

AN PHOBLACHT

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY



# PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

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## No paper next week

NEXT WEEK the staff of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* take their annual holiday. AP/RN will not be published on Thursday, July 11th. The paper will resume publication as normal on Thursday, July 18th.

# 'Start real talks now' Adams

LIKE A SOAP OPERA which had lost its audience long ago, the Brooke Talks slid into obscurity on Wednesday with a certain amount of embarrassment all round. For ten weeks, the British Direct-Ruler, the Dublin government and the SDLP laboured with a lacklustre script and a plot which included some fairly massive contradictions. Eventually, Peter Brooke was forced to call a halt — just before the process was due to collapse of its own accord.

Despite the suggestions of a peace initiative. From the very beginning, Brooke's discussions this was never even intended as

(continued on page 3)



## WELL-EARNED VICTORY



Sinn Féin won a well-earned victory in North Monaghan in the local elections last week. With the highest vote in the electoral history of the constituency, County Councillor Caoimhghin O Caoláin topped the poll and ensured the election of his running mate Brian McKenna. For full analysis of the 26-County local government elections results see pages 4 and 5.

## OPINION

# Organise Now!

TEN republican hunger-strikers died in 1981 but out of their sacrifice came a victory. The prisoners had inspired a new generation of Irish people to take part in the struggle for freedom, justice and peace in their country. All over the 32 Counties and among Irish exiles abroad there was a huge response to the appeals of the prisoners and their families and determined opposition to the British government.

On Sunday, August 11th, 1991, a major national celebration and commemoration will take place in Belfast. It will mark the tenth anniversary of the H-Block hunger-strike and the 20th anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial by the British government in August 1971.

Just as the anti-H-Block/Armagh movement of 1981 was truly national, this demonstration on August 11th must be representative of the 32 Counties. It is up to republicans in every county and district to ensure its success and to see that their areas are represented on this historic march. That means getting organised NOW.

Inform all friends and supporters of the importance of being in Belfast on August 11th;

Book a bus to travel from your area. Arrange for advertising and ticket sales for this;

Organise a local event — for example, a video showing — to educate young people about the hunger-strike;

Contact people who were involved in the H-Block/Armagh committees;

Make new banners, and locate banners and posters made at the time of the hunger-strikes, to carry on the demonstration.

## FUNDS NEEDED

Funds are urgently needed to make the August demonstration a huge success. Money should be raised locally and donations sent to Dessie Mackin, National Mobilisation Committee, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

## CELEBRATION OF RESISTANCE



# UDA/UFF COMMANDER EXECUTED

THE IRA's Derry Brigade has said that Volunteers under its command carried out the shooting in the Waterside area of the city on Saturday, June 29th, which killed UDA/UFF commander Cecil McKnight.

McKnight died at his Melrose Terrace home on Saturday evening while talking with two RUC detectives. Two Volunteers on foot approached the house and, having identified their target, they opened fire from close range through the window, hitting McKnight several times in the upper body and head. An IRA statement on the incident rubbish RUC claims that the two detectives with McKnight at the time of the shooting gave chase. This claim was also refuted by McKnight's widow who told reporters that she had to help one of the RUC men to his feet after he and his colleague had dived for cover.

In a detailed statement on the shooting, the IRA said McKnight, whom it described as the UDA/UFF commander in Derry and a member of the UDA Inner Council, had been targeted because of his direct involvement in the murder of Sinn Féin Councillor Eddie Fullerton.

The statement added that the IRA in Derry had recently informed the UDA that its leaders would be held personally responsible for any attack by the organisation upon members of the nationalist community. It said:

*"Recent claims that McKnight had stood down as UDA commander, were totally untrue and were at the time interpreted by us as the prelude to an attack in the area. This was confirmed with the murder of Eddie Fullerton. We take this opportunity to again warn loyalist paramilitaries that they will pay a heavy price for involvement in, or the organising of, attacks upon our community. We would like to add that the Protestant community have nothing to fear from us."*

### BELFAST ATTACKS

The Belfast Brigade, IRA, said that Volunteers carried out two attacks on British army patrols over the past seven days.

The first attack came at 10.30pm on Thursday evening, June 27th, when a British army mobile patrol came under gun and grenade attack at the junction of Lanark Way and Springfield Road. There were no reports of any crown forces' injuries in the attack in which the IRA again used its newly-designed disposable grenade launcher.

In the second attack a British soldier sustained very serious shrapnel and blast injuries when he took the full force of a grenade blast.

The attack, which came shortly after 9pm on Monday, July 1st, was directed against the lead soldier in a four-person patrol operating at Donore Court, just off the New Lodge Road in North Belfast.

A lone Volunteer, using a newly-designed grenade, moved to within yards of the 'point man' of the patrol before lobbing the device at his

feet. It exploded seconds later, throwing the severely injured soldier across the pathway.

### TYRONE BLAST

A number of RUC men had a lucky escape on Sunday afternoon, June 30th, when the patrol car in which they were traveling was blasted by a horizontal mortar.

The car, which missed the full impact of the blast, was driving along the Killyclogher Road near Omagh when the attack was mounted.

### ATTACKS IN ENGLAND

The IRA said that active service units under its command carried out the two bombing operations against British military targets in England on Thursday, June 27th, and Sunday, June 30th.

The attack on Thursday saw members of the Blues and Royals Band of the Household Cavalry escape certain death when a sub-sabotaged device failed to detonate at the rear of Alfred Becks Theatre in West London.

The device, which was timed to go off as the 27-strong military band performed on stage, was discovered the following morning and defused by British bomb technicians. It had been placed at the rear

### CONTRACTOR PULLS OUT

Yet another firm in the Six Counties has joined the long list of contractors who have publicly stated their intention to no longer supply services to the crown forces. Wright Accident Repairs Centre, from Dromore in County Down, issued the statement of their intentions on Saturday, June 29th.

### PUNISHMENT

The IRA in Belfast said that its Volunteers carried out the punishment shooting on a 40-year-old man shot on Monday evening in Ardoyne. The statement said that the man had been involved in sexually assaulting two ten-year-old girls and that the abuse had continued over a period of six years. The statement added that the individual concerned had been ordered to leave the country on his release from hospital.



• A Volunteer priming a horizontal mortar

AS THE Orange marching season draws nearer and nationalists in fringe areas begin battening down the hatches for yet more weeks of siege, curfew and periodic attack, details of several serious incidents involving rampaging loyalist gangs in Belfast have been reported.

The first of these incidents came in the early hours of Friday morning, June 28th, when a loyalist gang from the Springfield Estate scaled the 'peaceline' into the nationalist Springfield Park area. Once in the nationalist district the gang proceeded to smash their way into one home where they beat the male occupant, leaving him bleeding profusely from a head wound. The assailants fled when neighbours came and gave chase. While fleeing the gang smashed up cars and broke windows in several homes as they went.

In the second incident on Saturday, June 29th, a West Belfast youth who had been visiting friends in the Short Strand was lucky to escape with his life. A gang of over one dozen loyalists seem to have been fully intent on murdering their victim, who was severely beaten before being thrown off a 50-foot bridge into the river Lagan.

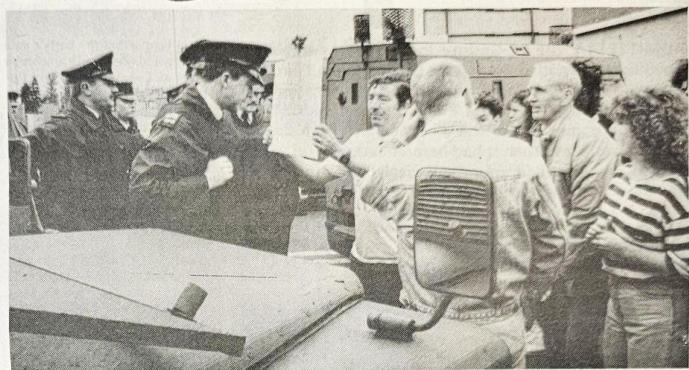
The 19-year-old youth from the

# LOYALIST GANGS ON PRE-TWELFTH RAMPAGE

MAN BEATEN, YOUTH  
THROWN INTO LAGAN

Grosvenor Road area was one of three teenagers who were making their way across the Albert Bridge towards the city centre when a gang of loyalists set upon them. The youth was unable to avoid capture by the assailants and was thrown off the bridge after having been kicked unconscious. As the attackers fled, the victim's companions, who had retreated towards the Short Strand, ran back to the scene and dived into the river where they were able to drag their friend to safety.

An ambulance was summoned and the youth, who was still unconscious, was rushed to hospital where he was detained overnight. On their arrival, the RUC arrested one of those who had rescued the youth and charged him with obstruction and disorderly behaviour.



• The RUC arrested and charged one of the teenagers who rescued the youth from the river



## Communities challenge curfews

RESIDENTS of two nationalist estates in Belfast forced into enduring an annual curfew in their homes as triumphalist Orange parades are allowed to pass their areas under RUC protection, have staged protests signaling that they are no longer prepared to be made prisoners in their own homes.

The protests, one of which took place as Orangemen passed nationalist streets on the Springfield Road, come as nationalist residents across the Six Counties who are placed under siege every July are beginning to take steps to force an ending of the scandalous provocation permitted by the authorities in the North.

One resident of Colinward Street on the Springfield Road, speaking after the picket on the Lanark Way/Springfield Road Junction on Saturday, June 29th, said:

"The spectacle of these parades passing through nationalist areas under massive RUC and British army protection is like the National Guard in America being mobilised to allow the Klu Klux Klan to march

## 'Start real talks now' Adams

(continued from front page)

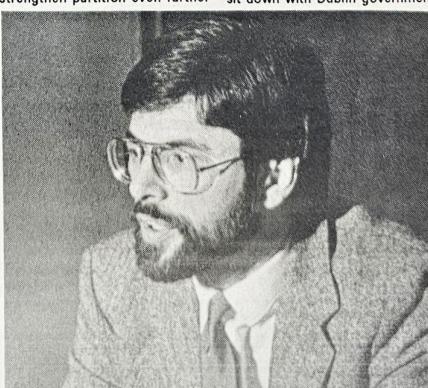
avoided two issues which must be addressed if peace is to be established. The question of partition and British occupation of the Six Counties was ruled out and so was the participation of Sinn Féin. Essentially, the agenda of the talks was a British one and it was intended to lead to the formation of some revamped Stormont administration. This process required the co-operation of Dublin, something which was freely given.

Although it was designed to strengthen partition even further

than at present, the talks process was not sufficient for the loyalist leaders who objected to Dublin involvement at even the most subordinate level. For ten weeks after April 26th, the Hillsborough Agreement was set aside so that Paisley and Molyneaux could sit down with the SDLP and the Alliance Party to agree a format for the next stage in the process, involving Dublin. The two governments were due to meet once again on July 16th.

### WRANGLERS

Wrangle followed wrangle as the loyalists tried to postpone the evil day when they might have to sit down with Dublin government



• GERRY ADAMS — no solution which underwrites the unionist veto and partition

ministers. Eventually they announced that, if the July 16th meeting went ahead, they would pull out of the process. Faced with the inevitable, Brooke chose to end the talks himself, rather than see them collapse. He hinted that he might try to revive them at a later date. In the meantime, he promised in Westminster that he would cock his ear "for any rustling in the undergrowth".

Republicans had misgivings about the present initiative from the very outset. Just after the beginning of the ill-fated talks, Gerry Adams pointed out that "Sinn Féin is not critical of the current British process simply because we are not involved". He stated that "if it produces a permanent and peaceful political solution, we will welcome it. But we are not naive." Its objective, like that of other initiatives, "is to defeat Irish republicanism".

