



An Phoblacht

Sraith Nua Im! 15 Uimhir 21
(Britain 50p) Price 45p

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Dáardaoin, 27 Bealtaine
Thursday, 27 May 1993

BALLOT BUSTER

THE SINN FÉIN performance in the Six-County local elections was nothing short of a triumph. Against the odds and against all the predictions of its enemies the republican party won eight more seats on the councils in the Six Counties, increased its percentage to 12.5% of the overall vote in the North and 36% of the nationalist vote. Eleven years of attempts to write off and explain away the Sinn Féin vote have been proved wrong and wrong again.

Sinn Féin dramatically increased its vote to become the party with the highest first preference total in Belfast and in Dunganon, where it won two extra seats. These were only the two most outstanding performances in an election which saw gains made across the North. Unbowed by British terror and political censorship the republican electorate once more demonstrated its determination to be free. The nationalist agenda has been strengthened and with the British government's flawed talks in dire trouble the argument for a real peace process has been strengthened. The challenge now is for republicans throughout Ireland and abroad to build on the Sinn Féin success and move forward to the ultimate resolution of the conflict.

— Full election analysis page s6,7,8,9.

● Here we go! — Newly elected Belfast Sinn Féin councillors with their election teams after they gained the largest share of first preference votes making them the second largest party in the city





● General view of Portadown, where IRA Volunteers had planted a 1,000lb bomb



● Belfast's Opera House after the IRA's bomb, damage in Belfast city centre is estimated to have run into millions of pounds

Massive bill on the way

WAR NEWS

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT is facing a massive compensation bill, estimated at a over a third of the £65 million which has been allocated by the British to pay out in bomb damage compensation, following the four huge bomb attacks on commercial targets in Belfast, Portadown, Knockbreda and Magherafelt.

The four huge bomb blasts began on Thursday morning, 20 May, in Belfast's city centre when a 1,000lb bomb devastated the city's 'golden mile' area. This was a particularly daring attack with the IRA Volunteers evading 12 separate British checkpoints to position the truck bomb adjacent to the multistorey Europa Hotel.

The IRA's Belfast Brigade detailed the following sequence of events:

"Despite the presence of British military checkpoints at Bradbury Place, Botanic Avenue, Ormeau Road, the Boyne Bridge, Grosvenor Road, Divis Street, Millfield, Donegall Street, Frederick Street, York Street, and two of the Lagan river bridges, our Volunteers drove a 1,000lb 'skip' type truck bomb into Belfast's city centre, and parked it beside the Europa Hotel shortly after 8am on Thursday, May 20. As the Volunteers left the vehicle, several warnings of the bombs location were given by other Volunteers.

"At 8.30am the bomb detonated despite the British army's attempt to defuse the device with two small explosions."

This was the latest in 30 bomb attacks on this prestigious commercial target which has been up for sale for the past two years.

Among several other commercial premises badly damaged in the massive blast were British government offices in the Chamber of Commerce building, Belfast's main bus terminal and the Belfast Opera House. Scores of other buildings were devastated over a 300 yard radius, causing damage estimated to run into millions of pounds.

■ SECOND 1,000LB BLAST

As British forces increased their futile 'ring of steel' around Belfast, the IRA's North Armagh Brigade swung into action with another 1,000lb bomb attack. Commercial property in Portadown's High Street took the full force of the

explosion with provisional estimates putting the cost at £15 million.

The North Armagh Brigade said that their Volunteers placed a Toyota Hiace van containing the 1,000lb bomb beside the offices of the Halifax Building Society before 11pm on Saturday evening, 23 May.

As in the Belfast attack several warnings were issued. The bomb detonated at 11.26pm ripping through over 40 commercial premises. Three RUC personnel were injured, one critically. Nearby premises in Edward Street and Woodhouse Street were also badly damaged.

The Portadown explosion follows two recent blasts in nearby Lurgan and Craigavon when two 1,000 and 2,000lb bombs exploded. Concluding their statement the North Armagh Brigade said that the full effect of this type of operation is not confined to the financial cost which

the British Exchequer has to cover:

"The tying down of hundreds of enemy personnel in fixed positions guarding commercial property results in gaps in their numbers in other parts of the country. These gaps will continually be exploited by our active service units."

■ HOTEL DESTROYED

In the fourth bomb attack on the Drumkeen Hotel within a year, in Knockbreda on the outskirts of Belfast, the IRA's Belfast Brigade ensured that those members of the crown forces who frequent it will not be allowed to rest in its plush interior after their daily marauding through nationalist communities.

The IRA's Belfast Brigade said that Volunteers positioned a 600lb bomb in a Ford Sierra estate and placed it in the Drumkeen Hotels car park early on Sunday morning, 23 May. Following three warnings the bomb detonated at 1.26am, causing major structural damage to the building. The force of the blast left a ten foot crater in the car park and other commercial property at a nearby shopping complex was also damaged. The cost of this

bomb attack is estimated at £2.5 million.

The Belfast Brigade statement went on to say that following one attack last year they specifically warned in a statement that continual use by the crown forces of this hotel would result in further bomb attacks. With this latest attack no members of the crown forces will be using what is left of the building.

■ MAGHERAFELT TOWN CENTRE FLATTENED

The eastern shore of Lough Neagh saw the next massive bomb exploding, this time late on Sunday evening as the IRA's South Derry Brigade put a well-prepared plan into effect.

Detailing their operation the South Derry Brigade said that a number of their engineers assembled a 1,000lb bomb and put it into a Ford Transit van. Volunteers then accompanied the huge explosive device to a spot outside the town centre. After scouting Magherafelt and monitoring the movements of a number of crown forces' mobile patrols the van was driven into the town's Broad

Street, situated just off the Diamond, where it was parked beside the Ulsterbus depot.

Giving cover to the bomb unit were several heavily armed IRA Volunteers who ensured no possible British interruption of the operation. Warnings were then given and all Volunteers dispersed to pre-arranged positions.

At 10.21pm the bomb detonated, rocking the town centre destroying the Northern and Ulster banks and reducing the bus depot to rubble. Twenty other commercial premises were also damaged and it is estimated that 70% of all commercial buildings in the town were affected.

■ PATROL UNDER ATTACK

On Wednesday, 19 May as British troops were on footpatrol along Finaghy Road North in West Belfast a lone IRA Volunteer lobbed an impact grenade at two British soldiers. The grenade landed beside them, exploded and blew both across the footpath.

■ BARRACKS FIRED ON

Later on Saturday evening a number of Volunteers opened fire from several positions at the heavily fortified British base in New Barsney, again in West Belfast. A total of 30 rounds were fired at British soldiers in lookout posts on the bases perimeter.

■ SNIPER TARGETS SOLDIERS

Also on Saturday the Tyrone Brigade, Oglagh na hÍreann targeted the British Killymeal base in Dungannon. Providing cover for an IRA sniper were several members of an ASU positioned in cover near the target. The sniper fired two shots at an identified member of the British forces.

As the target disappeared from view another British post opened up on the sniper's position. Giving covering fire the ASU forced a cessation of enemy fire allowing for the withdrawal of the snipers. British fire was opened up again but by this time all Volunteers had withdrawn.



● The scene of devastation in Magherafelt after the IRA's fourth major bomb in four days went off last Monday morning

Mayhew talks plan in trouble

A RIFT has developed between the London and Dublin governments following the latest meeting of British and Irish ministers at Iveagh House in Dublin, damaging prospects for a resumption of the talks process.

The disagreement has arisen following the announcement by the British that they would seek to restart the talks with a paper drawn up by British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew. Mayhew insisted that this paper would be an exclusively British one and would not countenance any input from the Dublin government. He also refused Dublin ministers permission to see the paper before any talks resumption.

Discussion at Tuesday's meeting of general ideas contained within the British paper are believed to have led to the current disagreements. This was due to its purely internal approach to the conflict in the Six Counties. The main thrust is for a devolved administration in the Six Counties and no real advance on Dublin's current "consultative" role in affairs there.

The proposals may also have been seen by the Dublin team as too obviously one-sided on the issue of sovereignty, increasing British/unionist pressure for Dublin to remove the national demand for Irish unity as expressed in Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution.

Mayhew's comments on Arti-

cles Two and Three following the Dublin meeting typified British arrogance in dealing with Irish nationalist opinion. He said: "The Irish government knows very well that in the view of the British government, Articles Two and Three are a significant factor in whether talks will resume and I have previously said that they were unhelpful to that process."

An acceptance by Dublin of the British proposals as a basis for a resumption in the talks, which exclude Sinn Féin who represent nearly 40% of nationalist opinion in the Six Counties, would have been nothing less than abject subservience to a purely British agenda on the future of the North.

The Dublin government is acutely aware, particularly following the strong republican showing in the local government elections, that such a course of action was not only doomed to failure but would remove any remaining credibility which it has among northern nationalists.

Following Tuesday's meeting in Dublin's Iveagh House Mayhew and Dick Spring issued a joint statement expressing hopes that the talks process would resume as soon as possible.

It now looks as if Mayhew's attempts to engage in a fresh initiative to stabilise British rule in the North with the full cooperation of Dublin and the SDLP has finally come up against its own contradictions, helped in no small measure by the election results.

The strong vote for Sinn Féin strengthened the argument for an Irish nationalist agenda and sent a clear message that the nationalist people would not accept the imposition of an internal Six-County settlement.

A high vote for the more obviously bigoted representatives of loyalism in the elections may have led Mayhew to believe that his hand was strengthened in pursuing his attacks on the Irish nationalist position, in particular Articles Two and Three but if this was his view it is one which ignored the other important variables.

The attitude of the unionists will have been another major factor in the process which led to the latest rupture. Paisley's

unwillingness to talk to anyone for a variety of artificial reasons had in recent months exposed unionist intransigence to all and sundry.

Loyalist intransigence and Britain's continued unwillingness to confront it seems once again, for the umpteenth time in Irish history to doom to failure another British political initiative for Ireland.

Now is the obvious time for the Dublin government and the SDLP to seize the initiative and declare

that yet another British failure is enough. It is incumbent that they show some degree of leadership and responsibility and formulate an Irish agenda based clearly on democratic principles which can at last ensure moves towards a resolution of the conflict.

The policy of isolating Sinn Féin who speak for almost 40% of nationalist opinion in the Six Counties must now be ended. Dialogue between all shades of nationalist opinion ought now be commenced to find a clear political path towards an Irish agenda for peace.



● Patrick Mayhew and Dick Spring leave an 'Anglo-Irish meeting' in Dublin — Mayhew's attempts to stabilise British rule in Ireland with the full cooperation of Dublin has run up against its own contradictions

RUC killer sent bombs to nationalists

RUC KILLER Allan Moore sent bombs to nationalists in Belfast, Carnlough and Roslea in October and November 1991. The revelations came at the close of the inquest into the death of the RUC officer and the three people he killed at the Sinn Féin advice centre on the Falls Road.

The evidence linking RUC killer Allan Moore to these bombings has been in RUC hands since Moore killed Paddy Loughran, Pat McBride and Michael O'Dwyer and then shot himself on 4 February 1992. Evidence given to the inquest on Monday, 24 May 1993 revealed that Moore had hidden at his parents' Ballymena home bomb-making equipment compati-

ble with bombs sent to three nationalists.

The equipment consisted of copper piping, camera flash bulbs, shotgun cartridges and gunpowder from fireworks and when assembled "the devices were known as pipe bombs which had the potential to be lethal" said the forensic scientist.

It was also made known that

Moore had some of this bomb-making equipment in a holdall in his car. This was found in a search of the car after Moore shot himself and was in his possession when he drove in and out of two RUC barracks on the day of the killings.

The Six Counties' chief forensic scientist, Dr Gordan McMillan, revealed that bombs similar to those Moore had developed had been discovered in the Six Counties since September 1991 when Moore returned from England. The scientist then informed the inquest that none of the devices

had been found "in wider circulation" since Moore's death.

The whole episode raises the question as to why evidence linking Moore to the attempted murder of at least three nationalists was suppressed. It must also be asked whether RUC investigations into these bombings uncovered involvement with loyalist paramilitaries.

Witness after witness to the inquest destroyed the RUC version of events, none more so than psychiatrist Dr Alec Lyons. He said the "stress factor of working

for the RUC played only a minor part" in Moore's decision to kill three people and then kill himself.

It was his opinion that Moore decided to kill himself before he went to the centre. This fits in with evidence that said Moore threatened to kill himself and take others with him. He had made threats against republicans and had in a calculating way set out to fulfil the threats.

It is a far cry from a man who "went off the rails" or a "rogue cop that went berserk" as the RUC and media sought to portray Moore after he had killed three nationalists. The RUC turned a blind eye to the activities of someone they trained as a killer with a hatred of republicans.

Decaying choppers worry British forces

THE ABILITY of the British forces to operate in border areas, particularly South Armagh, is being steadily curtailed due to the fast-deteriorating state of the occupying forces' fleet of helicopters.

According to Bernard Moffatt of the Celtic League, who has been researching the subject the British have been forced to travel as far afield as Bombay in an effort to purchase second-hand helicopters to bolster their existing stock. This is a serious crisis for the crown forces' ability to give air support, especially in areas where air transport is the only reasonably safe way to carry supplies and personnel.

The increasing obsolescence, airframe attrition and stretched commitment of the helicopter forces is causing major headaches for the Ministry of Defence (MoD). MoD officials have been scouring helicopter junk yards globally for suit-

able second-hand equipment in addition to juggling existing equipment between the services. The RAF, which provides utility and heavy-lift capability to the army, has been looking for 20 second-hand Puma helicopters to augment their existing force.

