



# An Phoblacht

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

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## COURAGEOUS SOLDIERS OF FREEDOM

Two Volunteers tragically  
killed in England



● An IRA firing party paid the final salute on Wednesday afternoon to the Volunteers who so tragically lost their lives in St Alban's last Friday

VOLUNTEERS of the Belfast Brigade of Oglagh na hEireann this week paid a final tribute to their comrades Patricia Black-Donnelly and Frankie Ryan. The two young republicans were killed on IRA active service, in an accidental explosion at St Albans, Hertfordshire, on Friday evening, November 15th.

Frankie Ryan was just 25 years old when his life ended so tragically, his comrade Patricia Black-Donnelly was only 18. Patricia was not yet born when the present phase of the Irish struggle for freedom began in the late '60s, Frankie was just an infant. Yet so little had changed for the most down-trodden section of Irish society, the nationalist community of the Six

Counties, that 20 years later young people such as Frankie and Patricia still felt compelled to risk their lives in an armed struggle to end British rule in their country.

Like their many comrades who have died on active service or have been imprisoned for long years, Patricia and Frankie were fully conscious of the risks they ran in becoming IRA

Volunteers. They did so because they wanted to see an end to the injustice and inequality which denied their people civil and national rights, and to open the way to peace and freedom for all the Irish people. Their courage was in contrast to the arrogance of the huge forces ranged against them.

When it was realised at the weekend that it was IRA Volunteers who had died, attempts by those forces to demonise them began immediately. Responding to this the IRA denied that the planned attack in which the Volunteers had been engaged was aimed at the crowded concert hall in St Albans, outside of which the accidental explo-

sion occurred. Such reports were "inaccurate and deliberately misleading".

British Home Secretary Kenneth Baker could not hide his satisfaction at the deaths of the two young Irish republicans whom he said were "evil and wicked" and commented that "those who lived by terror died by terror".

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams described Baker's comments as "disgraceful". He extended sympathy on behalf of Sinn Féin and the entire republican community to the families of the Volunteers and said: "In expressing my condolences, I am compelled to

respond to the disgraceful comments of Kenneth Baker whose reaction to the deaths of these young Irish people was one of unconcealed glee." Describing Kenneth Baker as "the representative of a government which claims to be civilised", Adams went on to say that Baker's statements showed no evidence of this and "contained only the kind of ignorant and arrogant sentiments which sustains British government involvement in Irish affairs. These Volunteers are the latest victims of the conflict which arises as a direct result of this involvement."

— See Obituaries page 16, War News page 2.



## News



● IRA Volunteers paying silent tribute to two courageous young Volunteers Frankie Ryan and Patricia Black-Donnelly who died on active service in England

## St Albans' operation 'aimed at military target' — IRA

THE EVENTS of the past week have been overshadowed by the tragic deaths of IRA Volunteers Patricia Black-Donnelly and Frankie Ryan. Both were killed in an accidental bomb blast as they prepared to engage on what the IRA described as "an operation aimed at a specific military target".

The Volunteers died on Friday evening at 9.54pm, November 15th, in St Albans, Hertfordshire, England. In a statement identifying the two Volunteers the IRA said "claims by the British authorities that they were involved in an attack on a con-

cert hall were inaccurate and deliberately misleading".

### ■ LOYALISTS GANGS TARGETED

The Belfast Brigade, IRA, said it was responsible for a series of co-

ordinated attacks against loyalists known by them to be members of the UFF and UVF. Four men were killed in the attacks.

In their statement the IRA said that Samuel Mehaffey was one of the gunman responsible for killing shop-keepers around the St James area of West Belfast and that the others attacked, William Kingsberry and Stephen and Kenneth Lynn were known to have planned murder attacks on innocent nationalists and had provided logistical support. This was the case also of the man

who was injured in a bomb which had been left under his Ford Orion car in Dover Street off the Shankill Road. In another attack the IRA said they went after a known UFF commander in the South Belfast area but he escaped while Volunteers were breaking their way in through his heavy security door.

In the attack in which Samuel Mehaffey and William Kingsberry were killed a young child was tragically caught in the gunfire and seriously injured.

## WAR NEWS

### ■ BOMB DEFUSED

On Monday night, November 18th, the IRA left a 220lb car bomb in Bedford Street. The device was defused by the British army after a warning. The following evening, Tuesday, November 19th, a number of hoax bomb warnings in Belfast city centre stretched crown forces' personnel, redeploying them away from nationalist areas for several hours.

### ■ FERMANAGH ATTACK

The Fermanagh Brigade of the IRA claimed responsibility for the mortar bomb attack on a two-car mobile patrol on its way from Newtownbutler to Kilturk.

According to the statement the IRA said the mortar scored a direct hit on the second of the two cars causing it to burst into flames. Although the RUC fired upon the Volunteers none were hit and all returned safely to base.

## COALITION BOWS TO BRITISH AGENDA

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE DUBLIN Justice Minister, Ray Burke, emerged from this week's meeting of the Dublin/London Intergovernmental Conference and announced plans for changes in the extradition laws "as soon as possible", a response to British pressure to close off "loopholes" in extradition law. This change will take the form of doing away with the political exemption defence once and for all. This follows close on the heels of two rows over extradition in the 26 Counties and the deployment of extra British troops in the Six Counties.

Yet another development is an increase in tempo in calls for internment, British army sources taking the unusual step of publicly arguing in a prominent English Sunday newspaper that its introduction is the only way to beat the IRA. This is just the latest in a series of significant comments to journalists by British military sources saying that they now believe their intelligence is good enough to make the introduction of internment worthwhile.

David McKittrick, in the

*Independent on Sunday* on November 17th, quoted one 'authoritative' army source as saying: "We can deliver, given a favourable or at least not unhelpful climate in the South. If the government can keep the Americans off our backs, and deal with the EC and the human rights people and so on, and ensure it does not become a cause célèbre, then yes, we can deliver."

British army sources in the article conceded the effectiveness of the IRA but expressed frustra-

tion at not being able to get any proof against the "big boys". This unusually frank piece can only be seen as an attempt by the British military to push the internment option at home while putting pressure on Dublin to follow the same agenda. Opinions among different interest groups in the British establishment seem to be divided, with Northern Ireland Office officials reported to be angry at this outspoken push for internment by the military without their sanction.

Following the Collins/Brooke meeting in Dublin, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams lashed the Dublin government's continued failure of northern nationalists, six years after the signing of the Hillsborough Treaty, saying: "They have allowed the agenda of this conference to be set by the British. Having already conceded on the issue of extradition the Dublin government has allowed the British to dictate how things are



to operate within the framework of the Hillsborough Treaty. The fact that the British can say they are no longer going to investigate individual complaints that unaccompanied UDR patrols are operating, shows just how far the Dublin government has gone in appeasing loyalist and British interests."

The Irish Anti-Extradition Committee made the point that: "When Dessie Ellis was freed and it was clear he should never have been extradited, there was no outcry from establishment politicians to have a prima facie requirement entered into the extradition law. Yet the minute someone's extradition is refused, there is an orchestrated right-

wing chorus calling for the legislation to be tightened even further."

Meanwhile, in the Six Counties, 1,400 part-time UDR soldiers are to be deployed on a full-time basis and an extra 440 RUC and 300 British soldiers are to patrol nationalist areas. British claims that the extra crown forces deployment can offer anything other than increased repression of the already beleaguered nationalist community has been rigorously challenged by both Sinn Féin and the SDLP.

The decision to put extra troops on the streets from one of the most notorious sectarian regiments in the British army, the

UDR, is not only another example of total contempt for the nationalist community, but is also a clear indication that, contrary to British propaganda, the deployment of more troops has nothing to do with the increase in sectarian attacks by loyalist death squads.

Commenting on the increase in crown force levels, Sinn Féin spokesperson on Legal Affairs, Paddy McManus, said that the deployment of the UDR in nationalist areas "can only heighten sectarian tension."

"Given the history of crown forces' collusion with loyalist death squads, their increased numbers in nationalist areas is likely to enhance rather than deter further loyalist attacks."

A spokesperson for the Troops Out Movement described the British government's actions as a "cynical move by a government which has stated by a government which it cannot achieve time again that it cannot achieve a military victory in Ireland". It pointed out that 73% of the British public have indicated that they think the crown forces' presence either makes no difference or makes matters worse and said: "The Troops Out Movement has pointed to the British military and political presence as the underlying problem that must be addressed."



## British feel heat at UN hearing

BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS were questioned by the United Nations Committee against Torture last week in the wake of increasing evidence of the systematic ill-treatment of detainees in interrogation centres in the Six Counties.

A delegation from the British Home Office was brought before the UN committee on Wednesday, November 13th, to answer questions on a series of incidents investigated and presented to the UN by Amnesty International. Amnesty told the committee that detainees are being ill-treated at RUC interrogation centres, in particular at the notorious Castlereagh Interrogation Centre. The international human rights organisation also expressed concern about the prosecutions brought on the basis of contested confessions made in the absence of a lawyer. In its submission to the UN Committee, Amnesty described the "existing safe-guards to prevent the ill treatment of detainees" as inadequate.

Responding to the Amnesty submission a member of the committee at the hearing described the use of seven-day detention orders as 'extraordinary'. Canadian professor of law Thomas Burns said that the practice of detaining suspects for seven days "created the conditions for an abuse of authority". He continued:

"Exceptional pressure was placed on interrogators to obtain confessions, since they knew they could get convictions based mainly on such evidence. The resistance to video-taping interrogations might give the impression that allegations against the authorities were true."

A Soviet member of the UN Committee, Yuri Khiter, questioned the British government delegation's assertion that no torture had taken place in any British establishments. He dismissed their claim as "doubtful" and asked the delegation to outline what measures had been taken to prevent torture occurring during interrogation.

A member from France, Christine Chaneet, said that it was "possible to imagine that anything could happen to someone totally in the hands of the authorities for seven days, with everything apparently geared to extracting a confession or statement".

The UN hearing follows in the wake of increasing evidence of the British government's use of systematic torture of detainees in interrogation centres in the Six Counties and the high rate — over 90% — of convictions in Diplock courts secured solely on uncorroborated confession evidence.



● Britain's human rights record ranks with regimes such as Chile, Turkey and Cambodia

## Westminster runs "terror state"

The British government's abuse of human rights in the Six Counties came under international focus once again with the publication of the new *State of the World Atlas* which maps aspects of social, political, economic and environmental life, in a comparative assessment of different states.

In this latest survey on the state of the world, Britain's record on human rights is ranked with states like Chile, Turkey and Cambodia, mainly according to the co-author of the atlas, because of its record in the North of Ireland.

In the map focusing on human rights, Britain is categorised amongst the "terror states" where there is a use of "assassinations, disappearances and torture". Britain is also described as "obstructive or unhelpful to international human rights bodies".

Former Oxford academic Michael Kidron and his co-author, Ronald Segal, identify Amnesty International and the US Department of State as their main sources. The authors continue:

"States that promote or condone or merely do not expunge the use, by their servants, of assassination, disappearances, torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment... are classed as terror states."

Commenting on the classification of Britain as a "terror state" Kidron said that the extreme examples of human rights abuses were to be found in the Six Counties rather than within Britain itself.



● The scene of the shooting on the road between Lurgan and Portladow where three workmen were gunned down by loyalists on Thursday, November 14th

## Three dead as loyalist attacks escalate

THREE MEN were killed and two seriously injured in a series of sectarian gun attacks by loyalist death squads in Belfast and Lurgan last week.

In the most serious incident, in which three men lost their lives, a loyalist death squad shot three workers as they left the American-owned Hyster factory in County Armagh. On Friday, November 15th, workers leaving the engineering works after a late shift, were stopped by loyalists posing as a crown forces checkpoint about half-a-mile away from the factory on the Carver Road between Lurgan and Portladow. Singling out what they believed to be Catholic members of the workforce, loyalist gunmen shot dead two men as they sat in their parked Polo car. The third man was shot when the driver of the car he was travelling in reversed his vehicle away from the gunman.

Fifty-four-year-old Dessie Rogers, a welder from Pinebank in Lurgan, was driving 28-year-old Fergus Magee of Kilmaine Street, Lurgan, home in his Polo car. Shortly after 11.15pm, less than half a mile from the factory, a White Ford Granada overtook them, slowed down and stopped, forcing three vehicles behind them to halt. As the vehicles waited at what they assumed was a crown forces checkpoint, loyalist gunmen walked past the first vehicle, a Rover with three male occupants, before opening fire on the second waiting car, killing Dessie Rogers and fatally wounding Fergus Magee. Fergus Magee died later in hospital from gunshot wounds to his head.

The third man to be killed in the attack was 27-year-old John Lavery, a Protestant from Pollock Drive in Lurgan's Mourneview Estate, who was a passenger in the third vehicle, a Vauxhall Cavalier. When the gunmen opened fire on the two men in the Polo, the driver of the Vauxhall tried to reverse his vehicle. As the vehicle sped away, the gunmen opened fire hitting the passenger several times. The driver took the fatally wounded man to Craigavon Hospital where he died a short time later.

The car used by the gunmen was later found burnt out at Ballinacoor Lane less than two miles away. In a statement claiming responsibility for the attack and demonstrating their bla-



● JOHN LAVERY

tant sectarianism, the UVF said that they had "deliberately" picked out the two Catholics murdered but "regretted" the death of the Protestant they had also killed.

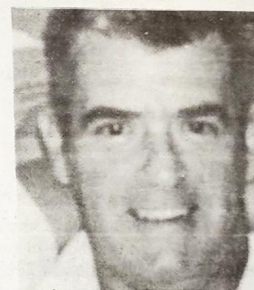
The attack in Lurgan followed two loyalist attacks in Belfast, less than 48 hours earlier, in which two men were seriously injured.

On Thursday, November 14th, a taxi driver with Regal Taxis in the Markets area of Belfast was taking school children to St Michael's primary school on the Ravenhill Road when he was attacked by a loyalist gunman. As the taxi, which was carrying seven children between the ages of three and ten and a woman passenger, stopped in the school grounds, a pillion passenger on a motorbike which had followed the taxi into the school yard approached the driver and shot him in the face.

In a life and death struggle, dozens of terrified school children watched as the injured taxi driver grappled with his assailant before breaking free and running across the Ravenhill Road and down North Parade Street. The gunman gave chase, continuing to fire and hitting the driver at least once before the injured man fell. Witnesses said that the gunman, whose face was hidden by a helmet, then walked slowly towards his victim before firing three more rounds at close range at the man as he lay on the ground.



