

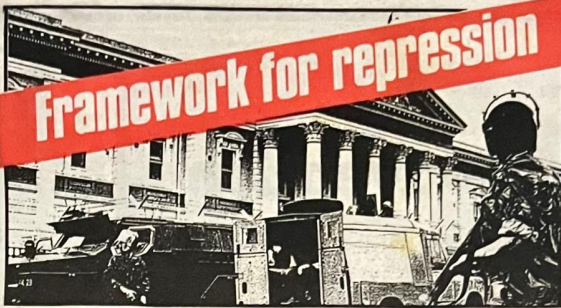
AN
PHOBLACHT
Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



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Framework for repression



SEE CENTRE PAGES

Historic IRA Convention

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14th, the following statement was issued by the Irish Republican Army:

Recently, and after much careful planning, IRA delegates from all over Ireland secretly met in a General Army Convention for the first time in 16 years. At this meeting were members of the outgoing Army Council and representatives of the Army Executive, GHQ Staff and Departments, Northern and Southern Command Staffs, Brigades and Battalions and Units, all of whom were elected by their own conventions to attend.

The Convention opened with a unanimous pledge of rededication to the armed struggle and confidence in the armed struggle as being the means of breaking the British connection and bringing about Irish independence.

Several sections of the Constitution of Oglagh na hEireann were amended and, by more than the required two-thirds majority, the delegates passed two particular resolutions. The first removed the ban on Volunteers discussing or advocating the taking of parliamentary seats. The second removed the ban on supporting successful republican candidates who take their seats in Leinster House.

Also reaffirmed was General Army Order No 8 which prohibits offensive action against the administration in the twenty-six counties or its forces.

The Constitution was modernised so that it reads in non-sexist language.

The objective of restoring the Irish language as the everyday language of the Irish people was reaffirmed.

The present strategy of the Irish Republican Army was discussed and endorsed, although the volume of resolutions made it impossible to deal with every issue.

By secret ballot, the delegates then elected a 12-person Army Executive, which in turn elected a new Army Council. The Army Council, the Chief of Staff it has appointed, and the Army Executive will study the outstanding resolutions which relate to how best to prosecute the struggle for freedom.

P. O'Neill,
Irish Republican Publicity Bureau,
Dublin.



OPINION Convention

FOR THE FIRST TIME in 16 years, an IRA leadership has been elected by republican delegates in convention. Its renewed mandate is the armed overthrow of British rule in Ireland and the adoption of strategies to defend and consolidate the struggle and lead ultimately to victory and the establishment of a democratic, socialist republic.

At no other time in the 200-year history of the Republican Movement has the war been so consistently maintained in the face of overwhelming odds, the Volunteers so tenacious, or the supporters so sound (indeed stoically patient). The struggle has been sustained by sheer sacrifice, by the lives of young men and women, and by a rare, distinguished courage.

For a long time — and this is not to ignore the other prisoners — it was carried by the Armagh women and by 400 bearded men, wrapped in dirty blankets, who stood behind cell doors with the defiant promise of "Tíocfaidh ár lán!" on their lips as ten of their number stepped forward and showed the world the mettle of which this generation is made.

And it was from these same H-Blocks that the successful elections of IRA Volunteers Bobby Sands, Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew shook Westminster and Leinster House and demonstrated the potential of harnessing and maximising support — a task which falls to Sinn Féin as a revolutionary political organisation.

Sinn Féin will decide its political strategy in open debate and by a show of hands at its Ard-Fheis. The vote on ending Leinster House abstentionism is not a foregone conclusion because of this week's IRA statement. If the vote is lost because it fails to command a two-thirds majority, then it is lost and 'sin sin'. If the proposed change is carried because delegates feel that republicanism can be promoted and advanced in this way, then that decision must carry the same authority as has any clause enshrined in the Constitution to date.

In this debate a few expletives have already been heard. Some unnamed republicans (and other republicans who should know better) have been quoted in the media referring to comrades as 'Sticks'. People who believe that abstentionism is a principle, or who have reservations or misgivings about a change, do the struggle a disservice by such comments though their views deserve total respect and their arguments should be carefully considered and weighed. Let it also be known that the struggle and the Republican Movement needs every single member it has.

The IRA is saying that there will be landmines, mortar-bomb attacks and ambushes against the crown forces in the occupied six counties until the British government is humiliated into withdrawing from Ireland.

For too long successive twenty-six-county governments have impeded peace and progress, and have censored republicans, without being effectively challenged.

To win the struggle the Republican Movement needs to counter falsehoods, needs to increase support, needs to be relevant and to be effective — and to be effective it needs to be free of constraints.

Out of the IRA's General Convention has emerged a healthier, committed army, confident of seeing the long, hard war through to a victorious conclusion.

Let us borrow some of their boldness and confidence.



● New Barnsley RUC Barracks in West Belfast, which came under mortar attack in which one RUC man was killed

Belfast mortar blast



AN RUC MAN was killed when the IRA's Belfast Brigade launched a mortar attack on the heavily-fortified New Barnsley joint Brit/RUC barracks on Saturday night, October 11th.

IRA Volunteers had carefully constructed a single mortar tube and frame and, at about 8.30pm, moved it into position behind houses in Glenalina Road, Ballymurphy, which is several hundred yards from the base.

At that time the Greater Ballymurphy area was saturated by crown forces operating from New Barnsley and it appears that the IRA Volunteers decided to wait in position until the enemy returned to base.

Almost two hours later, just before 10pm, after all of the foot and mobile patrols had returned, the mortar containing 50lbs of explosives was fired.

The bomb detonated in the air over the base and one RUC man was hit by shrapnel in the head and upper body. He died a short time later.

OBSERVATION POST GUTTED

Also in Belfast late on Wednesday night, October 8th, IRA Volunteers gutted a derelict house at the junction of Springfield Road and Dunmore Street which was being used by British soldiers as a secret observation post.

In a statement, Belfast Brigade revealed that IRA Intelligence had monitored British army soldiers using the building for the previous two nights:

"An IRA active service unit was deployed to the house but on

spread quickly through the courthouse.

LETTER BOMB FOR BRIT COMMANDER

The RUC and British army have launched a top-level enquiry in Derry into how the IRA succeeded in penetrating the British army's internal mail system and delivered a parcel bomb to the British army commander in the city, Brigadier Michael Scott.

Scott narrowly escaped serious injury or death when he became suspicious of a parcel delivered to his Waterside home early on Monday morning, October 13th.

A British explosives engineer was called and took several hours to defuse the sophisticated device.

arrival found that the Brits had vacated it. The building was then blown up to prevent its further use by British troops."

DUNGANNON COURTHOUSE

The IRA in Tyrone has claimed responsibility for the firebomb attack on Dungannon Courthouse on Friday night, October 10th. The blaze, which extensively damaged the three-storey building



● The empty house at Springfield Road/Dunmore Street junction, Belfast, which was used as an observation post by the British army

Haughey speech worries SDLP

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

LAST SUNDAY at Bodensown, Fianna Fail leader Charles Haughey made what was described in the press as his "most blistering attack ever" on the Hillsborough pact.

The position of Northern nationalists had "seriously worsened" since the Accord had been signed, he said, listing instances of on-going repression, discrimination, show-trials and sectarian murders. The planned Bill of Rights for all Ireland was "Incredible" and an "unwarranted intrusion in our affairs". Referring to British direct-ruler Tom King's recent declarations, he added that the British government's request for Dublin to remove Articles 2 and 3 of the twenty-six-county Constitution was the height of "impertinence".

Haughey's speech was, primarily, an attack on the present Coalition's policy: the North was a

failed political entity; the Accord had failed to deliver, worse, it had brought more suffering on nationalists. The SDLP was also implicitly targeted and last Sunday's Bodensown speech has undoubtedly hurt them.

'NATIONALIST CHAMPION'

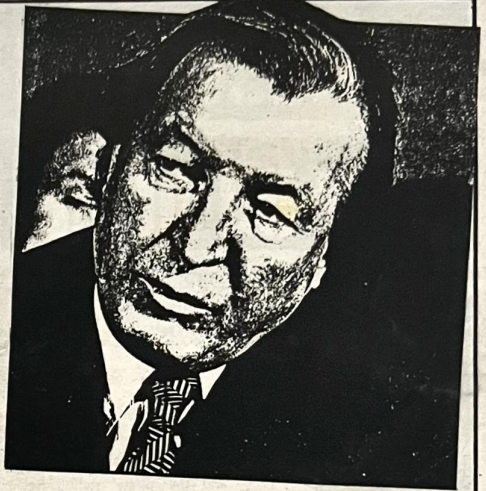
His address received an immediate reply from the other contenders for the title of 'nationalist champion'. Of course the Agreement had delivered, said Peter Barry, accusing Haughey of having been "consistently negative" about it.

SDLP deputy leader Seamus Mallon told the *Irish Press* that he

was confident Haughey would not dismantle the Agreement. Progress had been slow, he agreed, but the Agreement was "the only advance in relationships with the Republic of Ireland in the past 65 years". A rather ludicrous statement given the Sunningdale Treaty and the setting-up of a 'Council of Ireland' in 1973. A role for Dublin would not, as Mallon said, have been "inconceivable only 15 years ago", it was on the cards 20 years ago and had been so possibly since the 1921 Treaty.

BULL TERRIER

Yet only a year ago at the SDLP annual conference, the same Mallon had proclaimed his conditional support for the Agreement. He would watch out for real improvements in the lives of Northern nat-



ionalists, he promised. But this erstwhile nationalist watchdog has increasingly turned into a prominent apologist for the Agreement. A wolfhound turned bull terrier, so to speak.

For the Agreement has turned all these proclaimed defenders of Northern nationalists into official apologists for the British government — in Mallon and Hume's case, paid ones.

But it is not easy to live with such contradictions. A few days

ago he asked for the resignation of RUC chief John Hermon over the *Observer's* revelations of RUC murder squads in Armagh. Yet not so long ago Mallon was encouraging nationalists to support the RUC. And then on Tuesday, October 7th, Mallon was heard on the radio congratulating the South for spending £1m a day on "a border they don't want" and then in the same breath complain that South Armagh was becoming an armed camp.

BY JANE PLUNKETT

MORE STALKERGATE REVELATIONS

• 'Ulster death squad secrets exposed' — an 'exclusive' article in the *Observer* newspaper

THE British Sunday newspaper, the *Observer*, has revealed new details of the British "death squads" (in their words) which killed six unarmed men in County Armagh in 1982 and falsified the evidence.

According to the *Observer* (October 12th), it was these events which John Stalker, deputy chief constable of the Greater Manchester police, "was prevented from uncovering".

The RUC's Southern Region Headquarters Mobile Support Unit (HQMSU) was responsible for the murders. Described by the *Observer* as "essentially a potential death squad of two dozen men", it operated in pairs of unmarked armoured Cortinas containing three men armed with a Sterling submachine-gun, a high-powered Ruger rifle and handguns. They were trained at Ballykinkar by SAS-trained instructors and were ordered to conceal their operations behind the Official Secrets Act.

They worked only with certain British army personnel, MI5 electronics experts and the RUC's E4A surveillance unit. The RUC death squad "was meant to be under the ultimate control of RUC chief John Hermon", via a small group at Gough Barracks, Armagh, who answered to Special Branch chiefs.

This confirmation of Hermon's involvement strengthens the view of republicans that the

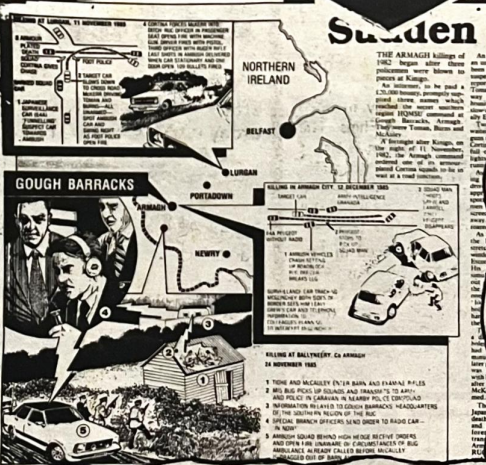
murders were sanctioned at the highest level by the British government.

'KILLING SPREE'

The newspaper claims that the unit's 1982 "killing spree" began after an informer — in exchange for a £20,000 bounty — gave the names of three men he alleged were involved in an IRA landmine attack at Kinigo in October 1982 which killed three RUC men. The people allegedly named were Eugene Toman, Sean Burns and Martin McAuley.

"Within weeks, all these men and more besides were to be shot," says the newspaper, which gives a detailed description of how Burns, Toman and a third IRA Volunteer, Gervase McKerr, were shot dead on November 11th 1982, as their Escort car drove into an HQMSU "ambush" outside Lurgan.

The RUC later claimed that the three unarmed men had been killed driving through a routine



roadblock. But, in fact, there was no roadblock and an E4A car had reported on Burns' and Toman's movements for days, enabling the HQMSU vehicles to lay in wait.

The RUC fired "no fewer than 109 shots" into the car.

STAKEOUT

Thirteen days later, on November 24th 1982, an HQMSU unit shot two innocent men in a stakeout of a hayshed at Ballyneery. When an electronic bug detected movement in the shed, the unit were radioed the order "In! Now!". They advanced towards the barn firing. A 17-year-old boy, Michael Tighe, was shot dead and his companion, Martin McAuley, was seriously injured.

Two ancient rifles were found in the barn.

The official RUC version of the shooting made no mention of the bug, the tape-recording or a surveillance caravan. The RUC claimed instead that a routine patrol had seen armed men entering the shed who had pointed weapons at them.

The third ambush took place in Armagh city on the night of December 12th 1982.

An RUC inspector in an E4A surveillance Peugeot had been following unnamed INLA Volunteers Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll in the twenty-six counties that day. It had apparently been hoped that they would bring Dominic McGlinchey, then on

the run, across the border and that he too would be killed. However, McGlinchey remained in the South, and though the officers at Gough were alerted, the orders to blitz the car remained in force.

CHAOS

There was chaos, however, when a British army vehicle crashed into an RUC Cortina, breaking an RUC man's leg. The E4A Peugeot containing an HQMSU man armed with a machine-gun had to race after their intended victims. According to the *Observer*:

"As they slowed in front of it, the constable leapt out and pumped 15 shots in the direction of the passenger, Roddy Carroll. He killed him. He moved round to the driver's side and killed Grew, who was found not in the car but lying in the road with a bullet in the back of his head."

Later, RUC records were falsified to conceal the involvement of the Peugeot, and the RUC claimed that Grew and Carroll had crashed through a routine roadblock, injuring an RUC officer.

EMBARRASSMENT

The murder of Grew and Carroll became a considerable embarrassment to the Dublin government when it later became known that British military surveillance personnel had operated in the twenty-six counties without any hindrance from Free State forces.

And this week, eye-witness accounts that Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew were followed in Monaghan that day by a Garda Special Branch car were referred to by Roddy's brother, Sinn Féin Councillor Tommy Carroll. Criticising the Dublin government's silence on this issue, Carroll challenged Peter Barry to reveal the role of the gardai and the Dublin government in the murders.

