

AN  
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NEWS

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY



# PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

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# IRA

# blast Tory bastion



## Céad Fáilte Nelson Mandela

A huge welcome is expected for South African freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, when he arrives in Ireland on his continuing world tour on Sunday, July 1st. Irish political prisoners in particular will salute the vice-president of the ANC who, after over a quarter of a century of imprisonment at the hands of the racist South African regime, remains totally committed to the freedom of his people.

**Céad fáilte go hEirinn  
Amandla — Cumhacht**

IN CLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY for the bombing of the British Tory Carlton Club in London, and in an exclusive interview with *An Phoblacht/Republican News* this week, the IRA says it has "brought the war directly to those who keep the British army on the streets and in the fields of Ireland". The IRA has also pointed out clearly to the British policy-makers, whose bastion was blasted this week, that the path to peace is open to them if they end their military occupation of the Six Counties.

When the IRA struck in London on Monday night they struck at the very heart of the British establishment. For the next two days the reaction from that establishment was nothing short of hysterical. They were aghast at the audacity of the attack on the 150-year-old Tory club which counts Thatcher as its only female member and which hosted her '10th anniversary of power' private dinner, has former Six-County Direct-Ruler Willie Whitehead as its chair and is a central gathering-place for members of the London government and other top members of the political establishment.

The importance of the target to the British government was shown when Thatcher visit-

ed the wrecked building and when Geoffrey Howe rose in the House of Commons to make a special statement. As at the Tory conference in Brighton in 1984, the IRA had brought the war to the doorsteps of those with ultimate responsibility for sending British soldiers to Ireland.

It was a salutary lesson to those soldiers used as cannon-fodder in the Six Counties that the establishment's reaction to many of their deaths in the past has been muted in comparison to the chorus that ensued when their exclusive Carlton Club was bombed.

It was at 8.39pm on Monday, June 25th, that a powerful bomb ripped through the Tory Carlton Club in the heart of London's St James's Street area. As the pall of smoke from the devastated club hung over St James's Street, those at the centre of the British establishment, the war-mongers who sustain the unnecessary conflict in Ireland, emerged from Westminster, St James's Palace and Buckingham Palace all within a stonethrow of the blast site, to see the consequences of their war.

Seven people, including Lord Kaberry of Adel, former vice-chair of the Conservative Party, were injured in the blast which started a fierce fire.

When a visibly shaken Thatcher, who escaped death by the narrowest of margins in the Grand Hotel in 1984, arrived on the scene the following day she said that there would need to be an urgent security review and

added: "It is unbelievable that the terrorists were able to bomb the Carlton Club."

Media and political reaction, with the exception of the occasional flight into reality, concentrated on the 'fired British line of 'soft targets' and 'ever-widening target lists' and attempted to class the Carlton Club blast as a departure for the IRA. No-one publicly reminded them of the IRA execution of Lord Mountbatten, or the bomb blast at the home of military policy architect Kenneth Bloomfield in Ireland, nor of Brighton. The establishment, however, needs no reminding.

In its statement on Tuesday on the operation, the IRA gave its message clearly:

"In carrying out the bombing of the Conservative Carlton Club in Central London yesterday an Active Service Unit of the IRA struck at the heart of Tory rule in Ireland. The Carlton Club, which numbers Margaret Thatcher and other Cabinet ministers amongst its members, is the rest and recreation centre for the British government who legislate for the military occupation of the North of Ireland."

"Like Brighton in 1984 the IRA have brought the war directly to those who keep the British army on the streets and in the fields of Ireland. While such occupation continues and the nationalist people face daily oppression, the policy-makers and their military arm will not be safe."

— See rest of War News page 2 and IRA interview pages 2 & 3.

# EXCLUSIVE IRA interview

SEE  
PAGES  
2 & 3



# Attacks across the North



IN THE Six Counties, Thursday, June 21st, saw the British again in a panic with the IRA in Fermanagh, Tyrone and Belfast launching a series of six operations demonstrating the diversity of tactics at the IRA's disposal in order to stretch the crown forces to their limit.

In Cookstown, Dungannon and Omagh in County Tyrone, three powerful car-bombs were ferried simultaneously into the town centre exclusion zones. The James's Street area of Cookstown was devastated by a bomb blast which came after a half-hour warning had expired. In Dungannon the bomb only partially exploded and damage was minimal and in Omagh, British bomb technicians set off an explosive charge under the car-bomb before the warning time had expired.

In Belfast the fraught nerves of the RUC's DMSU and their British army back-up, cracked under the strain when a lone Volunteer lobbed an impact grenade which damaged one of three jeeps travelling along the Stewartstown Road in West Belfast.

With the Volunteers already safely away the crown forces emerged from the vehicles and from nearby Woodbourne Barracks to fire upwards of 60 shots indiscriminately into Doon Road. Local residents were lucky to escape uninjured.

In Fermanagh a border customs post outside Newtownbutler was completely destroyed by Volunteers of the South Fermanagh Brigade.

Finally, on Thursday scores of troops were tied down guarding bomb technicians engaged in clearing suspect devices from the railway tracks between Lurgan and Portadown.

## RAF BASE

An explosion caused damage at RAF Stanmore Park in north-

west London on Thursday, June 21st. The bomb, inside the base's security fence, was spotted before it exploded at 9.35am, wrecking a hut and sending hundreds of British soldiers scurrying for cover. The IRA later claimed responsibility for the attack in a statement to the media.

## IRA STATEMENTS

The IRA in Belfast issued a statement on Wednesday, June 27th, saying:

*"A number of weeks ago we ordered Kevin McLaughlin of Ballymurphy to leave the country for acting as an RUC informer and asked anyone in a similar predicament to come forward. A number of people have done so. However, we are aware of a few individuals who have still to come forward. We reiterate our position that anyone in such circumstances should come forward now without fear — those who don't will face the consequences."*

In South Down the IRA claimed responsibility for the punishment shooting of two men in the Rostrevor area and warned that others involved in anti-social activity should desist forthwith or face the consequences.

Derry Brigade also said that they had shot a Creggan man for sexual assault against young children, some as young as five. They added that their investigation into the matter was ongoing.

Interview with GHQ spokesperson, Oglagh na hEireann

# "We will win and are set firmly to the task of achieving victory" — IRA

Following the bomb attack on London's Carlton Club, haunt of the Tory establishment, AP/RN was afforded an opportunity to interview a spokesperson for the General Headquarters Staff of Oglagh na hEireann. Below we carry the text of that interview.

**Q: What is your assessment of current British strategy in Ireland?**

**A:** We believe their strategy has shifted over the last year or so from the simple sloganising of 'we will defeat the IRA' to one of trying to undermine the will of our people. Brooke has said that the British cannot defeat the IRA. This is a statement of great significance in that no other British direct-ruler has before admitted to this fact.

However, it is important to assess his reasoning for this. His statement, after all, came with the obvious backing of Thatcher and the British war cabinet. If the British, with their massive army and limitless finances, cannot defeat the IRA then what is their strategy? We believe their present policy is one of using the notion of 'stalemate' and 'hopelessness' and 'futility'. What they are saying is 'Look, this war can go on for 20 years and we (the Brits) can stay and accept some casualties and put lots of republicans in jail — nothing will change so what's the point?'

They have shifted their strategy quite clearly from saying 'we are going to beat you' to 'you cannot hope to win'. In conjunction with this they have changed their frontline troops. Their policy of Ulsterisation, while interrupted and blocked on numerous occasions, nonetheless remains central to their policy and tactics. In short, that front-line troops from the RUC and UDR are carrying Britain's war with back-up from regular British regiments, means that in England the racist attitude of 'it's only Paddies being killed' hinders the development of a mass movement for withdrawal. Given the fact that every poll conducted over the last 20 years has recorded a majority of English people in favour of withdrawal, the importance, from a British point of view, of keeping that demand a latent one, cannot be overestimated.

Their strategy extends to the overtly political arena. Since the signing of the Hillsborough Treaty (which didn't gain a single iota for nationalists) the SDLP and the political parties in the 26 Counties have been left by the British with the odious task of supporting British policy in Ireland and copper-fastening partition. This can be seen most clearly in John Hume's contention that the British are now neutral in the conflict and are

some kind of honest broker, holding the line while they wait for unionists and nationalists to sort out their 'tribal differences'. Also the various Dublin parties now spend more time debating the small print of extradition etc, than they do trying to fulfil the supposed objective of all Dublin governments since 1921 — the re-unification of Ireland.

**Q: You refer to Peter Brooke's comments. Can you give us an assessment of what you believe Brooke was trying to achieve when he made his '100 days' speech with its comments which the media interpreted as being aimed at encouraging some move away from armed struggle with the vague hint of Sinn Féin involvement in finding a solution given such a scenario, and what he is doing with his current round of talks?**

**A:** As I have said, one of the British intentions is to undermine the will of our activists and to demoralise our people. That is the negative part of their strategy, but the British must also be seen to be positive and to have a strategy to move forward, otherwise they fall into the same charge of going nowhere and achieving nothing. Since the British have no real solution (short of withdrawal) they must continue with the policy that they have always pursued — one of imagery and illusion. In the present round of talks about talks Brooke is giving the impression of political flexibility and motion.

When he spoke in his '100 days' speech of being 'imaginative' if the IRA ceased its military campaign he began a process of bluff. Martin McGuinness immediately challenged steps 'would be'. This was followed by a deafening silence from Brooke but was accompanied by a cacophony of cease-fire speculation in the media simply because Brooke's bluff had been rightly called by Sinn Féin.

If we dispel the smokescreen surrounding the present talks we find only the age-old game of British political deceit.

We have witnessed five years of Hillsborough where the SDLP leadership and Dublin promised that it would change the actions of the crown forces, reform the penal and judicial system and that it would 'lance the Orange boil' — all have been proven to be nothing more than

Hillsborough imagination.

The British have stated on numerous occasions that they stand by the Hillsborough Treaty and the Maryfield secretariat but now are willing, it seems, to put them in abeyance — what of 'lancing the Orange boil' now?

Dublin swore it would always have a say, now they seem to be accepting relegation to the sidelines while others talk on. The SDLP are saying that the present process is in keeping with their policy, after having publicly stated that Maryfield was essential and that Dublin input was the only guarantee of nationalist interests.

Unionists are claiming Brooke has given them concessions, including no role for Dublin and the suspension of Maryfield coupled with a halt to inter-governmental conferences. Everyone appears to be happy and all are claiming progress.

The British are setting the agenda. They have nothing to lose and everything to gain from these pseudo-talks. They are seen to be trying to move towards political accommodation. When the talks break down or when they fail to produce a devolved arrangement the local participants will be blamed. The whole process is about creating the illusion that the British have initiated political movement.

While all these games continue, of course the British are allowed off the hook and can avoid the main question of a solution to their involvement in Ireland.

**Q: To return to the question of undermining nationalist morale. Just how far would you see elements of the media as being involved in such a strategy?**

**A:** It is difficult to quantify, but the British have a very sophisticated and well financed publicity network, especially internationally. Their methods of propagandising and spreading disinformation are legion. If one considers that in America alone they spend hundreds of millions of dollars in disseminating their version of events, you can appreciate the magnitude of their operation and the importance they place on it.

It has been part of their modus operandi for many years to feed certain journalists stories when they seek to float an idea, undermine individuals, sow dissension, prepare the ground for proposed repressive legislation or simply to confuse their opponents. Censorship also plays a large role, preventing a creditable reply to the British line being heard.

Then there is the fact that many journalists are simply lazy. Investigation in the Six Counties has often meant a hack spending a few weeks





in the Europa Hotel and regurgitating RUC and British army press handouts without question or comment. Q: Recent media speculation seems to have centred on the question of a debate within the Republican Movement on the possibility of a cease-fire. Is there any substance in these reports and can you envisage any set of circumstances in which the IRA would engage in a cease-fire? A: The IRA are engaged in a military campaign against the British army and government, in response to their holding the Six Counties as a colony by military means. We are an occupied territory. The British are and always have been the principal protagonists. If the British declare publicly their intention to withdraw from our country within a specified period of time, then and only then would the idea of a cease-fire be contemplated.

The IRA have always made it clear that they are willing to talk to the British at any time they show a genuine desire to bring about peace and democracy in Ireland. We demand the basic right of every nation to national self-determination. The denial of that right by armed might will always legitimise and give rise to armed struggle in pursuit of that right.

To answer your question bluntly, there is no truth whatsoever in media speculation about cease-fires being debated within the IRA or between the IRA and any other organisation.

On the question of debate amongst republicans, yes, there is debate on a continuous basis but the debate centres on the best tactics to prosecute the struggle and see it through to victory.

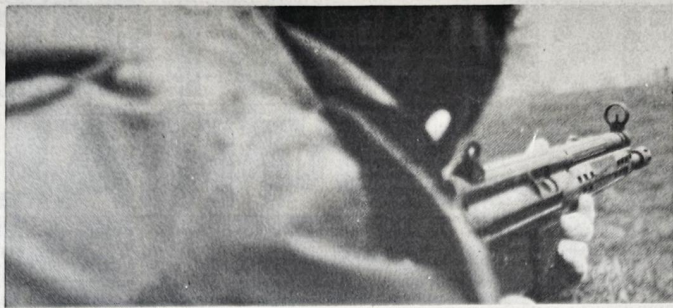
Q: Still on media speculation, there have been claims that Gerry Adams has held a series of meetings with the IRA and that he represents republican 'doves' who are experiencing problems with the IRA war effort. There is also the question of Gerry Adams' public statements which have been highly critical of some IRA operations. Can you clarify these points?

A: Well, such speculation and claims are ridiculous. There have been so many 'hawks and doves' let loose that it is a wonder we can walk the streets for bird droppings. Sinn Féin has stated on numerous occasions that its stance is one of critical support for the right of Irish people to wage armed struggle against British occupation. We welcome this support from our comrades in Sinn Féin and from any anti-imperialist group or individual. We do not and would not demand that those who support the right to engage in armed struggle must support every IRA action.

It is in the interests of the whole Movement and community that IRA operations function solely to undermine the will of the British to remain in Ireland. When Gerry Adams said recently that the deaths of two Australian nationals were inexcusable and unjustifiable the IRA did not just accept this criticism, given by a comrade, but fully endorsed such criticism. His statement was both acceptable and necessary. This, despite the media efforts, is not a question of 'hawks and doves'. Quite simply, the deaths of innocent civilians are unacceptable; they are tragic in themselves and do not advance our cause or bring closer the day of victory. The IRA remains determined to do all in its power to avoid such deaths.

When the IRA have made mistakes we have admitted and genuinely regretted such mistakes and the resultant suffering. While not trying to diminish such mistakes, or our responsibility for them, it is nonetheless worth pointing out that we have yet to hear a single apology or expression of remorse from the British over Bloody Sunday, shoot-to-kill, plastic bullet murders, torture in Castlereagh or any of their long litany of violent outrages.

Q: The British establishment and media have suggested that the IRA's



European and English campaigns are evidence of their 'success' in containing the IRA and curtailing its ability to operate in the Six Counties, and that the campaign signals a shift to 'soft targets'. How do you respond to that suggestion?

A: The British would of course dearly love to limit the scope of the IRA to a certain area and specific targets. It would be a classic counter-insurgency tactic which, if the IRA were silly enough to fall for, would allow the British to concentrate all their resources on a very few areas within the Six Counties.