### GENUINE DIALOGUE CALL

Sinn Féin's concerns about the process were vindicated on Wednesday when it finally broke down. The Sinn Féin president responded to the collapse with a call to the British and Irish governments to "face up to their responsibilities" and to allow genuine dialogue among all the political parties:

"The failure of the Brooke Talks could provide a window of opportunity for serious and practical discussions towards a political solution." He added that no solution could be built "on a British political agenda which underwrites the unionist veto and partition". Whether they are prepared to face up to it or not, the breakdown of another British initiative places the responsibility anew on the Dublin government and the SDLP to address the British on the basis of an Irish agenda with Irish unity as its objective.

# Support holds despite losses

BY ART MAC EOIN

**ADMITTEDLY** the 26-County local government elections have provided some setbacks for Sinn Féin, but overall the party held its ground and has consolidated its position in advance of any future election. While Sinn Féin comes out of the elections with two county council seats less than it had beforehand, several candidates increased their vote dramatically and in a few areas the party is in an even stronger position.

Sinn Féin retained six of the nine seats it held prior to June 27th and picked up one new seat with Brian McKenna being elected in Monaghan.

Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke increased his vote and only missed being the second candidate elected for the North Inner-City by four votes. In the event he came in third behind Tony Gregory and Fianna Fáil's Tony Kett. He increased his share of the vote in the constituency from 7.76% in the 1985 local elections to 11.4% and received over 200 more first preference votes than in 1985. The Bolton Street count centre was packed with Sinn Féin supporters on Friday, June 28th, intent on Burke's performance and a loud cheer resounded around the room as he was deemed elected.

Christy Burke narrowly missed being joined at Dublin City Hall by a party colleague and the big story for Sinn Féin in Dublin was the impressive showing of Larry O'Toole standing in the Artane area. On the first count O'Toole was in third place behind Séan Haughey of Fianna Fáil and Labour's Paddy Bourke, polling 1,137 first preference votes. He succeeded in edging out Workers' Party candidate John Curry in

the running for the last seat, however, not enough voters transferred to Sinn Féin to overtake Bourke and Labour succeeded in picking up the seat giving them two councillors in the Artane area.

The failure of Curry was a big blow to the Workers' Party as Pat McCartan TD had previously held a safe seat in the area before moving to the neighbouring Donaghmede constituency.

O'Toole brought Sinn Féin's share of the vote in Artane up to 10.4% from 6.7% in 1985 and he received 520 first preferences, up to 70% of the vote, in his own Darndale Estate. Considering the fact that this was Larry O'Toole's first time to stand, the result augurs well for Sinn Féin's future prospects in this part of Dublin.

## VOTE UP

In Dublin's South Inner-City, Sinn Féin's Micheál Ó Muireagáin maintained and slightly increased the party's percentage share of the vote. That the Labour Party stood a high profile name in Ruairí Quinn TD and the unexpectedly good showing of the Green Party candidate, determined that Ó Muireagáin was not going to gain a seat. Harry Fleming increased the vote for Sinn

Féin in Finglas but the party's vote was down slightly in Drumcondra as well as Cabra, Crumlin and Ballyfermot, each of which stood new candidates this time around.

Outside of the Dublin Corporation area the results were not so good for Sinn Féin and in most parts of Dublin County the party's vote was down on its 1985 showing but John McCann in Lucan did well in his first outing in a local election, polling 783 first preference votes and securing 7.9% of the total poll. John polled extremely well in the Clondalkin end of the constituency, in some estates gaining up to 70% of the vote.

## MONAGHAN NEWCOMER

Sinn Féin maintains its two seats on Monaghan County Council. The success of Caomhghin Ó Caoláin and newcomer Brian McKenna in North Monaghan however was overshadowed by the loss of Pat Treanor's seat in Clones.

In 1985 Sinn Féin topped the poll in North Monaghan and this time the party increased that vote by 17%, an achievement which left political opponents staggered and dumbfounded. The Sinn Féin electoral machine was so finely tuned that transfers between Ó Caoláin and McKenna were as high as 80%.

Sinn Féin secured in excess of 28% of the vote in the North Monaghan electoral area with Ó Caoláin being elected on the first count, topping the poll. The party also got the fifth of the six seats with Brian McKenna having reached the quota on transfers due to careful vote management.

Monaghan Sinn Féin has said that it is pleased at the result and confident that Pat Treanor's seat will be recovered on the next occasion. Malachy Woods secured a considerable vote in the Mid-Monaghan area and in South Monaghan Brian Meegan also did well and Monaghan Sinn Féin believes it is poised for future electoral gains in this area.

The balance of power has now changed on Monaghan County Council with Fianna Fáil losing its control of the local authority. Fianna Fáil now have eight seats while Fine Gael, the Protestant Association and one Independent hold ten seats between them and Sinn Féin have two. This means that Sinn Féin will effectively hold the balance of power for the first meeting of the council on July 11th.

In Cavan, while neither Peadar Neary or Joe Ennis received the vote they expected, the performance of the Community Road Action Group (CRAG) was such that any prospect of Sinn Féin impacting on the elections in Cavan was negated.

Sinn Féin lost one of the two seats it had on Leitrim County Council. Frank Guckian, running in place of outgoing Councillor Mel Farrell, failed to hold on to the seat in the Dromahaire electoral area but Liam McGirr was returned on the first count in Ballinamore.

In Louth, Sinn Féin retained the one council seat it had with Séan Kenna taking the place of Fra Browne in Dundalk.

## FULLERTON SEAT HELD

One of the biggest blows to Sinn Féin in these elections was the loss of Liam McElhinney's seat in Donegal. Jim Ferry, standing in the place of Eddie Fullerton, assassinated in May, was elected on the seventh count in Buncrana, but McElhinney failed to hold on to the second Sinn Féin seat in the county.

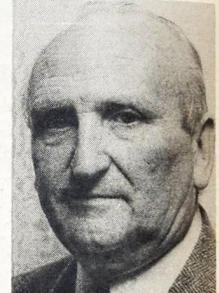
In a statement, Donegal Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin said that they greeted the loss of McElhinney's seat with great disappointment but added: "That disappointment will be overcome and a renewed effort will be made to re-capture the Sinn Féin seat at the next County Council or District Council elections."

Paddy Wright retained the Sinn Féin seat on Kildare County Council.

During the entire election campaign, not one Sinn Féin candidate was interviewed on television or radio and people across the 26 Counties were denied their democratic right to hear all political opinions. Throughout the campaign, Sinn Féin election workers were harassed and intimidated by members of the Garda Special Branch and the party is still prevented from openly fundraising. The effects of censorship cannot



● BRIAN MCKENNA



● JIM FERRY



● SEAN KENNA

be underestimated in an age where television has become the dominant form of media communication.

Despite these factors mitigating against it, Sinn Féin managed to return seven county councillors and narrowly missed having others elected. Those areas where Sinn Féin councillors were returned are the areas where the party's activity on the ground in their communities were translated into votes. An increased presence and profile of Sinn Féin in communities has been shown to neutralise the effects of censorship and encourage the electorate to vote for the party's.



● The Bolton Street counting centre, Dublin, on Friday, June 28th

**AN APPALLINGLY LOW** turn-out was all that saved Charles Haughey's reputation in last week's 26-County local elections, but it also left him high-and-dry. If any more than 55% of the voters had gone to the polls, party analysts believe Fianna Fáil's share of the vote would have been even less than the 37.8% it actually got. This was hardly good news for the Kinsealy squire. His result was even lower than the disastrous showing in the 1979 local elections which prompted the fall of Jack Lynch.

But Haughey knows he will be able to fight another day, while all his opponents are considerably weaker than his party — as they now are. His most immediate worry was that his party's troubles took the spotlight off those of Fine Gael. The state's "second-largest party" is now the third-largest in Dublin City, with only six Corporation seats out of 52. In Cork City, it achieved the same total which left it neck-and-neck with Labour. Predictions that John Bruton's party would lose out in the urban centres were entirely vindicated. It either lost out or failed to gain from the drop in the Fianna Fáil vote.

This falling tide did not beach all boats. The Labour Party made substantial gains and edged well ahead of its main 'left' rival, the Workers' Party. The crisis among the two main right-wing parties also enabled the Progressive Democrats to consolidate their position. Dessie O'Malley's TDs are now preparing themselves to pull the plug on the present government at a time of their own choosing. PD local election victories in their Leinster House constituency areas seem to show that all but one of them are unlikely to lose their parliamentary seats if they withdraw support from the government and cause a general election.

Labour's gains were part of a major shift of opinion in the cities and large towns. Elsewhere, many traditional Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael voters seem to have stayed at home. But in Dublin, Cork, Limerick and other large centres, voters seem to have actually changed allegiance.

#### GREENS GAIN

There can be no other explanation for the excellent showing of the Green Party which came from nothing in 1985 to five seats on the new Dublin Corporation, only one short of Fine Gael. Siadhbh O'Neill, a student, was elected for Donaghmede despite having gone to the United States for the summer holidays. The fact that she was elected without campaigning shows that the wave of Green support overtook even the party itself.

Comhaontas Glas may not have been quite prepared for its success, but it has definitely emerged on the Irish political scene, especially in the more middle-class areas. Roger Garland's Leinster House seat in Dublin South has been consolidated by the victory of the most appropriately-named candidate of all, anti-extradition campaigner Richard Greene, in Clonskeagh.

The change of allegiance has radically affected the standing of the main government party. Out of the 34 councils and corporations in the 26 Counties, Fianna Fáil retained an

# Falling tide beaches Haughey, Bruton and de Rossa



overall majority on only four: Clare, Laois, Tipperary (North Riding) and Westmeath. Since 1985 it had controlled 12 of these local authorities. Overall, it lost 79 council seats, a drop of 7% in the vote. What this means is that an overall majority in Leinster House, the holy grail followed religiously by Charles Haughey since he came into the Fianna Fáil leadership, will very likely elude him once again at the next election. His party seems just too weak.

The setback for Fianna Fáil was substantial enough, but what made this election really extraordinary, was the fact that Fine Gael did not benefit from Haughey's troubles. Bruton's party actually dropped three percentage points and dropped its representation by eleven seats overall. It lost many more than this figure in the cities, but it did pick up some seats in the more isolated rural areas where the voters on average are older.

#### FG IN TROUBLE

In Dublin and on the corporations of Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford, Fine Gael has only 41 councillors — out of the 208 seats on these bodies. All the rest of its 270 councillors are in rural areas of the smaller towns. Fine Gael's electoral base is now the exact opposite of what John Bruton set out to do with the party. He promised to make the party ap-

pealing to young people in the cities but its remaining support now lies among older, rural voters. Fine Gael seems entirely incapable of arresting its own decline.

The sea-change also brought Dick Spring's party to the fore. Labour's strong showing in the urban centres means that the party is virtually certain to win more than its present 15 seats at the next general election. Although it hasn't got the seats to show for it, Labour got the largest vote in Limerick City where Jim Kenny has returned to the party fold. The portly TD, whose views on the Six Counties are unionist rather than trade-unionist, helped build up Labour's share of the vote to 22.98%. There is now just a chance that Labour may take a second seat in Limerick East at the next general election. If it does, it will almost certainly take it from the PDs.

It has also seen off the challenge from the Workers' Party in the capital city. As late as a week before voting, Labour stood one percentage point behind the Workers' Party in Dublin. Now it holds twice as many seats as de Rossa's organisation and is the second-largest party on the Corporation.

The wheel seems to have come full circle for de Rossa since the 1989 EC elections when he headed the poll in the Dublin Euro-constituency. This time around, Labour got nearly 18,000 votes more than its 'left-wing' rival.

