

Inside

**Sinn
Féin
vote
soars**



**ELECTION
REPORTS
AND
PICTURES**

6/7/8/9/

10/11



**Talks
crunch
3, 6**

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

50p

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
WALES 50p

Sraith Nua lml 19 Uimhir 23

Déardaoin, 6 Meitheamh 1996

Massive mandate



Martin McGuinness and Mitchel McLaughlin greet supporters outside Derry's Guildhall after they won two seats for Sinn Féin in the Foyle constituency

116,377 voices must be heard

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Editor's Desk Ireland's royalist sycophants and their friends in the tabloid media have been drawn out of the woodwork again this week with the visit to England by President Mary Robinson. As on all such occasions the slavering scribes are licking their lips at the prospect of a return visit to Ireland by Lizzie Windsor. We witnessed the same mullarkey last year when the Para Prince came to call.

The pathos of the spectacle of supine West Brits in Ireland is emphasised by the growing unpopularity of the Windsors in their own country. When Charlie came in 1995 he was at the depths of his infamy, the object of open ridicule of royalty, unheard of in the English media since the 19th Century.

Last weekend, three days before the Robinson visit, there was a dramatic manifestation of royal unpopularity when the queen of England was forced to cut short a visit to the University of Wales in Aberystwyth. Such a cancellation is "almost unprecedented in Britain" (*Daily Telegraph*) but was done on the advice of police after hundreds of demonstrators broke through their lines. The demonstrators were nationalist students and Welsh-language activists.

The objectors to the visit included Meg Elis who, in 1955 as a five-year-old, presented flowers to the queen on another Welsh visit. Now Meg is a "confirmed republican". Last weekend she presented

flowers to a drag queen with an inflatable Corgi dog on a lead.

Editor's Desk

And still on West Brits, in our edition of 2 May we revealed the visit by members of the FCA (the part-time local defence force in the 26 Counties) from a Dublin barracks to the Irish Guards at Chelsea Barracks, London, which took place on 22 May. The possible recruiting spin-off from such ventures for the British army, always short of cannon fodder, cannot lightly be dismissed. This was highlighted on RTÉ *Six One News* on 4 June when a reporter interviewed two members of the Irish Guards. One of them, Dominic Lang from Dublin, said he was a former member of the FCA. The second, Cathal O'Reilly, is a Trinity College Dublin business graduate. While they took the risk of giving their names and origins Lang and O'Reilly had their peaked caps pulled tight over their eyes and noses. They were interviewed because both were to be on a review parade of the Irish Guards for the visit to London of President Mary Robinson.

Editor's Desk

The electorate of North Down has a lot to answer for. In the *Irish Independent* on Saturday, 1 June, Conor Cruise O'Brien promised "If I'm not elected I promise to retire from the prophecy business for good". Sadly the Cruiser will have a seat at the talks on the basis of the performance of the UK Unionist Party for which he was a candidate in North Down, where party leader Bob McCartney was elected. The Cruiser's piece for the *Indo* was written on the morning of the count, before any results were known and he opined that "Sinn Féin may be in some trouble, to judge from reports of a shortage of election activity..."

In the next column was the Cruiser's up-to-date piece where he of course refused to eat his words but whispered his error in brackets as he bemoaned "Sinn Féin gains (which I did not expect)..."

Presumably one of those "reports of a shortage of election activity" which fed the Cruiser's wishful thinking was Suzanne Breen's piece in the *Irish Times* the day before. She reported on polling in the Falls, Shankill and Ardoyne. Here is Suzanne on the constituency which saw the Sinn Féin vote soar and four republicans elected:

"But this time a wet and windy nationalist West Belfast was not in election mood."

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SINN FÉIN MANDATE TO BE SPURNED

No real talks on 10 June

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS AND MICHEAL Mac DONNCHA

AS AP/RN went to press on Wednesday night an announcement was expected within the following 24 hours on the format for talks due to begin next Monday, 10 June.

Leaks and rumours

were rife, but one thing was clear — the precondition of an IRA cease-fire before Sinn Féin could enter talks was maintained by both governments.

On Tuesday and Wednesday there were intensive talks led by Patrick Mayhew and Dick Spring in London. John Bruton and John Major also took part in the discussions which were reported to be in difficulties over the role to be allotted to Senator George Mitchell. The general shape of what was being agreed seemed clear enough. The talks would

open on 10 June with a plenary session. Decommissioning would be considered by a subcommittee and while it proceeded, agreement would be sought between the parties and the governments on the agenda and procedures for the talks, including how decommissioning could be dealt with. This process — with many breaks — would last until September. Then the decommissioning obstacle would be erected again.

The backdrop to the intense diplomacy of the past three days was the forum election and Sinn Féin's outstanding performance in it. Sinn Féin went to the polls with one simple demand: inclusive all-party talks without preconditions. They asked voters to assist them in rebuilding the peace process, assured them they would oppose a return to a unionist-dominated Stormont assembly and that they would continue to campaign for equality for nationalists. But most of all Sinn Féin stood on its record in the peace process, a process which republicans were instrumental in initiating and which the British stalled and opposed at every step, with unreasonable demands and preconditions. As Denis Haughey, the defeated SDLP candidate in Mid-Ulster, said on Friday: "There is a seething anger in the nationalist community at the way the British government squandered the peace by cynical and irresponsible manipulation."

The high Sinn Féin vote is a "negotiating mandate", said Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams.

PARTIES

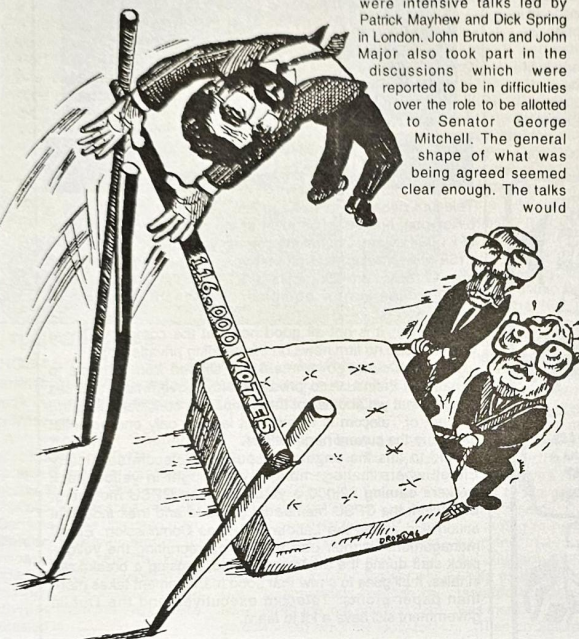
The important question now is, when will the London and Dublin governments accept its result? People voted last Thursday for parties which they wish to represent them at all-party talks. What

right have the two governments to exclude 15.5% of the voters from being represented? This fundamental right to be represented by the people you elect is being dismissed by governments and commentators alike.

The real difficulty still lies with the decommissioning issue, the hook on which the British government has impaled the peace process.

The unionist parties for their part went to the polls with hardline demands which amounted to a return to a pre-1972 partitionist arrangement, and all sorts of obstacles in the way of republicans' participation in the talks. The unionist vote was split between the OUP and other unionist parties, but reflected a unionist community "fearful and deeply distrustful of the peace process", as *Irish Times* columnist Frank Millar wrote. While nationalists appear ready to examine arrangements which accommodate their unionist fellow citizens, unionists fear dialogue and compromise. It is difficult to see what nationalists can do about it that would satisfy the likes of Messrs Trimble, Paisley and McCartney, short of abandoning their nationalism and their Irishness and their demand that these be given concrete recognition and implementation in any arrangement.

The onus is mainly on the British government to assist unionists in negotiating their rightful place in the future government of the island, whatever shape it may take. British failure to do so can only prolong the plight of unionists, locked between the fear of being subsumed in a nationalist all-Ireland state which would not acknowledge them, and their distrust of a British government which has declared many times its intention to leave as soon as enough people ask for it.



SUPPORT SINN FÉIN'S MANDATE EVE OF TALKS RALLIES

Ulster Hall, Belfast

7.30pm, Friday, 7 June
SPEAKER: GERRY ADAMS

.....
Free Derry Wall

7pm, Sunday, 9 June
SPEAKER: MARTIN McGUINNESS

IRA 'will not be decommissioning'

What was described as "a senior IRA source", in a call to the BBC in Belfast on Wednesday, 5 June, said the likelihood of a renewed cessation is remote in the extreme. The Irish Republican Army will not decommission its weapons before a "final settlement" in the peace process, said the source. The spokesperson said: "The British government's position of creating a three-month fudge after which time they will re-erect their absolute barrier to progress renders 10 June meaningless."

"What is required is immediate entry without preconditions into substantive negotiations involving all parties and with all matters on the table. The IRA will not be decommissioning its weapons through either the front or the back door. It will never leave nationalist areas defenceless this side of a final settlement."

On Monday, 3 June a "senior IRA source" told the *Irish News* and BBC that a cease-fire before next Monday was "extremely remote". The IRA went on: "We remain ready and willing to continue with our position of enhancing the atmosphere for proper and meaningful negotiations. Given the current stance of the British government and given current conditions, it would appear there is absolutely no likelihood of any substantive IRA move this side of 10 June."

End of efficiency myth

AN ECONOMIC BUZZ WORD bit the dust last month. 'Downsizing' is no more. It passed away peacefully, a mercy killing by one of its creators Stephen Roach, chief economist at Morgan Stanley, global players in the premier league of investment bankers.

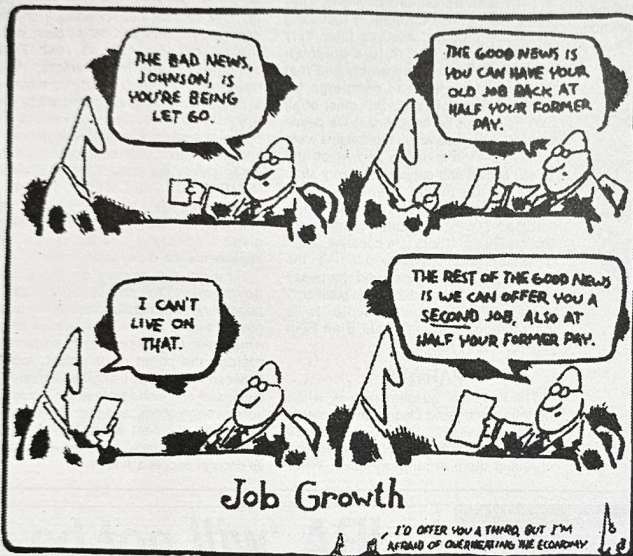
'Downsizing' was the term used by corporate executives to condone the mass redundancies that swept through the global economy over the last 16 years. Companies justified mass redundancies, plant closures and other cutbacks on the basis that it would make them more profitable and to use that other double-

shed jobs. They 'downsized', they 'rightsized'. They 'outsourced' production to cheap nonunion companies whose wages, pension and social insurance contributions were often below what was really necessary to achieve an adequate standard of living. They shifted jobs from the US, Canada, and Europe to other less-developed, less-industrialised economies, exploiting their workers with subsistence wages and

Downsizing Bows Out But Cutback Culture Remains

that companies' behaviour will change. The historical trend is that companies have since the industrial revolution engaged in an endless cycle of spurts of growth followed by to use Roach's own terms periods of "slash and burn". In the next decade another term and another Stephen Roach will be found to justify it.

Workers in Struggle BY NEIL FORDE



edged '80s term, more 'competitive'.

Now Roach has declared he got it wrong. In a publication sent to key investors he declared last month that "I must confess that I'm now having second thoughts". He now realises that "if you compete by building you have a future. If you compete by cutting you don't".

BLAMELESS BOSSES

"So what" say the thousands of redundant workers who have been the victims of cuts over the last 15 years. You thought redundancy was perhaps the most apt term to describe losing your job. Wrong, the trend of the '80s and '90s has been to give redundancy and cutbacks an ideological gloss, a justification which takes the blame off the executives and bankers who orchestrated the losses.

During this period international corporations didn't

polluting their environments. They used production methods which would not have been legal in their home states.

MORE FOR LESS

Roach's pronouncement was heralded in many of the broadsheet papers who pored over the simple reality of what he finally discovered — you can't really get more for less. However, few commentators took their analysis that much further. The *Financial Times* told us about a new book titled *The Loyalty Effect* which proposes the again startling reality that the best way to retain customers is through loyal employees, who are paid and rewarded adequately.

The net result then is that workers throughout the world are supposed to be glad that company bosses are slowly coming to their senses and that in the future wages will be higher and working conditions will be better.

This is simply not credible. There is nothing in Roach's comments or in the media or institutional reaction to show

What is most damaging about the whole downsizing, rightsizing episode is that absolutely no mention is made of the economic effect on local communities, on cities on regions and states of this activity.

SHAKE-OUT

Thatcher for example described her first term in office as a shake-out. Forget the million-plus redundancies, the closed shops the empty cubboards, the cold houses, the hungry children. All this was necessary to have more efficient industry. Now we find that it wasn't even efficient.

What we really need is a recognition that an economy is the sum of all its parts. An economy is not just the firms who have been allowed to dominate economic structures. Their demands should not come before the needs of people to have an adequate standard of living, proper housing and productive lives. Now if Stephen Roach could come up with a snappy term for this we would all be really in his debt.



Photo: AP/IN

Crossed lines

Telecom Éireann came of age last week. It is now officially a billion-punt business. Turnover at the company grew by 12% to £1,094 million. Debt at the company fell to £703 million with £159 million being paid off last year. The company was still able to record pre-tax profits of £116 million while investing £250 million in new equipment and technology at the company.

However, it is not all good news at the company. There has still been no firm news on the pending privatisation.

The 26-County government has slipped from debacle to debacle in their rush to privatise. Now government sources suggest that yet another of the companies considering buying a share of Telecom is to bow out leaving only one potential partner in the current negotiations.

Add to this the ongoing dispute at Telecom subsidiary Eircell where management have brought in yellow-pack workers earning £2,000 a year less than CPSU members. Last week the CPSU members agreed to end their industrial action and attend the Labour Relations Commission. Eircell management for their part didn't stop recruiting the yellow-pack staff during the arbitration period, causing a breakdown in talks. It all goes to show that good management takes more than paper profits. Telecom executives and the Dublin government still have a lot to learn.

Aer Lingus threatens lay-offs

The 26-County state airline became the second public-sector company in dispute with its workforce this week. Aer Lingus management put 4,500 employees on protective notice following a decision by cabin staff to work to rule. The staff were protesting at management plans to have staff from Delta airlines, Aer Lingus' new global partner, on trans-Atlantic flights. The SIPTU members felt that their jobs would in the long run be subsumed into Delta's operations.