● FERGUS MAGEE



● DESSIE ROGERS

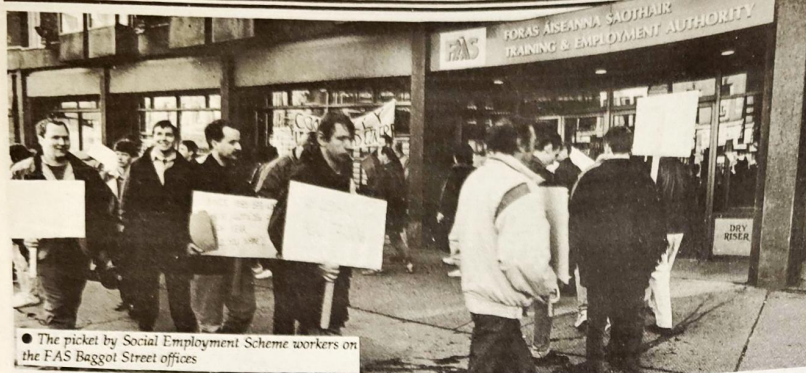
The injured man, with gunshot wounds to his face, upper body and wrist was rushed to hospital where his condition remains stable.

Regal Taxis have received a series of death threats since the shooting dead of one of their drivers, John O'Hara, last April. This latest incident was similar to an attack carried out on another Regal driver last month. He was shot by a lone gunman at the bottom of the Ravenhill Road as he was taking schoolchildren to school. He and his teenage passengers escaped serious injury when the gunman's weapon jammed.

In a second attack by a loyalist death squad in Belfast on Thursday, 23-year-old Eamonn McQuillan was shot and left for dead when a loyalist gang burst into his Springfield Park home shortly after 8pm. McQuillan, who was disabled following an earlier shooting incident, was shot several times in the arm and groin before the gunmen, assuming their victim was dead, made their escape.

The McQuillan family's home is only a few yards away from New Barnsley RUC Barracks, with its high level of security and surveillance. Despite this the loyalist gang appears to have been able to mount its attack without undue concern or difficulty. Local people claim that security cameras at the RUC station will have recorded the incident.





● The picket by Social Employment Scheme workers on the FAS Baginbun Street offices

## Scheme workers demand basic rights

SOCIAL EMPLOYMENT SCHEME WORKERS placed a picket outside FAS Head Office in Dublin's Baginbun Street and other FAS regional offices on November 14th. The main purpose of the picket was to highlight the fact that scheme workers continue to be denied access to basic working pay and conditions.

In conjunction with the pickets the Scheme Workers' Alliance re-launched a submission to the Minister for Labour and the chairperson of FAS. The submission argues for scheme workers to be offered the same level of statutory protection enjoyed by all regular part-time workers.

Gerry Light, chairperson of the

Scheme Workers' Alliance, said: "It is hard to believe that people who work on average 20 hours a week still do not receive for example, any holiday, sickness or maternity leave. This is a ridiculous and unacceptable situation when one considers that legislation is now in place which offers these kind of entitlements to all other part-time

workers who normally work eight hours a week. Legislation for one is legislation for all. There is no reason why scheme workers should be excluded in such a blatant manner."

On the levels of pay received by scheme workers Light said: "The basic single rate of pay presently on offer to scheme workers is only £2 more than they received in 1985. This clearly shows a yearly increase of 35 pence per year over the past six years. One does not have to expand this argument very much, the figures speak for themselves."

In conclusion Light added that "the time is fast approaching when those responsible for Social Employment Schemes cannot refuse the legitimate claims of scheme workers and their dependants for the right to an adequate standard of living".

## 750,000 detained under PTA

FIFTY THOUSAND people, mostly Irish, are estimated to be detained for up to one hour at ports of entry into Britain every year under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Since the act came into operation, 7,016 people have been arrested in connection with Six-County 'terrorism'. Over 1,000 were held for more than 48 hours, and 347 people have been served with exclusion orders. Only 215 people were charged with offences under the act. Of those detained, 86.4% were neither excluded nor charged.

The PTA Research and Welfare Association publishes quarterly statistics on the PTA. Their latest bulletin deals with operation of the act between June 30th and September 30th 1991. The association also updates data and figures on the arrests, detentions, exclusion orders and 'convictions' since the Act came into operation on November 29th 1974.

Between June 30th and September 30th 51 people were detained under the PTA; 39 of them were detained for "reasons" relating to Six-County "terrorism"; 12 were detained under the "international terrorism" category of the PTA. The "international terrorism" category was introduced into the PTA on March 22nd 1984. Since then 345 people have been detained in connection with "international terrorism". Not one person has been convicted of an offence under this part of the act.

The lack of convictions arising from detentions sanctioned by the PTA shows the real reason for implementing the PTA in the first place. The PTA merely provides 'legal' cover for the British government to vet and detain Irish, British and international citizens at will. The purpose of the PTA is not to provide "terrorism convictions" but to sanction detention of people in a sit-

uation where they have none of the legal resources needed to ensure that no abuse of individual rights take place.

The Association points out that the Home Office still refuses to include in their figures the number of people, mostly Irish, who are held for up to one hour and released without charge. The PTA Research and Welfare Association estimates this figure to be over 50,000 people a year. This means that over the last 16 years a probable 750,000 people have been detained in Britain. These hidden figures show the harassment that the PTA sanctions, harassment that is directed predominantly at Irish people. Most Irish people entering Britain experience it when they are forced to fill in the notorious "pink card" at airports and ports before being scrutinised by members of the Special Branch.

The association also points out that within an hour a person can be photographed, fingerprinted, searched and have a Special Branch file opened on them that does not have to appear on the Home Office statistics. The Home Office has refused since 1986 to publish figures or details on those detained for up to an hour. In 1986, the



last year such figures were published, 59,481 people fell into this category.

Since 1974, only 588 people, 8.4% of those detained, were charged with any offence. Statistics for those found not guilty of any offence are not available. In the last three months for which figures are available only one person of the 51 people detained has been charged. In four cases the Home Secretary and police failed to produce any evidence that would stand up in a court of law. The Home Secretary then used his executive powers to exclude four people from Britain for a minimum period of three years.

The British media angst over the abject failure of their judicial system was shown in the Birmingham, Guildford and other such cases. Yet little or no attention is paid to the continuing injustices meted out under the PTA. As agency Powers Act remain in operation, 'Royal Commissions' to investigate injustices of the Guildford Four and Birmingham Six remain meaningless.

## IN BRIEF...

### Rangers 'mistake' — even less Catholics

A SPOKESPERSON for the British army's Six-County headquarters has admitted that the numbers of Catholics serving in the Royal Irish Rangers had been "seriously over-estimated" — and that as a result the percentage of Catholic members in the new Royal Irish Regiment will total a mere one per cent. At the time the Royal Irish Rangers' merger with the UDR was announced much was made by pro-British commentators of the 'fact' that 50% of the Rangers were Catholic. This was used to claim that the new regiment would be a non-sectarian replacement to the UDR. Now it has emerged that this figure was wildly inaccurate and that the true figure for the number of Catholics in the Rangers is six per cent. The British army spokesperson claimed the mistake arose because figures for the Rangers' Ballymena Barracks "go into the system as the overall regimental breakdown". This convenient mistake provided British propagandists with a useful figure when the merger was announced.

The merger which will see the UDR and the Royal Irish Rangers combine to form a new British regiment on July 1st 1992, is aimed at defusing criticism over the record and role of the sectarian UDR militia. As the latest revelations confirm, the sectarian militia is set only to have its name changed once again. Whether B-Specials, UDR or RIR, the reality remains the same.



### British morale booster visit spells curfew

SOME of the heaviest saturation patrolling witnessed in recent months was experienced across nationalist areas of Belfast and Armagh on Tuesday, November 19th, as British security forces carried out a day-long operation involving close on 1,000 British military and RUC personnel.

The purpose of the operation which entailed massive inconvenience and harassment for local people, was to facilitate a flying visit to Belfast and even more rushed visit to Armagh, by Diana Spencer, the partner of British heir to the crown, Charles Windsor. Spencer's visit, the latest in a rapid succession of such 'royal' visits is part of a clear attempt by Britain to signal to loyalists that "Ulster (sic) stays British."

### Church destroyed in sectarian attack

A CATHOLIC CHURCH in Lisburn was destroyed in a sectarian attack on Friday, November 15th. The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Brigid, at Magheramesk Lane outside the village of Maghaberry, a listed building over 80 years old, was gutted by a fire which was started at the back of the building. No one was injured in the attack but two pensioners living close by had a narrow escape when four large gas cylinders used to heat the church failed to explode in the fire.

In a second sectarian attack in Lisburn, a fire was started at a Catholic primary school. The arson attack at St Patrick's High School, on Sunday, November 17th, failed to inflict serious damage.

The patrons of a bar in a nationalist area of South Belfast also had a narrow escape on Thursday, November 14th, when a passerby noticed the occupiers of a car acting suspiciously and discovered that an incendiary device had been placed at the side of the building. This is the second arson attack on the Harland Road bar on the Ormeau Road in the last six months.

### RUC assault during raid

A 48-year-old Ardoyne man was attacked by five RUC men during a raid of his home on Saturday, November 16th. James Corrigan, who is chronically ill, was punched and kicked by a group of RUC men in the back garden of his North Belfast home. Corrigan was found bruising to his back and a cut to his nose, said that the RUC men involved in the attack had been drinking. Corrigan required immediate medical attention and remains on medication.



## News

# British apply pressure for extradition changes

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

POLITICAL PRESSURE has been mounting over the past week for a change in 26-County extradition laws to make it easier for political suspects to be sent back to the Six Counties and Britain. This follows the Supreme Court decision to turn down the extradition of two men to the Six Counties because their offences were political.

The Supreme Court in Dublin, on Friday, November 15th, upheld a High Court ruling in January that several offences for which Belfast men Tony Sloan and Michael McKee are wanted in the North are political offences under the 1987 Extradition Act.

McKee and Sloan both escaped from Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail in 1981. McKee was not before the court when the decision was announced, having been captured by the RUC in Belfast two weeks beforehand.

The court did order the extradition of a third Crumlin Road escapee, Paul 'Dingus' Magee, who faces life imprisonment in the Six Counties where he is wanted for killing SAS Captain Herbert Westmacott in 1980.

Magee was not in court and according to gardai has been missing from his Kerry address since last month. On October 22nd the court issued a bench warrant for his arrest.

Delivering judgement in regard to Magee, Justice Finlay said that the use of automatic weapons did not fall within the political exemption provided by the 1987 Extradition Act. The shooting of Westmacott involved the use of an M60 machine gun.

Magee's two other grounds of appeal were that the '87 Extradition Act was retrospective in that the offences for which he is wanted in the North would have been categorised as political offences at the time of their

commission, and that his original extradition order was invalid as it was made by a temporary District Justice which he said was contrary to the 1937 Constitution. These were rejected by the court.

In the case of Tony Sloan, the court turned down the state's appeal against the decision of the High Court and upheld the ruling that two of the offences for which he is wanted in the Six Counties — the possession of an M60 machine gun and a rifle — were political offences under the 1987 Extradition Act.

The court also upheld the decision of the High Court that the other offence for which Sloan is wanted — the imprisonment of supergrass James Kennedy — did not come within the political offence exemption. This offence carried a five year jail sentence in the North and because Sloan had already served a ten-year sentence in Portlaoise Prison, Justice Finlay said it would be a "nullity" or "futile order" to have him handed over because he said the Six-County authorities had agreed to give him credit for any time served in the 26 Counties.

Last January the High Court quashed the extradition order against Michael McKee on the grounds that he was entitled to claim exemption because the offences for which his extradition was sought — possession

of an M60 machine gun and ammunition in Belfast on two separate occasions and possession of a rifle — were political. The Supreme Court upheld this decision and rejected the state's appeal.

After the ruling was announced, Tony Sloan emerged from the front of the Four Courts with Dessie Ellis, recently returned from jail in England following his own extradition and successful court battle there, and was clapped and cheered by anti-extradition demonstrators.

The court decision resulted in immediate calls for changes to the existing extradition legislation and Fianna Fáil Justice Minister Ray Burke announced that the cases would receive "careful and detailed study, including consideration of appropriate amendments to the existing legislation, should it be necessary arising out of the terms of the judgements".

Fine Gael's justice spokesman Sean Barrett called on the government to "close off the loopholes" in the 1987 extradition legislation and the Progressive Democrats' Chairperson Michael McDowell said that Sloan's case "confirmed that the law was flawed".

The judgments were also greeted with howls of disapproval by the British and the unionists. The Northern Ireland Office expressed "deep regret" at the outcome and direct ruler Peter Brooke said he would raise the matter of extradition at the Intergovernmental Conference meeting in Dublin on Wednesday. Burke's statement and that of opposition parties in Leinster House has caused concern amongst anti-extradition campaigners. It indicates that the Haughey govern-



● Dessie Ellis (left) and Tony Sloan outside the Four Courts following the decision to uphold the ruling that Tony's actions were political

ment is feeling the pressure from the PDs and the British to make changes to the laws and may already have decided to do so. Any further whittling away of the political exemption would

mean its complete disappearance from extradition legislation and would be a further step down the road to conveyor belt extradition to Britain and the North.

## Torture revealed on Hillsborough anniversary

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE ISSUE of the harassment of nationalist youth, their torture in Castlereagh and convictions based on confessions forced by means of this torture was raised in four centres in the 26 Counties on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement.

Representatives from the Relatives for Justice and Voice of the Innocent groups visited Monaghan on Thursday, November 14th, as part of a day of action on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement between the British and Dublin governments.

Events were also organised in Cork, Limerick and Dublin, but the most successful was in the border county where Glór na nGael also participated. Relatives of the Ballymurphy Five and the Beechmount Five spent the day in the Cavan/Monaghan constituency doing photocalls and interviews with the media before going to a public meeting that evening in Monaghan town.

