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An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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Thursday, 5th December 1991

Pointless gestures



CHARLES HAUGHEY once again passed up an opportunity to initiate a real peace process on this island in his meeting on Wednesday with British Prime Minister John Major. In the communique issued following their Dublin summit it was obvious that there existed greater disagreements between the British and Dublin governments in relation to the process of EC political and monetary union than there did about the Six Counties.

Despite some pre-summit media speculation that Haughey would propose a "new political initiative" to resolve the conflict in the North, what emerged was a bland statement saying that both governments would meet twice yearly in future and that they

would attempt to resurrect the dead and buried Brooke Talks.

The only other commitment given was one aimed at increasing "security co-operation". To John Major and Peter Brooke this means the deployment of more British soldiers to the North and

an increase in RUC personnel. To the Dublin government it means further extraditions of Irish nationalists, the sharing of intelligence with the sectarian forces of the Northern state and political repression and censorship of the republican viewpoint in the 26 Counties. This unoriginal statement of intent follows the tired old policy of looking at the Northern problem as a 'security' one with the vague possibility of an internal Six-County settlement.

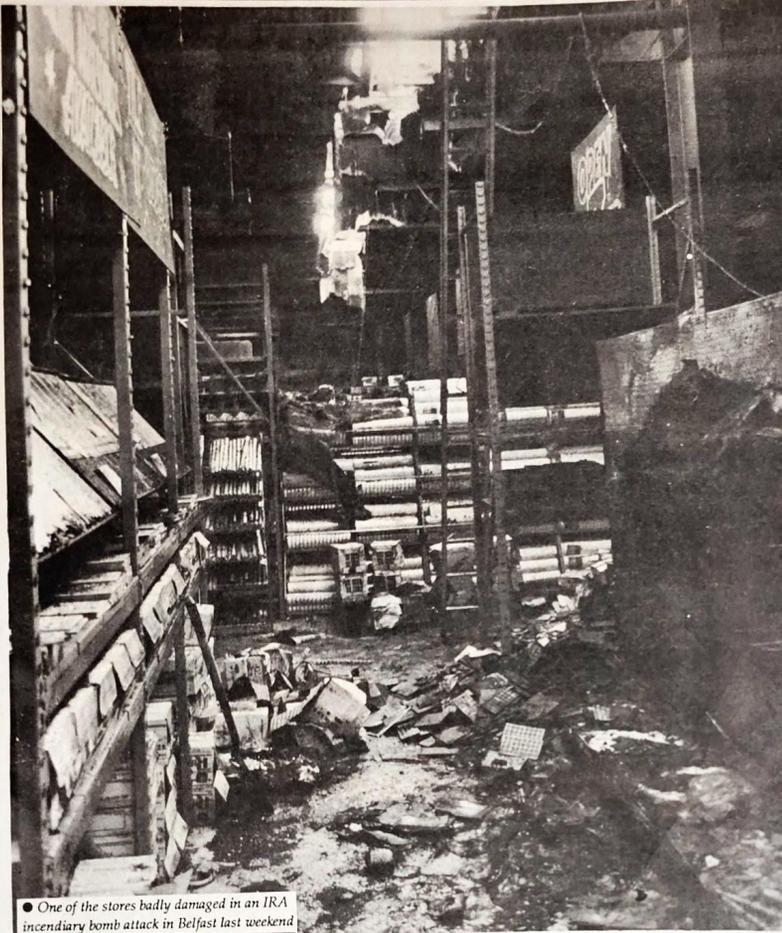
Haughey continues to follow a political agenda set by the British. All previous attempts at a solution to the

conflict have been based on such an agenda and all have failed. Once again the opportunity of approaching the problem with an Irish agenda, based on the national demand for unity and self-determination was ignored.

Haughey's unoriginality was matched only by John Major's lack of imagination in his approach to Ireland. At the press conference following the summit AP/RN asked Major whether, in the light of the two recent opinion polls carried out in Britain which showed a majority of 61% in favour of a British withdraw-

al from the Six Counties, he thought it was time for a major shift in his government's policy. He replied with a stony-faced one-word answer—"No". Embarrassment at the question and the questioner were quickly glossed over.

