

Inside DRUGS



7,10/11



Marshall
inquest



20



Tribute to
Volunteer



5

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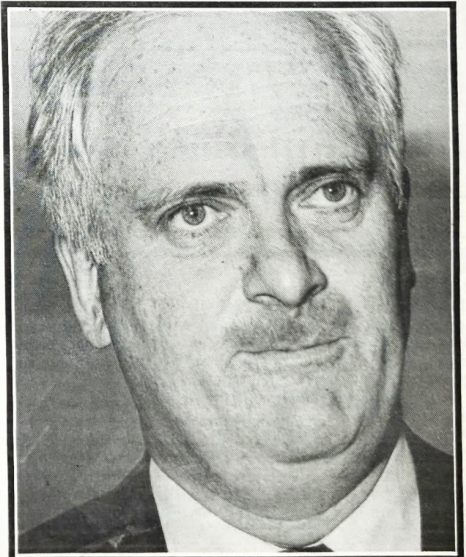
Bruton slur on SF voters

BY REPEATING his attack on Sinn Féin in Leinster House on Wednesday afternoon, Dublin Premier John Bruton has signalled that the 26-County government may return to the failed policies of trying to suppress republicans and republican ideals. In a calculated contribution John Bruton repeated his slur of last week that Sinn Féin's attitude to the use of IRA violence was originated by the fascist Nazi Party in Germany earlier this century. He went on: "...Many people in Germany thought they could tame those using such methods. They were the ones that were tamed..."

The extraordinary claim of comparison between a National Liberation struggle and the hate-policies of the Nazi powers have put the public exchanges on the course of the talks process into sharp relief. While the remarks of John Bruton and those of John Major at his party conference last week indicate that politicians at the heart of the conflict are resorting to personal abuse as a means of covering over the cracks in the talks process, Sinn Féin has

continued to plead for real inclusive and genuine talks to negotiate a peaceful future for all the people of Ireland. Meanwhile, the ongoing talks at Stormont, which exclude the 116,000 voters Mr Bruton has besmirched have finally been forced to come up with an agenda. And in a show of just how much chance of success these talks have, the media has been forced to describe this development as a "breakthrough".

— see editorial p8



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BACK ISSUES

Bluster in Blackpool — butchery in Belfast

LAST WEEK the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool heard Britain's direct ruler in the Six Counties Peter Brooke and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd play the oldest card in the Tory deck — the Orange Card. "We will stand by Ulster through thick and thin," boasted Brooke, while Douglas Hurd won applause for his assurance to unionists that Irish unity was definitely not on the agenda. At the same time in Belfast, Irish people were paying with their lives for the Conservative government's maintenance of Britain's sectarian unionist state.

In a succession of attacks in the short space of eight days by loyalist gangs, five Catholics were murdered and attempts were made on the lives of others, some of them being very seriously injured. The attacks were random, the victims singled out simply because they were from nationalist areas. The logic behind the killings and shootings was that such terror keeps nationalists in their place, keeps them from demanding their civil and national rights and so helps stabilise the Six-County state.

AP/RN 17 October 1991

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ARMY

Editor's Desk

Here's a fine sight. A British Army recruitment ad in the *Celtic View*, the official Glasgow Celtic newspaper. And on the same page? An ad for the new Celtic Bar on the Falls Road. This might make you pause for thought if you are a young Celtic supporter thinking of taking the Queen's shilling.

What if you find yourself on patrol in West Belfast and you are ordered into the bar ("your own little Paradise in Belfast") to sort out a couple of republicans? And what if Celtic vs Rangers is on the telly in the last match of the season with Celtic poised to win the championship (I know, the whole scenario is a bit implausible)? Do you go about your ugly business or would you rather settle down with a pint ("the cheapest in Belfast") and watch the match? Are you a true Celtic supporter or a dirty imperialist aggressor? The choice is yours. Think carefully.

Editor's Desk

On Questions and Answers on Monday night Fine Gael TD Alan Dukes said "If you read *An Phoblacht* you'll see that no term of exorcism is too severe for their enemies." I think he means we call people names. What a slur on this wonderful journal. For example, we have never called Alan Dukes a specy four-eyed gangly failed leader of a bunch of Blueshirts.

Nor would we.

Editor's Desk

Good to see the Forum is taking its responsibilities seriously. It has appointed Cedric Wilson

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Wilson has been appointed to organise their annual outing to a secluded beach in County Down.

Editor's Desk

Beware of the Internet and of the strange people who inhabit it. This week our office received an e-mail from a real Mr Angry in the USA who berated us for ill-treating horses in Dublin's housing estates. But the strangest may be the people who write the RUC web site. In their 'RUC museum' they have this little gem from District Inspector Spears, writing in 1923 about the events of July 1921: "The IRA was responsible for an enormous number of murders, bombings, shootings and incendiary fires. The work of the police against them was, however, greatly hampered by the fact that the rough element on the Protestant side entered thoroughly into the disturbances, met murder with murder and adopted in many respects the tactics of the rebel gunmen. In the endeavour to cope simultaneously with the warring factions the police efforts were practically nullified."

How comforting that the views of the RUC have not changed in over 70 years (and how comforting that none of 'the rough element on the Protestant side' ever found their way into that great force).

Editor's Desk

Gerry Adams is famous in Toledo, Ohio. Last month the new President of the University of Toledo senate, Professor McGuire, in his speech at the opening of the senate quoted from Gerry Adams's *The Politics of Irish Freedom* on the role of leadership and open expression and on the philosophy of Sinn Féin. As you would expect, he sat down to a chorus of approving cheers.

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NOTES



Apprentice Boys refuse to meet Derry nationalists

BY EOIN O BROIN

DONNCHA MAC NIALLAIS, Bogside Residents' Group spokesperson has slammed the Apprentice Boys decision to march on Derry's city walls this coming Saturday. Calling the decision "provocative", Mac Niallais said it "had already led to a heightening of tension within the city" and serves no "purpose other than to create considerable ill-will and to further damage community relations within the community".

Stressing the need for dialogue and consent to resolve the issue of marches, Mac Niallais said: "The Bogside Residents' Group

remains ready to meet with the representatives of the Apprentice Boys' Association, under the auspices of John Hume, to resolve the

outstanding issues which currently exist between the two groups. We believe that such negotiations, followed by an agreement, would send a powerful and positive message to everyone in this city and wider afield who believe the way forward is through accommodation".

Meanwhile Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Dodie McGuinness describing the Apprentice Boys' decision to march as "arrogant" and "confrontational".

"The Apprentice Boys'

refusal to respond to requests from the Bogside Residents' Association for discussion underlines the arrogance of this organisation which obviously does not accept the need for agreement and accommodation. Alastair Simpson's declaration last August that the Apprentice Boys would march on the walls at a time of their own choosing betrays the mindset of that organisation. Unable to reach agreement with the Bogside Residents' Group, the Apprentice Boys retreated to



DODIE MCGUINNESS

their trenches until now and have unilaterally decided to try once more to walk the walls."

Catholic boy dies from Drumcree-inspired violence

BY MICK NAUGHTON.

THE continuing tension from the Orange Order stand-off at Drumcree last July was responsible for the death of Portadown schoolboy, Darren Murray, according to his mother Marie-Therese.

Speaking after eleven-year-old Darren, from Garvaghy Park, died in the Royal Victoria Hospital on Thursday night 10 October, two days after he was knocked down by a van on the town's Corcain Road. Marie-

Therese Murray said, "I blame the 'Siege of Drumcree', and if you come back to me in six months time I'll still be the same."

Sitting alongside Marie-Therese was her 14-year-old daughter Maria, who witnessed the incident that cost her brother his life when a loyalist gang taunted him about his religion and the colour of his skin near Corcain Orange Hall.

"They shouted nigger, Fenian nigger. He hopped off his bike and ran across the road," related a badly-distraught Maria who

watched in horror as a van knocked Darren down.

"The [loyalist] crowd cheered when he was hit. They shouted, 'Yeah, up the UVF, Up the UVF'."

The seriously-injured boy never recovered consciousness and died in intensive care 48 hours later after a life-support machine was switched off.

His mother said tension in the small nationalist enclave of Portadown had remained high since last summer and explained to reporters that she took Darren

out of the town before last summer's Orange Order's violence.

However, as this year's violence escalated across the Six Counties she had nowhere to go with her young children.

"It has made the Catholic children bitter and the Protestant children bitter. I feel very, very, very bitter about it. It has cost a young life."

The Garvaghy Road Residents' Coalition, representing the people of the area spoke of the community's

sorrow at Darren's death. Expressing "sincere sympathy to the parents, brothers and sisters of Darren at his tragic and untimely death", a representative added that it had deeply affected the community.

"This tragic death at such an early age was the result of mounting sectarian division in this town following the Drumcree conflict."

"It demonstrates fully just how important it is for both sides to urgently commence a process of dialogue."

DOUBTS OVER ARMAGH INQUIRY

BY MICK NAUGHTON

THE family of Martin Connolly, a young Armagh nationalist injured by an RUC Land Rover on the night of 11 July, have expressed doubts about the effectiveness of an inquiry being carried out by the Independent Commission on Police Complaints (ICPC).

The family has been unable to find out the identities of the three-person ICPC panel and say that one of them may be from the RUC Complaints Division. This, they say, raises questions over its impartiality. AP/RN's Laura Friel reported on 15 August that members of the RUC's Special Branch have been involved from the beginning of this case.

The family is also disturbed about an incident when Martin's clothes disappeared while he was in hospital.

On advice from the family solicitor the Connolly family asked the Royal Hospital in Belfast for Martin's clothes and asked that the ICPC be informed that a legal action has been instigated against the driver and occupants of the RUC jeep that ran over Martin.

However, a hospital representative couldn't find Martin's clothes and assumed they had been "dumped" because they were in "tatters" and "saturated in blood."

On pushing the matter

Dessie Connolly was told that the RUC had removed the clothes within days of Connolly's legal action. Mysteriously, the clothes reappeared weeks later at a crucial stage in the ICPC's investigation.

The family solicitor is also inquiring if the RUC members involved in attempting to kill Martin Connolly have made statements to the ICPC and if they made additional statements after eyewitness evidence became available. The family suspect the RUC officers involved may have tailored their statements.

However, despite their doubts, the family has decided to give evidence to the inquiry.

Martin Connolly's RUC nightmare began at 10pm on 11 July, shortly after the RUC and British government surrendered to the Orange Order at Drumcree.

As nationalists in Armagh city gathered in the town centre to peacefully demonstrate their anger at the events on Garvaghy Road the RUC, backed by British Paratroopers, moved against them.

On Ogle Street three RUC armoured personnel carriers, travelling at high speed, attempted to ram a group of young people.



The first RUC vehicle rammed people against a wall, the second against a shop, the third ran over Martin Connolly seriously injuring him. For a number of weeks his medical condition was described as "critical".

Nineteen-year-old Martin Connolly still requires constant attention at Daisy Hill Hospital in Newry, and Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH).

Martin Connolly and the serious injuries for which he is still being treated

RIR threaten Lurgan couple

A LURGAN COUPLE, Patrick and Brigid Scullion, say members of a Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) patrol told them they "were glad the ceasefire was over" so they could gather information for the UVF.

The incident happened last Wednesday 9 October at 10am as the couple were travelling along William Street. They were stopped at an RIR checkpoint and held for an hour.

The British soldiers called the nationalists "Kilwikkee scum" and abused Patrick Scullion about being on the dole.

During a search of the couple's vehicle the soldiers read personal letters.

After the incident the couple, who were frightened by the sinister behaviour of the RIR, made a formal complaint to their solicitor.

Stop plea to vandals

BELFAST Sinn Féin Councillor Marie Moore has called on vandals responsible for £15,000 worth of damage to two community projects in Moyard and Upper Springfield Road to "stop destroying your own communities".

She was speaking after a weekend which saw the NSPCC day centre in Moyard and the Credit Union at the top of the Whiterock Road vandalised. They now need over £7,000 each to replace roofs that were wrecked in a weekend of "wanton destruction".

Moore, who represents the Upper Springfield area, said, "it isn't outsiders who come in to cause this destruction, it is people from the area, so all they are doing is depriving their communities of much-needed resources. Those causing this damage should stop and think who they are hurting".

Death squads warning

SINN FÉIN elected representative Mick Murphy has called on nationalists to be vigilant after the RUC visited the homes of people in the Castlewellan area of South Down to warn them they are on a loyalist death list.

The RUC came to the homes of two men and a mother of three children on Tuesday 15 October. They informed them that their personal details were in the hands of loyalist death squads.

The RUC refused to disclose the nature of the information that the loyalists have or where it came from.

Murphy said: "When one considers the history of loyalist death squads in the area I find this news extremely disturbing. I urge nationalists to take every precaution."

Farmer rejects disclaimer

A NUMBER of people have contacted AP/RN to rubbish the disclaimer published by Portlengone businessman Noel Stewart saying he had played no part in the Orange blockades during the Drumcree stand-off.

As reported in AP/RN on 10 October, Stewart had the disclaimer published in the Catholic *Greenlough Parish Bulletin* in an attempt to have the boycott of his Portlengone butchers and gunshop lifted.

However, local farmer Francis McWilliams said that as he travelled towards Portlengone during the Drumcree stand-off he was stopped by the RUC who told him the road was clear at the Smithtown Cross. When he arrived there, there were about 100 to 150 Orangemen blocking the road. "Three of them approached me saying they weren't letting me through," McWilliams said. "Stewart was playing a fairly major role and told me the tractor and turf cutter would be burned if I didn't go back."

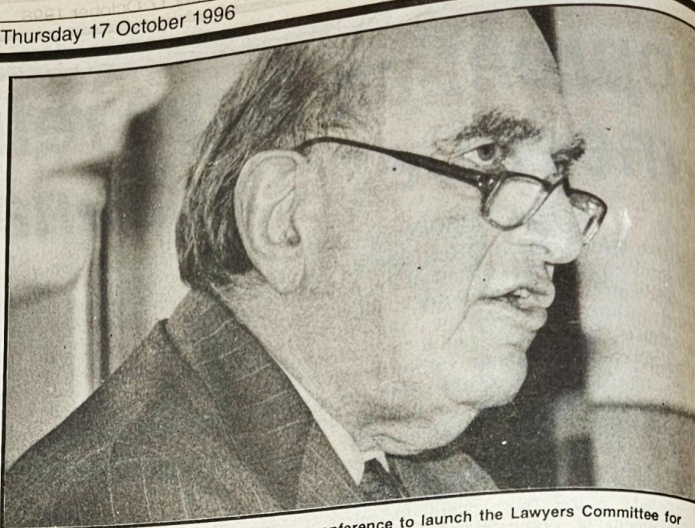
McWilliams said that he pretended to turn, but during the manoeuvre a gap in the blockade opened and he drove through it. However, the road was blocked further on and he had to return through the Orange block and windows in the tractor cab were broken.

"I went into his [Stewart's] shop and challenged him," said McWilliams. "I told him his notice in the *Bulletin* was no good, that I knew he was there."

Soldier's family calls for troops out

WALTER BRADWELL, the brother of James Bradwell, the British soldier fatally wounded when the IRA bombed the British Army's HQ in Lisburn last week, called for the British Army to be pulled out of Ireland.

The death on Friday 11 October of Warrant Officer James Bradwell of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (REME) brought the number of British soldiers killed in the conflict here to 649.



Professor Norman Dorsen at the press conference to launch the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights report

US lawyers say end emergency laws

BY EOIN O BROIN

THE AMERICAN-BASED Lawyers Committee for Human Rights has called on the British government to abolish all its emergency legislation in the Six Counties. Spokesperson Michael Posner said there was an urgent need to rebuild confidence in the political process "by restoring basic legal safeguards and dismantling the emergency regime".

Launching their report, *At The Crossroads: Human Rights and the Northern Ireland Peace Process*, on Monday 14 October, the committee also called for an independent inquiry into the murder of human rights lawyer Pat Finucane and the role played by crown forces in his death.

The Lawyers Committee is an American human rights organisation with over 20 years experience examining conflicts across the world. Work on their report began in 1992 during a fact-finding mission to the Six

Counties with a follow-up trip in 1995. They met the legal community, political representatives, human rights activists and community groups.