If truth be told, the evidence points towards the fact that the crown forces themselves have been very much curtailed and contained in the Six Counties. They are the most heavily armed force in Western Europe. Their military machine includes the British army, the RUC and RUC reserve and the UDR full and part-time regiments along with their considerable undercover forces. Take a walk round Derry or Belfast; they are continually reinforcing their fortified barracks, building underground bunkers, adding extra armoured plating to their vehicles, putting up extra mesh, building new and bigger blast walls and blocking off roads around their bases.

When they come out of their fortresses it is to swamp areas with massive patrols and armoured vehicles. The RUC sit tight in their jeeps and armoured cars and seldom move out. They are afraid to stop at traffic lights or junctions. In rural areas like South Armagh and large parts of Fermanagh and Tyrone they have been unable to travel by road for many years, even after building their Orwellian spy-posts along the border.

Since the shooting down of helicopters they now come in waves of five and six at a time, with gunships now a feature of such patrols. At a time when the rest of Europe is boasting of demilitarisation of borders, the British are increasing the militarisation of partition in their last shameful outpost. So it looks very much like the British themselves are not behaving very confidently about curtailing the IRA.

Of late they have again taken to the policy of the early 1970s, taking all possible steps to cover up casualties. Most recently in Cappagh, in Belfast, in Tyrone and in Fermanagh they have blatantly lied despite eyewitness evidence of damage to vehicles and injuries or deaths of their personnel.

The point of these denials and lies, using a servile media to push their line without question, is to convince us and our people that we are getting nowhere. More importantly they show that the British are well aware that such casualties are devastating to their overall military morale and weaken the political will to maintain such a costly war. So they cover up the cost.

The simple answer to the part of your question on Europe and England is that it is necessary, especially in a guerrilla campaign, to attack the enemy on ground which you choose. To surprise the enemy, give them no rest, continually pressurise them and

of course to hit them where it hurts, preferably at the central nervous system. A pertinent example of this is the attack on the Carlton Club in London — the rest and recreation centre of the high and mighty, the hub of the higher echelons of the ruling establishment, a place outside Downing Street where the policy makers meet.

The IRA expanded operations to continental Europe and England for a number of reasons. The general one is to hit the enemy on as many fronts as possible and to stretch their resources and nerves. Another is that England is the 'belly of the beast' and that is where it hurts most.

The power-brokers in Westminster are not moved except by political pressure from their base or by direct pressure on themselves.

We stated after the Brighton bomb in 1984 when Thatcher narrowly escaped death: "Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once, you will have to be lucky always." The Carlton Club blast and the attack on the home of Lord McAlpine emphasise just how lucky they must always be.

On the wider aspects of our campaign in Europe and Britain, while they occupy any part of our country, they and their soldiers, the instruments of oppression, cannot be allowed to relax or rest. British soldiers come to our country for short tours of duty. They kick down our doors, wreck our homes, imprison our people, terrorise our communities and shoot dead men, women and children with lead and plastic bullets. They then think they can go back to Germany or England or wherever and relax while another regiment takes over their role. They can't. Nor can their political masters.

Q: You refer to the need to hit on as many fronts as possible. One such tactic has been the bombing of the cross-border railway line. This tactic has drawn much criticism. Can you state for the record why you pursue this tactic and if it is your intention to close down the rail link?

A: To answer the second part of your question first. It is not our intention to close down the railway line between Belfast and Dublin.

On your other point, it has never ceased to amaze me how the media and politicians have launched so many attacks on the IRA over this issue and totally ignored the deliberate 20-year British policy of bombing and destroying border roads, causing so much hardship to border communities. 26-County politicians and SDLP spokespersons sit in judgement, loudly denouncing the IRA for bombing the railway while at the same time ordering or supporting the 26-County forces protecting British troops as they blow up Irish roads.

The disruption of the railway is to flush crown forces out of their fortified positions. It ties down massive numbers of troops as well as bomb technicians. It also undermines the authority of the British, exposing them as being unable to even 'keep the trains running'. More importantly it leaves more opportunity for attacks on their personnel.

It is, however, only one of a number of tactics which we employ and

will continue to employ to our advantage.

Q: Evidence has mounted of the operation by the British of officially sanctioned death-squads. How do you view this and what if anything is the IRA response to such a campaign?

A: Death-squads have always been a feature of counter-insurgency warfare. Even when these death-squads have not been officially sanctioned the government, through its secret services, has always had some control or influence over their activities.

I don't feel I need to reiterate the evidence for the existence of death-squads. Suffice to say that the British, either through passing information to loyalists or actively participating in the activities of the death-squads, are involved in a murder campaign with two aims — to eliminate political opponents, or others they view as a threat, as in the recent attack on Sinn Féin's Sean Keenan, and to terrorise the wider nationalist community as can be seen from the 800-plus nationalists who have died at the hands of death-squads since 1969.

The IRA response to this campaign is to remove, whenever possible, those directly involved in instigating or perpetrating these killings and to be ever cognisant of the fact that a primary British concern is to portray the conflict here as a sectarian war. We have no intention of being drawn into futile sectarian conflict.

Q: Even though you say that the IRA is not at war with the Protestant community, many in that community would conclude just the opposite. What assurances can you offer to the Protestant people and what role do you see them as playing in a new Ireland?

A: Firstly, it is a nonsense to accuse the IRA of being at war with the Protestant people. We stand by the Proclamation of 1916 and the principles of Wolfe Tone in that we are fighting for freedom and democracy for all the people of Ireland, that is Protestant, Catholic, people of all religions and no religion. We are aware of our history and of the Protestant roots of Tone and many United Irishmen, and we number Protestants among our ranks throughout the Movement.

We stand squarely against oppression no matter whom it affects. Contrary to British propaganda, we are involved in a war of national liberation and not a religious war. We are totally disinterested in the religion, colour or creed of our enemy. If they are instruments of oppression then we must face them in struggle.

I sincerely reiterate our previous calls to unionists and loyalists to abandon the philosophy of colonialism. What marginal privilege there is for working-class loyalists is gained at the expense of working-class nationalists. They must realise that Britain, when it suits, will drop them like a hot potato. The Six Counties is the rubbish tip of British rule. In economic crisis it is the first to suffer and the last to recover, if at all. The loyalist/unionist population has no real power unless they join with the rest of the Irish people. In that position of unity we, the people of this island, will shape our own destiny and

democracy, free from outside influence.

Q: Twenty-one years into the struggle, do the IRA still retain the morale and the personnel to prosecute the war?

A: Not only do we retain the morale and personnel, but the commitment and dedication of our men and women activists has deepened. The Volunteer of today is much more politically aware than ever before. Also our older Volunteers, now in their 30s and early 40s, have 20 years of experience behind them. The stamina and dedication of activists never ceases to amaze me. Many have suffered long terms of imprisonment and often torture, relationships have suffered and broken up, most live on or near the poverty line, loss of relatives and friends at the hands of the British and the loyalists has been common, yet they are solid in their work towards victory.

Recruitment of new Volunteers has never been a problem. It is in fact the work of recruitment officers to sift through the numbers who wish to join the IRA. Many are turned down for various reasons. We have in fact no need to go seeking recruits; people from all walks of life come to our organisation.

I welcome this opportunity to place on record the very high esteem in which all our Volunteers and their families are held. They could so easily have chosen other paths which would have led to 'normal' lives, but their selflessness and dedication to ensuring future peace and democracy has led them to lives of much hardship. They are the salt of the earth.

Volunteers come from the community and are part of the community; our suffering is no different from the suffering of the entire nationalist community and it is for us a very proud boast to say that we belong to the nationalist people, the risen people.

Q: What are the current intentions of the IRA and do you retain the weaponry and support to see through such a programme?

A: This of course is always the question which cannot be fully answered. Others besides our supporters will read this interview, so I know republicans will understand that we cannot go into specific tactics or intentions for the future.

However, we can say that we intend to sap the British will to remain in our country and we have the ability to do so. We will fight the British on as many fronts as is logistically possible at any time. What is very basic to all anti-colonial wars is that this is our country so we are not leaving. The British have everything to lose through continuing the war, we have everything to gain.

The cost of this war on the British at every level should not be underestimated. Our tactics will ensure there is no respite. Besides the high financial cost of maintaining their presence and guarding a vast array of potential targets, this war does and will continue to play havoc with their nerves and their lifestyles. It is in their power to end it should they fail to do so, they must bear the consequences.

The support of our people is obvious, in that we could not survive or increase our operations without it. With our support, our weaponry and the calibre of our Volunteers and activists we will win and are set firmly to the task of achieving victory!

Our victory will be a 32-County Republic which "guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens". Our victory will be the removal of the British presence from our country and in doing so we set the solid foundation for true democracy and a lasting peace in our country, denied for so many centuries by British occupation.



# BRITISH JUSTICE TO GO ON TRIAL

BY ART MAC EON

**THE HIGH COURT in Dublin on Wednesday adjourned for a month the first appeal it has heard under the 26-County state's 1987 Extradition Act. The case marks a crucial stage in the political and legal battle over the extradition of people to face political charges in Britain and the Six Counties.**

Thirty seven-year-old Dublin man, Dessie Ellis is wanted on British extradition warrants charging him with possession of explosives and conspiracy to cause an explosion in England between January 1st 1981 and October 27th 1983. The Dublin District Court ordered his extradition in January but this was appealed to the High Court.

The appeal was adjourned in order that Ellis's lawyers be given sufficient time to prepare evidence relating to several cases of

political charges in British courts.

The defence presented evidence that defendants in a number of these cases were subjected to trial by media and political interference. Cases referred to in court included those of the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four and Maguire Seven. However, of particular

relevance they felt, were the cases of the Winchester Three and Armagh man Danny McNamee who faced charges similar to those for which Ellis's extradition is sought.

Ten days before the end of McNamee's trial and on the very last day, the charges against him were changed to include highly

serious offences such as the Hyde Park bombing and McNamee was refused an adjournment for his solicitor to prepare a defence against the new charges. He was also questioned in court as to his own political opinions and those of his family.

The Ellis defence refers to the "inhuman and degrading treatment" suffered by Martina Shanahan of the Winchester Three while she was on remand awaiting trial in Britain.

al rights under Article 40 of the 1937 Constitution would be violated if he were sent to Britain.

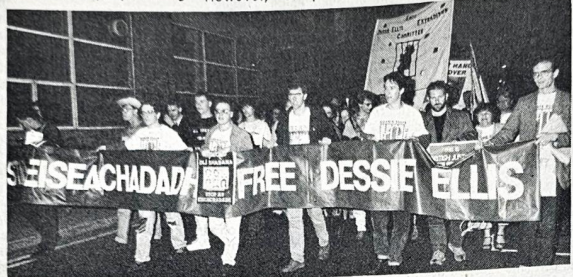
The State objected to this, making the comment that as Ellis said he was not mentioned in the extradition warrants, he could not have any knowledge of celebrated cases such as those of the Guildford Four or Winchester Three.

Defence Counsel Justice Blaney said that he believed that there could be a risk of injustice unless an adjournment was granted. The State will respond to defence submissions by July 26th.

Ellis is the first extradition case since the Supreme Court releases some months ago, of Dermot Finucane, James Clarke and Owen Carron.

The appeal hearing comes in the wake of Fine Gael's recent criticism that the new extradition act does not go far enough in abolishing the political exception clause, and Margaret Thatcher's comments last Tuesday referring to the London-Dublin review of extradition procedures, when she criticised recent 26-County Supreme Court judgments.

miscarriages of justice against Irish people facing



## RIGHTS WOULD BE VIOLATED

Patrick McEntee SC, said that information received from Birmingham Six lawyer, Gareth Peirce, was included in the affidavit presented to the court on Wednesday. The affidavit argued that Ellis's constitution-

names."

She put Jeff and Cath off until the following evening. He persisted her to promise to ring him the following day to confirm this. The car had just pulled up in Henry Street, Enniskillen, when Jeff gave her a Benson & Hedges cigarette-pack. On the top of the pack were the words "Phone Jeff" and an Enniskillen telephone number.

"He told me to put it into my bag and not to open it but something made me open the box and there was a roll of money inside — around £150 Sterling. At this stage I tried to open the door and the door was locked. Eventually I got out of the car and threw the cigarette-pack back into it at his feet."

# British spies stalk border

BY TOM O'DWYER

**BRITISH military intelligence officers have tried to bribe and to frighten a 19-year-old woman from Swanlinbar, County Cavan, into giving them information on local republicans.**

The incident has prompted fears in the Cavan border area that British secret agents are regularly crossing the border on information-gathering expeditions which pose a great danger to local people. The information which they may gather is likely to find its way to loyalist killers.

The woman, who does not wish to be named, was travelling to work in Enniskillen on Wednesday, June 20th, when she was approached by two agents who operate out of Omagh and Enniskillen and use a 1987 Dublin-registered car. She takes up the story:

"I left home that morning at nine o'clock and got a lift from a local woman who left me off at Cassidy's Cross, a few miles on the Fermanagh side of the border, and then I began to hitch a lift. A white Nissan Bluebird car passed me going very slowly. Then, shortly afterwards, a blue Ford Orion stopped beside me with a woman driving. There was also a man in the front.

"She asked if I was going to Enniskillen, I said yes and got in. After we pulled off the man turned and said 'You're .... aren't you?' I said no. Then she said 'We know all about you.' I said 'I don't know

you'."

The man, who was in his 30s, about six feet tall with black hair and a moustache, introduced himself as "Jeff" and his companion as "Cath". She was blonde and between 25 and 30 years old, thin and around five feet, seven inches tall. Both of them spoke with English upper-class accents.

## MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

Jeff told the young Irishwoman that they were "nothing to do with" either the RUC or the UDR. They were working for British military intelligence and were based in Omagh. Throughout the short journey into Enniskillen Cath kept behind the white Nissan which had a Six-County registration number. The County Cavan woman is sure its driver was working in conjunction with the two agents.

"I asked him what did he want," continues the Swanlinbar woman. "He said he just wanted to meet me that evening for an hour after work where I got the bus every evening. He said he wanted information on a group of people around the Swanlinbar area. I asked him who they were and he said the time wasn't long enough to mention any

## BLATANT BRIBERY

Jeff tried to meet the Swanlinbar woman the following evening but she told him she wanted nothing to do with him. Despite the fact that neither agent used direct threats, she was very frightened by the incident. The blatant exercise in bribery showed that her community was under surveillance from a group of people with a deserved reputation for callousness. Such spies do not glean information solely for the love of filing away facts. It serves a purpose and all too often that purpose is to assist loyalist assassination gangs. The '87 D' Ford used by the agents, reinforced her fears. The only possible explanation for them having a 26-County registered car is that it is for use South of the border.

Sinn Féin spokesperson Peadar Neary was considerably angered by the case:

"People in this region will not tolerate this form of harassment. We cannot have British agents cruising around our roads in total freedom. Collaboration between the gardai and the RUC must stop and agents like these must be kept out of County Cavan. Otherwise we may have a death on our hands."



● Peadar Neary talks to victim of British military intelligence harassment



# RIOT OF LIGHT AND COLOUR ON THE LIFFEY

THE spontaneous outburst of street celebration which followed the Irish team's clash with Romania on Monday night last, turned into a carnival in Dublin City as revellers joined with thousands of others in the River Parade of Innocence.

