

AN  IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY

PHOBLACHT

Republican News

Sraith Nua lml 12 Uimhir 37 20 Meán Fómhair Thursday, 20th September, 1990 (Britain 40p) Price 35p

WAR-LORD PAYS THE PRICE

THE SHOOTING of Air Chief Marshal Peter Terry has come as another devastating blow to the British establishment which is contemplating with dismay this attack on one of the most senior British military figures ever targeted by the IRA. The war-lords who run the British occupation of the Six Counties are being forced to re-assess the increasing ability of active service units of the IRA to strike at will, both in Britain and in the occupied Six Counties.

On Monday evening, a British army sergeant was shot and critically injured outside an army recruiting office in Thatcher's own Finchley constituency in London. The objective of the current sustained campaign in Britain was made clear in the subsequent IRA statement:

"We take this opportunity to remind the Thatcher regime that it has it in its power to grant peace to Ireland and to end its futile conflict with our people. Thatcher should heed her own recent advice and extend her



● PETER TERRY

'principled position against the occupation of territory by force' to Ireland. Until she does so, attacks such as that at Finchley will continue."

This promise was kept the following night when Air Chief Marshal Sir Peter Terry was shot and seriously

wounded at his Staffordshire home. Terry first joined the British war-machine in 1946 and graduated to the heart of the establishment, gaining a top NATO post in 1975, and the pay-off of a knighthood in 1978. He was governor of Gibraltar and commander-in-chief of all British forces there from 1985 until last year, being centrally involved in the operation which resulted in the SAS killings of three unarmed IRA Volunteers, Danny McCann, Mairéad Farrell and Seán Savage, in March 1988.

THATCHER SHOCKED

A shocked Thatcher later admitted that "the IRA are at war with us", and declared it "important that we look once again to see if there is anything further we can do to step up our security and defence to prevent this guerrilla warfare".

As it claimed the attack, the IRA again had strong words for the British establishment:

"The Irish people, particularly those in the British-occupied

IRA attacks in England 1990

1. Leicester
February 20th:
(RECRUITMENT OFFICE)
2. Halifax
February 24th:
(RECRUITMENT OFFICE)
3. Eltham,
South London
May 14th:
(MOD OFFICE)
4. Wembley,
London Central
May 16th:
(RECRUITMENT OFFICE)
5. Lichfield,
Staffordshire
June 1st:
(SOLDIER KILLED)
6. North London
June 10th:
(BARRACKS)
7. Hampshire
June 12th:
(LORD McALPINE'S HOUSE)
8. Stanmore Park,
North London
June 21st:
(RAF BARRACKS)
9. James Street,
London Central
June 25th:
(CARLTON CLUB)
10. Threadneedle Street,
London Central
July 20th:
(STOCK EXCHANGE)
11. Hankham,
Eastbourne
July 30th:
(IAN GOW KILLED)
12. London
August 7th:
13. Oxfordshire
August 13th:
14. Derby
September 10th:
(RECRUITMENT OFFICE)
15. Finchley
London,
September 17th:
(RECRUITMENT OFFICE)
16. Staffordshire
September 18th:
(SIR PETER TERRY SHOT)



area, pay a heavy price for British involvement in their affairs. Those responsible for this involvement, or for the murderous policies which flow from it, must learn that as long as the British government persists in its illegal and illogical claim to Ireland, they too will pay a heavy price."

Meanwhile, the clear message from the IRA in the Six Counties is that the border country in and around South Armagh is still an effective no-go area for crown forces personnel. The IRA mounted a road block on the main Dublin/Belfast road just inside County Down, leading to the detention of an RUC detective and later, his execution in Armagh, thus demonstrating its ability to overcome the much-vaunted heavy British surveillance at will.

The crown forces' helicopters and sophisticated electronic surveillance techniques have failed in their stated primary objective, that is, of effectively controlling what is, and will remain for them, completely hostile territory.

Effective guerrilla warfare

IN A DEVASTATING wave of attacks over the last seven days the Irish Republican Army, the cutting edge of the Irish people's struggle, has demonstrated again that, in its own words, "so long as the British government persists in its illogical and illegal claim to Ireland" there will be a high price to pay at many levels.

From operations in the heart of England to operations which show clearly that Britain's writ does not run in large tracts of the occupied territory, the IRA has created yet another political crisis for Britain and given clear notice that, in spite of all the resources that the British government throws into its futile war, sooner rather than later they will come to realise that nationalist resistance is not going away. The only thing that is going anywhere is Britain's administration and they must decide when enough is enough and call an end to the conflict, thus ending the agony which their presence generates for all concerned.

AIR FIELD MARSHAL SERIOUSLY INJURED

"The Irish people, particularly those in the British occupied area, pay a heavy price for British involvement in their affairs. Those responsible for this involvement, or for the murderous policies which flow from it, must learn that so long as the British government persists in its illegal and illogical claim to Ireland, they too will pay a heavy price."

With these words the IRA explained the tactical thinking behind the gun attack on Air Field Marshal Peter Terry, who sustained serious gunshot wounds at his luxury Staffordshire home on Tuesday evening, September 18th.

Terry, until recently the British governor and military commander of Gibraltar, was the man who gave clearance for the SAS killing of three unarmed IRA Volunteers on the Rock in March 1988.

Comments from Thatcher that the IRA attack on him was "depraved" in that it was an "attack on a defenceless man" were classic double-speak and will have sickened nationalists for their sheer hypocrisy.

SERGEANT CRITICALLY INJURED

The attack on Terry came only 24 hours after another IRA active service unit shot and critically wounded a British army sergeant as he emerged from a recruiting office in Finchley, Thatcher's constituency.

The soldier was shot at tea-time by a lone Volunteer who fired up to six shots at the soldier before withdrawing from the scene on a motor-bike.

In its statement on the Finchley

shooting, the IRA said:

"We take this opportunity to remind the Thatcher regime that they have it in their power to grant peace to Ireland and to end their futile conflict with our people."

"Thatcher should heed her own recent advice and extend her 'principled position against the occupation of territory by force' to Ireland. Until she does so attacks such as that at Finchley will continue."

In the same statement the IRA said that their Volunteers had carried out the attacks at the home of General Anthony Farrar-Hockley, former Commander of Land Forces in Ireland, and at the home of Lord Robert Armstrong. They also said that IRA Volunteers placed the bomb that demolished a recruitment office and narrowly missed injuring soldiers who were just arriving to open up the office in Derby on Monday, September 10th.

MILITARISED ZONE PENETRATED

In an operation which demonstrated the impotence of the British forces in South Armagh, in spite of the massive British military presence in the area, the IRA succeeded in establishing a roadblock inside the Killeen exclusion zone and in full view of two spy-posts, and detaining an RUC detective on Saturday, September 15th.

In their statement on the operation, the IRA's South Armagh Brigade said:

"Our Volunteers established a checkpoint on the Armagh side of the border on the main Belfast to Dublin Road at 7.30pm. A number of other Volunteers, armed with a heavy machine-gun, established a position towards the main British border checkpoint to prevent encroachment by enemy troops."

"A short time later six men travelling northwards were detained at our checkpoint, three of these were immediately released when we had established their identities. The other three were detained and then taken from the scene."

"Two of these were subsequently released at Beleeks when we had satisfied ourselves as to their identities. The third prisoner, RUC detective Louis Robinson, was held and interviewed. During the course of interviews he imparted valuable information to the IRA."

"Contrary to media distortion, Robinson had been on duty as recently as July this year and was due to return to work as soon as he returned from holiday."

"Robinson was involved in the interrogation of many nationalists at Castlereagh torture centre in Belfast and he was a prime prosecution witness at the show-trial of paid-perjurer, Chris Black."

"Robinson was executed early on Sunday morning and his body left on the concession stretch of the Dublin to Derry Road near Culloville. A statement to the effect that Robinson had been executed

was delivered by the IRA prior to the political and media manipulation of the grief of Mrs Robinson."

BELFAST ATTACKS

The IRA's Belfast Brigade have said that their Volunteers carried out three military operations over the past seven days. The first of the past seven days, British soldiers and attacks saw British soldiers and RUC personnel narrowly escape death with the chance discovery of a 15lb Semtex device on Friday morning, September 14th.

The operation, centered on the Law Courts exclusion zone in Law Courts Street, began when Volunteers placed the 15lb bomb against an internal wall of the Buttery Bar at Chichester Street. The wall in question runs adjacent to the Law Court precincts.

The bomb was primed to explode at 3am.

At 2.30am a lone Volunteer lobbed a single grenade into the court's main car-park bringing soldiers and RUC men out of their fortified positions.

During the sealing-off operation which followed, a member of the crown forces became suspicious of an object he had noticed inside the Buttery Bar.

The immediate area was cleared and British bomb technicians disarmed the device which would undoubtedly have caused heavy crown forces casualties.

PATROL HIT

There were two separate grenade attacks against crown forces mobile patrols on Thursday,



● Minibus which was stopped by an IRA roadblock inside the Killeen exclusion zone, from which RUC Detective Louis Robinson was arrested



September 13th and Saturday, September 15th.

In Thursday's attack, five RUC men sustained slight injuries when a single device was lobbed at an RUC jeep in Gardenmore Road, Twinbrook.

On Saturday, two devices were thrown at a joint British army/RUC patrol in New Barnsley Park, Ballymurphy. The devices failed to detonate.

SENIOR RUC MAN WOUNDED

The Tyrone Brigade of the IRA have said that their Volunteers carried out two operations against crown forces on Saturday, September 15th, and Wednesday, September 19th.

The attack on Saturday saw two 50lb mortars land inside the heavily-fortified Carrickmore barracks. Unfortunately they failed to explode.

In the second operation a senior RUC detective was ambushed at Scraghy Road on the outskirts of Castlederg. Seven Volunteers set up an ambush position near a quarry on the Scraghy Road. When their target arrived they opened fire, seriously wounding him. Commenting on the shooting the IRA refuted RUC claims that their Volunteers had fired over a school bus while withdrawing from the area. They stated:

"At no time did we fire anywhere near the school bus. A number of warning shots were fired into the air above a car which sped at our Volunteers who were firing at the RUC detective. This car was subsequently commandeered and the driver given a stern warning."

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL PETER TERRY

BRITISH Air Chief Marshal Sir Peter Terry's military career began in the RAF in 1946 at the age of 19. He attained his first commanding post in charge of 51 Squadron in 1966. He later took up the post of Director of Air Staff Briefing at the British Ministry of Defence and moved on to take charge of the RAF's Directorate of Forward Policy.

In 1975 he joined Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe and received a Knighthood in 1978.

In 1979 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the RAF in Germany and commander of the Second Allied Tactical Airforce.

Terry served as governor of Gibraltar, the official representative of the British Queen on the Rock, and was commander-in-chief of the British armed forces stationed at the crown colony from 1985 until last year.

Gibraltar is a key British military posting and it was Peter Terry's military career which got him the job.

An important garrison town, Gibraltar is also a vital staging post for British naval forces in the Mediterranean, including the nuclear submarine fleet.

TERROR TACTICS

Gibraltar is also the site of a model Irish village where British troops learn the terror tactics which they eventually deploy against the nationalist population in the Six Counties.

Although the planned SAS assassination of IRA Volunteers Máiréad Farrell, Seán Savage and Danny McCann in Gibraltar in

March 1988, was authorised by Downing Street, Peter Terry was effectively the senior officer in charge of the operation. From the moment that the IRA Volunteers were gunned down, Terry kept an extremely low profile, declining to give interviews to the media.

The three unarmed Volunteers were summarily executed in broad daylight and in front of witnesses in an attack which involved a number of SAS gunmen. As news of the killings broke, the British initiated a major disinformation campaign saying, at first, that the three had died after "a gun battle". They also said that they had just planted a bomb outside the governor's residence and gave details of the location, size and nature of the non-existent bomb. It was a day later before the British were forced to admit that there was no trace of any bomb and that the Volunteers were unarmed.



● PETER TERRY

Peter Terry's role in the assassinations was not exposed at the inquest into the Volunteers' deaths but he would have been fully briefed from the initiation of the MI5 monitoring of the three and would undoubtedly have attended the final briefing for the SAS on the night before the shootings.



● 'Squeaky clean'? Mary Robinson

Are Mary's hands in NATO's pocket?

"PUT YOUR HAND in your pocket for a president who isn't in anyone's", reads the slogan at the top of a financial appeal from Mary Robinson who is backed by both the Labour and the Workers' Parties in the coming Presidential election. Robinson is being presented as a caring figure, committed to liberal values, someone ordinary people can trust.

It's an image that is squeaky clean and it looks even squeakier when compared with cynical political hacks like Austin Currie or Brian Lenihan. Currie once helped to organise a rent and rates strike in the Six Counties. But, when he was given ministerial office under the Sunningdale Agreement, he turned on those who followed his calls not to pay, threatening them with prison. Lenihan has made a virtue of such political dishonesty.

Mary Robinson has consistently advocated women's rights and has taken progressive positions on certain other civil liberties issues. But, is her past — or her present — really as untarnished as her propaganda suggests?

Her longstanding support for unionism would suggest that it is

not. She is an open opponent of Irish re-unification. She even resigned from the Labour Party on the grounds that the Hillsborough Agreement was a 'humiliation' for the OUP and the DUP. That would place her among some of the most right wing and uncaring politicians in Europe.

BIG POCKETS & DIRTY HANDS

But the questions about Mary's affiliations don't stop there. Her membership of the little-known Trilateral Commission raises a few very big ones — questions about some very big pockets and some very dirty hands.

The Trilateral Commission was set up in 1971 as an attack on the 'liberalism' of President Richard

Nixon — of all people, Nixon's overtures to China and the Soviet Union so worried cold warriors like Zbigniew Brzezinski and bankers like David Rockefeller that they organised a standing conference of right-wing figures from North America, Western Europe and Japan (hence the name Trilateral).

Their object was, quite simply, to turn the powerful Northern states against the poorer, Southern ones.

Given her reputation in Ireland, it is quite surprising to see Mary Robinson in such company. Yet the cover of the winter 1974-75 issue of *Dialogue*, the commission's magazine, shows a picture of the Commission's Executive Committee meeting with US President Gerald Ford and right there among them is one Mary TW Robinson, 'Member of the Senate of the Irish Republic', according to the caption.

Clearly, new issues have been added to the lacklustre 1990 Presidential campaign: has Mary Robinson severed her links with people who help starve the Third World and who support NATO? We'll see.

The EC army wants you

BY
TOM
O'DWYER

A ROSY-FEATURED Gerry Collins tried, and failed, to play down moves to build an EC military alliance on Tuesday after a statement from Gianni de Michelis, the Italian foreign minister, that a "dramatic change" in EC co-operation is about to occur. An organised right-wing campaign to dump neutrality also gained strength this week in Ireland itself.

Collins was deeply embarrassed as he tried to shrug off the statement from de Michelis. But he chose not to deal with others from Jacques Delors, EC commission president, and from France's foreign minister, Roland Dumas. All three agreed proposals to make the EC into a military superpower in order to fill the vacuum created by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Under their scheme, the 26-County state would simply be tied to the new imperialist superpower they are trying to build.

The first step in their plan is to merge the Western European Union (WEU), representing the nine European members of NATO, with the EC's Political Co-operation Committee (EPC). That would effectively turn these states away from the US and towards Europe's old imperial powers. It would also put pressure on the Dublin government to join.

GO AHEAD ANYWAY

De Michelis was quite clear

about this on Monday night. He stated that the 26-County state would be given leave to "opt out" of the new arrangement, but that it would go ahead, whether Collins liked it or not. Not for the first time, a Dublin government was being publicly snubbed by the more Euro-crazy states.