At a press conference to launch the report, eminent American human rights lawyer Norman Dorsen bluntly stated, "the old way of doing things hasn't worked in Northern Ireland. The government must face reality. Human rights are not mere side issues to be addressed when constitutional structures have been agreed and negotiated. The denial of

human rights has been at the heart of the conflict. By the same token it is only by reasserting the centrality of rights that peace can be achieved."

"No event came to symbolise the hazards faced by Northern Ireland's defence lawyers more than the murder of Patrick Finucane," the report says. Having noted the failure of both the RUC and Stevens inquiries into the murder, the lawyers conclude that "the best hope for uncovering the truth behind the Finucane murder rests with legal actions filed by his widow". However noting that, "the authorities have not been forthcoming in turning over information that Mrs Finucane requires", the committee asks if this is because it "could reveal information about the potential collusion of the security forces" with Finucane's murderers.

RELATIVES ORGANISE LOUGHGALL INQUIRY

BY EOIN O BROIN

ALMOST ten years after the SAS shoot-to-kill operation at Loughgall in which eight IRA Volunteers and civilian Anthony Hughes were killed, their families are planning to open their own inquiry.

The relative's group, Loughgall Truth and Justice Campaign, hope a public inquiry will investigate why the SAS did not attempt to use non-lethal force; why in light of the fact that the RUC had intelligence regarding the IRA operation 24 hours

prior to the killings they did not attempt to prevent the incident; why the RUC officers involved in the killings insisted on remaining anonymous during the inquiry; and why the Hughes brothers and other civilians were allowed to drive into the scene of such a carefully-planned ambush.

Mairéad Kelly, sister of one of those killed in the ambush told AP/RN: "As in all cases of disputed killings by the security forces the families were left with nothing but a coroner's

inquest. This system in the North of Ireland has many flaws. We have absolutely no redress in this country. We cannot question the circumstances of the killings, we are denied information about the killings, we are denied the right to know who killed our loved ones."

Commenting on the purpose of the public inquiry, Kelly said that: "We feel that the state must be made accountable for these deaths and that they owe us at least the answers to our grievances."

TRIBUTES

Volunteer Diarmuid O'Neill

A TRIBUTE BY A COMRADE

I FIND MYSELF in the unenviable position of trying to put pen to paper about my close friend and comrade Volunteer Diarmuid O'Neill. No amount of words can adequately describe Diarmuid's humour, love of life, politics and commitment to the republican struggle.

We first met several years ago, and I tell no lie when I say we struck up a strong bond of friendship almost immediately. Politics was our common denominator but from that flowed everything. For Diarmuid, although he was born and reared in London, his heart and head were in Ireland. Traditional music and a couple of pints of Guinness was a great favourite of his. I often heard him lament about the poor state of the black stuff in London, and then sing the praises of the Dublin or Cork variety. Christy Moore was a favourite and he saw him live a couple of times. Moving Hearts, Mary Black were all in his top ten as well as Pink Floyd, REM and a whole range of contemporary music.

Although culturally and politically an Irishman his was no narrow view of nationality.

He would have described himself as a socialist republican and had a broad view of the world, always with the underdog. He studied other struggles and conflicts around the world. Many a time I heard him say in bewilderment, if such and such can sort it out why can't we. His yearning for a resolution of our conflict was almost always touched on when we spoke, but we always came to the same conclusions. The mood for change in Ireland was not reciprocated by our adversary, the British state.

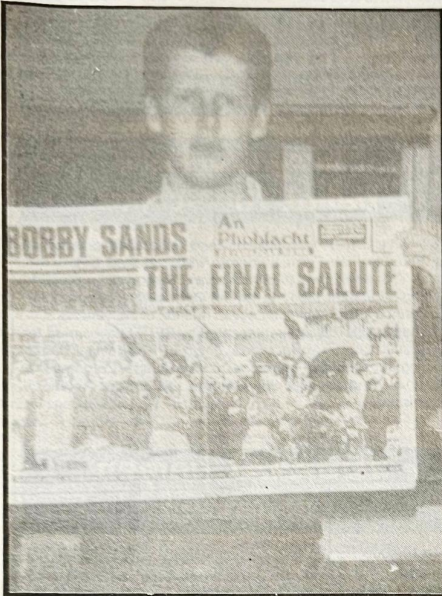
The Basque struggle was probably the next thing to his heart after family and friends. He visited the Basque country on several occasions. He loved the language, their way of life and their struggle. He once told me when the struggle in Ireland was over he would like to live six months of the year in the

Basque Country and the other six in Ireland.

We sometimes spoke of his family. It was obvious they were a close family. All were just names to me at first, but after so many conversations I started to believe I knew them. His biggest concern was that nothing would happen to any of them because of his actions.

It was Diarmuid's courage and determination as a soldier in the Irish Republican Army that made him a special friend and comrade. He knew when he joined the IRA that it wasn't the Six Counties for him.

His theatre of operations was to be in the belly of the beast, the toughest and most difficult environment for an IRA Volunteer to operate in. But there was no hesitation. England and the English was what he knew best and that was where he made his contribution to the struggle. Bright, intelligent, bursting with ideas and ingenuity, always looking for chinks in the enemy's armour, that's how I will remember my special friend and comrade Diarmuid O'Neill and that is probably why he was killed the way he was.



Robin Dunwoody

BY MICHEAL Mac DONNCHA

ONE OF THE TRAGEDIES in any revolutionary struggle is that it is often impossible for participants to be fully known and appreciated during their lifetime, and sometimes even after their deaths. When a republican comes from a unionist background the difficulty is doubled.

Such is the case with Robin Dunwoody who died at the early age of 53 on 10 October. Robin was one of that extraordinary group of people who in a time of intense conflict made the transition, overcoming the restrictions of the district and the political culture which surrounded them as they grew up. Such was their honesty and clarity of thinking, and their personal courage, that they drew the conclusion from the events they saw around them and concurred with the republican analysis. They went further and took the risk of becoming political activists. Robin was a political activist in every sense. He lived his political beliefs and contributed to many aspects of the struggle.

Robin came from the Beersbridge Road, a staunch loyalist area of East Belfast. His father Enoch had been an RUC A Special but later both he and Robin's mother Sadie joined the Northern Ireland Labour Party, and inculcated non-sectarian and left-wing beliefs in their only son. Emigrating to England in 1960 Robin saw anti-Irish and anti-black racism first hand, socialised with people of all

racism, took part in CND and anti-Apartheid activities, read literature and politics avidly and began his lifelong love of and involvement in the traditional and folk music scene.

When he returned to Belfast the Civil Rights Movement was on and Robin soon joined People's Democracy. He was still living and working in East Belfast as the conflict escalated in the early '70s. Eventually the risks became too great and he moved to Dublin in 1974. Moving back to Belfast in 1980 he settled on the Falls Road and found himself in the centre of struggle as the H-Block crisis culminated in the hunger strikes. He later explained that the hunger strikes had a profound effect on him. He joined Sinn Féin and worked in an advice centre.

A highly-literate man, Robin had worked as a compositor and proofreader and he brought this experience to *An Phoblacht/Republican News* in Dublin in the early '80s. His friend and co-worker on *AP/RN* at the time, Danny Devenny, said in his funeral oration that Robin "became an instant asset, his professional approach and

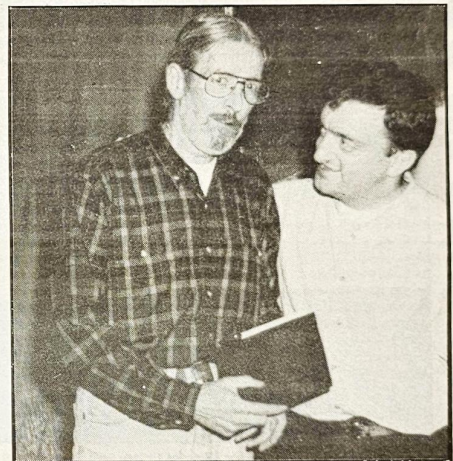
perfectionism inspired the rest of us, and raised the overall standard of the paper".

I remember that perfectionism myself when I came to work in *AP/RN* in 1985. Those were the days before desktop publishing and getting the paper out every week entailed long hours without a break for production staff, into the wee small hours of Thursday mornings. But Robin, who travelled from Belfast every week, kept them going with his dry wit, mischievous character and often outrageous slugging. When he got his teeth into a victim he would not let go.

As Danny pointed out, during most of the early 1980s Robin was a key man in the production of virtually all republican literature from *Iris* to election literature to tickets and brochures. He was central to setting up *An Glór Gafa/Captive Voice* in conjunction with the POWs and took great pride in its production.

For Robin culture in the widest sense was an area of struggle and enjoyment. He embraced the Irish language and he and Oonagh sent their children to all-Irish schools. A singer and musician he formed the now legendary group The People of No Property. At the graveside Terry O'Neill sang the powerful song Robin wrote about plastic bullets *We Won't Be Kept Down Easy*.

Robin was also involved in the alternative drama scene



Robin Dunwoody and former *AP/RN* editor Micheál MacDonncha at a presentation to Robin in the Felons' Club, Belfast on 14 June this year in recognition of Robin's years of service to the paper

and helped entertain and educate Belfast communities on issues of relevance ignored by 'mainstream' artists. Hilarity, as ever was never far away and Danny reminded us of the Sinn Féin Karaoke when Robin, the archetypal ageing hippy, arrived on stage revving his 'Harley Davidson' mountain bike to the blaring chorus of *Born to be Wild*.

Intensely proud and loving of his family, Robin's thoughts in his final painful illness were not for himself but for them. Their loss is incalculable and the hearts of republicans go out in

solidarity and sympathy to Oonagh, Fiona, Caoimhin and Pádraig. His community and the struggle also have lost a guiding light.

As Danny Devenny said, no oration or obituary such as this could sum up Robin. After the funeral from Robin's house to the City Cemetery on 12 October I talked to many who had memories and stories of Robin which could fill a book.

Tá Robin imithe ar slí na firinne anois ach tá cuimhne an chraic againn agus beidh sé linn agus muid ag dul ar aghaidh lena obair.

Bus crisis — Lowry to blame

MASS RALLIES and High Court actions by irate workers, thousands of whom have voted in favour of industrial action — this is industrial relations when the Dublin government deals with its employees.

You have to hand it to Fine Gael Minister Michael Lowry, whether it is in Telecom, An Post, the ESB or even CIE, Lowry has over his 22 months as Minister stumbled from debacle to debacle.

Lowry spent 1995 re-arranging the CIE board, appointing new members including Chief Executive Micheal McDonnell. Over the last ten months the management of each of CIE's three companies, Bus Éireann, Iarnród Éireann and Bus Atha Cliath have presented their workers with new cost-cutting plans. All of them have a common theme. The companies must be prepared for privatisation, they must be more competitive, costs must be cut and it is workers who will have

to carry these costs through job losses, wage cuts, as well as being pushed into part-time and casual work. In all CIE is looking for £44 million in cuts with 800 job losses.

The other common theme to all of these plans is that management have deemed their proposals non-negotiable. This prompted SIPTU and NBRU to ballot their members for industrial action. Last week thousands of CIE workers marched from Dublin city centre to CIE headquarters at Heuston Station.

Also this week, with industrial action by Bus Éireann workers pending, their union took the unique step of mounting a legal challenge to the management's viability plan for the company. The action happened because Bus Éireann management had wanted to implement new work rosters this week without consultation.

Most bizarre about the growing industrial relations crisis at the company is that the Minister of State for Transport, Emmet Stagg has claimed that

neither he nor Michael Lowry knew about CIE's intention to implement the Bus Éireann viability plan. Stagg also criticised the "new-style management" at CIE which had made a "declaration of war against the workers". Minister Stagg did not seem to realise that this was the management Lowry had appointed. The Bus Éireann cost-cutting plan has been public knowledge since last December. Surely ministers Lowry and Stagg could have found time over the past eleven months to consider its implications.

Sinn Féin Vice President Pat Doherty summed up the debacle at the company saying: "Bus Éireann workers have already indicated their willingness to participate in a review of company operations. In the past ten years they have cooperated with management strategies and four productivity deals were agreed as well as 1,800 redundancies."

Michael Lowry's office has told the media that he will be "keeping a close eye on the situation" but won't be intervening. The cost of his interventions so far has been crisis. So maybe, Michael, we're better off without you.

Workers in Struggle BY NEIL FORDE



CIE workers spell it out for Michael Lowry

Photo: AP/FIN



Photo: AP/FIN

Ferry workers ballot for strike

'We won't sink to 1913 conditions' read some of the placards of the 400-plus Irish Ferries workers who marched to Leinster House this week (see picture above). They were protesting over management plans to lay off 200 staff working on the Rosslare Le Harve routes for seven months of the year.

Already ships' officers represented by SIPTU have voted for industrial action. The Seaman's Union of Ireland has begun balloting the workers it represents on the company's proposals after the two sides met this week at the Labour Relations Commission.

100,000 women forgotten

Up to 100,000 women who are technically unemployed are not included in the 26-County Live Register, the Employment Equality Agency (EEA) claimed last week. A new report called *Pathways to Employment for Women Returning to Paid Work* which was launched by the EEA argues that the present social-welfare system discourages women whose spouses are unemployed from signing on themselves.

Signing on the Live Register would not increase the social-welfare payments of these women, but it would open access to Fáil courses and Community Employment schemes from which they are currently excluded. The INOU launched a campaign with the National Women's Council alongside the launch of the report. The campaign to ensure women's equality in the labour market will culminate in a national signing on day for women in December.

De Rossa's fraud

Democratic Left leader Proinsias De Rossa has started his much-hyped campaign to tackle social-welfare fraud this week. Is he taking on the hundreds of exploitative employers who take on workers part-time using social-welfare payments to supplement meagre wages? No, he isn't.

Instead he has decided to survey every person on the Live Register. Twenty-thousand questionnaires have already been circulated, while an extra 87 staff have been redeployed in the Department of Social Welfare to control fraud, bringing the number involved to 657. His aim is to show a significant decrease in numbers signing on. That's simple Proinsias, all you have to do is create jobs.

EU peace fund cut

SEVENTY-EIGHT million pound was cut from the EU's proposed £240 million Peace and Reconciliation Fund this week. In what was described as a "book-keeping exercise" by Fine Gael MEP Joe McCartin, the Budget Committee of the European Parliament, of which he is a member, has proposed to cut the fund's 1997 spending from £125 million to £47 million. The EU Parliament itself will vote on the fund cut on 24 October.

The European Commission has given assurances that the fund will be paid in full, but for 1997, £78 million earmarked for the border regions and the

Six Counties will now be spent on the EU's depressed steel and textile regions.

The structures for the allocating the EU fund have

over the past year come slowly into place with republicans wary over the NIO involvement in the Six-County allocations. Added to this has been problems forming the 26 partnership structures in the Six Counties.

Next year would have been a critical year for the fund as many communities on both sides of the border are now ready to draw down funding for vitally necessary development projects.

Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle

£78 million earmarked for the border regions and the Six Counties will now be spent on the EU's depressed steel and textile regions

member Caoimhghin O Caoláin said he was disappointed by the budget committee's decision. "Tackling underdevelopment in the border regions is a vital project for dealing not only with disadvantage, unemployment,

poverty and emigration, it is also a crucial step in the path towards developing an all-Ireland economy", said O Caoláin who hoped the EU Parliament would vote down the proposed fund cut on 24 October.

Heroin diaries

This week, 14-year-old Liam tells his story of life with three heroin addicts in one family in Dublin.



Liam, 11 October: You hear drugs is bad for you and all but there's no classes or meetings or anything like that at school. My friends have a drink and all but none of them take drugs. None of them would — I think everybody's copped on now to what heroin does to you. I'd never go on it, 'cause I see what it done, 'cause it messes up everybody else's life, not only your own.

I'm in second year. I don't do that bad in the exams; in my Maths test a while ago I got 50 out of 50, that's the only time I got that. I'd like to stay and do my Leaving but I'd say I'd just go as far as my Junior and get a job. I'd do couriering — get a bicycle and learn the roads.

I didn't go out loads of time trying to sort out the house and all, you're afraid to go out in case they go out too and you're afraid to leave them on their own. I don't think my Ma has to put up with as much as I do, to tell you the truth. Nobody goes crying to her, nobody wants to worry her, it's all right to worry me. They'd only take gear when Ma wasn't in the house. One time I was after playing football, in a good mood and all that, and I walk in here and see Ciara with tinfoil in her hand. She started crying and all and saying: "I thought you'd believe me, I wasn't doing anything" — like they think people are stupid or something.