The Celtic League has also uncovered details of a MoD visit to Bombay in India last November to examine 20 second-hand Westland WG 30 machines with a view to purchase. These machines had been used in oilfield support work, and would have been almost clapped out. They were looked at and rejected. The very fact that they were considering purchasing Westlands, which were designed originally for military service but had been turned down as unsuitable, is an indication of a degree of desperation.

A Royal Navy Lynx helicopter and another from Belize have recently been transferred to the Army Air Corps. The Lynx is used

as the main support helicopter in the Six Counties.

On the heavy-lift side, so essential for resupplying and reformatting isolated bases and refilling opened border roads, the situation is as critical. Attempts last year to acquire redundant Royal Australian Air Force CH 47's (Chinooks), were frustrated when the Australian government traded them in against new purchases from Boeing/Vertol. Britain's existing heavy-lift fleet is to be refurbished by its United States' manufacturer pending decisions on new equipment.

Moffatt points to the continued use of vintage machines such as Wessex and Scout helicopters which have over two decades' service as further evidence of strain. Helicopters require four times the maintenance hours of fixed wing aircraft, primarily because of their less efficient gearing, so an older fleet means more work for British mechanics. Last year four mem-

bers of the crown forces were killed when a helicopter crashed while flying near the border.

The IRA has also proved more than capable of forcing helicopters down. In a widely publicised incident, three soldiers were injured, one seriously, when an Army Air Corps Gazelle AH1 helicopter was shot down near Augher in County Tyrone in February 1990.

With procurement policy thrown into disarray ever since the Westland helicopter scandal which forced Michael Heseltine's resignation as British Secretary of State for Defence, the existing stocks are likely to be overstretched with the increasing possibility of serious accidents.

It was the Isle of Man branch of the Celtic League which, in 1991, revealed that the British were

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN



covertly using four Italian Agusta 109A helicopters, two of them captured from the Argentines during the Malvinas War, for covert border operations. The Agusta is useful to undercover troops like the SAS because of its remarkable resemblance to the 26-County Air Corps Dauphin helicopters.

Moffatt also accused the British of attempting to conceal safety and reliability facts about its helicopters when a Royal Navy Lynx crashed in Kenya, killing nine members of the crown forces, including one from Belfast.

News

Travellers protest after violent eviction

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

A LARGE GROUP OF PEOPLE from a wide variety of Travellers' representative groups held up rush hour traffic on the main Dublin to Galway Road on Monday evening to call for the provision of proper accommodation and to protest at the violent eviction of a number of families from a field in Clondalkin the previous week.

One woman suffered a broken foot and caravans and trailers were badly damaged when the Travellers were violently forced off the land. A group of workers with cranes and diggers, employed by the site's owner,

the property developer Owen O'Callaghan, backed up by gardai in full riot gear and a group of unemployed men, paid for the day to act as 'heavies', arrived at the Coldcutt Road site to evict nine families.



● Bridget Collins who was injured when a garda hit her with a riot shield while she was trying to protect her children

The Travellers had lived on the site for two years and say that they had a good relationship with local residents, a relationship which some feel may be put in jeopardy now that they have been put onto the side of the road.

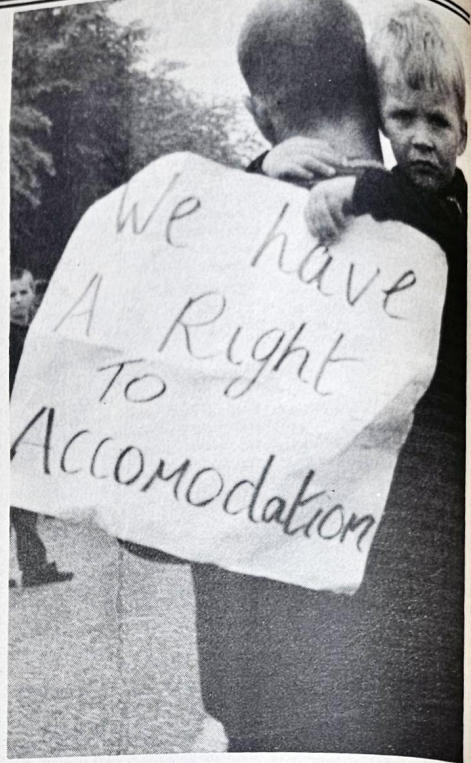
The eviction was carefully-timed, the team arriving at 8.30 am on Thursday, 20 May. Most of the men were not on the site at the time as they sign on for social welfare payments at Castle Street in the city centre every Thursday morning. The women present were given no time to move their property or to get their children ready for school. The cranes moved straight in and lifted the caravans and trailers off the site, damaging many of them severely in the process.

Bridget Collins' children were in bed when the early morning eviction commenced. She says that she ran out of her caravan to try to stop it being moved while her children were still inside. As she got outside a garda hit her with a riot shield. She fell to the ground, breaking her foot in the process. Four Travellers were arrested, including two teenage boys, and charged with breach of the peace.

As soon as the trailers had been removed the diggers moved in and any belongings left on the site were covered in earth. The gang then moved on to the Ballygarra Roundabout site where another 13 families were evicted. The Travellers later complained that none of the families on the Coldcutt Road site had been served with court orders to leave the site while only some of the Ballygarra families had been so served.

AP/RN also spoke to Patrick A'Mongan, whose converted truck trailer home was burnt out in a previous eviction a week earlier. Mongan warned the workers with the crane that he had a fire burning in the range but they ignored him and attempted to move the trailer anyway. The fire tipped over and the trailer was completely gutted, destroying his £400 range, new television and other property. His other caravan was also badly damaged when it was dropped onto the roadway outside the field.

Mongan had previously received a court order to vacate



● A child being carried during the protest at the violent evictions of Travellers from a field in Clondalkin

the site. When he received it he went to Dublin County Council seeking alternative accommodation but nothing came of it.

The heavy-handed treatment of the Travellers on the Coldcutt Road site by gardai, who have from the start played an active part in the eviction have been condemned by Julie Smith of the Clondalkin Travellers' Group as "unnecessary and inflammatory". The group has written to the Department of Justice calling for an inquiry into the gardai's handling of the eviction. "The very fact that the police came in riot gear was provocative in itself," said Fr Séan Farrell, who represents the Parish of the Travelling People.

Local community activist and Sinn Féin representative John McCann, speaking about the forced evictions, condemned the

manner in which the developer had moved to clear the two sites. He said that local residents, who have previously met with the Travellers, have met on Monday evening and expressed their support for the Travellers' demand for a proper site with conveniences. A leaflet will be distributed in the area attacking Dublin County Council for its failure to settle the Travellers situation. "There is absolutely no animosity between the two communities," he emphasised.

Julie Smith told AP/RN that the Travellers are taking legal action over the damage done to property during the eviction. Bridget Collins is also taking an action over the assault. She has already lodged a formal complaint against two gardai at Ballyfermot Garda Barracks.

Hot money — cold comfort

■ BY NEIL FORDE

RIGHT NOW the Department of Social Welfare in the 26 Counties is owed more than £27 million. This figure covers the period 1988 to 1992, less than half is due to 'fraudulent' claims, the rest being overpayments due to administrative errors. All wrong payments are pursued relentlessly, the sums are never written off. Over 500 of the Department of Social Welfare's 4,000 staff work in the control of alleged social welfare fraud.

At the same time over £2 billion is held in foreign bank accounts illegally by Irish citizens. The Dublin government has decided not pursue these account holders through the courts. They will not have to pay the hundreds of millions of pounds of tax foregone to the Revenue Commissioners.

No, their money will be welcomed back into the Irish economy in the form of interest bearing bonds, which means that their mon-

ey will earn them profits. These tax dodgers will only have to pay a once off levy of 15% on the repatriation of their 'hot money'.

This gives just a small insight into the workings of the economic policy of the Labour/Fianna Fáil coalition government right now. Albert Reynolds in a speech last weekend showed just how much off beam from the real economic situation the Dublin government is. He reamed off an impressive

list of statistics attesting to the health and well being of the 26-County economy.

The growth rate "will be in excess of 2.5%" which is "better than the international average". Our "rating in international competitiveness has jumped from 16th place to 9th". Reynolds told us that "positive growth has been maintained throughout the current recession. Ireland has clearly shown its ability to outperform its competitors when times are tough" concluded Reynolds.

We can take some comfort from the fact that Reynolds did acknowledge that there is a recession out there and that times are tough. But that's as far as government policy goes. There has been no response from the government on the array of plant and company

closures in the past month. Though not on the scale of a Digital the cumulative effect has been the same, people on the dole, communities more disadvantaged, poverty more threatening.

AT and T, the US Communications giant made 113 workers redundant at the end of April. They then proceeded to engage in a price war with British Telecom, which seems also to be a part of its restructuring programme. Amdahl announced in early May that they would shed 150 jobs. Again these cuts were due to the worldwide recession which Albert Reynolds wants us to believe we are "out performing".

Also victims in the last month are Studley, the Irish subsidiary of a British software distribution company, 17 jobs were lost here. One hundred and nine jobs are to be lost at Wexman trousers in Wexford at the end of July. Twenty jobs went at at Boeing sub-

sidary in Cork last weekend. Pat the Baker closed its Ballyfermot plant in Dublin making over 20 workers redundant. This closure was not due to the recession but the management's desire to move production to its other non-united plants in Ireland.

It seems that there are many downsides to "Ireland's new found economic resilience". One is the usual stagnating employment levels. The total number of workers has not risen significantly since its 1981 high. Reynolds blamed unemployment on the "continuing rapid growth in the labour force due to 'returning emigrants' who 'lost their jobs abroad'".

So here we have the nub of Dublin government economic policy. The government will bend its policy, ignoring illegal acts, to bring the billions back to Ireland but the emigrant workers can stay away. There are no policy for workers only for money and profits.

News

GIBRALTAR CASE FOR EUROPEAN COURT

WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT last week in Strasbourg by the European Court of Human Rights that the families of IRA Volunteers Mairéad Farrell, Seán Savage and Danny McCann's case against the British government will go ahead on 3 September, the British government has found itself once again back in the international spotlight for its abuses of human rights against Irish citizens.

The three Volunteers were gunned down on the streets of Gibraltar in March 1988 by members of the British army's Special Air Service. At no time was any attempt made to arrest the three and their killing was obviously sanctioned at the highest level by Margaret Thatcher's government.

Her foreign secretary, Geoffrey Howe went to the lengths of issuing a false statement in Westminster, a statement which bore no relation to what actually happened on that Sunday afternoon.

The families of the three Volunteers have petitioned the European Court of Human Rights for a declaration that Britain 'was guilty of a breach of Article Two of the

Convention of Human Rights'. Article Two deals with the right to life. The court has agreed to hold an oral hearing into the case.

The families, represented by their lawyer PJ McGrory and Dutch lawyer Duare Korff, have exhausted every local legal remedy through court actions alleging unlawful killing.

During these hearings the British government tried to hide the full facts around the case by introducing certificates under the Crown Proceedings Act, which said that there was no legal involvement by Britain in the matter and that the proceedings should be pursued in Gibraltar.

This obvious contradiction was queried by many legal observers



● Mairéad Farrell, Seán Savage and Dan McCann's killings in 1988 will be the subject of a case in the European Court of Human Rights next September

who raised the important point that if there was no legal involvement by the British government then what were its heavily armed undercover soldiers doing in Gibraltar killing unarmed citizens of another country, Ireland?

The five year delay in the Human Rights Court is not untypical as in some cases petitioners have had to wait for up to 10 years.

It also emerged recently that as part of its policy to conceal its record of human rights abuses against Irish citizens both in the occupied Ireland and elsewhere, the British government is trying to block reforms urgently needed to avoid the collapse of the system.

Reform in Strasbourg has also been blocked by the 26-Coun-

ty government, which joined with Britain to block a proposal to replace the present two-tier system with a single layer court, which unlike the present structure, would sit permanently.

The importance for the British government of hiding its widespread abuses of human rights was highlighted by the fact that Britain's Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd (who ironically was the British Minister who brought in the broadcasting ban in 1988) chaired the unsuccessful and badly needed 'reform' meeting of the Human Rights Court two weeks ago.

British barrister, Anthony Lester, QC, an expert in administrative and constitutional law, speaking to human rights group Charter 88 last week, said that the court now could barely cope. "We

are looking at a minimum delay in future of ten years" and he predicted that this could rise to 15 years without reform.

Britain, which has the worst record of any of the signatories to the Human Rights Convention with nearly 50 adverse decisions in the Strasbourg court, is now set to increase the time petitioners have to wait. This figure of 50 can be more fully appreciated when put against the fact that Denmark, Norway or Luxembourg have not one single violation of human rights.

A senior legal representative in Strasbourg was quoted as saying:

"It looks as if the British government's strategy is to let the system collapse at the seams, to prevent further embarrassment. This business smells very bad."

carried messages and ran errands as a boy during the Tan War.

The years 1939 to 1946 saw Gerry interned or on the run. He and four Belfast internees made the first escape from Crumlin Road Gaol by going over the wall with a rope ladder at dinner time on 6 June 1941.

He was captured in Buncrana in 1942 and interned in the Curragh Camp where he again promptly escaped only to be captured again within weeks. In 1943

Gerry spent 49 days on hunger strike in appalling conditions. Two internees from each province went on the strike.

In 1946 Gerry was one of the last internees released. He became national organiser for na Fianna and played a role in the 1950s campaign. He was active in the Civil Rights Movement and was the chief steward on Bloody Sunday. It was Gerry who covered Barney McGuigan, shot dead by the Parachute Regiment with the blue and white Civil Rights Association banner.

Gerry was a regular attendee of both the Bodensown commemoration and Sinn Féin ard fheiseanna. He had up to 1992 attended 52 Bodensown commemorations and was a Cumann Cabhrach honouree in 1986.

AP/RN will carry a full obituary and funeral report next week.