Josephine Garland, mother of Tony Garland, one of the Ballymurphy Five and Sharon Coogan, sister of Liam Coogan, one of the Beechmount Five, addressed the meeting. They were welcomed to Monaghan by local Sinn Féin County Councillor Caoimhín Ó Caoláin, who sponsored the day's

activities and pledged the support of himself and his fellow Sinn Féin councillors in County Monaghan for the campaign to secure the release of these innocent young men. Addressing the meeting O Caoláin said that in his opinion "like Sunningdale, the Constitutional Convention, Atkins' Round Table Talks, Prior's Rolling Devolution and the Assembly talking shop, the Brooke Talks which have arisen out of the vacuum that has existed since the Hillsborough signing, is yet another false initiative.

"FitzGerald's and the SDLP's claim that Hillsborough would bring about an end to the 'northern nationalist nightmare' has proven false and rather, has exacerbated the inequality of treatment meted out to the nationalist community in terms of job discrimination and injustice."

Among those who spoke was Monaghan Urban District Councillor Pádraigín Uí Mhurchadha, who, as a mother of a teenage family herself,



● FitzGerald signing away the rights of Irish citizens

expressed her empathy with the families of the young men. She echoed O Caoláin's support and promised a series of local authority motions calling for the involvement of the Dublin government in the growing demands for the release of the young men. On the previous day Amnesty International and the Committee for the Administration of Justice had made submissions to the United Nations Committee on Torture in Geneva on the ongoing use of torture in

Castlereagh Interrogation Centre.

A public meeting was held in the Gaelic League Hall in Limerick, which was chaired by Independent Alderman John Gilligan. Robert McClenaghan of the Sinn Féin POW Department spoke about the campaign for lifers and SOSPs while Kevin Nolan from the Voice of the Innocent group spoke of the harassment of youths in Belfast, of beatings, forced confessions and a subsequent sentence delivered by a Diplock Court. "The only hope these youngsters have is to flee

their homes every time an RUC Landrover comes near. The pressure on them and their families is enormous," he said. He called for political pressure from people in the 26 Counties through councillors and TDs to bring an end to this torture and fear.

In Cork city representatives of the Beechmount Five, Voice of the Innocent and Glór na nGael had a constructive meeting with Independent Senator Brendan Ryan and Councillor Kathleen Lynch of the Workers' Party.

In Dublin, a press conference hosted by the Irish National Congress heard West Belfast youth Thomas Smith tell how he had been threatened in Castlereagh that he would be hooded with a plastic bag and his head blown off. The 19-year-old had been arrested and held in Castlereagh for five days. He was questioned for two or three hours, six times a day during this period.

Damien Austin's mother, Janice, told of his continuing harassment by the crown forces while INC chairperson Robert Ballagh said it was the second time that the organisation had voiced concern about the harassment and ill-treatment of nationalist youths. He called on the Dublin government to raise the situation at Castlereagh through the Hillsborough conference.





# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

November 21st 1991

## Church Leaders and Peace

IN AUGUST, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams wrote letters to the leaders of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic churches and to the Church of Ireland, requesting a meeting "to discuss ways to initiate, encourage and advance" a peace process. In November, in a joint letter which the four Church leaders released to the media, they rejected his request.

This week Adams responded to that refusal to engage in dialogue with Sinn Féin, describing it as "regrettable". He said that their decision not to talk would do little to undermine the sense of alienation of the republican section of society, continuing that this "calls into question their understanding of how a real and lasting peace can be achieved and their role in this process". He drew attention also to the pleas of church leaders for peace for almost two decades now, pleas aimed mainly at republicans, occasionally at loyalists and never at the British, and yet they choose to refuse an invitation to discuss with republicans (in full confidence, if they choose) "how a peace process can be initiated, encouraged and advanced".

On their reasons for refusing to engage in peace talks (they criticised Sinn Féin for not calling "for the cessation of violence") Adams says that the church leaders' attitude towards Sinn Féin is "a political position badly disguised as a moral one". He reiterated Sinn Féin's consistent calls for an end to all violence and complete demilitarisation. He criticised the rejection of this position while church leaders themselves support and publicly defend the activities of the crown forces. He said that "the placing of preconditions (especially bogus or selective ones like that presented in their letter) should not be the business of religious leaders".

He reminded the leaders of the advice of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who said: "Let your negotiations be as inclusive as possible. Don't let any feel they've been excluded. Let them be represented by those they regard as their authentic spokespersons, otherwise talks, as we have discovered at home, become an exercise in futility."

Adams concluded by stressing that the Sinn Féin offer remains open, stressing that "in time we hope a more courageous leadership of the churches will emerge which recognises the need for dialogue as the only means to resolve the conflict in our country".

## Prisoners' Month

Every year December is designated Prisoners' Month by Sinn Féin. During those weeks republicans are encouraged to highlight the plight of the prisoners and their families. The issue of prisoners is not merely one of welfare. The fact that there are over 700 Irish republican prisoners in jails throughout Ireland, Britain, Europe and the United States is a statement in itself that there exists an abnormal political situation in this country.

Every one of those prisoners is a political hostage yet their existence is hardly acknowledged in our censored media. Republicans should ensure that the voice of those hostages is heard throughout the next month.

## CHRISTMAS PAPER



THE CHRISTMAS EDITION of AP/RN will be published on December 19th next. This year, in order to pay a more fitting tribute to the republican prisoners and their role in the republican struggle, we will be publishing articles written by the prisoners themselves. In order to facilitate this we will be cutting down on the pages of individual greetings to prisoners. We would ask that those other than relatives of POWs not send greetings to AP/RN but send letters or cards directly to the prisoners themselves. Christmas notices to AP/RN should be sent to our Dublin or Belfast offices before Monday, December 9th.

## News

# The McDaid affair — the 'intrusion' of the North again

■ BY ART Mac DON

LAST WEEK's witchhunt against James McDaid which resulted in his resignation as nominee for the post of defence minister has once again demonstrated the potential of the Northern crisis to impact on political life in the 26 Counties.

Workers' Party leader Proinsias de Rossa was the first TD to raise the question of McDaid's association with the Jim Clarke case. He was followed in Leinster House by the Jim Clarke case. He was followed in Leinster House by the Fine Gael's Jim O'Keefe and Michael Noonan who in his attack held up newspapers which he said was evidence of McDaid's involvement in the case.

Following these attacks on McDaid, PD leader Dessie O'Malley left the chamber to study press reports of the Jim Clarke case with PD colleagues. Among the press cuttings they found a photograph showing McDaid outside the Four Courts when Clarke won his appeal against extradition. One report said that it was Workers' Party publicity officer Tony Heffernan who produced the cuttings.

O'Malley and Molloy approached Haughey and made clear their opposition to McDaid's appointment. They would not vote for McDaid as Minister for Defence as they claimed he had "compromised" himself because of his association with Jim Clarke's fight against extradition. O'Malley and Molloy then summoned McDaid to explain himself to them.

Meanwhile, back in the chamber, Fine Gael's Madeline Taylor-Quinn was launching the most strident and personal attack of all on James McDaid. "I wonder now, given the proposed appointment, will the terrorist organisations of this country be privy to very secret security matters?" she asked.

The hysterical attack from opposition TDs in reaction to McDaid's appointment has undoubtedly backfired against the perpetrators. Nevertheless McDaid was forced to step down after Haughey took no action to back his own appointee.

their subsequent trial and acquittal on illegal arms importation charges.

From time to time since then and despite the best efforts of the southern establishment to ignore the North, the issue has impacted heavily on political life here. Internment, Bloody Sunday, and the 1981 hunger strikes all had significant effects on the political psyche of the 26 Counties.

James McDaid is but the latest victim of the McCarthyite nature of 26-County politics which since the early '70s has categorised the Six Counties as a 'security' issue rather than a political one and has placed republicans and republicanism 'outside the pale'. Political censorship, emergency laws, special courts, ostracisation and the intimidatory activities of the Garda Special Branch have all taken their toll over the past 20 years.

The controversy which resulted in McDaid's resignation is less surprising when one takes into account the constituency he represents. Naturally it is the border counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan and Louth where the problems wrought by partition are most starkly evident.

Donegal people have a clearer view and more heightened awareness of events across the border than most other parts of the 26 Counties for a number of reasons.

Partition has severed Donegal from its nearest urban centre — Derry. The county is bound on one side by the sea while the rest is almost completely surrounded by the British-imposed border. The route to Dublin takes one through the Six Counties with the inevitable delays at crown forces' checkpoints.

Since the outbreak of war in the Six Counties over 20 years ago, refugees and people 'on the run' have been coming over the border to Donegal fleeing persecution. Inevitably therefore, the issue of political extradition has an even greater relevance in Donegal and other border counties.

It was McDaid's acquaintance with a neighbour, Jim Clarke, which led to the Leinster House onslaught against



● De Rossa — led the witch hunt

him. In many ways both Clarke and McDaid have on different occasions become casualties of partition and its effects on the native county. In supporting Clarke, McDaid was reflecting the strength of feeling on the extradition issue in Donegal.

Jim Clarke comes from a well-known Letterkenny family who played Gaelic football at county level during the mid-70s. He was arrested in May 1978 by the British army and accused him of taking part in an Easter commemoration parade in Derry.

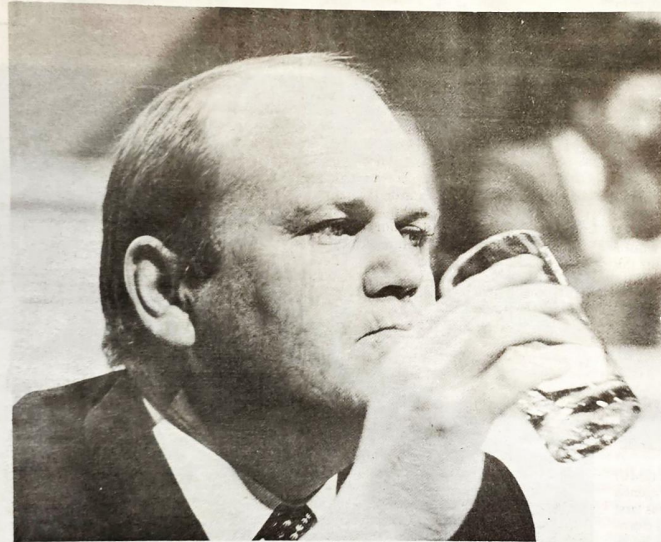
Taken to Strand Road Barracks he was handed over to members of the RUC where he was held overnight. The following day he was transferred to Magillagh Barracks where he was tortured and forced to sign a confession implicating himself in an attack on the home of a man in Castleblayney.



# News



● James McDaid, in tweed coat, seen here with Jim Clarke — McDaid's opposition to Clarke's extradition was no more than Donegal people would have expected



● Michael Noonan — the former Fine Gael minister enthusiastically followed de Rossa's attacks on McDaid

Tyrone in 1977. He was subsequently charged with attempted murder.

Convicting Clarke on June 1st 1979 the judge told him: "You are from Donegal and I intend to make an example of you to the rest of the youth in Donegal." He received an 18-year sentence.

Clarke escaped from Long Kesh in the mass breakout in 1983. A year later he was arrested by gardai in the 26 Counties and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in April 1985 for hijacking a car. In 1986 he received an additional three years following an attempted mass escape from the jail.

At the time that Clarke was due for release, he was served with extradition warrants relating to his escape from Long Kesh and the attack on the UDR member's house. He was refused bail and was remanded

in Portlaoise prison.

His case went before the High Court in July 1989, which heard evidence that he had been wrongly convicted by a Diplock court and was tortured by the RUC. Judge Costelloe rejected his case against extradition saying that the did not deny that Clarke's confession was obtained by force but that the 26-County courts had no right to inquire into what went on in RUC custody.

Clarke appealed the decision to the Supreme Court where Justice Finlay found that the Six-County authorities had accepted that ill-treatment of people under RUC interrogation had taken place. Although many prisoners in Long Kesh were tortured following the 1983 escape, no form of disciplinary proceedings had been initiated nor was there any probability that they would.

The court ruled that it was necessary to protect Clarke's constitutional rights by refusing to extradite him. Clarke was released and returned home to Donegal.

**D**r James McDaid TD gave alibi evidence in support of Clarke during his original trial. He stated that he remembered seeing Clarke at a party in Letterkenny on the night of the attack on the UDR man's house in Castleberg. Even by the standards of those who attacked him in Leinster House, it was his duty to give such evidence if he believed it to be true.

If McDaid believed that Clarke could not have been involved in the Castleberg attack it would have been logical for him to believe that Clarke's confession of involvement in it was obtained by

force. If this was the case it was surely natural for him to believe that he was wrongfully imprisoned and should not be sent back to the Six Counties.

James McDaid's opposition to Clarke's extradition was no more than the people of Donegal would expect of a public representative. He was not the only member of Leinster House to oppose it. Michael D Higgins and another Donegal TD, Fine Gael's Paddy Harte, both supported Clarke. Harte voted with other members of Donegal County Council including Workers' Party Councillor Seamus Rodgers against Clarke's extradition. Harte also wrote to the British embassy regarding Clarke's ill-treatment at the hands of the RUC. Harte refused to distance himself from his Fine Gael colleagues' attacks on McDaid.

**C**ommenting on the affair the day after the events in Leinster House Liam McElhinney, Chairperson of the Donegal Anti-Extradition Committee commented:

"For a number of years I have drawn attention to the build-up of an anti-nationalist ethos in this state. The fact that a person attended or supported meetings and protests in connection with civil liberties or the national demand for unity has somehow been taken as suspect by certain people in authority.

"The latest use of this McCarthyite tactic occurred in Leinster House yesterday when Dr James McDaid TD was attacked for his 'association' with the campaign of James Pius Clarke against extradition to the British authorities in the Six Counties.

"I take this opportunity to again applaud all those in the county who have supported the campaign against extradition in the past and who continue to do so at present.

"It is an honourable cause to oppose injustice. The day that we forget that is the day that we become slaves."

## Dúirt Siad

The IRA terrorists are better equipped, better resourced, better led, bolder and more secure against our penetration than at any time before. They are absolutely a formidable enemy. The essential attributes of their leaders are better than ever before. Some of their operations are brilliant in terrorist terms. If we don't intern it's a long haul. — Senior British military source to the English Independent on Sunday.

I think that that association was absolutely proper and that Deputy McDaid would have been a disgrace had he not so associated himself with James Pius Clarke. Clarke, let us recall, was sentenced to 18 years in prison in the north of Ireland solely on the basis of a confession which he said — and he had good grounds for saying and there was additional evidence to support him in saying — that the confession had been beaten out of him. In other words, he had been convicted on exactly the same grounds as the Birmingham Six had been convicted. — Eamonn McCann on RTE television's Questions and Answers, Monday, November 18th.