Belfast wins Glór na nGael

THE NATIONAL Glór na nGael award for 1985/86 has been won by West Belfast as the community in Ireland which has done most to promote the Irish language.

The prestigious trophy and prize of £2,000 goes to West Belfast which, last year, won a Glór na nGael award for the promotion of An Fáiine. That award was won this year by Derry. West Belfast also picked up the award for the best suburb and a special prize for first place in the six counties.

Congratulating the people of West Belfast, the organisers of Glór na nGael (which is run jointly by Cumann na Sagart and Comhsháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge) said:

"They have succeeded because they have the most essential support for any movement and that is the wide support of the people."

MAJORITY ACTIVITIES

Among the many cultural activities for which Belfast won the competition are:

- The Shaws Road Gaelscoil, which has over 460 pupils and for which a permanent building has been completed, with plans going ahead for another school to cater for other areas of the city.
- A special transport scheme in co-operation with the black-taxis which bring many of the pupils to the Gaelscoil.
- The running of an all-Irish

nursery school.

- More than 60 Irish classes in operation.
- The erection of street signs in Irish.

● Broadcasting: the provision of a full-time Irish producer on Radio Ulster due to the pressure exerted by Irish-language activists; and the 'pirate' station Raidió Feirste, which operated for a time earlier this year.

● Publishing: *LA* and the *Andersonstown News* (which won a special Glór na nGael prize for its Irish input), and the pamphlets *Ceist Agam Ort* and *Irish Above Politics*, by Máirtín Ó Cadhain which has been republished.

- Regular Irish social events in the city.

Ninety-four committees took part in this year's Glór na nGael competition which will be celebrating its 25th anniversary when the awards are presented at a formal ceremony next May.

Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, ceannaire Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin, atá ina chathaoirleach ar Choiste Iarthar Bhéal Feirste, Glór na nGael. Tar éis foilsíú na torthaí dúirt sé:

"Is ábhar mór bróid agus áthais do gach duine, idir óg agus aosta, in Iarthar Bhéal Feirste go bhfuil príomh-ghradam na Gaeilge,

Craobh na hÉireann i gComórtais Ghlor na nGael, ag teacht ó thuaidh i mbliain stairiúil seo an Chomórtais.

"Leoga, is fíor go spreagfaidh an bua iontach seo Gaeil na sé chontae i gcoitinne. Mar a chomachas i gcórsaí Chumann Lúthchleas Gael ar na mallaibh, caith-eann muintir na sé chontae a dtacaíocht iomlán taobh thiar

de dhreamanna as an cheantar s'againne nuair a bíos siad páirteach i gcomórtais náisiúnta. Beidh siad, mar sin, an-mhótasach as an bhua seo a dhearbhaíonn gur teanga bheo i an Ghaeilge ó thuaidh, agus gurbh iad na tuaisceartaigh atá ar thús cadhnaíochta san athbheochán chultúrtha.

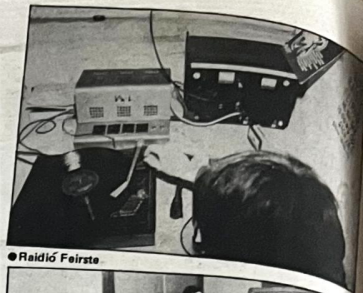
"Teann fréamhacha na hathbheochana siar dhá chéad bliain

i mBéal Feirste, agus is aitheantas é an gradam seo ar obair ar sinsear ó gach traidisiún, a chuir síolta na hathbheochana atá chomh láidir sin inniu.

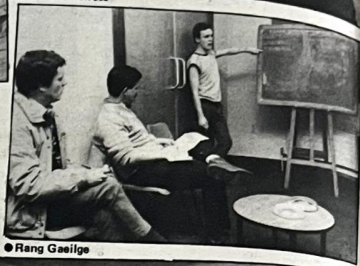
"Is toradh é an duais seo ar obair gach duine in Iarthar Bhéal Feirste, cuma bíodh siad ag rá 'Slán' agus iad ag teacht amach as tacaí dubh, nó ag teagasc grian sa Scoil Ghaelach."



Is PROINNSÍOS Ó LABHRADHA



● Raidió Feirste



● Rang Gaeilge



● Rang Ghaelscoile

THREE THOUSAND social service employees from North and West Belfast voluntarily lost half-a-day's pay last Friday, October 10th, to protest against an £800,000 cut by the Eastern Health and Social Services Board to a wide range of services affecting the elderly and physically handicapped.

Members of nine trade unions participated in the half-day walkout and demanded that the EHSSB should represent the interests of the community, not the policies of the British government. Calling on the Board to withdraw the cuts and review the situation, the unions urged officials to compare the high levels of need in the North and West Belfast areas with the "appalling low levels of spending on services".

All-out pickets were placed on the Shelbourne Hotel in Dublin on Tuesday, October 14th, following official sanction from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Trainee managerial staff from Britain had been brought into the hotel last week to scab at the Shelbourne which is owned by the giant Trust House Forte hotel group. The ICTU gave all-out sanction on Monday night and the following day all deliveries to the hotel were affected by the pickets.

Pay levels in the Shelbourne are well below the norm for hotel workers in Dublin, including the International Airport Hotel, also owned by Trust House Forte.

...

The Cork Corporation strike, now entering its fourth week, seems likely to be a protracted one following the interven-

Walkout against cuts



● Social Services employees picket the EHSSB offices in Belfast

tion of the Free State army last week and the rejection by the workers of an offer of £3.50 per week on top of the recent award under the 25th pay round.

The workers are holding out for parity with the meal and travel allowance paid to Corporation workers in Dublin, which is unconnected with the pay round award for local authority and health workers in the twenty-six counties.

On Friday, October 10th, the Free State army was brought in to repair a damaged water main in the Bishopstown area of the city. A force of 15 gardai protected the soldiers as they worked, while a picket of Corporation workers circled the site.

An application before the ICTU on Monday, October 13th, for an all-out picket in Cork Corporation was deferred for a week so that the type of work to be carried out on emergency services can be agreed.

If it continues, the strike could prove a disruptive embarrassment to the Labour Party in the twenty-six counties who are due to hold their annual conference in the City Hall in Cork at the beginning of November.

...

Workers in the Coca-Cola Bottling Company in Dublin's Western Industrial Estate came out on strike on Tuesday, October 14th.

The workforce downed tools following the dismissal of a union member by management on the grounds of alleged misconduct. Although the workers have not sought official backing for the dispute, Anne Speed of the ITGWU told AP/RN that the union could not accept that allegations made against the worker involved were grounds for summary dismissal by management.

...

The dispute at Speciality Materials in Coolock industrial estate has entered its third week. Workers are still holding out against proposed changes in working patterns which will result in earning losses of up to £40 per week. Over 170 employees are involved in the strike in the industrial diamond factory which is owned by the giant US multinational, General Electric.

...

Ferry services between Ireland and Britain continue to be disrupted as the B&I dispute goes on.

The Dublin to Holyhead ferry service was cancelled on Monday, October 13th, when members of the Seamen's Union of Ireland struck for full payment of their demand under the 25th pay round. Services resumed the following day as talks got under way in the Labour Court.

The Sealink dispute came to an end following talks between union and management on Wednesday, October 15th. Services were expected to resume today (Thursday, October 16th).

Patricia Moore speaks out

BY JANE PLUNKETT

DERRY WOMAN PATRICIA MOORE burst into tears of joy in Lisburn Courthouse on Monday afternoon when she learnt that, after spending a year in jail, all charges against her had at last been dropped.

Twenty-three-year-old Patricia Moore, charged with IRA membership and the killing of an RUC inspector, was under threat of life imprisonment solely on the word of RUC perjuror Angela Whoriskey. Prior to her arrest just 12 months ago on 15th October 1985, Patricia had a well-paid job as a quality control examiner in a Derry shirt factory. Speaking to *AP/RN* on Monday, she recalled her arrest:

"I was never ever inside an RUC barracks in my life before that morning I was arrested. I was shocked and nervous but because I knew I'd nothing to hide and I was innocent, I kept thinking 'Do seven days and you'll get out.'"

She was taken to the notorious Castlereagh Interrogation Centre where, after several days of threats that she would be shot by the SAS and attempts to pressurise her into working for the Special Branch, she was told that Whoriskey had signed statements incriminating others. In Castlereagh, Whoriskey was brought in to 'identify' her. *"She never once looked at my face,"* Patricia recalls.

TOTALLY INNOCENT

She was held in Armagh Jail for five months and, when it closed, moved to Maghaberry where her wing adjoined the unit occupied by Whoriskey. Virtually every day, Whoriskey was visited by RUC Special Branchmen carrying thick files and maps who were there to rehearse Whoriskey in what she was to say in court.

This was particularly hard for Patricia:

"It really added to the stress, to sit behind bars knowing that you're totally innocent and knowing that the Special Branch were going in to school her to lie not only about me but about everyone else. And there was absolutely

nothing I could do about it."

Patricia Moore was incarcerated for a year without even being given a preliminary enquiry, the court hearing which is supposed to be a safeguard to allow defendants to challenge whether they are being imprisoned without evidence. Remand prisoners saw that Whoriskey, supposedly serving a life sentence, was allowed extra visits denied to the other women, given her own choice of food and clothes, and was taken out for shopping expeditions and for periods of 24 hours.

Another aspect of Patricia Moore's ordeal was that, although

a remand prisoner, she was repeatedly made to suffer degrading strip-searches. The worst experiences were when she was seriously ill. Last February she was strip-searched on her return from Musgrave Park Hospital. Unable to hold down food or water for days, she was in a very weak state: *"I was violently sick going back in the van. When I got back to Armagh I couldn't even stand, and I practically fainted while I was being stripped."*

As a result of the negligent medical care, she was rushed to Craigavon Hospital two weeks later for an emergency operation to remove a ruptured ovarian cyst. After only 15 minutes in the hospital recovery room she



● Patricia Moore (left) after her release from Lisburn Courthouse

was returned to Armagh Jail. Prison warders had watched her at all times.

"In the hospital I hadn't seen my family, anyone. But when I got back into Armagh I was bodysearched although I'd only been out of the theatre for an hour and even though I was stitched and in terrible pain."

DRASTIC EFFECT

The whole experience has had a drastic effect on her life:

"It's made me very, very bitter and it's made me realise just what the British government is capable of."

"I was outside and I was leading as normal a life as possible. I was working and I had a steady boyfriend. I played netball for British Telecom. I did a terrible lot of swimming for charities. All of a sudden I was arrested and kept in jail for a year for things which I didn't know anything about, never mind did..."

"Nobody's ever going to hand me back that year, nobody's going to be able to take away all the hurt and the worry that I've had to go through — not only me, but my family and all the other people arrested and their families."

Perjurer case collapses

CHARGES against a total of 19 Derry men and women are expected to be dropped this week following the collapse of the Angela Whoriskey perjury case.

The first official confirmation of the case's collapse came on Monday afternoon at Lisburn Courthouse when a crown lawyer announced that the DPP had dropped charges against 23-year-old Patricia Moore. The following morning 30-year-old William McGuinness, a married man with five young children, who like Moore had been incarcerated for a year without a shred of evidence against him, was freed at Belfast's Crumlin Road Court.

Solicitors expect that charges against the 17 people also charged on Whoriskey's word but granted bail will be dropped at a remand hearing on Friday in Derry Magistrates Court. Those charged include 64-year-old Sinn Féin Councillor Barney McFadden, who was also a victim of paid-perjurer Robert Quigley, on whose word he is



● ANGELA WHORISKEY

still awaiting trial.

MASS RAIDS

The defendants and their families have suffered a full 12 months of stress and anxiety since October 15th, 1985, when the RUC and British army conducted mass raids in Derry, arresting 14 people. Following further arrests, by February of this year 19 people were facing charges solely on Whoriskey's word.

It emerged that 25-year-old Whoriskey, who had been arrested the week before the first raids, had been pressurised under interrogation into signing a statement claiming involvement in the killing of an RUC inspector. A single parent with an 18-month-old daughter and a history of psychiatric problems, the vulnerable Whoriskey was pressurised into incriminating others in the hope of a speedy release.

She is currently serving a life sentence but with no minimum term specified. In Maghaberry she has undergone months of intensive 'schooling' in her evidence by the RUC, who have now apparently decided that she is so far from being a credible witness that her appearance in court would only further damage the discredited paid-perjurer system.

The news that the Whoriskey case had collapsed was broken on Monday morning by Sinn

Fein's Martin McGuinness, who described it as "scant comfort" to the innocent victims of the case. He added:

"After a year of collusion between the RUC and DPP, they have finally accepted that Angela Whoriskey can no longer be presented as a willing, a truthful or indeed an effective witness... The collapse of the Whoriskey trial does not, however, signal the end to the paid-perjurer strategy. On the day this case collapsed, the trial of three men based on the word of another RUC blackmail victim, Owen Connolly, began in Belfast."

"The show-trial system is an obscene conspiracy created by the RUC and British government to stifle legitimate opposition in the six counties. The collapse of the Whoriskey case is a victory for those who oppose injustice and repression. But we must all redouble our efforts to end once and for all this squalid strategy."

US to extradite republican

BY MAIRIEN Mac DIARMADA

AN Irish republican prisoner faces extradition from the United States to Britain following the refusal of the Supreme Court in Washington to hear his appeal this week.

The court's decision opens the way for the handing over to the British authorities of Liam Quinn, who is a US citizen. The British are seeking him in connection with the shooting of a policeman in London in 1975 and the IRA bombing campaign in Britain in 1974/75.

Quinn lived in Ireland between 1971 and 1979 and served a year in Portlaoise Prison for IRA membership. He returned

to the US in 1979 and was arrested there by the FBI in 1980.

Since then, Quinn has been imprisoned in California and has been fighting extradition to Britain for over five years. On February 18th this year, the US Circuit Appeals Court upheld a British appeal against the earlier decision of a Californian court which had ruled against extradition. Significantly, the judge in the Appeals Court said that Quinn's alleged offences were not political as a "political uprising" was not taking place in Britain although this was the case in the six counties.

MAJOR SETBACK

Liam Quinn's lawyers appealed to the

Supreme Court but this week that court refused to hear his appeal, thus opening the door for extradition to Britain. Although this is a major setback, the prisoner's lawyers say that there are some legal channels still left open to them.

Commenting on the threatened extradition of Liam Quinn, Martin Galvin of Irish Northern Aid told *AP/RN*:

"It would be a tragic miscarriage of justice if Liam Quinn is made to stand trial before the same British courts whose verdicts in the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four cases are regarded as a travesty by a growing number of people in Britain itself."



Pensioners' plight ignored



● IRA veteran Hugh Whelan talking to Paddy Wright in St Vincent's Hospital, Athy

RTE RADIO last week cancelled a planned feature on two old-age pensioners in St Vincent's Hospital, Athy, as a result of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act.

Sinn Fein member of Athy Urban District Council Paddy Wright had highlighted the case of two Tan War veterans who are permanent patients in the geriatric hospital. Hugh Whelan and Joe O'Rourke fought with the IRA's Carlow Brigade during the Tan War and were in receipt of 'Old IRA' pensions from the Dublin Department of Defence.