Most of the time I go fishing just to get out of the house — if I was bored or if they were annoying me or something. I go down to the lighthouse, down in Poolbeg. I wouldn't do canal fishing — it's too boring, even if you catch something there's nothing out of it, you do see the fish swimming past your hook and all and you know what you're going to catch. I do bring a good lunch when I do have money and I just cast out and wait. You do be always doing something like, eating or reading or putting the bait on.

I brought a dogfish home one time — you have to clean them and skin them; I done all that, chopped it up and put two pieces under the grill, but I didn't like it. They're like sharks they are, they're a cousin and it looks like a small shark, they're brown and have a sandpaper back and they look vicious. You'd get an odd mackerel or bass, plaice, pollock — catch an odd cod. I just throw them back in, mostly, when I catch them, but it's mainly dogfish you get there now.

I can't go fishing much now 'cause I have school, so I go Saturdays and Sundays, sometimes Wednesdays, cause you'd get off early on Wednesdays.

I sleep in the bedroom with me Ma and my sister, Deirdre and Ciara sleep in the other one and Frank is on the sofa when he's here. We weren't even meant to be in this flat — the Corporation said they'd get us a house but they never did.

When you get home from school, it depends what happens in the morning or the night before, but you don't know what's after happening and most times you don't want to come in. You'd just stay out late. I do be down in the playground having a game of football or messing on the bikes. Me Ma always calls me in early now — I was staying out later when I was eleven.

I'm just sick of it all. Even if they tried I wouldn't mind, but I don't think any of them want to get off, they just want to stay on it. Mess up all our lives, that's all they ever done. I don't know why they act like they're suicidal and all too. They do say to you, I'm better off dead, I might as well kill myself — that was said to me I don't know how many times — they just try to worry you.

I used think it's not them, they're only like that when they're on the heroin, but Frank's on heroin since I'm about nine and they're on it about two years. I don't think I know them to be sober, I don't know what they're like.

I don't think the three of them are ever going to get off it. Ciara might, but then Deirdre and Frank will be using so she'll probably go back on it. Like, how many months was Deirdre off it and then she's back on.

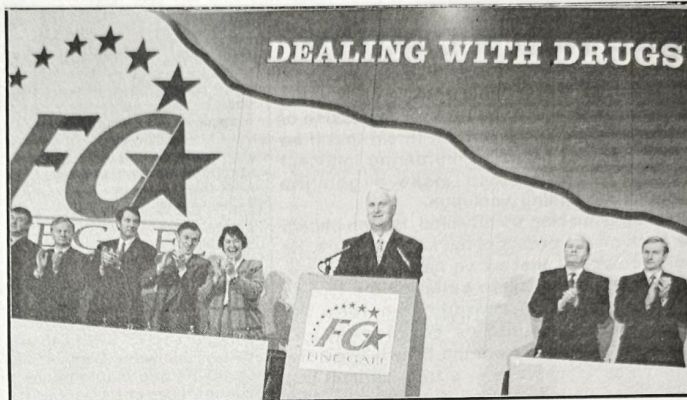
You'd have people coming up to me, like not friends, just somebody you'd know, saying I seen your brother last night out of it. Like they do make a show of you. I don't like listening to Frank anymore, he goes through your head, he does. I don't really even care about him anymore so much — well I do but I hate him when he's on gear, I don't even want to see him — like I'd like him to be out of my life but to be all right.

He's in jail now, I'm glad he's in there anyway — 'cause he's out of my life and I know where he is.

Liam was talking to Rita O'Reilly. The family's names have been changed at their request.

NEXT WEEK — the conclusion of Heroin Diaries

'Nothing new' in coalition drugs report



John Bruton will chair a cabinet drugs committee to "lead the fight against drugs", says the Coalition
PHOTO: AP/IRIN

BY RITA O'REILLY

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT task force report on drugs is "nothing new" says Tony Geoghegan of the Merchant's Quay Drug Project in Dublin. His comment came after a ministerial task force comprising eight Ministers of State published a 79-page report last week on *Measures to Reduce the Demand for Drugs*. It opens with the admission that the drugs problem in Dublin "is now probably the greatest single problem facing the capital". The government's main response is an allocation of £11 million to improve treatment services and £3 million towards "improving housing estates".

In Dublin, the areas identified as having the most acute heroin problem are the North Inner City, South Inner City, Ballymun, Ballyfermot, Finglas/Cabra, Crumlin, Coolock, Blanchardstown, Clondalkin and Tallaght. North Cork City is also identified.

Far from guaranteeing 'therapy on demand' for addicts by the end of 1997 as an article in the *Irish Times* has suggested, the report merely reinforces existing "recommendations" that current drug-treatment lists be eliminated in the Eastern Health Board area in that time. The treatment referred to is merely the provision of the heroin substitute methadone,

not the overall treatment and care package being called for in many of the 123 submissions the government received.

Taoiseach John Bruton is to chair a cabinet drugs committee "to give overall political leadership in the fight against drugs". A National Drugs Strategy Team including people "with a background in the voluntary and community sectors" is to implement the government's strategy and the eleven priority areas listed above are to have 'Local Drugs Task Forces'.

The 26-County government says this action programme complements their "law-and-order measures", which include

July's 'crime package' and November's bail referendum.

Minister Pat Rabbitte's suggestion that the report represents "a tangible gesture of support to communities struggling against the scourge of drug dealing and addiction" was met with scepticism in the areas concerned. The government "gesture" has merely been cautiously welcomed at best, including by Sinn Féin. For the best part though, it has been ignored. The work of local communities against drug abuse continues to build. Meetings continue on an almost nightly basis, with over 800 people attending one in the Macushla centre in the North Inner City on Thursday 10 October, which heard that the Eastern Health Board mobile clinic promised for the area last month has been delayed for a further two weeks. This meeting was followed by a march of over 2,000 people to Dominick Street. A march in Cabra on the same night attracted almost 3,000 people, while another one took place in Ballyfermot on Saturday. Meanwhile, flat complexes in Pearse Street are the latest to set up residents' patrols to deter drug pushing following meetings there over the past fortnight.

Sinn Féin National Draw Results

WEEK 2

1st Prize £300:	Ticket No 04396; Ardoyne, Belfast
2nd Prize £200:	Ticket No 11203; Killea, East Derry
3rd Prize £150:	Ticket No 17017; Maurice Barry, 3 Oliver Plunkett, Charelvale, County Cork
4th Prize £100:	Ticket No 00583; Mick Duffy, 35 Avonbeg Gds, Tallaght, County Dublin
5th Prize £50:	Ticket No 03404; Derry city
6th Prize £50:	Ticket No 16982; Connor Sheen, Glen View, Glin, County Limerick
7th Prize £50:	Ticket No 06455; Dungannon, County Tyrone
8th Prize £50:	Ticket No 07605; Carnlough, County Armagh
9th Prize £50:	Ticket No 14914; Linda Brickland, c/o General Hospital, Tullamore
10th Prize £50:	Ticket No 26776; Deirdre Clarke, 25 Manor Court, Galway
11th Prize £50:	Ticket No 02405; Waterside, Derry city
12th Prize £50:	Ticket No 15052; Amy Campbell, 28 Claremont Estate, Navan, County Meath
13th Prize £50:	Ticket No 19212; Patsy McKenna, Killyslavin, Emyvale, County Monaghan
14th Prize £50:	Ticket No 02089; William O'Brien, Ballycogley, County Wexford
15th Prize £50:	Ticket No 19301; Crossmaglen, South Armagh
16th Prize £50:	Ticket No 05345; Beechmount, West Belfast

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

BRUTON'S CHOICE

JOHN BRUTON has a choice. He can follow the calls from the UVF and the UDA for repression of republicans — with the implicit threat that if he doesn't they will return to murdering innocent Catholics — or he can make a genuine contribution to finding a solution.

While he is making up his mind, Bruton should think back on the events of the last few years. He should remember that we've been here before. Prior to 1994 there were calls for the IRA to declare a ceasefire. It would transform the situation. There would be a generous and imaginative response from the British. Well, the IRA declared a ceasefire — a truly difficult and historic step which created the space for this conflict to be resolved (and not, as so many foolishly believed, that an IRA ceasefire means the conflict is resolved and nothing more need be done).

The space created by the ceasefire had to be filled by others, particularly by the British and the unionists. All it required was genuine talks without preconditions or a pre-determined outcome. That is the basis of conflict resolution the world over.

That opportunity was spurned and not by republicans, Mr Bruton.

Now we are right back to a position where people are saying what is needed to transform the situation is an IRA ceasefire. It isn't. What is needed is a guaranteed genuine peace process. That is what would transform the situation. Everything else follows from that.

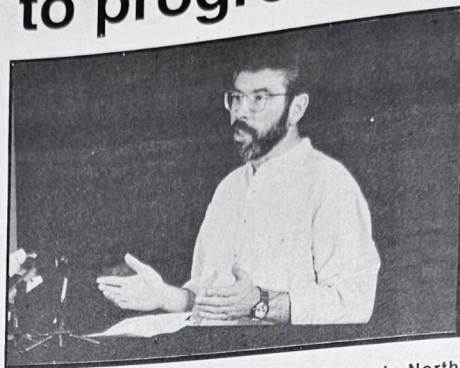
So the choice is simple. John Bruton can try more repression or he can work to persuade the unionists and the British to participate in inclusive negotiations.

The big argument against the first option is that it won't work. Republicans have been shot, imprisoned, tortured, harassed and driven into exile and it has not solved anything. This is not a security problem and no amount of repression will destroy the republican political ideal.

The big argument for the second option is that it is the only course of action that will work. The conflict must end with inclusive negotiations.

Over to you, John.

'Major holds the key to progress' — Adams



IN A KEYNOTE SPEECH to party activists in North Belfast this week, Gerry Adams stressed the need for a "credible and viable peace process" to replace the current "deep crisis".

Speaking on Monday 14 October, a week after the Lisburn bombing, Adams pointed out that conflict "can't be wished away".

He placed the onus for progress on John Major, saying that Sinn Féin is prepared to go the extra mile for peace.

"The British government lacked the will to make peace. It knows how to make war in Ireland, and that is the mindset which it brought to the new situation. That is why Mayhew and Major put the demand for the IRA to surrender its weapons before Sinn Féin would be able to represent our electorate in talks. Because the last thing these gentlemen wanted was real talks on the real issues with republicans challenging the British government's role in the affairs of the people of this island and working with the other parties to find a peaceful alternative.

"John Major and his advisers calculated that if the peace process was stretched and stretched and stretched that the IRA would find it impossible to go back to war," said Adams. "In other words that the IRA would be defeated. The British would then only have to make the minimal changes necessary to underpin this 'new' situation. That was London's mindset. Mr Major miscalculated. He stretched the process to breaking point on a number of occasions. Eventually it snapped.

"The result was the collapse of

the peace process, and an end to the IRA's cessation. The subsequent creation of a 'some-party talks process' is little more than a tactical wrangle, serving the agenda for further delay; the agenda for avoiding, rather than tackling, the substantive issues."

He accused Major of "shifting the goalposts" when he declared that any party which secured a mandate would have a "direct and automatic route into all-party talks" and then excluded Sinn Féin, which secured "more than the sum total of the votes of five of the other parties at the Stormont talks".

Adams stressed the need for "a viable peace process to achieve a negotiated settlement by tackling the substantive issues which are at the root of this conflict, not simply to bring about an IRA cessation, though that is a central element, but a credible and effective peace process which can make peace a reality."

"That is Sinn Féin's commitment. It is hardly an excessive or unreasonable position. Major must show that he would not treat a second IRA cessation as he did the last one."

Referring to the stalling and obstruction at Stormont since 10 June, Adams said that an important element of any negotiation process must be a time frame "to provide a dynamic and momentum to focus minds and produce agreement". He

accused unionist leaders of being "afraid of change" and of using British preconditions to prevent real negotiations. He said the loyalist parties had shown more openness and imagination but he urged vigilance and calm in the light of threats of a return to the indiscriminate killing of innocent Catholics. "There are clearly some elements within the loyalist camp which genuinely wish to see an end to this conflict and they should be encouraged," he said. "The others and their cheer leaders should also know that they could not intimidate Sinn Féin in the past. They will not do so in the future. Our party will not be shaken in our resolve to pursue our objectives on behalf of those we represent."

He rejected calls for more security and the demonisation of Sinn Féin as coming from "politicians and others who remain stuck in the old psychology, yesterday's failures with yesterday's agenda and no vision of tomorrow."

Adams expressed Sinn Féin's willingness to meet any of the other parties and the two governments. "We have important things to do and they do not include kneejerk or descending to name-calling and abuse, whether at the British Tory Party conference or from those who know better in Dublin. The situation is much too serious for that."

"Irish republicans have made a significant contribution to the struggle for democracy on this island. We have come a long way and it is my conviction that we will travel the rest of the road and that we will reach that destination. That journey will involve us dealing with the type of people who are vilifying us at this time."

"The challenge of peace is still there. Sinn Féin is wholly committed to pursuing that goal. I regret the breakdown of the last cessation and I continue to work with others to create the conditions for real talks in a peaceful environment. But there has been no indication so far that the British are really interested. So the question has to be asked of John Major. Will he treat another IRA cessation the way he treated the last one? The key is in his hands."

Dúirt Siad...

Sources close to the talks suggested that the proposed means of overcoming the decommissioning roadblock were aimed specifically at the loyalists, and that the UUP would raise an entirely different and more rigorous set of conditions to be applied to Sinn Féin — if and when there is a proposal to bring them into the talks.

- Irish Times Tuesday 15 October

...In the South no party, including the one led by Proinsias de Rossa, ever handed in their guns.

— Mary Holland, *Counterpoint* on UTV, Thursday 10 October.

The decommissioning issue is a loser. — US Congressman Bruce Morrison on RTE's *Today at One*, Saturday 11 October.

The situation in Northern Ireland is now about as serious as it has been at any time this century. Every policy tried by successive British governments has failed. The occupation of Ireland failed and so did partition and Stormont. Internment without trial failed, and so did direct rule, and supergrass trials and Diplock courts and plastic bullets and strip-searching and the 1969 decision to send the troops in. Each of these

measures has been hailed as a new start and each of them has ended in more bitterness, more violence and more death.

— British Labour Party MP Tony Benn, *London Independent*, Wednesday 9 October.

Unless you include them, or those who purport to speak on their behalf you have no possibility of stopping this violence.

— Presenter of BBC2's *Newsnight* Peter Snow, Wednesday 9 October.

Leave them out at your peril.

— Gerry Ryan on leaving Sinn Féin out of talks, 2FM radio, Tuesday 15 October.

It is anti-British in the extreme and is

basically Provo propaganda... Young stupid men seeing this film with its tissue of lies and inaccuracies will be impelled to be angry at England.

— Eoghán Harris on the new *Michael Collins* film. *Daily Telegraph*, Monday 14 October.

I never read a more ludicrous account of history.

— Neil Jordan, director of the *Michael Collins* film, on Eoghán Harris' alternative script. *Daily Telegraph*, Monday 14 October.

In his tactical use of armed struggle, Collins was indeed a worthy ancestor of Gerry Adams.

— Honorary secretary of the Ulster Unionist Party, DR Browder commenting last week on the new *Michael Collins* film.

TRAGEDY AND FARCE

UNIONISTS TRY TO DRAG DUBLIN AND SDLP BACK

BY MICHEAL MacDONNCHA

IT WAS KARL MARX who said that history repeats itself — first as tragedy then as farce. There is both tragedy and farce in the current attempts by unionists and the British government to repeat the history of futile initiatives and false talks, the wreckage of which litters the past 27 years.

Both John Major, in his speech at the Tory conference in Bournemouth and the unionists in the talks at Stormont tried to promote the notion that talks can succeed without the participation of Sinn Féin.