Character assassination to the Workers' Party seems to be a form of oxygen. — Fianna Fáil's Jim McDaid on the campaign launched against him in Leinster House.

Nobody knows what Gerry Adams or Martin McGuinness sounds like — the way to get me off Scrap Saturday is to scrap Section 31. — Eamonn McCann, the Sunday Show, RTE Radio 1, November 17th.

I would say that Gerry would definitely be made welcome [as a target]. — UDA official on Gerry Collins, while discussing the organisation's possible targets among politicians in the 26 Counties, the Guardian, Saturday, November 16th.

I think there would be a climate for it. — The same UDA official on bringing car bombs to Dublin.

When you're working on the edge of intellectual hyper-strain, sometimes you must say to yourself: 'Have I slipped?' Unfortunately there's no intellectual thermometer you can slip in your mouth in order to find out. All you can say is that on balance I am probably not mad. — Raving David Irving, the fascist British historian who claims that the Holocaust never happened.

The only similarity between me and Duke is that we're both wizards under the sheets. — Successful candidate in the election for governor of Louisiana, Democrat Edwin Edwards. He defeated the former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Republican, David Duke.

If you've got evidence, put that in front (of the suspect) you don't need their silence or their questions and answers. What you're really saying is 'we believe they're guilty and we insist on proving their guilt out of their own mouths'. — Birmingham Six lawyer Michael Mansfield speaking in Dublin against the DPP's proposal for the removal of the right to silence. He also spoke out against Dublin government extradition policy.

To those of us who live on the border North and South, your whole life is overshadowed by these crossings. They are a natural provocation to some and an intimidation to others. — Neil Blaney speaking about British army checkpoints on the Donegal border.



**This week AP/RN looks at the background to the oncoming developments in the EC which have major implications for everyone living in the member states. With little or no debate, major decisions are being made on our behalf. Future articles will deal with their likely political, strategic and economic effects.**

WHAT'S happening in the EC? December 9th will see the Dutch town of Maastricht host an EC summit. The summit should, if everything goes according to plan, put the final touches to what the 'Euro' politicians call economic and monetary union. Europe (as in EC) is being reshaped. Its states, institutions, laws, even its armies face fundamental changes in their roles and powers. The people of Europe have been reduced to spectators. We are only allowed watch as the governments and politicians plan a new Europe, a Europe which has long passed the stage where it was simply an economic community. Europe is now a cultural and political power. Without choice we have become its citizens.

**D**ominating the European agenda are the various components of the debate on economic and monetary union (EMU). We hear about a "single European currency...the hard ECU...a European Central Bank...the completion of the internal market". Why is economic and monetary union so important to development of Europe? What does it actually involve? What are the contentious issues and most importantly what role is the Dublin government playing in the negotiations?

Economic and monetary union is part of the evolution of the European states. It involves in its most obvious form the establishment of a single currency and the completion of the internal market. As the continental states rebuild their economies in the aftermath of the Second World War, they searched for a method to guarantee economic stability and promote economic growth. Removing tariffs to encourage trade was the first step. However, each state had its own currency. Those exporting or importing had continually to convert their currencies.

Exporting outside the communities meant dealing with foreign currencies. In the American continent the US dollar is the dominant currency. In Central and South America the foreign debts are often quoted in US dollars. The fact that the 50 states share the same currency affects the economic activity throughout America. The creation of such a currency in the EC means that those in the EC can create similar conditions. Having a standardised currency within the 12 member states means the opportunity to affect the economic activity outside the community is enhanced.

Added to this is the European

internal market which will be fully in operation by January 1993. In 1993 it should be no more difficult to move goods, a business or money from Dublin to Athlone as it would be to move it from Dublin to Frankfurt. The reasoning behind this development has been part of the European ideal ever since the creation of the Common Market in 1957.



**T**he establishment of the EC was based around the common interests that would supposedly be helped by closer economic co-operation between states. France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium were the original members. The development of the community since its beginning in 1957 rapidly moved from agreements on tariffs and trade to a more developed agenda. Alternative structures to national governments arose, the European Commission, the EC Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Court of Human Rights.

Now in 1991, there are still crucial economic issues to be debated. Alongside this is an array of other legislation. Negotiations are under way on European social policy, home affairs and judicial co-operation, defence and foreign affairs. There can be no doubt that an EC super state is evolving. Considerable resources are being expended to try and convince European citizens that this is a good thing.



● The EC Parliament is the poor relation in EC institutions, yet it is the only directly elected body in the EC political structure

Europe is presented as offering unbounded opportunity. In the 26 Counties it seems to mean that Europe can fulfil the expectations that it is allegedly not possible to fulfil in Ireland.

The development of the European Community had by the 1980s created the situation where it was impossible to achieve further economic development with political changes happening in tandem. Member states who opposed such developments were threatened with a 'two-tier Europe'. Those in the lower tier would not receive the benefits available to those who would fully integrate. This was the threat used against the Irish voters in the lead up to the 1987 referendum on the Single European Act.

The power of the EC lobby can be shown in actions like the departure of Margaret Thatcher from Downing Street. It was her failure to deal with the EC that prompted many of her trusted cabinet members publicly to oppose her continued leadership. Within days of her departure the British government's policy on the EC did an about-turn. Britain accepted the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) and began serious negotiations on the form economic and monetary union would take. The failure of any one state to halt a European Commission initiative is shown here. Ultimately all the British could hope for was to negotiate what form the policy would take. They could not hold off the Commission in the long run.

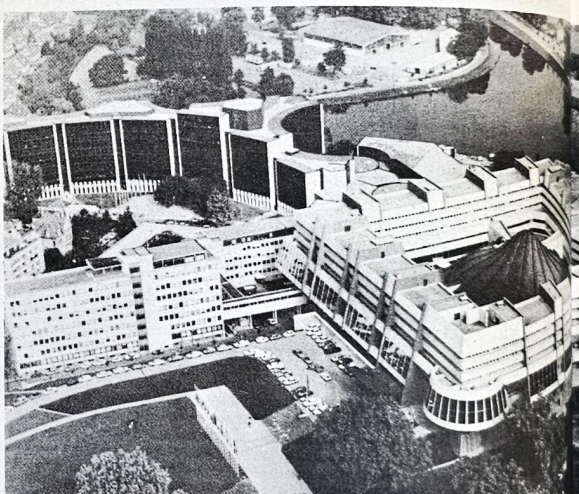


**E**uropean Monetary Union (EMU) has been part of the EC agenda since the Treaty of Rome was first signed in 1957. This treaty is essentially the constitution of the European Community. The treaty referred to the "desirability of achieving international monetary stability". In the following years the European Commission proposed the fixing of European currencies. In 1971, the Werner Report called for the co-ordination of fiscal and monetary policies in parallel with progress towards fixing exchange rates.

Werner's plan was taken up by the community and the "snake system" commenced. This involved all the participating countries forming a loose alliance of currency alignments. In 1979, the European Monetary System (EMS) commenced operation. Britain was the only member state that refused to enter the "super snake", as the EMS was nicknamed. One of John Major's first actions as Prime Minister was to bring Britain into the EMS, thus setting the stage for further economic union.

In the years after 1979, alternatives to the EMS were sought. This culminated in the Single European

# HERE COMES 1992



● All the signs are that European union means less democracy, not more and the ability of the 26-County government to take action to remedy the Irish economic crisis will be diminished

Act, ratified by referendum in the 26 Counties in 1987. The act set the conditions for the forthcoming internal market where a "barrier-free market will be created". Monetary union would be the culmination of the creation of the internal market.

However, the Single European Act was surpassed in importance in 1989 with the publication of the Delors report. Jacques Delors is the president of the EC and the strongest advocate of EMU. Delors, the top EC bureaucrat, plays a role akin to that of a head of state; he is one of the most powerful people in western Europe even though he has never faced any electorate.

The Delors plan is formed around three stages:

Stage one involves all 12 member states joining the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) and the free movement of capital between coun-

tries. This stage has already been completed.

Stage two involves the central banks of member states joining to formulate a common European monetary policy. Central banks control the supply of money within each state. In the 26 Counties they manage all government accounts and play an important role in controlling and monitoring the actions of Irish banks and any bank that operates here.

Stage three leads the process to the point where exchange rates will be irrevocably fixed, leading to a switch to a common currency. Then some form of central bank would be set up to formulate monetary policy. The Council of Ministers would then be given powers such as the right to constrain national budgets.

Policy formulation coming from Brussels leads to questions about the

institutions and powers they

The European Commission is based in Brussels. It is the executive arm of the community. It has 17 commissioners. Larger states have two commissioners, smaller states one. The Commission can propose and initiate legislation. It can also recommend and enforce decisions. The Commission is the only institution of the community that is not directly elected by the people. It is very powerful.





● The Common Agricultural Policy artificially boosted prices so leading to the infamous food mountains but it did nothing to stop rural emigration nor visibly improve the living standards of most Irish farmers

budgets especially in the paying out of regional and structural development funds makes it potentially more powerful than some of the smaller member states of the community, who have grown to depend on the EC structural funds.

The EC Parliament is the poor relation in EC institutions, though it is the only directly elected body in the EC political structure. Theoretically the parliament has the power to change and amend the EC budget, though it has never tried to assert itself. New powers for the parliament are proposed with the forthcoming economic union. Germany and Italy favour greater powers for the parliament. The 26 Counties, Britain and Denmark oppose any wider role for the parliament.

There has always a question mark over the economic viability of the 26-County state. Since its creation in 1920 the state has never been able to cater for the economic welfare of its citizens. The problems of developing an economy stunted and forced to serve Britain's economic needs was exacerbated by dividing the original economic unit in two.

Fianna Fáil and coalition governments' attempts to create economic growth in agriculture and industry had by the 1950s manifestly failed. The failure to pursue national unity and the parallel failure to tackle properly the British control of our economy led to falling growth and mass emigration. The subsequent development of the EC offered an easy escape route.

An Anglo-Irish free trade area was established in 1966. The initial attempt at entry into the EC was thwarted due to French opposition to British entry.

With the departure of De Gaulle the way was clear for British and 26-County entry into the EC. In the 26 Counties that involved a referendum to amend the constitution as Dublin would now become signatories of the treaty of Rome. Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael united in favour of EC entry. The subsequent economic changes have integrated the 26-County economy so far into EC structures that it is totally dependent on them.



● JACQUES DELORS

The entry of the 26 Counties into the EC was part of a greater plan to galvanise the economy. A new "outward looking" approach was developed. Reliance on Irish firms and Irish-owned subsidiaries of British firms was to be replaced by foreign, mainly North American firms. The Irish firms had only catered for the small and stagnant domestic markets. The new influx would be export orientated and would have potential to grow. Two Irish economists, Leddin and Walsh, claim in their book *The Macro Economy of Ireland* that the "new firms that came to locate in a relatively low cost environment inside the enlarged EC accounted for all the growth in industrial output during the 1970s and early 1980s".



Alongside this was an EC-instigated revolution in agricultural funding and development. The EC began the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Under the CAP farmers receive artificially high prices for their produce. This led the farmers to boost their production to the extent that the infamous food moun-

tains and wine lakes were created. The CAP did nothing to stop rural emigration, nor did it visibly improve the living standards of most Irish farmers; larger farmers were the beneficiaries. All of this was encouraged by the EC. It was not until the Single European Act had been ratified that the EC agenda on CAP changed. Now the Commission proposes to "reform" the CAP. It seems that the member states can only negotiate the fine points of the new policy and are unable to block the actual formulation of the policy.

The early years of 26-County involvement in the EC was a honeymoon period. The state had the fastest growing economy in the EC, unemployment remained static, falling slightly over the period 1973 to 1979. Total employment rose by over 200,000 in the same period. This was while the world was adjusting to the quadrupling in oil prices and the recession that resulted.

This economic development was the result of the combination of government attempts to attract foreign companies and regional, social and agricultural funds flowing from the EC. Alongside this came directives from the EC about social legislation on sexual equality, on pollution, on health and on education. Entry into the EC had brought a new body of law that was absorbed into Irish law. Fifteen years of European community law created by Euro institutions had to be absorbed by the 26 County parliament. The Dublin government had to comply by the enactment of appropriate legislation.

This process happened almost without debate. Little or no importance was attached to the Euro institutions. The first elections to the EC Parliament were in 1979. The 26 Counties elects 15 Euro MPs while the Six Counties elects three. These elections attract the lowest turnout of voters in either area. The 1980s saw substantial change in the power of these Euro institutions. They surpassed domestic governments in the amount of legislation they enacted. Member parliaments react to rather than initiate European legislation. The push towards EMU

comes from the Euro institutions, specifically the European Commission.



By the 1980s the European honeymoon was over. The perennial problems of the partitioned economy returned — emigration, unemployment and heightening social misery. Clearly integration into the EC had failed to have lasting positive impact on the 26 County economy. The answer was to speed up EC integration. The Dublin government entered the EMS and pushed the Single European Act.

Leinster House politicians welcomed the EC as they saw themselves as the power brokers, controlling how the funds were distributed. This is still essentially true. The regional and social funds have now been replaced by the EC structural fund. The 26 Counties will receive £3.3 billion over the period 1988 to 1993. They have to "lobby" the Commission for the total amount. The government of the day then distributes the funds usually with marginal Leinster House seats in mind. TDs and MEPs vie with each other for funding allocations in their constituency. The lack of proper planning that characterised Dublin government policy for decades continues inside the EC.

The Commission will not subsidise state programmes and spending. However, it will facilitate infrastructural developments such as road-building and communications. The structural funds also cover regional development and grants to aid preparations for the Single European Market.

Last week as the foreign and finance ministers of European member states met to discuss EMU the Dublin government's contribution to debate was to look for a doubling in funding from the European Commission in 1994. They are looking

for £6.6 billion. Ireland, Greece, Portugal and Spain are using the new EC treaty to push for "substantial increases in funding levels". The EC has broken up into poor states and rich states. The "rich" states are essentially France, Germany, Italy and Britain. The Netherlands, Denmark, Luxembourg and Belgium have economies integrated into the heart of the European region. They depend on further integration.

The majority of Leinster House politicians have accepted the EC integration without question. It is no secret that EC political union is the end result sought after by both the EC and what the Dutch call the "fast lane" EC members. EMU will create the economic forces that will eventually make a common defence and foreign policy for the EC super state.