For the Workers' Party, dreams turned to nightmares as the 30-seat gain which the party expected, simply vanished. Its 26-County total increased from 20 to 24 council seats, but that wasn't its only worry. In Dublin, some of the party's Leinster House seats now look vulnerable and further parliamentary gains look very unlikely. Its election literature promised the WP would "put" the other parties "under pressure", but it was the WP itself which felt the pinch.

#### STICKY PROBLEMS

In Dublin city and county north of the Liffey, the party can

only boast of three councillors out of 55. But it has two Leinster House seats in that area. It had hopes of spreading its support to the large working-class estates which stretch from Blanchardstown across to the County Dublin coast, but it failed miserably. It has no seats whatsoever among the 24 on the new north-Dublin council of Fingal.

TD Pat McCartan moved from the Artane constituency to Donaghmede in the hope of handing his Artane seat to a party colleague and of electing another in Donaghmede on his transfers. But the super-rich 'socialist' fell far short of the quota in his new constituency and only stumbled in to the last seat on the 12th count. His hold on a seat in the Leinster House constituency of Dublin North-East now looks quite shaky. The party actually lost its Dublin Corporation seat for the South Inner City held by Andy Smith and former leader Tomás Mac Giolla nearly lost his in Ballyfermot.

Outside Dublin, the Workers' Party's woes are even greater in certain areas. It lost its two seats on Galway Corporation where its support plummeted to 2.8%. Although it gained a seat on Limerick Corporation, its overall support in the city as a whole stood at only 3.5%. It failed to gain substantially from the anti-water-tax protests, which boosted Labour's vote in Limerick.

These election returns are more than merely damaging to the Workers' Party. They are potentially disastrous. Effectively they mean that the party is certain to lose one of its seven seats at the next Leinster House election and quite likely to lose another, while serious question marks hang over a further two seats. Twenty years of careful double-dealing appear to be leading nowhere, if these results are anything to go by.

Tomás Mac Giolla's long but unmemorable decade in Leinster House looks like coming to an end and Pat McCartan's short parliamentary career may follow suit. Eric Byrne's hold on Dublin South Central looks stronger, after he came second in the local constituency of Crumlin, but, elsewhere in his Leinster House constituency, WP candidates polled poorly. Joe Sherlock seems to be in a similar position in County Cork.

The Dublin West Leinster House seat of Tomás Mac Giolla looked almost invulnerable at the 1989 general election when he came in on the first count. At that time, the former WP leader said he would retire before the next election. Now it looks as if his party will lose the seat whether Mac Giolla stands or not. In his 'heartland' of Ballyfermot, he crawled into the last seat on the 12th count and WP standard-bearers throughout Dublin West did very badly. McCartan's equally poor showing in Donaghmede, leaves his Dublin North-East Leinster House seat in jeopardy also.

The 1991 local elections occurred at a pivotal time for political parties in the 26 Counties. Fianna Fáil's rightward direction since 1987 is beginning to squeeze Fine Gael. Labour, having broken the coalition link with Fine Gael which was dragging Spring's party into obscurity, is now doing well and is squeezing the Workers' Party in turn. The next general election is likely to confirm these developments.



• Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke congratulates Independent Councillor Tony Gregory who topped the poll in Dublin's North Inner-City



• Super-rich 'socialist' TD Pat McCartan stumbled in on the 12th count

# Black Mountain quarrying 'totally unacceptable'

THE DESTRUCTION of the Belfast mountain skyline by extensive stone quarrying is "totally unacceptable" concludes a report on behalf of the environmental Black Mountain Action Group. The report, prepared by Community Technical Aid, argues that continuing quarrying at a site which overlooks Belfast, not only contradicts official development policies and regeneration strategies but also may be yet another example of discrimination and wanton deprivation inflicted on the people of West Belfast in particular.

"This quarry would probably not be acceptable in any other part of the city," the report argues, "and its existence here could be interpreted as another example of perpetuating the sub-culture of neglect in the area."

The study focuses on the contradictions of British government policy, which, through the Northern Ireland Office, claims to be pursuing a policy of regeneration, while on the other hand allowing wholesale environmental de-



● (Left to right) Bob Goldsmith, Elaine Fulton and Terry Enright of the environmental Black Mountain Action Group at the foot of the mountain

generation in West Belfast. The report slams the systematic negligence of authorities such as the Department of the Environment (DOE), which has failed to enforce even minimal environmental

controls, and calls for an end to quarrying on Black Mountain.

"At present the Black Mountain lies not only within the green belt but also in an area

which the DOE describes as of 'high scenic value', yet as citizens of Belfast and visitors to the city can see, it continues to be destroyed more rapidly than ever."

## BALLOONS

Several hundred balloons carrying messages urging the lobbying of NIO environmental minister, Richard Needham, to stop the quarrying and restore the mountain, were released by local school children, at the launching of the report in West Belfast, on Monday, July 1st. Attended by local MP Gerry Adams, the occasion was also marked by the screening of the video *Moving Mountains* which documents the Black Mountain Action Group's campaign against the continuing destruction of the mountain and the environmental and health hazards the quarrying poses for the local community.

West Belfast MP Gerry Adams said that the report reaffirms the need for Richard Needham to take immediate and decisive action to prevent the destruction of the Black Mountain:

"Needham's refusal to do so to date exposes the shallowness of his concern for our environment. It is scandalous that years after I first brought the Black Mountain issue to the minister's attention, we are still waiting for a DOE strategy document."

As the report concludes, even "leaving aside the contradiction in policy and the inadequate legislation, from an environmental perspective alone, the quarrying on Black Mountain on such a prominent site is totally unacceptable".



● Darndale Estate — tenants are angry at long delays in the Corporation refurbishment programme

that the Corporation is using the excuse that houses are due to be refurbished to neglect essential maintenance and repairs, while houses which have been refurbished are showing signs of bad and hasty work.

At the meeting on Tuesday, June 25th, tenants demanded that a three-year deadline be put on the completion of the work but Fianna Fáil politicians present refused to commit themselves to this. Sinn Féin's Larry O'Toole urged that the campaign be stepped up and pledged to oppose plans by the Corporation to build 28 new houses in the middle of the estate.

## SCRAP PLANS CALL

O'Toole was the first to reveal to residents the Corporation's plans to build the houses in the already overcrowded Buttercup Park. While welcoming the building of badly-needed houses, he said that there was "100 per cent opposition" to their construction in Buttercup Park. £3.37 million has been allocated for work on this part of Darndale, to refurbish 142 houses and to build 28 new ones. Larry O'Toole has demanded that plans for more houses in overcrowded Darndale be scrapped, extra government money be provided for the new houses to be built elsewhere in Coolock, and the entire £3.37 million allocated for Buttercup Park to be used in speeding up the refurbishment.

Speaking after the local elections in which he received 70% of the vote in the estate, the Sinn Féin representative said:

"While I was not elected I have received a definite mandate from people in this area to represent their interests and the whole issue of refurbishment and Corporation neglect will be top of the agenda. By coming out in such numbers people here will have made the authorities sit up and take notice."

TENANTS in the Darndale Estate in Dublin have vowed to step up their campaign to force Dublin Corporation to speed up the refurbishment of the estate which has some of the worst environmental problems in the 26 Counties. Politicians were left in no doubt of this when they addressed a pre-election meeting of over 300 people in Darndale last week.

Only one fifth of the estate has been refurbished so far and there is

widespread anger at the delays in completing it. There is also concern

# Council cowardice in Monaghan

MONAGHAN URBAN DISTRICT councillors have in the past week proven themselves lacking in the moral courage that should be expected of public representatives.

Sinn Féin UDC member Owen Smyth, who was the victim of a recent Garda frame-up attempt, succeeded in getting five fellow councillors — one Sinn Féin, two Fianna Fáil and two Fine Gael — to agree to a special council meeting to consider his request for a public inquiry into his charging on various offences. However, none of these councillors, bar Sinn Féin's Pádraig Óg Mhurchadha and Owen Smyth himself, bothered to turn up at the special meeting while one councillor was seen to be having discussions with the local Garda Superintendent on the day of the proposed meeting.

Councillor Owen Smyth was cleared of a charge of IRA membership at Dublin's Special Court on Thursday, June 13th. The state had originally attempted to frame him on a charge of possessing explosive substances and a gun with intent to endanger life and with imprisoning a man on November 22nd last year. However, the gardai eventually dropped these charges. The charge of IRA membership was thrown out of court when the gardai failed to produce any evidence to support the claim.

The special meeting of Monaghan Urban District Council was to be held on Monday, June 24th, and all councillors were notified in advance.

On Tuesday, Owen Smyth paid



● COUNCILLOR OWEN SMYTH — victim of a recent Garda frame-up attempt

a visit to the local Garda barracks in connection with his passport and met Fine Gael Councillor Francie Macklin, chair of the council, coming out of the Garda Superintendent's office. Macklin was obviously embarrassed at meeting Smyth in such circumstances.

That evening only the two Sinn Féin councillors turned up for the council meeting. They have put the issue on the agenda of the council's July meeting.



● The Relatives for Justice march and rally in Lurgan on Sunday, June 30th

## Relatives march for justice in Lurgan

CIVIL RIGHTS campaigner Bernadette McAliskey and Martin Finucane, a brother of murdered human rights lawyer Pat Finucane, were the guest speakers at a rally held on the spot where three nationalists were gunned down by a loyalist death squad in March this year.

The rally, organised by the pressure group, Relatives For Justice, was held on Sunday, June 30th, and is the latest in a series of rallies and marches organised by the group to highlight the lack of justice for relatives of victims gunned down by official or unofficial British death squads.

Sunday's event began with a march from the spot in Lurgan town centre where local republican Sam Marshall was shot dead minutes after having signed bail in the local RUC barracks.

The march, headed by two bands and supported by almost 1,000 local people, passed the

scene of the 1982 RUC killing of three local men, Seán Burns, Eugene Toman and Gervaise McKerr, where a wreath was laid by McKerr's son, David. The procession then made its way to the Drumbeg Estate and the scene of the triple murder in March which saw Eileen Duffy, Catriona Rennie and Brian Frizzell lose their lives. Here a wreath was laid by Eileen Duffy's mother before Eleanor McKerr, widow of Gervaise McKerr, introduced the two main speakers. Martin Finucane told the crowd that the death of his brother Pat was clearly orchestrated by the British establishment and carried out by

killers acting in collusion with elements of the crown forces.

In her speech, Bernadette McAliskey spoke of the heavy toll inflicted on nationalists by Britain's killer gangs in the North Armagh and Mid-Ulster areas and asked how unionist 'security' spokesperson Ken Maginnis was always in a position to 'trot out verse and chapter breakdowns' on people killed by British forces within hours of the killings. She continued:

"Of all the people named in the British House of Commons by Ken Maginnis, very few have ever survived. It makes you wonder if this man has got prior knowledge of who is going to die and how they will meet their deaths."

After one minute's silence was observed for all the victims of Britain's killers, the rally dispersed.



## POWs awarded compensation in High Court

THE BRUTALITY of British jailors in their treatment of republican prisoners was once again highlighted as another 12 Irish POWs were awarded £47,000 in damages for a series of sustained attacks by prison warders, in the aftermath of the mass escape from the notorious H Blocks at Long Kesh in 1983.

Agreements of £1,000 to £7,500 compensation were announced at Belfast's High Court on Tuesday, June 25th. In the course of the sustained and severe assaults by prison warders and members of the RUC which led to the High Court action, prisoners were humiliated, subjected to sectarian abuse, assaulted, stripped, repeatedly kicked and punched, beaten with batons, and forced to run a gauntlet of dogs. Prisoners were beaten unconscious and some required treatment in the prison hospital.