● JOE DOHERTY

McKee and Doherty seek review

TWO REPUBLICAN POWs have taken the British government to court in Belfast in an attempt to have the time they spent in gaol in the USA and 26 Counties deducted from their sentences in the Six Counties.

Their case was heard over two days on the 20 and 21 May.

The two, Joe Doherty and Michael McKee escaped from Crumlin Road Gaol in 1981 and were arrested in New York and Dublin respectively.

Doherty spent nine years in custody in the US and despite winning every major legal battle he fought he was deported to the Six Counties. This was because two US attorney generals interfered in the legal process at Britain's behest.

Doherty is now asking that the British authorities count the nine years that he spent in New York's Metropolitan Correctional Centre against the life sentence he received in a Diplock court.

Eilish McDermott, Doherty's barrister, told the court that if the British Direct Ruler Patrick Mayhew refuses to consider his case for review until he has served ten years in Long Kesh then he will be over 50 years of age before his case is considered by the review board in 2002.

McKee, who won an extradition case in the 26 Counties, was

arrested in Ballymurphy, Belfast, while visiting his family.

McKee had been arrested in the 26 Counties three months after he escaped from Crumlin Road Gaol in 1981 and was sentenced to ten years on escape charges under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act.

Two days before McKee was due to be released from this sentence he was served with the extradition warrant. He was given a written guarantee from the Northern Ireland Office that his time in Portlaoise would be taken into account if he was extradited. Since his arrest McKee has been told that the years he spent in Portlaoise will not be taken off his sentence.

"He is now in the position where one secretary of state is disowning an undertaking given by another and therefore is being treated unfairly" McKee's counsel Tom Cahill told the court.

The case was adjourned with the judge, Lord Justice Murray reserving judgement until a later date.

Death of Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty

REPUBLICANS all over Ireland were saddened to hear of the death this week of Gerry 'The Bird' Doherty. Gerry died on Wednesday, 26 May. He was 82.

Gerry was born in 1911 in Eglinton outside Derry. He formally joined the Republican Movement aged 17 in Derry City. He had



● GERRY 'THE BIRD' DOHERTY



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

27 MAY 1993

■ Croppies and Crowns

ON THE DAY AFTER the electoral choice of a quarter of the voters in Ireland was made known the news media in the 26 Counties was not dominated by the local election results in the North but by the announcement that Mary Robinson was to visit the Queen of England.

The *Irish Press*, founded long ago to balance the pro-royalist and anti-republican bias of the other Dublin dailies, carried the front page headline "Right Royal Welcome" on Saturday 22 May. Three inside pages were devoted to the visit and only one to analysing the main story of the week in Ireland, the Six-County elections. RTE's main TV news bulletins on Friday evening carried the 'royal' story as their first item at least they should have lead with the election results, the main feature of which was the strong Sinn Féin showing.

What all this demonstrates is not only the customary blind eye that is turned to events in the Six Counties but also the ever more brazen promotion of West Britonism in the 26 Counties. Mimicking their English tabloid counterparts the media bosses reckon that 'royal' stories sell papers. It all fits in very neatly with the campaign to remove Articles Two and Three.

The lobby for the English queen to visit the 26 Counties — which was given a boost by the Robinson visit — is part of the attempt to present relations between Britain and Ireland as normal. No matter that the Queen of England is the nominal head of the forces of the crown who occupy the Six Counties in her name. No matter that her grand uncle's signature is on the Government of Ireland Act which the West British want to leave as the uncontested claim to sovereignty over the Six Counties.

This is the queen who personally decorated the officer commanding the paratroopers who carried out the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry. This is the president who pointedly failed to visit the Bloody Sunday memorial in Derry when she visited the city.

The resumption of normal relations between Britain and Ireland will be welcome. Pretending that they exist, and promoting discredited British royalty, only disguises the establishment's responsibility for the very conflict which prevents normal relations.

■ Bad decision

THE DECISION of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg to uphold the British government's laws allowing people to be held for up to a week without charge was depressing and dangerous.

There is a mountain of available evidence to prove that people detained by the RUC for long periods have been systematically abused. Hundreds of them have subsequently been wrongly convicted and imprisoned. Britain uses its seven day detention to physically and psychologically abuse Irish citizens and to pervert their legal rights. Such a negative decision in Strasbourg should also be seen in the light of the failure of the Dublin government to raise British human rights abuses at an international and diplomatic level, thus leaving it to the victims themselves, such as those who took this case, to seek justice alone and with no resources.

ANNUAL WOLFE TONE COMMEMORATION

Bodenstown 1993

Speaker Martin McGuinness

Sunday 20 June

Areas should begin organising buses now

An Cumann Cabhrach Testimonial Dinner

8pm Friday 18 June

REGENCY HOTEL, DUBLIN

Music and bar extension

Táille £15. Please come early.

News

You have strengthened the nationalist agenda — Adams



● GERRY ADAMS

SINN FÉIN President Gerry Adams responded to the local election result with this statement in which he congratulated party workers and voters and put the Sinn Féin performance in its wider political context.

“Seolaim chomghairdeas agus míle beannacht do na h-oibritheoirí dílse go léir a thug dúshlán arís do ríal na Sasanach sna toghcháin aitiúla ó Thuaidh.

To all those who worked in these elections I wish to send hearty congratulations on this magnificent result which you secured. This you did with great determination and courage in the face of British crown forces intimidation, an escalating loyalist death squad campaign which threatened your lives and the lives of your families, and a media ban which hampered you in getting the Sinn Féin message across.

Not only did you help elect 51 Sinn Féin councillors, an increase of eight on the 1989 election, but you increased Sinn Féin's share of the vote to 12.5%. Sinn Féin is now the largest party in Omagh and has received more votes than any other party in Belfast.

Through your diligent work and commitment you have contributed in no small measure to furthering the struggle for Irish freedom, and you have dispatched a clear message to the London and Dublin governments and the international community that the republican agenda for a lasting peace must be taken into account.

It has been my privilege and honour to work alongside all of you during this election campaign. With such a team Sinn Féin will overcome all the obstacles thrown in its way and speed the day of lasting peace.

There have been efforts by the other parties and particularly the SDLP, to explain away the Sinn Féin vote as a protest vote and a result of personation. This pathetic whinge says more about the failure of these parties to accept the reality of the recent results. The strength and resilience of the republican vote cannot be explained away so easily. It is worth noting that none of the other parties have protested against the censorship of our party, indeed some call for greater repression and support

efforts to disenfranchise our voters, including the murder campaign against our activists.

Any analysis of our vote will show the reality and potential for growth of the republican vote. The recent result was our best local government result and saw a rise in our vote both east and west of the Bann. We increased our vote, our percentage of the vote and our representation on the councils. We secured this success despite censorship and other obstacles. When one considers the electoral lifelines thrown to the SDLP and the anti-democratic stance of the London and Dublin governments and the unionists, then the increase of our vote takes on even more significance. It is obvious that in a fair electoral system the Sinn Féin vote would grow even more.

It is also obvious that the electorate do not accept the restrictions placed upon Sinn Féin by the London government and echoed by Dublin. Patrick Mayhew and Dick Spring and their advisers will have studied the election results including the size of our vote.

I have made it clear many times that they should proceed towards the democratic option of agreeing to end partition and of establishing procedures by which this can be accomplished. Every other initiative has been within the context of partition, a British political agenda and with the unionist veto underwritten. They have all failed. It is time for a new beginning.

If there is a political will to move forward then the local election result can provide the catalyst for the governments to do this. Sinn Féin went to the electorate with a programme which included our peace project. Our peace strategy is now a central part of our function as a political party. We renewed our mandate and significantly a larger section of the electorate endorsed our position.

It is totally hypocritical of the British government to permit Irish citizens the

right to vote and Sinn Féin the right to contest elections, even with the restrictions imposed upon us, and then, because the results do not suit its interest, for that government to ignore our mandate. Similarly Dublin cannot with credibility claim any concern for nationalists in the North if Mr Spring ignores the validity of our support.

Either Sinn Féin voters have rights or they do not. Hitherto the London and Dublin governments have chosen to disenfranchise our voters. They now have yet another opportunity to redress the situation.

The ongoing effects of the conflict are clear signs of the failure of British government policy. There is an urgent need for both governments to abandon their old propaganda positions. I call upon them to do so, so that we may all be in the process of seeking a negotiated settlement to this conflict. This is the only way towards a lasting peace in our country.

I appeal also to the unionist parties to accept the failure of their negative and self-serving tactics. Ian Paisley has failed to 'Smash Sinn Féin' as he promised to do and the antics of the other unionist parties are clearly defeated. Equality is needed, not domination.

That unionist domination in councils is due in part to a failure of some nationalists to use all their preference votes. Had they done so then Sinn Féin's 12.5% of the vote would have secured 72 seats for our percentage of the vote instead of 51.

Although I am delighted with our strong performance there is much work to be done to maximise nationalist electoral potential. Our party will apply itself to this task.

Finally I wish also to congratulate all Sinn Féin candidates and election workers. You thank all our voters. You have strengthened the nationalist agenda, despite all the odds, in the most peaceful way open to us. Others may seek to ignore and demonise you but Sinn Féin will never underestimate or take for granted the trust you have placed in our party.

News

Women to the fore in Sinn Féin victory

SINN FÉIN'S HISTORIC VICTORY in last week's local government elections also saw the successful election of seven women candidates standing for Sinn Féin.

Una Gillespie, who stood in Tish Holland's old seat in the Upper Falls area of West Belfast, polled a remarkable 2,765 votes, beating the quota by over 500 and polling more votes than any other Sinn Féin candidate across the Six Counties. Una, who has been an active member of the party for many years and is a former member of the Ard Chomhairle, takes an active role in the promotion of women's rights and issues. She is currently a member of Sinn Féin's Women's Department.

Una is joined in Belfast City Hall by Marie Moore, who replaced Lily Fitzsimmons in the Lower Falls. Marie Moore has been involved in republican politics all of her adult life. As a member of Gerry Adams' team she helped coordinate constituency work within West Belfast for many years. During the Blanket protest and H-Block hunger strikes, Marie was a prominent member of Sinn Féin's POW Department.

Derry also returned two Sinn Féin women candidates, political campaigner Mary Nelis who stood in Northland and community activist Bernie Bradley from Cityside. Mary Nelis, who has been politically active since the 1960s,

established the first women's group in the Creggan in 1965. She was also involved in the setting up of the resource centre Dove House and a women's cooperative. Mary describes her priority as a councillor as "putting women on the map" and challenging women's underrepresentation within Derry city.

Fellow Derry Sinn Féin Councillor Bernie Bradley is the kind of hardworking activist who is described as the backbone of the party. A conscientious community worker, Bernie has been particu-

larly active on housing issues and campaigning for greater leisure facilities for young people.

Lisburn Councillor Annie Armstrong was the focus of Sinn Féin's success in Lagan Valley where she joined the two sitting councillors for Poleglass and Twinbrook to take an extra seat for Sinn Féin in Dunmurry Cross. Annie, who has been active within her community for many years, is a founding member of the local tenant's association. She is the first woman to be elected in the Dunmurry Cross area.

Denise Sutton in Dungannon at 21 years of age is the

youngest Sinn Féin candidate and the youngest councillor. With her family active campaigners on prison issues since the blanket protest and H-Block hunger strikes of the early '80s Denise has a solid republican background. Denise believes that her own experience of forced emigration to work in America as a teenager gives her a particular understanding of the problems faced by Ireland's youth.

In Magherafelt Margaret McKenna comes from a long line of republicans. She has been involved in Sinn Féin for a number of years and is known locally for her diligence as a constituency worker. Margaret sees her political priorities as the basic issues of housing, social welfare and employment. Although this is the first time Margaret has been elected as a Sinn Féin councillor, she is no stranger to fighting election campaigns and is particularly remembered for her sterling work as director of canvass, in the by-election which followed the loyalist murder of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan.

While Sinn Féin is working to increase the number of women in the party and the number of women candidates and councillors the calibre and performance of the party's women in the election bodes well for the future.



● UNA GILLESPIE



● MARIE MOORE



● MARY NELIS



● BERNIE BRADLEY



● ANNIE ARMSTRONG



● MARGARET McKENNA



● Derry City's newly elected Sinn Féin councillors with some of their election team outside Derry's Guildhall

The winning 51

ANTRIM
Henry Cushinan

ARMAGH
Noel Sheridan

BELFAST CITY COUNCIL
Joe Austin
Una Gillespie
Tom Hartley
Bobby Lavery
Alex Maskey
Fra McCann
Pat McGeown
Paddy McManus
Marie Moore
Máirtín O Muilleoir

COOKSTOWN
Seamus Campbell
Seán Begley

CRAIGAVON
Brendan Curran
Brendan McConville

DERRY CITY COUNCIL
Hugh Bradley
Bernadette Bradley
Gearóid O hEara
Mitchel McLaughlin
Mary Nelis

DUNGANNON
Brendan Doris
Vincent Kelly
Raymond McMahon
Francie Molloy
Denise Sutton

FERMANAGH
Robert Martin
Gerry McHugh
Jack McManus

LIMAVADY
Tommy Donaghy
LISBURN
Annie Armstrong
Michael Ferguson
Pat Rice

MAGHERFELT
Patrick Groogan
John Hurl
Margaret McKenna
Gerry Walsh
MOYLE
James McCarr

NEWRY & MOURNE
Davy Hyland
Brendan Curran
Jim McAllister
Patrick McDonald
Conor Murphy

OMAGH
Seán Clarke
Francis Mackey
Barney McAleer
Patsy McMahon
Gerry McMenamin
Patrick Watters

STRABANE
Ivan Barr
Charlie McHugh

Election success

IT'S ALL OVER, bar the political analyses. The pundits are hard pressed. The people have spoken, but they did not say what the political and media establishment wanted.

