Court, even when it transpired that they had been wrong to give the guarantees that they did. They had an ethical obligation to protect the people involved in the project to the very end. Instead they abandoned everybody and left the researchers to wage the battle to prevent the archive being compromised.

**DR: Some say those participating in the project, both researchers and interviewees, "were at best naive and at worst manipulative". Were you aware of the legal consequences the whole project could have? Would**

**you have participated in the project if you had known from the beginning that the protection of the material and the sources could not be guaranteed by BC?**

AM: I was not aware of the legal consequences. Before embarking on the project I sought the necessary assurances against legal incursion, and was given them by the BC personnel. I would not rely on anyone else to convey this to me. I didn't want an interpretation of what might happen. I wanted to know the legal status and from the horse's mouth.

There would have been no participation in the project by me had I any reason to doubt the assurances.

Interestingly, not once between the publication of [Ed Moloney's book based on the interviews with Brendan Hughes and David Ervine] *Voices From The Grave* and the time of the first subpoena were we alerted to the possibility that a legal incursion might come. BC at no point outlined what the consequences were under US law.

You would imagine at this stage that some of their legal people would be on to it. Moreover, when I asked in the wake of the first subpoena for all material to be signed over to my custodianship so that it would be beyond the reach of any subpoena (as I simply would not have complied with it) BC refused. When Ed Moloney publicly called for the archive to be destroyed BC merely got angry and refused. They also told me that their people schooled in international law had told them that no further subpoena could be issued for other material; that it had to be aimed at a certain individual's material. Because of the confidentiality agreement they assured me that situation could not arise. They were wrong again.

**DR: Do you know the exact amount of material that has been handed over?**

AM: The judge has all Republican material for in camera review; 13 interviews with one person have been

Commemoration in Limerick: "While the last generation was a great generation there will be a greater one."

How to build a greater generation? Only deep historical knowledge, the consciousness of the achievements and failures of the past generations and the education of the youth will provide political activists with the power to draw lessons of the past. This is why political activists need to thank historians for their vital research.

But historical research can only be credible and hence

fruitful by securing and defending your sources. As soon as your source is harmed by the material provided to you your source loses the confidence in the historical research. This is most important in a situation such as Ireland where generations of political activists fought a war, be it in defence of the Union with Britain or the independence of her country, and some of them are still at war.

For many areas in Ireland's recent history, the only way to gather material is through oral history, conducting interviews with people involved. When a commentator in the *Guardian* says "there was no assurance that they were telling the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth", well, that's oral history. Critical assessment of sources is what makes a researcher a good researcher.

Historians in Ireland operate in a field among secret, illegal organisations, some of them classified as terrorists, intelligence, security forces, resistance movements and foreign armies. Providing historical material while securing your sources is quite often an act of walking a tightrope. That's what makes historical research on the war in Ireland interesting and important.

As a researcher you have to build a certain relation and a certain level of confidence between you and your interviewee. In most cases you have to guarantee the maximum of confidence. The BC case shows that complete anonymity is impossible. Hence the subpoenas and the behaviour of BC are a blow not just for the participants, the interviewees and the researchers but historical research as such.

There is no surprise that the loyalists William Smith and Winston Rea are demanding their material back. When the former *Red Hand Commando* prisoner says the project has "backfired" he is quite right. But it has not just backfired on BC and the researchers; it has backfired on all political activists and researchers in Ireland.

Smith will not be the only

one "if asked to make a contribution to further student education projects, unfortunately I would have to seriously consider it". Since BC handed over not just the Dolours Price and Brendan Hughes material but everything, it is not known what US and British intelligence services are doing with this material. There is no amnesty, no agreed truth and reconciliation process in Ireland. As long as this is not the case, we are sorry to say but the cases of Gerry McGough, Marian Price and Martin Corey will not be the last of that kind. How many former members of the Provisional Republican Movement now disagreeing with the Belfast Agreement might face arrest and prosecution because of the testimony of others in BC's Belfast Project?

When Anthony McIntyre demands in this month's SAOIRSE that the material in Boston College's Burns Library "should be destroyed so that it may be put beyond the claws of the British [RUC/PSNI]" it is a desperate attempt to secure the sources and the integrity of their project. Ed Moloney and Anthony McIntyre are the last who could be blamed for this situation. They tried all they can do to protect their interviewees.

The surrender of BC, especially how it happened, is a blow against not just their own project and credibility but the ethics and integrity of historical research as such.

If there is a genuine interest in learning the truth from the past in Ireland, historians need to win back the confidence of political activists. Due to the interest of certain individuals and institutions, be it Irish journalists, employees of BC or members of the British security forces, the hands of historians are tied.

If we don't learn from the past, Republicans are doomed to repeat their failures. While the BC case is a blow to historical research in Ireland it will not be the end of Oral History. Yet it will lead to the end of Oral History as we know it – and there is absolutely no reason to feel fine.

## IMEACHTAÍ

**PROTEST RALLY OUTSIDE LEINSTER HOUSE IN SUPPORT OF THE VITA CORTEX WORKERS**  
THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1pm  
Organised by the SIPTU Manufacturing Division

**PICKET IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF BLOODY SUNDAY**  
SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 12 noon  
GPO, DUBLIN  
ORGANISED BY COMHAIRLE LAIGHEAN, REPUBLICAN SINN FÉIN

**BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH DERRY**  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 29.

**POW PICKET CARLOW TOWN LIBERTY TREE MONUMENT**  
SATURDAY FEBRUARY 11, 1pm - 2pm

**JOIN NA FIANNA ÉIREANN IRELAND'S REPUBLICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT**  
223 Parnell Street, Dublin 1

# ‘End strip-searching and controlled movement in Maghaberry’

**IN Belfast’s Ardoyne on Sunday, December 18, 2011 all residents of the area were invited to a meeting in the area to inform people of the continuing protest by Republican POWs in Maghaberry jail, Co Antrim.**

Every house was leafleted and a public meeting was held at the Ardoyne shops at 2.30pm.

John Joe McCusker, Cathaoirleach of Comhairle Uadh and Ard Chomhairle member chaired the meeting. He said that they were gathered to support the POWs on dirty protest in Maghaberry jail, and recondemned the British for not implementing the August 2010 agreement which would end the protest immediately if implemented.

Geraldine Taylor, Vice-President of Republican Sinn Féin, also addressed the meeting and called on everyone to redouble their efforts to highlight the plight of the prisoners. She asked that people write to relevant bodies (and handed out a leaflet with the addresses) asking them to put pressure on the British government to implement the August 12, 2010 Agreement.

Ciarán Collins, an ex-POW from Lurgan addressed those assembled. Speaking about the time after the Agreement 2010 was reached he said that “Each time we felt we getting somewhere, the goalposts were moved and new problems arose. After long consideration and waiting six months, we decided to go back on the protest.

“We were forced to endure 24-hour lock-down with no reason given while all the time the prison authorities were telling us that the Agreement would be implemented as soon as possible, but again they didn’t follow through.

“All the POWs wanted then and want now is for the August 2010 Agreement to be

implemented in full by the British government as promised.

“We demand the British government restore POW status to the POWs immediately.”

A recently-released POW outlined “a day in the life of a POW on protest” the daily timetable of the POWs and the terrible conditions of the dirty protest in which they live. He described the brutality of the regime which forced POWs to endure such conditions: 23-hour lock-up; no education facilities; for many weeks they had no visits, phone calls or yard time; they were often hungry as they were not allowed time to eat their meals – sometimes they had nothing to eat for the whole day. Now their meals are delivered to their cells by prison warders in riot gear, where excrement is smeared on the walls and the stench is terrible.

The brutal strip-searching, which often takes place even when the POWs have not moved outside their cells, is naturally a serious issue with the POWs. A BOSS chair would do the same job without the assaults the prisoners endure currently endure. Strip-searching is of course used in an attempt to degrade and humiliate the POWs and also to criminalise them. The POWs however are steadfast in their belief in themselves and they “will continue with the protest for as long as it takes”.

He called for “an immediate end to strip-searching and controlled movement”.

Republican Sinn Féin Belfast intends to hold a series of public meetings throughout the city in the coming months to raise awareness of the situation in



• Vice-President Geraldine Taylor and John Joe McCusker, Ard Chomhairle at the public meeting in support of the Maghaberry POWs in Ardoyne on December 17.

Maghaberry jail. Anyone who wants to assist in highlighting the situation in their own areas should contact the Republican Sinn Féin office at 229 Falls Road, Belfast or Head Office in Dublin.

Martin Corey is still held as a political hostage by the British Government in Maghaberry Jail going on for two years now. During December Martin was granted leave to seek a judicial review, which will be held in March. The secrecy of his re-arrest and revocation of his licence, and the state’s claim of unspecified allegations relating him ‘being a Republican’ and his subsequent ‘internment’, was part of his case for a judicial review. His barrister, Karen Quinlivan QC, said it was “impossible to challenge the revocation order because of the undisclosed information”.

The Release Martin Corey Campaign issued a statement on December 21, and called for his immediate release.

“Martin Corey, a former Republican POW, is held as a

political hostage by the British Government. He has been interned at the behest of the British Secretary of State for over 1 year and 8 months.

“Martin was taken from his home in April 2010 and locked up in Maghaberry Prison - he is still awaiting an acceptable reason for the revocation of his licence. The only information released to Martin is that he is ‘a security risk’ and cites unspecified allegations relating him ‘being a Republican’ - as if being a Republican was in itself an ‘offence’.

“It would seem that political opinion not in line with those who administer British rule in Stormont is a ‘criminal offence’.

“While we welcome the fact that there has been some movement and a date set for a judicial review, we have to point out that Martin must now spend at least another three months locked in a prison cell.

“In a civilised society locking up citizens without charge or trial must be challenged.

“The Release Martin Corey Campaign of Republican Sinn Féin demands that the British government release Martin Corey immediately. We call on every person concerned with human rights abuses and civil liberties to call for Martin’s immediate release and not allow this internment to go on any longer”.

In Newry, Co Down from December 12 to December 16 members of the Joe Conway/Brendan Watters Cumann Republican Sinn Féin, along with fellow Republicans, distributed leaflets outlining a POWs daily routine in Maghaberry jail. All the main housing estates in Newry received this informative leaflet as did homes across South Armagh.

A white-line picket on Monahan Street in Newry on Saturday, December 17 was well-attended by Republicans from Newry, South Down and south Armagh. Monahan Street in Newry as well as Hill Street and the Republican Derrybeg estate were all decorated with posters erected by members of Republican Sinn Féin the night before the picket.

The posters simply stated *Implement the 2010 Maghaberry Agreement*, which the British establishment have so far reneged on. The white-line picket numbered around 100 Republicans of which there were former life-sentenced POWs, former POWs and ex-internees in attendance.

Republican Sinn Féin called on people to ask the nationalist and Republican community to question elected representatives of all the constitutional parties - and indeed to put pressure on them - as to why they are not trying to resolve this highly-charged situation and also

Pickets in support of the

POWs were held in many counties throughout the month of December.

It was reported on January 7 that Cardinal Seán Brady and Church of Ireland Archbishop Alan Harper had met the protesting Republican prisoners in Maghaberry jail.

Senior church and British Department of Justice sources confirmed the meeting, which took place three days before Christmas as part of a wider pastoral visit. Church sources emphasized the pastoral nature of the visit.

However the *Belfast Telegraph* newspaper was told they asked for “sufficient time” to talk to representatives of the protesters. One source described this as “a priority in the visit”.

It is understood the two were in the prison for several hours, meeting staff, prisoners and chaplains as well as inspecting facilities.

It is understood Archbishop Harper met loyalists held in Roe House while Cardinal Brady spoke with Republicans, then together they met the representatives of the protesting prisoners.

In London a motion was passed at the [British] Labour Representation Committee (Chair John McDonnell MP) Conference on November 19 by about 250 votes to 6: “Defend Civil Liberties: Political Status for Irish Republican Prisoners, repeal the Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) powers.” (See <http://www.irish-solidarity.net>.)

The POW Department of Republican Sinn Féin would like to thanks all those who supported those pickets, the Christmas swim and the cards and letters sent to the POWs not just at Christmas but throughout the year.

# ‘Provo bosses let hunger-strikers die’

**AN ex-Blanketman who watched his comrades’ die on hunger-strike, said that the deaths of the last six were ‘needless’ according to an article by Suzanne Breen in the *Sunday World*, December 11, 2011.**

The [edited] article continued: Richard O’Rawe says key IRA leaders should “hang their heads in shame” for rejecting a secret British offer which could have saved six hunger-strikers’ lives in the notorious H-Blocks.