De Michelis said that there was growing support for combining the political and military roles of the EC, since the formation of George Bush's invasion force against Iran: "The Middle East situation is making possible what would not have been possible only a few weeks ago."

He was heavily backing Jacques Delors, who said earlier this week that "one cannot talk of political union without talking about security, and one cannot talk of security without talking about defence". This is now the position of the French, the Spanish and the Benelux governments.

The WEU is now co-ordinating the activities of the European mili-

tary forces in the Gulf hostilities and it met on Tuesday in Paris. Speaking afterwards Roland Dumas said: "I wouldn't go as far as to say that a defence system has been put in place, but a big step has been taken in the area of common security and defence." The French foreign minister was giving concrete support to de Michelis.

With a heavy dose of plámás, Collins tried to pass off de Michelis's statement as a "personal opinion" from a flamboyant individual. But very quickly came the message from Rome that it was much more than this. The Italian government has taken over the presidency of the EC from Dublin and de Michelis has the support of his cabinet for his plans. What's more, they fit directly in with those of a substantial majority of EC states.

DISSENTING VOICE

The only dissenting military power is Britain, where Margaret Thatcher is committed to defending the alliance with the US to the last.



● Dumping neutrality — Gerry Collins

The British see their future as a flagship for the Pentagon in Europe and is worried by any development which will weaken transatlantic links.

There can be little doubt that most Irish people don't want to see the 26-County state taking part in these war moves. But a number of Irish political figures have begun to jump on the EC military bandwagon.

Prominent among these is Jack Lynch, the former Fianna Fáil leader who took the 26-County state into the EC in 1973. Speaking earlier this week, Lynch sought to increase the damage caused by his activities 17 years ago, suggesting that Irish neutrality would end when full EC political union was achieved. At a time when the EC claims to be 'defending' itself by sending large flotillas to the Gulf, he also added that "If it came to defending the EC, then Ireland should partake in that defence".

On Tuesday, Fine Gael TD Gay Mitchell called for a debate on the subject of neutrality. He was not prepared to state his own opinions on the subject and was merely

"questioning" the "principles on which it is based — if any".

HUMILIATION

To this evasive stand, he added a ringing tribute to the EC. At a time when Irish small farmers are being trampled into the earth, he claimed that the Irish standard of living had "improved to levels unthinkable in the 1960s". While the Dublin government's foreign minister was being humiliated by de Michelis, Mitchell alleged that EC membership meant "we have become a voice in international affairs".

Mitchell may not be one of the most influential politicians in the land, but he and Lynch are straws in the prevailing establishment wind. And that wind is blowing strongly towards the Gulf. What Mitchell and Lynch want is Irish troops to be dispatched there to back up the US invasion. They're not saying so openly at the moment. But if the US war-machine gets stuck in the Saudi Arabian sands until Christmas, as begins to look likely, we'll be hearing more from them. It remains to be seen if they'll get their wish.

CLOCKWORK ORANGE STILL TO UNWIND

BY
ART
Mac EOIN

THE Colin Wallace cover-up continues despite the decision by the British Ministry of Defence to pay him £30,000 compensation for his unfair dismissal in 1975.

The official reason given for sacking Wallace as a British army 'information officer' in the Six Counties was that he had leaked a restricted document to a journalist. Since his dismissal he has made two revelations about British army activities in the North which have proved deeply embarrassing to the British government. The first concerned a disinformation campaign entitled Clockwork Orange and the second was the cover-up by M15 of child abuse at the Kincora Boys' Home in Belfast.

The decision to compensate Wallace was due to the results of an inquiry carried out by David Calcutt QC. Calcutt's inquiry began following the first official admission that Wallace had been asked to carry out covert disinformation work in Ireland. Tom King had instructed Calcutt not to make any report on his findings but this instruction was not adhered to.

Calcutt discovered during the course of his investigations that shortly before Colin Wallace's appeal against dismissal was heard by the British Civil Service Appeal Board on October 17th, 1975, M15 agents met with the chairperson of the appeals board, Sir Leslie Williams. And he concluded by say-

ing that it was this meeting which ensured the outcome of the appeal. He also said that the defence ministry withheld from the Appeal Board the full range of Wallace's work in Ireland, without which it could not "adjudicate justly on his appeal". He said that the leaking of the document, if taken in the overall context of Wallace's work, was not grounds for dismissal.

Colin Wallace has said that King's request that Calcutt not file a report was "not the action of a minister trying to establish the truth. It is the action of a minister who knows what the situation is and is trying to limit the amount of information that goes on public record".

OPERATION

OUT OF CONTROL

Colin Wallace claims that he lost his job in 1975 because he had complained that the M15 intelligence operation, Clockwork Orange, a disinformation campaign aimed at the Republican Movement, had "got out of control" and had developed into smearing Six-County and British politicians, including members of Harold Wilson's Labour government. The allegations of a smear campaign against the Wilson government

were confirmed by Wilson in 1977 and by former M15 officer Peter Wright in his book, *Spycatcher*. It is this prospect which has elicited expressions of horror from liberal quarters in both Ireland and Britain, which would lead one to assume that disinformation and dirty tricks are okay if they only target Irish nationalists.

Wallace says that as part of Clockwork Orange the crown forces in the North covered up for eight years the sexual abuse and rape of youngsters by people, including loyalist politicians, at the Kincora Boys' Home in Belfast.

Controversy surrounding Wallace's allegations grew following his release from jail in 1986. He was imprisoned for eight years for manslaughter, but says he was framed for the killing by British intelligence agents who wanted to silence him.

Ever since Wallace's sacking the British government has denied the existence of Clockwork Orange, but admitted earlier this year in the House of Commons that "two documents have been found dating from 1975 which contain brief references to a proposed project with that title", and also admitted that Wallace was involved in the project.

This led to the setting up of the Calcutt inquiry. However, the British government limited the inquiry's brief to look only at how Wallace's

killings. Furthermore, contrary to the UN commitment to protect the people carrying out the investigation, the treatment of John Stalker is indicative of the lengths to which the British establishment is prepared to go to prevent the truth about shoot-to-kill operations being investigated.

Witnesses and complainants are not only not protected, but where their statements have been detrimental to the British government, they are often publicly vilified by British ministers through the media and their evidence ignored or ruled inadmissible.

TOTAL INADEQUACY

A specification also laid down by the United Nations, is one of thoroughness during the investigation. The forensic evidence reinvestigated by the Stalker team, revealed the total inadequacy of the original RUC investigation which was characterised by wanton neglect and deliberate falsification.

The British government have blocked investigations by issuing a 'public interest immunity certificate' which prevents any scrutiny of killings, thus impeding the ability of legal representatives of the victim's family from establishing the facts.

Publication of the findings of an investigation are also often blocked "in the national interest" as was the case with the ill-fated Stalker/Sampson Report.

The full participation of the family's legal representatives in the investigation, recommended by the UN, and the mission of inquiry into disputed killings, are also denied in the Six Counties. Instead the British government has introduced legislation restricting even further the ability of the Coroner's Court to act as an independent public body.



● COLIN WALLACE
case was presented to the Civil Service Appeal Board following his dismissal.

MORE QUESTIONS

Calcutt's findings raise many more questions than they answer and the affair is far from over. Since it came to public attention, media treatment of the Colin Wallace affair has focussed mainly on the allegations of a smear campaign against Wilson's British Labour government. The far more pertinent question of what the British secret services are engaged in in Ireland has been virtually ignored. Underlying this approach is an inherent racism which sees the suffering of the Irish people as irrelevant.

The Wallace affair was an intrusion of the Irish war into British politics but, rather than getting to grips with this fundamental question, the British media have sought to sensationalise the story and make it interesting for a British public bored with stories about the Six Counties. For the Tory government this, of course, is the lesser of two evils as any serious investigation into the operation of psychological warfare by the British secret services in Ireland would open up a can of worms the consequences of which Tory ministers themselves could not escape.

TARGET HAUGHEY

Fianna Fáil TD Jim Tunney



Coroner's courts in the Six Counties, unlike even those in England and Wales, are not allowed to reach a verdict and of death. The appointment of a jury is discretionary, usually denied by the coroner. The crown forces personnel who carried out the killing are not legally bound to attend the inquest and their evidence is presented as a written statement, read out to the court in their absence, ruling out the cross examination. Representatives of the family of the victim are often denied vital information and on a number of occasions families and their legal representatives, having already waited for years for a hearing, have not even been informed that the inquest is to take place.

The report, *Killings by Security Forces in Northern Ireland*, is available from Amnesty International, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DU, and stands as yet another damning indictment of British policy in the occupied Six Counties.

claims to have been aware of attempts to smear Charles Haughey Wallace. Tunney went on to say that he does not consider it necessary to hold an inquiry into the affair because Dublin government relations with the British government have improved in recent years. For dirty tricks squad in Ireland which even targeted his own party leader should be swept under the carpet for political expediency.

The genesis of the Colin Wallace affair lies in the measures the British have taken in their attempts to defeat the Irish national liberation struggle. These attempts have an inevitable corrupting effect which spreads like a disease. That disease now afflicts politics in the 26 Counties as well as Britain and the North. Jim Tunney's comments demonstrate just how far those who run the 26-County state have been drawn into the web of Britain's counter-insurgency strategy in Ireland.

Jim Tunney's eagerness to help the British government avoid an inquiry into Clockwork Orange means, among other things, that he supports the covering up of British secret service knowledge into the horrendous sexual abuse of Irish children. The Tories will be well pleased that their servants in Leinster House are putting British interests before those of the Irish people.

Dublin child terrorised by RUC

A YOUNG CHILD from Dublin suffered an asthma attack after he was terrorised by the RUC who pointed a gun at his head just after he arrived with his mother to visit relatives in Derry.

Bernie Sheridan from Cooleck got off the bus with her six-year-old son, Darryl, on Friday evening, September 14th. She was met by her brother Paul Lynch and his girlfriend and as they made their way through the city they were halted near the Bogside Inn by an RUC patrol which alighted from two Land-Rovers.

The RUC ordered Paul to drop his sister's bag and they proceeded to rummage through it on the street. While they did so one RUC man pointed his gun at the head of the terrified child. They asked the names of each member of the party, including Darryl, who screamed and cried as the RUC member continued to point the gun at him. Other RUC members laughed and sneered at the boy.

After holding them for 15 minutes the crown forces finally allowed them to go but the six-year-old remained in shock and the ordeal brought on a severe asthma attack. He told his mother that he wanted to return home to Dublin; he was unable to sleep and refused to leave the house for the entire weekend.

"He never wants to go back to Derry," Bernie Sheridan told APRN. "It's awful to think that he can't visit part of his own country to visit his uncle without being terrified like this."

AMNESTY SLAMS 'SHOOT-TO-KILL' INVESTIGATIONS

IN A RECENT REPORT Amnesty International condemned the British government's procedures for investigating killings by British crown forces in disputed circumstances, identifying them as "ineffective in establishing all the facts and making them public".

Amnesty also reiterated its conclusion that the laws and regulations governing the use of lethal force by the British army and RUC are "inadequate to prevent and deter unlawful killings".

The latest report comes in the wake of the summary execution of three unarmed men on the Falls Road during a robbery in January of this year and of UVF man, Brian Robinson, in September 1989.

Investigating all four killings, Amnesty identified serious discrepancies between the British government's account of the killings and those of independent eye-witnesses, who say no attempt was made to arrest the four men, no warnings were given before they were shot and, in at least three of the cases, the men were shot while lying incapacitated on the ground, in direct contravention of official British government regulations regarding the use of lethal force.

Calling for an independent judicial inquiry to review all disputed killings by British crown forces since 1982, "with a view to establishing procedures which would ensure that the full facts of such

incidents are brought to light", Amnesty cites the United Nations Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions. The UN guidelines, which list the "minimum elements of standards for proper investigations into all cases of suspicious death", stands in stark contrast to the British government record of investigation procedures into disputed killings by crown forces in the Six Counties in the last 20 years.

MINIMAL STANDARDS

The British not only fail to meet the United Nations minimal standards listed in the report, but has regularly introduced legislation which actively works against their implementation.

Crown forces procedures fall far short of the UN specification of 'promptness', with families often waiting years before inquests occur. Almost ten years after the killing of six men in County Armagh, the families of the victims are still waiting for the inquests.

The UN requirement of impartiality has clearly not been met with the RUC carrying out the investigation into the killings though it is implicated in the

Gateaux occupation raises dough

AT 2.30pm on Friday, September 14th, 30 Gateaux workers entered the Finglas bakery to occupy it. With that move, they radically improved their chances of getting decent redundancy terms from Allied Lyons, the firm which simply wrote their jobs out of existence.

At first, the British-based multinational food group repaid years of service by offering only statutory redundancy terms — the minimum legal requirement. On September 10th this offer was increased to only £175 per year.

The payment for a person with ten years' service would be a mere £2,750 and 40 years' loyalty to Lyons would only rate a £12,400 payment. One supervisor with 25 years' experience was offered only £9,500. Last year the plant made over £300,000 profit and the workers felt it could do so again with proper management.

On Monday, the workers met at the Erin's Isle GAA Club in Finglas and vowed to heighten pressure on Allied Lyons. Pickets were organised for the docks area where Lyons products are imported from Britain and for the Lyons distribution centre on the Long Mile Road. Over 200 of the 500 permanent and temporary staff joined in the occupation after the workers' meeting and 100 of these remained overnight.

Finally, the company agreed to negotiations on redundancy pay at the Labour Court in Dublin and these began on Wednesday morning.



● Gateaux workers picket the Finglas bakery

Solidarity and betrayal Fighting the PNR

"SIXTEEN WEEKS AGO, most of the people in Gateaux wouldn't have known what the term PNR meant. Certainly now they do, but now they know with regret what the term PNR means. It means to the workers in Gateaux and to the community in Finglas, a loss of 500 jobs."

The high point of Saturday's conference of trade unionists opposed to the Dublin government's Programme for 'National' Recovery was reached when Larry O'Toole, chairperson of the Gateaux Strike Committee, brought warm greetings from the Finglas bakery which is now under occupation.

He warmly thanked the rank-and-file of the trade union movement which had helped the Gateaux workers through a 15-week struggle. "Unfortunately we haven't had the same help and backing from the trade union leadership or from the ICTU. We believe that, if that backing had been forthcoming, the strike would have been over months ago."

The ICTU leaders shied away from making an all-out picket official when the employers threatened to take out a court injunction. "The message they were sending out to all the bosses was: 'If you don't

want us to get involved in your strike, just take out an injunction. That'll keep us away.'"

The Gateaux workers reluctantly decided to cease demands for reopening the plant and to campaign for better redundancy pay. The offer of £175 per year of service from employers Allied Lyons was "ridiculous and insulting". "It was the Gateaux workers which built up that name. We own it. We're in there and we're sending out a message to the Gateaux management that if they want to take that name off us, they're going to have to buy it off us! They can sell the premises, they can sell the land, but they're going to have to sell us too."

DAMAGING ASPECTS

Among the detailed papers delivered to the conference, that of Gregor Kerr highlighted some of the most damaging aspects of the

1987 deal. Kerr showed how, by agreeing to a ceiling on pay increases of 2.5% under the PNR, the ICTU had effectively agreed to a pay cut. In 1988 inflation was running at between 3.5% and 4% and in 1989 it rose to just over 4%. He demolished false claims from supporters of the programme that it enabled wages to keep pace with inflation, pointing out that they were only taking into account average male earnings.

"The simple, plain truth is that the PNR gave unit basic pay increases of 7.7% over the three years of its duration. During that time, inflation was between 9% and 10.5%, and that depends on whichever figures you use." At the time of the agreement in 1987, wage rises were averaging at 4.9% — considerably above the levels achieved since.

