



An Phoblacht

Sraith Nua Iml 14 Uimhir 36
(Britain 45p) Price 40p

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Déardaoin 3 Mán Fómhair
Thursday, 3 September 1992

'WE GET OUR INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SECURITY FORCES' — UDA



● Danny Cassidy, murdered by loyalists in April amidst controversy over collusion between crown forces and his killers

'RESTRICTED'. This is what is clearly marked on British crown forces 'intelligence' documents, but restricted to who? For years republicans have been visited by the RUC accompanied by the British soldiers to hear that the results of their intense surveillance on them is "now in the hands of loyalists".

On many occasions these have been followed by a loyalist attack on the individuals concerned. Personal details along with photographs have turned up in loyalist arms and intelligence dumps in Derry city, Belfast, South Down, South Derry, Tyrone and

now in County Antrim.

Yet while loyalists have been charged with possession of these documents only a few members of the crown forces have been charged with supplying them.

The Stevens Inquiry into collusion

between the crown forces and loyalists, completed in May 1990, had a strange conclusion which stated that while collusion existed no member of the crown forces were to be charged.

Sinn Féin, in an attempt to set collusion in context, produced a report in March 1990 (AP/RN 22 March 1990) which documented a study of over 100 killings by loyalists from 1980. The report, ignored by the media, who today are 'surprised' at yet more obvious collusion, showed that in 62% of

the killings there was strong evidence to suggest direct or indirect crown forces collusion in the murders.

As the media concentrated on the recent 'leaked' document on Wednesday, amid UVF denials of their involvement, the RUC and British army were busy wiggling off the collusion hook again.

The RUC said that yet another 'top level' inquiry will be held into the British army intelligence document,

dated December 1991 (marked with the words, "Kill all Taigs") which was given to the *Antrim Guardian* newspaper by a loyalist source this week.

In the up-to-date document montages of 20 republican suspects, including one who has since been shot dead by the UDA, were supplied to the newspaper. Names, pictures and dates of birth of people from Toomebridge, South Derry and East Tyrone were included. They have been described as

(continued on page 2)

News

Soldier shot dead in sniper attack

WAR NEWS


The IRA, in a statement released only hours after another British soldier died in Britain's futile war, claimed responsibility for the sniper attack in Crossmaglen, in South Armagh.

The attack took place within sight of a large British watchtower in the square and only several hundred yards from the heavily fortified British barracks, beside the town's GAA pitch.

Shortly before 6pm as a large foot-patrol of the British army's 2nd Light Infantry regiment moved across the square, one of the Volunteers, selected a target and fired a single shot at a member of the patrol. The soldier was seen to spin around and collapsed beside a telephone box. The bullet hit the soldier in the chest, penetrating his flak jacket and he died minutes later.

Other members of the patrol were seen to take cover and fire was not returned. After the IRA attack more British troops were flown in to the surrounding fields, as the British forces

refused to use mobile land patrols due to the heavy casualties inflicted upon them by the IRA in the past.

The dead soldier was later named as Private Paul Turner who joined the British army in June 1990. His death in this Irish town was due to his government's failed policy.

The IRA statement concluded by saying that Britain will never suppress the right of the Irish people to resist British occupation by force of arms.

■ DERRY OPERATIONS

The IRA in Derry city have claimed responsibility for three separate attacks in Derry over the past week. In their statement the IRA said that their Volunteers had to abort a number of oper-

ations because of the proximity of children and have asked parents to keep their children away from British patrols.

The statement said that on 11 August an active service unit attacked an armoured car escorting a vehicle servicing the Letterkenny Road British checkpoint. A Volunteer threw an armour piercing grenade which landed on the roof of the RUC vehicle but failed to detonate.

Following this on 21 August, Volunteers using automatic weapons, attacked British soldiers, engineers and those collaborating in the construction work on the Masonic Hall British Army barracks.

In a follow-up attack less than a week later on 27 August, Volunteers again engaged the enemy using automatic weapons forcing the British to abandon their rebuilding operation for a considerable period.

Several murder bids by pro-British assassins

DUNLOY FATHER-OF-TWO, Paddy McErlean was seriously injured when his car was ambushed by two loyalist assassins as he drove towards Glarryford on the Bellyaghy road in South Derry on his way to work. The attack, which took place shortly before 7.30am on Friday 28 August came in the wake of threats on his life from members of the RUC.

The murder bid failed when the wounded man managed to speed away from his attackers. Paddy McErlean's brother, who was a front seat passenger in the car at the time of the attack, helped to steer, but the seriously injured McErlean lost control of the vehicle, which crashed into a fence a mile from the scene of the shooting at Killaglan Road. The two survivors of the attack made their way to a nearby farmhouse where the occupants telephoned for an ambulance.

Paddy McErlean, who was losing a lot of blood, was taken to the Waverley hospital, Bellymena. He was later described as 'satisfactory'. His brother Brendan however was prevented from accompanying him to hospital. He was arrested by the RUC and taken to Ballymoney Barracks, though obviously in need of treatment for shock.

The RUC continued to illustrate their blatant hostility to the McErlean family who were treated more like perpetrators rather than victims of the attack. No attempt was made by the RUC to inform Margaret McErlean, a former Sinn Féin councillor and wife of the victim, that her husband and brother-in-law had been targeted in a loyalist ambush or that Paddy had

been injured in the attack. Three hours after the incident, Margaret was informed by local people that there had been a shooting and her husband was believed to have been the victim. Local speculation was only confirmed by the RUC when Margaret McErlean approached an RUC patrol standing less than 200 yards from her home and demanded to be told if her husband had been shot.

Margaret McErlean said that the RUC had told her husband that he was on a sectarian death list two years ago. As in previous cases of Crown Force collusion with loyalist death squads, such as the murder of solicitor Pat Finucane, threats against the life of Paddy McErlean were also made by the RUC in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre, as well as at a number of check points. Paddy was also aware of being followed to and from work by a series of strange cars. The latest observation of this was on Tuesday, 25 August, just three days before the attack. Despite the previous heavy presence of RUC patrols at the time of the shooting the RUC were noticeable only by their absence.

The complete indifference of the RUC was yet again evident to local

people who reported that there was no follow-up search of the area in the wake of the shooting.

In a second sectarian gun attack, a Belfast businessman was injured when two loyalist assassins burst into his North Belfast office and fired a number of shots.

On the morning of Thursday, 27 August two people called at O'Brien's insurance office on the Antrim Road and asked for the proprietor by name. On being informed that O'Brien was not on the premises they left but returned a few hours later. The two attackers, who were not masked and wearing green and white base ball hats, entered the insurance company's offices at 12 o'clock noon and identifying their intended victim, fired a number of shots through a glass partition.

The insurance broker was shot in the wrist and received shrapnel wounds to the chest but escaped serious injury and is recovering in hospital.

The two attackers made their escape in a grey Toyota Celica 11 car which was later found abandoned in the nearby loyalist Tigers Bay area. The attack was later claimed by the so called 'Loyalist Retaliation and Defence Group' the same organisation which admitted killing two Catholic shopkeepers in the St James area of West Belfast last year.

In another murder bid, two UFF assassins burst into the North Belfast home of Siobhán Riordan. Shortly after

11.30pm on Wednesday 26 August the two masked attackers burst into the Riordan family home in Manor Street. Mother of four, Siobhán Riordan was downstairs with her daughter, Siobhán and mother Florence Delaney when one of the assassins ran into the living room.

"One of the gunmen crouched down at the living room door and aimed his gun around the room. Then they both ran all over the house. It was terrifying. I thought they were going to kill us."

Three other children, James (6), Seán (8) and three-year-old John Jo, were asleep upstairs. The youngest child, who suffers from cerebral palsy, had to be treated for shock when one of the attackers pulled back his bed-clothes and woke the child.

Moments earlier a young couple ran for their lives when the same two would-be killers chased them along Rosevale Street before the couple escaped through an alleyway into Harcourt Drive and took shelter in a relative's home. After attacking the Riordan's home, the two made their escape into a nearby Loyalist estate. The UFF later claimed responsibility for the attack and said that they had intended to kill a man in the house.

Commenting on the three loyalist attacks in North Belfast last week, local Sinn Féin Councillor Joe Austin described the wounding of a Catholic insurance broker and the two murder bids in Manor Street, as:

"Random sectarian attacks against

Catholics by loyalist killers who appear able to roam North Belfast freely without hindrance from the RUC or British army."

Austin called for calm in the face of a concerted UDA murder campaign and accused the RUC and British army of "not being interested in confronting the loyalist death squads".

In a sinister incident in South Derry, an 18-year-old Toombridge youth, Martin Devine, foiled an apparent sectarian kidnap attempt. On Wednesday, 26 August Devine and a number of his friends were on their way home in Tara Gardens, Toome, when a car that had been driving around the estate pulled up beside them and the driver called out.

Martin went over to the car and the driver who was described as in his late 20s with a blond flat top haircut, asked directions to a house in the estate. Devine told the driver where it was but the driver asked to be shown precisely and indicated for Devine to get in the back of the vehicle "because the lock on the front door wasn't working".

As he was getting into the car, Devine noticed something large, possibly a person, covered up on the back seat and that the door handles had been removed from the inside of the car doors. He immediately jumped out of the vehicle and it drove off at speed. Local people have identified the car as a red or maroon Renault with the number plate DUI 93.

force continues in the opportunities available in the field of intelligence collection/analysis". Computer technology enables someone (of the many who have access to the computer) to copy information onto a disc which can then be transported out of the barracks and printed on another machine. Many of the documents that were in loyalists' hands were such computer print outs.

In a revealing interview earlier this year with the US-based information bulletin *Northern Ireland Report*, a UFF spokesperson admitted:

"We get our information from the security forces. I could show you computer print outs in the other room. Security force print outs, with precise intelligence."

(continued from front page)

being among the most detailed to date.

The 'security' fog began again to cloud the hard details of the involvement of the RUC and the loyalist death squad in the shooting dead of Kilrea man Danny Cassidy, killed near his home last April.

At the time Danny's wife told reporters that only a few hours before he was shot he was told by the RUC that he would soon be dead. Emmanuelle Cassidy said that she had no doubt that the RUC members who stopped and threatened her 40-year-old husband "were in collusion" with those who shot him in the South Derry town. Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said, on Wednesday afternoon,

that crown forces documents are continuing to find their way into the hands of loyalist murder gangs at an alarming rate. He also said that measures promised to prevent intelligence leaks had not worked and he called on the Dublin government to demand full details of the incident from the British government.

With another batch of details 'going missing', this time in Woodbourne RUC/British army Barracks concerning personal details of a number of women in West Belfast, and the RUC touring around South Down informing nationalists that their details are in loyalist hands, the Dublin government ministers in Stormont Castle

can be under no illusion as to the deadly facts of life facing the average Irish citizen living under British occupation. Perhaps living in South Derry for a couple of days might concentrate their responsibility to their fellow Irish people.

RUC assurances that new procedures have been implemented whereby all the montages are numbered in sequence, theoretically making it simple to trace their source if they go missing, are widely recognised as being little short of a joke.

What most observers have missed in the whole story of intelligence documents being passed to loyalist death squads is the increasing use of computer technology by the RUC and

News

British support unionist agenda ■ BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

UNIONISTS have been sharpening their knives for the next round of talks, which resumed this week. The talks, which went into recess last July, are organised in three strands: Strand One, talks between selected northern parties, that is the SDLP and the three unionist parties, OUP, DUP, and Alliance; Strand Two, talks between those parties and the Dublin government; Strand Three, talks between Dublin and London. The republican viewpoint is excluded from the talks despite the fact that it represents more voters than, say, the Alliance Party.

Strand One is currently deadlocked. The SDLP proposal of a six-member commission to administer the North, with three elected politicians, and three appointees, one from Dublin, one from London, one from the EC, is anathema to unionists. This is because of its implications for institutionalised power sharing and for the role it gives Dublin.

At the weekend, the Official Unionist party leader James Molyneux launched an oblique attack on the SDLP plan in a speech he made to assembled Orange marchers of the Black Preceptory: "European community meddling in Yugoslavia has brought out the worst in its racial hatreds," he says, "all this makes nonsense to the lectures we heard during the Brooke-Mayhew talks. Those who urged us to look at how other nations had put ancient quarrels behind them have very red faces." And in a reference to Articles Two and Three of

the South's constitution, Molyneux added, "Let such mortal flesh keep silence and pay heed to John Major's recent demand that international frontiers should be respected, that ethnic cleansing should cease and that no government should lay claim to the territory of another."

Molyneux's attack drew brief comments from SDLP spokesperson Patsy McGlone, who pointed out that the conflict in Yugoslavia predated EC intervention, and from Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle member Martin McGuinness, who accused the unionist leader of avoiding "the unpalatable truth that inclusive dialogue involving all of the parties to any conflict is the only way in which a real peace can be achieved". Martin McGuinness was referring to the continued exclusion of republicans from the talks by the British government, in sharp contrast to the negotiations organised by the EC, and hosted by Britain, between all the parties to the Yugoslavian conflict.

Last July, Strand Two had not moved past introductory and procedural meetings and may well reach its impasse soon, given the insistence of unionists, especially DUP leader Ian Paisley, on a unilateral commitment from Dublin to scrap Articles Two and Three.

Throughout the summer Paisley reiterated the unionist hard line. That there should be no further talking unless Dublin commits itself to a referendum to remove the articles. However Dublin has let it be known that they believe such a referendum would fail distantly unless it was part of a complete package. What the package might include, hinted Dublin prime minister Albert Reynolds, might be a change in Britain's claim of sovereignty over the North, as contained in Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. When Albert Reynolds first raised the issue of the Government of Ireland Act publicly, union-

ists objected with great fury. Last July Paisley claimed that once the parties were seated with the Dublin government's representatives, all parties "including the Dublin delegation" agreed that "the union [with Britain] is not on the table for negotiation".

There is little doubt that the Dublin government has a public and a private position, and that in its public pronouncements it is mindful of the latent nationalist sentiments in the population of the 26 Counties, sentiments which though they do not translate into campaigning on the streets have nevertheless been demonstrated in every opinion poll on the national question. In the same way Paisley must have taken note of the signs of disquiet in the DUP rank and file, as evidenced by several public resignations over the last few weeks, in Mid-Ulster, North Antrim and Derry. The latest, that of the DUP's Derry PRO, followed a statement he had issued jointly with the vice-chairperson of Derry DUP, demanding Sinn Féin's proscription and threatening resignation "unless positive action was taken".

The Official Unionist leadership has also received warning signals from some of its members. The Charter Group, an OUP pro-devolution lobby, has issued a document calling the unionists' participation in Strand Two a "tactical error", and asking unionist leaders to "re-establish the significance of Strand One and lift the question of an internal settlement to the top of the agenda". As for the UDA, it has started a lobby all of its own by planting a few incendiary devices in Dublin shops. In a statement claiming the bombs, it issued this warning to the Dublin government: "Your continued interference in the internal affairs of our country will not be tolerated."

These rumblings would further reduce the capacity of unionists to compromise, should they have been so inclined. However the reality is that there has never been much pressure on unionists to give anything to nationalists. Those who could exercise that pressure, the British government, have sided with unionists in attacking Articles Two and Three, (described as "unhelpful" by the previous British Secretary of State Peter Brooke two years ago). It also sided with unionists earlier this year in refusing to agree that Dublin might have a role of "guarantor of the nationalist position in Northern Ireland". (Northern nationalist politicians were the guarantors of their constituents, British Secretary of

State Patrick Mayhew declared.) It sided with unionists again when they reiterated their support for an internal administration in the North which would have the support of everyone including unionists — excluding automatically the SDLP's proposal to the talks.