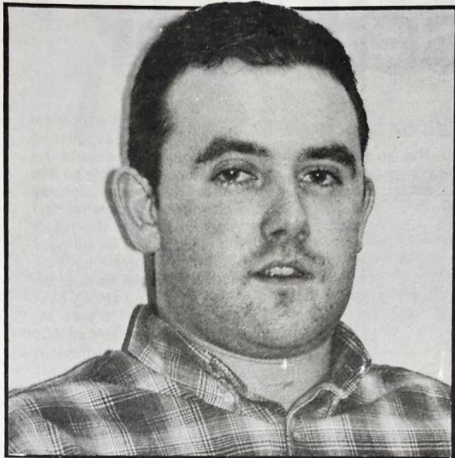
The head-to-head confrontation was defused after staff agreed to end the work to rule and attend arbitration talks. Similarly to the Telecom/Eircell dispute the company's owners the Dublin government took a back seat to the dispute and the management's threatened lay-offs. It seems that the new logo and new corporate strategy at Aer Lingus can't hide the fact that it's the same old management.

Teaching TDs a lesson

In recent weeks we highlighted the wage claims of our overworked TDs who are seeking a 30% wage rise. However, some of them also have other quite legitimate sources of income between £2,000 and £10,000 a year.

It seems that 18 of the Leinster House and Seanad members are also former teachers. As such they are still earning in Leinster House. The public representatives get the money on the basis that they are allowed take home the differences between what they earned as teachers and what their substitutes are paid with the difference being as high as £10,000 a year. Also interesting is that former teachers, while scale.

RUC try to recruit County Derry man



THOMAS DOUGLAS

THOMAS DOUGLAS, a single man who lives with his parents near Magherafelt, County Derry, has in the past week come under severe pressure from the RUC to act as an informer.

A worried Douglas approached *AP/RN* and explained that he was under pressure from the RUC because of his business associations with a Derryman. The unnamed man, according to stories written by *Sunday World* reporter Hugh Jordan, had been involved in IRA activities and it was these activities that the RUC were interested in.

Douglas, an interior designer, told *AP/RN* that his business is under investigation for tax evasion and he was told to attend "an interview" at Ballymena RUC Barracks on Wednesday, 29 May with people from the inland revenue.

At Ballymena three RUC officers, introducing themselves as Harry Diamond, Jimmy and Craig told Douglas he was "in serious trouble" and "if you help us you can help yourself". The men, who Douglas maintains are Special Branch, said to him that they wanted to "nail" the County Derry businessman: "He can be taken down the line and you can go down with him," the RUC told Douglas at a subsequent meeting.

INTERROGATED

Douglas, once a member of Sinn Féin, was interrogated in the RUC barracks for up to seven hours during which time

he was assaulted "four or five times and had my chair kicked out from under me".

To intimidate the young man the RUC detailed times and places when he worked in Belfast and in a South Derry village; they showed him photographs of himself at home and also showed him a photo of himself and other Sinn Féin activists at a cross-border venue.

While in custody the RUC refused Douglas permission to get in touch with his solicitor, because "you're scum and you have no rights", nor was Douglas permitted to go to the toilet.

However, on Friday, 31 May, while travelling on the Cookstown to Dungannon road at about 12.30pm, Douglas stopped at a garage and was approached by Jimmy and Craig who seemed to be following him. Again the two RUC officers produced photographs of the young man at various locations. "There wasn't much they didn't know," Douglas told *AP/RN*.

After an hour he was let go, but not before they warned him to meet them at Roe Valley Country Park on Sunday, 2 June.

In a further development Douglas was followed as he drove to his girlfriend's home near Pomeroy, County Tyrone. According to neighbours a car carrying two men whose descriptions fitted Jimmy and Craig cruised the vicinity of the isolated house while Douglas was there.

Then on Saturday, 1 June on the road between his home town and Toomebridge, Douglas again had to endure a grilling by Jimmy and Craig.

Douglas decided to go public about his experiences and admitted that he was "scared of the RUC".

MAYORAL ROW IN DERRY

A ROW has broken out between the SDLP and Sinn Féin in Derry city, following the election as mayor of Official Unionist Alderman Richard Dallas. Sinn Féin's council leader Mitchel McLaughlin slammed the SDLP for reneging on a power-sharing commitment.

The new mayor, who has in the past been bitterly critical of the SDLP's domination of the council, was elected after the SDLP voted for him. Councillor Dallas received 23 votes, 18 more than Sinn Féin's Mary Nellis who only won the backing of her party colleagues.

Sinn Féin Councillor Cathal Crumley took second place in the deputy mayorality race to SDLP representative, Martin Bradley. The vote was 18-5.

Speaking to *AP/RN*, McLaughlin highlighted the fact that the SDLP decision to

support Dallas clashed with its previous support for a Sinn Féin chairperson on Magherafelt District Council. McLaughlin said: "The SDLP reflect the characteristics of a party which has been in power too long. We have been the second-largest party on Derry City Council for eleven years, but the SDLP has always excluded us from such positions."

Meanwhile in Strabane, OUP Councillor Edward Turner was re-elected chair of Strabane District Council for the eighth year running on Tuesday night. DUP Councillor Thomas Kerrigan was re-elected as vice chair. With Victor Eakin as town clerk, the long-established triumvirate is complete. The council is now in the same "safe" hands responsible for the scandalous practices outlined in last week's feature article in *AP/RN*.

Tyrone man assaulted by loyalists

A TYRONE MAN, Martin O'Hanlon, received nine metal staples to a head wound and severe bruising to his ribs when he was beaten by pickaxe-handle-wielding thugs in the Tyrone village of Augher in the early hours of Sunday morning, 2 June.

O'Hanlon, an ex-POW, told *AP/RN* that after he left a pub in the village he and a friend were set upon by loyalists, whom he recognised. His friend's

knee was injured and he is now on crutches.

"As the three men came out of an alley way they shouted 'Up The DUP' and set about us. I was hit on the head and received a couple of whacks on the ribs. I know who they were and I know that they were watching us before the attack", said O'Hanlon.

"There is no doubt these loyalists planned this attack."

On Monday O'Hanlon, accompanied by his solicitor, went to Clogher RUC Barracks to a make statement. An RUC detective told him the CID was dealing with the case as "it is too serious for the RUC in Clogher to deal with it".

The people of Ballymun want drug services, but they want a say in what the services are and how they're run. That was the message at a picket of the Eastern Health Board (EHB) headquarters on Wednesday morning organised by the Ballymun Drugs Services Negotiation Group. A methadone maintenance facility in St Pappin's (the Red House), Ballymun, commenced this month. John Fitzpatrick told *AP/RN* this ran contrary to promises the health board made at public meetings in the area last year that nothing would happen until the issue of community participation was sorted out. "We're not against treatment facilities," says Mary Ellen McCann, coordinator of Ballymun Youth Action Project, a community response to drug abuse which has been running for 15 years. "But there's not one way to deal with drug abuse, we don't just need a medical service. We need a comprehensive service including counselling, family support, vocational training and rehabilitation. The EHB have started this maintenance programme without agreement on the numbers to be treated and the service that's on offer."



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

THEY HAVE THEIR ANSWER

CONGRATULATIONS to the 116,377 people who voted for Sinn Féin. And congratulations to all those who put up posters, canvassed, worked tirelessly on election day and helped in any way with the Sinn Féin election effort. And congratulations to Sinn Féin's candidates, especially to the 17 new elected republican representatives.

Together, they took part in an election which only John Major and his unionist allies wanted and together they gave them the answer they needed — a record Sinn Féin vote (the highest in over 40 years) on a mandate to begin real talks with no preconditions and no predetermined outcome.

It was John Major who trumpeted the elections as a gateway to negotiations and Sinn Féin could not have wished for a more resounding mandate to enter those talks. They had the largest increase in their vote of any party, they are the largest party in Belfast and they had the largest majority in any constituency. And yet they remain barred and 116,377 people are disenfranchised. It is back to the days of the Civil Rights Movement when some votes were worth more than others.

Sinn Féin Chairperson Mitchel McLaughlin said that "no amount of posturing by Mr Major and his government will disguise the fact that once again the British government has moved the goal posts in its determination to obstruct progress towards a negotiated and democratic settlement to the conflict."

The selective criteria used by the British government in its pursuance of democratic principles will be brutally exposed on Monday when 15.5% of the North's electorate are denied access to the talks.

The election should have helped to bring home a very important point to the British government. That is, there cannot be peace unless all Irish parties are represented at talks with everything on the table. Quite simply, there cannot be peace when a large section of people are excluded. By demanding entry to talks on those terms Sinn Féin is saying: our voters are not second-class citizens, we will not go back to the days when that was the case.

And they are right to put that argument at the gates of the forum on Monday. It will show to the world that it is the British government who are denying democracy to the people of Ireland.

REACTION IN THE 26 COUNTIES

Sinn Féin gains glossed over

BY ANTON O MORDHA

INITIAL POLITICAL REACTION in the 26 Counties to the forum elections last week were muted to say the least as the implications of an increased Sinn Féin mandate sunk in.

Progressive Democrat leader Mary Harney simply ignored the result and called for a renewed IRA cease-fire. She said that now was not a time for recriminations between parties about electoral performances. "The forum is only a sideshow; the real business will be done at the all-party talks and we should now start contemplating on the sort of lasting settlement in Northern Ireland."

The Green Party, whose Six Counties' colleagues contested

preferences. We would have preferred to have proceeded directly to all-party talks." He said the party would not be contesting their exclusion by the British government but would be providing the parties at the talks with their opinions.

John Bruton stated that there would be no alteration in the preconditions to the Six-County talks despite the increased Sinn Féin vote, while government spokespersons promoted the view that the increased vote would make it

Reynolds rocked the political establishment by suggesting that Sinn Féin should be admitted to talks before an IRA cease-fire. In a *Sunday Independent* interview he said "While this is not the result both governments would have expected, more serious consideration will have to be given to the very strong Sinn Féin mandate." It was an opinion that Fianna Fáil TD, Ivor Callely had voiced in Leinster House the previous week, but was shot down by Ray Burke the party's spokesperson on foreign affairs who stated that Fianna Fáil policy on the matter was that stated by Tánaiste and Labour leader Dick Spring, not Ivor Callely.

Probably the most remarkable reaction to the election results was the *Irish Times* editorial of Monday, 3 June. It stated: "A vote for Sinn Féin still represents a different purchase than a vote for anybody else. It buys a stroke on a ballot paper, but it also buys the killing power of an Armalite."

It was a reaction reminiscent of the hysteria provoked by Sinn Féin's electoral rise in 1981, '82 and '83. The democratic process is all very well as long as voters choose to elect representatives acceptable to the political, economic and social establishment. The electorate should be more considerate in future.

Former Taoiseach Albert Reynolds annoyed the political establishment by suggesting that Sinn Féin should be admitted to the talks before an IRA cease-fire

the elections expressed disappointment with the result. The Northern Ireland Green Party polled 3,647 or .48% of the poll. Their spokesperson on the Six Counties, Vincent McDowell told *AP/RN* the election itself had been badly designed. "There was no method to allow second

easier for Sinn Féin to ask the IRA for a renewed cease-fire.

The Fianna Fáil leader Bertie Ahern described the high turnout as "significant". It was a vote for continued peace and participation in negotiations, he claimed.

On Sunday, however, former Taoiseach Albert



Annual Wolfe Tone

Commemoration

BODENSTOWN 1996

SPEAKER: RITA O'HARE

ASSEMBLE:

2pm Sunday 23 June

SALLINS

COUNTY KILDARE



Successful North Belfast candidate Gerry Kelly at the start of the victory cavalcade at Sebastopol Street on 31 May

Sinn Féin's record-setting 116,377 votes

BY NEIL FORDE

"THE STORY so far is one of Sinn Féin gains." This message was repeated throughout last Friday's election coverage on RTÉ, BBC and UTV. We watched, flicking from channel to channel as the results came in and as TV studios complete with elaborate graphics, impressive computers and election experts all failing despite their best efforts to play down the sweeping Sinn Féin gains across the 18 constituencies.

"I think that's three seats for Sinn Féin in West Belfast," said one numerically-challenged pundit (they call themselves psephologists). "Yes that's only one for Sinn Féin in Foyle," said another. "Only one in Newry/Armagh," and so it went on and on and in the end all proved wrong.

The truth was that Sinn Féin's 15.5% vote share in the Six Counties (42% of the nationalist vote) was the largest increase of any of the parties in the election compared to either the 1994 EU elections or the 1993 District Council elections.

The 116,377 votes Sinn Féin accumulated across the 18 constituencies was the highest received by Sinn Féin in the post-1981 Hunger-Strike period, beating the 102,701 achieved in 1983's Westminster elections. You have to go back to the 1955 Westminster election to find a better Sinn Féin performance. Then the party's candidates, mostly POWs, many from Dublin and the 26 Counties won 152,310 votes and 25% of the vote.

Sinn Féin has reaffirmed itself as the largest party in Belfast. Their 33,353 votes across the city's four constituencies gave them over 21% of the vote. This part of the result highlights again the electoral ambiguities of Belfast City Council where Sinn Féin has ten council seats compared to the 15 of the Official Unionists, who in last week's election



Celebrating on the Falls Road on 31 May

polled only 16.2% of the votes in the city.

Sinn Féin also recorded the largest majority in any of the 18 constituencies. The party's 22,355 votes in West Belfast gave them 53.41% of the vote share and four of the five seats in the constituency.

In the four Belfast constituencies there were significant gains for the party. In West Belfast the inclusion of wards from Twinbrook and Poleglass helped the vote, but these changes alone did not account for the surge to Sinn Féin, whose vote exceeded 1992's 16,826 votes by 5,529 votes. The inclusion of the whole of the Shankill in West Belfast this time didn't seem to bolster Joe Hendron's vote which slumped from its 1992 high of 17,415 to 11,087.

In North Belfast the Sinn Féin vote jumped to 19% from 13.1% in 1992. The vote increased from 4,693 to 7,681, a 63% increase. The Sinn Féin vote in East Belfast rose from 679 in 1992 to 862, while in South Belfast the vote jumped from 1,123 to 2,455, a 100% increase.

Outside Belfast there were significant gains for the party. In Newry/Armagh the

Sinn Féin vote surge was again in evidence as the party's share jumped from 12.5% in 1992 (6,547 votes) to 25.59% in 1996 (12,585 votes) winning seats for Patrick McNamee and Maria Caraher.

This pattern of almost doubling the Sinn Féin vote was repeated in Upper Bann, home to OUP leader David Trimble. Here Sinn Féin increased on their 1992 position of a 6.1% vote share (2,777 votes) to 12.29% in 1996 (5,620 votes) giving Sinn Féin's Michelle O'Connor the fifth seat.