Following the assaults, prisoners were thrown into solitary confinement, deprived of immediate medical attention, adequate food, clothing, blankets and bedding.

In the words of one prisoner, Peter Hamilton, who was awarded damages by the court, after several severe beatings and being dragged by the ankles, naked, over gravelled ground:

"I landed into a punishment cell, with no furniture, no blankets, no mattress. I was injured,

bleeding, bruised, swollen and exhausted. I saw a doctor who said I needed medical attention, which I did not receive for 24 hours."

In court, barrister Charles Hill told Judge McCollum that the cases had been settled and read out the rewards. Five prisoners were awarded £7,500 each, six received £1,500 and one prisoner received £1,000. In each case, the NIO was ordered to pay legal costs.

These latest awards bring the total paid out to prisoners assaulted after the escape to £96,000. Nineteen prisoners who had not taken part in the escape were awarded £38,000 last year and before that two prisoners received £10,500 compensation.

Despite the fact that the British government has paid out almost £100,000 compensation for assaults on prisoners in the aftermath of the 1983 escape, no prison warden or member of the RUC has been charged with assault and the NIO has never admitted responsibility.

## Parole punishment

COMMENTING on the public announcement by the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) that all life-sentenced prisoners who have served 12 years or more will be able to avail of summer parole, Campaign for Lifers spokesperson Robert McClenaghan challenged the NIO to publicly state why one republican prisoner — Brendan McFarlane — was excluded from the parole scheme.

Brendan McFarlane escaped from the H-Blocks in the mass breakout of 1983. He was later arrested in Holland and held in custody pending extradition warrants issued from Britain. When he was extradited in 1987, a Dutch High Court judge ruled that the extradition should only take place if the British government agreed that Brendan would not be treated any differently from any other prisoner,

and that no special restrictions would be imposed upon him as a result of his escape in 1983.

When Brendan McFarlane qualified and became eligible for Christmas parole in 1990, he was told by the NIO that he would not be granted parole because he was categorised as a "Red Book" prisoner. This Red Book categorisation is reserved for a small group of prisoners who have been targeted



● BRENDAN McFARLANE

for special treatment and punishment by the prison administration at the behest of the NIO and RUC.

McClennaghan said: "The fact that Brendan McFarlane has been refused parole once again exposes the total disregard the British government and the NIO have for European law and civil liberties. It is also evidence of the manipulative and unjust nature of the NIO with regard to republican prisoners."

# Terrorists in and out of uniform

## Britain's death squads in Ireland — part two

IN THIS the second part of a two-part series, Jackie Templeton looks at the role of the locally recruited militia, the UDR and the RUC, in the British war machine's strategy of terrorising the nationalist community through its use of death squads. The masterminding of assassinations and assassination attempts carried out by loyalist paramilitaries at the behest of Britain's war strategists is analysed.

THE MOST RECENT example of infiltration and direction of loyalist paramilitaries by British forces surfaced in 1990 during an investigation by an English Deputy Chief Constable, John Stevens, into the release of a British army intelligence file, used by loyalists to justify the killing of a nationalist. What was discovered during the eight-month investigation was that not only did loyalists have an unlimited supply of intelligence files supplied by crown force members, but also that the UDA's main intelligence officer, Brian Nelson, was a British army agent. Nelson, it was revealed, was responsible for the distribution of vast quantities of British army intelligence files to various loyalist groupings.

The main revelation of the Stevens Inquiry — that crown forces intelligence files are readily available to loyalists — is not a new development. Newspaper articles from the early and mid-1970s show loyalists boasting that they had details on hundreds of nationalists. This information, the loyalists said, was given to them by sympathetic members of the crown forces.

That the crown forces should have loyalist sympathisers in their ranks is not surprising given the failure, or unwillingness, of successive British governments to halt the infiltration of its forces, particularly the UDR and RUC. In October 1972 the UDR's commander was quoted as saying "there was no ban on UDA men joining the UDR". The drop in the number of UDR recruits in that year as opposed to the increasing loyalist paramilitary recruits prompted the statement. It revealed the commander's understanding that both forces tapped the same source for recruits.

Similar statements, both before and since, calling for loyalist paramilitaries, or those thinking of joining them, to enlist in the state's own military forces have come from both British and unionist politicians.

During the past 21 years the UDR and RUC have contributed generously to loyalist paramilitaries, presenting them with trained personnel, military equipment, weapons, ammunition and intelligence files. The most eager of the local militias to assist is the UDR. A regiment of the British

army, it is commanded at every level by British officers, seconded from other regiments. Yet it has on a number of occasions carried out sectarian killings involving two, three or more Land Rover loads of fully equipped UDR members.

The checkpoint killings in 1974 and 1975 in Tyrone and Armagh and the killing of Adrian Carroll in 1983 are examples of this. Over 300 of its members have been convicted for varying roles in sectarian violence, 20 for murder.

The RUC, whose overall contribution to loyalist violence has not been as thoroughly researched as the UDR's, has also produced its sectarian killers. Some examples include the convictions of five RUC members in 1980 for killings, attempted killings and kidnappings in the mid-Ulster area in the mid-70s; the conviction in 1981 of an RUC man for attempted killings in the County Armagh area in the early 1970s, and the conviction in 1987 of an RUC man, caught complete with his Third Force armband, for an attempted murder in May of that year in County Down.

### DIRECTED

The role of the RUC's own Special Branch in threatening nationalists with loyalist death squads has, especially over the last ten years, been the prelude to a number of deaths; the circumstances surrounding the death of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane being the best known example. This killing and others show how the RUC



Special Branch can direct loyalists to carry out selective killings.

The British have always been content to deal with sectarian activities involving their own local militias whenever they have become public, by blaming it on the action of a "few rotten apples". Promising to tighten up the vetting, and rounding off their statements with generous praises for the loyalty and bravery of its members. British governments have, for 20 years, used this line, never once daring to admit the reality, and therefore sharing with its military the crime of employing bigoted and malignant forces, in the knowledge that it can expect, whether it sanctions them or not, those employees to assist loyalist sectarian violence.

Whenever the British government has been forced by embarrassment to confront loyalist violence, it has always been a half-hearted attempt. During the operation of internment from August 1971 to December 1975, loyalist paramilitaries were rarely hit. No more than 50 at any one time were taken, compared to hundreds of nationalists, even though during that period indiscriminate loyalist violence claimed hundreds of civilian victims.

British governments have also legalised loyalist paramilitary organisations, taking their time when banning others, and in the case of the UDA, refusing to ban them at all. Their lack of action is revealed in other ways.

The British government's decision to send the SAS to South Armagh in 1976 was made because of the increase in sectarian violence in that



● John Stevens — denied access to Brian Nelson

area, an increase many local people blame on the activities of a number of loyalist gangs containing British military personnel. The British claimed the SAS's introduction was to tackle this sectarian violence. (In fact it was the IRA's ability to kill British army personnel in South Armagh rather than any deep concern for the tragic deaths of civilians in sectarian attacks that was the real reason for the SAS introduction.)

### SLAUGHTER

But if the British were so concerned to tackle sectarian violence, had they failed for the previous six years to do anything to curtail loyalist gangs in Belfast? These gangs had, up until that date in 1976, killed over 300 nationalists in Belfast. The leader of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the early 1970s, Cardinal Conway, horrified by the slaughter of

Belfast nationalists, pressured the RUC into setting up an anti-assassination unit. Its purpose was to combat the sectarian killings in Belfast. It was disbanded after a few years with little or no success in reducing the ability of loyalist assassins to kill at will.

The RUC's ineffectiveness continues today and is seen in its lack of response to loyalist killings as opposed to IRA attacks. It took six nationalist deaths in West Belfast to force the RUC to close the killer's route in and out of the area, Lanark Way, on the Springfield Road. And still it is only closed at certain times. Also the RUC's playing down of loyalist sectarian killings by labelling them "inevitable" shows a desire to cover the facts.

Recently, and more sinisterly, the RUC has decided not to release the ballistic histories of weapons used by loyalists in killings. This will lead, probably intentionally, to an obscuring of the roles of individual gangs within the loyalist campaign, making it harder to decipher certain aspects in the campaign, such as which gang is carrying out random killings and which gang the selective killings.

The basic reason why British governments and their forces have, to say the least, lacked the will to deal with loyalist paramilitaries is obvious. Loyalist paramilitaries pose no threat to their position in Ireland. Loyalist paramilitaries have been at their worst an irritant whenever the British have upset unionist feelings and at their most useful when killing nationalists, helping to remind that

# and

## arm

community of the penalty for supporting the political and armed struggle to remove the British, or for simply being nationalists.

### COLLUSION REPORT

Throughout the loyalist campaign of the 1980s which claimed 113 victims, incidents of collusion between the crown forces and loyalists became more evident. The lower number of fatalities in the 1980s compared to the 600 killed by loyalists in the 1970s helped to reveal this. The fewer deaths meant media attention on the circumstances of each individual's death was more intense. This in turn allowed investigation into many of the deaths easier. The result was a clearer picture of the forces and methods involved, directly and indirectly, in the murder campaign. A report published in March 1990 called *Collusion*, having investigated the 113 killings, said that in 70 of them (52%) collusion was a likely factor. The report went on to put the 70 victims into five categories; killed because they were republicans, killed in attempts on republicans, killed because they were falsely believed to be republicans, killed directly by crown forces' members or by gangs with crown forces in their ranks, and killed because the killers must have had prior warning that the crown forces would be absent.

The report also revealed the various methods by which crown forces assisted in each individual's death.

The report said of the 43 other victims that no obvious evidence of collusion or crown forces' participation was found, adding that it was quite possible that in some of these killings there was also crown forces' involvement. Given the tactics of the RUC in relation to the loyalist campaign, their refusal to release ballistics and other methods, obscures the real culprit.

Another example of collusion, not dealt with in the report, is the presence of crown forces' members immediately after shootings, as in the case of Bernadette McAliskey and Gerry Adams, where those responsible were immediately arrested. The masterminds who instigated these two attacks, whether the actual gunmen knew it or not, probably comes from within the British intelligence services. The gunmen's role was served as soon as they emptied their guns, their speedy arrest meant to deflect responsibility for the attack away from the British. The heavy prison sentences later given to the gunmen only shows that to the British they are cannon fodder. And even when the cannon fodder, like the killers of John Turnley in 1980, who were aware they were acting on the British military's behalf, revealed



● The British queen giving the UDR their colours at Thiepval Barracks in Lisburn on Saturday, June 29th — over 300 members of the UDR have been convicted for acts of sectarian violence, including murder



● The presence of crown forces' members immediately after some shootings such as the wounding of Gerry Adams (above) is another example of collusion meant to deflect responsibility for the attack away from the British

in court the names and location of British military personnel who trained and equipped them, no one took notice.

The conclusion one comes to after reading the *Collusion* report is that the nationalist community is under threat from all sections of the crown forces in the North and that loyalist paramilitaries are dependent to a great extent on the assistance of crown forces' personnel and institutions to carry out their campaign against nationalists.

### KILLING AT BRITAIN'S BEHEST

One period during the present conflict which reveals the power of the British government to motivate its military systems to close down the activities of loyalist gangs was when they introduced their 'Ulsterisation' policy in 1977. The years preceding 'Ulsterisation' saw loyalist gangs kill

106 people in sectarian attacks. Yet in 1977 and 1978 the total of loyalist sectarian killings for those two years had dropped to 28 deaths. 'Ulsterisation' meant a dramatic increase in the roles of the RUC and UDR in the running of the war against the IRA. Its implementation was also an indication of the British government's confidence, at that time, that they had contained the threat from the IRA.