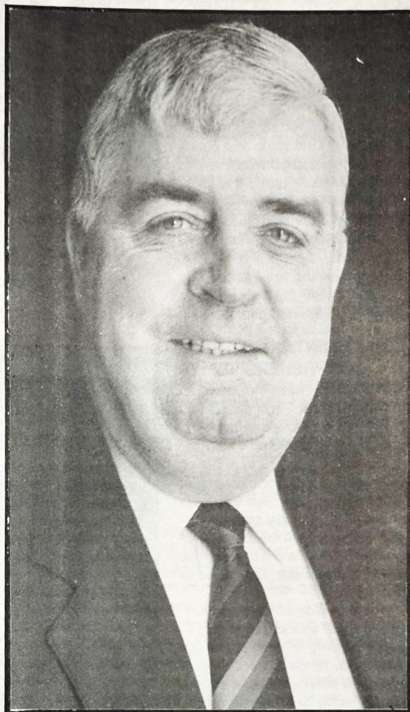
An unusually big proportion of Major's speech covered the Irish issue but it was a negative contribution, playing to the traditional instincts of the Tory faithful. Once again they were reassured that the union is safe. "I don't believe Northern Ireland will leave the United Kingdom, nor do I wish it to," he said. He launched into a personal attack on Gerry Adams which went down well. He announced more powers for the 'Northern Ireland Grand Committee' of MPs at Westminster. Labour's Mo Mowlam was cool about this, pointing to the need for new political structures in the Six Counties.

Unionists cannot but have been pleased. Trimble and Major were singing in close harmony again from the same hymn sheet. This confidence lies behind the much-heralded 'progress' made at the Stormont talks on Monday. Four months on from the start of the some-party talks the five-point draft agenda which has been discussed for many weeks by the SDLP and the UUP was agreed.

This opened the way for a start to be made on the talks — but it's yet another false start. On Tuesday the parties — including the DUP and UK Unionists who criticised the UUP for their agreement with the SDLP — began considering the Mitchell Report. The SDLP was not optimistic about the prospects with Séamus Mallon saying this stage could take at least three weeks.

The real agenda of the UUP was revealed by sources to a Dublin newspaper on Tuesday. Their position, which previously required stricter decommissioning preconditions, has been modified on the basis that the prospect of Sinn Féin entry to talks now looks less likely. They want to make doubly sure that Sinn Féin doesn't get next nor near to the talks. They want the British government to provide an "effective lock" on any new IRA ceasefire. This presumably would be an attempt to implement in law something like the discarded British precondition on recognition of the 1994 ceasefire which required the IRA to guarantee its 'permanence'.

The UUP source admitted frankly: "If we haven't received a re-definition



John Taylor — unionists are happy with Major

of ceasefire in such a way that keeps Sinn Féin out then our position [on decommissioning] is as was."

Earlier this year UUP deputy leader John Taylor elaborated on the politics being played with the decommissioning issue by his party. He said that unionists are "not asking for any

"If we haven't received a re-definition of ceasefire in such a way that keeps Sinn Féin out then our position [on decommissioning] is as was." — UUP source

decommissioning by loyalist paramilitaries while Sinn Féin/IRA are not at the talks". He went on:

"But since obviously the southern Irish government is manipulating things to arrange the entry of Sinn Féin/IRA into the all-party talks, it is essential that the modalities for mutual and partial decommissioning are agreed in advance and in place."

That position has not changed. In Taylor's words let the "modalities for

mutual and partial decommissioning" be agreed right at the start but without the loyalists having to do anything. If Sinn Féin were allowed into the talks — a development the unionists will do anything to prevent — they would be presented with an immediate demand for the surrender of some IRA weapons.

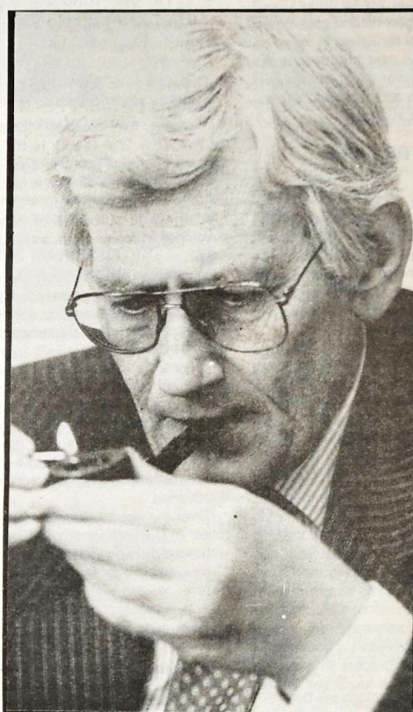
Without this the talks would go no further.

The editorial in the *Irish News* on Wednesday described the Stormont farce as "fantasy talks" and commented:

"The ambition of unionist parties is not to reach agreement which will make Northern Ireland a safer place to live. It is to find a way of creating an obstruction which will prevent republicans from entering talks at all. The SDLP and other parties committed to

a genuine peace process, must keep this in mind and ensure that unionists place no blocks on the road to democracy."

The evident relief of unionists at the apparent unlikelihood of early Sinn Féin entry to talks is reflected in other ways. The chairperson of the Tory backbench committee on the Six Counties Andrew Hunter proposed the cutting of sentences for loyalist prisoners. Hunter never made any such proposal during



Séamus Mallon predicts a long haul

the IRA ceasefire, knowing the obvious hypocrisy of calling for early releases for loyalists and not for republicans.

Hunter, Taylor, Trimble and the rest of them would like to drag politics back to the old agenda of total exclusion of republicans with censorship and repression in full force. They want to drag the 26-County government and the SDLP with them.

Speaking on *Questions and Answers* on Monday former Fianna Fáil Minister Ray Burke said that there could be no return to exclusion. As someone who had signed the Section 31 censorship order and fully engaged in the politics of condemnation he said he knew it had not worked, they had to move on.

It is a measure of the success of the Sinn Féin peace strategy that the need for real negotiations with full Sinn Féin participation is so widely accepted. Attempts to return to the politics of exclusion are being resisted even in the heat of the present crisis.

In this context the focus by Fianna Fáil leader Bertie Ahern on the need to rebuild the peace process was constructive. He said four elements were needed: an IRA ceasefire; no decommissioning precondition to talks; British generosity on prisoners; a timescale for talks established by both governments.

Such proposals need to be built on now, particularly by John Bruton.

IN A THREE-MILE radius of Dublin's South Inner City, over 100 people have died from drug-related illnesses. Fifty percent of these deaths have occurred in just three flats' complexes. In one flat complex alone over 30 residents have died as a result of drugs. The majority of these victims have been young people in their teens and early 20s.

What lies ahead is a repeat of this in other areas unless Irish society in general and government in particular take heed of the warnings given and implement the urgent demands of community activists for a response to the epidemic of drug abuse.

BRANDED AS 'VIGILANTES' AND A 'PROVO FRONT'

We've been here before. In the early 1980s the government refused even to recognise the spread of heroin abuse as a problem. In 1982 residents organised themselves to stop the supply of heroin locally.

The Concerned Parents Against Drugs movement (CPAD) intensified this grassroots campaigning. The state was more concerned with the power such an organisation was giving to working-class communities and used the gardai, the courts and the media to destroy it. Branded as "vigilantes" and a "Provo front", the CPAD finally fell apart by the end of the '80s, but not before it had succeeded in stopping the heroin supply in many communities. Years of government inaction followed. At community level, people became involved in a community-development process to ensure a response in the key areas of prevention and treatment.

ACCEPTABLE LEVELS?

In the 1990s a new breed of younger and more ruthless suppliers forced many users to deal the heroin for them, making it more difficult for communities to respond to drugs supply. The early 1990s also saw an increase in drug use outside of Dublin in cities like Belfast, Derry, Cork and Limerick as well as some larger towns.

Ecstasy was being used by many young people of all classes. The fact that middle-class teenagers could be involved in illegal drug use, and reports that some young people were smoking

heroin to "come down" from the effects of Ecstasy, shook middle-class Ireland into taking the problem seriously. The shameful neglect and damage that had been inflicted on working-class communities for two decades certainly was not going to be allowed happen to the rest of society.

The position today is that there are more people using illicit drugs than ever before. In Dublin city, it is generally estimated that there are between 5,000 and 7,000 intravenous drug users.

DRUGS ARE NOT JUST GOING TO DISAPPEAR

However, over-reaction should be avoided. The reality is that drugs are not just going to disappear. The state has refused to take responsibility for or even to recognise the sub-culture that has developed in many disadvantaged areas.

Condescension and repression of young people's culture will not deter them. Understanding, social education and adequate services around treatment may.

Meanwhile, dealers who target our young people need in turn to be targeted — the state agencies along with the community must use all the resources at their disposal to curb the stranglehold that these ruthless criminals have established.

Over the last 15 years communities in Dublin's inner city have witnessed time and again flat complexes taken over by large numbers of lower-level dealers and addicts. In several areas the Garda have at no time made any serious effort to protect the community. It has become clear to some communities that for their own reasons it suits the Gardaí to have the drug scene concentrated in a specific location.

UNEQUAL COMMUNITIES

If the underlying social and economic inequities in Ireland are not addressed, no amount of "solutions" will solve the problem of drug abuse. The worst affected areas are those suffering the highest degree of social exclusion. Drug abuse though is not a working-class phenomenon; it takes place in all strata of society. However, while middle and upper-class young people may experiment with drugs they usually move beyond this. It is the young people from

areas of acute social deprivation, with low levels of educational attainment, poor self-esteem, limited means and often acute family problems, who have poor job prospects and can see no future for themselves, who end up addicted to opiates.

A RESPONSE

As a starting point in the battle against Ireland's drugs problem, the administrations in the 26 and the Six Counties must:

- Recognise the dramatic increase in drug abuse and the alarming number of young people — including some as young as ten — who are affected;
- Recognise the value and potency of community involvement in all attempts to tackle this problem;
- Provide increased funding for treatment, education and rehabilitation;
- Recognise the need to properly address the problems facing HIV/AIDS-affected persons.

TREATMENT: LOCAL AND COMPREHENSIVE

A response must include treatment for addicts. Local people and local knowledge must be deployed in tackling the problem.

Communities are coming up with good models of partnership with relevant state and voluntary agencies to provide comprehensive locally-based treatment programmes that will address the needs of drug users. They need to be listened to.

The provision of treatment services cannot be reduced simply to the prescribing of methadone, but must encompass a full range of integrated services — counselling, support and rehabilitation programmes, training and employment. A structured programme of support for users and their families is essential.

Large numbers of young people in several areas are smoking heroin and early intervention programmes are needed to prevent this.

Sinn Féin supports the establishment of local community drugs teams linked to small local drug-treatment clinics. Drug teams should have strong community representation including locally-recruited community workers, making and keeping contact with local drug users and their families.

Local clinics and their location, staffing and services must be set up with full and open consultation with local communities, who have to be given a real say in decisions.

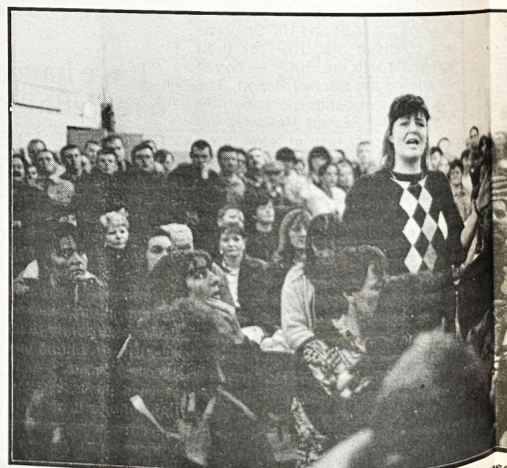
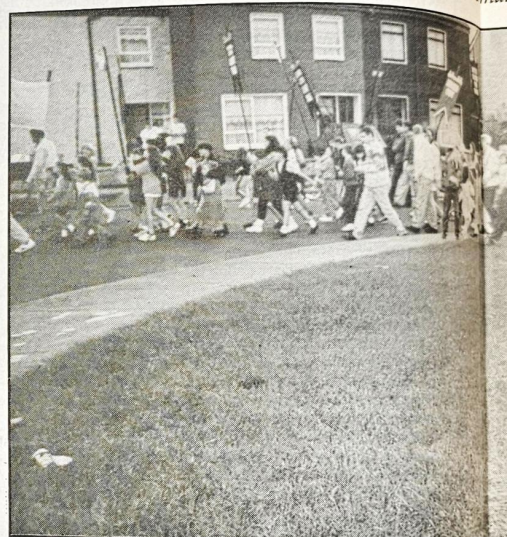
While the cost of providing effective drug-treatment services may be substantial, the cost of not doing so is even higher — more crime, more prisons, more misery and more deaths. We cannot afford not to treat drug addicts.

EDUCATION FOR ALL

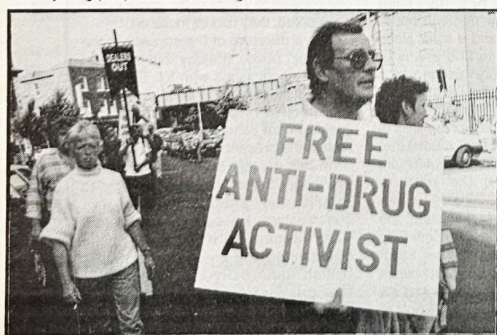
Maintaining young people within the education system is crucial in enabling them to progress into employment and in keeping them off the street corners and away from drugs and crime. A comprehensive examination of how and

Empow commu — a Sinn Féin response to

Today Sinn Féin launches a drugs policy document in Dublin. H
meet its launch. The first is that whole communities in Dublin's
gripped by heroin addiction. The second is that the media is att
worked to prevent the spread of drug abuse — their priority is
corrupt political establishment which make up the ma



A woman makes a point in Fairview Hall on 5 October at one of the meetings that have taken place on an almost nightly basis throughout Dublin over the past few weeks.



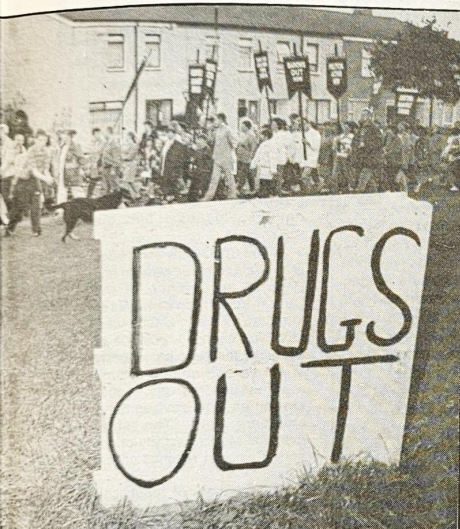
Tallaght residents protest outside Store Street Garda station where one of their anti-drugs activists was being detained on 14 August

why the education system is failing young people in disadvantaged areas should be conducted as a

matter of urgency and the necessary resources applied to strengthening it, particularly at

owering unities to the drugs epidemic

Here, we publish an abridged version of it. Two realities
in our inner city are literally dying as a second generation is
attacking the one political party which has consistently
refused to attack Sinn Féin ahead of the drug dealers and the
main culprits in any story of drugs in Ireland.



meetings on drugs which
past seven weeks
primary-school level.
Alternative education projects
should also be seriously consid-

ered. There is no alternative for young people to existing education and training systems. If they do not adapt to the existing models they are excluded. Such a situation cannot continue.

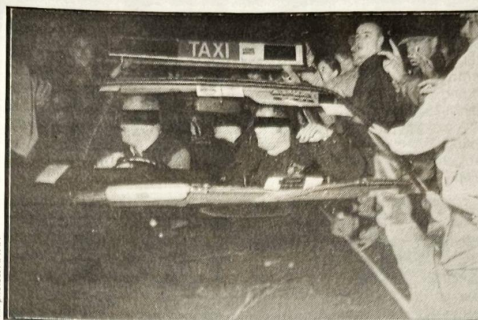
The serious imbalance in the distribution of public finance between the three levels of the Irish education system must be corrected.

SUPPLY

The state already has the necessary legislation (in place for years) to jail the leading drug pushers and to freeze their money. What has been lacking is the political will to match words with action.

Rather than pursue top drug dealers the Garda Special Branch used pushers on occasions in the 1980s to testify against parents involved in anti-drug abuse campaigns. This year alone on the streets of inner-city Dublin Gardaí bated and injured local residents following a local mobilisation against drug dealing.

A co-ordinated approach to



A drug dealer unwittingly runs into an anti-drugs march in the North Inner City on 26 September

drug dealing involving the Garda, the customs service, the revenue commissioners and the Department of Social Welfare is needed, not the petty inter-departmental jealousy which has prevailed up to now.

The recent government knee-jerk response of draconian laws curbing a citizen's right to silence and tightening the bail laws will have no long-term effect on the drugs problem. As is shown by past experience these laws will be used not to jail drug pushers, but against other members of the community. It will further criminalise young people with addiction problems who need treatment, not prison.