Sinn Féin also pulled a seat of the South Down. The party's vote share more than trebled from its 1992 showing of 3% (1,843 votes) to 13.14% (6,142) giving Michael Murphy the fifth seat.

Foyle was the third constituency from which Sinn Féin won two or more seats. The new Foyle constituency is comprised solely of the Derry City Council area and Sinn Féin received 7,328 votes here in the 1993 local elections. The Sinn Féin vote in 1996 jumped to 11,616, a substantial 25.7% of the vote.

Sinn Féin were neck-and-neck with the SDLP as poll toppers in the new constituency of West Tyrone. Both had over 28% of the vote. Sinn Féin's Barry McElduff won a seat. In Mid-Ulster Sinn Féin topped the poll with 13,000 votes, a 29.65% share which gave seats to Francie Molloy and Patrick Groogan. In Fermanagh/South Tyrone Sinn Féin again pipped the SDLP with 24.23% of the vote, winning a seat for Gerry McLugh.

As the dust settles on the election results Sinn Féin's enemies will be picking over the results for any signs of weakness. The result therefore must be put in context. Since Sinn Féin's 10.1% vote share in 1982 an industry of Sinn Féin vote watchers has emerged ready to pronounce the decline of the party at the polls. That trend was clearly bucked at the 1993 local elections when Sinn Féin won 12.5% of the vote with 77,984 votes. Now in 1996 it will take the most inventive commentators to ignore the 116,377 Sinn Féin votes.



the figures and
the winners

Foyle
11,618 25.71%
■ MARTIN MCGUINNESS
■ MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN

East Derry
3,413 9.28%

West Tyrone
11,516 28.13%
■ BARRY McELDUFF

Fermanagh/South Tyrone
11,666 24.23%
■ GERRY McHUGH

Newry/Armagh
12,585 25.59%
■ PAT McNAMEE
■ MARIA CARAHER

Mid-Ulster
13,001 29.65%
■ FRANCIE MOLLOY
■ PATSY GROOGAN

North Belfast
7,681 19%
■ GERRY KELLY

South Belfast
2,455 6.49%

East Belfast
862 2.25%

West Belfast
22,355 53.41%
■ GERRY ADAMS
■ DODIE MCGUINNESS
■ ALEX MASKEY
■ ANNIE ARMSTRONG

North Down
275 0.76%

Strangford
709 1.77%

South Antrim
2,149 5.4%

Lagan Valley
1,132 2.6%

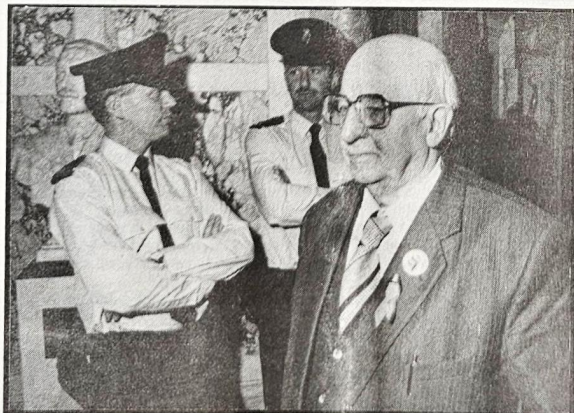
Upper Bann
5,620 12.29%
■ MICHELLE O'CONNOR

South Down
6,142 13.14%
■ MICHAEL MURPHY

North Antrim
2,579 5.8%

East Antrim
619 1.86%

Elected on Regional List:
■ LUCILITA BHREATNACH,
■ PAT DOHERTY



Veteran republican Joe Cahill at the count in City Hall

Women to the fore in election success

BY LAURA FRIEL

"TIOCFADH AR MA" shouted Gerry Adams as he paid tribute to the enormous contribution of women in Sinn Féin's election success last week. It was Friday evening and a crowd gathered at Seavastopol Street on the Falls for a victory cavalcade through Belfast.

When veteran Sinn Féin campaigner Marie Moore was called to say a few words, she said "this election is a women's election".

A third of the 74 candidates fielded by Sinn Féin were women, five of whom were elected: Councillor Annie Armstrong in West Belfast; Director of Elections Dodie McGuinness of Derry in West Belfast; Maria Caraher in South Armagh; Michelle O'Connor who audaciously took a seat in David Trimble's Upper Bann; and Sinn Féin General Secretary Lucilita Bhreatnach from Dublin who was elected on the party's 'top-up' list. Throughout Sinn Féin's electoral machine women played key roles, as local directors of elections, canvass organisers, polling agents and tally coordinators.

"The craic is great" said Moya Tracey. A young single parent, this was Moya's first election. Moya was one of three women who organised Sinn Féin's tally in Poleglass on election day. *AP/RN* readers will remember Moya as a residents' spokesperson of the Broom Park Flats campaign. "I never thought of myself as political. I thought of Sinn Féin as just a bunch of 'Proves', you know, men sitting in a centre. I always had

"It's been a tremendous election result for Sinn Féin and I have to thank everyone who worked so hard. The result reflects our organisational strength on the ground and the sheer slog of party members and supporters" — **Dodie McGuinness**

republican sympathies but I never saw myself as getting involved."

Supporting Sinn Féin during the election Moya was surprised how many women were involved. "It's brilliant, it boosted my confidence straight away. It's great to know I've been a part of it."

Libby Nellins, taking part in the cavalcade, was out canvassing in the West Belfast constituency every night for five weeks in the run-up to election day. With six children, their ages ranging from one to 12 years, it was an uphill struggle. "My kids stopped asking me if I was going out," laughed Libby. Libby's



MARIA CARAHER

canvass team of six young mothers had 26 children between them. Poleglass has one of the highest percentages of under fives in Belfast. It also has a high percentage of single parents. "Sinn Féin in Poleglass is over 75% women."

In North Belfast, Martine McKenny, the local director of elections led the team which successfully elected party negotiator Gerry Kelly. "It is the first time Sinn Féin got a candidate elected outside the council ward," says Martine, "and we increased our vote by several thousand."

In the rural heartland of South Armagh, Maria Caraher described the election as "a learning experience, politically and geographically". Maria is the first woman candidate, of any party, to be elected in her area. "Sinn Féin's vote almost doubled," says Maria. In Upper Bann, where Official Unionist leader David Trimble's vote dropped by over 16,000 votes, Sinn Féin's youngest candidate, Michelle O'Connor was elected following a significant increase in the Sinn Féin vote.

LOFTY CORRIDORS

In the lofty corridors of Belfast's Conway Mill, *AP/RN* caught up with Director of Elections Dodie McGuinness. "I've hardly been home in three weeks," she laughed, "my family have pinned a protest note onto the fridge door." It's all smiles as Sinn Féin's successful candidates pose for one more photograph. "Just one more," calls Chrissey McAuley to a chorus of good-humoured groans. This is the first Six-County election to be overseen by a woman director of elections.

"It's been a tremendous election result for Sinn Féin and I have to thank everyone who worked so hard. The result reflects our organisational strength on the ground and the sheer slog of party members and supporters. The election result marks a political victory for Sinn

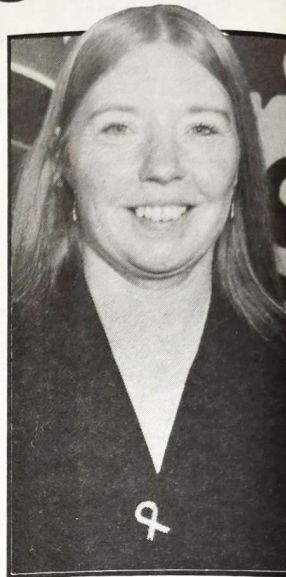


LUCILITA BHREATNACH

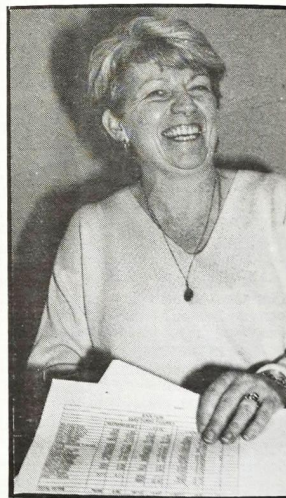
Féin. The key issue on the doorstep was the necessity for Sinn Féin to be involved in peace negotiations. The vote endorsed Sinn Féin's right to be involved in negotiations and points to John Major's shabby handling of the peace process. The vote is an endorsement of the peace process and the work Sinn Féin has done over the last two years. John Major would be unwise to ignore this.

"In every constituency Sinn Féin's vote increased. In four areas where we stood card candidates, Sinn Féin registered votes which we've never registered before. The people who went out and canvassed in areas where we have no local structures must be commended. A popular media spin has been to portray Sinn Féin's success as contingent on so-called 'borrowed' votes from the SDLP but if you look at the figures this is clearly not the case. If you take the Foyle constituency, the SDLP vote only fell by 1% while Sinn Féin's vote increased by 49%."

"Examination of the results shows that



ANNIE ARMSTRONG



DODIE MCGUINNESS

Sinn Féin attracted a new, young vote, successfully mobilised non-voters and brought out the republican base which was always there. In 1983 Sinn Féin polled over 100,000 votes. We always had the potential to realise that vote again. Republicans saw this election as Sinn Féin being put under the microscope by the British government and, as in the past, we proved that when we are put under pressure we can deliver.

"The election provided a unique opportunity for us to bring more women forward. The fact that women made themselves available to stand as candidates or to fulfil important organisational roles is an encouraging sign."



Councillors Noel Sheridan (left) and Caoimhghín O Caoláin (right) congratulate successful fellow candidates Maria Caraher and Pat McNamee at a victory celebration in Crossmaglen on Saturday, 1 June

The sweetest day

BY BRIAN CAMPBELL

AT TEN O'CLOCK on Thursday night in Newry's sports centre the SDLP's polling agents stood up and shook hands. The polls had just closed and it was clear the nationalist vote had come out strongly.

Half-an-hour later in a nearby pub the Sinn Féin election workers gathered. They too were pleased with their day's work. Ninety percent of their targeted voters had turned out.

The next morning Pat McNamee, the candidate at the top of Sinn Féin's list, was

annoyed with himself. As he found a parking space near the count centre in Banbridge he knew he was late. He needn't have worried. When he walked into the hall at ten past nine the count was under way but a dozen Sinn Féiners were poised over the boxes, tallying the

votes. No other party was represented. It was typical of the campaign in the area. Sinn Féin had more election workers, posters and leaflets and had put out more press statements and canvassed more houses than any other party by far.

Eventually, SDLP candidates Séamus Mallon and Frank Feeley came in and sat at the back of the hall. A TV crew interviewed Mallon. "The SDLP will take three seats, the Official Unionists one and the fifth seat will be a scramble between Sinn

Féin and the unionists," he said confidently. The Sinn Féin workers gritted their teeth. They knew they would not be scrambling for a seat but privately most of them expected Mallon's prediction to come true: three SDLP, one unionist, one Sinn Féin.

A week before, in

experienced electioneers in the party Caoimhghín had accurately read the signs.

As the count progressed in Banbridge the Sinn Féin vote was edging towards the quota of 8,198. Suddenly it dawned on the Sinn Féin activists that they nearly had a quota and the South Armagh votes hadn't even

Suddenly it dawned on the Sinn Féin activists that they nearly had a quota and the South Armagh votes hadn't even been counted. They knew they were home and dry

Crossmaglen, Caoimhghín O Caoláin and Pat McNamee had told 90 activists and a Belgian TV crew that Sinn Féin was setting its sights higher. "We are set for an historic victory," said Caoimhghín. "If we put the effort in we can elect both Pat McNamee and Maria Caraher." It was aimed at boosting the morale of the canvassing teams. Not many believed it possible but they allowed themselves to be enthused by it.

Caoimhghín said that while canvassing in Keady with local republicans and a team from his native Monaghan he noticed the trend was running strongly towards Sinn Féin. Like other

been counted. They knew they were home and dry.

The other parties were shell-shocked. In Newry town Sinn Féin was up from a high of 1,800 to 3,000. In Keady the vote increased by 80%. In Armagh city it was up 70%. In South Armagh Sinn Féin reached its highest ever total, 5,505 votes. In total they polled 12,585. Amid emotional scenes, Maria Caraher was elected comfortably. Veteran activist Tommy Carroll said: "I've had many bitter days but this was one of the sweetest. I'm not afraid to admit I cried my eyes out." As the Sinn Féiners hugged each other, he wasn't the only one.

BY EOIN O BROIN

ACROSS COUNTIES Tyrone and Fermanagh Sinn Féin succeeded in pushing its share of the vote beyond even the most optimistic of predictions ousting the SDLP as poll toppers in Mid-Ulster and Fermanagh/South Tyrone and coming a close second in West Tyrone.

A tiny margin of 106 votes secured a second seat for the SDLP in West Tyrone, giving Sinn Féin an overall total of 11,516. Barry McElduff, shortly after his success, congratulated local election workers and republican voters for "closing the gap with the SDLP".

McElduff attacked the local RUC for what he termed their "over-presence" at the polling stations on the Thursday. "Some voters had to run a gauntlet of dozens of RUC men" said McElduff, "they were blocking up the doorways of polling stations, intimidating voters and illegally checking their polling cards and directing them to the booths."

Despite the RUC, voters were confident and good humoured. The Carrickmore presiding officer asked one elderly and partially-sighted voter if he knew who he wanted to vote for. The voter's younger companion replied in the affirmative pointing out that "he sings about it often enough in the pub".

Meanwhile in Mid-Ulster a huge swing to Sinn Féin dealt a damaging blow to the SDLP, particularly the party's constituency representative Denis Haughey, who failed to get elected. The two parties were closely tied throughout the count, fighting hard to win the all-important fifth seat.

Following the announcement of a 100-vote lead to Sinn Féin, an SDLP recount revealed an additional 200 republican votes in an "SDLP" box giving Sinn Féin a final margin of 500-plus.



Successful candidate for West Tyrone, Sinn Féin's Barry McElduff emerging from the count centre in Omagh. RUC intimidation marked polling in Tyrone

Impressive gains

Elected in Fermanagh/South Tyrone was Gerry McHugh, seen here at the count in Omagh with Michelle Gildernew, also a Sinn Féin candidate



The strengthened Sinn Féin organisation in South Down succeeded in winning a seat against the odds in the SDLP MP Eddie McGrady's constituency. Elected for Sinn Féin was Michael Murphy who on Wednesday called on McGrady to "direct his recent comments about Sinn Féin's 'doctrinaire rhetoric' to John Major and the unionists".