One of the central claims for the PNR was that it benefited the low-paid. But figures presented at an ICTU conference last December — two years into the programme — showed that 27.6% of the workforce earned less than £130 per week and 17.3% of all workers earned less than £100 per week. One worker in every eight earned less than £80!

Nearly half of women workers earned less than £130 per week, while around half of all school leavers got less than £55 for their first job:

"At this stage, I think we've had enough of trade union leaders who are on salaries of £60,000-plus per annum, wringing their hands at the problem of low pay. If a poor person were to take a loaf of bread or a pound of sausages, he or she would be sent to jail. Yet, bosses who, week after week, steal the labour of young and often not-so-young workers, get off scot-free. These bosses are the real criminals and the trade union leaders who sit back and do nothing about it are guilty of aiding and abetting crime."

Kerr then compared the growth in wages to that in profits. Between 1986 and 1989, the total wage bill rose 15%, while profits rose over 42%. In 1989, profits increased by a further 15%. "It is clear that the wage rises lost under the PNR went to fatten profits." The equivalent of 20% of the Gross National Product was exported by the multinational companies in the form of repatriated profits, "and we're told this is in the interests of 'national' recovery".

Penn Chemicals workers and the PNR

AT A MEETING held on Thursday, September 6th, in City Hall, Cork, organised by the Cork branch of Trade Unionists and Unemployed Against the PNR, about 50 trade unionists and unemployed activists were present. Des Derwin from Dublin pointed to the current economic boom with profits and exports up while wages had fallen behind inflation.

John Curley of Penn Chemicals explained how the dispute at his workplace had been directly affected by the PNR. A bitter dispute over dismissals in 1987 had disrupted the harmony which previously existed. An attempt to have a no-strike agreement introduced was rejected by the union. Management then switched tactics to arrange individual contracts with pay based on individual assessment.

A £200 bribe was offered to those who signed. The union fought this but 40% signed the contract. Three years on and 44 workers have stuck it out. Attempts at Labour Court hearings have come to naught as the company expressed no interest. Attempts by the local SIPTU branch to expel the signatories were over-ruled by the national executive.

Pay increases of 5% to 7% were offered to contract workers while the PNR conditions were imposed on those who held out. There is now a £40 wage differential between the two sets of workers.



● Conference of trade unionists opposed to the Programme for 'National' Recovery, in Dublin on Saturday last

Unionist bigots spoil sports plan

NARROW MINDEDNESS and bigotry were the reasons behind the decision of Cookstown Council to turn down plans for a sports complex which would have included facilities for the playing of Gaelic games.

In a statement issued following the decision by the Council, headed by the DUP bigot Alan Kane, to shelve the project for the Sandholes area on the outskirts of the town, Sinn Féin Councillor Sean Begley said:

"The decision was a purely political one, taken because of unionist narrow mindedness and their bigoted attitude towards Gaelic games." He also totally rejected a unionist claim that the decision had been taken on financial grounds.

Giving the background to the decision Begley said:

"Cookstown Council retained a consultancy firm, Coopers and

Lybrand, to do a feasibility study on the facilities to be included in the proposed sports complex. Costing £600,000 it was to have included a synthetic running track and synthetic playing fields. However, the consultants found that there was little demand in the area for the provision of these facilities but a strong demand for the provision of Gaelic pitches. Cooper and Lybrand proposed an alternative design to meet the real demand and costed it at less than 40% of the original unionist proposal.

"It was at this stage that Kane's bigotry clearly manifested itself. The Council was prepared to consider the original proposal but on a direct recommendation from the DUP chairperson, they scrapped the cheaper alternative. The reasoning behind this can only be seen as absolute reluctance on the part of Kane and his cohorts to have anything to do with a proposal which would appear as a stamp of approval of the GAA."

Cookstown, which is one of the

bleakest spots in the Six Counties for unemployment among and discrimination against nationalists, would have benefited greatly from the jobs boost from the proposed scheme but, because of the bigotry of unionist councillors, neither jobs nor sports facilities will now materialise.

As Begley pointed out: "The feeble explanation from the unionists for shelving the scheme was that Department of the Environment funds were not readily available. Funds would, however, have been available at a later date and the Council should have been responsible enough to approve such a worthwhile venture."

He concluded: "Because of the sectarian bigotry of this Council, not only have Gaelic enthusiasts been deprived but so too have members of the community from all sides who would have benefitted from both the leisure facility as a whole and the job prospects."

Sinn Féin National Draw

PRIVATE MEMBERS

Commencement date:
Saturday 6th October, 1990

£10,000 or a NEW CAR
FIVE WEEKS OF BUMPER PRIZES
TICKETS £10 EACH

Total of £18,250 in prizes
Tickets still available

Reminder: Tickets sold and stubs
to be returned by October 5th

to National Treasurer,
44 Parnell Square,
Dublin 1

WOMEN UNDER SIEGE IN STRAND

THREE WOMEN from the Short Strand area of Belfast remain physically shaken after receiving verbal abuse from an RUC foot-patrol on Monday, September 17th. The incident has highlighted the hardships facing women from the Strand as a result of crown forces and loyalist intimidation.

The women were shopping on the Newtownards Road when they were approached by the RUC. One of the women described what happened:

"We were just walking down the road

when the RUC came over to us. One member of the patrol started raising his voice, denouncing us as republicans to passers-by. We got frightened because we were in a loyalist area, but the RUC kept it up. All we wanted to do was to continue our shopping but we were that scared when they let us go that we cut short our trip and just went home."

DELIBERATE INTIMIDATION

Sinn Féin representative for East Belfast, Joe O'Donnell, has accused the RUC at Mountpottinger Barracks in East Belfast of deliberately stirring up sectarian intimidation. O'Donnell said:

"These three women were badly shaken



● Newtownards Road, Belfast

by this. It is totally unacceptable."

It is important to understand that due to the lack of adequate shopping facilities in the Short Strand area, residents are forced to do their shopping in nearby Protestant East Belfast. O'Donnell pointed out:

"On numerous occasions over the past

years, nationalist people have been verbally and physically abused by loyalists whilst shopping, especially during the loyalist marching season. This is in addition to the regular and routine abuse, often sexual in nature, from the crown forces to which women in particular are subjected."

BRUTAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST YOUNG WOMAN

A 24-YEAR-OLD mother of three from the Ardoyne area of North Belfast has become the latest target in the RUC campaign of trawling for informers.

Liz Donnelly's ordeal began last year when, at six months preg-

nant, she was dragged around by the hair during a violent crown forces raid at her mother's home (AP/RN, November 16th, 1989).

In January of this year Donnelly was arrested and brought to Castlereagh after giving birth to her baby four days earlier, and in June she was arrested with her mother and detained for three-and-a-half days. It was during these interrogations that an attempt was made to induce Donnelly into passing on information in return for what they described as "a decent place to live, and money".

Donnelly explains:

"In June, when I was arrested with my mother, a detective came into the room and kept asking me to meet him. He told me that all he wanted me to do was to keep an eye on 'known republicans' and report back to him. I was told that I could meet him at the ABC Cinema, Castle Court shopping

complex or the Post Office in Ardoyne, just yards from my home."

"I had just moved into the house four days when on Friday, September 7th, the RUC arrived and raided. A female RUC member followed me upstairs and asked me did I remember her. I said no even though she was one of the detectives who interrogated me in Castlereagh. She asked me why I didn't meet them, but I just pushed past her and went downstairs. After this I was afraid to stay in the house on my own and I stayed with friends. Since then I have been told by neighbours that the RUC were



● LIZ DONNELLY

at my house last Wednesday and Thursday morning.

"On Friday I arrived in the

house to find a summons for assaulting a RUC woman during a raid on my mother's house on September 23rd last year. I'm just waiting for them to arrest me again but I won't give in to them!"

UNRELENTING CAMPAIGN

Sinn Féin's Gerard McGuigan, councillor for Ardoyne, slammed the crown forces for what he called "a brutal and unrelenting campaign against a frightened woman". He continued:

"All too often vulnerable individuals in this community find themselves in a nightmare created by the RUC who will stop at nothing in their attempts to gather ever more complete files on the movements of nationalists. The only way of ending the nightmare is to follow the example of Liz Donnelly. Expose your tormentors and press charges against them."

NAVAN ESTATE SHAPES UP

BY
LIAM
O COILEAIN

THE RESIDENTS of the Claremont council estate in Navan, County Meath, have a lot to be proud of. It is mainly working class and has suffered heavily from the twin ills of unemployment and emigration. In past years, the estate of 137 houses, which was poorly planned and has been neglected by Meath County Council, has had a relatively bad name, but the tenants' association has worked hard to change all that.

The estate's layout means some parts can be something of a wind tunnel in stormy weather. There is nothing the tenants' association can do about that but much has been achieved.

The association, which is a member of ACRA, the Association of Combined Residents' Associations, has organised a number of successful campaigns. One led to a back lane between McDermott Villages, Parnell Park and the Claremont estate being cleaned up and surfaced by the Council. The lane had previously been little more than a rat-infested dump, posing a health hazard. They successfully petitioned the Council to fence the front of the estate from the main road as there has been a few near misses due to children straying onto the road.

Some feel that the Council was embarrassed into erecting the fence (now under construction) after an elderly woman was knocked down a few months ago.

The residents availed of a government amenities grant to plant trees throughout the estate and organised a general clean-up of the whole area, as the estate had never been properly landscaped.

Jacinta and Declan Nolan, members of the tenants' association, have got a large piece of rock from Tara mines for the estate's entrance, on which its name will be engraved. The Council never put up a sign naming the estate.

TRAVELLERS

Eight traveller families were housed in the estate by the Council

and there is "a very good relationship" between the two communities, according to Seán Brady, another association member. He criticises the Council however, for leaving the travellers in an alien environment without any back-up support to aid their transition to settled life, being left to cope as best they could.

The residents are currently fighting for the provision of lighting at the rear of the estate, alongside the Beechmount industrial estate, a short-cut into Navan town. Women and children are afraid to use this short-cut when it is dark as there have been a number of attempted assaults in this area.

Sinn Féin organised a petition last year which was signed by 98% of residents, calling for funding for lighting to be included in the 1989 Book of Estimates. The county manager's reply effectively told the residents that they could expect no help until everybody paid their service charges.

A patch of waste ground at the rear of the estate, which was never properly developed, should be converted to a children's play area ac-



● Claremont estate, Navan

According to the residents. Recreational facilities consists of two half-finished tennis courts.

ILLEGAL BURNING

Another problem which the residents want tackled immediately is that of a local furniture factory in the industrial estate, which has been illegally burning old furniture at night and early in the morning. Dangerous fumes generated by the burning of foam is causing discomfort to many and severe distress to asthma sufferers in the estate. This burning is continuing, despite visits to the estate by the gardai and members of the Council's environment section.

The Trojan work being undertaken by the association is a good example of the progress which can be

made by local communities when they organise themselves. The Claremont residents have gained some major concessions from the Council and have compensated for other examples of official neglect by doing the work themselves. This local community now has an effective collective voice with which to tackle the problems which confront it.

Cobh eviction threatened

A COBH FAMILY of six has been threatened with eviction from its home by Cobh Urban District Council, despite their economic circumstances which make this decision entirely unfair and arbitrary.

The Corkhills encountered financial difficulties when the husband had to leave the 26-County navy last December on medical grounds. He is currently receiving disability benefit. The couple have four children, with a fifth on the way. When the Council refused to carry out vital repairs to their home because of arrears in rent, the family withheld payment for five weeks in protest on the advice of their local Sinn Féin representative. They have been threatened with eviction ever since and they believe that they have been singled out for persecution by the Council. Their plight has been highlighted in local news-letters by Sinn Féin.

The family made a payment of £200 on August 22nd and offered to pay the rent the following week but this did not satisfy Council officials. On August 24th the family received a letter threatening that if they were not out of the house by Friday last, September 14th, the matter would be transferred into the hands of the Council's solicitors.

The Corkhill family are making every effort, in difficult financial circumstances, to pay off their debts. They owe approximately £300, but the Council seems determined to give them no leeway.

Cobh Sinn Féin representative Ciarán McCarthy has condemned the behaviour of the Council in this case, describing the treatment of the Corkhill family as "an exercise in discrimination".



● BERNADETTE MCALISKEY

litical action, one of a series locally which are designed to revive and remobilise the republican base."

REVIVE AND REMOBILISE

THREE GENERATIONS of nationalists from South-West Antrim and South Derry gathered in Toomebridge for a celebration of 21 years of Struggle, on Friday, September 14th.

The event, the latest in a series of ongoing political activities in the South-West Antrim area, attracted nearly 200 people. A special feature of the evening was the display of an exhibition depicting phases of prison struggle and other aspects of political life in the Six Counties.

Civil rights activist Bernadette McAliskey made the opening address in which she reviewed the inheritance of this struggle from one generation to the next. Before a captivated audience she examined the danger of complacency which can be engendered after 21 years of conflict and the dependency of the many upon a few solid activists in each area. McAliskey went on to rebut the attitude which reduces the struggle to the level of just another activity to be pursued.

"The struggle," she emphasized, "is the aspiration to and work for freedom for all of our people." But she concluded: "The tasks involved in securing freedom by this generation require that all roles be filled by everyone, young or old."

ANNIVERSARIES

Lisburn Sinn Féin Councillor Michael Ferguson was then introduced and he opened his remarks by noting the many anniversaries that occur in the near future, the 20th anniversary of internment, the 75th anniversary of the Easter Rising and the 10th anniversary

of the hunger-strike.

"The occurrence of so many anniversaries may cause us to ponder and to wonder when it will all end; such thoughts have often caused us to take different paths, yet we have never quite lost our vision of a new Ireland, for republicanism is a heartfelt thing, all in a moment it can fill us with pride as we remember a goal achieved or bring an ache from the soul as we recall a loss."

Ferguson cautioned also of the danger of just marking one anniversary after another, for it "draws us perilously close to becoming nothing more than an extension of a national graves association, leaving the few to run alone the fatal gauntlet to prison or the grave."

Such feelings of war weariness or apathy stemmed from "the common experience of a condition known as repression," he continued. "Repression is designed to tire us and subdue us. Quiet defiance will not bring victory anymore than acquiescence will bring peace, prosperity or an end to repression. The British government is not, and never has been, simply at war with the Republican Movement, it does not and never has simply attempted to silence Sinn Féin. The British government is at war with the entire nationalist population, politically, militarily and culturally, and seeks nothing less than the reconquest of the entire nationalist community."

Concluding on a high note he said that in spite of all their repression "Vic-

tory is possible, freedom in our lifetime is possible because of the legacy of the 21 years of resistance, 21 years of denying Britain a mandate to reconquer the nationalist community. Working together we have created a culture of resistance. It's time to push that into a culture for change."

Speaking after the event, local Sinn Féin representative Henry Cushman said: "The success of our celebration of 21 years of struggle arises directly from the collective effort of the republican family in the area. Tonight's event was not merely a social evening; it was a po-

BRANCH ASSAULT IN CORK

CORK Sinn Féin member Paul Walshe was assaulted early on Sunday morning, September 9th, by a member of the Garda Special Branch while returning home from town. Walshe, at the time, was dependent on a crutch following an accident at work.

The assault occurred opposite the Lock Church. A Branch car, registration number QZS 92, based at the Barrack Street Barracks, pulled up beside him and a Branch man leaped out. Without identifying himself the Branchman attacked Walshe, hitting him twice on the chin and banging his head off the wall. When Paul Walshe pointed to a nearby car and said he had witnesses to the assault, the Branchman fled. This is the second assault on Paul Walshe in four months.

In a statement to AP/RN Cork Sinn Féin organiser James McBaron said that "Cork Sinn Féin members will not be frightened off by this kind of state thuggery. It didn't work in the past and it will not work now."