Sinn Féin recognises the efforts of and congratulates anti-drugs groups throughout Ireland who have sought to tackle the drugs epidemic in their areas. The party supports those communities who have bravely faced down the drug pushers, most often in circumstances of little or no state support.

Sinn Féin welcomes the establishment of anti-drugs committees within local communities made up of and run by concerned parents, relatives and victims of the drugs problem.

STATE SUPPORT — NOT VILIFICATION

Sinn Féin believes that any response to the drugs problem in the 26 Counties should be carried out with the relevant statutory and voluntary state agencies. Communities should not be left to fend for themselves by being denied the required resources at a local level. Where communities cannot avail of back-up they will resort to other measures to protect their children and their environment. Communities who attempt to confront the problem should be supported, not vilified, by the government, the media or the Gardaí.

Gardaí have harassed and arrested anti-drugs activists and have tried to break the spirit of community-based anti-drugs groups. Such a policy must stop. Gardaí must see the community as allies in the fight against drug pushers and recognise community power as an important weapon in that fight. The Gardaí must be made more accountable to the community and the mechanisms required to ensure this need to be addressed.

Sinn Féin is totally opposed to drug dealers and drug dealing and

our representatives will, in line with Sinn Féin policy, work with community groups at finding ways to tackle this problem.

RUC MANIPULATING DRUGS ISSUE

The abuse of drugs and drug-related anti-social behaviour is on the increase in the Six Counties. The RUC has manipulated the drugs issue for its own cynical ends.

Due to the political and sectarian nature of the RUC and its unacceptability as a police force in the Six Counties, the situation there is radically different to that in the 26 Counties.

In order to fulfil a political agenda of demoralising the nationalist people the RUC has systematically recruited anti-social and criminal elements, including drug dealers, from within the nationalist community to act as informers. In return a blind eye has been turned to their illegal activities. In many cases they have been actively encouraged in those activities as a means of lowering nationalist confidence and morale.

Some areas in the Six Counties have established local committees to address anti-social problems such as drug dealing. The formation and encouragement of those committees should be a priority, even though the RUC — with its vested political interest in the continuation of destructive forms of social behaviour in nationalist areas — has in the past hounded local ad-hoc and elected committees to the point that they were unable to function.

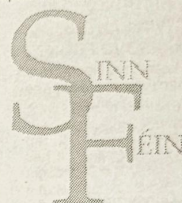
PUNISHMENT PRINCIPLE IS A FAILURE

It is our firm belief that the prison system as it stands greatly contributes to the drugs problem in Ireland. Tackling the social and economic causes of drug abuse and crime in Dublin and offering alternatives to illegal drug use would be more worthwhile than looking at new ways of operating the punitive system.

Government policy is still weighted heavily in favour of the punitive policies of the British prison system on which jails like Mountjoy, notorious for its drug abuse, were built. This situation of archaic and draconian regimes operates also in Cork and Limerick Jails. Limerick Jail was condemned as unfit for human habitation as far back as 1948.

Summary of recommendations:

- The administrations in the 26 and the Six Counties must recognise the dramatic increase in drug abuse;
- They must also recognise the value and potency of community involvement in all attempts to tackle this problem;
- Adequate resources should be available to provide the facilities required to help wean addicts from drugs;
- A wider range of treatment options is needed.



calls for:

- An immediate rise in the number of beds available for rehabilitating drug addicts;
- Full-time teams of drug advisors for major urban areas;
- Community drug teams for areas most affected;
- Increased funding for community-based responses;
- The resourcing of self-help groups formed by rehabilitating addicts and families of addicts;
- Funding and development of services for HIV and AIDS-affected persons;
- An immediate and ongoing drug awareness and drug prevention education programme aimed at those most at risk;
- Preventative education programmes on HIV and AIDS for high risk groups;
- A wider public education campaign promoting drug avoidance and safe sex;
- More control for communities over their own estates;
- Power for local authorities to evict known drug dealers;
- A fully equipped custodial drug-treatment centre for offenders;
- The segregation of remand and convicted prisoners; the closure of Mountjoy Jail;
- A co-ordinated and multi-faceted approach to targeting drug dealers involving the Gardaí, the Revenue Commissioners, and the Department of Social Welfare.

National Forum

Finally, Sinn Féin recommends as a matter of urgency the establishment of a national forum with statutory funding to draw up a national response to the drugs epidemic. It should co-ordinate research, discussion and policy development in conjunction with other statutory, voluntary and community groups.

Not objective

A Chairde,

The *Irish Times* gave us a lesson in 'objective journalism' on Friday 27 September. Rachel Borrell commented on events in London during which five persons were arrested and one other executed by English police.

Until that point she had limited herself to repeating information offered by the police. However, she presented a surprising conclusion: "The Basque separatist group ETA printed a death notice for Mr O'Neill in its newspaper *EGIN* yesterday. Alongside a picture of a Tricolour, the notice read: 'Ginger, killed by the English police, 23rd September. We'll never forget you. Friends from Amorebieta.'"

Firstly, ETA recognises its activists, but never subscribes to death notices so, logically, it does not make much sense ETA signing its name to that of an Irish fighter.

Secondly, *EGIN* is an independent newspaper. It has its own editorial line of thought and no one dictates to it what it should do or say except its own conscience. Therefore it is senseless stating that *EGIN* is ETA's newspaper, no matter how much 'objective journalists' would have us believe.

The death notice is signed by Friends of Amorebieta which makes us wonder to what do we owe the informative rubbish that the *Irish Times* would have us swallow. Such information does not come as a surprise.

Xabier Zabaleta,
Dublin.

Isolation policy

A Chairde,

I had similar experiences to those of Elena Fon (*AP/RN*, 26 September) while trying to visit Irish political prisoners in England which illustrate the extraordinary lengths the British authorities will go to in order to obstruct visits and, thereby, isolate the prisoner.

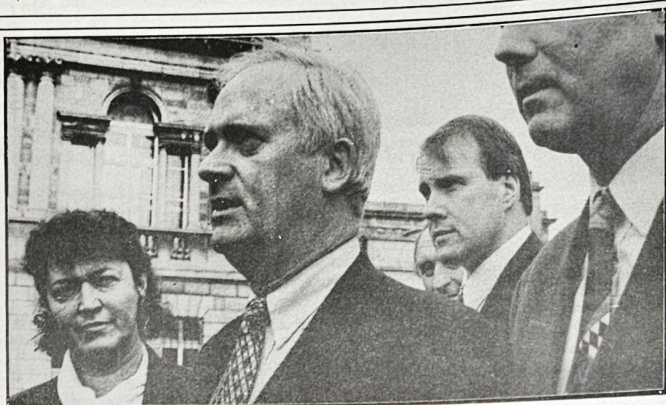
I had been visiting one such prisoner over a five-year period, without any problems, and when he was finally transferred and then released I applied to visit another POW (Dingus Magee) expecting it to be a formality. I had the customary Special Branch visit, but within a few weeks the self-same SB man returned to haul me in for questioning over an IRA operation (Warrington bomb). This was a completely unwarranted and arbitrary interview, but I was subsequently refused permission for visits, and when my MP made enquiries on my behalf he was simply told "security reasons".

The following year, 1994, I applied to visit another prisoner (Jan Taylor) and was again denied permission, but was thereafter subjected to threatening and nuisance phone calls, one of which was traced by my solicitor to a Liverpool police station staff canteen. It was also made the object of random and obtrusive visits by Special Branch until such time as I reported this to my solicitor who obtained from the chief of SB in Liverpool an

An Phoblacht/Republican News welcomes readers' letters. Letters in Irish or English should be kept short (no more than 200 words) and typed or handwritten clearly, double-spaced and on one side of the paper only. Name and address should be supplied for verification, but these will not be published if we are so requested.

Mála Poist

Cuireann An Phoblacht/Republican News fáilte roimh litreacha ónár léitheoirí. Scríobh i nGaeilge nó i mBéarla. Is fearr litreacha gearra (200 focal ar a méid) clóscríofa nó lámhscríofa go soiléir ar thaobh amháin den leathanach. Cuir ainm agus seoladh leis ach ní fhoilseoidh iad seo más é do thoil.



Bruton and the Nazis

A Chairde,

There's no denying it, John Bruton is a disappointment. Instead of combining with the American government to apply pressure on the British his chief concern has been to polish his credentials as an 'anti-terrorist'. He thereby appeases the self-imposed British fatalism over the North and panders to the jargon of inflexibility and stalemate: 'outrage', 'mass murder', 'cowardly and criminal acts'.

The litany of indignation is part of a ritual that puts uncomfortable questions to sleep. If the British were genuinely concerned at the plight of the North they would seek a resolution to it with vigour. Their re-active policy of drift and 'an acceptable level of violence' tells its own story about their priorities. It is in failing to challenge these commonplaces of indifference and ongoing misery that John Bruton has hitherto most singularly fallen short of expectations.

But condemnation of the IRA as 'fascist' and 'Nazi' eclipsed anything previous. He banded about the two terms that resonate with the greatest emotional charge down this century. It was an abysmal performance, clumsy to the point of embarrassment.

While Bruton was castigating the IRA the real culprit was parading himself in shirt-sleeves before an admiring audience in a British sea-side resort. But then it's so much easier to blame the 'men of violence'.

As if this were not a conflict in which all

sides have been involved in violence. So the slogan 'the ballot and the bullet' puts the IRA on a par with the Nazis does it? They were the first to put it into practice were they? What rubbish! When it comes to combining politics and force in an unscrupulous manner — even if that charge could be made to stick against the IRA — the British government for one has a record as long as your arm. Most recently they gerrymandered a constituency and then violently over-rode all protests at the result. It was called partition. Politics and force. You could call it the policy of the rigged ballot and the Browning and you wouldn't be far wrong.

Nick-Martin Clark
London

A Chairde,

I was very upset to hear John Bruton compare Sinn Féin with the Nazis, so I wrote a letter to him to explain my view. It is a fact the Nazis in Germany took the whole idea from how the British treated the Irish from hundreds of years ago. The Nazi ideology is not taken from the air.

I hear today that "Women for Peace" will have a demonstration against violence in the North. I wonder where they were this summer. Why can they not protest against RUC and loyalist violence, like they are doing now against IRA violence?

Kerstin Stigsson,
Sweden.

undertaking that these visits would cease. In the event I never did get to see the POWs involved.

In the meantime, Dingus Magee is left isolated in his prison cell, the victim of a malevolent British government. Dingus, quite rightly, refuses to subject his wife and children to the indignities associated with the system of prison visits imposed on republican prisoners. I recently received a letter from him which had been hermetically sealed in plastic with the warning: "This inmate has chosen to embark on a dirty protest. If you decide to open this bag you may risk exposing yourself to a health hazard."

Signed: "The governor". This is yet another, almost childishly crude, attempt to frighten off contact with the prisoner and to further enforce isolation.

Pat McDonnell,
Liverpool.

Not blinded by the limelight

A Chairde,

Brian Mac Domhnaill's contribution (*AP/RN*, 3 October) is welcome. Brian argues that following years of stalemates and decline, the peace strategy yielded unprecedented gains for republicanism. But republicanism has historically

experienced cycles of growth and advance, retreat and decline. After 1981 there was a larger, more vibrant growth. Failure to develop republican politics and politicise the struggle squandered this, not the war, not censorship. Today's gains are for a single demand: 'All-Party Talks Now' — not for republicanism: one Ard Fheis speaker diagnosed a bad case of 'don't mention our objectives'!

Brian proposes three forms of struggle: convincing others; pressure from republicans, the nationalist consensus and internationally; progress through little victories on civil rights.

These tactics are limited: (1) Political struggle is conducted both ways between rulers and ruled. Debate and argument are important, but insufficient. (We have convinced no one on consent). Outcomes are determined by political force. Our struggle must empower people. (2) Nationalism, the US and EU have no particular interest in overturning the 1921 settlement. Trying to re-create the pre-1921 alliance ignores the history and misses the point. (3) Struggle in Ireland, and everywhere, shows capitalism capable of conceding rights and more in order to co-opt opposition and survive. Parity of esteem can be conceded to co-opt republicanism.

The question remains: how does the peace strategy lead to republican objectives? The response: "what is your alternative?", is to a strategy whose proponents won't explain it, leaves it unanswered.

Pending an answer, I offer elements for a republican strategy:

1 Strategy must relate to objectives: British withdrawal, unification, the socialist republic.

2 The partition states and British presence are the immediate form of an underlying capitalist domination. Other forms are possible, eg the 1921 settlement continued the domination of the Act of Union.

3 Since partition there is no essential difference of interests between nationalism, unionism/loyalism and the British state.

4 The Six-County institutions are hostile to republicanism and popular acceptance of the Dublin institutions stabilises partition. While this continues, no radical change is possible. In everyday life people constantly organise and agitate around real issues: drugs, jobs, amenities, the environment, childcare, etc. The state marginalises this activity or co-opts it when it reaches critical mass.

One element of republican struggle lies here, in participation, interaction, politicisation, proposing a radical politics, never seeking to dominate or exclude.

Another crucial element is a strong republican party with a clear analysis and programme.

5 This way we can re-establish the republican link between partition and social/economic exclusion, North and South.

6. Republicans must prioritise counter-acting sectarianism through dialogue and engagement.

7 The British presence is the primary contradiction in the system of domination, and it is militarised. Unarmed struggle alone seems unviable.

This is for others: Sinn Féin is an unarmed party. But the different components of a strategy must be complementary, the function, strengths and limits of each understood.

We shouldn't be blinded by the limelight and flashbulbs: we can build a republican strategy for republican objectives!

'No other law',
Dublin.

REPATRIATION DELAY RECIPE FOR DISASTER



Margaret Doherty, Michael Browne and Pat Doherty at the Sinn Féin press conference.

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"INTERMINABLE BRITISH DELAYS" which have resulted in the repatriation of just two Irish prisoners from England almost a year after the Dublin government officially ratified the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners were the subject of a Sinn Féin POW Department press conference last week.

Speaking to journalists in Dublin on Thursday 10 October, party vice president Pat Doherty told how despite the IRA cessation conditions for prisoners had deteriorated considerably over that period and since. This had been a negative factor in the peace process and combined with British footdragging on the repatriation issue was "a recipe for disaster".

Movement on the political prisoners issue would be a great confidence-building measure, said Doherty. He revealed that at one of the party's last meetings with the Dublin government, Sinn Féin had asked if the British had even told Dublin clearly what the criteria for transferring prisoners were. The Dublin

government's response was that they didn't know.

Margaret Doherty, mother of Dublin prisoner Derek Doherty, one of three men who were finally cleared to be repatriated, but are still waiting, almost a month later, said that "every time I contact the Department of Foreign Affairs they say he's on his way. The papers have been there so long. I just can't understand what the delay is."

Sinn Féin POW Department spokesperson Michael Browne demanded "an immediate and proper implementation of the repatriation facility". He said that when the Home Office come under pressure they announce their intent to transfer prisoners but their real motive is to drag the process

out. "In reality the British government has placed obstacle after obstacle in the way of a satisfactory process of repatriation." Browne blamed in particular Home Secretary Michael Howard, pointing out that all issues relating to Irish political prisoners end up on Howard's desk and the worsening of conditions for Irish political prisoners was a direct result of his interference.

• On Thursday morning 17 October, Sinn Féin is holding another press conference, this time in Belfast, to highlight the repatriation issue. Among those due to speak is the Sinn Féin Six-County Chairperson Gerry O hEara.

• It is understood that papers relating to the repatriation of Irish political prisoners Derek Doherty, Páirc Mac Fhloinn and Michael O'Brien have finally been sent to Dublin by the Home Office. Sources claim that final details are being checked in advance of the brief High Court hearing

SPONSORED WALK IN LONDON



A sponsored walk was held in London on Sunday 6 October from Belmarsh Prison to Downing Street, organised by Fuascailt

necessary before the repatriations can go ahead.

• Three Irish political prisoners, Liam O Duibhir, Liam McCotter and Peter Sherry, who had been held in Belmarsh Prison along with three others facing charges related to the Whitmore escape in 1994, have been moved this week to Full Sutton Prison. No

details about the move are available as we go to print, although overcrowding is a likely cause. The trio had been held in the restrictive Special Secure Unit in Belmarsh for the past two years on remand. Their trial, which opened last month, was almost immediately postponed again, probably until January 1997.