That one word sums up the Major government's negative, dead-end policy which condemns Ireland to prolonged war and condemns the Irish and British people to conflict, death and injury. And Charles Haughey, behind his talk of "a new relationship" and his pointless gestures, is more than content to go along with it.



● One of the stores badly damaged in an IRA incendiary bomb attack in Belfast last weekend

IRA bombs in London

WAR
NEWS

THE IRA has said that its Volunteers carried out a wave of incendiary attacks which caused widespread damage to a variety of commercial premises in London and in Belfast.

Sunday morning, December 1st, saw attacks in both London and Belfast. In Belfast, two stores were severely damaged in simultaneous attacks at Newtownabbey while in the West End of London four sets of premises, three on the Tottenham Court Road and one at Islington, were badly damaged by fires.

The first of the attacks had come in the early hours of Saturday morning, November 30th, when two sets of premises were badly damaged in Belfast city centre. A number of other devices failed to detonate and were recovered following IRA warnings.

Further incendiary attacks were to follow in both cities on Tuesday, December 3rd, with one device exploding in Oxford Street, London, and a single device being uncovered in a Belfast city centre store.

Crown forces were thrown into chaos and massive damage was caused in Belfast city centre and at Campsie, on the outskirts of Derry, when four substantial IRA bombs detonated within hours of each other on

Thursday, November 28th.

The two devices which exploded in Belfast came in the midst of a massive British security operation which had been mounted to protect the latest flying British royal visit to the Six Counties. The Duchess of York had only arrived in the North when a series of elaborate hoax-bomb alerts forced hundreds of extra crown forces personnel to be drafted onto the streets. While operations were continuing to clear the streets two of the devices being dealt with detonated. The first to explode was on board a commandeered vehicle which had been abandoned outside the luxury Plaza hotel in the newly remodeled Blackstaff Square area, shortly before 9am.

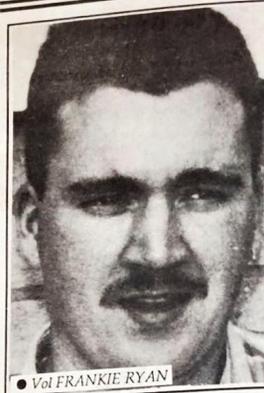
Several hours later in a daring operation Volunteers wheeled a dust-cart loaded with a 100lb device past a newly-erected security bunker and observation post, and placed the device beside British government offices in Chichester Street. This device, placed in a narrow alley adjacent to IDB House caused massive damage and blew out windows in the

nearby Central Law Courts as well as in scores of other buildings in the vicinity.

That evening as the last of the Belfast devices were being dealt with, crown forces were forced to deploy in strength following IRA warnings that devices had been planted at a number of locations in the Campsie area of Derry. As British bomb technicians moved in to deal with the devices the first detonated causing extensive damage to the White Horse Inn Hotel. Less than ten minutes later a second and more substantial device detonated at a nearby garage where damage was severe.

In other operations the IRA was forced to abandon two separate explosive devices which were later removed by British bomb technicians. The first of these came in Newry on Friday, November 29th. In a statement on this incident the IRA's South Down Brigade said that it had been forced into neutralising a horizontal mortar after it failed to detonate as a crown forces mobile patrol passed by. The second device, a 100lbs car bomb, was neutralised and abandoned when Volunteers ferrying it to its target ran into a massive crown forces cordon at Sion Mills village in County Tyrone. The device on board a commandeered Granada car was left at Hamilton's Corner, on Monday evening, December 2nd.

Damage was caused to Money-more RUC Barracks in County Derry, when a single grenade exploded inside the base's perimeter defences on Sunday, December 1st.



● Vol FRANKIE RYAN



● Vol PATRICIA BLACK

Sorrow and dignity for two young comrades

DESPITE PROVOCATION by the crown forces, republicans joined with the families of Volunteers Patricia Black and Frankie Ryan to pay homage to two brave young people who died so tragically and yet so selflessly in pursuit of the freedom of their people.