For nationalists 'Ulsterisation' was seen, in military terms at least, as a return to the old Stormont days. And what better way to ease nationalist fears at this situation than the removal of loyalist killer gangs from their backs. The British forces were able to achieve this near elimination of loyalist violence using a number of methods; recalling their own agents from active involvement, leaning on loyalist paramilitaries to cease the killings or be arrested, and to arrest

and convict for various reasons, a number of loyalist gangs. This last method was used to enhance the RUC's reputation. One of the few gangs that refused to cease its killing was a Belfast UVF gang known as the 'Shankill Butchers'.

This gang, like most of the others, had been butchering nationalists for years unhindered, but by 1977 they were no longer required. Enter the RUC's most notable success against loyalist killer gangs — a "remarkable piece of detective work" to track down a murder gang operating in an area less than 1/2 square miles, which, in 1977 alone, was responsible for half of the loyalist sectarian victim killings in that year.

The RUC's own press releases tried to cover the sectarian nature of the Butchers early slayings by labelling them as motiveless, or by saying they were keeping an open mind as to the motive of the killings. When a minority of the Shankill Butchers were arrested and convicted in 1979, it was hailed as an example of the RUC's new professionalism.

This reduction in loyalist violence, prompted by the introduction of 'Ulsterisation' did not last long. In 1979 loyalist gangs returned to strike terror into the nationalist community.

### LATEST EVIDENCE

The latest and most public evidence of British intelligence's direct involvement with loyalist killer gangs emerged with the case of the UDA's most senior intelligence officer, Brian Nelson, from West Belfast.

Nelson was arrested in January 1990 following an announcement by the Stevens Inquiry team that they had "uncovered" the single biggest haul of crown forces' documents since their Inquiry began. Immediately rumours began to circulate that Nelson, whose wife and children had fled the North, was intending to turn queen's evidence; however, it emerged that he was in protective custody and under the care of the 'security services' who were denying the Stevens team access to

him.

In October 1990 Nelson's two sisters went public, declaring that their brother had been a serving member of British intelligence for ten years. They related to journalists how he had told them of being recruited to British intelligence while serving in the regular British army in West Germany. Nelson claimed that he had been asked to infiltrate the loyalist UDA/UFF, and involve himself with intelligence gathering. In his position of senior intelligence officer for the UDA, he "regularly and routinely" kept British intelligence informed of people being targeted by the loyalist gang, among them murdered human rights lawyer Pat Finucane.

Another twist to the case was to come in June 1991 when five UDA men, among them the UDA's West Belfast leader, Tommy Lytle, appeared for trial in connection with leaked crown forces' documents. British military witnesses at the trial, who were identified only by letters of the alphabet, testified how they passed over 1,000 documents to the Stevens team in January 1990. These, they said, had been given to them by Brian Nelson. Several of the witnesses confirmed that Nelson had been working as an agent of British intelligence for over ten years. Simultaneously with this testimony, Nelson was being arraigned before another court on charges of murder, attempted murder, conspiracy to murder and possession of documents.

### WHOSE FINGER ON THE TRIGGER?

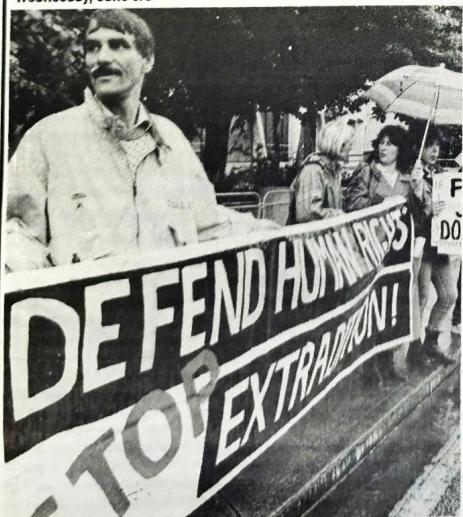
It is quite clear from examining the sectarian campaign waged by loyalists that, although they might pull the trigger, their hand is being directed by other forces equally sinister and murderous. They exist in a triangular relationship with British and Unionist political and military forces.

This relationship should be remembered by all those who justify Sinn Féin's exclusion from the talks at Stormont because of their support for armed struggle. Guns under the table is what unionist and British politicians have in abundance.

# DUBLIN PICKET FOR JOE DOC



● Sharon McCann, a sister of Irish republican prisoner Joe Doherty, and Martha Ellis, sister of Dessie Ellis extradited to Britain last year, attend a picket in support of Joe Doherty's quest for political asylum and his fight for release, outside the US Embassy in Dublin on Wednesday, June 3rd



# Hot Ohio welcome for Maggie

REPORTS have reached us of Margaret Thatcher's visit to Akron, Ohio, during her recent trip Stateside. Even in this north-eastern corner of Ohio, which she passed through on June 20th, she was not safe from the wrath of Irish Americans.

A group of some 15 vocally reminded her of her criminal record in Ireland as she rode into the Portage County Club with an imposing police escort to protect her from the peaceful if placard-wielding demonstrators.

Her eardrums were again assaulted with cries of "Blood on her hands" and "No money for Maggie" when she left the club and made her way to her waiting air-conditioned limousine.

"In our eyes she's a murderer," Pat Williams, one of the demonstrators, told local reporters. The Irish Americans also drew attention to the latest Amnesty International report which condemned Britain's human rights abuses in Ireland. "You have to uphold human rights. There can't be a democracy if you don't," said Mary Beth McKee, who rang around some of her Irish American friends to organise the demonstration when she read of Thatcher's impending visit.



● Vol JIM O'HAGAN



● Vol EAMONN LAFFERTY



● IVAN BARR

# DERRY HONOURS FALLEN COMRADES

TWENTY YEARS after the deaths of Derry Volunteers Eamon Lafferty and Jim O'Hagan, the city's republicans honoured fallen members of Derry Brigade, Oglach na hEireann, on Sunday, June 30th. Over 1,000 people took part in the parade to the City Cemetery where the 40 Volunteers of the Derry Brigade who have died since 1969 were honoured.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of all sections of the Republican Movement and on behalf of the families. The ceremony was chaired by Sinn Féin spokesperson Seamus Breslin.

Strabane Councillor Ivan Barr condemned the British queen's praise for the UDR last weekend when she said the regiment "stood for those who were not prepared to stand idly by and let evil prosper".

"The truth is that the UDR did not stand idly by," said the Sinn Féin councillor. "The British government afforded them the opportunity, and they grasped the opportunity, to become an active part of the evil which has preyed on the nationalist community." He paid tribute to Donegal Councillor Eddie Fullerton, another victim of that evil.

Barr also spoke of the many Derry people who "have endured harassment, life on the run, arrest, torture, imprisonment, personal injury" and death in the struggle. He pointed to the deep links between Derry people and those of his native Strabane, solidarity forged in struggle.

# Madaidh ag salú . . .

— LE EOGHAN Mac CORMAIC

IS CORR an rud a chluineann tú agus tú i do shuí i suiochán ar chúl an tacsáil duibh... is áit i seo atá lán d'eo las agus chomhairle iontach úsáideach (dá mbeadh ocáid agat leis an chomhairle chéanna a chur i bhfeidhm, ar ndóigh). An lá arú, bhí comhrá ag an bheirt seo faoi bhuidhéal d'uisce, agus madraí, agus garrai — agus cé nár chuala mé an scéal ina iomlán sliim go bhfuair mé blas de.

Fadhb agat le madaidh ag salú do gharrai? Ná biadh imní ort a thuilteadh, a léitheoir chaoi, ná tá réiteach anseo duit inniu agus ní chosnoidh sé níos mó ná buideal lán d'uisce chun na madraí a ruigeadh.

Tótaír go bhfuil eaglach de chineál eigin ag madraí nuair a thagann siad isteach gairri san oiche agus aimsiún go bhfuil buideal d'uisce i láimh an bhráin. Béireann sé isteach ina gnátháil deo, áit, ní cuireann sé isteach sna bholaidh agus mosanna a úsáideann na madraí a dhul ó áit go háit, agus dá bhri sin, seachnaíonn na cúnna do gharrai agus ní bhionn ort an píom scíup a thabhairt chuig an ghaordán achan maidin. Ní a fhios agam mór libriún ní sónach ná h-olbriún, ach tóim na buideal chéanna do na daoine beaga a bhi ann nuair a chéadchonaí mé iad! Ach gheall mo dhuine sa tacsáil nach bhfuil réiteach níos fusa ná sin le fail.

## COSC BOTHAIR

Céib scéal, tháinig athru sa chomhrá anois nuair a shroich muid an cosc bothair, leis na Britonacha i níl slabhrón níos mó glas ar an tsráid. Síu mór a bhi ann an lá ní bhi beanri na Sasana trasna linn ar chuirtear agus le dathanna a bhrónnadh ar an UDR. Bhí scuaine fada le trácht á mhoiliú ag an chos agus achan cúpla níomáid ligeann an 'Bri' uile chumhachtach do thiománaí a leanúnait ag aghaidh fad agus a dhás a bhíonn na scuaine a ar gcuil. Agus nuair a bhain muid an saighdiúir amach, d'amharc sé tríd an fhuinneog agus bhog a láimh go mael ag ceudú dínn a dhul ar aghaidh chomh maith.

"Choinigh an ró-gaire sin sine ag feadh deich níomáid gan chall ar bith," arsa duine den bheirt a bhi sa tacsáil liom.

"Is ceart," arsa an duine eile, "agus an bhfuil a fhios agat cad atá mé ag smaointeachamh atá de dhíth sa tir seo?"

"Abair liom."

"Céann de na buidéil mhóra d'uisce sin don gharrai," arsa sé, "ceann a chuirfeadh eagla ar an cholleáin siúd atá a shálú faoi láthair!"

"Pointe maith agat an sin. Anois, an raibh mé ag insint duit faoin tsíli is fearr chun an pípáir balla a chrochadh...?"



● Ceann de na buidéil mhóra d'uisce de dhíth orthu siúd!

# CEIST-MHARC EILE THAR HALLA CEOLCHOIRME

— LE CIAN Mac AOÍDH  
tionscnamh costasach seo a chosaint nuair is é an gnáth-iccoir rata a iomprós ualach an chostaíosa €40m?"

Mháigh Gerard McGuigan go gcosnóidh an halla nua, ag taobh an Lagáin i mBéal Feirste, €2 sa bhliain le coinneáil ag dul.

## ORANGE BAND HALL

"Bhí cruinniú speisialta den chomhairle le bheith ann i mí Meithimh leis an cheist iomlán a chioradh ach chuir na hAontachaithe siar dhá uair é agus ní bheidh seans freagra a fhail ar na ceisteanáin seo go dtí mi Mheáin Fómhar. Ní iontar ar bith é, ar ndóigh, leis a bheith ar na hAontachaithe miníú a thabhairt ar an chíall atá le halla comhphádraí nuair nach bhfuil lúascáin fíú i bpáircáinnean na cathrach."

Lean sé air:

"Ni minic aontaím le Sammy Wilson ach bhi an ceart go hiomlán aige nuair a dúirt sé gurb é an



● GERARD MCGUIGAN

priomhúsaí a bheadh leis an halla nua ná mar áit lonnaithe don Ulster Orchestra. Dúirt Wilson: 'Is iordóineach mar sin go mbeadh an DUP ag tacú go fonnmar leis an scéim nua ach seans go dtúigeann siad gur 'Orange band hall' a bheas ann.'