At a council meeting in Athy during the summer, Paddy Wright highlighted the fact that Hugh Whelan's pension was not paid to him but was contributed directly to the Eastern Health Board towards his upkeep in the hospital, leaving him with only £11 per week out of his old age and 'Old IRA' pensions. Whelan is 87 and has been in hospital for 11 years.

Joe O'Rourke's position is similar although he had reluctantly relinquished his veteran's pension. He is 90 years old and has been in the hospital for over five years.

RTE's radio programme *Live Line* expressed interest in the case

and had arranged a radio interview and feature for Monday, October 6th. However, when they realised that Paddy Wright was a member of Sinn Fein the subject was dropped and the feature cancelled. Journalists contacted Paddy Wright and said that personally they regretted the position but that his 'political affiliations were unacceptable to the programme' due to Section 31.

UNION CONDEMNS SECTION 31

The recent conference of the Marine Port & General Workers' Union in Dublin passed a resolution condemning the use of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act and calling on the Dublin government to have it removed.

A motion was also passed calling for the abolition of the death penalty, an end to strip-searching and for the signing by the twenty-six-county government of the UN Convention on Human Torture.

COLLABORATION CENTRE PICKETED

BY MICHAEL Mac DIARMADA

THE OPENING of a new Garda divisional headquarters in Monaghan town by Coalition Justice Minister Alan Dukes was picketed by four Sinn Fein councillors on Monday, October 13th.

The new headquarters are to be a 'communications centre' for the border area and thus an important part of Garda/RUC collaboration which has stepped up since the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement. All local elected representatives were invited to the opening except those from Sinn Fein. Monaghan County Councillors Caoimhghin O Caolain and Pat Treanor and Urban Councillors Padraig Uí Mhurchadha and Owen Smyth picketed the ceremony and carried placards reading 'No money for hospitals, homes or jobs. Millions squandered on border barracks'.

The Sinn Fein councillors

condemned the massive spending on so-called border security while unemployment and emigration soared in the border counties.

TRALEE

Tralee Urban District Council has joined the long list of local authorities in the twenty-six counties which have called for the abolition of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. The council passed the anti-censorship motion at its meeting on Monday, October 6th, on the proposal of Sinn Fein Councillor Billy Leen.

Councillors also agreed to name a new road in the town after the late republican and prominent GAA figure John Joe Sheehy.

The third resolution from Leen

which was adopted was a call for the establishment by the Department of Education of a school for deaf children in Tralee. At present children from the town have to travel over 70 miles to the nearest such school in Cork city.

NENAGH

A call for opposition to the extradition of people wanted for political offences was made at the last meeting of Nenagh Urban District Council in County Tipperary.

Sinn Fein Councillor Jimmy Nolan told the meeting that the British judicial system had proved itself incapable of treating Irish people with fairness, as the case of the Birmingham Six and innumerable others had shown. The council passed the motion by four votes to one with one Fine Gael abstention.



● The newly constructed Garda barracks in Monaghan

BY MICHAEL Mac DIARMADA

A RENT STRIKE of local authority tenants throughout the twenty-six counties got under way this week as the Dublin government continued to refuse to meet the National Association of Tenants' Organisations.

The strike began on Tuesday, October 14th, and NATO general secretary Matt Larkin described the response to the strike call as "very encouraging". Some areas began the rent and repayment withdrawal on Monday while in Tullamore, County Offaly, 500 people attended a public meeting called by NATO in support of the strike.

The twenty-six-county government is refusing to negotiate the new local authority rent system with NATO, thus breaking a legal agreement made in 1973. Matt Larkin told *AP/RN* that he last wrote to Envir-

onment Minister John Boland on October 2nd and that he had not even received an acknowledgement of that letter.

COUNCIL SUPPORT

Since the declaration of the rent strike two local councils have come out in support of NATO. Both Cork City Council and Dun Laoghaire Borough Council have called for their local city managers not to exercise the new powers given to them by the Fine Gael/Labour Coalition. This allows county and city managers to assess rents under a differential rent scheme based on gross rather than nett family income.

Matt Larkin has been touring the twenty-six counties organising support for the strike and addressing public meetings. The meetings will continue this weekend when a National Executive meeting of NATO will also be held to discuss the organisation's strategy in the escalating strike.



Sinn Fein National Draw

THE WINNERS in Week 7 of the Sinn Fein National Draw are:-

£300: Paddy Linden, Monaghan; £250: Barry Hannigan, Lifford, County Donegal; £150: Tom McLoughrey, Nenagh, County Tipperary; £100: Seamus Hamill, Monaghan; £50: Bean Uí Cinneide, Cork; Ken Desmond, Cork; £50: Craigavon; £50: Silverbridge, County Armagh.

Rent
strike
under
way

Dungannon

house

arrests

A SERIES of intensive raids on nationalist homes in the Dungannon area of County Tyrone since last Thursday, October 9th, resulted in vicious attacks and intimidation of families by the crown forces.

In the first of several such raids in Dungannon on Thursday morning, a family in the Springdale Estate and another in Ballysaggart Park were held in one room under the crown forces' illegal use of 'house arrest', which stops families moving freely and prevents them overseeing the search of their homes.

The homes of Sean and Roisin O'Hagan and Tommy Hamill were raided on Thursday from 7am until 2pm. For those seven hours the O'Hagans were held in the kitchen while they listened to the noise of carpets and floorboards being torn up in the bedrooms. Clothing was scattered around the bedrooms and clean clothes were thrown among soiled clothes. A solicitor who arrived at the houses was refused access by the RUC.

ARMY STYLE UNIFORMS

That night, shortly after 7pm, the Quinn family from the Lisnahull estate were about to sit down to their evening meal when RUC men, dressed in army-style uniforms, burst through their front door, ran into the bedrooms and locked themselves in the attic. Simultaneously, several other RUC men ran through the back door and held the Quinns and their two teenage sons under 'house arrest'. The bewildered and terrified family were given no explanation by the RUC who left ten minutes later as abruptly as they appeared.

The crown forces were in a similarly aggressive mood the following morning, Friday, October 10th, singling out two more nationalist homes in Dungannon and Eglisli, Patrick and Kathleen Kelly and their three young children were ordered to remain in their livingroom but Patrick insisted on accompanying the raiding party upstairs while Kathleen, who is expecting their fourth child, remained confined downstairs.

The noisy arrival of the British army/RUC raiding party had aroused many of the Kelly's neighbours in Mullaghmore Park. The neighbours began to gather outside the Kelly home and by 10.20 am, more than two hours after the raid began, the crowd had swollen and several people began banging bin lids in protest. Sinn Féin

Councillor Francie Molloy and the family solicitor were refused access to the house by the RUC who lined up outside.

NEIGHBOURS ATTACKED

Suddenly, neighbours saw Patrick Kelly at an upstairs window being savagely attacked by two RUC men and three British soldiers. The crowd surged forward towards the house and were immediately attacked by baton-wielding RUC men. Terry and Carmel Morrow, Kelly's neighbours, were bated, kicked and pulled by the hair. Carmel, three-months pregnant, was kicked on to the ground and had her hand trodden on. Her husband Terry, whose jacket was torn in shreds, was arrested along with neighbours Philomena McDonald and Nuala Kelly. They were charged with assault and obstruction.

Meanwhile Patrick Kelly had been repeatedly punched and kicked by the RUC and British soldiers. He told AP/RN:

"An RUC man had his arm around my neck, another was pulling my arms back to handcuff me. I was dragged to the ground while two Brits put their boots into me and kicked me in the stomach. They got me down and were twisting and standing on my arm to get it back and get the handcuffs on."

At this point Kelly saw one of the RUC men "rearing up and he bit me on the arm and the other one bit me on the back. I could feel their teeth sinking in."

As a result Kelly sustained extensive bruising to the arm and back from teeth marks.

PUSHED DOWNSTAIRS

Hearing the disturbance Kathleen Kelly ran upstairs to her husband's aid but an RUC woman, who was aware that Kathleen was pregnant, shoved her downstairs. Then, with his hands handcuffed behind his back, Patrick Kelly was also pushed downstairs and dragged to the back hallway where he was propped up against the wall. In a highly distressed state Kathleen pleaded with the RUC to leave him alone but was told to "fuck up".

As a 'concession' the RUC allowed access to a local doctor at



● (Top) The Kelly home, Dungannon, during the RUC raid; (above) Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy remonstrates with the raiders and (right) Patrick Kelly showing the back wound inflicted by the RUC



then thrown into the jeep where he was kept for one-and-a-half hours and again physically abused.

As with the Kellys, a doctor who was admitted to the Cassidy house had to examine Bernadette in the presence of an RUC woman while the RUC refused to remove Patrick's handcuffs for examination. Mr Cassidy was detained in Gough Barracks until Saturday evening when he was released without charge.

SIMILAR AGGRESSIVENESS

Two further raids occurred on Tuesday morning, October 14th, and followed a similar pattern of aggressiveness, with the crown forces refusing to allow people in or out of their homes and with lengthy searches. The Corrigan home in Aghnaskea, Cappagh, and the Arthurs' house in Reclain Road, Castlecaulfield, were the targets this time with pickaxes being used to dig up floors in the Arthurs' bungalow.

In a joint statement criticising the vicious methods of the crown forces during their latest series of raids, Sinn Féin councillors Anita Calvin and Francie Molloy commented:

"So much for Peter Barry's claim that nationalists were never so well off. It is clear that the nationalist people are going to be harassed whilst the Free State administration once again buries its head in the sand and refuses to acknowledge that until the British presence is removed, this type of injustice will continue to be the order of the day."



● Terry Morrow, a neighbour of the Kellys who was assaulted by the RUC outside the Kelly home, pictured with his wife Carmel and their daughter Clara

12.30pm but they insisted he examine Kathleen Kelly in the presence of an RUC woman.

The RUC arrested Patrick Kelly under Section 11 and took him to Gough Barracks, Armagh, where on two occasions he received death threats from the RUC who told him: "You won't live to see this child your wife's expecting, you'll be lying on a slab in Craigavon."

The same morning, four miles away in Eglisli, another nationalist family was undergoing a similarly terrifying experience during a search of their isolated home.

Patrick and Bernadette Cassidy and their five young children were awakened from their sleep by Land Rovers and carloads full of

British army personnel and members of the RUC.

Mrs Cassidy, who was due to go into hospital that morning to have the couple's sixth child, was prevented from doing so as no one was allowed to leave the house. During the raid she became anxious and her blood pressure rose as over a dozen RUC and British soldiers searched the house room by room. She was further upset when her husband Patrick was handcuffed and marched outside towards a Land Rover simply because he had wanted to accompany the searchers. As he was frogmarched towards the Land Rover he was struck between the shoulder blades with a rifle butt, injuring his collar bone. He was

THE DIPLOCK COURTS

Framework for repres

ONE of the promises made by the London and Dublin governments following the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement, in November last year, was to introduce 'reforms' into the no-jury Diplock Court system in the North. Almost one year later nothing has emerged, although there has been much speculation about three Diplock judges, instead of one, sitting together to hear a case.

There are two important points that must be made when talking about the Diplock Court system and possible reforms: the first is that the legal system is subordinate to Britain's desire to maintain control over the six counties; the second is the inherent unionist bias of the judiciary.

Following the imposition of partition by the British and the establishment of the Northern statelet in 1921, the unionist regime introduced the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act of 1922. The act was renewed annually until 1928 when it was extended for five years and then in 1933 it became a permanent feature of six-county law until, following the imposition of direct rule in 1972, the British law replaced it with more up-to-date legislation.

The Special Powers Act empowered the Minister for Home Affairs to make any regulation which it was thought necessary for the "maintenance of order". In their book *Law and State: the case of Northern Ireland*, three academics, Kevin Boyle, Tom Hadden and Paddy Hillyard, said of the Special Powers Act:

"The powers of arrest and detention under the Special Powers Act, as it was generally known, were not formally directed against Roman Catholics and republicans, but it was common knowledge that it was against them and them alone that it was directed and used... In this way the unionists made use of the legal system to secure themselves both against peaceful political challenge and against internal and external attacks."

The Special Powers Act allowed for flogging, the prohibition of coroners' inquests, destruction of buildings, requisitioning of land or property, and the banning of publications. Should anyone discover a loophole in the act there was a catch-all clause:

"If any person does any act of such a nature as to be calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or main-

tenance of order in Northern Ireland and "not specifically provided for in the regulations, he shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence against the regulations."

DIRECT RULE

Following the introduction of internment in August 1971, the dramatic escalation in resistance and the murders of 14 innocent nationalists in Derry on Bloody Sunday, January 30th 1972, the British decided to take direct control.

With the proroguing of Stormont in March 1972, the British immediately began the process to end internment and replace it by a more judicial but, they believed, equally effective means of imprisoning republican activists. As their guide for this tactic, the British government looked to British counter-insurgency expert BF Kitson. Several years later in 1977, after many of his ideas had already been implemented, Kitson said of the law:

"Everything done by a government and its agents in combatting insurgency must be legal. But this does not mean that the government must work within exactly the same set of laws during an insurgency as existed beforehand..."

THE COMMISSION

In October 1972, the British asked Lord Diplock, a senior judge in the British House of Lords, to chair a commission which would review the Special Powers Act. In the two months before the report was published that December, Diplock was the only member of the commission to visit the North and even then he only met members of the crown forces.

In keeping with Kitson's theories the Diplock report recommended a series of changes

to the law which merely replaced one form of draconian legislation, the Special Powers Act, with another — the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act 1973. Diplock's proposals were designed to facilitate the easy sentencing of political activists, thus doing away with the need for internment. To this end 'confessions' would be more readily acceptable.

Diplock recommended the abolishment of jury trials for all offences linked with 'terrorism', which the subsequent EPA defined as "the use of violence for political means".

On interrogations, Diplock's

proposals were to open the floodgates for the torture which was to follow in purpose-built interrogation centres across the North, but particularly in Castlereagh and Gough.

Under British common law the prosecution must prove beyond a reasonable doubt that a confession was not obtained by "threats, inducements or oppressive conduct". Diplock recommended, however, that they could be accepted even if obtained "as a result of building up a psychological atmosphere in which the initial desire of the person being questioned to remain silent is

replaced by an urge to confide in the questioner, or statements preceded by promises of favours or indications of the consequences which might follow if the person questioned persisted in refusing to answer."

The EPA shifted the burden of proof to the defendant who now has to prove that the confession was made as a result of "torture, inhuman or degrading treatment".

Along with the right to hold suspects for three days, and eventually seven days with the introduction of the PTA in 1974, these recommendations were all intended to make it

Wednesday, October 15th anniversary of the 15th centem. In this article the origins and the Diplock Courts in the six counties who adm



easier to force 'confessions' and to ensure the acceptability of these 'confessions' by the courts.

In 1974, 1975 and 1978, several minor changes were made to the Emergency Provisions Act, while in April 1984 the Baker Report endorsed all of the major changes in the law saying: "The time is not right for the return of jury trials".