The West Belfast Republican, who was the prisoners’ public relations officer, claims “six men with hearts like lions were let die horrific deaths for nothing other than getting Sinn Féin votes”.

Four hunger-strikers were already dead when British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, capitulated and made her dramatic offer in July 1981 effectively granting most of the prisoners’ demands. O’Rawe, who lifted the lid in 2001 on the secret British proposal to end the hunger-strike, was speaking after his account was proven true by documents just lodged in an Irish university.

“The evidence is there for all to see. It’s the biggest cover-up in the history of Irish Republicanism,” he told the

*Sunday World*. The hunger-strike was run on the outside by a clandestine committee set up by the Army Council.

O’Rawe spoke of the threats and intimidation he and his family had suffered since he exposed the leadership’s lies. “Richard O’Rawe H-Block traitor” was written on the wall opposite my home. Well, it’s now as clear as daylight who betrayed the hunger-strikers.”

Joe McDonnell, the fifth hunger-striker, was hovering on the brink of death so urgent action was required. Duddy relayed the offer to Martin McGuinness who told Gerry Adams. Danny Morrison was then despatched to the H-Blocks to brief Bik McFarlane, the IRA commander in the jail.

“The British were compromising on prison uniforms, work, visits, letters and segregation. Bik wrote to Gerry Adams, accepting the offer.” However, the Army Council committee then sent word into the jail that the offer



• Richard O’Rawe wasn’t enough.

On July 7, the IRA told the British that while the substance of the proposal was acceptable, the “tone” needed changing. It was later revealed that the Army Council committee never briefed the entire Army Council itself on the details of the offer.

British State papers released at the end of December confirm Richard O’Rawe’s claim that the British government made a substantial offer in July 1981 after four deaths, and was personally approved by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and passed to the IRA.

In an interview in the *Belfast Telegraph* on January 3, 2012 Richard O’Rawe said he believed it could have ended the strike and saved up to six hunger strikers.

In the interview Richard O’Rawe said he had been vindicated and accused Morrison of changing his story.

He quotes a 2009 article in which Morrison wrote that he visited the hunger strikers and gave them “details of what the British appeared to be offering”.

In a 2006 interview Danny Morrison said the hunger strikers agreed the offer was a “resolution but we wanted it guaranteed”.

McFarlane has veered between denying that there was any offer and saying he told O’Rawe: “This is amazing, this is a huge opportunity and I feel there is the potential there to end this.”

If Morrison’s earlier accounts are accurate, he had the gist of the offer when he visited the jail and then got further clarification from the British the next day. If his recent version, that the British government “had yet to formulate its position” is nearer the truth, then the offer came a day later.

Either way, there was an offer which would have allowed the prisoners to wear their own clothes — a central demand.

The papers show that the British tried again on July 18, after two more deaths. Whatever the precise timing, prisoners continued to die without winning any improvement on the original offer.

## TEAGMHÁLACHA

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# Volunteer Seán Sabhat commemorated

**ON Sunday, January 1, 2012 the annual Seán Sabhat commemoration was held at the Republican Plot in Mount Saint Lawrence Cemetery in Limerick city which is the burial place of Volunteer Seán Sabhat who gave his life 55 years ago in the cause of Irish freedom.**

The event was organised by Comhairle na Mumhan (Munster executive), Republican Sinn Féin.

Members and supporters marched from Mulgrave Street to Mount Saint Lawrence Cemetery led by a colour party.

The commemoration was chaired by Geraldine McNamara, National PRO.

In her opening address she said that "Seán Sabhat was a scholar, a fluent Irish speaker and a freedom fighter and we honour him today by continuing that struggle in the same honourable way that he and his comrades did."

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican prisoners by Adrian Haire (Mayo), on behalf of Republican Sinn Féin by Joan Kennedy (Cork) and on behalf of the Republican Movement by Donal Malone (Tipperary).

A decade of the Rosary was recited by John Mangan (Kerry) which was followed by a minutes silence and the Last Post. Tomás Ó Curráin read the New Year statement from the Leadership of Republican Sinn Féin.

Geraldine introduced Han Hoban, Mayo, an ex-internee and POW to give the main oration. In the course of his oration Dan said:

"For 800 years the Irish people have resisted British rule. Seán Sabhat was part of that resistance movement and he handed on that tradition to those who came after him.

"We have a long history of battle to liberate ourselves from British rule in this country and it has gone on for over 800 years. Unfortunately we haven't been successful so far but every generation of Irish men and Irish women have come out at different times when all the forces that were against us thought they had Republicans defeated.

"We had Pádraig Pearse and his

comrades who so gallantly fought in Easter Week 1916 who were executed by firing squad. At that time we had the Proclamation to which Republicans are still true today, those who believe that we will achieve that ultimate goal.

"Many have fallen by the wayside in the meantime but Republicans have stuck together and eventually will come out and achieve that goal. Recently the Patron of Republican Sinn Féin Ruairi Ó Brádaigh was asked in an interview 'is this it, have we gone into politics now and are the McGuinnesses and the Adams and all those going to take over'. Ruairi's answer to this question was 'while British rule remains in Ireland there will always be some form of an IRA, somebody will take on the powers that be'.

"We had that glorious fight in 1916 and then we had the Treaty of Surrender in 1922 when Irishmen were divided over what course we should take. At that particular time people were compromised when they went to London and they signed a deal. But then there were others, true Republicans who said we will not have this deal, we will fight on. "Then further down the road we had people who had stood with the Republican cause but decided they had enough and Fianna Fáil was founded. De Valera and his cohorts said put your guns away they will be needed another time but the next time they were needed was to execute men in the '30s and the '40s.

"We have a long history and we have a long memory and we don't forget and those men who were executed during that period by Éamonn de Valera and his government who knew so much about the IRA that they said they were going to defeat them for all times.

"And then the men of the 1940s to



• A section of the crowd at the Seán Sabhat commemoration in Limerick on January 1.

whom we owe a huge deal of respect for keeping things together during those lean years. Men who lay in English jails, men who lay in the Curragh, who lay in Portlaoise and the sacrifice made by men like Charlie Kerins, Maurice O'Neill and so on and so forth; McNeela and Darcy who died on hunger strike, and all the sufferings, women in jail in England who fought on and said we will have the whole thing, the Irish Republic or nothing.

"At the end of that period when the people were released from the Curragh Concentration Camp and all the others came out of English jails, de Valera and his cohorts said we have to put the IRA down for all times. They were making a sad mistake, but I can tell you one thing, they were the nearest people who came to defeating the IRA, and they failed and when they failed nobody else will succeed.

"Then came the 1950s campaign in which Seán Sabhat paid the supreme sacrifice along with Fergal O'Hanlon in the Resistance Campaign. We had the Wexford men and Michael Watters and all those people that kept the tradition going. And when that campaign ended it was thought the IRA were gone again.

"But in 1969 when Bernadette Devlin and her comrades came to Burntfortbridge a new generation of Irishmen and women were on the march again.

"We had a glorious campaign that was fought for over 30 years, and with victory in sight, we had men who got greedy, men who wanted power, who wanted to take part of the apple, not the whole. So they had their 'Good Friday' Agreement and everything that went with it. They turned around and said the path of fighting is over, now we will go back to the politics that our former friends de Valera and Cosgrave and were going to free Ireland with.

"But there was only one type of politics that the British understood and that was the politics that came from the point of a gun. That was the only message that they ever answered and so McGuinness and Adams and all their friends are lying there now in Leinster House and Stormont, and they are over in London taking big salaries.

"They have forgotten about the men who died in the H-Blocks, they have forgotten about the men who have fought and struggled for the last 30 years; but there are still people who haven't forgotten about them. And if the Republic was not achieved by a past generation, it will be achieved by a generation in the future.

"There will always be men and women who are prepared to fight and die to liberate their country and while the last generation was a great generation there will come a greater one. We have to struggle on to achieve

what hasn't come to fruition.

"We have all types of propaganda now from the British and from this side and that side from former comrades, and in the last few days the British papers released on something that happened over 30 years ago.

"They have released the papers and the British version of what happened at the Hunger Strike of 1981 when ten men paid the supreme sacrifice. They are claiming that Maggie Thatcher wanted to end it, that there were attempts made to end it and that Bobby Sands was prepared, when he was near to death, to compromise and talk. In the previous hunger strike there was compromise and talk and what was promised was never given. It was agreed during the 1981 H-Block hunger strike that there would be no compromise and let not the British try to besmirch the name of Bobby Sands or Patsy O'Hara or anyone else by claiming that on their death bed they were prepared to take food.

"The British cannot take away what those men stood and fought for, they stood up and fought for political status for Irish Republican prisoners and they fought for the liberation of their country.

"We are standing here today as the true standard bearers of Irish Republicanism and we will continue to encourage and support everybody who opposes British rule in Ireland by using whatever means is at their disposal to get rid of the British forever, because there will be no peace in Ireland until the last Brit is gone.

"Finally, coming back to Seán Sabhat and Fergal O'Hanlon, Seán Sabhat was a very inspirational figure not alone to those who fought side by side with him but to those who came after him and many of the Volunteers who died in the struggle over the last twenty years.

"I am very sure that a lot of them were inspired by Seán Sabhat and I would like to say that he was an inspiration to all of us in the struggle for Irish independence."

## Wexford honours Liam Mellows

**ON Sunday, December 11, 2011, the South East Comhairle Ceantair held their annual Liam Mellows Commemoration in Castletown, Co. Wexford.**

The assembled crowd gathered at the graveside accompanied by a colour party from Wexford. The event was chaired by Jimmy Kavanagh and he began the ceremony by asking Joss Kavanagh to lay a wreath on behalf of the South-East Comhairle Ceantair. Tom Malone laid a wreath on behalf of the Wexford Republican Graves Association.

A minute's silence was then held with the dipping of the Tricolour.

After Mick Hunt read the Wexford Roll of Honour the chairperson introduced the main speaker of the day, James O'Neill, Waterford. James started his oration by giving a detailed account of Liam

Mellows life including his time in the IRB and the abortive attacks led by Liam Mellows on Royal Irish Constabulary stations at Oranmore and Clarinbridge in Co. Galway and the taking over of the town of Athenry.

He continued: "In June 1922, Liam Mellows and fellow Republicans Rory O'Connor, Joe McKelvey and Richard Barrett (among others) entered the Four Courts in Dublin which had been occupied by anti-treaty forces since April.

"However, they were bombarded by pro-treaty Free State forces and surrendered after two days. Mellows had a chance to escape along with Ernie O'Malley, but did not take

it. Imprisoned in Mountjoy Gaol, Mellows, O'Connor, McKelvey and Barrett were executed by a firing squad on December 8. Liam Mellows recognised the Anglo-Irish treaty to be a betrayal of the Irish Republic, saying in the Treaty Debates of 1921-22: 'We do not seek to make this country a materially great country at the expense of its honour in any way whatsoever. We would rather have this country poor and indigent, we would rather have the people of Ireland eking out a poor existence on the soil as long as they possessed their souls, their minds and their honour. This fight has been more than the fleshpots of Empire'."

James finished his oration by bringing us to the present day by saying: "We can talk for days about the problems in our country or we can actually start



• (left) Ard Chomhairle member Matt Conway and (right) James O'Neill at the Liam Mellows commemoration in Wexford on December 11.

to take some action in the form of boycotts and peaceful protests in the same way Mahatma Ghandi did. Dublin could be brought to its knees by that kind of protest and when it

affects the money coming in they will listen.

"If they are forced to bring a Treaty of European reform then vote NO! And no means no this time. I am sick of watching

people I grew up with getting on a plane for far away shores and not knowing whether they will return.

"The war in this country expands from the illegal occupation in the North of Ireland to the traitors that have control in the South. It may seem like a distant dream of a 32-County Republic without the tyranny of foreign or domestic enemies but it will happen — it's just a matter of everyone doing that little bit more and getting the opposition in everyway possible.

The Chairperson closed the ceremony by asking everyone to remember two of our comrades that we tragically lost during the year. He said that it is fitting that here at the graveside of a true Republican we should pay tribute to Billy Phillips and Nicky Barnes.

# Intrepid activists swim for POWs

ON what was, compared to last year's event, a Summer's day, the CABHAIR organisation 'fed and watered' approximately 100 people that turned up on Christmas Day to support the swimmers who went for a 'dip' in the canal at Inchicore, Dublin to raise much needed funds for the Republican Prisoners Dependants Fund.