## Láirionad géarchéime i mbaol druidim

BEIDH ar an Láirionad Ghéarchéim Eiginne i mBaile Atha Cliath druidim mura dtugann ríaltas na 26 Chontae deontas bláintíl fiúntach dóbh le réir urlabhráí an Láirionaid, Olive Braiden.

Dúirt si gur masla a bhí sa deontas £10,000 a thug an Roinn Leasa Shóisialaigh don Láirionad ar na mallaibh agus d'éiligh sí ar ríaltas na 26 Chontae deontas résúnta a chur ar fáil don áis riachtanach seo do mháin na príomhchathrach.

Arsa Olive Braiden:

"Anuraidh fuair eamar £50,000 ón stát — i mbliana, ní tóis lú aigid faighe againne."

"Níl sa mhéid atá tagh ag an ríaltas ach mionchuid den airgead atá de dhíth orainn chun na seirbhísí atá agaínn anseo a sholáthar.

"Thiofadh linn an fheirneann a joc don mhí seo ach ina dhiaidh sin, ní bheidh rud ar bith fágtha sa chiste. Tá sé scannalach go bhfagfai mar sin muid."

Scriobh an Láirionad chuig gach iarrthóir sna toghcheáin áitiúla i mBaile Atha Cliath le déanáil ag iarradh orthu tacú leo agus brú a chur ar an stát maoimí ceart a thabhairt dóbh. Fuair siad freagra deimhneach ó gach iarrthóir a chí bhi diomáid orthu nach bhfuair siad freagra ó Charles Haughey nó John Bruton ar a litir.

Phléigh an Láirionad anuaidh le 1,546 duine a scairt orthu ag iarradh cabhrach don chéad uair agus deir siad nach leor an deontas ríaltas agus síntíus £21,500 a bhífaigheann siad ó Bhorú Stáiné an Oirthir chun déileáil le meid na géarchéime.

Dúirt urlabhráí Shin Fein ar chúrsai ban, Máiread Keane "nach raibh sé sásúil a bh eag ná a mhór go raibh an Láirionad ag teacht i dtír ó láimh go héil agus gur scannalach nach raibh an stát sásta ionas an tseirbhís éigeantach seo do mháin na cathrach nuair atá meid na géarchéime ag dul in airde in aghaidh na bliana".

# Daonlathas Fhine Gael

TAR EIS domh siúl isteach sa bhíallann tamall ó shin thug mé faoi deara clár ar an teifilis agus mar chonachtas domh gur clár coiméide é, shuigh mé síos lena fheiceáil. Bhí duine ann ionann is gur bean an straileán i, agus i ag caint, le blas dluith Atha Cliathach. Bhí sí ag baint scairteadh gáire as an lucht éis-teachta.

Mar a bhog an ceamara thart timpeall thug mise faoi deara a leithéid de John Bruton, Peter Barry, Brendan McGahan srl... Bhí a fhios agam go cinnte ansin gur clár coiméide a bhi ann, an t-Ard Fheis ionrach nua de chuid Fhine Gael, a dtugtar an Eoghan Harris Show.

I nuachtán an lá arna mharach bhí granghrafaidh den fheirr mhór féin iontu, é lútháthar a bhoscána cleasa leictreoirí mar a bhiodh páiste ann le cluiche nua ríomhaireachta. Eoghan Harris — coláistí feinadmhaíthe — an aghaidh nua de chúrsai po-

laitiochta na hÉireann. Fear a thrasnaigh an speicítear leathan den saol ón eite dheis go dtí an eite sárdheis.

Ba é an fear céanna a chuir ina lui ar láimha a bhog an clábhán gurb fhéidir leo an córas a bhogadh le vótaí a thabhairt do Mary Robinson. Agus anois is é, lena scíogaithriú michlúiteach 'Twink' atá ag déanamh an mhagaidh chéanna a bhog an córas...

Nach deas an rud é go bhfuil sé foistithe ag Fine Gael mar chomhairleoir meáin ríomhaireachta chun a gcoinniúnta clanna a chólú — córas an chlisiúinacht eacnamaiochta treoraithe ag an chlisiúinacht polaitiúchta.

### GAN PHRIONSABAIL

Ar ndóigh, tá tráidisiún bróidí ag Fine Gael ag tabhairt foisíodh d'fháinigh pholaitiúchta. Déan fianaise ar na daoine difhospótháil siúd Austin Currie agus John Cusenhan, a ghlaic siad, gan chumhmeann ar thaoibh aonair ná taobh eile ar na prionsabail a bhíodh acu.

Go cinnte nach greamaireacht mór amach 's amach é? Tá saol polaitiúil na 26



● Ard Fheis Fhine Gael — The Eoghan Harris Show

Chontae bunaithe ar dhea-chuma a thabhairt réit fein in ait do-a-theacháirteach pholaitiúil.

Anois is áit Fhine Gael a reachtáil fén go polaitiúil tá caimiléir meáin-chumhumsaíde a tharraingt as hata, hata is gnáth leis a bheith folamh.

Seo é an daonlathas! Eoghan Harris gan pholais ag fáil ariú cumarsáide.

Lena linn seo bhi duine mar Eddie Fullerton, ionadáil tofa a maraíodh de bharr a chuid polasaithe, a chur ar leataobh. Ni raibh muidne in ann é a chluinsint mar gheall ar Alt 31. Alt lena dtacáin Bruton agus Harris.

Ni nach ionadh go bhfuil said ábalta grinn — mar dhea — a dhéanamh go poiblí de chúrsai polaitiúla.

— LE MARTIN O MAOLMHUAIDH

## Imeachtaí

PICKET ON US EMBASSY  
opposing US policy in Central  
America  
11.30am — 1pm  
every Saturday  
Ballsbridge  
DUBLIN

PICKET  
Free Dessie Ellis  
2-3pm every Saturday  
British Embassy, Merrion Road  
DUBLIN  
Organised by the Dublin Anti-  
Extradition Ctte

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING  
meets 6.45pm every Tuesday  
Dublin Resource Centre  
Crown Street  
DUBLIN

THREE FUNCTIONS  
FOR DANNY MCNAMEE  
8pm-12 midnight (late bar each  
night)  
Friday 5th July  
The Plunkett Club  
Thursday 25th July  
Skin Video and John Moloney  
Sunday 4th August  
Mark Steel (Srixton Comic)  
All 3 evenings at: The Old White  
Horse Inn  
Brixton Road  
LONDON SW9  
Tickets £3/£2 concessions  
All dates have full supporting  
programme and  
food and raffle and bookstalls

FUNCTION CANCELLED  
8pm Saturday 6th July  
Belvedere Hotel  
DUBLIN

FUNCTION  
Featuring the Irish Brigade  
Friday 5th July  
Coachman's Inn  
COUNTY LIMERICK

FUNCTION  
Irish Brigade  
Saturday 5th July  
NENAGH  
County Tipperary

FUNCTION  
Irish Brigade  
Sunday 7th July  
Tanyard Pub  
MOATE  
County Westmeath

WOMEN'S NIGHT  
Music by Something Shady  
Sunday 7th July  
O'Hare's Irish Club  
Newton Street (near Piccadilly  
Garden)  
MANCHESTER  
Tâl £3/£1.50 unwaged  
advance booking  
(Frontline Books, 1 Newton Street)  
£4/£2.50 unwaged at the door  
Doors open 8pm — Late Bar —  
Women Only  
Access: Flight of stairs — help  
available

FUNCTION  
Irish Brigade  
Saturday 13th July  
The Lawns  
Ballyfermot  
DUBLIN

1798 COMMEMORATION  
Chair: Tom Darby  
Speaker: Fr Paddy Ryan  
Sunday 14th July  
Assembly at Leinster Bridge  
2.30pm  
Procession to Monument at Leinster Bridge  
CLONARD  
Meath

VOL PATRICK CANNON  
COMMEMORATION  
Sunday 21st July  
Assemble Dardale Roundabout  
Malahide Road  
March to Balgriffin Cemetery  
DUBLIN  
(continued on page 13)



## Spotlight on Gardiner Place

BY DARA Mac NEILL

VIRTUALLY every political party — if we are to be honest about it — has something in its past which it would prefer went unnoticed. Obviously, that applies to some more than others, as it is usually those who hold the most power who seek continually to reinvent themselves in the eye of the public.

Or, in other words, try to hide past mistakes. This is especially so in the South where, it would seem, the amount of power enjoyed by a political party is inversely proportional to the amount of havoc they have managed to wreak upon the country. It is an unwritten law of political life.

The chameleon-like Fianna Fáil — no matter how often they ditch their laughably-named core values — still pretend to enjoy a unique affinity to the 'soul' of Ireland. That is false. Fianna Fáil's true past is never properly examined, never clearly aired. Theirs is a history of opportunism, cynical manipulation and betrayal of the trust of their supporters.

Their public image — the modern, 'republican party' — owes more to a process of vigorous, collective self-delusion than it does to any reality.

Fine Gael prefer not to talk about their past. Their birth in the crucible of Ireland's fascist movement jars uneasily with their self-proclaimed, latter day liberal ethos. The story of the Labour would be laughable were it not so sad.

And then there's the Workers' Party (WP); or Sinn Féin The Workers' Party, or the Republican Clubs, or whatever you're having yourself.

The past, for the WP, presents a very serious problem indeed — as indeed does the present. For, no matter how many times de Rossa's et al, publicly reinvent themselves for the nation on RTE, the pre-

sent continues to rudely interrupt and upset the process.

### A LITTLE LIGHT

Last week, the BBC's *Spotlight* team attempted to throw a little more light on that often hinted but rarely seen (in the South) side of the WP. Unfortunately, the programme itself was far too short (half an hour) to do anything more than touch upon various issues. It tended to raise questions, rather than thoroughly investigate allegations as it had promised.

But there was a more serious flaw — one which was exacerbated by its brevity. The programme called upon the likes of Jim Mitchell (FG), the ex-Minister of Justice in the South, Brian Feeney (SDLP, Belfast) and John Taylor (UUP).

These, along with statements made in the House of Commons by Brian Mawhinney, then trotted out the usual "yes I think there is something strange about this party" line. To anyone who was unfamiliar with the WP, this line of willing witness must have looked unusual. Especially, since all but Brian Feeney, rested their respective cases on 'belief' as opposed to hard fact.

They attempted to use their 'stature' as an excuse for their lack of hard evidence. Thus we are presented with the spectacle of political enemies of a certain party damning them without a whole lot of hard evidence to back them up.

I for one do not place credence on one syllable that em-



● Workers' Party headquarters, Gardiner Place — the Workers' Party/OIRA serve a vital strategic British interest both socially and militarily

nates from the gob of either John Taylor, Jim Mitchell or the Brit government. And when they all chorus something together, I get suspicious. If Jim Mitchell phoned me now to say that tomorrow is Tuesday (it is) I would check every calendar in the city before I accepted his assertion.

And the grimly ironic thing is that *Spotlight* did not need to rely on such intellectual pygmies to back up their case. They had enough 'disturbing tales' from both North (especially Belfast) and South to do the job for them. In seeking 'respectability' they undermined their own programme.

For example, the questions raised by Brian Feeney — why do so many WP 'personnel' in Belfast carry legal arms?; how

come their social clubs are rarely if ever raided?; given that they procure only about 2% of the vote in the North, from whence do they get the money to run their 'advice' centres?

And how is it that they manage to have a presence in so many strategically crucial areas of Belfast, a virtually undisputed presence at that? Add to this the 12 affidavits from people assaulted (four shot) by the WP/OIRA and the fact that, to date, nobody has been prosecuted. Equally, the programme proved connections between well-known OIRA racketeers and muscle men, and yet this party is greeted warmly by the powers that be as a legitimate organisation.