Following a request from her family Patricia's funeral, on Friday, November 29th, was private and low key. The cortege made its way from her mother's home to St Oliver Plunkett chapel in Lenadon where requiem mass was held. The cortege then moved down the Glen Road to Milltown Cemetery for burial. Throughout the funeral and throughout the days when Patricia's remains lay in the family home, hundreds of British troops and RUC members invaded the family's privacy by their presence.

Because of the vindictiveness of the British authorities it was to be some four days after his comrade's funeral that Frankie Ryan's family was finally permitted to lay him to rest.

Preceded by a lone piper the tricolour-draped coffin of Volunteer Frankie Ryan, bearing his beret and gloves, left his family home in Poleglass shortly after 10.30am on Tuesday, December 4th. Alongside the hearse walked two double ranks of women carrying wreaths. The hearse was followed by members of Frankie's family and an impressive display of solidarity from members of the republican community.

As the cortege travelled the short journey to the Church of the Nativity where requiem mass was held, local people stood in silent respect. This was the case for the entire three-mile journey from Poleglass to Milltown Cemetery, where Frankie was laid to rest in the Republican Plot.

Over the 17 days from his death until his burial, the forces against whom he had struggled added immeasurably to the grief of his relatives, firstly by repeatedly delaying the release of his remains and then by harassing and harrying mourners and family members.

From early on the morning of the funeral the contingent of RUC and troops which had surrounded the Ryan home since the arrival of Frankie's remains were to be augmented by hundreds more, backed up by

scores of armoured jeeps. Intervention by Sinn Féin Councillors Pat Rice, Alex Maskey and Michael Ferguson succeeded in securing the removal of over 100 RUC men from the immediate vicinity of the home so that the funeral could proceed with mourners being





● The beret and gloves of Volunteer Frankie Ryan being placed on his Tricolour.

allowed room to follow the cortege. Throughout the four hours it took to bury Frankie mourners were hemmed in front and back by the RUC and British army, but taking their lead from Frankie's family mourners ignored the provocation and conducted themselves

with the dignity and respect befitting the occasion.

At the graveside Councillor Lily Fitzsimmons presided. She called first for the recital of a decade of the rosary. Members of Frankie's family then laid wreaths followed by wreaths from The

IRA's GHQ Staff, Northern Command Staff and Belfast Brigade. Other wreaths from the Republican Movement were laid on behalf of Sinn Féin and the National Graves Association as well as local cumann and republican bands. The piper then played the lament for the dead which was followed by a minute's silence.

Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle member Jim Gibney gave the graveside oration. He said that "no matter how often we walk behind the coffins of IRA Volunteers, no matter how often we bury, or watch being buried, victims of Britain's war it doesn't make it any easier. Our community is haemorrhaging and we have a pain buried in our chest because of it".

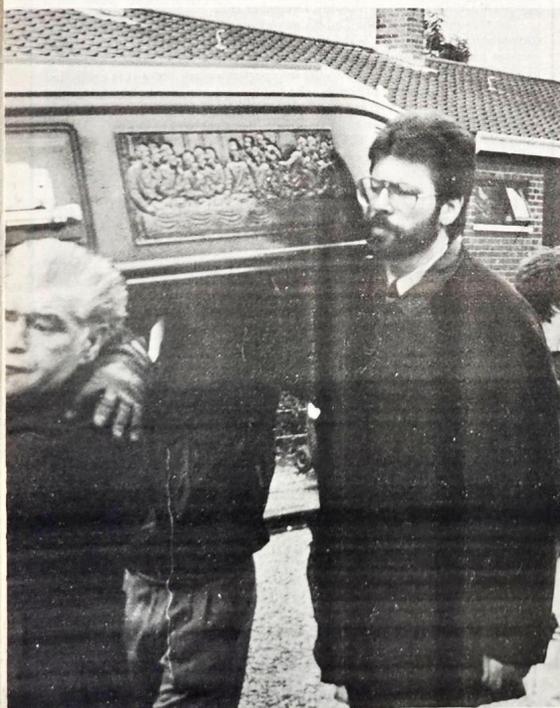
To the families of the two Volunteers he said:

"To you they were unique members of your families. You cherished them, you showered them with love and tenderness and instilled in them noble values. You turned out two children of whom you can be immensely proud. Your children belonged not only to your family, they belonged to ours as well — to the republican family, to the nationalist community they were two very special people."