The Commission claims that the integration of the internal market will create an extra one million jobs throughout the 12-state economy. There is no assurance that Ireland will get a share of these alleged jobs. There is no assurance that the expected growth in the European economy will benefit Ireland. The completion of the internal market, we are told, will make the border meaningless. The Irish economy will reintegrate. Exactly the same promise was made when EC entry was first sought in the 1960s and when entry finally came in 1973.

The border cannot become meaningless unless a national democracy is established and it is wrong to pretend otherwise. It is also shameful, because the 26-County politicians did not have the political courage to create economic unity themselves. Instead they claim EC plans for an economic super state will end our own foreign occupation. The one significant contribution of EMU to the 26 County economy is that it shows the failure of that economy and its political system. All the signs are that European union means less democracy, not more. The ability of an Irish government to take action to remedy the Irish economic crisis will be lessened. A high price is going to be paid for the Dublin government's surrender of its limited independence.



# Reviews

## Corner-shop boys

■ BY DARA MacNEILL

CONSIDER THIS, from a standard school approved historical test: "Many workhouses were closed and others made into country homes for the old and sick. Meanwhile a system of workhouses for the very poor was established."

As against this: "How do you run a bourgeois state/you force the slack to emigrate/better than famine is this salve/Ireland be their safety valve..."

Stylistic differences apart, both in fact refer to the same historical period, the early years of the Irish Free State. The latter is, of course, from a text that is anything but 'approved.' It's taken from the *Grocers' Republic*, a history-in-verse of this less than glorious little statelet of ours. Author John Grundy, a community and adult education worker in Dublin, explains in his introduction the origin of the less than respectful appellation. During the 1966 celebrations of the Easter Rising, a Tan War veteran was heard to remark,

"And after all, what did we get? The Grocers' Republic..."

Grundy's account is less than celebratory. Again, in the introduction, he explains: "If I have not celebrated what achievement there has been it is because any successes of enterprise or nation building have left behind, and thus been at the expense of, the one million of its citizens which this state has consigned to chronic poverty."

The work is dedicated to his parents, just two of those left behind by the grandiose exercises in nation-building. But *Grocers' Republic* is not formed by mere personal bitterness, rather "their experiences were representative, being legion among such people as I

come from."

His father died in 1969 — the decade of blessed prosperity. For some perhaps. "Dad's simple burial cost much/A figure that we could not touch? So father went to meet his maker/Indebted to the undertaker." Angry? Rightly-righteously so!

His balladic rendering of our sorry history is also enlivened by a sharp, biting satirical wit. Remember the 1977 Election? Fianna Fáil came to power promising, in so many words, a 2,000% pay increase for all, a retirement on full pay at age 30. "To give and give in sacks and sacks/Abolish rates and motor tax/One day you're going to feel the pinch/Lie back for now, enjoy Jack Lynch." Fooled, and screwed yet again.

Or what about Haughey's desirous condom bill of the same era: "Oh Dermot Ryan give abortion/For this chaste Irish Solution/At least it gives we don't offend the pope." Even the papal visit of John Paul II comes in for a bolt of the poetic crozier: "Now like a sacred fiery cloud/John Paul alights in whitest shroud/He humbly kneels to kiss the ground/This publicist has been around."

Or our dearest brethren

across the border: "...and still we're in control/Of this grand state, our only role/To govern here, this creed set forth/Preserve the South, Forget the North." Precisely.

*Grocers' Republic* you will not find in the classroom. In essence, it is a distillation of everything you ever wanted to know about Irish history, but nobody would bloody well tell you. Each and every happening of importance is detailed, dissected and placed within a radically different context from that which we are used to. And all this in a slim volume of less than sixty pages.

If you take objection to this work then you're either a member of a large/ruling political party, or a stockbroker. Epic, in every sense of the word.

(*The Grocers' Republic* — John Grundy, £2.50 — c/o DM Print, 2 Ballygall Road West, Finglas D11, or any half-decent bookshop.)

For a publication with a radically different approach from most to survive and prosper for a full year is little short of remarkable. Such is the *Irish Reporter*, a quarterly which is presently celebrating one full year in existence. In the first issue, the following appeared:

"The group of people who have come together to launch

the IR feel that a serious look into the problems and concerns of Irish society, culture and history, North and South, cannot be divorced from the major political question facing this island — the national question."

The present issue tackles the subjects of identity, nationalism and the meaning of liberation in areas as diverse as Eastern Europe, Central America, South Africa and Ireland. Thus the opportunity for comparison presents itself and, as the IR points out, other situations "can also throw light upon the Irish experience". Thus, the present issue includes a piece from the pen of Palestinian intellectual Edward Said and an equally fine examination of Protestant identity from Robbie McVeigh of the Irish Protestant Education and Action Group.

Which is all well and good. Now, having got this far the most critical task facing the producers of IR is to broaden the circulation of IR as much as possible, lest it become akin to just another internal memo passed around well meaning, but ultimately elitist circles. Mainstream ideas only become so because they are presented consistently in a mainstream medium. For now, anyway, IR is available from, again, any half-decent bookshop or on

annual subscription from: *Irish Reporter*, Box No 3159, Dublin 6W.

History, said Mr Marx, repeats itself. The first time as tragedy, the second as farce. A graphic illustration of this truth was recently screened on RTE.

In a news report we were told how Iarnród Éireann were digging up large chunks of rail line in the west of Ireland and transporting them off to god knows where. Whilst workers assiduously ripped up the line (in the background), in the foreground we were treated to a stream of fuming at the mouth local potentates rightly indignant of the desecration of their line.

Fair enough. Except for the rather unfortunate use of words. Showing a remarkable lack of historical sense — and apparently oblivious to what was happening behind him — one Tuam councillor righteously proclaimed that "We will not stand idly by..." Oh dear. And in the background, for all to see, were two large chunks of said line disappearing off up the line on the back of a trailer, whilst said councillor, well, stood kind of inactively by. A rich metaphor if ever there was one.

## Major conference hears of British abuses

MEDIA COVERAGE of human rights issues in the Six Counties and recent incidents of torture in Six-County interrogation centres were raised at meetings of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) on November 7th and 8th. The meetings were jointly sponsored by the Norwegian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, the Union of Norwegian Journalists and the Norwegian Lawyers Association.

Addressing the November 7th meeting, Irish lawyer and journalist Michael Farrell said that Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act in Ireland had not just barred Sinn Féin from the airwaves but had given rise to a stifling self-censorship, that had prevented the Irish media from investigating human rights abuses in Ireland.

"It was no accident", Farrell said that "almost all of the pioneering investigative programmes on issues like the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the shoot-to-kill controversies had been made by British television companies. If the media failed to represent abuses of human rights then they must share some of the responsibility for the continuance of these abuses."

Liz Curtis, author and anti-censorship campaigner, addressed the meeting on censorship in Britain. Curtis said that "even before the the broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin was introduced in Britain in 1988, more than 100 television programmes had been banned,

censored or delayed."

Since the implementation of the ban Liz Curtis said that "censorship had escalated dramatically. It is completely inappropriate for Britain to lecture other countries on human rights when this grossly undemocratic law is in place."

Ingunn Jordheim, Deputy Chair of the Norwegian Helsinki Committee, stressed the importance of safeguarding human rights in the new Europe. She also pointed out that the Amnesty International report and the CSCE conference are not the only occasions that British government policies have been in the international spotlight, Britain having been condemned by the European Court of Human Rights more often than any other nation.

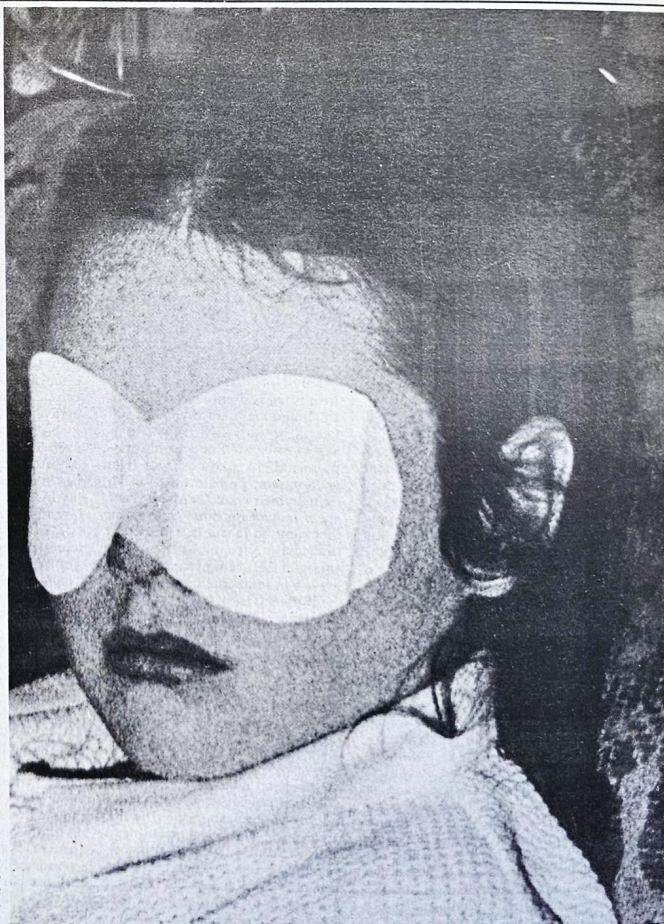
Friday, November 8th, saw the CSCE discuss recent allegations of torture of prisoners in RUC interrogation centres. The meeting on emergency legislation and the abuse of human rights was addressed by Cattriona Ruane of the Belfast-based Centre for Research and

Documentation. Ruane told the meeting that officially 343 people have been killed by British forces since 1969. She raised the case of Fergal Caraher, shot dead by British forces on December 30th 1990. The shooting of Fergal Caraher, she said, showed that "The British armed forces feel that they can do anything they want in our country, and that they are accountable to no one."

The Friday meeting was also addressed by Martin Collins of the London-based Britain and Ireland Human Rights Project. Collins told the meeting that: "The British government claims to be upholding the rule of law. The reality is that they are breaking every rule in the book." The meeting was attended by Viktor Aksyuchits, an adviser to the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and former political prisoner, Valery Senderov.

The delegation on Irish human rights raised issues concerning the abuse of human rights in the Six Counties with members of government delegations from the USA, Poland, Canada, Norway and the Vatican. They also met members of non-governmental organisations from Eastern Europe.

● A young victim of British repression, human rights organisations told the Conference on Security and Co-operation that the reality of British rule in the North was that the British "were breaking every rule in the book"





# Reviews

## Radio Times Joe Cahill's Legs

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

THE GREATEST CHARACTER on Irish radio must be Donncha O Dúlaing, who can transmute the comfort of an armchair, the piquant smell from the glow and smoulder of turf and the taste of raw peat into the sound waves which emerge from the loudspeaker hundreds of miles distant. He has a patter and an intonation which you just love.

Every Saturday night between ten and eleven pm for Irish O'Connell's and has been from Timbuktu to Ballymurphy. Donncha will quote a gem from John Milton, break into Gaelic, play John McCormack for a rector in Dublin, the Clancy Brothers for an Irish exile in Coventry, wish someone in Clare birthday greetings and ask Siobhann McCrory in ward 16 if she's keeping okay after having had her gallstone removed. There's nowhere he doesn't know or hasn't been. If he gets a letter from a farmer in Cregmadovesky he'll ask after some pups that were born in the Martin house "up the lane" ten years ago to an assistant called Sissy.

Last Saturday night he played a haunting song, a real heartbreaker, by Enya — "I dreamt that I dwelt in marble halls" written by Irish composer Michael Balfe in 1843, the original of which Joe Cahill used to smooch to. Introducing the song, Donncha declared: "Every limp, delicious, delicate word will raise the hair on the back of your head."

Or, in Joe's case, the back of your legs.

Radio Goes to Town is the name given by the BBC to a flying column of presenters from some of this network programmes who swoop on the unsuspecting citizens of various cities, occupying some key installations for a week, and

broadcast to the world the truth about what the natives really feel. Last week, to coincide with the opening of the Queen's Festival around the university, the BBC chose Belfast.

On Tuesday, BBC Radio Five's *Sound Advice* went out from the Elmwood Hall at Queen's. The presenter Gay Michelmores seemed a little nervous, as if he was reporting from one of the seafront hotels in Dubrovnik and was expecting a mortar to land at any moment. On stage, discussing the issue of employment, was a panel of representatives from various agencies. Although it was purely coincidental the first member of the audience to participate, when asked his background, stated that he had been suffering from a mental illness for four years. Obviously it took a lot of courage for this contributor to be so frank but for a few moments you thought the programme was about to take a gothic turn. Fortunately, the lapse in composure was only fleeting.

The panel discussed youth training programmes, sexism, ageism, the limited value of educational qualifications, but, amazingly, only under one minute was devoted to religious discrimination in employment! George Patterson of the Fair Employment Commission reported: "The legislation, changed in 1989, is becoming more effective... The monitoring process has

improved."

Thank God that's all the controversy out of the way, thought Guy Michelmores, as he loosened his flask jacket.

On Wednesday the former Radio One disc jockey, Johnny Walker, presented his Radio Five programme, *This Family Business*, which was to deal with the "image of the city in the eyes of the world".

He interviewed Wendy Austin who was quite entertaining; in fact, more of an entertainer than an explainer, though this may not have been her fault as there was a definite aura of levity about most of the broadcasts. She said that the differences between the North and England were that: most legislation for here was passed by 'order in council' thus reducing scrutiny; we (I think she should have said she) had to pay £5 for dog licences (the "UK is still arguing over the fee"); we have the 11-plus; for a year after they pass the test our drivers have to wear 'R' plates (this means 'restricted' to under 40mph but you can easily recognise them because they pass you doing 90); and that it rains a lot!

Well, actually, there's just a teeny-weeny bit more of a difference: a bloody conflict, prolonged by the British government and its forces, but nobody wanted to get into that.

The Hole in the Wall gang (from the theatre company of the same name) also performed a few excellent skits. In one, "Dr. Ian Paisley" answered letters from those seeking his advice. There was a letter from "a West Belfast Roman Catholic" which said:

"Dear Dr Paisley, I think I may be homosexual. What should I do?"