Strand Three began last July with a meeting in Dublin between the two ministerial teams. The rule of silence which the talks participants imposed on themselves covered the fact that nothing transpired at this meeting. What is particularly obscene is the British government's intentions for the outcome of the talks, given the mixed message which it is sending. On one hand, its obvious support of the unionist position, and on the other, its repeated declaration that it has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland", as Peter Brooke first said in his November 1990 speech.

There is a trace of desperation in the speech which SDLP leader John Hume made to the Humbert Summer School last week. "Britain should develop the implications of Peter Brooke's speech", he pleaded, arguing that the British government should help create the conditions of reconciliation in Ireland by "joining the ranks of the persuaders". The fact that this argument had already been rejected as a "false analysis" by the same Peter Brooke in an interview with Pádraig Ó'Malley for his 1990 book *Questions of Nuanice* was not referred to by Hume. More signs of pessimism surfaced under the gloss of upbeat prose by an *Irish News* editorial on Wednesday, which ended with a plea to unionists to "understand that this is a serious matter" and "display a maturity and flexibility which to date has been conspicuously lacking in their conduct".

And an interesting addition to this concert of pleas came from Portladdow Jesuit Brian Lennon, who in last Friday's *Irish Times* complained about the British government's handling of Orange marches. He criticised the British propaganda line that they are "helplessly caught between two warring tribes in the North and that they have no power or responsibility to change anything". "The view is nonsense," Brian Lennon continued, "the British government remains the most powerful group in this conflict." And he challenged the British government to explain how its, and the RUC's complacency regarding Orange parades marching through nationalist areas fulfilled Article 7c of the Hillsborough Agreement, which refers to measures



● PATRICK MAYHEW

aimed at making "the security forces more readily accepted by the nationalist community".

With the unionists in no mood to compromise, with the British government unwilling to depart from its traditional line — that is, of using the unionist agenda to lower nationalist expectations — the question regarding this round of talks is, will Dublin privately concede on Articles 2 & 3? The line-up of politicians, academics and the media in the South in favour of an abandonment of Articles 2 and 3 may be impressive, but public opinion, including large sections of Fianna Fáil, seem set against such change.

But the talks, once engaged, have acquired a momentum and logic of their own, and participants will be reluctant to appear as the party responsible for their collapse. It may be no coincidence that the same situation which apparently caused last year's talks collapse is rearing its head again. The Dublin government is at present opposing a British request for a further postponement of the intergovernmental conference. Its July meeting had been postponed to allow the talks to proceed. If it is to go ahead, its next meeting, scheduled for the end of September, will be looming large on unionist minds. Unionists had left the talks last year because they refused to negotiate "under the shadow of the Hillsborough Agreement".

Little wonder that the prospects of a substantial agreement are so dim. When the reps of those most affected by the conflict are excluded and when the most powerful participant refuses to use its influence to persuade the most intransigent to consider compromise.



● JAMES MOLYNEUX

AS THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT released details of their crisis strategy to cope with the 26 Counties' ever-growing dole queue AP/RN's Neil Forde offers an alternative synopsis of how to cope with the economic crisis that grips the whole island economy.

A people's economy?

EVERY ECONOMY needs a basic premise about the aim and the purpose of its economic activity. In the 26-County economy there are two visible aims; one, to create wealth and two, to build an economy that can employ all its citizens. Massive wealth has been created in the 26 Counties since partition. However parallel to this has been continuous emigration and relentless longterm unemployment.

It is a horrific indictment of the Dublin Government's economic management that the Six-County economy run on virtual autopilot by the NIO has produced an economic performance comparable with the supposedly democratic 26-County economy. Economic democracy and economic sovereignty are the essential factors in any state that seeks to create wealth for all its citizens.

The Dublin government has created an economy run almost by decree. On Wednesday 2 September the Department of Education announced that they propose to

"compel longterm jobless people under the age of 21 to return to full-time vocational training". Either that or they lose their entitlement to benefits. Another proposal in this masterplan was that the people who receive welfare payments should be forced to work!

The PD/FF cabinet decided also to create a new "super agency" which would coordinate the work of the other state agencies such as the IDA, Coras Trachtála and FÁS. This, like the myriad of other such plans, will fail miserably, their only possible "success" will be to further mask the real nature and depth of the unemployment crisis.

Control of the economy must be returned to the communities where daily economic activity takes place. The role of national government must be to stimulate, support and if it serves the common interest subsidise the local economies that together create the national economy. So how would this create jobs?

Each UDC and council in Ireland should be able to legislate for its local economy. It should be able to raise local taxes that get spent in the local community on services agreed by all the community. Each local council should be able to plan what business or industry they want to attract to their community.

The much hyped IDA and other "super agencies" should be given the task of being the agent of these communities, not as they are now the dictators of industrial policies. Each region should have a role in the appointment of the executive of the IDA and other bodies. These positions should not be the political spoils of the central government. A democratic economic plan would initiate economic activity that at the very least was initiated by those most affected.

The 26-County economy as it stands today has three main sectors, agricultural, industrial and services. It is through these three sectors that our ever growing national wealth is created. Gross national product (GNP), a monetary measure of the wealth produced in any one year in the 26-County economy, grew by 3.6% last year to £24,252 billion. Only Japan had a higher percentage growth.

There is no doubt that wealth is being created in the 26-County economy. The task is to

make the economy work for everyone and for democratic agreement of how that economy should be run. A quick study of the state's role in the 26-County economy shows deep involvement on a range of levels, including training, grants, subsidies investment, partnerships and in many cases outright ownership of businesses by the state.

The agricultural sector is typical of the inequitable and ultimately disastrous government intervention in the economy. The cooperative system has been supplanted by growing corporate food processors who make substantial profits processing and exporting agricultural products with substantial government grants.

Avonmore are planning to purchase a dairy plant in Hungary. Other Irish food processors already have substantial overseas interests, the profits from which do not create employment in the parent company. The Kerry Group is forecasting a turnover this year of £1 billion. This sounds impressive except for the fact that many suppliers to Kerry and other food companies are selling their produce below cost.

The farmers who produce the beef, sheep cereal and dairy products are being slowly driven out of business. It is estimated that at least 20,000 farmers will leave the land before the end of the decade. These are people who will either emigrate or migrate to urban centres looking for work.

The agri-industry needs to be organised on cooperative principals where the whole farming community controls the food companies. This again should be initiated at the local council level, leading to national involvement through a single export agency. The agricultural wealth created belongs to all the agricultural community not to the

franchises whose relative economic power has allowed them to dominate this industry. Real local economic democracy could set in motion a process whereby agricultural employment is maximised.

Irish industry we are told needs to be able to compete internationally, it needs investment. Investment comes from two sources. The government can subsidise the industry, or the financial sector can invest in the fledgling industry. In the 26 Counties right now the Dublin government has multi-million pounds budgets for industrial investment, the financial sector is a major employer however its investment record is woeful.

The banks and insurance companies are among the state's most prosperous businesses, yet this success has not led to reinvestment of profits in the companies and industry that generated them. AIB made declared profits of £185 million in March 1992. Bank of Ireland had £76.8 million. These two companies are only the leaders in a lucrative industry whose business is essentially to provide a service to the economy.

The financial industry should be brought fully under the control of national government through the Central Bank. Ultimately this should involve full state control of the financial sector. Its wealth belongs collectively to the nation.

The economy is out of control solely because those who wield power do so only in pursuit of their own interest. Recognising that a national economy must reflect everyone's interests democratically is the only basis for initiating action on unemployment.

'NOTHING IT SEEMS HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST 20 YEARS'



● "Look at this ring of steel for a bloody handful of women. Talk about civil rights, this is like South Africa" — Ormeau Road woman assaulted by the RUC

ing talking to St Malachy's parish priest, Fr Peter McCann, was also thrown off the road. He vigorously condemned the RUC actions in allowing the Orange Order and the Black Preceptory to "trample over the feelings of people in the Lower Ormeau".

Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin's president, speaking about the incident and the unsuccessful court action, echoed that, "the decision was entirely predictable given the strong support of the RUC. No one who watched the scenes on the Ormeau Road in February or in July could not have been moved by the demand from the people of the Ormeau Road that Orange marches be re-routed away from their homes."

The day before, in Newry, there had been scenes similar to those on the Lower Ormeau Road — largely unreported in the press. The 95% nationalist town of Newry, County Down, witnessed the spectacle of Orange marchers parading through the town, forcing local people to cancel or postpone their usual Friday evening activities.

The Newry Equality Group described how once again Orange marchers with the encouragement, assistance and connivance of the RUC and British army sealed off Newry.

Spokesperson for the group, David McKeown, questioned the real motives behind the marches and said that while there is no objection to responsible Orange parades, he wondered why they should want to parade through the 95% nationalist town.

"These parades are nothing more than triumphalist displays with the message being proclaimed loud and clear, 'Croppies lie down,'" he said. "Nothing it seems has changed in the last 20 years and nationalists are still treated as second class citizens." Concluding his remarks McKeown said that the Newry Equality Group will not accept this immoral situation and have planned a protest on Friday 4 September at 7.30 p.m. "These coat trailing exercises have nothing to do with civil rights," he said.

Supporting the stand taken by the group, Newry and Mourne Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran, called on those concerned with civil rights in Newry to support the planned action by the group. Further information is available from Newry Sinn Féin office.

protect the civil liberties of residents of areas like the Lower Ormeau.

"The courts have now shown themselves to be unwilling to challenge the sectarian nature of these organisations, or of the RUC. The Secretary of State, Patrick Mayhew has washed his hands of the issue by claiming that he does not have the power to intervene."

"There are approximately 30,000 members of the security forces in the north of Ireland, which also has the most draconian special powers legislation in Europe. For those who oversee this system to claim that they cannot act to prevent the sectarian intimidation of our community is a nonsense."

The letter concluded: "The Taoiseach who meets with representatives of the British government, and who therefore has a responsibility to the people whose lives fall under British control, must address these issues fully and publicly."

"The Lower Ormeau community demands the right to live in freedom without sectarianism, intimidation and loyalist triumphalism, and we demand the open support of the Taoiseach in this matter."

COAT TRAILING EXERCISES BACKED UP BY RUC

THE RESIDENTS of the Lower Ormeau Road in South Belfast and the people of Newry, County Down, shared a common experience last weekend when loyalists and their sectarian backers in the RUC forced their way through nationalist areas.

In the Lower Ormeau Road case the fight to get a Black Preceptory march re-routed away from their streets was well documented by the news media, but an Orange Order march through

Newry received little or no coverage. A high court action taken to re-route the march did not succeed. The action was taken by the wife of one of those seriously wounded in last Febru-

ary's UDA gun attack in the Sean Graham's bookmakers shop in which five local people died and several were seriously wounded.

Before the march on Saturday was due to pass the residents blocked the road chanting "leave us in peace". Following this peaceful protest the RUC moved in and physically dragged the protestors off the road, and threw them into the side streets. After this they drove the Land Rovers across the tops of the streets effectively blocking anyone from even using the shops on the front of the road. This was again

contrary to what the RUC had said in the High Court. They had said they wouldn't hem the local people in nor allow the march to disrupt normal life. During this RUC operation people were kicked and assaulted and two nationalists were arrested.

One resident, as she was being dragged away, managed to shout, "Look at this ring of steel for a bloody handful of women. Talk about civil rights, this is like South Africa!"

Sinn Féin Councillor Sean McKnight, who had been earlier stand-

Reynolds called to act on sectarian marches

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

THE BESIEGED RESIDENTS of Belfast's Lower Ormeau Road in an open letter on Friday 28 August called on Taoiseach Albert Reynolds to act to end their ordeal at the hands of sectarian mobs.

The approach to the Dublin premier and an earlier Dublin press conference by the group, followed the dismissal of an application for a judicial review of an RUC decision not to re-route a march by the Royal Black Preceptory along the Lower Ormeau Road on Saturday 29 August.

At the press conference hosted by the Irish National Congress (INC), several women from the Lower Ormeau explained the tense atmosphere in the area in the run-up to the Black Preceptory march. Dolores Rea described

threats and intimidation aimed at herself and her family by loyalist death squads since she began protesting against sectarian marches in the area. A recent loyalist shooting is seen as a being a direct attempt to quell opposition to loyalist marches in Lower Ormeau.

The residents called on Reynolds to actively support the united demand of their community for sectarian marches to be re-routed away from their district. They acknowledged that Reynolds had condemned the



● Ormeau Road residents demanded the Taoiseach's support

"appalling bigotry which the Orange Order displayed towards our community on 8 July", but went on to say that residents felt this to be little more than tokenism given the "continuing refusal of the RUC and British judicial system to afford any level of protection to our community".

"It is obvious to our community that were the Orange Order and Black Preceptory anything other than sectarian organisations, they would voluntarily re-route their marches away from areas where they know they cause distress. In

the case of the Lower Ormeau, there are a number of alternative routes available to these organisations."

The letter went on to condemn the actions of the RUC, the Six-County courts and the British government in relation to the marches: "Equally were the RUC willing to apply the law in an even handed manner, they would clearly have ensured that any refusal on behalf of these organisations to re-route was met with appropriate action. Instead, they too have acted in a sectarian manner by repeatedly failing to

News



● DAMIEN SKERRITT

Joyriding kills!

LAST WEEK'S fatal accident in Dublin, when teenage joyriders ran down and killed four-year-old Damien Skerritt, has highlighted in an inevitable way the fatal results of this dangerous manifestation of anti-social behaviour.

Damien was crossing the Neilstown Road with his brothers Darren and Alan in Clondalkin when the stolen car hit him. Local people have referred in the aftermath to

their long campaign to have some form of deterrent to speeding cars placed on the busy road, but the real problem is that of tackling the causes of teenage joyriding.

The extent of it is shown by the figures. Between Damien's death and the following Monday, over 80 cars were stolen in the capital. Clondalkin is one of the worst trouble spots. Summerhill in the north inner city is another. On Monday night 31 August, three cars were seriously damaged when joyriding youths smashed into them. The occupants of one car, hit as it was stopped at traffic lights, were extremely lucky to escape injury.

But this latest tragedy has highlighted in the public arena once more the long-term effects of herding working-class people into flat complexes or sprawling suburban housing estates without providing any of the recreational facilities or support mechanisms which are needed if urban anti-social crime is not to flourish. The current massive unemployment figures contribute to boredom and crime, crime which oppresses what are already deprived communities. The authorities are quite happy while such anti-social behaviour remains confined mainly in working-class areas. If it was happening in Foxrock every night there would doubtless be a more urgent response.

It may be a cliché, but no less true for being such, that it is only when a tragedy occurs that attention is centred on areas like Ronanstown, the scene of the accident.

The immediate lessons to be learned from Damien John Skerritt's death lie in providing the sort of speed deterrents like pedestrian crossings, ramps or roundabouts which would at least slow traffic down.

There are few short-term solutions. No amount of extra gardai can curb the kind of crimes being committed by young people, neglected and left to their own devices. The answer does not lie in providing a bigger stick. Of course parents and communities have a duty to control the problem, but it is up to political representatives to provide the resources necessary to provide a long-term solution.

WRONG HOUSE CUT OFF

EFFORTS by council officials to cut off the water supply to the home of a Trim Sinn Féin representative who has consistently refused to pay service charges, ended in embarrassment last weekend when they succeeded in cutting off her neighbour's supply instead.

Lydia Comiskey has had repeated written notices sent to her warning that her supply would be cut off if she continued to refuse to pay, but she has taken a principled stand against the

charges, condemning them as a form of double taxation.

A council official, Anthony Conlon, and three workers arrived outside her home on Friday morning last 29

August and commenced to start digging for her pipe. They did not approach the house to inform the Comiskys that they were about to terminate the supply. As the family have a back boiler which could blow up if the water ran out unexpectedly, this was a source of some annoyance to Lydia and her husband, Seán. They saw the workers and confronted them. The four men agreed to leave but returned later with the town clerk, who informed the Comiskys that the water was being cut off unless they agreed to pay.