After castigating the church over the deafening silence which accompanied the refusal of the British to release Frankie's remains, Gibney turned to address the monumental failure of successive British administrations in their dealings with Ireland. He asked:

"How long must we wait for a Gorbachev or an FW de Klerk to emerge in British politics who will take his or her courage in their hands and make the moves necessary to bring about peace in Ireland?"

"Today we stand in sorrow at this grave, tomorrow it will be someone else's turn to mourn. The pendulum of sorrow has swung enough. Let the British government face the only sensible path; sue for peace and leave us."



● Gerry Adams carrying the coffin of Volunteer Patricia Black

IN BRIEF...

"Frighteningly tense" in Crumlin Road

THE SITUATION in Crumlin Road Jail was described as being "frighteningly tense" after a number of attacks by loyalists upon republican remand prisoners and their visitors, both inside and outside the jail. Last week the NIO cancelled visits after a number of republican remand prisoners and their visitors were injured by loyalists in the visiting area.

This week visits resumed as did the attacks with a number of visitors to republicans being attacked outside the gates of the jail.

In two separate incidents on Tuesday, December 3rd, three people were confronted by loyalists. Two male visitors were confronted as they got into their car. They managed to escape but the windows of the car were broken and the bodywork damaged.

In the second incident a man, waiting to give a lift to a female visitor, was confronted by a group of masked men and asked where he was from. He had left his car engine running and managed to make his escape.

Inside the jail loyalists have attacked republican remand prisoners. Each time republicans go on a visit they run the risk of endangering not only their own lives but also the lives of those who visit them. In response to such incidents the NIO continues to pursue a policy of forcibly integrating loyalists and republicans in the face of widespread criticism and condemnation from all shades of political opinion.

Cork kicks out charges

CORK CORPORATION voted out service charges at an eleventh hour meeting on Sunday, December 1st. The corporation then rejected estimates without charges. The time for striking a rate has now passed. The corporation now faces abolition. Cheers from the packed public gallery greeted the vote outcome. A large number of protesters who had remained for the two gruelling days sang and cheered. A piper paraded through City Hall in celebration of victory.

A determined Brendan O'Neill, of Households against Service Charges, told the meeting after the vote that though a great victory had been achieved, the battle was not over. The possible appointment of a commissioner could bring a new phase to the campaign. Paddy Mulcahy, who like O'Neill had been jailed for non payment of charges, congratulated the campaigners and promised the fight would go on.

There were glum faces from the Fianna Fáil, Progressive Democrats and Fine Gael councillors who had backed charges. Three Fine Gael Councillors committed to voting against charges changed sides during the vote, including the Lord Mayor who might lose his car and his salary.

Sinn Féin PRO James McBarron who was at the all day meeting reacted to the news positively. "For the first time in a long time, elected members have done what they were elected to do and abolished the charges. The actions of Minister O'Hanlon will now expose the establishment's attitude to democracy. Sinn Féin members will continue to be active in the anti-service charges campaign until they are done away with. What this proves is how people's campaigns work. I would urge all members in Limerick, Waterford and Galway to redouble their efforts to have service charges rejected by their councils."

Death card follows murder bid

A NATIONALIST MAN was forced to flee hospital after receiving a 'sympathy' card from the people who attempted to kill him some six days previously.

The murder attempt occurred at 8.30pm on Thursday, November 28th, as the man, Robert Shaw, and a friend were leaving the Larne football grounds where he had been attending a meeting.

As he got into his mini-bus two gunmen approached and started shooting. They fired several times, hitting Shaw in the arm. The bullet hit a bone and splintered.