On the nationalist side, the prediction of a continued decline for the Sinn Féin vote not only failed to come true — the reverse happened. Sinn Féin is very much the fourth largest party in the Six Counties, gaining the largest vote in Belfast and Omagh, and the greatest number of nationalist seats in Omagh, Dungannon and Belfast.

In the absence of an assembly at Stormont, Belfast City Council is the largest political forum in the Six Counties, and the second largest in Ireland. Sinn Féin's place in that forum, both in terms of votes, and of nationalist seats, cannot be ignored. Yet hardly had the votes been counted, than the media turned away from Sinn Féin elected representatives and resumed speaking of the "four main parties", meaning the Official Unionists, the DUP, the SDLP and Alliance.

On the unionist side, contrary to 'informed' predictions, the DUP vote failed to collapse. The DUP has repeatedly warned in recent months that it would not participate in a revamped inter-party talks process until the Dublin government amended Articles Two

and Three, and until the SDLP leader John Hume ended its talks with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams.

As they met in Dublin on Tuesday, British minister Patrick Mayhew and Dublin minister for Foreign Affairs Dick Spring had to ponder what to do with their talks process, given that the DUP is refusing to talk, and that Sinn Féin is not allowed to talk. One wonders if they will have learned one of the lessons teach them, and that is that there is little room for movement in the political prison cell of partition. And it is the British government, with its policy of underwriting the unionist veto over constitutional change, which holds the key to that prison.

The outcome of this latest election, with an increased vote for Sinn Féin, leaves the nationalist agenda strengthened. Sinn Féin went into the election campaigning on two main points:

- Its record of hard work on the councils, with its implacable opposition to unionist domination;



● Sinn Féin voters celebrate along with newly elected councillors with a victory parade from Belfast's City Hall to West Belfast

A people's victory

■ BY JIM GIBNEY

DURING the course of the election campaign it was clear that Sinn Féin's election workers were in excellent form and an upbeat mood prevailed throughout. On the ground it was evident that Sinn Féin's electorate were confident in their support for the republican struggle and the Sinn Féin vote was solid. In a spectacular result, Sinn Féin polled 77,984 votes overall, representing a 10,000 increase from 1989, returning 51 councillors, an overall increase of eight seats. Two by-election victories since 1989 had brought the number of outgoing Sinn Féin councillors to 43. Overall, Sinn Féin increased its percentage share of the vote by more than any other party, increasing from 11.2% to 12.5%.

In West Belfast the percentage vote is even more striking with Sinn Féin polling 47% of the vote and the SDLP slipping to 21%. In the Lower Falls, three out of four Sinn Féin candidates were elected on the first count, polling above the quota by several hundred votes each. The fourth candidate was elected on the second count. Tom Hartley topped the poll with a vote of 2,573, securing more first preference votes than that polled by the entire Workers' Party and Democratic Left put together. Clearly with the 2,000 votes above the quota polled by Sinn Féin's Lower Falls candidates, the party is on line for taking another seat in this area. In the Upper Falls Sinn Féin also polled almost 1,000 extra votes, making the very real possibility of an extra Sinn Féin seat in the area in any forthcoming election.

In North Belfast, the seat taken by Sinn Féin in a by-election was consolidated, returning Joe Austin to City Hall. Gerard McGuigan successfully increased Sinn Féin's share of the vote in the Castle Ward, while Joe O'Donnell standing in the Pottinger area of the Short Strand

narrowly missed securing the seat. In South Belfast, Seán Hayes maintained a solid Sinn Féin vote with loyalist death squads, who have increased sectarian attacks in the Lagan Bank area, failing to intimidate the nationalist electorate. All this bodes ill for the unionist majority of one in Belfast's Council chambers.

In Belfast City Hall, the second largest elected body in Ireland (the first being Leinster House) and the largest elected forum in the Six Counties, Sinn Féin won the largest share of the first preference vote in the city bringing their number of seats to ten. Sinn Féin is the second largest party in City Hall and the largest nationalist party.

All this has to be viewed against the backdrop of a whole alliance of anti-republican forces which includes the political, clerical and media establishment. Despite a murder campaign against party activists, censorship, intimidation, harassment, attempts to marginalise Sinn Féin as a party and demonise party workers, in terms of local government elections, last week's results were the best ever for Sinn Féin.

Clearly ordinary people have been able to see through the massive propaganda offensive against Sinn Féin. It's a people's victory.

Even in areas which had been targeted by loyalist death squads the nationalist electorate, far from being intimidated, turned out in even greater force, and the Sinn Féin vote actually increased. In Magherafelt District Council, for example, where a seat was formerly held by Bernard O'Hagan who was gunned down by a loyalist death squad in September 1991, Sinn Féin topped the poll with a 43% increase in first preference votes.

Clearly in Mid-Ulster and South Derry the loyalist campaign against Sinn Féin has failed to intimidate either party workers or our support.

Dungannon was another tremendous success with Sinn Féin topping the poll in three wards. Frankie Molloy topped the poll in Torrent and Raymond McMahon in Clogher Valley. In Dungannon Town, Vincent Kelly, the father of IRA Volunteer Paddy Kelly who was assassinated by the SAS in Loughgall, polled twice as many votes as Vincent Curry of the SDLP who is as bigoted against Sinn Féin as any unionist councillor. Omagh produced another solid performance, returning six councillors and increasing Sinn Féin's share of the vote. This election proves that we have halted the decline of Sinn Féin's vote in this area which we detected during last May's Westminster elections.

In Derry, Sinn Féin increased its share of the vote by a third. Sinn Féin had five outgoing

councillors and successfully returned five. Sinn Féin gained a new seat but lost another due to a boundary change, so that the overall number of Sinn Féin seats remained the same.

In one of the most notoriously anti-nationalist councils in the Six Counties, Lisburn, Sinn Féin topped the polls in the Dunmurray Cross area and returned an extra candidate.

Sinn Féin has now secured an eighth of the overall vote. Had more of the nationalist electorate transferred to Sinn Féin, we could have secured 72 seats, transforming the political complexion of councils West of the Bann from unionist to nationalist control. Nationalists across the Six Counties need to realise the potential for significant change at local government level if they properly use their preferences.

Organisationally Sinn Féin was better prepared for this local government election than previous elections. We spent more time preparing at local and Six Counties level and the result proves that where we are well organised and give effective leadership locally then we get the results we're entitled to. One of my regrets following last week's tremendous success is that Sheena Campbell was not here to see it. Sheena played a central role in helping to develop our current election programme. As campaign manager, Sheena helped to win a succession of by-elections in Dungannon, Magherfelfelt and North Belfast and passed on her expertise to those areas and many others. She would have been very proud of our performance.



● Jim McAllister and election team after election success, Banbridge 1983

The votes that

■ BY NEIL FORDE

"WHAT THE ELECTIONS have proved if proof were needed is the extent and depth of the alienation of nationalists from northern political society and from the northern security forces." This was the interpretation given by an *Irish Times* editorial in the wake of the 1985 local elections. Sinn Féin's first council elections had seen them take 59 seats with 11.8% of the vote. Now in 1993, Sinn Féin have 51 councillors with 12.5% of the current vote, their third highest percentage vote in the phase of the struggle. It is the ninth consecutive Six-County

Success a catalyst for political progress

■ BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

The pundits are but they did not want.

and until the SDLP Hume ended its Sinn Féin leader Ger-

met in Dublin on British minister Hew and Dublin Foreign Affairs t. had to ponder ith their talks pro- that the DUP is alk, and that Sinn owed to talk. One they will have e of the lessons rn voters tried to and that is that e room for move- political prison cell And it is the British with its policy of the unionist veto tutional change, s the key to that

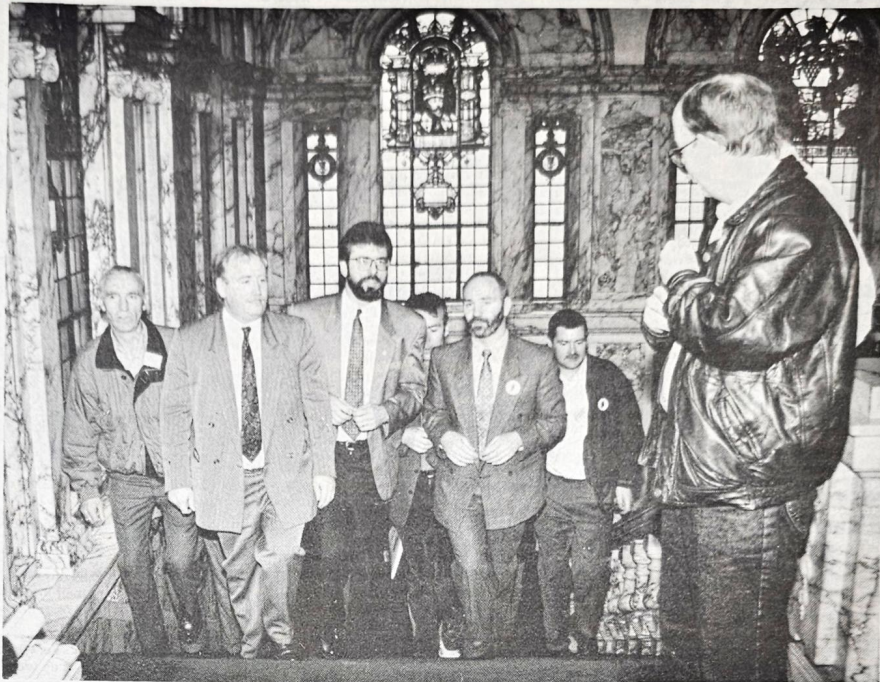
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of hard work on with its implac- to unionist dom-

● Its peace proposals, which have been outlined repeatedly to the electorate over the last two years in the campaign around the document, *Towards a Lasting Peace*.

Sinn Féin voters sent this double message loud and clear last Wednesday to Mayhew, Spring and their governments. They also sent it to the international community, and in particular the US administration which seems still intent on refusing Sinn Féin representatives the democratic right to explain their political objectives to US citizens, and still comes up with ill-thought out statements in support of a talks process which has already collapsed twice, and will probably collapse a third time if it is ever resumed.

Finally, Sinn Féin voters have shown that there is a large section of the population in the North that will not be silenced by censorship or political exclusion, that will not be cowed by military repression or loyalist death squads, and that will not be deflected from its demand for justice and national democratic rights by the continuous gush of propaganda from the political, media and academic establishments. As Wednesday's results have shown, the desire for freedom burns strong and inextinguishable until freedom is won.



● Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams makes his way to the count with Sinn Féin candidates to add up Belfast's votes for freedom



Presses, Banbridge 1983

republican areas of the North believed that Sinn Féin would win 10% of the overall vote in 1982, or nearly 40% of the nationalist vote the following year in the Westminster election.

In 1993 even fewer believed that they were capable of increasing their vote in last week's local election. Nobody in the media or the political establishment has been prepared to recognise eleven years of unbroken republican electoral representation.

Instead Sinn Féin has been subjected to over a decade of misinterpretation, manipulation and now institutionalised ostracisation of republican voters. Only once in the last eleven years has the Sinn Féin vote dipped below its initial 10% share. This was in the 1989 EC election and came only a month after that year's local elections where Sinn Féin had won 11.2% of the vote.

Sinn Féin won five seats in the 1982 Assembly elections compared to the SDLP's 14. The Westminster election the following year saw Sinn Féin's vote rise to 13.4%. Gerry Adams was elected in West Belfast, while Danny Morrison finished only 68 votes behind Willie McCrea in Mid Ulster. John Hume was the single SDLP MP elected, prompting the *Irish News* to headline the election result as "Two nationalist voices".

However such an assertion has been lost in election report-



● Derry election victory celebrations in 1985. Despite the wishes and speculation of establishment reporters Sinn Féin has remained a formidable force in electoral politics in the Six Counties

ing ever since. We have been told continually that the SDLP and Sinn Féin are locked in a battle "for hearts and minds of the nationalist community". And that there can only be one legitimate nationalist voice — the SDLP. However, the election results since 1982 have showed that leadership of the whole nationalist community by one political party is not possible. The SDLP never made any attempt to represent the republican vote.

Since 1985 Sinn Féin has had representation on the Six Counties local councils. The 1993 vote has reaffirmed that

representation for the third consecutive term, this time making gains on seven of the 15 councils where Sinn Féin has elected representatives. What eleven years of elections in the Six Counties has proved is that over one third of the nationalist community, a republican electorate, have voted consistently for freedom, justice and peace. It is time that the political ostriches in London and Dublin took their heads out of the sand, realised that those votes are not going away and took up the historic task of actually establishing real democracy in Ireland.

that won't go away

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election for Sinn Féin since they contested the October 1982 Assembly elections.

However this time around the Sinn Féin vote is not a political lever for the Dublin government or the SDLP, it was not a rallying target for the unionists. It does not merit sympathetic newspaper editorials. Instead the Sinn Féin vote is as it always has been, a legitimate voice from the nationalist community.

Sinn Féin's entry into electoral politics eleven years ago has been paralleled by an industry of psychologists, pundits and politicians who have combined to explain away and interpret negatively the Sinn Féin vote. The core theme of this ever-widening group has been to preside over what they perceived as the slow erosion of Sinn Féin's electoral performance.

Few people outside the

Review/News

DUBLIN'S LABOURED VICTORY

■ BY RORY DUNNE

WEXFORD PARK was where yours truly ventured last Sunday to see how Dublin, the league-title holders, fared in their first round Leinster Championship clash with the Slaneysiders.

The home side could have had a goal in the first minute but they fluffed the chance, and it was Dublin's Jack Sheehy who opened the scoring in the eighth minute. The Leinster champions dominated after that and led by six points to nil after 25 minutes. Wexford got two frees just before half time to give themselves a fighting chance in the second half.