As the workers completed the job, Lydia Comiskey reminded them pointedly of the significance of their actions, comparing their cutting-off of

an essential service to the burning out of tenants by English landlords' agents in the last century.

In the event there were red faces all around when it was discovered that the wrong house had been disconnected. That they managed to target the wrong house was a bit of a feat in itself as they are some distance apart. The workers had to return later that afternoon to reconnect the supply but Lydia Comiskey has complained bitterly about the tactics used, saying: "They know you can't live without water." She also condemned Fianna Fáil, which promised during the last local elections campaign that the service charges would be scrapped. Instead they have increased them.



● LYDIA COMISKEY

Sellafield causes cancer

A BRITISH GOVERNMENT-sponsored report into Sellafield has found that children living near the nuclear reprocessing plant are ten times more likely to develop cancer than those living elsewhere.

The report, by the Committee on Medical Aspects of Radiation in the Environment, set up as a watchdog on the industry by the

British government, said that there is definite evidence of five cases of cancer among young people under 24 living near the plant, three of these a rare form of cancer associated with radiation. The report con-

cluded that it was "highly unlikely" that the high number of cases of cancer in children is the result of chance.

A professor from the committee said that this was no coincidence and added: "A very reasonable hypothesis now would be that the cause was something associated with the Sellafield plant."

The environmental group, Greenpeace, has once again called for the closure of Sellafield, which is due to open a commercial reprocessing plant in the next few years. The plan is for this second plant to store waste below the Irish Sea. The organisation has repeated its message that Sellafield is a danger to the health of not only the British, but also the Irish people.



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

3 SEPTEMBER 1992

A REAL PEACE PROCESS NEEDED

LAST FRIDAY 28 August statistics compiled by the RUC and the British army produced a figure of 3,000 fatalities in the Six Counties over the last 23 years as a direct result of the war there. The announcement of the figures was greeted with an array of news bulletins and expansive print media coverage. That this became a media event is synonymous with not only the way the British and Irish media portray the conflict in Ireland but also the attitude of the Dublin and London governments.

Nowhere amidst the column inches was there an attempt to analyse the casual factors behind the conflict in Ireland. Instead a chronological analysis-free history of the deaths was given. That the British figure of 3,000 deaths should have become a historical event shows how the British propaganda machine seeks to perpetuate the agenda that they are no longer protagonists in the war in Ireland. Instead the figures were yet another attempt to perpetuate the myth that the British army, the RUC and the RIR are somehow the peacekeepers in a sectarian war not of their making.

The truth is that the first death, that of Samuel Devaney was as completely avoidable as the 3,000th death, that of Hugh McKibben.

Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness said "There is a deeply held genuine desire for peace. For more than 20 years that desire has been abused as one failed initiative has followed another. The political problems which created the conditions for conflict have not changed fundamentally since 1968.

"We need a real peace process which can achieve a total demilitarisation of the situation and a permanent end to violence. In other conflicts around the world the need for dialogue as a first step on the road to peace has been recognised."

Many news organisations pointed to the current Stormont talks as offering the "slim hope of peace". But the truth is that the current talks were not born out of a sudden desire to bring peace to Ireland but are based on the same flawed thinking that underlies the other so-called "peace initiatives".

News

Hiding behind the censorship shield

WHILE the British government and its armed forces are allowed to tell any lie, justify any act of repression and denounce the Irish resistance struggle in the most hysterical terms, the oppressed victims of British rule are never allowed to answer back. The lynchpin of this system of censorship are the broadcasting laws in Ireland and Britain.

Such political censorship is not aimed at support for the IRA's armed struggle, however. Broadcasting managements in Ireland and

Britain have extended censorship rules to ban any objective discussion on the reasons for violence in the North. The latest example occurred this week when the BBC silently subtitled Bernadette McAliskey's explanation, not justification, of the reasons why Britain faces armed resistance in the Six Counties.

The reasons why the PLO and the ANC are justified in fighting the twin evils of Apartheid and Zionism were aired but the reasons for the war in Britain's backyard was judged too explosive for the delicate ears of a BBC audience.

In the 26 Counties the situation is even worse. RTE would never dream of broadcasting a programme on the reasons for armed resistance

struggles in the first place — not even if the events took place on the outer edges of the universe. The station has gone so far as to ban an episode of *Star Trek* because a character spoke of an IRA victory. And if RTE have their way, it will be illegal not only to advertise a book of short stories but also to argue for the right to work in the South.

Hard as it may be to believe, RTE's Supreme Court Appeal in the Larry O'Toole case argues that participation in a trade union or speaking out on behalf of striking workers is to "advance the objectives of the Provisional IRA" and to demonstrate a personal commitment to "the dismantling by violent and unlawful means of the organs of the state".

RTE are seriously attempting to

justify their interview ban on trade unionist and Sinn Féin member, Larry O'Toole, which was recently declared illegal by the High Court, in such reactionary terms.

The Southern state, whose social and economic bankruptcy is shown by a willing ally in RTE management, who want to make speaking out on behalf of strikers and the unemployed a subversive act.

The events of this week reveal, as never before, the intellectual bankruptcy and moral cowardice that censorship brings. That is why all the defeat of censorship and bringing the otherwise silent voices to public attention.

the BBC. Responding to the BBC's position, she said that nothing she said warranted "this kind of treatment". She continued:

"The BBC's actions are defamatory, damaging and dangerous in that the innuendo of subtitling was that I advocated violence and was a 'dangerous person'.

Rejecting the BBC's claim that her contribution was "ambiguous" and in breach of the broadcasting ban, McAliskey said that if there were ambiguities these had been created by the way the programme was edited and could be checked against the original recording.

Describing herself as someone who did not support political violence but who could understand it, McAliskey said that human beings are often inevitably cornered into it by powerlessness, lack of democracy, by lack of willingness of people to listen to the problems.

"Eight hundred years of the violence of your government has not promoted government of Ireland by Britain with the consent of the Irish people. I ask you the same question, is it right, is it necessary and does it work?"

Speaking for the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), acting General Secretary Jacob Ecclestone described the censorship of the *Nation* programme as "very objectionable and a worrying extension of the broadcasting ban".

Commenting on the censorship of the programme, Sinn Féin Chairperson in the North, Mitchell McLaughlin accused the BBC of "moral cowardice". He continued:

"The BBC clearly placed the widest possible interpretation on the broadcasting restrictions in deciding to subtitle Bernadette McAliskey's remarks during this programme.

"The censorship of remarks by McAliskey and members of the audience on the conflict in Ireland was in stark contrast to the ability of contributors and the audience to speak openly and without interference on the conflict in South Africa.

"Tuesday night's programme exposed the absurdity of the broadcasting restrictions and the anti-democratic nature of censorship."

The degree of acceptance of censorship was inadvertently highlighted by the *Irish Times* of Tuesday 1 September which noted in its "Highlights" column on the TV page that in the programme "Bernadette McAliskey — whose contributions will be replaced with subtitles to comply with the terms of the British Government order introduced in 1988". This sweeping extension of censorship on any discussion of the North was not deemed worthy of a news article in that paper.



● Bernadette McAliskey — reassured that her contribution to the BBC 2's *Nation* programme would not be arbitrarily censored but she was silenced and her words subtitled

McAliskey gagged

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S broadcasting ban was arbitrarily extended by the BBC this week. A programme screened on BBC 2 on Tuesday 1 September not only extended the ban in order to censure a guest speaker on the programme, Bernadette McAliskey, but in a further unprecedented extension of the legislation, also censored members of the audience.

Censorship was imposed despite the fact that McAliskey is not a member of any organisation covered by the ban. Prior to filming, both members of the panel and the audience were guaranteed that, provided the debate remained within the already strict confines of the broadcasting ban, they would not be arbitrarily censored.

Nation, which has a multicultural format, is screened weekly and billed by the BBC as a serious discussion programme. Last week's topic for discussion

was 'political violence' and Bernadette McAliskey was specifically invited on to the programme to present her views on the conflict in the North. The audience was invited, on screen by the presenter, Trevor Philips, to enter into honest and open debate on the issue.

In the event Bernadette McAliskey was silenced and her contribution was subject to subtitles which appeared at the bottom of the screen. Meanwhile in a further unprecedented extension of

Britain's censorship legislation, members of the audience commenting on the conflict in the North, were also subjected to censorship and cut, often in mid sentence, and their words were subject to subtitling. Throughout the broadcast, virtually all the contributions made concerning the conflict were subject to censorship, with the exception of a few members of the audience.

McAliskey, who contacted a solicitor immediately it became clear that the programme was to be censored, has formally complained to the BBC and is currently considering further action. Commenting on the programme, McAliskey said that when the broadcasting ban was discussed with the programme makers prior to the filming, she had made it clear that if her contribution was to be subjected to arbitrary censorship she was not willing to participate. She continued:

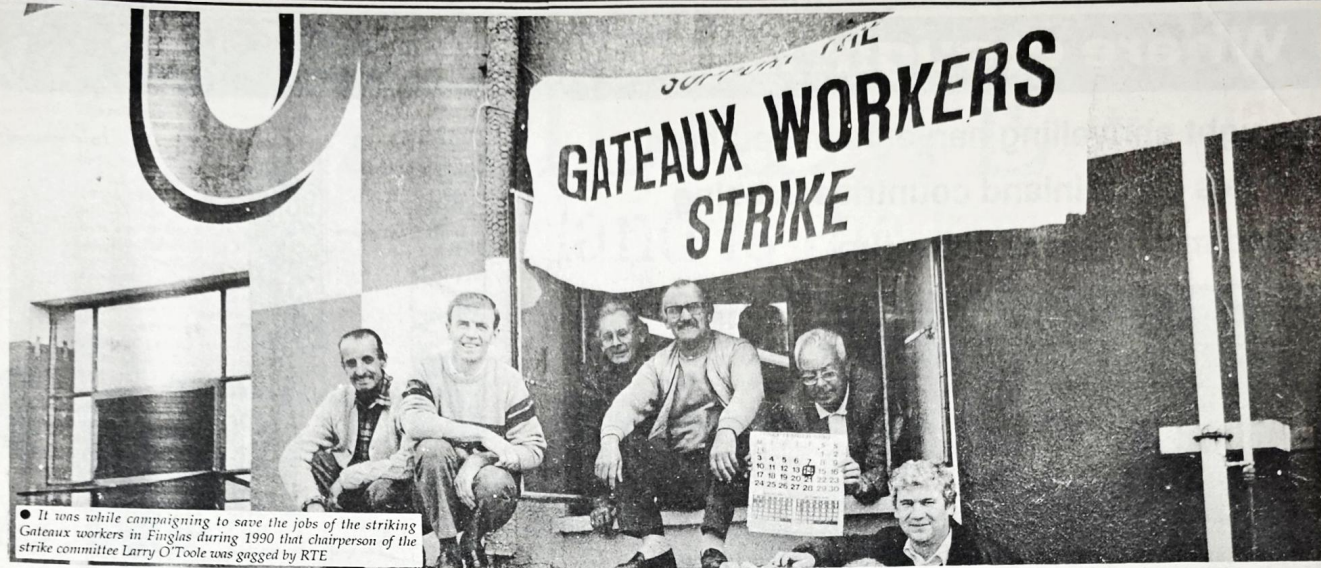
"I was reassured by the programme makers that this would not be

the case. Similarly when a member of the audience also raised the issue of censorship she was also given reassurances that it would not occur. I was invited as a commentator and I accepted in good faith."

McAliskey has spoken several times on British television without incurring the restrictions of the broadcasting ban which was introduced by the British government in 1988. She recently appeared on BBC Scotland and BBC 2's *Newsnight* without restrictions.

Commenting on the imposition of censorship by the BBC, McAliskey said that she had only become aware that her contributions were to be subtitled hours before the programme was screened despite the fact that it was recorded ten days earlier.

Legal efforts on her behalf, failed to force the broadcasting company to reassess its position. A request by McAliskey's solicitor for the broadcast to be withdrawn were also ignored by



● It was while campaigning to save the jobs of the striking Gateaux workers in Finglas during 1990 that chairperson of the strike committee Larry O'Toole was gagged by RTE

RTE claims Gateaux strike was IRA plot

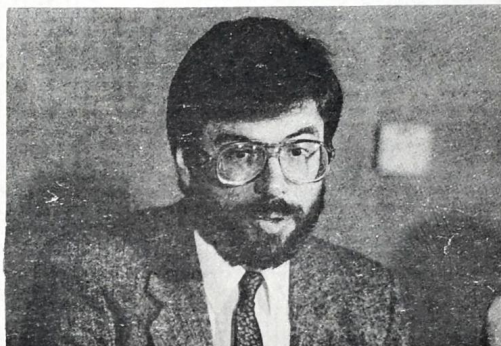
■ BY ART Mac EOIN

IN AN OUTRAGEOUS ATTEMPT to justify its illegal interpretation of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, RTE has claimed that Dublin trade-union activist Larry O'Toole was acting to "advance the objectives of the Provisional IRA" by campaigning to protect the jobs of his fellow workers during a strike at the Gateaux factory in Finglas in 1990.

The latest allegation forms the basis of RTE's Supreme Court appeal against Judge Rory O'Hanlon's ruling that the station had wrongly interpreted Section 31 by imposing a blanket broadcasting ban

on all Sinn Féin members.

In its appeal to the Supreme Court, RTE says that Larry O'Toole's involvement on the National Executive of the Bakers' Union and in the Gateaux Strike Committee for which he acted



● Gerry Adams — 'independent' radio has now been banned from using his voice to advertise his book

as spokesperson, was all dictated by IRA strategy.

Because he was a member of Sinn Féin, RTE says O'Toole was therefore

"committed to a policy of agitation around social issues to advance the objectives of the Provisional IRA". It went on to say that to broadcast any

interview with O'Toole regarding the strike could be construed as articulating Sinn Féin policy.

Ignoring the law as it currently stands RTE has as yet failed to amend its guidelines to comply with the High Court ruling. This makes a mockery of RTE's original contention that they were merely abiding by the law in enforcing political censorship and has exposed its determination to censor Sinn Féin.

Meanwhile, in direct contradiction of the High Court Ruling, the 26-County Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) has informed the state's 21 independent local radio stations that to broadcast an advertisement for a collection of short stories by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, would contravene Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. The directive followed the historic broadcast of an interview with Gerry Adams on Dublin's 98FM.

In a letter to the 21 local independent radio stations on Thursday 27 August, the IRTC stated that a number of stations had been offered a recording of Gerry Adams' voice advertising his recently published book, *The Street and Other Stories*.

The letter signed by IRTC Chief Executive Michael O'Keefe said: "I have been advised that, having regard to Gerry Adams' position and the book in question, the broadcasting of this advertisement could be held to be in breach of the Ministerial directive made under Section 31 (1) of the Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960, as applied to the independent stations by Section 12 of the Radio and Television Act, 1988. In these circumstances, I must inform you that the advertisement in question should not be broadcast."

One station, East Coast Radio, had planned to broadcast an interview with Adams about his book. John Matthews who presents the Studio Two programme, intended including Gerry Adams on his programme on Saturday, 29 August. He was told incorrectly by O'Keefe that such an interview could breach Section 31, but that a review of the book by another author would be acceptable.

The IRTC's move follows RTE's decision not to carry the ad for Adams' book. The publishers of the book Brandon, are currently seeking a judicial review of the RTE ban.

Euro shock at RTE self-censorship

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

FOREIGN BROADCASTERS and journalists were shocked this week to learn of RTE's appalling pro-censorship stance and the station's illegal extension of Section 31 to cover all members of Sinn Féin.

