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# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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# IRA campaign in England



## — the fact that must be faced

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT and its police are at a loss about what to do in the face of the continuing IRA campaign in England which has brought Britain's Irish war back to the centre of administrative and financial power in London and is costing billions of pounds. Secret Scotland Yard minutes, leaked to an Irish newspaper this week, revealed how the British authorities are unable to cope with the most sustained IRA campaign in England since attacks in Britain began.

The minutes, published in the *Irish Times* on April 12th, were followed the next day by accusations in the *English Daily Telegraph* that they had been leaked by the Garda Síochána. This was denied by the *Irish Times* and Scotland Yard said it was a "matter of concern" that a newspaper had obtained the minutes.

The leaked document contained the minutes of a Metropolitan Police Service Policy

Committee meeting on December 10th 1991 involving the most senior officers in that force. An assistant commissioner in charge of the Special Branch and its 'anti-terrorist' squad, 'SO 13', referred to recent IRA attacks in England and said that among the things needed to "combat the terrorist threat" was "intelligence (of which we have little)".

The recent IRA attacks he referred to were in Manchester and

Blackpool on December 7th and 8th. These attacks caused widespread damage to 14 sets of commercial premises, one of them, the Arndale shopping centre in Manchester, having previously been bombed by the IRA earlier in 1991.

The leaked document comes as speculation continues over the enormity of the cost of IRA commercial bombings to the English economy. There are now claims of escalating costs to the insurance sector following the recent IRA bombing at the Baltic Exchange in the City of London which may be passed on to policy holders, and of the British Exchequer having to pay compensation if insurance companies cannot cover war damage costs, as is the case in the Six Counties. (See story page 3)

It has been widely reported in the media that the British

Security Service (MI5) is to take over, from the police, the job of tackling the IRA campaign in Britain. The implications of such a move would be enormous. MI5 would be given more freedom to act as it pleased on the orders of the British government, its activities secret and protected by the crown in the interests of the "security of the state". On these grounds its members would be allowed not to give evidence in court as was seen most dramatically in the 1988 Gibraltar inquest into the killing of IRA Volunteers Seán Savage, Dan McCann and Máiréad Farrell.

So what can the British government and its forces do in the face of an IRA campaign that has seen even 10 Downing Street itself under attack? The answer is very simple.

The fact is that there have been

bombings in England by Irish revolutionaries for over 100 years — by the Fenians of the 1880s, the IRA of the 1920s, the '30s and '40s and the '70s and '80s and now, the '90s. In England, as in Ireland, no amount of repressive measures could for long prevent armed resistance from breaking out again.

The reality that must be faced is that the human tragedy and physical destruction of the Irish war can only be brought to an end by the British government itself. Whether in England or in Ireland it is Britain's war and can be ended by ending the anachronism of the British government's occupation of part of Ireland. If the British government would only recognise this reality it could set in motion a peace process that would finally bring the conflict to an end.

**1992 EASTER  
COMMEMORATIONS**  
— SEE PAGES 6,7,8,9 & 10





## News

## Jobs, lies and broken promises

"IN JULY 1991, it was announced that Bristow Marine, a yacht-building firm, was to be established at Kennedy Way and could employ 120 people within six months and 200 by 1993. As of March 1992, there was no sign of any such firm at Kennedy Way and there was no record of this company on the companies register."

The problem of unemployment in West Belfast, its causes and cures, has been and will be argued about by politicians, community activists and many others for as long as the problem lasts. However, the opening quotation of this article, taken from the latest Obair briefing paper, seems to sum up the sincerity, or lack of it, and motivation of successive British governments' attempts to solve the chronic unemployment problem in this jobs blackspot.

Obair, The Campaign for Employment in West Belfast, published its first report in 1988 and since then has published additional briefing papers. The latest, published in March 1992, is the sixth and is sub-titled: "Broken Promises: Job Creation and West Belfast". It looks at the promises of politicians and other commentators, made over the past 20 years to persuade people of the effect of their attempts to provide a solution.

Essentially their efforts have promised much and delivered little. In 1974, Strathern Audio promised 1,500 jobs for West Belfast by 1978. Instead it closed down in that year with the loss of the 270 jobs it had created. The De Lorean project was announced, also in

1978, promising 2,000 jobs. It too was to close with all the jobs it had created. These are two examples in an endless list of broken promises and disappointments for those unemployed people. But they don't tell the whole story.

Unemployment has been a major problem in West Belfast for generations and it has to be seen in the context of the discrimination in favour of Protestants practised in the Six Counties by successive unionist governments since this statelet was created.

John Hume, as Minister for Commerce in the power-sharing executive of 1974, promised to bring employment to West Belfast. The promise didn't last any longer than the Executive. Loyalism's "not an inch" politics brought it down.

British government strategies (whether Conservative or Labour) of the 70s ignored the political rationale of discrimination in employment on the part of unionist governments and attempted to find a solution through inward investment. However, the long list of unfulfilled promises set out in the briefing paper point to a failed strategy: no substantial inward investment, no solution to unemploy-

ment. Just broken promises.

Moving into the '80s, to what the briefing paper calls "the next phase of promises" after the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement, the political emphasis of the British government also changed. Rather than being a symptom of the problem that could be addressed through inviting foreign firms to invest here, unemployment is now caused by the 'troubles'. Richard Needham, just departed from Stormont, was a particular proponent of this thinking. The report accuses him of "using the unemployed of West Belfast as political pawns", especially when he insinuated that Audi decided not to invest here because of the violence. It later emerged that Audi had no intention of investing here at all.

Underpinning this shift in political strategy by the British is the hype around such initiatives as the Making Belfast Work scheme. These initiatives are themselves underpinned by the idea that despite the "terrorists' attempts to destroy jobs" the benevolent British government has the peoples' best interest at heart. These initiatives, though, are themselves built on shaky foundations. In 1990, Richard Needham announced that when Mackies moved from their Springfield Road site to Woodvale it made a prime industrial site available and that a plan would be drawn up to "create thousands of new jobs". A year later he was saying that "the real problem in West Belfast has been the ability to find sufficient land" for industrial development.

The worrying thing about this scenario is that 'constitutional' politicians and churchmen readily subscribe to and concur, unquestioningly with British political strategy. It is therefore left to community activists and interested individuals to come together to



● John Hume MP rests as his constituency boasts the highest unemployment figures in the Six Counties

form groups such as Obair to peel back the layers of political opportunism and reveal the real picture. It is also important to bear in mind that John Hume who was bought into this strategy so willingly and travels all over the world searching for inward investors, presides over the highest unemployment figures of all the Six-County constituencies. We could also bear this in mind when we see Joe Hendron smiling out at us from the front page of the Irish News shaking hands with some British or American politician who has just promised to open a shopping arcade.

What also tends to be overlooked, indeed, ignored by those who would rather point a finger of blame for the disastrous unemployment figures in West Belfast is that a large proportion of industry/employment that did exist

in the area was relocated for financial reasons. Eastwoods went to the Docks, Pasolds shirt factory went to the Castlereagh Road, while Northern Ireland Carriers moved to Craigavon. The Peter Pan bakery was closed with the loss of 500 jobs within a year of the Mother's Pride bakery opening on the Boucher Road. The British government refused to save it. The economics of the market place prevailed, in these instances, showing just where the British government stands on unemployment in West Belfast.

The conclusion of this report is that despite their promises, British Ministers have delivered nothing. They don't have the will to solve the problem.

Obair, The Campaign for Employment in West Belfast, may be contacted at Conway Mill, Conway Street, Belfast.

## SIX-COUNTY ECONOMY ON STORMONT BACK-BURNER

■ BY NEIL FORDE

THE DIFFICULT TASK facing the new Stormont administration was highlighted by three events last week. Six-County unemployment reached 100,500, while Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams disclosed that the closure of the Mackies plant in West Belfast is imminent. In Fermanagh the Industrial Development Board (IDB) attempted to claw back £3m sterling from another inward investment jobs disaster.

Unemployment figures for March were released in the Six Counties last week: 100,500 people are out of work, an increase of 600 on February and up 5,800 from this time last year. The figures for April are expected to show even further increases.

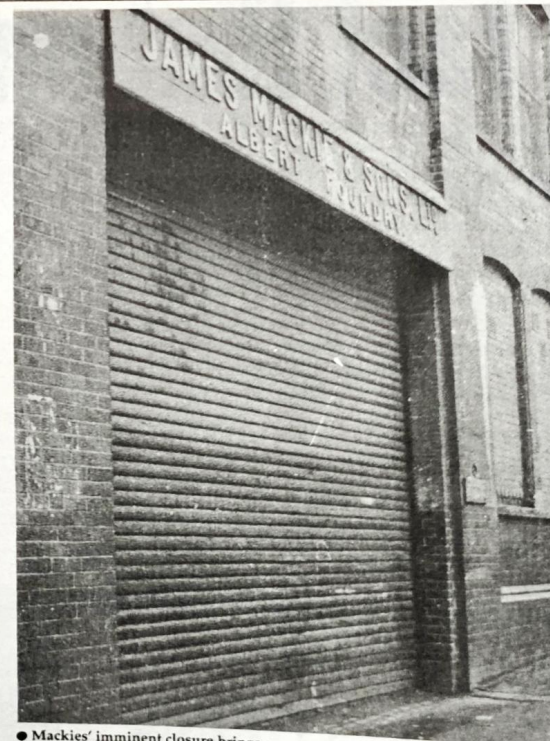
The Mackies plant on the Springfield Road was once the largest industrial employer in West Belfast but its workforce has fallen to around 600. Adams disclosed in a statement last Wednesday, April 15th, that "according to reliable information which I have received from the IDB the closure of the Mackies plant will be announced soon".

Adams maintained that the workforce "is now being kept on only with the financial assistance of the IDB. It is

now clear that the IDB have bungled again. Money which could have been spent in creating real jobs in West Belfast has been wasted and the net result is a loss of employment in this area."

In Fermanagh, the IDB was struggling to defend its decision to pay one third of a £6.8 million expansion plan grant to a company that last week announced the closure of a shirt factory in Magherafelt with the loss of 516 jobs. The IDB had given £3 million in grants to the company which has already made 350 workers redundant in Castlereagh and 50 other workers at their Maydown plant.

This is the situation facing new direct-ruler Patrick Mayhew and his junior ministers as they take up the



● Mackies' imminent closure brings even more heartbreak to West Belfast

task of the management and development of the Six-County economy. Mayhew will find that Stormont has its own mini-bureaucracy, with departments of economic development, 'security', trade, education, environment and social services.

However, the truth is that the Stormont

direct-rule apparatus has only two functioning departments, that of (in)security and publicity.

The appointment of Mayhew and Michael Mates signals that the pursuit of London's 'security' policies in the Six Counties will be the primary objectives of the new Stormont administration. One wonders how the new minister for Economic Development and Environment, Robert Atkins will deal with the Six-County economic disaster that British economic policies ignore.

However, the reality is that now that Gerry Adams has been displaced from the West Belfast seat there will be a run-down in the amount of job creation 'announcements' aimed at that constituency. Richard Needham, the Stormont good news announcer, laid the ground for this change in tack by the Stormont direct-rulers when he described the Hendron/UDA election result as "the best news I've heard in the last six and a half years".

The departure of Richard Needham from Stormont the week before the latest unemployment figures were released was a happy coincidence for the new minister, Robert Atkins who will absolve himself of responsibility for the rising unemployment figures. He begins with a 'clean slate', which effectively means for the rest of the year he can return to the favoured Needham tactic of announcing new 'initiatives', 'schemes' and 'enterprises', only this time directed at areas other than West Belfast.

It is ironic that the Mackies plant was the scene of one of Richard Needham's former job creation "announcements", the details of which are covered in the latest Obair report (see above). It seems that the biggest employer left on the Springfield Road will be the RUC.



# Armagh man "passed on information" to crown forces

THE NORTH ARMAGH BRIGADE, IRA, said that Volunteers under its command carried out the execution of Brendan McWilliams in the city on the morning of Saturday, April 18th.

In their statement claiming responsibility the IRA said that the man had worked for crown forces' intelligence and had passed on information on republicans in the Armagh area which would have been of use to the crown forces.

The statement also said that the 50-year-old man had ignored repeated warnings to cease working for the crown forces at Drumadd British army barracks.

## SOUTH DERRY RUSE

The South Derry Brigade, IRA, described how it had tried to lure British forces into an explosives ambush in the County Derry village of Maghera on Sunday, April 12th.

An IRA Volunteer fired at a point in the centre of the village. This was merely a ruse to lure British forces out of their heavily fortified barracks to investigate the gunshot. Some time before the shooting, other Volunteers of the South Derry Brigade placed a three pound anti-personnel bomb under a trailer which was parked on waste ground close by. The bomb only partially exploded.

## RUC CONCERT CANCELLED

The following Wednesday night, April 15th, Volunteers of the Tyrone Brigade forced a businessman to drive a hoax bomb into Cookstown. There had been plans to stage a concert for the RUC, with the DUP's William McCrea as a guest speaker. A second hoax bomb was later placed inside the

town's security zone and the organisers were forced to abandon this entertainment for the sectarian RUC.

On the same night Volunteers of the IRA, again in County Tyrone, this time in Pomeroy, placed a bomb in a shop owned by a local man who serves the crown forces, despite repeated warnings for him to stop. The statement also said the man recently endangered the lives of Volunteers by



● A Volunteer reads the Easter statement from the Republican Movement in Crossmaglen

## WAR NEWS

informing the RUC of IRA activity outside Pomeroy.

A secondary device was placed a short distance away. This was designed to catch members of the crown forces who would have been involved in the operation to defuse the initial bomb. The secondary device only partially exploded and no injuries were reported.

## INCENDIARY ATTACK

The extent of IRA operations was again highlighted when Volunteers of the Fermanagh Brigade placed incendiaries in two shops in Lisnakea. Both devices were discovered at 2am on Sunday morning, April 19th.

Further incendiaries were also placed in three shops in Belfast's city centre. Smoke damage was caused to a fashion shop in Ann Street. The devices in the two other premises, the BBC's shop in Arthur Street, and a clothes shop in Castle St, were discovered and later defused.



# THUGS FREED TO OCCUPY SIX COUNTIES

TWO British soldiers, both members of the Welsh Guards, who savagely beat a man, have dodged jail terms so that they can take up army duties in the Six Counties.

The pair were told last week that their attack was so horrific that they should be immediately put behind bars but Recorder Steven Clarke decided against this because of the "necessary and vital role" the soldiers will play in their tour of the Six Counties.

Euron Williams (22) and Aled Jones (21) admitted to Mold Crown Court that they and a companion punched and kicked a man unconscious in a Caernarfon Street, leaving him badly injured about the head and chest.

So brutal was the attack that Recorder Clarke conceded he would be "fully justified in sending all three immediately to prison" were it not for the fact that two of the three defendants were due to go to the Six Counties. He told Jones and Williams that:

"Both of you are performing for all of us a necessary and vital role. For the next two and a half years you will be giving valuable service to the community in a dangerous area at no little cost to your own safety. It must be a hazardous task and a matter which the court can properly take into account."

No mention was made of the danger which they will pose to the inhabitants.

Both soldiers and their companion, 22-year-old Aled Griffiths, all of them from Gwynedd, were fined £250 with £216 costs and £550 compensation. All three were then released, with Recorder Clarke stating that it would be unfair to treat Aled Griffiths any differently to the two soldiers.