Dublin's Paul Bealin was replaced by Pat Gilroy for the second half but it didn't upset the Dubs as Sheehy and Gilroy dominated midfield for the second 35 minutes. With Paul Clarke, Dessie Farrell and Vinny Murphy getting some good scores in the second half it always seemed as if Dublin would win. Some late Wexford points gave the score a

look of respectability but Dublin deserved more than a four point win. They have the inaccuracy of their forwards to blame for that.

The Dubs' defence and midfield was sound throughout the 70 minutes but once again attack was their problem. Vinny Murphy is not a centrehalf forward and the selectors should leave him at full forward. Paul Clarke, Niall Guiden and Dessie Farrell played well in patches but Jim Gavin and Martin Doran will be looking over their shoulders for the next match against Westmeath on 7 June in Tullamore.

The place to be last Saturday night was Cork, as the Leesiders celebrated two league titles. Their 14 player hurling side were too strong for Wexford in the second

replay of the National League, at Thurles. Things are looking good for a Munster Championship.

The shock of the championship came in Waterford last Sunday when Kerry hurlers beat the home side by a goal to record their first championship win since 1905. This is great for the game of hurling and hopefully it won't be long before one of the so-called weaker counties (Antrim, Down, Dublin etc) wins an All-Ireland title. A lesser shock in Ennis where a great first half performance by Clare (Cyril Lyons and Ger O'Loughlin mainly) was enough to beat a Limerick side that didn't get going until it was too late.

Five minutes of normal time left and nine points behind would usually mean certain defeat, but not for Armagh who stormed back with the comeback of the year to win by a point against a gallant Fermanagh side. Tyrone have been warned. There was another draw in the Ulster Championship last weekend, this time at Castleblaney, where Cavan and Monaghan shared the spoils. Highlight of the game was a brilliant individual goal by Monaghan's Ray McCarron.



● Wexford's Tomás Dunne closes in on Cork's Ger Manley at Semple Stadium last Saturday

Elsewhere, Laois had a good win over Louth.

Two of the country's leading teams, Down and Derry, clash in this weekend's highlight in an all-

ticket affair at Newry. Another draw? The All-Ireland hurling champions Kilkenny open their defence of their title against Offaly at Croke Park, while Clare

take on Cork in Munster Football in a televised game from Ennis at 5pm.

Finally a word about the suspension of Tommy Carr. Six months seems to be very harsh and those Dublin fans who think there's one law for Dublin and one for the rest of Ireland would seem to have a point.

The disgraceful carry-on of a tiny minority of Dublin fans on the return train from Wexford was a disgrace. Right at the start of the championship this incident has tainted the large contingent of genuine fans who travel with Dublin with the hooliganism — mimicked from English soccer thugs — of a handful of gurglers. In many sections of the media all the Dublin fans have been tarred with the same brush. Let's hope all concerned bring the gurglerism to a speedy end.

In the unlikely surroundings of the RDS Cork City beat Shelbourne 3-2 and claimed the League of Ireland title. They've been knocking on the door for a few years now, so I'm sure nobody will begrudge them this title. Maybe they'll get a big name club like Manchester United or Glasgow Rangers in next year's European Cup and hopefully they'll beat them!

Defiant Cuba struggles on

"IF YOU WANT a tube of toothpaste in Cuba you have to get pregnant. I have no chance." These were the words of the representative of the beleaguered island of Cuba who spoke in Dublin this week of the worsening effects on his country of the United States blockade which is nonetheless still met with good-humoured defiance by the Cuban people.

Oreste Aldama of the Cuban Institute for Friendship Among Peoples was in Ireland to promote diplomatic and trade links. The 26 Counties is the only state in the EC that does not have diplomatic relations with the island which the US has been attempting to strangle to death economically for over 30 years. While no EC state voted for the blockade at the UN there is very little trade between Cuba and the EC. Aldama spoke of the strong solidarity with Cuba all over the world and its importance in keeping the country alive.

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union 83% of Cuban trade was with that state. Now it has dropped to 7%. Cuba lost practically all its foreign trade as the US embargo was strengthened.

"Before the Soviet Union collapsed the US said that they would end the blockade if we broke our link with the Soviets. Now the Soviet Union is gone and the blockade is even stronger" Aldama pointed out.

But while there are shortages of many items, including medicines and processed food, Aldama asserted that no-one in Cuba goes hungry. Social equality in the country ensures that everyone gets enough to eat — the UN says Cubans are still the best fed people in the "Third World".

What came across most in

Aldama's address to the Dublin meeting on 23 May was his peo-

ple's determination to hold on to the gains of their revolution. Free health care and free education up to the highest level for all and a system which guarantees equality cannot easily be wrested from them, as the US has been trying to do since the triumph of the revolution. Aldama said his

country was "no heaven but no hell either" and they were trying to address their shortcomings. What was at stake now was their very survival. They were ready to talk to the US government, but could not negotiate while the embargo was in force.

"If they want to keep the blockade for 100 years we'll still keep going. The United States is a military and economic power but we are a moral power" he concluded.

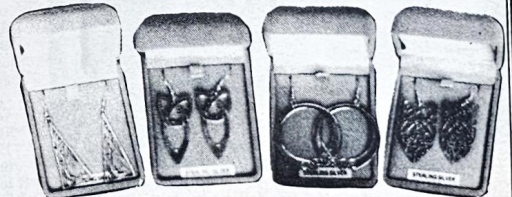


● ORESTE ALDAMA

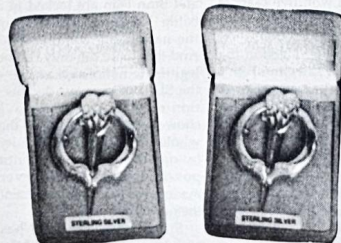
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Reviews

Meandering melodrama spoils SAS exposé

■ BY ART MAC EOIN
& NEIL FORDE

REQUIEM for a Spy by Anthony Bradley details the events surrounding the execution of SAS Captain Robert Nairac in 1977.

Exploding the carefully fostered myth that SAS members are super-clean, high-idealised heroes, it portrays the regiment through the example of Nairac, as an amalgam of ruthless, cold-blooded mercenary killers, attracted by the prospect of excitement and action in the service of British imperialism.

The book is written in an unusual, meandering style which I for one found to be highly irritating. Leaning heavily on melodrama the writer continually sets off on Irish historical tangents which he tries unconvincingly to weave into a backdrop for the main story.

Bradley's work is useful though in its exposition of the reality of covert British actions on both sides of the Irish border and their control and collusion with the locally recruited loyalist death squads.

The assassination of IRA Volunteer John Francis Green in County Monaghan in January 1975 is investigated in some detail.

Bradley ridicules the RUC suggestion that Green was the victim of a lone, deranged killer called Elliot.

"In the first place it was not produced until six years after Elliot's death and in the second no explanation was offered for how a deranged man found it so easily possible to find an accomplice for a murder mission. The accomplice claim would be more credible if it was also said that Elliot was a loyalist paramilitary, vengeful but sane, who called on a comrade for support.

"No such claim was

made, leaving us with the improbable suggestion that Elliot, deranged and out for blood, found it possible to recruit a helper who was untroubled by his lack of rationality.

"There was also the question of the weapons used. Forensic tests showed that Green had been shot by two guns, a Luger and a Spanish made Star pistol.

"A maddened countryman such as Elliot, untainted by any suggestion of paramilitary or security force involvement, would have been unlikely to have had access to either weapon. They would have been more likely to have used shot-guns. What is most interesting about this is that the RUC should have managed to identify a dead man as one of Green's killers, while completely failing to discover the identity of his living accomplice."

Bradley goes on to describe how:

"Fred Holroyd says a smiling Robert Nairac stood in his office one January day in 1975 and said that he had killed John Francis Green..... When Holroyd looked at him in amazed disbelief Nairac produced a Polaroid picture of Green lying dead in his own blood in the flagged parlour of Gerry Carville's farmhouse....."

Bradley also implicates Nairac in the Miami Showband massacre. The Miami Showband were one of Ireland's most popular musical groups. Three of them were killed in a bomb and gun attack as they returned from playing in Banbridge, County Down on 31 July 1975.



● Was the British hero Captain Nairac involved in the gun and bomb attack which killed three members of the Miami Showband?

The attackers who wore the uniform of the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) had mounted a roadblock to stop the musicians' van.

Bradley contends that Robert Nairac was a key link between the British military and the loyalist death squads. The massacre of the Miami Showband and the assassination of John Francis Green were just two operations involving collusion between the official British military and unofficial loyalist gun-gangs dur-

ing Nairac's bloody term in Ireland. Nairac's loyalist contact was a notorious murderer known as The Jackal.

"The Jackal forms the vital link between Nairac, the Green killing and the showband massacre. It is now possible to say that one of the men who murdered Green was a young UVF member, Harris Boyle... He died while planting a bomb on the Miami bus. The Jackal was his loyalist controller on the Green killing. He was also the third man at Mullayash.

"For Captain Nairac the relationship with The Jackal was both efficient and rewarding. As a leading loyalist activist, blooded and unafraid The Jackal had connections with both the UDA and UVF. He combined this with the ability to put together at short notice armed units whose members might be drawn from either organisation. In other cases he was able to reinforce his gangs with members of the 10,000 strong Ulster Defence Regiment, armed and paid for by the British government."

Bradley quotes a former British intelligence officer to explain that Nairac's involvement with loyalists was not unusual for a British undercover operative.

"He was using native manpower to carry out catch-and-kill operations in which neither he nor the army had any apparent involvement. This was an exemplary application of the techniques refined during the colonial insurrec-

tions — a textbook example of how to control and operate a pseudo-gang of the sort developed by General Kitson in Kenya."

At the end of the day the main pre-occupation of this book is the circumstances surrounding Nairac's death and the details are dragged out through the book's entirety, embellished, fact being mixed uneasily with fictional narrative.

Following his death the British attempted to laud Nairac as a hero and created an image of him as some unfortunate victim in the Irish war. The facts are that Robert Nairac was a trained British killer, fighting a no-holds-barred counterinsurgency war against the Irish people. He involved himself with intelligence and covert shoot-to-kill operations. The SAS were, as they remain, engaged in shootings and bombings of uninvolved Irish civilians North and South of the Irish border and they directed the sectarian killers of the UDA and UVF.

Eventually Nairac, posing as an Irishman and touring bars in nationalist areas of the North to pick up intelligence and possibly choose targets for assassination had his cover blown. He was executed following interrogation by the IRA.

Robert Nairac's death is no more tragic or remarkable than any other British soldier killed in two decades of war in Ireland. The manner in which the media in Britain and Ireland has isolated and elevated

his death underlines the class values of the British establishment. A British soldier from a working-class background would never have received the same attention. Unfortunately Bradley's style, tone, narrative and mixture of fact and fiction may unwittingly add to the mythology surrounding the career and death of Robert Nairac.

Requiem for a Spy by Anthony Bradley. Published by Mercier Press. Price £6.99.

British legitimization of oppression and terror in Ireland is the theme of Jack O'Brien's *The Unionjacking of Ireland* also published by Mercier this month.

In a follow up to *British Brutality in Ireland* O'Brien offers a detailed study of the responses of the London government to Irish political affairs from the late 18th Century to 1916-21 Tan War.

The book is really a collection of potent readable essays on subjects such as the Whiteboys, the United Irishmen through to the Invincibles and the early IRA. He emphasizes continually the role of British terror in fuelling a recurring Irish insurgency.

The final chapter is where O'Brien draws his strands together and offers a two part synopsis of the current British policy in Ireland, emphasizing its historical roots. This book is a cogent argument for British withdrawal and worth investing time in.

● *The Unionjacking of Ireland* is published by Mercier Press, price £7.99.



Nuacht

Bronnadh tábhachtach do Ghlór na nGael Doire

THAINIG breis agus 500 gníomhaithe Gaeilge le chéile i nGildhalla Dhoire ag an deireadh seachtaine faoi choinne bronnadh príomh dhuais Ghlór na nGael ar choiste Dhoire. Seo an chéad uair a bronnadh an duais náisiúnta sna Sé Chontae. Nuair a bhain Béal Feirste Thiar an duais i 1986 bhí an bronnadh i Má Nuad chun an 25ú cuimhneachán den chomórtaas a chéiliúradh.

I mbliana bhronn Pat 'An Cóp' Gallagher, Aire Stáit do Chultúr, Ealaíon agus an Ghaeltacht sna 26 Chontae an príomh dhuais ar Ghearróid O hEara, cathaoirleach choiste Ghlór na nGael i nDoire.

Tugadh duaiseanna de luach

£5,000 do choiste Dhoire mar gheall ar a chuid oibre ag cur chun cinn na teanga le linn 1992.

Ag an bhronnadh dúirt Pat Gallagher gur toradh bua 1992 de bhíanta fada oibre ar son na teanga ag lucht na Gaeilge sa chathair.

Bhí agallamh le Gearóid O hEara, atá ina comhairleoir de chuid Shinn Féin sa chathair, faoi bhua choiste Dhoire ar chlár de chuid RTE, Cúrsaí agus croidh na aitheasc iomlán ag an bhronnadh ar Raidió na Gaeltachta, maidin Dé Luain.



● Duais náisiúnta Ghlór na nGael á bhronnadh ag an Aire Stáit Pat 'An Cóp' Gallagher ar Ghearróid O hEara ar son Dhoire

Aitheasc Ghearróid O hEara

Cuirim fáilte roimh achan duine sa halla go háirithe na daoine a thaiséal le fada le bheith anseo. Tá fáilte romhaibh chuig an ócáid stairiúil seo. Mar a dúirt Pat seo an chéad uair ins an chúigiú seo gur bronnadh duaiseanna Ghlór na nGael. Seo an chéad uair duine i nDoire agus táimid an-bhróidiúil as.