• Braving the waters at the Christmas Swim in Dublin.



• More swimmers take to the water.

Five sponsored swimmers Lee, David O'Rourke, Diarmuid Mac Dubhghlais, Paddy Todd and Tony Moore, splashed about like children in a paddling pool!! David entertained us with a 'splashing' back-flip! A sixth swimmer Declan, from nearby Drimnagh was unfortunately unable to take part as the organisers decided it was safer he not take part due to a cut on his leg.

Ten Special Branch were as usual actively trying to prevent people from attending the festivities - this swim has turned into a 'must do' on Christmas day - but even their sour faces and threatening manner did not deter those who turned up to support the

event and to swim.

Santa was very late in turning up - thanks to the dour individuals who held him up for twenty-five minutes and prevented him from continuing his journey to the canal - and actually repeatedly stood on his feet to stop him from moving away from them - remember Santa was arrested a few years ago after the swim by these so-called guardians of the peace.

John Horan had the banners and Tricolour flying from the railings near the site opposite the Blackhorse Inn. Irish Rebel music blasted-out from twin speakers and later a man with a guitar entertained a section of the crowd with a sing-song. As usual John had a



• The five swimmers drying off at the fire at Inchicore, Dublin.



• Another of the swimmers in Dublin in aid of the Republican POWs and their dependants.



• Members and supporters of Republican Sinn Féin at Craigavon Lakes in Co Armagh on Christmas Day.



• Two of the swimmers and supporters in Craigavon.

Jock McMahon, Kieran Republican POW's in Maghaberry and Portlaoise Prisons.

Congratulations also to the Ciarán Ó Coileáin and Eamon Lavery, the two swimmers who braved the elements for CABHAIR in Craigavon Lake, Co Antrim. And thanks to their supporters who turned up with their banner to cheer them along. Despite the cold they have promised to be there next year, with extra swimmers.

Taxpayers should ask themselves how can the Gardaí justify sending anything up to 10 Special Branch to monitor a charity swim on Christmas Day while people are being assaulted and stabbed in the city and homes robbed. They then should ask the very same question of the hierarchy of the Gardaí.

CABHAIR would like, on behalf of the Republican prisoners and their dependants, to thank all those who took part in the swim, sponsored swimmers and raised finance for the organisation over the Christmas period and throughout 2012.



• Five Wexford men braved the sea in Rosslare on Christmas Day for the POWs.

table-full of 'goodies', crisps, sweets, hot and cold drinks etc which ensured a party atmosphere.

In Wexford for the second year running Cumann Pádraig Ó Pearraill, Republican Sinn

Féin in Wexford Town organised a Christmas swim to raise funds for CABHAIR also.

The swimmers who entered the water were Shane Barnes, Micheal Óg Ó Fiach,

Philips and Aidan Duggan. The Cumann would like to thank all those who gave donations and sponsored the swimmers taking part.

All monies raised go directly to the families of the

## International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people

**SUPPORTING International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people [November 29] the usual Friday demonstration was held on December 2, 2011, in the village of Bil'in west of Ramallah.**

On that day five demonstrators were injured, including the journalist Walid Safé from Aljazeera International, as dozens of people suffered the effects of tear gas fired by the Israeli army.

The march, organised by the Popular Committee Against the Wall and Settlements in Bil'in was attended by many groups and peoples nationally and internationally.

(see <http://www.hamdeabu.blogspot.com>).

Participants raised Palestinian flags, banners, pictures of the prisoner Hamza Burnat, who is a photographer for Friends of Justice and Freedom, pictures of the prisoner Ashraf Abu Rahma, banners painted with the image of the prisoner leader Marwan Barghouti.

The protesters called for an end to the occupation and the demolition of the apartheid wall. They also called for freedom for all prisoners.

Demonstrations in solidarity with the Palestinian people were held all over the world in and around November 29.

The International Solidarity Movement (<http://palsolidarity.org/>) actively supports the Palestinian peoples in opposing the Israeli occupation. On November 29 they took part in a march to the no-go area in Gaza and released balloons with Palestinian flags attached to them, (<http://palsolidarity.org/>).

## Two Kurdish youths shot dead

**JUST days after the massacre of Kurds in Sirkak in which 36 civilian were killed in an air strike, Turkish police shot dead two Kurdish youths during a house raid on December 31, 2011.**

Eyewitnesses confirmed that the two boys were shot dead on the street of Amed (Diyarbakir) by the police.

The governor of the city told the press that two boys died as a result of an armed clash, but eyewitnesses contradicted his version of events confirming the two youths were shot dead on the street by police wearing civilian clothing. They said there was no "armed clash", and that the police took all the mobile phones in the building.

The Kurdish National Congress (KNK) strongly condemned the Massacre of Sirkak and said in a statement that the air strike "was conducted under the supervision and coordination of the Turkish army's chief-of-staff and hence the massacre was discussed and planned in the meeting of National Security Council".

The statement continued: "...the Massacre of Sirkak accomplished within the current context is a part of Kurdish genocide and no one can regard it as a mistake or an accidental event, owing to the fact that a vehicle of a Kurdish family was also targeted in Defence Regions of Medya leading to death of entire family including two children and the pregnant mother". At the end of the statement, KNK sent its condolences to the Kurdish people and called upon the Kurdish political parties not to be silent and show their reaction to such a massacre.

## Justice for the Lawrence family

**TWO men were convicted on January 3, 2012 of the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence 18 years ago in April 1993. Gary Dobson and David Norris were sentenced to life imprisonment on January 4.**

Gary Dobson will serve a minimum of 15 years and two months, and David Norris 14 years and three months.

Stephen Lawrence was stabbed to death in an unprovoked attack by a gang of white youths as he waited at a bus stop in Well Hall Road, Eltham in south-east London with his friend Duwayne Brooks.

Within 48 hours of Stephen's murder, Neil and Jamie Acourt, David Norris, Gary Dobson and Luke Knight and others in a gang had been named by 26 different sources as responsible for the murder.

In 1994 the Lawrence family issued civil proceedings against the suspects. However the charges against Jamie Acourt and David Norris were dropped before the trial due to lack of evidence, and the case against the other three collapsed after Justice Curtis ruled that identification evidence from Duwayne Brooks was inadmissible. Doreen and Nevill Lawrence never gave up their fight to have their son's killers brought before the courts.

In February 1997, the *Daily Mail* newspaper labelled all five suspects "murderers" and published pictures of Gary Dobson, Neil Acourt, Jamie Acourt, Luke Knight, and David Norris. At the inquest in 1997 the jury returned a verdict of "unlawful killing in a completely unprovoked racist attack by five white youths".

In February 1999 the William MacPherson inquiry into the investigation by the police of the murder concluded that the police investigation was "marred by a combination of professional incompetence, institutional racism and a failure of leadership by senior officers".

In 2002, David Norris and Neil Acourt were convicted and jailed for a racist attack on a plainclothes black police officer. In July 2010, Gary Dobson was jailed for five years for drug dealing. In February 1999 the William MacPherson inquiry concluded that the police investigation was "marred by a combination of professional incompetence, institutional racism and a failure of leadership by senior officers".

During the trial covert police recordings were played to the jury which heard David Norris proclaiming arrogantly how he would skin a black person alive, torture him and set him alight; and Neil Acourt, who was not on trial, saying: "I reckon that every nigger should be chopped up and ... left with nothing but stumps."

Writing in the *guardian.co.uk* on January 3, Michael Mansfield QC has represented the Lawrence family since 1993, said that "The real travesty remains...that had the police acted quickly upon the detailed information that was forthcoming in the first 24 hours about the

# WORLD NEWS



• Stephen Lawrence

identities of the potential perpetrators, the exhaustive trawl for trace evidence some 13 years later could have been averted."

Since Stephen Lawrence's death, at least ninety-six people have lost their lives to racial violence - an average of five per year - according to The Institute of Race Relations.

## Peaceful act of sabotage at Shannon airport

**ON December 20, 2011 members of the "Peace Team" sabotaged a US troop transporter at Shannon "warport".**

They outlined their reasons for the action, (some of which are carried below):

"Irish democracy has been subverted on so many levels and no less so on the Irish neutrality front. Despite the overwhelming majority of Irish people supporting the concept of Irish neutrality successive Irish governments (sic) have become accessories to mass murder in Afghanistan and Iraq and they have been directly involved in torture through allowing Shannon airport to be turned into a US warport;

"It was also as a gesture of respect for the people like Malalai Joya of Afghanistan, who had called at a conference in Bonn for acts of solidarity with her country;

"It was appropriate to carry out this peace action in Christmas week, when the media and politicians' speeches the world over are full of hypocritical Christian cant about peace, while they support and even profit from wars in far off lands;

"We will be criticised for jeopardising jobs in Shannon. But such jobs are created on the basis of killing innocent people in foreign lands. That is no basis for job creation. Our stand is the same as the stand taken by the men and women in Easter 1916 against imperialist war.

"It was a peaceful act of sabotage but there has been a virtual media blackout of our act of peace. We cut through a fence and proceeded to the warport terminal, passing on the way a hangar where work on a passenger plane was being conducted. Although there was plenty of activity at the terminal, the area around the plane was completely deserted.

"The only press report states we vandalised a plane. How can one vandalise a plane? Because that is what this planes is. And it is owned by vandals, by mercenary airlines like Omni airlines who profit from the US-led wars.

Beforehand we agreed we would immobilise the hydraulics of all the landing gear - the metal tubes that run vertically along the shaft holding the wheels. Four sets of landing gear were sabotaged - three in the middle, one at the front. This was all pre-planned. While that peace work was being completed another peace activist sprayed the words: PEACE: US TROOPS OUT on the side of the plane.

## Amendment allows referendum on Breton reunification

**ON Wednesday, December 21 the National Assembly passed by 16 votes to nine the amendment presented by Marc Le Fur (UMP) and François de Rugy (Greens), and supported by a half dozen other Breton deputies to initiate a referendum on the reunification of Brittany.**

This amendment was proposed under the review of the law on the referendum called on a popular initiative to allow the department of Loire-Atlantique to dispense with the veto in the region Pays de la Loire to initiate a referendum on the reunification of Brittany. Marylise Lebranchu and Jean-Jacques Urvoas, PS deputies, who had not been associated with the proposed amendment, voted for. Government officials have voted against and other members opposed on behalf of the interests of the "nation".

In the end the amendment was adopted by 16 votes to nine. The Chairman General, Loire-Atlantique, and the President of the Brittany region still have not responded. The first seems to no longer want to ensure the commitments made by the community on the subject, and the second has always excused the decision-making role of the French State on the issue.

Breizh encouraged councillors Loire-Atlantique to take a part in the amendment and to begin as soon as possible within the community discussion on the initiative of a local referendum on Reunification of Brittany.

<http://44breizh.com/2011/12/21/amendement-sur-la-reunification-de-la-bretagne-adopte-aujourd'hui/>

## Hundreds tortured in Syria

**THE Syrian government claimed early in January 2012 to have released more than 500 prisoners who were not involved in "terrorist" acts.**

However human rights group Avaaz said that it had compiled evidence that thousands of other detainees were languishing in government prisons and secret detention centers where, the group said, torture was routine.

Avaaz also said that its researchers had gathered the names of at least 617 people who had died under torture in government installations since the beginning of the uprising against Syrian president Bashar al-Assad.

The group's estimate of the number of the detainees, some 37,000, was more than double the tally provided by the Local Coordination Committees, another activist group, which said that it had documented the cases of more than 16,000 detainees. With journalists rarely allowed to travel around Syria freely since the unrest started, it was impossible to confirm either report.

Arab League observers currently in Syria are supposed to monitor promises by the government to release political prisoners. The observers, however, are not allowed to visit military sites, where rights groups believe that the government has transferred hundreds of detainees to hide them from the observers.

Opposition groups continue to contend that the observers have been ineffective, failing to win the release of enough prisoners, the withdrawal of government tanks and artillery from many cities or an end to the bloodshed.

The Syrian state news agency that the government had released almost 4,000 prisoners since November 5 "all of whom were not involved in the shedding of Syrian blood".

Several activist groups reported serious attacks on January 5 near Deir Ezzor in eastern Syria, including the security forces firing on demonstrators and clashes between the army and soldiers who have defected to the opposition. At least 12 people were killed, according to the Local Coordination Committees and Avaaz.

Up to 5,000 people according to United Nations estimates have been killed since the protests began in November 2011.