The parade, organised by the Co-ordinating Group on the Miscarriage of Justice Cases, was a spectacular theatrical demonstration calling for justice for the Birmingham Six and Judith Ward. The city streets witnessed a riot of

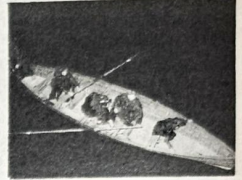
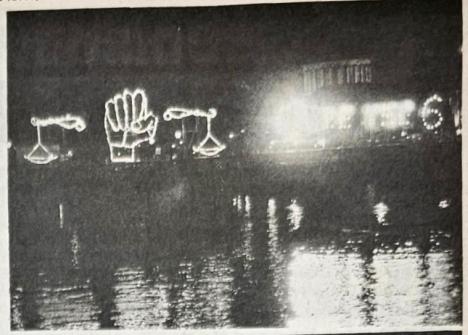
colour, as scores of costumed actors, musicians, theatrical props and thousands of marchers carrying lighted candles made their way to the River Liffey. On the river, several boats trailing giant portraits of the six innocent Irishmen, jailed for the

Birmingham pub bombings in 1974, rowed up to the Ha'penny Bridge where the portraits were hoisted up along with a banner bearing one word — 'Innocent'.

All of the speakers at the rally criticised the role of the Dublin gov-

ernment in the Birmingham Six case, and Maggie McKenny said that Charles Haughey had "sat on his backside for the past 16 years" while her father has been in prison.

Spectacular fire sculptures bearing images which called for justice and messages of support lit up the night as the rally was brought to a close.



● Thousands gather at the River Parade of Innocence



● (Top, middle and above) Some of the spectacular displays at the River Parade of Innocence on Monday last

# An alternative vision of Europe

AS THE EC heads of government summit was taking place in Dublin Castle on Monday, June 25th, just yards away in the Clarence Hotel participants assembled for 'The Other European Summit' (TOES), involving MEPs and other representatives from EC states and non-EC European countries.

The Other European Summit discussed draft policy documents or critiques of official EC policy on four main issues — environment, security, economics and democracy. These would, in the words of the organisers, "create an alternative agenda to that set by the EC

and provide an alternative vision of the future of Europe". Each of the four papers were passed by a majority of the representatives and there was the minimum of dissent and abstention.

Participants included Jürgen Meier, West Germany; Jens Peter Bonde MEP, Denmark; Herman Verbeek MEP, Netherlands; Paulo Bergamaschi, Italy; Michael Hindley MEP, Britain; Freda Meissner-Blau and Josphe Irschko, Austria.

Seánad member Brendan Ryan, as the Irish representative, chaired the event and discussion followed a format similar to the official EC Summit, involv-

ing contributions from each of the representatives on the different issues raised.

The summit criticised the role of the EC in promoting nuclear energy and in not directing the resources of its member states towards the use of non-polluting renewable energy sources, as well as the reduction in consumption through conservation and lower mobility. The summit blamed what it termed the "growth at any cost" philosophy as a major contributor to environmental problems in Europe and throughout the world. It urged the banning of many dubious food substances and processes, a move away from intensive production

processes and the introduction of an absolute right of freedom of environmental information. They criticised Charles Haughey's 'Green Presidency' of the EC as being little more than good PR.

## LEAKED DOCUMENT

During the discussion on 'security' there was quite a stir when organisers of the alternative summit revealed that they had received a document, leaked from the official EC Summit, drafted by the Irish presidency which strongly signals the intention of introducing a 'defence' role into the EC. The participants of TOES concluded that there should be no defence dimension to the EC. Furthermore they agreed that neutral countries could not claim to be so while being members of European Political Co-operation.

TOES proposed a vastly reduced role for the EC in European economic affairs on the basis that less co-operation was needed in this field while "considerable enforcement of human rights and environmental rights were required instead".

"It is crazy that the EC can enforce the standardisation of everything from paper clips to steel mills, while Britain can ignore the far-reaching decisions of the European Court of Human Rights," according to Patricia McKenna, co-ordinator of TOES. The summit was opposed to any form of monetary or political union and urged the dismantling of the single market and the rapid abandonment of CAP, while proposing that member states should have fishing rights in their own fishing grounds. Lending to the Third World should be phased out once the debts are can-

celled, allowing for a major reduction in aid.

The Democratic Critique agreed by TOES said: "The EC constitutes an assault on national democracy whereby the powers to make basic decisions on most aspects of our lives are moving from the national parliaments and local authorities to the EC institutions."

## UNDEMOCRATIC

It went on to say that the EC's own institutional framework was lacking in democracy:

"The Council of Ministers decides, usually by qualified majority vote, in secret, and is not accountable as a collective to either the European Parliament, national parliament or local authorities. Neither the appointing country nor the electorate can replace members of the European Commission, they are not elected and not accountable to the electors, while they initiate and consider all legislation, and also operate in secret."

It also drew attention to the limited freedom of information regarding the EC and its unrivalled media power. The summit agreed that:

"The EC should specify a preference for a decentralised, disarmed, demilitarised and neutral German confederation, within a demilitarised Europe, and that members should pursue that line at the CSCE." The policy document on democracy was agreed with the abstention of the Italian representative.

Before the summit was formally brought to a close, a proposal was passed which called for a similar alternative summit to be held coinciding with the next official EC Summit.



● The Other European Summit, featuring the Strawberryanaal Chalice



# Portadown family endures four years of harassment In fear of their lives

**JOHNNY DIGNAM, Sinn Féin's Portadown representative, lives with his wife Clare and two small sons on the Ballyoran estate in Portadown. In 1986 the Dignam home was broken into by the RUC while Clare was in hospital having their first child. Johnny was also out of the house at the time. When he returned and asked the RUC what they thought they were doing he was arrested and charged with disorderly behaviour. He said:**

"The campaign against me and my family began with the RUC breaking into our home. Almost immediately after that they began stopping and harassing me on the streets. On one night in 1987 my car was stopped and searched six times at roadblocks."

Throughout 1988 the Dignams continued to be targeted for harassment both on the streets and in their own home. In August 1988 the family home was raided five times in a three-week period. Describing the effect of continual raiding and harassment Clare Dignam said:

"A raid on your home can be very distressing. No-one likes to have their personal property and belongings scrutinised by strangers. On many occasions I have been subjected to verbal sexual abuse, often in front of my two young sons. It's distressing for me but for the children the impact is far worse. When our older son was only an 18-

month-old toddler the RUC sledgehammered their way into the house one morning. Seán was hit on the head and had to have hospital treatment — the psychological effect has got to be much worse. Seán is a nervous child and if he sees UDR or RUC men near the house he runs in screaming. Only recently Seán was arrested along with his father. This is extremely upsetting for a child."

## UNDER SIEGE

Describing herself as "under siege" Clare tells how RUC patrols bang on her front door, how UDR patrols stand waving in her kitchen window and how the harassment has extended to her mother and sister who are now undergoing raids and harassment as well. She concluded:

"It's the British collusion with death-squads, however, which places the greatest strain on the family. We have to take seriously the RUC and UDR threats to have us killed."

Johnny Dignam is no stranger to death threats from the RUC and UDR. In an incident in December 1988 he was dragged from his car by the RUC and had a gun placed against his head. He was then threatened and held on the road while an RUC man illegally photographed him.

Through the four years since the first raid on the family home the Dignams have been illegally photographed both at road blocks and in their own home.

"Personal photos and even a wedding video have been taken from our home during raids; both Clare and myself have seen soldiers taking photographs of the house. With

● JOHNNY DIGNAM



crown forces collusion and the shoot-to-kill policy going on the taking of these photos is either a prelude to an attack or a cynical attempt to terrorise my family."

## WEDDING RAIDED

In March 1989, three RUC men emerged from an unmarked vehicle and dragged Dignam from his car. One RUC man held a gun against Dignam's head and said he was going to 'stiff him'. Dignam continues:

"The RUC and UDR continually threaten my life. In the last six months I have been arrested and brought to search centres three times. I have received four direct death threats. At one checkpoint in County Tyrone, a UDR soldier told me if I was seen in the area again I would be 'shot dead'."

"I have been informed by the RUC on four occasions that my details are in the hands of loyalists. Over the past four years the British crown forces have waged a concerted campaign of harassment and intimidation against myself and my family. Four weeks ago the RUC raided my sister-in-law's wedding, invading both the reception hall and the chapel, accompanied by sniffer dogs."

The suffering inflicted on the Dignam family is indicative of the wider suffering inflicted upon nationalists and republicans at the hands of the crown forces, who continue to carry out their campaign of terror with impunity. This treatment also stands as an indictment of the SDLP and 26-County government who continue to assert that the nationalist nightmare ended with the signing of Hillsborough.

## HUNDREDS PROTEST AT BRUTAL RAPE

AFTER the horrific gang rape of a 24-year-old woman in the Divis Flats area of Belfast on Monday, June 18th, a march was organised to call for the removal of those responsible.

On Wednesday, June 20th, over 400 women carrying placards demanding the disbandment of the IPLO, members of which organisation were linked to the attack, marched in protest from Albert Street towards the corner of the Falls Road and into Seavastopol Street, where a delegation of women met with representatives of Sinn Féin to discuss the vicious and brutal attack, after which they proceeded down the Grosvenor Road back to Divis.

A spokesperson for Belfast Rape Crisis Centre condemned the viciousness of this particular rape:

"All rape is violent and an abuse of male power and as such should be condemned, but this rape stands out as one of the more horrific cases because of the numbers involved and the manner in which it was carried out. All rape is about power, domination and control but this incident is slightly different in that it seems to be a culmination of a concerted campaign of terror against the residents of Divis Flats over the last few months at the very least."

The West Belfast MP Gerry Adams, calling for the disbandment of the IPLO once again, said:

"The rape and sexual attack carried out by members and associates of the IPLO in the Divis Complex was a brutal and intolerable attack. On a number of occasions I have called on this group



● FRA MCCANN

to disband. They have nothing to offer to the liberation struggle whose name they have consistently misused and disgraced. Republican people have no time for this group. They are not wanted. They should disband forthwith."

Nearly a week after the incident the IPLO issued a statement which trivialised the horrific ordeal of the woman and attempted to exonerate the organisation from responsibility for the actions of the criminal elements it was allowed to carry arms in its name.

In a lengthy statement issued on Monday, June 25th, Sinn Féin councillor for the Divis area, Fra McCann, said:

"Leaflets circulated by the IPLO following the horrific rape in Divis display only this gang's contempt for local people. The strength of feeling against the criminal activities of this gang culminating in the march last week, to protest at the horrifying rape of a woman, demonstrate clearly the community's attitude to this grouping."

"I would like to reiterate a statement I and others have made in the past, the leadership of this gang cannot claim to be unaware of the long list of serious complaints against members of their group. The organisation has no republican credentials and should disband forthwith."

# Another attack in The Crum

DESPITE some recent minor changes at Crumlin Road Jail the problems associated with forced integration largely remain. This fact is borne out by an attack on a 24-year-old republican prisoner and the disappearance of a so-called red book containing details on a prisoner currently on remand and its reappearance in loyalists' hands.

As the NIO minister John Cope held a press conference on Wednesday, June 20th, to announce changes in management and the supervising of prisoners, Martin Molloy from Maghera was attacked by four loyalists on his way to a visit.

Speaking after the incident, Molloy's mother said:

"He appeared like someone coming out of a boxing ring. His injuries included a busted nose, swelling around the eyes, cuts on his head and sprained fingers and hand."

Of the same incident an NIO spokesperson said: "The government will not be moving towards segregation despite this incident."

## CONFUSING THE ISSUE

On Thursday, June 21st, Sinn Féin's POW Department held a press conference of concerned relatives. They said that the developments as outlined by Cope, were merely an NIO attempt to confuse the issue. The relatives asked for

Cope to publicly explain in detail what the changes mean and what he and the Crumlin Road administration intend to do to prevent further attacks on prisoners.

At the same conference the head of the POW Department said: "The fact that a red book is now in the hands of loyalists is further proof of the inability of the Crumlin Road administration to guarantee the safety of republican prisoners."

The depth of concern felt by the community at the continuing situation in Crumlin Road has been illustrated by the establishment of committees throughout the Six Counties. These committees have mounted pickets to highlight the plight of prisoners. The latest major pickets were held at Dungannon and at the Glenshane Pass in South Derry on Saturday, June 23rd. In Dungannon the main roundabout into the town was picketed from 3pm until 5.30pm, while both sides of the main Derry to Belfast route above Glen chapel were picketed from 5pm until 6pm. On Sunday relatives and friends of the prisoners were present outside the Ulster football championship fixture being held in Casement Park in Belfast.



● Picket in Dungannon, County Tyrone on June 23rd



# The Strand remembers

ON A wet and humid afternoon on Sunday, June 24th, several hundred people gathered in the Short Strand area of East Belfast to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the defence of St Matthew's on June 27th, 1970.

On that night the local IRA unit, supported by other Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade and assisted by the Citizens Defence League, fought an eight-hour battle with loyalist gunmen intent on ransacking the small nationalist enclave. Since the 1920s and the foundation of the Orange state, the Short Strand has suffered at the hands of loyalist murder gangs.

During the pogroms of 1969 when the Lower Falls and Derry bore the brunt of the B-Specials and Orange attacks, residents of the Short Strand were taunted that they were next. Rumours of an impending loyalist attack abounded. As the month of June approached and the Orange marching season got underway, a decision was made to draw up plans for a defence of the area.

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 27th, Orange bands once more turned up the volume as they passed the area. Residents were taunted that this was to be their last night.

Immediately the defence plans

were put in motion and when the first loyalist shot rang out that night they were met with an ordered and disciplined response. The battle raged through to early Sunday morning.

As dawn approached and gunfire petered out, dazed and sleepless residents came out to greet the heroes who had so courageously defended them. Four loyalist attackers had been killed and others wounded. Attempts to burn down the area had been repelled. Sadly young Henry Mollhane had lost his life in the grounds of St Matthew's.

## HONOURED

In Sunday's commemoration a colour party led a parade, followed by wreath bearers and representatives of the 17 local republicans who have died in the liberation struggle who carried single red roses in their honour.

The parade paused for a minute's silence at St Matthew's where some of the fiercest fighting



● 20th anniversary of the defence of St Matthew's commemoration (inset) Henry Mollhane

had taken place. Afterwards at a rally beside the Sinn Féin centre, local spokesperson Joe O'Donnell reminded local people of the debt owed to the unsung heroes, many now dead or languishing in British prisons, who had protected the Short Strand that night.

The roll of honour was read out and wreaths were laid on behalf

Sinn Féin and the local Republican Movement, as well as the Trá Gearr Martyrs Memorial Flute Band and the Short Strand commemoration committee.

The first guest speaker was Philip Campbell, grandson of Volunteer Sean Martin who died at Anderson Street in April 1940. Brendan Hughes, Six-County direc-

tor of campaigns, then paid tribute to the part played by the Short Strand in the liberation struggle.

Last to speak was veteran republican Proinsias MacAirt, who had helped co-ordinate defence plans on the fateful night.

The rally ended with a rendition of the *Ballad of St Matthew's* from the platform.

# BRITISH SOLDIER SEXUALLY ASSAULTS CHILDREN

FOUR YOUNG CHILDREN were threatened and abused by a British soldier who said he would shoot them, spreadeagled them against a wall and then sexually assaulted them.

Two girls aged seven, one girl aged five and a six-year-old boy were the victims of the attack. Their parents do not wish them to be identified in case of further distress but they told AP/RN that their children were playing in the grounds of Grove Tree House, a residential home for the elderly, only yards from their West Belfast homes, when they were confronted by a British army foot-patrol.

