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An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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460,000 and climbing

THE TRAGEDY OF IRELAND TODAY is summed up in one grim statistic — 460,000 unemployed. The number of people without jobs in the 32 Counties is creeping relentlessly to half a million — testimony to the utter failure of both partitionist states to provide a livelihood for the Irish people.

When those in low-paid jobs and temporary schemes, the thousands of women and children dependent on the small incomes of a parent or partner, and the old, the sick and the handicapped are all taken into account it is clear that the majority of Irish people are suffering economic hardship on a grand scale.

In the past week alone in the 26 Counties 1,500 jobs were lost. Typical of the cynicism of the Dublin government was its attempt to have the announcements of upcoming job losses delayed and spread over a period. But financially troubled computer giant Wang filed for protection from its creditors in the US and its Irish subsidiary in Limerick — a profitable operation — announced plans to axe 500 jobs in obedience to the demands of the multinational. There followed a flood of announcements of job losses around the country at Limerick, Waterford, Tuam, Ballinasloe and Dublin.

When the official unemployment levels are adjusted to include those excluded by government fiddling of the figures it shows that there are 307,995 without jobs in the 26

Counties and 149,900 in the Six Counties, a total of 457,895.

These statistics cannot convey the misery and hopelessness that unemployment creates in working-class communities across Ireland. They have reached such a level now that they no longer shock. But their failure to shock and the inducement of hopelessness are two things which suit those responsible for this crisis.

What such figures should be doing is shocking this society into a radical change in its thinking. Even the idea of considering the level of unemployment in Ireland as a whole is now deemed radical. Two economies in two partitionist states are always considered separately, always ignor-

ing the common interests of their working people and the common solution to the crisis which could come about in an all-Ireland context.

In the Six Counties we have the most economically deprived region under the control of the Westminster government with the highest levels of unemployment and poverty in the 'United Kingdom'. Catholics there suffer twice the rate of unemployment of Protestants with sectarian discrimination in jobs still rife.

In both states efforts at job creation are almost entirely concentrated on spending huge sums of public money attracting multinational companies who have left workforces on the scrap heap all over the country.

The flow of wealth — created by those workers lucky enough to have jobs — continues out of the 26 Counties as multinationals and big Irish companies export their profits. Those with wealth in Ireland enjoy a lavish lifestyle and as recent scandals have shown their leading lights have been enriching themselves at public expense for years.

When republicans assert that partition has failed it is not just because of the continuing tragic conflict in the Six Counties. All the other symptoms of failure are around us — most of all in the 460,000 without work. And it is the republican demand for an all-Ireland economy and for people's control over the wealth and resources of our country that points to the solution to this crisis.

— See pages 6/7

IRA BOMBS IN ENGLAND

THE IRA bombing of Shrewsbury Castle in England this week is estimated to have caused a quarter of a million pounds worth of damage. A bomb wrecked military exhibits of the British army's Shropshire Regiment at the castle on Tuesday. The IRA said that "attacks such as these will continue as long as the British occupation of Ireland continues".

— See War News page 2

News

Shropshire Regiment's museum destroyed



THE BRITISH ARMY'S Shropshire Regiment's military archive and museum was destroyed in a double incendiary attack. The IRA bombed Shrewsbury Castle in England causing an estimated quarter of a million pounds worth of damage to military exhibits and the building itself.

In the statement claiming responsibility for the attack the IRA also said it also carried out attacks on commercial premises in Shrewsbury itself, an English town near the Welsh border. The explosive devices began to detonate at 1.30am on Tuesday 25 August.

The IRA statement issued in Dublin said:

"Volunteers of the IRA placed a series of blast and incendiary devices which caused considerable damage to Shrewsbury Castle and a number of commercial premises in the Shropshire town in the early hours of Tuesday morning.

"Attacks such as these will continue for the duration of the British occupation of Ireland."

As Geoffrey Parfitt, the museum's curator surveyed the damage caused by the bomb attack, he estimated that the cost of the damage would reach £250,000. The attack has been seen as blow to British military pride, and West Mercia Assistant Chief Constable, David Thurlfield said that his officers were combing the "substantially damaged" interior of the castle.

As the devices went off, the British police were forced to close the town's railway station and seal off the Charles Darwin shopping centre.

■ BELFAST TRAIN FIRE-BOMBED

Two IRA Volunteers boarded a train as it pulled into Belfast's Finaghy North station on Thursday 20 August. The Volunteers placed a blast incendiary device on a train and as they withdrew they warned passengers about the bomb and told them to disembark. The blast and subsequent blaze is believed to have caused hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of damage. Hoax calls were made to Central and Botanic stations around the same time which resulted in serious disruption to the Belfast/Dublin rail network tying down crown forces personnel in the process.

■ PARAS UNDER SUSTAINED IRA ATTACK

Later that same evening in the Grosvenor Road area, less than a half a mile from the city centre, IRA Volunteers carried out an elaborate attack on the British crown forces, which included British paratroopers from the regiment's 2nd Battalion.

Volunteers had earlier placed a

booby-trapped improvised grenade in a pre-planned position before lobbing a blast grenade at a British army patrol close to the Grosvenor Road/Westlink roundabout. In the follow-up to the IRA attack a British army technical officer was injured as he tried to defuse what he believed to be a second unexploded blast grenade.

■ CASUALTIES NOT REVEALED

In the third IRA attack of the day British paratroopers again came under attack from an IRA active service unit in the Lower Ormeau Road area in the south of the city.

The IRA Volunteers detonated an anti-personnel mine packed with shrapnel in Rutland Street as a British army foot patrol moved down the street. Media reports claim that two British soldiers were slightly injured. However this claim was contradicted by local eyewitnesses who described how one British soldier was less than a foot away from the mine when it exploded. They said that the paratrooper's back pack was blown ten yards up the street while his helmet went ten yards the other way. At this point his uniform was in flames and the local eyewitnesses said that he was either dead or critically injured.

The IRA statement said that these reports would fuel belief in nationalist areas of Belfast that the British crown forces, for the past year, have been covering up the true casualties suffered. Crown forces' armoured personnel carriers which are attacked by the IRA are covered almost immediately with tarpaulin so that the extent of the damage is hidden from view.

In an attack last week on the Whiterock Road, in West Belfast, a four pound Semtex blast grenade blew a substantial part of the top and side of an armoured Land-Rover at a point where two British soldiers were standing. Despite this the crown forces claimed that two British soldiers were again "only slightly injured".

■ SOLDIER BLASTED

Yet another British soldier was "slightly injured" in an IRA operation on Monday 24 August. This occurred during a British army mobile patrol in the Twinbrook estate. IRA Volunteers, operating from high ground, lobbed a

blast grenade at one of two armoured personnel carriers as they passed along Glasvey Drive. As the blast grenade detonated one of the British paratroopers was seen to fall from the observation platform at the rear of one of the vehicles. Despite one of the British soldiers firing a burst of automatic fire and a huge swamping of the area by British reinforcements, the IRA Volunteers withdrew safely.

■ EXTRA SECURITY OVERCOME

The East Tyrone Brigade of Ogligh na hÉireann have released details in a statement describing how Volunteers carried out an operation in the heavily-patrolled County Tyrone town of Cookstown.

The British army has established a number of fortified armoured positions along the centre of the town's main street and increased the number of foot patrols around the barracks which is sited in the centre of the town. Despite these additional measures the IRA Volunteers were able to place an explosive device adjacent to the Northern Bank on Thursday evening 20 August. However the device failed to detonate and was later defused by British army technical officers.

Between Thursday night and Saturday the 22 August the East Tyrone Brigade also claimed responsibility for a series of bomb hoaxes in both Cookstown and Dungannon ensuring that the crown forces were kept busy, and tied down to specific locations throughout both towns.

■ ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR RESPONDED TO

The statement continued by saying that IRA Volunteers had taken military action against Michael Sherlock in Dungannon. The IRA said that this person had been warned on many occasions about serious anti-social behaviour but had ignored the warnings, and that recently he held a knife to a shop assistant while stealing various items out of the shop. He was ordered by the IRA to leave Ireland indefinitely.

The IRA statement concluded by saying that the new owner of a Cash and Carry store on the main Ballygawley Road has been receiving threatening phone calls supposedly being made by 'Ogligh na hÉireann. The IRA said:

"The East Tyrone Brigade denies any knowledge of these calls and when those responsible are caught, the IRA will deal severely with them."

rounds at a British soldier standing in the back of an armoured Land Rover, tragically Mrs Leyland and Jimmy Clarke were struck by a number of these rounds. The IRA extends its deepest sympathy to the Leyland and Bradley families and hopes for a speedy recovery for Mr Clarke.

Isobel Leyland was laid to rest in Belfast on Tuesday. Local Sinn Féin councillors were among those in attendance at the funeral.

IN BRIEF...

House used for Brit spy base

UNDERCOVER British soldiers whose presence was discovered in a vacant house in the Short Strand area of East Belfast are believed to have been about to launch a shoot-to-kill operation.

"The house, less than 50 yards from Mountpottinger RUC Barracks, doesn't give the crown forces any added surveillance capacity" said Sinn Féin representative Joe O'Donnell.

The house backing onto Seán Martin GAA club was searched by residents after they heard noises. They found 30 cans of Osmolite, a high-protein isotonic diet supplement made in Holland and not widely found in Ireland and hot press shelves which appeared to be used as makeshift beds.

Gerrymandering continues

THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES of Twinbrook and Poleglass on the outskirts of West Belfast will remain under the control of the loyalist-dominated Lisburn council if the recommendations of Maurice Hayes, District Electoral Areas Commissioner, are accepted by the Northern Ireland Office.

The residents in the communities had lobbied the commissioner for a transfer to Belfast city council, arguing that Poleglass and Twinbrook were a natural extension to West Belfast and were not a suburb of Lisburn.

Pat Rice, one of the two Sinn Féin councillors, representing Poleglass and Lisburn said that public opinion in the areas favoured a transfer into Belfast and he said that Sinn Féin intended to provide a written submission to the commissioner demanding a public hearing on the issue.

"The social, economic, educational and cultural arguments for the transfer are clear and unquestionable" said the Sinn Féin councillor who went on to accuse the unionists on Belfast city council of blocking the move.

Corruption probe in Lisburn Council

THE RUC is to be called in to investigate corruption in Lisburn Council and an internal investigation started with the local government auditor being called in.

The news broke after a meeting of the Council's Works and Public Health Committee where it was disclosed that a council officer had ordered employees to deliver topsoil to his garden using council equipment during council time. He also had a lorry load of gravel delivered to a relative. The same council officer wanted quarry dust delivered to his own home using council transport.

A source within the council has said that the written allegations against this officer "were only the tip of the iceberg" of corruption in the council. It has also been revealed that at least one councillor has been named in additional allegations of corruption.

Orangemen on Ormeau Road charges freed

SEVEN ORANGEMEN charged with causing a breach of the peace and of disorderly behaviour during the Orange band parade on the Ormeau Road on 8 July have had the charges against them dropped.

A prosecution lawyer gave no reason for withdrawing the charges relating to incidents near Sean Graham's bookmakers shop where five Catholics were killed by the UDA in February.

The Lower Ormeau Concerned Community Group are applying for a judicial review to prevent a further Orange march, organised by the Black Perceptory, coming through their community on Saturday 29 August and they say they will be using videotape evidence of the Orangemen's behaviour at the bookies to support their case.

Sinn Féin South Belfast representative, Sean Hayes, commenting on the situation in Lower Ormeau said that Sinn Féin supports the right of people to "peacefully march to commemorate events or in support of issues that are important to them. We are, however, opposed to triumphalist marches which give offence to communities through which they are passing."

Hayes went on to praise the determination of the residents of the Ormeau Road area, "who have courageously battled against the sectarianism of the Orange Order."

"As well as RUC bias the people of the area were faced with intimidation and threats from loyalist death squads," said Hayes.

Dolores Rea, as spokesperson for the Lower Ormeau Concerned Community Group, has been singled out for attention by loyalist death-squads. In the most serious incident since the media spotlight became focused on her the UVF said they had "a bullet with her name on it".

However, Rea, despite the threats, is determined to have these Orange marches rerouted. "I can't just give up our campaign," she said.

IRA regrets Ardoyne tragedy

THE IRA has expressed its deep regret over the death in Ardoyne on Friday 21 August of Isobel Leyland. The 41-year-old mother of four children was visiting her native Ardoyne from England and was preparing to return on Friday when she was killed by stray shots during an IRA attack on a British army patrol in Flax Street.

In a statement issued on Saturday 22 August, the Belfast Brigade Irish Republican Army said that it "deeply regrets the tragic death of Mrs Isobel Ley-

land during an operation in Ardoyne yesterday". Detailing what occurred the IRA said:

"One of our Volunteers fired four

Unionists welcome Fine Gael call

■ BY HILDA
MAC THOMAS

A CALL to remove the claim to the national territory from Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution has come from a Fine Gael Senator at the annual Michael Collins commemoration at Béal na mBláth. The territorial claim should be replaced by an article "legitimising" the nationalist "aspiration", but stating that this could only be fulfilled with the consent of a majority in the Six Counties, Senator Avril Doyle said.

The Senator's words were predictably welcomed by unionists, who have made the changing or deletion of Articles Two and Three their main precondition for proceeding with Strand Two of the current talks. For the Official Unionist Party (OUP) Ken Maginnis called Doyle's declaration "helpful", though he added that if the nationalist aspiration was written into the constitution, there was "no saying how it might be interpreted in the future by the Supreme Court".

Maginnis was obliquely referring to the Supreme Court challenge brought by OUP members the McGimpsey brothers four years ago, in which the Supreme Court ruled that while there was no contradiction between Article One of the Hillsborough Agreement and the South's Constitution, Articles Two and Three represented a "constitutional imperative". That meant that there was an obligation on the Dublin government to work towards the reunification of the country.