(Kareem Fahim, in Beirut, Lebanon, January 5, 2012.)

On Friday, January 5, 26 people were killed in Damascus. On Sunday, January 7 Aljazeera released most of the recommendations from the Arab League meeting and statement on Syria. However the recommendations did not satisfy activists in some of the country's major opposition strongholds, which have borne the brunt of the crackdown.

"We don't want new deadlines, additional observers or equipment," said an activist in the strife-torn city of Homs.

"I can hear the gunfire outside. The killings continue.... We ask [the league] to submit the issue to the [U.N.] Security Council," said the activist who goes by the nickname Abu Rami for security sake.

## Detained in Britain without charge for over seven years

**BABAR Ahmad is Britain's longest detained-without-charge British prisoner held as part of the global 'war on terror'.**

Babar was arrested at his London home under anti-terror legislation in December 2003. By the time he reached the police station he sustained at least 73 forensically recorded injuries, including bleeding in his ears and urine.

Six days later he was released without charge. Following legal action, Babar was eventually awarded £60,000 compensation in March 2009, after anti-terrorist police admitted he was subjected to "grave abuse, tantamount to torture" during his arrest. But following a trial lasting five weeks at Southwark Crown Court in June this year, all four police officers charged with the assault were acquitted.

Although never charged with any offence in Britain, Babar's continuing detention in a top security prison dates from when he was re-arrested in August 2004 under Britain's notorious extradition treaty with the US, which requires no prima facie evidence. The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) has refused to prosecute him in Britain for the crimes that the US alleges he has committed in Britain. It was only revealed in November this year that the police sent material gathered from his house to the US back in 2003, without even showing it to the CPS.

MPs were forced to debate his case in a pre-arranged debate on extradition in December 2011 following a petition that amassed over 140,000 signatures.

The result led to a motion being passed without a vote "to reform the UK's extradition laws as a matter of urgency to strengthen the protection of British citizens" but refused to insert the key phrase regarding "pending cases".

Babar's extradition has currently been put on hold while his case is considered by the European Court of Human Rights in what is his final appeal. In the meantime he is caught in legal limbo, he has been languishing behind bars without any evidence or knowledge of whether he even has committed any crime.

In much the same way, many other Muslims have been held under house arrest under control orders, which are incompatible with the right to a fair trial under Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

# WHAT THEY SAID

O'Malley's character emerges forcefully from these letters: detached, brusque, much given to list-making, and breathtakingly perceptive. Books remained at the centre of his life, and he amassed an impressive collection, numbering some 4,000 in 1953, after an auction at Sotheby's in 1949. The impression remains, however, that the visual arts were O'Malley's real passion.

— Irish Times, *Weekend review*, November 12, *Arts and Books review* by Caoimhín Nic Dháibhéid of *Broken Landscapes: Selected Letters of Ernie O'Malley, 1924-1957* edited by his son Cormac KH O'Malley and Nicholas Allen and published by the Lilliput Press. This weekend, it is difficult to estimate the wider dimensions of the European crisis. Cameron's [British premier] Friday night [December 9] veto has provoked. Not only are we entering a two-phase Europe, but the two parts of Ireland will now be under different European regimes.

— Sunday Business Post, December 11, 2012, Tom McGurk column.

The chances must now be growing that, in the coming months, the demand for a British referendum about leaving the EU will become unstoppable.

— Sunday Business Post, Tom McGurk.

The deal signed last Friday [December 9] is the beginning of the end of Europe as we know it. The shift is on from a family of nations, with checks and balances, to a German Europe where the diktat triumphs over dialogue, and the interest of the strongest wipes the floor with the concerns of the weakest.

— Sunday Business Post, December 11, 2012, David McWilliams column.

This is a bad deal for Ireland. It is also bad for Europe because it turns the EU from a family of nations into a German protectorate. I'm not too sure I'd vote for that. Would you? But then again, I mightn't be asked.

— David McWilliams.

Certainly, it is hard to imagine that, when the men of 1916 hoisted the flag over the GPO on Easter Monday, they were preparing to die in order to become like Canada.

— Sunday Business Post, article by Tom McGurk on the *Treaty of Surrender of 1921*, a copy of which is in the National Archives.

If there was to be a crack in this carefully-constructed edifice, here it was [the partition section]. Whatever about the price of civil war in the South, the Northern nationalists were to pay the greatest price for two generations until 1968.

— Sunday Business Post, Tom McGurk on the *Treaty of Surrender*. And what about the price endured by the Northern nationalists since 1968?

Go to any homeless shelter and you'll see young men and women, barely out of the teens, each with a tragic tale as to how

they found themselves in such dire circumstances.

Drugs, alcohol or gambling addiction, mental-health problems and family breakdowns and abuse all factors in their predicament.

— Alison Morris, *Irish News* column, December 14, 2011, headed 'No-one should have to sleep outside in north'.

The call by the Retired Garda Síochána Association to seek permission to erect a monument in Glasnevin Cemetery to honour members of the RIF, including the Black-and-Tans killed during the Irish War of Independence, is an affront to all those who suffered appalling abuses from this group of uniformed thugs.

— Sunday Business Post, December 11, 2012, letter to editor from Tom Cooper, Knocklyon, Dublin 16.

It was the Royal Irish Constabulary who fired indiscriminately into the crowd in Croke Park on Bloody Sunday in 1920, killing 13 innocent spectators and players.

They sacked and burned more than 300 buildings in Cork city in an act of reprisal for the killing of one Tan in 1921, and displayed utter indifference to civilised policing. Even the commander of this group of thugs, General Frank Crozier, resigned in protest at the deployment of these men.

— Sunday Business Post, December 11, letter to editor.

We may have lost our financial sovereignty to the EU and the IMF, but surely we can hold onto our collective sense of national pride, dignity and respect for those who made the ultimate sacrifice in securing our independence?

— Sunday Business Post, December 11, Tom Cooper's letter to editor.

Recurrent news reports of past and present political and sectarian violence in Northern Ireland (sic) remind us its peace process must not be taken for granted.

The report on the Miami Showband murders, the Smithwick Tribunal and the recent murder of a [RUC?]/PSNI officer show the conflict persists, though tremendous progress had been made.

— Irish Times editorial, December 16, 2012. Opening paragraph.

The North's security agenda will be provoked by the anniversaries straddling the next 10 years. The working out of Britain's internal and external political identity problems with Scotland, Wales and the EU over that decade will have a profound effect on Ireland too. These are all sound reasons for more engagement.

— Irish Times editorial, December 16, closing paragraph.

Time magazine has chosen as its person of the year, 'the protester' — a clever and appropriate way of summing up the seismic popular uprisings of 2011 for posterity.

The events that followed small-town fruit seller Mohamed Bouazizi setting himself alight last December after apparently cracking under the weight of years of police harassment have precipitated radical changes to the political and social landscapes in north Africa and the Middle East in ways that are still playing out.

— Irish News, Fergal Hallahan, December 16, 2011 titled 'Time person of the year puts Ireland to shame'.

So what of Ireland? From O'Connell to Carson Irish



• Victims who died as a result of plastic bullets fired by British Crown Forces at nationalists in the Six Occupied Counties are pictured on plastic bullets (see quotes below).

people used to get out and shout — protest about things we were unhappy about, changes we wanted made.

Where is our protest movement now as the balance sheets of banks are prioritised over basic decent treatment of our most vulnerable citizens?

— Fergal Hallahan. At what point will Irish people, or more accurately for the moment, people in the Republic (sic), say, wait, we're not going to the edge of the cliff with you?

Or will we simply follow them over? It's not the case we are anti-protest. We protested over sectarian murder. We protested over Iraq. Why not now?

— Fergal Hallahan. When 2011 is looked back on in years to come might it be a case of shame on us for not joining the ones protesting [Occupy movements] and thereby making the protest more diverse and representative and, ultimately, more effective?

— Fergal Hallahan. The Revenue Commissioners is investigating how at least 20 major companies managed to avoid paying tax on more than €150 million which was then used to reward staff with tax-free income.

The use of the tax avoidance mechanism came to light as a result of investigations into the use of trusts and offshore structures which were being used to conceal the identities of the Irish beneficiaries.

— Carl O'Brien, Chief Reporter, *Irish Times*, Friday, December 16, 2011. Internal documents show in recent months the Revenue identified the extraction of €152.6 million tax-free from 20 companies which are the subject of investigation.

The companies involved are not named, but the loophole is linked to a scheme which allows firms to reduce their tax bills on income arising from patent royalties and research and development.

— Carl O'Brien, Chief Reporter, *Irish Times*, Friday, December 16, 2011.

Plastic bullets were seen as the technology of political control. That the overwhelming majority of fatalities and survivors are of the Catholic nationalist tradition also gives an indication of the sectarian use of this weapon during the conflict by the then police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), and the British army for which there was relative impunity.

The use of plastic bullets was often the cause of riots and public disorder rather than being a response to civil disturbances. Plastic bullets were the weapons of first choice as opposed to any progressive

strategic and effective community-style policing approach.

If the lessons of the north of Ireland are to be fully learned, then underlying tensions within communities that spill into civil disturbance cannot be fixed or addressed by deploying ineffective military-style policing tactics that are plastic bullets. This only serves to further alienate already marginalised communities; it entrenches and exacerbates existing problems that are merely symptoms of much deeper social, economic, justice and political issues that can only be addressed politically and socially.

Plastic bullets should never be withdrawn altogether as an "alternative", otherwise there will always exist the potential for their use and mission-creep. They should be banned in both jurisdictions.

— Mark Thompson, article *Plastic bullets should never be an option — history has shown this*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk>, Wednesday, December 21, 2011.

There are crucial differences between August's riots in English cities and the violence that rocked Belfast a few weeks earlier.

— Henry McDonald, Friday December 23, 2011, [guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk), 'Riots in England and Northern Ireland: spot the difference'.

The crucial difference between the hoodie stabbing at the water cannon's tyres [Ardoyne July 12 Republican youth's rioting] and the hoodie leaping out of a smashed-up Dixons store in Manchester with a DVD player under his arm is that there is more of a political motive to the former.

Like it or not, the tyreslasher on the Crumlin Road had nothing to gain from his bid to vandalise a heavily-armoured police vehicle while dodging plastic bullets and jets of water. Depressing as it sounds, he is a much more formidable problem the State has to deal with in the long-term and one whose numbers will grow as the recession deepens and the simplistic mantras of the Republican dissidents become more attractive.

— Henry McDonald. In this resume of the violent scenes at the Ardoyne shops last July the key words are "water cannon" and plastic bullets". The House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee this week added its voice to those opposed to the deployment of these anti-riot weapons in Britain.

MPs pledged to block any moves by the government to introduce them on to English streets in the event of a repeat of the August riots. That only underlines once again the view held on this side of the sea that

there is one law for English, Welsh and Scottish subjects and another for those in Northern Ireland (sic) regardless of which part of the sectarian divide they grew up on.

No parliamentary committees or commissions are likely to recommend withdrawing water cannon and plastic baton rounds from the streets of Belfast or Derry despite the later weapon being responsible for the deaths of 17 people since 1969, of whom eight were children.

— Henry McDonald. A UK break-up would have far-reaching political repercussions in England and here.

— Irish Times, December 24, 2011, "World View" column by Paul Gillespie entitled "Case Builds for Scottish Independence".

Research shows a widening crisis of political identity in the UK which intersects with other divisions that makes its polity less stable.

— Paul Gillespie. A Prospect survey found 63% of UK citizens identify themselves as mainly English and 19% as British; while English voters want to leave the EU by a margin of 58-26 per cent, the British ones want to remain members by 46-37 per cent. This principally reflects the English-Scottish divide.

— Paul Gillespie. How would Scottish independence effect unionist attitudes towards Irish reunification? Might it encourage a switch towards an Irish federation offering more than the failed British one? How would Northern Ireland (sic) leaders and voters react to an increasingly disengaged UK in the EU?

— Paul Gillespie. Scottish independence would rapidly reduce the UK's geopolitical weight, lead to loss of its UN Security seat and reconfigure the distribution of voting and other powers in the EU and other international fora.

Any UK referendum on relations with the EU would fuel demands for a timely one in Scotland on independence. A Scottish role in the EU would replace London rule.

— Paul Gillespie. While he provided no explanation for his decision yesterday, in a preliminary ruling two weeks ago Young acknowledged the school's concerns about academic freedom. But he also noted that a treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom requires the two nations to share information that is relevant to ongoing criminal investigations.