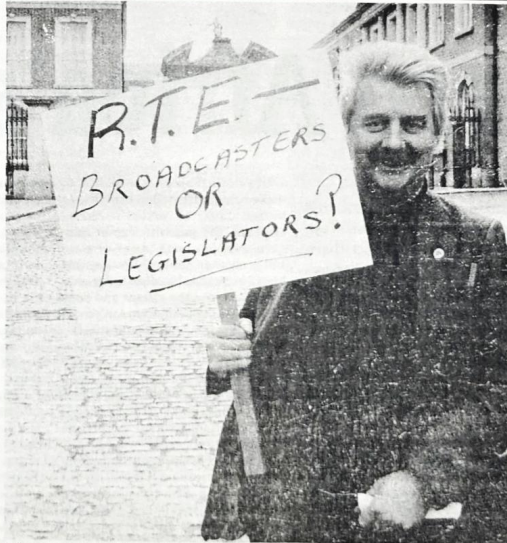
The broadcasters, attending the 51st annual meeting in Dublin of the European Broadcasting Union's News Working Party (EBU), were informed of RTE's self-censorship by Sinn Féin and members of the Larry O'Toole Free Speech Campaign who staged a picket of the meeting at Dublin Castle on Tuesday, 1 September.

Over 150 TV news chiefs from all parts of Europe gathered for the meeting which was hosted by RTE.

Ironically it is 20 years since this assembly was last held in Dublin, the same length of time for which RTE has practised a rigid form of political censorship through Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act.

Delegates were given leaflets detailing their host's disgraceful record of political censorship and its unique position among broadcasters because it argues for more, rather than less, censorship. The leaflet went on to detail the facts behind the Larry O'Toole censorship case and RTE's decision to appeal the recent High Court decision which found that the station had applied Section 31 too widely.

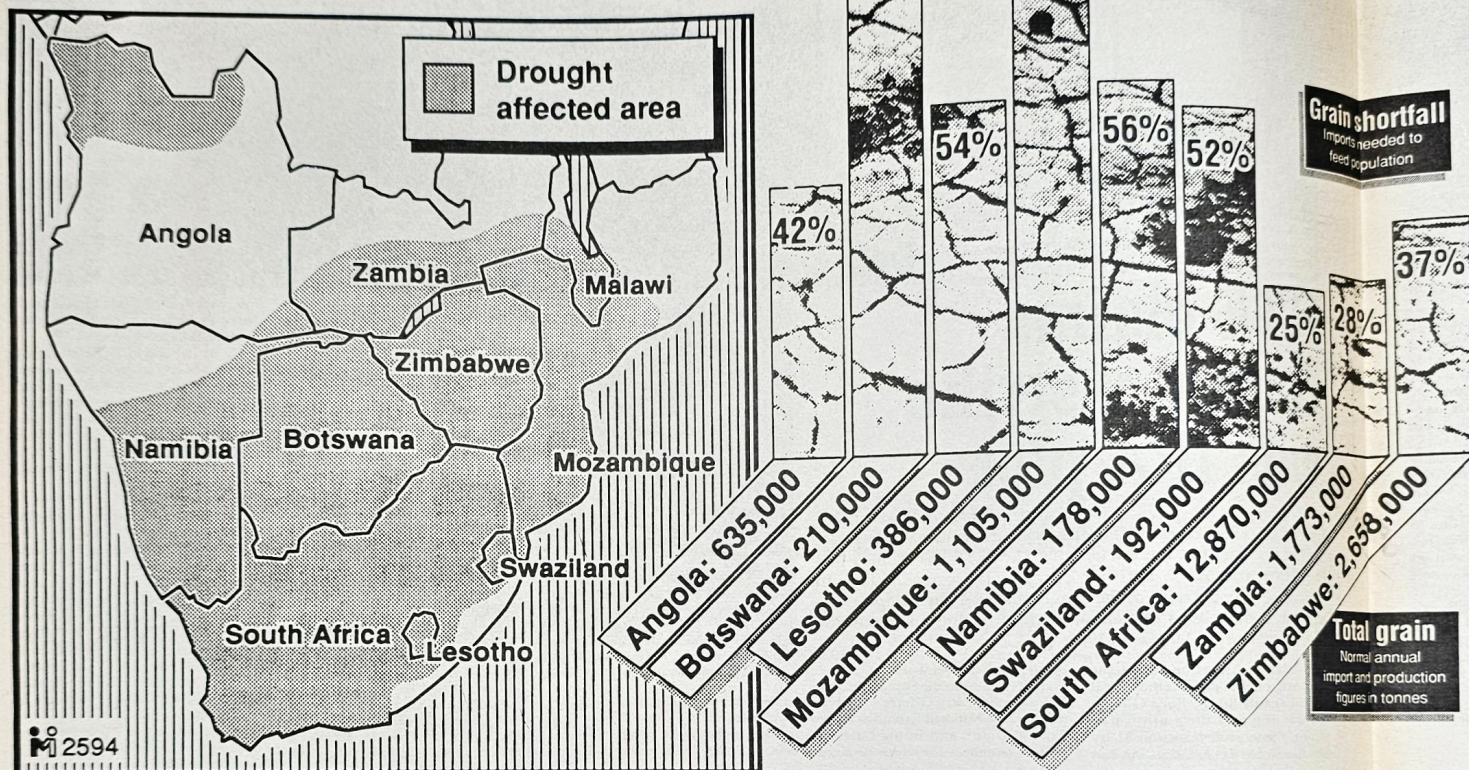
The picketers said they were drawing this matter to the attention of the EBU in the hope that they would put pressure on RTE to stop limiting freedom of expression and they called on the EBU to demand publicly that the Dublin government abandon political censorship.



● Larry O'Toole at the anti-censorship picket at Dublin Castle on Tuesday

Where drought is striking

Drought shrivelling harvests of southern Africa's 10 mainland countries is being called most severe of century



Southern Africa's Great Hunger

■ BY GRAHAM PROCTOR

THE CRISIS IN SOMALIA, where famine has been exacerbated by civil war, has at last begun to hit the headlines in the West. But it is not the only food crisis in Africa today. The southern part of the continent has also been seized by the most serious drought this century. The maize crop in Zimbabwe, Southern Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia and South Africa has been almost totally devastated. In some of these countries, there has been no rain for three years and other crops have been badly hit as well. The death-toll of this drought will be unlikely to come near that of Somalia but Irish people should take considerable note of it nonetheless — it bears an extraordinary resemblance to our own Great Hunger.

The rural economy of Southern Africa is based on maize. To say it is a staple diet is an understatement because these words suggest that this diet might be supplemented by another food, as potatoes might be supplemented by meat or

cabbage in Ireland today. Maize, usually eaten alone, is the diet of this huge region, just as the potato was the diet of peasant Ireland before the famine.

When ripe, the maize is ground down to produce mealie-meal, a fine

white flour. This is then boiled to make nsima, a semolina-like dish. In better days, or when a visitor appears, the peasant farmer may garnish nsima with beans or even kill a chicken. But otherwise, this bland but palatable dish is the only thing between the village and starvation. Throughout Southern Africa today, last year's stocks of mealie-meal have long run out and whatever savings there are have already been spent on buying more meal. Larders are getting bare again and only government aid or foreign assistance will prevent large-scale famine.

The current drought has heavily depleted the vast rivers of the region. The Zambezi and the Limpopo are frighteningly low and the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi, which provides electricity for both Zambia and Zimbabwe, has suf-

fered drastic cuts. Zimbabwe's second city, Bulawayo is running short of water and factories are threatening to close. Southern Zimbabwe, traditionally an area of commercial farming, resembles a dusty desert. The government has called on farmers in these areas to sell their cattle, something they are unwilling to do because prices are so low. It is tragic to watch the farmers hold onto beasts which are literally dying of thirst.

The percentage of food needed in each country varies, but, in Zimbabwe for instance, it is estimated that over one million tonnes of maize will have to be imported. Two million people have already applied for emergency food and four million more are expected to do so soon. Other countries are equally hard hit. Simply providing the food will only be part of the solution.

Most of it will have to be imported through Durban in South Africa. Because the region's transport links are so poor, no other port has access to the necessary rail/road network. That will mean huge bottlenecks as the food is transported inland.

Mozambique faces additional problems as its civil war has already devastated the economy. Peace negotiations in Rome between the government and the South African-backed terror gang RENAMO have resulted in a ceasefire but it is quite clear that RENAMO only consented to the deal because its own forces were beginning to starve. RENAMO units live off local farming communities and when the farmers began to starve, so did the 'soldiers'.

Oddly enough, despite its crucial importance to the region at present,

maize is not a traditional, native dish. It has only appeared in the last century when European colonists chose it as a replacement for the native staple grains: sorghum and millet. Maize was more plentiful than these grains, but it had one horrible drawback, it was nowhere near as drought resistant. The colonists wanted to increase the workforce and saw maize as a short cut to more cheap labour. In this it clearly paralleled the potato in Ireland with equally dangerous consequences.

Each year, a Southern African maize-farmer spends the last two weeks of January and the first fortnight of February in a state of high anxiety, for this is the time of the 'tasselling fortnight'. If the crop does not grow a 'tassel' or 'beard' during this period, it will simply die and if it doesn't rain, no tassel can grow.

This January, there was rain aplenty in Northern and Eastern Zambia, in Malawi and Northern Mozambique. But suddenly, in the second fortnight, the rain dried up. There was a little rain at the end of February, but the tasseling fortnight had been missed and the crops simply died in the fields.

Southern Zimbabwe and parts of South Africa had already suffered a prolonged drought and, in parts of these countries, farmers did not even sow the seeds for a new crop — they had neither the funds to buy the seeds nor any hope that the rains might come. In Mozambique, farmers have only planted 60%-70% of the area they normally plant for food crops and the rains have totally failed in two whole provinces. What is particularly tragic is the fact that the better land in Zimbabwe and South Africa has traditionally provided a surplus which has gone to feed Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique when crops there failed. Now the surplus producers of the past are suffering their own crisis and are competing on the world market for grain, pushing the prices up ever higher than before.

Zambia recently imported a shipment of cheap, yellow maize from Argentina, but there is considerable worry about whether this food (which in America is fed to animals) is fit for human consumption. In any case, it will not be given away free, but exchanged under a 'Food for Work' programme. The Malawian government claims to have imported white maize, although many doubt whether it has even made this precaution. The value of this is questionable as the Banda dictatorship intends to sell the mealie-meal on the market, rather than to give it away. It is extremely unlikely that many peasants will have sufficient cash left by the time it hits the market.

While the Southern African drought resembles the Great Irish Famine in a number of ways, there is one important difference: Ireland 'recovered' from the Great Hunger, partly by exporting one million of its people. If the emigrants had not been able to leave, many more would have died. Southern Africa is not going to have any similar population escape valve and the results are going to mean increased hardship and bottled up bitterness against the forces which are responsible for this suffering.

Another seeming difference turns out to be a similarity. Ireland was a colony at the time of its famine, while the African nations now undergoing the Southern African drought are all sovereign independent states, but that contrast is only superficial. The key economic decisions for Ireland were taken elsewhere — in London. Those affecting Southern Africa are also taken elsewhere — many of them still in London, but more in Washington, New York and Paris. Every single nation in this region is undergoing some form of 'structural adjustment programme' drafted by the World Bank or the IMF and designed to restrict expenditure, thus making people poorer.

Alone, not one of these countries can stand up to the Western economic gale. Even if they club together on a regional scale, they are still weak. What is needed is worldwide solidarity with these Third World countries and those such as our own. The alternative is to see the horror of Somalia repeated elsewhere year in, year out, for eternity.

ZIMBABWE

— the land is the key

■ BY GRAHAM PROCTOR

IT IS A DOZEN YEARS since Robert Mugabe came to power in Zimbabwe, overthrowing the racist Rhodesian administration after a protracted war. But the land question, the most bitterly contested issue in that war, still remains to be solved. Farmers whose families were driven off their own lands by white settlers are still awaiting a chance to get back to farming. Meanwhile descendants of the settlers control most of the best land, stolen from these farmers. The long delay in righting this injustice is not due to Mugabe, although he has been in power since 1980. His hands have been tied for the last ten years by Britain and by the international banks. He is now seeking to distribute land on a fair basis. But, to do so, he will have to defeat colonialists whose central weapon is now the chequebook.

Cecil Rhodes, the author of colonialism in South and Central Africa, is also the author of the region's most serious economic problems. Between the 1860s and the turn of the century, he achieved control of the territory between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers through a combination of trickery and terrorism. A forced labour system known as 'chibharo' was introduced. The Shona and Ndebele peoples who inhabited that area were transformed within two generations from self-sufficient farmers into little more than slaves of the British South Africa Company, administered by Rhodes in the name of the British monarchy.

In 1895, the first of a series of 'native reserves' was created on the poorest land. The native peoples were driven onto these reservations, while whites built up enormous wealth from the land they left behind. In 1918, African claims to own any land at all were thrown out by the British government and the title to what land they continued to possess was vested in the crown. In 1930, racial segregation was enforced, long before South Africa's infamous apartheid system, and 49 million acres of the best land was reserved for 'Europeans'. After World War Two, white ex-servicemen were rewarded with yet more land, while their black colleagues were ignored.

It is a commonplace among British journalists to suggest that racism in Southern Africa stems originally from the Afrikaners rather than the English settlers. But, in this period, whites in Southern Rhodesia, which later became Zimbabwe, were seen as more brutally racist than anywhere else in Southern Africa. The vast majority of these were of British origin (although, it must be noted that the few Irish settlers were equally cruel). The Nationalist Party leaders who later formed the apartheid state in South Africa were really only following the Rhodesian Whites' example.

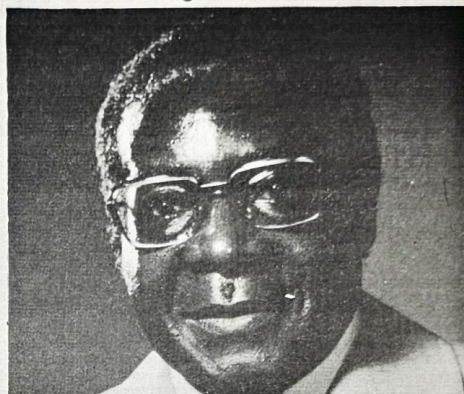
In the 1960s, the extremist Rhodesian Front won whites only elections in Southern Rhodesia on a platform of stealing yet more land from black people. Considerable differences developed between the

Labour government in Westminster and the Front which was seeking to avoid the extension of the ballot to black people. In 1965, under Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Front government declared the territory independent of Britain and in 1969, it added another nine million hectares to the 'European areas'. Westminster huffed and puffed but did nothing substantial to challenge the takeover and the native peoples were given no alternative but to fight for their land.

Throughout the 1970s, the Zimbabwean fighters assembled an impressive force which eventually brought the Smith regime to its knees, with the help of international sanctions. In 1979, Smith was forced to the negotiating table in Lancaster House, London. Facing him was Robert Mugabe, leader of the liberation movement, and a number of Black political figures favoured by the British. Between the two sides, and with a decisive influence on the eventual outcome, was the new government of Margaret Thatcher. Against all expectations, an agreement was reached which allowed for elections the following year. The bitter pill for the liberation forces was that the agreement meant land redistribution could only be minimal for the first ten years.

The British negotiators clearly believed they could build up the political reputations of the politicians they favoured and that Mugabe's support was on the wane. This proved disastrously wrong and the liberation movement won a landslide victory. But Mugabe still faced huge problems. Article 16 of the Lancaster House Agreement prevented the government from compulsorily purchasing white land for ten years. Effectively, a sovereign government had less power than an Irish county council. It could only buy back the stolen land at the market rate and adding insult to injury, it had to pay in badly needed foreign currency.

Progress was painfully slow. In the ten years after Lancaster House, only three million hectares were bought back under this system for distribution to people who had



● Robert Mugabe — his government have tried to tackle the land question

risked everything in the war of independence or 'Chimurenga'. The remaining stolen land amounts to at least 11 million hectares. Antagonisms developed between the Ndebele people who make up 25% of the population, and the Shonas who form the rest. There were persistent allegations of corruption among government ministers.