One British soldier, pointing his gun at the children, told them to put their hands up and stand against the wall. The children, who were forcibly spreadeagled against a wall, were threatened by the soldier who told them "move and I'll shoot you".

The soldier then subjected the children to an intimate body search

during the course of which he sexually assaulted at least three of the four children who remained standing against the wall, too afraid to move. Their ordeal only came to an end when one of the older girls, a seven-year-old, ran away and alerted her mother.

## SCREAMS

Speaking to AP/RN one of the mothers of the four children, who wishes to remain anonymous, described how her daughter had run into the house screaming. She said:

"My daughter was clearly very distressed. At first all she said was 'the Brits are out there mammy', then she told me a soldier was searching the children and I ran out to see what was happening. When I saw the other children they were all



running towards the house squealing and very distressed."

Questioned by their parents all four children described what had happened to them. One seven-year-

old girl told her mother how the British soldier kept making clicking noises with his gun and said "next time you'll all be stone dead on the ground". The girl was subjected to

a body search, which is illegal, and the soldier ran his hands up the inside of her legs.

The second seven-year-old girl described how the soldier had put his hands up her dress and touched her intimately. The child remains very distressed. The third child, a five-year-old girl, was wearing trousers at the time of the assault but told her mother that the soldier ran his hands all over her body. The fourth child, a six-year-old boy, was assaulted when the soldier pushed his hands into the child's trouser pockets. The two eldest children have described the soldier as small, dark haired with a black moustache.

## SHOCKED & OUTRAGED

Shocked and outraged, the parents of the children subjected to the ordeal, immediately made a formal complaint to the RUC and contacted their solicitor. Speaking to AP/RN one mother described her own sense of anger and the distress it has caused her two children. She continued: "Last night was just terrible. The children were too distressed to sleep and kept crying. I felt very angry but I ended up crying too. This morning the children have refused to go to school or indeed out of the house. They're afraid the soldier will come back again."

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann, who was contacted by the families shortly after the incident, described the families as "quite rightly disgusted and angry at the behaviour of the British soldiers involved". He continued:

"The fact that members of a British foot-patrol feel that they can terrorise and abuse our children in this manner is indicative of the total contempt with which they view the people of West Belfast. The fact that their outrageous behaviour continually goes unchecked and unpunished is a clear indication that the British army have been given a 'green light' to terrorise this community."



# Deadly the Lar

THE 300th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne will be presented on television as a cheery celebration and its real implications will be played down in the next few weeks. In truth, the Orange festival is about loyalist supremacy, about power over the nationalist community.

A brief look at the Orange 'festivities', their origins and what they have meant for the communities at the receiving end serves to debunk the myth of colourful traditions and happy holidays. It debunks also the myth of William of Orange as the saviour of 'religious and civil liberties' and the fiction that the Williamite war of 1689/90 was anything but a contest between two foreign kings for the mastery of Britain and Ireland. The origins of Orangeism are not in fact in the 1690s but in the 1790s. Then as now it was a reactionary movement used to frustrate the civil and national rights of the Irish people.

Over the years the echoes of the Lambeg drum during the period around the Twelfth, have accompanied loyalist terror. Blue-clad life bands practise the Orange anthems in streets and country roads, reminding any coppers within earshot to lie down. Blood seems to rush to the heads of loyalist politicians as they prepare for the seasonal tirade.

That was made abundantly clear in 1959 by the man who later became the most popular unionist politician since Carson. In the run-up to that year's Twelfth, Ian Paisley organised a demonstration which resulted in Catholic homes being attacked by loyalist gangs. His words staked the burly preacher's claim to leadership of his community.

"You people of the Shankill Road, what's wrong with you? Number 425 Shankill Road — do you know who lives there? Pope's men, that's who! Fort's ice-cream shop, Italian Papists on the Shankill Road! How about 56 Aden Street? For 97 years a Protestant lived in that house and now there's a Papisher in it. Crimea Street, number 38! Twenty-five years that house has been up, 24 years a Protestant lived there but there's a Papisher there now."

## POGROM MENTALITY

In 1959, the IRA's border campaign was being wound down and electoral support for Sinn Féin was sliding. This outburst shows that, even during periods when the sacred union with Britain was under a reduced threat, the pogrom mentality ruled in the unionist camp. But, since the foundation of the Orange Order, bigotry has increased tenfold at any point when nationalists seemed closer to the goal of a united, free Ireland or asserted their rights in any way.

In its early years, the Orange

Order played a crucial role in combating Protestant republicanism. It was founded after a sectarian pogrom against Catholics in the Diamond, Armagh in 1795, four years after the United Irishmen had been formed in Belfast and Dublin.

Its initial object was to turn Protestant farmers against their Catholic neighbours and it received considerable support from landlords who saw such divisions as useful. But the British Lords Lieutenant failed immediately to see its value for maintaining British power in Ireland and it began to wane in the early 19th century as they tried (and failed) to suppress it.

It was not until the growth of industry in the Lagan Valley and the increase of Belfast's population, that the Order began to spread to the cities. Small farmers moved into Belfast to work in the factories. For bigots like Dr Henry Cooke, an anti-Catholic preacher, the Catholic Emancipation Act and Daniel O'Connell's campaign for repeal of the Act of Union were like a red rag to a bull and in 1834, at a huge meeting in Hillsborough, County Down, he launched a campaign against 'Romanism'.

This was followed by sectarian rioting in Belfast, fanned by Cooke's sermons and Protestant workers proved as loyal to their factory-owning masters as they had previously been to the landowners. Throughout the 19th century, periodic sectarian riots ensured that wages were kept low. Worker was set against worker and the bosses were the only ones to gain.

During the Fenian campaigns of the 1860s, the Order remained a powerful organisation in the North-East of Ireland but its influence over Westminster was negligible. British Prime Minister Gladstone's reforms showed that he had no time for Orangeism. His Liberal Party moved closer to repealing the Act of Union and British political figures avoided contact with the Orange Order.

## ORANGE CARD

But as Land League and the Home Rule agitation grew in the mid-1880s, the Order blossomed once again. It even became a springboard for British Tory Lord Randolph Churchill's political career, when Churchill played "the Orange card" in his attempts to gain power at Westminster. In the battle for power at Westminster



● Loyalists march into Portadown

between the Liberals and the Tories, union jack-waving became decisive.

The Orange Order had moved to the centre of the British political stage, a position it was not to relinquish until 1920 when it was able to form a state after its own image with a parliament to match.

The Order had become the backbone of unionism. It 'united' the worker and the business person, the landlord and the small farmer, the Presbyterian, the Methodist and the member of the Church of Ireland. But this form of unity left the business class and the landowners in control.

Throughout its history there have been brief periods when Protestant workers broke from this all-class alliance in one form or another. But the structure of the Order and the nature of unionism have ensured that all of the breakaways have been returned to the fold.

Unionism has always been a reaction to something else, rather than a political movement with a coherent programme. It has relied on fear — the siege mentality — as the cement which binds it together.

Working-class unionists could take strike action against their unionist employers as they did under Jim Larkin's leadership in Belfast during the 1907 dockers' strike. They could demonstrate shoulder-by-shoulder with their nationalist neighbours as they did in the Outdoor Relief strike of 1932. Some of them could even leave the Orange Order itself to form the Independent Orange Order, as they did in 1902.

## LOYALIST SUPREMACY

But these developments occurred at points when nationalist agitation was at an ebb. Their masters could always be sure of their 'loyalty', once they raised the spectre of the nationalist bogey-man. Working-class and small farming loyalists distrusted their well-off leaders. But they had been taught to hate and fear their Catholic neighbours and those emotions were stronger. Each year, the Twelfth provided an opportunity for the Orange leaders to feed that fear. It brought together almost the entire Protestant community in a huge reaffirmation of loyalist supremacy.

This sectarianism reached its crescendo as the third Home Rule Bill of 1912 began its passage through Westminster. The loyalist UVF was set up by Carson and began drilling while 400,000 people signed the Solemn League and Covenant against separation from Britain. Some even signed in blood. In July 1912 Bonar Law, a British Tory, announced:

"I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go in support of the Union. I shall not be ready to support anything but then was put on ice when the First World War intervened. What is often forgotten is that the threat of force by unionists at this time — supported and abetted by the Tory establishment — had already forced the Liberal government, with the support of the Redmondite Home Rule Party in Westminster, to concede the partition of Ireland and the 'exclusion of Ulster'.

Throughout the rest of Ireland, the 1916 Rising set the forces of republicanism moving once again. The war saw a huge victory for

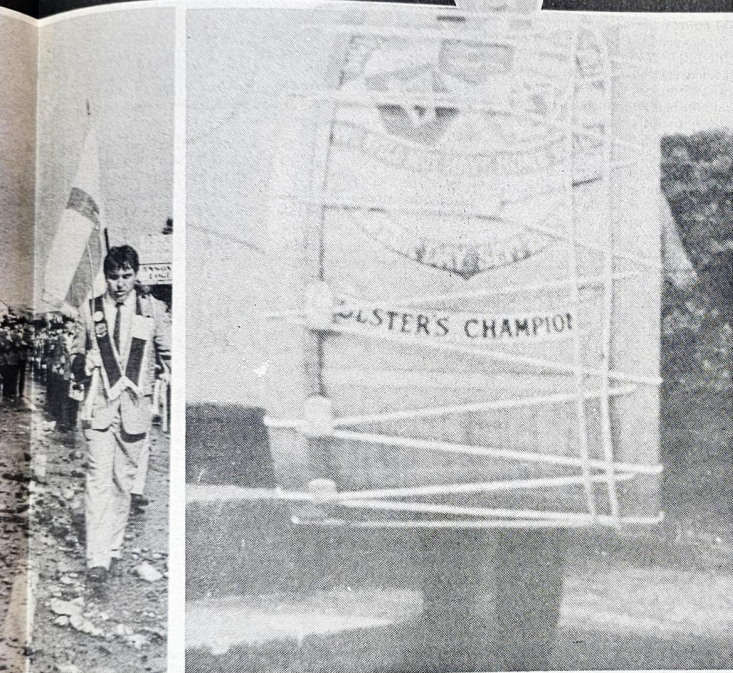


● The Battle of the Boyne



# Twelfth of July Echoes of Lambeg

BY TOM  
O'DWYER



● The Lambeg drum — the sound of loyalist terror

Sinn Féin in the 1918 election. By now, the object of the loyalist leaders had changed. Initially they were opposed to Home Rule in any guise. But by now they had come round to partition as the solution. Protestant supremacy must be maintained through a Protestant parliament for the six North-Eastern counties.

## VIOLENT ACTION

The run-up to July 12th, 1920, was violent, especially in Derry. The local elections earlier that year had placed nationalists in control of Derry City Council. The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was brought into action and in June Catholic families were driven from the Waterside area.

The UVF fired from the city walls into the Bogside and then occupied the grounds of St Columba's College which overlooked the nationalist area. British soldiers worked hand-in-hand with the loyalists. When the IRA drove the UVF out of St Columba's, the British entered the fray, turning their guns on the republicans as they were to do in later years. Many were killed and a rigid curfew was imposed on

the nationalist areas.

On that year's Twelfth, the speeches at Finaghy, the largest venue for Orangemen, were nothing less than a call to arms against the nationalist community. Not only did the loyalist leaders face resistance from the IRA. There were also divisions in their own ranks. The previous year had seen a major engineering strike and in the 1920 local elections 12 Labour councillors were elected. It was time for the ancient tribal war-cry.

Sir Edward Carson, the main speaker at Finaghy, said:

"We in Ulster will tolerate no Sinn Féin — no Sinn Féin organisation, no Sinn Féin methods... we will take the matter into our own hands. We will reorganise... the Ulster Volunteers. And these are not mere words. I hate words without action."

For the new Labour councillors, there was also a warning:

"These men who come forward posing as the friends of labour care no more about labour than does the man in the moon. Their real object and the real insidious nature of their propaganda, is that they mislead and

bring about disunity amongst our own people... in the end, before we know where we are, we may find ourselves in the same bondage and slavery as is the rest of Ireland in the South and West."

Some days later the IRA shot dead Colonel Smyth, an RIC commissioner, in Cork. Smyth, from Banbridge, County Down, had told his forces "the more you shoot, the better I will like you" and promised that none of them would get into trouble for shooting anyone.

The RIC commissioner's funeral was used as an excuse for yet another pogrom. In Workman, Clark & Co, a Belfast shipyard, a mob attacked Catholics and one man was forced to swim to safety. Catholics were driven out of Harland & Wolff's shipyard as well. Nationalists were not the only victims. Labour activists were also driven out. The Belfast Protestant Association promised that "as employees, they would stand by the employers". The promises made by Carson at the Finaghy field had been vindicated. Terror had, once again, drawn the loyalist community to-

gether.

The Twelfth became the most important festival of the new oppressive state when leaders could rub shoulders — just a little — with followers. The atmosphere of fear which it engendered ensured against the development of any radical ideas among the rank and file.

But the power position of the landlords and big business people who headed loyalism was not entirely secure. Socialist or even non-sectarian ideas had no chance of success. But there remained a strong distrust among the loyalist small farmers and workers for the "fur coat brigade" whose lead they followed. A leadership challenge from below was not ruled out.

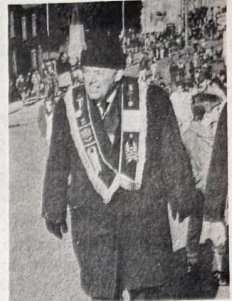
Such a challenge was successfully mounted by Ian Paisley in the years following the Second World War. The County Antrim preacher was able to use the sense of fear generated by Carson and Craig to unseat a number of their successors. His brand of fundamentalist religion played a key role in this. For Paisley, Protestant ecumenists were "vomit-eating dogs". Catholics bred "like rabbits and multiplied like vermin". But his decisive battles were fought out with the leaders of the Orange Order.

## PLATFORM FOR HATRED

Once again, the Twelfth helped by providing a platform for hatred. Paisley first came to prominence at the 1948 Orange parade in Ballymena where he warned against Catholics being allowed to buy property from Protestants. An early friend was JW Nixon, a former RUC district inspector who helped assassinate Catholics in the '20s. Later, Paisley was to keep a close relation with Billy Spence who helped organise the Malvern Street murders and John McKeague, who founded the Shankill Defence Association, precursor of the UDA. Nixon was a key figure in the Ulster Protestant League, a body which was shunned by the unionist establishment.

The establishment wished to draw a discreet veil over the sectarianism on which the state was based. That in itself was enough to turn men like Paisley and Nixon against it. The means by which Paisley furthered his early career showed just how easily fear could be turned into hatred.

Paisley's first major chance came in June 1952 when Brian Maginess, a Stormont home affairs minister, banned a particularly provocative Orange march by the notoriously sectarian Bovevagh Flute Band through a small nationalist enclave in County Down. Paisley and his colleagues won a victory against Maginess on



● IAN PAISLEY

points and the Brookeborough government removed him to another ministry. Paisley's pursuit of Maginess was followed by a similar performance against another Home Affairs minister, William Topping, who banned an Orange march at the nationalist village of Dungiven in 1959. Topping was also removed. The strategy which was later to topple Terence O'Neill and James Chichester-Clarke, making Paisley the key loyalist leader, had been evolved.

By 1959 the pastor had begun his rise to power. The unionist establishment replied by denying him an official position within the Orange Order and he resigned from it in 1962. But this did not prevent him from speaking on many Orange platforms and he now regularly addresses the Independent Orange Order's July 12th celebration in County Antrim.