THE COURTS

In the 13 years since the Diplock Courts system came into operation, it has achieved many of its original objectives, although at a political cost for

pression

ay, October 15th, marked the 13th anniversary of the no-jury Diplock Court system. This article Eamon Tracy examines the origins and the criminal record of the Courts in dispensing British 'justice' in the six counties, and profiles the judges who administer the system.



'confessions' of acceptability usually on the basis of a written or verbal confession. For example, while the acquittal rate in jury trials in the six counties has increased from 38% in 1974 to 59% in 1979, by contrast, the acquittal rate in Diplock Courts has dropped progressively from 57% in 1973 to 38% in 1981.

According to barrister Lord Gifford, who compared English 'supergrass' trials with those in the North: "there is no case (in England) in which it is clear that a person has been convicted on the evidence of a single

the British.

It is now significantly easier to get a conviction usually on the basis of a written or verbal confession. For example, while the acquittal rate in jury trials in the six counties has increased from 38% in 1974 to 59% in 1979, by contrast, the acquittal rate in Diplock Courts has dropped progressively from 57% in 1973 to 38% in 1981.

According to barrister Lord Gifford, who compared English 'supergrass' trials with those in the North: "there is no case (in England) in which it is clear that a person has been convicted on the evidence of a single

supergrass without corroboration from any other testimony".

In the North, however, 57% of those found guilty in ten perjury trials were convicted in Diplock Courts with no corroborative evidence.

The political cost for the British has been a consolidation of the alienation felt by Northern nationalists towards 'the institutions of law and order'. The London-Dublin Agreement has as one of its most important tasks, the overcoming of this alienation and the acceptance by Northern nationalists of the judiciary and crown forces. Article 8 of

the Agreement states that both governments recognise "the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice" in the six counties, and that the Inter-Governmental Conference when established will consider "with the help of advice from experts ... measures which would give substantial expression to this aim".

A major obstacle in achieving this goal must be the political bias of the judiciary itself which is unionist dominated.

THE JUDGES

The Diplock judges are a mixture of former unionist MPs, Stormont ministers, attorney generals and British soldiers or the sons and relatives of some. They are overwhelmingly members of the Protestant ascendancy and many continue to have close links with the unionist establishment.

In addition to 11 County Court judges, the following are the members of the judiciary.

LOWRY

Sir Robert Lowry, the Lord Chief Justice, is the most senior of the North's judges. He is the son of William Lowry, an Orangeman and Unionist MP from 1939 until 1947, who was attorney general for the Stormont regime between 1944 and 1947.

Lowry was educated at Royal Belfast Academical Institution and was a governor of that school from 1956-1971. During World War II he was a British intelligence officer, rising to the rank of major before being demobbed in 1946. In 1971 he was appointed honorary colonel of 5th (Volunteer) Battalion of the Royal Irish Rangers.

Lowry was called to the bar in 1947 and acted as junior counsel to the attorney general from 1948 until 1956. Among the many bodies which he participated in was the Steele Committee which examined the need for legal aid for people of low income. Lowry opposed its introduction and contributed to the 16-year delay between its establishment in Britain in 1949 and its introduction to the North in 1965.

In 1974 he was a lay member of the Joint Law Enforcement Committee which included members of the Southern judiciary. Lowry and other Northern participants argued strongly for extradition but eventually agreed to the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act under which a person could be tried in the South for offences committed in the North and vice versa.

Lowry has presided over some of the more important trials and is particularly remembered for his verdict in the Kevin McGrady perjury trial. McGrady had returned from Holland and confessed to being involved in several killings. Even though Lowry described McGrady's testimony as "incredible" and "bizarre", he convicted seven people solely on the perjured evidence.

In March 1974 Lowry presided over the appeal of British army corporal Foxford who was the first member of the crown forces to be charged with shooting dead an unarmed civilian, 12-year-old Kevin Heatley, in Newry on February 23rd 1973. Foxford had earlier been convicted of the lesser charge of manslaughter. The Appeal Court quashed the conviction.

GIBSON

Sir Maurice Gibson, Lord Justice of Appeal, caused a storm of controversy in June 1984 when he acquitted three members of the RUC charged with the murders of three un-

armed IRA Volunteers, Gervase McKerr, Eugene Toman and Sean Burns, on November 11th 1982 in Lurgan. At the close of the prosecution case, he said that he wanted to place on record his "own commendation for their courage and determination in bringing the three deceased men to justice, in this case, the final court of justice."

Gibson's reactionary conservatism has also appeared on other occasions. When one woman defendant applied for bail on the grounds that she was pregnant, Gibson said that she must wait until the baby was born and then the baby could apply for bail.

O'DONNELL

Turlough O'Donnell, a Lord Justice of Appeal, is the most senior of the North's three Catholic judges. His appointment to the High Court the week after the introduction of internment in August 1971 caused considerable controversy, particularly when he refused to withdraw from his position despite the fact that many other prominent Catholics were doing so.

It has been expected for some time that O'Donnell will retire shortly, thus keeping the numbers of Catholic Diplock judges at two. O'Donnell presides over few republican trials and has not heard any paid-perjury trials.

KELLY

John Basil Kelly, a Lord Justice of Appeal, is a former member of the Orange Order, a one time Unionist MP and attorney general for the unionist regime at Stormont during the Civil Rights period and up until Stormont was abolished in March 1972.

As the most senior legal adviser to the Stormont regime in that period, he played a key role. In May 1971, in the Stormont parliament, he was accused by opposition MPs of showing political bias in ordering court prosecutions.

Kelly's unionist bias was most clearly observed in his judgement at the end of the Black informer trial in August 1983 when he admitted that self-interest was the motivation for Black giving evidence yet accepted his testimony. Kelly also dismissed Black's earlier perjury in another case as "unimportant" and convicted 22 people on the sole evidence of Black's testimony.

MacDERMOTT

John MacDermott, High Court judge, is the son of a former Lord Chief Justice and has been responsible for some of the most outrageous decisions in respect of crown forces personnel charged with the murder of civilians or unarmed republicans.

On August 7th 1974, Patrick McElhonne, a young farmer in County Tyrone, was shot dead by a British army private, Jones, at the family farm. According to McElhonne's mother, she saw her son being beaten by British troops after he was taken from the house. She saw one soldier take Patrick into the middle of a meadow, run back towards the roadway, turn and fire a single shot, killing him.

Jones initially said it was an accident but then claimed that he believed McElhonne to be a member of the IRA. No evidence was produced by Jones to this effect.

Jones was charged with murder and tried by MacDermott who accepted the soldier's second excuse and released him.

In a similar case, eight years later, MacDermott's comments praising an RUC man for his "sharp

shooting" caused an outcry.

John Robinson had been charged with the murder of Seamus Grew who together with Roddy Carroll, was shot dead in one of the infamous shoot-to-kill operations by the RUC death squad 'E4A' in Armagh city in December 1982.

HUTTON

Prior to direct rule, Brian Hutton, High Court judge, was a senior crown counsel and legal adviser to the Stormont regime. Educated at Oxford, Hutton achieved his grandest hour at the European Court of Human Rights where he was one of several defence lawyers who attempted to whitewash Britain's torture of internees in the North in 1971.

In 1974 he was a member of the Joint Law Enforcement Committee, whose recommendations led to the introduction of the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act of 1975.

Until his appointment as a judge, Hutton acted as the representative of the British attorney general in the North and, as such, was intimately involved in refining the repressive tactics which prop up Britain's colonial rule in Ireland.

In 1984 Hutton presided over the Quigley show-trial, at the end of which, on May 2nd, he described Robert Quigley as a man of "deplorable character" and then proceeded to convict ten Derrymen on his testimony.

HIGGINS

John Higgins, High Court judge and Catholic, was appointed to the bench in 1971 and to the High Court in 1984. In 1975 he was a member of the Gardiner Committee which rubber-stamped the draconian legislation introduced following the Diplock Report. The Gardiner Report also played a vital role in the attempt by the British to further criminalise the republican struggle by recommending the phasing-out of political (special category) status.

NICHOLSON

Michael Nicholson, a Catholic from Derry, was appointed to the High Court following the Christopher Black appeal, in which he was a defence barrister. Nicholson's father Cyril, was regarded as a brilliant barrister but was denied a place on the bench in the 1950s because he was a Catholic.

MURRAY

Donald Murray has been a High Court judge since 1975. He was responsible for accepting the uncorroborated evidence of UVF informer Joe Bennett against 16 loyalists in 1983.

CARSWELL

Robert Carswell has been a High Court judge since 1984 but as a barrister he represented the NIO at the inquest into the deaths of the ten republican hunger-strikers.

Carswell was also responsible for convicting 27 people on the uncorroborated evidence of Harry Fitzpatrick, a man he described as "of bad character and low moral standards". At the end of the show-trial, which lasted 102 days, in December 1985, ten men were sentenced to life imprisonment and another 17 were given lengthy terms of incarceration.

Carswell's verdict was given in spite of obvious evidence throughout the trial that Kirkpatrick had been extensively schooled by the RUC.

SINN FEIN has welcomed an announcement by the Fair Employment Agency that, over the next 18 months, it intends carrying out an investigation into employment practices by the North's councils.

Michael Hasson and Michael McGonigle, Sinn Fein's two Limavady councillors pointed out that:

"Limavady Council, like almost all other unionist-controlled councils, refuses to sign the FEA's Declaration of Intent to implement the principle of equality of opportunity and, indeed, most unionist councillors call for the abolition of the agency."

STRABANE

A decision by the Finance and General Purposes Committee of Strabane Council on Monday night to grant £1,500 to the RUC Community Relations Branch for the Sperrin Ramble Project has been criticised by Sinn Fein Councillor Ivan Barr.

Barr told AP/RN:

"It is outrageous that Strabane Council should grant this money to the RUC, particularly in view of the intense harassment

COUNCIL INVESTIGATION

of the nationalist community in the town in recent months by that very force. I believe that many people in the town will be surprised and shocked at the council's decision."

Councillor Barr also condemned the comments of James O'Kane, the council chairperson, who attempted to defend the decision by claiming it would provide leisure facilities for local children.

Barr said: "The council has its own services which could have more usefully availed of this money." He concluded: "The sincerity of local SDLP and inde-

pendent nationalist councillors in their condemnations of harassment in the town must now be open to question."

STRABANE BY-ELECTION

Sinn Fein's election campaign for the vacant seat on Strabane Council got under way last weekend. Election workers have been busy putting up posters of the Sinn Fein candidate James McCafferty, and church-gate meetings have been held.

Although the seat in the Glenelly area will probably go to the DUP candidate, Sinn Fein is confident of polling well.

Beidh athrú bunúsach ar chursáil i gComhairle an Lúir as seo amach de bhí na moltaí atá déanta ag Coiste na Gaeilge de chuid na comhairle. Tá tús a chur le reimeas nua ina gcuir-fear deireadh le neamart náir-each an rialtais sa Ghaeilge.

B'fhin a diúlt Sámus Mac Daibhéid, cathaoirleach Coiste na Gaeilge san lúir i ndiaidh cruinníú stairiúil de Choiste na Gaeilge sa bhaile a chfín ar phacáiste radaiceach de leas-uithe ar son na Gaeilge. Is iad na moltaí ar glacadh leo ag cruinníú an choiste Dé Máirt agus a rachas anois ós comhair na comhairle iomláine:

● Go gceapfaidh an chomhairle oifigeach Gaeilge lán-eins-earta.

● Go mbeidh poleasaí an dáthangacha i bhfeidhm sa chomhairle.



● JAMES McCAFFERTY

● Go mbeidh, as seo amach, gach comhartha de chuid na comhairle i nGaeilge agus i mBéarla.

● Go gcuirfear leagan Gaeilge de chéad comhartha, atá crochta cheana féin, ar fáil gan mhoill.

● Go gcuirfear buiséad de £5,000 ar fáil do Choiste na Gaeilge ar an bliain seo chugainn.

● Go n-aimseofar lúir-ionad cuí do Ghaeilgeoirí san lúir. Go gcuideofar le buna-

naíonra san lúir.

Bhí comhairleoirí de chuid an SDLP agus de chuid Shinn Féin i lathair ag an cruinníú de Choiste na Gaeilge agus tá sé cinnte mar sin de go nglacfaidh an chomhairle iomlán leis na moltaí.

Tá Sámus Mac Daibhéid ina chathaoirleach ar Chonradh na Gaeilge san lúir chomh maith. Ag an cruinníú athcheapadh an coiste sealadach a bhí i mbun Coiste na Gaeilge go cionn bliana.

ORCHESTRATED TERROR CAMPAIGN

GERRY ADAMS, Sinn Fein MP for West Belfast, has accused the British army and RUC of escalating brutality and intimidation against West Belfast residents.

In recent weeks, Adams has been receiving a constant stream of complaints against the RUC and the notorious Royal Marine Commandos, particularly in the Springhill area, ranging "from serious physical assaults to generally aggressive and intimidating behaviour".

Early on Sunday morning, October 12th, a 16-year-old boy from the Grosvenor Road area was savagely attacked by Marine Commandos, who left him semi-conscious. Thomas Shaw was walking home from the Casualty Department of the Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH) at around 12.50am when a Commando patrol stopped him inside the hospital and demanded his name.

Four Marine Commandos then forced the youth, a regular victim of harassment, behind security hut at the hospital's Grosvenor Road entrance and "kicked me

stupid, punching me". Thomas Shaw recalls:

"One hit me on the face with the butt of his rifle and shouted 'Die, you Fenian bastard, you'. They tried to trail me up to the laundry where it's dark, and I started squealing. I can't remember anything after that."

OBSTRUCTION

Shaw was found by two local men and taken to Casualty where he was refused an X-ray and told to "take a few pain-killers".

He had suffered swelling and bruising, particularly to his head and arms and cuts, and scrapes to his head and hands.

An hour later he was taken by his parents, Tommy and Eileen Shaw, to make a formal complaint at Grosvenor Road RUC Barracks. However, during the hour they spent there the RUC refused to

take his statement. Another son, Garry (18) was abused and man-handled. According to their father, Thomas Shaw: "We just met with obstruction and finally they put us out."

SPRINGHILL ASSAULTS

Also on Sunday night 14-year-old Christopher McCoubrey of Springhill Avenue was assaulted and threatened by Marine Commandos.

McCoubrey had been out around 10pm looking for milk for his sister-in-law's baby. He was returning to her home in Springhill Avenue when he passed a foot patrol of Marine Commandos. McCoubrey told AP/RN:

"I tried to avoid them but one stuck the tip of his rifle in my stomach. I asked him to watch where he was going and walked on. The Brit shouted 'Come here, you bastard' and ran up behind me. As I turned round he hit me on the face with his fist and I fell back. He then threatened to shoot me. He said 'I'll do



● ANTHONY MORGAN



● CHRISTOPHER MCCOUBREY
you right'."

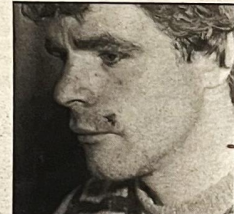
A short time later the same foot patrol stopped two men coming from a chip shop. They physically and verbally abused them and deliberately kicked and scattered their food across the road.