At the time the Supreme Court's

judgement not only incensed unionists, but sent tremors through the South's neo-unionist establishment, Fine Gael, the Progressive Democrats, the Workers' Party and assorted academics. Interestingly, the Dublin barrister who had acted on behalf of the McGimpsey brothers in 1988, Gerard Hogan, also a prominent member of Fine Gael, is now advising the unionist parties in Strand Two of the Talks regarding their case on Articles Two and Three.

As the talks are about to resume next week, Articles Two and Three are about to resurface as political footballs. Unionists have been claiming that the territorial claim is aggressive and legitimises the IRA. In this they have the support of several parties in the South, including Fine Gael, who have stated that the 1937 Constitution should be reformed unilaterally, the Workers' Party who have described the Articles as a "mandate for the Provos", and the Progressive Democrats who have proposed an amended Article Three which talks of reunification "in harmony and brotherly affection between all Irishmen".



● KEN MAGINNIS

erly affection between all Irishmen".

The unionist view is also supported by the British government. Last year the then Secretary of State Peter Brooke called the Articles "unhelpful".

The Labour Party in the 26 Counties has been altogether more cautious, and objected weakly to any change on the grounds of 'timing'. Fianna Fáil is, as always, internally divided on the issue, but fearful of its nationalist support base, is sticking to the line that there should be no change unless there is an all-embracing agreement — possibly involving some form of 'power sharing' in the North and an institutionalised role for Dublin in the North's affairs. Albert

Reynolds explicitly mentioned the British claim to sovereignty over the North, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, as forming part of the overall discussion.

In the North, while Sinn Féin has expressed opposition to changing the articles the position of the SDLP is somewhat unclear. Its leader John Hume has made sweeping and general statements about all-Ireland agreements superseding all previous agreements, the 'irrelevance' of sovereign claims in the context of a new unified Europe, and the principle that "nothing is agreed until all is agreed" in the current talks.

Individual SDLP spokespersons, sensing the concern of the northern nationalist community at what might be yet another abandonment by the 26-County government, have been more vocal, especially coming up to election time — Denis Haughey last March for instance.

The most forceful case in favour of retaining Articles Two and Three has been made by groups like the Irish National Congress, Forum 2&3 and the Declaration for Peace in Ireland group. It is they who earlier this year focused attention on the fact that if Articles 2 and 3 were amended unilaterally this would leave the British claim on the North unchallenged, remove the only official statement of intent by the Irish people to reunify their country and secure its indepen-



● Avril Doyle kicking the political football of northern nationalists' democratic rights

dence, and further marginalise the northern nationalist community.

Opinion polls conducted in the 26 Counties last year and this year have consistently shown a large majority of people still wish their country to be reunited, and that only a minority support amending Articles 2 and 3 in the current context. Northern nationalist concerns about unilateral changes in the sovereign claim have also been reflected in a series of editorials in the *Irish News* earlier this year: "Articles 2 and 3 must stay" (13 December 1991), "The necessity of Articles 2 and 3" (6 January 1992), "Articles' repeal not the solution" (27 February 1992). This large body of Irish opinion will weigh heavily on the minds of the Dublin team and the SDLP as talks resume next week, and will make it difficult for them to give in to unionist preconditions.

Britain rapped by its own rep at UN

THE MURDER of human rights lawyer Pat Finucane continues to haunt the British government with the raising of his killing at a Geneva-based United Nations (UN) Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The meeting took place on Wednesday 19 August at the commission which is a subsidiary of the Human Rights Committee of the UN. Pat Finucane's murder was actually raised by Britain's own representative on the UN Committee.

Professor Claire Palley, a constitutional lawyer and former principal of St Anne's College, Oxford, also launched a wide-ranging attack on Britain's legal record in the Six Counties.

During her comments Professor Palley called for the audio and video taping of those people arrested and held under special powers in interrogation centres in the Six Counties.

That Britain, or any other country's representative should criticise their own government at the UN is relatively rare and this prompted a British Foreign Office spokesperson to say that she was an independent in her field and that, "anything she says, we listen to".

What they had to listen to was Professor Palley saying that the concerns about intimidation by the RUC of republican prisoners' defence lawyers was "wholly justified", something which British Foreign Office minister Douglas Hogg should take to heart, especially after his atrocious comments on these lawyers before Pat Finucane was so brutally shot down in front of

his family. The lawyer was targeted for death by the crown forces through British army agent Brian Nelson. One of the weapons used in the shooting had earlier been stolen from a British army barracks by a serving member of the crown forces and this has caused civil liberties campaigners to continue to raise the killing.

A few weeks before Pat Finucane was murdered Hogg accused "certain solicitors" of being "unduly sympa-

thetic to the IRA".

The issuing of threats against defence lawyers through their clients by the RUC, was raised by UN rapporteur on the independence of the judiciary and the protection of practicing lawyers, Louis Joinet.

Also at Geneva was Stephen Livingstone, vice chairperson of the Belfast-based Committee on the Administration of Justice who said that suspicions surrounding the UDA murder of Finucane "must be put to rest, one way or another". He continued by saying that "the UK government cannot continue to ignore the United Nations".

Unfortunately given last Autumn's criticism by the UN's Committee Against Torture of allegations of ill-treatment by the RUC of prisoners in their custody, and the abuses by the RUC which continue, more international pressure will need to be applied before Professor Palley's observations will be heeded by either the British government or their RUC puppets.



● The UN is continuing to express their concern at the murder of solicitor Pat Finucane by pro-British agents



● Monaghan townspeople were shocked to see the British choppers over their roofs which the alert local Gardaí failed to notice

Air incursion in Monaghan

EARLY on Tuesday morning 18 August two British army Puma helicopters and a spotter plane crossed from Fermanagh to Monaghan. The British aircraft crossed the border at Millbrook and proceeded south for half a mile in formation. They then circled Clones.

On August 19, a British army spokesperson confirmed the incursion claiming that a pilot had made a map-reading error.

However the three low-flying aircraft had also flown over a Garda checkpoint before heading towards Clones. The gardai have since then refused to acknowledge that the incursion actually happened. A spokesperson for the gardai on Northern Sound

radio stated that they had no record of the incursion and "knew nothing about it".

Everyone saw this incursion and it is a major point of discussion in the town. Sinn Féin's Pat Treanor told AP/RN that "townspeople were shocked to witness these British aircraft flying low over the rooftops and Garda denial of the occurrence is an absolute joke".

Earlier in the year British soldiers crossed near Clones. The incursion led to a lengthy debate in Clones UDC and subsequent questions in Leinster House resulting in David Andrews allegedly taking up the matter with the British government. Sinn Féin councillors Peter McAleer and Fintan McPhillips have placed the latest incursion on the agenda of the next Clones UDC meeting.

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Peace requires democracy, freedom and justice Towards a Lasting Peace 4

THE CONTINUED DIVISION of Ireland and its people by the British government requires a national response in Ireland and the development of the maximum degree of political unity and action possible in the peaceful pursuit of democracy and peace.

Sinn Féin has already commenced this process with the resources it has at its disposal. We will continue to argue in the national and international arenas for a British withdrawal and a solution based on the creation of Irish national democracy.

Britain has a responsibility to:

- recognise the right of the Irish people to self-determination;
- change its current policy to one of ending partition and handing over sovereignty to an all-Ireland government;
- influence unionist attitudes to this end;
- consult with the Dublin government to gain agreement on the process of ending partition.

If Britain refuses to do this, the Dublin government should:

- win international support for Irish national rights;
- mobilise support for this among Irish people and their descendants living abroad;
- use every international forum at its disposal;
- mobilise in Britain on Irish national self-determination;
- initiate debate with Northern unionists regarding national reunification;
- mobilise support in every aspect of Irish life to secure national independence;
- review every treaty with Britain regarding such issues as extradition;
- organise nationally and international-

ally in defence of democratic, social and economic rights;

- establish democratic structures through which the above can be implemented.

THE ROLE OF NATIONALIST PARTIES

The Fianna Fáil and SDLP parties have considerable influence in the world's power centres. They could and should reject the British propaganda view of "Britain as honest broker".

If they believe that partition is not a viable solution to the conflict they must firmly reject any proposed solution which involves partition. They should demand that Britain follow to its logical end the claim that they are neutral and formally accept the Irish people's right to self-determination. They should highlight all abuses of human rights in Ireland and demand that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) should monitor the human rights abuses currently happening in the Six Counties.

UNIONISTS

Unionists make up one fifth of the Irish people and have a considerable impact on the peace process. Peace requires a settlement between Irish nationalists and Irish unionists. This debate cannot begin as long as Britain guarantees the continuation of the artificial unionist majority in the Six Counties.



Democracy, freedom and justice are necessary to eradicate the causes of war

The unionist veto must be ended. To achieve national reconciliation the deep-rooted fears of people must be addressed. All the Irish people can gain from a democratic settlement.

THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION

The process of political and economic restructuring which is taking place in Europe has raised the issue of national self-determination. The partition of Ireland which is anomalous in international law should be considered in this context. Many European governments have already accepted that Irish reunification is a necessity if durable peace is to be established. Already various EC reports have recognised the 'anomalous' status of Britain's remaining jurisdiction in Ireland. The CSCE is empowered to carry out checks on

human rights abuses. It should be invited to do so in the Six Counties.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The situation in the North of Ireland is a failure of the normal political process and there is little reason to have confidence in either the British or Dublin government's willingness or ability to resolve the conflict. In such a case it is possible for the United Nations to be requested to help with the resolution.

The United Nations' Secretary General and the UN's Decolonisation Committee share a duty with member states to create the conditions in which the 'freely expressed will of the people concerned' can reliably be ascertained. This means firstly removing all forms of repression. In Ireland this would mean the removal of every barrier created to enforce partition.

Those sincerely concerned with

peace in Ireland should ask the UN to request annual reports from Britain on its role in Ireland in line with Article 73 of the UN Charter;

- ask the Decolonisation Committee to carry out an annual review of the role of partition.

Sinn Féin does not support the placing of UN troops in Ireland. Any deadlocks encountered during the process of British withdrawal could be assisted towards a resolution by the UN. The UN could be requested to reconvene a conference of all parties involved.

Peace requires the conditions of democracy, freedom and justice to eradicate the causes of war. The Irish people have the same historical right to sovereignty and nationhood which is recognised in international law. Partition contravenes these laws and frustrates national democracy and national reconciliation. British rule in Ireland has no democratic legitimacy and has rested on division and coercion. They should recognise the failure of partition. The Dublin government should assume its responsibility in relation to reunification either in cooperation with Britain or if necessary independently.

The unionist minority have nothing to fear from a united Ireland. Removing the veto will open up the possibility for constructive dialogue.

Irish republicans are committed to playing a constructive role in building national democracy when the British government finally adopts a policy of withdrawal from Ireland. The partition of Ireland and the British claim to jurisdiction over the Six Counties is a European issue.

The UN has the authority and mandate to monitor a decolonisation process in Ireland. As an interim measure Sinn Féin would propose that the UN monitors partition and Britain's role within it.

- The full text of *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland* and further information can be obtained from Sinn Féin at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Phone 726100, Fax 733441 or 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast, Phone 230261, Fax 231273 and from all party outlets throughout the country.

Bishops call for all-inclusive talks

"EVERYBODY has to talk to everybody, because if people aren't talking, then nothing happens," said American Archbishop Daniel Pilarczyk echoing the Sinn Féin view that only all-inclusive talks will resolve the conflict in the Six Counties.

Archbishop Pilarczyk of Cincinnati, head of the delegation of seven senior American Catholic clerics in the Six Counties on a three-day fact-finding mission was speaking on the BBC on Wednesday 19 August. He went on to say that "it was better to talk than not to talk", and that he "favoured dialogue with all shades of political opinion".

Included in the delegation were Archbishop Robert Sanchez of Santa Fe, secretary of the US Bishops' Conference, and Bishop John Roach head of the International Committee from St Pauls in Birmingham. Bishop Raymond of Alabama, secretary to the churchmen's Six-County chairperson, said he welcomed

"It was better to talk than not to talk"
— Archbishop Pilarczyk

their statement supporting dialogue between all political influences here", and he applauded the clerics' "stated purpose of appraising themselves of all the issues, political and economic, which have a bearing on the problem here."

"I wish them every success and I will be ensuring that they get copies of Sinn Féin's outline for a peace process to end the conflict, *Towards a Lasting Peace*."

Survey shows bad nutrition linked to poverty

ARE current social welfare payments adequate for the dietary needs of recipients? What are the long-term effects of unemployment on the diet and health of social welfare claimants? The Connolly Information Centre for the Unemployed in Dublin has published a survey which deals with these and other health issues.

Diet, Nutrition and Health was the title of the second research publication from the Connolly Information Centre this year. The survey funded partly by Combat Poverty aimed to "examine the difficulties which are faced by those who are dependent on social welfare".

Within the south inner city, unemployment rates are running at 80% in some flat complexes, four times the national average. Numerically this represents 17,500 people signing on at the four local exchanges.

Analysing the dietary situation of the inner-city unemployed was not the only aim of the survey. The Connolly Information Centre also hope to promote the information required to allow people to understand the basic facts about nutritional needs. They also con-

sidered the work of organisations who aid people with low cost, and in some cases, free meals.

The survey took the form of a six-page questionnaire which aimed to get an estimation of the usual dietary intake for an individual or a family over a seven-day period. The survey broke those questioned into the following groups; a single person, a lone parent, married with two children, married with more than two children and old age pensioners.

The conclusions and proposals of the survey highlight the inadequacy of social welfare payments. The survey clearly shows a direct link between unemployment and the ensuing parallel levels of poverty. The survey "reinforces the fact that the amount of

money available is of vital importance in the provision of a proper nutritional-balanced diet".

The Connolly Information Centre demanded the Dublin government introduce the levels of payments as detailed in the 1986 Commission on Social Welfare Report. The Commission envisaged a basic payment of between £50 and £60 which in real terms today would be substantially higher. The report points out that children's allowance is too low as there has not been a significant rise since 1986 when the payment was £15.05 for the first child compared to £15.80 in 1992.