Acquittal raises questions about MI5

BY MICK NAUGHTON.

CAPTAIN COLIN WALLACE, the one-time British Army 'information officer', was last week acquitted in the London High Court of the manslaughter of Brighton antiques dealer Jonathan Lewis.

Just days after his acquittal Wallace was told his case would not be retried, effectively burying from further public scrutiny another

sordid slice of Britain's dirty war in Ireland.

Wallace who served seven years of a 15-year sentence after his conviction in 1980, had always claimed he was innocent and that he was framed because of claims he made about the British secret services' operations in the Six Counties. Wallace also claimed that the secret services were allied to the British right wing and intended to overthrow the

Harold Wilson-led Labour government.

The Kincora Affair — the sexual abuse of young boys in Kincora Boys Home in Belfast — is one of the most sinister aspects of this dirty war. Kincora housemaster and loyalist death squad leader William McGrath, who had links to British intelligence, was believed to have organised sex sessions with young boys for senior British politicians, civil

servants and military personnel.

Wallace also exposed 'Clockwork Orange' which was initially aimed at undermining the IRA but whose focus later shifted to leading politicians in the Six Counties and Britain. Wallace admitted drawing up false notes against individuals and groups based on material provided, he claimed, by the Ministry of Defence and MI5 officials in London.

Wallace was heavily involved in disinformation and black propaganda operations during some of the worst excesses of British/loyalist intelligence operations. He was regarded as one of the best practitioners of psychological warfare for the British in the Six Counties, described in one newspaper as "their local contact man, their native Indian scout in unfamiliar badlands".



Well I'll be blowed! Two entertaining **Questions and Answers** programmes in the one season. What next? An RTE current affairs revival?

This week's show (RTE 1, Monday, 10.25pm) was a heavyweight, tag-team bout, with our own Martin McGuinness and Fianna Fáil's Ray Burke in the nominally red corner and Alan Dukes of Fine Gael and polemical academic Ruth Dudley Edwards in the true blue corner.

The contest was refereed as usual by John Bowman but controversy flared after heated opening exchanges when McGuinness called foul and accused him of trying to fix the fight. Nobody else was taking a dive though, as all four got stuck into what television fight fans crave, a no holds barred old-style brawl with no quarter given.

Dukes and Dudley Edwards reverted to pre-'92 stances while McGuinness and Burke, though throwing different combinations, were essentially united on the need to regain the heady and hopeful days of 1994, when Albert, Gerry and John were the undisputed champions of the peace process.

SECONDS AWAY!

Dukes started off slowly, being deeply pessimistic about the future, but he soon warmed to his task, asserting that Sinn Féin had nothing particularly new or original to add to talks and cheekily seeking to handicap McGuinness whom he wanted to concede the consent issue before entering the ring.

For his part, Burke feinted towards the blue corner with a strong attack on the Lisburn bombing but his guard was generally strong against the opposition's condemnation and isolation play, although he admitted he had favoured that style in the past (remember Dessie Ellis).

There were some low blows, among them a fascist accusation from the blueshirt (sic) corner. But Dudley Edwards did concede that republicans are "the best propagandists I've ever come across", giving our own humble publication a quick jab for demonising the poor Orangemen, who may be able to block roads but otherwise can't fight back because they are bad at propaganda. Her main gambit was a flurry of strong security measures with a round-the-houses internment blow to finish. In general though, her offence was hampered by a series of wild and wide swipes indicative of too many blows to the head in previous encounters.

Particularly memorable were claims that the object of Drumcree was to try to get the British Army and

RUC to fire at Orangemen, the subsequent boycott of loyalist businesses is a result of republican intimidation of nationalists, and republicans are attempting to provoke civil war in Ireland and move the conflict south through their sneaky infiltration of community anti-drug groups. As I said, plenty of bottle from Ruth but no accuracy.

McGuinness fought bravely on the unification bill, rejecting "silly preconditions" from the unionist and British camps and arguing for a large-scale thrashout among all the main players. He was taking no prisoners but felt that there might be more confidence in the eventual outcome if the British started training in confidence-building measures in their jails.

The final round of a tiring but satisfying fixture revolved around votes for emigrants, with voluntary emigré Dudley Edwards asserting that there should be no representation without taxation. Martin McGuinness had earlier termed Ruth an alien from Planet London but nevertheless, in a conciliatory gesture worthy of the man, backed the rights of emigrants to the hilt.

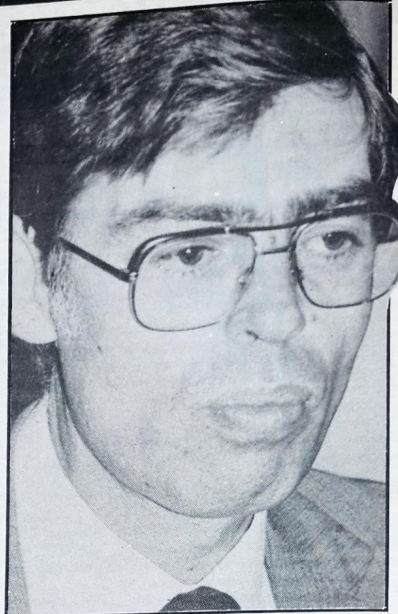
My verdict. A red corner victory for staying cool and scoring strong points against an opposition hampered by outdated tactics.

Charlton Heston has a lot to answer for. As a child of the '70s I was overexposed during my

most vulnerable formative years to the disaster movie phenomenon, a permanently-threatened kingdom of which Charlton was undisputed ruler, battling against all odds to get us into the '80s so that we could all calm down. Who can forget the moment when he found the ruins of the Statue of Liberty and realised that the Planet of the Apes was in fact post-apocalyptic Earth? But this was just the tip of a very dangerous iceberg. Killer ants and spiders, earthquakes, exploding volcanoes, alien body snatchers, tidal waves, towering infernos, psycho sharks, hijacked airplanes, avalanches, sinking cruise ships, asteroids on collision course with Earth, nuclear Armageddon, industrial pollution, piranhas; it's no wonder I developed a persecution complex and later ran to the welcoming bosom of republican conspiracy theorists for protection.

Equinox: Killer Bees (Channel 4, Sunday 13 October, 7pm) has brought all that trauma back to me. This was the true story of how a well-intentioned Brazilian scientist, attempting to increase the honey yield of native bees, accidentally created and unleashed a cross-bred killer bee which has so far killed over 600 people in the Americas.

These mutant invaders are a cross between European honey bees and a particularly vicious strain of African bee, which produces five times as much honey but when



Even a gumshield couldn't save Alan Dukes from a Q&A hiding

disturbed will attack en masse. Victims who cannot outrun them or find shelter are in real trouble. One boy, who disturbed a nest while rock climbing in Costa Rica with fatal results, was stung over 6,000 times. Each bee releases a pheromone with its sting which attracts others to attack. It has proved impossible to stop the deadly swarms' advance on the United States where fire crews in Arizona are now called out daily to destroy nests. All attempts to breed them back to docility have failed miserably.

The upshot is that beekeepers in South America have learned to live with the new menace, adapting by taking extra precautions, which they say is worth the risk because of vastly increased honey yields. Watching unhappily from under the coffee table with jaw ajar, I just couldn't understand why nobody has yet thought to call in the professionals.

Where are Doug McClure and Charlton Heston when you really need them?

BY LIAM O COLEAIN

Ireland wins world championship!



SPORTSVIEW

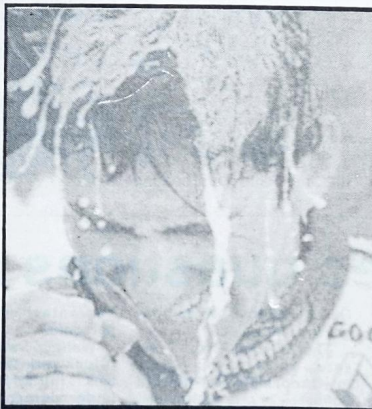
Bonfires blazed long into Sunday night in Ballybrack as Ireland's own Damon Hill finally wrested the coveted World Formula 1 driver's title in Suzuka at the weekend. Sure isn't it great to see our patriots doing so well and word has it that Damon, Killiney Hill's finest, is changing his name to D'Eamon an Chnoic!

Well actually, he's no more "Orish" than any of the other superstars who also reside here to avail of our generous tax

allowances for the mega rich. I just thought I'd mimic the English media, who for years have labelled our own stars as "British"; how could we forget Britain's Olympic champion from Belfast, Mary Peters and Britain's finest "wee Barry". And when they got really desperate they even claimed Dana as "one of our own".

Probably the worst instance was in the 1947 British Open Golf Championship when Irish golfer Harry Bradshaw tied for the title with a South African, with the broadsheets claiming "a tie between two British golfers". The following day when Bradshaw was defeated in a play-off the headline was altered to 'Commonwealth golfer defeats Irishman'.

Meanwhile, as air as an mbóthar, D'Eamon finally caught up with his more famous Da, Graham, who



Another famous Irishman — D'Eamon an Chnoic — triumphs in Japan

died prematurely in a plane crash in 1975, and his victory is thoroughly deserved after working his way up the ladder of Formula 3000 through to

test driving for others, to a place on the highly-prized Williams team (of which he is no longer part). Ah well, it's back to the good life on the hill. His bridesmaid

also suffered the loss of his father, Giles Villeneuve, killed in a world title race in 1982, but this doesn't seem to have affected Jacques' progress who looks set to become the next champ.

The only genuine Irishman on the track, Eddie Irvine, who is referred to as an Ulsterman, had yet another bad day at the races as did Dubliner Eddie Jordan, whose team's progress has been about as fast as the Garda's response to the drugs crisis.

Still, for all the interest in Formula One, I know about as many javelin throwers as rally drivers, which are about as numerous as republican golfers.

There's no shortage of Glé-Ólé folk however, with green faces and roundy bellies, who filled Lansdowne Road last week to see Waterford

man Mick McCarthy and his young guns (and older ones with no teeth) hammer hapless "Missedonia". It makes a change not to see the manager hurling obscenities at the linesmen or cursing at sheepish interviewers who don't seem quite so petrified to ask questions. There's only one Eamon Dunphy!

S'é tús maith leath na hoibre (a good start is half the battle) and I wonder will I become the first ever republican journalist to get an expenses-paid trip to France in 1998 to follow the jolly green giants.

Finally, now that Boyzone are No 1 in the British charts, does that mean they're now "Britain's top act?" (or do we really care?)

That's my quota of foreign games for the year — back to the GA' next week.

BY SEAN O DONAILE

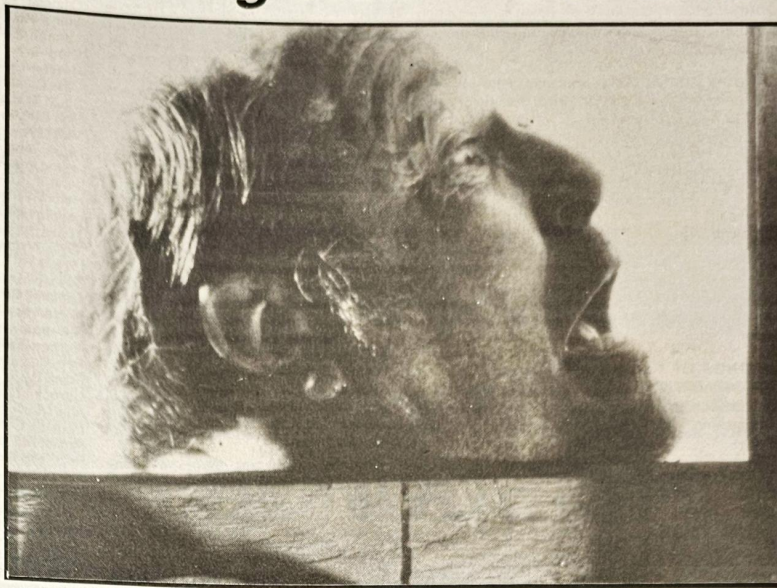
Sticky, staining stuff — SUPERB

(Frances McDormand) has started an affair with his head barman, Ray (John Getz). Things start to get messy and convoluted when the jealous Marty decides that the lovers might be better off dead and pays Visser to do the dirty deed.

The Coens' script rewards a fine cast but it is the performance of M Emmet Walsh as the ugly, greasy, unctuous but dangerous private eye which drives the film along. His slow drawl and cackling laugh send shivers down the spine. The final scene, featuring himself and McDormand, still blows me away, even though I know what happens.

If you like an intelligent thriller, don't mind a lot of blood, appreciate bitterly biting black humour and your heart can stand it, then take your money and the chance to overindulge again in this slice of cinematic genius.

BY LIAM O COILEAIN



Private Detective Visser (M Emmet Walsh) steals the show in *Blood Simple*

For those of you who haven't already seen *Blood Simple*, now is your opportunity. This low-budget debut feature from the now famous Coen brothers, Joel and Ethan, oozes more suspense and deviant imagination than it does blood, and there's a lot of that wet, sticky, staining stuff. But if blood abounds it is the plot that astounds as adultery and murder collide in small-town Texas.

Everything seems straightforward enough at the start when sleazy bar owner Marty (Dan Hedaya) finds out from even sleazier private eye Visser (M Emmet Walsh) that his wife Abby

Drugs book removed from reality

This pamphlet is a dense, academic read for the most part; its final chapters on the failures of prohibition and the arguments for legalisation in Ireland come after such a load of legal, medical and moral historical baggage-checking that they appear weightless by comparison. If you're searching for a book which puts a clear argument for drugs legalisation, this is not it. However, there's not a lot of such books about, so this is still a useful read in the search for answers on drug use and misuse in our lives.

Tim Murphy, a law lecturer, argues that the state's 'war on drugs' approach actually intensifies the problem of drug abuse, while he regards the prohibitionist policies which form its base as "ineffectual, irresponsible and illegitimate". A provocative argument indeed, which he puts not just to the state, but also, in passing, to the political left, whom he judges as having come up with no concerted opposition to this prohibitionist ideology.

Under Murphy's law, opponents of the abuse of state power in anti-drugs policy are lumped in with the state purely because they don't propose legalisation of those drugs the state has defined as illegal. The realities of illegal drug supply and its impact on the ground in Ireland are shoved to the side to make way for an



idealised philosophy of drug use and misuse.

Remote from the contributions made at countless drugs meetings throughout Dublin, Tim Murphy's analysis is also remote from the realities of where the state is at when it comes to drug policy. Far from his contention that drugs appear as a "consuming political passion", politicians are consumed only by their will to get as far away from the issue as possible. Crime is their passion, their re-election hope, their real money-earner. They may adopt a

prohibitionist policy approach to drugs, but they pursue it under the soft belly of a hedgehog. Big drug criminals are after all, just more enterprising capitalists.

Murphy clearly wants to posit his favoured response to drugs under the umbrella of "socialist redistribution" but nowhere in the pamphlet does he move beyond mere mentions of this. Neither does he deal with the argument that legalisation merely replaces illegal pushers with statutory or pharmaceutical pushers. The convincing argument

that the issue should be not so much about the prevention of drug use but about the prevention of drug misuse, is overshadowed if legal and illegal suppliers are merely vying for who gets to supply what, where and to whom. It is the state, after all, which is content to leave communities to waste away through drug abuse rather than doing anything about the conditions which cause that abuse. It is not then to the state that people should look to define their attitude to drug use.

There is a danger of an

BOOK REVIEW
Rethinking the War on Drugs in Ireland
By Tim Murphy
Published by Cork University Press
Undercurrents pamphlet series
Price: £4.95

attitude lurking in the background of all debates on drug legalisation which goes: "Let them eat heroin" with its corollary, "so long as we can carry on with cocaine". This was much in evidence last Friday night, when Tim Murphy and his arguments found themselves plucked straight from publication and planted on prime-time RTE television, in a questionable show of *Late, Late* concern for the drugs crisis.

The flip side of the libertarian approach to drugs though was also there. The "all drugs are bad" approach carries the implication that while the middle-class and upper-income users can 'handle' their drugs, working-class and users from deprived backgrounds can't and so it has to be kept away from them. Both the 'libertarian' and the 'blind eye' attitudes are worthy targets for questioning.

BY RITA O'REILLY



BOOK REVIEW

The Diary of Bobby Sands
Available from the
Green Cross Art Shop,
51/53 Falls Road,
Belfast
Price £3

Classic reprinted

The Diary of Bobby Sands is now available in a new edition. It records the first 17 days of his hunger strike and is still one of the most moving testimonies to the man and to his comrades.