He had undergone an operation to have the splinters removed from his arm and was recovering from the operation when he received the card. The card was signed the Larne Loyalist Action Association and read: "You have to be lucky all the time, we only have to be lucky once."

CHRISTMAS PEACE PICKET

IRISH UNITY WILL BRING LASTING PEACE

2PM SATURDAY

DECEMBER 14TH

BRITISH EMBASSY,
BALLSBRIDGE, DUBLIN.

Organised by Sinn Féin

Sinn Féin seeks

■ Peace talks now

■ British withdrawal,
which can end all
violence

News



• Tom Hartley — "peace must have as its foundation, democracy, of which national self-determination is the cornerstone"

Call for Euro agenda on North

SINN FEIN PARTY CHAIRPERSON, Tom Hartley, has argued that the continued involvement of the British government in Ireland is a European issue and that the international community is under a binding legal obligation to examine the decades of human rights violations which flow directly from the British partition of Ireland.

Hartley was speaking at a series of press conferences in Brussels and Paris, organised against the backdrop of independence for the Baltic States, a growing recognition of the rights of states within the USSR to self-determination and the involvement of Europe in seeking to resolve the conflict in Yugoslavia.

The conference, hosted by CONSEU (Conference of Nations Without

State in Europe) was attended by representatives from Ireland, Euskadi and Corsica and it was intended to urge the European Parliament, as well as the governments and institutions of Europe, to address the equally important issue of self-determination in those countries.

Hartley said the involvement of the British government in Ireland "undermined international peace and securi-

ty". Calling for real peace talks and a way forward which "will provide the opportunity for peace, respect for fundamental human rights and true political, economic and cultural self-determination for all the Irish people", Hartley pointed out:

"Such an objective is ambitious but surely no less realisable than the Lancaster House talks of 1979 in which a Conservative British government brokered the independence of Zimbabwe under majority rule or the final accession to independence of Namibia in 1990 following decades of armed struggle, international sanctions and concerted action by the United Nations.

"An end to conflict must of course be an objective. But to have any lasting and meaningful value it must be in the context of a peace process which eradicates the cause of the conflict.

"We believe that to be both achievable and sustainable peace must have, as its foundation, democracy, of which national self-determination is the cornerstone."

Section 31 taxi tour of Ireland

A WOMAN from West Limerick was taken on a taxi tour of the south of Ireland as gardai spent a whole day trying to find a jail to lock her up for non-payment of her TV licence in protest against Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act.

Nellie O'Connor from Glin, County Limerick, was arrested from her home on the morning of Wednesday, November 27th. She had not paid a fine imposed on her by the district court last April after she was convicted for non-payment of the licence fee. Nellie was due to leave her daughter Sarah, who was

returning to the United States, to Shannon Airport on the morning the gardai arrived, but they refused to wait until she did this.

Then began an odyssey which lasted for 12 hours. The prisoner was driven in a taxi accompanied by gardai to Cork Prison. She was not accepted there and so was

driven back to Listowel barracks, a round trip of about 150 miles. The taxi then proceeded to Limerick Prison where once again the prisoner was refused and the taxi returned to Listowel (80 miles). The gardai then changed taxis and took Nellie all the way to Dublin (170 miles). They arrived at Mountjoy jail at 10pm.

Nellie was held in Mountjoy until 10am on Friday morning. She was given travel vouchers to return home. Speaking to AP/RN after her release Nellie, a member of Sinn Féin, was unrepentant in her opposition to Section 31. She reckons the taxi fares alone must have cost the taxpayer at least £500, all on account of the Dublin government's determination to punish opponents of its censorship laws.

IN BRIEF...