# Insurance firms make policy holders pay for IRA bomb

EVERY British insurance policy holder will feel the impact of the IRA bomb which blasted the City of London a fortnight ago through increased premiums passed on by insurance companies to cover blast damage claims estimated at up to £1.8 billion, according to a leading insurance expert.

And the cost is likely to push some prestigious Lloyds of London insurance syndicates over the financial brink and into bankruptcy. Personal premiums could rise by as much as 40% and insurance industry costs by 15%.

One insurance assessor, Eric Winters, said the increases passed on to customers will be "frightening" and "across the board" — from household and business properties to car policies.

Another assessor, Jeffrey Salmon, managing director of Salmon Adams Hilton, said the total bill for the IRA bomb will be in the region of £1.4-£1.8 billion.

The Association of British Insurers

(ABI) has rejected Salmon's estimate, preferring a figure of around £1 billion. But Salmon pointed out that the ABI not only under-estimated by 75% the damage caused by the hurricane which battered Southern England five years ago, it has revised its estimate of the IRA blast by 500% in three days, from £200 million to £1 billion.

"If the insurance market knows it has to get back X amount of money then it has to put up car, residential and other insurance to claw back that money," Jeffrey Salmon said.

"It is not so much the costs of rebuilding but the costs of relocation and, most importantly, the consequen-

tial losses of profits to the businesses and companies affected."

Warning that insurance firms will not reveal the reason for the increase, Salmon said: "At the end of 1994 we will turn around and ask why on earth have our premiums gone up so much. Then we're going to say, 'Ah, ha! The IRA car bomb possibly?'"

Salmon declined to comment a Sky TV reporter's proposition that the IRA had "wiped out a whole area of confidence" in a significant part of the financial centre of the City of London. But he did not deny the suggestion.

"The politics I can't comment on; I can only comment on the fact there is certainly a huge claim that I do believe is going to affect us all."

"It's incredible that one bomb — no matter how big — can have the same effect as the 1987 hurricane which cost the insurance companies a total of about £1.8 billion."



● St Mary Axe, London



## News

# OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND

■ BY NEIL FORDE

BRITISH NUCLEAR industry plans to locate a nuclear waste repository under the Sellafield reprocessing plant in Cumbria have been damaged by a report from the nuclear industry's waste disposal company, UK Nirex. The report disclosed by the London Independent alleges that the site violated the safety criteria set by Nirex itself.

Dounreay in Scotland was the next favoured site by Nirex to build their nuclear waste storage facility. The option of Dounreay described now as the "best bet" was criticised by the Celtic League as "dangerous talk and totally unacceptable, reducing a serious argument to the level of 'geo-scientific' computer game".

Bernard Moffat, spokesperson for the Celtic League said in a statement that "Campaigning groups must without delay set the real agenda which is not in the 'site' but the industry itself".

"The nuclear storage problem" Moffat said "is not transferable".

Moffat's comments were echoed by Matt Larkin, general secretary of the National Association of Tenant's Organisations (NATO). Larkin, who was in Sellafield with a NATO delegation on Wednesday, April 22nd, said that the organisation believed the Sellafield plant was inherently unsafe. NATO was invited to Sellafield by British Nuclear Fuels after the organisation passed a motion at its annual conference calling on the British government to close the plant.

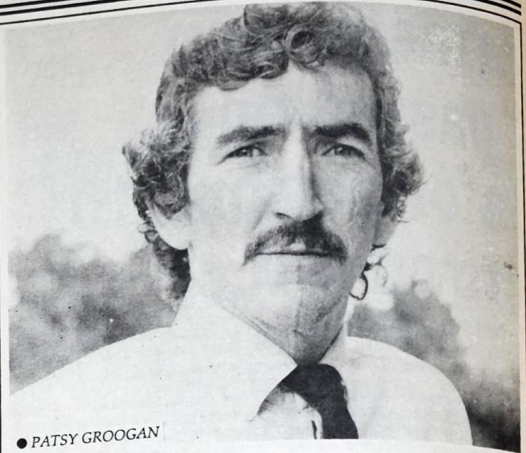
A third organisation, Cumbrians Opposed to a Radioactive Environment (CORE) said that "if Nirex had

any wits about it, the company would opt for above-ground storage".

The Nirex report found that water carrying radioactivity from the underground site would rise vertically into a layer of rock which is already tapped to supply drinking water. Even the inclusion of man-made barriers, or chemical barriers could not be guaranteed to provide effective 10,000 year isolation necessary for the radioactive waste.

The leaking of the report is yet another blow to Britain's nuclear industry which over the past six months has been engaged in a long-term media campaign. The campaign involved a succession of page sized ads aimed at convincing the general public of the safety of its nuclear waste disposal plans.

The Nirex report should not however distract attention from the broader problems of the nuclear industry. Not only can it not store nuclear waste safely it has still not been proven that they can generate nuclear power safely. The leaks are not confined to scientific reports. In the words of Chris Moffat "Sellafield together with other British Irish Sea nuclear power plants has pumped out an unpleasant cocktail of radioactive pollution for years."



● PATSY GROOGAN

# PROTESTS OVER HOUSING RENOVATIONS

RESIDENTS in Swatragh, County Derry, protested last week at an open air meeting in the town about the Six Counties' Housing Executive's "inability or unwillingness to seriously address problems concerning development work on their homes".

The residents from Friel's Terrace, Cairn View and Upperlands Road had enlisted the help of Sperrin Sinn Féin Councillor Patsy Groogan and had informed the Housing Executive of the meeting. They were particularly anxious that Mr Patterson, the Area Manager, attend but felt that "insult was added to injury" when the two staff members he did send were "unsure of what they were talking about, were generally unco-operative and responded in meaningless clichés when asked how the situation could be resolved".

The residents point to three main areas of complaint that are not being addressed by the Housing Executive.

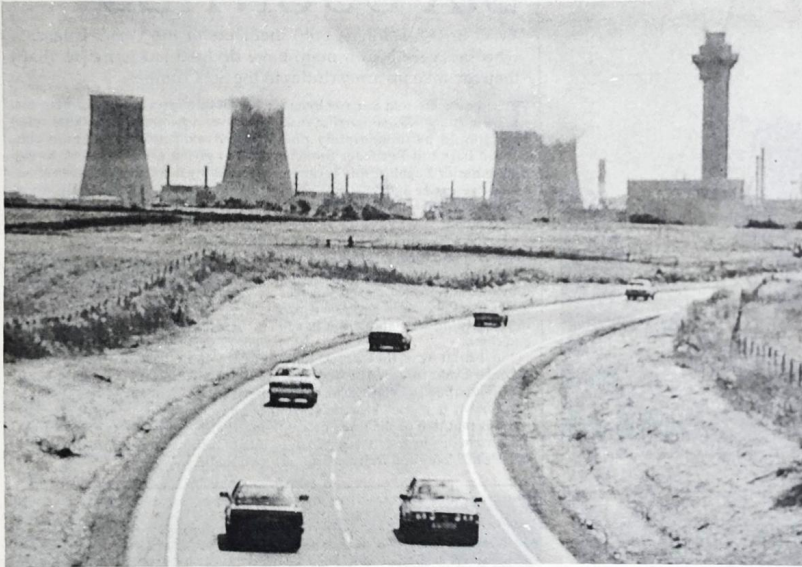
Firstly, sloping canopies which have existing porches have no guttering and rain water is accumulating on front paths and the general work on them is shoddy. The new canopies

should, say the residents, have blended in perfectly with the style of the houses, which has not been done in this work.

Complete new frames are demanded to ensure proper protection from the elements instead of the replacement of individual window sashes which are draughty and have perished.

Finally, the attitude of the contractors leaving gardens and footpaths laden with rubbish, debris and equipment has been criticised.

The residents, many with young families, are understandably angry and feel powerless to effect any change in the deteriorating situation. They feel that they have no choice but to make public the situation and their modest demands in order to get some action from the Housing Executive.



● The British nuclear industry — violating its own standards

# Galway warning on Maastricht

THAT THE essential emphasis in the Maastricht Treaty is not on the rights of individuals and regions, but on the rights of goods, capital and services was pointed out by Ursula Barry at a meeting organised by the Galway Forum on Maastricht at the Atlanta Hotel on Thursday April 16th

The meeting entitled "Maastricht, human rights and democracy" was addressed by Ursula Barry, economics lecturer at Bolton Street College and Tom O'Malley law lecturer and director of UCG's Human Rights Centre.

O'Malley stated that human rights and democracy do not necessarily work in harmony and that in a more democratic state the minority can be subject to the tyranny of the majority.

Ursula Barry spoke out at the injustice of a society where a woman is equated with a foetus in our constitution and where she has to demand a vote on women's right to travel and to information.

Both speakers addressed the lack of provisions for job creation in the Maastricht Treaty for the poorer countries such as Ireland and the implications for tens of thousands of young Irish people who have much freedom of

movement in Europe — but in one direction — outwards.

Barry stressed that European political union will intensify the polarisation within the EC between the rich and poorer countries. Ireland, on the periphery, will become further dependent on low-level financial activities, such as tourism, while Irish-owned industries are ill-prepared for the integrated market.

She suggests that markets outside the EC are what are necessary rather than Irish food being produced to feed growing food mountains in conditions of declining subsidisation.

Both O'Malley and Barry expressed concern at the fortress type Europe envisaged in the Maastricht Treaty which will deprive Ireland of its neutrality and further exclude the Third World by copper fastening Western defence and foreign policy.

Barry called for a renegotiation of the Maastricht Treaty and urged Irish people to set about creating a humane and compassionate society on this island.





## News

## IN BRIEF...

## Friendly Street under sectarian attack

RESIDENTS of the Markets district of Belfast have accused the RUC and British army of standing by as loyalists attacked their homes on Wednesday, April 22nd.

A resident of Friendly Street said that a crowd returning from Orange parades in Bangor ran into the area, through an entry at East Bridge street and Friendly Street, throwing bricks:

"The RUC were behind them and did nothing. Only when local people came out and chased them did the RUC come in. They came in wearing riot gear and hauled us off the street and produced a plastic bullet gun."

Another resident said that a UDR soldier at the scene, was shouting "I'm one of them. You are nothing but Fenian bastards."

The residents claim that similar incidents occur every time there is an Orange parade.

"If the RUC had diverted them to go home by the Lagan Bank there would have been no trouble", said one resident.

## Daly talks to terrorists

IN CONTRAST to his refusal to engage in talks with republicans Cardinal Cahal Daly met and had talks with British Secretary of State for the North Sir Patrick Mayhew in Armagh on Easter Monday.

Mayhew who, as Attorney General, refused to prosecute RUC officers over the shoot-to-kill operations of the early '80s, when he had evidence of their guilt, has come to the North under a cloud of speculation that the main thrust of his policy will be security.

None of this seemed to disturb Daly's sense of morality or force him to lecture Mayhew about state-sponsored violence and it flies in the face of his constant refusal to talk to Gerry Adams, the president of Sinn Féin.

Ironically Mayhew left his meeting with Daly and visited those responsible for state violence in the Armagh area where the three shoot-to-kill incidents that John Stalker investigated took place.

## Inquest reminder for Mayhew

PATRICK MAYHEW'S appointment was followed by Belfast Coroner John Lecky's announcement that he was setting aside the month of May for the resumed inquest into the deaths of three unarmed volunteers in 1982.

The first hearing was adjourned at Craigavon Crown Court three and a half years ago pending legal proceedings which were eventually nullified by Mayhew. The coroner hopes to have the inquests into the deaths of the six men, which led to the Stalker/Sampson debacle, completed by the end of the year.



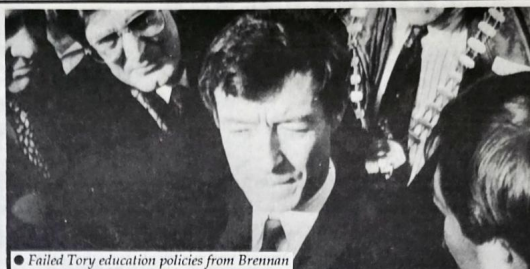
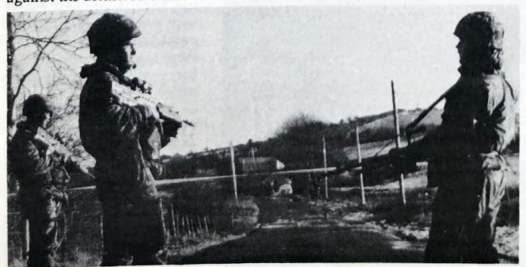
● MAYHEW

## Marines in dock over Caraher killing

TWO British Royal Marines were committed for trial to Belfast Crown Court on charges of murdering Fergal Caraher and the attempted murder of his brother Mícheál at Cullyhanna on December 30th, 1990.

At the time of the shooting the crown forces said they had opened fire when the brothers had driven through a checkpoint.

The Caraher family set up an independent inquiry with legal experts of international repute last June, the findings of which dismissed the official version of events. The Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) called in Reginald Weir QC to examine the case. It was after this that charges were finally laid against the British soldiers.



● Failed Tory education policies from Brennan

## Teachers attack Brennan's education plans

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

"Creeping privatisation under another name without an extra penny for improving the education service" — this was how Seamus Brennan's new *Introduction to a Green Paper* on 26-County education was greeted by the Irish National Teacher's Organisation at its annual conference in Cork.

The *Introduction to a Green Paper*, published on Tuesday, April 21st, met severe criticism from teachers' unions holding their annual conferences at various venues around the 26 Counties.

The most blistering attack came from the INTO's General Secretary Joe O'Toole who condemned the proposed testing of school pupils at seven, eleven and 15 years of age, which, he said was a "Thatcherite product being dumped on the Irish market."

While following the general thrust of his predecessor in education Mary O'Rourke, Seamus Brennan has gone even further in the direction of fostering what he terms an "enterprise culture" for the 26-County education system.

The major gap in the new paper is its failure to address the inequity between fee-paying and non fee-paying schools.

The earlier draft by O'Rourke pointed out that fee-paying schools receive state funding for the payment of teachers. The payment of these salaries mean that these schools receive about 85% of the amount of state support given to schools who don't charge fees. By paying the salaries, the state increases the total income of such schools substantially above schools not charging fees and so subsidises the current inequality in Irish education. There is no reference to fee-paying schools in the introduction to Brennan's *Green Paper* and so they are unlikely to be mentioned in the final document.

Seamus Brennan visited the various teachers' union conferences this week and spoke of creating an "enterprise culture" in Irish schools without outlining what exactly he meant. He also spoke of

the need to prepare young Irish people to be "citizens of Europe" conceding that the government envisages that Ireland will continue to educate and train young people to emigrate in search of work, contributing to the economies of other countries at the expense of the Irish taxpayer and failing to harness the potential of Irish people at home.

Another proposal was to transfer responsibility for various aspects of school management away from the Department of Education to executive agencies.

In an effort to divert attention away from the lack of state resources for education, Brennan claimed that the best way of increasing resources over the next five years was through the EC and stressed the importance of the Maastricht Treaty in this regard. The lack of any commitment to resources in the *Green Paper* proposals was criticised by all three teachers' unions.

Paddy Fitzpatrick, president of the TUI, speaking in Galway, said that it had been acknowledged that the conditions of Irish school buildings were amongst the worst in Europe. He warned the education minister that the patience of teachers was wearing thin and reminded the Dublin government of its commitment in the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP) to improving school buildings.