ANOTHER SINN FÉIN VICTORY

A high turnout in the Fermanagh/South Tyrone constituency secured another Sinn Féin victory over the SDLP. For a while it looked as though Sinn Féin might have taken the fifth seat, outpolling the OUP, but at the end the DUP were 800 votes ahead. That Sinn Féin out-pollled the SDLP in Fermanagh/South Tyrone is a sign that the party has successfully redressed the slump in its electoral standing in the constituency.

"Sinn Féin, this time round, targeted the large independent vote that is in the area and it has paid off, it is a great result," said Gerry McHugh the party's successful candidate.

Meanwhile, the RUC greeted the election result in Mid-Ulster in time-honoured fashion when they mounted a surveillance operation in the Mountcain area of Coalisland. Newly-elected Sinn Féin representative Francie Molloy confronted the RUC officers, who refused to identify themselves or cease their harassment of the local population.

Molloy then took the matter to the senior RUC officer, who refused to come deal with the matter. Molloy then drove around the area informing local residents of the RUC's presence with the aid of a megaphone. Within minutes the RUC disappeared.

Two days in May

BY EOIN O BROIN

IT MAY HAVE been the election that nobody wanted but on the morning of polling day you could have been forgiven for thinking that it was the most important political event in this year's republican calendar.

For most it began at the crack of dawn, setting up tally huts, organising transport and mapping out the next two days of work. As the canvassers began to arrive, electoral registers were being hung on the walls and the slow process of assessing the state of play on the streets was getting under way.

In Lenadoon, West Belfast, the operation was well under way by 8am. While information began coming in slowly, minibuses were collecting voters from the lower Lenadoon area and bringing them across to the loyalist Blacks Road polling station. Meanwhile, election workers were busy finding areas where the turnout was slack and directing canvassers and transport out to remedy the situation.

It wasn't long before the RUC were on the scene at the Lenadoon tally headquarters, abusing and harassing election workers; democracy Six-County style. Workers were pulled into the back of Land Rovers and searched.

Despite the bad weather, diligent election workers continued throughout the afternoon with determination, working to reach the projected total.

Intimidation and harassment was a theme of the day in North Belfast. An Ardoyne resident experienced an action replay of an RUC attack on his son while on his way to vote. The same RUC gang had attacked the young man on the day of his mother's death a couple of years ago.

Despite the heavy RUC presence, Ardoyne was alive with election activity. The small tight-knit community was confident that its projected targets would be reached and a steady stream of information flowed into the tally hut. By 5pm, over 1,600 votes were accounted for, well on target.

Meanwhile in the Bone area of North Belfast, local electoral workers were worried at what seemed to be a poor turn out by mid-afternoon. Within minutes of this realisation, a mobile canvass was rushed into the area and local candidate Gerry Kelly was encouraging the population to vote for justice and peace.

Across in East and South Belfast in the Markets and Short Strand, the tension mounted as afternoon turned into early evening. The colour of



Victorious Sinn Féin candidates and election workers crowd the marble stairs of Belfast City Hall after the count — the party is now the largest in Belfast

election posters, Tricolours and Sinn Féin banners was matched by the flurry of canvassers moving around the estates getting out the local vote.

From 7pm onwards, canvassers across the Six Counties were entering the final scramble. Buses, taxis and scores of election workers were sent out in force, last-minute canvasses turned into a late-evening cavalcade, as election workers marked the end of election day.

SDLP election workers started to disappear and a beleaguered Joe Hendron was pulled away from the TV cameras by Alex Attwood. Hendron's accusation of forged medical cards was beginning to look ridiculous as the Sinn Féin count for the west of the city reached 20,000

However, back at the tally HQs last-minute assessments were made in anticipation of the count.

At 9am, at public buildings across the Six Counties, ballot boxes were



The SDLP's Alex Attwood and Joe Hendron show their disappointment after their party was eclipsed in West Belfast by a massive republican vote

opened as the media, party workers, civic officials and the general public looked on with bated breath. During the next few hours, the results of the weeks of intensive campaigning would finally be announced.

At Belfast City Hall, the atmosphere was like a celebrity party. Competitive tensions cut through banal conversations as the candi-

dates, constituency workers and press rubbed shoulders in a bizarre mix of personalities and political affiliations. As each shred of information was leaked from the counting rooms, journalists passed the information half way round the world on mobile phones. Simultaneously, the same technologies were being used as weapons by unionists troubled at the

amount of attention being given to Gerry Adams.

Several false calls for heightened tension and frustration gave way to an overall distribution of votes. Belfast began to take shape as election workers started to be pulled away from the TV screens. Alex Attwood, Hendron's accusation of forged medical cards was beginning to look ridiculous. Féin count for the west reached 20,000.

Within seconds it was a quick succession of results were made. Both East and West Belfast upped their republican tally dramatically, testament to the work and sleepless nights of friends and comrades before the lines. The north of the city almost 100%, securing Sinn Féin negotiator Gerry Adams coming 70 votes short of seat. West Belfast surprised even the most delighted of the most election workers, getting the SDLP vote.

Sinn Féin has bettered its previous record, securing its strident mandate, making it the largest party in the city and Gerry Adams the largest single party leader through the Counties.

Despite continued recounts by disgruntled SDLP representatives, the result in Belfast was clear.

Later that night, Sinn Féin workers and candidates in city in cavalcades of long, waving Tricolours reminding nationalists who voted for 'No Return'. We're Standing not Sinn Féin words were said, balloons off, car horns honked, people were hugged, and they went home for what was a rest. After two days of hair-losing stress (Joe Hendron knew the both significant and well).

If vindication was many voters' minds late it was already clear the politicians and the British government were working out how best to treat second-class citizens. The elections that were unionists and the British fired. They brought people together and shared a demand for equality of a democratic settlement now is will our respected?

May

DOUBLE TAKE IN DERRY

BY MARTHA McCLELLAND

ELECTION DAY and dozens of groggy republican activists silenced alarm clocks at 6am. If they didn't exactly leap into their clothes, every one was in position by 7am in polling stations. With typical determination and abnormal efficiency, Shinners set off to bring out the vote, even if this meant dragging dazed voters from sofas, supergluing medical card to the forehead and slinging them into a Black Hack.

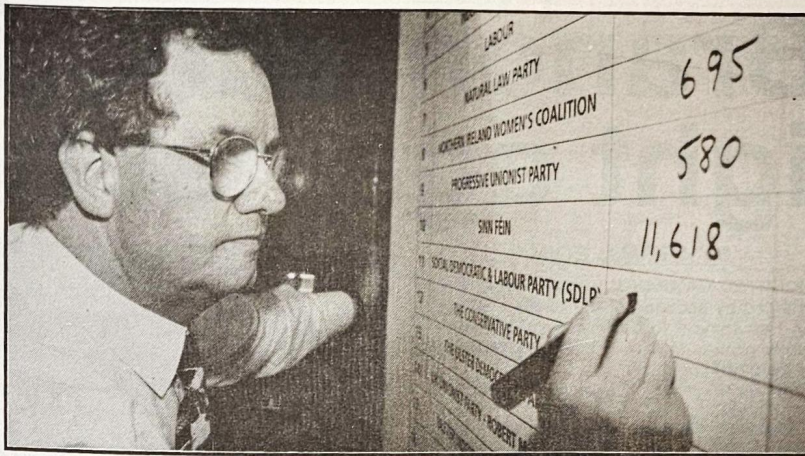
By this time, the voters were wakened and beginning to enjoy it. Adrenalin pumped as some (literally) ran into polling stations at 9:59 and 30 seconds to successfully claim their vote. By 10:30 pm, election workers had made their way homewards to collapse on the nearest soft surface (this reporter/activist) or into various hostilities to celebrate surviving another election day.

In contrast, the first few hours of the count in Derry's Guildhall were unbelievably boring. Absolutely NO information came out of the main hall, from which journalists were excluded. My intolerance for wasting time made this sheer agony. Occasionally journalists would rush to one of the doors and press their noses against the stained-glass windows, puppy dog like, trying to make sense of the proceedings. By lunch time, every vote was counted. It was a high turnout — 68%. Pundits agreed this would favour the SDLP. Word filtered out that the DUP was in trouble. Radio Ulster picked up the anxiety in Gregory Campbell's camp and announced that the DUP were "very worried".

Another interminable spell of waiting. A real buzz started when Gregory Campbell himself admitted that he might not take a seat. He emerged from the main hall, paler than usual, and declined to give interviews. His lieutenants were equally tight lipped. Speculation was rife. Would it be four SDLP and Gregory? Would it be two SF and two SDLP, plus Gregory? Would there be no unionist representation from Foyle?

At 2:45pm Martin McGuinness emerged cool as always and calmly provided an amazingly accurate prediction: SF 11,200 (result: 11,618); SDLP 20,000 (result: 19,997); DUP 5,000 (result: 5,045). If SF got twice the DUP vote, we had a second seat. This sparked a feeding frenzy amongst supporters as they fell on this news. Journalists desperate for a result for Derry, spoke intently into their mobile phones to various oracles outside the Guildhall. At one stage, McGuinness' credibility plummeted: Charlie Bird had been on the phone to "Belfast", so the story went, and it was four SDLP and one SF in Derry. DEFINITE!

As officials began filling the party pigeon holes, Mary Lou McLaughlin emerged for a life-saving cigarette. The thought of Pat Devine taking Mitchell's seat nearly starting me smoking. Mary Lou went back in and Mitchell came out, untruffled and refusing to be drawn except to comment that we'd done well. Then a group of



A count official in Derry's Guildhall marks up the Sinn Féin vote



Gregory Campbell of the DUP, downcast after his party failed to take a seat in Foyle

SDLP women, led by party stalwart Margaret McCartney, emerged. They'd got the word, it seemed, from "John, to trickle downstairs", to where the public announcement would be made and stand behind the battery of the microphones. Then new information came through, not so positive. They debated their next move and eventually decided to amble down. A minute later, Jamsey Quinn walked down, looking distinguished in his suit. Over-anxious TV cameramen leapt into action, throwing the lights on him, mistaking him for the Returning Officer. (They switched them off even quicker when they realised he was just a Shinner).

Jamsey went to the crowd of Sinn Féin supporters with the message everyone hungered for. Out of the huddle a restrained (?) shout went up, ending all speculation as to who had won the last seat.

Moments later (it seemed like hours), the results were announced. Reporters surged through the doors. Huge grins split Sinn Féin faces. Gregory Campbell was sunk in a chair, his eyes heavenwards. Pat Devine looked poleaxed, unable to come to terms with Mitchell McLaughlin taking 'his' seat. The Women's Coalition hugged each other and were congratulated by republicans on their result of 695 votes, nearly overtaking the Alliance Party and dwarfing the other small parties.

Then it was all over bar the shout-



Martin McGuinness is chaired from Derry's Guildhall after Sinn Féin took two seats in the Foyle constituency

ing and of course the photographs, and the post-success/failure interviews. Best Actor Award must go to Mark Durcan, bravely giving interviews despite the frozen look in his eyes, desperately trying to mask his shock and disappointment.

While sour grapes were the menu for SDLP women overheard discussing how they just can't stand "them". One commented: "I had to sit in a booth with 'them', and they just kept coming and going all day." Another woman piped up, braver than the rest? "I'd say hello to Mitchel McLaughlin, though."

There were sudden, albeit sectarian conversions, in reaction to the fact that no unionists were elected. "Brilliant! We've been gerrymandered long enough," bellowed a journalist, proud to be a nationalist when we're winning.

John Hume looked under pressure. Shortly after the result, with the media clamouring to interview him he took refuge in the Council Chamber, which had been transformed into the BBC's outside broadcast unit. He sat down and started smoking a fag. Now John HATES people seeing him smoking, so when Martin McGuinness came in, trailing eager journalists, John immediately put his ciggie down by his side and stumped out. Shortly afterwards Berna McIvor, John's election agent, was seen shadowing her leader and swatting the media away: "Leave him alone, he's had enough for today."

Saddest sight? Gregory Campbell slipping out the back door of the Guildhall in the Maiden City. Guildhall officials swear they saw the statue of Queen Victoria in the lobby trickling tears shortly afterwards.

amount of attention being given to Gerry Adams.

Several false calls for declarations heightened tensions as anticipation gave way to anxiety and frustration. Elections workers tensely walked about listening to radios and announcing the fragments of information that were coming in from other counts outside of Belfast.

After hours of boredom and media trivia, the atmosphere shifted dramatically as a rough picture of the overall distribution of votes across Belfast began to take shape. SDLP election workers started to disappear and a beleaguered Joe Hendron was pulled away from the TV cameras by Alex Attwood. Hendron's accusation of forged medical cards was beginning to look ridiculous as the Sinn Féin count for the west of the city reached 20,000.

Within seconds it was all over. In a quick succession the declarations were made. Both East and South Belfast upped their republican vote dramatically, testament to the hard work and sleepless nights to the friends and comrades behind enemy lines. The north of the city jumped by almost 100%, securing a place for Sinn Féin negotiator Gerry Kelly and coming 70 votes short of a second seat. West Belfast surprised and delighted even the most optimistic of election workers, getting double the SDLP vote.

Sinn Féin has bettered all expectations, securing its strongest mandate, making it the largest nationalist party in the city and giving Gerry Adams the largest single vote of any party leader throughout the Six Counties.

Despite continual calls for recounts by disgruntled unionist and SDLP representatives, the message in Belfast was clear.

Later that night, Sinn Féin party workers and candidates paraded the city in cavalcades scores of cars long, waving Tricolours and flags reminding nationalists of what they voted for: 'No Return to Stormont-We're Standing not Sitting'. Brief words were said, balloons were let off, car horns honked, and children were hugged, and then all returned home for what was a well-deserved rest. After two days of hard work and hair-losing stress (Jim Gibney), republicans knew the victory was both significant and well-deserved.

If vindication was the word on many voters' minds late Friday night, it was already clear that the unionist politicians and the British government were working overtime figuring out how best to treat republicans as second-class citizens once again. The elections that were designed by unionists and the British had backfired. They brought republicans closer together and strengthened our demand for equality of treatment and a democratic settlement. The question now is will our mandate be respected?

IRA DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN 'DRUGS WAR'

Media and Special Branch undermine fight against heroin

BY ART Mac EOIN

A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN by the Garda Special Branch aided by sections of the media over recent months has served to undermine the efforts of community groups in Dublin to defend their areas against the heroin menace.

The campaign has centred mainly on Dublin's south inner city, but has also had effects in other areas of Dublin. The south-inner-city area has for many years been blighted by heroin addiction, AIDS and deaths from drug overdoses. In some areas there is barely a family which has not been affected. The problem has increased in recent years to a scale where the south inner city is being faced with a choice — fight back or watch your community die.