And why did the British government decline to com-

ment on these crucial questions? Answers on a postcard...

In the North, the OIRA/WP serve a vital, strategic British interest — both socially and militarily. No wonder the WP have been so effusive in their praise of the RUC. Meanwhile, in the South, they continue to ingratiate themselves into the fabric of daily life. And even though the Irish 'security' forces continue to hold deep reservations (to put it mildly) about them, no protest is raised about the prospect of them sitting at the negotiating table.

*Spotlight* merely skimmed the surface. This topic merits a wider and deeper investigation. *Today Tonight?* Perhaps not. Maybe. Don't hold your breath.

## Exposing the racists

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"THE SITUATION appears to be getting worse. Racist violence is on the rise in Newham and nationally, and the National Front and the British National Party — for years largely inconsequential forces — are becoming increasingly active on the streets and in local elections."

This is the disturbing revelation of the Newham Monitoring Project, an East London-based community organisation which has just launched its eleventh annual report, titled,



● Racism violence is on the rise on the streets of Britain

*Keeping the Fight Alive*. The Project monitors racism and racial attacks in the Newham district and the responses of the police and local authority to such attacks. It gives help, advice and support to victims of racial attacks and police harassment of Black people and also assists in the organisation of a 24-hour emergency service to this end. The NMP is actively involved in local community defence campaigns and in anti-racist work around housing and educational issues, providing practical help in the struggles of the local community.

The report is scathing of of-

ficialdom's response to racism, predicting that, while the police talk about community policing, what they are actually preparing for with the building of fortress-like police stations across London is "major civil unrest in East London in the years ahead". Less than 7% of 'racial incidents' reported to police in Newham lead to arrests. The report finds that both racist attacks and police harassment still occur daily and that areas such as East London continue to be subjected to routinely oppressive and racist policing.

Individual cases are highlighted, including that of the Birmingham Six. Billy Power is quoted: "In this country, if the police say you're guilty, then you're guilty, especially if you are Black or Irish."

### FASCISM RESURGENCE

The NMP puts particular emphasis on the resurgence of fascism in east London, an area which has been particularly targeted by fascist groups. To this end, the establishment of a new bi-monthly anti-fascist magazine, CARF (Campaign Against Racism and Fascism), is welcomed by the NMP, which concludes: "We must, therefore, learn the lessons of the 1980s: only through community self-organisation can we as Black people challenge the in-



stitutionalised racism that is corrupting society. More and more Black people throughout Europe are now realising this. Herein lies our fight-back."

● The NMP's annual report can be obtained from 382 Katherine Road, London E7 8NW, England.



# Short of windmills

THIS IS a theologically and intellectually incompetent book. With shame we have to admit that for the past 20 years not one intellectually worthy statement has come from the Catholic Church hierarchy in Ireland about the political, economic and social problems of the country.

When you compare this with thoughtful statements often made by some less influential Christians in South Africa or Latin America, the USA, continental European, you see how Irish Catholics have been led to believe that a low-quality intellectual discourse is a virtue.

It is not a virtue. It is a menace to peace.

In this book errors abound. "Sinn Féin", we are told, means "Ourselves Alone". It doesn't, and Dr Daly's lack of Irish is no excuse for his not knowing this — two words of that language are not much to ask an archbishop to master. But incompetence shades into dishonesty when a writer uses a false interpretation of a political party's name as a basis on which to erect a political judgement about the party — since they believe in themselves alone, then of course co-operation with them is out.

In the book it is not always a matter of mistakes or even incompetence. It is a matter of hiding the truth. The author says for example that "a unionist writer" referred to the "terrorist community", meaning the people of West Belfast. It was not just a unionist writer who said this, it was the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. If the bishop did not know this he is incompetent as a commentator because the appalling phrase was common knowledge. If he did know it and hid the fact, this is not honest.

Nowhere in the book could one find any indication that the British government has anything to answer for, other than insensitivity and badly made but benevolent plans. Nowhere is there a discussion of the morality of total exclusion of republicans or socialists from discussion while at the same time the Vatican was, and is, negotiating with the PLO. Dr Daly has now become a member of the government of the Vatican. It would have been proper for him to explain — for the sake of peace — why he therefore approves a policy of talking to the PLO which advo-

viewpoints have equal validity if one of them includes the condition that on no account will 40% of the population of the North be allowed a place in government.

His view of politics is disturbingly naive and often his unintellectual treatment of politics and religion becomes anti-intellectual.

## UNACCEPTABLE

His method of argument is unacceptable for a church which has had nearly 2,000 years of experience of discussion, argument and dealing with governments of every kind.

For example, he says that a political party says such and such a thing and then shows how wrong this thing is. The trick is that the political party in question said nothing of the kind. He says that some political parties declare that once the British government has gone, all will be peace, tranquillity and prosperity. No political party has said anything of the kind.

It is easy to refute what nobody has said.

All this does not mean *The Price of Peace* is of no use. It gives us an insight into Cahal Daly's attitudes in a handy form. It is not an example of modern Christian thinking,



● DES WILSON

analysis or synthesis. It is unnervingly like the speeches of high conservative churchmen aligned to undemocratic governments elsewhere. It builds up ghost images of political parties and their policies and rushes to demolish them like a modern Don Quixote whose country is short of windmills.

It is easy to deride books of this kind. But the fact is that the writer is a member of the Vatican government and as such could well have influence in the Vatican. He will not hinder the Vatican's policy of speaking with PLO or Bush or any other warlike people; he may however persuade the Vatican that talking to Irish people who want peace and could deliver it is a bad thing.

One takes up this book with foreboding and lays it down with anger. If Catholic Church officials are going to write about politics let them do so by all means. But it must be with intellectual competence and integrity.

## RHETORIC NOT TRUTH

It would take another book to deal with the evasions, the half truths, the invalid analyses, the false logic of this book. Whether such a book is worth writing is doubtful — the credibility of church officials in Ireland now is such that they scarcely need to be refuted any more. Perhaps it is sufficient to remind them from time to time, and without much analysis, that Jesus Christ said "the truth will set you free" — not rhetoric, not government information, not political somersaulting. The trouble is that we can ill afford the doubtful and expensive luxury of having an Irish prelate in the Vatican with the methods of intellectual inadequacies revealed in this book, *The Price of Peace*. If the book serves to let other church officials know how mistaken they have been through the years in allowing one of their number to be the almost exclusive spokesperson for political affairs, then some good may have been done.

But faced with the media hype and the support which Dr Daly will continue to have from government — whatever about the people of Armagh — it is doubtful if any bishop would want to challenge or replace him. Or if the replacement would be any more competent.

The best we hope for is that an intellectually adequate statement of Catholic moral positions will come from some other source during the next seven years.

Fortunately some members of the Catholic Church in Ireland have been thinking seriously about it.

● *The Price of Peace* by Cahal B Daly. Published by Blackstaff Press, Belfast, £5.95 paperback.

## Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

### SOCIAL FUNCTION

Featuring Wishbone

7pm Sunday 21st July

Campions Lounge

Balgriffin

DUBLIN

Tel: 01-250

Bus provided

### DRAW POSTPONED

The John Joe Memorial Draw has been postponed until 31st August due to the local elections.

## JOIN SÍNN FEÍN

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

If you would like to join Sínn Féin fill in the form below and send it to Sínn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

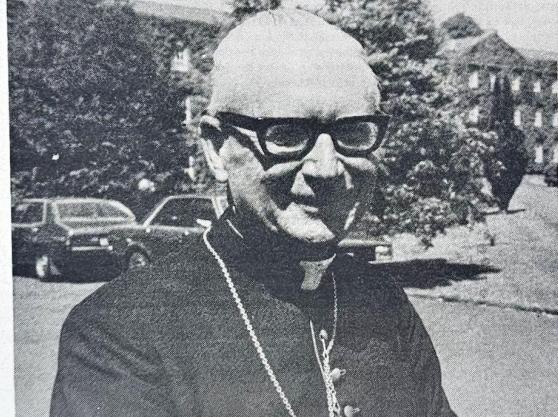
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Age ..... Tel: .....

**Sínn Féin's demands**  
Sínn Féin's ultimate objective is to create the political conditions necessary to secure a true and lasting peace in Ireland. This can only be achieved by:

- The ending of partition arising from British rule in six of Ireland's 32 counties;
- British disengagement from Ireland and the restoration to the Irish people of the right to exercise self-sovereignty, independence and national self-determination;
- The setting of a definite date within the lifetime of a British government for the completion of this withdrawal;
- The disarming and disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment as part of the military withdrawal;
- The calling of a Constitutional Conference to which all political parties would be invited. This conference to be responsible for determining the nature and composition of an emergent national police service and the judiciary. If Britain was sincere about disengaging and was committed to an orderly transference of power, this could be achieved with a minimum of disorder;
- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.



● "It would take another book to deal with the evasions, the half truths, the invalid analyses, the false logic of this book" — Fr Des Wilson on Cahal Daly's book, *The Price of Peace*.

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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Elsewhere .....	Stg£50/Ir£55



To: An Phoblacht/Republican News, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

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An Phoblacht/  
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EVERY WEEK



# REMEMBERING THE PAST 1921 Truce

BY PETER O'ROURKE

IN JULY 1921, after 2½ years of a highly successful guerrilla war by the IRA against the British forces of occupation, a Truce, which led to a cessation of hostilities on both sides, came into force.

By the autumn of 1920, with the IRA intensifying its guerrilla war and inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy, overtures by the British for peace began, following major successes by the IRA in November 1920, when 14 British Intelligence officers were assassinated in Dublin on Bloody Sunday, and the Kilmeel ambush in Cork, which resulted in the death of 30 Auxiliaries.

In December 1920, at the instigation of the Dublin Castle administration in Ireland, the Archbishop of Perth, Dr Clune, acting as intermediary, made contact with Arthur Griffith, acting president of the Irish Republic, imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail, with proposals for negotiations between the British and the IRA. Griffith, with the approval of Michael Collins, made his only condition a mutual cessation of armed activity, a moratorium on arrests and permission for the Dáil to meet. The proposals broke down on the British Prime Minister Lloyd George's last-minute insistence that there must first be a surrender of arms by the IRA. Both Collins and Griffith firmly asserted that while they were for peace on honourable terms, there could be no question of surrendering.

In April 1921, a further independent effort to get peace moves going was undertaken by Lord Derby, the former British ambassador to Paris. Following a meeting in Dublin with Eamon de Valera, who had returned to Ireland from America the previous December, the peace moves collapsed when he reiterated the views already stated by Collins and Griffith.

By May, although the IRA was badly armed and urgently in need of fresh supplies of armaments, it was the British government, realising

that an army of 100,000 men would be required to crush the IRA, which was desperate to secure a cease-fire.

## ADMINISTRATION COLLAPSE

Following the burning of the Customs House by the IRA on May 25th, and the collapse of almost the entire British civil administration in Ireland (notably by means of the destruction of the files of two large taxing departments and all the records of the local government board), the British finally decided to convene a conference with the republican government with a view to concluding peace.

Under the Government of Ireland Act 1920, the Partition Act, elections to the two partition parliaments in the Six and 26 Counties were called for May. In the South no election was necessary as the 12 Sinn Féin candidates were returned unopposed and on May 26th they constituted themselves as the Second Dáil.

In a speech at the opening of the new 'Northern Ireland' parliament on June 22nd, the English King, George V, called for peace between the British and Irish. Two days later de Valera, president of the Irish Republic, received an invitation from the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, to enter into negotiations.