FORGING THE SECTARIAN CHAINS

THE UNIONIST PARTIES, PART 1

CONTINUING our series on Irish political parties, **HILDA Mac THOMAS** takes a look at the unionists. Unlike the SDLP which is a recent creation — set up in 1970 it coincided with a re-alignment of the Northern Catholic middle-class following the burst of upward social mobility which the post-war welfare state had encouraged — political unionism goes back further even than the creation of the Six-County state. Following the fate of unionism means retracing the steps of British involvement in Ireland, indeed of British internal politics, back to the late 19th century.

FROM THE ORANGE BOYS TO PARTITION (1795-1921)

WHEN POLITICAL UNIONISM was born in the 1880s, during the anti-Home Rule struggle in the British parliament, it had a ready-made constituency which had been moulded and consolidated throughout the 19th century, by the deep economic transformations which affected Ireland, now a mere province of the 'United Kingdom' following the Act of Union of 1800.

The Ulster Plantation which had continued throughout the 17th century had produced a population largely divided between Catholic natives and Protestant settlers, themselves further divided between Church of Ireland (Anglican) and Presbyterian planters. In the late 18th century the industrial revolution created another dichotomy: between Mid-Ulster, Anglican, tenants and weavers, and East-Ulster Presbyterians whose ide-

ological inclinations and economic interests pushed them towards republican separatism and the United Irishmen movement. Their alliance with Catholic labourers led to the 1798 Rising.

The Rising saw the British establishment's first deliberate playing of the 'Orange card'. Their tool was the newly formed Orange Order — one of the many peasant secret societies which were common in Ireland at

that time, only this one was controlled, paid and armed by the landlords. Formed in 1795 in North Armagh, the Orange Order, originally known as the 'Orange Boys', was then exclusively Anglican. Landlords used the Orange Order to supplement their part-time militia, the yeomanry, and crush the United Irishmen.

The Act of Union was directed at the nationalist strand of the Irish Protestant ascendancy, whose economic power had been somewhat protected by the Dublin parliament. After 1800, Irish MPs would be sent to the British parliament. Orangemen were at first hostile to the Act of Union, which they correctly perceived as implying a dilution of the power of

the Irish Protestant ascendancy within a larger 'United Kingdom'. Assurances that the ascendancy was safe and promises of favours kept them in line.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Meanwhile, as the economic union was taking effect, Dublin trade and industry started declining under the pressure of British competition which the Act of Union prevented the Irish from protecting themselves against. The Protestant landed gentry was also in decline — except in Ulster where it patronised the Orange Order, revived in the 1840s to counter Catholic agitation. In contrast to Dublin, Belfast was growing fast as an industrial centre, and the industrial bourgeoisie was almost exclusively Protestant. Its linen mills and shipyards were part of the growing British industrial complex, and unlike the Presbyterians of the 1790s, most Belfast tradesmen and industrialists of the 1880s would reject any idea of Home Rule which they assumed would destroy 'their' achievements.

By the middle of the century, famine refugees were flocking to Belfast, swelling its working class. The Orange Order, until then a rural organisation, began recruiting among the Protestant workers, who were encouraged to seek a 'social contract' with their bosses similar to the understanding which had existed at times between Protestant landlords and tenants. In exchange for preferential treatment and greater job security, Protestant workers would collude with the bourgeoisie and the British establishment to put down any hint of Catholic agitation or of a threat to the union.

Working-class demands were granted through patronage, or drowned by Orange drums. Much as

the ruling classes might find the antics of the Orange 'rabble' distasteful, they had no reason to complain: the Orange Order was cementing the class alliance, and consolidating the Protestant working class as a constituency for the Protestant, anti-Home Rule bourgeoisie, and as allies of British imperialism.

Orange ideology was based on Protestant supremacy. The influence of religion increased as it became a badge of membership of the master-race. Every so often there would be phases of Protestant evangelicism, as in the 1850s, with large meetings, mass hysteria and anti-Catholic preachers. Such religious revivalism helped reduce political differences between Presbyterians and Anglicans.

In the middle of the 19th century, riots started occurring around the Twelfth in Belfast. After the 1857 riots, a commission of enquiry found that the local police was 'partisan' and infiltrated by the Orange Order, and that Twelfth celebrations had become "the celebrations of the triumph of one class over another". It was shortly after the 1857 riots that the first big revivalist wave swept through Protestant Ulster, with, as one of its main preachers, the Rev Hugh 'Roaring' Hanna whose previous mission had been to inflame the rioters.

And so, in 1857, while class politics became the norm in industrial centres of Europe, Belfast was a paradox: "rapidly industrialising, yet doggedly defying the pressures of the modernisation process". (J Lee, 1973.)

BRITISH TORIES RESCUED

The first half of the 19th century saw the growth of British Liberals as a political force which represented

the new capitalist class, attached to the values of parliamentary democracy and more interested in making money than in subscribing to the aristocratic mythology of the land-owning gentry, represented by the Tories.

Throughout the 19th century, the Liberals waged a parliamentary war against the privileges of the Tories, steadily extending voting rights to more layers of the British people, thereby undermining the Tory electoral power-base. This war culminated in the abolition of the absolute veto of the House of Lords in 1911.

More about that later.) In 1852, the British Liberals, led by Gladstone, found themselves within reach of power, but the Irish Parliamentary Party held the balance. They became a prop of the British Liberal Party, which the Liberals paid for by passing legislation to protect tenant rights, in response to land agitation.

The Irish Party's withdrawal in 1920 would end the days of the Liberal Party as a force in British politics. On the other hand, the Tories were not wiped out, because they were able to draw from the vast reservoir of Orange bigotry in Belfast, by championing the anti-Home Rule movement.

In 1886, one year after Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill had been defeated in its Second Reading at Westminster, the Liberals lost the elections to an alliance of Tories, some defecting Liberals and those Irish MPs opposed to Home Rule, who called themselves 'unionists'. In 1893, Gladstone, back in power, steered his second Home Rule Bill through Westminster. This time it was passed by the Commons but thrown out by the Lords. Tories were back in power in 1895, and tried, in their own words, to "kill Home Rule by kindness" by introducing facilities for tenants to buy land and increasing the power of local government in Ireland. In 1911, the Liberal government introduced legislation to end the Lords' absolute veto. The price they paid to secure Irish and Labour votes for their Parliament Act was the promise of another Home Rule Bill. Knowing that they could no longer rely on the Lords to quash it, the Tories set about organising anti-Home Rule resistance.

SHAPING THE UNIONIST BLOC

It was in 1911 that the unionist appeared as a political bloc for the first time. Attempts at unifying unionist forces dated back to 1903, when it was realised that Orangism was no longer as docile as the local bourgeoisie would have liked. Nineteen hundred-and-three was the year in which a group of shipyard workers formed the Independent Orange Order, after defeating the official unionist candidate in the election and being expelled from the Orange Order as a result.

The Orange Order had begun to include middle and upper classes within its ranks since 1886, during the first Home Rule Bill battle. But the triumphantly rural and working-class element. The famous words penned by Lord Randolph Churchill to the unionist in 1886: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right" were not an incentive to the rank-and-file who were more faint-hearted politicians.

The Independent Orangemen were, however, far from being a levelling deviation: their speeches out-



● Sir Edward Carson signs a Covenant, pledging resistance to Home Rule, at Belfast City Hall, 1912

WHO SAYS WE'RE TO HAVE HOME RULE?



● Unionist postcard

mainstream Orange rhetoric in anti-Catholic and racist sentiment. Interestingly enough, this breakaway group emerged while the British government was in its "kill Home Rule with kindness" phase.

In 1905 the Ulster Unionist Council was set up. It included representatives of the Orange lodges, Ulster unionist MPs and local constituency associations. It aimed to protect "Ulster Protestant interests", counter the threat of conciliation between some Anglo-Irish elements and Irish nationalism, especially in the South, and, of course, neutralise the rhetoric of the Independent Orange Order. The Council was to function more or less in this way until 1972.

In 1910 Edward Carson was elected leader of the Irish unionists at Westminster, with James Craig as his deputy. By September 1911, the unionist Council was resolving that should the Liberals' third Home Rule Bill be passed, they would, under the leadership of Carson, form a 'provisional government of Ulster'. Unionists started a violent press campaign against liberal businessmen, backed by threats by Orange activists: a "reign of terrorising prejudice" is how a Presbyterian nationalist, the Rev J B Armour, described it.

By 1912 unionist agitation turned into riots: Catholic workers were at-

tacked and chased out of the Belfast shipyards. It must be said that this happened after Catholic bigots, organised under the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), had attacked a Protestant school outing. The AOH, an anti-Protestant as well as anti-trade union organisation, so often inflamed sectarian animosities that it caused James Connolly to remark: "Were it not for the existence of the Board of Erin [the AOH], the Orange Society would long have ceased to exist." While this may be politically incorrect, since the Orange Order's raison d'être goes well beyond the mere retaliation, it also indicates what dirty work the right wing of Irish nationalism was engaging in.

ANTI-HOME RULE

In September 1912 unionists organised a massive campaign of signatures to a Covenant pledging to resist Home Rule by "all means which may be found necessary". The Covenant was modelled on a 16th century document, a "Presbyterian technique for reminding God whose side he was on" (J Lee 1973). Over 200,000 signatures were gathered quickly. The few who signed halfheartedly did so to stay in employment, or in good health. By the end of the year the Ulster Volunteers were

raised. Retired British army officers were recruited to drill the 100,000-strong UVF, and successful gun-running operations provided the wherewithal. With its army, its political organisation, the support of its industrialists and its clergy, and a unifying ideology, unionist 'Ulster', whatever the term meant then, was ready to secede at the first sign of Home Rule: Irish unionists had secured their fallback position eight years before Irish nationalists got around a negotiating table!

In 1845 Thomas Davis, the Young Irelander, had written that "the fairies and the banshee, the poor scholar and the ribbonman, the Orange Lodge, the illicit still and the faction fight are vanishing into history". About none was he more wrong than the Orange Lodge. His, and later, Connolly's words quoted above illustrate the sometimes inadequate understanding in the Irish nationalist camp regarding the nature of Orangeism, and of unionism.

Orange ideology was based on the belief in the racial superiority of the Protestant settler over the Catholic native. In Ulster it took the appearance of a kind of sectarian nationalism, linked directly to British imperialism, not because of the existence of some 'Ulster nation', but because of the class alliance which developed under the aegis of the Orange Order in order to safeguard British interests. Unionists believed firmly that Home Rule would destroy their economic achievements, and would force them to subsidise the poorer South, which they saw as the result of native inefficiency. The fact is that Belfast prosperity was not so much the fruit of the Union with Britain as the result of several factors, including patterns of industrialisation in the 19th century, and the 'social contract' which made Belfast workers more compliant than was the norm.

Irish nationalists, or rather the Irish Party in Westminster, also underestimated the readiness of British Tories to encourage the resort to force and eschew parliamentary methods when they could no longer get their way there, and of course the readiness of the Orangeists to swing into action. The famous words of Bonar Law, Balfour's successor at the head of the Tory party "There are things stronger than parliamentary majorities" was ignored as a sign of things to come. Another ominous sign was the Curragh mutiny in 1914: the refusal by British army regiments stationed in the Curragh, to go and put down the UVF. The Tories and the military establishment were getting their act together.

Unionists did not want partition,

but prepared for it. Their aim was to defeat Home Rule. But by the time the Irish nationalist side sat to negotiate with Lloyd George in 1921, it was too late. The Tory-unionist alliance had staked its claim to the north-east of Ireland. The British army had served notice that it would not coerce them. And the British government, then Liberal, was not prepared to crack down on the Tories and strengthen their political enemies — the British labour movement — in the process.

BIRTH OF ORANGE STATE

The Home Rule Bill was passed in 1914, but its application was deferred by the First World War. The republican Rising of Easter 1916 showed that for many in Ireland, mere Home Rule was no longer enough. In the 1918 general elections, Sinn Féin won decisively: 73 seats, to six for the United Irish League (old Irish Party) and 26 unionists. What unionists took from it, however, was that in Ulster, unionists had 22 seats and nationalists 15. Taking the north-eastern six counties alone, the unionist superiority became two to one. The results confirmed the unionist leadership's intention to settle for six counties if Home Rule was pushed through after all.

In 1919 a British Cabinet Committee drafted a Government of Ireland Bill which planned to give Ireland two Home Rule parliaments, one for the north-eastern six counties, and one for the other 26. Unionists were pleased: this autonomy would protect them from any change of policy in London. Meanwhile, pogroms and rioting continued: one typical instance was in Derry after the 1920 local elections returned a nationalist Corporation and Mayor, who immediately declared their allegiance to the Dail and republican government. Sporadic rioting went on for months, with the UVF dumping guns and firing on Catholics with the RIC turning a blind eye. Catholics were run out of the Waterside. The final death toll: 14 Catholics and four Protestants killed.

Another significant episode was the 1919 strike in Belfast. One of the strike leaders had been a Catholic. The unionist leadership in Belfast went to work and through the Ulster Unionist Labour Association (UULA) it set about denouncing the 'pro-republican' and 'Bolshevik' British Labour movement. After UULA meetings attacks started on Catholic workers and workers identified with socialist ideas. After thousands of workers were expelled, vigilance committees were set up to ensure that no 'disloyal' worker was taken on.

While the UVF was re-organising, the British government set up a Special Constabulary, which effectively absorbed the UVF. The Specials led many of the pogroms through 1920 to 1922. In one such pogrom in the town of Lisburn, the entire Catholic population fled, taking refuge on the Falls Road, some ending up in Dundalk. After the May 1921 elections to the new Stormont parliament, which returned 40 unionists, six Sinn Féin and six nationalists, an Ulster Tory MP declared that "too many Sinn Féin votes had been cast", and pogroms led by the Specials started again, with 20 Catholics killed and 150 rendered homeless. The new parliament met in June, minus the opposition, and James Craig was sworn in as prime minister. There was a formal opening by the king of England a few days later. The Orange state had been born.

To be continued



● The first incident in the Belfast strike, a lamp is uprooted in Waring Street

...abolish class, attached to
...of parliamentary democra-
...interested in making
...in subscribing to the land-
...ology of the land-
...represented by the
...the 19th century, the
...of a parliamentary war
...of the Tories,
...voting rights to
...of the British people,
...the Tory element-
...case. This war culminat-
...position of the absolute
...of Lords in 1911.
...the British Liberals, led by
...bound themselves within
...power, but the Irish
...any held the balance.
...a group of the British
...the Tories paid
...which the Liberals paid
...ing legislation to protect
...in response to land agi-
...Party's withdrawal in
...and the days of the
...were a force in British poli-
...on other hand, the Tories
...owed out, because they
...to draw from the vast
...Orange bigotry in Belfast,
...ing the anti-Home Rule
...one year after Gladstone's
...Bill had been defeat-
...Second Reading at
...the Liberals lost the
...an alliance of Tories,
...ing Liberals and those
...opposed to Home Rule,
...themselves 'unionists'. In
...back in power,
...second Home Rule Bill
...minister. This time it was
...the Commons but thrown
...Tories were back in
...and tried, in their own
...Home Rule by kind-
...ing facilities for ten-
...and increasing the
...government in Ireland.
...liberal government intro-
...to end the Lords'
...The price they paid to
...and Labour votes for
...Act was the promise
...time Rule Bill. Knowing
...no longer rely on the
...the Tories set about
...anti-Home Rule resist-
...SHAPING THE
...UNIONIST BLOC
...In 1911 that the unionists
...a political bloc for the
...Attempts at unifying unionist-
...back to 1903, when it
...that Orangeism was not
...as the local bour-
...ould have liked. Nineteen-
...and-three was the year in
...of shipyard workers
...Independent Orange
...defeating the official
...candidate in the elections
...repelled from the Orange
...result.
...ge Order had begun to
...dle and upper classes
...since 1866, during the
...Bill battle. But the traral-
...and working-class
...Order needed no encour-
...famous words penned
...ndolph Churchill to a
...1886: "Ulster will fight and
...right" were not an in-
...the rank-and-file who
...but rather an encour-
...faint-hearted politi-
...pendent Orangemen
...far from being a left-
...their speeches outdid

Brits set to back down over Glór na nGael?