"These are serious allegations, and they weigh strongly in favour of disclosing the confidential information," Young wrote.

Assistant United States Attorney John McNeil, who is arguing the case for the government, said, "We appreciate Boston College's thoughtful decision in this case by deciding not to appeal."

— Travis Andersen, *BostonGlobe.com* December 29, 2011. Judge William G Young, of the federal court in Boston, directed that Boston College turn over material to the US Government for the British government which includes recordings, transcripts, and other items, related to the interview with Dolours Price.

Secret papers released under the 30-year rule also

reveal how then DUP secretary William Beattie said loyalists were prepared to "burn down west Belfast" if the IRA was not destroyed.

— Irish News, December 30, 2011. *Eamon Phoenix and Diana Rusk*.

Banks and financial institutions may be able to write off up to €4bn in tax liabilities over the coming year, according to unpublished official figures. Under tax legislation, corporations can write off losses against tax liabilities on trading profits for an indefinite period of time.

Internal documents show the Comptroller and Auditor General (C&AG) has estimated the scale of losses in the banking sector is likely to significantly affect future tax revenue.

— Irish Times, Carl O'Brien, Chief Reporter *Irish Times*, December 31, 2011 and January 1, 2012.

It estimates accumulated losses €34bn carried forward between 2007 and 2009 in the banking sector alone could reduce our corporation tax receipts by just over €4bn.

— Carl O'Brien. Politicians and people in the South [26 Counties] should not sit back in the belief that the North question has been resolved.

— Irish Times, January 3, 2012, "Opinion" article by Andy Pollack.

It is clear that Government, Civil Service, business and media in Dublin see the North as far lower down their agendas than in previous years.

— Irish Times, January 3, Andy Pollack.

Surprisingly, [Provisional] Sinn Féin also do not seem that interested in the painstaking work of trying to bring the two jurisdictions closer together.

Observers say their Ministers [at Stormont] do little to speed up the snail's pace agenda set by the DUP at North-South ministerial council meetings.

Maybe they are frustrated with the very limited amount of cooperation that can be agreed at such meetings, or maybe they do not want to give the Government a cross-Border success story it can then claim as its own.

— Andy Pollack. They [the Provos] prefer to remain a left-wing protest party, snapping at Fianna Fáil's heels in Dublin and hiding behind the DUP's leadership of the power-sharing executive in Belfast.

— Andy Pollack. This is the concern that many of us have as we see attention in influential circles in Dublin turning away from Northern Ireland (sic): that both politicians and people and in the South will sit back in the belief that the "Northern question" has been resolved. The truth is more uncomfortable.

It is that the DUP and [Provisional] Sinn Féin remain tribal parties who are involved in an uneasy marriage of convenience.

— Andy Pollack. The facts are stark. Some 90% of social housing is still segregated. Over 93% of children are in separate schools. The number of "peace walls" in Belfast has grown from 22 in 1998 to either 48 or 88, depending on how one defines a "peace wall".

— Andy Pollack, a former *Irish Times* journalist, is director of the Centre for Cross-Border Studies in Armagh.

## International Affairs Bureau

A chara

In the report of the 107th Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin Poblachtach (SAOIRSE, Nollaig 2011) it says: 'He (me) also read messages of solidarity from around the world.' On behalf of the International Bureau and Republican Sinn Féin I want to thank all organizations and individuals who sent greeting to the Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin Poblachtach, among those are the Scottish Republican Socialist Movement, the Irish Republican Prisoners Solidarity Group London and the Swedish Ireland Information-Group.

The Ard-Fheis was attended by members of Republican Sinn Féin from Italy, Germany and Austria as well as a representative of the French group Liberation Irlandaise who also addressed the conference.

Over the past year, Republican Sinn Féin made important steps to build Republicanism throughout Europe. We are currently organising in the Netherlands and Sweden. The activists of the International Bureau and its supporters will continue the work over the coming year to highlight the occupation and partition of Ireland, especially the struggle of our POWs throughout Continental Europe.

DIETER BLUMENFELD  
Cathaoirleach, Roinn Gnóthaí  
Ildirnáisiúnta

## Inhuman Conditions in Maghaberry

A chara

I recently happened to see the BOSS chair been used in a prison in America on the *Discovery* Channel. The programme was about one of America's most secure prisons and the inside workings. The BOSS chair stands about four foot high and two foot wide. It is square shaped, everything is square, the arm rests, the legs the seat. It stood resting against a blank wall.

The prisoners were lined up ready to be searched -- they stand between taped lines of the floor. The line consisted of about twenty prisoners. There were just a handful of guards, no riot gear, and no heavy-handedness present to add intimidation to the atmosphere. At a word from the guard, the prisoners moved, one at a time, through a metal detecting doorframe and then sat on the BOSS chair.

Beside the chair is a stand, which is about four feet high and looks like a piece of modern artwork. The prisoner then rests their chin on this and then each ear. This device scans for foreign object in the mouth and ears. The whole process for one prisoner takes about five seconds. Then the next prisoner was called through to repeat the process. There is no dehumanising programme, it was quick clean and mostly not

stressful to the prisoner.

Why any prisoner that has the BOSS chair does not use it can only be described as adding stress to an already stressful situation that is part of prison life.

MICHAEL ROONEY  
Mayo

## Miscarriage Of justice

A chara

My name is Christy Walsh and for 22 years I have been trying to clear my name of a crime that I did not commit. I was convicted in 1992 by a non-jury Diplock Court; where the pre-trial process involved denial of access to a lawyer after my arrest and no right of silence during interrogations. Despite being presented with signed copies of my statements made during interrogations the Diplock Judge, John Petrie, convicted me for remaining silent as his "main criticism".

In January 2002, the Northern Ireland Court of Appeal, having found my conviction to have been 'unlawful', then revived it on entirely different grounds. In 2010, another Court of Appeal then found the revived conviction 'unsafe'; observing that I am "a person of previous good character". Soon afterwards, the Justice Minister, David Ford, MLA intervened to revive the malicious prosecution case against me and he continues to do so. The following Dept. of Justice internal advisory seemingly reflects the Justice Minister, and his Dept.'s, concern is that my innocence might expose other injustices, as follows,

'He also refers to his previous (mistaken) suggestions that we regard him as guilty....If Walsh's application succeeds it may gain a higher profile and raise questions over other convictions.'

In March 2010, before leaving the Court of Appeal, I took one of the Prosecutor's files with me. I now hold in my possession indelible evidence of serious impropriety within the NI Public Prosecution Service which are the basis for the Justice Minister's concerns as expressed above. The solid and overwhelming facts place the Prosecution Service closer to the object of crime than they ever did me. For a modest sample of the quality of evidence in my possession see, <http://www.christywalth.com/th prosecution.html>

The Justice Minister, David Ford, MLA is actively involved in a cover-up of what appears to be serious criminal conduct by a Crown Prosecutor, Mr Gary McCrudden. This email is intended to raise awareness and prevent the Justice Minister from successfully concealing the truth, and in that regard, I ask that if there is anyone whom you feel should be aware, or, who might be interested in the facts of this case, then please forward my email to them on my behalf.

Thank you for your time.  
CHRISTY WALSH  
For more information see:  
<http://www.christywalth.com>



• A BOSS chair used in Woodhill Jail in England (see letter on right).

## Irish Shoneens And British Imperialism

A chara

What is the *Kilkenny People* 18/11/11 doing paying homage to men and women from Kilkenny who fought for, killed for and died for the British armed forces. British colonialism, British Imperialism and the British Empire?

The same British army that put down in blood the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916, executing the seven signatories to the Irish Proclamation. James Connolly, badly injured in the fighting in the GPO, had to be tied to a chair because he couldn't stand before being executed by a British firing squad. The same British army including the notorious Black-and-Tans terrorised the Irish people in the War of Independence 1919-1921. They shot unarmed people. Burned Cork and other towns and were aided and abetted by the RIC who were mainly Irish and Catholic but that didn't stop them collaborating with the Crown Forces. Not forgetting of course the hundreds of years of repression, abuse, discrimination, terrorism, massacres, famines and evictions and every kind of exploitation and oppression known to man.

To me, any Irish person who joins the British armed forces is not just a traitor to his own country and people but an active collaborator with all the terrible deeds carried out by British Imperialism, in Ireland, India, Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Libya, Oman, Aden, Cyprus, Malay, Afghanistan, Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand to name but a few countries where British Imperialism caused the deaths of countless millions of oppressed and exploited peoples.

The British-run slave trade forcibly took 28 million Africans in chains, leg-irons and

shackles to the West Indies and America to work as slaves on the British-owned plantations. The same, if not worse, went for Irish slaves. King James II and Charles I led a continued effort to enslave the Irish.

Britain's Oliver Cromwell furthered this practice of dehumanising one's next-door neighbour. The Irish slave trade began when James I sold 30,000 Irish prisoners as slaves to the New World. His Proclamation of 1625 required Irish political prisoners be sent overseas and sold to English settlers in the West Indies. By the mid 1600s, the Irish were the main slaves sold to Antigua and Montserrat. At that time, 70% of the total population of Montserrat were Irish slaves.

Ireland quickly became the biggest source of human livestock for English merchants. The majority of the early slaves to the New World were actually white. From 1641 to 1652, over 500,000 Irish were killed by the English and another 300,000 were sold as slaves. During the 1650s, over 100,000 Irish children between the ages of 10 and 14 were taken from their parents and sold as slaves in the West Indies, Virginia and New England. Ireland's population fell from about 1,500,000 to 600,000 in one single decade. Families were ripped apart as the British did not allow Irish fathers to take their wives and children with them across the Atlantic. This led to a helpless population of homeless women and children. Britain's solution was to auction them off as well.

None of the Irish victims ever made it back to their homeland to describe their ordeal.

In Kenya in the early 1950's the British colonial powers forced Kenyan farmers off the best land and replaced them with white settlers from England. This resulted in the Kenyan Independence movement and the Mau Mau fighting for the return of their land and for independence from Britain.

In the struggle 300,000 Kikuyu people were killed by the British. Mothers and daughters were raped by British soldiers, men were castrated, detainees' eyes were gouged out. The British tortured men and women by sticking metal objects up women's vaginas and men's rectums. Oil was poured on detainees who were then set alight. These were some of the tortures and crimes against humanity carried out by the British on the Kenyan freedom fighters. One-and-a-half million Kikuyu were interned behind barbed wire with watch-towers and sentries and anyone trying to escape would be shot dead or recaptured and tortured. In Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya the British bombed, killed, tortured and abused countless upon countless thousands of innocent people.

The British soldiers from Kilkenny who fought in 1914 are no different to today's British soldiers. They all fought for, killed for and died for British Imperialism and the capitalist ruling-class. The British armed forces are the sworn enemy of the British working-class and of all oppressed and exploited nations and peoples.

I am dumbfounded that Kilkenny Borough Council are to 'honour' with a memorial all the Kilkenny men and women who fought for the British Army. What next? A memorial to the Black-and-Tans, in the same way that retired gardai are seeking permission from the Dublin government to erect a monument in Glasnevin Cemetery to 500 members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, including the Black-and-Tans, who were killed in the War of Independence? There are some Irish people it seems who are still proud to have served in the British Army and are unaware or indifferent or blind to its bloody history. I cannot imagine the British commemorating a British man or woman who fought for Germany against the British. It would never happen.

To add insult to injury, a front-page article in the *Kilkenny People* (28/10/11) talked about a possible visit to Kilkenny City next year by Charles and Camilla. The tone of the article was deferential, slave-like and fawning towards the feudal and parasitic next-in-line to the English throne. How can the people of Kilkenny in the present economic climate waste money on the Commander in Chief of the British Parachute Regiment, notorious for the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry in January 1972, when 14 unarmed civil rights marchers were

murdered by these British Paras, who also murdered 11 nationalists in Ballymurphy in Belfast in August 1971. Not forgetting the murder of 12-year-old Majella O'Hare by a Para in May 1976 on her way to confession.

There are still 5,000 British troops in Ireland upholding British Imperialism's claim to and occupation of the six north-eastern counties of Ireland and we have the *Kilkenny People* newspaper welcoming a member of the British ruling class to the city who supports and defends that occupation.

Charles' pal, the Marquis of Hartington, the heir to the Duke of Devonshire's estate in Lismore, Co Waterford, 'owns' the fishing rights to the River Blackwater which runs through 'his' land, and any Irish person who would dare to fish the river would soon be arrested by the police, taken to court and fined for having the guts to challenge an archaic and feudal law that allows an absentee landlord to prevent Irish people fishing and Irish river. As the Christy Moore song says *Only our rivers run free*.