Robert Mugabe has sought to deal with the corruption allegations and has brought in Ndebele leader Joshua Nkomo as deputy leader in order to heal inter-tribal wounds. But without the right to compulsorily purchase productive land from the 4,000-odd white commercial farmers, he can do nothing to provide his people with enough land to feed themselves. The present drought, which has lasted for three successive years in Southern Zimbabwe, makes that problem ten times more urgent.

Over the last two years, Mugabe's government has fashioned its answer to the problem — the 1992 Land Acquisition Act — under which it is intended to acquire five of the eleven million hectares of land which were allocated on a racial basis before independence. So far only a few purchases have been made under the act and there are aspects of it which may need amendment, but it has the support of the Zimbabwe Farmers' Union, the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions and the Students' Union. The act gives the Agriculture Minister the right to designate land for compulsory purchase and to set the price for the land. Farmers are now being trained in advanced agricultural techniques, so that they will be ready to take over the farms and develop their full potential.

But Mugabe faces determined opposition, not only from the commercial farmers' own organisation. The World Bank, the IMF and the British government have all

expressed opposition to the government's policy of redressing one of the greatest injustices of modern times. Of course, this may have much to do with the fact that multinational companies own one million hectares of Zimbabwean land and it certainly has a lot to do with the ingrained racism of the international financial markets where African lives are considered much less valuable than their European or American counterparts.

But there is also a commercial rationale to this opposition, one to which the government is forced to listen. The white commercial farmers provide a considerable proportion of Zimbabwe's foreign exports and thus the foreign currency, without which the government could not function. If the government moves too fast to return the land to its rightful owners, productivity may fall as undertrained farmers take over the complex operations of large-scale commercial agriculture. If this happens, the foreign banks will not receive their repayments on time and will seek to punish Zimbabwe at a time when the country is most vulnerable because of drought.

That would seem to suggest the future for farming in Zimbabwe is bleak, but it need not be so. The key to the land question really lies in retraining and re-equipping Zimbabwean farmers for their new future. This is something about which the Irish people and the Dublin government can do a considerable amount. Irish foreign aid, like that of any EC country, is often badly mis-spent. It could hardly be better spent than by helping a Third World country to make best use of its agricultural assets, especially as there are skills in this country which can be of direct use — the beef industry is at least as important in Zimbabwe as it is here. The damage inflicted on that country by imperialism can be remedied with Irish assistance.

World Food Programme

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News

Desmond Greaves Summer School

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE Desmond Greaves Summer School is a welcome relief from the Leinster House political environment which dominates the 26-County media, where each new political and economic crisis is greeted with the exclamation that no one ideology can provide a solution or a blueprint for modern government.

Indeed were it not for events like the Greaves Summer School one could be misled that the modern world was one full of benign industrialised states whose only mission was to bring peace and prosperity to the other less fortunate peoples of the world.

The school is becoming a haven for a variety of socialists, trade unionists and republicans from both Ireland and Britain. Greaves is described in the summer school brochure as "an internationalist, a champion of Irish unity and independence, a socialist, a leading Irish labour historian and a poet". It was these strands of Greaves' life that this year's summer school programme addressed.

Dr Brian Murphy author of *Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal* gave the opening address to the school, which was an examination of the work of Roy Foster. Murphy's address was the keynote lecture of the summer school. It has almost become a tradition at the school that the opening lecture will be a criticism of modern Irish historical revisionism.

Bill Spiers, Assistant General Secretary, Scottish Trade Union Congress spoke on the case for an independent Scotland. Conor Foley from the Connolly Association, trade union officer



● DESMOND GREAVES

and author of *Legion of the Rearguard*, gave an assessment of British policy and Irish unity. Eoghan O Murchú and Dr Jack Mitchell wrapped up the summer school with an interpretation of the changes in Eastern Europe.

MODERN IRELAND EXPOSED

Dr Brian Murphy gave his address to a packed hall, people even sat listening in the corridors. Murphy's address

covered revisionism in general, Roy Foster's treatment of the Gaelic League, Irish nationalism, 1916 and the two nation's theory.

"If the past can shape the present, so too present events may fashion our interpretation of the past," Murphy maintains that Foster "must be aware that his major survey of Modern Ireland, 1600-1972 has both historical and political effects". The theme of Murphy's address was to analyse Foster's methods, his sources and lastly his agenda which is to brand Irish nationalists as "sectarian and racist" thus legitimising partition and endorsing the two nations theory.

Dr Murphy outlined how in Foster's analysis of the Irish language movement and particularly the Gaelic League Foster declared that "the emotions focused by cultural revivalism around the turn of the century were fundamentally sectarian and even racist". Murphy took up Foster on this issue when he said:

"In large part this startling conclusion is based on historian Oliver Mac Donagh's evidence that Canon Hannay, a Protestant clergyman was expelled from the Gaelic League after a difference with a Catholic priest in 1906. Having uncovered the original minute book of the League in the course of my research, it is necessary to record that in August 1906 Cannon Hannay was elected to Gaelic League Executive, and that in November of that year he resolved his differences with that executive. In fact a Catholic priest resigned because more was not done to uphold the Catholic position."

Foster in his research ignored the "available published work of Canon Hannay". Hannay delivered a lecture also in 1906 where he stated "inside the ranks of the Gaelic League there is no religious bitterness. It is an amazing thing... that here in Ireland there exists an organisation where men and women of different creeds meet in friendliness; where priest and parson love one another."

Foster's "sectarian and racist" label is proven biased and unsubstantiated. According to Murphy, Foster adopts this stance because if the Gaelic League were sectarian "it would then be reasonable for protestants, firstly to distance themselves from the League; and secondly, to seek to preserve their own identity by a policy of separation.

In short it is an argument for partition."

Murphy then argues that historical evidence "indicates that the contrary is the case. One has an argument not for partition, but rather for unity based on an understanding of the two religious traditions."

The broader Irish Nationalist Movement is the next target of Foster. He describes the 1916 rising as coloured by the "strain of mystic Catholics identifying the Irish soul as Catholic and Gaelic". Murphy told his audience that this extract has already been criticised by Seamus Deane in minute detail. Murphy simply wanted to "question the evidence" on which Foster's claims were based.

The *Catholic Bulletin* was the source for Foster's analysis. Murphy maintained that in the wake of the rising censorship laws imposed under martial law meant that according to the *Bulletin's* editor he "had little option but to overlook the political and controversial features of the upheaval and confine comment almost entirely to the Catholic and social aspects of the lives of the last moments of those who died either in action or as a result of trial by court martial."

Murphy provided example after example to show that Foster's analysis was based on three main sources, books by Patrick O'Farrell, PSL Lyons and Oliver Mac Donagh. What Dr Murphy also proved was that these books have the same bias in use of sources and the same agenda as that adopted by Roy Foster.

The lecture concluded with Murphy's assertion that Foster's agenda was "impaired", which is an academic's way of describing a fellow scribe's work as crap. Foster's narrative "is unreliable and the interpretations are unsound". Murphy concluded by saying:

"Alice Stopford Green commented in her time that 'we do not want in Ireland the absence of history, we do want a larger study of its truth'. Sadly that truth is not provided by Roy Foster's *Modern Ireland*."

As Dr Murphy collected his notes a string of speakers came out to commend his lecture and offer their own critique of revisionist literature. "I'm not a Provo but", "I don't support the IRA but", these were common lead-ins by participants. It seems that even here

the participants were aware of the reality that to criticise revisionist views of history is tantamount to claiming membership of the IRA. However these comments marginalise not only republicans but the participants themselves. Discussing history should not be considered a subversive act.

Kevin Myers, having not actually attended the lecture wrote in the *Irish Times* Saturday 29 August that "wherever Roy was last night, I bet his ears burst into flames". Myers went on to ask why was a revisionist historian not invited to the school to address it on "the worthlessness of James Connolly". Myers not being at the lecture totally missed the point. Murphy's critique of Foster was scholarly and methodical unlike Foster's own work. There are an ever growing number of summer schools that deal with the topics that Myers hold so dear. It is a typical tactic of the establishment to ask the marginalised to give them a free platform.

A SCENARIO FOR WITHDRAWAL?

Conor Foley's talk on Sunday morning was the other highlight of the summer school. Foley's talk was titled "British Policy on Irish Unity, An assessment of the Anglo-Irish Talks". With such a wide spectrum he could have discussed anything. What he did do was analyse the historical reasons for the maintenance of the British military presence in Ireland since partition.

Foley then outlined a scenario for withdrawal asking would the British financial subvention have to continue, and how would disputed sovereignty affect the withdrawal. This Foley called "the mechanics of disengagement".

Unlike last year when Martin Moriarty, the editor of the *Irish Democrat* addressed the summer school Foley's talk did not cause a contentious debate. It seemed that people left visibly disappointed that there was not a heated discussion. However Moriarty's speech from the floor this year was a lot more salient than his address from the podium last year.

The summer school was a success, however the after lecture discussions need a new format, possibly with prepared replies and perhaps more of an emphasis on the economic aspects of Greaves' work.



● Doctor Brian Murphy who gave the opening address at the Greaves Summer School which was held in Dublin last weekend



● Conor Foley outlined a scenario for British withdrawal



● The success of the FA premier league is by no means certain

Satellites, scams and sour grapes

■ BY BREANDAN MAC RUAIRI

THE CROSS-CHANNEL SOCCER SEASON has been chugging into full swing lately with its usual quota of talking points catching the headlines.

Match of the Day's return to our screens on Saturday nights is welcome and nostalgia provoking but is hardly consolation for the confinement of the live stuff to the sleaze of

British Sky Broadcasting. Forcing people to pay extra to watch live soccer is rank bad form and hits working-class people, that section of society most interested in the game, for

extra money that they can ill-afford.

The moguls of satellite television, having forked out megabucks for exclusive broadcasting rights, clearly think they have guaranteed a nice earner for themselves. Yet all is not rosy in the garden and there is still hope that their scam could backfire and this fairly reprehensible style of exploitation will founder.

Fraught with a threatened players' strike, arguments over promotion and relegation arrangements and disputes over timing of fixtures has meant a painful birth for the FA Premier League. Initially conceived as a pruned down version of the old first division, containing only 18 teams, it was hoped to mould a tighter league format with some of the "lesser" clubs weeded out. For

all the hype that objective still seems light years away.

The slickest of marketing packages cannot disguise the inadequacies of the English game which has been in decline for years. It is not surprising then that initial take-up of Sky's offer has been reported as "slow". Television enthusiasts may not be so easily beguiled by the glossy adverts, bombast or "space-age" team-kits.

ITV, bloody-nosed after being outbid by Sky's avarice, has since displayed few illusions about the quality and appeal of the "new" league. Channel 4's moderately priced deal to broadcast Italian league games live on Sunday afternoons, in competition with Sky's offering, looks a masterstroke and an example of the silverlining scenario for the armchair follower. The prospect

of the finest players in the world, playing in the world's best league gracing our living room sofa this winter is mouth-watering — given the circumstances even Gazza can be endured and the decoders and discs can wait a while longer.

The start of the Premier League has seen the four fancied sides Arsenal, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester United all come a cropper and an early flourish by unlikely contenders Norwich and Queens Park Rangers. Both these sides have traditionally conjured up an attractive eye-pleasing brand of football. Whether they have the resources or stamina to sustain a serious challenge remains to be seen.

Liverpool still look unconvinced under Graeme Souness and excuses about injury problems are wearing thin. The Old Trafford ghosts' fitful start suggests that ghosts of last season's nightmare climax to the championship still hamper them and may haunt all their endeavours this season. Leeds have looked good but their collapse at Middlesbrough suggests that the yoke of reigning champions may bear that little too heavily on their aspirations of retention. Slow starters Arsenal are now getting into their stride and will be in contention come spring while Everton or Sheffield Wednesday appeal as possible darkhorses.

Blackburn Rovers' escapades in the transfer market are undoubtedly a focus of major attention. It's good to see one of the great old clubs back in the upper echelons but the passion such a comeback would normally unleash is missing. Rovers, under the multi-millionaire patronage of Jack Walker have spent their way back into the top rank and may well

spend themselves to greater heights. All within the rules of course, but hardly the spirit.

So far the amendment to the backpass rule seems one of FIFA's better decisions. It certainly has speeded up the game and put an end to negative time-wasting tactics between the goalkeepers and the defenders. It also puts an added onus on defenders, who previously inevitably employed safety first measures, to play the ball with greater skill and more constructively. The rule also gives greater incentive to attackers to harry and chase, sound in the knowledge that the chances of the ball coming their way are greatly enhanced. The goal rush in the first weeks of the Premier League is no coincidence.

The English cricketing fraternity managed to cover themselves in further ignominy following the trouncing they received at the hands of Pakistan in this summer's test series.

A concerted campaign by the media and some English players designed to discredit the brilliant play of Pakistan's Waqar Younis and Wasim Akram reached fever pitch last week.

Allegations that the young Pakistani bowling stars cheated by doctoring the ball are to any fair-minded person ludicrous, smacking of racism and sour grapes. The truth is that Pakistan outplayed their former imperialist masters with some sparkling displays that their pedestrian rivals could never come to terms with both on and off the pitch.

It is particularly unfair that two such marvellous young talents as Younis and Akram have this cloud cast over them, by so-called champions of fair play, as they seek to develop their careers.

INTERNATIONAL IRISH FILM FESTIVAL SUCCESS

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

IRISH REPRESENTATIVES from various film industry circles came away from the 15th Douarnenez Film Festival in Brittany saying that their eyes had been opened.

The reason for this state of mind was that the film festival each year takes as its theme a different "minority" nation, that is, nations whose cultures are threatened or who suffer from the effects of colonialism. Last year the Aboriginal people of Australia were featured and this year it was the turn of Ireland. The festival proved a spectacular success, with double the crowds of the previous year. Up to 150 people had to be turned away from some screenings.

Participating in the debates which accompanied the festival were Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucinda Breathnach, DUP member Ian Kyle Paisley and John Hume from the SDLP. Many of the debates had to be moved to larger venues, such as the inter-

est from the Breton people.

Breathnach pointed out sadly at the conclusion of the festival that such an event couldn't have happened in Ireland and that the Breton people who attended are actually more informed about the situation in Ireland than the people of the 26 Counties because of censorship and the attitude of the Dublin government.

Among the films shown was the classic story of the war against the Black and Tans, *The Dawn*, screened Channel 4, but of course not on RTE. Among the political works were *Mise Eire*, *The Patriot Game* (not the Tom Clancy but the French version), *Maeve*, *Anne Devlin*, *Hush-A-Bye Baby*, *Hidden Agenda*, the excellent documentary film about the border roads, *Dragon's Teeth* and

Counterpoint's documentary on Bloody Sunday, broadcast earlier this year. Other films representing various aspects or perceived aspects of Irish society completed the line up, from *The Quiet Man* to *The Commitments*.

Many of the films were introduced by their directors or producers or interested individuals. Among such guests were directors Pat Murphy and Alan Gilson, former British intelligence agents Fred Holroyd and Colin Wallace and journalists Brian Trench and Roger Faligot.

All the debates which coincided with the festival were filmed.

Breathnach spoke at three of them and also held a press conference, at which she explained Sinn Féin's proposal for a just solution to the conflict, contained in the discussion document, *Towards A Lasting Peace*, after which she was interviewed by *Quest France*, a daily newspaper, the women's magazine, *Marie Claire* and French television. She met with a number of councillors from the majority Alternative Left coalition in Brest Council and councillors from Breton political groupings in Douarnenez. She spoke at debates on Women in Ireland, Human Rights, and the show-

piece debate of the festival, *The Future of Ireland*, at which she was scheduled to debate with Paisley Junior, Hume and Joe Harrington, Limerick People's Democracy councillor.