PUBLIC OUTCRY at the arbitrary removal of funding from the Irish language group, Glór na nGael, which teaches almost 200 pre-school children in naionraí (nurseries) throughout Belfast, is putting pressure on the British government to back down over its political vetting decision which axed £80,000 from the group's annual budget days before the schools were due to re-open after the summer vacation.

Following a statement issued on Friday, September 14th, British Direct-Ruler Peter Brooke gave a strong indication that funding, which had been removed on the ridiculous pretext that Glór na nGael had alleged 'paramilitary links', may be restored.

Speculation at the possible restoration of the funding was heightened last week following the inter-governmental meeting in which Dublin minister, Gerry Collins, expressed concern and asked for the decision to be reviewed. In a joint communiqué, issued shortly after the conference, the British government said that while the decision in this case reflected established policy, it was open to any affected organisation to ask for its case to be reconsidered.

Questioned at a press conference later, Peter Brooke said that the policy which Douglas Hurd introduced in 1985 was not one in which the British government stated the reasons for which they took a particular step. Brooke went on to say that he had made it clear that it was, however, possible for organisations to ask for their case to be reviewed, but he concluded: "That is a matter which takes place in dialogue between myself and the organisation."

GUARDED RESPONSE

Brooke's guarded response comes after widespread criticism of the NIO's unsubstantiated allegations and arbitrary decision to axe Glór na nGael's funding. A high level of media interest in this particular political vetting case has been particularly effective in exposing the British government's tenuous position and has successfully revealed a number of contradictions in the NIO's case.

The NIO's allegation of 'paramilitary links' came hand in hand with clearance from the RUC for a Glór na nGael flag day to raise funds. Shortly after the group's funds were withdrawn it was revealed that the NIO had placed Glór na nGael on an official NIO itinerary, as a 'showpiece' for a visiting EC delegation.

Students from Dublin and Belfast,

and Irish language activists, picketed the British Embassy in Dublin on Thursday, September 13th, to protest at the withdrawal of funds from Glór na nGael.

The picket, organised by the Union of Students in Ireland (USI), sent a message of solidarity to the Belfast group and expressed discontent at the British government's continued refusal to explain why the decision to withdraw funding was taken.

Brid Leonach, head of an Irish language nursery school in Dublin, Naoinraí na nÁingil, said:

"Everyone throughout the country should at least have the opportunity to learn Irish. The early school stage forms the important base of this learning. Like ourselves, I am sure the Belfast schools would find it difficult to survive without necessary funding."

CLEAR MESSAGE

Philip Campbell of USI said that he was pleased to see that so many people could attend the picket.

"Irish language enthusiasts are outraged that the British government has withdrawn funding from Glór na nGael and still refuses to explain why. Today's action is a clear message to the NIO that Gaeligeoirí North and South are not going to take this blatant attack on our language lying down," he said. The picket was joined by two students from Asturias in the North of Spain who played Asturian music at the picket. One of the Asturian students, Fonsu Mielgo, said:

"We sympathise with language activists here who are under pressure from government legislation. In Asturias, although 15% of the population speak Asturian and 90% speak a mixture of Spanish and Asturian, we have only recently managed to persuade the government to erect road signs in our native language."

Gardaí assisted staff from the British Embassy in ripping down banners erected on the embassy railings.



● Gardaí removing a banner, protesting at the withdrawal of funding from Glór na nGael, from the railings outside the British Embassy

SLOGADH SHINN FEIN 1990 Slógadh spreagúil i nGaeltacht Chonamara

BA IN iarthar Connachta i nGaeltacht álainn Chonamara a bhailigh daoine ó na ceithre cúigi chun freastal ar Shlógadh Shinn Féin 1990, an cúigiú teacht le chéile bhliantúil de Ghaeilgeoirí poblachtacha. Idir áilleacht na timpeallachta, briomhaireacht na ndiospóireachtaí, craic agus ceol, baineadh an taitneamh sa deireadh seachtaine a bhí mar ath-spreagadh chun an streachailt ar son na teanga agus ar son na tíre a chur chun cinn.

Shroich an chuid is mó de na teachtaí an Cheathrú Rua ar chósta Chonamara tráthnóna Aoine agus an ghriain ag dul faoi agus ba léir go mbeadh aimsir álainn don dá lá. Cuireadh fíor fáilte roimh an Slógadh ag Ostarán an Dóilín agus bhailigh daoine don chéad diospóireacht "An Ghaeltacht ar leaba an bháis nó ag tús ré?"

Tar éis don gceathairleach Deasún Breathnach an seisiún a oscailt labhair an tAthair Pádraig Standún ar dtús. Udar atá gníomhach ar son muintir na Gaeltachta le fada an lá is ea é. Tá 19 mbliana caite aige sa Ghaeltacht, seacht mbliana in Inis Iarr agus 12 mbliana sa Cheathrú Rua.

"B'fhéidir go bhfuil seafóid orm ach ní bhím chomh héadóchasach is atá go leor daoine a bhíonn ag cur síos agus ag tráchtairacht faoin 'Ghaeltacht' a dúirt Pádraig Standún.

Cé go ndúirt sé gur cheap sé go raibh aian den fhirinne sa mhéid a scríobh Reg Hindley sa leabhar *The Death of the Irish Language* a fhoilsíodh le déanaí, bhí sé mar thuairim aige féin go raibh feabhas tagtha ar an scéal agus go raibh níos mó tuismitheoirí ag tógáil a cuid gasúir i nGaeltacht i rith na blianta idir 1975 agus 1987 nuair a bhí sé ag obair i gConamara. Cheap sé gur tháinig gluin amháin tuismitheoirí aníos nach raibh an imirce mar chuid dá chleachtadh ar an saol agus go raibh sé níos easca dóibh a

pháisítí a thógáil i nGaeltacht.

SPIORAD NA NDAOINE

"Ceapaim go bhfuil éadóchas an namhad is mó atá ag daoine" a dúirt sé. Luaigh sé neamhspleachas na ndaoine sa Ghaeltacht agus an méid atá déanta acu ar a son féin in ainneoin na n-udaráis. "Rud nach léiríonn aon duine na staitistící seo a chloisimid ná spiorad na ndaoine."

D'aontaigh déantóirí scannáin, Bob Quinn, leis an méid sin ach bhí rudal níos conspóidí le rá aige maidir le cheist na Gaeilge agus na Gaeltachta. Dúirt sé nach raibh suim áirithe sa Gaeilge aige ach i bpobal Chonamara féin. Cheap sé go raibh níos mó Gaeilge labhartha thar lear in áiteanna mar Dorchester, Southwark agus Boston agus go raibh sé ag smaoineamh le trí bhliain anuas ar phobal na Gaeilge mar 'diaspora'.

I ndiaidh na cainteoirí phléigh an Slógadh na ceisteanna seo agus ceist Raidió na Gaeltachta. Dúirt roinnt daoine gur cheap siad nach raibh Raidió na Gaeltachta ag freastal ar muintir na Gaeltachta. Pléadh chomh maith na difríochtaí idir Ghaeilgeoirí sa Ghaeltacht agus Gaeilgeoirí sa chuid eile den tír. Ag an deireadh ba léir gur aontaigh gach duine a bhí i láthair go raibh gá le níos mó tuiscint idir an dá dream agus gur chóir aontú ar son an éilimh do sheirbhís raidió agus teilifís ceart do Ghaeilgeoirí uile na tíre.

Ar oíche Aoine bhí seisiún cheoil agus filiochta le filí Chonamara, Tom Pheadaí ac

Dhiarmada, Brian O Baoill agus Joe Steve O Neachtain. Tugadh bualadh bos ar leith do dán Joe Steve O Neachtain darb ainm Saighdiúir, bás Oglach i mBeal Feirste i 1974 a bhí mar ábhar aige agus foilsíodh é sa chéad cnuasach filiochta ag Joe Steve níos déanaí i mbliana.

CEIST AN EISEACHADTA

Ar maidin Shathairn phléigh an Slógadh "Cúlú an Stáit ó 1918" agus bhí an Comhairleoir Caoimhghín O Caoláin ó Muineachan agus an scríobhneoir Tomás Mac Siomóin mar aochairteoirí. Pléadh ach go háirithe ról stát na 26 Chontae agus meon na ndaoine sa stát sin. Luaigh Caoimhghín O Caoláin ceist an eiseachadta agus dúirt sé gur léir seasmhach an stáit faoi 1916 nuair a bhí siad sásta Dessie Ellis, fear a raibh beirt seanathair aige páirteach san Eirí Amach, thall go Sasain mar chime polaitiúil.

Ag labhairt dó sa diospóireacht ar "Deireadh le soisialachas in Oirthear na hEorpa agus sa Tríú Domhan" d'aithin Eoin O Murchú ón bPáirtí Cumannach gur theip ar chumannach in Aontas na Sóivéide agus in Oirthear na hEorpa ach nach raib deireadh le soisialachas agus dúirt an Comhairleoir Pádraig O Maolchraoibhe, Sinn Féin Lios na gCeirbhach, go raibh ceist an náisiúachais i bhfad níos tábhachtaí anois ná mar a cheapadh go mbeadh sé riamh. D'aontaigh na cainteoirí go mbeadh gá le athtógáil ar an soisialachas.

Tráthnóna Shathairn bhí turas stairiúil agus chaith foireann an Slógadh tamall ag teacht an Phiarasáigh, ina shuíomh álainn i Ros Muc.

STAIR BRODUIL

Ar ais leo ansin go dtí an Cheathrú Rua don seisiún deireanach. In óráid briomhair dúirt Gearóid O Cearraillín nach raib an bhearna thuigmheála idir



● Scata dena Slógadhóirí lasmuigh de Theach an Phiarasáigh i Ros Muc le linn an deireadh seachtaine

SLOGADH SHINN FEIN 1990



● Bob Quinn, Deesún Breatnach agus Padraig Standún ar an ardán ag an Slogadh pobail na Sé Chontae agus na 26 Chontae chomh mór 's a cheapar agus go raibh an chuid is mó díobh ina náisiúnaigh, a d'aithin gur pobal muid a throid ar son

saoirse ar feadh 800 bliain, agus a raibh bródúil as an stair sin in ainneoin atherclobh frith-náisiúnach na staire.

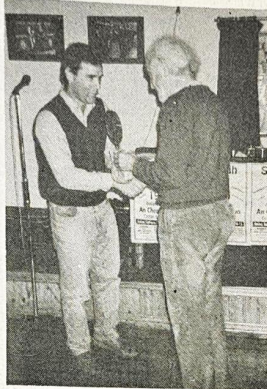
Bhailigh na céadta daoine

ansin don Chéili Mór a bhí mar deireadh oiriúnach do Slogadh spreagúil

Feachtais chun tosaigh



● Tomás Mac Eoin a leathadh comhghairdeas le Fionnuala Ní Chinnide a bhuaiigh an crannchur ag an Slogadh



● Bronnadh Cúigiu Gradam na Poblachta ar fhear atá gníomhach le fada ar son na Gaeilge agus ar son an náisiúin mar iriseoir, scoláire, scríbhneoir, agus iar-eagarthóir ar An Phoblacht. Deasún Breatnach, Bronnadh an Gradam dó ag Gearóid Ó hEara, ceannaire Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin.

Feachtais chun tosaigh

Bhí na feachtais ina bhfuil Gaeilgeoirí páirteach faoi láthair chun tosaigh ag an Slogadh i mbliana agus cuireadh fáilte ar leith roimh Míchéal Mac Giolla Gunna, duine dena hoibritheoirí ACE a chaill a bpostanna i naí-scoileanna na Ghlor na nGael i mBéal Feirste mar gheall ar ion-saí rialtas na Breataine ar an eagrais sin le déanaí.

Dúirt sé go leanfadh an obair ar aghaidh in ainneoin rialtas na Breataine agus nach raibh Glór na nGael sásta géilleadh do idirdhealú polaitiúil mar seo. D'iarr Míchéal Mac Giolla Gunna ar daoine ar fud na tíre cabhair a thabhairt don eagrais idir airgead agus cabhair eile praiticiúil agus dúirt sé go bfuil fhios acu go mbeadh an ruaic acu go luath.

RAITEAS na gCIMI

I ráiteas leathan chuir na cimi poblachtacha sa Cheis Fhada bean-nachtai don Slogadh. Thug siad cuntas ar chás chúirte Eoghain Mhic Cormaic agus John Pickering

do chearta chultúir sna príosúin agus lean siad:

"Le déanaí, nuair a bhí muid ag iarraidh aird an phobail ar an staid anseo maidir leis an bac ar an teanga, spórt, agus araile, dhearbhaigh muid go ndéanfadh an OTE an rud céanna le grúpaí eile da mbéidis in ann dhearbhaigh muid go ndéanfadh an OTE an rud céanna le grúpaí eile da mbéidis in ann an cultúr a chur faoi chos anseo.

DÍOLTAS MAWHINNEY

"Níor éirigh leo go fóill leis an chuspóir sin ar ndóigh ach cheana féin tá go leor faisnéis den 'Todchaid de réir Oifig Thuaisceart Éireann...' I mBéal Feirste tá siad tar éis deontais ACE a bhaint ó Glór na nGael. Bhí an Glór, mar atá a fhios againn, chun tosaigh in idir an feachtais i gcoinne na mlotai a d'fhoillsaigh Brian Mawhinney i leith oideachais, agus iad fosta chun tosaigh i soláthar tuarastail do mhuinteoirí sna naiscoileanna i mBéal Feirste Thiar.

"Is léir go bhfuil a dhíoltas anois déanta nó faighte ag Mawhinney agus is iad páiste Gaelacha a iocann as polasaithe an tSasannaigh páistíúla seo."

Chriochnaigh na cimi:



● Míchéal Mac Giolla Gunna ag tabhairt cur síos ar an bhfeachtas chun airgeadais a fháil arais dona naiscoileanna

"Tíocfaidh muid chun éiriche arís agus ligfidh daoibh a dhul ar aghaidh le bhur n-obair agus ndiospóireachtaí tabhachtacha. Aidh mór orainn go léir agus nara fada uainn an lá go mbeidh muid páirteach libh ag Slogadh na Saoirse."

Foghlaim :

cá ? where ?
cá bhfuil ? where is ?
cá raibh ? where was ?
cathain ? when ?
inniu, today
inné, yesterday
aréir, last night
reiteog, ice-cream
milseáin, sweets
ag féachaint ar,
looking at
an teilifís, television
na pictiúir, the pictures
cois tine, by the fire
cois farraige, by the sea,
at the seaside

bhí mé, I was
bhí tú, you were
bhí sé, he was
bhí sí, she was

ní raibh mé, I was not
ní raibh tú, you were not
ní raibh sé, he was not
ní raibh sí, she was not

an raibh mé ? was I ?
an raibh tú ? were you ?
an raibh sé ? was he ?
an raibh sí ? was she ?

Cathain a bhí sé anseo ? When was he here ?
Cad a bhí sé a dhéanamh ? What was he doing ?