The West Brit constituency who were overjoyed when the feudal and parasitic Liz paid a visit earlier this year will be salivating at the prospect of a second 'royal' visit! Shoneenism, deference, forelock-tugging and cap-doffing are still very much present in today's bankrupt Ireland where the Celtic Tiger once lived but alas is now dead.

Meanwhile, back in the real world, the vast majority of people in Ireland will continue to pay the price for the capitalist crisis. Capitalism or politicians can offer no solution or way out from its crisis except to put almost half a million on the dole, force tens of thousands to emigrate, cut services, cut child benefit, cut the dole, attack the poor and vulnerable. But no fear, the well-paid politicians, judiciary, the President, the chief executives and directors of private and public companies, the trade union bureaucrats, and the well-paid and well-fed media commentators are laughing all the way to the bank. For the privileged and well-heeled there is no crisis, only the working-class, the poor, the sick, the vulnerable and the unemployed know and understand the real meaning of the crisis because they live it 24/7.

CHARLIE WALSH  
Pimlico, London

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.

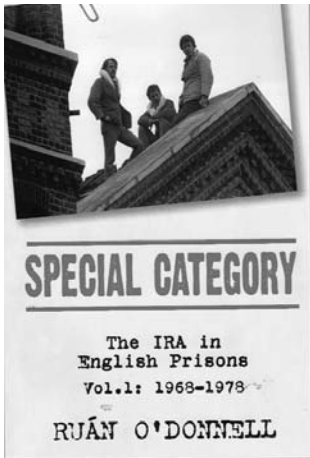
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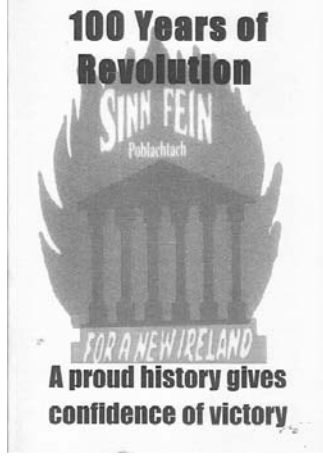
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# Irish Freedom Press



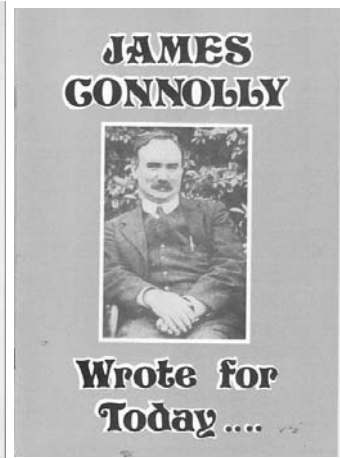
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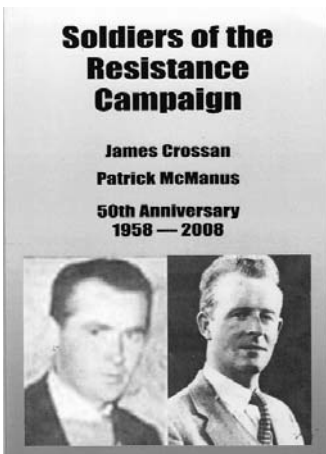
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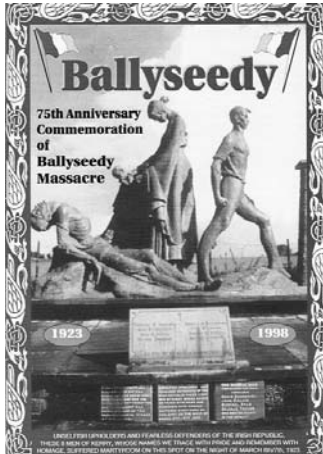
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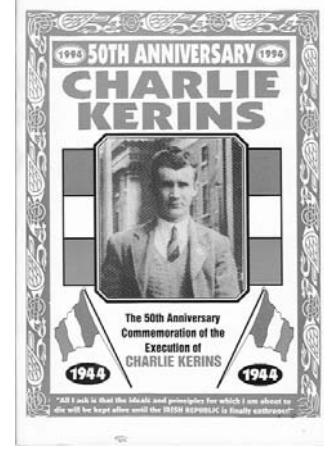
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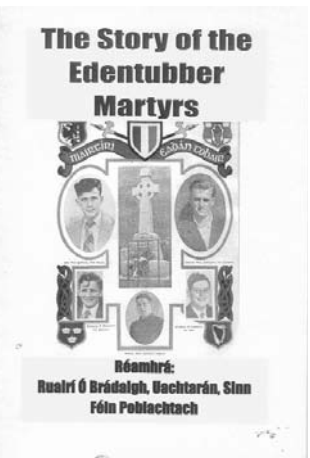
• **Ballyseedy, the 75th Anniversary Commemoration of the Ballyseedy Massacre.** €3.50.



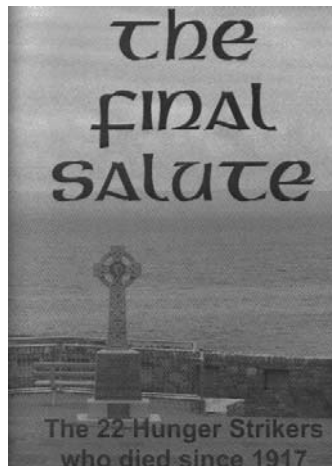
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# THE CAMPAIGN IN CRISIS

## 50 Years Ago

**IN the lead up to Christmas 1961 and into New Year 1962, the Military Court sitting in Collins Barracks, Dublin, plied its trade.**

**Sentences of eight years, seven years and five years were handed down. Unionist spokespersons in the Six Counties had been demanding heavier terms of imprisonment for Republicans for some time.**

Lemass as head of government in the 26 Counties and his son-in-law Haughey as Minister for Justice delivered for the Unionists and the Brits in style.

Lord Brookeborough, Stormont Premier, speaking at Brookeborough on December 1, said: "The revival of the Special Criminal Court (*sic*) is a step which indicates that more vigorous action is to be taken against the gunmen."

In the period since 1956 three cases against Republicans had been sent up to jury courts. In two of these the jury refused to find the prisoner guilty.

In the third case a man named Phelan from Co Kilkenny was given a short sentence of two or three years for possession of explosives. Jim Toner of Letterkenny, Co Donegal was cleared of a similar charge as was a third man. All three were interned at the Curragh.

On December 22, three men were jailed at the military tribunal. **Michael MacEldowney** of Slaghtneil, Co Derry, **Richard Nagle**, Midleton, Co Cork and **Alphonsus Larkin**, Limerick city received eight years, seven years and seven years respectively for possession of arms and ammunition.

MacEldowney denied that he pointed a gun at a 26-County policeman. He said "This is not true. The fact is that our policy does not include armed action in the 26 Counties. That gun was unloaded and could not harm him. The guard must have known that."

"We thought we were in that part of Ireland occupied by Crown Forces. It is these we are fighting and we apologise to no one. I say this as an Irishman and as a resident of Occupied Ireland."

Nagle said: "I make no apology for fighting Ireland's enemies. It is no crime to fight for Ireland's freedom, but it is a crime to collaborate with Ireland's enemies."

Larkin in his statement said: "We have always opposed the British army in Occupied Ireland. It is for this we are here on trial today. I have committed no crime against the nation, but those who have set up these so-called trials have. Future generations will vindicate us."

It was clear that the three men honestly believed they were in the Six Occupied Counties when they encountered the 26-County policemen.

On January 25, 1962, a Dublin Corporation worker and a Monaghan farmer were each sentenced to five years in the Military Court for possession of arms and ammunition. They were **Thomas O'Neill**, Fatima Mansions, Rialto, Dublin and **Peadar Doyle**, Coolderery, Carrickmacross, Co Monaghan.

O'Neill was accused of having two Sten guns, one Thompson sub-machine gun, three Lee-Enfield rifles, three Webley revolvers, two .32 revolvers, a bayonet, a quantity of ammunition and five hand-grenade cases.

A ballistics expert said the arms were serviceable. There were 10 dummy training cartridges and four of the grenade cases were dummy and could be used for training. O'Neill, in a statement, said the weapons could only be used for training.

Peadar Doyle remained standing throughout the trial which lasted nearly an hour-and-a-half. In the case of Michael MacEldowney, Richard Nagle and Alphonsus Larkin, all three remained sitting and it took Military Policemen (Pas) and prison warders to force them to their feet.

Doyle was charged with possession of three .303 rifles, three Thompson sub-machine guns, a quantity of ammunition and 65lbs of open-cast



• **Goans cheer as the Indian army liberates Portugal's three enclaves in the west coast of the sub-continent on December 17, 1961.**

gelignite. The accused said he took full responsibility for these. His father knew nothing about them.

Twelve empty Thompson magazines, 202 rounds of .303 ammo and 225 rounds of Thompson ammo were included. Peadar Doyle, in a statement from the dock, said the materials never constituted any danger to anyone in the 26 Counties and there was no intent to use them there.

Early on St Stephen's morning, December 26, a party of Special Branch detectives from Dublin led by Superintendent Philip MacMahon, a native of Moynalty, Co Meath, raided Republican houses throughout that county. Although the searches were thorough-going and the number of houses hit was considerable, no arrests were made and nothing was seized.

On January 10 three men were arrested in Kiltyclogher, Co Leitrim and held under the Offences Against the State Act. They were **James MacCabe**, "a native of the Six Counties", **Michael F Hennessy**, Kildorrery, Co Cork and **Richard Walsh**, Mooncoin, Co Kilkenny.

All three men were sentenced for refusing to account for their movements, Hennessy to six months and MacCabe and Walsh to four months each.

With the advent of the Military Tribunal, reporting of its proceedings changed. The names of police witnesses were withheld. "A Garda Sergeant", "A Garda ballistics expert", "A Garda Inspector", were typical descriptions.

Similarly, the addresses in the Six Counties of prisoners were not given. Jim MacCabe's address was Belleek, Co Fermanagh, yet he was described as "a native of the Six Counties".

The *Irish Independent* of January 11 reported that "the comb-out took place in the Kiltyclogher area [on the Leitrim-Fermanagh Border] when a large force of Gardaí in cars searched a number of houses."

"The three men were found in different houses, the owners of which were also brought to Manorhamilton for questioning. Subsequently the owners were released."

The *Irish Independent* of January 19 reported "during the past few days Gardaí from Castleblayney and Corinshigagh stations have carried out intensive searches for arms dumps in the Donaghmoynne and Broomfield areas of Co Monaghan adjoining the Armagh Border." Apparently nothing was found.

At the Ard-Fheis of Fianna Fáil on December 17 a resolution was passed condemning "armed raids" in the Six Counties. Speaking at the final session Frank Aiken said that "while maintaining their rights and demand for unity, they must do all in their power to abolish the memory of past dissensions and avoid any act that would play into the hands of those who might wish to see relations

between Irishmen embittered."

"Unity, not partition, was in the air these days," he added. This was a far cry from the world tour Aiken and de Valera engaged in when they lost power in the 26 Counties in 1948. Anti-partition was the order of the day then.

On the same date, December 17, a different scene was enacted on the Indian sub-continent. The *Irish Times* of December 18 reported: "Indian forces yesterday marched into Goa, Daman and Diu, Portugal's three enclaves in the west coast of India."

"The news was given at Belgaun, 25 miles from the border on the Indian side, by an Indian government spokesman. Ninety minutes after the operation began there was no word in New Delhi about whether the Indian troops were meeting resistance from the Portuguese."

"Mr Krishna Menon, India's Defence Minister, said in a statement that the 17th Division of the Indian Army, with naval and air support, moved into Goa at three points."

"Mr Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, ordered them in after rejecting strong pressure by the UN and the Western Powers to avert an armed take-over."

"First reports said that Indian aircraft had dropped showers of leaflets over the territory, telling the 600,000 Goans that the Indian forces had arrived to 'protect them from repression and tyranny and uphold their honour and prestige at all costs'."

Irish Republicans were delighted at this blow against European colonialism in the Third World. But the Irish had their own problems at that time.

The Sinn Féin organisation had launched a national rights body to further opposition to the denial of trial by jury and the trial by military courts of civilians who were not subject to military law.

Outside the Republican Movement similar moves were made. The *Irish Independent* of January 30 noted: "The National Civil Liberties League, a non-political group set up to protest against the introduction by the government of the Special Criminal Court, held its first public meeting in Moran's Hotel, Dublin, last night."