The Connolly Centre used the launch of the report to highlight the work of the centre. The centre was set up 15 months ago on minimum state financial support. They rent their premises for a nominal sum from Dublin Corporation and have SES workers in the centre.

The report was the second of four the Connolly Centre hope to complete during the year. The work they do is invaluable and their output despite the lack of funding is considerable. The report and the Connolly Centre are yet more examples of the initiative and commitment of the unemployed.



● Angelo Fusco addressing the anti-extradition rally in Tralee last Saturday — "extradition is not just a political tragedy but a human tragedy"

Hill champions Fusco in Tralee

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"I THINK IT'S A DISGRACE. Nobody should be extradited to the North or over to England. I wouldn't put a dead dog in the hands of the British authorities," said Paddy Joe Hill of the Birmingham Six at last Saturday's Munster rally in Tralee to protest the proposed extradition of Angelo Fusco. "They've got no conception at all about Irish people, and when it comes to judging Irish people all common sense and decency goes out the window. The only thing they are interested in is the same as they were years ago, wiping out the Irish nation, that's what it is all about, incarcerating, butchering and murdering them."

Hill, after 16 years in prison in England for something he didn't do, has reason to be unimpressed by British justice. He agreed readily to speak in support of extradition victim Angelo Fusco at the march and rally held in Tralee on Saturday 22 August turning down three other speaking engagements on behalf of other miscarriage of justice victims in England to be there, "because this is more important, this is where it counts, this is home".

Fusco faces extradition to the Six Counties for his part in the killing of an SAS captain in 1980. He has since served the equivalent of a life sentence in Portlaoise Prison for escaping from Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast before his conviction.

He now lives in Tralee with his wife, Mary, and their three children. He argues that his offences were politically motivated, that the system of justice in the North, often condemned by human rights groups, has not improved, and that he should be left in

peace to bring up his children.

The march itself was attended by 500 people from throughout Munster and further afield, while the Rose of Tralee Festival — also going on in the town — meant that thousands more on the streets heard the anti-extradition message. Members of the Dublin and Belfast anti-extradition committees attended, as did two republican bands, one from Dublin and one from Belfast. The Cullyhanna Justice Group and the Cork Unemployed Action Group were also among the groups represented.

Extradition victims Dessie Ellis and Robert Russell, both of whom were handed over and subsequently released, joined Hill and Fusco on the platform, while local Sinn Féin councillor Billy Leen chaired the proceedings.

Leen called on people to support the campaign and Angelo Fusco: "Go to your TDs. I don't care what your party is. Go to your councillors and tell them you do not support the handing over of this man across the border, and



● PADDY JOE HILL

do something about it. They can do it, the other political parties."

Robert Russell, extradited in 1988, spoke of the British government's duplicity: "In 1989 the British government, through Tom King, gave an undertaking to Tony Sloan, Michael McKee, Robert Campbell, Dingus Magee and Angelo, that time served in the 26-County prison of Portlaoise would be the equivalent of time served in the North. Last week, Joseph Doherty and Michael McKee had meetings with their legal representatives and members of the Northern Ireland Office. They overturned Tom King's commitment. Patrick Mayhew says that Joseph Doherty will have to serve nine years before he is even considered for release, and Michael McKee will have to serve a full nine years. This means that Angelo Fusco is going to have to serve another ten to 15 years before he is even considered for



● ROBERT RUSSELL

release. I think that is scandalous."

Paddy Joe Hill of the Birmingham Six made an emotive speech on behalf of Angelo Fusco, concentrating on the duplicity of the Irish government and the nature of British justice when it comes to Irish defendants.

"There is an old adage, that your own is the worst," he said, "and believe me it's true. I didn't believe it until I went into prison." He then catalogued the years of silence and neglect which he and his fellow miscarriage of justice victims received from the Dublin government. They initially even refused to acknowledge Hill's letters. In September 1981 the third secretary from the Irish embassy in London finally visited Hill in prison. He spent less than ten minutes with Hill. "The reason was because I was an embarrassment to them. In fact he didn't even know my name. He didn't even know who the Birmingham Six were before he came into the visiting room. He promised to contact them again but didn't."

He then spoke of the visit by a Leinster House all-party delegation to the six men in Long Lartin prison in 1987. They met the six men in the Education Department of the prison and spent 25 minutes. They then told the men that they had to go to catch a plane. On that occasion Hill told them that there was another young miscarriage of justice victim that they should meet, Gerry Conlon of the Guildford Four. They refused.

"On that occasion three of the Birmingham Six threatened to wreck the Education Department if they didn't. So they did see Gerry Conlon. And you know the first words they said to him? 'Oh, you're the young man whose uncle died in prison', not his father, his uncle. That's how little they knew about us."

"Ladies and gentlemen, if you the people of the South of Ireland ever get an Irish government, believe me, it will be a wonderful thing, because up until now you've never had one."

"They talk about extradition. From 1986 onwards the Irish government made certain representations to the British authorities on our behalf. They tried to say how bad we were treated, but believe me, the British couldn't

have done what they did to us without the collaboration of the people in Leinster House."

"They are ashamed of being Irish. They forgot how they got this country. They didn't get it because the British were generous or kind and gave it to them. No, they got it because Irish men and women laid down their lives for it. What happened to us will continue to happen and is still happening today."

"In 1987 Richard McKenny wrote a letter to Charlie Haughey," Hill continued. "And I remember Charlie Haughey said when he was in opposition in 1984 and '85 that there would be no extradition until the complete exonerated and compensation of the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four and the Maguires. And then what happened? He turned around and wrote back and told us that extradition would go ahead, irrespective of what happened in our appeal. We told him that if he signed the Extradition Act, that we would not be out, that it would take years before we got out. And that's exactly what did happen."

"We haven't got any rights or freedom over here. The only thing that you people have is yourselves, and believe me, without you people, people like us would still be rotting in prison today."

Angelo Fusco then took the platform and spoke of his and his family's experience of British occupation and of his subsequent plight in the South. "I brought my family south, here to Tralee. We thought we would get sanctuary here, but no."

"The British government wasn't happy that I've served a life sentence. They want me to serve another one, of God knows how many years," he said. He also spoke of the NIO's decision to make extraditees serve their full sentences.

"Extradition is not just a political tragedy but a human tragedy. It affects me and my family," he said. Pointing to his daughter Maria, he said: "This little girl was born when I was in prison. This little lad (his son Joseph) was a child, and this woman (his wife, Mary) waited ten full years for me, and now, if allowed, they will make me do possibly another ten."

Addressing himself to the people of Kerry, he said: "If you support extradition to the North of Ireland or to England, you are saying to the British government that you have the right to be in a part of our country, and that every murdered act that they have ever committed, from Bloody Sunday to the shooting of innocent children with plastic bullets, you're saying that that's okay because they have a moral justification for being there. I'm saying they have none, and I will ask you people to tell them that, to tell your government and my government to end extradition now, because this doesn't stop with me. You could be next."

Six-County courts increasingly vindictive

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

IN WHAT APPEARS to be a growing attitude of vindictiveness towards republican prisoners by Six-County courts political extraditee Gerry Hanratty has been refused compassionate bail to visit his seriously ill mother.

The Emergency Bail Application heard by Justice Carswell on Friday 21 August lasted six hours and was attended by Belfast priest Fr McCartney who offered to collect Hanratty and remain with him during his period of bail.

Gerry Hanratty was extradited from Germany to the Six Counties on Friday 14 August where he is wanted on a charge of possessing weapons.

The Andersonstown republican had earlier beaten charges in Germany relating to IRA bomb-attacks

against British army bases there.

In refusing bail Judge Carswell said that the "public interest" would not be served by the granting of bail and dictated that Hanratty should remain in custody.

Carswell's decision came despite the fact that there has never been a case of a republican prisoner in the Six Counties who has escaped while out on compassionate bail.

Last year another republican prisoner Marie Wright was denied

the right to visit her dying father in hospital. Again it was Justice Carswell who denied Wright parole on 4 January 1991 saying that he did not want to put members of the 'security forces' at risk by releasing her. The following day Marie Wright's father died. On 6 January she was granted four hours parole to attend her father's funeral. This time was further reduced because Wright was delayed for an hour before being released.



● GERRY HANRATTY



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

27 AUGUST 1992

■ FINE GAEL — BRITAIN'S PUPPETS

ONCE AGAIN Fine Gael used the occasion of the annual Michael Collins commemoration at Béal na mBláth to engage in the most outrageous outpourings of political hypocrisy.

While commemorating a man who helped organise the IRA's campaign against the British forces and their agents in Ireland in the 1920s in a revolutionary struggle for a 32-County republic, Fine Gael's Avril Doyle called for the claim to Irish unity to be deleted from the 1937 Constitution.

Fine Gael's role in Irish politics is openly and demonstrably that of apologists and political agents for the British state. While actively working through the Southern political institutions for the abandonment of any responsibility to Northern nationalists and the erosion of neutrality, sovereignty and control by Irish people over their own affairs, they maintain close ties to the most reactionary force in Irish politics — the political leaders of Six-County loyalism.

Indeed a prominent member of Fine Gael is acting as an adviser to the loyalists in the Mayhew talks process. Fine Gael in cooperation with the loyalists are spearheading the current campaign against Articles Two and Three. Both are acting as surrogates for British rule in Ireland, seeking to consolidate the British presence and copperfasten partition. In this they must be opposed by the united forces of progress and democracy in this country.

The clear message must be sent out that the national claim to unity and independence is not for sale at any price and that people must not be fooled into believing that such a move would in any way bring peace to the North. It is no coincidence that the party most abject in its subservience to Britain is also the most vicious in its attacks against the working class.

■ GOVERNMENT BY SECRECY

ON 19 June as the Maastricht referendum votes were being counted it emerged in a newspaper article that Albert Reynolds had as Minister for Finance in 1990 authorised low cost loans to the EC nuclear industry. These loans, which ran to billions of pounds, would subsidise the development of reprocessing facilities at Sellafield in Britain.

The Dublin government has a stated policy of calling for the closure of Sellafield, but during the 26-County presidency of the EC in 1990, Reynolds had to sanction financial decisions of the European Commission, decisions which helped fund Sellafield and British Nuclear Fuels. The Irish people did not know that Reynolds had taken this decision. They still don't know whether the cabinet actually discussed the sanctioning of the loans. They don't know how many other similar decisions have been taken that conflict with the stated policy.

On 8 June 1988, the cabinet of the Dublin government met and discussed the increase of export credit insurance on beef exports to Iraq, insurance that was to be limited to only two companies. The cabinet records of this meeting have become a crucial part of the Beef Tribunal to which Dublin government ministers are no longer answerable.

The decision by the Supreme Court on Friday 21 August this year in favour of absolute cabinet confidentiality means that 26-County governments are unaccountable to either their Leinster House colleagues or the Irish citizens who elect them. The Tribunal has become irrelevant. Its work so far has led back consistently to the cabinet and their policy decisions, decisions which are now "confidential".

When the recent debacle over RTE and Section 31 is taken into account it is obvious that the Dublin government is operating censorship at every possible political level. Now not only can they deny access to the media they can also censor what is disclosed of their own day-to-day work.

How many other cabinet meetings have discussed crucial topics such as those mentioned above? How many other critical decisions have been taken without the public being informed?

News

1,500 lay-offs in one week

■ BY NEIL FORDE

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY EIGHT jobs at Airmotive, 100 at AT Cross, 67 at Coillte the state forestry company, 125 at Pulse Engineering, 40 at Smith and Nephew, 25 at Strongbow Engineering, 500 at Wang, 500 at Waterford Wedgwood. These numbers are the cumulative result of just one week in the Dublin government's inaction and inconsistency in managing the 26-County economy.

These numbers will impose a collective economic hardship in at least five towns across the 26 Counties. Those who are forced into redundancy will cut back on their own consumption and spending, causing a knock-on effect in each of the shops and businesses of Ballinasloe, Tuam, Kilcoole, Limerick and Waterford. These towns will ultimately pay the cost for these redundancies, costs which will be greater than the initial job "shedding" announced last week.

The economic policies in effect last week are no different than those the Dublin government stood by last year when, in the face of mounting unem-

ployment, they formed the Task Force on employment. The Task Force's report the *Culliton Report*, is now gathering dust on the desks of the Dublin government ministers, as is the first interim report from the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Employment (JOCE).

Nothing has changed either since the week in May this year when Apple Computers warned of a possible 400 redundancies because of "international restructuring". The same can be said of the week in May 1991 when Digital closed their plant in Clonmel.

Austerity and fiscal rectitude would make the 26-County economy competitive in

world markets. This monetarist ideology has been pursued over the last ten years. Industrial relations too were targeted, as the state would never be an investment if industrial disputes were not minimised. The return of a minority Fianna Fáil government in 1987 led to the perpetuation of the hairshirt monetarist economic policies pursued by the Fine Gael/Labour coalition. This was the groundwork for economic success.

Five years later, the competitive, cost-cutting export economy is a reality. For some there is conspicuous wealth of new cars, plush shopping precincts and a rash of new luxury suburban housing projects. In the rural areas the bungalow villas bear testament to increasing fortunes of a smaller and smaller section of the rural community.

Yet these achievements have been mirrored by a parallel cost — an unemployment rate that is the highest in the industrialised world and an emigration rate which is unparalleled in any other developed economy. The rural haciendas do not match the image of a sector where employment will fall by 20,000 before the end of the decade.



IDA IRELAND

Another IDA disaster as flagships go under

■ BY NEIL FORDE

LAST WEEK within 48 hours four IDA flagships hit the rocks. Wang, Airmotive, Pulse and AT Cross announced redundancies not because of economic factors in the 26 Counties, not because of industrial disputes or wage costs but because of a variety of "international conditions".

Wang and a company called Varian were heralded in the early 1970s as the symbols of a new Silicon Valley in the south and west of Ireland. They were the beginnings of computer hardware manufacturing in the 26 Counties, an industry that never lived up to its expectations and one that is now dying. Varian became Pulse, a company that now employs 1,600 people worldwide. The Pulse redundancies will push unemployment in Tuam to over 2,000 people out a population of 7,000.