The diary speaks to us of the huge sacrifice of the hunger strikers and their families made and gives insights into why they fought and died for what was their right. It evokes memories for those of us who were there and will inspire others with the simply-stated bravery and commitment of Sands the man as much as Sands the hero he is to many.

As with the play, *The Crime of Castlebegh*, which is based on a trilogy of Bobby Sands' poems, the diary brings a sense of reality to what the hunger strikers stood for and endured.

BY PEADAR WHELAN

Imeachtaí

IRISH NIGHT: Saturday 19 October, the Ranch, NEWRY, County Down. Music by TC and Company. Táille: £2. Everyone welcome

GERRY ADAMS will be signing his new book at 12 noon on Saturday 19 October in the Green Cross Art Shop, 51/53 Falls Road, BELFAST, County Antrim

PUBLIC MEETING: On the fatal shooting of Diarmuid O'Neill and the use of plastic bullets in the Six Counties. 8pm Monday 21 October, Lewisham Irish Centre, 2a Davenport Road, Catford, LONDON, England

PUBLIC MEETING: What Hopes for Peace in Kurdistan? 8pm Tuesday 22 October, Teacher's Club, Parnell Square, DUBLIN. Speaker: Serhat Bucak, President of the Union of Jurists in Kurdistan and member of the Kurdish Parliament in Exile. Organised by the Kurdistan Information Network, c/o 10 Upper Camden St, Dublin 2

SONGS OF RESISTANCE: Music of the Labour and Republican Movements. 8pm Saturday 26 October, An Seomra Cheol, Connolly House, Essex Street, DUBLIN. Artists: Eilish Moore and friends and the Work and Play Band. Refreshments available

BENEFIT SOCIAL: With Irish traditional music. 8.30pm Thursday 31 October, the Victoria Tavern, Holloway Road, LONDON, England. Tickets £3/£2. Organised by Fuascailt. Further info from PO BOX 3923, London NW5 1RA or tel 0181-985-8250

PICKET: For an inquiry into the death of Diarmuid O'Neill. 12pm, Sunday 3 November, Downing Street, LONDON, England

FORTNIGHTLY LECTURE SERIES: Pursuing a Peace Strategy and Envisioning a New Ireland. 8pm Tuesday 5 November, the Lecture Room, AT&GWU Hall, Middle Abbey Street, DUBLIN. Speakers: Women's Coalition's Noreen Byrne and Sinn Féin's Rita O'Hare. Chair: Mary Cullen, Mayo North Peace Group. Organised by the James Connolly Education Trust

SINN FÉIN FUNCTION: Saturday 9 November, Bridge Inn, DUNDALK, County Louth. Featuring Poteen. Táille: £2.50

Draw Results

JOE McDONNELL SINN FÉIN CUMANN, BLANCHARDSTOWN, LOCAL LOTTO

£700 jackpot winning numbers, Thursday 10 October: 14,23,12,1. 5 x £10 winners: 1st, D Fagan, 2338; 2nd, Jordan Duffy, 2060; 3rd, Paul Harlett, 2298; 4th, Ciara Nolan, 2164; 5th, Barbara McCann, 2484; 6th, Emma McAndrew, 2317. Next week's jackpot £500

SOUTH DERRY SINN FÉIN LOTTO

Winning numbers, Thursday, 14 October: 8,9,10,16. 5 x £10 winners: S Doherty, Draperstown; S Brady, c/o Bellaghy; G McTaggart, Rasharkin; N Glass, Maghera; D Friel, Swatragh. Next week's jackpot: £150

TYRONE POW DEPARTMENT £100 DRAW RESULTS.

1st prize: Orla Keenan, Kildress; 2nd prize: Eoin and Bridget McCaughey, Galbally, Dungannon; 3rd prize: Cappagh lads, c/o Francie Boyles; 4th prize: Dominic Arthurs, Galbally, Dungannon; 5th prize: Séamus Coney and Ann Donaghy, Galbally; 6th prize: Eugene Quinn, Ackinduff Park, Dungannon; 7th prize: Pádraig and Conail McNulty, Dungannon and Eglis; 8th prize: John McNally and Co, Ballygawley

NOTICES DEADLINE

The deadline for notices is 5pm on Monday before publication. In order to be included notices must be received by post, phone or fax at our Dublin or Belfast offices before the deadline.

DUBLIN OFFICE:

58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.
Phone 8733611/8733839,
Fax 8733074

BELFAST OFFICE:

535 Falls Road, Belfast B11 9AA.
Phone 600279, Fax 600207



InDíl Chuimhne

CAMPBELL, Sheena; FITZSIMMONS, Frank; HERON, Hugh; HUGHES, Michael; MARLOWE, Paul; MULLAN, John Patrick; SURGENOR, Joseph. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Frank Fitzsimmons (died 16 October 1976), Hugh Heron (died 16 October 1972), Michael Hughes (died 18 October 1976), Paul Marlowe (died 16 October 1976), John Patrick Mullan (died 16 October 1972), Joseph Surgenor (died 16 October 1976) and Sinn Féin member Sheena Campbell (died 16 October 1992). "Then sing our rebel song, as we proudly sweep along, to end the age-long tyranny that makes for human tears; our march is nearer done with each setting of the sun, and the tyrant's might is passing with the passing of the years." — James Connolly, *A Rebel Song*. Remembered always with love and pride by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CAMPBELL, Sheena (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sheena Campbell, who was murdered on the 16 October 1992. Always remembered by Brendan and son Caolán.

CAMPBELL, Sheena (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our daughter Sheena, who was murdered by pro-British death squads on 16 October 1992. How sad we have felt for four full years, from the day when you were gone. But with the strength of your spirit to guide us, the cause for which you died will still go on. Remembered with love and pride by Mum and Dad.

CAMPBELL, Sheena (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our sister Sheena, who was murdered by pro-British death squads on 16 October 1992. "A tribute of love to our sister so brave, for the love of her country went to her grave". Remembered with pride by her sister Gabby and brothers Stephen, Mark, Gino and Gregory.

CAMPBELL, Sheena, (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sheena Campbell, murdered by pro-British death squads. Always remembered by Alice, Shane, Lucy and Daniel.

CAMPBELL, Sheena (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin activist Sheena Campbell, who was murdered by a pro-British death squad on 16 October 1992. Always remembered by Stephen Millar, Newry.

CAMPBELL, Sheena (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sinn Féin activist Sheena Campbell, murdered by pro-British death squads on 16 October 1992. Remembered with pride by the Brian Smyth Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Burns/Toman/McKerr Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Dougan/Hurson/Sands Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Upper Bann Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin.

FITZSIMMONS, Francie (20th Ann). In memory of Francie Fitzsimmons, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who gave his life on active service against the occupation forces on 16 October 1976. From the Wolfe Tone Society, England.

MULLEN, John Patrick; HERON, Hugh (24th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers John Patrick Mullan and Hugh Heron, Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed on active service on 16 October 1972. 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 Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

MULLEN, John Patrick; HERON, Hugh (24th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers John Patrick Mullan and Hugh Heron, Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed on active service on 16 October 1972. 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, Mooretown and Stewartstown; By the Tyrone National Graves Association.

QUIGLEY, Jimmy. (24th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my much beloved son. Softly the leaves of memories fall, gently I gather and treasure them all. Unseen, unheard, you are always near, still loved, still missed, still very dear. Time can never dull the pain, always deeply missed. Your loving mother and brothers.

QUIGLEY, Jimmy. (24th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother, Volunteer Jimmy Quigley. Always loved, always missed by his brothers and their families Roy, Frankie, Tommy, Gerard and Brian.

Combhrón

DUNWOODY. All our thoughts to Oonagh and the clann on the death of Robin. From Mick Mór agus Cruncher.

DUNWOODY. Our deepest sympathy and all our thoughts are with you Oonagh and the family in these hard times following Robin's death. From Brid, Peadar and Naoise.

DUNWOODY. All our thoughts to Oonagh and the clann on the death of Robin. From Angus, Aisling and Fearghal.

DUNWOODY. Deepest sympathy to Oonagh and family on the death of Robin. From Fergus.

DUNWOODY. Deepest sympathy to Oonagh and family on the death of Robin. From Tina, Dermot, Blivis and Mark.

DUNWOODY. Deepest sympathy to Oonagh, Fiona, Caoimhin and Pádraic on the death of Robin. With love from Martin and Morgan.

DUNWOODY. Deepest sympathy for Oonagh and the family. We have lost a great comrade. From all surviving members of the original Belfast Anarchist Group and John and Georgia McGuffin in San Francisco. We had some heard the chimes at midnight. Forever remembered never forgotten. An anarchist, a republican and always a true comrade. Na reabhloidi abú!!

DUNWOODY. The Sinn Féin POW Department offers its deepest sympathy to Oonagh and family on the sudden and tragic death of Robin; From the Management and staff of Féile an Phobail; The staff of AP/RN Belfast and Dublin offer their

sympathy and thoughts to Oonagh and family on the death of Robin.

FITZPATRICK. Deepest sympathy is extended to Kevin and family on the death of their mother. From Hughie, AP/RN

McGEOWN. Sincere sympathy to the family, friends and comrades of Councillor Pat McGeown. Ar dheis dé go raibh a anam dílis. From Pádraig Malone, Limerick.

McGEOWN. It was with deep regret that we learnt of the death of our comrade Councillor Pat McGeown. I measc laochra na gael go raibh sé. From Sinn Féin Armagh City; Remembered by friends and members An Cumann Cabhrach in England; From the West Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin and from all republicans in County Tyrone; From Galway Sinn Féin; From the Galway Saoirse Campaign; A great friend and a good listener. You will be dearly missed. From all of your comrades and friends at the Tyrone POW Department.

McGEOWN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the McGeown family on the death of our friend Pat. From the POWs Full Sutton.

O'NEILL. Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Volunteer Diarmuid O'Neill, Oglagh na hÉireann, murdered by British police in London on 23 September. Remembered by the Comhairle Limistéir Atha Claithe, Sinn Féin; By the Republican Movement, Dublin; By the Sean Russell/Ernie O'Malley Sinn Féin Cumann, North Inner City, Dublin; Remembered by friends and members An Cumann Cabhrach, England.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Tony O'Connor.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Tom Clancy.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Dano Frahill.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Ciarán Dwyer.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From John Madden.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Richard and Jenny Shapland.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Anita Malone.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From Nessan Quinlivan.

RYAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan on the death of his father. From John Costello.

RYAN. Sincere sympathy is extended to Gus Ryan and family on the death of their father. From Limerick Sinn Féin.

Buíochas

COLIN DUFFY, his wife Susie and daughter Caítriona wish to extend their sincere thanks to all those who worked to secure Collie's release and who sent letters and cards during the three years of his imprisonment. We want to especially thank those in Armagh, Tyrone, Belfast, Derry, Dundalk, Dublin, Sligo, England, Scotland, USA, Australia and New Zealand.

Strangeways prison escape

THE RESCUE of all six republican prisoners in broad daylight from Strangeways Prison, Manchester, in October 1919 surely ranks as one of the most daring IRA prison escapes during the Tan War period.

During the early months of 1919, following the beginning of the Tan War in January of that year, a number of 'hardcore' republican prisoners serving sentences ranging from six months to two years were sent to Strangeways Prison. The 13 prisoners, under the command of Austin Stack, immediately began to plan an escape.

Stack decided to use the method by which 20 republican prisoners had successfully escaped from Mountjoy Jail in March 1919 by scaling the wall with a ropeladder thrown over from the outside.

The plan was approved by the IRA GHQ Staff in Dublin and in September Rory O'Connor and Peadar Clancy were sent over to England to organise the break-out.

The prisoners soon established communications with O'Connor and elaborate details of the plans were conveyed to him by prisoners upon their release. Communications from the outside were sent in by visitors and by messages concealed in food parcels.

By late September only six republican prisoners remained in Strangeways.

Each evening, before lock-up between 5pm and 5.30pm, the prisoners were allowed out to exercise in a small yard that was enclosed by a ring of high railings. Outside the railings stood a wall some 40-feet high.

When the appointed time for the escape came, the six prisoners — Stack, Piarais Beaslai, Dr Patrick Walsh, Paddy McCarthy, Con Connolly and Seán Doran — overpowered a warder and made their way to the outer wall where they signalled to their comrades outside to throw over the rope. After some difficulty the prisoners eventually climbed to the top of the wall and down the ladder on the outside.

In addition to O'Connor and Clancy, who were in charge of the rescue, more than 20 Volunteers, mostly immigrant Irish, took part in the operation outside the jail and, in broad daylight, held up everyone who attempted to pass along the street.

The six escapees were taken to 'safe' houses in Manchester and after several days were smuggled from Liverpool to Dublin on the B-I steamer.

The six republican prisoners were rescued from Strangeways Prison on October 15 1919, 77 years ago this week.



Frank Morris at Eoin MacNamee's monument

EOIN MacNAMEE HONOURED

BY PEADAR WHELAN

THE RAIN-SWEPT HILLS of Tyrone were the backdrop to yet another proud commemoration on Sunday 13 October. Eoin MacNamee, who was born in 1914 and died in 1986 in New York, was being honoured with a commemoration stone in his native Broughderg near Greencastle.

MacNamee joined the IPA in 1932 and moved through the ranks to become Adjutant General to Donegal man Seán McCool in 1942. He spent two terms in prison, once in the Six Counties in 1939, where he was arrested and charged with organising the IRA. In May 1942 he spent three years interned in the Curragh. After his release he spent five years in Dublin but eventually journeyed to the USA where at the outbreak of the present phase he raised money and organised for arms to come to Ireland. He died in Chicago in 1986.

Frank Morris, a comrade and friend of MacNamee's, chaired the ceremony. He praised the Tyrone man as "a true revolutionary and socialist" who advocated "a better life with social equality and justice for all".

Liam Rice, a veteran Belfast

republican and comrade of MacNamee, his voice shaking with emotion, described the commitment and courage MacNamee showed in his days as an active Volunteer when he worked so tirelessly for the republic.

There were hundreds of people at Sunday's ceremony. They turned out despite the biting wind and squally autumn rain. They marched from the old church to the MacNamee plot behind the Volunteer Martin Hurson Memorial Band who beat out tunes in defiance of the weather... and the British. At the monument they played that moving memorial to the hunger strikers, Joe McDonnell.

Then the unveiling ceremony, carried out by Micky MacNamee a nephew of Eoin, after which we had the laying of wreaths and the Tyrone Roll of Honour was read.

In the crowd I recognised relatives of four Volunteers killed in the struggle and of people killed by loyalist death squads. Paddy O'Hagan, whose pregnant wife Kathleen was shot dead in their home in 1994, was there with his boys. Paddy crafted the wrought iron gates of the commemoration plot: "I spent two days on the shamrocks alone," I heard him say proudly to someone.

Pat MacNamee, Sinn Féin elected representative for Newry and Armagh, was the main speaker at the ceremony. He told the large crowd of republicans, "it's a good exercise to remember the life of someone like Eoin MacNamee as we face the future. Whatever the limit or extent of our abilities we have to make choices. We live in dangerous times for republicans and for our struggle. Each individual has to ask themselves what they can do to bring the day closer when we will have true democracy, justice and peace. The day when we can gather at this memorial again and say that we have finished the journey on the road to freedom; the road that Eoin MacNamee travelled."

SEAN TREACY COMMEMORATION

SINN FÉIN'S Martin Ferris told a large crowd at the annual Seán Treacy commemoration at Killeale, County Tipperary on Sunday 13 October that "republican struggle has always been about bringing a lasting peace to this island — it was so in Seán Treacy's time and remains so to this present day".

Treacy was gunned down by Dublin Castle detectives in a Dublin street in October 1920. "Then, as now," Ferris said in his oration, "the impediment to a just and lasting peace in Ireland is the British presence and it was inevitable that armed

resistance would fill the vacuum created by the British refusal to engage in meaningful negotiations from 1921 down to the present day".

He also criticised John Bruton for recent pronouncements, particularly in relation to the killing of Volunteer Diarmuid O'Neill in London: "Bruton's congratulations to the British government brings into question his commitment to nationalist principles and the question must be asked — is the policy of shoot-to-kill acceptable to the Dublin government?"