Community groups, as they have been doing across Dublin, have begun to organise themselves in the south inner city to defend their children against the heroin scourge over the past year. Public meetings, area patrols and vigils aimed at stopping the drug dealing as well as campaigns demanding treatment facilities for the thousands of resident addicts have put pressure both on the drug dealers to cease their activities and likewise on the authorities to finally act on what is a social problem of monumental proportions. Not since the early 1980s has such a level of community action been seen on the drugs issue.

The distribution structure of the heroin problem has changed considerably in nature since the 1980s in that those dealing the drugs are far more numerous and now include many addicts who sell drugs to feed their own addiction. But the level of menace employed to maintain that supply has not decreased and pushers have not been taking the increased community action lying down. Threats, intimidation and violence have been used against anyone in the community prepared to stand up and be counted.

Meanwhile, the Garda Special Branch, who since the 1980s have harboured an enmity and distrust of community mobilisation in working-class areas of Dublin, particularly on the drugs issue,

has launched a campaign of harassment in an attempt to smash the local anti-drugs organisations. Meetings have been spied upon, attendees stopped and questioned, homes put under surveillance and a number of key activists arrested.

Threats from pushers and the actions of the gardai have raised tension considerably in the south inner city with a number of confrontations between local people and those involved in dealing drugs. It was against this backdrop that the death occurred on 14 May of Josie Dwyer.

Dwyer, a heroin user, an AIDS sufferer, and a convicted dealer, died following a beating involving a number of men in Basin Lane. The incident followed confrontations on Dolphin's Barn, a busy junction in the south inner city where heroin dealing is carried out openly with apparent indifference from the gardai, and where local people have

The media is now dominated by a 'vigilante' scare and newspapers quoting unnamed garda sources are alleging that community action against drugs in Dublin, particularly in the south inner city, is part of a republican plot to subvert the functions of the state authorities

feared to walk due to the presence of pushers and countless addicts gathered in groups 'strung out' on heroin or liable to attack passers by to fund their next 'fix'.

Elements in the gardai and some journalists have attempted to use the death of Josie Dwyer, not to draw attention to the scale of the heroin problem and tackle it, but to scapegoat anti-drugs



Anti-drugs vigil at Oliver Bond Flats in Dublin's South Inner City

activists. The media is now dominated by a 'vigilante' scare and newspapers quoting unnamed garda sources are alleging that community action against drugs in Dublin, particularly in the south inner city, is part of a republican plot to subvert the functions of the state authorities.

A media campaign which intensified following the death of Josie Dwyer has been carried on over many months with journalists in a number of

the *Star* claimed were being targeted for execution by the IRA. Journalist Barry O'Kelly quoted what he said was an 'IRA source' to support the claim.

The persistence over many weeks of the 'hit-list' claims led the IRA to issue a denial. The statement carried in *AP/RN* on 2 May said: "There is no IRA hit list of drug dealers. O'leagh na hEireann is not involved in these shooting incidents and those claiming otherwise do not speak for the IRA."

However, the media campaign has not abated and following the death of Josie Dwyer both the *Star* and the *Sunday Times* alleged IRA involvement.

The *Star* again quoted its bogus 'IRA source' saying its members were involved and claiming that the organisation was carrying out an inquiry into the incident.

The following week the *Star* published a different story contradicting that of Barry O'Kelly and discounting IRA responsibility for Dwyer's death and restating that the alleged 'IRA source' quoted by Barry O'Kelly was entirely bogus. However the *Star*, never wishing to miss the opportunity for sensationalism, now reversed their story and headlined the article, 'Provos hunt drug victims murderers'. Again this claim was untrue.

Two consecutive *Sunday Times* articles, penned by Maeve Sheehan, were even more sinister. The first story

gave a detailed description of a man from Dublin's south inner city who the paper alleged was a member of the IRA and "led the attack on Josie Dwyer". The second article centred on one individual who Sheehan claimed was an "IRA leader" and who was directly responsible for attacks on drug dealers throughout the city. The report detailed the man's age, description and community involvement. No evidence was produced to verify the story and only unnamed sources were quoted.

On Friday, 31 May the Irish Times carried a front-page story entitled 'IRA linked to Dublin drug attacks'. Again the story by Jim Cusack produced not a shred of evidence to back up the claims, but quoted unnamed garda sources confirming that the IRA was "attempting to establish control over parts of south inner city under the cover of vigilante action against drug dealers". Cusack drew attention to the fact that on 18 May a Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle meeting was held in St Catherine's Community Hall, which is located in the south inner city, in a spurious attempt to lend some credibility to the story.

In a front-page story by Stephen Rea, the *Evening Herald* on the Friday evening also said a south inner city republican had involvement in the death of Josie Dwyer.

It now appears that a number of people questioned



in relation to Dwyer's death have been asked to name local republicans involved in anti-drugs organisations as being responsible.

Sinn Féin said this week that its members were involved in community responses to the drugs problem in areas across Dublin including the south inner city and the party defended its members right to

government have been prepared to do the minimum possible to tackle Dublin's heroin problem, as long as it was mainly confined to the most deprived and marginalised areas of the city. This attitude allowed the heroin trade to mushroom, all the time claiming ever younger victims. It is estimated that 80% of crime in Dublin is now

The overall effect has been to throw up a smokescreen and detract attention from the real issues

be so involved. Seán Mac Brádaigh of Dublin Sinn Féin said:

"Sinn Féin members are most definitely involved in organisations attempting to tackle Dublin's heroin problem. They have been involved in such groups since the effects of the problem were first felt on our streets. We reject any attempt to undermine our right to be involved. We are the political party in this city which has the greatest track record on the drugs issue and we will not be diverted from working with the people to develop a community response to this issue. It is a problem which successive governments have failed to tackle over a decade-and-a-half."

Another effect of the recent media campaign is that republicans involved in community actions could now be left open to attack by armed criminals involved in the drugs trade. In the case of the *Sunday Times* this may well have been the intention.

The overall effect has been to throw up a smokescreen and detract attention from the real issues. For many years it seems the gardai and the

drug-related. Official interference has also led to the formation of highly-organised and well-armed criminal gangs who are now making millions of pounds worth of profits from the misery of others. This is having a corrosive effect on Irish society as a whole with an increase in drug-related shootings and criminal gangs holding a unhealthy degree of influence in a number of Irish cities.

In a statement supplied to AP/RN this week the IRA again rubbished media claims that it was responsible for recent shootings in Dublin or the death of Josie Dwyer. The statement said:

"Despite persistent media claims to the contrary O'laigh na hEireann was not responsible for the death of Josie Dwyer."

"We take this opportunity also to refute claims that we are involved in a campaign of targeting drug dealers in Dublin."

"However, we reserve the right to take action against armed criminal elements who would attack people defending their communities from drugs and anti-social crime."

Elections were another front

A Chairde,

The only way of solving a conflict is a real negotiation between the parts involved in it. It is very clear the determination which took the republicans months ago to start a peace process which should end in a political solution of this conflict. This is something that the British government should understand but, meanwhile, the British government has tried to destroy this process continuously. The elections are the latest wall that the British government has built against this process, but we are sure that the republicans, once again, will find the right way in order to carry on with the peace process. The elections, as we say in the Basque Country, are only another front are the war, but all the fronts are important as they help to build the whole.

At this time, ASKAPENA wants to show its solidarity with the republicans and, especially, with Sinn Féin and to wish you good luck in the path of freedom. Tiofaidh ar lá.

ASKAPENA,
Basque Country.

Votes for emigrants

A Chairde,

The minister for the environment in Dublin is preparing a report on a constitutional amendment to allow Irish emigrants to vote for three Senate seats. This proposal from Dublin falls short of what Irish emigrant voting groups have lobbied for over the last few years. However, it is a step in the right direction but, if approved by referendum and the proposed legislation that goes with it is passed in Leinster House, then, for the first time in the history of its existence, the Irish Senate will have members elected by the suffrage of working-class men and women. There are some in Ireland who contend that those who have emigrated should not be permitted to vote. The chief arguments of those opposed to the vote are "no representation without taxation", that the emigrant community is ill-informed about political events in Ireland and that those who have left the country also left behind any rights to the direction the state should take. To the "no representation without taxation" point I would reply that it is now a requirement of Irish voters to be taxpayers. Every citizen has one vote be they unemployed or a millionaire. Irish emigrants contribute to the economy in Ireland on a significant scale. The letter from America with a few hard-earned dollars has been the continues to be a reality throughout the whole island of Ireland. When emigrants return at Christmas time or for other holidays, the tourism industry benefits with the airline ticket sales, taxes and the money spent in the economy. It is estimated that at least 20% of all bank accounts in Ireland are held by emigrants, this is money that is in circulation and contributes towards the GNP. Improved communication means that the Irish abroad are more informed of current events back home than ever before. Irish emigrants are

Mála Post

aware of their predicament and the economy reality which led to their departure. The increase in availability of current newspapers and TV and radio stations serving the emigrant community is fast diminishing the myth of ill-informed or misinformed Diaspora. During the Maasricht referendum, 80% of Irish votes said they were unsure as to what it was all about. This however did not disqualify them from voting. Not all emigrants leave Ireland by choice. The departure of Ireland's youth is almost always because of varying degrees of economic hardship. Emigration has always been a safety valve for the state and, while other European countries' emigration waves have come and gone, Ireland's is a constant stream. All of Ireland's EU partners grant voting rights to their emigrants and statistically, emigrant voting stands at about 10% turnout. The proposed three Senate seats will be taken from the eleven seats personally appointed by the Taoiseach, leaving him or her with eight appointments. It will not make any huge difference in the Irish political landscape. It will however, give voice to the disenfranchised, to those unable to find opportunity in their own country.

Mark Lohan,
Irish Northern Aid,
Boston.

Liam Lynch Memorial

A Chairde,

The four bronze wolfhounds which will be placed at the base of the Liam Lynch Memorial on the Knockmealdown Mountains, County Tipperary, are in the final stages of completion under the supervision and direction of Ms Pauline O'Connell, sculptor, with the architect and town planner Uinseann Mac Eoin, keeping a watching brief. Ms O'Connell, Kilkenny city, has just returned from Vienna where she was invited to advise, coordinate and execute a commission for the city's Chamber of Commerce, who is celebrating 100 years of cinema in Austria. This was regarded as a prestigious commission and it involved sculpting the heads and hands of famous Austrian actors and directors. Ms O'Connell sculpted the wolfhounds in bronze for the Liam Lynch Memorial having studied the models prepared by the late Albert Power, RHA. When the work is completed the wolfhounds will be transported to the Knockmealdown in preparation for siting them on a specifically prepared base, making use of the existing plinths.

While the response to the committee's appeal for funds has been more than generous, there is still some distance to go and subscriptions may be forwarded to the treasurer, Ms Kitty Harney, Ballymacarbery, Clonmel, County

Waterford, on receipt of which each subscriber will receive a specially designed celtic scroll acknowledgement suitable for framing.

Liam Lynch was Chief of Staff, IRA, when he was fatally wounded during an engagement on the Knockmealdown in April 1923, where now stands a 60' high round tower erected to his memory. The unveiling of the bronze wolfhounds has been fixed on Sunday, 27 July, of this year.

Liam Lynch Memorial Committee.

Act now, Major

A Chairde,

For 18 months we enjoyed the beauty of peace, or so it seemed. That would be the view from the streets of London.

But what about the streets of Belfast and the streets of Derry and the nationalist communities in these foreign occupied cities. And what about the conditions in British prisons for Irish prisoners of war. Nothing changed for the nationalist communities and conditions deteriorated for our prisoners. The British hand of peace certainly wasn't extended to Pat Kelly.

During the cease-fire unconditional peace was given to the loyalist communities of the northern part of our country and to the people of Britain in general, a peace that was taken for granted by everyone, and indeed credited to John Major, but a peace that he did nothing to achieve or promote. On the contrary he did everything to destroy it by the precondition of decommissioning of arms and the misinterpretation of the Mitchell report. John Major nor any of his Ministers did anything for what was termed "the peace process" but was in actual fact a peace process, a laying down of arms so the voices of people could be heard. But history has again repeated itself and once more shown that Irish voices against the British "rubber-ear" achieves nothing. Britain's history throughout the world is one of violent invasion, rape, plunder, pillage. They know that they will never force the IRA into submission. So couldn't they now try the age-old saying "if you can't beat them join them". Now is the time to join them in talks, join them in discussion and try to somehow find a settlement which would suit everyone.

If they get another cease-fire, and I believe they will because the IRA are committed to peace, then they must meet half way and not drag their heels and hope for a surrender of the IRA which they will never get.

The British government is directly responsible for the deaths of many Irish people and their continued occupation of our country has led to the deaths of many of their own people, which they continue to blame on the IRA.

The Irish people want their country back, all 32 Counties as one nation. Get out of our country and you have your peace. That isn't too complicated. It seems impossible for the educated in the British government to understand.

Please John Major, act now, for our people and for your own people. Let Sinn Féin join the talks. Peace depends upon it.

John Deegan,
Middlesex.



Last weekend was satisfying indeed. Not only did Sinn Féin make significant gains in the elections, but I also witnessed a masterpiece of outraged invective on the telly, courtesy of Eoghan Harris. His turns of phrase are often as inventive as they are vitriolic and some of his more memorable outbursts have had them rolling in the aisles, although the question usually is, are they laughing with him or are they laughing at him? I chuckled throughout his televised attack on the peace process in general and republicans in particular.

Channel 4 provided the vehicle for Harris' small-screen showcase, *Frontline*, Saturday, 1 June, 7.15pm) to which he invited his admitted handful of friends and fellow travellers, people like Kevin Myers of the *Irish Times*, Cork academic John A. Murphy, poet Paul Durcan, the *Sunday Indoo's* Ellis O'Hanlon, the former UVF supremo Gusto Spence and even, via the wonders of modern telecommunications, the *Sunday Times*' tamed Irish prisoner, Seán O'Callaghan.

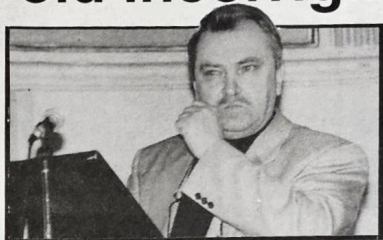
In the context of Sinn Féin's electoral success, the main news item of the day, Harris' explosion of revisionist rhetoric was as irrelevant as it was entertaining. His brand of

antirepublicanism exposes an obsessive paranoia about "the Provos" which rejects all contrary logic or argument.

Harris opened his odyssey at Arbour Hill, where the bodies of the 1916 leaders are interred. "This is Arbour Hill Cemetery, the Valhalla, the Arlington, the Westminster Abbey of the Irish Republic," he intoned, dramatically. "This is the sacred garden of the state. Here lie the bones of the 16 men who led the Rising of 1916 and who founded the Irish Republic. The problem is that these are not laid to rest and some of my generation, called revisionists, feel it's time to give up these graves and this garden."