Tuam still has an empty IDA forward factory to house a business which would replace the closed sugar plant. It remains empty. However another empty industrial plant has been turned into a local enterprise centre. The logical action for the IDA would be to offer the centre the same aid and subsidies that would be afforded to a multinational.

Between 1980 and 1990 the IDA spent £89.5 million in grants and subsidies to computer manufacturers. £16.6 million



● Sean Donnelly, executive director of the IDA

of this went to Wang. This does not count the substantial public sector contracts that Wang have received, the Department of Education and ESF being just two. Now Wang is shedding jobs in Ireland not because of a bad performance in Ireland but rather the losses incurred by the parent company in the United States.

"A leaner organisation with its workforce trimmed by 5,000," is how Malachy Smith, Wang's regional director for Europe, described the job losses. The truth is that the industry into which the IDA pumped so much money finds it increasingly difficult to compete with the Far Eastern computer manufacturers. The Wang operation in Ireland has remained profitable. Why has the IDA not

News

Clearly there is a widespread failure in the Dublin government's economic policies, in the institutions it has created to implement its policy decisions. IDA, FÁS, Córas Trachtála, in its government departments and in its own politicians.

Bertie Ahern personifies the crisis that grips the Dublin government. His reaction to AIB's decision to raise its interest rates was to describe the increase as "particularly unwelcome". The increase in the banks' lending rate is a move which could cripple not only many mortgage holders but also the many small domestic businesses that depend on overdraft facilities to operate on a day-to-day basis.

Why could Ahern not motivate himself to pressurise the banks? Could he not force the state's most profitable institutions to consider the public interest? No. The following day the Central Bank raised its rates. Most economic textbooks will tell you that the central bank should call the shots and set a state's fiscal agenda, but not it seems in the 26 Counties. AIB's actions were overshadowed by the 48-hour spate of redundancy announcements. The real message is that Ahern and his department cannot or will not

exercise control over the economy.

Now more than ever monetarism as an economic dogma has been shown to have failed the 26-County economy, the markets have failed and those who advocate a free market economy have no alternatives.

The creation of wealth in the economy over the ten year monetarist experiment has been substantial. But it is meaningless if it is created by freezing employees' wages or replacing jobs with machinery partly funded by the IDA. It is meaningless if the wealth is not reinvested in the local economy from where it was first generated. It is meaningless if it does not involve all citizens of the state.

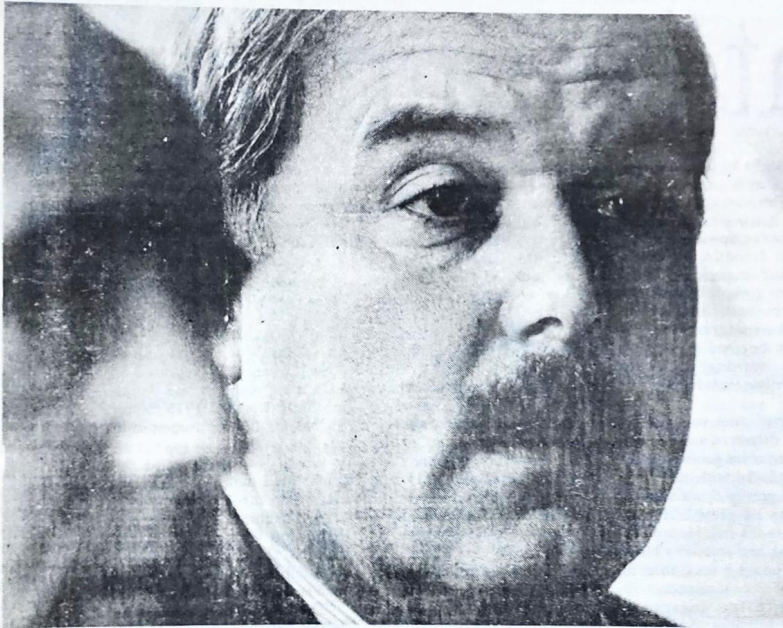
The Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed on Tuesday 25 August offered a set of proposals to the Dublin government to respond to the jobs crisis. Action was the key word. Action on investment, a national jobs policy, the use of the PESP to create Area Based Strategy Regions especially for Waterford, that the government act on the interest rate increases, that sectoral plans be implemented for all areas of the economy and most importantly that the unemployed should not have to pay the cost of economic failure.



● Bertie Ahern — wasn't prepared to force the state's most profitable institutions to consider the public interest



● The financial institutions in Ireland are setting the economic agenda



● Malachy Smith, described 500 redundancies as creating "a leaner organisation"

made it a stipulation as part of its funding that profitable enterprises cannot shed jobs?

AT Cross Ireland had by 1986 contributed \$50 million dollars in tax free profits to its US parent company. Cross came to Ireland in 1972. The decision was clinched over a night of Irish hospitality when IDA executives wine and dined their potential investors. This story has been repeated in numerous other cases throughout the IDA's existence.

Waterford Glass and Airmotive are Irish companies also hit by the international recession. In both cases the redundancies announced highlight the double standards that apply in industrial development and economic planning.

Waterford Wedgwood had once also been a "blue riband" (to use the IDA term) company but "international downturns" have over the past three years tarnished its reputation. The 500 redundancies announced in

Waterford are yet another installment in dubious management decisions which threaten the long-term future of the Waterford city plant.

Now it seems that Waterford is just a marketable international brand that can be made anywhere in the world. Though the parent company is in Ireland, it has been decided that the parent company should endure the most cuts. Waterford has been in decline for at least the last three years, during

this time the IDA and the Dublin government have ignored the long-term implications of the Waterford's management urge to source crystal production outside Ireland. The Dublin government's silence on this issue for the last three years is inexcusable.

Airmotive has fallen victim not of international conditions as claimed but of a restructuring of Aer Lingus. In 1980 Airmotive was a new

subsidiary of Aer Lingus servicing and refurbishing jet engines. It now has contracts with 35 airlines. Aer Lingus has now also built with IDA assistance Team Aer Lingus which also services and refurbishes jet engines.

The fact that the IDA helped fund Team Aer Lingus without envisaging the effects on Airmotive, that they have ignored Waterford Wedgwood's three-year-old plan to source crystal production outside Ireland, that

deals are clinched over a haze of 'hospitality' is testament to gross incompetence not only on their part but also on that of successive Dublin governments.

The IDA are currently fighting government plans to restructure the organisation. It is an organisation that pushes its own political agenda which has been shown yet again to have failed. It has for years lectured the Irish public. It is strangely silent now.



● Within 48 hours three of the IDA's flagship companies announced redundancies

Tom Williams

— until that certain day

"Time goes by and years roll onwards and still in memory fresh I keep, of a night in Belfast prison, where unashamedly I saw men weep."

SO GOES the song in dedication to Tom Williams, a young Belfast republican who, at the age of 19 years, was hung in Crumlin Road Jail on the morning of 2 September 1942. This year marks the 50th anniversary of that fateful morning when Tom was executed. This article is a tribute to that brave Irish republican whose memory remains fresh in the minds of those who knew him and of those who were not yet born when Tom died, but who learned of him from others.

IN THE immediate area surrounding Crumlin Road Jail the forces of the unionist regime, the RUC, were taking elaborate precautions against any possibility of demonstrations. A cordon was thrown around the prison while police cars and tenders patrolled.

As the time approached 8am a large crowd began to assemble on the periphery of the police cordon. The mood of the people was sombre yet defiant and here and there a woman would kneel in silence and begin to pray. This example was soon followed and others began to kneel. At times the sombre and gentle murmuring of people praying was broken by the whine of police tenders.

Within the Victorian structure of the 'Crum' in the jail's death cell on 'C' Wing, a young man of 19 years spent the last moments of his life with a dignity which surely won the respect of those who watched over him.

Tom Williams, a young republican from the Clonard area of Belfast awaited the sentence imposed by British justice: 'To be hung by the neck until dead'.

Britain had sought its pound of flesh from yet another Irish man and at precisely 8am the British executioner, Albert Pierpoint, coldly watched as Tom nounted the steps of the scaffold, then place a noose around Tom's neck and, as he had done so many times before and after

Tom's execution he pulled the lever which released the trap door down through which Tom dropped.

On the stroke of 8am, a crowd of about 200 loyalists, who had come to gloat, began to sing. Their intention was to celebrate the death of a young Irish man and to incite those nationalists who had come to pray and pay him their last respects. When this failed the loyalists then began to chant and cheer. Such was the ferocity of the attempt to incite that the police reluctantly moved in and pressed the loyalists back into a side street.

Some distance from the jail, in the Clonard area, a crowd of several hundred strong gathered in Bombay Street, the street where Tom Williams had lived. They moved to No 44, Tom's Granny Fay's house, and stood in silent and tearful tribute. Throughout nationalist Belfast black flags were hoisted, while people filed into Catholic churches where mass was being celebrated from 6am onwards. In some areas the churches were unable to close until 8pm because workers returning from

work sought to honour Tom Williams and pray for the repose of his soul.

Irish history may record those who lay down their lives for Irish freedom as being unique and engage in tales of their heroic exploits. But the truth of the matter is that these people were ordinary people and what they had in common was the burning desire to remove Britain from Ireland.

Tom Williams was not so very different from other young men of his generation. As a boy he played with other children and got up to all sorts of antics. As he grew older he lived life to the full. He worked for a living and enjoyed a bit of craic. When he was able to afford it he went to dances.

Although Tom engaged in the social activities of his time, he nevertheless revealed qualities which did set him apart from those of his generation. He was a quiet, serious minded 19-year-old with a dedication and maturity beyond his years. He was a soldier fighting a cause which was centuries old — the abolition of British rule in Ireland.

Although a slightly built lad of fair complexion and medium height, Tom nevertheless carried an aura of authority and deep sincerity which gained

him the respect of his comrades and the love of the people he was raised with in the Clonard area of Belfast.

Tom Williams, as a Volunteer of the Irish Republican Army, took very seriously his position as a soldier and he displayed a willingness to fight. This was also combined with a sharp forward thinking mind.

Tom's mother died in child birth when Tom was still a baby himself; his father remarried and moved to Dublin and Tom was reared with his Granny Fay. It was from his Granny Fay that Tom, at a very early age, got his republican education.

From her, Tom learned a substantial part of his country's history, of the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin and of the people who led it, of the Tan war and how a section of Irish people sold out to the British and accepted partition.

As soon as his age permitted Tom sought for and gained entry into Fianna Éireann. He joined his local slua in the 1930s and from there he went on to join Oglagh na hÉireann — where he was to become Officer Commanding 'C' Company, Belfast Battalion.

Although there was no organised military campaign being waged against the British at this time there was still much work to be done as republican

men and women sought to ensure that Britain was constantly reminded that Irish people had the right to self-determination.

'C' Company met regularly at what had to be secret rendezvous points and safe houses in order to keep a network running which provided reports of up-to-date events. At one of these meetings Tom reported on a decision, made by the Battalion Staff, that the 1916 Easter Rising was to be commemorated.

Given that the law at the time stated that a gathering of more than three people in one place constituted an illegal gathering and was an arrestable offence, the commemoration would have to be organised with strict military precision.

The plan drawn up by the Belfast Battalion involved shots being fired over the top of police vehicles in two areas designated by the Battalion Staff. All Volunteers privy to the plan were given strict orders that no shots were to be fired at any RUC member. The idea behind the plan was that the distraction resulting from an armed attack would force the police into the two areas and this would leave the remaining three areas free for the IRA to conduct commemorations.

In his report to the Company

● Tom Williams —

Tom explained that he was designed as a catalyst against a law in nationalists and that, it really entailed a protest. He also informed Volunteers present that Company had been as one of the areas to the operation.

Taking part in the were six Volunteers two members of C mBan selected Williams. There was Pat Simpson, Joe C Oliver, Jimmy Pe 'Dixie' Cordon McConville and Gr The role of the tw along with Pat Simp gather the weapon dump and bring the other five for the op



● Tom Williams — did not fire the fatal shots but was selected by the British government to die

Tom explained that the plan was designed as a demonstration against a law imposed on nationalists and that, in essence, it really entailed a peaceful protest. He also informed the Volunteers present that 'C' Company had been designated as one of the areas to carry out the operation.

Taking part in the operation were six Volunteers and two members of Cumann na mBan selected by Tom Williams. There was himself, Pat Simpson, Joe Cahill, John Oliver, Jimmy Perry, Harry 'Dixie' Cordoner, Madge McConville and Greta Nolan. The role of the two women, along with Pat Simpson was to gather the weapons from the dump and bring them to the other five for the operation. The

three would also retrieve them from the Volunteers once the operation was completed.

The five young men gathered at an arranged rendezvous where they collected the weapons. They then walked up Clonard Street to the junction of Cawnpore Street/Clonard Street. The operation was well rehearsed and, it seemed, organised to the last detail. As instructed by Tom, when the police car arrived the five men would fire shots over the top of it then run to the corner of Cawnpore Street entry where Pat, Madge and Greta would be waiting to collect the weapons. That, at least, was the plan. What happened was a completely different story.

When the police car arrived the Volunteers fired shots over the top of the car and then made

good their escape. The weapons were then handed to Pat Simpson and the two women and the five Volunteers made their way down the entry to the back of No 53 Cawnpore Street: Nora O'Brien's house. One of the women, Greta Nolan, had already entered the house. The other, Madge McConville, was still making her way down the entry with Pat Simpson when she spotted an RUC member named Murphy turning into the entry and walking behind them. The pair walked on into the house and informed the others what they had seen.

At this point Murphy entered into the back yard and fired a shot. It caught Tom Williams and he fell wounded. Four of the other Volunteers turned their weapons on where they believed the initial shot

had come from. Constable Murphy was hit several times and he fell dead.

The police had, at this point, surrounded the house and called upon the Volunteers to surrender. Believing they would be shot the Volunteers decided to resist. Joe Cahill and Jimmy Perry went to where Tom Williams had fallen and carried him to the upstairs of the house and put him on the bed.