"Well, West Belfast Roman Catholic," said Paisley in reply,



● Joe Cahill — receives a regular discount from his hairdresser

"You should repent your evil ways because you are an abomination before the Lord. However, I don't know what you should do about your homosexuality."

Johnny Walker must have had a busy day because on Wednesday night he was back in London sitting in for Nicky Campbell on his R1 show. Walker's guest was Christy Moore whose singing was, as usual, emotional, defiant, cheerful and perhaps not just as hopeful, but completely passionate. However, when it came to talking about the national question Christy was

almost apologetic.

To be fair, his appearance followed the gloomy 10.30 news, the leading item of which was about the deaths of four men and the wounding of a baby girl in IRA attacks in loyalist areas of Belfast.

A song from his latest album, *Smoke and Strong Whiskey*, opened the session before Christy spoke, a song using the motif of a green field in harvest to represent an invaded country, about how impossible it is to squeeze the sunlight out of a grain of barley or trap the wind that shakes the stalk. It was a song about conquest and occupation and the irrepressible desire for freedom.

It was a song about Britain and Ireland and what it was saying was as true yesterday as it is now and will be tomorrow, regardless of how heroic or squalid is the perception of human warfare.

But in conversation Christy sounded as if he was in reverse. As is well known he stopped supporting the armed struggle after the Enniskillen bombing. Given the lyrics which he continues to sing he does, however, support a British withdrawal and the Irish people's right to self-determination. And his track record on prisoners, apartheid, feminism, social justice, the environment and the anti-drugs campaign in Dublin is unimpeachable.

Johnny Walker put to him a few questions from callers, one of whom asked what could the people of England, Scotland and Wales do to help end the tragedy in the North. The answer in four words, less the expletive, was simple: Take your troops home. But

from Christy there was a stunned silence before complaining, correctly, about the lack of interest in Westminster and then talking about despair and futility. Finally, he said: "Johnny, I don't know what they can do. Pray?..."

His interview ended at 11.30pm when already, on the British news — an attention span of one whole hour — the deaths of the four men had been supplanted as the lead item by a story about members of the Animal Liberation Front being released on bail.

## Women stage history coup

■ BY PAULINE BENNETT

IN RECENT YEARS there has been an attempted coup in history circles. Women have been writing themselves and other women back into history. This is especially true of Irish history.

Women historians grew sick of writing about bold Fenian men, the Ulster men opposed to Home Rule, the men of 1916 or the IRA men fighting the might of the British Empire. They started to research and look for the millions of women who have been written out of history. What they found and

documented was an equal contribution to the fight against the oppressor, they found courageous acts and outstanding bravery and they found a different history — based on women's lives, their expectations and their abilities.

Last Saturday, November 16th, three of the most prominent of these historians gathered in

University College Dublin to talk about women's history. This seminar was organised as part of a series on women's education organised by the Women's Education Research and Resource Centre, UCD, Margaret Ward, Mary Cullen and Margaret MacCurtain have spearheaded research on Irish women's history during the past 15 years. It is a sign of these women's importance that around 250 women turned up to hear what they had to say. There were academics, teachers, and students but most of the audience was made up of "ordinary" women interested in rediscovering themselves and their history.

More than talking about individual women's contribution to Irish history, the seminar concentrated on the politics of trying to get the historical establishment to accept women's history as

relevant, important and equally significant.

In recent years the shining lights of modern Irish history writing have been men like Roy Foster and JJ Lee, but especially Foster who has become a kind of paragon to historians. However, it was claimed that these historians have minimised the contribution of historians like Ward. The effect of such rebuttal is to exclude not only these historians' work but the past lives and contribution of Irish women from mainstream history — the history which has been allowed to become the most readily accessible for most people. The point was also made that for the past 20 years the feminist movement in Ireland has made many gains and yet the "model" historians of our time ignore women as if these gains were never made and women

have not had a large influence on contemporary Ireland.

The seminar also concentrated on the importance of 'gender analysis'. When we study history it is important that we examine the access people had to resources, wealth, education and especially to the political arena. It is here we see the gaps which are solely due to gender. An obvious example would be Anna Parnell, a woman who contributed greatly to the fight for tenants' rights in the last century. If we compare her resources to that of her brother we get a far broader analysis of her contribution to history. In this context it is important that we don't separate the private sphere from the public if we want to fully appreciate the contribution to history that people make.

The point was made that

how we view history must change in order for this to happen. What we view as historically important must change so that gender and social analyses become equally important. This means that the full contribution of women, the working classes and most oppressed people shall be written back into its rightful place in history.

The end of the seminar was both uplifting and inspiring. It was one of anger and determination. No longer could historians write us out of history and it will be written in the context of the success of feminism and the feminist perspective. Two hundred and fifty angry and determined women rose to their feet and applauded three women who have started to write us back into our history.



# Nuacht

## Cá bhfuil na deontaisí?

■ Le EOGHAN  
Mac CORMAIC

CE go bhfuil beagnach dhá mhí thart ó thosaigh an téarma ollscoile 1991 níl pingin rua de na deontaisí do mhic léinn ó Chondae na Gaillimhe íochta fós, agus Dé hAoine seo caite chruinnigh mic léinn ó Choláiste Ollscoil na Gaillimhe taobh amuigh d'Oifigí na Comhairle Chondae i bProspect Hill le hagóid a dhéanamh mar gheall ar an bhochtanas atá á chur ar ógánaigh mar gheall ar fhaillí na comhairle.

Tháinig dhá bhus lán de mhic léinn aniar ó Bhaile Atha Cliath don ócáid, dáltaí ó Shráid Bolton agus ó UCD agus bhí dream ann chomh maith ó Chomhaltas Mhíc Léinn na hEireann ag tabhairt tacaíochta do mhic léinn na Gaillimhe.

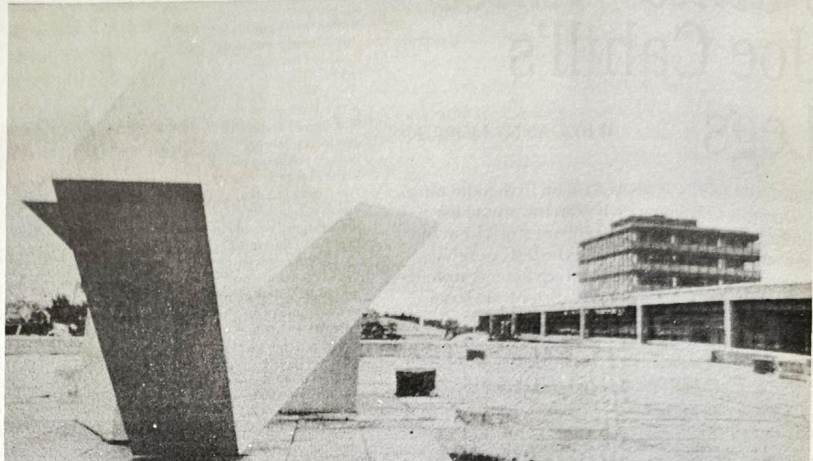
Nuair a bhain na hagóideoirí doras tosaigh na n-oifigí amach rinne cuid acu iarracht a dhéanadh labhairt leis an bhainisteoir ach cuireadh na doirse faoi ghlas agus glaoth ar na gardaí. Agóid tórnádhach ach síochána a bhí i gceist ag na mic léinn agus fíu nuair a shroich na gardaí an áit amach leis an fhoirgneamh a 'chumhdú' ní raibh aon trioblóid.

Labhair Rónan Mullen leis an chruinniú agus d'aithris sé nach raibh ach trí chondae fágtha nár ioc na deontaisí do na mic léinn fós, Thobraid Arann, An Mhí agus Gaillimh. Mhaigh sé go

raibh an t-airgead ag an chomhairle, agus dualgas orthu é a thabhairt do na mic léinn gan mhoill. A fhaide agus a luigh sé i gcuntais bainc tá ús a dhéanamh don chomhairle ach ag an am céanna bhí fiacha na mac léinn ag fás.

"Tá Comhairle Chondae Gaillimh dár náiriú inniu, nó tá an t-airgead seo tugtha cheana ag formhór na gcomhairlí eile. Seo daoine linn inniu ó Bhaile Atha Cliath a fuair a ndéantais in am fad agus atá daoine óga i nGaillimh diomhaoin mar gheall ar chliarlathas na ndaoine seo istigh sna hoifigí ar mo chúil."

Dúirt cuid de na cainteoirí eile go raibh todhchaí na tíre seo in ainm a bheith i lámha mhic léinn. "Sinne a bheas, lá eigin, freagrach as postanna a chruithú, geilleagar na tíre a fhadhbú, agus fadhbanna eacnamaíochta agus



● Coláiste Ollscoil na Gaillimhe — Tá an mhoill ag Comhairle Chondae na Gaillimhe ag íoc amach deontaisí ag cur bochtanaí ar mhic léinn ann

sóisialta na hEireann a réiteach, ach an dóigh agus a choinníonn cuid de na comhairlí á ndéantais ina gcuntais bainc féin cinntíonn siad go mbeidh a lán mac léinn nach mbeidh in inmhe maireachtáil go deireadh an téarma agus mar sin a thréighfidh an seans tábhachtach seo le hoideachas a chur orthu féin. Chan amháin go bhfuil an

leithéid de Chomhairle Chondae na Gaillimhe ag cur oideachais i mbaol sa ghluin seo, ach tríd sin tá siad ag cur todhchaí rathúil na tíre seo i gceantúir freisin."

Leath uair tar éis don phicéad a thosú d'oscail bainisteoir na n-oifigí an doras agus ghlac le litir agóide ó na mic léinn agus mhairseáil na dáltaí ar

aís tríd an chathair chuig Coláiste na hOllscoile, ag dearbhu go leanfaidh sraith agóidí ar aghaidh go dtí go mbeadh córas cuí ann a d'íocadh na deontaisí in am feasta. Beidh mórshúil faoi fhadhbanna mar seo i nGaillimh ar an 28 Samhain agus tá Comhaltas na Mic Léinn ag dual le slua mór a bheith i láthair.

## Bonás do naiscolaíocht Gaeilge



● (O chlé) Bairre de Brún, Marie Flynn agus Gerry Adams

BHRONN Feisire Parlaiminte Bhéal Feirste Thiar Gerry Adams seiceanna do naiscoleanna Gaeilge antseachtain seo caite ar son cimí poblachtacha a ghlac páirt i rás urraithe le hairgead a thógáil d'oideachas trí mhéan na Gaeilge.

D'ardaigh na cimí in Eirinn, sa Bhreatain, in Eorpa agus sna SAM breis is £3,000. Tháinig cuid de na deontaisí ón Astráil fíu. Ghlac cimí as príosún Portlaoise páirt sa rás don chéad uair i mbliana i gclós an phríosúin agus bhailigh siad breis is £1,800 don naiscolaíocht Gaeilge sna Sé Chontae.

Ag caint ag an bhronnadh i mBéal Feirste, mhol Adams iarrachtaí na gimí a thosaigh an scéim nua thógáil airgid ceithre bliana ó shin agus a sháraigh gach cosc cumarsáide le sintiús luachmhar a thabhairt do scoileanna Gaeilge. Dúirt sé:

"D'aithin na cimí tábhacht an oideachais Gaeilge do theacht slán féin na teanga.

"Molaimid fosta iad siúd a d'oibrigh chomh crua sin le scoileanna lánGhaeilge a bhunú agus a choinneáil beo, go minic in aghaidh deacrachtaí dáiríre airgeadaí. Ní thig an pháirt rithbhachtach a ghlac siad i gcur chun cinn na teanga agus an chultúr a mheas i gceart.

"Thaispeáin an illiomad suirbhé gur mhaith le níos mó tuismitheoirí oideachas trí mhéan na Gaeilge bheith ar fáil dá gcuid páistí ach nach féidir leo sin a dhéanamh de thairbhe an eas-

pa airgid atá curtha ar fáil d'oideachas Gaeilge.

"D'éiligh grúpa oibre, a cuireadh ar bun i mBealtaine 1989 le moltaí a dhéanamh do thodhchaí an oideachais trí Ghaeilge, gur chóir do scoileanna lánGhaeilge bheith ar chomhchéim le scoileanna comhtháthaithe sna Sé Chontae agus le scoileanna Breataine sa Bhreatain Bheag. Go dtí seo chítear nár tugadh aird ar bith don éileamh sin.

"Anois go bhfuil an cruthúnas ann go bhfuil móréileamh d'oideachas trí mhéan na Gaeilge i gceantair d'ard leibhéil dhífhostaíochta atá ar bheagán achmhainní, tá sé in am ag na húdaráis oideachais cinntiú go gcuirtear an t-airgead ar fáil i sli a léiríonn na rianachais agus an dóchas acu siúd atá ina gcónaí sna ceantair seo."



● Ionadaithe ó naiscoleanna i mBéal Feirste le Gerry Adams i ndiaidh bhronnadh an airgid ó rás urraithe na gimí

Trí shuíle an chime

## Targáidí agus leigheas príobháideach

■ Le Joe McQuillan H3

NUAIR a d'fhógair grúpa dílseach, tamall ó shin, go raibh siad chun ionsaithe a dhéanamh ar an CLG toise gur targáid dlísteach anois iad, dar leo, baineadh preab asam; mar a bhaineadh as a lán daoine. Bhí áthas an domhain orm nuair a chinn siad an bhagairt a chur ar ceal. Ach leathnaigh a hionta targáidí athuair an tséachtain seo caite, áfach.

D'fhulaing tiománaí tacsaithe a mbioranna, agus anois tá dhá ghrúpa eile curtha ar an liosta acu. Rinneadh ionsaí, nár éirigh, ar lucht tacaíthe Cliftonville, foireann peile, agus ag deireadh na seachtaine sin rinne grúpa dílseach bagairt i gcoinne 'ionaid chomhphobal' uile.

Tá ionadh orm cad chuige ar chuir siad an focal 'ionaid' isteach mar tá ionsaithe i ndéanamh acu ar an 'chomhphobal' uile ar feadh na mblianta.

Mórchuid den am is ábhar aighneasach é, gimhilleach, mar sin, níl sé de rún agam díospóireacht a thionóil anseo: ag taobh leis nó ina choinne. Is é an rud atá uaim ná léirmheas a dhéanamh ar alt a léigh mé le linn na seachtaine. Bhí an t-alt faoi dtaobh de cheantar Medways i Kent, Sasana. Dúradh le dochtúirí sa cheantar seo go bhfuil orthu líon gimhíllí a ghearradh le dhá trian.