Paisley's position outside the Orange establishment gave him the freedom to attack figures like Terence O'Neill, Chichester-Clarke and others without seeming disloyal. But it did not stop him from capitalising on the heightened sectarianism around the July 12th period. On the contrary it allowed him to play to the worst fears and hatreds of his followers and it was all to culminate in the holocaust of 1969.

Paisley's rise and that of his Democratic Unionist Party has not changed the nature of Orangeism. It remains an all-class alliance based on fear of nationalism and the willingness to inflict terror against nationalists. But it shows that, over the years, loyalism has not mellowed. Instead it has grown more bitter.

That is a lesson which should be noted by the Dublin and SDLP politicians who are now calling for an agreement with the unionists within a partitionist context. The success of any such agreement depends on the approval of Ian Paisley and the forces he represents. That fact alone should be enough to warn nationalists off such a deal. The echoes of the Lambeg drum have not lost any of their meaning.



● Loyalists gather in Belfast to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, September 1912



# Local heroes honoured

AT A well attended local ceremony, on Sunday, June 24th, people from the Beechmount area of West Belfast paid honour to local Volunteers, Stan Carberry, Frankie Dodds, Paul Fox, Paul Marlowe, Seán Bailey and Tony Campbell, who gave their lives in the struggle for Irish freedom.

The ceremony, which marked the official unveiling of a marble plaque bearing the names of the dead Volunteers, was organised by the local commemoration committee in conjunction with Sinn Féin.

Ceremonies were chaired by local councillor Seán McKnight, who first called on a lone piper to play *Amhrán na bhFiann* and officially open the ceremony. After a brief welcome to the crowd and thanks to the commemoration committee whose hard work had made the event possible, McKnight asked the piper to sound a lament for the dead before calling on released life prisoner, Billy Massey, to deliver a message on behalf of local prisoners.



● SEÁN MCKNIGHT

## UNBROKEN BONDS

Following Massey's short address, in which he stressed the strong and unbroken bonds between the prisoners and the broad-

er community, the main speaker was then asked to address the crowd.

South Armagh Councillor Jim McAllister drew attention to his comments at Bodinstown:

"I stand by what I said. Republicans and nationalists will do all in their power to prevent a return of Stormont. It is only the John Humes, Joe Hendrons and Cahal Dalys of this world who forget what Stormont represented and of course the newly converted Orangemen like Cormac Boomer of the SDLP. We in the nationalist community, however, know exactly what Stormont was, we still live with its legacy of deprivation and discrimination, and we can say clearly we will do all in our power to prevent Stormont's return."

After paying tribute to local people for honouring their dead, McAllister spoke of how, even in South Armagh where the Hillsborough Wall has blighted the landscape with spy-posts and



● Unveiling of plaque in memory of Vols Stan Carberry, Frankie Dodds, Paul Fox, Paul Marlowe, Seán Bailey and Tony Campbell

watch-towers, people can, in the open country, escape the British presence. He concluded:

"Here in the streets and alleyways of Beechmount and indeed all of West Belfast, you are constantly faced with armed soldiers and RUC

men with their never-ending patrols. Despite all that, however, Stan Carberry, Frankie Dodds, Paul Fox, Paul Marlowe, Seán Bailey and Tony Campbell faced those odds and gave an example that serves as an inspiration to us all."

# 'We are a united Movement'

MENACING grey rain-laden clouds gathered over Derry City cemetery on Sunday afternoon, June 24th. The wind gusted relentlessly and drizzle shrouded the city below as almost 2,000 people, unhindered by the inclement weather, assembled to honour their dead and pay tribute to their families.

The bleak skyline was relieved only by the starkly contrasting Tricolours dotted throughout the graveyard and marking the graves of dead Volunteers.

The ceremony at the Republican Plot was chaired by Derry Sinn Féin chairperson, Mitchell McLaughlin, who called on a member of the colour party to read the roll of honour for dead Volunteers from the Derry Brigade. After this a minute's silence was observed. Large numbers of RUC personnel who had encircled the graveyard attempted to impose

themselves on the solemn occasion but were ignored by the crowd.

Before the delivery of the main oration by Martin McGuinness, Joan Shields from the Derry Relatives Action Committee, which is currently campaigning against the British government's policy of forced integration at Crumlin Road Jail, made an impassioned plea for an end to forced integration.

## TRIBUTE

In his oration McGuinness paid tribute to those who had

turned out despite the weather to honour those who had died in the liberation struggle. He said:

"None of us who have not ourselves lost a loved one in tragic cir-

cumstances can understand the suffering and heartache of losing a son, brother, daughter, husband, wife, mother or father. The sacrifices of our Volunteers and the ongoing suffering of their families is enormous and we stand humbled by it."

McGuinness then referred in detail to the barrage of stories and speculation appearing in recent months in the media. He said:

"Normally we would just ignore it for the rubbish it is, but there is a concerted campaign being waged and it is being orchestrated by London. No doubt the hand of MI5



and the British defence forces are in there somewhere. Stories appear on an almost daily basis talking of splits and divisions and cease-fires. I can categorically tell you here today that we are a united Movement which will go on and continue to oppose British rule in this country. Let no-one be

mistaken on that."

McGuinness concluded his speech by calling on people to remember the sacrifices of the Volunteers, bearing in mind that the Republican Movement and the nationalist people had the ability and the will to see the struggle through to victory.



● Martin McGuinness delivers the main address at the Derry Commemoration





# Cás Uí Dufaigh sa Chúirt Corónach

**SHEAN** Breandán O Dufaigh gurb é a mhac Séamus, a bhí le feiceáil ar fhístéip de chuid arm na Breataine rud atá maoite ag an RUC sa Chúirt Corónach.

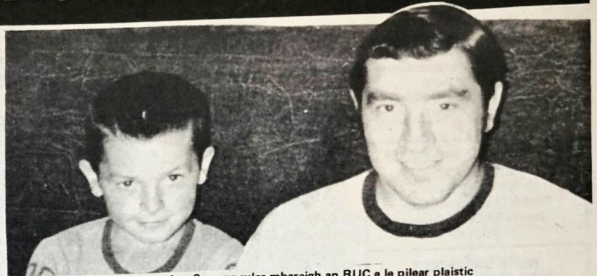
Sé an t-aon chomhartha aitheanta is ann na geansaí peile de chuid Glasgow Celtic a bhí á chaitheamh ag stócach ar an fhístéip agus ba leor sin dar le dlíodóirí ó Oifig Tuaisceart Éireann le cruthú go raibh Séamus rannpháirteach i gcóir nuair a scaoileadh chun báis.

Tá go leor fianaise ann a mhaíonn nach raibh céirib ar bith ann nuair a lamhaíodh an

tógánach. Agus seachas sin tá a fhios ag an mórchuid againn go gcaitear na geansaí Celtic céanna ag a lán de stócach na Sé Chontae.

Tá Séamus O Dufaigh ar an óganach is deireanaí le bás a fháil de thoradh píleir plaisteach. Ní raibh Séamus ach 15 bliain d'aois.

Ar ndóigh níor tugadh rabhadh ar bith do Shéamus sular lamhaíodh chun báis é agus ar ndóigh ní bheidh duine ar bith tugtha os comhar na cúirte mar gheall ar a dhúmharfa. Ach ba ball den RUC an dúnmarthóir agus is ionann sin agus céadúnas le mharú. Tá an fíorshúil ar bhás an ógánaigh ag dul ar aghaidh go fóill.



● Brendan O Duffaigh lena mhac Seamus sular mharadh an RUC e le píleir plaisteach

## Trí sháile an chime

### Urraíocht

An bhfuil sé tugtha faoi deara agaibh, a léitheoirí, go mbíonn achan rud "urraithe" sna laethanta seo? Eistigí le seo: tá réamhaisnéis na haimsire féin urraithe ar RTE agus UTV anois.

Ar RTE is é Bord na Móna a íocann as agus solathraíonn Cawoods Coal é ar UTV. An gceideann sibh é? Comhlachtaí a dhíolann achan t-ine ar insint na haimsire dúinn. Sibhse ag amharc ar leirséal na hÉireann clúdaithe le comharthaí seaca agus sneachta agus manna Bord na Móna ná Cawoods in aice leis. Chan "subliminal" ar bith ach an lámh trom atá anseo. Ba chosúil é le rúnai an Pháirtí Aontachtóirí ag rá gur tuairisceoir polaitiúil é... Gabh mo leithscéal tá sin déanta ag Frank Millar cheana féin.

Is mímhácaínta é seo agus ba chóir go mbeadh díla ina choinne. Tá mé in aghaidh urraíochta go deimhin. Nuair a ghlac an Pápa le h-urraíocht dá thuras go Meiricea dúpla bliain ó shin ó comhlacht Dill chinn me deireadh a chur le m'urraíocht féin ó Addidas. Thug mé a thri stríoc ar ais do bha (agus stad achan duine ag tabhairt Sergeant MacCormaic orm). Ach ba mhaith liom urraíocht uile cosccha... lá éigin.

Lá éigin, lá tar éis an rás urraithe bliantúil na gcimí a bheas ar súil ar Lúnasa 11 i mbliana. Mar is gnáth, beimid ag rith trí nó cúig mhíle ar son na nGaelscoileanna nach bhfaigheann deontais ar bith ón stát. Beidh thart fá 200 againn páirteach agus ba mhaith linn dul thar £1,800 a bhailigh muid anuraidh. Is cúis tabhachtach an Gaeilíochas; ní gá dom na hargóintí a athrá anseo, níor mhaith liom ach a rá go bhfuil na foirmeacha urraíochta le fáil ó Roinn an Chultúir Sinn Féin ag na gnáth-seoltaí. Agus nuair a bheidh bhur n-airgead slán againn ansin smoinfidimid arís ar cheist chosccha na hurraíochta. Idir an dá linn, seo an aimsir daoibh, saor in aisce...

Beidh sé tirim idir ceathanna, sóileir sa ló agus dorchas san oíche!

— EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC

## Lá Gaeilge na mBan i nDoire

Bhí craic den chéad scoth in nDoire, Dé Sathairn seo a chuaigh thart, Beagnach 50 mná ó Dhoire, Thír Chonaill agus Bhéal Feirste a thionóil do Lá Gaeilge na mBan i Lárionad Rae Phiolaí i dTaobh an Bhogaigh.

D'fhreastail siad ar ceithre rang Gaeilge roimh lón ar fheabhas a d'ullmhaigh 'Lizzie agus a chairde'. Ar éigean a rinne siad uilig rang rinne le Bairbre de Brún agus rang amhránaíochta le Nuala McLaughlin a dhéanamh i ndiaidh an bhoile mhóir bhlasta.

Bhí grúpa le níos mó Gaeilge acu, agus Maire Furey as Bun Cranncha ag dul i gceannais, rinne siadsan drama scéipeach dona mná eile ag deireadh an lae. Chroch na mná le le píleiríomhar ar cúrsaí Gaeilge na mBan san lathuaisceart.

Fiche cúig paiste a bhí ag súgradh sa naiolann an-mhaith in san lárionad cheánna. Thaispeáin Cairde na Gaelscoil, Comhaltas an Chreagain, Leabharlann

Lárnach Dhoire, Bookworm agus Conradh na Gaeilge taispeantais.

### DEONTAIS

Bhí Coiste na mBan ag réachtáil Lá Gaeilge na mBan le seans a thabhairt do na mná a gcuide Gaeilge a chleachtadh nó a labhairt agus a dtuairimí féin ar labhairt Gaeilge a phlé.

Thug Conradh na Gaeilge, Doire agus The Derry Women's Centre cuidiú dóibh. B'fhéidir le Coiste na Gaeilge an lá seo a réachtáil toisc go bhfuair siad deontais airgid flaitiúil ó Bhord na Gaeilge, The Ulster Trust agus The Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust.

Shocraigh na mná gur mhaith leo níos mó laethanta mar sin. Ghlac siad le haon guth bhfuil ranganna Gaeilge do na mná le naiolann de dhíth orthu, agus chomh maith leis sin colún rialta i The Derry Journal ar cúrsaí Gaeilge san lathuaisceart.

Má tá níos mó eolas ar Choiste na mBan de dhíth ar bhead ar dith, dul i dteagmháil le Cláir Mhig Uigeann, Gaearas, 35 Sráid Shéamais Mhóir, Doire (guthan 264132).



● Garda onorach Oglagh na hÉireann in aice contra Oglach Sean Bateson

## Seánaí Bateson

Tá Seánaí Bateson marbh. Is deacair é a chreidiúnt nach bhfeicfidh muid ar gcara arís, Seánaí nach raibh ach 34 bliain in aois dó, agus beagnach leath de shín caite faoi ghlas sa Cheis Fhada.

Bhí aithne ag formhór an Champa seo ar Seánaí. Bhí níos mó ná 13 bliain de théarma saoil curtha isteach aige agus bhí sé ar cheann de na seanfhondúirí a ghlac páirt sna hógóidí go léir ó 1977 amach, idir sa Chum ar choimead agus tar éis a dhoiríochta sna bloccanna.

Bhí Seánaí i gcónaí ag lorg scéal agus i gcónaí ag boiscú pé scéal a chuala sé, agus bhí a dhroch-chlú chomhglactha linn ar seo gur tugtaí 'Seálaí Seánaí Bateson' minic go leor ar rallaí nach gceidfidh a éinne. Carachtar ab ea é, cuid de stair na mBlócanna H agus caillfidh muid é ar an leibhéal sin agus ar leibhéal pearsanta.

Cé gur éag Seánaí de chúiseanna nádúrtha neamh-thuairimigh, ní lámha glana ag na Sasanacha sa chás. Chait Seánaí a óige sa charaí, agus in iomaí sí chaill a chlann faoi dhó é — nuair a gabhadh é ina ndéaganna agus anois an chaill deiridh. Agus anocht, fiafraimid agus sinne i gcúineas ar gcoilíní, cé mhéad clanna eile a chaillfidh mac nó iníon sula n-imeoidh Gaill?

Tar éis 13 bliain de dhoiríochtaí saoil, is féidir le cime saoil trí lá ghearr a chaitheamh lena chlann le linn an tsamhraidh. Bhí Seánaí ag tnúth le sín i mbliana. Agus farao, fuair a chlann é ar feadh trí lae, trí lá de thaire, trí lá cooinimh. Cuimhníodh ar a chlann i gcónaí, is ionann a gcoil agus ár gcoil.

Slán leat, a Sheánaí a chara, is meala mór dúinn do bhás agus téann ár gcómhbríon chuig do chlann id ionad an tsamhraidh seo.