The police, meanwhile, had gained entry into the house and they proceeded to march Nora O'Brien and her daughter, Máire, up the stairs while pointing a pistol at Máire's head. On seeing this, and believing the police were intent on killing Nora and her daughter, the Volunteers surrendered.

At this point the RUC members began to brutalise the captured men. One of the RUC members went over to the bed where Tom Williams lay and said: "There's no reason why we can't shoot this bastard..." Joe Cahill broke away from his captor and threw himself bodily over Tom to protect him saying "Over my dead body". It is probable that but for this the RUC would have "finished off" Tom Williams.

Evidence was given at the trial that Tom Williams was alleged to have said in a statement that he suggested firing on a police car in protest against English occupation of Ireland and that nobody but him fired at Constable Murphy.

Although the jury made a recommendation of mercy in the case of Patrick Simpson because of his age, the Court of Criminal Appeal dismissed the recommendation.

Delivering judgement the Lord Chief Justice declared that there was sufficient evidence of a common design to commit the felonious act of shooting at the occupants of the police car and subsequently to resist arrest, if necessary, by the use of firearms. He found all six guilty and sentenced them to death.

Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the British government to have the Volunteers reprieved. But Britain was intent on having its pound of flesh and of the six men sentenced to be executed one was finally selected to die.

The sentences of Joe Cahill, Pat Simpson, Harry 'Dixie' Cordoner, John Oliver and Jimmy Perry were commuted to penal servitude for life. Tom Williams alone was to hang and the date given for his execution was 2 September.

This decision, that five would be reprieved and one would hang was communicated to DP Marrinan, solicitor for the six men. He immediately went to Crumlin Road Jail and spoke with all six. He informed them he had very good news for all of them with the exception of Tom. When the five realised their



● Tom's friend and comrade Joe Cahill who prevented the RUC from shooting Tom again as he lay wounded

comrade Tom was to be executed they embraced him warmly. "Don't worry about me," Tom said to them, "I'm ready to die."

When news of the death sentence had been announced various committees sprang up throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, as well as abroad. Many believed the British would succumb to the numerous appeals for clemency in the case of Tom Williams. Judicially the evidence was in Tom's favour. He could not have fired the fatal shot as he himself had been shot and had lain wounded on the floor.

When the solicitor Marrinan went to Tom and informed him there was still hope of a reprieve Tom's attitude reflected that of a people which have bore centuries of British occupation and injustice. He was resigned to his fate and determined he would not show cowardice in the face of the enemy.

The night before the execution final appeals were lodged with the British Governor for the Six Counties. A statement issued in his name simply said:

"His Grace, the Governor of Northern Ireland, has considered the further petition submitted in the case of Thomas J Williams, prisoner lying under sentence of death in HM Prison Belfast, and has decided that the law must take its course."

Late that night Tom was visited in the condemned cell by his solicitor, his uncle Charles Fay, his brother Richard and his Granny Fay. Tom, who took calmly the news that petitions for his reprieve had failed, asked Marrinan to convey the

following message to all who had interested themselves on his behalf: "Thank all for their efforts to save me. I am quite resigned if it is God's Holy Will and if it is done for Ireland."

During the visit Tom gave Marrinan the following message for his comrades: "Be brave to the end men. Goodbye and God bless."

In a message to his comrades in the Republican Movement he wrote:

"Carry on no matter what odds are against you. Carry on, no matter what the enemy calls you. Carry on no matter what tortures are inflicted on you. The road to freedom is paved with suffering, hardship and torture. Carry on my gallant comrades, until that certain day."

On that Wednesday morning, 2 September Tom Williams attended mass and received the Eucharist. Afterwards he marched with no show of fear, to the scaffold to meet his executioner. At precisely 8am Pierrepoint executed young Tom Williams.

The British continue to hold Tom Williams. His remains lie within the walls of Crumlin Road Jail and various appeals made to the British to allow his remains to be reinterred on the outside have fallen on deaf ears. Let this, his 50th anniversary, be the year that Tom's remains can be interred in his rightful place of burial so that relatives, friends and old comrades — as well as those of the present generation — can pay him the respect he surely deserves.

"Brave Tom Williams we salute you and we never shall forget."

Reviews/News

The ROT sets in

■ BY DARA Mac NEILL

RIGHT FROM THE VERY START I'll nail my colours firmly to the mast. And I'll take them down from there for no man or woman. The Rose of Tralee is the most crucial annual event in this country.

There I've said it. Now let me explain my Pauline conversion. There I was idly listening to a very dull radio phone show some days ago, when all of a sudden I was struck from the blue. A female caller was busily extolling the virtues and assorted glories of the yearly event. On and on she droned and then, in the most casual fashion, delivered the telling comment. Speaking of the contestants, our intrepid caller remarked, "Ah sure, and if we can't laugh with them we'll laugh at them." God, I love this country.

For years I had like others sneered and jeered when this annual carnival of bad taste rolled into town, admittedly someone else's town. The radio caller twigged me to a deeper truth. Tuning into RTE's extensive coverage of ROT confirmed my suspicions. Gaudy, tacky, tasteless, naïf and very unfunny. All of these, yes. But ROT is more, much more. It's about us. About Ireland. About how we see ourselves. About how we want ourselves to be seen, and crucially, which projected image of ourselves we believe we will most benefit from. Simply put, ROT is a most vital annual barometer, whereby we can judge whether the previous year's efforts at dragging Ireland a little further into the 20th Century have borne fruit or otherwise.

Coy, shy, simple, honest, pure... good clean family enter-

tainment, with just enough of the nod n' wink stuff thrown in to keep the nudge nudge element content. And all nicely packaged by Mr textbook citizen himself, Gay Byrne.

The contestants journey from all over — Australia, the US, New Zealand — all sporting names like Mary Cullen or Anne O'Reilly. All tell tales of how their fathers, mothers and grandparents originally departed from the auld sod. Tales, at once poignant, but ultimately reassuring. The diaspora, the haemorrhage of young and talented from this island is ultimately a comforting thing. Sure didn't they all do well and didn't they transfer their Irishness on to their offspring, offspring who return annually to reaffirm their bastardised nationality? "Do you feel more Irish or English/German/American?" is the commonest query. As if to prove that we haven't lost them. Ultimately, they still belong to Ireland. Where would ROT be without the scandal of emigration?

And just what sort of a sense of that nationality do they reaffirm whilst here? One that no longer exists. The questions Byrne asks reveal all: "What about the man in your life?" "When do you see yourself getting married?" More assumptions than queries. Just once you'd love for one of them to turn to Byrne and declare, coyly of course, that they've no real



● Mr textbook citizen Gay Byrne

interest in men. Or at least, display open horror at the prospect of getting hitched. And then there's the queries about how the contestant is getting on with her escort — "Any jizz there?" Cue blushing contestant and yahooping audience. Sex without the mention of the 'S' word.

All these women display an unholy devotion to the straight and narrow: Church, family, job, a recognition of the "importance" of the institution of marriage. No unemployment, no poverty, no diverse sexuality. Nothing queer or unnatural. Thus, the ROT is not an

anachronism. It is not a throw-back to another age. It is a paradigm of modern Ireland: ill at ease with modernity, with urban decay, massive poverty, marital breakdown, sexuality. What ROT promotes no longer exists, outside a few tourist brochures. But we are a nation

with a fear of the future, a culture dependent on dollars and marks. So this is the face we throw up to the world, a face the radio caller recognised that we can laugh at in private. As long as ROT remains big, we'll continue to remain cowering in the long shadow it casts.

Boycott of National Australia Bank

THE Australian Irish Congress (AIC) launched an international boycott of the National Australian Bank (NAB) and its subsidiaries on Wednesday 26 August. The boycott is in response to the refusal of the NAB to implement effective measures to end discriminatory employment practices at the Northern Bank, NAB's wholly-owned subsidiary in the Six Counties.

Leading Irish civil rights campaigner Oliver Kearney, visiting Australia, said the boycott was the only effective way to force the NAB to change the Northern Bank's employment practices.

"Catholics make up 42% of Northern Ireland's population, yet the Northern Bank's workforce is only 18.5% Catholic and only 8% at senior managerial level. It is economic apartheid," Kearney said.

"The NAB is responsible for this appalling discrimination, but refuses to undertake an effective affirmative action programme. The NAB has also refused to meet with me or the AIC to discuss the problem." He added: "The boycott will talk to the NAB in the only language they seem to listen to — dollars and cents. I am absolutely confident that international pressure will make the NAB reconsider its position. I ask all Australians to support the boycott just as they supported sanctions

against South African apartheid."

The office of the Comptroller, or Treasurer, of the City of New York will name a representative of the AIC as its nominee at the next NAB shareholders meeting, due early in 1993. The city of New York, which opposes the bank's discrimination, owns \$563,000 worth of NAB shares.

Peter Moss, AIC spokesperson said: "We will be asking Australian people and organisations to withdraw their accounts with the NAB. We will also pressure building societies and co-ops to cut all ties with the bank. And we will lobby NAB shareholders to support a motion for change at the next NAB general meeting."

Included in the boycott are the NAB-owned banks and economic interests in many countries. The boycott has so far received promises of active support from groups in the USA, Britain, Ireland, France, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Section 31 protest at international conference

OVER 150 TV news chiefs will gather in Dublin next week for the 51st annual meeting of the European Broadcasting Union's (EBU) News Working Party, hosted by RTE.

Ironically it is 20 years since this Assembly was last held in Dublin, the same length of time for which RTE has practiced a rigid form of political censorship through Section 31 of the Broad-

casting Act. To register this fact and to inform broadcasting organisations and journalists from abroad about Section 31, Sinn Féin plans to mount a demonstration at the meeting.



During three days the gathering of heads of news from broadcasting organisations throughout Europe, as well as from South America, North Africa and Asia, will meet in the conference centre of Dublin Castle to discuss future developments in news-gathering and news exchanges between the members of the EBU. The EBU has been enlarged to accept former "Soviet-bloc" countries. This EBU meeting should be the largest of this group in recent years.

Sinn Féin intends to stage a picket outside the meeting at Dublin Castle beginning at 1pm on Tuesday 1 September. As many people as possible are asked to register their opposition to political censorship, and RTE's disgraceful position of enforcing a wider and illegal interpretation of Section 31 by attending the picket.

Dublin advance but Clare take the Kudos

■ BY BREANDAN MAC RUAIRI

DUBLIN FOOTBALLERS made exceedingly heavy weather of overcoming a brave but limited semi-final challenge from unfancied Clare. The novelty of the Munster team's first semi-final appearance since 1917 guaranteed another bumper crowd and the emotion of the event was palpable. The football itself was tense and exciting though seldom of classic proportions.

The final whistle saw Dublin ahead by five points, largely because of their greater confidence and experience which gave them a vital edge all through. In football terms there was little to choose between two competent and superbly conditioned outfits.

The sky-blues will be delighted to have booked their final place but concern must be endemic in the camp as this game laid bare many of their weaknesses. A major question mark lies over their, once seemingly unstoppable, march to glory. If Brian McEniff and his colleagues study carefully the film of the game, a formula for upsetting the metropolitans must surely be attainable.

Aggressive forward running by some Clare forwards demonstrated clearly that the much vaunted Dublin half-back line is far from invincible; a more complete forward division would have reaped a greater reward.

Dublin captain Tommy Carr was frequently roasted by lively corner forward Padraic Conway while John O'Leary's vulnerability under the high ball was again vividly exposed as Conway flicked home a first half goal out of the keeper's hands. Fortune spared O'Leary's blushes and the referee disallowed what looked a legitimate score. Another whistler was less tolerant of the

Balbriggan player's indiscretions in the Leinster Final a few years back when Colm O'Rourke inflicted a similar embarrassment on him. O'Leary would be well advised to employ a safety first punch out should such a problem confront him in future.

Midfield continues to be a nightmare for the Leinster champions. David Foran struggled and was eventually replaced by Paul Bealin who made a solid contribution, even managing to get away with fouling the ball when putting Mick Galvin through for the third goal. Paul Clarke countered Clare's dominance of this sector with great heart. He foraged with considerable success, made several telling forward runs and kicked a few important points.

Vinnie Murphy was the star of the Dublin attack; two goals and a point is a handsome return. This season he has managed to combine the requisite consistency with his undoubted skills. His ability to clean out the Clare full-back line, particularly early on, was a deciding factor. The switch of Aidan Moloney to full back did curb the Trinity Gaels player to some degree but his capacity to wreak havoc remained undiminished.

The Dublin half-forward line again failed to impress and while all three registered on the

scoreboard, one should not be deceived. Several Dublin scores resulted from fairly elementary errors committed by opposition backs who often panicked in possession, over-carried the ball or passed loosely. Charlie Redmond's accuracy from frees is priceless but the predictability of himself, Guiden and Sheehy is becoming tiresome.

Also alarming for Dublin mentors must be the lack of forward options in the dugout. Any defensive difficulties may be well catered for but alternative attackers are unproven.

Some observers have argued that, on reflection, a Dublin victory was always inevitable. I can't agree. Clare for all their shortcomings had the winning of this game in their grasp. They lost this match during a 15-minute period in the second half when they appeared to lose concentration and discipline and to abandon a game plan that had served them well.

To their credit they rallied again with the help of a dubious penalty award and an excellent Padraic Conway goal. On the face of it a five point defeat is more than credible. Perhaps too much was expected from the newcomers, yet their overall performance stands up very well against that of other counties who have undertaken such a formidable enterprise.

Alas for the "Bannermen", they suffered the calamities that can befall contenders of their naivety; indecision, two teammates going for the same ball and the freezing of some players, "on the big occasion". Against that some Clare players took the opportunity to make a name for themselves. Captain, Francis McInerney put in an inspirational 70 minutes, firstly on the '40, then at centre field. Conway and Noel Roche shone in attack, while Tom Morrissey stole the show at centre field although his right hook to Charlie Redmond's chin belongs in another arena. Frankie Griffin too, at wing back got through some sterling work but rashness betrayed him several times.