Mary O'Rourke had originally proposed that religious instruction in primary schools should be separated from secular subjects, but the issue is not dealt with in Seamus Brennan's paper.

All this emphasis on "enterprise" and hints of privatisation coming through in the latest proposals should come as no surprise. Seamus Brennan has no background in education but as Minister for Transport was responsible for moves towards privatisation there.

The government's cynicism in regard to the new education bill was seen in its decision to wait until the teachers' conferences were taking place before releasing any details of his *Green Paper* proposals. This prevented teachers from being able to study the proposals in detail and give a considered response, detracting somewhat from Brennan's claims that he wished to see "a great education debate" taking place.



● The Bloody Sunday dead — the campaign to clear their names gains momentum

## New campaign on Bloody Sunday

A NEW GROUP, the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign, has been set up in Derry with the objective of rectifying the "immense injustice of Bloody Sunday", when British paratroopers shot dead 14 civil rights marchers in the city on January 30th 1972.

At a press conference held at Pilot's Row Community Centre, on Wednesday, April 15th, the group made public its demands, one of which is to force the British government to reject the findings of the Widgery

Report and "to acknowledge publicly that the 14 people killed in January 1972 were all innocent".

Another demand that the group is making is that "those responsible for the murders and attempted murders" should be prosecuted. The group also said that whilst this demand may be controversial the fact remains that 14 people were killed and the British government, through the Widgery Tribunal, vindicated the actions of the Paratroopers on that fatal day.

The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign is endorsed by all the families of the deceased, all of whom agree that the trauma of Bloody Sunday should not be endured any longer.

Also in attendance at the press conference was Johnny Walker, one of the Birmingham Six, who is supporting the campaign. The group intends to run its campaign in the same way as that of the Birmingham Six, building up support through contacts with trade unions, district councils throughout Ireland and Britain and through contacting TDs and MPs.

Expressing the feelings of the families in view of the opinion that they should put the past behind them Derry journalist and spokesperson for the group, Eamon McCann, said they can't put it in the past "until the British government stands up and says in a straightforward and unambiguous way 'these people were innocent — what happened was murder'."





# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

April 23rd 1992

## ■ ANDREWS' PATHETIC GESTURE

LAST WEEK the Dublin government's Minister for Foreign Affairs David Andrews paid a visit to the border region on the advice of the Taoiseach Albert Reynolds. He was shown some of the roads destroyed by the British army and the economic devastation the closure of the border roads has caused.

**H**is response to the hardship being inflicted on communities along the border was to add insult to injury. He said that more than £1 billion has been spent on securing the border. "Can you imagine what we could do with that money", he asked.

The question to be asked of David Andrews is what he means by "securing the border". What security have the people of the border regions got from that £1 billion?

What David Andrews means by "securing the border" is securing it in Britain's interests. The people of Cavan, Monaghan, Leitrim, Donegal or Louth did not ask the Dublin government to spend £1 billion of their money to collaborate with the army and government which has destroyed our roads, knocked down our bridges, divided our communities and impoverished the border region. It was the decision of the Dublin government to do that.

The people of the 26 Counties do not have to imagine what could be done with that money. It should be used to create jobs for young people, improve our schools, our hospitals and our roads, protect our environment and keep farming families on the land.

It is successive governments in Dublin that have stolen that money and spent it on collaboration with the occupiers of our country.

After David Andrews flew to Monaghan in his helicopter, he told us what he was going to do about the border roads. He said:

"The reality is that this has been an issue on the Anglo-Irish conference agenda well before my time and it still hasn't been solved. I don't see immediate results. I didn't come up here to make silly promises or to wave magical political wands."

How pathetic! How typical of what the Hillsborough Treaty has achieved. We are supposed to be satisfied that every so often some of the countless injustices that result from partition are brought up at a meeting between Dublin and London ministers. We are supposed to applaud the Dublin government for having the courage to actually raise those issues. And when their British masters tell them to go and take a hike, we are supposed to understand and sympathise when Irish ministers accept that and do nothing. We do understand. We understand that we are led by a pack of cowards and hypocrites.

Those who have stood up to British intimidation and are campaigning with picks and shovels and mechanical diggers to reopen the border roads must be congratulated. If the long succession of Dublin government ministers, who have met the British at the conference table, had a quarter of the courage shown by even one of the Border Busters the partition of Ireland would have ended a long time ago.

## Forum for Democracy and Peace

### PUBLIC MEETING

*The Northern Problem, the Untried Solution*

2.30pm Saturday 25th April

Mansion House,  
Dublin

Speakers: Brian Anderson (trade unionist), Robert Ballagh (artist),  
Robert Heatley (academic), Dr Ann McCloskey,  
Séamus O Tuathail (barrister)

Chair: Dr Mary Cullen  
Céili Mór

Mansion House  
9pm to 2am full bar  
£5 (£4 unwaged)

## Easter Commemorations

Throughout the Easter weekend republicans across Ireland and abroad gathered in their hundreds and in their thousands in different towns, villages and cities to honour Ireland's heroic dead. At the ceremonies wreaths were laid on behalf of various branches of the Republican Movement, a minute's silence was observed in memory of dead republicans, a message from the leadership of the Republican Movement was read and at the close of ceremonies *Amhrán na bhFiann* was played.

## Easter Message from the leadership of the Republican Movement

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP extends warm and comradely greetings to you, its friends and supporters on this the 76th anniversary of the proclamation of the Irish Republic.

**G**athered here in homage to those who have given their lives that we may be free we solemnly pledge ourselves to carrying on their work. We reaffirm our commitment to forcing a British disengagement from the remaining occupied portion of our national territory and we vow not to desist from our efforts until Ireland stands forth before the world a nation independent and free.

Since we last assembled in honour of our dead yet more of our comrades have paid the supreme sacrifice in the cause of freedom. To the families, friends and comrades of Volunteers Colum Marks, Tony Doris, Lawrence McNally, Pete Ryan, Patricia Black, Frankie Ryan, Joe MacManus, Peter Clancy, Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Sean O'Farrell and Patrick Vincent we extend our deepest and

most heartfelt sympathy. Their dedication and selflessness will serve to inspire and sustain us in the work that lies ahead. They, like all who have fallen in our nation's struggle for freedom, are the true peacemakers and liberators. They shall be remembered and honoured long after those who attack and vilify them have been forgotten and erased from living memory.

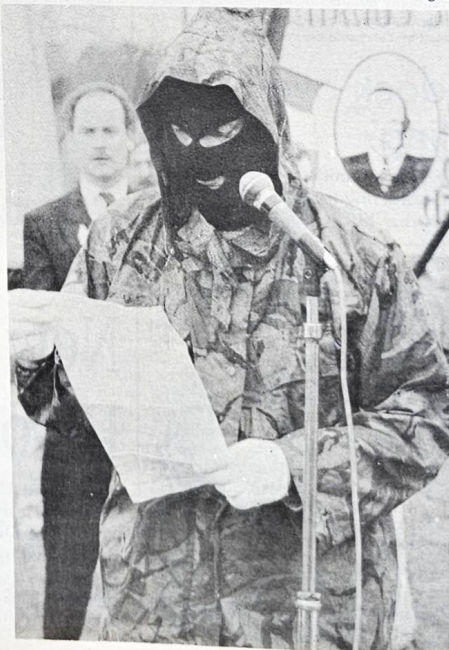
The past year has seen our enemy intensify its efforts at crushing the spirit and resistance of our people. Increased repression and murder by official and unofficial state death squads have exacted a high price from our community but in spite of all this the defiant answer from a risen people has been that we are not for sale any more than our birthright of nationhood is for sale. The right

of the Irish people to national independence and freedom is sovereign and indefeasible and standing on that right, Oglagh na hEireann have shown that they will continue to assert in arms that no foreign power can, nor will, diminish that right.

The recent Westminster elections in which Sinn Féin's vote held solid, in spite of massive odds, is testimony to that commitment and dedication of the hundreds and thousands of unsung heroes who have withstood the lies and intimidation, the distortion and the repression, the blackmail and the terror and who have through it all loudly shouted their message: "The croppies are not for lying down." The theft of the West Belfast seat by an unholy alliance of loyalist and anti-republican elements whilst it has angered the republican people has in no way dented us. The people will reclaim their seat at the earliest opportunity and in the interim republicans will redouble their efforts on every front to ensure that this struggle of ours continues to move forward.

In the meantime, Oglagh na hEireann have shown that they will apply themselves with all their energy and ingenuity to the task of sapping the will of the British. Oglagh na hEireann have demonstrated that they have the capacity and the determination to stay the course and to prosecute the struggle with discipline and resolution for as long as is necessary. Sooner, rather than later, those who sustain this conflict will realise the futility of their position and will opt for resolving, rather than prolonging, this war. In the meantime Oglagh na hEireann have shown that they will with every means at their disposal bring home to them that there is a high price to be paid for occupying part of our nation.

Let us go forward from here facing into the year ahead with determination and courage, inspired by the example of our fallen comrades and sure in the knowledge that we will prevail and shall see Ireland take its rightful place among the free nations of the world. Beirigí Bua.







● Belfast's nationalists enjoy the parade remembering those who have fought and died for their freedom

## COUNTY ANTRIM

### BELFAST

In a massive show of strength and defiance thousands of Belfast republicans marched along the Falls Road, from Beechmount Avenue to the Republican Plot at Milltown Cemetery, on Easter Sunday to remember the Volunteers of Ogligh na hÉireann and all those who have given their lives in the fight to free Ireland from British occupation. If, in the wake of the West Belfast election, the British and their "state-sponsored candidate" were hoping that republicans would have been demoralised and disheartened they got their answer on the Falls on Sunday, the 76th anniversary of the Easter Rising.

Gerry Adams, President of Sinn Féin, was the main speaker and began by acknowledging the courage of the people who prevented the RUC's attempted attack on the platform. Adams said that their bravery was a message to the British showing them that republicans would not be defeated.

In his address Adams was scathing about the lack of any official marking of the 1916 Rising by the 26-County establishment. They are embarrassed by the names and deeds of Connolly and Pearse, he said and went on, "the Proclamation itself is an embarrassment in these censored, revisionist times of EC and multi-national capitalism when we are told that Irish nationhood is an outdated concept".

"The economic and social intent of the Proclamation," continued Adams, "is also an embarrassment to the Irish establishment in today's partitioned Ireland of unemployment and emigration, sell-offs of our natural and national resources, with cuts in education and health services and increased poverty."

Turning to the recent elections Adams said that the Sinn Féin vote remained generally sound against all the odds, increasing in five of the 14 constituencies that Sinn Féin contested. Assessing the slippage of the Sinn Féin vote in some areas the party president

put the problem down to "organisational problems". "We failed to bring out all our vote," he said. However, he promised that "these problems must and will be addressed. There are lessons to be learned and there are aspects of our election campaign which need critical examination. Our party leadership, in consultation with local activists, is already conducting a review of our performance."

Adams then talked of his pride in West Belfast and its people who voted for Sinn Féin in their thousands. "The contest here was seen correctly as a battle for the hearts and minds of nationalist West Belfast. The SDLP lost that battle. The SDLP failed to win on any of their stated campaign aims of increasing their own vote and taking votes from Sinn Féin. Their one stated aim of getting unionist support was reached with the help of the UDA."

Given this scenario, said Adams, "my quarrel is with Joe Hendron over his claim to represent all the people of West Belfast. That is a lie. He cannot play the Orange card against republicans one day and claim to represent us the next day. He does not. He represents exactly 589 voters more than we do."

Looking at the West Belfast election campaign in the context of British political strategy, the Sinn Féin president pointed out that Catholics were marginalised by unionist regime as part of a conspiracy with the British to suppress nationalism. In recent times British policy has been the creation of an alliance of Castle Catholics and pragmatic unionists to achieve the same end. "The West Belfast election campaign was a classic, micro-example of this strategy, for once, coming together and the campaign of ostracism and marginalisation of nationalists in West Belfast is now set to intensify with the active support of Joe Hendron."

Then stressing the need for peace Adams went on to "reiterate the democratic view that a lasting peace in our country will be secured only in the context of Irish national self-determination. Sinn Féin has put the demand for a real peace on the political agenda. The popular desire for peace was hijacked by the establishment parties through the charade of the talks process and for transient electoral advantage. Despite this Sinn Féin put down important markers for the British and Dublin governments and the local parties".

"These include the reality that partition continues to be a social, economic and political disaster for all the people of this island. Talks which do not seek to end partition and the British connection, the Union, are a waste of time for nationalist Ireland. The unionist veto needs to be removed not reinforced", stated Adams.

This statement of republican intent had to be heard above the throbbing rotors of British army helicopters, which seemed to sum up British unwillingness to listen to a genuine call for peace.

However, the Sinn Féin president restated republicans' wish for peace and called on John Major "to grasp the nettle of his government's involvement in our country and instruct Mr Mayhew to sue for peace".

"We want peace in our country and between our people."

### NEW LODGE

Over 600 people took part in the Easter Monday Parade in the New Lodge Road district which followed a traditional route winding its way through the North Belfast community, coming to a halt at the local commemorative garden in Donore court.

A colour party, which included six

women, led the parade followed by the excellently turned out O'Neill/Allsopp Band. A large number of families accompanied the march, giving a close family feel to the occasion. At the commemorative garden Councillor Paddy McManus chaired the proceedings introducing the main speaker, Councillor Joe Austin who gave the oration. This concentrated on the significant contribution that the young people of the area had given to the republican struggle, especially over the past 23 years. Austin, describing the young people, said that they were the "backbone of the struggle", and because of the many problems in the area it was important that they get involved in the struggle.

### ARDOYNE

On Easter Tuesday a large crowd turned out for the annual parade through Ardoyne, with a colour party leading over 800 people from its starting point in Herbert Street to the commemorative plot on Berwick Road. People attending came from Ardoyne, the Bone and Ligoniel. The Ardoyne/Bone Martyrs Band followed the colour party as the large crowd made its way through the district.

Sinn Féin Councillors Joe Austin and Gerard McGuigan jointly chaired the proceedings, introducing the main speaker of the day, Sinn Féin's Jim Gibney. Before the oration was given by the sister of Danny Bartlett, a 15-year-old youth shot dead by the British army at his own front door during the 1981 hunger-strike, read out the Roll of Honour.

## COUNTY ARMAGH

### CROSSMAGLEN

Several hundred people attended the Easter Commemoration in Crossmaglen that went from the town's square to the graveyard. Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle member Jim Gibney, addressing the crowd, talked of the "special place South Armagh occupied in the freedom struggle". Gibney paid tribute to republicans in the area who had driven the crown forces from the towns and lanes onto the high ground "where they skulked behind fortified spy posts".

A masked Volunteer then stepped from the crowd and read a statement from South Armagh Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, to cheers from the gathered crowd.

### CULLYHANNA

Jim Gibney also spoke to a crowd of several hundred republicans at the Cullyhanna Commemoration. Speaking of the determination and spirit of the people in the Six Counties "to achieve Irish freedom", Gibney recalled how he saw a photograph of six young Tyrone republicans. The photograph was taken in June of last year "five of the six were now dead, shot dead by British forces, the sixth is serving 20 years in jail. This type of commitment would ensure the eventual re-unification of Ireland", declared Gibney.