Ceacht 8

sa bhaile, at home
sa teach, in the house
sa seomra, in the room
sa chistin, in the kitchen
sa leaba, in bed
sa pháirc, in the field
sa chlóis, in the yard
sa ghairdín, in the garden
sa chathair, in the city
sa siopa, in the shop
sa tsráid, in the street
sa samhradh, in summer
sa gheimhreadh, in winter
ar scoil, at school ; to school

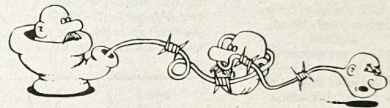
bhíomar, we were
bhí sibh, you were
bhí siad, they were

ní rabhamar, we were not
ní raibh sibh, you were not
ní raibh siad, they were not

an rabhamar ? were we ?
an raibh sibh ? were you ?
an raibh siad ? were they ?

Tógtha ó Progress in Irish le Mairéad Ní Ghráda,
foilsithe ag The Educational Company

Tríd sáile an chime



Roinn na Rialacha Casta

Bhí mise agus mo chara John os comhair na cúirte le linn na seachtaine seo le cás a ardú faoi leatrom cultúrtha sna príosúin.

Ar an oíche roimh an cás bogadh an beirt againn go dtí na 'gcláiracha', an sciathán ina gcuirtear éinne atá ar pionós éigin agus ag cailliúnt 'pribhléidí'. Ar ndóigh tá cuid nithe nach gcailltear, agus tá rialacha ón gCúirt Eorpach atá in ainm na mbunchearta a chosaint. Is é an sli a déanann an príosún na rialacha seo a mhinú díobh féin a léiríonn cé chomh macánta nó neamh-mhacánta 's atá siad fá' ceartaí na geimí a chinntiú. Bhí ár gcás ag brath ar minú na rialacha fosta, agus bhí suim ar leith againn mar sin ar pé ceart a fuair muid 'ar na cláiracha'.

Maidin an cháis, chuaigh mé chuig an seomra folcha. De réir na rialacha tá cead ag cime é féin a bhearradh achan lá. Sa seomra, bhí ceithre umar agus bhí trí scáthán. Ní raibh na scátháin os comhair na n-umar agus bhí sé deacair a theicéall ábair a bhíodh le éinne bearradh cuí a fháil.

UMAIR & SCATHAIN

Ach ní raibh aon riail briste, an dtuigeann tú. Bhí umair agus bhí scáthán cé nach raibh umair agus scáthán le chéile. Tá

daoine acu in Oifig Thuaisceart Éireann chun casadh na rialacha seo a chumadh. Tá sé nó sí ag obair i Roinn na Rialacha Casta. Bhuail muid le ceann acu cúpla uaire tar éis sin nuair a shroich muid an chúirt. Bhí sé sa 'bhosc' ag cosaint seasamh an OTE maidir le cluiche Gaelacha.

"Cá thuige?", arsa muid leis, "go bhfuil cosc in aghaidh naí Gaeilge?"

"Níl aon cosc in aghaidh na peile sin."

"Bhuel, mura bhfuil cosc in a choinne an bhfuil cead ag cimi cluiche peile Gaeilge a imirt?"

"Níl"

"Cá thuige?"

"Caithfidh gach cime sacar a imirt"

"An bhfuil riail faoi sin?"

"Seo, tá. Tá sacar an t-aon cluiche atá ceadaithe sa phríosún."

"Nach ionann riail a deireann gurb é an sacar amháin atá ceadmhach, agus a rá go bhfuil cosc ar pheil Gaeilge?"

"Níl. Níl aon rud mí-dhleathach ach níl ach rud amháin atá dleathach. Tá sin an-soláir ag... as ain is léir nach bhfuil cosc in aghaidh an peil Gaeilge... sna rialacha."

Chumhnhigh mé ar an ceithre umar agus an trí scáthán dí-láirthe. Is ionann rialacha scríofa san OTE agus buicéad lán de eascainn. Is fearr an t-íomlán a chur ar ais san fharraige gan mhoill dár liom.

Imeachtaí

SEGREGATION/ ANTI-EXTRADITION WHITE-LINE PICKET
2-3pm every Saturday
Falls/Whitlock Road Junction
BELFAST
Organised by Belfast Anti-Extradition Committee

PICKET ON US EMBASSY
Opposing US policy in Central America
11.30am-1pm
Every Saturday
Ballsbridge
DUBLIN

WHITE-LINE PICKET
'Justice for all'
6-7pm every Friday
Finglas Dual Carriageway
Janelle Shopping Centre
DUBLIN

SEGREGATION IN CRUMLIN ROAD JAIL
WHITE-LINE PICKET
5-6pm every Saturday
Glenshane Road
MAGHERA
County Derry
Organised by the County Derry Relatives' Action Committee

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET AND LEAFLETING
5.30pm to 6.30pm every Tuesday
O'Connell Bridge
DUBLIN

MARCH
'Save Santry Woods'
Assemble 2.30pm Saturday 22nd September
Ballymun Shopping Centre
March to Santry Woods
DUBLIN
All banners welcome

SINN FEIN FUNCTION
Friday 28th September
Music by Saoirse Creighton Hotel
CLONES
Táille: £4
Bar extension

GALA FUNDRAISING SHOW
Featuring: Ballads Galore, South County Dublin,
Al Jolson & other guests
Saturday 29th September
The Penthouse
BALLYMUN
Dublin
Cover charge: £1.50

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL
in honour of the late Seamus Twomey
Assemble 2.30pm
Sunday 30th September
inside gates of Milltown Cemetery
BELFAST
Fáilte roimh gach aon duine
Organised by Belfast National Graves Association

ANTI-EXTRADITION PUBLIC MEETING
8.30pm Monday 1st October
Band Hall
BLESSINGTON
County Wicklow
Speakers: Kevin Boland, Martha Ellis,
Tony Sloan, Fr Peter Carroll

PUBLIC MEETING
Moet Sinn Féin
8pm Tuesday 2nd October
St Andrew's Hall
South Circular Road
RIALTO
Speakers: Gerry Adams and Michael O Muireagáin

PUBLIC MEETING
'Don't extradite Dessie Ellis to British justice'
8pm Wednesday 3rd October
ATGWU Hall
Middle Abbey Street
DUBLIN
Speaker: Fr Dennis Carroll, Fr Des Wilson, Bernadette McAliskey, Seamus O Tuathail
(continued on page 13)

Routes towards chaos



TWO ALTERNATIVE ROUTES to economic chaos are under discussion by the Supreme Soviet in Moscow this week — the choice is between a five-year-long journey or a headlong, 500-day dash to catastrophe. Delegates are almost certain to choose the latter course.

It is hard to exaggerate the present Soviet economic crisis. Decades of Stalinism and the excruciating burden of an unwinable arms race have left it with factory plants which are decades out of date, bread queues despite bumper harvests and a host of problems, stemming largely from bureaucratic mismanagement. Soviet citizens are turning on their rulers in anger and decisions with serious, long-term consequences are being taken in haste.

Output is now running at 2% less than last year and last year saw serious shortages. This year, so far, Leningrad has received only 73% of the meat supplies which it was planned to get. The foreign debt is now equal to 14% of the country's output. Anger is rising and, in the first half of this year, ten million work days were lost in strikes.

The bureaucratic economy clearly needs to be changed and a certain amount of free-market capitalism should be allowed. Faced with equally serious problems in the 1920s, Vladimir Lenin's government did just that with its New Economic Policy. But it did not ditch the entire network of planning which protects workers' jobs and keeps down prices. Pressure from the West, combined with popular distrust of political leaders and their plans, have created support for free-market capitalism along the Thatcher lines.

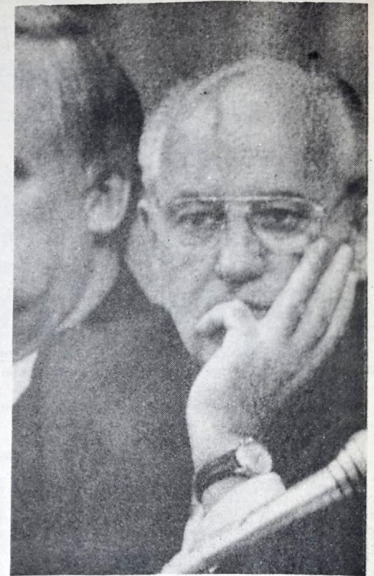
Most of the Soviet people have no idea of the effects of such policies. They do not realise that they will lead to unemployment and poverty for many. When leaders for whom they have little time, tell them that such strategies will make them poorer, they tend not to believe them.

The response from the country's leaders has not measured up to the wishes of the citizens. Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov has proposed a plan which would mean a move to a market economy by 1995. Ryzhkov's plan meant heavy price rises in the coming year while the present planning and supply bodies, Gosplan and Gossnab, were to remain in place. These would be changed in the following year but full capitalism would not appear until 1995.

Already the Russian Republic has adopted a 'big bang' strategy, devised by Professor Stanislav Shatalin, which will make it a market economy inside around 18 months. The first 100 days will see the dissolution of the planning and supply mechanisms and then will come the inevitable price rises. Now Gorbachev has backed a similar plan for the Soviet Union as a whole.

BASIC ESSENTIALS

The Soviet leader's strategy is based on the need to hold this federation of republics together. He feels that,



● MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

if the Union becomes a sort of economic community with a loose federation, it will be easier to maintain unity of the defence forces and a single currency — the basic essentials of any state. If he fails to do this and the Soviet Union splits into 15 separate republics under free market capitalism, a whole new era will

open up for the imperialist powers. Eastern Europe and North Asia will become another Latin America.

When plans such as these were discussed 18 months ago, the Soviet trade unions came out in anger against them. It now seems these unions have major battles on their hands, if not a huge war.

losing support in his own tribe to the South African liberation movement.

ATROCITIES

His response has been bloody. Zulus living in the migrant workers' hostels which dot the townships have been turned on the local people and, since July, appalling atrocities have resulted. But Buthelezi is not acting alone. Again and again, witnesses have told of whites taking part in the slaughter while in disguise. Up

to now, the De Klerk government has tried to palm off the ANC when it raised these matters in discussions. But now the killings are threatening De Klerk's own hold on power.

The intention of those in control of the third force is to drive the ANC back to the strategy of armed force. That would derail the discussions and make it easier to replace De Klerk. If he is really in power his government could stop the killings now. It remains to be seen whether he actually is.

Third force slaughter

EVIDENCE of undercover activity by an extreme right-wing 'third force' is emerging in South Africa as the death toll in the townships rises to over 700 in six weeks. The killing of 26 commuters on a train from Johannesburg to Soweto on Thursday, September 13th, has highlighted the real reasons for the 'Black on Black' violence. Often, the slaughter is committed by whites with blackened faces or face-masks.

Right-wingers in the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Resistance claim that 70% of the police force supports them and is working with them to undermine the South African peace process. The national Security Management System set up under the regime of PW Botha has not been properly dismantled by the present government under De Klerk and is battling for power within the administration with the assistance of Defence Minister, Magnus Malan.

The Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad* and an inquiry commission under the Justice Louis Harms have begun to get at the truth. But, although the De Klerk government has told Nelson Mandela that it is seriously worried by the third force, the discoveries from these two sources have not resulted in any prosecutions.

The 'third force' is using former Rhodesian soldiers, mercenaries from Mozambique

and Askaris, captured ANC guerrillas forced to work for the right wingers. They are trained at special police farms, one of which is called Vlakplaas, near Pretoria. The killers on the Soweto train came from one of these centres.

On Thursday night one group of killers boarded the crowded train and made no move until there was a ten-minute gap between stations. Then they ran through the carriages, shooting and hacking at passengers with butchers' meat-cleavers known as pangas. When the terrified passengers piled out of the carriages at the next station, they were met with a second gang which was waiting there and the carnage recommenced.

The Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been allowed to build up his own paramilitary force, Inkatha, and is involved in a direct struggle with the ANC for dominance. Although Buthelezi's tribe numbers seven million, he

has no support among the other 13 million Black South Africans and has even been

General shoots himself in foot

GENERAL MICHAEL J DUGAN believes in shooting first and asking questions later. But, when the chief of the US Air Force shot his mouth off to US reporters over the weekend, he found himself out of a job after only three months. Dugan's mistake was to tell the truth about the US military build-up, openly stating that there would be bombing raids on Baghdad which would inevitably kill huge numbers of civilians.

Talking tough is what US generals have been doing since the beginning of the Gulf hostilities and that's no crime in the eyes of the Bush administration. But Dugan revealed the war plan of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff in advance and pointed to the weakness of the other services, increasing the rivalries between them. These sins were what brought about the first dismissal of a US Chief of Staff since 1949.

The US military build-up has been 'justified' on the basis that it was a 'defensive' operation designed to protect Saudi Arabia, not a second version of the Crusades. But Dugan let the cat out of the bag. He said "air



● GENERAL DUGAN

killed and injured.

The problem for Dick Cheney, US Secretary for Defence, was that careful diplomatic work has been done to hide these facts from the general public and to persuade a number of Arab governments to give the invasion force their support. Dugan's admission endangered this work.

Cheney was almost as honest as the grounded Air Force man when he gave his reasons for 'retiring' Dugan (aged 53) so early. Discussion of strategy was prohibited and Dugan had endangered "the very fragile, very important international coalition" against Iraq. Cheney did not say Dugan was incorrect about the strategy, merely that he showed "poor judgement".

General Dugan's career may be one of the first casualties of Operation Desert Shield but his words show that it is unlikely to be the last.



● ANC Supporter carries the coffin of a colleague

Inner-city community reveals itself

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

DO YOU want to know more about Uncle Oua's Children's Club, Tom Mix the film star, the Tara Street Washhouse, the Frongoch Barbers, the Bottommen and the Read on the docks, Goulding's and T & C Martin's factories, the Gardiner Street Pawn Shop or the great hurling tradition of Laurence O'Toole's?

All these and much more are explained and contained in the North Inner-City Folklore Project's exhibition in Dublin's Charleville Mall Library, which opens on Wednesday next, September 26th.

The exhibition is based on the transcripts of almost 100 interviews with people in the North William Street/Sheriff Street area.

People of all ages have been interviewed by an eight-member team and the results have been broken down into ten categories: dock labour, sport and leisure, work, church, education, community, neighbourhood, freedom, home, and of course, pubs and shops. The project's aim, explains its co-ordinator, Mike Rush, is to give the people of an area the opportunity to tell their own history, folklore and culture. This chance, for the people of an area traditionally hard-hit by poverty and unemployment, to speak out has resulted in a fascinating treasurehouse of information, dating from the turn of the century to the present day.

LOOMING DEMOLITION

The main contemporary issue which emerges from the in-

terviews is the pending demolition of the Sheriff Street flats and the commercial development of the docks, once the main source of employment in the area before the introduction of new technology in the '50s.

Mike Rush expresses himself proud of what the project has achieved in terms of urban folklore. "Without a sense of past," he says, "a community is fragmented in the present." He

hopes that this exhibition will be seen as a recognition of a culture which has gone unrecognised by academics, as working-class people speak out for themselves. The interviews have captured a sense of a tightly knit community living in the face of adversity.

The flats, far from being subject to much transience of tenure, as in less settled areas, have been home to five generations in some families and the people who live there are very nostalgic about their homes, as indeed, older people are about the tenements which the flats replaced in the 1940s. There is a saying in the area that "if you throw a stone over a wall you are likely to hit your grand-

mother".

The Sheriff Street Women's Centre is of contemporary importance. One aspect of the interviews is the role of women as carers and nurturers, many recalling how they hid poverty from their husbands during times of particular privation. According to one woman:

"There was a good few strikes now in Goulding's when I first got married and it never really picked up. You know that kind of way. Men were different then. He loved me but you couldn't sit down and tell them things. We did hide an awful lot from husbands. I admire the girls nowadays."