Harris is yet another victim of the revisionist need to impose today's values on the past, thus, at a time when small nations throughout Europe were struggling to break away from the imperialist yoke, Pádraig Pearse stands accused of "pre-empting the constitutional path" and was "ignoring the wishes of one million Protestants in the North" when he declared a 32-county Irish republic on the steps of the GPO in Dublin. The revisionist clarion call — "they had no mandate". As if any revolution ever started with a vote for war.

But the most ridiculous and far fetched part of Eoghan's journey was the section devoted to how he metamorphosed from plain Sticky to pseudo-intellectual revisionist, and had to reject not only



EOGHAN HARRIS — the master of outraged invective

the politics of his youth but also "the rich tapestry of song, sign and symbol which sustained them".

To illustrate his point he offered a critique of Men of the South, a painting of a group of Tan War Volunteers by Seán Keating. Here was some "heroic iconography of the revolution" which Eoghan could demystify for us. "Look at the poncey hairstyle," he opened, accusing them of "liking themselves like the Provos do today". "And these crowd of wasters, what they were, were the same kind of wasters the Provisionals were, fellas with no fixed job, with no responsibility to wives or children or community, swanning around the countryside with guns in their hands, killing working men in tin hats going home at the end of the day."

I was chortling heartily at this stage. You'd swear it was some group of unsuspecting miners they were fighting. The reality of a collection of poorly-armed guerrilla bands taking on an entire army of occupation is ignored. His obsession with countering republicanism allows Harris no room to ponder

on the actual conditions which drove people then and in modern times to armed struggle; that they may not have fought only for a national dream but for an end to a very real repression.

But even in his holier-than-thou attitudes Harris is inconsistent. One of his great heroes is Michael Collins. Like Gusto Spence, Collins stands redeemed in Eoghan's eyes.

His Michael Collins has been reinvented to suit the revisionists' antirepublican credo: "Collins came here," Harris said of Béal na mBláth, "trying like many an Irish statesman after, to talk some sense into the minds of the republican incorrigibles who held the hills up there, pursuing their ghostly dream." He even invoked the name of Jack Kennedy when

describing Collins' death. Collins was great, according to Harris, because he signed the Treaty and "liked the English". This conveniently ignored the ruthless efficiency with which Collins fought his way to the talks table along with his aforementioned band of wasters with their poncey

hairstyles. But what of Harris' treatment of more modern events?

Loyalist or British violence did not feature at all. Footage of the peace rally in Dublin after Warrington was whitewashed to exclude the abusive treatment meted out by sections of the crowd to nationalist victims of British and loyalist violence, who had travelled south to voice their calls for justice and truth. But then Harris, a veteran mastermind of the Workers' Party's well-documented infiltration of RTE, is well versed in excluding opposing views from the airwaves. Indeed, that urge, which made him a strong proponent of Section 31, is still evidenced today in his pathetic attempts through his *Sunday Times* column to "out" suspected republicans in RTE.

The political wings of the loyalist death squads also came out well. The PUP and UDP were lauded as examples of working-class loyalists, "so long demonised", who are "devising new democratic structures to take into account all the traditions on the island". This as he walked by the infamous Belfast "Irish Out" mural!

Harris' view of the peace process is as simple as it is flawed. It gave republicans a lifeline when we were apparently about to be drowned under the weight of negative public opinion. John Hume has been duped by Gerry Adams, as has the Dublin government and Washington. The only real way forward is to

isolate republicans (and presumably, their voters) and for John Hume and that reasonable man, David Trimble, to sit down and thrash out an internal settlement — the two nations chestnut.

The peace process, á-la-Harris, is nothing more than a "Provo process".

John Hume was derided in the programme as a "probation officer for the Provisional IRA, the man who brought the terrorists into our home". Ellis O'Hanlon was wheeled in to comment on how he is seen as a saint, not to be criticised; John A. Murphy claimed that he had failed to engage with the other section of his divided people while Kevin Myers was also sceptical of the "Pope of Irish nationalism". Others may have reluctantly admitted their error in attacking Hume in the past for daring to talk with Gerry Adams but Harris and Co have been biding their time, waiting for the opportunity to pounce.

Harris ended, as he began, at Arbour Hill, and I couldn't help but feel that his summation said more about him than his objects of derision, when he dismissed "the men buried here, for all their heroism", as "emotional, political and psychological bullies".

Thankfully, the civil war abyss which Eoghan Harris has been confidently predicting republicans are leading everybody down, is a nonsense. The real tragedy is that of an intelligent man hell bent on torturing himself and the rest of us through regular airings of his paranoia. As Eoghan wrote in December: "Perhaps it is time to start taking the pills again."

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

SPORTSVIEW

Armagh's orchard will be bare yet again this autumn as hot favourites Derry got the juiciest apples in Celtic Park last Sunday. It is now nearly 20 years since the heady days of 1977 when Paddy Moriarty, Jimmy Smith and "Big Joe" Kernan led Armagh to Ulster's only All-Ireland final of that decade, when they were unlucky to come up against a Dublin team in their prime.

These days of course Ulster rule the roost (Sam is only on holidays at the moment, our northern brethren continually remind us)

but Armagh don't look like being among the elite for a while yet. For a time they held their own and indeed looked like upsetting the Derry applecart early on when they literally tore strips off their opponents. The referee made the fatal error of letting some early blows go unpunished and this set the tone for much of the game. Ger Reid was singled out by many for his "over-zealous" approach but he was only one of at least six players who should have been shown the line.

Speaking of lines, managers should never be allowed to roam the field but that was no excuse for the reception McAlinden and Canavan got from the Derry players.

The sympathy vote of the day must go to the excellent Colm Hanratty who shackled Joe Broily for most of the game but in the space of two minutes Broily slipped his marker, scoring a vital goal and point and setting up another score.

From there it was a matter of keeping the score respectable and

Armagh folk went home to an empty orchard. Ah well, at least we can look forward to Crossmaglen Rangers locking horns with Mullaghbawn... and maybe one of those bloody helicopters might crash!

Wexford hurlers were nicknamed the Yellowbellies by rival supporters in the glorious '50s and '60s because of the yellow and purple jerseys they wore. The yellow has long been replaced by purple but the Rackards and Tony Doran are no longer with

us. Wexford took the first step on the road back to glory when they defeated Kilkenny in a nail-biting Leinster championship encounter last weekend in a half-empty Croke. It's been eight years since they last beat the Cats and maybe that's why there were so few of their supporters in Croke Park. One loyal Gorey follower said he had to go to a flower show while a Ballycullane fan told me she had a more pressing engagement with Arthur Guinness. Fr Murphy must be turning in his grave. Well, here's



The Cats' lives run out — Wexford manager Liam Griffin celebrates victory over Kilkenny

to the exiled supporter who travelled from Clare on his annual pilgrimage and said that he would drive to the moon to see Wexford win the All-Ireland.

This could be the year of the Yellowbelly.

BY SEAN O DONAILE

No apples in the orchard

FILM REVIEWS

*Secrets and Lies**The Confessional*

You're glued to the box, sucked into the lives, the woes and adventures of TV characters. Growing up it was usually Saturday night and *Doctor Who*. There he was wrestling with the Daleks, with cybermen, with evil timelords, always facing seemingly unresolvable dilemmas.

Me, I hid behind the couch. It was a halfway house, not completely abandoning the brave doctor, but not exactly stopping a bullet or laser blast for him either. Eventually, adult life intervenes with different challenges and problems which you think no TV programme or film could mirror. However, an insightful portrayal of



It's face up to the past time as mother and daughter meet in Mike Leigh's *Secrets and Lies*

adult dilemmas on screen often leaves you once again with nowhere

to hide. Elements of Mike Leigh's two-hour and 20-

minute epic *Secrets and Lies* leave you running for the back of the couch,

but that's not really an option in a crowded cinema.

Winner of three awards including the Palme d'Or at Cannes Film Festival this year, *Secrets and Lies* tells the story of one London family straddling social and economic classes who over the years have pasted over the many cracks of one family crisis after another.

Leigh's film engages you right from the start and delicately peels back the layers of deception, of secrets that have accumulated over the years.

The catalyst for all this is one young black woman, Hortense, who on the death of her adopted mother seeks out her first family who just happen to be white. You'll laugh, you'll cry and probably shiver because it's brilliantly

filmed with excellent acting. It's also very close to the bone of real life and seems, with Leigh's script, ultimately believable. So be prepared.

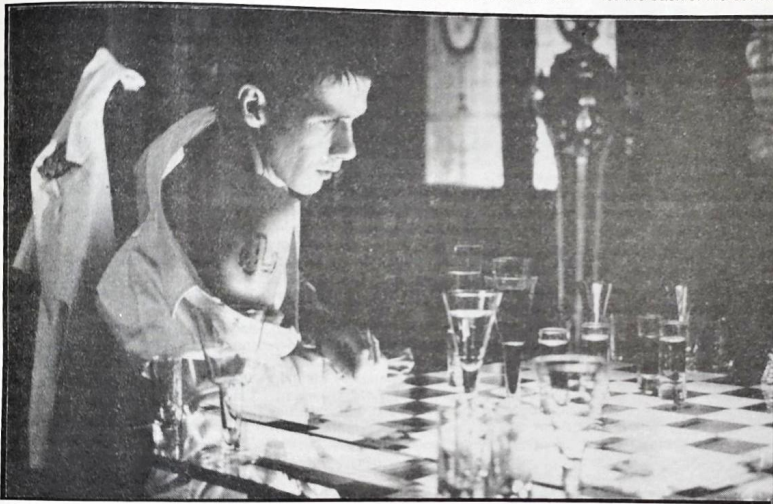
Searching for unknown parents seems to be a theme of this week's releases as Robert Lepage's *The Confessional* hits an all too small number of screens in Ireland. While *Secrets and Lies* mixes comedy and intense drama to brilliant effect, *The Confessional* does it with suspense and tragedy.

This is an excellently-filmed story which will have the cinema buffs salivating in the seats. Why, because the film which is set in Quebec, moves continually between the present day and the events of 1952 when Alfred Hitchcock was filming *I Confess* in the same location.

Our hero of sorts Lothair Bluteau sets out with his adopted brother to track down his paternal father. Giving other details could give the plot away. What we can say is that this is an excellently-presented film. The movement between the two time periods is cleverly done and the film is filled with clips and scenes taken straight out of Hitchcock's top drawer in the 'keep them guessing, frightened and ready to scream' file.

The only drawback about the film is that it leaves you wanting to see Hitchcock's *I Confess*. Maybe RTE have it lined up for their autumnal wet Saturday afternoon slot. Time will tell.

BY NEILL FORDE



Lothair Bluteau plans his next move but the audience is kept guessing

BOOK REVIEW

*Britain and Ireland:**Sovereignty and**Nationality*

by Daltún

O Ceallaigh

Published by

Léiríneas

Price £6.60

In the introduction to this book the author points to the important contribution made by the pro-Articles Two and Three lobby in the 26 Counties in the early '90s when the campaign to abolish these key parts of the 1937 Constitution was at its height. The debate focused on Britain's legislative claims to sovereignty in Ireland, in particular the 1920 Government of Ireland Act.

Daltún O Ceallaigh

Getting our Acts together

takes the process further in this book which provides an invaluable survey of the British legislation claiming sovereignty over Ireland from the Act of Union of 1801 to the Government of Ireland Act and all subsequent amending laws. These are set against the parallel legislation in the 26 Counties. The author makes the key texts accessible and analyses them critically. He traces the apparent changes in the British position especially in the Downing Street Declaration and the framework document. He argues that the core British position has not changed: "Jurisdiction

without responsibility has been the aim of the British since 1920, even though this is a legal as well as a political absurdity."

On the unionist veto he asks: "Is the implication that there is to be no 'immediate' constitutional adaptation of any kind except in this way?"

What I found particularly interesting in this book was the analysis of the role of the Dublin government in the nationalist consensus. The author says this consensus "should have been the aim all along" but the problem now is that "it is being done at somewhat of a

disadvantage given the concessions which the Irish government has been permitted to get away with from 1973 to 1993 when there was very limited electoral presence of genuine republicans.

"For example Dublin will have to be moved from the absolutist position that there cannot be any constitutional development in the North without the consent of the majority there, while at the same time of course seeking such consent as desirable in relation to a range of democratic options."

These are words worth thinking about as we enter a new and

crucial phase of London-Dublin relations. There are also very useful sections on the unionist and loyalist identities. All in all it's a compulsory read for serious students of — and participants in — the peace process. Here is the core contention of the book that raises fundamental questions for republicans:

"There is now a recognition, or at least an implication that partition has failed. The problem is: will that mean an effort to repair it rather than replace it?"

"The struggle now must be to proceed from this recognition, through a continual refusal of

northern nationalists to accept or cooperate with a refurbished Six-County UK province, to a constitutional compromise at least of an interim kind. That could allow for a devolutionary entity in northeastern Ireland, but must go beyond simply perpetuating the framework of the present United Kingdom. The key will be convincing the conservatives in Dublin and London that there will be no settlement otherwise and that the alternative is continued instability as northern nationalists are mobilised in one form or another to resist any prolongation of an unaltered constitutional status quo."