Tá sé stairiúil dúinne ar go leor dóigheanna. Tá lucht na Gaeilge, den bhaile seo bailithe istigh ins an halla seo, halla ársa mar a dúirt Pat, halla stairiúil chun duais náisiúnta mar an ceantar is fearr sa tír ó thaobh forbairt agus dul chun cinn na Gaeilge a thógáil agus an duais sin a ghlacadh ó aire stáit is cúis mhór bróid dúinne.

Tá comghairdeas tuille ag pobal Dhoire ar fad ag na grúpaí uilig a raibh páirt acu ins an taracht bheag ná mór agus tá comghairdeas tuille go maith ag na daoine aonaireacha nach bhfuil baint acu le grúpaí ar bith a chuidigh le dul chun cinn na Gaeilge sa chathair seo agus tá go leor acu síúd ann.

Tá forbairt as cuimse i saol na Gaeilge le 20 bliana anuas sa chathair seo ach dá mbeadh orm rud amháin a phiocadh amach agus a lua déarfainn gurb é bunú na gaeilscoile an rud is mó a tharla leis an phobal seo a chruthú agus a tharraingt le chéile mar phobal.

Tá an-chaint ar na mallabairt ar ócáid bunú an Gaeilscoil neamhspleách, faoi na daoine a bhunaigh é agus faoi na daoine a chuir chun tosaigh é ach seachas na daoine sin tá ard mheas agamsa, agus aithne mhaith agamsa orthu chomh maith, ar na tuismitheoirí agus na chéad tuismitheoirí a chuaigh sa tseans ar mhaithe le grá don teanga.

Ní raibh Gaeilge ag 90% de na tuismitheoirí sin agus ní raibh barúil láidir acadúil acu ar dátheangachas ná ar oideachas fríd an Ghaeilge ach chuaigh siad

sa tseans leis an ghaelscoil a bhunú agus tá ag éirí go maith leis. Bhí agus tá go fóill rud sa chroí ag na daoine sin agus bhí sé d'uchtach acu é a leanúint agus sin tús agus deireadh le hatbhreochan na Gaeilge sa chathair seo. Molaim na tuismitheoirí sin ón ardán seo.

Agus anois faigheann tú fríd na scéimeanna Gaeilge uilig sa chathair nuair a theann tú isteach iontu, faigheann tú daoine gníomhaigh Gaeilge ag saothrú leo ag cur na Gaeilge chun tosaigh agus daoine iad a thosaigh mar thuismitheoirí, daoine iad a thosaigh mar dhaoine gan Ghaeilge agus a d'fhoghlaim lena gcuid páistí agus a bhunaigh scéimeanna dá gcuid féin agus a chonaic na fadhbanna a bhí againn agus a thug aire ar na fadhbanna sin agus anois atá ina chnámha droime i ngluaiseacht na Gaeilge sa chathair. Agus as an Ghaelscoil agus as an éacht sin a tháinig na daoine sin.

Níl mé chun liosta mór a léamh namach de na daoine a chuidigh chun an comórtaas seo a bhaint ach níor mhiste cúpla duine a lua agus tá a fhios agam go bhfuil mé i dtioblóid ina dhiaidh seo. Istigh in oifigí Chonradh na Gaeilge tá foireann Ghlór na nGael, Danny agus Ciarán, agus tá an-obair déanta ag an bheirt sin. Thug foireann an Chonartha istigh sna hoifigí sin an-chuidiú dúinn agus go háirithe Sean O Tuathalain, atá ina bhainisteoir istigh ansin agus mar a chonaic sibh níos luaithe Sean O Cianain an duine is

sine ar choiste s'againne, agus an duine is measa ar choiste s'againne.

Tá bagairt tugtha dom chun ainm Pól sa Chreagáin a lua agus caithfidh mé Strunks a lua mar chisteoir ar choiste Ghlór na nGael i nDoire. Rinne sé jab maith agus rinne sé cuid mhaith chun muidne a ghríosú. Caithfidh mé buíochas a ghabháil le Brian Lacey ó chomhairle na cathrach agus caithfidh mé buíochas a ghabháil go hiomlán leis na comhairleoirí uilig ins an chomhairle. Chuidigh siad go mór i rith na bliana leis an ócáid seo a reachtáil agus fuair muid an-dea-thoil ó na comhairleoirí uilig ins an chomhairle agus Brian Lacey mar fheidhmeannach, tugaim moladh dóibh.

Gaeilgeoirí Dhoire, cuid nach bhfuil beo go fóill a choinnigh an teanga beo ins na blianta uaigneacha úd na '30í, '40í, '50í agus na daoine a shaothraigh go huaigneach, is dóiche, nuair nach

raibh an dóchas nó an spreagadh céanna acu agus atá le fáil inniu. Thug siad an-sampla dúinn agus molaim iad. Níor mhiste beirt acu a lua a fuair bás taobh istigh den bhliain seo, Proinsias O Ceallaigh agus Sean O Cianain, daoine a bhí dílis don teanga, a bhí gníomhach i ngluaiseacht na Gaeilge sa chathair, agus a bhí gníomhach linne go dtí an deireadh.

Is cúis aontais dúinne mar Ghaeilgeoirí Dhoire an comórtaas seo Ghlór na nGael agus tá súil againn go dtig linn leanúint leis an aontas sin. Gabhaim buíochas do Ghlór na nGael as an mhéid sin Pádraig O Ceithearnaigh, Nora Welby agus Colum Mac Eoin a thug treoir agus comhairle dúinn i rith na bliana.

Níl mé chun sibh a choinneáil i bhfad ach sula gcríochnaím ba mhaith liom focal ginearálta a rá faoi chúrsaí na Gaeilge. Níl ins an bhua seo ach céim eile chun tosaigh ar an bhóthar fada chuig pobal dátheangach, an targáid atá againn.

Is léir ón daonáireamh go

bhfuil pobal againn cheana agus caithfidh muid tógáil ar sin agus cearta a éileamh ins an chóras oideachais agus sna meáin chumarsáide agus sna seirbhísí poiblí agus tá sé tábhachtach a rá agus a athrú, mar baineann sé seo leis an athbheochan atá ar siúl againn, gur le muintir uile an oileáin seo an teanga Gaeilge agus nach bagairt d'aoine dul chun cinn na Gaeilge nó forbairt an chultúir Ghaeiligh.

Tá áthas orm seirbhís idir chreidmha a fheiceáil anseo inniu. Sílim gurb é seo an chéad uair a tharla sé. Ach is tábhachtach an teachtaireacht é le dul amach ón ardán seo nach le creideamh amháin polaitiúil, ná reiligiún an Ghaeilge agus gur le achan duine agus le achan cineál barúil é.

Tá súil agam agus tá mé ag rá seo thar ceann na ngrúpaí uilig a bhí páirteach ins an choiste go dtig le muintir uile cathair Dhoire idir Phrotastúnaigh agus Chaitlicigh, idir Aondachtóirí agus Náisiúnatóirí go dtig linn uilig páirt a ghlacadh ins an chéiliúradh seo. Go raibh maith agaibh uilig.

BALLRAIOCHT SHINN FÉIN

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

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

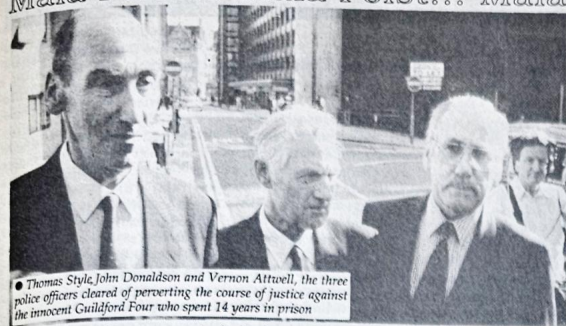
Ainm.....

Seoladh.....

Sinn
Féin

Letters

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



● Thomas Style, John Donaldson and Vernon Attwell, the three police officers cleared of perverting the course of justice against the innocent Guildford Four who spent 14 years in prison

Unanswered questions

A Chairde,

A section of the British press is bewildered after the acquittal of the three Surrey police officers accused of framing the Guildford Four. The papers have every right to be agitated after all both parties in the Guildford affair can't be innocent. The question of guilt can be found in Lord Denning's infamous pronouncement. Denning had the audacity to suggest that innocent people should remain in prison rather than rebuke the British legal system.

The British establishment is no stranger to guileful practice, in Ireland they work in tandem with the despicable Castle Catholics, their joint aim is the destruction of Sinn Féin.

The British government deliberately adopted a policy of starving West Belfast of investment while Gerry Adams was the sitting MP, this was a form of community punishment. Dr Joe Hendron's questionable victory over Gerry Adams in last year's general election was hailed as the demise of Sinn Féin in Belfast. Last week's local elections put paid to that theory, in fact it leaves Hendron's victory all the more suspect.

Tim Jones,
London.

Wolves in sheep's clothing

A Chairde,

The nine-day-wonder, otherwise known as the peace movement, is a superfluous phenomenon which will never achieve its objective because it reserves the right of seeking peace to itself alone and tries to persuade us that no-one else wants peace except the New Consensus.

Tell them that only 20% of the Irish people want partition and they will call that democracy. Tell them that if the IRA call a unilateral ceasefire all will be well because an English life has more value than an Irish one. If the "peace" movement had reacted in the same way to British atrocities in Ireland as they reacted to Warrington perhaps we would be a lot closer to peace in this country than we are today. And if Mexico invaded Texas tomorrow we would all under-

stand why that would lead to conflict. We learnt that lesson already in Kuwait.

The truth is that New Consensus is a neo-unionist group which operates in the Free State with a lot less justification than their counterparts in the North. They think that 30,000 signatures corresponds to an Irish majority. Their only success has been to convince the British that this is so.

They have lied in saying that Sinn Féin does not want peace. They will be disappointed and disillusioned long before we are. Their greatest fear is, in fact, that Sinn Féin will achieve peace before they do. They are veritable wolves in sheep's clothing.

They will not achieve peace. Margaret Thatcher didn't because while she said that peace was what she wanted everything she did in Ireland was conducive to war. Does John Major have the gall to believe that he can do better? Does New Consensus?

Finally, peace (real peace) will be achieved in Ireland when the true avenues which lead to it are seriously explored. Peace with a border is, and will remain, impossible. To those who have doubts I ask, "which is better — unity or division?" Does a foreign country like Britain have the right to solve a problem in Ireland which they (the British) created in the first place? The answer is the same as it ever was: Sinn Féin.

Nollaig O Chorra,
Maam Treasa,
Conemara,
Contae Na Gaillimhe.

Armed struggle

A Chairde,

In reply to Owen Bennett's last letter (AP/RN, 20 May) those who support the Republican Movement are not running from the responsibilities that support entails or the questions posed by it. Indeed it was many of those same republicans who joined in recent peace marches and rallies in an attempt to broaden any debate towards discussions for real peace in this country, rather than just this republican-bashing exercises planned.

The isolation of beleaguered northern nationalists from national and international opinion is not to be separated from Britain's "will to stay", or continue their occu-

pation, in our country. Their isolation is a tactic employed by this powerful imperialist country and has been ongoing since the formation of the Six Counties state. That isolation included gerrymandering and pogroms against this community.

The IRA did not start its present campaign in the middle of a glorious era of civil rights for nationalists. It began because a risen people in the Six Counties were being burned out of their homes, beaten off picket lines and killed in the streets. This violent reaction to demands for equality and social justice was because of the threat posed to Britain's holding Ireland by those demands.

Rather than being an "inevitable stage" the struggle for national democracy had to go through, it was a case of a popular army taking necessary steps for any progress to be made. If the IRA had stood back and hoped for the contradictions of the sectarian state to bring it crumbling down, as suggested by Owen, there is no doubt that repression and state tactics would have ensured the silencing of the demands for justice, equality and sovereignty.

In the IRA taking these steps it didn't do so in isolation. It cannot exist without the active support of the people it is fighting for, no matter what form that fighting may take. If it was felt that it was no longer needed it could not exist, because the environment which allows it to exist would dry up.

This has been long recognised by the British who have tried to destroy support for the Republican Movement. This has been the military and political strategy of the British government in the Six Counties for the past 20 years, with the active support of Dublin governments and establishment.

That the Republican Movement is still effective and strong is proof that this strategy has continued to fail. The "long hard war" continues. The Republican Movement has had setbacks, but it has had its victories. Recognising those victories and sensing the frustration of present British strategists is hardly proclaiming "victory around the corner". Most republicans are confident with all this in mind that the need for an Irish liber-

ation army still exists. This is in the context of its continuing and potential effectiveness. We are all constantly involved in debate; it is not blinkered or illusioned, we all live in the same political climate. Of course living in the South I live in a much safer political climate than my comrades in the Six Counties.

The IRA are putting pressure on the British exchequer and on the capitalists upon whom the British establishment depends. They will weaken their resolve to stay in our country. It is the job of those involved in political struggle to build a political movement which will build a climate which actively favours a British withdrawal.

If northern nationalists are isolated then we must be on the streets exposing the bigotry, the repression and the brutality. We must find ways of letting people know why national democracy is in their interest. We need to be imaginative and indeed brave in the face of the massive political repression lined up against us in the 26 Counties. Our politics in the community must be in the context of national sovereignty. It is easy to put blame on one part of the Movement and label it as aimless when we have to develop our street politics and find ways of breaking censorship. The battle for the hearts and minds of the Irish people is not lost, it is there to be won. We have got to find the avenues to get to their hearts and minds before we can say we have fought a battle for them.

Andrée Murphy,
Baile Átha Cliath.