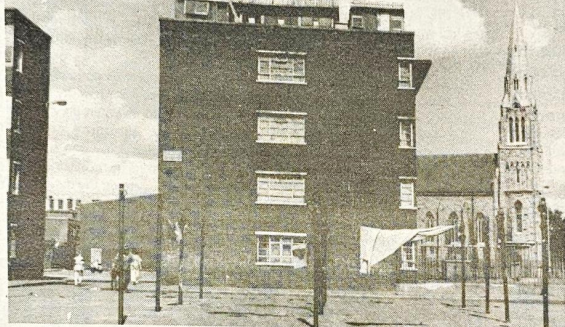
Those who attend the exhibition, which commences on September 26th and runs until October 5th, will also be able to view many photographs, union badges and banners, and old copies of the dockers' *Waterfront* magazine. They will find out more about Ernie Smith and Maxie McCollough, both Golden Gloves boxing

champions, Paddy Moore, Ireland's greatest soccer player, the Lec cinema and the four penny rush, the Kind Lady pub, so named for the generosity of its proprietor, the effects of the Second World War on the docks, the role of the stevedores, the Ball Alley, Clichey's Lane, the Squeezes Gut, pigeon fancying, Josh Ballard's Headless Ghost, the Leprechauns' Hide near Luke Kelly Bridge, Big Jim Larkin, Brendan Behan, Sean O'Casey, Lugs Brannigan, Sean Russell or Phil Shanahan, after whom a block of flats is named, the revolutionary between two saints, St Brigid's and St Laurence's.

It is reputed that in Shanahan's Pub in Foley Street Padraig Keamey wrote *Amhrán na bhFiann*. This little lot is only scratching the surface of a vast store of information and popular history to be gained by visiting the exhibition.

This project, backed by the Alliance for Work Forum, has concentrated on the St Laurence O'Toole and St Agatha's parishes. Next year, it will concentrate its efforts on the parish of Matt Talbot, centred around Sean McDermott Street, 'The Buildings', Foley Street and the Gloucester Diamond, which is seen as the root of the North Inner-City.

The North Inner-City Folklore Project exhibition can be seen from September 26th until October 5th at Charleville Mall Library (between Ballybough and North Strand), Dublin.



● St Brigid's Gardens, Sheriff Street

Credit: Delirdre Behan

Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)
IRISH BRIGADE
Saturday 6th October
Equus Lounge
NAVAN
Taille £2.50

PUBLIC DEBATE

'Neutrality'
8pm Thursday 11th October
Atlanta Hotel
GALWAY
Dormot Guyl will represent Sinn Féin
All local politicians have been officially invited

INFORMATION DAY

'Irish Women in Struggle'
12-4pm Saturday 13th October
Key Books 136 Digbeth
BIRMINGHAM 5

MARCH

'Don't extradite Dossie Ellis to British injustice'
1.45pm Parnell Square
March to GPO
Saturday 13th October
DUBLIN
Speakers: Owen Carron, Bobby Ballagh, Martha Ellis

WEEKEND EDUCATION SEMINAR

Friday October 26th to Sunday October 28th
CAVAN
Cost £5/£10 waged
Contact: Education Department
01-726932/532763

Admhail

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, An Cumann Cabhrach, wish to express their gratitude to Charlie Murray and the people of Shannon for their very generous and much-needed contributions to the funds of an Cumann Cabhrach.

Women in Pursuit of Freedom 1990

A Public Discussion

North Star Hotel, Amiens St, Dublin

10.30am - 5.30pm Saturday, September 29th

SINN FEIN Women's Department has organised a conference in Dublin, to be held on Saturday, September 29th, titled 'Women in Pursuit of Freedom'.

The format for the day's activities in the North Star Hotel on Amiens Street is that of a public discussion. The main area for discussion will be what the issues are for women in the '90s and whether women's priorities count. The economic position of women on both sides of the border will be looked at in the morning session, with a discussion on a strategy for change in the '90s.

The afternoon session on 'The Sexual Violence in Women's Lives' will cover: women and militarism, US bases and the exploitation of Filipino women, pornography as a civil rights issue and sexual violence against women and children. The Derry community-based drama group 20:20 Vision will also perform scenes from its forthcoming play on the hunger-strikes of 1980/81. The company will tour Ireland with the play later this year before going on to tour the US and Australia.

Speakers at the day's discussion will include Dublin trade unionist and Sinn Féin member Anne Speed, Eileen Duffy from OBAIR, the Campaign for Employment in West Belfast, Onagh Gillespie from the Belfast Rape Crisis Centre, Chris Mulvey, a feminist and development worker, and Clodagh Corcoran, a feminist writer and civil rights activist.

The programme commences at 10.30am and finishes at 5.30pm. Crèche facilities will be available. For further information on this year's conference, Máiréad Keane, head of Sinn Féin's Women's Department, can be contacted at 726932.

A good start

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE *Irish Reporter* is a newly-launched quarterly magazine. Its opening editorial promises reports, analyses and discussions on social, cultural and political questions from Ireland and abroad.

One refreshing aspect of this new publication is its refusal to follow the insidious atmosphere of censorship. "The group of people who have come together to launch it feel that a serious look into the problems and concerns of Irish society, culture and history, North and South, cannot be divorced from the major political question facing this island - the national question," the editorial states.

"We also believe that nobody should be excluded from this discussion, or asked to submit to a McCarthyite-type declaration on violence as a precondition to participating in that discussion."

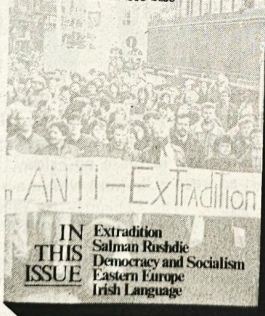
The opening article by *Irish Times* journalist Carol Coulter tackles the myth that recent events in Eastern Europe mean the death of socialism, arguing that what was overthrown was in fact state control: "Yet if 1989 teaches us any-

thing, it must be that state power is not sacrosanct, that where its origins are dubious (to say the least) its roots rot and eventually the winds of popular resentment, blown into a storm of active resistance, blow it away. The holders of power in states not founded on the will of all the people should tremble, and their allies hesitate before they rush to glorify the "democratic revolution". Their words may return to haunt them."

On the often-maligned resurgence of nationalism in Europe she comments: "Small wonder that those peoples whose development was stunted, whose national

irish reporter

issue 0 summer 1990 £1.50



IN THIS ISSUE
Extradition
Salman Rushdie
Democracy and Socialism
Eastern Europe
Irish Language

resources were plundered, whose language and culture were oppressed or destroyed, resented it and nurtured the dream that one day, they too could, in the words of one of our own nationalist leaders, 'take (their) place among the nations of the world'."

EXTRADITION ARTICLE

Former civil rights activist

and journalist, Michael Farrell, contributes an excellent article on extradition, while a special correspondent describes the atmosphere of self-censorship which exists within RTE as a result of Section 31. There are also articles on Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Brazil, while lecturer, columnist and writer, Declan Kiberd, contributes a piece on 'Salman Rushdie and Post-Colonial Intellectuals'.

Donncha O hEallaithe writes on the misdirection of 26-County government funding in its efforts to save Irish, which now stands on the brink of extinction as a living language.

Catherine Dunne reviews *Where is my Son*, a play staged in Dublin by the Soweto Youth Drama Society, commenting during her enthusiastic response that "despite its roots in the Sowetan townships, there was a strong sense of parallel between the detention of Sizwe, the brutality of the state, and the Irish experiences of internment and the H-Blocks".

This first edition of the *Irish Reporter* is crammed with first-rate articles and is a welcome newcomer to media coverage of Irish current affairs.

● Subscriptions to the quarterly *Irish Reporter* are available, price £8, from 11 Ashdale Park, Dublin 6W, Ireland.



RUC ASSAULT IN DUNGANNON

IN A recent example of the type of intimidation that the crown forces inflict upon nationalists going about their daily business in the Six Counties, a man was viciously assaulted by members of the RUC outside Dungannon.

On Monday, September 17th, at 12.45 in the afternoon two men, Dermot Coyle, and Francie McKeown, were visiting a friend, Seamus McNulty, at his home outside Dungannon when, as the three men

**BOTH OF THEM
HELD
McKEOWN WHILE
THE SERGEANT
KICKED HIM
IN THE GROIN**

were sitting in a car talking, two carloads of RUC pulled in beside their vehicle and ordered the men to get out of the car.

When the three got out they were made to stand apart from each other and at some distance from the car. McKeown explained to the RUC man in charge that he wished to witness the searching of the car.

While he was watching the RUC searching the interior of the vehicle the sergeant asked him for the keys to the boot. McKeown replied that when he had witnessed the completion of the search of the main section of the car, he would consent to the boot being searched. At this point the RUC sergeant grabbed McKeown by the throat and forced him to the front of the car, challenging McKeown to hit him. Another two RUC men joined in at this stage, both of them holding McKeown while the sergeant kicked him in the groin.

At this stage McNulty's wife, who had witnessed the events, telephoned for help and for a priest. The RUC, however, got back into their cars at this point and left the scene. McKeown later received hospital treatment for his injuries.

McKeown's companion, Dermot Coyle, has himself been at the receiving end of non-stop harassment from the crown forces both before and since his successful European Court of Human Rights challenge to the British government's seven-day detention powers.



Keenan welcomed to his native town

AFTER FOUR YEARS Brian Keenan returned to his native Belfast to personally thank his own people who had steadfastly supported him in his time of need.

His return on Monday was marked by an official lunch at Belfast City Hall, which came after an open-top bus tour of the city centre and a press conference and photo-call.

Speaking to journalists, Keenan expressed his delight at being able to return home and stated: "The capacity of the people of this town to love, to love passionately, seems to be instinctual, it is a deep reservoir in each man and woman". But perhaps his simplest and most telling observation

was the one he recorded in the City Hall visitors' book: "Home at last."

Throughout the day he was accompanied by his two tireless campaigners, his sisters Brendan Gilham and Elaine Spence.

The most prominent sign in the scenes of well wishers gathered outside the City Hall and into whose arms Keenan rushed was a message as simple and sincere as Keenan's words in the visitors' book: "Céad míle fáilte ar ais Brian".

Charges dropped in roads case

THERE WERE celebrations in both Donegal and Derry on September 7th following the dropping of charges brought against 15 supporters of the Derry/Donegal Border Community Association's (DDBCA) ongoing campaign to have the border roads linking Donegal and Derry, closed by the British army in the early '70s, re-opened permanently.

The protesters had been re-manded to Derry Crown Court on several occasions but on September 7th the charges against them were dropped. It is believed that the case may have legal implications for future attempts to prosecute road-opening workers. Welcoming the news, DDBCA spokesperson Seamus Breslin said that the British army's arbitrary blocking of the border roads had brought the community living there, especially farmers attempting to earn a livelihood, nothing but inconvenience and disturbance.

"The British army's actions are forcing people to make lengthy and unnecessary detours when they are going to work, shopping or to school. The British army and RUC are only interested in monitoring, observing and spying on the nationalist people; to facilitate this they allow only three roads from Derry into Donegal, which all have mon-



● EDDIE FULLERTON

strous permanent vehicle checkpoints, to remain open.

"The DDBCA believes this to be unacceptable. Our efforts to have every border road re-opened permanently will continue."

Amongst those who walked free from the court were Sinn Féin councillors Eddie Fullerton of Donegal, Gearóid O hEara and Mitchel McLaughlin of Derry, and leading Sinn Féin spokesperson and Ard Chomhairle member Martin McGuinness.

BLOODY SUNDAY PROTEST AT HEATH VISIT

THE Bloody Sunday Committee in Derry has expressed deep regret at the decision by Limerick Junior Chamber of Commerce to invite former British prime minister, Edward Heath, to address a major function in Clare on Friday, September 21st. The subject of his address is 'Ireland within a united Europe'.

The committee pointed out:

"Ted Heath was prime minister of Britain at the time of the Bloody Sunday massacre in January 1972 and as such must be held ultimately responsible for the murder of 14 innocent men and boys. The fact that almost 20 years has lapsed since then is totally irrelevant and is of little comfort to the relatives of the Bloody Sunday dead who have never benefitted from justice in the same period and who live with the lie of the Widgery cover-up.

"The committee is very dismayed and angry but not surprised that the business class of Limerick should invite such a person to advise it on Europe. It is a sad reflection on the ever-increasing trend in Ireland to either ignore or explain away as exceptional the excesses of British rule.

"This trend of revisionism in history and ignorance of the facts about injustice in the North is most frightening when it results in a man clearly connected with mass-murder in recent history

being able to walk free in the same country in which he committed the crime. It is grossly insulting that he is in fact here to speak in the name of progress.

"It is therefore our immediate intention to visit Limerick on the above date to ensure that the local populace are made aware of what the business classes in the city are up to. We also intend to be quite vocal and visual in our quite legitimate protest against this person being made welcome in Ireland."



● EDWARD HEATH

CAPTAIN BOYCOTT

BY PETER O'ROURKE

ONE OF THE most effective and powerful weapons used by the Land League during the Land War, 1879-'82, was the 'boycotting' of landlords, named after Captain Boycott.

The aims of the Land League, launched in October 1879 by Michael Davitt, Charles Stewart Parnell and Andrew Kettle, were the protection of tenants and the abolition of landlordism. It also intended to "expose the injustices, wrong or injury which may be inflicted upon any farmer... either by rackrenting, eviction or other arbitrary exercises of power which the existing laws enabled the landlords to exercise over their tenantry..."

Faced with starvation and eviction due to the agricultural depression of the late 1870s, so far as the small tenant-farmers were concerned the primary aim of the league was to secure tenants' rights, known as the three Fs — fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale.

During the summer of 1880, at the height of the Land War, in response to the huge rise in rents and evictions the number of families evicted increased from 1,098 in 1879 to 1,893 in 1880, the Land League introduced ostracism as a weapon against landlords; the tactic was first advocated by Parnell in mid-September 1880, in a speech in Ennis, County Clare. He advised the people:

"When a man takes a farm from which another man has been evicted, you must shun him on the roadside when you meet him, you must shun him in the streets of the town, you must shun him at the shop counter, in the fair and in the market place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from his kind as if he was a leper of old; you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed..."

The objective was to treat any person who violated the code of conduct devised by the Land League as a social outcast. Such a person was to be isolated from all economic assistance and so-

cial contact.

The policy of 'moral Coventry', was soon put into effect on the estate of Lord Erne, an absentee landlord, at Lough Mash, Ballinrobe, County Mayo, which was managed by Captain Charles Cunningham Boycott, who kept increasing the rents. Soon the tenants were unable to pay and eviction notices were served on eleven families.

The parish priest of Kilmalara, organised a campaign of ostracism against Boycott in mid-September 1880, and several days later while discussing the situation with a journalist, James Redpath, agreed that the word 'boycott' was the most suitable term to describe ostracism.

The Dublin *Daily Express* and *Daily Telegraph* established a fund which raised £2,000 to save Boycott's crops which were beginning to rot. The crops were saved by a work force of 50 Orangemen, mostly from County Cavan. Over 1,000 British troops escorted the workers to and from their homes and remained at Lough Mash from November 12th-26th while crops were being harvested. The Boycott Relief Expedition, as it came to be known, cost the government an estimated £10,000 or as Parnell put it "...one shilling for every turnip dug from Boycott's land". By the end of the autumn Boycott left Ireland, defeated and ruined.

On December 13th the *Daily Mail* used the word 'Boycott' in capitals to describe the new weapon of the Land League.

The Land War and the powerful boycott campaign ended in 1882, following the introduction of the 1881 Land Act, though it did not concede all the league's demands.

Boycotting, as a means of ostracising landlords and their agents, giving a new word to the English language, began on September 19th, 1880, 110 years ago this week.

the future; also belated birthday greetings to my niece Aoife Clarke. From your sister Marion and kids. xxx

McCAUGHEY, Tommy (Crumlin Road). Birthday greetings Tommy. Keep the chin up. It won't be long before you're out, from Francis and the Marshall family, Lurgan.