Despite this less than convincing win. Robustness and



● Clare's Francis McInerney put in an inspirational 70 minutes but lost to a much better team

cockiness will be their ace cards as the temperament of the Ulster team remains suspect.

RTE television coverage requires a barb or two as well. The need for commercials is obvious but a plethora of them is hardly desirable. Last Sunday's arrangements meant that viewers almost

missed the history making emergence of the Clare team onto the Croke Park sod and the beginning of the second half was lost to us.

The deployment of Jim Carney with a roving microphone is a further bizarre departure, his interviews, broadcast at half-time with rival sets of fans were meaningless and a waste

of time. In his after-match exploits with some of the protagonists, he again displayed his unique ability to ask and answer his own questions in the same breath, barely allowing the much anticipated thoughts of his subject to come across.

Like the Dubs, RTE would want to tighten up for the final.

Gaelic Generalissimo

■ BY MAIRTIN Mac DIARMADA

THOUGH LESS KNOWN THAN de Valera, Collins or Griffith, Richard Mulcahy was certainly as important a figure in the Irish independence movement from 1916 to 1921. Chief of Staff of the IRA, he directed that organisation through the Tan War and having supported the Treaty he became a key figure in the founding of the Irish Free State.

This book is an important contribution to the history of the Tan and Civil War periods. The author has already published a study (*Almost a Rebellion: The Irish Mutiny of 1924*) of the Free State army mutiny which followed soon after the Civil War and that period is also covered here. Based on detailed scrutiny of

the Mulcahy papers this book provides many revealing insights into the leadership of the independence movement. It is not a pretty picture. It reminded this reviewer of Peadar O'Donnell's assertion that far from being a mistake by the British which had the effect of rousing the people, the 1916 executions robbed the

country of the best leaders of a generation. What strikes you about most of the leadership of the Tan War was their lack of firm political direction or philosophy.

Mulcahy was by his own admission a conservative. Like Collins he was obviously very much under the political influence of Arthur Griffith. Like Griffith he idolised Collins and contributed to the mythology which surrounded his Director of Intelligence. A thread running through this book is the antipathy between Collins and Brugha and Brugha and Mulcahy. Much of his time as a military administrator was taken up with this and related issues.

This is not a book about how the Tan War was fought in the country. It is the chronicle of a general administering and directing an army from behind his desk, albeit a

fugitive desk as he flitted from one safe house to the next. The man portrayed — despite the title — comes across as anything but revolutionary. He might belong to the office class of any European power, displaying the militarism and distrust of politics typical of that class of person. His mixture of Catholic religion, social conservatism and militarism would have graced any of Franco's generals.

But Mulcahy was not fighting for a reactionary cause during the Tan War. He was one of the leaders of a guerrilla army that was pioneering anti-colonial struggle against the British Empire. He was clearly a very able commander and he comes out in a better light than many of his associates who took the Treaty side and set up the Free State. The author is, however, far too lenient on him when she comes to the execution of republicans dur-

ing the Civil War. There can be no doubt that Mulcahy knew exactly what was going on. He had, as a member of the Free State Cabinet and as Commander in Chief of the Free State army, sanctioned and carried out the policy of execution of republican prisoners. To accept the claim as the author does that he was out of touch with regard to the 'unofficial' executions like those in Ballyseedy and elsewhere in Kerry and other counties, is stretching credibility to the limits.

There is little in the book to dispel the impression that Mulcahy was a cold, remote figure. We learn almost nothing about his thinking and it seems that he could sign an order for the execution of a former comrade as easily as he could requisition a train.

The final section of this book deals with the Free State army mutiny of 1924. It is

far too complicated to deal with in a short review but it is a fascinating episode. It ended with Mulcahy being shafted by the ruthless Kevin O'Higgins, Free State Minister for Justice. How near the mutiny came to developing into a full-scale revolt and even a coup d'état was a revelation to this reviewer. After he stepped down Mulcahy devoted his time to Cumann na nGaedhal, Blueshirt and finally Fine Gael politics. The book ends in 1924 as he left the Free State army. It's a pity, as a study of his involvement with the Blueshirts would have been interesting. Nonetheless this is a worthwhile assessment of an often neglected figure.

● *Portrait of a Revolutionary, General Richard Mulcahy and the founding of the Irish Free State* by Maryann Gialanella Valiulis. Published by the Irish Academic Press. Price £25 (hardback).

Nuacht

Tuairisc ó Euskadi Troid na mBratach

IS É an Ikurinea an t-ainm a thugann muintir Euskadi, tír na mBascach, ar an bhrat náisiúnta, agus tá Bascaigh de gach claonadh polaitiúil fíor bhródúil as a mbrat.

Mar gheall ar sin, tá searmanas speisialta acu, in achan bhaile gach bliain le linn an Fiesta, nuair a bhaillonn siad ina gcóid agus ina mílte, le omós a thabhairt don Ikurinea. Is searmanas mothúlach, tighrách é, agus i mBilles, an tseachtain seo caite, bhí na mílte i láthair don ócáid ar oíche Dhéardaoin. Ar maidin Aoine, afách, tá searmanas eile ag baint le brataigh nach bhfuil na Bascaigh chomh bródúil as.

Tá traidisiún, le cuid blianta anuas, go

n-ardaíonn an chomhairle cathrach i mBilbao, roinnt bratach ar fhoirgneamh an Aguntamiento, Halla na Cathrach, agus taobh le bratach Bhillbáo, agus an Ikurinea, tá bratach na Spáinne. Creideann tromlach na mBascach gur masla é seo, agus deir Herri Batasuna, an páirtí is réabhlóidí in Euskadi, go bhfuil ardú an bhrataigh Spáinnigh ina spriocadh fóiréigne i dtír a bhfuil formhór na ndaoine ar son neamhspleáchais.



● Brat na mBascach i mBéal Feirste

Mar fhreagra ar ardú bratach na Spáinne, cruinníonn na céadta duine óga i bPlaza an Aguntamiento le linn na hoíche, ag fanacht ar seacht a chloig, an uair traidisiúnta nuair a ardaítear na brataigh. Nuair a thagann brat na Spáinne i radharc, caiteann siad clocha agus bíonn iarrachtaí le bratach na Spáinne a chur trí thine, agus de ghnáth bíonn trioblóid idir na hóganaigh agus péas na Spáinne.

I mbliana, maidin Aoine seo chuaigh thart, bhí athrú beag ar chúrsaí. Mar ba ghnáth chruinnigh na sluaite de dhaoine óga, ach ag a seacht a chloig níor tharla faic. Rinne na hóganaigh iarracht, mar sin, an Ikurinea a ardú ina searmanas féin, agus dhreap cúpla gasúr suas tosach an fhoirgnimh. D'éirigh leo na brataigh a ardú, ach ar a mbealach ar ais chun talún thá an bheirt agus bhris duine acu a mhúrdán agus duine eile a chaoil léimhe. Níor ardaíodh bratach na Spáinne go dtí na haon déag a chloig sa mhaidín.

Ar oíche Aoine agus maidin Sathairn bhí ciréib bheag i lár na cathrach, fuadaíodh bus agus briseadh fuinn-eoga. Bhí péas na Spáinne agus an péas áitiúil ar na sráideanna, agus gort-aíodh roinnt daoine sa chlampar. Cé gur cháin Herri Batasuna roinnt de na hóganaigh dá n-iompar (ag rá go raibh alcol agus chan pol-aíocht ag treorú a n-eachtraí) leag siad locht don trioblóid leis an mhéara áitiúil mar gheall ar a chinnúint chun bratach na Spáinne a ardú in aice leis an Ikurinea "nuair is léir", arsa siad, "gur cathair náisiúnach Euskadi atá i mBilbao, agus nár mhaith le muintir na cathrach bratach na Spáinne a fheiceáil anseo ar chor ar bith."

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

Claonroinnt molta ag coimisinéir

TA TUGTHA LE FIOS ag an Choimisinéir Maurice Hayes go mbeidh athruithe ag teacht ar Chomhairle an tSrátha Bháin, de réir mair atá leagtha amach sa tuairisc shealadach atá anois ar fáil i leabharlanna áitiúla agus in oifigí na comhairle.

Is é an rud a mholtar inti ná go dtugfar suíochán do Bhaile Uí Cholmáin i limistéar na Moirne ach nach mbeidh Muileann an tSiáin sa limistéar sin. Beidh sé anois i limistéar na Dearga.

Ní ábhar conspóide é go bhfaighidh Baile Uí Cholmáin suíochán sa bhreis ach cuireann an cor úr sa scéal inni ar phoilitéirí náisiúnacha. Deir Ivan Barr, comhairleoir de chuid Sinn Féin sa cheantar go gcuireann an suíochán nua i limistéar na Dearga le tromlach aondachtúil atá ann. Is scéal cinnte go mbeidh tromlach aondachtúil bréaga sa chomhairle as seo amach. Deir Ivan Barr go mbeidh Sinn Féin ag cur brú ar an choimisiún an beart seo a chur ar ceal.



● Na piolín in aice le Belclare

Básanna i mBelclare

TA CONAITHEOIRÍ de cheantar Belclare i ngar do Bhaile Munná in Ath Cliath ag iarraidh fiosrúcháin ar na cúiseanna do ráta ard básanna den aise sa cheantar le blianta beaga anuas. Fuair seisear bean bás den ghalar sa cheantar beag ó bhí Lúnasa 1988 ann.

Tá muintir an cheantair ag díriú a n-aidr ar na línte ard voltas leictreachais a ritheann tríd an cheantar agus an fheidhacht gur gás radon atá faoi deara an ráta ard aise.

Chruithaigh taighde sna SAM go bhfuil maidir idir rátaí arda aise agus na gáthanna láidre maighnéadacha a bhíonn in aice le línte ard voltas.

Deir Eileen Murphy, ionadaí áitiúil do Bhaile Munná gur chóir mionscrúdú a dhéanamh ar na cúiseanna don aise sa dúiche agus na torthaí a fhoilsiú. Arsa sí:

"Má tá anocht ar na piolín leictreacha ba chóir iad a bhogadh. Más é an gás radon atá faoi ndear, ba chóir mar sin gaohairí cearta a chur sna tithe ar fad."

A bhealach féin

■ LE CIAN
Mac AOIDH

SCRIBHNEOIR É Diarmuid O Gráinne ar mó a cháil as siocair don ailt amháin chonspóidigh a foilsíodh ar Anois anuraidh ná as a chuid próis. Ba é 'peaca' fear an iarthair gur mhaigh sé nárbh scríbhneoir — nó, leoga, duine — cumasach é Breandán O hEithir agus as siocair na tuairime sin, rinneadh iarracht cinsireacht a imirt ar a shaothar.

Le foilsíú *An Traimp*, afách, tá faill ag an Ghráinneach a cháil a scaipeadh lena chuid litríochta agus chan le barúlacha an chriticeora. Agus is go healaíonta a fhréastalaíonn sé an t-aiméar céanna.

Tá scéal an traimp scríofa san chéad phearsa agus é bunaithe, de réir cosúlachta, ar thréimhse trí bliana chaith an t-údar ag saothrú a chodach ar an choigrich. Minic go leor a bhí sé "ar an bhfaoir gear" i Birmingham, London, Paras nó Hamburg, dála go leor de bhunadh a thír a chuaigh a lorg oibre i bhfad as baile. Tá cur síos scafarach ann ar na coiníollacha ina mbíodh Éireannaigh ag mairtín sna luathseachtóidí i Sasana: iad cartha le chéile i suaníosanna taisceacha i mBrúanna cáidheacha; ag obair, ag ól, ag codladh beagáinín agus ag obair arís gan stad gan staothad.

Ba é an t-ach tabhárna a ghlac áit an teaghlach sa bhaile do go leor de na fir seo, fir nach mbacadh fú lena wellingtons a bhaint díobh slua luiftheadh siad isteach ar na cannaí i ndiaidh an lae oibre. Bunús acu ní fheiceadh siad an baile arís ach ní thiofadh rath orthu ach oiread ins an 'host country'. "Ag dul trí cheantar measúil ar nós Solihull d'fheictear trí fhuinneog gan fallaing seomra suite a bhí feistithe go

measúil le toilg agus le cathaoireacha boga.

Fear ar a sháimhín só os comhair na teilifíse daite, more tine lata roimhe amach... Bhí teas, comhlúadar, compord agus grá istigh. Ní raibh amuigh ach fuacht, éad, cantal agus laghmiseach. Shílfeá gur in aon turas a fágadh na dallóga gan tarraingt le go bhfaighfeadh muid léargas ar an bhlaithes a bhí ceile orainn — flaitheas a bhí chomh gar dúinn go bhféadfaí an fhuinneog a bhriseadh dá gcaithfeá cloch ach nach raibh sé de mhíneach ionainn fú an chloch féin a chaitheamh."

Ach dála Sheosaimh Mhic Ghrianna agus *Mo Bhealach Féin*, tá níos mó ar an tsaoi seo de dhíth ar an traimp ná trí bhéile agus leaba. Agus is ag cuartú na haislinge sin a bheir chun na Mór-roinne é. Más ina chónaí le baile Eigeipteach nó ag baint caorfhíniún le hiarchimí Pharaís, ríomhaíonn O Gráinne scéal dúinn atá gearnuhar le cois bheith gaisciúil. Tá still réidh, beoga scéalaíochta aige agus súil aige don ní is suntasaf fána chomhoibrithe agus lucht a bhfostaíthe.

Seo leabhar a bheas níos oiriúnaí don turas traenach, do na laethe saoire ná fú do tseomra ranga ná bunús na seantéacsanna tur. Gheobhaidh sé léitheoireacht



● BREANDÁN O HEITHIR

leathan agus bhéarfaidh sé pléisiúr ach bhéarfaidh sé le fios fosta nach bhfuil sé ach 20 bliana ó bhí Paddies ar na láithreáin thógála ag imeacht i gcúl a chinn go Sasana a mhairstin i gceanna nach gcoinneofaí madaidh iontu. Agus gan amhras, táthar ann fós agus an cruatan ag teannadh orthu oireadh is a bhí ar an Traimp Chonamara. Ní mar dúirt an file, "sa tír seo tugtar na crústs i cruidhe don té atá mantach."