### CAMLLOUGH

A large crowd attended the Easter Parade in Camlough which was chaired by local Sinn Féin Councillor Conor Murphy. The oration was delivered by Joe McElhew after the parade arrived at the Republican Plot where wreaths were laid from Ogligh na hÉireann, Sinn Féin and the McCreesh family.

### DROMINTEE

Heavy and provocative crown forces activity surrounded this years Dromintee Commemoration which was held at the grave of Jim Lochrie.

Sean Hayes delivered the oration during which he emphasised the need



● Heavy RUC presence close in at the Easter Commemoration in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast





● Armagh republicans remember Easter 1916

"for all republicans to play their part to bring the conflict to a successful conclusion".

## ARMAGH

During the Easter Monday march in Armagh city almost 1,000 people paraded through the city centre for the second time in two years on their way to the Republican Plot at St Patrick's Cemetery. The parade was led by a colour party comprising of seven women, who were followed by four bands, including the Young Republican Flute Band from Glasgow. The marchers had assembled in Lower Irish Street. During the proceedings wreaths were laid to commemorate the fallen Volunteers of the area. The oration was given by Dungan-nonn Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy. He described the new British ministers dispatched to Britain's last colony as a Stormont Castle squad preparing for an increase in the war against the Irish people.

## LURGAN

In Lurgan several thousand people attended the Easter Commemoration. As the parade made its way from Francis Street to St Colman's Cemetery, people lined the streets and families turned out to watch the march. A colour party led the way carrying the National flag, Starry plough, Fianna flag and the flags

representing the four provinces. These were followed by four local area bands, St Mary's accordion (Lurgan) Pride of Erin (Portadown) Lurgan Martyrs (Lurgan) and Phoebe (Craigavon).

## DERRYMACNASH

Around 150 people led by a colour party and St Mary's Accordion Band marched to the republican plot. The proceedings were chaired by Stephen McGeown and Edwina McGeown read the proclamation. The Republican Leadership statement was read out and Patsy Crossey, brother of Vol Michael Crossey, who is buried in the Derry-macash plot, read the North Armagh Roll of Honour. This was followed an oration from Rory Harbinson.

## COUNTY CARLOW

On Easter Sunday morning a group of around thirty people attended the Dunleckney Cemetery in Muinebeg, County Carlow at the grave of fallen Volunteer James Lillis. Nieces of Lillis laid wreaths upon his grave.

That afternoon the main Carlow Easter Commemoration was held in Carlow town at the Croppy Memorial. The proceedings were chaired by Gerard Strong while wreaths

were laid by veteran republican Pat Purcell Snr. The Killshin Pipe Band provided the appropriate musical accompaniment, while Athy Sinn Féin Urban District Councillor Paddy Wright was among the fifty or so people who attended.

Dublin Sinn Féin member Seán Crowe delivered the main oration, reminding people that Easter Sunday is a day "of sadness and pride and a day of inspiration for Irish republicans". He said that: "All who seek lasting peace should join in the demand for the incoming British Government to remove the unionist veto and declare its intention to withdraw from Ireland. Protestants have nothing to fear from a democratic secular Ireland. Partition has denied nationalists rights but it has also locked Protestants into the sectarianism of the Six-County state."

He promised that Sinn Féin would be urging a No vote in the Maastricht referendum "highlighting the assault on Ireland's neutrality and the dilution of its limited sovereignty and will continue to involve ourselves in campaigns like the Border Roads, Articles Two and Three and everyday issues that affect the lives of the ordinary Irish people".

## COUNTY CAVAN

The republican monument in the centre of Cavan town — situated in the grounds of the courthouse and opposite the Garda barracks and inscribed, among others, with the name of Kieran Doherty TD — was the venue for the County Cavan Easter Ceremonies.

A Fianna Éireann colour party drawn from Counties Leitrim and Cavan led the parade followed by the St Nailes Youth Band, Kinawley, County Fermanagh. Joe Ennis of Cavan Sinn Féin introduced the speaker, AP/RN editor Micheál Mac Donncha. Referring to the recent visit of Dublin Foreign Minister David Andrews to the border area he said:

"The people of Cavan or Monaghan or Donegal or Louth did not ask you, Mr Andrews, to spend £1 billion of their money to collaborate with the army and the government in that has destroyed our roads, knocked down our bridges, divided our communities and impoverished this border region. It was the decision of successive Dublin governments to do that."

Paying tribute to the border busters he said if the Dublin government had had a quarter of their courage and commitment "partition would have been ended long ago".

## COUNTY CORK

Over 300 people attended the 1916 Commemoration in Cork city on Easter Sunday. Led by a Fianna Éireann colour party the crowd marched from the national monument in Grand Parade to the Republican Plot in St Finbar's Cemetery where the ceremonies were chaired by James McBarron of Cork Sinn Féin.

After wreaths had been laid on behalf of all branches of the Republican Movement and a member of Fianna Éireann had read the Proclamation of the Republic, the oration was delivered by Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Pádraig Malone.

Malone referred to the assault being made on Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution by those politicians and establishment figures who were working to a British agenda.

The constitutional articles merely asserted the Irish people's right to nationhood and unity. He also said that Sinn Féin would be to the forefront of the campaign to secure a No vote in any referendum on the Maastricht Treaty which he said posed dire threats to what was left of 26-County sovereignty and neutrality and would be an economic disaster for the people of Ireland.

Referring to the loss of Sinn Féin's Westminster seat in West

Belfast he said it had been stolen by an unholy alliance of loyalists and the SDLP. Although West Belfast had been lost the republican vote in the Six Counties had held up in spite of a vicious campaign against Sinn Féin which included the assassination of Sinn Féin members and elected representatives. Republicans were undeterred by the electoral setback and would eventually regain the West Belfast seat.

Pádraig Malone also spoke at the 1916 Commemoration in Cobh on Easter Monday.

## CLONAKILTY

At the annual Easter Commemoration in Clonakilty, West Cork Sinn Féin's Don O'Leary said that since 1921 the British presence has been the source of conflict in Ireland. Since 1969 the British had used various forms of repression to get the nationalist people to conform. While the Hillsborough Treaty had brought further militarisation of the North, the crown forces were collaborating full time with unofficial loyalist assassins.

## YOUGHAL

A crowd of around 200 people marched from Cahir Square in Youghal to the Republican plot in North Abbey Cemetery led by the Castlelyons Pipe Band. Wreaths were laid on behalf of Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement by John Collins and Mick Parker. The commemoration was chaired by Liam Allen of Youghal Sinn Féin. The Proclamation was read by Martin Hallinan of Youghal Sinn Féin.

Also participating was Sinn Féin Councillor Charlie Roynane of Middleton. The main speaker was Ciaran McCarthy of Cobh Sinn Féin. He told those assembled that the last time he was in the North Abbey Cemetery was as a soldier in a Free State firing party. He described how meaningless an exercise it was compared to today when he was here as "an Irish republican", who were being spied upon by up to a dozen members of the Special Branch. The commemoration was closed with the playing of the national anthem.

## COUNTY DERRY

Martin McGuinness gave the oration to a crowd of several thousand in Derry city who came out to honour republicans who fell in the struggle for freedom.

A colour party of 12 uniformed men and women led the march from the Bogside to the Republican Plot in the City Cemetery high on the Creggan hillside, watched by RUC Land Rovers filled with Special Branch and British troops.

At the cemetery, the Proclamation was read by Gerard Starrs, while Mrs. Patsy Brennan, widow of Vol. Junior McDaid who fell 20 years ago, read the Roll of Honour, chairperson Hugh Brady drew attention to the fact that 1992 marked the 20th anniversary of nine Volunteers from the Derry Brigade: Oglagh Colm Keenan, Eugene McGillen, John Starrs, Seamus Bradley, Michael Quigley, John Brady, Jimmy Carr, Junior McDaid and Fian Gerry Donaghey.

After the Roll of Honour, young Kelly McBrearty, sang a haunting song written by her father George McBrearty and his comrade "Pop" Maguire, shot dead in a gunbattle with the SAS in May 1981, in honour of all the Volunteers. Total silence hushed the cemetery during the song, which was followed by thunderous applause.



● The Newry Colour Party lead the Easter parade through the town

● Sorcha Dillon...  
Martin McGuinness...  
course of his oration...  
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● Sorcha Dillon lays a wreath at the republican monument in Ashbourne. Martin McGuinness said in the course of his oration:

"It is quite clear to most observers that the Brooke Talks, set to become the Mayhew talks, will soon wind up as yet another failed initiative. The appointment of Sir Patrick Mayhew and Mr Michael Mates is a clear signal that the British government know the talks are doomed. Mayhew, Mates and Atkins are thugs in pinstriped suits. Their agenda is a military one; we have no illusions about that fact."

"The British are slow learners but Prime Minister Major and his new military commanders at the NIO should have learned at least one lesson from the events of the past 22 years. This generation of Irish republicans have never bent the knee to Britain and we never will."

"Britain's treatment of Irish people has historically guaranteed a violent response. And so it is today. The violent response of a substantial number of nationalists in the Six Counties indirectly related to the denial of a national democracy and to military occupation."

**THE LOUP**  
In spite of heightened tension

the murder of Bernard O'Hagan".

## SHANTALLOW

On Easter Monday in Derry's Shantallow district over 1,000 people marched from Galliagh to the monument in Drumleck Drive to commemorate the Volunteers of Oglagh na hÉireann from the area who died in the struggle for Irish self-determination.

## COUNTY DONEGAL

### DRUMBOE

On Easter Sunday in Drumboe, Stranorlor, a crowd of several hundred people marched behind a colour party made up of former republican prisoners and they were accompanied by two bands, one from Strabane and the other from Lagan Valley outside Belfast. Hundreds of people wearing Easter Lilies lined the pavements as the parade marched through Stranorlor and Ballybofey and then marched back to the County Memorial where wreaths were laid on behalf of the Republican Movement. The Tricolour was then lowered in honour of all those who have died for Irish freedom. The parade then proceeded via Drumboe Woods to the place where the Drumboe Martyrs were executed in 1923 by Free State forces.

The 1916 Proclamation was read by Jim Coll (Rosnakill), recently released from imprisonment in France. The Donegal Roll of Honour was read by James Doherty (Kincasslagh), also recently released from imprisonment in France. Colm Gallagher (Strabane), who had just completed a seven-year sentence in the H-Blocks, read the West-Tyrone Roll of Honour.

Seán MacManus (Sligo) a member of the Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle was introduced as the main speaker of the Commemoration.

During the course of his oration Seán MacManus said that the Republican Movement was strong and vibrant throughout the 32 Counties despite harassment, intimidation, censorship and imprisonment. The movement was strong enough and imaginative enough to have produced a peace proposal which could end the current conflict in our country on the basis of national self-determination.

Seán MacManus also said that if the British government refused to deal with the peace proposal then there was still a legal imperative under Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution for the Dublin government to pursue the ending of partition, which is the root cause of the conflict in our country.

## COUNTY DOWN

### NEWRY

This year's Easter Commemoration in Newry departed from its traditional route and went down Francis Street which was bedecked with green, white and orange bunting. The parade was a colourful affair with an especially impressive display of flags at North Street flats.

The local Sinn Féin Councillor Brendan Curran chaired the proceedings in St Mary's Cemetery with Sean Fitzpatrick the guest speaker. Fitzpatrick saluted the people of Newry "who have remained undeterred in their struggle despite increasingly repressive legislation aimed at them by the British establish-



● Dublin republicans gathered at Glasnevin Cemetery

ishment which is supported by the SDLP and their loyalist allies".

## COUNTY DUBLIN

### DUBLIN

A colour party, members of na Fianna Éireann and the Volunteer Tom Smith Band led several hundred people from Dublin's GPO to Glasnevin Cemetery for the city's annual Easter Commemoration.

The parade paused briefly at the newly restored memorial dedicated to 1916 martyr Ned Daly in Phibsboro' before making its way to the Republican Plot at Glasnevin. The proceedings were chaired by Dublin Sinn Féin's Bernie Quinn, who reminded the attendance that the plot marked the resting place of 16 Volunteers and members of the Citizen Army. The customary minute's silence for all those who have given their lives in the freedom struggle was observed before Deirdre Whelan read the Proclamation.

Derry Sinn Féin Councillor Mitchell McLaughlin delivered the main address. In a wide ranging speech he urged people to especially remember republican prisoners and their families. He went through the litany of failed British 'solutions', all of which "have failed to defeat the republican resistance because of their failure to resolve the basic contradictions of partition and British rule in Ireland".

McLaughlin called on the Dublin government to "immediately cease its collaboration, and use its resources instead to launch a diplomatic offensive to secure Irish national self-determination". He outlined the Sinn Féin commitment to building "an alliance of social and political forces in Ireland which will look beyond the defeat of imperialism towards the creation of a new Irish nation."

Republicans, by their actions of today, will begin to build for the nation of tomorrow," he said.

McLaughlin did concede that the recent Westminster election results were a setback but denied that they were a reversal. He said that "the symbolic importance of losing the West Belfast seat has obscured the reality that the republican vote has held up very substantially in the

face of an often murderous and unremitting attack.

"The republican struggle and its peace agenda is still relevant and the only viable alternative to institutionalised conflict and division in Ireland."

### DUN LAOGHAIRE

The annual Easter Monday Dun Laoghaire Commemoration from Bakers Corner to Deansgrange Cemetery attracted its usual flock of Special Branch detectives putting in the hours to secure their fat holiday overtime checks, but their sullen presence did not deter a crowd of over one hundred people from attending.

They were led by a colour party, members of the Fianna. The Tom Smith Band performed to their usual high standard, on this parade accompanied by a lone piper.

At the Republican Plot in Deansgrange Cemetery local Sinn Féin representative Kevin Fitzpatrick chaired the proceedings.

Derry Councillor Mitchell McLaughlin also delivered the oration here. He promised those gathered that:

"We will achieve a democratic solution to the division of Ireland and we will do it through negotiations based on republican generosity and a new British pragmatism or we will do it by our own capacity to endure and through a prolonged people's struggle. The British government must make the choice. No-one, not even our bitterest enemy, doubts our resolve. The only people who can guarantee a real and lasting peace in Ireland are the Irish people themselves, freed from British interference."

## COUNTY KERRY

### TRALEE

Republicans in Tralee gathered at the 1798 memorial and marched behind a republican colour party, a band and a lone piper to the cemetery at the edge of the town. At the Republican Plot chairperson Billy Leen called for the laying of wreaths, followed by a short speech by veteran republican Nuala Healy. After the reading of the Easter message the 300 strong crowd heard the main oration by Aengus O Snodaigh of Dublin.

O Snodaigh called on people to pull together and unite in the struggle to overcome the obstacles to freedom, justice and peace that both the Dublin and London governments put in our paths.

Mentioning the anti-extradition campaign he said that Kerry republicans must organise now to prevent the extradition to the North of Angelo Fusco.

### LISTOWEL

The oncoming rain did not deter Listowel republicans from honouring their republican dead when they marched behind a republican colour party from the town centre to the local graveyard where Dublin's Aengus O Snodaigh gave the oration.

The main theme of the oration was that London and Dublin would fail to quell republican's desire for freedom.

### KILLARNEY

Easter Monday saw republicans gather in Killarney in memory of fallen republican Volunteers. The main address was given by Billy Leen. Leen castigated Dick Spring for canvassing for votes from Irish emigrants in England for the British Labour Party, instead of concentrating on the huge problems in Kerry. Spring's time would be better spent campaigning for votes for Irish emigrants in Irish elections or removing the causes for emigration.