MARSHALL. Birthday memories of my son Samuel Sam' who would have been 32 on September 18th. My son Sam was precious, so is his name. Without him to love, life is never the same, but as long as I live I'll always be glad, grateful and proud of the son I had. Remembered always by Mum, brothers, sisters and family.

DONNELLY. Deepest sympathy to the family of veteran republican Paddy Donnelly, especially his sister Kitty Adams. Your loss is out loss. From the Duffy/Dowry Sinn Féin Cumann, Dundalk.

GOODFELLOW; McENTEE. Sinn Féin in South Armagh extends deepest sympathy to the families of Patrick Goodfellow and Martin McEntee, who died tragically in a road accident.

GOODFELLOW; McENTEE. The Barney Morris Sinn Féin Cumann extends deepest sympathy to the families of Patrick Goodfellow and Martin McEntee.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Jim Bryson, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was badly wounded in a Brit ambush on August 31st 1973 and died of his wounds on September 22nd 1973. "Beloved and a crime against humanity has no right in Ireland, the presence in any one generation of Irish ready to die to affirm that truth, makes that government forever a usurpation and a crime against humanity." — James Connolly. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Jim Bryson, 'B' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on August 31st 1973 and died on September 22nd 1973. Mary, Queen of Heaven, pray for him. We miss him so much and think of him all the time. We've longed for you and many times we've cried. You never said goodbye to us, perhaps it's just as well. We never loved so well. Always loved and remembered by his mother Theresa.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Jim Bryson, 'B' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service and died on September 22nd 1973. Mary, Queen of Heaven, pray for him. Beautiful memories of one so dear, we cherish still with love sincere. Our missing years may send, thoughts of you will never end. Always loved and remembered by his sister Theresa, husband Michael and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Jim Bryson, 'B' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service on August 31st 1973 and who died on September 22nd 1973. Mary, Queen of Heaven, pray for him. A place in my heart is yours alone. A piece of love only you can own. For deep in my heart memories are kept of a brother I loved and will never forget. Always remembered by his sister Margaret and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Jim Bryson, 'B' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service on August 31st 1973 and who died on September 22nd 1973. Mary, Queen of Heaven, pray for him. The dust of some is Irish earth. Among their own they rest and the land that gave them birth has called them to its breast. We will always pray that from that clay may a race will start of true men like you, Jim to act as brave a part. Always loved and remembered by his sister Jean and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Jim Bryson, who died on September 22nd 1973. St Jude, pray for him. To have you as a brother was a great loss. No one could be your equal, no matter how hard they tried. We lost a brother in a million. We loved you till the end. I lost two precious things that day — my brother and my friend. Time may pass and fade away but silent thoughts and memories stay. Remembered and loved always by his brother Bobby and sister-in-law Madeline.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear

uncle, Vol Jim Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service on August 31st 1973 and who died on September 22nd 1973. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by his nephew Jim, wife Mary and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear uncle, Vol Jim Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service on August 31st 1973 and who died on September 22nd 1973. Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by Tracey, Martine and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear uncle, Vol Jim Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service on August 31st 1973 and who died on September 22nd 1973. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by his nephew David, wife Angela and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear uncle, Vol Jim Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot on active service on August 31st 1973 and who died on September 22nd 1973. St Martin, pray for him. Always remembered by his nephew Billy.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear uncle, Vol Jim Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was ambushed by cowards on August 31st 1973 and died of wounds received on September 22nd 1973. There is an Irish heart in every man, do you know this, my friend? It has withstood the blows of a million years and will do so to the end. I'll never forget you. Still proudly remembered by Al, Dolores and family.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our uncle Jim Bryson, who was murdered on September 22nd 1973. Padre Pio, pray for him. We speak your name with love and pride. We smile through tears we try to hide. You left a place no-one can fill. We miss you, Jim, we always will. Always remembered by his nephews Bobby, Paul and Jim.

BRYSON, Jim (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our uncle Jim Bryson, who was murdered on September 22nd 1973. St Joseph, pray for him. Those who have an uncle, love him while you may. We wish with all our hearts that we had ours today. Always remembered by his nieces Michelle, Tracy, Jamie and Nicola.

CLARKE, Margaret (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear mother, Margaret 'Maggie' Clarke, who died on September 21st 1989. RIP. Blessed Charles, pray for her. Many things have happened, Mum, since you were called away. Things you could have helped me with, if God had let you stay. My eyes don't shed the tears so much, they're all bottled up inside. It's my heart that does the crying now, the grief is easier to hide. Always remembered by your loving daughter Marion and grandchildren, Ligoniel.

CLARKE, Maggie (1st Anniversary).

In loving memory of my Mum, Maggie Clarke, whose anniversary occurs on September 21st. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for her. I miss you because I loved you. What more is there to say? All I know is that without you, there is no perfect day. Beloved and remembered by her daughter Chris, son-in-law Duice and family.

McCORMISKEY, Joseph (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Pádraig Joseph McCormiskey, Fianna Eireann, who died on September 20th 1972, aged 17 years. The road to freedom is paved with suffering, hardship and torture; carry on my brave and gallant comrades, until that certain day. — Tom Williams. Always remembered by his comrades in Fianna Eireann.

McLAUGHLIN, Ray (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of a brave and gallant Irish freedom fighter, Vol Ray McLaughlin, Ogligh na hEireann, who was martyred tragically killed accidentally on September 9th 1985. Remembered with love and everlasting pride by Mick and folks.

McLAUGHLIN, Ray (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Ray McLaughlin, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on September 9th 1985. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé. Always remembered by Mary and Seamus McLaughlin, Belfast.

QUIGLEY, Michael (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Quigley, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died while on active service on September 17th 1972. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

TWOMEY, Seamus (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of a dear husband and father, Seamus Twomey, who died on September 15th 1989. RIP. Never more than a thought away and in our thoughts you'll always stay. Always remembered by his loving wife Rosaleen, daughter Rosemary and son Gerard.

TWOMEY, Seamus (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear Dad, Seamus Twomey, who died on September 12th 1989. RIP. You're always in our thoughts and prayers. Loved and missed always by his loving daughter Patricia, son-in-law Brian, and grandchildren Brendan, Seamus and Caitlin.

TWOMEY, Seamus (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear father, Seamus Twomey, who died on September 12th 1989. Sad are the hearts that loved you, silent the tears that fall, but living life without you is the saddest part of all. Loved and missed by his daughter Veronica, Brian and grandchildren Brian, Róisín and Ciarrán.

TWOMEY, Seamus (1st Anniversary). In fond remembrance of our dear friend Seamus. Always missed by Sean, Triad, Cian, Eoghan agus Aoife. **TWOMEY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Seamus Twomey, who died on September 12th 1989. Rest in peace. From Gerry, Brian and family.

TWOMEY, Seamus (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Seamus Twomey, who died on September 12th 1989. Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations. Always remembered by Paddy Kenny.

TWOMEY, Seamus (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Seamus Twomey, who died on September 12th 1989. Always remembered by a wee skinny Jew.

will always remember him in our thoughts and prayers. From Willie and Minny Higgins and all their family.

McKINLEY, Robert (Scubert). Deepest sympathy to all the family of our dear friend Robert who died on September 18th. Always remembered by Bear and Christine, Frankie and Jennifer, Dea and Teresa, Johnny, Eugene and Ned.

O'BRIEN, The Tony Nolan/Doe Downy Sinn Féin Cumann, Markets/Lower Ormeau, Belfast, extends deepest sympathy to Seamus and Mary on the death of their child.

O'BRIEN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Seamus and Mary on the death of their child. From Kieran Flynn and family.

SHIELDS. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Shields family on the recent death of their father Paddy. From the Republican Movement in South Down.

Beannachtaí

BRANNIGAN, Brendan. Birthday greetings. From Sean Fitzpatrick and family.

CLARKE. Congratulations to Marion and Seamus on your first wedding anniversary. Best wishes and good luck for

Cuimhní Breithlá

MARSHALL. Birthday memories of our dear friend Sam Marshall who would have been 32 on September 18th. Always remembered and sadly missed by Edwina, Stephen and Tina.

COYLE. Heartfelt sorrow on the death of my mother Kathleen, Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for her. From John Joe, Imelda and family.

COYLE. Deepest sympathy is extended to John Joe, Imelda and family on the death of John Joe's mother Kathleen, who died on September 1st 1990. From Donny/Lough Sinn Féin Cumann, Monaghan Town.

COYLE. Sincere regrets to John Joe and family on the death of his mother Kathleen. From their many friends in Monaghan.

DONNELLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Maurea and family on the death of Paddy. From Maureen Murphy and family, Colcock, Dublin.

DONNELLY. Deepest condolences to the family and friends of Paddy Donnelly, especially our friend and comrade Kitty Adams. From the Duffy family.

Comhbhrón

KING. Mid-Louth Sinn Féin sends deepest sympathy to the King family, Cullen, on the death of Terry. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dí.

McGURKE. The Republican Movement in Tyrone extends deepest sympathy to the McGurk family, Kildress, on the recent tragic death of young Kevin. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam uasal.

McKINLEY. Deepest sympathy and condolences are extended to the wife and family of Robert 'Scubert' McKinley on their tragic loss. He was a dear and kind friend. He will be sadly missed by his friends David and Mary Mackin and family, Dundalk.

McKINLEY. Deepest and heartfelt sympathy is extended to the family of Robert McKinley, who gave so much assistance to us over the years. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé. From the staff at AP/RV.

McKINLEY, Robert (Scubert). Deepest sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Robert McKinley who died on September 18th. Too good in life to be forgotten in death. Always remembered by Hughie, Bernadette O'Hagan and family.

McKINLEY, Robert (Scubert). Deepest condolences to Sindy on the death of her husband Robert on September 18th. We



THE FLYING COLUMN

IN A BLATANT DISPLAY of politically-motivated pique, District Justice John Garavan fined a Sinn Féin member, arrested for selling republican wares without a licence in Galway's Eyre Square, the maximum sum of £1,000 at Galway District Court on Monday last.

The judge flamboyantly hurled a T-shirt which had been presented as evidence from the bench, and indulged in a rabid rant, describing the T-shirt as "repulsive". He further raved that it was "an affront to civilisation" to display republican T-shirts.

Michael Egan pleaded not guilty, saying that he didn't know he needed a permit and assumed that he was exempt because Sinn Féin is a political and non-profit-making organisation.

The judge seemed more interested, however, in making a political example than administering justice.

THE *Marita Anne* has been renamed by its owner, Barney McKenna of the Dubliners. Now based in Howth, it is officially known as the *Daragh Liam*, after McKenna's two nephews.

The *Marita Anne* and its five-member crew were unfortunately captured by 26-County forces in September 1984 as they attempted to import weapons and ammunition for Oglagh na hEireann.

A BIRMINGHAM MAN was jailed for six years last week on a charge of plotting with his lover to murder his wife. Michael Ambizas (34) tried to hire a contract killer for £20,000 but the 'hit man' turned out to be an undercover policeman.

Ambizas' wife, Nottingham Crown Court heard, had suffered "gross physical abuse" from her husband.

Michael Ambizas was, at the time of the crime, a detective sergeant in the police. He was a CID Training Officer with the West Midlands Police, the force that framed the Birmingham Six.

AND while we're up in the West Midlands...

The chairperson and secretary of the West Midlands Police Federation (the police 'trade union') have resigned while detectives continue to investigate the alleged misuse of funds for personal reasons and trips abroad.

Sergeant David Mytton and PC Arthur Quinn were "unavailable" when newspapers tried to contact them.

ACCORDING to the BBC's *Panorama* Programme, the new

title for the Brits' Saudi Arabian invasion force is Rapid Intervention Force (RIF).

As we already know that the Brit forces in the Gulf are "spearheaded by the RAF", does this now make them the RIF-RAF?

DURING a recent episode of the *Taggart* television police series, one cop was seen telling another how soft he thought the force was getting, citing the use of "tape recorders and cameras during interrogations now, except of course if they're Irish".

TWO Royal Marines have been charged with murdering a former member of the Coldstream Guards in a fight in a street outside a pub in Norwich.

Darren Robson and Peter Baldwin, both based in Arbroath in Scotland, were remanded in custody on Saturday, September 15th.



● This culturally-aware Branchman, with an ear for more than the music, and who, we are told, hails from Kerry, was spotted by our photographer during the Saturday night session at this year's Sinn Féin Slógadh in Galway

THE Union of Students in Ireland's new Campaign's Officer has demonstrated a novel approach to organising

establishment support for demonstrations outside the British Embassy.

Philip Campbell's task was to rally support for the students' picket, held last week to protest at the withdrawal of funding from Glór na Gaeil.

The precocious Philip gave Fine Gael's head office in Mount Street a buzz, asking, of course, for Alan. When Dukes' private secretary came on the line inquiring who he was and what was his business with the Big Blueshirt, Campbell apparently subtly informed her of the "demo" outside the "Brit Embassy" and that he'd appreciate it if Alan could "send some of the heads out".

This unorthodox method of communication with Fine Gael must have struck a chord, as no less than the party's spokesperson for the Gaeltacht, Dinny McGinley, turned up to make his protest.

A BESOTTED Brit was arrested in Crewe earlier this month after a 200-mile dash to see his girlfriend. He fell foul of the law because he chose to hitch the distance, British army style.

The Grenadier Guards squaddie broke out of his barracks at Caterham, Surrey, driving a car at speed while attired in full combat gear and plastered in wargame. He dumped that vehicle two miles away and 'borrowed' a couple's car outside a pub. He had no trouble getting the keys to the Ford Fiesta as he was brandishing a shotgun.

He was later arrested as he drove into Crewe, police marksmen surrounding his car. An MOD spokesperson played down the incident, saying "there is nothing unusual in a soldier having his own shotgun, as long as it is properly licensed".

DID MY EARS deceive me or was it Charles Haughey who affirmed this week that Brian Lenihan is fighting fit for November's Presidential elections by describing him as "fully certified"?

Lenihan once attacked the former Labour Party leader, the late Frank Cluskey, for resigning from the Fine Gael/Labour Coalition government over its privatisation of Dublin Gas. Cluskey replied: "Deputy Lenihan has the unique capacity to put his foot down full on the accelerator and leave his brain in neutral."

Dúirt Siad

We have got to keep an open mind, but given the nature of the job and the personality involved there are conclusions which could be made. — Detective Chief Superintendent Malcolm Bevington, head of Staffordshire CID, following the shooting of Air Chief Marshal Sir Peter Terry.

Glór na Gaeil has not been allowed to be legally represented to contest a decision which it was unaware was even being discussed. Instead it has been tried and sentenced in secret session by unnamed, unelected officials who have refused point-blank to give any reasons for their decision. — Nick Garbutt, editor of the *Irish News*, writing in the *Guardian's* 'Between the lines' column of Monday, September 17th.

The issue is of great importance because it raises serious questions about who really is in charge of policing in Northern Ireland — the police or some shadowy body inside the NIO. — Nick Garbutt.

We are concerned, as we must and should be, about any Irish citizen abroad who is deprived of their (sic) liberty. Ambassador Mac Unfraith and the lawyers are working to clarify the charges and to ensure that the men receive a very fair hearing. — 26-County Foreign Minister Gerry Collins about Irish hostages in Iraq, not those in Britain.

And the United Nations has nothing to say about the continued military occupation of the six north-east counties of Ireland by Margaret Thatcher.

I would be a lot happier, you see, to endorse the United Nations policy on Kuwait if it was in line with its policy of earlier, similar actions by non-Islamic governments. — Frank Haden in the *Dominion Sunday Times* in New Zealand.