Paisley Junior had, at his press conference during the week, highlighted human rights abuses in the Six Counties by concentrating obviously on the UDR 4 case. He put the organisers on the spot when he announced that he would not sit on the same platform as the Sinn Féin representative. His proffered reason was that it would be politically embarrassing for his father. Hume initially agreed to speak with Sinn Féin but the session ended up with himself and Paisley speaking and answering questions first, after which they left the platform and Breathnach and Harrington spoke.

This partitioned debate was jointly chaired by Roger Faligot and Brian Trench. All four speakers were asked the same main four questions after which they answered a variety of questions from the chairpersons and a range of selected questions from the audience. Hume was extremely suave and non-specific in his contribution, arguing that Ireland was a European problem, visualising a Europe of no frontiers and maintaining that the British



army's border posts are maintained there by the IRA's war.

Breathnach was asked, among other things, about Maastricht, what influence Europe could have on finding a peaceful solution and what kind of an Ireland she would like to see in the future. She also had the opportunity to respond to some of the points raised by Hume and Paisley. She pointed out that the IRA is not the cause of the problem, that the IRA only exists because of the British presence and that

it is Britain's 30,000 men and women under arms in the Six Counties which actually maintains the artificial frontier. She also described the suffering caused by Britain's artificial border, and the crown forces' senseless campaign of repeatedly destroying border roads, cutting communities in half, thus causing great hardship locally. Despite his reluctance to sit and debate the issues, Paisley, along with Hume, listened intently to the second half of the debate from an adjoining room.

Nuacht

Scrios ár n-oidhreacht

■ LE DEIRDRE
NIC AN tSAOIR

MAR CHUID de pholasáí thurasóireacht an stáit tá comhairlí ceantair, Oifig na n-Oibreacha Poiblí agus Bord Fáilte ag fáiltiú go díreach trí dheontais agus go hindíreach tríd an atmaisféar a chothú a ligeann do 'interpretative centres', sráid-bhailte cuspóireacha, tithe saoire agus bailte turasóireachta a bheith tógtha nach gcuireann le'n ceantar ach a mhalairt.

Timpeall na tíre tá scríos á dhéanamh ar cheantairacha trí chead pleanála a thabhairt do ionad tógála, foirgnimh nach réitíonn leis an timpeallacht nó tithíocht nach gcuireann leis an cheantar. In a lán de na scéimeanna atá pleanáilte níl agus níl bheidh bunstáise ar bith le baint ag an ceantar as an scéim. Ní bhíonn i gceist ach go mbeidh siad in n-úsáid ach ar feadh an tséala gainéid arbh é sásúr thurasóireacht na hÉireann, Bealtaine go Meán Fómhair má tá an t-ádh leo. Don chuid eile den bhliain tá siad díomhaoin, gan aon bhunstáise do gheilleagar an cheantair.

Sa Bhreastain Bheag tá feachtas ar bun leis na blianta ag iarraidh drochmhisneach a chur ar na daoine a cheannáinn, a dhíolann agus a dhéanann pleanáil ar bailte turasóireachta nó tithe saoire. I measc na modhanna a úsáidear ná na tithe a dhóidh, manai a phéintear ar na tithe, oifigí ceantóireachta a scríos, picéadaí a chur ar na hionaid thógála, oifigí pleanála, na tithe a ghabhadh le linn an gheimhridh srl.

In Éirinn afách, níl aon fheachtas eagraithe chun cosc a chur ar breis tógála sna ceantairacha turasóireachta, go háirithe san Ghaeltacht; chun éileamh go mbeadh úsáid don bhliain iomlán i gceist in aon scéim atá pleanáilte; go mbeadh gach scéim iniata go hiomlán i bplean foirbithe do gheilleagar an cheantair uilig agus do shaoil sóisialta agus cultúrtha an dúiche; nach mbeadh na scéimeanna ag cur cultúr Gallda chun cinn i gceantair Ghaeltachta; nó ag bunú 'seaside resorts' ar nós Bundoran agus Blackpool srl áit áit pobail thuaithe ag tarraingt le chéile.

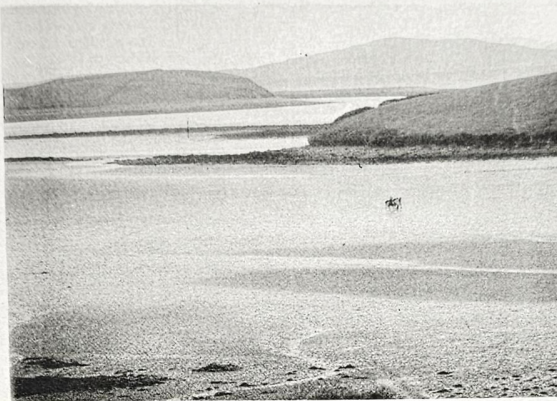
Sa dán thíos, Fionntrá tógtha as cruasach filiochta Drúcht ar Chineas le Aogán Ó Muircheartaigh tá léargas tugtha ar dhearcas an phobail áitiúil i leith na n-allúirach a thagann le linn an sásúir turasóireachta

Duibhneach sínte ar an ngáineamh
A chneas bán á róstadh
Fén ngréin;
Stróinséirí sínte leis
A ngor féin
Iomadúlacht teagacha na mór-roinne
Ag lingeadh go frathacha na spéire
Lán d'aitéas an lae.

Níorbh amhlaidh ar an dtráigh seo
Tamall
Ach guthanna allúirach
Ag fógart bhaís ar ghnaisceigh

Na dúthaí;
An mó duine a síneadh
Le buille tua
Le rinn clafmh
Ar ghile na gainimhe
Go bhfuil larsmaí na beatha
Mar dhúthí inti?

Cad ind airm
Na nua-allúirach,
Túr Báibíl acu
Ag fógart fátin
Ar phobal deiridh ré?



● Mar a bhí sé, mar a bheidh sé?



Céim eile i dtreo saoirse

■ LE SEAN
O MAOLAIN

SA TUAIRISC DHEIREANNACH ó thír na mBascach, ríomhaíonn ár gcomhfhreagraí go bhfuil diansmacht ón stáit Spáinneach le feiceáil i níos mó ná bealach amháin.

D'ráil leis an dlí sa stát Spáinneach, is é go gcaitheadh na leibhéil éagsúla de rialtas cithromaiocht a chleachtadh ina gcaiteachas aird. Tá fógraíocht sna nuachtáin san áireamh anseo, agus de ghnáth cuirtear fógraí oifigiúla sa deich nuachtán is mó léitheoireachta. Ach taobh leis an dlí, tá cúspóir rialtas na Spáinne agus 'fein' rialtas na hEuskadi le cuimhneamh, rud atá soiléir i gcás Egin agus Egunkaria, an dá nuachtán neamhspleách a thabharann lán tacaíocht do chúis shaoirse na mBascach.

Le cuid blianta anuas tá an rialtas Spáinneach agus a chomhoibrithe Bascacha ag diúltú fógraíocht a cheannacht in Egin, cé go bhfuil Egin ar cheann de na nuachtáin is mó in Euskadi. Cothlann seo fadhbanna don nuachtán, fadhbanna atá insáraithe ach a chiallaíonn go mbíonn an páipéar in easpa aird ó ham go ham. Nuair atá ganntanas ag Egin, tá Egunkaria (an nuachtán lán Bascach) thíos leis freisin, nó go gcuideann Egin le'n nuachtán eile nuair is féidir. An macasamhail le cás a bhí ag an Andersonstown News cúpla bliana ó shin, chuaigh eagarthóir Egin tríd na cúirteanna agus buafódh an cás, ach fós féin tá na húdaráis ag diúltú ioc as fógraíocht.

Gné eile den diansmacht atá le feiceáil sa pholasáí nua atá ag na péas maidir le postaeirí. Bliain ó shin maraíodh Oglach de chuid ETA ag na péis Spáinneacha, agus an

tsachtain seo beidh cómoradh bliana a bháis i nDonostia. Le coicis anuas, tá postaeirí le feiceáil ar na ballaí ag fógart an morshuíl agus cómoradh, agus scéal an Oglach ETA orthu. Seachtain ó shin rinne na péas ruathar ar thithe Bascacha sa chathair agus ghabh siad ar níos mó ná 20 ógánach, agus chuir cúiseanna ina gcoinne go raibh lán acu in ardú na postaeirí. Dhá oíche ina dhiaidh sin, ghabh siad scór eile ar na cúiseanna céanna. Is léir, afach, nach nbeidh spás acu do na 'dlí-bhristeoirí' go léir.

An tsachtain seo caite chuaigh grúpa de chúpla céad duine go dtí beaircís arm na Spáinne, ag fógart go raibh siad in Oglach, nó ag diúltú bheith páirteach in arm na Spáinne. Briseadh an dlí atá i gceist anseo, nó tá coinscrobhadh i réim sa Spáinn go fóill, agus ba chóir go mbeadh na diúltóirí go léir i bpríosún. Ach tuigeanann na Bascach go bhfuil cleasanna ar féidir imirt in aghaidh na Spáinne, agus faoi láthair tá breis agus 3,000 acu ag diúltú seirbhís arm na Spáinne, agus ag iarraidh cá tuige nach bhfuil siad á gceir faoi ghlas, (fad agus a thuigeanann siad nach bhfuil spás príosún ag an stát Spáinneach). Sa bhealach seo, tá coinscrobhadh 'marbh' a bheag nó a mhór sa Tír Bascach, agus is céim eile é i dtreo saoirse do na Bascach.

GIOTAI...GIOTAI...GIOTAI...



Oireachtas na Gaeilge

BEIDH Oireachtas na bliana seo sa tsuíl idir an 23ú Deireadh Fómhair agus an 1ú Samhain ar an Daingean, Contae Chiarraí. Tá an tOireachtas ar an phríomhfhéile chultúrtha in Éirinn agus i mbliana beidh gach ealaíon traidisiúnta ann, ceol, litríocht, scéalaíocht, drámaíocht, amhránaíocht ar an sean-nós agus go leor leor eile.

Bhunaigh Conradh na Gaeilge an fhéile chultúrtha i 1897 agus tá sé anois ar an fhéile is sine dá leithéid sa tír. I mbliana tá bileog eolais iláite curtha amach ag eagraitheoirí an Oireachtas agus don chéadúis riamh tá sé scríofa as Gaeilge agus as Béarla.

Má tá eolas ar bith ag teastáil uait ar an Oireachtas scríobh chuig An Rúnaí, An tOireachtas, 6 Sraid Fhearchair, Baile Atha Cliath 2, nó fón 01-753857.

Scoilleana nua oscailte

OSCLAIDH an chéad iarbhunscóil lánGhaeilge i gcathair na Gaillimhe agus tá céimeanna eile i bhforbairt na scoilaíochta trí Ghaeilge á dtógáil an tsachtain seo i gCill Rois, Co an Chláir agus i dTromaire, Contae Laoise.

An tsachtain seo chomh maith tithar ag tosú ar thógáil fhoirgneamh nua do ghaelscoil an Duinnínigh, Mullach Íde, Co Atha Cliath.

Coláiste na Coirbe an t-ainm ata ar an scoil i nGaillimh, a osclaíodh Dé Máirt i bhfoirgneamh cóirthe ar Ché an Chladaigh le 13 dalta. Scoil mhéascha faoi scáth Choiste Ghairmoideachais chathair na Gaillimhe atá inti, le príomhoide, múinteoirí amháin lánseartha agus cúigear múinteoirí páirtimeartha.

Dúirt an príomhoide, Noel O'Donnabháil go mbeidh réimse leathan ábhar scrúduithe móide corpoideachas, saoránaíocht agus teagasc Chríostaí — agus go bhfuil fiontar á thionscnamh le cuidiú aigeadais ón VEC agus ó thuismitheoirí na scoile.

Tá 16 scól dara leibhéil taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht arb í an Ghaeilge an mheán teagasc iontu. Chomh maith le Coláiste na Coirbe bunadúch sé cinn eile le blian anuas: i dTrá Lí, Baile an Chollaigh, Cill Chainnigh, Ceatharlach, Bré Chualann agus Béal Feirste.

"Tá an-éileamh i measc an phobail ar ghaelscolaíocht ach ní féidir an t-éileamh sin a sásamh go hiomlán," a dúirt rúnaí oinigh Ghaelscoilleana, Vivian Uibh Eachach. Luaigh sé ach go háirithe an easpa cóirtheacha a bhíonn ina bhac ar scoileanna nua — láithreacha nach bhfuil oiriúnach, foirgnint atá sean, cuid acu ag ligint braon anuas.

Sampla de na fadhbanna a bhíonn acu is ea a bhfuil ag tarlú do ghaelscoil an Duinnínigh i mBaile Atha Cliath faoi láthair.

Le sé bliana anuas tá an scoil i mbun oibre i seomraí sa phobalscoil i Mullach Íde ach ó bhí 100 dalta ann agus ó tá breis ag tosú an tsachtain seo níl dóthain spáis dóibh ansin.

Cuirtear tús an tsachtain seo le tógáil seomraí reádmheanta don scoil sa cheantar. Idir an dá linn beidh an scoil ag feidhmiú i seomraí ar an láthair chéanna leis an scoil idir chreidimheach i gCill Bharróg. Léiríonn sé seo easpa tacaíochta agus aird nach bhfuil ag teacht ón rialtas, agus an Roinn Oideachais chun forbairt na teanga a chur chun cinn.

Cás cúirte eile

TA EAGARTHOIR na hirise Comhar, Tomás Mac Siomóin le bheith os comhair na cúirte Déardaoin 3 Meán Fómhair i mBaile Atha Cliath. Easpa ceadúnas teilifíse ar dhátaí áirithe atá curtha ina leith agus deir Mac Siomóin nár cheannaigh sé an ceadúnas mar agóid faoin easpa seirbhís teilifíse as Gaeilge.

An mhí seo caite chaith Clárán O'Feinneadha ón Fheachtas um Theilifís Gaeilge dhá lá i bpríosún nuair a dhúiltáigh sé fíneáil cúirte a íoc as diúltú s'áigsean ioc as ceadúnas teilifíse.

Tá tuairisc á ullmhú ar chúrsaí teilifíse Gaeilge le roinnt mí anuas ag eagarthóir nuachta Gaeilge RTE, Pádraic Ó Cláirde d'aire Cumarsáide na 26 Chontae Máire Geoghegan-Quinn agus d'ainneoin go bhfuiltear ag dúil le ceadúnas ar sheirbhís nua Gaeilge an mhí seo tá sé amhrasach go mbeidh an stáisiún úr ag feidhmiú in am do chéad cómoradh Chonradh na Gaeilge an bhliain seo chugainn.

**SLOGADH
SHINN
FÉIN**

Aoine-Domhnach
2ú-4ú Deireadh Fómhair
An Cheathrú Rua
Co. na Gaillimhe
Cláir le Baire de Brún
Teach Uí Chonghaile, 147
Bóthar Bhailte Andarsáin,
Béal Feirste 11

Letters

Thursday, 3 September 1992 — LEATHANACH 13

Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist... Mála Poist...

Credit where credit is due

A Chairde,

In the front page article (AP/RN 20 August) it was stated in relation to the recent 98FM interview with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams that this was the first time his voice had been broadcast by a radio station in the 26 Counties. This is not correct.

On 10 February 1987, during a General Election campaign, the late John Frawley interviewed Adams on the pirate station Radio Luimni. The interview lasted about an hour (with breaks for music) and was the subject of some controversy in the course of which Mr Frawley was condemned and threatened by various politicians.

John Frawley was a very popular broadcaster in Limerick throughout the late '70s and most of the '80s. He was not a supporter of the Republican Movement but believed in basic democratic principles such as free speech and fairness in the media. This is why he braved the wrath of the establishment to interview Gerry Adams. In fairness to his memory his courageous stand should be given due credit and not be forgotten.

Pádraig Malone, Limerick.

An Appeal for Ireland's regeneration

A Chairde,

This letter is the situation in some various localities of our country today as I see it.