SET UPON

The following night a joint British army/RUC patrol set upon two men near the top of Springhill Avenue. Tommy O'Hare (28) and Anthony Morgan (27) were viciously attacked and beaten to the ground with rifle butts and batons. When local women who had heard the noise ran to see what was happening, one RUC



● THOMAS SHAW



● TOMMY O'HARE

man sarcastically remarked "Oh! They fell!"

In a statement exposing these most recent incidents, Gerry Adams said:

"The level of these attacks, and their periodic escalation, points to an orchestrated campaign of intimidation in this area which bears a striking similarity to what is going on in Strabane and other nationalist areas at present."

"While Peter Barry from the safety of Dublin absurdly praises the RUC and British, nationalists in areas like West Belfast continue to experience the harsh reality of the British presence in our country."

MAGHERA BROTHERS ASSAULTED

In two separate incidents last week a South Derry nationalist was attacked and beaten by crown force members.

Shane Cassidy (18) from Slaughtneil, Maghera, was punched in the stomach and kicked by three British soldiers on Tuesday night, October

7th, as he walked along Tamney Crescent. Cassidy sustained a black eye and bruising to the body.

Five days later, on Sunday, October 12th, he and his twin brother Henry were sitting in their car talking when members of the same British army patrol approached

and verbally abused them. The RUC arrived and ordered the brothers, and other local people in an adjacent car, to get out to be searched.

When the RUC deliberately slammed the other car's door against Cassidy's car, Henry Cassidy complained and was immediately punched to the ground. Up to seven

RUC and four British soldiers then attacked the Cassidy's, kicking and punching them repeatedly. They were both badly bruised and shocked.

"The Cassidy's isolated home is regularly visited by the crown forces and the family subjected to taunts and abuse."



Skibbereen honours hunger-strikers

AFTER MONTHS of controversy involving the Urban District Council, the local tourist association and the commemoration committee, a plaque honouring the ten H-Block hunger-strikers was unveiled in Skibbereen last Sunday, October 12th.

The ceremony was attended by more than 500 people who marched behind a republican colour party to the national monument beside Skibbereen Town Hall. The copper plaque, in the form of an elaborate shield backed by ten spears and bearing the names of the hunger-strike martyrs, was unveiled by the parents of Francis Hughes and by Norah McElwee, sister of Thomas.

A wreath in the shape of an H was laid at the memorial by veteran Cork republican Alfie Lane and the *Last Post* was sounded by Christy Murphy.

Donnchadh O Se chaired the commemoration and gave a statement on behalf of the committee. In a reference to the long controversy over the new memorial which local business people objected to, he said:

"Our answer to Coalition Minister Jim O'Keefe and the Tourist Association is that our only regret was that the ceremony wasn't held at the height of the tourist season. That would have nailed the lie of their

objections for what they were."

Domhnall Mac Giolla Phoil of the commemoration committee urged people to follow the example of the hunger-strikers, while Norah McElwee read a letter of thanks from Noreen Hughes to the people of Cork.

'DIED FOR FREEDOM'

The main speaker of the day was Martin McGuinness of Derry. He said that throughout the world the names of the hunger-strikers were known, as was the cause for which they died, not simply for prison conditions but for the freedom of their country.

Referring to Peter Barry and the Hillsborough Agreement, McGuinness said:

"I can tell Peter Barry that, almost one year after its signing, things are worse for six county nationalists. The border is now totally sealed. I presume that, as well as taking credit for the demolition of Divis Flats, he'll take credit for the extra checkpoints from Donegal to County Louth. Our areas are under siege day and night. My home town



● The plaque honouring the ten H-Block hunger-strikers unveiled in Skibbereen last Sunday

has had more than 300 houses raided in the last couple of weeks.

"The unionists know that the biggest threats to British rule in Ireland are Sinn Féin and the IRA. It's not Peter Barry and it's not Charlie Haughey either. The only people capable of bringing about the freedom of this coun-

try are those like the young men who died in 1981, who were not international terrorists, not gangsters, just ordinary farmers from County Derry and workers and unemployed young people from the Bogside and West Belfast."

The commemoration concluded with the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

Strip-Searches highlighted

ANTI-STRIP-SEARCH COMMITTEE members Brieghe Brownlee and Ann-Marie Quinn, from Belfast, participated in a week-long series of meetings and discussions in Sheffield to highlight the ongoing strip-searching of women prisoners in the North.

The packed agenda, organised by Sheffield Women in Ireland Group, included radio and newspaper interviews and meetings with Asian, Chilean, Black and Miners' support groups. On Monday night a meeting organised by the Rotherham Miners' Defence Group attracted around 70-80 people including Ann Scargill, who was herself strip-searched during the miners' strike and who expressed her support for the end of strip-searching in the North.

On Tuesday night, October 7th, Brownlee and Quinn met ten of Sheffield's Labour women councillors who agreed to hold a video showing for all council members to explain the British government's unjustifiable use of strip-searching. A petition was also handed to the councillors from the Sheffield Women in Ireland Group.

Cancer lobby

MEMBERS of Belfast Sinn Féin Women's Department extended their campaign to provide information and advice on cervical cancer when they distributed leaflets to shoppers outside two large West Belfast supermarkets last Thursday and Friday, October 9th and 10th.

The leaflets, distributed to hundreds of shoppers at Curley's in Andersonstown and Dunnes Stores, pointed out the various inadequacies of the current cervical cancer screening programme and called for smear tests on demand, or at the very least on a three-year basis.

Last week's action by the department followed a recent comprehensive survey conducted in Greater West Belfast where the department found that 73% of women questioned had had no information on screening while 98% reported that their GPs neglected to encourage them to be screened.

Department spokesperson Councillor Lily Fitzsimmons pointed out:

"A smear test is painless, takes only a few minutes and could save lives if detected early enough, yet women continue to die each year. In fact, 50% of women who are eventually diagnosed as having cervical cancer have never had a smear test."

Sean Treacy commemoration



● Fr Joe McVeigh

IN BRIGHT SUNSHINE last Sunday over 300 people took part in the annual commemoration for Sean Treacy in Killeakle, County Tipperary.

Sinn Féin Councillor Finbar Kissane chaired the ceremony at Sean Treacy's graveside in Killeakle Cemetery. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Sinn Féin by veteran local republican Tom Byrne and on behalf of the Republican Movement by Mary Healy. The main speaker was Fr Joe McVeigh of Irvinestown, County Fermanagh.

McVeigh described the back-



● Mary Healy laying a wreath on behalf of the Republican Movement at the Sean Treacy commemoration

ground to the shooting of Sean Treacy by the British in Talbot Street, Dublin, on October 14th 1920. He said that the British were carrying out "a reign of terror which even the Catholic Hierarchy condemned at the time."

"There are those today who would claim to honour Sean Treacy and at the same time condemn and disown those who follow his exam-

ple. Sean Treacy was very relevant for our day. He was a clear-sighted republican who saw what had to be done and did it.

"He was concerned with the real issues facing the Irish people, just as today he would be concerned with the mass levels of emigration and unemployment, the one million people dependent on social welfare, the overcrowded prisons, strip-searching in Portlaoise, discrimination against women and so on."

Joe McVeigh said that the recent

statement of Free State minister Michael Noonan that we "had a pro-business government and a business opposition" showed the kind of state the establishment had created:

"It is a state where working people are taxed to the hilt while rich foreign industrialists take their wealth out of the country; where a single person on the dole gets around £30 a week and a TD gets £300 — ten times more; where our natural resources are given away to multinationals whose only motive is profit."

HILLSBOROUGH AGREEMENT

On the Hillsborough Agreement, McVeigh said:

"Let no-one think that this Agreement had anything to do with getting justice for the people of the six counties... One year after the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement we have a state of martial law in the six counties and a reign of terror operated by the RUC and British army — just as there was here during Sean Treacy's time — and the Dublin government is colluding with it."

"It is up to republicans to confront that government by getting out and working on the issues which affect the people."

Abortion

A Chairde,

In the last few moments of the last day of last year's Ard-Fheis, when nearly two-thirds of the delegates had gone home, a motion supporting "a woman's right to choose" was stamped through by a mere handful of votes.

I believe that most Sinn Féin members do not support this policy, in spite of the vocal cheer-leading on the floor of the Ard-Fheis (much of it by people not members of our Movement). I know that the vast majority of Sinn Féin voters and republican supporters at home and abroad are opposed to it. And after the abortion amendment referendum, where even anti-amendment campaigners (like myself) were at pains to point out that we also opposed abortion, the whole world knows that the Irish electorate is against it.

Abortion is the deliberate termination of a pregnancy that is known to have begun, with the aim of killing the fetus. It is wrong. What do you think is terminated when a pregnancy is aborted - a mish-mash of cells and tissues of no moral value? Abortion is wrong because it destroys innocent human life. A fetus is no less human because it is unborn, and the unborn child is no less deserving of rights because it is unseen, unheard, and undefended.

There is no such thing as a woman's 'right' to choose. It is nobody's right - not any man's nor any woman's - to arbitrarily deny a life outside the womb to a human being that has already begun to live and grow and take shape inside the womb.

Our present policy specifies no time limit for the 'right' to choose. A full-term pregnancy is taken to last 40 weeks - the time from the date of the last menstrual period to birth. But the majority of premature babies born as early as 26 weeks live. A significant proportion of babies born as premature as 20 and 21 weeks now survive. Sinn Féin policy, as it now stands, sanctions abortion right up to term (i.e. the termination of fetuses many of whom, if they were delivered instead, would survive).

But perhaps it is as well that no time limit has been set. More callous, maybe, but also certainly more honest because there is no point in time at, say, 12 weeks, or 20, 28 or 30 weeks where the fetus suddenly changes its status and become something else. Life is a continuous line and just as towards the end of it there is no point at which we become less human, so also at the beginning of life, during life within the womb, there is no known point at which we become 'more' human.

A fetus is totally dependent on the body of its mother throughout the length of the pregnancy in order to survive. But this fact, that the unborn child is not independent, does not mean that it is not human, that it can be disposed of at will. After all, a new-born infant is equally dependent on others for nourishment and warmth, and nobody suggests that it is not fully human, or that its rights can be ignored.

The argument is often made, as it was at last year's Ard-Fheis, that abortion may be necessary to save a mother's life. This is not true. With medical advances over the last few decades, there are now no circumstances - not heart disease, cancer, or kidney disease - where continuing pregnancy would result in the

MALA POIST

ABSTENTIONISM

A Chairde,

I would like to make a few points on abstentionism before this year's Ard-Fheis as I see it as the single most important issue affecting our struggle to be debated at this time.

It is without doubt that the vast majority of Irish people want a British withdrawal and the reunification of Ireland. These same people also want action on everyday issues affecting our lives such as unemployment, housing, taxes, social welfare, medical care, etc. The majority of these people also accept the twenty-six-county plan for their own - however flawed and partitionist it may be.

They support, in general, military actions in the occupied six counties to overthrow a foreign military and political power. In the twenty-six counties, though, they support change by constitutional and radical, though peaceful, methods.

The Republican Movement, which draws its support and encouragement from the people, endorses such reasoning by waging a military/political war in the six counties but unequivocally rejecting military activity against the Dublin government while, at the same time, recognising that government as an apologist underling of the British government.

It follows, I believe, that by maintaining an abstentionist policy we are refusing, in practical terms, to represent a large section of the population which supports our struggle and politics. In not representing our supporters or working for their benefit at every level of public office we fail them and force them to seek alternative, and less principled, representation by other parties.

In the past, this has always allowed other parties to claim a great section of republican supporters and, in turn, allowed them to minimise or marginalise the Republican Movement as electorally insignificant. The people, while agreeing with our political objectives, see votes cast on an abstentionist ticket as protest votes rather than votes of any practical use.

As the British and Irish establishment grow closer together in their repression of republicans, I think we should make use of every possible weapon at our disposal.

We must fight the enemy on many fronts. When we participated in the 1981 elec-



● GERRY KELLY

tions in the six counties, we shook the British establishment to its core. We overturned years of propaganda and myths and we put them on the defensive both internally and internationally. The SDLP was thrown into a crisis it will never recover from.

Setting aside the abstentionist policy will open up another battlefield equally devastating to the British and Free State establishment. Perhaps it will not be as immediately dramatic, but it can be even more effective in bringing British withdrawal much closer.

We are offering the Irish people a radical alternative to gomben politics so we must undertake to represent them in a radical way at every forum and every available level.

There is no party in Leinster House to challenge pro-British and anti-people policies. They must be challenged. There is no-one demanding that Fianna Fáil acts on its age-old reunification rhetoric. Fianna Fáil must be confronted. Abstentionism by Sinn Féin helps the other parties to misrepresent republicanism and go unchallenged as if they were in some sort of private club. The Republican Movement should be in there, challenging them daily.

If we participate, the Dublin establishment may change the rules (as the British did after Bobby Sands' election), but in doing so they must do it openly and face internal and international criticism. If they retain the Section 31 censorship legislation or introduce internment or any other draconian measure then Leinster

House deputies would have to ban or intern other Leinster House deputies who have been democratically elected.

Even if they do try to gag and handcuff us then at least we should not gag and handcuff ourselves and that, I believe, is one of the effects of abstentionism.

If we do set aside abstentionism (as I hope we will), it does not mean that we legitimise the twenty-six-county state or its courts any more than when our comrades in the past fought their court cases when facing capital charges - we simply open another front in our struggle.

I firmly believe that the military struggle is essential to forcing a British withdrawal from our country. Likewise, I believe that the dropping of abstentionism is as essential to the war of liberation.

Of course, there are always dangers in any policy adopted, but we are a movement of high principle and integrity, strong enough to maintain our standards in the midst of other political parties whose integrity has been lost in the mists of time.

Our over-riding duty is to rid Ireland of British rule at the earliest possible moment. I believe that having the freedom to approach elections on a tactical basis will bring that moment about more quickly.

Gerry Kelly,
Amsterdam Jail,
The Netherlands.

A Chairde,

I have followed the debate on abstentionism with interest and would like to add the following points.

1. Ending abstentionism in itself will achieve little. It is rather a means towards an end.

In a country divided by imperialism, with unemployment and misery rampant and the emigrant boat the only 'future' on offer, it is obvious that radical change is necessary in this country.

2. To my mind, such change can only be achieved by the Irish people acting under the principled leadership of the Republican Movement to defeat imperialism.

3. It is this principled and organised leadership that must be ever present if abstentionism is ended and Sinn Féin members must ensure that any candidates selected will be accountable at all times and not be the type of person to be corrupted by the 'delights' of the Dublin parliament.

4. Only the vigilance and involvement of all activists can ensure this - without it, entering Leinster House will lead to disaster for the overall struggle.

5. As for the abstentionists, they have a duty to point out an alternative capable of organising greater support for the struggle. Sitting back and citing principles may appease their egos, but it will not beat the British and lead to freedom - and that is what matters.

Seamus Ryan,
Kilkenny.

A Chairde,

Abstentionism must be debated at the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis not just in its historical context and meaning but in relation to the tasks facing us today.