Sectarian shooting in South Belfast

A CATHOLIC MAN was rushed to hospital with gunshot wounds following a sectarian attack in south Belfast on Wednesday, November 27th. At least one gunman, in a red Vauxhall Cavalier, opened fire at a white Suzuki car carrying two men and one woman in Mount Prospect Park, a cul-de-sac off the Lisburn Road. The car sped away carrying the injured man to the nearby City Hospital where he remains satisfactory. Eyewitnesses to the attack said they were wakened by the sound of gunfire at about 7.30am. A neighbour said there were about four or five shots. Looking out of the window he saw a red vehicle moving off down Ulster Place. The car used in the attack had been hijacked from the loyalist Silverstream area of North Belfast shortly before and was later found abandoned in Colchester Street in the loyalist Village area.

Fermanagh letter bomb

A FERMANAGH FAMILY had a lucky escape when they became suspicious of a parcel which was delivered to their home. A parcel addressed to Con Quiggley from Roslea was received by his wife in a morning postal delivery on Wednesday, November 27th.

The family, who had not been expecting a parcel delivery, became suspicious when they opened one side of the package and noticed a wire. The Quiggley family immediately contacted a local member of Sinn Féin who carried the parcel bomb away from the house into a nearby field before the RUC were informed. After examining the package the RUC confirmed that it contained 6oz of explosives packed into copper piping.

Prisoners repatriation call

THE LONDON-DUBLIN interparliamentary body has called for the 26-County government to ratify the European Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners. It also recommended that prisoners from the Six Counties serving sentences in Britain should have the right of transfer to the North.

The recommendations were made at the latest meeting of the interparliamentary body established under the Hillsborough Agreement, which opened at Dublin Castle on Monday, December 2nd.

The reasons given by the Dublin government for its failure to ratify the convention, signed in 1986, is the financial cost and lack of prison space. These excuses have been refuted by the Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas (ICPO) who made submissions to the interparliamentary body. It is estimated that the initial number of prisoners who would seek transfer to Ireland would be fairly low, somewhere in the region of 30 in the first year.

In a submission to the Tribunal on Prison Transfers held at Queen's University, Belfast, in October, the ICPO said that at a time when borders are opening in Europe with the resulting free movement of goods and services, it was anxious that the introduction of security legislation to control the movement of people will curtail families who wish to travel to visit prisoners.

The stress and hardship placed on families by the imprisonment of a relative is compounded when one is imprisoned overseas. It is estimated that there are around 1,000-Irish born prisoners in Britain and possibly a further 500 elsewhere in Europe. There are currently 33 Irish republican POWs serving sentences in English jails, with three in France and one in Belgium.



• Nellie O'Connor — jailed for her opposition to censorship

News

Counter-offensive on Two and Three

■ BY ART Mac EOIN

CALLS for the removal or altering of Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution have been a feature of the anti-nationalist offensive being waged in the 26 Counties in recent times. The debate on this issue has so far been largely one-sided but an attempt to redress the balance has been made with the launching on Thursday, November 28th, of a 'Declaration for Peace in Ireland' which calls on the Dublin government to persuade Britain to drop its claim to the Six Counties. The declaration, signed by a number of prominent individuals, is to be circulated to elected local and national bodies.

The press conference was attended by author and journalist Richard Roche, artist Robert Ballagh, leading trade unionist Seán Redmond and Robert Heatley of the Six-County-based Campaign for Democracy and was chaired by lawyer Séamus O Tuathail.

The Declaration is intended in the words of the authors to be "a vehicle upon which a national campaign of constitutional action can be mounted to point a way out of the northern impasse, to support Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution and to draw attention to the significance of Britain's claim to sovereignty in Ireland expressed in Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act 1920."

Séamus O Tuathail said that Section 75 and Articles Two and Three were effectively equivalent claims by two rival governments to sovereignty over the same piece of territory and if a unilateral alteration of Articles Two and Three were to happen, the only remaining claim to sovereignty would be Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act. He pointed out that one effect of such unilateral withdrawal would be the loss of Irish citizenship to people living in the Six Counties.

Removal of Britain's claim in Section 75 would facilitate the positive development of peace in Ireland. O Tuathail drew attention to Peter Brooke's statement that "Britain no longer had any selfish, strategic or economic interest in Ireland" which he said was a very positive statement but added: "On the other hand Mr Brooke, Mr Hurd and I believe Mr Major have said recently that it would help if Articles Two and Three were removed. The

question is in which direction the process is going."