Bimis ag súil dh'ainneon lucht cinsireachta, tuilleadh a chloisteaíl ó Dhiarmaid O Gráinne agus san idirlínn go bhfeabhsóidh Cló Lar-Chonnachta go mór an leagan amach leabhar ar chlúdach agus deardh an leabhair seo.

An Traimp, Diarmaid O Gráinne, Cló Lar-Chonnachta, £5.

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Memorial to Tyrone Volunteer unveiled

A LARGE GATHERING of Tyrone republicans turned out in Ballinderry on Sunday 23 August to witness the unveiling of a memorial to Volunteer Noel Wilkinson who died in tragic circumstances on 3 March 1991 at the age of 23.

A short distance from the graveyard of Ballinderry those who had come to witness the unveiling of the memorial formed up behind a colour party which was preceded by a lone piper. The crowd then marched in to the graveyard.

Chairing the proceeding Sinn Féin's Mid-Ulster representative at the recent Westminster election, Barry McElduff, spoke briefly before introducing Noel's wife, Angela, whom he asked to step forward and unveil the marble memorial to her late husband. He next called upon Noel's mother, Bernie, to read the Tyrone Roll of Honour.

Wreaths were then laid on behalf of Noel's family, Ogligh na hEireann, and from the various Sinn Féin cumainn in the Tyrone area. Afterwards the piper played a lament for the dead while the National Flag was lowered.

Sinn Féin Councillor, John Hurl was then called upon to give the oration. He spoke of Noel's commitment to the republican struggle and his bravery during several daring operations against crown forces. "Noel", said John, "was not a person to simply rock the boat. Noel was of the calibre who was prepared to do more than that. He was prepared to join in



● Angela Wilkinson unveiling the marble memorial to her husband Volunteer Noel Wilkinson (inset) in Ballinderry on Sunday

the struggle and help sink the ship that is British rule in our country."

It was said of Noel that he was very security conscious and local

people were quite surprised when the RUC and British army began a campaign of harassment against him. Indeed, it was such harassment and

the brutal treatment he received at the hands of the RUC in Gough Barracks which must surely have contributed to Noel's untimely death.

Murals express international solidarity

ONE OF THE important features of the West Belfast festival and the carnival of events organised by the people of the area to mark the interment period in a positive and constructive way are the visits of the delegations from foreign countries. These foreign visitors, whether they be photographers, poets, artists, political activists, musicians or writers have had a useful and enriching input into the festival's events over the years.

This year, for the first time, saw visitors from Mexico. Involved in various cultural/political projects the Mexicans were in Ireland to see for themselves how cultural struggle can be and is a real and positive dimension of political struggle.

With a history of colonisation similar to that of our own where the legacy is poverty, emigration, destruction of a rich culture and domination by economically and militarily powerful neighbours the Mexicans could identify with much of the Irish experience, especially the experience of struggle.

The idea of the unity of people in struggle was, then, the theme behind the

murals painted by the Basques and Mexicans as their contribution to the cultural struggle in West Belfast.

The mural painted by the Mexicans along with well known Belfast muralist Gerry 'Mo Chara' Kelly depicts an IRA Volunteer and a Latino guerilla flanking James Connolly and Emiliano Zapata (a leader of the Mexican revolution) and is to be found at the top of Ballymurphy Road at the Bullring.

The mural celebrates the contribution made by the 'Patricio Brigade' of Irish volunteers who fought with the Mexican people in their fight for national liberation from the United States.

On a wall at Rosnareen Avenue, fac-



ing down Shaws Road is the mural painted by members of the Basque delegation and members of the Sliabh Dubh Sinn Féin cumann: Bi Herri Borroka Bat

— Dhá Chine Aon Choimhlint — Two Peoples One Struggle is the message of this mural.

The theme is straightforward: the



Basque and Irish struggle is the same for both people. That this message is on a wall in West Belfast is testimony to the links of solidarity and respect that has built up over the years between the republican people in Ireland and the people of Euskadi.

Let's hope that we see plenty more of these expressions of solidarity next year.

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

Liam Lynch commemoration

A Chairde,

General Liam Lynch was an outstanding soldier in the fight for freedom and shortly after the Four Courts was attacked by the new Free State administration with British help in June 1922, he was elected Chief of Staff of the IRA. Liam Lynch decided to make Munster his base of operations after the defeat of the Four Courts garrison and it was in these circumstances that he and his staff officers found themselves surrounded on the bleak slopes of the Knockmealdown Mountains by the Free State army in April

1923. There was an exchange of rifle fire during which the gallant Chief of Staff was fatally wounded. He ordered his comrades to withdraw and was carried down the mountainside in agony to Walsh's public house (now Nugents) in the village of Newcastle where he was rested before being conveyed to St Joseph's hospital, Clonmel, where he died that evening. His dying wish was that he be buried beside his old comrade in arms, Mick Fitzgerald, Fermoy.

Liam Lynch's surviving colleagues in South Tipperary paid a lasting tribute to his memory by erecting a mighty watchtower, 50 feet high, on the mountains where he fought his last fight. It was unveiled by the late Maurice

Twomey in April 1935, and each year a commemoration is held at the side of the memorial.

This year at 3.30pm on Sunday 13 September, the oration will be delivered by Martin McGuinness, member of Sinn Féin's Ard Chomhairle.

Enda O'Riordan, Rúnai, South Tipperary Commemoration Committee.

Arrests in England

A Chairde,

The recent detention of five

Irish people in Britain and their subsequent release without charge is extremely worrying.

Our experience since the early '80s is that these people and their families are left in a distraught condition without any explanation or apology.

Equally worrying are the statements by police in the media requesting information on Irish people who are looking for accommodation or who have recently moved into new employment in an area.

The newcomer in normal circumstances, raises a certain amount of curiosity among the settled. There is a thin line between curiosity and suspicion which can easily lead to unexplained arrests and detention of

innocent people. In the new Europe, these kinds of intemperate statements and procedures in the name of security can easily lead to discrimination and racism.

A policy of security which violates the basic rights of movement can hardly be described as enhancing the Common House of Europe. It is unacceptable in the anticipated, large scale human movement in the new Europe after 1992.

Nuala Kelly, Coordinator, Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas, under the auspices of the Bishops' Commission for Emigrants.

Crèche facilities at Slógadh

A Chairde,

During this year's Slógadh (2-4 October) in Ceathrú Rua, Conamara a crèche will be provided for those in attendance. Those who wish to avail of this service should book with the organisers immediately.

Contact:

Bairbre de Brún, Connolly House, 147 Andersonstown Road, Belfast 11, Phone (0232) 301719.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

COVENTRY EXPLOSION

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

IN AUGUST 1939, eight months after the beginning of the IRA's bombing campaign in English cities, one of the most controversial operations of the campaign took place — the premature explosion of a bomb in Coventry.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1939, despite the arrest of many Volunteers on active service in England, the IRA bombing campaign, which began the previous January, was intensified with explosions, some 120 in all, at key installations in most major cities.

In one such explosion in August 1939 (the same day that the infamous military tribunal was reestablished in the 26 Counties), a bomb at the busy Broadgate Centre of Coventry, killed five people and seriously injured a number of others.

The bomb, concealed in the carrier of a bicycle left standing at the kerb outside Astley's shop in the city centre was being transferred to an electricity plant some miles outside the city where an operation was planned. However, at 2.30pm it exploded prematurely owing to a defect in the timing device.

During extensive raids by police immediately after the explosion, five people, including Peter Barnes, a native of Banagher, County Offaly and James McCormack, from County Westmeath, were detained (The Vol-

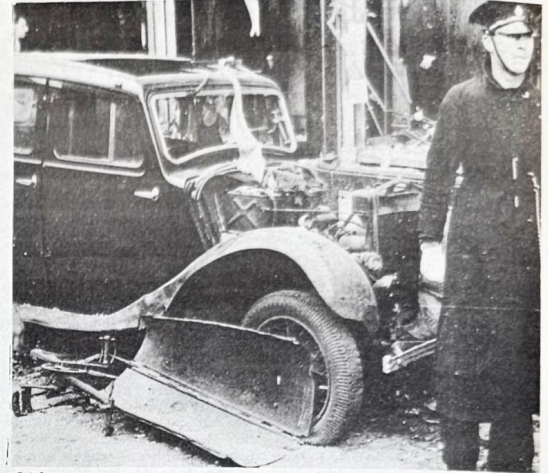
unteer in charge of the bomb returned to Ireland within hours of the explosion). All were charged on suspicion only and, at their trial the following December three were acquitted, while Barnes and McCormack were sentenced to death by hanging.

Before sentencing, McCormack in a calm and clear voice told the court, "as a soldier of the Irish Republican Army I am not afraid to die, for I am dying in a just cause".

Barnes, who was nowhere near Coventry on the day of the explosion, protested his innocence. Both were hanged at Winslow Green Prison, Birmingham, in February 1940.

The authorities in both Ireland and England took full advantage of the Coventry explosion for virulent anti-Irish and anti-republican propaganda. However, despite increased British repression and Free State collaboration, the IRA bombing campaign continued unabated.

The Coventry explosion at the height of the IRA bombing campaign in English cities, occurred on 25 August 1939, 53 years ago this week.



● The premature explosion in Coventry was used by the British to issue anti-Irish propaganda

Imeachtaí

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

REPEAL 8th AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN MEETINGS: DUBLIN: 8pm every second Tuesday, Halpenny Inn, Women's Coalition, 8pm every Thurs-

day, USI, North Great George's Street, CORK: 8pm every Tuesday, The Other Place, off North Main Street

LARRY O'TOOLE ELECTION FUNDRAISER: Ballad session featuring Ragamuffin. 8.00pm Friday 28 August. Inis Fáil's GAA Club, BALGRIFFIN. Táille £3

RAFFLE & FUNCTION: An Cumann Cabhrach Raffle and Function. Friday

28 August. Lantern Inn, DUNDALK. Táille £1

FUNDRAISING DANCE: Music by Queen of Hearts. Friday 28 August. Emyvale Inn, COUNTY MONAGHAN. Bus from Church Square, Monaghan 11pm

COMMEMORATION: Cannon/Daly commemoration. Sunday 6 September. Assembly 3pm Darndale Round-

about. March to Balgriffin Cemetery, DARNDALE. Prominent Speaker

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

BAND DONATIONS: Cork Sinn Féin are setting up a life and drum band

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

1916 PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION: Available for hire from Michael Nolan or Ursula Quinn, 44 Parnell Square, Ph: 726100

InDíl Chuimhne

BRADLEY, Eamonn; CARLIN, James; CURRAN, Martin; HALL, Francis; HARTE, Gerard; HARTE, Martin; MCKEOWN, Patrick; MULLIN, Brian; MULVENNA, Patrick. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Eamonn Bradley (died 25 August 1982), James Carlin (died 26 August 1972), Martin Curran (died 26 August 1972), Francis Hall (died 30 August 1988), Martin Harte (died 30 August 1988), Patrick McKeown (died 27 August 1974), Brian Mullin (died 30 August 1988) and Patrick Mulvenna (died 31 August 1973). "A cry has gone up to heaven for the living and the dead — to save the living, to avenge the dead." — Fiontán Lawlor. Always remembered with love and pride by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

DEVINE, Mickey (11th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Mickey Devine who died on hunger strike on 20 August 1961. From the McCreesh family, Camlough and abroad.

DONAGHY, Tommy (1st Ann). In memory of Sinn Féin member Tommy Donaghy murdered last year by pro-British forces. Always remembered by Gerard, Margaret and Anna-Mary, Dublin.

HUGHES, Patrick; ROWN-TREE, Oliver; MADDEN Noel; (20th Ann). The Republican Movement in Newry remembers with pride Volunteers Patrick Hughes, Derrybeg, Oliver Rowntree, Monaghan Row and Noel Madden, Ravensdale Villas, who gave their lives for the freedom of Ireland on 22 August 1972.

"We bleed that the nation may live, I die that the nation may live. Damn your concessions England, we want our country." — Seán Mac Diarmada.

HARTE, Gerard and Martin (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Gerard and Martin Harte, Ogligh na hÉireann who were killed on active service on 30 August 1988. Always loved and remembered. Never forgotten by your parents John and Winnie, brothers, sisters, brothers in law, sisters in law, nieces and nephews.

HARTE, Gerard and Martin; MULLIN, Brian (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Gerard and Martin Harte and Brian Mullin, who were killed on active service on 30 August 1988. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for them. Always remembered by Brid and son Declan.

In proud and loving memory of Brian's brave comrades Volunteers Martin and Gerard Harte. Always remembered by the Mullin family circle.

Always remembered by Cathal, Sandra and Sorcha. Always remembered by Danny. Never forgotten by Séamus, Loughmacrory.

Always remembered by Barney, (Long Kesh) and Geraldine, (Maghaberry). Always remembered and badly missed by Eileen. Always remembered by Richie.

HARTE, Martin (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of a dear husband and father Volunteer Martin Harte, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on 30 August 1988. St Martin pray for

him. Sadly missed and always remembered by his wife Brid and son Declan.

Always remembered by the Milligan/Harte Sinn Féin Cumann, Loughmacrory/Mountfield.

Always remembered by Barney, Kathleen, Declan, Orla and Sheena.

MULLIN, Brian (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brian Mullin, Ogligh na hÉireann who died on 30 August. St Joseph and St Anthony pray for him. Loved and remembered by Mammy, brothers, sisters and family circle.

Always remembered with pride by the Harte families at home and abroad. Always remembered and badly missed by Eileen. Badly missed and never forgotten by Brid and son Declan.

MULVENNA, Patrick (19th Ann). In sad and loving memory of my dear father Patrick, shot dead 31 August 1973. RIP. Life springs from death, and from the graves of patriot men and women springs living nations

— Pádraig Pearse. Loved and remembered always by your loving son Patrick.