Time and time again we have found ourselves in a political cul-de-sac when we had the opportunity to make a breakthrough, notably in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday, the IRA/British government truce and the H-Block campaign. On each of these occasions, our organisation and leadership were inadequately equipped to make any gains and we allowed the initiative to slip back into the hands of the constitutional nationalists.

The abstentionist philosophy has made us impotent in making political gains of any kind until 'the war is won'. But the fact is that we are unable to win in the classical sense of a British surrender. The armed struggle is, and will remain, a war of attrition with peaks and troughs.

The origins of abstentionism must be closely examined to see if the *raison d'être* for its use in the first place is still relevant to the people or are we simply pursuing a 'principle' with religious fervour.

As we are all too well aware, the issue of abstentionism has caused divisions, with the gains from such divisions going to our enemies. It is essential that we do not provide our enemies with more ammunition to use against us. The media has already started to try and create two camps within our movement by claiming that named individuals are pitted against others (e.g. *Sunday Tribune*, September 14th). Let us prove our political maturity by logical debate - please, no references to rotting bananas - and by the democratic decision being respected by all.

To my mind, there are two distinct propositions:-

1. Whether the Republican Movement should recognise as legitimate the twenty-six-county administration; or:

2. Whether the Republican Movement can participate in the mechanics of the twenty-six-county state without legitimising it.

I would argue that there is a middle ground.

We must pursue an electoral strategy to a point where we can influence events while, at the same time, reject the state as partitionist.

The question of abstentionism is at the heart of our future growth or demise and we must adopt a pragmatic position towards the two partitionist states (but not necessarily the same in each case).

The *de facto* position is that a twenty-six-county government does exist and it is accepted by 95% of the people of the state. To argue otherwise is to view the situation from a perspective which has lost its relevance to today's needs and the people. At one time, republicans wouldn't even send their children to Free State schools or recognise Free State courts, but today we recognise that the state is there and its institutions affect all of our lives. That's reality.

The fact is that abstentionism was a principled decision taken by the leadership of the Movement which we must respect as being legitimate, but today's reality is that the thirty-two-county republic does not exist but British-inspired partitionist states do. Can the proponents of abstentionism explain how, in realistic terms, we can re-establish the Irish republic without timely political intervention? I don't believe they can. If that is the case, then the question is when is the right time to intervene. I would argue that the time is now.

Up until recent times, I was a supporter of a totally abstentionist approach, but, after 17 years of the armed struggle, I believe that the time is now right to review the totality of abstentionism.

To describe like-minded people such as myself as a 'Sticky element' is a distortion. I joined the Republican Movement at the time of the split, in full support of Sinn Féin, then and in full support of Sinn Féin now.

To view abstentionism as a tactic is, I believe, a further development of the current revolutionary struggle.

Thomas Cullen,
Bray,
County Wicklow.

Labour waffle

A Chairde,

So the British Labour Party conference produced its usual quota of bleeding-heart waffle about Ireland.

One delegate rounded on loyalist sectarianism before wheezing out his argument against withdrawal: 'They'll roar each other apart!' Brushing aside the fact that the loyalist sectarianism are doing that to Catholics now, with the full blessing of the 'peace-keepers'.

While they waffled, the Sinn Féin delegate, the one



● Neil Kinnock - not smiling on Ireland

genuine voice of authority and the only actual Irish speaker

on the subject, was banished to the Siberia of a fringe meet-

ing. From Kesh to creche?

Labour's blue-eyed babes nodded a lot and looked compassionate and talked about talking to the Dublin government. Which begs the question: what for? More cross-border extractions?

All through the debate, Kinnock wiped his brow and nibbled his knuckles. Thanking God, no doubt, that Nicaragua and South Africa are so far away otherwise his speech may have been striped of whatever radicalism it possessed.

In England, the justness of a revolutionary cause is all a matter of geography.

Pdraig O Riordain,
Liverpool,
England.

The China syndrome

BY Z. HAMMET

So ER-self is in China, eh? Sure, I knew she was going to China before they told us on the nightly news. Why else would they be showing all of these programmes about China on the Box? They certainly don't make a habit of enlightening us unless it's for a reason.

Me? I just sat back and enjoyed some interesting television for a change. Not that it isn't sickening that some people can just up and go to China on a whim, by right of birth. Most of us would be over the moon if we could just make it to Spain next summer.

The Beeb tried hard to make Ms Windsor's arrival to Beijing spectacular, but the commentators were obviously bothered by the time factor. There was too much of it. And what was happening on the TV screens was incredibly boring.

Elizabeth Windsor and President Li had to walk that long red carpet. They couldn't run, so it took a long time. They had to walk in front of the guard of honour. They had to listen to the national anthems.

And then there were the handshakes. Word has it that when the Olympics are held in Beijing, the Chinese are going to introduce handshaking as their new sport. I remember when Richard Nixon met Mao Zedong (Mao Tse Tung at the time). Mao pumped Tricky Dicky's hand for at least a minute. Poor Dick just stood there, watching his hand go up and down, beads of sweat forming on his upper lip.

It made me think of my aged great-grandmother's new

greeting hugs when I was a child, followed by those incredibly soppy kisses. I just stood there, praying for it to end, and ran to the scullery to wipe my face when she finally let go.

But back to our story. President Li shook Liz's hand for a full 12 seconds. Followed by a measly seven-second pump for the Jack of Windsor. If you don't think that's a long handshake, try it with your friendly, local policeman on the street.

All of this took time. And the Beeb's commentators couldn't just sit there in silence.

So they said silly things. They told us that President Li must be delighted because ER majesty was wearing a bright "Chinese red" coat. They told us how the guard of honour was made up of men who had to be at least five feet nine inches tall. Then Liz reviewed the guard of honour and they indeed seemed to be at least a foot taller than her.

Then the children sang a song to her while they waved their tambourines and their little Union Jacks. The children also towered over her. I was waiting for the Beeb to tell us that the children had to be at least five feet nine inches tall to sing to foreign dignitaries.

Then "China expert" Mark Green told us that "most Chinese think that the queen is Mrs Thatcher". They probab-

ly still think so, because the closest Chinese proletarian was over a quarter of a mile away from her.

Someone else chimed in about the menu for the state banquet later that evening. They spoke a lot about sea slugs and how the Chinese disguise them by calling them "Buddha jumping over a wall". Yuku all around when someone speculated about whether Er-self would eat the slugs with chopsticks (which must be "Buddha polevaulting over the wall"?). All of which was harmless enough as drivel and prattle goes.

Then one commentator tripped up when he admitted that this kind of welcome for foreign leaders happens in China "all the time".

But the best piece of political distortion I've heard in a long time came when President Li put his arm around the queen (Shock! Horror!). "President Li has a real sense of history," the Beeb's boob told us. And he added that he was probably fondly recalling that Elizabeth's great-grandmother was Victoria, "under whom Britain's imperialist penetration began, leading to the socialist China of today".

A long shot of the waxen body of Mao-under-glass followed. Just as they cut away, I swear I saw the old man beginning to turn...

*** The recent China fare on the Box has included various programmes on the widest ranging topics. From making Yak curd on the Gobi Desert to pigeon selling and cricket

fighting in Beijing (Sid Jenkins would not be pleased!). They've been a lot more interesting than the queen's rambles.

The programme about the Gobi Desert (C4, Sunday) was by far the most magnificent. But the most interesting and enjoyable was Wednesday's *Behind the Bamboo Screen* (Beeb 2).

In this programme, David Jessel guided us through the world of Chinese television. It was a far cry from the Cultural Revolution.

You had your rock videos. You had your beautiful women news presenters. You had your agony aunt advising "fat girls".

You even had your adverts for the "amazing broom" - "reaches high places... washing cars will no longer be a headache... you can whitewash and paint walls with it... It will wash away China's problems". Some broom!

At one point, Jessel took us to a Chinese department store, to watch Chinese people buying TVs. The second-hand stores are full of black and white boxes, he informed us. The Chinese want colour.

But the interviews with the buyers revealed that colour wasn't enough. They want a make, I just was a big set."

"My daughter keeps telling me, 'Mum, I want a big set.'"

"I have everything except a big set."

Then there is the news. David Jessel called it "stodgy" because it was "all meetings and speeches and no royal weddings". In other words, it was news.

Jessel complained because some stories "gained in translation". In other words, the Chinese referred to "barbaric acts" and "racism" in South Africa (you don't hear the Beeb using these words, only words like "terrorist"). Of course, Jessel was right... What's new about barbarism in South Africa?

Still some of the news was questionable. Like a piece glorifying the struggle of the butcher Pol Pot to return to power in Kampuchea. But then, I heard Ronnie Reagan doing the same thing on the news last night.

All in all, as I sit and watch RTE or UTV, I see plenty of items that closely resemble the Chinese stories on "the increased output of the Deng Teng textile factory" or "the construction of the Guan Dao nuclear power station". Not to mention the items glorifying the struggles of Margaret Thatcher.

You see, the "news" everywhere is intended to garner support for the status quo and undercut the opposition. Information is secondary.

aimlessly after 53 years. She is quizzed by the company whose ship she worked for as to what happened to her crew and some of them are most intrigued to hear about the things. Ripley is then horrified to find out that a colony of settlers has been established on the planet where the things are breeding but, when asked to help destroy the monsters, refuses to go back. But she eventually relents and, being assured that the company wants to kill the things and not simply try to capture them for scientific reasons, Ripley agrees to help the mission.

Unfortunately for Ripley, she is stuck with a bunch of macho Marines who simply think they are going on a routine "bug hunt". They are full of the poses of your average beer-swilling rugby player but their guns-ho outlook is rudely shattered when the aliens start eating them. Despite their battery of armaments, as the soldiers creep from room to room and the tension rises to an unbearable pitch the things wait their moment to shred the soldiers into spaghetti.

Aliens does have its faults as a film. It starts slowly and most of the action is inhibited by both the fact that the editing is so fast and most of the film seems to be shot in the dark. Nevertheless, as an exercise in hysteria *Aliens* beats them all. It gets hold of your heart-strings it starts to pull them so hard it snaps that they're going to snap. Call me a coward, call me anything you like, but I have only one more comment to make about this film: "Eeeek!!!"

IMEACHTAÍ

JUSTICE FOR THE BIRMINGHAM SIX! PUBLIC MEETING
Prominent speakers
8pm Thursday 16th October
Mansion House
DUBLIN

CUMANN CABRACH SOCIAL NIGHT
Guest Artists
Friday 17th October
Tesch Mhic Léid
5 Blessington Street
DUBLIN

Taille E1
Organised by the Martin Forsythe
Sinn Féin Cumann

REPEAL SECTION 31 COMMITTEE PICKET
5-6pm Friday 17th October
O'Connell Bridge
DUBLIN

EDUCATION WORKSHOP
12.30pm Saturday 18th October
Kinawley Hall
KINAWLEY
County Fermanagh
All Sinn Féin members welcome

JIMMY KEENEY COMMEMORATION
(2nd Anniversary)
12 noon Sunday 19th October
SAGGART
County Dublin

NOEL JENKINSON COMMEMORATION 10th ANNIVERSARY
WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY
2.30pm Sunday 19th October
Deans' Grange Cemetery
DUN LAOGHAIRE
County Dublin

BRITAIN OUT OF IRELAND! PUBLIC MEETING
Speakers include Tony Benn MP & Francis Maude (Sinn Féin)
8pm Wednesday 22nd October
Hammersmith Town Hall
(Small Hall)
LONDON
Organised by Hammersmith Labour Committee on Ireland

IDAF FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA FLAG DAY
(to raise funds for political prisoners and their families)
10am to 9pm Friday 24th October & Saturday 25th October
Bank of Ireland
Westmoreland Street
DUBLIN
Collectors urgently needed - meet at the caravan outside the Bank of Ireland

SHUT SALLFIELD MARCH
2pm Saturday 25th October
Parnell Square to
Department of Foreign Affairs
DUBLIN

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT MEETING
12 noon to 6pm
Sunday 26th October
Shantallow
DERRY

SOCIAL NIGHT
Featuring
Seamus McEntee & Chimes
Sunday 26th October
Hibernia Hotel
CLONES
County Monaghan
Taille E3
Organised by Sinn Féin

NAMIBIA SOLIDARITY WEEK
Monday 27th October to
Sunday 2nd November
Suggestions for solidarity activities from
Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement or Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau

ARD-FHEIS FUND-RAISING SOCIAL
Music by guest artists
9pm till late
Saturday 1st November
Brittas Inn
TALLAGHT
County Dublin
Bar extension
Tallaght Bus from St. Williams Car Park (8.30), Killinarden Inn (8.45), Fettercairn bus terminus (9) and Jobstown Inn (9.15)

Film

Exercise in hysteria

BY EDDIE STACK

"EEEEK!" The girl behind me almost leapt into my bag of popcorn. The nasty beastie on the screen had just swallowed up another victim. What's more, the beastie, a slimy blob of jelly with bigger teeth than Esther Rantzen was just about to get its molars around the cute little blonde girl. The voice behind me uttered a succinct commentary about how she felt about this little blonde girl being eaten by the blob: "Eeeek!"

Yes, welcome to *Aliens*, the follow-up to the very successful monster movie, *Alien*. You know that *Aliens* is not going to be the usually terrible sequel to the first film because, you see, they called it *Aliens* as opposed to *Alien II*. By the standard of Hollywood today, this took imagination. Not to mention financial courage. After all, Americans could have become confused. I mean, how many Americans would have gone to the sequel of the *Godfather* if the follow up had been called *Godfathers*? Not to mention *Rockies*, or even *Rambos*. Yes, the mind boggles. Or perhaps that should be *Boggles II*.

"Eeeek!" Whoops, there she goes again. But I can't talk, I've got my eyes closed and two fingers stuck in my ears. I'm going to stay this way until Captain Kirk arrives and beams me up to the *Starship*

Enterprise. In short, I'm scarred. "Eeeek!" No, that wasn't her, that was me.

TERRIFYING

Aliens is not just scary; it's terrifying. Watching it has the same attraction as going to a funfair and watching people whiz up and down on the rollercoaster: it looks exciting from below but when you're up there you want to throw up. I really wanted to go and see *Aliens* but when I got in I couldn't look. *Aliens* is two hours in the company of a heart attack. It's one of the few films I have seen where they shouldn't just charge you in, they should make you take a medical.

The secret of *Aliens*' ability to shock is not just that it shows death. After all, there were hundreds of deaths in *Rambo* and watching them had the same effect on me as watching sheep jump over a

fence. Likewise, *Aliens* doesn't shock because it has plenty of monsters in it; I've seen bigger monsters in *Jaws* and uglier ones in the DUP. No, *Aliens*' unique ability to shock lies in one simple fact: for most of the time nothing happens, absolutely nothing happens!

The imagination is a wonderful thing. When nothing is happening and we feel something should be, we let our imagination run away with itself. In the dentist's waiting room our imagination magnifies the agony we feel just has to follow. In *Aliens* the characters simply wander from room to room, looking for the things. As they wander, we start to worry. Something is bound to happen. It doesn't. What do we think then? Right, - something even worse

is going to happen.