## COUNTY LIMERICK

### LIMERICK

Sinn Féin Councillor Máirtín O Muilleoir told the annual Easter Rising Commemoration in Limerick that the Dublin and London governments are at one in their treatment of the Irish language.

"Seven years after the Hillsborough Treaty pledged fair play for the Irish language in the Six Counties, the Irish speaker in the North is still treated as a foreigner in their own country."

"There are now more Irish schools than ever before operating without basic grant-aid from the Department of Education. These include primary schools in Newry and Belfast and an Irish medium



# Easter Commemorations

secondary school in Belfast. Meanwhile, the British government has stubbornly resisted to concede even the minimum recognition of Irish within the state administration. As a consequence, only recently a leading Irish speaker was fined for returning a census form completed in Irish. Throughout this period, of course, the Irish language has remained banned in Belfast City Council.

"It is no surprise that the Dublin government has failed to press the British to recognise the basic rights of Irish speakers when its own record on the issue of Irish language promotion is appalling. How can a government which refuses to provide an Irish language television service — despite the clear evidence that the survival of Irish depends on such provision — lecture the London authorities on its treatment of the Irish language in the Six Counties."

## COUNTY LOUTH

### KILCURRY

Sean Campbell's grave was the site of the Kilcurry Commemoration this Easter. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Campbell family, Sinn Féin and Oglaigh na hÉireann.

Arthur Morgan, of Louth Sinn Féin, giving his oration recalled how Volunteers such as Sean Campbell and Jim Lockerie made South Armagh a "no-go" area for the British army and RUC despite the massive forces that were pitted against them."

## COUNTY MONAGHAN

The main County Monaghan Easter Commemoration assembled, at Monaghan town's Clones Road where J.B. O'Hagan laid a wreath in memory of fallen Volunteers at the Fergal O'Hanlon monument. Led by a seven person colour party of former republican prisoners, the parade then made its way to Latluran Cemetery where proceedings were chaired by Monaghan County

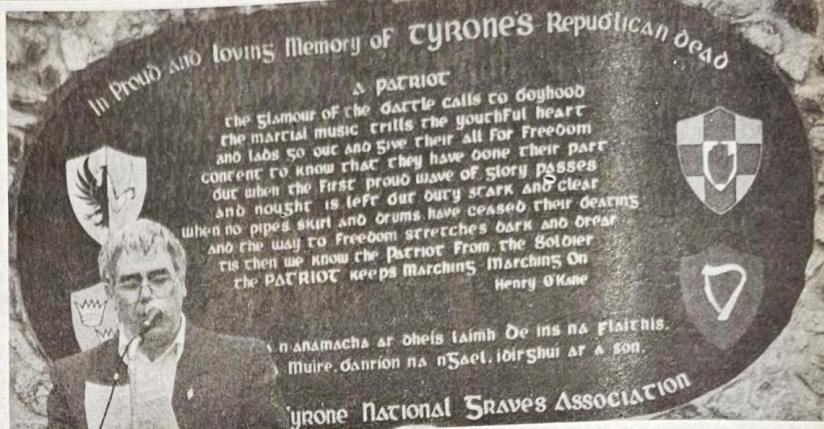
Councillor Brian McKenna. He welcomed the greatly increased numbers in attendance and paid special tribute to the Armagh Martyrs' Republican Flute Band for their willingness to arrive and perform at relatively short notice. Brian McKenna then introduced his fellow Sinn Féin councillor, Pádraig O Maolchraoibhe (Pat Rice) of Lisburn Borough Council who delivered the main oration.

Ag labhairt ar dtús i nGaeilge dúirt O Maolchraoibhe go raibh áthas 's bród air bheith i Muineachán, go mórmhór cé gurb as Deisceart Ard Mhacha é fhéin agus go raibh an-cheangal idir an dá áit. He paid particular tribute to Monaghan county as an inspiration to many in the republican struggle, both politically in recent years and in the selflessness of many of its sons and daughters in the fight for Irish freedom. He noted with pride the 80,000 people who voted for the party in the Westminster election, modestly omitting to mention that his own level of support had increased by 30%.

Referring to those who choose to misrepresent the Sinn Féin analysis of the present situation in the Six Counties, O Maolchraoibhe pointed out that republicans actively and sincerely seek peace in our land and in our time. However, 'peace' should have a different meaning to the British establishment and their native supporters than it did to those who "refuse to lie down and collaborate". Their 'peace' was the acceptance of British imperialism, ours was the achievement of freedom and justice. To enthusiastic applause he pointed out that the British government never had, does not and never will have the authority to dictate how Irish people will regain their national self-determination.

Concluding his address, Councillor O Maolchraoibhe urged the audience to renew their dedication, their determination and in particular their pride in working to an Irish agenda "cé nach bhfuil lá na saoirse i bhfad uainn".

Earlier in the day commemorative ceremonies took place at all the traditional venues throughout the county where fallen volunteers are buried. However, this year sadly heralded in a new commemoration which brought



● Jim McAllister speaking in Carrickmore County Tyrone

Monaghan Sinn Féin Councillor Owen Smyth to Tyholland Graveyard and the graveside of Volunteer Laurence McNally, killed in action with his comrades Pete Ryan and Tony Doris on the 3rd of June, 1991. Family members, friends and comrades of the late Volunteer listened as Owen paid tribute to Laurence, who, like Pete, had made Monaghan his home in latter years and which, for Laurence, was now his final resting place.

## COUNTY TYRONE

### CARRICKMORE

Over 3,000 people from throughout County Tyrone gathered in Carrickmore on Easter Sunday to commemorate the 1916 Rising and to honour those who have died in Ireland's struggle.

The parade moved off and did a circle around the town before heading up the main street towards the impressive and newly restored memorial at the fork in the road at the head of the town.

Particular praise was given to the local stonemason who completed work on the stone in the commemorative

garden.

The proceedings were chaired by Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Mackie. South Armagh's Jim McAllister directed his remarks against those political and military groupings who are allied together to attempt to destroy the Republican Movement within the occupied Six Counties. This, he said, would never happen in spite of what additional repressive measures they may now throw at republicans.

Concluding his deeply moving speech, McAllister commented upon the great suffering that Tyrone people have endured, especially in recent years. For this, he continued, they have the respect and love of republicans everywhere, and vowed that "we will not stop until we have won and handed over a democratic Ireland to the people who own it, the Irish people".

## COUNTY WATERFORD

Waterford held its annual Easter Commemoration on Easter Sunday. A lone piper and a republican colour party led a crowd of seventy people along

the quays to the national monument. A wreath was laid and a minute's silence observed. The marchers then proceeded through the city centre to the military barracks, Green Street, where on January 25th, 1923, two Cork republicans Patrick O'Reilly and Michael Fitzgerald were executed by a Free State firing squad.

Denis O'Brien of Waterford Sinn Féin gave the main address. He paid tribute to all Irish patriots who gave their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. Drawing attention to Sinn Féin's peace document, O'Brien stressed Sinn Féin's commitment to see real peace with justice in our country.

Condemning the alliance forged between the SDLP and the UDA, O'Brien emphasised that Gerry Adams still represents the nationalist people of West Belfast. The record of the Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat government on unemployment, poverty, housing, political extradition, health and education was attacked by O'Brien in his address.

The commemoration ended with a wreath being laid on the barracks wall in memory of all Irish freedom fighters. A minute's silence was observed followed by Amhrán Na BhFiánn.

## COUNTY WEXFORD

### ENNISCORTHY

Over 200 people attended the 1916 Commemoration in Enniscorthy, County Wexford on Easter Sunday. Led by a colour party and the St Patrick's Brass Band, the crowd made its way to the republican plot at the local cemetery where the main oration was delivered by Seán Finn.

He said that Sinn Féin's document *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland* was the only realistic solution to conflict here because it was based on the eradication of the main problem which was the British presence.

Finn attacked the revisionists saying:

"Whether they write for your local paper, write intellectual tomes under the guise of modern Irish history, confront them wherever they are. Dispel the big lie. This morning in Enniscorthy we remember Father Murphy, the men and women of 1916, George Keegan, Paddy Parle, Liam Mellows. That's our past. That's our history and we are proud of it. We are proud of it because we are part of it."

Earlier that morning wreaths were laid on the graves of Wexford republicans Paddy Parle and Jack Dunne in Crossstown cemetery and on the grave of Dick Cooper, Monagair.



● Part of the Monaghan Easter parade



# WHATEVER HAPPENED TO POLITICS?

■ BY DARA MAC NEILL

WHEN you actually think about it, you have to concede that it is a wonderfully consoling thought. Whatever particular part of the globe may be experiencing problems, of whatever magnitude, be it famine, plague or pestilence — rest easy. Help is at hand.

W racked by the pangs of famine? No problem. Dying slowly of an AIDS induced illness? No problem. Unemployed and living on the breadline in a country of great wealth? No problem. Because, despite whatever horrible suffering you may be enduring, right at this very moment in some plush suburb of London or LA an already overworked superstar has taken time off from their hectic lifestyle to give your plight some consideration. Then they'll ring a few drinking pals, they'll get together for a day, play a few standard classics, enjoy the adulation that comes with doing good works, and disap-

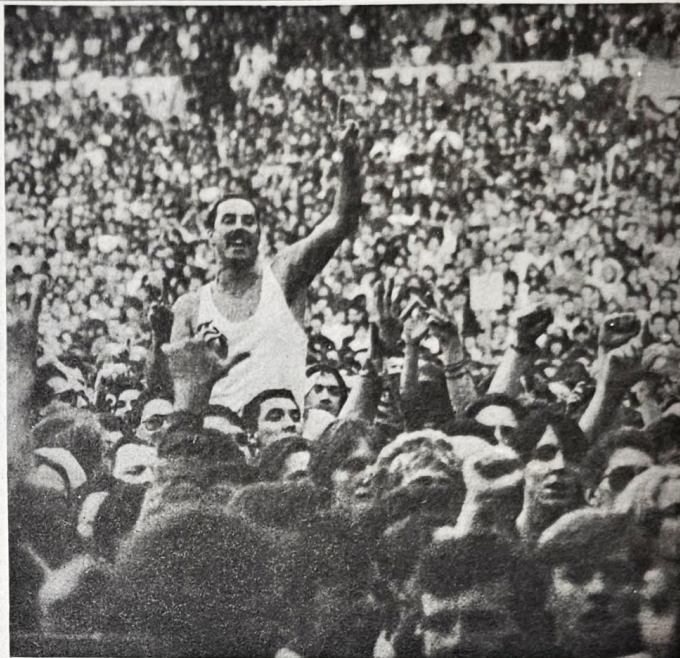
pear back into the woodwork. Hey Presto! Famine, disease, pestilence and poverty eliminated in one fell swoop. All of the evils of the world collapsing under a sustained barrage of pretty ordinary pop music. This is the stuff of Peter Pan.

Last Monday in Wembley it was the turn of the AIDS Awareness Benefit. In years gone by, every conceivable crisis has been met, not by public outrage at government inactivity, but by pop stars plying their trade before adoring fans. Live Aid — Did Famine disappear in its wake? Our own Self Aid — has unemployment done anything but spiral upwards since then?

Let's put this in perspective. Take the Live Aid situation. If for example, my neighbour forced his way into my house and proceeded to thief every last item of value, thus guaranteeing me a future of almost total destitution what should my correct response be? I know what my gut tells me, but these days it seems that the only culturally correct response would be for some musical friends to club together, hire out a parish hall and play a benefit gig for me. And as for my thieving neighbour? No doubt he would be a welcome guest, providing he pays for his ticket like everyone else. It all counts. It's reached that level.

Whatever happened to politics — Is this the ultimate response to the drab 1980s, with Tories in Britain, the US and here? Whatever happened to protest? Large scale pop concerts are all very well, but they are no substitute for political action. And popstars do not, despite their delusions, hold the strings of power. AIDS awareness, like famine, is a political issue.

Of course you also have the spectre of bands blatantly using such events for purely professional reasons — rehearsing new material, whatever. Indeed one of the highlight bands last Monday were Guns n' Roses who are in the middle of a major world tour. Wembley was their European debut. In other



● Can rock concerts really change the world?

words they used the occasion to warm up for the European leg of their tour. Perhaps the whole sad event was best summed up

when Liz Taylor arrived on the stage to give a pep talk on AIDS Awareness. Think what you will about Taylor, the point is

that her speech was interrupted by cries of "Get Off" and "Boring". "Don't stop the show". Says it all.



● Derry (left) and Tyrone continue Ulster's dominance of Gaelic football

## Ulster Aplomb and Efficiency

■ BY BREANDAN MAC RUAIRI

THESE ARE PROSPEROUS, indeed rousing times for Ulster football. Down the reigning All-Ireland champions, the province holding the Railway Cup and now, after last Sunday's semi-finals, the National League title is certain to find a resting place north of

Croke Park was a pleasant place to be on Easter Sunday. Lily wearers were common-place, Amhrán na bhFiann was sung with greater zest than usual (or so it seemed to me) and we were treated to two fine exhibitions of Gaelic football by four of the country's best sides. There are some things the revisionists will never break!

Derry had a mere point to spare over Meath, but really they were more ahead of their opponents than the scoreline suggests. A series of missed opportunities

in the second-half and the now familiar late Meath surge almost provided us with an injustice. This Derry side were truly impressive and, unlike predecessors, they were able to match skill with the grit that is required to win through when the pressure comes on. They were that bit sharper as well and that gave them a vital edge in gaining possession on several important occasions. Defensively Derry were leech-like in their effectiveness, it's a long time since the famed Meath full-forward line

were held to scoring only two points from play. At centrefield they are strong and productive, Brian McGilligan has toiled for a long time on poor Derry teams, now with capable players around him, he is rejuvenated. The forward-line did well against the meanest defence in Ireland and the lavish praise poured on young Anthony Tóhill is not unwarranted.

For their part, Meath were disappointing. They are clearly not as far down the road to peak form this season as earlier League displays would have indicated. Sean Boylan must be worried. The forwards could make no impact whatsoever and while David Beggy and PJ Gillick were missing, I doubt if their presence would have altered the flow of events significantly. John McDermott struggled at mid-field while Liam Hayes offered another enigmatic hour's effort, occasionally majestic but for the most part indifferent to events around him. As has often been the case in recent times, hard work by the rearguard six and some brave goalkeeping kept the royal county in the game. But Mick Lyons

frequently laboured, far from his best following that nagging injury. Overall Meath's much hailed "young turks", did not fare as well as their Derry counterparts and this presents further concern for the backroom men.

Only a fool would write Meath off after this contest but suddenly they look very vulnerable. Sean Boylan has a lot to do to get them right and to put fire back in their bellies for the championship.

The second semi-final was an intense and thrilling battle. Both sides looked exceptionally well-prepared and full of running. Tyrone deserved their win, their combination of dogged defence and dashing forward play was most invigorating. Dublin must be rueful, they produced their best hour's football for a long time and might have secured a replay if a late injury-time free had not been wasted. The decision to substitute free-kick expert Charlie Redmond was costly and unforgivable.

I found Dublin manager Paddy Cullen's after match comments bizarre, when he expressed

himself pleased with his side's progress. Their followers certainly are not! They expect better. Remember this is not a new Dublin team, they have been on the road for some time. The league was won by them last year and they came within an ace of removing Meath from the Leinster Championship. In light of that standard, to derive any comfort from defeat in the league semi-final, albeit to a good Tyrone team, is scarcely plausible.