In and around Dublin city the rundown conditions of our localities may not appear too bad as a general face lift has been given to most of them but beneath the façade our people within the working-class areas are suffering heavy casualties; through unemployment, the rundown of our industries, the apathy that follows and many taking to drink and other hard drugs. Statistics tell us that there are 12,000 Aids victims in Ireland and that 10,000 of these are addicted to drugs.

Lack of proper facilities and amenities in education and cultural and social activities mean that our young people are being sorely neglected and not being prepared in anyway for a life ahead. In frustration they are turning to crime and vandalism resulting in some areas resembling battlefields, with all the horrors of a battlefield, battered and bruised minds and bodies.

In rural areas the picture appears grimmer, going around the towns of Waterford, Wicklow, Wexford, Rosslare and even the city of Cork, one gets the impression that the working-class inhabitants are being driven into the background and that a new modern day place is being erected, while a face lift is given to the centre of these towns. The

working-class areas are being hard pressed, one sees roads and pavements that have the appearance of not seeing any maintenance since the beginning of the Free State government. Signs of cast iron moulds tell pedestrians to use the footpath, the same footpaths being no more than two feet wide and pock marked with potholes and cracks, and with inclines that would daunt the heart of many an experienced hill climber. Still we find young wives with prams and a child or two hanging on at the side winding their way wearily day in and day out up these slopes, all public transport appears to stop short of these boundaries.

There seems to be no spirit around, the areas have the appearance of ghost towns. This may be due to the mass emigration from these localities and the drink and the drug problems that seems to plague the whole nation.

Where are our "city fathers" and "elder Statesmen" while all this is taking place? Drawing up plans on paper, escorting fine statements that seem to come up from the bowels and by-pass the brain producing nothing but foul air about: cutbacks in public spending; that social welfare recipients are abusing the system; that businesses are being taxed out of their premises; that those of the working class who have the privilege of being still at work, should work harder and longer hours; and that the workers' demand for increases in wages is the main cause of unemployment. Behind this form of business propaganda there is a deliberate ploy to run down our national industries and replace them with industries whose parent companies are centered abroad, holding the threat over the heads of the Irish workers that these plants will withdraw with large redundancies. In many cases these threats have been carried out.

The various local projects that are being organised under the auspices of FAS and the trade union movement, seem no more than a modern way of railroad the working-class unemployed into a cul-de-sac. They train people for industries that no longer exist or are already inundated with existing workers, in other words these facilities are no more than modern day unemployment exchanges with the sole purpose of creating the impression that the unemployed figures have dropped, a state con job.

A wilderness of despair and despondency is threatening the nation. This is an attempt to make of us a nation of lackeys and slaves, through the overdevelopment of the tourist and entertainment business and also of the maintenance and service trades. Whole contingents of entertainers and other small entrepreneurs are flooding the country, coming from as far away as the Andes and the foot-hills of the Himalayas. Besides making a nuisance of themselves, the only other thing they are doing is syphoning off some of our assets

and adding to the flight of the capital from our country. Down in Trá Mhór (County Waterford) for example a show has been produced depicting our ancestors in national costume, yahoos and buck leaping over hedges and ditches, banging claymores against shields, and going through the motion of knocking each others brains out with cudgels. All this in an attempt to draw a tourist trade that will make us the leading attraction for tourism in Europe.

We are being made fools of, turned into playthings of fun, the "stupid Irishman" is being nationalised, while our skilled mechanics, engineers, technicians and scientists are drained off.

Our only hope is that the Republican Movement for a 32-County Ireland will not fall into this morass. And so friends I come to the point, I am producing this letter as an appeal, for some sort of conference organised by the executive of Sinn Féin around the above observations, with the task of conferring as to the whys and wherefores of them and any other possibilities in relation to them.

John Clarke.

Boycott can defeat censorship

A Chairde,

RTE must be unique in the world as it goes to court asking to be subjected to more censorship than it has at present.

There is, I believe, only one adequate democratic response we can make — that is, boycott.

Democrats who have had more than enough of RTE's arrogance and anti-democratic policies and practices can refuse to buy any goods whatever advertised on RTE programmes to which they object.

If traders do not sell their goods through RTE — if instead they are boycotted by a substantial number of potential customers then they will not advertise on these programmes any more. Without advertising RTE is finished. And when it goes, with it will go some of the most ludicrously subservient broadcasters in Europe.

I would be personally interested to hear from other democrats who are willing to create a systematic boycott of goods advertised during anti-democratic programmes on RTE.

In no circumstances should traders be encouraged to sell goods through a medium which is destructive of democratic principles like that of free speech for the people's elected representatives.

Des Wilson,

6 Springhill Close,

Belfast BT12 7SE.

Britain's double standards

A Chairde,

The British government hosted a peace conference

between the various warring factions in Yugoslavia. Some of these groups have committed appalling crimes against the civilian population in Yugoslavia. Their inhumanity makes the Shankill Butchers look like a bunch of altar boys, yet the British government had no qualms about entertaining people who not only use violence but also support it.

Britain's moralistic intervention in the Yugoslavia affair doesn't stand up when you consider the British government's conflicting attitude towards Sinn Féin.

The first casualty in any conflict is always the "truth" and Ireland is no exception. The British government couldn't suddenly wake up one morning and decide to muzzle Sinn Féin just because they support the IRA's armed struggle. Sinn Féin was banned from the airways because they are the only party willing to speak the truth.

It is interesting to note that the one thing the British government, Irish government, SDLP, Catholic Church and all the various unionist groupings are all agreed upon, is the demise of Sinn Féin. This alone speaks volumes.

Finally, we must never lose sight of the fact that Britain gained her position of authority in Ireland by force and can only maintain it by force. This fundamentalist reality is conveniently overlooked by the sycophants.

Tim Jones,

London.

Anti-Dublin tirades

A Chairde

Once again Brendan Mac Ruairi defied mortal logic by declaring that "Dublin advance but Clare take the Kudos" in AP/RN 27 August 1992.

Dublin were never behind in the All-Ireland semifinal and won by five points. Mac Ruairi inter-

preted this as a match that "laid bare many of their weaknesses". "Midfield continues to be a nightmare for the Leinster champions", "A major question mark lies over their once unstoppable march to glory". "The Dublin half-forward line failed to impress". Though all of the half-forward line actually scored Mac Ruairi tells us that "we should not be deceived."

I am used to the imperialist posturings of British broadcasters, however to see AP/RN used as a vehicle for anti-Dublin rhetoric masked as a sports report is too much for this AP/RN reader. Is Mac Ruairi to become the David Coleman of the Republican Movement?

How long will Mac Ruairi be allowed to indulge himself in his anti-Dublin tirades? I dread to think what contortions Mac Ruairi will describe a Dublin All-Ireland victory.

Roibeard MacGabhann, Dublin.

Making jobless figures 'acceptable'

A Chairde

The Dublin government's plan to compel social welfare recipients under the age of 21 into "vocational education" begs the question who is going to teach these courses?

Could it be that again with the stroke of a pen the Dublin government has managed to create nice safe work for the middle classes who can afford third-level education enabling them to teach this vocational training. I would find it hard to believe that those forced onto the schemes would be given a path to the precious third-level institutions so protected by the Leinster House deputies.

No. The vocational training will no doubt include such valuable skills as filling out a Morrison visa or geography lessons on

North America. The compulsory vocational scheme will lead to jobs but only those who are lucky enough to get a job teaching the scheme.

Ultimately the real motivation behind this scheme is that it will make the jobless figures look more acceptable. Once again the Dublin government has astounded its critics by scraping deeper in the barrel of desperation than was thought possible.

Martin McCann, Dublin.

Euro gravy train

A Chairde

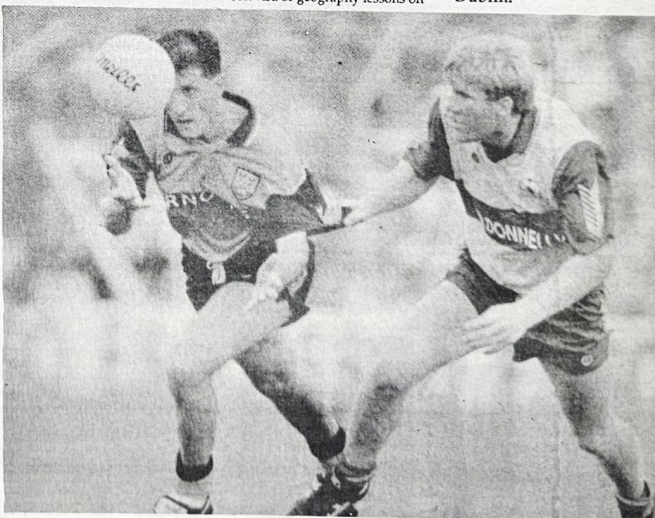
£120,000 a year, a settling in allowance of £20,000, a £60,000 pension for three years followed by £21,000 a year after the age of 65, £15,000 a year for travel and meals, a seven series BMW chauffeur driven, £200 House keeping per month and lastly £100 pocket money for each child per month.

This is the Euro gravy train that Ray MacSharry, Peter Sutherland and Dick Burke all sampled, at of course our expense. The figures above do not include the lucrative directorships that former Euro Commissioners have received upon retirement. Sutherland for example is on the board of AIB and GPA.

However this is not where the gravy train ends, the current participants in the London/Dublin Strand 'unknown' talks receive £68 a day expenses. This is more than the long-term single social welfare recipient receives a week.

It has been proposed that the social welfare claimants should be forced to work for their dole. Could it be possible to initiate a reverse process where euro commissioners, TDs and of course those involved in the "talks" be forced to do a couple of hours of actual, tangible work in return for the lavish sums that state forces on them?

Tina Smith, Dublin.



● AP/RN's Breandán Mac Ruairi did not endear himself to some of Dublin's supporters with his report on the Dublin/Clare All-Ireland semifinal

Letters to: The Editor, AP/RN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

JOHN DEVOY

BY PETER O'ROURKE

JOHN DEVOY, Fenian organiser and a leading member of Clan na Gael in America for almost half a century was born at Kill, County Kildare in September 1842.

After the Famine, Devoy and his family moved to Dublin where he joined the IRB. In 1861 he enlisted in the French Foreign Legion to acquire military training for a rising in Ireland and spent a year in Algeria. On his return to Ireland he was put in charge of recruiting for the Fenian organisation within the British army and was responsible for the swearing in of thousands of Irish soldiers in the English regiments stationed in Dublin.

He directed the rescue of James Stephens from Richmond Jail in November 1865. Arrested in February of the following year, he was charged with treason felony and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

Released in the general amnesty for all Fenian prisoners in January 1871, he went to America where he worked as a journalist in New York and Chicago. He joined Clan na Gael, the foremost Irish-American organisation, and

soon became one of its most influential leaders.

Devoy organised the dramatic rescue of six Fenian prisoners from Fremantle Prison in Australia in April 1876. Three years later he supported Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell in the 'New Departure', the policy by which revolutionary and constitutional nationalists formed a common front on the issue of self-government and the land question and, unlike the Supreme Council of the IRB, he cooperated with Davitt and Parnell in the land war.

Through his newspapers, the *Irish Nation* and *The Gaelic American*, a weekly journal which he founded in 1903 and edited until his death, he supported the republican cause in Ireland. He assisted Roger Casement on his ill-fated venture to Germany in 1914 and it was through Devoy that the final arrangements were made for



● New York 1919 (left to right) Harry Boland, Liam Mellows, de Valera, Patrick McCartan, Diarmuid Lynch and (front) John Devoy

the landing of arms in Kerry from a German ship, the *Aud*, at Easter 1916.

During the Tan War, 1919 to 1921, his publicity work helped to swing American public opinion in favour of the cause of Irish independence and in the early months of 1919 he endeavoured to use the Irish-American vote for the purpose

of securing self-determination for Ireland at the Paris Peace Conference in Versailles. He mobilised Irish-American opinion and money behind Dáil Éireann and assisted Eamon de Valera during his 18-month fundraising tour of the United States.

He reluctantly supported the Treaty

of December 1921 — which he regarded as the 'Republic virtually established' — but he became increasingly dissatisfied with it. Aged 86, Devoy died in Atlantic City in late September 1928.

John Devoy, was born on 3 September 1842, 150 years ago this week.

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 6.30pm every Tuesday, USI, 16 North Great George's Street, DUBLIN

REPEAL 8th AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN MEETINGS: DUBLIN: 8pm every second Tuesday, Halpenny Inn. Women's Coalition, 8pm every Thursday, USI, North Great Georges Street. CORK: 8pm every Tuesday, The Oth-

er Place, off North Main Street.

COMMEMORATION: Cannon/Daly commemoration. Sunday 6 September. Assemble 3pm Darrdale Roundabout. March to Balgriffin Cemetery, DARRDALE

COMMEMORATION: Annual Liam Lynch commemoration. Sunday 13 September, 3.30pm. Memorial, Knockmealdown mountains, above the village of Goatenbridge, CLONMEL. Oration by Martin McGuinness

FAILTE ABHAILE FUNCTION: Seán Healey, ex-Republican Prisoner. Friday 18 September. Music by Tara Shamrock, Klondyke Lounge, Robinson, COUNTY MEATH. Táille: £3

BAND DONATIONS: Cork Sinn Féin are setting up a fife and drum band in memory of Volunteers Tony Ahern and Dermot Crowley, both killed on active service in 1973. Donations are badly needed to organise this band. Please send what you can to: Sinn Féin Office, 136 Barrack Street, CORK.

DRAW RESULTS

Cavan/Monaghan Constituency Executive Sinn Féin Summer Draw — Crannchur Samhraidh
Duais 1: Patricia O'Reilly, Swanlinbar, County Cavan; Duais 2: Micheál MacCanna, Páirc Clárán O'Dochartaigh, Baile Muineachán; Duais 3: Bríd Ní Chiannáin, Beal Feirste. Congratulations to winners, a sincere thank you to all who supported this draw.
Larry O'Toole Election Fund
1st Prize: Chris Skelly, Coolock,

Dublin 17, no 229; 2nd Prize: Mary O'Connor, 15 Adare Drive, Coolock, c/o Andy, no 216; 3rd Prize: Janie & Jennifer, c/o Joe, no 83.
Dundalk's An Cumann Cabhrach Draw
1st Prize: Portlaoise Mirror; Ciarán MacSorley; 2nd: Prize Belt and Bottle; A. Todd, Oakland Park; 3rd Prize: Hankerchief, and 1/2 dozen cans of beer: P. McDonagh, Cedarwood Park; 4th Prize: Wallet and 1/2 dozen cans of beer: Andy Curran, c/o bar; 5th Prize: Key ring and bottle Powers: Mal Rodgers, c/o Bar. Thank you for your support.

In Dáil Chuimhne

KANE, Michael; PETTICREW, Anne Marie. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Michael Kane (died 4 September 1970) and Anne Marie Petticrew (died 1 September 1973). "Under capitalism there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crisis in industry and wars in politics." — Lenin. Always remembered with love and pride by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

BRADLEY, Eamonn (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Bronco Bradley, killed by British troops on 25 August 1982. As we look up at your picture son, good memories we recall, of the happy days together once shared then by us all. We shall never forget you son, to us you were too dear, there is a place in heaven,

when you die a Volunteer. Always remembered and will never be forgotten by your loving mother and father.

Always remembered and sadly missed by your loving sister Martina and brother Louis and nephew Rory.

Always remembered and sadly missed by your loving sister Lynn and Damien.

Always remembered and sadly missed by your loving sister Cathy; nieces Lianne, Karen and Danielle. Always remembered and sadly missed by your loving brother Mickey, sister-in-law Tina, nephews Eamonn, Michael, Daniel, Gareth and niece Shauna. Always remembered by Aunt Lila. Always remembered by friends, Bobby, Tony, Neill and Séamus. Always remembered by Shantallow Sinn Féin. Always remembered by Shantallow POW Dept.