Ar dtús shíl mé go ngearrfaí an líon seo lena leithéid de chomhairle níos feara a thabhairt. Ach ní thabharfar. Tá na gearrthaí siar le déanamh mar chleachtadh i sábháil airgid. Deirtear gur chaith an oispidéal, Medways, £432,000 níos mó ná mar a



● Tá ionaid chomhphobal ar na targáidí is déanaí ag na dílseoirí bhí acu. Anois, mar is gnáth, cuirfidh na gearrthaí siar seo isteach ar seirbhísí do dhaoine ar an ghanchnuid.

Dhearbhaigh siad siúd atá freagrach as an airgead nach mbeidh gimhíllí ar fáil dóibhsean atá ag maireachtáil go beo bocht, nó atá ag fulaingt coinnéalacha sóisialta géar. Ach más féidir leis an dream seo breis is £200 a fháil, thig leo gimhílleach a fháil, go príobháideach ar ndóigh.





● Apartheid is not dead yet in South Africa and the 26-County government should listen to the ANC call for the gradual phasing down of sanctions

## KEEP PRESSURE ON APARTHEID

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT's decision to relax economic sanctions against South Africa was criticised at the weekend by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. The IAAM also called on the Haughey government to support the ANC's demand for an interim government of national unity to oversee democratic elections in South Africa.

The African National Congress (ANC) is now negotiating with the de Klerk government over the form of

the new South Africa. De Klerk has posed as a non-racist and has removed some aspects of apartheid. But, in the

negotiations, he is opposing the principle of one-person-one-vote. Instead he is pressing for Whites (less than a sixth of the population) to have the power of veto over legislation. De Klerk was forced into compromise by the international boycott of his economy. But now, after a few gestures from the South African president, the boycott is being lifted.

Early this year, de Klerk was hailed by Charles Haughey for his "brilliant analysis" of the South African situation. US sanctions were lifted in July and only strong resistance in the Danish parliament prevented the EC from following suit. Japan decided to resume iron and steel imports in October.

When it emerged — immediately after these measures — that de Klerk's government directly funded Inkatha, the Zulu tribal organisation which is killing ANC members, George Bush was deeply embarrassed. The South African president also failed to deliver on promises he made to his US counterpart about the release of political prisoners. By removing the sanctions, these governments enabled the South African government to resume its old ways.

Rocky Malebane-Metsing, an executive member of the South African liberation movement, explained to the Anti-Apartheid Movement AGM in the Mansion House on Saturday, how negotiations were "another form of

struggle" against apartheid. The struggle had reached its last stages, but the solidarity of peoples throughout the world was even more important than before. He called on the Dublin government to listen to the ANC when it advocated the gradual phasing down of sanctions.

The ANC and the IAAM are in favour of dropping "peoples' sanctions", such as the sports, academic and travel boycotts of South Africa — and the liberation movement enthusiastically supports the inclusion of South Africa in the coming Olympics. The dropping of these measures is "a recognition" of the legal reforms.

But to drop the vital economic sanctions would be a different matter. It would entirely remove international pressure on de Klerk's government to compromise. The key matter today is the form of any new constitution for the country. De Klerk's National Party is going to stand in any elections which will be held under that constitution, but it is also demanding the right to conduct the elections.

In its annual report, the IAAM condemns de Klerk's "insistence on being a player in the negotiations and refereeing the game". It calls for the formation of an interim government including the ANC. Only a body of this sort, which had the confidence of the majority of the population, could properly oversee the security services and the electoral process.

The IAAM refers to a "euphoric conviction that apartheid was now part of history", pointing out that "it is too early for the funeral. Apartheid is not yet dead. At least 22 racial laws and hundreds of by-laws remain on the statute books."

## Moving tributes at Derry presentation

NEARLY 500 people attended Derry's second annual presentation dinner dance in Donegal. Organised by the Derry Volunteers' Commemorative Committee, it was an outstanding success and has easily earned its description, in the words of Martin McGuinness, as "the most important social function of the year" in the North-West.

Special guests this year included recently released extradition victim Dessie Ellis. To thunderous applause, Martin McGuinness made a special presentation of a framed painting of Free Derry Corner to Dessie. After a moving tribute by Mitchel McLaughlin, Councillor Barney McFadden presented two of Derry's staunchest workers for the prisoners, John Coyle and Kathleen Gallagher of the Derry Prisoners' Dependents Fund, with Belfast Crystal. Kathleen Gallagher, who was unable to attend due to illness, sent a message which was read out, and the presentation was accepted on her behalf by her daughter Maureen.

At the gathering on November 8th, McLaughlin paid tribute to Rita McGlynn from Dublin, a founder member of An Cumann Cábhrach with a special grá for Derry POWs, and whose life-long republican commitment in-

cluded serving five years in an English jail in the '40s and tireless work for republican prisoners.

Presentations of Belfast Crystal were made to the families of Derry's longest serving POWs by Noel Nash, on three days' leave from the H-Blocks, who gave up his first night home to be present. Betty Anderson accepted the presentation for her daughter, Martina Anderson, who is in Durham Jail. Kathleen MacDermott accepted the presentation for her son Eamonn, in Long Kesh. Bessie McCartney accepted the presentation for her son, Raymond, also in the H-Blocks. Anne Starrs accepted on behalf of the family of Eddie Harkin, whose elderly parents were unable to attend, and Lynn Brown accepted the presentation on behalf of her brother Paul in Long Kesh. All these POWs are serving life sentences.

Between presentations, a selection of poems and songs were performed.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams then spoke of IRA Volunteer Raymond McLaughlin, who reported back for active service immediately upon his release from ten years imprisonment in England, and who died tragically while on a holiday in September 1985. He presented Raymond's wife, Mary, and son Patrick with a bronze statue of Cúchulainn, the same presentation made to the families of all the Derry Volunteers last year. Raymond's brother Colm was also given a presentation.

Finally, in a very evocative reminiscence, Gerry Adams spoke of assassinated Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton, his life and work, and paid tribute to his wife and his mother, whom he presented with a beautifully drawn framed portrait of Eddie. This was a very moving moment for everyone present.

A rousing céil then got underway, with music provided by Derry band Mean Fiddler. When the céil dancers nearly dropped from exhaustion, dance band Sparkles from Derry provided contemporary music.



● Eddie Fullerton's wife receives the framed portrait of Eddie from Gerry Adams at the presentation dinner



# Notices

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

### Fr Luke Wadding

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

WHILE the Catholic hierarchy have been predominantly hostile towards Ireland's long fight for freedom, in each generation over the centuries individual members of the clergy have actively assisted the struggle. One such cleric was Father Luke Wadding.

The eleventh of the 14 children of Walter and Anastasia Wadding, he was born in Waterford in October 1588. At a very early age he showed a taste for scholarship and at the age of 14, following the death of his parents, he studied at the Irish College in Lisbon, Portugal, and later entered the Franciscan Order.

In 1618 he went to Rome where he remained for the rest of his life. He founded the Irish Franciscan College of Saint Isidore in 1625 and the Louisa College for Irish secular clergy two years later.

Father Wadding kept in close contact with Ireland, corresponding regularly with friends and followed with

keen interest the turbulent political events of the mid-17th Century.

In October 1641, with civil war in England between King Charles and parliament imminent, the Irish chiefs under the control of Rory O'More of Laois and Sir Phelim O'Neill, rose in rebellion. They sought to retrieve their confiscated lands, but their ultimate aim was to free the country from English rule.

When the rising began in Ulster, Owen Roe O'Neill, then serving with Spain in the Netherlands, sent supplies and money to his people. In July 1642, exiles from Spain led by Owen Roe O'Neill and Colonel Thomas Preston

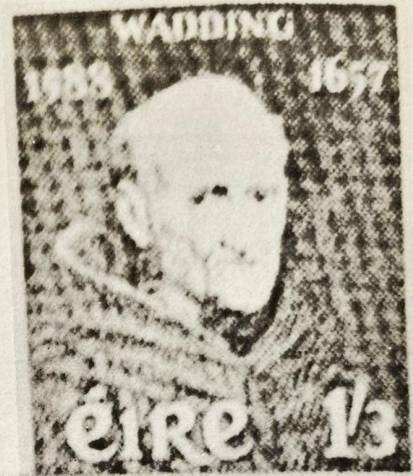
returned to Ireland to join the fight against English domination.

Meanwhile, as Rory O'More led the campaign in Ireland, on the continent Father Wadding, head of the Irish Franciscans in Rome, worked unrelentingly to assist the Irish cause.

Through his exertions the situation in Ireland became of European interest. Money and arms were dispatched and it was due to Fr Wadding's influence that the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini was sent to Ireland in 1642. He brought with him supplies of money and arms for the Irish army. The war, however, dragged on for another ten years and only ended after Oliver Cromwell's campaign of slaughter and massacre.

Father Wadding devoted the remainder of his life to writing. A scholarly and prolific author, he published 36 books, the best known of which was the history of the Franciscan Order, in eight volumes.

Father Luke Wadding, who was instrumental in securing foreign aid for the 1641 Rising, died in Rome on November 18th, 1657, 334 years ago this week.



### Imeachtaí

**ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING,** meets 8.30pm every Tuesday, Dublin Resource Centre, Crow Street, DUBLIN

**PICKET ON US EMBASSY,** opposing US policy in Central America, 11.30am-1pm, every Saturday, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN

**Eddie Carmody Commemoration,** assemble 8pm sharp, Friday 22nd November, BALLYLONG-FORD, County Kerry

**10th BIRTHDAY PARTY,** Irish in Britain Representative Group, Music by Hairy Marys, 8pm Friday 22nd

November, Camden Irish Centre, Murray St. LONDON, NW1. Band, Bar & food

**ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET,** 2-3pm Saturday 23rd November, Department of Justice, DUBLIN

**ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING,** Has British justice been vindicated? Speaker Dessie Ellis, 8pm Tuesday 26th November, ATGWU Hall, DUBLIN

**PUBLIC MEETING,** Cuba, Speakers Heriberto Ricardo, secretary of Cuban Embassy, LONDON, 8pm Wednesday 27th November, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey St, DUBLIN

**REPUBLICAN YOUTH MEETING,** 8pm Wednesday 27th November,

136 Barrack St. CORK. All republicans under 25 welcome

**SINN FEIN REGIONAL MEETINGS,** Mal Leinster; Laois, Offaly, Kildare, West Wicklow, 8.30pm Thursday 28th November, BIRR, Sinn Féin Office

**PUBLIC DEBATE,** Peace in Ireland — Which Way Forward? Speakers: Richard Stanton, Chair of TOM, Harry Barnes MP, supporter of New Consensus, Families against Intimidation and Terror and Peace Train. 7.30pm Friday 29th November, Library Lecture Theatre, Beetwell St, CHESTERFIELD, England. Organised by Chesterfield Labour Committee on Ireland

**IRISH NIGHT,** Music by Irish Brigade, Saturday 30th November, late bar,

Gatsbys, NEWRY, Organised by Newry Republican Movement

**BENEFIT CONCERT,** World Aids Day, 11pm Saturday 30th November, Featuring Mica Paris, Omar, Everything But the Girl, The Frames, Engine Alley, Zzazzy, Azure Days and special guests. Master of ceremonies: The Diceman, Gavin Friday and Maria McKee, Olympia Theatre, DUBLIN, Organised by Dublin Aids Alliance

**FUNCTION,** To raise funds for Dublin Martyrs Band, 8pm Saturday 30th November, The Lawns, Ballyfermot, DUBLIN, Taille £1

**HUNGER STRIKE EXHIBITION,** 12 noon-4.30pm, Saturday 30th Novem-

ber, ATGWU Hall, Kaiser St. WATERFORD CITY, County Waterford. Organised by the Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee

**BOOK SALE,** Sale of new and second-hand books at greatly reduced prices. 11am-4.30pm Saturday 30th November, Four Provinces Bookshop, 248 Grays Inn Road, LONDON WC1

**CIORCAIL COMHRA,** Chuile Luan 9-10.30am, Club Chonradh na 6 Sraí Fhearchair, BAILE ATHA CLIATH, Cleachtaigh do Ghaeilge Linn

**WELCOME HOME FUNCTION,** Dessie Ellis, 8pm Saturday 7th December, Wexford Inn, DUBLIN. Featuring Killen and special guest

### I nDíl Chuimhne

**CROSSEY, Michael;** DUFFY, Patrick; MARLEY, Michael. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Michael Crossey, Patrick Duffy and Fian Michael Marley. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

**CARBERRY, Stan (19th Ann).** In memory of my friend and comrade Vol Stan Carberry, unarmed when shot dead by the British army on Monday, November 13th 1972. Time does not diminish thoughts of you Stan, nor can it, when your memorial is in our hearts and is part of our resolve. Many people in West Belfast will remember you with pride and with sorrow this day. Always remembered by Danny Morrison, H4, Long Kesh.

**MARLEY, Michael (18th Ann).** In

proud and loving memory of Fian Michael Marley who was murdered by the British Army on November 24th 1973. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him.

"To us you were someone special, what more can we say, except to wish with our hearts that you were here today." Always loved and still sadly missed. From Margaret and family.

Always remembered by the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee.

**McDADE, James (17th Ann)** In proud and loving memory of James McDade who died on active service on November 14th 1974. His courage and dedication will always serve as an inspiration to us all. Always remembered by his loving brother Peter and the McKerr family.

**TOMAN, Eugene (9th Ann).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Eugene Toman. Sadly missed and never forgotten by his brother Hugh and sister-in-law Mena and Katherine, Conor and Claire.

### Comhbhrón

**BLACK-DONNELLY/RYAN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the families of Volunteers Patricia Black-Donnelly and Frankie Ryan, killed on active service on November 16th 1991. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

**BLACK.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the Marie and family on the death of her loving daughter Patricia Black-Donnelly. "Greater love hath no woman that she lay down her life for her friends and country." Sadly missed by Eddie, Patsy and family.

From Michèle.  
From Peter (C Wing, Crumlin Road) and Skin (Musgrave Park).  
From Gilly and Pádraic.  
From Richard and Chris.

From Seamus.

From Peter Lynch (C Wing, Crumlin Road).

From the staff of AP/RN

**CAHILL.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Joe Cahill on the recent death of his brother. From Mrs Eileen Brown and family, Dundalk.