O'CALLAGHAN, Gerard (50th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Gerard O'Callaghan who died on the 31 August 1942. Always remembered by the O'Callaghan family, Belfast. Always remembered by Richard, Dublin.

Comhbhrón

DOHERTY. Donegal Comhairle Ceantair send their sympathies to the wife and family of Tony Doherty, Sinn Féin, Bunbeg, Gaoth Dubhair, who died on Monday 17 August.

MCBRIDE. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of the late Benny McBride who died 20 August. From Christy and family.

LEYLAND. Deepest sympathy is extended to the entire family circle of Isobel Leyland, who died tragically on 21 August. Especially to brother Willie. From the staff of AP/RN.

Déanaimid comhbhrón le clann Isobel (Bradley) Leyland. O Sheán Mag Uidhir, Anne agus clann.

REILLY. The women POWs in

Maghaberry wish to extend their deepest sympathy to their comrade Bernie Reilly and her family circle on the recent death of their father, Bernard. Our deepest sympathy is with them at this sad time.

The Republican Women POWs, Maghaberry. Sincere condolences from the 'Stop Strip Searches Committee'.

Buíochas

THE MEMBERS and supporters of Red Action, London would like to thank the people of West Belfast for their hospitality and kindness during the recent internment weekend. The generosity shown to us is deeply appreciated and not forgotten.

Beannachtaí

KEARNS, Gerard (Fortlaioise). Happy wedding anniversary darling, I'll save my present for hopefully next year. With all my love from your loving wife Carol xxx. To mammy and daddy. Happy wedding anniversary. All our love, Darren, Gary, Edel and Donna. xxx

AP/RN

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Name

Address

Tel:



Stephen Cawley and his family — not considered worthy of the same rights as the other citizens of Ballsbridge

Courts back harassment of travellers

TRAVELLER Stephen Cawley has maintained his threat to occupy the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin in protest at the treatment of his family by the Courts, the gardai and the property interests who have ejected himself and his family from a Dublin Four site where they lived.

Cawley, who until recently lived with his family in a caravan on a vacant site in the prosperous area of Ailesbury Road received no complaints from neighbours except for Solicitor Colm Gaynor acting on behalf of Quasar Securities, the owners of the site, a piece of waste ground for which an application for planning permission for its development was turned down. They obtained a court order instructing the Cawleys to vacate the site by 25 August.

Demonstrating that their primary role is the protection of privilege and property rights and not as

'guardians of the peace' members of the gardai engaged in petty harassment of the Cawleys during their time at Ailesbury Road. It got to the stage where Stephen could hardly walk down the street without being stopped and questioned. He was also critical of Catholic church authorities after he and his children were refused entry to Donnybrook church. Hence his threat to occupy the Pro-Cathedral.

Colm Gaynor has now obtained a High Court injunction restraining Stephen Cawley or his wife Ann from "threatening, intimidating or communicating" with him or any

member of his family. The injunction went on to restrain Cawley or his wife from "calling to the house or telephoning the plaintiffs".

Stephen has already promised a Judge that he will move to adjoining land not owned by Quasar but chains have since been put across the entrance to the site off Ailesbury Road preventing him from removing the caravan which had served as home for his family.

On 19 August the Cawleys received a letter stating that the keys for the chains were available at Colm Gaynor's house, 31 Ailesbury Road. But Cawley cannot approach the house to get the keys because of the High Court injunction. The family are caught in a Catch 22 situation which is compounded by the fact that they cannot get Stephen's car to move the caravan because it is cur-

rently impounded and the gardai are seeking £500 to release it.

The Cawleys are currently squatting in the Ranelagh area of south Dublin having complied with the court order. They plan to move to the vacant site 200 feet away from the original waste ground where their caravan lies. This land is not owned by Quasar and Stephen says that if he is similarly pursued from there and forced to endure further unnecessary Garda harassment he will occupy the Pro-Cathedral.

Despite contacting 22 of the 24 doctors in the Dublin Four area who operate under the Medical Card scheme the Cawleys have been refused medical care, most doctors using the excuse that the family has no fixed abode.

Stephen Cawley is to appear in court again on Wednesday 9 September.

Duirt Siad

It is up to people like us not only to demonstrate our disapproval over extradition, but to demand that the legitimate claims of our people as maintained in Articles Two and Three of the constitution are not to be used as a barter to maintain the existing Six-County state. To do so would be to create more Angelo Fuscus, Birmingham Sixes, Guildford Fours and Robert Russells and would add to the continuing nightmare that is the Six Counties. — Extradition victim Dessie Ellis at the Tralee rally in support of Angelo Fuscus, 22 August.

Michael Collins was a murderer. He was in this regard no different in kind from the leaders of the present day IRA... Collins organised that campaign of killing that is known as the "War of Independence" — there was no democratic sanction for this campaign for neither the electorate nor the elected public representatives ever gave sanction to that campaign of murder and intimidation. — Sunday Tribune editor Vincent Browne in his paper, Sunday 23 August.

The whole experience has been awful. But I would still advise any girl who has been raped to report it. If she doesn't, the man will have gotten away with it. — Mary Kerwick, mother of 18-year-old rape victim Lavinia, on their ordeal, Sunday 23 August.

So if you mention Irish identity these days it's like owning up to the Harrods' bombing! Then there is all this Euro-stuff going on, where we are supposed to be forward looking, young Europeans. But it is schizophrenic, because Irish people, behind it all are really interested and really concerned about their Irishness. — Film director Alan Gilson who attends the Douarnenez film festival in Brittany this weekend, criticising what he calls the embarrassment of the Irish in coming to terms with themselves. Irish Press, Wednesday 26 August.

It is clear that the committee which runs the festival intends to provoke discussion beyond what some see as the self-serving, establishment line recitals that pass for intellectual debate in Irish summer schools. — Seán Mac Cárthaigh, Irish Press Wednesday 26 August referring to the Brittany film festival organisers.

We are replacing short time working with redundancy. — Paddy Galvin chief executive of Waterford Wedgewood on the planned 500 redundancies at the Waterford plant.

Partition is not a solution in any country. — David Andrews, Minister for Foreign Affairs speaking on RTE's Morning Ireland 26 August 1992, prior to his attendance at the international conference on the conflict in Yugoslavia.

Notes



News



• The Trade Union movement has failed in challenging the endemic loyalist bigotry in the workplaces of the Six Counties

Time to loosen Orange grip on unions

In this week's AP/RN we examine the seriousness and effectiveness of the trade union movement in its attitude and initiatives in helping to reduce the deliberately structured chronic unemployment situation in the Six Counties and its contribution in real terms to ending religious discrimination in the workplace.

THE MAKE-UP of the workforce in places such as the Harland and Wolff shipyard, the Sirocco works, and Shorts have all been well documented before and 96%, 100% and 95% Protestant composition in these firms respectively have long been the norm, despite the introduction of various 'fair employment' bodies over the past 22 years or so.

These, and other firms, have been heavily unionised but the imbalance in the make-up of the workforces show that the Protestant ethos of 'Protestant jobs for Protestant people' remained largely undisturbed by the trade union movement, certainly at factory floor level where unions are at their most powerful.

Discrimination and intimidation existed in all types of employment where the workforces were heavily unionised as the following examples show.

Olympia Leisure Centre was closed because Protestant trade unionists refused to work with a Catholic; Catholic workers at Housing Executive offices were forced to leave their jobs; Catholic workers at Shorts were intimidated inside the factory with threats written on their clock cards; Shorts was brought to a standstill because management ordered workers to remove a display of sectarian bunting; Catholic workers at Lisburn Leisure Centre received death threats; NI Electricity workers took action because they were not allowed to display sectarian bunting at the place of work; Mackies' workers (in West Belfast) took action because they were

not allowed to display sectarian bunting.

Many trade unionists and their leaders are members of the Orange Order, an openly sectarian organisation pledged to further the interests of Protestants at the expense of Catholics. And while the trade union movement in the Six Counties has supported actions against discrimination in South Africa, which have included the use of the boycott, no such initiatives have been instigated here and discrimination is still practised with impunity.

No real effort has been made by the trade union movement to bring about a fairer distribution of jobs and trade union leaders have shirked their responsibility by claiming it is all the employers' fault. Cases such as the recent court action involving the Belfast Docks employers expose the true involvement of some trade unions in sustaining religious discrimination.

In this case one of the largest trade unions, the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union (ATGWU), was found at the Court of Appeal to be acting as an effective hiring agency and constituted a hidden but effective barrier to Catholic recruitment. In fact one of the successful Protestant applicants had been in jail at the time when experienced Catholic dockers were not being considered for interview! After the Court of Appeal ruling there was no statement from the

ATGWU that the old rules no longer applied. The ATGWU has a full-time official on the Fair Employment Commission.

While no doubt there are many full-time trade union officials at district, regional and national level committed to good trade union anti-discrimination policies, it is in transferring those policies into practice at the workplaces that the greatest resistance to equality of opportunity is experienced. It is when this difficulty arises that the trade union movement has been found wanting.

While the General Secretary of the ATGWU Ron Todd was saying in May 1991 that, "we either stand on the sidelines or we take positive action", his Regional Secretary in the Six Counties, John Freeman, was saying that "the union had considered the dangers of going on the offensive against sectarianism".

This danger John Freeman was obviously alluding to was the danger of the bigots in the movement tearing up their membership cards and leaving, thus seriously weakening the financial base of the ATGWU. The question here for the unions which they must honestly address is, do they want sectarian bigots dictating how they should act — or not act — on the fundamental rights of workers?

This question is not being asked by trade union leaders such as John Freeman who instead continue to indulge in double talk on the fair employment issue. At the Biennial Delegates Conference in 1989 he was reported as stating that there was nothing wrong with the internationally recognised fair employment MacBride Principles, yet later personally wrote to Governor Peter Wilson of California asking him to veto the MacBride legislation which had already been passed by the State Assembly.

The extent to which some trade unionists will go to mislead those interested in fighting discrimination is shown in a meeting between the Investment Resource Research Centre, a Washington-based organisation contracted to monitor the employment practices at many US firms operating in the Six Counties and shop stewards



• ATGWU Regional Secretary in the Six Counties, John Freeman

at the Hughes Tool factory at Castlereagh, in East Belfast. The shop stewards told the IRRC that they would never work in Catholic West Belfast.

"It is not done to work on the other side. You can't get people to go from one area to another, you just can't do it. It is a closed shop on one side." Some of the shop stewards, who were mostly Protestant, said that "even if they were paid £1000 pounds a day they would not work in West Belfast".

This type of lie should be nailed by the trade union movement and can be done so by using the Ford example, where the majority of the workers and shop stewards are Protestant and not from West Belfast, where the factory is actually situated. Some of these shop stewards in Ford are also members of the Orange Order, notably Ford's Belfast convener, Ray Kelly of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, AEU, and Ford senior representative for staff, Robert Graham, Manufacturing, Science and Finance (MSF).

Graham is Deputy Master of Loyal Orange Lodge 490. These are the type of union representatives employees are supposed to go to in discrimination cases!

So the reality is that Protestants are quite willing to come to work in West Belfast and any trade union, in this case the AEU, that says different is doing so to try to justify the imbalances in their own workplaces and to hide the bigotry in their own ranks.

The other aspect of this false argument is that the employment imbalances are due to the fact that Catholics

are unwilling to travel to areas where jobs are because of intimidation and fear of attack. This ignores the long history of structural discrimination which has kept economic development out of nationalist districts. Intimidation is an essential part of the discrimination process itself, wherever the jobs are located.

The AEU, like all trade unions, profess to be non-sectarian but an examination of where they hold their branch meetings, including Orange and Masonic Halls (no-go areas for Catholics) exposes how an anti-Catholic attitude prevails over their trade union principles.

Below are listed some of the venues for AEU Branch meetings in the greater Belfast area. All members are invited to attend. Each of these meeting places are known to be used by Orange and/or loyalist groups.

The question to the AEU here is, if you were a Catholic, or progressive worker of any background, would you feel free to attend union branch meetings in these venues?

- Hamilton Memorial Hall, Finaghy, Belfast 10. Dunmurry. (Featured in Channel 4 Dispatches programme, as meeting place for the 'Inner Circle' of RUC/UDR/UDA planning murder of lawyer Pat Finucane).
- Argyle Band Room, Lawnbrook Avenue, Belfast 13. Belfast No 8 (Used by the Shankill Butchers).
- Good Templars Hall, My Lady's Road, Belfast 6. Belfast No 5 & Creagh.
- Purdy Memorial Hall, Cheviot Avenue, Belfast 4. Belfast No 10.
- Ainsworth Community Centre, Mayo Street, Belfast 13. Belfast No 12.
- The Church Hall, Riga Street, Belfast 13. West Belfast.
- Andrews Memorial Hall, Millview, Comber, Newtownards.
- Community Centre, Ainsworth Avenue, Belfast, Glencairn.
- Dufferin Memorial Hall Hamilton Road, Bangor.
- Orange Hall, Albert Road, Carrickfergus, Antrim.

As the above shows, one of the most basic elements in trade union membership, that of an opportunity to meet, free from the threat of intimidation, is continually denied to a significant proportion of AEU members.

It is apparent that Ireland is still the 'taboo' subject in the trade union movement, because of the belief that the majority of workers are loyalists first and foremost and any talk of real equality may result in the erosion of their relatively privileged position and loss of membership and revenue.

Proper debate on the subject of the trade union movement in the North of Ireland has been stifled, with recommendations to defer motions back to 'Northern Ireland' committees where they disappear. The trade union leadership in the North advocate a "We live over there, we know best how to handle this, leave it with us", attitude. But what must be recognised is that giving in to bigotry in the trade unions in the North weakens the entire trade union movement in Ireland, preventing it from addressing issues of civil liberties, sectarian discrimination, economic sovereignty and national self-determination and from representing its members. It is in the interest of the mass of trade union members to advance these issues. In the long run it is also in the interest of Protestant workers to see a strong Irish trade union movement working in the interest of the majority of the national labour force and alongside the growing army of the unemployed. For too long the trade union movement has allowed itself to be held to ransom by sectional, sectarian interests.