A Chairde,

To answer Owen Bennett, (AP/RN, 20 May) it is not just the effects of IRA actions but the length of the war in the North, political censorship, unrelenting propaganda and ignorance that isolated Northern nationalists from their fellow country-people in the South. I do not agree however that they have been isolated from international opinion.

Decades of vicious repression against Southern republicans by state forces have created a fear and paranoia about the national question here which make most people run a mile from the issue rather than discuss how to resolve it.

A cessation of armed struggle however, would not alter this state of affairs in any positive way. Such a move does not even begin to address the problem. It is an illusion which carries the attraction of simplicity. This would most certainly be presented by the British and Irish establishment media as a republican surrender and most people would have their misconceptions about republicans confirmed. In no way would the experience of Northern nationalists nor the correctness of the Republican Movement's position become more apparent to Southern people by a mere

cessation of the armed struggle. They would see it as a statement by the IRA that they had been wrong all along.

For the situation to move nearer a solution it is the political climate which must change. This requires a shift in the political position of at least one of the key players in the conflict. I believe the British are being pushed slowly but surely in such a direction but am not naive enough to think they will announce their withdrawal by next week!

Concurrent with the application of political pressure on various fronts, including military confrontation, must be the battle for the hearts and minds of the Irish people. There has rarely been an example where in the midst of an intense armed struggle the revolutionary forces of any country had the unequivocal support of the majority for their actions. This did not mean such actions were not necessary. And more often than not such actions prepared the ground for political change to become a reality.

Operations such as Bishopsgate are not designed to rally wide support for the republican struggle; such operations are aimed at the British and no one else. The fact is that these highly successful operations very often do command widespread sympathy and admiration among people in the 26 Counties.

Politics and people's perception of things are not static so it is incorrect to say that republicans have lost the battle for people's hearts and minds — that battle is ongoing and takes many forms.

Of course one could wait until the majority of people on this island, through publicity around the injustices suffered under partition, became so incensed about the British presence that they would give support to the Republican Movement's position on the Six Counties. I would not like to hold my breath! Southern lack of interest in the North is an argument for increased involvement by republicans in 26-County politics. It is not an argument to scale down the struggle in the North.

The setbacks suffered by the Movement in recent years which Owen believes are self-inflicted were the result of fighting a financially and militarily superior enemy. The British government's greater access to resources on the military, financial and political front is matched by the British establishment's domination and control of the mass media. The results of every IRA action are put through the moralist mill and misrepresented while every British action is sanitised or covered up. But this does not mean by any stretch of the imagination that the tactic of armed struggle has failed. On balance it is clearly succeeding. The "long, hard war" is still the correct analysis.

In one sense armed struggle is itself a form of propaganda, a physical expression of an oppressed people's

desire and determination to be free. Armed resistance has forced Britain to go to extraordinary lengths to maintain its rule here. The whole world is now aware that there is a conflict over the issue of sovereignty in the north of Ireland, mainly due to the strain which the armed struggle puts on Britain's efforts at upholding the facade of normality. Republicans must fight misrepresentation and try to cut through the lies and distortion about the war in the North rather than bow to the pressure to forfeit a most effective weapon.

If Dublin and the SDLP were to seriously apply pressure in the political arena for a democratic resolution of the conflict their criticisms of armed struggle could be taken more seriously. This is what they must be forced to do. They bear a great degree of responsibility in leaving nationalists with no other option over the past two decades but to resort to arms. Their abuse of their position made armed struggle all the more inevitable.

It would be more appropriate for appeals for a change in political positions to be directed at these people rather than the IRA.

If there are any setbacks for the Movement which have been self-inflicted, it has been in the area of wider political involvement and the republicanising of the various struggles of our people. This is a handicap which many republicans have been seriously attempting to redress in recent years.

For many republicans in the 26 Counties such as myself, the recent election results in the Six Counties infuse us with greater determination to build republican politics in this part of Ireland. Anything less would be to let down our comrades and our fellow country men and women in the North. But just as importantly it would be to let down the ordinary people throughout Ireland who deserve better.

Seán Mac Brádaigh,
Baile Átha Cliath.

Sinn Féin EC Seminar

A Chairde,

The 26-County Comhairle and the Sinn Féin Education Department are hosting a seminar in 44 Parnell Square on Saturday, 5 June starting at 12pm.

The purpose of the seminar is to initiate discussion on Sinn Féin's attitude to the EC, two papers will be presented at the seminar, "Europe and Irish Republicans" and "Europe and Irish Republicans — A Response".

All members of Sinn Féin are welcome to attend. Members can receive a copy of the papers by contacting Lee at Sinn Féin Head Office, 44 Parnell Square.
Joe Reilly,
26-County Comhairle,
Mairead Keane,
Education Department.

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

PLEASE KEEP LETTERS SHORT

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

United Irishman paper 1848

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

In February 1848 within months of the proposed rising, John Mitchel, one of the most militant members of the Young Irelanders, founded a new paper, *The United Irishman*.

Mitchel continued to edit *The United Irishman*, founded in 1842, until December 1847, when he broke with the paper over Charles Gavan Duffy's policy of moderation. Influenced by the tragedy of the Famine, the inaction of the government and the writings of

James Fintan Lalor, he founded a new republican paper, the *United Irishman*, from offices at 12 Trinity Street, Dublin.

The first issue of the *United Irishman* appeared in February 1848. It became the principal organ for advanced republican

views and despite its price of two shillings it sold 5,000 copies on its first day of issue. In it Mitchel openly preached a policy of armed insurrection. His aim now was the establishment of an Irish Republic on the lines laid down by Theobald Wolfe Tone, some 50 years earlier. He and other Young Irelanders began to prepare for a rising in Ireland.

In the *United Irishman* Mitchel published instructions on street warfare and on 21 March he was arrested on a charge of publishing three seditious articles. At his trial on 25 May these charges were dropped by the crown and he was charged with treason felony under the new Treason Felony Act (specifically invented to deal with him) and with having made a seditious speech in Limerick. He was found guilty and sentenced to 14 years transportation to Van Dieman's Land (now Tasmania).

The 16th and last issue of Mitchel's paper, *United Irishman*, was published in late May while he was in Newgate Prison await-

ing transportation. It was edited by Thomas Devin Reilly, assisted by Mitchel's brother William.

The contributors to the *United Irishman*, which was a three column 16 page, 15 1/2 inches by 10 inches weekly, and which officially sold at 5d, included John Martin, Father John Kenyon, James Clarence Mangan, 'Mary' of the Nation, John Fisher Murray, Joseph Brennan and Richard Dalton Williams.

The *United Irishman* was succeeded by two papers, *Irish Felon* and *Irish Tribune*, both started to continue Mitchel's teachings. They also were short lived; only five issues were published when they were suppressed and their editors arrested.

The last issue of the *United Irishman*, edited by John Mitchel, appeared on 27 May 1848, 145 years ago this week.

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

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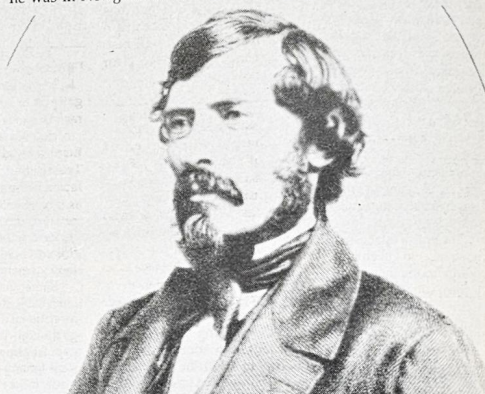
Name.....

Address.....

Tel..... Age.....

Sinn Féin

● JOHN MITCHEL



Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 7pm every Tuesday, Anti-Extradition Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN

BEECHMOUNT FIVE DEMONSTRATION: 12.30-2pm, every Saturday, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

ANTI-EXTRADITION PICKET: Picket and leafletting, 2-3pm, every Saturday, GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN

BEECHMOUNT FIVE TRIAL VIGIL: Every Tuesday and Thursday, 5-6pm, GPO, DUBLIN

ARTICLES TWO and Three INFORMATION STALL: 12pm-2.30pm, every Saturday, GPO, DUBLIN

VOLUNTEER TONY AHERN AND DERMOT CROWLEY: 20th Anniversary Memorial Dinner, 7pm to 12pm, Saturday, 29 May, Moones Hotel, CORK. Tickets £15.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH FUNCTION AND RAFFLE: Saturday, 29 May, Emerald Bar, DUNDALK. Music by Trapper John. No admission

FUNCTION: Saturday, 29 May. Talk

Of The Town, NEWRY. Taille is £3. Music by Bramble. Organised by the Loachra na h Eireann Flute Band.

FOLK NIGHT: Featuring the Irish Brigade, 9-1am, Friday, 4 June, O'Neil Arms Hotel, Toome, COUNTY ANTRIM. Taille: £3. Late Bar. Bus from Magherafelt

AN CUMANN CABHRACH ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER: And Repub-

lican Reunion, 8pm, Friday, 18 June, Regency Hotel, DUBLIN. Taille: £15.00. Music and Bar extension. Please come early

CLARE BODENSTOWN BUS: Leaves Shannon 9am, Limerick 9.30am, Nenagh 10.30am. Contact Mike McKee 061-361373/Eilish McGittigan 061-360936 for further details

InDíl Chuimhne

ENGLEN, Martin; FITZSIMMONS, Joseph; MAGUIRE, Charles; McBREARTY, George; McDONNELL, Edward; McFADDEN, Philip; McILHONNE, Jackie. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Martin Englen (died 28 May 1972), Joseph Fitzsimmons (died 28 May 1972), Charles Maguire (died 28 May 1981), George McBrearty (died 28 May 1981), Edward McDonnell (died 28 May 1972), Philip McFadden (died 31 May 1986) and Jackie McIlhone (died 28 May 1972). "If you strike us down now, we shall rise again and renew the fight. You cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom." — PH Pearse. Proudly remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

FITZSIMMONS, Joey (21st Ann). In loving memory of my brother Joey who died on active service 28 May 1972. Sadly missed but never forgotten. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Remembered by your brother Bobby, H5 Long Kesh, and family circle.

May 1984. The month of May comes with regret. It brings back a day I will never forget. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Sadly missed but not forgotten by your brother Bobby H5, Long Kesh and family.

FULLERTON, Eddie (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of a great Irishman, Eddie, Sinn Féin councillor, who was brutally murdered by pro-British forces on 25 May 1991. A tireless worker, for his people and his country, you're in our conversations, you're in our every thought, we will never forget your principles and the way you could not be bought. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. Remembered with respect and admiration, by his loving wife Diana, family and the Fullerton family circle.

FULLERTON, Eddie (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Eddie, Sinn Féin county councillor, who was brutally murdered on 25 May 1991. RIP. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. How proud I was to have a brother like you. How sad it is now you are gone. Those cowards they knew how tough it would be, to lose one of Ireland's finest sons. Always remembered, never forgotten by your sister Kathleen, Sean

and family, Birmingham.

FULLERTON, Eddie (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friend Eddie Fullerton, assassinated by murderous pro-British elements on 25 May 1991. From Val and Dolores Lynch, Dublin.

FULLERTON, Eddie (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friend Eddie Fullerton, assassinated by murderous pro-British elements on 25 May 1991. From Cathal Mac Ráara.

FULLERTON, Eddie (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Eddie Fullerton who was murdered by pro-British forces on 25 May 1991. Always remembered by Phyl KILPATRICK, Kevin (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin Kilpatrick, who died on active service on 13 May 1973. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dunganonn Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; From the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; From the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; From the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; From the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; From the South Tyrone Sinn Féin Comhairle Centair.

MAGUIRE, Charles (12th

Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Charles Maguire who was murdered by SAS on 28 May 1981. From Frankie McGeown Dundalk.

MAGUIRE, Charles (12th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Charles Maguire who was murdered by SAS on the 28 May 1981. From the Finnegan family, Dundalk.

MARTIN, Eugene; McKEARNY, Séan (19th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Eugene Martin and Séan McKeary who died on active service on 13 May 1974. Always remembered with love and pride by the Dunganonn Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; From the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; From the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; From the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; From the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; From the South Tyrone Sinn Féin Comhairle Centair.

McFADDEN, Philip (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Philip McFadden who was drowned on 'The Rising Sea' on 31 May 1986. Always remembered and sadly missed by Eileen and Martin Boyle Fanad.

McFADDEN, Philip (7th Ann).

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Philip McFadden who was drowned on 'The Rising Sea' on 31 May 1986. Always remembered and sadly missed by Michael Shiels, Australia.

McFADDEN, Philip (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Philip McFadden who was drowned on 'The Rising Sea' on 31 May. Always remembered by his comrade James Doherty and Annarose and family in Donegal.

Comhbhrón

ENGLISH. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Séan English who died suddenly on 15 May. Always remembered by Eileen Shiels.

FUSCO. Deepest sympathy is extended to Angelo and family on the death of his father. From Cristina Samonte and family.

HAMILTON. Deepest sympathy extended to Jim, Patrick and Jackie on the death of their father. From their good friends Colm and Deirdre Currie.

MELLEA. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Mary Mellea on her death. From the West London Support Group.

ROSSINI. Deepest sympathy is sent to the Rossini family on the death of Willie. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. From the Crossmaglen Patriots Republican Flute Band, Wishaw, Scotland.

ROSSINI. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Rossini family on the death of Willie who was a died recently. Willie was a staunch supporter of the Republican cause and dedicated to the Republican Band Alliance and will be sadly missed by all who knew him. From Padraig O'Caisside, Wishaw, Scotland.

Buíochoas

A SINCERE THANKS to all our friends for the great generosity you have shown us. Your warm tributes and overwhelming solidarity will be forever treasured. Beir bus, Ingrid and Micheál.

Beannachtaí

BURNS. Happy birthday to Paula Burns, Maghera. From Martina and Esther.