There are major question marks over Cullen's judgement and general ability for the job. This, in my opinion, is one of the main reasons for Dublin's regression and his judgement in the match against Tyrone is more evidence of this.

There is much about this Tyrone team to enthuse the football connoisseur. In Adrian Cush, Matt McGleann and Peter Canavan they have unearthed young forwards of some brilliance. Plunkett Donaghy made a dramatic second-half come-back winning important balls at crucial stages and kicking an inspirational equalising point near the

end. He certainly has a lot to contribute to the future of this team. The backs are the essence of competence with Fay Devlin and Enda Kilpatrick often catching the eye. Their strength in depth is also noteworthy, one should consider that such quality players as John Lynch, Harry McClure, Kevin McCabe, Ray Munroe and Donaghy himself couldn't make the starting line-up.

So the scene is set for a unique and mouth-watering final on May 3rd and two of the most troubled and oppressed of the Six Counties can look forward to a day to savour. One swallow never made a summer in the case of either of Sunday's successful teams but it's a long time since two Ulster counties performed with such aplomb and efficiency at headquarters. The Leinster-Munster axis which has dominated Gaelic football for the past 20 years may not yet be eclipsed but it is definitely in grave peril.

While many of the nation's best footballers were on view at Croke Park, 20,000 people packed Cusack Park in Ennis to see Tipperary defeat Galway by seven points in the first semi-final of the hurling league. The prowess of this Tipperary squad is universally acknowledged, so the result tells us much more about Galway's team-building endeavours. It seems they have plenty to do and the prospects of a serious early championship challenge emanating from the Tribesmen looks remote. On Sunday Cork and Limerick will contest the second semi-final in what promises to be another enthralling spectacle of our great national game.





## BALLRAIOCHT SHINN FÉIN

Is é bunaidhm Shinn Féin aistharraingt na Breataine ó na Sé Chontae, athaontú ár dtíre agus bunadh phoblacht shóisialach dhaonlathach.

Más mian leat bheith i do bhall de Shinn Féin, nó tuilleadh eolas a fháil faoi Shinn Féin nó ár ngníomhartha agus ár bpolasaithe, líon an fhoirm thíos agus seol é chuig Shinn Féin, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1.

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● Barra de chuid an AOH i Clochar i 1911

## An Druma Mór ar ais aris

Beagnach 60 bliana ar éis don Druma Mór a dhul as radharc na ndaoine bhí sé le feiceáil arís Dé Domhnaigh seo caite ag Teach an Phobail, Mín a' Bhaoil.

Scriobh Seosamh Mac Grianna ó shin, ag aithris stair na conspóide a úrscéal cáiliúil faoin Druma Mór blianta d'éirigh idir, an INF agus an AOH, sna

ceanntaireacha comharsanacha Anagaire agus Rinn an Feirste faoi úinéireacht agus seilbh an druma móir.

Ní fhacathas an Druma ó 1936 nuair a bualadh é ag oscailt teach an Phobail Mín a' Bhaoil, agus creideadh ar feadh na blianta go raibh sé i bhfolach i taise. Cúpla bliana ó shin cuartáidh amach é arís ach bhí damáiste mór déanta de le himeacht na mblianta. Bhí an fráma lubtha, agus ní raibh mórán dóchais go ndeiseofaí nó cluinfe arís é. Ansin chuala fear a gníos drumai do bhannaí ceoil oráisteach an scéal, agus chuir seisean suim sa dushlán.

An tseachtain seo caite nochtaíodh toradh a shaothair agus tá a sheanghlóir ar ais ag an druma, lena mhana: Cáisc 1916; agus dá bhrát, an brat naisiúnta agus brat Stáit Aontaithe Mheiriceá ar a thaobhanna. Agus mar phragas a oibre chun an druma a dheisiú?

"Nócha uaire a chaith mé ag obair leis", arsa fear a' druma, "mar aiseic anois níl uaim ach 90 uaire i bhfoghlaim na Gaeilge." Níl dabht ná go mbeadh na daoine a throid ar son na druma blianta ó shin ag gáire faoin lóirín sin.



● Brón ar an mbás, ní féidir a shéanadh

## Cuimhne ar lá tubaisteach

Tá scéal tubaiste bád farantóireacht Aran Móir i dTír Chonaill le foilsiú i bhfoirm úrscéal amach anseo, 60 bliana tar eis na tragóide a chríochnaigh saolta 19 duine ón oileán, i mí na Samhna 1935.

Bádh na daoine seo, an tremlach acu ag filleadh ó ráithe oibre in Alban ag tógáil praití, nuair a sheol an bád farantóireachta isteach i cith cloch sneachta tobann, leath mhíle amach ón caladh. Maraíodh cúigear as clann

amháin, agus ceathrar as clann eile sa timpiste a tharla nuair a bhuail an bád le carrag agus fágadh é gan cumas treoir. Fuair siad 17 gcrop agus fear inste scéal amháin lá ar na mhárach, agus dhá chorp caillte go deo.

Anois tá an scéal iomlán scríofa ag oileánach, Jimmy O Donnell, a bhí ina ghasúr óg nuair a tharla an tubaiste agus a bhí ina cholcheathair le'n teaghlach Uí Donnell a chaill a saolta san eachtra millteannach.

Taobh leis an scéal féin, beidh pictiúir ón treimhse agus cur síos ar an cineál saol a bhíodh ag oibrithe Éireannacha in Alban sna laethanta úd, nuair a bhí eismirce ina chuid den chultúr ar an oileán, rud is léir, atá fós fíor. O 2,500 duine a bhí ar an oileán tráth, tá an daonra anois ag titim agus thart ar 600 duine fágtha. Astu siúd tá mórán a chuimhníonn go fóill ar oíche an tubaiste agus mar aon le Jimmy O Donnell, a chríochnaigh agus caoineann ag fóill a chairde agus gaoil a bádh.

## 'Is nimh an chinsireacht'

"Ní cosúil gur sheas mórán de mhuintir oifigiúil na Gaeilge leis nuair a tháinig an tairne ar an troigh."

Ní ag labhairt faoi shéin ach faoin tAthair Mícheál O hici a bhí Proinsias Mac Aonghusa nuair a scríobh sé na focail úd, ach d'fheadfaí gur ea, má fheachtar ar an fheachtas gránna atá á reachtáil chun é a briseadh as a phost. Is de thairbhe tacaíocht a lorg in alt nuachtáin do polaitheoirí éagsula sna Sé Chontae, Gearóid Mac Adhaimh san áireamh, atá an rí-rá binibeach ag grúpaí frith-náisiúnta sa Deisceart.

Duine é Mac Aonghusa a

sheas riamh i gcoinne cinsireacht agus anois i cosúlachtaí go mbeidh iarracht déanta póicín a chuir ar a thuairaimí.

"Is nimh an chinsireacht, cuma cén tír nó cén ealaíon lena bhfuil sí ag plé. Agus an chuid is measa den nimh an dúil a shéanadh cinsireacht a bheith ann."

Sin giota as alt ag Mac Aonghusa faoin cinsireacht. Alt é as cnuasach altanna On gCrannóg a phléann le mórán ábhair idir altanna staire agus altanna ar chúrsaí reatha, mórán acu a mbeadh speis ag poblachtánaigh iontu: an Heavy Gang; PTA; Bobby Sands; 'Slándáil'; M15 agus M16; Che;

■ LE DEIRDRE Nic AnTSAOIR

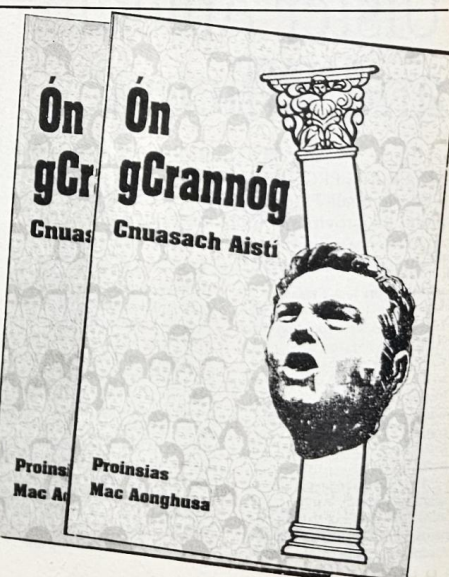
Máiréad Ní Fhearghail... Ní gá go n-aontóidh tú le chuide rud atá le rá ag MacAonghusa ach sin buntáiste atá ag léitheoirí rialta a altanna — is féidir freagra i bhfoirm litir a chuir ar eagarthóir an nuachtáin inar foilsíodh é. Aontóidh nó beidh bád ag poblachtánaigh le formhóir a bhfuil le rá ag an colúnáil conspóireach seo.

Níl stíl Mac Aonghusa n-chomh tairraingtheach le ceann Máirtín O Muilleoir in a mhacasamhail de leabhair Holy Cow! Sin ceann mór ach is stíl éasca go leor i le lámh. Tá na haltanna gairid go leor ionas gur féidir iad a léamh i gcúpla nóiméad.

Is trua, áfach, nach bhfuil aon ailt aige nó ag alán údair eile faoi "muintir oifigiúil na Gaeilge" mar a thugann sé ortha, súid nach bhfuil mar phrionsaibíl acu ach an "mé féineachas". Cá mbíonn, agus cá raibh na 'gombeen men' ina postanna compórdacha sna heagrais Gaeilge seo nuair a cloítear ar ceartaí teangan an phobail? Cá bhfuil tortha 60 bliain ag lorg deirce ó stáit atá namhadach don teanga? Bheadh a am caite i bhfad Éirinn níos torthúil dá leanfaidh siad samplaí leithéadai Bríd Ní Dhomhnaill, Máirtín O Cadhain srl a sheas suas dá gcearta teanga, nár shuí siar ag feitheamh ortha bheith bronnata ortha.

Tá breis Mac Aonghusanna uainn, daoine a deireann céard is gá a bheith ráite agus ní an seóineachas atá ag baint len alán de saol na Gaeilge agus an saol i gcoitinne.

● On Crannóg, cnuasach aistí le Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, foilsithe ag an Clóchomhair. Ní luaitear praghas.





# Letters

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

## After the elections

**A Chairde,**  
Now that the British elections are over I would like to make a few comments. First and foremost I would like to congratulate Gerry Adams on his magnificent performance against a conspiracy that included members of the Orange Order, SDLP, unionists and the clergy. Against such odds and with no allowance to speak on radio or television prior to the elections it is outstandingly brilliant to see that Gerry's polling strength of over 16,000 votes is as good today as it was nine years ago.

As for Joe Hendron I say beware, not of Gerry Adams or republicans, but of the Orange Order bigots who helped to elect you, because a vote from those people is as false as Ian Paisley pouring holy water on a new Presbyterian church. Remember Peter Robinson's remarks when he said: I would have preferred to have seen the unionists gain another seat but am glad to see the back of Gerry Adams. So Mr Hendron you may not get those 3,000 Orange votes in four or five years time. That sneering West Brit Conor Cruise O'Brien was also active in Belfast, sporting the Tory colours, and canvassing on their behalf. This is the same West Brit who, on joining the Labour Party in Ireland, saw nothing wrong in accepting members' funds from the Irish Transport and General Workers Union to keep himself and others to be elected to Dáil Éireann. Among those members were a number of republicans including myself. When finally he became minister for Post and Telecommunications his first pay off to republicans was to change Section 31 of the broadcasting act and ban republicans from freedom of speech.

Finally comes the news that the new Secretary of State for Northern Ireland is the ex-Attorney General by the name of Mayhew. This is the man who fully endorsed the shoot-to-kill policy in the North, who covered up the Stalker affair and refused to allow some policemen to give evidence. Already the messages of goodwill have gone across the water to him from Collins, Andrews and other members of the Irish government.

However, before any member of our government or those of the SDLP wish to shake his hand or wish him well (or unwell as I prefer) they should insist that he wash the blood from his hands of all those true republicans who were assassinated by his hired murderers namely, the SAS. I have no doubt however that there will be rejoicing among the mob of bigots in the unionist camps, the Orange lodges and the West Brits here in the South. I suppose too we can expect to see Mayhew on RTE or hear him on radio. No doubt just like the Paisley family, Sammy Wilson, Ken Maginnis and other members of the Orange Order, the red white and blue carpet will be rolled out either by their fellow West Brit Gay Byrne or Pat Kenny. All of these bigots have refused to condemn the Bloody Sunday killings, the Loughgall massacre, internment without trial, the use of plastic bullets etc

etc, and yet unlike Sinn Féin they are allowed to appear on television and put across their false statements on radio.

Sinn Féin can be proud of the fact that their membership is as strong today as it was in bygone days and will always remain so. Our country will only be free when we throw off the British yoke, get back our beloved country for its rightful owners and live in peace with all the nations of the world. In the meantime we watch the might of the British empire dwindle, the probable breakaway of Scotland and Wales and the dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia. That day cannot come quick enough for Irish republicans.  
**Caoimhín Breathnach, Botor Colpaire, Baillie Thoirmead, Atha Cliath 10.**

## To Paddy Murray, Star newspaper

**Dear Mr Murray,**

I read with interest your article in the *Star*, Saturday, April 11th. Also the stupid headline on the front page — IRA revenge over Adams' Poll Defeat.

The bombs in England had nothing to do with Mr Adams' defeat in the rigged election in West Belfast. Before Mr Adams was born there were bombs in England (over 100 years ago, but of course I would not expect an ignorant person like yourself to know this).

If Mr Adams died tomorrow there would still be violence because the cause of the violence would still remain, the British presence in Ireland.

Mr Adams has been an MP for the last nine years but the British like yourself refused to accept the result of the ballot box unless it is in their favour. And now you are accepting the result of the election in West Belfast because the result suits you.

No Mr Murray I think the real reason you are raging mad is because the Catholics of West Belfast again decided to vote for a man who supports the Irish Republican Army and who refuses to sit in a foreign parliament just like the Sinn Féin election representatives of 1918 after Sinn Féin's landslide victory. This was the last time we had a proper election in Ireland (32 Counties according to our constitution). Of course the English refused to accept the result of that election and decided to rule Ireland by force. Is that what you call democracy? The Republican Movement has had election successes in the past. For example — Bobby Sands MP, Owen Carron MP and Kieran Doherty TD, but it has made no difference to Britain's policy in the Six Counties which is the same as it has always been, internment camps, torture and the murder of civilians and elected Sinn Féin councillors by British forces either on their own or in collusion with the UVF and UDA.

I notice Mr Murray that you always remain silent when a Sinn Féin councillor is murdered, there have been a number of such killings over the last year or so and I have yet to see you condemn any of these murders.

Finally Mr Murray you are

always stating that the IRA has no mandate for the Irish people. I would like to finish by quoting from the book on that other great Irishman, Patrick Pearse by Xavier Carthy — "Pearse and his colleagues have rebelled against their government like other Irishmen in earlier generations. Like many others they had neither sought nor obtained the people's votes in their support. They had decided that British rule over Ireland was illegal and must be ended by force."

**Edward Timmins, Ballyfermot, Dublin 10.**

## Book on Curragh Camp

**A Chairde,**

Re: Curragh Testimony  
I require urgently in connection with the above projected work the name and address of republican internees from County Wexford who were in the Curragh Camp in the period 1940 to December 1946.