THINGY

If you remember, in *Alien* a nasty thingy eats all the members of a crew of space miners who accidentally stumbled across the thingy in its breeding ground. As we saw in *Alien*, the thingy utilised the human body as part of its life cycle and got into the spaceship by latching on to the intestines of one of the crew. The thingy then emerged by bursting out through the crewman's stomach. It went on to eat all the crew bar Ripley, the courageous second in command of the spaceship, who managed to expel the thingy before putting her spaceship on auto pilot and putting herself into a deep sleep.

Aliens begins with Ripley's spaceship is found floating



● Eek - Ripley, played by Sigourney Weaver (left) protects a young earthling from a terrible thingy in *Aliens*

ARROGANT ACADEMIC

BY SEAN LAFFIN

WHEN Conor Cruise O'Brien embarked on his lecture tour of the racist South African state universities, no-one who knew his reputation as a political bigot was particularly surprised. The only surprising fact was that it took three weeks to stop O'Brien's disgraceful betrayal of the black South African people.

It was the youth (O'Brien referred to them as hooligans) who finally put the good doctor to flight, just as the youth of Ireland had done some years ago.

When O'Brien first announced that he was to give a series of lectures at Cape Town University, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM) and the African National Congress appealed to him to abandon the tour. O'Brien, who ironically was once chairperson of the IAAM, refused to listen saying that: the academic boycott was "unjust", "silly" and "Mickey Mouse stuff". He laid his cards on the table boasting that his visit was in defiance of the boycott: "I deliberately broke it," he declared. Pompously pretending to be championing the rights of world-wide intellectuals, O'Brien also declared that his visit was "a gesture of defiance against an intellectually disreputable attempt

to isolate what I know to be an honest, open and creative intellectual community".

This drivel was answered in no uncertain manner by representatives of AZASO, the Azanian Students Organisation. They declared: "The academic boycott is no joke. It is part and parcel of our struggle to isolate and defeat white minority rule."

SIEGE SOCIETIES

To add insult to injury, O'Brien's chosen topic for his lecture was 'Politics of Siege Societies', concentrating mainly on the occupied six counties and Israel. O'Brien is a self-proclaimed expert on 'siege societies'. Indeed, during his tenure as a 26-County government minister he did everything in his power to perpetuate and strengthen the hand of the British in Ireland, thus ensuring the continued existence of the 'siege society' in Ireland. When radical students gathered to make the first physical protest against O'Brien on October 7th, they ensured that he knew that they knew of his despicable



● CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

role in Ireland. Many of them carrying and chanting pro-IRA slogans alongside ANC slogans stormed the lecture hall forcing O'Brien to abandon the lecture. The protest was repeated on October 8th with O'Brien taking to his heels followed by his faithful few. Then, on October 9th, O'Brien was not even able to enter the lecture hall of Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, as over 200 students had occupied it.

REACTIONARY

The vice-chancellor of Cape Town University, Dr Stuart Saunders, in reaction to events at Witwatersrand and the growing opposition at Cape Town cancelled the rest of O'Brien's lecture series "in order to avoid serious violence". The students described O'Brien as a "reactionary academic" whose presence was "provocative" and demanded that his lecture material be consigned to the dustbins of history. O'Brien then left for the United States.

His defenders here in Ireland were vocal, with the *Irish Times* leading the charge. Disgraceful attacks were made against Kader Aasmal of the IAAM, who had rightly described O'Brien's actions as a "betrayal". In an *Irish Times* editorial of October 11th, O'Brien was eulogised for his "commitment and his courage" and his "long record of public service". The editorial criticised the "young zealots" of "censorship", an ironic charge in view of the fact that O'Brien has been a chief apologist for Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act.

Maskey in Denmark

BELFAST Sinn Fein Councillor Alex Maskey spent several days earlier this month attending an extraordinary party conference of the VS Party in Denmark.

The party conference had been called to debate VS's attitude to participation in a possible government coalition of working-class parties, which now appears possible after next year's general election. Amongst the foreign delegates who had been invited to the conference were representatives from Socialist Left Party, Norway, the Socialist Party of Sweden, and the Palestinian PFLP organisation, as well as Sinn Fein.

During the visit Maskey held



● ALEX MASKEY

discussions with various VS representatives, including members of their central committee. He also

addressed the VS conference and was warmly received. He said:

"Since the signing of the London-Dublin Agreement last year, we have seen a further concerted campaign against the republican struggle. The British and Southern governments, having realised their inability to defeat militarily the IRA and frightened by the growing electoral support for Sinn Fein, have developed the combined strategy of increased repression of republican activists with the promise of minor reforms for the nationalist community. They hope to intimidate and erode the support for the Republican Movement to sustain and refine British rule in Ireland."

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WORLD VIEW



Nicaragua

THE SHOOTING-DOWN by Sandanista government forces of a United States C135 transport plane flying over Nicaraguan territory on Sunday, October 5th, has caused acute embarrassment for the Reagan administration, the CIA and the Pentagon.

The plane, which was carrying arms and ammunition and a crew of four, was brought down by ground-to-air missiles, 30 miles north of the Costa Rican border. Three of the crew, two Americans and a Latin American, were killed whilst a fourth, Eugene Hasenfus, was captured. And it was the evidence given by Eugene Hasenfus, plus documentation found in the downed aircraft, which has opened up a writhing can of worms for the Reagan administration.

The Nicaraguan government said that the military cargo plane (it was camouflaged) was carrying arms and ammunition for the Contras and that this fact had been confirmed by Hasenfus and by the documents found. The Nicaraguans described Hasenfus as a US military adviser based in El Salvador, who is also a CIA agent. The other crew members were also of a similar background. The two dead Americans were named as William Cooper, the pilot, and Wallace 'Buzz' Sawyer, the co-pilot.

MAJOR OPERATION

The documents, crew logs, maps, flight records, schedules, and personal papers — revealed a major operation to supply the Contras, especially during the two years when the US Congress had banned all US government military aid to the Contras. The flight-crew logs disclosed that over 400 flights had been made in that period of time. They also revealed the number and type of planes used, and the names of the various crew. And to add icing to the cake, a list of important contacts with names, addresses and phone numbers was also found which could lead to the smashing of the whole Contra infrastructure network.

The Sandanistas, clearly triumphant, held a public press conference on October 9th. During the conference, Hasenfus said that he had participated in ten supply flights for the Contras, four from Honduras and six from El Salvador. He also said that between 20 and 26 CIA operatives are involved in the programme based in El Salvador and two of these are Cuban-born naturalised Americans. Hasenfus's wife, Sally, also confirmed that her husband is working for the CIA.

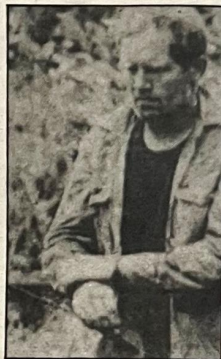
PREDICTABLE REACTION

Washington's first reaction to the news was predictable, with US Secretary of State George Shultz claiming: "The people involved were not our military, not from any US government agency, CIA included". An unnamed Pentagon spokesperson was very simplistic in his statement: "It is not a military plane because we do not supply aid to the Contras... it is against the law!!"

The president was his usual informative self: "I don't know what's going on." For someone who does not know what's going on, Reagan was able to, in a twisted and perverse perspective of history, compare the dead and captured Americans with members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade that had joined the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War!

Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State of Inter-American Affairs backed up Reagan's sentiments, eulogising the CIA operatives: "Some very brave people have been willing to actually bring this material into Nicaragua, as seems to be the case with this flight. All I can say for the people who were on it... God bless them, because they were fighting for freedom in Central America."

No shyness there! The White House Chief of Staff, Donald Regan, denied all knowledge of the affair. The only fact that any-



● CIA agent Eugene Hasenfus, a crew-member of the US C135 transport plane shot down by Sandinista government forces.

one would admit to was that the dead and captured were US citizens.

'MERCENARIES'

The White House along with the Pentagon were in a panic. They had to distance themselves from the CIA operation. Within 24 hours an answer was found — mercenaries. US mercenaries have been operating throughout Central America for years, and more openly since Reagan's inauguration, and a number of them have been killed in Nicaragua and El Salvador. But their contribution is fairly small, and the many small mercenary organisations (such as Omega, Civilian Material Assistance, Soldier of Fortune, and Phoenix Associates) would not have the funding or organisation to carry out such a programme as the 400 flights made from El Salvador.

The White House pointed the finger at retired General John Singlaub, head of the Council for World Freedom, an offshoot of the World Anti-Communist League. Singlaub was US Chief of Staff in South Korea. A reactionary and extreme right-winger, Singlaub consistently embarrassed President Carter, who finally had to sack him in 1979. In 1985 Reagan appointed Singlaub to head a special campaign to raise 100 million dollars for the Contras. The Reagan administration, looking for the sacrificial lamb, claimed that Singlaub had chartered the plane. A somewhat puffed Singlaub echoed Reagan's words: "We know nothing about it!"

CIA FRONT

The Nicaraguans, meanwhile, had revealed that the crew of the plane were linked to a Miami-based air transport firm — Southern Air Transport. SAT was set up in 1960 by the CIA, and had been exposed on a number of occasions as being a CIA front. Southern Air denied that the C135 plan was theirs, but admitted "we did work on the aircraft!"

By coincidence, the day before the C135 was shot down a Lockheed Hercules transport, contracted to the US Air Force and carrying arms and ammunition, crashed at Kelly Air Force Base, South Texas. Southern Air owned that aircraft and it was carrying supplies for the Contras.

The Nicaraguans have once again exposed the dirty war being fought against them by the Reagan administration. Reagan has only four months left to defeat the Sandanistas (a secret CIA report in 1985 gave Reagan 15 months or bust) and he desperately needs some glorious deed to either retire on or fight the next presidential election with.

OBITUARY

Jim McCarthy

DUN LAOGHAIRE republicans were saddened to learn of the sudden death on September 28th of Jim McCarthy from Stillorgan, County Dublin. A gentle and kind man with a deep commitment to the cause of Irish freedom and socialism, he was a dedicated and tireless worker for the Republican Movement in spite of ill health. His love of Ireland was reflected in his attitude to the Irish culture in general and the language in particular, which he encouraged.

A republican all his life, he was a founder member of the Roger Casement/Joe Nolan Sinn Féin cumann, Dun Laoghaire, the first cumann to be formed there in 1971 following the 'split'. He remained catholic in faith for many years.

Cumann meetings were held in Jim's house where everyone received a friendly welcome. His home was always open to all sections of the Republican Movement and the help and support he and his family gave in those days was invaluable.

A very political and astute man, he liked nothing better than to engage in political debate which often contin-

ued long after the meetings came to a close. There were many who benefited from his experience.

A large crowd attended the removal of his remains to St Laurence Church, Kilmacur, where his Tricolour-draped coffin was flanked by a guard of honour of old friends and comrades. A Fianna guard of honour led the funeral procession the next morning to Deansgrange Cemetery where a small tribute was paid to Jim by his old comrades with the playing of a lament on tin whistle by Sean O Se, followed by a short oration by Michael Cleary. Jim's life can best be summed up by the moving words spoken by the priest

who officiated at his Mass when he said:

'When I see the Tricolour here before me I can only think it represents one thing - love of one's country, and by definition love of that country's people.'

Síán, a chara, Shéamais, bhí tú dílis go bó. The Republican Movement extends deepest sympathy to Jim's wife Joan, daughter Muiireann, sons Seamus and Fergal.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

William Smith O'Brien

BY PETER O'ROURKE

WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN, revolutionary, Young Irelander and leader of the 1848 Rising, was born at Dromoland, County Clare in 1803.

In 1825 he was elected to Westminster as MP for Ennis and throughout his parliamentary career he ceaselessly advocated Catholic emancipation. He joined Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association and never failed to speak at Westminster in favour of measures which would improve the lot of Catholics.

During the 1830s O'Brien supported the campaign against the payment of tithes rents, and in 1839, proposed that peasants should be granted ownership of reclaimed land.

In opposition to anti-Repeal tactics of the Irish administration in Dublin Castle, he resigned his position as commissioner of the peace after the dismissal in 1843 of pro-Repeal magistrates. By the following year he had become a convinced Repealer, joined O'Connell's Repeal Association and became a Young Irelander.



During the following years the Young Irelanders including O'Brien, moved further away from the Association.

In July 1846, O'Brien and other Young Irelanders, who refused to

commit themselves to the doctrine that under no circumstances would physical force be justified in securing national rights, seceded from O'Connell's Repeal Association and in January 1847, he founded the Irish Confederation.

Following the arrest of most of their leaders, the suspension of habeas corpus and the introduction of the Treason Felony Act in April 1848, the Confederation, led by O'Brien, decided on an armed Rising.

O'Brien attempted to raise support in the south-east, along the Tipperary-Kilkenny border but was greeted with little enthusiasm by a population devastated by three years of famine.

The Rising for the most part centred in Ballingarry, County Tipperary where a small party, including James Fintan Lalor and Thomas Francis Meagher, under O'Brien, clashed with forty-six policemen. Within days, however, the Rising had ended in failure with the capture of most of the leaders.

O'Brien was arrested and condemned to death but the sentence was later commuted to one of transportation for life to Tasmania, where he remained until his release in 1854.

He returned to Ireland in 1856 but took little part in politics and died at Bangor in North Wales in June 1864. William Smith O'Brien was born on October 17th 1803, 183 years ago this week.

Cuir an cíteal sa dhoirteal (kíir un kítíl shú ghóirtúil) - Put the kettle in the sink

Oscail an scoonla (uskúil un skunnúh) - Open (turn) out the tap

Dún an scoonla (doon un skunnúh) - Close (turn off) the tap

Níl an friocháir an gcoáire (neel un fúrchéar níl un gcoáire) - The fry-pan is not on the cooker

Tá uisce sa phota (taw úishú shú fútta) - There is water in the pot

Chuir sé an theoil an oighnean (chúir shé un yóle san oín) - He put the meat in the oven

Níl pluid na píllúir ar an leaba ach tá píllúir amháin air (neel pluid na píllúir ar an leaba ach tá píllúir amháin air) - There is not a blanket or a pillow on the bed but there is one sheet on it

Tá do chuid ádái sa vardúis (taw dúh chuid áyde sa vardúis) - Your clothes are in the wardrobe

birthday greetings, Billy. From Pádraic, Soraghan, Seamus (Portlaoise), Happy birthday, Seamus. You are always in our thoughts. From Dadda, Mammy and Carol.

SORAGHAN, Seamus (Portlaoise), Birthday greetings, Seamus. Love from Aunt Peggie, George and family and Uncle Mick.

SORAGHAN, Seamus (Portlaoise), Birthday greetings, Seamus. See you next year. From Brendan and Jeannie, and Harry, New York.

SORAGHAN, Seamus (Portlaoise), Birthday greetings, Seamus. From Mike and Phillis, London; also Detty, Frank and Damien.

SORAGHAN, Seamus (Portlaoise), Happy birthday, Seamus. See you soon. Love from Amanda, Carl, and Soraghan, Seamus (Portlaoise), Birthday greetings, Seamus. See you next visit. From Peter, Maura and children.