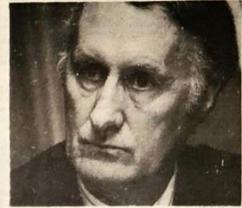
As to the suggestion sometimes advanced by protagonists of the deletion of Articles Two and Three, that Article One of the Hillsborough Agreement be substituted for the two articles, the press conference was told that this would "mean giving an effective veto on the achievement of full Irish sovereignty to the United Kingdom".

Seán Redmond, General Secretary of the Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union, said that as a trade unionist he was supporting the declaration and that he would be trying to win support for it within the trade union movement.

Redmond pointed out that in recent years there had been widespread support in the trade union movement in Britain for a united Ireland. He said that in terms of numbers of trade unionists affiliated to the British TUC a majority were in support of a united Ireland. Redmond pointed out that a commitment to Irish unity was contained within British Labour Party policy. With the possibility of a Labour government within 12 months with such a policy commitment and strong backing from the trade unions it would he said be "absurd" for the Irish people to drop their claim to unity.

Robert Heatley of Belfast, a member of the Campaign for Democracy, said that while the SDLP leadership had not come out and made its position clear on attempts to remove Articles Two and Three opposition to this was very strong among its grassroots supporters and members.

He said that part of the apparent recent popularity of dropping Articles Two and Three among establishment



● DICK ROCHE



● SEÁN REDMOND



● SEAMUS O TUATHAIL



● BOB HEATLEY

circles in the 26 Counties lies in the notion that such action would produce a settlement in the Six Counties and that this would be good for the rest of the country. The Campaign for Democracy in the Six Counties was, he pointed out, comprised of both Catholics and Protestants and that it was their analysis that the idea that the removal of these articles would produce peace was absolute nonsense. "It is not Articles Two and Three which have produced the violence but Britain's Section 75. Let's have an Irish agenda. The whole emphasis is on the wrong piece of legislation," he said.



● SEÁN MacMANUS

Sligo rail link under threat

SINN FEIN in Sligo has called for immediate action by all interested organisations and individuals to save the local rail link. Party spokesperson Seán MacManus announced recently that he had received reliable information that there were medium-term plans to close the Sligo to Longford section of the Sligo/Dublin route.

"I have in the past ten days received well-placed information that there are plans to close the section of track between Sligo and Longford in an effort to cut costs on what is regarded as an unprofitable stretch of railway. It is apparent that, rather than take such a drastic step immediately, it is proposed that remedial action, required to maintain the service, will not be provided and so the link will be downgraded and then ended over a period of two to three years," MacManus said.

He added that in a period in which the country was about to enter the free market of the EC, the ending of Sligo's rail-link with the east coast would, apart from the anti-social aspects, have a drastic effect on any hope of economic development in the north-west region.

To undertake the necessary repairs to the track requires increased government investment estimated at approximately £11 million. A major upgrading of the track signalling system and rolling stock is needed immediately. According to Seán MacManus: "This increase in funding is dependent on how much interest the

government has in trying to develop the infrastructure of this area and by extension help foster a climate conducive to job creation. In other words to display vision and a sense of belief in the people of this region."

It is ironic that the rail-link is hanging in the balance at a time when other European countries have the foresight to spend large sums of money on their rail systems. The Dutch are building new lines which will let trains run from Amsterdam to Paris and from Arnhem to the Ruhr. The German government has set aside over £7 billion to improve its rail system and last May the French government approved £22 billion to build more main and commuter lines.

Sinn Féin in Sligo has called for people in the area to unite to exert every possible pressure on the government to make available the funds required to upgrade the Sligo/Dublin railway. Seán MacManus has said that if this does not happen they were about to witness "another nail being hammered into the coffin of the overlooked and forgotten western region".

Taking a dive for extradition

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

Throwing yourself out of a plane at 2,000 feet and relying on a wafer-thin sheet of nylon to make sure you don't slam into the ground just 17 seconds later is a risky pursuit.