● Ceann de imeachtaí dathúil agus suntasach a chuireadh ar siúl oíche Luan mar chuid de'n Parade of Innocence





## Imeachtaí

**CIORCAIL COMHRA**  
9in gach Luan  
Club an Conartha  
6 Sráid an Fhearchair  
Baile Atha Cliath  
Irish Learners' Conversation Group  
9pm every Monday  
Conradh na Gaeilge Club  
6 Harcourt Street  
DUBLIN

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

**WHITE LINE PICKET**  
Whiterock/Springfield Road  
Junction  
on anniversary of the death  
of each hunger-striker  
BELFAST

**PUBLIC MEETING**  
'Criminalising the Community —  
Perfected in Belfast,  
Practised in Hackney'  
7.30pm Thursday 28th June  
Old Fire Station Community Centre  
Leswin Road  
LONDON N16  
Speakers: Ann Doyle (Troops Out  
Movement),  
Hackney Community Defence  
Association  
Organised by TOM & HCDA

**WELCOME HOME FUNCTION**  
For Winchester Three  
Friday 29th June  
Molly Malone's  
DUBLIN

**EDUCATION SEMINARS**  
New members Friday June 29th—  
Monday July 2nd  
Meet 6pm, 44 Parnell Square  
Return to Dublin around 6pm

**GENERAL SEMINAR**  
Friday July 27th-Sunday July 29th  
Meet 6pm 44 Parnell Square  
Return to Dublin around 6pm  
Details: Education Dept,  
Ph: 726932/532763

**HOLIDAY WEEK SEMINAR**  
Sunday 8th July-15th July  
Bring the kids!  
Táille: £10 per family  
Details: Education Department

**FUNDRAISING DISCO**  
Reclaim the Spirit of Easter 1916  
8pm Saturday 30th June 1990  
Connolly Hall  
Essex Street  
DUBLIN  
Admission £3/£2.50 concession  
TV for World Cup coverage

**FREE JOE DOHERTY**  
Picket  
12.30pm-2.30pm Saturday 30th  
June  
US Embassy  
Ballsbridge  
DUBLIN  
Organised by the  
Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee

**ANTI-EXTRADITION  
WELCOME HOME TO OWEN  
CARRON**  
Featuring: Saoirse  
Saturday 30th June  
Sliabh an Iarainn Hotel  
BALLINAMORE  
County Leitrim  
Guest speaker: Nora Comiskey  
As Owen Carron did not receive  
legal aid for his case,  
fees are still outstanding.  
Please support

**MOUNTJOY PICKET**  
Justice for Women  
2pm-4pm Saturday 30th June  
Front Gates  
Mountjoy Jail  
North Circular Road  
DUBLIN  
Bring your own noise  
(Continued on page 13)

# Welcome Nelson Mandela

**NELSON MANDELA'S** triumphant and gruelling world tour, designed to keep up pressure on apartheid, comes to Ireland on Sunday, July 1st, where, among others, he will pay tribute to the Dunnes strikers.

The man who has now become recognised as the real leader of South Africa will spend about 36 hours in this country before flying on to meet Margaret Thatcher in London. Mandela's central object is to persuade governments to continue boycotting South Africa until it grants freedom to its black citizens.

Since June 4th, he has taken this message through Europe and North America. His calm voice and his rigorous logic have reached an audience numbered in tens of millions.

Mandela's decision to visit Ireland before seeing the British prime minister is a deliberate snub to Thatcher who has fought tooth and nail against the growing world boycott of South Africa. The high point of his trip so far has been the US visit where the recently-released prisoner addressed both houses of Congress.

It is probable that no foreign revolutionary leader has ever been granted such respect by the US government and people. Even the extremely right-wing Heritage Foundation was forced to grant that he is "a

leader in the fight against oppression in South Africa".

## HUGE POPULARITY

By emphasising his support for armed struggle, the PLO and the governments of Cuba and Libya, Mandela angered right-wing politicians. But his huge popularity ensured that they remained silent rather than openly criticising him. President George Bush, who helped the South African authorities to imprison Mandela over a quarter of a century ago and who supports dropping the boycott, had to promise to continue it.

A different tune was played at the EC Summit in Dublin. Publicly, the EC ministers agreed to continue the boycott. But privately, they let it be known that it would be dropped in the near future.

The popularity of Mandela's cause meant that they could not openly drop the policy there and then, but they staged a charade instead. A few, face-saving changes in South African law will be introduced and the EC will openly begin trading with South Africa



● Bush listens to Nelson Mandela during his US visit

again.

Sinn Féin greeted Mandela on his historic visit:

"We salute your tenacity in confronting and overcoming every adversity encountered in almost three decades of imprisonment and we salute your spirit which personifies the will of an oppressed people to be free."

"That struggle for national self-determination, for democracy and for justice is an inspiration to democrats world-wide, especially to all those in Ireland who seek to establish our own right to self-determination."

"Your determination, despite all the years when there was no light at the end of the tunnel, is a lesson to people everywhere: democracy will win out and

oppression will be defeated in the end. Sinn Féin demands a full international boycott of the Pretoria regime until apartheid is finally ended."

## WELCOME

In Ireland a huge welcome is expected. During the first day of his tour he will be a guest of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. On the second he will be hosted by the Dublin government. His itinerary is as follows:

Sunday July 1st  
8.30am: Mandela arrives at Dublin Airport.

9.30am: Mandela is welcomed at the Berkeley Court Hotel, Ballsbridge.

The ICTU is hosting a lunch for the Mandelas at which all of the Dunnes strikers (save Mary Manning who is in Australia) will be guests.

4.15pm: Festivities outside the Mansion House begin. Anti-apartheid supporters will be entertained by music and dance until the appearance of the Mandelas.

4.30pm: Special Meeting of Dublin Corporation at the Mansion House: Mandela signs the city's roll of freedom.

5pm: Mandela greets the Irish people from a platform outside the Mansion House.

7.30pm: Mandela concert, Gaiety Theatre. All tickets are now sold out.

Monday July 2nd  
12 noon: Mandela addresses Leinster House.

4.30pm: Winnie Mandela opens the exhibition 'Images from Mozambique' at the City Centre arts centre, Moss Street.

The Mandelas will depart that evening.



## National pride!

BY  
FELIX  
CONROY

"SPRING CALLS for national (sic) holiday for World Cup Tie" ran the news headline. You knew something big was in the offing when the politicians started jumping on the bandwagon.

The build-up to Monday's game had caught the imagination of every man, woman and child in the country. By 2.30 that afternoon practically every workplace had either shut down or installed a TV, the wheels of industry ground to a halt and the pubs started to fill up. Flags and bunting were to be seen everywhere.

The big moment was approaching and the wonder of modern technology whisked us live to the scene in Genoa. A compact, throbbing, Tricolour-bedecked stadium made the scene similar to a home game in Landsdowne Road. Banners and flags from all over Ireland and further afield were to be seen... Newry, Tralee, all parts of Dublin, Coleraine, Hackney. Celts were all represented. Even a large Scottish flag was to be seen fluttering amid the sea of green, white and orange.

The Irish players faced the Tricolour during the playing of

the national anthem rather than face the various officials and dignitaries in the presidential box which is the normal protocol at such events. National pride!

## HIGH EXPECTATIONS

Expectations were high ever since the game against Holland the previous Thursday night when the Irish team had turned in an exceptional performance to get the required one-all draw to take us through to the knockout stages. That game had seen a major change of tactics by Jack Charlton from the dreadful spectacle against Egypt.

An indication of this became apparent very early on when Bonner threw the ball to Chris Morris, the right back, rather than use the long kick every time. This signified that the midfield was not to be bypassed to the same degree that it had been against Egypt. Not that the long ball was completely done away with; in fact it was how Niall Quinn managed to hit the Dutch net. However, it meant that the team's pattern was to be far more varied and also more suitable for our midfield players. At least two of these, Sheedy and Houghton, made

known to Jack Charlton their displeasure at the strategy adopted against the Egyptians.

And so the game commenced. The tackles were hard, the heat intense, every kick was kicked in the watering-hole from where we watched and just as the legs of the players grew tired as the prospect of extra-time loomed so also did everyone watching feel emotionally drained. National pride!

Murmurs of the prospect of a penalty shoot-out eventually turned to reality when extra-time failed to break the scoreless deadlock. The atmosphere was electric... fear, hope, anxiety, excitement, anticipation, despair could be seen to varying degrees on every face. Some people couldn't watch. After four penalties each and the score of four, the excitement was unbearable. Then Packie Bonner's save, David O'Leary's calm conversion and mass euphoria broke out. People flooded out onto the streets in an incredible spontaneous celebration the likes of which has never been before. National pride!

## NERVES OF STEEL

So the dream goes on and the team and supporters head for the Olympic Stadium in



Rome on Saturday night. Jack Charlton and his squad of players go there after qualifying through the group that became known to the Italian media and press as the "group of death" and their nerves of steel got them through the shoot-out against the Romanians.

Even though they stand only a very slim chance against the brilliant Italian side they will "put 'em under pressure" and they take with them the goodwill of all of us. National pride!

Elsewhere at a certain location in Dublin a group of extremely powerful people were meeting and taking decisions that will ultimately affect us all. Normally their meetings would be a huge media event both here and abroad. However, this time the EC summit of heads of government took backstage to the drama unfolding in Genoa and the subsequent celebrations. Given the fuss and hype

that one Charles J Haughey has made of this state's presidency of the EC to the point of personalising the presidency around himself, he must have done his nut when his latest media event was so clearly eclipsed.

As he and his cohorts try to convince us to dilute our Irishness and become "good Europeans" it takes a football team who have not yet won a game in the tournament and managed by an Englishman, to remind him we will always be Irish. National pride! National shame!

Finally, on a lighter note, you are all no doubt aware that every conceivable product is being advertised and marketed with some angle on the Irish team and their present popularity being used to try to increase sales. These vary from motor cars and televisions to cheese and chocolate. My own favourite is the ad for Polo mints... Holé, Holé, Holé, Holé.



# REVIEWS

## The crime of low pay

BY TOM O'DWYER

FOR YEARS 26-County employers have resisted the introduction of minimum wage laws, claiming that the legislation would cause large-scale unemployment. But a new statistical analysis by Irish economists and sociologists shows that this is untrue. Around 28% of workers are on low pay and the majority of their employers could comfortably afford to up their wages.

Over 228,000 26-County workers are paid less than £130 per week (the most generally-accepted standard of low pay) and a shocking 140,000 are on less than £100. Women and young people are particularly hard hit and things have not changed substantially over the last ten years.

*Low Pay — The Irish Experience* is a series of detailed statistical surveys based on information gathered in a 1987 survey. The key information is assembled by John Blackwell who recently moved from University College Dublin to the International Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-

operation and Development and Brian Nolan of the ESRI in Dublin. It is published by the Combat Poverty Agency and the ICTU.

Their statistics underline once again the failure of the 26-County economic entity. Between 1980 and 1988, the proportion of the unemployed who are defined as 'long-term' increased from 35% to 45%. That means that more and more older workers have been excluded from work.

### FICTION

With younger workers, only the 'safety-valve' of emigration prevents similar tragic figures

from appearing in Irish statistics. Even taking that into account, half of all workers under 25 are on low pay and it is exactly the same story for women workers, while both the government and the employers maintain the fiction that low pay is due to either failings on the part of low-paid workers or lack of education. Some go even further.

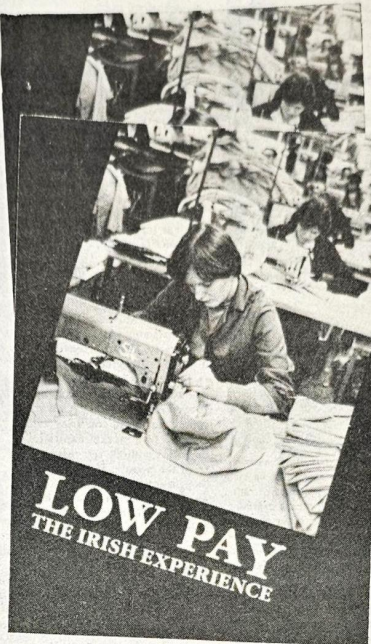
The notorious Professor Dermot McAliese stated last week that "the poor did not suffer" from the last four years of economic cutbacks. Behind these attitudes is the false idea that, once cutbacks have been harsh enough, jobs and higher wages will follow.

But this study shows that low pay is built into the present market system and that only government action through minimum wages laws can stop it.

### MICKEY-MOUSE MEASURES

Increased education and training for young workers, or other changes in the economy, over the last 25 years has not removed low pay in any way. The large increase in employment during the early 70s which resulted in the only period of net immigration in the last 150 years, did not shift it. Neither have the various mickey-mouse measures adopted by successive governments.

Ironically, some of the worst pay is in areas you wouldn't expect, like legal offices where secretaries are paid a pittance. But the majority is in the services sector where, like the lawyers, large highly profitable supermarkets are perfectly capable of paying higher wages. Instead they have opted



## LOW PAY THE IRISH EXPERIENCE

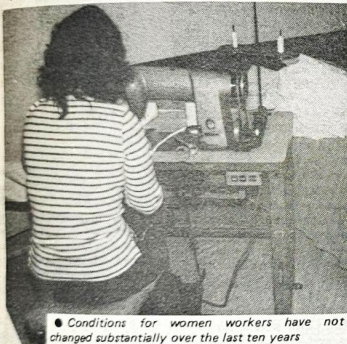
for fanatical competition amongst each other. Part of this strategy involves a move from full-time to part-time jobs, concentrating on young women.

The only measures which could possibly alter this situation involve minimum pay laws and deliberate government intervention to save jobs or to create new ones. Unfortunately, *Low Pay — The Irish Experience* includes a brief essay from Labour Minister Bertie Ahern which shows the government has already ruled out this strategy. The booklet also fails to address the issue of low pay in

the Six Counties.

This is generally a welcome pamphlet but it should not be an end in itself. Maybe it's indicative of something that with less than 100 pages it is priced at £4 — a bit much for low-paid workers or unemployed people. It should be a weapon in the fight against low pay and for organised labour but that is a fight the trade union leadership has been shying away from for far too long.

● *Low Pay — The Irish Experience*. Published by the Combat Poverty Agency and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Price £4.



● Conditions for women workers have not changed substantially over the last ten years

## First-Class fiction

BY  
LIAM  
O'COILAIN

*SECOND-CLASS TAXI* quite brilliantly ridicules South Africa's system of Apartheid. Its author, Sylvester Stein, accomplishes this by following the experiences of a young Black man and showing his gradual politicisation. This novel was first published in 1958 and was promptly banned in South Africa. It is now being re-issued by Brandon Press and is well worth a read.

Our hero, Staffnurse Pholofo, is living in a concrete pipe in a rubbish dump when we are first introduced to him. The problem with this home, however humble, is that it is situated in an area designated all White.

Therefore, "his very presence there was a threat to the delicate plant of European civilisation; and the law, croaking apologetically, would immediately have summoned all its forces to bundle him out of the place and direct him to Orlando Shelters."

"Orlando Shelters was an approved rubble-dump for Africans."

Stein's unique satirical style

makes a mockery of the absurdity that is Apartheid. The casual racist attitudes of the Whites, even the self-styled "liberals", are exposed with a viciously cutting humour, at once hilarious but deadly serious.

### UNSCRUPULOUS OPPRESSORS

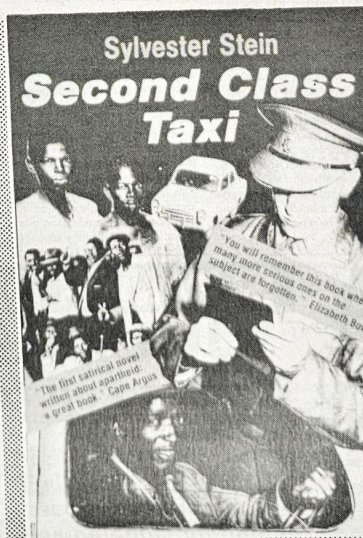
It is while working for a "liberal" member of parliament that Staffnurse gains the use of their Chevrolet car (as chauffeur of course) and proceeds to use it illicitly to run a second-class taxi service, the proceeds of which go to the Black Congress, of which he is an active member. One chapter is ti-

tled "Captain Boycott", a 19th century term coined of course during our own struggle against unscrupulous oppressors (of the mainly British landowning variety).