A FINE sculpture, dedicated to the vision of a Wolfe Tone, has been unveiled in the park behind St Mary's Church where the leader of the United Irishmen was baptised.

The sculptor, Derek Williams, calls his work "Universal Man". It takes the form of a totem pole, uniting faces from different cultures in a piece of Sligo bog oak that is some 7,000 years old.

The unveiling was performed by, of all people, Gay Mitchell, current incumbent of the Mansion House, who began his eulogy to Wolfe Tone with the words, "Wolfe Tone is often referred to as the father of republicanism, but..." going on to refer to his "main contribution to society", which was to foster the idea of tolerance between Catholic, Protestant, and Dissenter — as if this vision was in some way at variance with Tone's republican ideals!

This, also, from a man whose own great vision extends only as far as bringing the Olympic Games to Dublin.

AT THE OPENING of a trial in London this week where two Irish defendants are facing a number of serious charges, a Mr D gave evidence from behind a screen.

Mr D, a police informant, was instrumental in the arrest of the two men, but in court it was revealed how much money he has received for his information. The man, believed to be a

former driving school instructor, has been paid the equivalent of ten years wages by the British, the court heard. On top of that he will receive a lump sum of £40,000 in lieu of pension payments which he will not now be able to collect. The British taxpayer, which has already funded elocution lessons for Mr D, will also pay for his relocation after the trial.

THE DUST hasn't even had time to settle on the farcical trial of three police officers charged with perverting the course of justice in the case of the Guildford Four, than the British establishment began lining itself up to do the same whitewash job on the Birmingham Six case.

The *Sunday Express* 'revealed' last week, that lawyers for three detectives charged in relation to the stitching up of the Birmingham Six are seeking access to top secret British intelligence documents — the object being, as in the Guildford case, to cast doubt on the innocence of all or some of the accused and to portray the police as hard-done-by guys who were just doing the job as best they could.

The acquittal of George Reade, Colin Morris and Terence Woodiwiss, whose trial is due to begin in September, would also show that the British judicial system could be that bad after all if nobody perverted the course of justice and would act as a buffer against any unpleasant findings of the still awaited May Inquiry.

Next week: How Judith Ward spent her time in an English gaol planning the IRA's current campaign in Britain and an exclusive report on the Maguire family — "I bought a bag of fertiliser once" admits Annie Maguire.

AND WHO is leading the prosecution team trying to convict the three detectives of conspiracy to pervert the



course of justice but one Graham Boal QC. Yes, the same Boal who acted as chief prosecuting counsel in the final Birmingham Six appeal, before their release.

A strange choice indeed, as it was he who argued at the time that the men's convictions should be declared unsatisfactory but not unsafe.

THE BANK that likes to say yes has had to withdraw its latest British advertising campaign after Irish groups gave it a firm no, describing it as both offensive and racist.

Irish viewers complained to the Commission for Racial Equality about the television advertisement for the Trustee Savings Bank, which featured two men dressed as leprechauns falling over while a rap singer chanted "thick as two short planks".

AN OVERENTHUSIASTIC approach to anti riot training among 26-County Air Corps personnel has led to a review by top brass, after three apprentices, posing as 'demonstrators', were hospitalised by their colleagues.

NCOs in full riot gear took a literal interpretation of the training guidelines, which say that all exercises should be as realistic as possible. One apprentice required six stitches to a head wound. All three were in hospital for four days and

were then given a further four days leave.

The association of enlistee personnel, PDFORRA, has accused the Air Corps of sending out apprentices without proper protection, of treating them as "fodder" for demonstrations and then sending them on long weekend breaks to keep them happy.

Suspect Devices has so far failed to find out whether new safety measures to be introduced for training exercises will apply to real life demonstrators.

THE VIETNAMESE adopted son of a British peer shot himself through the heart with his army issue SA 80

rifle after a campaign of persistent bullying by fellow soldiers, according to a soldier friend.

Phuoc Ky Ennals, adopted as a child by former Labour cabinet minister, Lord Ennals, shot himself on a training exercise in Wales after fellow members of the Royal Green Jackets allegedly threw him into a freezing river. His friend said that Phuoc hadn't complained to his superiors about the racist abuse "because no one wants to know".

An army investigation into his death is under way.

CRIMINAL lawyers are to complain about the massive cost of defending the six paras charged in relation to the incidents in Coal-island last year.

The six were represented at the trial in Cookstown by four senior queen's counsel and junior counsel, with the legal bills, amounting to some £95,000, picked up by the Ministry of Defence out

of public funds. A member of the public seeking legal aid would be lucky to get legal aid for one junior barrister, the lawyers say.

One solicitor complained of the development of a two-tier legal system of spending public money, "one for the ordinary people that skimps" and another for the crown forces "where money is no object".

Dúirt Siad

Until the Falklands War the Green Eyes of 1 Para taunted the other battalions with the words: 'We shot one, we shot two, we shot 13 more than you...' — A reference to Bloody Sunday in Derry from Luke Jennings report on the murder of POWs by British paratroopers during the Malvinas War, the *Independent* on Sunday, 16 May.

Killing? You long for the opportunity. You wait your life for the chance to shoot someone. — A former member of the Parachute Regiment, the *Independent* on Sunday, 16 May.

You emphasised the importance of being part of a party that would form a government. You claimed that you had access to government at the highest levels. Now you, Laurence Kennedy, are fighting for your seat against a candidate whose main platform is a swimming pool for Hollywood. — BBC television reporter interviewing the Tory election candidate, Laurence Kennedy, 3.15pm, Thursday, 20 May.

Belfast is our city as well as the unionists' city. The City Hall is also our City Hall. — Gerry Adams after he opened a magnum of champagne on the stairs of City Hall to celebrate the party's electoral success, the *Irish News*, Saturday, 22 May.

Loyalist gunning of Sinn Féin offices in Belfast increased the sympathy vote there. — John Hume's explanation of Sinn Féin's election success in Belfast, the *Daily Telegraph*, Saturday, 22 May.

The presence of the large, boisterous Sinn Féin contingent irritated many people. The republicans sat in the corridors drinking tea and smoking, surrounded by the stern portraits of former lord mayors, cheering and chanting for camera crews and photographers every time they secured a victory. 'Times are certainly changing,' said one unionist as he walked away, shaking his head. — *Irish Times* reporter, Suzanne Breen, Saturday, 22 May.

West Belfast continues to provide the most volatile contest. Sinn Féin would currently win on last week's vote, restoring Gerry Adams to the seat he lost to Joe Hendron in last year's general election. Even allowing for some tactical voting by the Unionists, Hendron appears unlikely to cling on. — The *Sunday Times*, 23 May.

I began to believe that they would stop at nothing to blacken my name. We are talking about people who are employed to uphold the law. If they could do that to me, what could they do to anybody else? — Former Assistant Chief Constable, Alison Halford, claiming that the Merseyside police force tried to break her when she took a sex discrimination case after failing to be promoted.



Cruiser sees "greens under the bed"

The trial of Mrs McCarthy

■ BY MAIRTIN
Mac DIARMADA

MRS MCCARTHY of Belfast went on trial in the High Court in Dublin last week. Mrs McCarthy does not exist and trials do not take place in the High Court, but these minor details were only the latest of the bizarre proceedings in which Conor Cruise O'Brien sought to show that an old woman in a short story is an IRA supporter and the book she appears in should not be advertised on radio.

In Flann O'Brien's book, *At Swim Two Birds*, the characters created by the author take on a life of their own, subvert the plot and threaten to go on strike. Giving evidence in the case of Brandon Books against RTE and the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) Conor Cruise O'Brien took the scenario a step further by actually putting a fictional character in the dock. The ex-Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, and author of Section 31 censorship in its present form, was testifying on behalf of the IRTC and defending their decision not to carry a radio advertisement for Gerry Adams book, *The Street and Other Stories*. Both RTE and the IRTC refused to carry the ad and O'Brien backed their action by claiming that the book amounted to "thinly disguised propaganda" for the IRA, giving as an example the story in which Mrs McCarthy appears.

Steve MacDonagh of Brandon Books of Dingle, County Kerry, is asking the High Court to rule that RTE and the IRTC acted outside the law and violated his rights in refusing to accept an advertisement for the book which was published last year. The High Court began hearing the case on Thursday, 20 May with senior counsel for Brandon, Adrian Hardiman,

explaining how his client had asked his advertising agents to place the ad using Gerry Adams' voice with RTE.

The station replied that they were precluded under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act from carrying the ad because of Gerry Adams' membership of Sinn Féin. They offered to carry the ad using an actor's voice but this offer was then withdrawn and RTE said they would not accept any ad for the book. The station based its refusal on its blanket interpretation of Section 31, under which they barred all members of Sinn Féin from the airwaves, and on other sections of the Broadcasting Act. The barrister pointed out that this interpretation had been ruled unlawful by the High Court, a decision upheld by the Supreme Court, in the Larry O'Toole case. The High Court ruled that RTE violated O'Toole's rights by excluding him from being interviewed as chairperson of the Gateaux Strike Committee because he was a member of Sinn Féin.

RTE's replying affidavit in the case states that they considered any broadcast on any matter by Gerry Adams as precluded because he was a member and spokesperson for Sinn Féin (Section 31), because it would "under-



● Conor Cruise O'Brien leaves the Dublin High Court — during the case he displayed his paranoia and class prejudice

mine the authority of the state" (Section 18) and would violate RTE's commitment to "uphold democratic values" (Section 17). This went even further in defending censorship than RTE did in the Larry O'Toole case but, as Hardiman pointed out, all these arguments had been overtaken by that case.

RTE later amended their affidavit in the light of the O'Toole case to stress Adams' presidency rather than membership of the party. The problem was not now his membership but that he could not be broadcast while president or spokesperson for the party or "while still perceived as such".

Even more extraordinary was the submission from Colm Molloy, Director of Sales and Marketing for RTE. He cited the customary advertisements in the back of the book for other works by the same author, including *The Politics of Irish Freedom* and pointed to the fact that if *The Street* were advertised people who bought it and read about the other books might be persuaded to read them as well.

Refuting the contention that the book was a work of propaganda Hardiman read out eight reviews of the book in newspapers and journals in Ireland and Britain, many of which made the point that the work was not propagandistic. (Ironically the book was also reviewed on RTE radio's Imprint programme last October.)

Declan Kiberd of University College Dublin, a leading authority on Anglo-Irish literature, said that the book was a work of imaginative literature that "recreated local colour and individual lives". He said that some of the work of Brendan Behan, Máirtín Ó Cadhain and Peadar Ó'Donnell, who

were members of the Republican Movement at the time they wrote, could more easily be seen as polemical than Adams' book.

On Friday there was a hush of expectation in the courtroom as Conor Cruise O'Brien was called to give evidence for the IRTC. He was cross-examined by Hardiman on his written submission to the court describing the book as "thinly disguised propaganda" which expressed "sympathy with Catholic paramilitaries" and "hostility to the security forces".

Hardiman reminded O'Brien that he had publicly differed from RTE on their blanket interpretation of Section 31 as banning all members. O'Brien agreed but said that the case of Adams was different because he was the party's chief spokesperson. He was "Mr Sinn Féin". When Hardiman asked O'Brien if Adams should be banned no matter what he said, even if he said "Goosie, Goosie, Gander" the former minister replied that "the speaker is the message".

When Hardiman pointed out that under RTE's former interpretation of Section 31 a Sinn Féin member could not even talk about rose growing O'Brien said that the member might purport to speak on the subject but could quote from Yeats' poem *The Rose Tree*. "There's nothing but our own red blood, can make a right rose tree..."

Much of O'Brien's evidence concerned one short story in the collection *A Good Confession* and it was here that his paranoia was fully exposed, leading Hardiman to put it to him that he was seeing "greens under the bed".

O'Brien was reminded that nearly all the reviews said the book was not propaganda. The former minister retorted:

"I know that many people in

the journalistic world have sneaking sympathy for Sinn Féin and the IRA."

Hardiman retorted: "And you are good at sniffing such people out!"

To which Cruise replied: "I have studied literary criticism..."

Hardiman challenged O'Brien to pinpoint any of the reviewers who was sympathetic to Sinn Féin or the IRA. The flustered doctor shuffled his papers and then had to admit that he could not find the review in question and must have mixed it up with a *New Statesman* review of *The Politics of Irish Freedom*.

He was forced to withdraw his "sneaking sympathy" remark.

The court was treated to a reading of the story *The Good Confession* by Hardiman's junior, Shane Murphy. O'Brien asserted that the story was "consonant with the message of Sinn Féin". The ads in the back were for books that "carried the Sinn Féin certificate of health" said O'Brien and "include one by your instructing solicitor". This was a reference to *Northern Ireland — the Orange State* by Michael Farrell, Brandon's solicitor.

O'Brien also displayed his class prejudice when he said that newspaper reviews of the book were less likely to have the effect of "legitimising IRA/Sinn Féin" than radio ads which "reached a wider social group" and "less educated people" who would be "more likely to be impressed".

When Hardiman reminded O'Brien that in the back of one of his books there was an ad for a book about Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver. "I am not Eldridge Cleaver" replied O'Brien.

While the proceedings in the High Court (which continue this week) were at times hilarious it should be remembered that O'Brien was a cabinet minister and for four years had the power to enforce his paranoia. In 1950s America Mrs McCarthy's namesake Joe, the ruthless witch-hunter who led a reign of terror and created anti-radical paranoia not dissimilar to that instigated by Conor Cruise O'Brien in Ireland in the 1970s, was finally exposed and the deranged 'statesman' was driven from public life. Now that the summit of absurdity in censorship has been reached is it too much to hope that the same fate is in store for the regime of fear in the 26 Counties?



● Steve MacDonagh of Brandon Books with a copy of the book whose author RTE won't allow us to hear



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