BY MICHAEL
Mac DONNCHA

Imeachtaí

☐ **EVE OF TALKS RALLIES** : Support Sinn Féin's Mandate, Ulster Hall, **BELFAST**, 7.30pm, Friday, 7 June. Speaker: Gerry Adams. Free Derry Wall, **DERRY**, 7pm, Sunday, 9 June. Speaker: Martin McGuinness

☐ **FUNCTION**: Sinn Féin fundraiser. Saturday, 8 June, Ardmaning House, **TOGHER**, County Cork. Music by the Wild Rovers. Táille £2.50

☐ **EXHIBITION**: Of historical documents and photographs. 11am-4.30pm, Saturday, 8 June, Teachers' Club, Parnell Square, **DUBLIN**. Admission free. Organised by National Graves Association

☐ **ANNIVERSARY SOCIAL**: In memory of Vincent Conlon. 5-11pm, Sunday, 9 June, Big Paddy's Bar, Bainbridge Ave/207th St, Bronx, **NEW YORK**, USA. Music by Morning Star and Ciarán McCarthy. Speaker: Seán Cronin. Organised by Clan na Gael

☐ **CLASSES**: Tar Anall week of taster classes, Falls Road, **BELFAST**. 10-12pm, Monday, 10 June, *Craft*; Morning, Tuesday, 11 June, *Parenting*. Afternoon, *Aromatherapy*; Morning, Wednesday, 12 June, *Speakeasy Classes (Sexuality and Contraception)*. Afternoon, *Irish-Language classes*; Thursday, 13 June, *Parenting*. Afternoon, *Reflexology*; Friday, 14 June, *Help with Homework*; Week Two: Tar Anall invites you to join *Choices* (women only). Monday, 17 June, IT Clait Stage 2, two mornings a week. Help with child-minding courses; £100 bonus at completion of course and certificate awarded. For further details contact Carla Rose at 603368 or 603024

☐ **WELCOME-HOME FUNCTION**: For Nessan Quinlivan and Pearse McCauley. 8.30pm, Friday, 14 June, Oakwood Arms Hotel, **SHANNON**, County Clare. Bar extension. Táille £5

☐ **PLAY**: *Insurrection*. 8pm, Friday 14 June, the Felons' Club Falls Road, **BELFAST**, County Antrim. Presented by The Phoenix Drama Group. Folk music, guest artists and disco. For further details call Jimmy, Belfast 600279

☐ **IRISH NIGHT**: In aid of Green Cross. Friday, 14 June, Mourne View Bar, **CASTLEWELLAN**, County Down. Music by Village Folk. Táille £3

☐ **PUBLIC MEETINGS**: *Sinn Féin Speaks*. All meetings start at 7.30pm. Sinn Féin speakers: Joan O'Connor and Dodie McGuinness. Monday, 10 June: Halkevi Centre 91-100, Stoke Newington Road, **LONDON**. South African and Palestinian speakers; Tuesday, 11 June: **BRIGHTON** (tel 0171 609 1743 for details); Wednesday, 12 June: London Irish Centre, 52 Camden Square, **LONDON**. Speakers from Birmingham Six, Fuscaillt and Irish Forum; Thursday, 13 June: Easton Community Centre, Easton, **BRISTOL**; Friday, 14 June: Battersea Arts Centre, 176 Lavender Hill, **LONDON**. Speakers: Labour and trade union speakers. Organised by the Irish Campaigns Networks

☐ **COMMEMORATION**: Annual James Connolly/Bobby Sands commemoration. 1pm, Sunday, 16 June, Camden Irish Centre, **LONDON**. Speakers include Dodie McGuinness (Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle), Tony Benn (Labour MP). Further details from the Wolfe Tone Society, BM Box 6191, WC1N 3XX

☐ **IRISH NIGHT**: Friday, 28 June, Dunowen Inn, **DUNGANNON**, County Tyrone. Music by Céilí. Táille £3

☐ **BODENSTOWN BUSES** (Sunday, 23 June). **CORK**: Contact Cork Sinn Féin, Ahern/Crowley Hall, Barrack St. Tel 311389. Táille £10; **DUBLIN** (Rathfarham): Leaves 11am Hillview, 11.10am, Nutgrove Fire Station, 11.25am the Furry Bog pub, 11.35am the Texaco Garage, Rathfarham village, 11.45am Mount Tallant Avenue/Harold's X; **NAVAN**: Leaves 1.30pm, Market Square

☐ **LIMERICK** Anti-Extradition Committee is looking for new members. Contact Sarah at 061-341392

I nDíl Chuimhne

BATESON, Seán; **HEANEY**, Dennis; **HEANEY**, Henry; **JORDON**, Francis; **MCCARDLE**, Margaret; **MCCAULEY**, Danny; **MCELVANNA**, Peadar; **MCKENNA**, Seán; **MULGREW**, Colm; **TURLEY**, Dan. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Seán Bateson (died 7 June 1990), Denis Heaney (died 10 June 1978), Henry Heaney (died 4 June 1978), Francis Jordan (died 4 June 1975), Margaret McCardle (died 7 June 1987), Danny McCauley (died 4 June 1991), Peadar McElvanna (died 9 June 1978), Seán McKenna (died 5 June 1975), Dan Turley (died 9 June 1978) and Sinn Féin member Colm Mulgrew (died 5 June 1976). "The enemy we have to deal with can understand no arguments from you but the point of swords." — Thomas Meagher. Remembered always by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CONLON, Vincent (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of a very dear friend Vincent Conlon, who died on 10 June 1995. From all the Sinn Féin Siopa staff, Monaghan.

DORIS, Tony (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Tony Doris. Never forgotten from Una McGrath, Johnny and family.

DORIS, Tony; **MCNALLY**, Lawrence; **RYAN**, Pete (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Tony, Lawrence and Pete, who were murdered on 3 June 1991, while on active service. They were men with a vision, men with a cause. Men who defied their oppressor's laws. From all their friends and comrades in County Monaghan.

DORIS, Tony; **MCNALLY**, Lawrence; **RYAN**, Pete (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Tony Doris, Lawrence McNally and Pete Ryan who were killed on active service at Coagh on 3 June 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

DORIS, Tony; **MCNALLY**, Lawrence; **RYAN**, Pete (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Tony Doris, Lawrence McNally and Pete Ryan who were killed on active service at Coagh on 3 June 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann,

Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe, Féin Cumann. Ardboe, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves' Association.

DORIS, Tony; **MCNALLY**, Lawrence; **RYAN**, Pete (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of In proud and loving memory of Tony and his comrades Pete and Lawrence. Remembered by Jim, Celine and the O'Donnell family, Coalisland.

DORIS, Tony; **MCNALLY**, Lawrence; **RYAN**, Pete (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friend Tony and comrades Pete and Lawrence. Always remembered by Slip and Caoimhe.

MCCAULEY, Danny (5th Ann). Volunteer Danny McCauley, OC West Tyrone Brigade, Irish Republican Army, who died on 3 June 1991. To take up arms and fight back is the hard and dangerous way. It takes courage dedication and devotion to your people to take the hard road to freedom. Always remembered by Tommy and Sandra.

MCCAULEY, Danny (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Danny McCauley who was killed on 4 June 1991. "I've always believed we had a legitimate right to take up arms and defend our country and ourselves against British occupation." — Máiréad Farrell. Always remembered by Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin, Tír Chonaill and the Séamus Harvey Sinn Féin Cumann, Ballybofey.

MCCAULEY, Danny (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Danny McCauley who died tragically on 4 June 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

MCCAULEY, Danny (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Danny McCauley who died tragically on 4 June 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By the Martin Hurson/Séamus Woods Sinn Féin Cumann, Pomeroy; By the Frank Ward Sinn Féin Cumann, Carrickmore, Creggan; By the Ahern/Loughshore Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Ardboe,

Moortown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

MCELVANNA, Peadar (17th Ann). In loving memory of Peadar McElvanna, who was killed on active service on 9 June 1979. Remembered by his uncle Kevin; by Noel and Mary Sheridan; By Stephen and Patricia and by Stephen, Caroline, Patsy and Brenda.

MCELVANNA, Peadar (17th Ann). In loving memory of Peadar McElvanna, who was killed on active service on 9 June 1979. Remembered by the North Armagh Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann; Remembered with pride by the Peadar McElvanna Sinn Féin Cumann, Armagh city.

MCKENNA, John 'Jake' (1st Ann). In memory of our mate Jake McKenna, killed on June 1995. Never more than a thought away, Jake you were one of the best, ye boy ye! Sadly missed by his mates, Glen, Seamy 'O', Dampier and Big Joe.

MCKENNA, John 'Jake' (1st Ann). In fond and loving memory of our dear friend Jake McKenna, murdered in Dundalk on 3 June 1995. Too good in life, to be forgotten in death. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Sadly missed by his friends, Séan, Trudy Gormley and daughter Sínead.

MULGREW, Colm (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Colm Mulgrew, Sinn Féin, who was assassinated by loyalist gunmen on Saturday, 5 June 1976, 20 years ago this week. From the Barney Boswell Sinn Féin Cumann, Newington, Belfast.

RYAN, Pete; **MCNALLY**, Lawrence; **DORIS**, Tony (5th Ann). In proud memory of Volunteers Pete Ryan, Lawrence McNally and Tony Doris, East Tyrone Brigade, Irish Republican Army, who were killed on active service on 3 June 1991 by crown forces at Coagh. Carry on my gallant and brave comrades until that certain day. Remembered by Darren in Scotland.

Buíochas

ARMAGH Sinn Féin would like to express their gratitude to Caoimhghín and his dedicated team of election workers from Monaghan who put in a great effort in the Keady area which resulted in us increasing our vote by 80%. We would also like to thank the great team of workers in Armagh city for helping to secure an extra 500 votes for Sinn Féin in the city area. As it would be impossible to thank all individually, we hope this will be taken as a sign of our appreciation.

JOIN SINN FÉIN

SINN FÉIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the reunification of our country and the establishment of a 32-County democratic socialist republic.

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

Name

Address

Tel: Age

THE ORANGE CARD

IN THE SUMMER OF 1886, bigoted Orange mobs, supported by British Tory politicians in their efforts to defeat the Home Rule Bill, engaged in sectarian riots and pogroms against the Catholic population in Belfast.

Though unacceptable to republicans who sought a 32-county republic, Home Rule was, in the 1880s, the demand of the mainly middle-class constitutional nationalist politicians led by Charles Stewart Parnell. The Home Rule Bill (the first of three) introduced by Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone in the British House of Commons in April 1886, offered a minimum degree of self-government for Ireland.

Under the terms of the bill Ireland would be granted an assembly of 205 members elected every five years and an upper chamber of 103 members.

The powers of the legislature were to be severely restricted; it would control its own taxes (except customs and excise) but would have to contribute an annual sum to the British Exchequer; the viceroy would have power of veto over legislation and at the same time it could not send representatives to Westminster. It would have no power to make laws concerning defence, treaties, trade, navigation, currency, undenominational education and the police.

As early as February 1886 the Conservative MP Lord Randolph Churchill, playing the Orange card in his battle with the Liberals, urged loyalists to reject Home Rule. Addressing enthusiastic Orange crowds in Belfast and across the North, using the phrase: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right," Churchill promised to help them to defeat the bill, claiming that the fight against Home Rule was, in reality, a fight to defend the British Empire.

Encouraged by the support from their powerful Tory allies in England, loyalist gangs in Belfast engaged in sectarian riots and pogroms against the beleaguered nationalist, mainly Catholic, population. In the pogroms (the worst of the century) against Catholics in Belfast, which began in June and continued throughout the summer until September, 32 people were killed and 377 injured (nearly all Catholics) with dozens of nationalists' homes burnt and wrecked.

Home Rule, as an extremely limited form of self-government was supported by the Irish Parliamentary Party and Parnell who, the previous year had stated that, "no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation". In the House of Commons debate, while accepting the bill "as a final settlement of the Irish question", he still believed it would be possible to make advances in the future towards greater independence.

On its second reading at Westminster in early June 1886, the Home Rule Bill was defeated by 341 votes to 311 following the defection by a Whig section of the party and of Liberal-unionists led by Joseph Chamberlain. The English parliament was dissolved and in the general election which followed, the Conservatives under Lord Salisbury were returned to power. Churchill, who had supported loyalists in their opposition to Home Rule, became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The first Home Rule Bill was defeated by a Tory-Orange conspiracy on 8 June 1886, 110 years ago this week.



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

Boost for Sinn Féin in Dundalk

WHEN SINN FÉIN'S Martin McGuinness took the stage on Saturday's hunger-strike march in Dundalk he was greeted with warm and enthusiastic applause. County Louth was welcoming the massive vote given to the party by the people of the Six Counties at Thursday's election.

The newly-elected Sinn Féin representative had earlier opened the party's new office and advice centre in the town's

Williamson Street, where party members from all over the county greeted McGuinness as he snipped the green ribbon, doubling as a Saolise ribbon, pinned across the door.

Then in the company of Liam Adams of the North Louth Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair and other party members McGuinness walked through the town and from the amount of heads turned, fingers pointed, and hands shook the impact of the Sinn Féin election result was clearly felt south of the border too.

HUNDREDS-STRONG CROWD

At the march rallying point in Market Square McGuinness told the hundreds-strong crowd who marched from Fair Green that the waves created by the pebble dropped into the water by Bobby Sands' election victory in 1981, in the Fermanagh/South Tyrone by-election, were still being felt on the political shores of Ireland.

There was no doubting from the tone of his speech that McGuinness and the marchers were celebrating a great victory, one that shocked the British and "one that the Dublin government must heed also".

At the rally former H-Block prisoner Gerry Bradley read from the writings of Bobby Sands; Malachy Foots of Dundalk Sinn Féin chaired the ceremony. The Martin Hurson Memorial Band finished the ceremony with the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.



Young people at Saturday's rally in Dundalk



Commemorating the 1981 hunger strikers in the square in Dundalk the crowd cheers Martin McGuinness who addressed the rally and formally opened the Sinn Féin centre in the town



Gaeltacht na Fuiseoige bliain d'aois

Nuair a tháinig an Samhradh breá fada orainn i 1995, tharla gurbh í forbairt Ghaeltacht na Fuiseoige ceann eile de na gáiscí is na spriocanna a baineadh amach ag cimi poblachtánacha na Ceiste Faide, fríd streachailt leanúnach thar na bhliantaí fhada a chuaigh romhainn. I ndiaidh don Ghaeltacht a bheith ar an tsaol ar feadh bliana tá na cimi ag gabháil a mhacnamh ar na rudaí a thit amach agus scrúdú a dhéanamh ar an mhéid dul chun cinn atá déanta acu go dtí seo. Seo thíos a dtuairimí.

Tá sé thar a bheith tábhachtach in achan ghné den streachailt go mbeadh gníomhaithe, bíodh siad poblachtánach nó nach mbíodh, iontach eolach ar an hathraithe a tháinig ar chúrsaí an tsaol agus a thugann déis dúinn dul chun cinn a dhéanamh.

Le linn 20 bliana de streachailt sna Blocanna-H bhain cimi poblachtánacha tairbhe as déiseanna fóirsteanacha go rialta, agus b'amhlaidh an scéal nuair a cuireadh ar bun Ghaeltacht na Fuiseoige i Sciathán C, H6, ar 29 Bealtaine 1995.

Ag an phóinte sin bhí sos chogaidh Ogligh na hÉireann chóir a bheith bliain d'aois, agus mar a bhíodh ag súil thit líon na gcimi ar choimeád, a bhí lonnaithe i H6 C&D, ó 80 go dtí thart fá 28 fear. Sa chuid eile den champa bhí, ar a laghad, ceathrar cimi dubailte suas ar achan sciathán, rud a chur ribe ar achan duine! Mar sin tharla go raibh na cillíní folamha i H6 mar fhreagra don chur thar maol ar fud an champa uilig, agus aontaíodh cainteoirí Gaeilge measartha líofa a bhogadh isteach.