SEAN TREACY

REMEMBERING THE PAST BY PETER O'ROURKE

Cairde
•Shinn Féin•
A night of Craic in Dundalk

Saturday, November 23rd

Monster night of
Table Quiz, "Play your Cards",
Presentations and Music

Quiz teams wanted - £50 per team of five

•First Prize•

£500

For further information contact
Joe Reilly, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1
Tel: 8726100 or 8726932

Léarscáil nua Bhaile Átha Cliath



Tony Gregory TD, Ite Ní Chionnaith agus Eamonn MacThomáis ag seoladh na léarscáile nua

Sheol Eamonn MacThomáis staraí clúiteach Bhaile Átha Cliath, agus iarragarthóir ar *An Phoblacht*, an chéad léarscáil chathrach Ghaeilge i gcló ar an gCeadaoin 9 Deireadh Fómhair ag Ionad Buail Isteach na Gaeilge, Connolly Books, Barra an Teampaill.

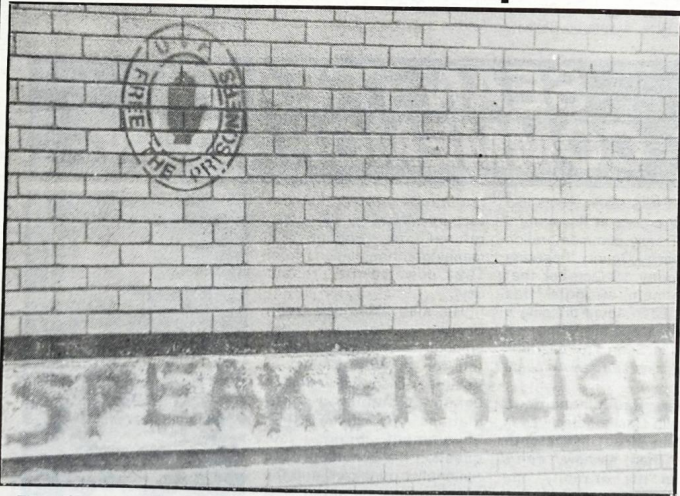
Nhol sé baill an ionaid a bhailigh sráidainmneacha go deonach, ag súil sráideanna na cathrach. Ghríosaigh MacThomáis Bardas Átha Cliath agus an tSuirbhéireacht Ordanáis chun léarscáil

oifigiúil i nGaeilge de Bhaile Átha Cliath a eisiúint gan mhoill. Mhol sé don Bardas freisin na botúin atá ar na comharthaí sráide a cheartú, ag úsáid innéacs an léarscáil nua. Tá innéacs Gaeilge/Béarla agus Béarla/Gaeilge ar chúil na léarscáile.

Mhol MacThomáis léarscáil chathrach do ghrúpaí pobal, óige agus scoileanna a bheadh ag smaoineamh ar léarscáil Ghaeilge a dhéanamh dá gceantar féin.

Tá an léarscáil ar fáil i Connolly Books, 43 Sráid Essex Thoir, BÁC 2.

Teachtairacht do pháistí



Thug dílseoirí an teachtaireacht seo do pháistí i Naiscoil Naomh Sila i mBéal Feirste ar an 11 Deireadh Fómhair. Ionsaíodh tithe agus gluasteáin i gceantar Sráid Wyndham. Chomh maith leis an teachtaireacht seo ar an mballa bhí bagairt chun an scoil a dhó

Ag eagrú in aghaidh an LIP

LE EOIN O BROIN

Trí na Se Chontae ar fad tá ionaid Shinn Féin ag deileáil leis na céadta daoine ag lorg comhairle faoin Liúntas d'Iarrthóirí Phostanna (LIP) a cuireadh i bhfeidhm an tseachtain seo caite.

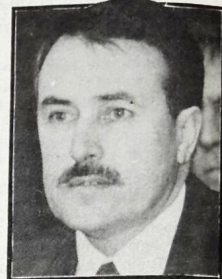
"Ionsaí díreach ar na daoine is boichte" atá sa LIP arsa Gearóid MacAdhaimh. "Tá na Tóraithe ag cur an ualach arís ar na daoine dífhostaithe tar éis teip a bpolasaithe eacnamaíochta le 17 bliana anuas."

Ar chomhairlí áitiúla i nDoire, Dún agus Ard Mhacha mhol comhairleoirí Shinn Féin rún ag moladh feachtas in aghaidh LIP.

Ag tacú leis an rún i nDoire dúirt Mitchel McLaughlin:

"Caitheimid cur le chéile sa feachtas in aghaidh an chórais nua seo. Tá siad ag iarraidh náire a chur ar daoine dífhostaithe nuair a théann siad chun a liúntas a fháil. I gceantar mar Dhoire, áit nach bhfuil fostaíocht ceart le fáil, conas is féidir le daoine dul 'ar thóir oibre'?"

San lár dúirt Comhairleoir Shinn Féin Davy Hyland go raibh gá le comhoibriú idir pháirtí chun cur i gcoinne na scéime nua. Thacaigh an



MITCHEL McLAUGHLIN

comhairle leis an rún cé gur staonaigh na haontachtóirí.

"Níorbh fhéidir leis na haontachtóirí dul i gcoinne an mholadh seo mar tá fhois acu go bhfuil an dífhostaíocht ard ina gceantar-se chomh hard le ceantair náisúnacha."

Dúirt Jim McCusker, ard rúnai cheardchumainn an tseirbhís poiblí sna Se Chontae, NIPSA, gur "ionsaí ar an seirbhís leasa soisialta" a bhí i LIP.

SAOIRSE

Ar fáil anois — eagrán nua

SAOIRSE



An CRU: Cosc fós ar Bhóthar na Síochána

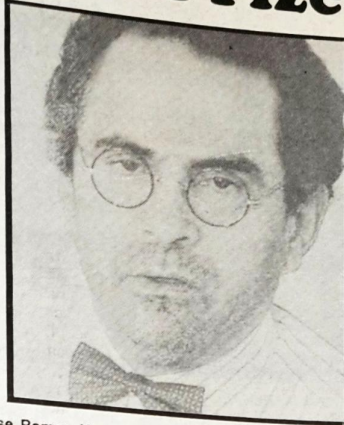
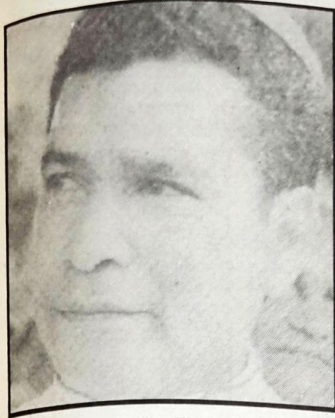


On Phobal na Dae Phobal?

Tar éis bearna dhá bliana tá eagrán nua de *Saoirse* iris Ghaeilge Shinn Féin ar fáil anois. Iris spreagúil atá ann le béal ar na healaíona. Tá agallamh ar Ghearáid MacAdhaimh chomh maith le filíocht nua-foilsithe ó Rita Ann Higgins agus scríbhinní cruthaitheacha ó na príosúin.

● Tá *Saoirse* ar fáil ó Siopa Sinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1, nó ó Siopa na hEalaíne, 53 Bóthar na bhFál, Béal Feirste. Praghas £2.

Worthy winners of Nobel Peace Prize



Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos Horta: joint winners of the Nobel Peace Prize

PRIOR TO 11 OCTOBER, there were many who had never heard of either Jose Ramos Horta or Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. But it was not their fault that relative celebrity eluded them.

Rather, it was the nature of the cause they championed. In some respects, a simple accident of birth cheated both of the respect and admiration they unquestioningly deserve.

Had Messrs Horta and Belo been natives of, say, Afghanistan, and had they dedicated their considerable energies and talents to dislodging the Soviet army of occupation from that country during the 1980s, you can be certain both would have become permanent fixtures on our TV screens and in our papers.

Their access to the great and good in the West would have been unlimited, their every public utterance transcribed and re-printed verbatim by a reverential media, their political sanctity

unquestioned. And that rule of contemporary politics would hold true were you to substitute Afghanistan for a variety of other nations: Cuba, Nicaragua under the Sandinistas, Chile under Allende, or Vietnam post-1975. But Horta and Belo are natives of East Timor. For 21 years, their country has been occupied by neighbouring Indonesia.

For much of those 21 years, the scale of the atrocities perpetrated by the occupying forces has been clear. It has been documented repeatedly by human rights organisations like Amnesty International, by bodies such as the UN, while even a few governments worldwide have lent their voices to the cause.

In short, no individual in a

position of power today, nor any government can plausibly plead ignorance of the appalling atrocities that have been visited upon the people of East Timor: one third of their population murdered, many of the rest reduced to absolute poverty or interned in latter-day concentration camps. It's as if the Nazis have come again, only this time they are to be treated as valued business partners rather than pariahs.

Thus, it came as a welcome surprise to learn, on 11 October, that Jose Ramos Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo had been jointly awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize.

While Belo remains in East Timor, Ramos Horta has, since the 1975 invasion, become an ambassador at large for his country. Belo, now a virtual prisoner in East Timor as a result of a refusal to remain silent, has survived two assassination attempts and the

WORLD VIEW

BY
**DARA
MacNEILL**

wrath of the Vatican. But then the latter even saw fit to forge an alliance with Ronald Reagan, even as his proxy armies were murdering religious workers throughout Central America.

Horta in turn has worked endlessly, and with virtually no financial resources, to raise the issue of East Timor worldwide. He has lost a sister and two brothers to the brutality of the occupying army.

Finally, after 21 years of unprecedented savagery it appears as if the efforts of the countless thousands who have campaigned, fought and died in the name of East Timor's freedom, have borne fruit.

The decision to award the Peace Prize to Horta and Belo must rank among one of the most prescient and courageous decisions ever made by the Nobel Academy, simply because of the power that lies behind the present Indonesian regime.

Thus, there must be many present and former officials of the Australian, British, Japanese and US governments who have been considerably unnerved by this award. For two decades they have successfully blocked the imposition of sanctions against Indonesia, successfully

hamstrung UN attempts to intervene and successfully kept the genocidal Indonesian war machine supplied with weaponry.

The US publicly endorsed Indonesia's invasion the day before it occurred. They went on to block efforts to raise the issue at the UN. In the interim, they sold weapons. Their complicity in the worst example of genocide in post-war history is mirrored precisely by Britain (Thatcher's admiration for Indonesian ruler General Suharto is a matter of record).

Today, the latter has even supplanted the US as chief weapons supplier. Others, such as Japan and Australia have provided the aid and investment, while all have simultaneously assisted in the official cover-up.

Typical of that sustained and well-organised campaign is a recent British Foreign Office statement which said it was "wrong to suggest that the widespread abuses of human rights persist in East Timor". That is a lie.

It is ironic to record that in 1973, the Nobel Committee awarded the Peace Prize to none other than Henry Kissinger. He went on to become one of the keenest supporters of Indonesia's 1975 invasion and is currently a board member of mining conglomerate, Freeport McMoran, a company which today is engaged in the plunder of resources from another Indonesian-occupied territory, West Papua.

Having now made amends for that grievous 1973 error (albeit 23 years too late), the Nobel Committee have also lent credence to the old adage: sometimes the good guys do win.

Come in Mr Suharto, your time is up.

Famine remembered in Canada

THE Irish Famine Commemoration Project in Kingston, Ontario, plans to erect a Celtic Cross in the city in memory of up to 1,400 Irish people who died in the city after their arrival from Ireland during the Great Hunger.

Project organiser Tony O'Loughlin, originally from Belfast, told AP/RN that at the height of the hunger, in 1847, up to 2,500 Irish emigrants were arriving in Kingston per week.

"They were buried in Kingston General Hospital, where in 1894, James Cleary, Archbishop of Kingston, erected the Angel of Mercy at the mass grave site. In 1966 the grave and monument were removed to St Mary's Cemetery as the hospital was getting a new X-ray department," said O'Loughlin.

"A lot of people were distressed because the grave was moved to St Mary's which is out of the way and there is nothing marking the grave."

The commemoration project is therefore attempting to raise \$18,000 for a Celtic Cross that they will place at the wharf near the hospital where the emigrants from Ireland landed.

"We hope to get sponsorship for the cross," said O'Loughlin, "people can get in touch with us at the Irish Famine Project, 1093 Hickorywood, Kingston, Ontario K7P 2H2."

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Marshall family demand inquest

CORONER REFUSES TO CONSIDER COLLUSION EVIDENCE

BY PEADAR WHELAN

IT IS OVER six-and-a-half years since Sam Marshall was shot dead by loyalists in Lurgan and still there has been no inquest into his death. Now the solicitor representing his family has written to the coroner demanding that he hold an inquest because "questions still remain to be answered".

Speaking to *AP/RN*, solicitor Rosemary Nelson hoped that an inquest "would provide a means whereby evidence, particularly that surrounding the presence of a 'security forces surveillance car' at the scene of the killing could be examined."

Marshall was coming from Lurgan RUC barracks after signing bail bonds with two other men — Colin Duffy and Tony McCaughey — when they were attacked by loyalists. The three men were under crown force surveillance at the time.

The coroner, James Rodgers, has repeatedly turned down requests for an inquest saying that the facts surrounding Marshall's death were adequately examined in the trial of Belfast UVF man Victor Graham, who was charged with hijacking a Rover car used in the Lurgan attack.

Rodgers also asserted that he would not hold an inquest "in order to spare the feelings of the relatives", a view dismissed by Marshall's sister Frances who told *AP/RN*, "the feelings of the family are that we want the facts surrounding Sam's death investigated. We want the full facts, we want everything to come out".

Victor Graham was never charged with actually killing Marshall and Nelson maintains his trial on the hijacking charge did not sufficiently cover the issues relating to Marshall's killing, a view endorsed by the British Irish Rights Watch (BIRW).

Jane Winters of BIRW in a

letter to Nelson, dated June this year, says that Graham and a co-accused Raymond Falls were not "convicted of actually killing Marshall so it is difficult to see how the coroner can hold that the trial disposes of all matters relevant to the inquest".

Significantly, Winters stated that "new evidence came to light" during a court case in the United States which was not available at Graham's trial.

An RUC detective inspector Alan Clegg admitted when giving evidence at the extradition hearing for H-Block escapee Jim Smith last October, that a red Maestro car (registration KJL 1486) was a crown force vehicle involved in a surveillance operation on the night of 7 March 1990 when Marshall was killed.

Barry McDuff and Colin Duffy at a press conference on 26 September following Duffy's release on appeal



SAM MARSHALL

Clegg refused to say if the surveillance operation centred on the dead man and his two companions Duffy and McCaughey, only saying, "there was a general surveillance operation going on at the time" and "the vehicle certainly was involved in a surveillance operation".

However, Marshall's companions both said after the

attack that this Maestro had been keeping them under surveillance as they travelled to and from Lurgan barracks.

After Marshall's death his family accused the RUC of collusion with the loyalist death squad and a brother, John, revealed during the Smith hearing that while in RUC custody in Gough Barracks during the summer of 1989 the

RUC threatened to kill Sam.

The events surrounding the killing of Sam Marshall are closely linked to the case of Collin Duffy who was freed by the Appeal Court in Belfast last month, not least because Duffy was with Marshall on the night of the shooting.

Duffy was wrongly convicted of the killing of British soldier John Lyness in Lurgan in June 1993 and maintained on his release that one reason for his wrongful arrest was his outspoken criticism of the RUC whom he accused of colluding in Sam's death.

Duffy himself narrowly missed death that night when a bullet went through the leg of his trousers.

Duffy told *AP/RN* there were a number of factors in both the Marshall killing and his case that pointed to RUC links with loyalists which made it important that all information regarding the Marshall killing and his conviction be disclosed.

"Our bail arrangements were not made public," Duffy said, "yet the loyalists were able to hijack the car used in the killing, in Belfast, 24 hours before they ambushed us. We were under constant surveillance by the crown forces in the weeks after Sam and I got bail as well as on the night of 7 March when Sam was killed".

Duffy also explained that the involvement of Lindsay Robb as a key prosecution witness in his own trial was "down to the RUC". Robb was convicted last December in Scotland for running guns to the UVF.

Adding to the calls for an inquest Jane Winters of BIRW said: "Much of the RUC evidence in the Smith case in the USA was redacted [blanked out] and if there was an inquest you could request discovery of that information."



"I read the republican newspaper"

Ian Paisley, Radio Ulster 12 October

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