"Mr S Mac Criostail, BL, Dr Noel Browne TD and Mr Séamus Sorahan, BL addressed the meeting."

On January 18, Mr Lemass visited Brussels and made a statement to the Ministers of the EEC countries in furthering the 26-County's case for admission to the "Common Market" as it was then known.

He said "the political aims of the EEC are aims to which the Irish (*sic*) Government and people are ready to subscribe". Following the Dublin government's application to join the EEC the previous July, Lemass had stated that "partition in Ireland under the Common Market

would be an anachronism".

The British "Lord Privy Seal", Mr Edward Heath was in Belfast on February 2 and spent two hours with Prime Minister Brookeborough and his Ministers at Stormont. Heath was not prepared to comment on Partition.

In the British House of Lords on January 31, Lord Carrington, "First Lord of the Admiralty", said that "One cannot help feeling that some of the objections which were raised at one time to do with the Border... must surely dwindle away into insignificance if Ireland (*sic*) follows us, as it must eventually, into the Common Market."

Hopes were being raised that "the Border would wither away" if Britain and the 26-County State both joined the EEC. Republicans would reply that the institutions of Partition, Stormont and Leinster House would remain – as would the British garrison in the Six Counties.

This was the background when the Army Council met in January. A full attendance was present: **Paddy Fox** of Galway and **Redmond O'Sullivan** of Killarney, both of whom were interned in the Curragh in the 1940s; **Denis McInerney** of Clare; **Aindrias Mac Donail**, Tipperary; **Tom Mitchell** and **Mick Ryan** of Dublin; **Séamus Costello** of Wicklow.

**Ruairi Ó Brádaigh** as Chief-of-Staff and **Máirtín Ó Seanáin** as Adjutant-General were also present, making a total of nine, but only the first seven had votes. It was a crisis meeting.

All present realised that a critical situation was upon them. The gathering lasted about twelve hours. Ó Brádaigh gave a report on the position of the Army and everyone present spoke.

It had been agreed at the October meeting that unless the general situation improved the whole question of the military campaign would have to be considered. Three months later it had deteriorated further.

The essential five points that had been adopted in 1948 as necessary for an all-out campaign were considered again. They were the yardstick used in 1956 when the decision to go for a successful offensive against enemy forces in the Six Occupied Counties was taken.

Ó Brádaigh was the only one of the 1956 Council still in office. Now in 1962 he outlined the Overall Plan around which the Movement had been rebuilt from 1948 onwards.

**Arms and ammunition** were still available. As were explosives. **Trained personnel** were on hand but this could deteriorate if morale was not maintained. **Funds** were running out as had been noted nine months earlier. This was a missing measurement. It was not missing in 1956.

**The situation on the ground** in the Six Counties was not good. This was questionable in 1956. It was OK in Mid-Ulster then. By 1962 internment without trial had done its deadly work and the collaboration of the 26-County forces helped in that regard. The position of support in the 26 Counties was not good and morale had deteriorated.

**Publicity** in the Six Counties was poor. In the 26 it was fair but the results of the October general election were a setback.

Opinion at the Council meeting was a consensus. It was time to quit. Paddy Fox said he would not even give the young Volunteers a dog's chance in the present situation.

It was agreed to adjourn the meeting, examine the position on the ground in detail and meet again shortly. Another Council meeting and an Army Executive meeting would be called.

A last military operation was considered. It involved a high-powered attack on a fortified enemy strong-point – this time with new material and weapons which has been obtained in a small way.

Bazookas and rocket-driven projectiles had been imported and found to be successful. It would be possible to mount a second attack. Casualties would undoubtedly be sustained, possibly on both sides.

Because it would not be possible to continue the campaign after such an attack, it was decided not to proceed with it.

(More next month. Refs. An *tÉireannach Aontaithe/The United Irishman*, December 1961 and January 1962; *Irish Times*, December 18 and *Irish Independent*, January 11, 19 and 30.)

# Fenian Notes

## From our Washington Correspondent

CONSIDERATION of the ÉIRE NUA federal solution and peace plan for a united and free Ireland has been considered before in the United States and was taken seriously. This happened in 1973 during a political tour of Sinn Féin President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. While references to his two trips to the United States have been made many times, we have not evaluated and given proper study to what was accomplished.

Credit for writing ÉIRE NUA goes to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Dáithí Ó Conaill, President and Vice-President of Sinn Féin. Both men were portrayed as mindless terrorists by the British propaganda team in the United States. The opposite is true. Both of these men set out a detailed plan for the government of a New Ireland.

The Plan provided for many safeguards to assure the Unionist/loyalist community of their guaranteed rights under the new plan for a New Ireland. The British and 26-County governments had no such plan nor did they offer safeguards for all individuals in Ireland. The governments were only interested in the *status quo*.

It was necessary to put forth the truth and to show there was a way to guarantee peace and stability with full participation for all parties and traditions. The two governments did not offer this, Sinn Féin did.

The powers-that-be in Ireland ridiculed it, not because it was a bad plan, but because the source was the Republican Movement and the governments had no plan nor any deep thinkers.

Americans were not seeing any road to peace with justice in Ireland because the governments would not act with courage and put forward a plan. They simply wanted to keep the two parliaments in Ireland and that the people north and south had to accept them. They defended Partition by inaction and by military occupation in the Six Counties and by suppression of political rights in the 26 Counties.

Americans would have preferred that

Dublin come up with or at least support the concept of the federal solution offered in ÉIRE NUA and that if Dublin got involved then the hope would be that the British would then do the right thing. That was wishful thinking.

ÉIRE NUA had an obvious appeal to Americans because it was the same federal system that had worked for two hundred years in the United States. Federalism was adapted to Ireland.

The plan was viable and should be studied by any right-thinking person interested in solving the political crisis in Ireland. The crisis was started by a foreign power and only the Irish themselves had a right to solve it.

ÉIRE NUA was based on a New Ireland which translates into negotiations for a 32-County State, not Dublin and its 26-County State swallowing up the Six Northern Counties. Unionists get the wrong perception that Republicans want the Six Counties added on to the Free State. That is a common and wrong misperception.

Now Ruairí Ó Brádaigh came to the United States to explain the viability of the four-province federal peace plan. It was necessary for US lawmakers to hear for themselves that there was a way forward. That way embraced the way America had taken diverse elements and molded them into a working system.

When he arrived Ruairí Ó Brádaigh met with the press and had successful dialogue with inquiring reporters who had the British concept that Irish Republicans could not think, only kill innocent people.

They found an astute politician who knew what was good for countrymen and cared about all of them whether he agreed with them or not. It was a plan of inclusion and clearly reached out to the Unionists for dialogue.

The strategy was to pick out some friendly Congressmen and present them with a copy of ÉIRE NUA and get their reaction. If they reacted positively then they could recommend colleagues whom they believed a presentation would prove fruitful.

This strategy was discussed in New



York when Ó Brádaigh first arrived from Ireland. Fr Seán McManus invited Dr Fred Burns-O'Brien to accompany him to New York for discussions with Ó Brádaigh. It was accepted that Dr Burns-O'Brien would make a series of appointments with Congressmen and Ruairí would come to Washington for a business trip.

Some preliminary work had been done to pave the way for the effort to get the word of ÉIRE NUA put to the Congress. Tip O'Neill was the Majority Leader of the Congress and the most powerful Irish-American and at the time was very receptive to Irish Republicanism. It was a natural position for him having been raised in the heavily-Irish Cambridge/Charlestown District of Massachusetts.

His district had been a hotbed of support for the Irish Republican Army in the 1916 to 1923 era and views of the British were hostile. His constituents had written and approached him at home to support the campaign of Sinn Féin.

Burns-O'Brien, whose father had grown up with Tip and knew him, approached his chief-of-staff, Leo Diehl, to set up an appointment for him which he did. Fred requested that Tip read the ÉIRE NUA booklet. O'Neill agreed if Fred would edit the booklet to two pages, hitting the high points and he would then read it.

Tip said after he read it, it made sense. He asked if the Irish government supported it and was told no because they condemn the source. He felt it would be better if they were realistic and embraced the plan.

O'Neill informed Burns-O'Brien that he was going to read the abbreviated plan of ÉIRE NUA into the official CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. He then sent out the plan with his comment that this plan should be studied by all Congressmen. He asked for support and

104 Congressmen replied that this seemed to be a way to solve the situation.

It was published on June 29, 1973 prior to Ruairí Ó Brádaigh's trip to Washington in July. There was now a working paper to refer to that had the endorsement of the Majority Leader.

The first meeting Ruairí had with Tip O'Neill who discussed the plan and said it was a good way to bring in factions to discuss the future. He said he did not know how anyone could oppose it. Ruairí mentioned to him that he might tell that to the Dublin government. He said he would and did.

This set off alarms at the Free State Embassy and in the Foreign Affairs Department in Dublin. It would later come out that they admonished O'Neill that he should listen to Dublin and not Sinn Féin. He asked for a plan from Dublin and they said they were working to achieve peace. O'Neill was taken aback because they had no plan.

The Free State made it their business to declare political war on the Irish-American community for backing Sinn Féin and the ÉIRE NUA plan. Dublin could not tell O'Neill that it was a bad plan. Instead they attacked Ó Brádaigh, Ó Conaill and Sinn Féin and their Irish-American supporters.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh was welcomed by the many Congressmen he met and some mentioned they had read the plan sent by O'Neill. They said they looked to O'Neill and if he thought it was good, they accepted his counsel.

Ruairí presented the plan as similar to the federal system in the States so the Congressmen could understand it. He pointed out that there was a provision for the localities and the counties were similar to the States and all would be under the umbrella of a federal government. It was a fruitful trip for Sinn Féin.

Many Congressmen did not understand the full history of the Irish situation, but they could understand the desire to get rid of the British and set up a Federal government. It was pure American.

Ó Brádaigh did not just concentrate on those Congressmen with heavy Irish enclaves and votes, but he went to talk with a diverse group from around the United States. Some of those he met were Jim Collins of Texas, Floyd Spence of South Carolina, Barry Goldwater Jr of California, Don Fraser of Minnesota and many others from Ohio, Illinois,

Maryland, Florida and the entire Northeast.

Most assumed that Dublin supported the plan. They found it difficult to hear that Dublin did not have the courage to have a plan and then to confront the British about a withdrawal and set up the plan for a federal Ireland.

Tip O'Neill endorsed ÉIRE NUA and honestly expected the Dublin government would come around to support it especially when he found out they had nothing to offer except peace at any price.

Ó Brádaigh had an honest presentation that got through to the members he met. The plan sold itself. The Dublin government began an attack that left a lot of Congressmen wondering why they did not support a logical solution when they had nothing to offer.

What Ó Brádaigh did was a great step at the time and the endorsement of ÉIRE NUA was never withdrawn even when Dublin began spreading lies about Sinn Féin and its American supporters. Dublin's efforts in the US were always premised on negativity and lies about the Irish in America.

WHAT we must remember is that the campaign for ÉIRE NUA was started in 1973 and is still viable. Today is round two. It is significant that Tip O'Neill endorsed it when he was thinking straight before he was corrupted by Dublin, John Hume and Senator Ted Kennedy.

O'Neill never, even in later years, withdrew his support for ÉIRE NUA. That is why it was significant that he endorsed it, read it into the Congressional Record and offered it to his fellow members. He got 104 members to sign on. That is 25% of the House of Representatives. This can never be changed.

President Ó Brádaigh did more in a later trip to the United States in the Fall of 1973 when he testified about Dublin's human rights violations. ÉIRE NUA was raised then as well. O'Neill was still on board at that time.

Congress may later have supported the British peace plan, but they never withdrew their support for a plan which to date is the only plan ever presented to the Congress for a solution and a form of government for a 32-County New Ireland. We need to build on it.

— Peadar Mac Fhínn

## Teresa McGoldrick

**The death took place on December 2 of Teresa McGoldrick of Riverstown, Co Sligo, wife of Veteran Republican Seán McGoldrick, who predeceased her by 10 years.**

Her Tricolour-draped coffin was taken from her home to Riverstown Catholic Church on December 4 at 6pm and Requiem Mass was celebrated the following day at 11am. Her burial took place in Sooney Cemetery.

On both occasions a Republican guard of honour accompanied the coffin. The oration at the graveside was delivered by Dan Hoban, Mayo. He said in the course of his address:

"Seán McGoldrick played a very active part in the Border Campaign of 1956-62 and was very active along the Border when Seán Sabhat and Fearghal Ó hAnluain were killed in action on New Year's Day, 1957.