Nuair a bhí go leor cainteoirí Gaeilge socraithe i H6 tugadh le fios go poiblí go raibh Ghaeltacht na Fuiseoige ar an tsaol, le sraith altanna in *An Glór Gafa*, *AP/RN*, *Lá agus an Irish News*. Bhí neart leabhair, foclóirí, agus áiseanna eile de dhíth orainn ionas go mbeadh timpeallacht fhoirsteanach ann do dhúine ar bith ar mhaith leo staidéar éifeachtach a chur isteach ar an Ghaeilge.

Mar sin scríobh muid chuig cuid mhór eagraíochtaí ar fud na hÉireann a bhfuil baint acu le cur chun cinn na Gaeilge

agus d'iarr muid cuidiú orthu. Taobh istigh de chúpla seachtain tháinig cuid mhór ábhair isteach chugainn agus anois tá leabharlann ar an sciathán atá lán le leabhair Gaeilge, buíochas le tacaíocht ón Chultúrann i Béal Feirste, Glór na nGael, Conradh na Gaeilge, Gael Linn, Roinn na Chultúir Shinn Féin, An Institiúid Teangeolaíocht Éireann, Bord na Gaeilge, Aras Mháirtín Uí Chadhain, Coiscéim, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, An Gúm, Comhar na Múinteoirí, Iontaobhas Ultacht agus go leor meánscoileanna i mBéal Feirste agus Ard Mhacha.

Leis an timpeallacht a Ghaelú ní ba mhó luigh muid isteach ar an sciathán a mhaisiú le pósteairí, pictiúirí agus comharthaí a raibh seanfhocail Gaeilge scríofa orthu, cosúil le "Is fearr Gaeilge bhríste ná Béarla cliste", nó, "Is fearr an tsláinte ná an táinte", srl. Phéinteáil ealaíontóirí ollte na Gaeiltacht, Jimmy McAlister, cúig phictiúr ar 'perspex'. An ceann is mó, atá lonnaithe ag bun an sciatháin, rinnead le péint dubh agus ór é agus cuireann sé fáilte roimh chách, idir mhúinteoirí agus chimí ó na blocanna eile, a thig ar chuairt chuig Gaeiltacht na Fuiseoige. Ar cheann eile tá iomhá Roibeard Mhic Sandair agus an fuiseog agus thíos an dáta



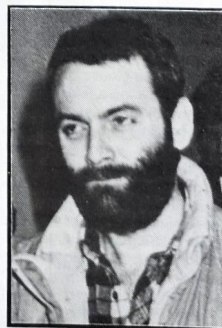
ROIBEARD MAC SANDAIR

ar bunaíodh Gaeiltacht s'againne.

FAOI LAN SEOIL

Roimh i bhfad bhí na ranganna Gaeilge ag gabháil ar aghaidh faoi lán seoil. Bhíodh an clár ama is cruca acu siúd a raibh leibhéal an Fháinne Airgid bainte amach acu, le dhá rang achan lá, cúig lá sa tseachtain. Na fir eile a bhí ar chaighdeán ní ba airde ná sin bhíodh rang amháin measartha fada acusan achan trathnóna agus cuid mhór acu rinneadh iad amuigh fá aimsir bheá mhí Bealtaine, Iúil agus Lúnasa.

Ar 8 i.n. achan Aoine bhíodh an ard rang bheo



BIK MCFARLANE

bhriomhar ar siúl sa chillín mór. Chlúdaigh muid a lán

ábhar suimiúla in sna díospóireachtaí céanna, cosúil le forbairtí a bhain leis an phróiseas síochána, imeachtaí sa Ghaeltacht, cúrsaí a bhain leis an teanga, an saol ar na hoileáin amach ó chósta na hÉireann, an timpeallacht, an lucht taistil.

Taobh istigh den teanga, tharla grubb i an Ghaeltacht croí lár imeachtaí cultúrtha d'achan saghas. Trathnóntaí Aoine ghlac Bik McFarlane rang amhránaíoch a chuig fríd sraith amhráin as an leabhrán *Abair Amhráin*. Bhí an cleachtadh seo ina chuidiú mhór don fhuaimníocht — siocair go raibh an oiread sin ceoltóirí i láthair, cuirim i gcás Tarlac O Conghalaigh agus Caomhín O Cosgraigh ar an fheadóg stáin, Antón O Néill, Seán O Daimhín agus Conchúr Mac Giolla Mhuire ar banjo agus maindlín, Pádraig Mac Giolla Bhui agus Pól Dubhthaigh ar an ghiotar agus Bik é féin, niorbh fhada go raibh seisiúin bheaga agus seisiúin mhóra mar pháirt de shaol na Gaeiltachta.

CEOLCHOIRM

Bhí ceolchoirm ar dóigh againn i mí Iúil, nuair a d'fhág Pól McGettigan slán linn agus arís níos déanaí i mí na Samhna nuair a bhí cósir mhór againn do Sheán O Daimhín, Pól O Dubhthaigh, Mícheál Tallon, Ruairí Mac Carthaigh agus Máirtín O Maolmhuaidh a fuair cead a gcinn leo.

I mí Eanáir 1996 chuir muid an chéad dhrama Gaeilge ar an ardán sa Cheis Fhada, bhuel tá muid ag maíomh gurbh é an chéad cheann ar scor ar bith! Ba é an teideal a bhí air ná "Dúnmharú is Slad", finscéal greannmhar a bhí ann agus é bunaithe i dteach taibhairne i mBéal Feriste sna 1970í.

Ba é Gearóid Mac Aodh an freastalaí agus ghlac Peadar O Cuinneagáin, Liam Averill, Collié O Dubhthaigh, Pádraig Mac Giolla Bhui, Conchúr Mac Giolla Mhuire agus Antón O Néill páirteanna na gcustaiméirí éagsúla. Mar is gnáth le achan dhrama sa Cheis Fhada rinneadh a lán magadh ar an lucht féachana ach chan leath chomh dona agus a fuair na haisteoirí féin.

(Ar lean an seachtain seo chugainn).

NETANYAHU

— the price of power



Palestinian demonstrators on the West Bank last week. Victory for the Israeli right in the election threatens renewed conflict

IT WAS BY ADOPTING the classic electoral strategy of the right that Binyamin Netanyahu became Israel's new premier. Fear, hatred, barely-disguised racism and the clever manipulation of deep-rooted insecurities formed the central platform of Netanyahu's successful campaign.

Playing on that curious anomaly in the Israeli psyche — the ability to don the mantle of the persecuted, while acting as the persecutor — Netanyahu persuaded a majority of voters, albeit a slim one, that peace and compromise represents a threat to the greatest economic and military power in the region. Along with his uncompromising stance, his warlike rhetoric and general disdain for all things Arab, Netanyahu cynically recycled news footage of the Hamas bus bombings for use in his campaign advertisements. Quite apart from the sickening exploitation of the dead which that usage constituted, it also drove home the irredentist message that Israel was surrounded on all sides by bloodthirsty butchers interested only in mass murder. The logical corollary of that position, said Netanyahu, was that these alleged mass murderers understood nothing but brute force. And he, 'Bibi' Netanyahu, was the man to apply it.

It will hardly have escaped the notice of many that this is precisely the sort of dangerous nonsense supposedly made redundant by the 1993 Oslo Accords.

This aspect of Netanyahu's campaign mirrored to a remarkable degree the infamous 1988 Presidential campaign to George Bush. Then, Bush made it a central plank of his strategy to manipulate White middle-class fears about Blacks. Using the now notorious Willie Horton ads, he portrayed the entire Black community as congenitally criminal and bet solely on the rape, pillage and plunder of comfortable White communities. Netanyahu simply went a step

further by his demonisation of entire nations.

For his part, Shimon Peres can have little complaint. After all, it was Peres who breached new lows of political cynicism in launching Operation Grapes of Wrath: expending hundreds of innocent Lebanese lives in order to salvage his own flagging campaign.

Bibi, nonetheless, spent virtually the entire campaign telling voters what he would not do, or how he would roll back 'concessions' made to the Palestinians.

Although conceding that he would not revoke the Oslo Accords — only a few months after promising he would reverse the whole peace process — Netanyahu did so only begrudgingly. It would be reasonable to suspect his first instinct remains his truest.

Meanwhile, he talked of a complete and literally physical separation of Palestinians and Israelis by way of constructing a wall between the two. Bibi chooses to call this a 'peace-line'. He has also stated "unequivocally" that Israel will never hand over the Golan Heights, thus scuppering any chance of a rapprochement with neighbouring Syria.

In addition, the man who has frequently compared the PLO to the Nazis, has made clear his revulsion at the prospect of meeting or talking to Yasser Arafat.

Quite how Bibi Netanyahu hopes to continue with the Oslo Accords — under which a final agreement is set for 1999 — while refusing to talk to the elected leader of those with whom he must make peace, remains a mystery.

WORLD VIEW

BY
DARA
Mac NEILL

Even if Netanyahu backs down on that particular piece of campaign rhetoric, his utterances have hardly created the most auspicious climate for a peace process that is already seriously troubled. The parallels with Ireland are depressingly obvious. Furthermore, the vexed question of Jerusalem — which straddles the border between the Palestinian-run West Bank and Israel — is off the agenda completely, according to Netanyahu. Once again, he has shown a remarkable capacity to sabotage peace talks before they even begin.

However, it is on the issue of Israeli settlements that Netanyahu threatens to completely undermine prospects for real peace in the Middle East. He has repeatedly pledged that restrictions on new settlements will be lifted and state money supplied for their expansion.

Perhaps, Netanyahu and the settlers believe that if they can substantially increase the settler population on the West Bank in the run-up to 1999, Palestinian demands for outright control of the region will become meaningless. Indonesia pursues a similar 'planter' strategy in its colonies of East Timor and West Papua. In recent days there have been attempts to salvage some hope from the situation. Thus, some media outlets have insisted that the realities of power, in tandem with international pressure, will keep Netanyahu on the straight and narrow.

They point out also, that he is a political neophyte without any real ideology — the suggestion being that his outrageous claims and statements were mere electoral rhetoric. Thus, the plot runs, once in power, Bibi the loveable rogue will prove the ultimate pragmatist.

That may well prove to be the case, but it misses a number of crucial points. Firstly, it is likely that noted lunatics like Ariel Sharon will be included in his cabinet and will exert considerable influence. Secondly, in order to form a government, Netanyahu will have to make good on promises to the smaller right-wing parties.

More fundamentally, however, it begs the question: If Netanyahu was prepared to use blatant racism and hatred in his pursuit of power, just how far will he go to maintain his hold on it?

H-Block Four in court in San Francisco

POL BRENNAN, Terence Kirby and Kevin Barry Artt, three of the H-Block Four extradition victims appeared in the United States District Court in San Francisco on Friday, 31 May. The hearing, in the courtroom of US District Judge Charles Legge, examined various issues related to the discovery of evidence in the extradition proceedings against the three men.

At the same time, the court discussed the procedures for taking testimony from approximately 66 defence witnesses, not all of whom can attend the proceedings in San Francisco. The court has taken "under advisement" the idea that the judge travel to the Six Counties for the purpose of hearing some of the testimony. Such a procedure, while not unprecedented in international cases, would certainly be rare. Also a matter of concern to the court is the tremendous cost of pursuing these cases. In the terms of the Anglo-American Extradition Treaty, under which these proceedings are being held, the British government could be

assessed for these costs. However, that option does not seem to have been considered.

The H-Block Four prisoners, along with 34 others, escaped from the supposedly escape-proof H-Blocks of Long Kesh in 1983. The four made their way to California where they lived and worked and were raising families until the first arrests in 1992. Since that time, Jimmy Smyth, the fourth of the four prisoners, has won a decision denying the extradition in the US District Court. The Justice Department is currently appealing that decision to the United States Supreme Court.

Next Week THE TALKS TABLE

— WHO'LL BE THERE?



With the start of talks set for Monday, 10 June AP/RN reports on unfolding events

Media in tailspin over big vote

BY MICK NAUGHTON

"THIRTY THOUSAND VOTES more than the bottom five of the top ten parties." This spin on the astounding vote cast by the people of no property last week was from Sinn Féin's arch publicist and former diligent hack for AP/RN Richard McAuley. Other reactions in the media world ranged from objective to apologetic and most things in between.

In interpreting the Sinn Féin vote (now a major source of employment for leader writers and political commentators) speculation as to what the people REALLY voted for was

every person who voted for Sinn Féin in a secret ballot organised by the British government loudly demanded that their right to be represented must be as valid as the total of 60 people who voted for John Major's Conservative Party in West Belfast.

Dispirited Tory press officer and tearful spin doctor, Alex Kane, was asked his opinion in the unionist daily the *Newsletter* on Monday, 3 June. Kane pulled no punches.

"The simple truth is that the Conservative Party was roundly and comprehensively stuffed in this election," he declared with resigned honesty. "99% of the electorate voted against us. If

"The simple truth is that the Conservative Party was roundly and comprehensively stuffed in this election. 99% of the electorate voted against us. If John Major is happy, then it is the happiness of the asylum, of the strait-jacketed patient who believes himself to be Napoleon!" — Tory Party press officer in the Six Counties Alex Kane

rife. Let's go to the northern based *Sunday Life* and the Dublin version of the British tabloid, the *Star*. For the *Sunday Life* the editorial began: "It would be easy to get totally depressed over the surge in support for Sinn Féin in this week's election", while the *Star* (relying on the Chucks to sell a few more papers), headlined its front page "Call off the IRA, Voters in plea to Sinn Féin."

Nothing here about how

John Major is happy, then it is the happiness of the asylum, of the straitjacketed patient who believes himself to be Napoleon!"

Kane later likened Major's "man on the spot" Paddy Mayhew as "this wobbly wobbly secretary-of-state-on-a-stick [who] can be guaranteed to melt."

Moving onto a 'serious' paper and if you read the full contents of *Irish Times*



Republicans, as usual, used every possible medium to get their message across

editorials of 1 and 3 June you would have almost tasted the venom pouring out at the people who gave Sinn Féin their renewed mandate. On Saturday it told its readers that Sinn Féin "secured a much more substantial mandate than

expected" but "cannot claim to have a democratic mandate." By Monday this had become the "pretence" of a mandate.

Even the British government has rarely condemned Sinn Féin voters to second-class citizenship as openly as the *Irish*

Times did when it wrote "a vote for Sinn Féin represents a different purchase than a vote for anyone else".

Tom McGurk observed in the *Sunday Business Post* that Gerry Adams' West Belfast vote was "the largest of any party leader in the North..." So we'll leave it up to Gerry Adams to speak for the ordinary republican voter who braved the stormy weather and the RUC at the polling stations to put an X beside Sinn Féin.

"Sinn Féin received a substantial negotiating mandate in last week's election. Those who voted for our party have a right to expect their elected representatives to be present at any negotiations. Having lectured republicans on the sanctity of the ballot box, the British government cannot now be allowed to set these democratic votes aside because they don't like the outcome of the election."



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