He should be alive, sound and locutious.

Among a few (there were 19 altogether from County Wexford) were: Tom Cullimore; "Der Tag"; Nick Boggan, Ballycogley; Peter Donnelly, Whitehead; David Grace, Enniscorthy; George Molloy, The Faythe; Walter Sutton, Enniscorthy; Murray Bolger; Jim Lacey, Richard Daly, Ferns; Ed Drummond, Enniscorthy; Edward Kehoe, Wexford town; Bill Ryan, Wexford town.

Few of any now living. I would welcome also the name and address of an alert person in County Sligo or County Galway.

Tá súil again g mbeidh sibh abailta teicid chugam go luath.

Beir bua,

**Unsean Mac Eoin 19 Mountjoy Square, Dublin 1.**

## Vote 'No' to Maastricht

**A Chairde,**

In promoting the Maastricht Treaty Irish politicians are preparing to hand over the powers of Dáil Éireann which make it the sole body empowered to send Irish troops to war. This power is enshrined in the Irish Constitution and will be one of the articles up for deletion in the forthcoming referendum. I am totally opposed to this because, while I am opposed to war, I believe the power to declare war should be retained by those expected to fight it.

The European arms industry, which the Maastricht Treaty hopes to rationalise, operates by making massive profits at the expense of people in Third World Countries. Who can say that at some future date Europe won't be asked to go to war to fight some Saddam Hussein? A leader armed by European dealers who now want the youth to die to compensate for their greed? Is this a future scenario we want to dump on our young people? Cannon fodder for an immoral industry? A No vote to Maastricht will help ensure your children's future.

**Declan Gould,**

**Cork.**

## Fear tactics

**A Chairde,**

The 26-County government is trying to frighten and intimidate the Irish people into voting for the Maastricht Treaty without any guarantees that the absolute right to travel and abortion referral information will be honoured by the government afterwards. On the contrary, the second part of the Solemn Declaration sought by the government, which again seeks to insulate amendments to the Constitution from EC laws or European Courts, suggests that Albert Reynolds is planning that any changes on the right to information and as a result of the Supreme Court decision in "X" will continue to be impossibly restrictive. Mr Reynolds' comments in the Dáil, that suicidal women may have to undergo the ordeal of appearing before a "panel" of psychiatrists to assess the risk, adds weight to this interpretation of government intentions. Besides smacking of the re-introduction of the Inquisition.

Mr Reynolds' and Mr Andrews' pleas that there was no other option are simply not plausible. They could have gone back to the EC Council of Ministers, told them that Maastricht was in danger and fought harder. The Danes would have understood. The referendum on Maastricht could have been postponed. Ireland's Protocol is of no interest to anyone else in Europe, it could have been unilaterally withdrawn. Albert Reynolds and David Andrews accepted too readily Franco-German intransigence. But it seems that pushing through Maastricht for six billion pounds is more important than the rights of Irish women. We are asked to accept a European union in which Irish women will be second-class citizens.

Now Mr Andrews tells us that the rights to travel and information already exist in EC law and are thus inviolable. But before we were told a case like that of "X" could not happen and EC laws existed then, but the infamous injunction was still sought and granted by the High Court (not, on this occasion, by Justice O'Hanlon).

The task of Irish nationalists and the left is to campaign for "No to Maastricht" — For the Rights of Irish Women" and to present a credible alternative to the Maastricht stitch-up. There is an alternative. Notwithstanding the hysteria of governments over Maastricht, many in Europe would welcome the opportunity for increased democratisation in Europe that a delay for the Maastricht juggernaut, as a result of its rejection in Ireland, would represent. Then there is the wider Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic. As well as the importance of countries in the Middle East and elsewhere to Ireland's trade. Also, the problems in Germany are real and cannot be ignored by simply pushing Maastricht through. If the situation in Europe and the world is different from when Maastricht was thought of, better to address it now than pretend it does not exist and find oneself a combatant a few years down the line.

Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement should involve itself in the movement in the South

over abortion and information rights for women as against Maastricht and eschew falling back on the armed campaign. Sinn Féin's vote held in West Belfast. It was loyalists that increased Joe Hendron's vote. Reliance on "the armed struggle" will only isolate the Republican Movement in Ireland and alienate any supporting opinion in Britain. The parting of the ways for Joe Hendron and his loyalist vetoes will come, over issues like the Government of Ireland Act being on the table in any "talks" and the shoot-to-kill policy. No doubt Patrick Mayhew will provide opportunities for Joe Hendron and his electorate to be an embarrassment to one another. After all, this is the man who, when asked by Chris Mullin MP if he would be appearing before Sir John May's Inquiry into the Guildford Four and Maguire frame-ups because of his role in the cover up as Attorney-General, haughtily replied that he had "no intention" of appearing before the May Inquiry. It is a pity poor Giuseppe Conlon was not granted a similar discretion. Perhaps Mayhew may yet be called to account!

**Joe Murphy, Birmingham.**

## Guinness Book of Records "Fair Enough"

**A Chairde,**

The Ballina Salmon Festival in conjunction with a variety of writing groups, poets and the general public, is endeavouring to create a new record for the longest poem in existence and to get this poem listed in the "Guinness Book of Records". The poem which will be titled "Fair Enough" will be made up of eight lines per stanza, each stanza ending with the line or the two words "Fair Enough".

It is hoped to publish this poem so each verse or verses should be accompanied by the poet's name and address on each sheet of their submission.

The poem is open to the public and can be about any subject following the above guidelines. If the poem is published, each person who has a verse or verses included will be credited.

Please send your verses, typed, on A4 paper, with your name and address on the same sheet to: "Fair Enough"

**Ballina Salmon Festival, c/o Bernie Jackson, The Mortgage Store, John Street, Ballina, County Mayo, Ireland.**

Please enclose £1 with your entries to cover administration costs.

## Hollow victory

**A Chairde,**

Now that the elections are over in the Six Counties a calm has fallen on the political battle ground in West Belfast.

Joe Hendron will no doubt be clapping himself on the back on his success.

To achieve this he stooped to the lowest depths, assuring himself a place amongst all the renegades who have taken the "thirty pieces of silver".

Like the infamous Dermot MacMurrough who more than 800 years ago crossed the sea to seek the help of the Normans. He crossed that imaginary "peace line" to solicit votes from the pro-British of what he calls the other community.

His request was granted. They threw their weight behind him. Hard-liners, shoot-to-kill, UDR members, UVF and UVF sectarian murders. Putting him in front of Gerry Adams the popular choice of the nationalist people of the constituency.

MacMurrough repaid the Normans with stolen land and other property.

Pool old Joe cannot do this but of course, he will become more vicious in his republican bashing and mud-slinging. He will be anxious to prove his fidelity to the imperial cause.

That fidelity he will call on God to witness. When he enters Westminster and takes an oath of allegiance to a foreign monarch, Elizabeth the second Queen of England.  
**P A MacSamhradháin, Contae an Chabáin.**

## MacRuairi under fire

**A Chairde,**

Poor against poor, 'pope' against 'prod', Green Brit against royal blue Brit — Celtic against Rangers. Despite all of Brendan MacRuairi's efforts nothing can hide the reality of an 'Old Firm' game. Tribalism and sectarianism abound — from both sides!

Brendan has glorified Celtic FC over the past few weeks no doubt on the grounds of a pseudo-Irish nationalism. The reality is one of Michael Kelly and David Murray, joining hands in opposition to Scottish independence. The reality is one of anti-Scottish bigotry from both camps. Scottish nationalists can be either denounced as Orange bums by the Celtic camp or Fenian bums by the Rangers camp.

Take a case in point. I was canvassing a polling station in the predominantly Catholic/Celtic supporting Royston area of Glasgow on behalf of the local SNP candidate, Brendan O'Hara. I was told by a punter going into vote that the SNP were "Scottish Proddie bastards". No doubt this guy voted for the British Labour Party (no friends of Ireland) and sings songs of the bold IRA at Parkhead. This does both the Irish and Scottish causes harm and it is endemic within sectarian culture in the West of Scotland, a culture that we can trace from both Celtic and Rangers football clubs.

Now, as a Scottish republican, I want to build a movement of all religions and none. I believe that developing the Scottish struggle is the best way to help our Irish comrades. I buy the *AP/RN* for an Irish republican angle on events, not a Celtic fanzine. Perhaps Brendan can take this hint.

So, until the day when the Scots, Welsh and Irish are free from Brit rule and their sponsored sectarianism, I shall continue to go to Love Street, Paisley, cheer on the St Mirren and call for a plague on both their houses!

Yours for the Scottish and Irish Republics.  
**Gerard J Cairns, Glasgow.**

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

**PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT**



# Notices

## REMEMBERING THE PAST



● Sackville (O'Connell) St the week after Easter 1916

## Events of Easter Week

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE EASTER RISING, when Irish revolutionaries, following years of preparation, struck a blow for freedom for the first time in 50 years, dramatically altered the course of modern Irish history.

An estimated 1,900 took part in the Rising — 1,500 Volunteers, 219 members of the Irish Citizen Army, 150 women of Cumann na mBan, about 50 senior members of Fianna Éireann and a small number of Hibernian Rifles.

At 12 noon on Easter Monday the Rising began in Dublin. The main body of insurgents, led by Pearse and Connolly and including MacDiarmada and Plunkett, marched from Liberty Hall and occupied the GPO in Sackville (now O'Connell) Street,

where they established their headquarters. A few minutes later, from the steps of the post office, Pearse proclaimed the Irish Republic.

Volunteers and members of Fianna Éireann, Cumann na mBan, the Irish Citizen Army and the Hibernian Rifles occupied numerous posts and outposts throughout the city, the other main garrisons were: the Four Courts, occupied by the 1st Battalion under the command of Edward Daly; Jacobs Factory, taken by the 2nd Battalion led by

Mac Donagh; Bolands Mills secured by the 3rd Battalion under Eamon de Valera; the South Dublin Union, occupied by Eamon Ceannt and the 4th Battalion, and the College of Surgeons/St Stephen's Green area was occupied by a contingent of Citizen Army and Fianna under Michael Mallin and Countess Markievicz.

After a week of intense fighting in Dublin, which resulted in heavy casualties being inflicted on the British forces, and engagements with the enemy in counties Galway, Meath, Cork and Wexford, the republican forces, vastly outnumbered were forced to evacuate almost all the outposts and some of the main garrisons, including the GPO, which had come under heavy bombardment from British artillery.

At 3.45pm on Saturday, April 30th, Pearse agreed to an unconditional surrender and ordered all republican forces to lay down their arms. By mid-afternoon on Sunday, all the remaining garrisons had surrendered.

During the following two weeks, 15 of the leaders were executed, 14 in the yard of Kilmainham Jail and one, Thomas Kent, in Cork Jail. Casement was executed the following August in Pentonville Prison for his part in the Rising. Over 200 prisoners were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in

England while 1,600 republicans were interned in Frongoch in North Wales.

Despite the failure of the Rising, the executions and mass arrests which followed it led to a revitalisation in the Republican Movement, a reawakening of the national demand for Irish freedom and, most significantly, the renewal of the armed struggle against the British occupation forces, within three years.

The Easter Rising began on Monday, April 24th 1916, 76 years ago this week.

## DEATH OF TOMMY REILLY

THE DEATH took place on April 12th of veteran Cavan republican and GAA man Tommy Reilly of Cootehill. Aged 84, Tommy had been active for decades in Gaelic games and republican circles in his native county.

Tommy Reilly was interned without trial by the Free State government for his republican beliefs and activities in the 1920s and '40s. A Gaelic games enthusiast he was one of the selectors of the famous Cavan football team which won the All-Ireland championship that was played in the Polo Grounds, New York in 1947. That team was trained by Tommy's brother Hughie. Up until the time he became incapacitated Tom-

my was an active supporter of the Republican Movement and was a regular attendee at all Cavan commemorations. At the time of his death he was honorary vice-president of the GAA in Cavan.

Tommy Reilly was laid to rest on Tuesday, April 14th. Sincere sympathy is extended to all his family, friends and former comrades from the Cavan Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair.

## Beannachtai

NOLAN, Eamonn (Portlaoise). Happy Easter Eamonn, all our love always from mam, dad, Ger, Jimmy and children, Conor and Daryl. Cáise shona dhuit a Eamonn le grá Corina.

BARTLEY, Belated Easter Greetings, Danny from Kevin, Siobhán and family.

## Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: Meets 6.30pm every Tuesday, USI, 16 North Great Georges Street, DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING: Anti-Extradition meeting. Speakers include extraditee Angelo Fusco, Mary Fusco and human rights activist Fr Raymond Murray. 8pm Thursday 23rd April, Georgian Room, Buswells Hotel, DUBLIN

DINNÉAR AGUS SIAMSA: 22nd

Annual Republican Reunion. Music by Fiddler's Green. 8pm Friday 24th April, Lagoon Bar, TERMON. Presentations to recently released prisoners will be made. Táille: £10. Organised by the Tyrconnell Commemoration Committee, Drumboe.

COMMEMORATION: Ballykissane Commemoration. 3pm Sunday 26th April. Assemble at the Pier, KILLORGLIN, County Kerry

COMMEMORATION: Hugh Hehir Commemoration. Prominent Speaker.

2.30pm Sunday 3rd May. Assemble CLARECASTLE Church.

PUBLIC MEETING: "Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland" Remembering James Connolly and Bobby Sands. Speakers include Mitchell McLaughlin, Derry Sinn Féin Councillor. 2pm Sunday 10th May, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, LONDON WC1 (Holborn Tube). Admission by official programme £1 from AP/RN sellers. Organised by the Wolfe Tone Society

## InDíl Chuimhne

CARSON, Billy; McELWAIN, Seamus; MURPHY, Jim; O'CALLAGHAN, Brendan; QUIGLEY, Richard. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Billy Carson, Seamus McElwain, Brendan O'Callaghan and Richard Quigley and Sinn Féin member Jim Murphy. "People who refuse to stop fighting can never be

repressed — they either win or they die — which is more attractive than losing and dying." — George Jackson. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

IN PROUD and loving memory of all those men and women comrades who have given their lives for Irish freedom. From Seán O'Hagan, H-Block 5, Long Kesh.

CARSON, Billy (13th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Billy Carson, D Company, Second Battalion, Belfast Brigade who died on April 25th 1979. Always remembered by the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee.

O'CALLAGHAN, Brendan (14th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brendan O'Callaghan who died on April 23rd 1977.

Always remembered by Aunt Kate and Bernadette Reid, USA, and by Aunt Bridgid Burns and family circle.

## Comhbhrón

GRIFFIN. Deepest sympathy is extended to Pat Joe Griffin and fam-

ily on the death of his mother-in-law. From the republican POWs (Portlaoise).

QUIGLEY. In memory of Brendan Quigley (Drogheda). Deeply regretted by Ella O'Dwyer (Durham).

TIERNY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Billy Tierny and family, from the two Shays, Frankie and Tommy.



# Celebrating the North Inner City and 1916

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"Today, many younger people are barely aware of their families' role in creating the country in which they live. In their eyes our society and our culture are not related to grand-da's rambling rhetoric after dinner. This area is emerging from a prolonged period of economic decline and neglect. The notion that the same area could have produced many of the key figures in the founding of the state seems unlikely, yet this is the case."