As a preliminary to the confer-

ence, talks to arrange a cease-fire or truce began in the Mansion House, Dublin, where the republican delegates had established their headquarters, on July 4th, 1921. After five days of discussions between Sir Nevill Macready, the commander of all British forces in Ireland, Colonel J Brind and Sir Alfred W Cope (the assistant Under-Secretary in Ireland), acting for the British army, and Robert Barton TD and Eamonn Dugan TD, acting for the IRA, the terms of a bilateral cease-fire were agreed at 3pm on July 9th. A statement issued by the Dáil Publicity Department from the Mansion House announced that a Truce would come into operation two days later.

## BLOODY POGROM

While the Truce was greeted with relief and optimism by republicans and nationalists throughout Ireland, loyalists in the North viewed it as an opportunity to wage a bloody pogrom against the nationalist population, in an attempt to consolidate their position in the area which they felt sure to retain control over under the terms of the Government of Ireland Act.

On July 10th, the day before hostilities were to cease, they carried out an attack of such ferocity against the Catholics of Belfast that day it is remembered as Bloody Sunday. During the pogrom, organised by Orange mobs and B Specials, homes of Catholics were burnt-down, 15 people were killed and the number of people seriously injured and treated in hospital was 68.

Although discussions between de Valera and Lloyd George broke down, the uneasy Truce continued throughout August and September. The following month discussion got underway which would lead to the Treaty of December 1921.

The Truce, signifying the end of the Tan War, came into force at 12 noon on Monday, July 11th, 1921, 70 years ago next week.

## Beannachtaí

BURKE, Michael (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy birthday, also a happy anniversary. Loving and missing you always. From your ever loving wife Sheenagh. XXX

BURKE, Michael (Portlaoise). Happy birthday. Duckie, we love and miss you always. Your loving children Vicky, Tanya and Peter. XXX

BURKE, Michael (Portlaoise). Happy Birthday Mick. Best wishes from Bér and Mairéad. XXX

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Happy birthday John, all my love. From your wife Jenifer and daughter Sarah. XXX.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Have a nice birthday John, love Mam, Limerick. XXX

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Happy birthday John. From the Hartigan family, South Hill.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Happy birthday. Have a nice time. From your father-in-law Kevin and family. Limerick.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings John. Give the drums a lash. From all the Lynch family, Limerick.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Have a nice birthday John. From all your comrades in Limerick.

GLENNON, Davy (H7). Happy birthday Davy. Have a snack, see ya on the 10th. XXX

GLENNON, Davy (H7). Happy birthday. Have a flashing good time, love Martina. XXX

GLENNON, Davy (H7). Best wishes Duck. Have a quack X. Love Cathy. XXX

GLENNON, Davy (H7). Happy birthday Duck. I'll have one for ye. Love Shaz. XXX

O'NEILL, Declan (Portlaoise). Happy 25th birthday. Love you always. From your loving wife Lynda and Kim XXX.

SHERRY, Peter (Parkhurst). Birthday greetings to our daddy. See you soon. Lots of love from Orla and Gerard.

SHERRY, Peter (Parkhurst). Birthday greetings Peter. From Martin, Deeply, Long Kesh, Ann-Marie and family.

SHERRY, Peter (Parkhurst). Birthday greetings to Peter Sherry. Keep the spirit up Peter. From your friends Barry and Paula.

drawn from this island of Ireland. His home has been a monument of service to Ireland. From Pearse McLaughlin. 'When freedom's flame in embers lay, deserted, but by few, he fed and fanned those embers low until once more they grew. What once were embers smouldering low and kept alive by faith, his likes it was who blazed the trial which had burned since 'sixty eight', and glowed to a gallant soul who faced with strength and with fortitude and power of will which proves failed to bend. All glory to our youth today who from "survivors" spawn. Together now, in life and death to Ireland's glorious Dawn' — Pearse McLaughlin

SHEEHAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the Sheehan family on the death of Jack, late of an R.A.F., Charleville, died in England aged 97. From Alice nieces and nephews Charleville

# In Díl Chuimhne

KANE, Thomas; O'NEILL, Terence; QUINN, Denis; TEER, Paddy; WOODS, Seamus. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Thomas Kane, Terence O'Neill, Denis Quinn, Paddy Teer and Seamus Woods. I measach laochra na nGael go rialf siad. 'They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution.' Always remembered by their friends and comrades in Oglach na hEireann.

McILHONEY, Henry (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Henry McIlhoney. Never forgotten by his comrades in the Republican Movement and Sinn Féin, Short Strand.

McILHONEY, Henry (21st Ann). Trí Gearr Martrys Republican Flute Band and Short Strand Commemoration Committee remember with pride the commitment and sacrifice of Vol Henry McIlhoney.

O'NEILL, Terence 'Teddy' (11th Ann)

In proud and loving memory of my dear uncle Vol Teddy O'Neill, 2nd Battalion, 1st Battalion, 1916. St. Martin pray for him. Always loved and missed by his wife Mary.

O'NEILL, Terence 'Teddy' (11th Ann)

In proud and loving memory of my dear daddy Vol Teddy O'Neill. Always loved and missed by his daughter Sinéad.

O'NEILL, Terence 'Teddy' (11th Ann)

In proud and loving memory of my dear husband Vol Teddy O'Neill, 2nd Battalion, 1st Battalion, 1916. St. Martin pray for him. Always loved and missed by his wife Mary and George O'Neill, Turf Lodge.

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In proud and loving memory of my dear son Vol Teddy O'Neill. Loved and remembered by his sister Cumm.

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# THE FLYING COLUMN

THE Doneaghmede local election count in the Bolton Street College of Technology in Dublin took an unexpected if exciting twist when the Green candidate, Saidbh O'Neill, tied with Fine Gael's Niamh Cosgrave for the last seat.

Fine Gael immediately called for a recount because as it stood the Green candidate would have been elected, having received the most first preference votes. But there wasn't a Green in the room. O'Neill herself was in the United States attending an environmental conference. Ironically, if she had voted there would have been no tie.

It was left to two Workers' Party supporters to inform the Greens that the crucial recount was under way. But more problems. There weren't enough Greens left in the building to monitor the count.

But fear not, said Sinn Féin workers, a sizeable section of whom were pouring — sorry — poring over the day's results in the college bar. Always willing to do a bad turn for the Blueshirts, while also being conscious of the duties of left-wing solidarity, a merry band of republicans trooped around to the count centre and kept a watchful eye on the proceedings.

Some of the Fine Gael workers were particularly obnoxious, seeking to intimidate the voting clerks, most of whom were female, but truth and justice prevailed. The Green candidate picked up four votes on the recount, while Fine Gael lost two.

The Greens and their new-found friends were jubilant. The Fine Gael camp not only had to come to terms with being beaten by a candidate who wasn't even in the country but they also knew that Sinn Féin had contributed to Cosgrave's demise.



• Cake-walk Curry (right) still in shock

IN THE Artane constituency where Sinn Féin's Larry O'Toole came close to being elected there was even more

sport. First to be eliminated was independent candidate Vincent Quinn (110 votes) and the returning officer duly proceeded with the distribution of his second preferences.

When Mr Quinn noticed that they were going all over the place he reared up and demanded the right to decide to whom his preferences should go. "They're my votes, and I'll decide who gets them," he told the returning officer, explaining that he wanted all his preferences to go to Larry O'Toole.

For most of the count the Workers' Party's John Curry was in a state of shock. He had boasted during the campaign that he would "cakewalk" the election, easily picking up the seat "left" to him by Pat McCartan. On the day of reckoning the Stickeen vote collapsed and Curry was eliminated ahead of O'Toole who stayed in to the last count but failed to get elected.

It was not Curry's week. On polling day a dog coolly walked up to him outside a polling station and treated his leg as he would normally treat a lamp-post.

## UNIONISTS vive la lack of difference

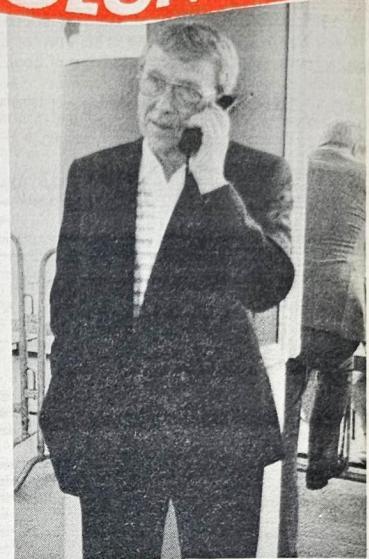
Controversy is raging on the unionist-controlled Coleraine Borough Council over its decision to loan bunting to the Orange Order for decoration during the Twelfth.

The bunting in question was bought specially for a recent twinning festival with the French town of La Roche sur Yon. But while the initial intention in lashing out £5,000 of public money on the bunting was supposedly to bring the people of the two towns closer together, it's far from forging friendly links with their neighbours that the Macosquin District of the Orange Order wants the bunting for. The 'French' red, white and blue-coloured bunting will doubtless come in very handy for its sectarian demonstration of superiority during the marching season.

IN THE WEEK that's in it, with the connections between the Workers' Party and the 'Official IRA' back in the spotlight, it's interesting to note that Maurice Healy, that "innocent abroad" and darling of the media, especially RTE, spent polling day driving his van around for Workers' Party Councillor Kathleen Lynch in Cork South Central. He was also at the count all the next day with the Sticky brethren.

JOHN PARRIS is a former English barrister who has just written a book called *Scapegoats* about an infamous English miscarriage of justice case dating back to 1953. The corruption of the British legal system is graphically described in an interview with him in last week's *Observer*.

His recollections are a damning indictment of the establishment figures who serve the cause of 'justice' in England. Parris is of the opinion that "now at last everyone's beginning to realise what a vast conspiracy against justice the British criminal system is". On the Maguire



• Re-elected with an increased vote, Dublin Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke takes a well-earned break ring his broker

case he says: "Those judges are a disgrace to the Bench..." He remembers Lord Mountbatten sacking him as legal adviser during the Second World War because he refused to write a report justifying the sinking of Japanese hospital ships in retaliation for the Japanese sinking of an Allied hospital ship. "He was a tyrannical bugger."

Another interesting snippet of information revealed by Parris is that he managed to gain access to a secret file of barristers, including himself, who might at some time become judges. A note enclosed by Lord Donovan, now dead, read: "He shows an intemperate zeal for justice. An absolute disqualification from ever becoming a judge."

## Dúirt Siad

The time is past when you can keep a state together by shooting its citizens. — Douglas Hurd, former British director-in-the Six Counties, BBC, Sunday, June 30th.



Is it just the old indulgence in sentimental pretence that royalty is not an anachronism born of violence, preserved by sectarianism and in-breeding, and supportive of greed and snobbery? — Gene Kerrigan, Sunday Independent, questioning the RTE Guide's excuse for putting royal parasite Princess Diana on its front cover last week that it was "breaking down barriers" in Anglo/Irish relations.



I just can't get it out of my head that when [Prince] Charles made his first parachute jump his legs got tangled in the cords and he came down head first — and they immediately made him commander-in-chief of the Parachute Regiment. — Gene Kerrigan.



If you hack and hack at the tree of the game we will fall into a cesspool of barbed wire. — A marvellous example of mixed metaphors from Australian Rules Football coach and right-wing pundit, Alan Jones.



I am a racist and left the National Front because it was too soft on Blacks. Hitler was a genius. — British National Party second-in-command, Richard Edmunds.



I was brought up to believe that the United States of America stood for liberty and self-determination and freedom, but that's not what these bastards are about. — US actor, Kris Kristofferson.



It seems to me there are two kinds of people: the people who give a shit about human rights and the quality of life on this planet, and the people who don't. And the people who don't are in control of my country right now. — Kris Kristofferson.