BEANNACHTAÍ

FITZPATRICK, Pat (H-Blocks). All the best on your birthday, Pat. See you soon. From your friends Karen and Carrie, xxx. HAPPY BIRTHDAY to the 'Donegal Digger', Pat. From the Mad Yank. HOLDEN, Liam (H-Blocks). Birthday wishes. Thinking of you and the Kiskadee. See you soon, love from Anne. HOLDEN, Liam (H-Blocks). Happy birthday, Liam. From all the girls, and Uncle Mick. LITTLE, Joe (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Mucker. Don't worry, I'll celebrate and take a drink on your behalf. Love from Gerard, Nora and Padraic. ROBINS, Billy (Portlaoise). Belated

REPUBLICAN NEWS

DONAGHY, John (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Donaghy, 'D' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on October 10th 1972. 'Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations.' Always remembered by his loving brother Harry, Róisín and family.

FITZSIMONS, Francis; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Frank Fitzsimons, Paul Marlowe and Joseph Surgenor, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service as a result of a premature explosion on October 16th 1976. Fuair siad bás as troid ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

FITZSIMONS, Francis; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). Belfast Sinn Féin remembers with great pride the courage and commitment of Vol Francis Fitzsimons, Paul Marlowe and Joseph Surgenor, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on October 16th 1976. Thug siad a raibh acu ar son na poblaíoch.

FITZSIMONS, Francis; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friends Vols Francis Fitzsimons, Joseph Surgenor and Paul Marlowe, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on October 16th 1976. Sleep well, brave soldiers. Remembered with pride by Chris O'Donnell.

FITZSIMONS, Francis; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). The Martin/Treacy Sinn Féin cumann, South Strand, remembers with pride Vols Francis Fitzsimons, Paul Marlowe and Joseph Surgenor, who died as a result of an accidental explosion on Saturday October 16th 1976. Thug siad a raibh acu as troid ar son na saoirse.

FITZSIMONS, Francis; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friends and comrades Vols Francis Fitzsimons, Paul Marlowe and Joseph Surgenor, who died as a result of an accidental explosion on Saturday October 16th 1976. 'Lay them away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe their names on the Roll of Fame, in letters of purest gold.' Always remembered by their friends and comrades from the Short Strand in jails in Ireland and England.

FITZSIMONS, Francis; MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Francis and Paul, who died on October 16th 1976. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for the Mass, a prayer is all I can give, and these you shall have as long as we live. Always remembered by the Surgenor family.

FITZSIMONS, Francis (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother, Francis, who was killed on active service on October 16th 1976. Our Lady of the Rosary pray for him. Your name we often mention, our thoughts are with you still. You haven't been forgotten, God knows you never will. Our hearts beat with sorrow, sadness, our secret tears still flow, for what it meant to lose you, no one will ever know. Always remembered by your loving mother, Margaret Fitzsimons and brothers, Harry and Martin.

FITZSIMONS, Francis (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Francis, who was killed while on active service on October 16th 1976. Our Lady of the Rosary, pray for him. Remembering you is easy, we do it every day. Missing you is a heartache, that never goes away. Always remembered by Mina, Jim and family.

FITZSIMONS, Francis (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Francis Fitzsimons, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on October 16th 1976. R.I.P. Masses offered. 'Lay him away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe his name on the Roll of Fame, in letters of purest gold.' Always remembered by his brother Paddy, Hannah and family.

HUGHES, Michael (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Hughes, South Down Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on October 18th 1974. Fuair sé bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by the revolutionary but never the revolution. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the South Down Command.

HUGHES, Michael (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Hughes, who was killed on active service on October 18th 1974. Always remembered by his loving mother Theresa, brothers and sisters-in-law.

HUGHES, Michael (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Hughes, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service by British Marines on October 18th 1974. Always remembered by the Newry republican POWs in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road and Portlaoise.

HUGHES, Michael (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Hughes, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on October 18th 1974. Remembered proudly by M Raymond McCreeh Memorial Flute Band.

HUGHES, Michael (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Hughes, who was killed on active service by British forces on October 18th 1974. Proudly remembered by the Newry republican POWs in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road and Portlaoise.

JENKINSON, Noel (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Noel Jenkinson, who died in Leicester Prison's special unit as a result of ill-treatment on October 16th 1976. Always remembered by an Cumann Cabhrach/POW Campaign in Britain.

KEENEY, Jim (2nd Anniversary). In loving memory of Jimmy, who was accidentally killed on October 18th 1984. RIP. Always remembered by his friends and family.

McLELLAND, Tony (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Tony McLeelland, who was killed on active service on October 16th 1979. The Short Strand 'Trainer family' circle, Armagh city.

MARLOWE, Paul; SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Joe Surgenor and Paul Marlowe, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on Saturday, October 16th 1976. Ar deilís dhá go raibh a n-anamacha. Always remembered by Margaret Fitzsimons.

O'CONNELL, Sean (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Sean O'Connell, who died on October 1st 1977 in hospital, hours after being transferred from Parkhurst Prison. Sean died from ill-treatment and medical neglect. Always remembered by an Cumann Cabhrach/POW Campaign in Britain.

O'DUINN, Sean (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Sean O'Duinn (Jack Dunne) who died an unrepentant republican on October 18th 1984. Ar deilís lámh, dhá go raibh a n-anam dílis. O'Antón Mac Uaid agus a chian, Baile Locha Garman.

SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In loving memory of my son Joseph Surgenor, who died on October 16th 1976. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. There is a corner of my heart, where you will always stay. It belongs to you alone till you come again some day. Always remembered by his mother, sisters Suzanne and Margaret.

SURGENOR, Joseph (10th Anniversary). In loving memory of my brother Joe Surgenor, who was killed on active service on October 16th 1976. Also his comrades Francis and Paul. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for them. Mass offered. 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.' Always remembered by his sister Geraldine, Seamus, nephew Sean and niece Claudine.

SURGENOR, Patrick (Joseph's Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick Joseph Surgenor, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who died on active service on October 16th 1976. St Anthony, pray for him. Always remembered by his cousin Paddy Surgenor and family, Melbourne, Australia.

TROSCÁN, Trusk-kawn - Furniture

Cathair (koher) - Chair

Bóird (board) - Table

Cófra (koefruh) - Cupboard, press

Dóirteal (dirtíreil) - Sink

Oighnean (oi-n) - Oven

Cócaire (ko-ki-reh) - Cooker

Griall (grees-kreeh) - Grill

Pota (potts) - Pot

Friocháir (frúich-taw) - Fry-pan

Scoonla (skunnúh) - Tap

Cíteal (kítíl) - Kettle

Irish Lesson

NOTES ON PRONUNCIATION

The pronunciation given in brackets is as near as possible to the sound. Vowels can be long or short, the lengthened vowel indicated by a colon (:). 'u' is for 'u' or 'u' - to or for and 'd' (doe) - two. 'ch' is pronounced as in Loch Erne. D and T before A, O and U are thick, spoken with the tongue pressed against the upper front teeth. DH and GH are like G far back in the throat.

Troscán (trusk-kawn) - Furniture
Cathair (koher) - Chair
Bóird (board) - Table
Cófra (koefruh) - Cupboard, press
Dóirteal (dirtíreil) - Sink
Oighnean (oi-n) - Oven
Cócaire (ko-ki-reh) - Cooker
Griall (grees-kreeh) - Grill
Pota (potts) - Pot
Friocháir (frúich-taw) - Fry-pan
Scoonla (skunnúh) - Tap
Cíteal (kítíl) - Kettle

Tolg (tulug) - Couch
Brat úrlair (brót úrlair) - Carpet
Leaba (labba) - Bed
Píllúir (píllúire) - Pillow
Pluid (pluid) - Blanket
Béilín (bawleén) - Sheet
Vardúis (vardúis) - Wardrobe
Saigh úis sa cathóir (sigh shé-uís shú choher) - Sit down in the chair
Tá an cíteal ar an mbórd (taw un kítíl ar un mórd) - The kettle is on the table

CAMPBELL, Bobby (Gartree). All the best for the future to you, your wife and family. Cheers on the 10th. Best regards from Mary and Patrick, Buncrana.

DUGGAN, Harry (Albany). Happy birthday, Harry. We stand beside you. Silve Bernagh does your roots. Love and best wishes from 'Lúban Dige'.

DUGGAN, Harry (Albany). Birthday greetings, Harry. We haven't forgotten you. Brigíd Makowski, Shannon.

FITZPATRICK, Pat (H-Blocks). Happy birthday, Pat. God bless. From mother, sister Ann, niece Shauna and all your aunts, uncles and cousins.

FITZPATRICK, Pat (H-Blocks). Best wishes for your birthday and the coming year. Pat. From your brother Joseph, Margaret, Phaidrin and Joseph Og.

FITZPATRICK, Pat (H-Blocks). Wishing you all the best for the coming year. From Noel and Josie.

THE FLYING COLUMN

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER
 Elie Wiesel won't be banned from appearing on RTE, I understand, despite the fact that he was an unashamed 'man of violence' and killed a British prisoner while he was a member of a Zionist terror gang in Palestine in the 1940s.

Wiesel later said of his less than peaceful activities:

"The goal was to get the English out; the methods were intimidation, terror and sudden death."

★★★★

RACISM has now reared its ugly head in the Workers' Party's twenty-six-county news-sheet as Gardiner Place's self-styled socialists plumb new depths in their political degeneration.

The anti-Scottish cartoon below is reprinted from the *Irish People* of October 10th, the week prior to the Scotland soccer team playing in Dublin.



★★★★

EX-SCOTLAND YARD Anti-Terrorist

Squad member Nigel Starkey has been charged in the United States with raping a woman prisoner.

Starkey, now a detective in the Manhattan Beach Police Department's Fraud Squad in Southern California, claimed that he was forced to flee from Britain because of his anti-IRA activities.

He has been freed on £14,000 bail.

★★★★

CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION between the Garda and the UDR/UDA/UVF hasn't just happened with the advent of the Hillsborough Agreement, last month's issue of the UDA/UVF's *Ulster* magazine reminds us.

Ulster published a photo of republicans living in County Donegal but the interesting thing is that the picture was seized in a Garda Special Branch raid in Letterkenny in 1978/79, appeared at a UDR checkpoint a month after it was lifted and then, surprise, surprise, eventually ended up in the hands of the UDA/UVF.

★★★★

LAST SATURDAY AFTERNOON, RUC man Martin McEwan, of Cookstown RUC Barracks, was found dead in his own car in a garage near his home in Kearney Gardens, Bangor, County Down.

★★★★

TWENTY-ONE PEOPLE, including Sinn Féin Councillor Frank McDowell, walked free from Downpatrick Courthouse earlier this month when charges of obstructing



● This propaganda vehicle — the first CIE double-decker ever to enter Skibbereen! — bedecked with posters, attracted a great deal of attention as it sped through West Cork, carrying Cork city republicans to the hunger-strike commemoration in Skibbereen. Just the ticket!

the highway outside Castlewellan RUC Barracks were dismissed because the summonses against them were defective.

The charges arose from a spontaneous demonstration outside the barracks by over 100 local people in protest at the arrest by the RUC's Divisional Mobile Support Unit of Mrs Josephine Magorrian and her daughter Joan in September 1985.

During the hearing a representative

of the Director of Public Prosecutions claimed that the summonses were "only a vehicle to bring the defendants to court". To which defence barrister Kieran Mallon retorted: "The vehicles have been improperly fuelled."

★★★★

THE SOUTH DOWN COMMAND of the Royal Ulster Constabulary has claimed responsibility for the wounding of a British soldier in Castlewellan on Monday night.

★★★★

A **FALLEN** British army 'hero' was jailed recently at the request of his own solicitor. Ex-Brit Robert Wootton, who won the Military Medal during his five 'tours of duty' in the six counties, had admitted stealing a bottle of wine. His solicitor described him as "the most chronic case of alcoholism I have ever known" and pleaded with Portsmouth magistrates to imprison him.

Whoopee Wootton had 50 previous convictions.

★★★★

ANOTHER fallen Brit hero is Kevin Gourley, of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne. Gourley was travelling home on leave from 'Norn Iron' when he plunged to his death from the London-Aberdeen express train near Durham.

★★★★

TWO CIVILIANS and a British soldier, Royal Engineer Lance-Corporal David Hurst, were killed in a head-on collision with Hurst's vehicle at Nutt's Corner, just outside Belfast, last Monday week.

DUIRT SIAD

On security, Dublin should stop spending hundreds of millions on maintaining Britain's border — disproportionately much more than the British spend themselves. Without abandoning normal security provisions it can find plausible alternative uses for much of that expenditure.

Naturally an Irish government cannot tolerate illegalities in the South, but if the IRA causes Britain problems in the North, this is fundamentally due to Britain's insistence on maintaining sovereignty over the area, so denying Northern nationalists their political rights as part of the democratic majority in their own country.

An Irish government worth its salt would continually say to Britain and the world that, if only the British indicated a positive desire to dissolve the Union, there would be nothing any longer for the IRA to IRA about!

It may sound shocking, but is it not a fact?

— Anthony Coughlan, *New Hibernia*.

★★★★

The [British] government, saying that it hopes to overcome the alienation of the majority, has succeeded in creating an alienation among the majority that is still virtually total.

Not that they have succeeded very far in reconciling the minority.

Dick Spring, the tanaiste, or deputy prime minister in the Republic of Ireland, referred in a speech delivered on July 12th to "the new-found respect and confidence of the minority community in Northern Ireland". But there have been few signs of this "new-found respect and confidence" among Catholics in Northern

NOTES



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Ireland. On the contrary, there is very great apprehension at the consequences of the present polarisation, resulting in the strange spectacle of Dr Joe Hendron, of the SDLP, calling for more RUC men on the streets of North Belfast.

— *New Statesman*, Britain.

★★★★

All these things [the shooting and jailing of innocent people] are happening in the United Kingdom and partly as a result of the government's stated determination to keep Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom.

Yet it is precisely because we do not regard Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom that we can remain indifferent to what goes on there and are

prepared to tolerate the terrible situation continuing indefinitely.

— Richard Ingrams, *Sunday Telegraph*.

★★★★

No-one doubts his [Conor Cruise O'Brien's] sincerity in his attitude towards South Africa's loathsome system of apartheid, but I think it's a bit high-handed of the doctor, who copper-fastened Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, to feel "troubled by the threat to freedom of communications".

— *Sunday Tribune* radio critic Tom Widge.

★★★★

Dár linne, níor mhiste feachtas Shinn Féin i leith na Gaeilge a chur leis an liosta

comharthaí dóchais don teanga.

— The monthly Irish-language magazine, *Agus*.

★★★★

I always was innocent. I was set up by the Lancashire Special Branch and by my stepfather. I hope this will be a nail in the coffin for supergrassing.

— Thomas Maguire after being cleared at the Old Bailey, London, of conspiring to cause an explosion in Blackpool.

★★★★

The people who run Sinn Féin are amongst the most astute political thinkers in these islands.

— *Irish Press* editorial.