The harsh realities of protesting and fighting for change in South Africa make the concluding part of the book a more sobering read but Stein at all times successfully avoids the use of clichéd rhetoric. At £4.95 it is perhaps a little pricey for a short novel but I have no hesitation in recommending investing in it.

Stein was political editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* and editor of the African magazine *Drum* when he wrote this book in 1958. He has lived in London since the banning of the book in his native land and where he co-ordinates the fund-raising activities of the African National Congress. He also publishes periodicals, including *Running Magazine*.

● *Second-Class Taxi* by Sylvester Stein. Published by Brandon. Price £4.95



## Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

### FUNCTION

Music by Justice

Dundalk Bar

DUNDALK

Saturday 30th June

Táille: £1.50

### ANTI-EXTRADITION ACTIVITIES

South Tipperary Anti-Extradition

3pm Saturday 30th June

Public meeting

Main Street

CLONNEL

Speakers: Dermot Finucane, Pat Hackett

Saturday evening

After-Mass meetings: Cashel, Dualla

Sunday morning 1st July

After-Mass meeting: Tipperary town

### UNVEILING OF HEADSTONE

at grave of Cllr John Davey

Assemble 2.30pm Sunday 1st July

GAA Car-Park

Quarry Road

to St Mary's Graveyard

GULLADUFF

County Kerry

Prominent speaker

### MARCH AGAINST COLLUSION

Sunday 1st July

Lurgan

### COUNTY ARMAGH

also unveiling ceremony

Kilmea Street

Assemble 2.30pm Francis Street

Guest speakers

### WELCOME HOME DINNER

#### DANCE

for Pat Hackett

8pm Friday 6th July

O'Meara's Hotel

#### NENAGH

County Tipperary

Speaker: Owen Carron

Admission £11

For tickets and billets contact

067-32520

Tickets available in Sinn Féin

Bookshop,

44 Parnell Square

### CONFERENCE

'British soldiers speak out about the war in Ireland'

12 noon-6pm Saturday 7th July

Conway Hall

Red Lion Square

LONDON WC1

### 1970 FALLS CURFEW

March & Rally

Assemble 2pm

opposite Casement Park

BELFAST

Sunday 8th July

March to Dunville Park

Main speakers: Gerry Adams,

Bernadette McAliskey

### PUBLIC MEETING

Irish Cultural Studies Group

'The state of industrial growth'

8pm Thursday 12th July

Kinlay House

Dame Street

DUBLIN

Speaker: Eoin O'Malley

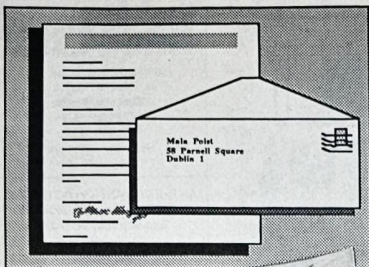
## DRAW RESULTS

### Coolock Sinn Féin

#### Draw Results:

1st prize: No 70, Tomo Farrelly, c/o Richie; 2nd prize: No 94, Brendan, c/o Andy; 3rd prize: No 124, A Croghan, c/o Billy; 4th prize: No 140, Derek Walsh, c/o Billy; 5th prize: No 188, Catherine Dempsey, c/o Nick.





## Extradition to the H-Blocks

The Dublin court's decision not to extradite Jim Clarke and Dermot Finucane reflects well the feeling of the majority of Irish people towards extradition. The wall of silence which surrounded attempts to lift the lid off the brutality meted out by prison officers following the escape from the H-Blocks in September 1983 goes far beyond the Prison Officers Association (POA) and concerns more than the events of that particular time.

Peter Brooke and company continue to deny that republican prisoners in the Six Counties' jails face an ever present threat of injury or ill-treatment. Prison history stands as an adequate testimony against Brooke's denial of ill-treatment of prisoners. This has forever been a weapon in the arsenal of the NIO and British government in their efforts to defeat republican resistance to their presence in Ireland.

Thousands of cases of ill-treatment have been catalogued from the blanket protest in the H-Blocks and Armagh jails alone. Assaults on prisoners here, among them men extradited from the 26 Counties and the Netherlands, date back only a matter of months and not years as the NIO would have people believe.

Strip-searching of women prisoners in Maghaberry is acknowledged by all to be no more than an exercise in humiliation and the oppressive regime experienced by republican remand prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail is as much reason for ending extradition as the likelihood of ill-treatment of escapes.

The release of Jim Clarke and Dermot Finucane is indeed a victory in the fight against extradition but it by no means indicates the battle is over; other republicans await the outcome of extradition hearings. The pressure to prevent these being handed to the British army/RUC/UDR/POA must be sustained if not increased. We, the republican prisoners in the H-Blocks, call on all to support the fight against extradition.

**Martin P Meehan,  
H-Block 7,  
Long Kesh**

## Bratacha

A Chairde,

Cuireann sé fearg agus brón orm na bratacha ar fad atá á gceothadh faoi láthair san 'Phoblacht' a fheiceáil os rud é go bhfuil páirt a ghlacadh ag foireann peile na Poblachta san 'World Cup'. N'headar an gá dúinn a bheith san 'World Cup' as seo amach ionas go gceothfaidh daoine brat na tíre, nó chun go mbeidh siad chomh bródúil an a dtír is atá siad faoi láthair?

S'í an fhadhb atá ag formhór na ndaoine san Phoblacht ná nach féidir leo breathnú tríd droghneithe na Poblachta, agus nach bhfuil siad buíoch as na nithe agus na cearta atá acu. Níl suim acu an brat a chrochadh seachas anois nó teanga na tíre a labhairt ach an oiread. Is mó daltaí scoile a mbíonn ag déanamh gearáin toisc nach ábhar roghnach í an Ghaeilge san scoil.

Ní thuigean siad go bhfuil daoine ar an oileán éanna leo féin atá ag siladh doir ag agus ag doiteadh fola ar son na cearta seo, agus a mbeidh a dhéanamh sin go dtí go mbeidh na saoirse sin acu.

Anois os rud é go bhfuil an pheil ar siúl, tá an dánacht ag muintir na Poblachta an brat a chrochadh agus a mbíod san tír a admháil. Tá an fhiniceacht thar a bheith gramhach, ach ina dhiaidh sin, samhthasach.

Ní bheidh mo bhrat sa ag teacht anuas nuair a chrochfaidh an pheil.

**Clara Nic an tSionnigh.**

## Eastern Europe

A Chairde,  
Trevor Allman's letter (AP/RN, May 24th) raises some interesting questions.

Whatever republicans have said about events in Eastern Europe, there is a sense in which they represent victories for the people of those nations. Mass action has toppled the corrupt and theoretically bankrupt leaderships of those countries. This is what republicans as well as all progressives define as victories. Trevor Allman's lecture to the Republican Movement rests on certain assumptions.

Firstly, he describes those regimes as 'state capitalist'. This is a meaningless term and could be applied to any western 'democracy'. Secondly, he assumes that these countries will become free market capitalist countries without any response from the people. If the people brought down Stalinism why does he assume they will watch their social gains being destroyed? Thirdly, while dismissing the political consciousness of the working class, he says the petit bourgeoisie are in control. My understanding of Marxism is that the petit bourgeoisie will always be drawn either to the bourgeoisie or to the working class in the course of the class struggle. If he (Trevor) characterises the governments of Eastern Europe as petit bourgeois he must remember they can be removed by the same people who put them there.

The enthusiasm shown by imperialism to the changes is tempered by the fear that they might go too far. If the changes represent the end of Stalinism how does Trevor explain the west's support for Gorbachev? Finally, the best way Trevor can contribute to the cause of the people of Ireland and Eastern Europe is to take on his own rotten and racist ruling class.

**Pádraig O Brádaigh,  
London.**

## Uriah Heaps

A Chairde,

One wonders do those political parties who are pushing hardest for more draconian inputs to the extradition laws, realise how unjust, supercilious and immoral they are perceived to be by the ordinary citizen. (The crown still does not have to produce even a prima-facie case). For, the lower they stoop or the more slave-minded their mentality becomes then the more it is obvious how afraid they are to fight an election or propose a referendum on this major issue. Plainly, they are only

too well aware that the vast majority of the public are against their supine stance, and indeed are never likely to concur with their ignoble pro-colonial, 'Uriah Heaps' sentiments.

This of course makes them not just cowards and crawlers to Thatcherism and all its attendant evils, but patently dishonest to boot. That the Irish people deserve a better calibre of representation than that offered by these contemptible and unprincipled servitors, is manifestly clear.

"Go down... ye hypocrites... Go down."

**Jer O'Leary.**



● SAM MARSHALL

## Collusion march

A Chairde,

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers an anti-collusion march and unveiling ceremony in Lurgan on Sunday, July 1st.

I write to you on behalf of a committee established by the family and friends of the late Sam Marshall. The purpose of the committee is to unveil a plaque at Kilmaine Street. The plaque will include the names of those murdered in the Distillery Hill area down through the years.

John Murphy, John Smith, 1897: Murdered by RIC on August 15th when police opened fire on a Catholic procession.

Seán McConville, 1983: Beaten to death on April 3rd by UDR.

Sam Marshall, 1990: Murdered on March 7th by RUC/loyalist assassins. The plaque will be unveiled on Sunday, July 1st, following a march from Francis Street at 2.30pm.

We have sent written invitations to GAA clubs and local politicians and would now like to extend our invitation to your readership.

**John Marshall,  
Chairperson.**

## Cór Cochion Caerdydd

A Chairde,

Cór Cochion Caerdydd (Cardiff Reds Choir) will be visiting Belfast from August 10/14th as part of the South Wales delegation of TOM.

While we are there we would welcome any opportunity of showing our solidarity with our comrades in the North of Ireland

by singing at venues (free of charge) such as public meetings, socials, marches, etc.

Cór Cochion Caerdydd is a mixed Welsh choir and is Wales' only socialist choir. It was formed in 1983 but came to prominence during the 1984 miners' strike, where we raised thousands of pounds for the miners in South Wales and beyond. Every Saturday morning we are out on the streets of Cardiff or towns in the South Wales Valleys raising money for different organisations and strikes.

We have appeared at many prestigious venues, including the Albert Hall and St David's Hall, Cardiff. We have taken part in and provided musical backing for a number of TV films for C4 and Welsh S4C. The choir has produced three cassettes. The profits have been distributed to many different causes, eg. Anti-Apartheid and Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. This year we provided musical backing for a record by Billy Bragg.

I wonder if An Phoblacht would be so kind as to advertise the choir's visit and ask if there would be anyone interested in booking us for a venue.

**Diana Bianchi.**

## EC excess

A Chairde,

Much criticism has justifiably been levelled recently at Romania's corrupt regime during the reign of Nicolai Ceaucescu. A similar public outcry was heard when details of President Marcos' personal expenditure emerged some years ago. However, the £1/2 million spent by Haughey on public relations for the EC presidency has kept the lid on similar trails of corruption much closer to home as was revealed recently.

Take for instance, the celebration dinner for EC heads of state to be held in Malahide Castle at a cost of £350,000 to the taxpayer, for just one evening's entertainment, the details of which were sworn into secrecy by council officials. One could be forgiven for conspiring such junkets to those held by either Marcos or Ceaucescu to entertain special guests and friends. Consider then the huge expenditure on limousine cavalcades, the £2 million spent hiring a Gulf Stream jet, £20 million spent renovating Dublin Castle with lavish paintings and crystal chandeliers amongst other luxuries, or perhaps the £17.6 million to be spent on the Taoiseach's new offices, complete with helicopter pad, fountains, statues and floodlit courtyard. Indeed, the similarities with Ceaucescu's palace in another impoverished country is glaringly obvious.

Evidently, the Taoiseach's PR exercise has selectively ignored such contradictions in a country experiencing massive cutbacks in health and education. If our country is so affluent, one might wonder why it is Mr Haughey's state has a higher pupil-teacher ratio than that of all his guest countries while at the same time, thousands of teachers have emigrated.

Cynics might dare to ask why it is that hospitals in Dublin's inner city are about to close if we are so high up the list of OECD countries.

I'm sure, many members of the travelling community whose habitation resembles something from a South African township, might see the contradictions in state spending as they watch their favela-like sites in view of the Malahide Road being erected less the EC heads of state could take a real look at Ireland, which I'm sure is censored in their Bórd Fáilte brochures. I vaguely recollect a similar example of this some years ago in the Philippines, where Ferdinand Marcos was concerned that such 'eyesores' should be in view of foreign visitors. Such accommodation is indeed far cry from the £1,200 per night penthouse suite in the Berkeley Court Hotel where some EC leaders are being entertained at tax-payers' expense, or that of the one third of the 26-County population forced to live below the official poverty line for six months on this same amount.

Maybe, Mr Haughey says we are all in the same boat, but it's evident that only some of us do the rowing!

**Fiontán O Súilleabháin.**



## Only a game

A Chairde,

I was with disbelief that I read Felix Conroy's article 'This Business in Italy' in your May 31st issue. While I agreed with the opening paragraph, the tone progressively changed from one of criticism to support of a team referred to as Ireland but going to Italy as the 'Republic of Ireland'.

How can your esteemed newspaper, of which I am an avid supporter and look forward to weekly to read the republican viewpoint rather than the British establishment propaganda in the media, lend support to a team claiming to represent the 'Irish Republic'? An Irish republic for which thousands of Irish people have given their lives — and many more still remain incarcerated in prisons all over the world fighting for a true republic we could all be proud of.

Until the establishment of a republic along the lines of the 1916 Proclamation, please refrain from lending your support to this so called 'Irish Republic'.

**Tiofaidh ár lá,  
Maureen O'Shea,  
Kilburn,  
London.**

# FIANNA EIREANN

REPUBLICAN  
YOUTH  
MOVEMENT



## SUMMER OPEN CAMP JULY-AUGUST

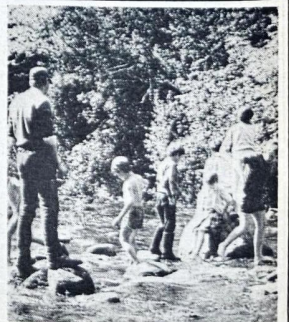
Open to all from 13 to 21

Activities will include:

Hiking, orienteering, fishing, debates, swimming, hunting, obstacle courses, mountain climbing and much more.

For further details please contact:

O/C Dublin Battalion,  
44 Parnell Square,  
Dublin 1.  
Phone: 726932.





**GARLIN, Thomas; COYLE, Joseph; MCCOOL, Thomas** (20th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Garlin, Joseph Coyle and Thomas McCool, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in an explosion while on active service on June 25th 1986. I mease laochra na nGael go raibís aoi. "Life springs from death and death springs from life." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

**CARTY, Patrick; CROWLEY, Dermot; LOUGHRAN, Sean** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Carty, Dermot Crowley and Sean Loughran, Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in an action on June 25th 1973. A rebel's eternal flame will attain just as Ireland wants to give her, Ireland again will be free. — P. H. Pearce. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in Ogligh na hÉireann, County Tyrone.

**CARTY, Patrick; CROWLEY, Dermot; LOUGHRAN, Sean** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Carty, Dermot Crowley and Sean Loughran, Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in an action on June 25th 1973. Always remembered with love and pride by Sean Tyrone Leach and comrades in Sinn Féin.