The latest work produced by the North Inner City Folklore Project (which last year produced the brilliant *Living in the City* book of reminiscences of local people about various aspects of life in the city past and present) is titled simply, *North Dublin, Easter 1916*.

The project has developed an extensive archive of local folklore and oral history through which it seeks to celebrate local people, history and culture by means of exhibitions

and publications.

This souvenir magazine documents the participation of the people of the northeast inner city in the Easter Rising, recalling facts of interest to today's inhabitants, such as that the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers had training grounds in Fairview, that Tom Clarke's shop in Parnell Street was the focal point of the secret IRB and that Patrick Pearse was actually sworn in there.

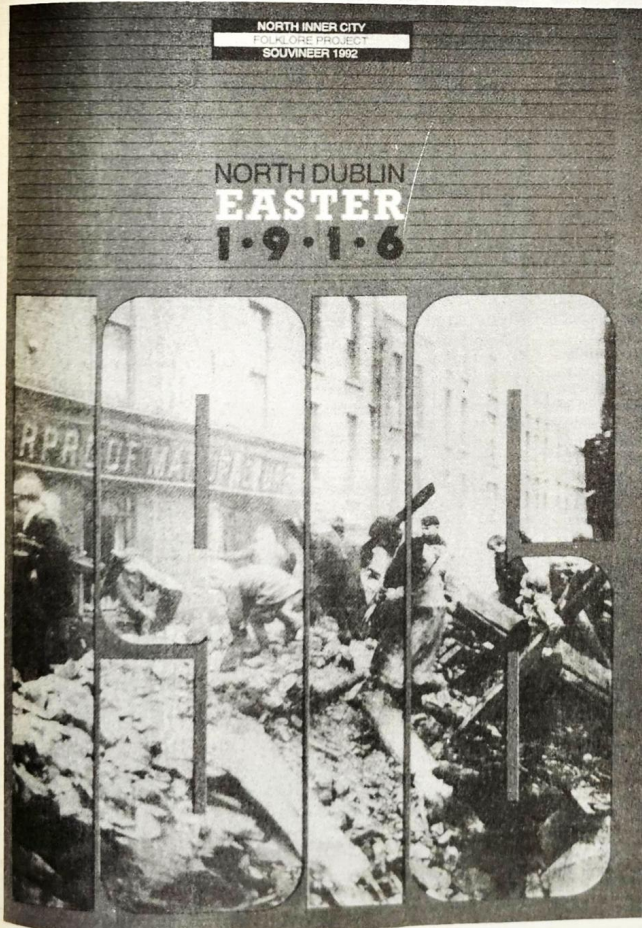
The book deals with various

aspects of the Rising, listing those from the area who played a part in the momentous event and after. Famous local rebels include Cathal Brugha, Seán Russell, the 'Frangach Barber' James Mallon and Phil Shanahan (whose pub in Foley Street was a centre of Collins' intelligence network during the Tan War and who has a block of flats named in his honour in Sheriff Street) to name but a few.

Michael Giffney recalls how his father joined the rebels in the GPO. He was in O'Connell Street waiting for a tram when the firing broke out and ran across and got in through a window on Prince's Street. "Now my father had striped pants on him like you used to see some years ago on a bank manager. Dark pants with white stripes and he had a straw boater on with a black band around it. That isn't our concept of a man joining a revolution to take on the might of the British Empire."

Dermot Ring recalls how Mrs Ring gave the young British soldiers cups of tea as they marched up through Ballybough towards the GPO: "Then she told them — go down the corner to the GPO and me son will knock your block off."

● *North Dublin, Easter 1916* is a souvenir magazine produced by the North Inner City Folklore Project and is priced £2.



SENIOR BRITISH police officers have taken stiff measures to prevent the further exposure of fake confessions by ESDA tests which show, through indentation analysis of detectives notebooks, when statements are added to after the event.

When an officer is now issued with a notebook, they are also supplied with a hard plastic notebook-size sheet.

Hey, presto! No more tell-tale indentations.

COMMERCIAL UNION'S 23-storey landmark City of London Headquarters, which was wrecked by an IRA bomb a fortnight ago and had all its windows blown out, used to be known in the financial world as "The CU Building".

Now it's been nicknamed "The See Through Building".

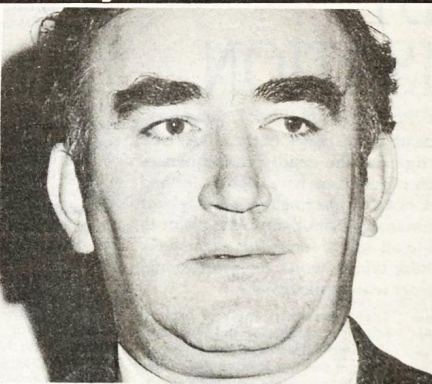


SIX BRITISH SEAMEN aboard the Ark Royal aircraft carrier were injured this week when a plane undergoing manoeuvres dropped a practice bomb, missing its intended target which was being towed at a supposed safe distance, hitting the ship and penetrating to the mess hall.

Meanwhile, the Isle of Man-based Celtic League has noted an increase in simulated attacks by US F1-11 fighter bombers off the Jurby range. It has accused the Americans of stepping up such training flights in preparation for a repeat of the 1986 bombing of Benghazi and Tripoli in Libya.

The League protested to the then prime minister Margaret Thatcher in 1986 when it emerged that the US aircraft which attacked Libya had practiced on the Jurby range beforehand.

## Rear Gunner



## Tally-ho, Matey

THE GREAT CLAIM TO FAME of the 'Royal Ulster Rifles' stint in Cyprus in 1958 was that "it was only four weeks before each platoon had claimed a leafleteer, caught fair and square at his work...", or so the regimental diaries boast.

The Sunday News this week published a snippet from them, and an accompanying picture of one Lieutenant Michael Mates, astride a horse and leaping a fence. These leafleteers must have been a dangerous bunch, because the young Michael was recorded for posterity as having captured

one, an agitator no less, escaping on his bicycle. Such courage. It earned Mates the nickname of Jessie Owens although going by the picture of The Hero on the Horse, Jessie James might have been more appropriate.

"Bill posters beware", it seems, will be the order of the

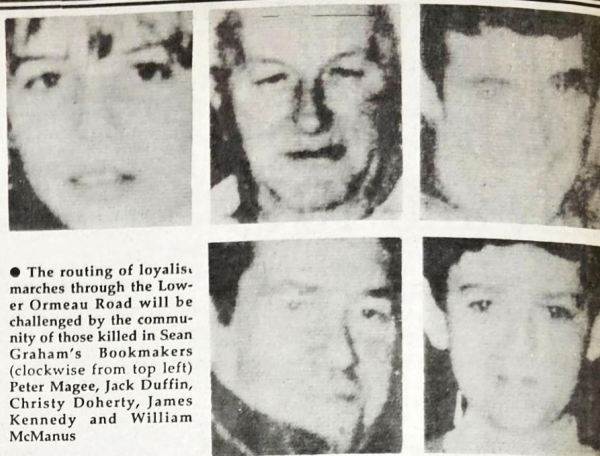
day if Mates previous colonial experience is anything to go by. Mates (who, Richard Branson assures me was not the role model for his brand of condoms) brings with him to the job of colonial undersecretary, a history of military involvement, culminating in the rank of Major. Which was ironic, the Reargunner thought, as these very qualities were what worried that other Major (UDR) Ken Maginness. Ken thought that Michael... no, lets rephrase that, Major Ken thought that Major Michael would be too influenced by his army past, and unable to grasp that defeating the IRA was a job for the RUC blah blah blah. Political solutions according to Ken include blowing up border roads, shoot-to-kill squads and internment of republicans.

Possibly the dispute revolved around professional jealousy: the rotund Ken is unlikely to ever be mistaken for an athletic Jessie Owens, although at the risk of reducing things to the level of sectarianism Ken's geographic background and the new man in Stormont's religion are worth a moments consideration... Ferimanagh, home of the Brookes and the Brookboroughs, of Sir Basil who 60 years ago proudly boasted that he had "not one Catholic about the place" and encouraged employers to follow his example. It must irk just a little then, to poor Ken, to see one sitting in the Castle.

ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE... ON THE SIDE...



# News



● The routing of loyalist marches through the Lower Ormeau Road will be challenged by the community of those killed in Sean Graham's. Bookmakers (clockwise from top left) Peter Magee, Jack Duffin, Christy Doherty, James Kennedy and William McManus

## Bereaved community opposes sectarian parade ORMEAU ROAD BESEIGED

YET AGAIN people in the nationalist area of the Lower Ormeau Road in Belfast have had the full weight of the British controlled loyalist state used against them. The sight of sectarian loyalist bands parading through their area with their drunken followers has been an all too frequent fact of life for the residents of the area for decades. The RUC, UDR and British army seal off their streets, in a curfew type operation, effectively keeping thousands of residents from even buying provisions in the shops on the front of the Lower Ormeau Road.

In the past local residents have protested about their treatment, and have put forward positive plans for the rerouting of these marches. The bridge which crosses the River Lagan on the Ormeau

Road separates the loyalist Annadale Flats from the nationalist Lower Ormeau Road and it is at this point the people of the Lower Ormeau say the loyalist bands should not cross, especially since there

are two other bridges further upstream, and actually closer to Annadale Flats. The destination of these marches is the loyalist Sandy Row which can be reached easier by using the Kings Bridge and then the Strandmillis Road, which would then take the loyalist marchers down University Road to the top of Sandy Row.

The fact that this widely accepted route is not used speaks volumes for the influence of the Orange Order within the 'security' forces. The added fact that many RUC personnel are also members of the sectarian Orange Order is another reason for this continuing coat-trailing exercise on the Lower Ormeau Road

from Easter through to September every year.

This Easter the start of another series of triumphalist displays was even more insulting to the Lower Ormeau people in the light of the murder of five Catholics by the UDA in the Sean Graham bookmakers shop on that road in February. A well-known loyalist from the Annadale Flats was charged with involvement in the shooting attack. Local residents got together after this atrocity to protest against further loyalist marches and formed a group, called the Lower Ormeau Concerned Residents group (LOCR) which organised a very dignified silent protest on Easter Monday.

In their silent protest, outside the bookmakers shop, the local residents held placards up which called for the diverting of the loyalist sectarian marches. They were hemmed in by the RUC, but managed to get their message across to various journalists and TV crews, who

witnessed the collusion between the various forces of loyalism in attempting to deny ordinary nationalists their right to live in their own streets.

The local people who were protesting viewed as sinister the fact that the RUC allowed one of the followers of the loyalist band from Annadale Flats to take photographs of them. This was done despite protests to the RUC who, in typical fashion, stood back and allowed them to freely carry on with what one Ormeau resident said was "more information for them to act on".

Speaking after the loyalists had passed, a spokesperson for the LOCR said that "every single person in the Lower Ormeau area, over the age of 18, signed a petition opposing loyalist marches through the area".

This is an issue which will not disappear as the people of the Lower Ormeau area have pledged to continue their campaign in the months ahead.

## DEATH BY DEMONISATION

■ BY ANTHONY McINTYRE, H-Block 7, Long Kesh

DANNY CASSIDY's recent death at the hands of the UDA/UFF in Kilrea has thrown more light on the deadly consequences produced by a process which republicans have rightly termed 'demonisation'. The process not only permeates all levels of British state activity, it also emanates from many who claim to be either neutral or opposed to all acts of force. It is exclusively directed at nationalists or those whose work, for professional reasons, brings them into contact with republicans.

At the funeral mass for Danny Cassidy, Bishop Edward Daly of Derry — no friend of republicans — spoke with quite some clarity when he outlined the manner in which demonisation (although he did not use the term) had been employed against the UDA's second victim from Kilrea in eight months. Daly spoke of systematic public harassment on the part of the RUC, which had clearly identified the victim to loyalists as someone who must be guilty of the capital offence of being a republican — a variation of the old missing files theme. Given that Sinn Féin voters are now a stated legitimate target of the UDA/UFF, the public harassment of people like Danny Cassidy, for no reason other than the holding of republican beliefs, is a deliberate and fatal selection process.

But, RUC harassment is only one aspect of the procedure. Politicians and churchmen, like Mary Harney and Cahal Daly also play their part.

They persist in their efforts to ostracise, marginalise and disenfranchise republicans and those sympathetic to them — to have their votes accorded no weight, and to be afforded no civility while alive, and at best treated as an embarrassment when dead, as in the case of those who lost their lives in the Falls Road Sinn Féin Centre. They too contribute to the pollution exhaled by the NIO which, in turn, is inhaled by the UDA and subsequently acted upon.

The deadly outcome of demonisation is much more widespread than the death of Danny Cassidy. The British state is aware that, by its actions, it is setting people up for assassination. Yet it persists because it needs to intimidate people away from taking up positions that bring them into conflict with the British perspective on the future of Ireland. The British state continuously works to

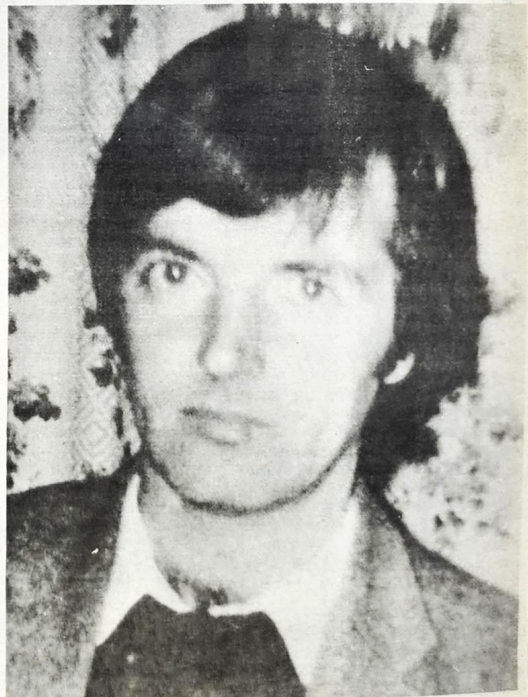
manufacture a consensus of exclusion in which people are publicly identified and labelled as pariahs, in the knowledge that this increases the likelihood that the UDA will attempt to kill those identified.

Douglas Hogg, a junior British minister, criticised some solicitors whom he spuriously claimed were actively aiding republicans — the consequence was that Pat Finucane lost his life to UDA assassins.

Peter Brooke made the Irish language society, Glór na nGael, a target for demonisation through the withdrawal of financial assistance, falsely implying that it was a front-organisation for something else. Not surprisingly, Pádraig O Cléirigh, an Irish language enthusiast, was shot dead by the UDA in his Antrim Road home, while another language activist escaped with his life after being injured by UDA assassins as he drove a taxi through South Belfast.

Richard Needham's accusation against academics who were part of the Obair project — a study aimed at exploring the true extent of unemployment in West Belfast — that they were no different from Sinn Féin, creates precisely the type of atmosphere wherein the UDA will shoot academics like Adrian Guelke (although not associated with Obair).

There are no easy ways to combat the demonisation process. To speak out against it may expose those who do to the risk of being demonised themselves. Ensuring that the question is retained in the public consciousness is probably the only means at present available with which to let the British know that they tread on soft ground. Eddie



● Danny Cassidy — another victim of the demonisation of republicans. Daly's outspokenness is a small step in the right direction. But perhaps it is too much to expect that this card-

nal might take notice and desist from the part he too has played in death by demonisation.