Always remembered by his comrades in Shantallow, Carnhill and Gallaigh.

Always remembered by all at the Sinn Féin Centre, Shantallow. **CLARKE, Michael; PARKER, Anne (20th Ann).** In loving memory of our dear friends Michael Clarke and Anne Parker killed in action on 11 August 1972. Always remembered by Danny McGettigan and family.

HARTE, Gerard (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Gerard Harte, Oglagh na hÉireann who was killed on active service on 30 August 1988. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered with love and pride by his wife Róisín and son Colm. **HARTE, Gerard and Martin; MULLIN, Brian (4th Ann).** In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Martin and Gerard Harte and Brian Mullin. From Séamus, Margaret and family.

Always remembered by Brian and Mary Mac Mahon, Bray. Always remembered with love and pride by Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann.

Always remembered with love and pride by Martin Hurson/Colm Keenan Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown.

Always remembered with love and pride by South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin.

PETTICREW, Anne Marie (19th Ann). In loving memory of our dear daughter, Anne Marie who died on 1 September 1973. RIP. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for her. Always in

our thoughts and prayers. Remembered always by her loving mother and father, John and Kathleen Petticrew and brother Roderick.

Never forgotten by all her brothers and sisters, John and Margaret Petticrew and family; Brian and Margaret and family; Martin and Sheila; Michael and Bernadette; Katrina and family; Bernadette, Jim and family; Patricia, Richard and family; Margaret, Patrick and family. Always remembered and never forgotten by Aunt Shirley, Uncle Raymond and family.

WILLIAMS, Tom (50th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my comrade Volunteer Tom Williams hanged in Belfast Prison 2 September 1942. Always remembered by Joe.

Comhbhrón

MORRISSEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to our comrade Mick Mor-

rissey on the death of his brother. From Limerick Sinn Féin.

Beannachtaí

CARROLL, Ailish (Maghaberry). With love always to my darling wife. You may be old Ailish but you're still my number one! I love you. Dermot (Crumlin Road). To my dear daughter, wishing you a very happy birthday, love always, dad, mum, Dymna and all the family.

Wishing you a very happy birthday Mrs C and remember — you're only as old as you feel! Love Neil and Siobhán.

From Jarlath, Gregory, Harry O. John A, Eddie, Frankie and all your friends in the Blocks.

From Patsy, Brenda and family.

From all the Carroll family.

From Phil and the Red Yank.

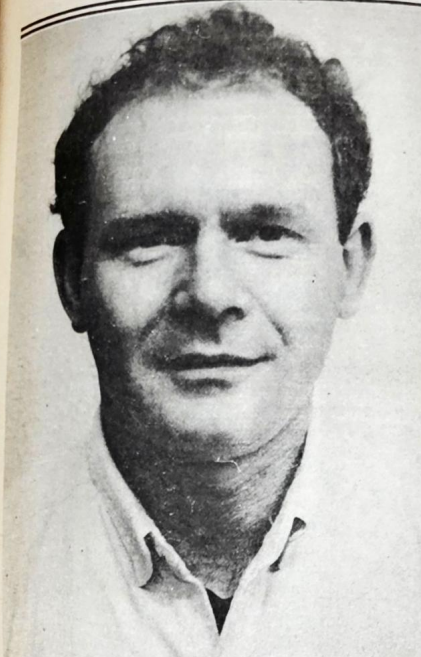
To a special aunt from Ciarán, Conor and Méabh.

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AP/RN

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■ Sinn Féin's handsome sex symbol.

SINN FEIN ARD CHOMHAIRLE member, Martin McGuinness, has finally indicated what it takes to get him to talk.

A list in the current edition of the men's fashion magazine *Esquire*, of "the 25 men who REALLY run Britain", has named him as the second most influential person around today.

When asked by the *Derry Journal* to respond to this dubious honour, McGuinness replied with his usual sparkling wit:

"If coming second in this poll means I can have a half day's fly fishing in the Ridge Pool on the Moy River in Ballina, County Mayo, I'm definitely interested. If not, I'm wasting my time and yours talking about it."

This comment does seem to put the lie to *Esquire's* allegation that McGuinness "rarely leaves the Bogside, where he was born, for fear of assassination".

McGuinness has long been admired and fancied, even by reactionary opponents such as Mary Kenny, who has described

him as "dangerous" but "handsome", to name but one. For our readers delectation we present this snapshot of the Man of the Month, the latest sex symbol.

IT HAS BEEN announced that the RUC is to change its methods of interrogating suspects to help achieve justice.

This should not be taken as a sign of weakness, however. The perks of the trade, like slapping detainees around as well as the more imaginative forms of 'degrading treatment', such as putting lighters under suspects' groins.

The new watertight method of preventing spontaneous confessions — usually prompted by a suspect's urgent desire to come up with a story rather than taste any more indelicately applied black shoe leather — is ingenious.

RUC officers will now have to use a different notebook for each session of questioning instead of loose leaf sheets and all notes will be electronically date stamped. Truly historic, eh?

THE IRA's successful bombing of a military museum last week resulted in the loss of one of only three locks of Napoleon's hair known to be still in existence. A third of the exhibits in the museum, mainly memorabilia from Britain's imperialist past, were lost in the attack.

A MAN CLAIMING to be a UDA general threatened to burn down a Scottish guesthouse when he was asked to pay for damage caused to his room.

Robert Barrett, from Bangor, who was jailed for five years in 1980 for membership of an outlawed organisation, objected to being presented with a bill for damage he had caused to the room.

"I've been responsible for 12 murders and one more won't make much difference. I'm a general in the UDA," he informed the owners, adding: "Don't think that because you live in a fancy house you are all right. This is just a puff of smoke."

Despite the evidence, Stranraer Sheriff Court chose to treat the incident as a drunken domestic incident, fining Barrett £250.

JOHAN MAJOR will be staying at an undisclosed Whitehall address for most of this month as work to improve the defences of Numbers 10 and 11 Downing Street continues, work of course, necessitated by the IRA's daring 1991 mortar attack on the prime minister's residence.

GOOONS OF THE GARDA Special Branch have now taken to staking out the grounds of the Pearse Museum in Rathfarnham, Dublin. The museum, which sees thousands of visitors come and go every year, is in Scoil Éanna, the former all-Irish boy's school run by Pádraig Mac Piarais during the earlier years of the century.

Branch officers were observed in the grounds last week scrutinising those coming and going through the gates of Scoil Éanna. Now interest in the events and personalities of Irish history

are sufficient grounds for suspicion that one may possess "subversive intent".

Among the interesting facts which visitors will come across in the museum is that the Pearce homestead in Rathfarnham, then occupied by Mrs Pearce, was raided by Free State forces during the 1920s. Then, as now, the Staters regarded the legacy of Pearce as a beacon of inspiration for dedicated republicans — the more things change, the more they remain the same.

In the words of Mac Piarais himself: "Is Mise Éire, Mór mo náire mo chlann féin a dhíol a Mháthair."

A PLAY ABOUT the notorious Shankill Butchers, which was due to open at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, has been condemned as sick by unionist and nationalist politicians alike.

The play centres on the brutal sectarian killings which were the hallmark of the gang. In a particularly tasteless stunt, for its opening night the producers planned to hire a fleet of black taxis to 'kidnap' the audience and bring them off to the play's venue in a copycat repeat of the gang's *modus operandi*.

THE SWORN ENEMY of junketeers, Belfast City Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir, has again stepped into the breach to highlight yet another blatant public funded holiday by his unionist fellow councillors, this time to sunny España.

In late October no less than five councillors will pack their sun tan lotion and take off on a £70,000 visit to Barcelona and Seville, supposedly to research a future Belfast bid for the Olympic Games, an excuse which is so preposterous as to stretch the imagination of even this column!

In late September 17 councillors are heading off on a fact-finding tour of Brussels, while Frank Millar and Nigel Dodds are going to Britain in late October, appropriately enough, to attend a conference on tourism.

The plum trip though, remains Margaret Crooks' ten-day junket to Hong Kong.

The local government auditor has already warned that unionist councillors are wasting too much money on foreign trips, while O Muilleoir has asked for a commissioner to be appointed to run the city, as so many of the unionist brethren will be away on holidays around the one time.

THE BRITISH ARMED FORCES' SA 80 assault rifle, widely condemned as useless because of its ineffectiveness in the Gulf conflict, has now been rejected by the tiny Falkland Island Defence Force.

In tests, the 75 islanders found that the SA 80 jammed four times as often as the Austrian Steyr AUG, which they have chosen instead.

"For the time being we are stuck with the SA 80," said one senior British officer.

In Arctic trials the gun has been found to jam, while the plastic on it becomes brittle. After one 14-mile ski run only eight or nine of 120 weapons fired at all.

In the Six Counties the rifle poses different problems. Its design means that it has to be fired from the right-hand shoulder, which is awkward for left-handers and can leave troops exposed when shooting around a right-hand corner.

A former Royal Marine weapons instructor told the *Observer* that in 80% of cases the weapon is inaccurate in the Six Counties as just a little knock throws off the sighting, "because this is a junk gun".

One officer reportedly once told his men when going out on patrol: " 'A' company will lead, followed by 'B' company to pick up the pieces that fall off."

Dúirt Siad

We need to make it clear that we don't accept the partition of Bosnia by force... The idea that simply because you or your friends have occupied swathes of territory, the world simply packs up and accepts that, will be shown to be wrong. — British Foreign Secretary and former Six-County direct ruler Douglas Hurd, The Independent on Sunday 23 August.

A cynic would say that Belfast would be far better off if its councillors went abroad more often than they do at present. If they are not at home they cannot be doing too much harm. But then you begin to worry about the effect they are having on the city's public image abroad... Nothing can justify expenditure on a fact-finding mission about holding the Olympics, when the possibility of such a prize falling to Belfast is as remote as the man on the moon. — Irish News editorial, Tuesday 1 September

The reverberations of this full-page photospread showing the Duchess topless were like a bomb set by the Irish Republican Army. — *Jin Wan Bao*, a Chinese newspaper, commenting on the latest British tabloid sensation.

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News



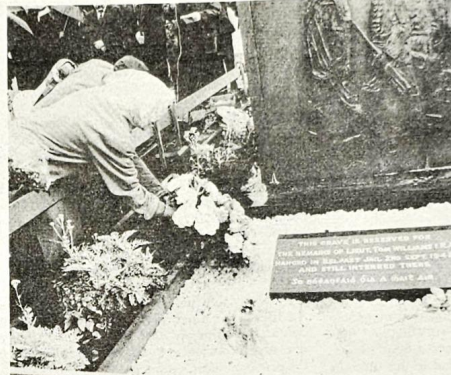
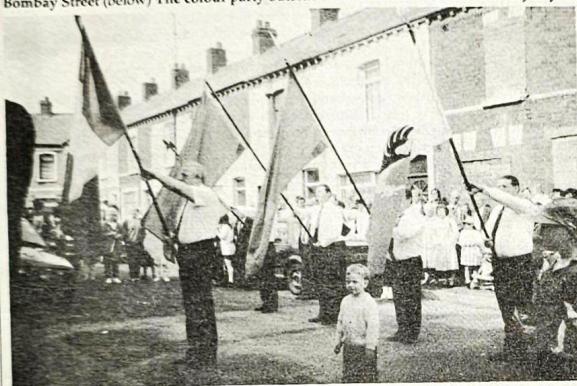
● (above) Annie Cahill singing the ballad of Tom Williams during Saturday's unveiling ceremony in Bombay Street (below) The colour party outside the house where Tom's Granny Fay lived



● Jim McAllister gave the oration at Sunday's wreath-laying ceremony in Milltown cemetery



● Tom's comrade Madge McConville unveiling the plaque



Plaque unveiled to Tom Williams

NEWS that the Northern Ireland Office are considering releasing the remains of IRA Volunteer Tom Williams has been welcomed by campaigners who organised a series of events to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Williams' death.

Nineteen-year-old Tom Williams, together with five other Volunteers, was sentenced to death by hanging. The six Volunteers were convicted

of the murder of RUC member Patrick Murphy who was shot dead when IRA Volunteers, trapped in a house during a follow-up operation by the

RUC, returned fire after Murphy had initially opened fire through the kitchen window of the house. The other five Volunteers, including Joe Cahill, were all reprieved three days before execution. Following his execution on 2 September 1942, Tom Williams' remains were never released from Crumlin Road Jail.

As part of a series of events organised to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Williams' execution, on Saturday 29 August a plaque was unveiled in Bombay Street, close to where Tom Williams lived with his grandmother, 'Granny Fay' in the Clonard area of West Belfast. During a short ceremony, the plaque was unveiled by Madge McConville, who

was on the same operation as Tom Williams at the time of his capture.

The unveiling of the plaque was followed by a wreath-laying ceremony in Milltown Cemetery on Sunday afternoon. Over 200 people gathered at the cemetery gates for the short march to the County Antrim memorial where a plot has been specially reserved for the remains of Tom Williams.

Delivering a graveside oration, South Armagh Sinn Féin Councillor Jim McAllister said that "In any honourable society, Tom Williams' body would have been reinterred long ago." He concluded:

"It's time this young man's body

was brought to its final resting place, where people can pay their respects."

At the graveside, childhood friend, 72-year-old Jimmy Webb from Raglan Street described Tom as a 'happy-go-lucky fella' who attended ceils at St Paul's and was very popular.

Commenting on the commemoration, National Graves Association secretary Alfie Hannaway said that he was surprised at the strength of feeling which has surfaced during this year's anniversary. He continued:

"Originally we just wanted to mark the 50 years since Tom Williams' death but the public is demanding for his remains to be released."

Outlining previous attempts to release the remains, Hannaway said that when he had written to the then NIO Secretary of State, Peter Brooke, he had only received an acknowledgement but no reply. Commenting on the news that 'there's movement at last' Hannaway said that an affidavit from a relative requesting an exhumation had been sent to the NIO and he believed that the matter was currently being considered by Crumlin Road Jail's governor.

The anniversary of the execution is to be marked by an exhibition containing memorabilia relating to Tom Williams. This will be held in the Conway Mill on the evening of Wednesday 2 September, as this edition of AP/RN goes to press.

Also a special performance of a play about Tom Williams, *Second of September*, is to be held in the Clonard area of West Belfast. The play which already received wide acclaim when it was performed during the West Belfast Festival in August, will also be performed at various locations throughout Belfast this week.

CONWAY MILL 10 YEARS OLD

AS PART of the 10th anniversary celebrations West Belfast's Conway Mill is putting on a series of events.

On Thursday 3 September there will be an open street market in the Mill's car park all day and a trade fair in Halla na Saoirse at 2pm, providing the opportunity for local business and craft workers to display their wares and services.

On the mill's second floor, in the Education Centre, Rosaleen Davidson will be exploring women's working past at 11am. At 8pm in Halla na Saoirse, *Workin' Weemin* a celebration in drama and song with Marie Jones, Brenda Winter and Marie Mulholland will be followed by a talk by trade union organiser Inez McCormack. £1.50 at the door.

On Friday 4 a trade fair in Halla na

Saoirse will be followed by a free celebration folk concert in the Education Centre at 8pm.

The trade fair continues on Saturday.

Des Wilson's *You're not going to like this. Part 2* originally scheduled for Saturday has now moved to Monday 7 September at 8pm in the Education Centre, entrance £1.50.

On Sunday 6 September ("Sunday night at the Mill") at 8pm in the Education Centre there will be a book launch *Styles of belonging* based on a series of talks in the Mill given by Séamus Deane, University College Dublin, Enda Longley and Ivan Harbison from Queens University, Joe McMinn, Uni-



● A series of events will mark the 10th anniversary of the opening of the Conway Mill as a community education centre. A talk on the book will also be given by Gerald Dawe and a buffet and drinks will be available. Prizes will be presented in the ongoing art and writing competitions.