"In April 1957 the then Teresa Burke married Seán McGoldrick and became part of that staunch Republican family and herself played a very active part in the struggle for independence with her husband and family. When her husband

Seán and son Séamus were active Volunteers in the 1970 campaign she was a driving force behind them. Her home was an open house to all Republicans during that period and no active Republican left her home hungry.

"Many of those she looked after were killed in action, amongst them her close neighbour Kevin Coen. Then eighteen months ago her son Séamus, who played a very active part in the campaign which spanned the last 30 years died tragically.

"Life as a Republican was not easy for Teresa McGoldrick and today when I think of her I think of Pádraig Pearse's poem written while waiting for his execution in 1916. Teresa McGoldrick was one of those mothers. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raib sé."

The staff of SAOIRSE extends deepest sympathy to the McGoldrick family. Go raib suaimhneas síoraí dá hanam dílis.

## Dáithí Ó hÓgáin

**DAITHÍ Ó hÓgáin died on December 11, 2011 aged 62. He was a former associate professor of Irish folklore at University College Dublin.**

The author of more than 20 books, his work ranged from academic studies to biography and he also became known for his poetry and fiction. In addition he edited collections of folk tales and folk poetry. His first major book, *An File: Staidéar ar Osmáidíocht na Fíliochta*, was published in 1983.

He was born in Bruff, Co Limerick, in 1949. His great grand-uncle was the celebrated historian of Ossory, Canon William Carrigan.

Irish was spoken in the family home, and at De La Salle national school, Bruff, he got a good grounding in Irish grammar. His grasp of the language was further improved by visits to the Kerry Gaeltacht.

He was awarded a county council scholarship and continued his education at the CBS Limerick. A second scholarship in 1967 brought him to UCD, where he studied Irish, English, philosophy and history. He graduated in 1970 and secured an MA in 1971.

He then joined RTÉ and

worked as a journalist for 18 months. From there he moved to the Irish folklore archive at UCD, taking up a position as a researcher under the directorship of Prof Bo Almquist.

In 1976 he completed his doctorate, and his thesis formed the basis for *An File*.

A former member of the Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle, in the 1970s he was involved in policymaking and was associated with the development of the federal ÉIRE NUA programme.

A constant collector of folklore in Irish and English, he procured some very valuable traditional Irish manuscripts for the folklore archive.

He was rapporteur-general at the Unesco conference in Paris in 1987, at which that organisation's policy on the preservation of world folklore heritage was decided.

In 1989 he was a founding member of the European Centre for Traditional Cultures in Budapest, later travelling to conferences across Europe and further afield.

He also was, in the early 1990s, a founder of Craobh na hÉigse, an organisation dedicated to infusing new interest into the writing and reading of Irish language material. And he was a founder of the Irish National Folk Company, which liaised with many youth festivals in Europe.

He wrote seven collections of poetry, six in Irish and one in English. He also wrote three collections of short stories as well

as a series of books on Irish surnames.

He was a stalwart of Cumann Merriman. He lived with his wife and family in Bray, Co Wicklow, and contributed to a history of the town published in 1998.

He is survived by his wife Caitríona, daughters Aisling, Orla, Niamh and Sadhbh and son Ruán.

The staff of SAOIRSE extend deepest sympathy to his family and friends.

## Comhbhrón

**MORLEY**, Deepest sympathy to the Morley family, Ballyhaunis, Co Roscommon on the death of their son Jacobb. From Roscommon Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin.

**Ó DÚBHDDHA**, Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ó Dúbhda family, Cloghane, Co Kerry and New York on the death of Séan.

From the Ard Chomhairle, Sinn Féin Poblachtach, Comhairle Ceantair Chiarraí.

## I gCuimhne

**O'NEILL** - 40th Anniversary. In proud and loving memory of Vol Danny O'Neill, killed in action against British Crown Forces on January 7, 1972. Always remembered by the O'Neill family.

## Beannachtaí

**MARTIN** Corey, Maghaberry Prison would like to thank each and every person who sent him Christmas Cards. He has been overwhelmed with the sheer amount of cards and messages of support that he has received and indeed he is still receiving as it would be impossible to thank each person individually.

Please accept this as a token of his appreciation.  
<http://www.releasemartincorey.com/>

**NEW** Year's greetings to our Daddy Seán Ryan, POW, Portlaoise jail. From Jason and Saoirse.

# Conspiracy theorists take note

OVER the past five years the "History" channel has been re-writing the history of Germany in a not-so-subtle way.

This has culminated in their description of the rise of Hitler and the re-arming and militarisation of Germany and subsequently WWII. Hitler (an *Austrian Catholic*) overpowered Germany and then he and his *Nazi Party* forced Europe, the confused German people and their Fascist allies into a terrible war.

Conspiracy de-bunkers take note.

Here in Ireland (*Irish Times*, first week of January 2012) we are told (and he *admits* it

proudly) that Sticky Eoghan Harris led a secret cabal of Sticky Sinn Féiners in RTE to control news output to the ordinary people and silence Republicans while his Sticky buddies infiltrated and then took over the Labour Party.

It appears Peter Sutherland, Garrett Fitzgerald and many others including John Bruton attend Bilderberg meetings or is it "Vril of the mountain" meetings? Neither of which words appear easily in the Windows spell-check where they along with Tony Blair and the Clintons and many others openly conspire to build a "New World Order".

Here in Ireland Sticky

Gilmore (leader of the "Labour Party" — remember Sinn Féin, Sinn Féin, the Workers Party, Democratic Left and how they became Gilmore's Labour Party after a little matter of the murder of Séamus Costello less than a mile from the present Sticky Headquarters in Leinster House? — leads a group of increasing "National Socialist" and "pro-Europeans" who openly support wars in Libya and other places and welcome the killers of prisoners and the lynchers of innocent black Africans here for medical treatment.

ISN'T it strange that many of these people are the loudest supporters of those who deserted their own "defence

forces" to gain better wages in the British army during World War II?

Isn't it strange how suddenly all over the west Brit media here in Ireland there is a glorifying of violence and war and those who took part in it?

Isn't it strange how the previously "secret" members of the Sticky cabal are at the forefront of all this?

Now isn't it even stranger that a man (Sticky link-man *numero uno*) accused of undermining the American way of life by introducing forged American currency into circulation should beat the rap (remember that currency fraud

violations in America are viewed quite rightly as an "act of war")?

The idea that "Sticky Sinn Féin Harris" and his small cabal of former Republican activists might well have been using their printing presses and those of North Korea to undermine the sovereignty of the Free State is just too much of a "conspiracy theory" to countenance.

Why if that were true then they would have had to use the money and influence to buy the support of practically every Fine Gael politician and pro-British media mogul in Ireland and Europe.

They might have used this money to curry favour with their

former Sticky IRA buddies or even to pay them to kill the Socialist leader Séamus Costello! Maybe they "beat the rap" on currency fraud because they were the European centre for CIA operation in Europe which of course begs the question...who has replaced them?

Anyway, listen it's my medication time. Sorry about the ranting, I'll be okay in a minute and after you read the newspapers and listen to the latest news broadcast you'll have forgotten all about this too.

A Sticky New Year to you.

— Mac Cool

# Ablest mind in Republican Movement remembered

ON January 1, 2012 Republicans gathered at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin to pay their respects to Dáithí Ó Conaill, Cork and Dublin, who died suddenly 21 years ago to the day.

Led by a colour party, those assembled marched to the Republican Plot where Dáithí is buried. Andy Connolly, Cathaoirleach Comhairle Atha Cliath, chaired the proceedings and he called on Pádraig Ennis to recite a decade of the Rosary.

A wreath was laid by Jaachtaráin Shinn Féin Poblachtach Des Dalton on behalf of Comhairle Laighean. A minute's silence was observed for the dipping of the flags while Seán Ó Sé played a lament on the feadóg stáin.

Lita Ni Chathmhaoil, Ard Rúnai, Republican Sinn Féin gave the main oration, in the course of her oration she said: "Dáithí came from a strong Cork Republican family. His uncle Michael O'Sullivan (17), along with five of his comrades, was bayoneted to death by British Crown forces in March 1921. He joined Sinn Féin at the age of 17 during the local elections in 1955. By the end of the following year he was on active service as a Volunteer in the Irish Republican Army serving as an organiser under GHQ staff in Co Fermanagh.

"On January 1, 1957 he was second-in-command of the Pearse Column during the attack on Brookeborough RUC barracks

which resulted in the deaths of two of his comrades, Fearghal Ó hAnluáin and Seán Sabhat. Four others were wounded including the column commander. At 18 years of age Dáithí took command and led a successful withdrawal back across the border — evading 400 RUC, B-Specials, two helicopters and the British army — where they were forced to retire. He was then imprisoned in Mountjoy and the Curragh Concentration camp from where he escaped with his friend and comrade Ruairi Ó Brádaigh in September 1958.

"He returned to active service and for a period was Director of Operations. He was critically wounded in an ambush by the RUC and B-Specials in Arboe, Co Tyrone on the shores of Lough Neagh in November 1959. He made his escape but was forced to seek help because of loss of blood and his weakened condition. He was captured by Crown Forces and was sentenced to eight years which he served in Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail. Following his release in 1963 he reported back to active service.

"In 1969/70 he again made his talents available to the Republican Movement. Ruairi Ó Brádaigh said of him he possessed the



• The colour party at the Dáithí Ó Conaill commemoration in Glasnevin Cemetery on January 1.

'ablest mind in the Republican Movement for over 20 years'. The sheer breadth of his ability and intellect was evidenced by his service to the All-Ireland Republic both militarily and politically. He had a central role in framing ÉIRE NUA and remained a tireless advocate of it right up to his death in 1991.

"In the past year we have seen the Establishments in Britain and Ireland move to cement the status quo — the British presence in Ireland. The visit of the Queen of England, which was a non-event in the eyes of most of the Irish people, has been elevated to almost a holy event where we are told 'the relationship between Ireland and Britain is changed forever'. The shoneens in the Dublin Administration would have

us believe that because she spoken a few words of broken Irish the past must be forgotten and all is forgiven.

"Well, that can only come about when the British presence is removed from all of Ireland and its military apparatus has gone, lock, stock and barrel. While Britain holds sway over any part of our country there will always be men and women to resist that presence, no matter how many former comrades take the British shilling and do her dirty work. Empty gestures will not bring about a 32-County United Ireland where all, nationalist and unionist, may live in peace together.

"The young people in the Six Counties who took on the forces of the British Crown during 2011 were once again dismissed as

'apolitical thugs' or merely representing an anti-social youth culture. We know what the truth is. These young people represent a new undefeated generation prepared to take on British rule in Ireland. They are young people simply taking their place in the latest phase of the historic struggle for Irish freedom.

"It is our duty in Sinn Féin — the only political organisation representing the revolutionary Irish Republican tradition — to give political expression and leadership to this new generation.

"Here the 26-County Administration, faced with a choice between taxing the rich or taking from the marginalised and vulnerable, have once more chosen to put their hands in the pockets of the poor. Employers and the State are intent on rolling back any advance made by workers over the course of the last century. Whatever sovereignty the 26-County State had is now in the hands of the so-called troika of the EU/EMF/IMF and this is set to get worse in coming years. Water taxes, septic tank taxes, property taxes and waste charges are crippling people while the rich continue to get richer.

"Ninety-six years after the 1916 Proclamation the children of the nation are certainly not cherished equally. The men and women who sacrificed their lives and freedom so that we could live in a country free from foreign interference are turning in their

graves as they see the mess that has been made of the country by self-serving and incompetent politicians, bankers and developers. Once again our young people are being forced to emigrate all over the world to find work and whole communities are being decimated.

"In the run-up to the centenary of the 1916 Rising those of us who follow in their path must provide the lead to the Irish people as they struggle to fight the cuts and deprivation caused by the failure of those elected to run the country, north and south.

"One final thing: There are people, some former members of our organisation who either left because they were not prepared to accept the democratic decision of An Ard-Fheis or who were dismissed for bringing the organisation into disrepute, and their camp followers who were never members, are using the honourable name of the Republican Movement while engaging in criminal and nefarious acts.

"These people are doing the work of the enemy and we in Republican Sinn Féin will not allow them to continue to do so.

We demand that they cease using the name of this organisation forthwith. Republican Sinn Féin is not now, nor ever has, been involved in gangsterism and criminality and these people will not be allowed to besmirch our name."

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