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25th 1973. Always remembered with love and pride by Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

**CARTY, Patrick; CROWLEY, Dermot; LOUGHRAN, Sean** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Carty, Dermot Crowley and Sean Loughran, Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who were killed in an action on June 25th 1973. Always remembered with love and pride by Clonmel Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

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**COYLE, Brian** (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian Coyle, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed while on active service on June 30th 1976. "Life springs

from death and from the graves of patriots." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

**CRAIG, Gerard; RUSSELL, Davy** (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gerard Craig and his comrade Davy Russell, who died on active service on June 26th 1974. Always remembered by his sister Bernadette, brother-in-law Leo and family.

**DEMPSEY, Brian** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian 'Dipper' Dempsey, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service on June 25th 1986. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

**DEMPSEY, Brian** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian 'Dipper' Dempsey, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on June 25th 1986. We owe it to you who have died to honour the cause you served. A Mhuirín gamal déan trocraire ar an nam. Always remembered by Marie Moore and family.

**DEMPSEY, Brian** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian 'Dipper' Dempsey, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on June 25th 1986. Ar láimh dhé go raibís aoi. Always remembered with sad regret, it brings back a day we will never forget. Always remembered by his friend Brian, Nuala and family.

**DEMPSEY, Brian** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian 'Big Dipper' Dempsey, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on June 25th 1986. A mhuirín gamal déan trocraire ar an nam. You are no longer in our lives to share, but in our hearts you are always there. Sadly missed by his friend Kieran, Kate and family.

**DEMPSEY, Brian** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brian 'Big Dipper' Dempsey, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on June 25th 1986. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. We think about you often. We talk about you still. Never to be forgotten. Always remembered by his friend Eileen, Thomas and family.

**FINUCANE, John; JORDAN, Tony** (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Finucane and Tony Jordan, who died on active service on June 28th 1972. I mease laochra na Gael go raibís aoi. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

**FINUCANE, John** (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol John Finucane who gave his young life so that Ireland might one day be united and free. John died on June 28th 1972. This is the 18th anniversary of that dreadful day. "Gone from his home that smiling face, the cheerful happy ways, the heart that was so many friends, in bygone, happy days. Rest happily brave soldier

of Ireland." Remembered daily by George and Alice Glikooly and family and members of Western Massachusetts Noraid Unit.

**JORDAN, Tony; FINUCANE, John** (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Tony Jordan and John Finucane, who were murdered on June 28th 1972. No nation can be enslaved if its people think death less hateful than bondage. Their bus. Always remembered by Philip and Seamus O'Neill, Charleston, Mass.

**MELHON, Henry** (20th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Henry Melhonn, who died in a gun battle with loyalists while defending St. Matthew's Chapel in the Short Strand, Belfast, on June 27th 1970. "War is an evil thing, the tyrannies that war breaks, the lying formulae that war overthrows, the hypocrites that war strip naked, are evil." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

**MELHON, Henry** (20th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Henry Melhonn, who was murdered on June 27th 1970. If you strike at, imprison or kill us, out of our prisons or graves we will still evoke a spirit that will thwart you and, maybe, raise a force that will destroy you. We defy you, year after year. Always remembered by Philip O'Neill, Leamington.

**ONEILL, Terence** (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Terence O'Neill, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by the RUC on July 1st 1980 while on active service. They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolutionary. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

## Beannachtaí

**KELLY, Tony** (Portlaoise). Happy birthday son. Don't eat too much cake. From Mother, Father and the family.

**SHERREY, Peter** (Parkhurst). Happy birthday on the 30th. Love from Dad.

**SHERREY, Peter** (Parkhurst). Love on your birthday. From your sister Veronica, Paul and Barry.

**SHERREY, Peter** (Parkhurst). Thinking of you on your birthday. From Patricia.

**SHERREY, Peter** (Parkhurst). Wishing you a very happy birthday. Best wishes from Ann Marie Martin (Crumlin Band) and family; also from the White Knight, born in the same year; also from Mia. Another year has passed for you, born in the month of strawberries and cream. Another year closer to freedom, for you and your comrades.

**SHERREY, Peter** (Parkhurst). Grattis Peter, from those who know you in Sweden.

**McEARRAIGH, Peadar** (Parkhurst). La breithe shona duit a Pheadar ag larmáing go gasta ar an doichead. Ha, ha! 'Tig go bog é. They have nothing in their imperial arsenal that can break the spirit of one Irish person who does not wish to be broken." — Bobby Sands. Le grá. O do dheirfiúir Irene agus Gerard. UTP.

## Comhbhrón

**DEMPSEY**. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Dempsey family on the death of Mary. From Liam, Mary and baby Mairead, Manchester.

**DEMPSEY**. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Dempsey family on the death of Mary. From James Gibson and family.

**DEMPSEY**. Heartfelt sympathy is extended to the Dempsey family on the recent death of Mary. From Seamus McLoughlin and family.

**GREGG**. The republican POWs in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh extend deepest sympathy to our friend and comrade Dennis Gregg on the sad death of his mother.

**McNEFF**. Deepest and sincere sympathy is extended to Leo, Ann and large circle of family and friends on the recent tragic and untimely death of Leo's father and brother Paul. From Colloek Sinn Féin.

## Admháil

**BATESON**. The mother, brothers and sisters of the late Sean Bateson, RIP, wish to thank all those who sympathised with them on their recent bereavement, especially Sean's comrades in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and all the other prisoners, Belfast, the Republican Movement and Sinn Féin, those who sent Mass cards, floral tributes and helped in any way. Trusting that this acknowledgement will be accepted by all. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for your intentions. From Mrs Bateson and family.

## Cuimhní Breithliá

**MCCRACKEN**. Birthday memories of our beloved son Vol Kevin McCracken whose birthday would have occurred on June 22nd. Sacred Heart of Jesus, watch over him. Birthday memories to heaven we send. Broken hearts that will never mend. With tears in our eyes we whisper low, God bless you, son, we loved you so. From Mam and Dad.

**MCCRACKEN**. Proud birthday memories of my dear brother Vol Kevin McCracken whose birthday would have occurred on June 22nd. St Martin, pray for him. Never more than a thought away, loved and remembered every day. Never forgotten by his loving sister Siobhán, Kevin and baby Caoimhin. xxx

**MCCRACKEN**. Loving birthday memories of my dear brother Vol Kevin McCracken whose birthday would have occurred on June 22nd. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Never more than a thought away, loved and remembered every day. Always remembered by Deirdre, Pat and family. xxx

**MCCRACKEN**. Birthday memories of my dear brother Vol Kevin McCracken whose birthday would have occurred on June 22nd. St Martin, pray for him. Never more than a thought away, loved and remembered every day. Always remembered by his loving brother Stevie.

**MCCRACKEN**. Birthday memories of our beloved uncle Vol Kevin McCracken whose birthday would have occurred on June 22nd. Dear Jesus, take this message to our Uncle Kevin. Tell him we still miss him and send him all our love. From Pádraig, Kevin and Ciara. xxx

**NOTICE DEADLINE**  
ALL notices must be in our Dublin or Belfast offices by 5pm Monday for insertion in that week's paper.

# JOE DOHERTY PICKET IN LONDON

**THE Troops Out Movement held a picket of the US Embassy, London, on Monday, June 18th, to protest at the continued imprisonment of Joe Doherty, Irish political prisoner who is being held on British extradition warrants.**

The very vocal picket called for the immediate release of Joe, reminding those in the US Embassy of Britain's appalling treatment and 'farical justice' towards Irish political prisoners.

### MESSAGE

During the picket a message of solidarity was read out from Gerry McGeough imprisoned in Germany, followed by this message from Joe

Doherty himself:

"My sincere gratitude for this honoured gathering here today. I also commend you all for your continuing commitment to the plight of Irish political prisoners, no matter how distant they may be.

"Today, as I enter my eighth year of imprisonment in a New York prison cell, my resolve and commitment to final victory against British attempts to extra-

dite me is unbroken.

"All across the United States, many American citizens are taking a stand against this unjustified collaboration and interference into the judicial process. Many state and local legislatures have passed resolutions calling for my release. Each day, additional congressional signatures are united in my support. The pro-British elements in the US government are losing the battle.

"My friends, we must keep pressure to bear. The extradition of political activists must be universally condemned. We must dedicate and rededicate our commitment to ending these unjust handovers of oppressed people to corrupt regimes.

"My solidarity to my comrades who await these forced transportations. My solidarity to you in your quest for justice.

"Again my sincere gratitude and affection. Onward the struggle for peace, justice and freedom."

As the picket wound up the protesters were thanked for attending and urged to keep up the pressure against extradition to Britain's discredited system of justice.

# UNVEILING OF MONUMENT TO ASSASSINATED COUNCILLOR



JOHN DAVEY

**GULLADUFF, County Derry, will be the setting on Sunday, July 1st, for the first annual commemoration in the area to remember the republican dead of the country.**

Speaking about the changes in the local republican calendar, Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair chairperson and Magherafelt councillor, John Hurl, said:

"After much discussion and consultation over a period of years with all branches of the Republican Movement and families of dead Volunteers in the area, it was agreed that one large central commemoration should be held in the area so

that a proper, fitting and dignified ceremony would be ensured at the same time each year. It is particularly fitting that this year's proceedings will coincide with the unveiling of a monument to our esteemed party colleague, Councillor John Davey, murdered outside his home, just over a year ago by pro-British elements."

Councillor Hurl also pointed out that while the annual commemoration would be held at the same time each year the venue would change and each of the republican plots in the area would in turn be the focus of the commemoration. The main Easter parade for the area would remain in the Loup, at the grave of Brigadier Sean Larkin.





# THE FLYING COLUMN

## POT BLACK Scots for high jump.

But just how high we don't know, man!  
Four Brit dopeheads were on the run in Scotland last week after going AWOL from their base in Ballykinnar, County Down.

The four, along with a fifth Brit who was speedily recaptured by Tayside police in Scotland, took the trip on Monday night via the Larne/Stranraer ferry, when they came under suspicion during a major week-long drugs probe by military police at the base.

More than 20 others from the Scottish Black Watch Regiment are believed to be under arrest at the Ballykinnar base on charges of possession of cannabis.

The 'Blow Watch' junkies had their illicit pot operation uncovered when one Scot was detained for "acting strangely". According to an army source the hash really hit the fan when he grassed on his cannabis-smoking cronies and they in turn informed on others.

All this evidence of substance abuse by the Black Watch should come as no surprise though. It is well-known that they come strongly 'under the influence' of their colonel-in-chief, the Queen Mother, a boss whose fondness for the odd pint of gin is renowned.



● The Queen Mother — keeping the gin bottle well under wraps

WHILE we are on the subject of the Queen Mum, many thanks to the National Portrait Gallery in London for sending us notice of a small display of the finest photographs of Her Majesty as part of celebrations to mark her 90th birthday in August, "culminating in the Official 90th Birthday Photograph (to be announced)".

SUN rattles rusty SAS sabre.

The Sun devoted a full page last Wednesday to 'comment' on the IRA bombing of the top Tory Carlton Club in London. It lamented that "Britain is one of the most powerful nations in the world. Are we really so helpless against a pack of skulking cowards?" It recommended the example of "little Israel" which "follows the biblical precept of an eye for an eye".

"By the doctrine of hot pursuit she KILLS at least an equal number of her enemies." (Please note Israel's Intifade massacres of Palestinians.)

The Tory tabloid has the answer: "ATTACK. Send the SAS into the Republic and take out a matching number of IRA criminals."

Dublin's protests should be ignored, it opines, because "if they behaved like a decent, civilised country, they would themselves root out the evil in their midst. They leave Britain no choice but to do the job for them."

"Better Irish tears than more British dead."

The full page editorial is illustrated with a crude cartoon of an Irish footballer dribbling a ball alongside the wrecked Carlton Club. It is captioned "Irish Glory... And Shame".

GARDAI bag birdmen of Rockabill.

Two unarmed IVC men were arrested at Rockabill Island off the coast of Skerries, County Dublin, by gardai on board the Navy's LE Orla on Sunday.

They were forced to reluctantly release the men though when an official from the Irish Wildlife Conservancy (not yet a proscribed organisation) positively identified them as members of that body.

Gardai had bagged the pair when sharp-eyed security personnel on board the naval vessel noticed an incredible similarity

between the twitches' telescope and a rocket launcher. They must be getting too much sun on these boats.

FINE GAE TD Gay Mitchell

received short shrift when he visited the Gate Pub on the Crumlin Road, Dublin, the night the Irish team played England. In true Blueshirt fashion, when he waltzed in and pulled up a pew to watch the match, not only did he take a stool that somebody else had been sitting on, but he also blocked the view of many of the assembled soccer fans.

He was quickly reminded of his error by a head at his rear, who roared: "You might have a seat in Leinster House but you're not getting one here."



● Mitchell the Moocher

POOR OLD Dessie O'Malley, I was just flicking through the programme for the Third Conference and Exhibition of European Telecommunications which was held at the beginning of this month when I spotted the monicker of Dublin's own Minister for RTE-bashing, the Burke himself.

The programme gives his full title as "Minister of Commerce, Industry and Communications of Ireland".

And there was me thinking that O'Malley was Minister for Industry and Commerce. Ah well. Sure wasn't it Albert Reynolds who said coalition was "a temporary little arrangement".

I'm also glad to note the recognition that Burke has nothing to do with justice in Ireland.

SILENCE is golden.

The right to silence has been upheld yet again, this time by the Maguire Seven trial judge in 1976, Lord Donaldson, Master of the Rolls.

Refusing to appear before the May Inquiry into the wrongful convictions of the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven, Lord Donald 'Duck' told Sir John May in a written submission: "Judges must, and as we know do, accept it is part of the job to remain silent in the face of criticism... They must never seek to defend themselves."

Senator David Norris take note. If it's good enough for Tom King and Britain's top judge then it's good enough for the Winchester Three.

THE European Council this week reaffirmed its support for the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions.

Hooray!  
What, Cyprus?  
Oh!

A ROYAL Artillery gunner based in Germany is under armed guard and expected to face court-martial, having been accused of leaking security secrets.

The 22-year-old is being interrogated by members of the Special Intelligence Branch about divulging details of security arrangements at his barracks at Gutersloh to a woman "IRA supporter".

According to one British army detective quoted in a British tabloid: "He bragged about his knowledge of security in order to get his leg over."

DAVID MARTIN, with an address at 11 UDR, Mahon Road, Portadown, has been fined £50 at Craigavon Court for having a 9mm Walther pistol in his possession while under the influence.

He was also fined £75 with £58 medical expenses and disqualified from driving for five years for driving while drunk.

## NOTES



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## Dúirt Siad

The Carlton Club, at the very heart of the Tory establishment, devastated by a bomb. This attack is the most direct strike at a Tory Party target since the Brighton bombing six years ago.

— Martin Benedict, Sky News, on the IRA attack on the Carlton Club.

It shows once again that the IRA has managed to strike at the heart of the Conservative Party. It underlines their determination to attack not only the British Army but the Government and therefore the entire Conservative family to which they belong.

— Alex Crawford, Sky News.

'Enormous' blast strikes at the heart of the British establishment.

— Front page headline on Tuesday's London Independent.

I'm proud to be a Donegal man and an Irishman this morning. What a marvellous night it was in Genoa, the highlight of my career. The reality of reaching the World Cup quarter-finals is now only sinking in.

— Packie Bonner after the Romanian match.