**FALLON.** Sincere sympathy is extended to Derek Fallon and family on the death of Maria. From the Logue/Marley Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin.

From Dublin South Inner-City Sinn Féin.

**GALVIN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Steenson family, North Strand, Dublin on the recent death of Ann Galvin. From the Russell/McDonnell Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin.

**McGEE.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Patsy and Pat McPhillips on the death of her brother Fergal McGee. From the Worthington/Waters Sinn Féin Cumann, Dundalk.

From Josephine Finnegan and family, Cedarwood Park, Dundalk.  
From Frankie McGowan, Dundalk.  
From Rory and Marie Doogan, Cedarwood Park, Dundalk.

**RYAN.** Deepest sympathy is extended to the Ryan family on the death of Frankie. Sadly missed and always remembered by Peter (C Wing, Crumlin Road) and Skin (Musgrave Park).

From Gilly and Pádraic.  
From Gise and Frankie.

From Billy Massey.  
From Deirdre and the Mulholland family.

From Richard and Chris.  
From the staff of AP/RN.  
From the Clarke/Smith Sinn Féin Cumann, Finglas, Dublin.

### Buiochas

**THANK YOU.** Eire Nua Flute Band would like to thank the people of the Ballymurphy area for their support over the last ten years. Your

help has made the band such a success. Go Raibh Maith Agaibh.

### Beannachtaí

**BOLGER,** Ken (Portlaoise). Take it easy on the big day, you don't want to get buried. From Cormac CROSSEY, Art (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Art. From all in Newry Sinn Féin.

From Newry PDF.  
From Marion XXX.

From Fergie and Jackie.  
From Sean and Hee.

From Kato, Brendan, Jimmy, Eithne, Francis, Eoin, Barbara, Big Barry, Arthur and Catherine. From Jane, Brendan, Conall and Eimear.

From Desy, Connor, Kieran, Taxi, Donkey, Val and Paul.

From Alice.  
From Bob and Mary.

From Q.  
From Willie Mc.

From Zoot.  
From John, Lorna and Cormac.

SINN FEIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the re-unification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

If you would like to join Sinn Féin fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name.....

Address.....

Tel:.....Age.....

# Join Sinn Féin

### ■ SINN FEIN'S DEMANDS

Sinn Féin's ultimate objective is to create the political conditions necessary to secure a true and lasting peace in Ireland. This can only be achieved by:

- The ending of partition arising from British rule in Six of Ireland's 32 counties;
- British disengagement from Ireland and the restoration to the Irish people of the right to exercise self-sovereignty, independence and national self-determination;
- The setting of a definite date within the lifetime of a British government for the completion of this withdrawal;
- The disarming and disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment as part of the military withdrawal;
- The calling of a Constitutional Conference to which all political parties would be invited. This conference to be responsible for determining the nature and composition of an emergent national police service and the judiciary. If Britain was sincere about disengaging and was committed to an orderly transference of power, this could be achieved with a minimum of disorder;
- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.



# Last Orders

The SDLP (Stoop Down Low Party) executive has decided to reduce its office staff due to financial difficulties. The party is doing away with its general secretary and one member of the office staff at its Belfast headquarters as part of severe cutbacks. The post of party press officer which has been vacant for some time is also to remain unfilled.

With the full backing of the media and establishment the SDLP hardly needs a party anyway, as the seemingly permanently closed public office on the Falls Road bears witness. But one Belfast wag hit the nail on the head. He welcomed the party with this truism:

"If you've nothing worthwhile to say, why employ somebody not to say it?"

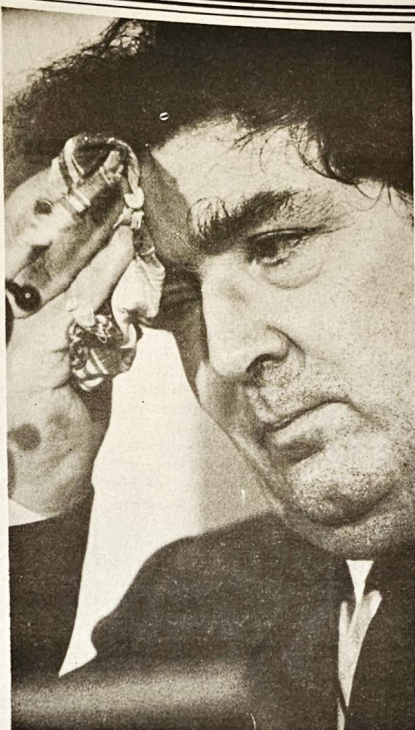
The British press is again turning its attention to Libya and the man they love to hate, Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi, given the Americans' accusations that two Libyan intelligence officers were behind the horrific Lockerbie bombing. The *Sunday Express* called for an end to all flights between Libya and "civilised (read Western) countries" as part of a general trade boycott. Ghaddafi, it says, "must become as isolated as a rabid dog".

As is usual in such cases, political expediency is the real motive behind the US's moral outrage. For example, the case against Syria and Iran in relation to Lockerbie is to be ignored given the current Middle Eastern political climate. And going back a few years, the lack of outrage among "civilised countries" in response to the atrocity that was the US bombing of Tripoli in 1986 is also worth noting as the Yanks and Brits again go looking for a handy scapegoat.

An idea first proposed by the Peckham Labour Party in south London for the Labour-controlled Southwark Council to consider naming housing offices after the Lord Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, has been scrapped after a savage attack from local newspaper the *South London Press*.

In response, Peckham Labour Party chair, Kevin Gould, explained that MacSwiney, who died on hunger-strike in Brixton in 1920, had been a champion of public sector housing and remarked: "This is not some IRA upstart who has been throwing bombs around. He is an historic figure."

In the event the proposal only reached the Local Government Committee of the local Labour Party, never making it to the council chamber, but Brian Martin, press officer for Southwark Council, admitted that "if it wasn't



● Hume and his party are feeling the effects of severe cutbacks for the media speculation it might have gone further". He acknowledged that MacSwiney was "a significant figure" and drew attention to the annual mass held in MacSwiney's honour at St George's Cathedral. He agreed that councillors who expressed anger at the *South London Press* attack had good reason, saying the paper was "somewhat out of order".

Criticising the Labour Party for giving in to the pressure, Pat Reynolds of the Irish in Britain Representation

Group drew attention to Neil Kinnock's appearance in the Irish media in Britain with a plaque of well-known Irish pacifist James Connolly in his hands in an effort to win Irish votes: "If Neil Kinnock saw fit to be identified with Connolly, the local Labour Party must honour another heroic Irishman of the same period; if they don't, then Irish people must reconsider who they vote for locally."

**F**air play to the British Special Branch, which the media is alleging urged Nesson Quinlivan and Pearse McAuley to escape long before their successful effort from Brixton. Unfortunately, the police apparently failed to inform the two men that they had scrapped their sting operation to help them escape in the hope of more arrests.

Meanwhile, Home Secretary Kenneth Baker, who was severely criticised following the breakout, is again in the firing line because there were a record number of escapes from British prisons last year. The *AP/RN* prize for originality goes to the prisoner who buried himself in a shallow grave in the prison garden and lay there for six hours while screws and police with dogs walked over him. When they had gone he climbed a 16-foot fence to freedom.

A typically stiff upper lip Home Office spokesperson said:

"We are concerned about the significant increase in the number of prisoners who have escaped in the past 12 months."

News reached us a few weeks back that the poor wing of the 26-County army, have to go "bang bang" and "ratatatat" to simulate weapons fire during training exercises in the Wicklow mountains because of a shortage of ammunition.

What with Ireland being a "third world nation" as some lad said in a film I saw recently, I saw this and refused to slag them off.

But last Thursday, November 14th, I read in one of the British rags that trainee Brit army officers have to use football rattles to simulate gunfire, all for the want of a few bob. Firing ranges have also been shut down and 22,000 Brits haven't carried out exercises this year.

But South Armagh Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister dismissed our worries about these apparently savage cut-backs, saying: "Given the similarities between the attitude and behaviour of the Brits stationed around here and their soccer hooligans abroad, I think football rattles are quite appropriate."

**O**n the subject of hooligans, a UDR man caught drunk driving in Solihull in the English Midlands, pleaded with the magistrate not to impose too long a driving ban as catching a taxi to and from his County Antrim base would put his life at risk.

Stephen Hayes told the court on Tuesday, November 12th, of a recent ambush in which two British soldiers were killed in a taxi in the Six Counties.

We here in AP/RN can't seem to recall this incident for some reason. Maybe Hayes could drop us a line to enlighten us? The magistrate was similarly unimpressed by the trigger man's porkies, fining him £250 and banning him from driving for a year.

**L**ast week *AP/RN* covered the case of Scots Guard Alex Findlay but we didn't get all the juicy details so here's a slow motion replay.

The sound of a beer can being opened reminded the Lance Sergeant of a bullet whizzing by his head, one of many regular flashbacks to the Malvinas/Falklands War, his court martial heard.

The unstable Brit, who was stationed at the Fort George Barracks in Derry, threatened to kill two of his mates and held a gun to the heads of two others in July 1990. He had been drinking all day at an RUC pigeon shoot before engaging in his own flight of fancy.

Despite failing to shoot any of his mates during his half-hour odyssey, Findlay did manage to "take out" a television set with his 9mm Browning pistol.

Findlay, who admitted in court that during the Malvinas war he shot Argentinian soldiers whom he could have taken prisoner, was sentenced to two years, reduced to the ranks and dismissed from the army.

**E**ASYRIDERS... The Garda Síochána have been issued with two Harley Davidson motorcycles for test runs. Unfortunately there has been no testing of late because both Garda jockeys assigned to test drive the US-made machines have managed to break their legs in the process.

# NOTES



©CORMAC

No doubt about it...  
They are a strange crowd  
over there in Britain...



They have discovered "joy-riding" and those who rule are looking for a cure ... and for stiffer penalties of course...



They have already decided that the correct punishment for Irish joyriders is summary execution by trigger-happy Brits...



And punishments even more rare are being considered by the powers that be...

Such as..



For those suspected  
of doing the double...  
... Selective internment!

[illegible]



# Fuair siad bás ar son saoirse mhuintir na hEireann

**Comrades of IRA Volunteers Patricia Black-Donnelly and Frankie Ryan who died tragically on active service at St Albans, Hertfordshire on Friday, November 15th here pay tribute to them.**

## Volunteer Frankie Ryan

VOLUNTEER FRANKIE RYAN was a young man who came into the republican struggle because of his deeply held political convictions, convictions that led him to Ireland to see for himself the struggle for Irish freedom and to play his part fully in that struggle. Unlike his comrade who died alongside him he did not grow up in a country which has its streets patrolled by foreign soldiers.

He was born of Irish parents in Harlow, Essex, on October 23rd 1966 and was the eldest of a family of three. It was there he was educated and spent the greater part of his life. Nevertheless, he developed an understanding of Ireland and the struggle of the Irish people to achieve freedom from British rule.

In 1985 he came to Ireland and

immediately involved himself in republican work, initially by helping to sell *An Phoblacht/Republican News* in his local area of West Belfast. Those who worked with him at the time thought of him as a quiet and unassuming man who was eager to work and could always be relied upon.

During the six years he spent in Belfast, Frankie decided to become

more involved in the struggle to remove Britain from Ireland and he joined the Irish Republican Army.

Comrades found him to be eager and enthusiastic about his involvement. He always listened to advice. For example, when advised that his own personal security would be enhanced if he refrained from socialising in known clubs and pubs he immediately stopped drinking altogether. When it came to learning he again showed a keenness which was refreshing and demonstrated a patience which won him respect from his comrades in the IRA.

His family and friends were aware of his republican sympathies but only learned of his involvement with the IRA when they heard how he had died.

Outside of his interest in the struggle for Irish independence he was interested in sport and played football with friends whenever he had time to do so.

Frankie Ryan will be sadly missed by those who knew him. To his mother Margaret, his father and step-father, and his brother and sister the Republican Movement extends heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathy. Mairfidh a chuimhne linn agus an troid ar son na saoirse ag dul ar aghaidh go bua.



## Volunteer Patricia Black-Donnelly

PATRICIA was born in Belfast on November 28th 1972. She was the second eldest in a family of four, with an elder sister and two young brothers. The formative years of Patricia's young life did not differ greatly from that of thousands of other young children in Lenadoon, West Belfast.

She was educated at St Oliver Plunkett's primary school and later at St Genevieve's girls' secondary school. At 16 Patricia left school and found work over the next few years at a number of part-time and full-time jobs.

Patricia was a lover of life. No matter how hard a deal she was dealt, no one remembers her complaining. What is remembered is her determination to enjoy what she had. She loved to laugh, she loved to dance and those who knew her recall her smile and her generosity of spirit.

Patricia was born into a district, in a city, in a country whose people were in revolt. It was a district, a city, a country and a people

she loved. All around her and her family was a situation not of their making, but one which, in the years that lay ahead of them, they would face with a courage and strength that puts to shame the forces and people who now seek to denigrate Patricia's memory.

Patricia saw for herself in the street where she lived what injustice and deprivation meant. She saw the true face of the army of occupation and the policies of its government, brutally forced on a people. She saw the terror of its sectarian paramilitary forces of "law and order". She confided to a select few that she was actively committed to doing something to change what was wrong. When Patricia turned 18 she had

already decided that she would join the ranks of Oglagh na hEireann. As a member of the Belfast Brigade, Patricia was determined to fulfil the role of an active Volunteer. She very quickly earned the respect and admiration of her comrades, many of whom were in awe of the determination of this young woman to get things done.

Patricia's work as a Volunteer entailed the gathering of intelligence and full-time operational involvement. The capture and imprisonment of comrades with whom she worked simply strengthened Patricia's resolve to continue her role as a Volunteer. Patricia's life as a Volunteer was something she hid from all around her, as much for their sakes as herself. Even within the ranks of Oglagh na hEireann, few knew of her or her work.

The youth, the beauty and the smile of Patricia, didn't die in a foreign street when she and her comrade Frankie Ryan were killed so tragically side by side. In the hearts and the minds of her friends and comrades it will inspire and strengthen us. We cannot replace for her family and in particular her mother the gift that was Patricia. We can only say that in lonely cells, silent streets and many homes, a sad tear and a gentle smile will be with us forever. Slán a bhean uasal, mairfidh tú inár gcoitche go deo.