But that is exactly what four intrepid members of the Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee did on Sunday, December 1st, to raise much-needed money for the ongoing campaign against political extradition. Luckily enough, 100% of them survived their first parachute jump intact. Most senior of the foursome, and indeed the oldest person ever to jump with the Naas Falcons at

Punchestown Racecourse, was Dessie Ellis's father, Noel, who will celebrate his 66th birthday later this month. While other younger participants backed out before the fateful day, including the writer, Ellis and his three comrades showed no fear (well, not a lot anyway) and all were justifiably chuffed with themselves after they had safely landed.

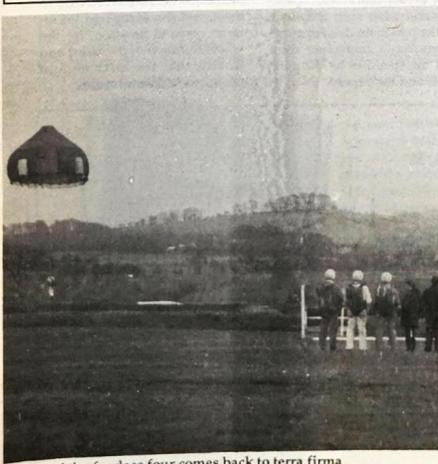
The Dublin Anti-Extradition



● Dessie Ellis (centre) with the 'Punchestown Paras', 65-year-old Noel Ellis is on the left of picture

Committee also held a picket on Monday, December 2nd, outside the offices of the National Council for Educational Awards where Charlie Haughey attended a book launch. The demonstration was organised to protest at the

Dublin government's promised amendment to the 1987 Extradition Act which will do away with the political exemption defence once and for all and make it even easier to extradite Irish citizens to Britain and the Six Counties.



● One of the fearless four comes back to terra firma



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

December 5th 1991

THE REALITY BEHIND THE CRIME HYPE

NORTH CLONDALKIN is one of the most disadvantaged areas in Dublin. It rarely makes the news but recent disturbances there have splashed it all over the national headlines, arousing in the process the wrath of local residents.

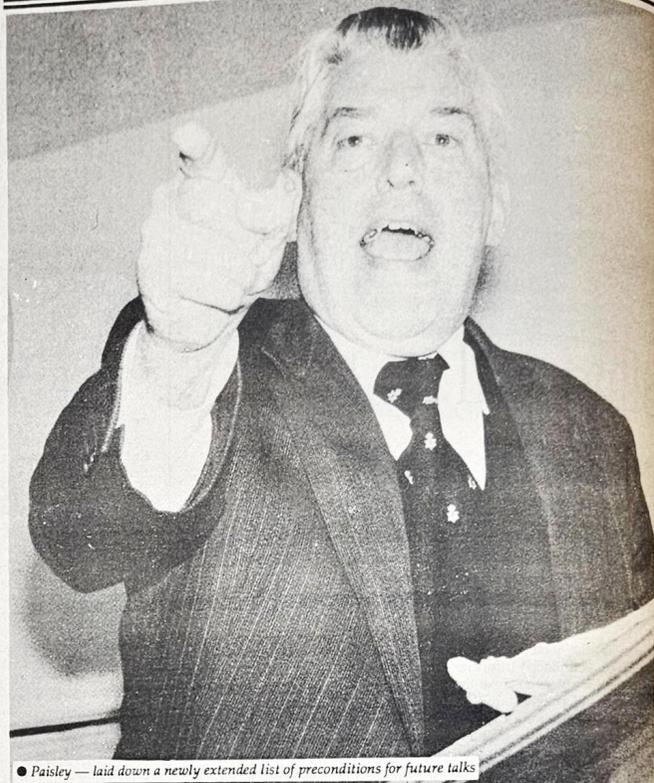
Local people are understandably upset that the activities of a tiny minority — according to Sinn Féin local representative, John McCann, “no more than you can count on your fingers and toes” — have been blown out of all proportion. To put this mini-crime wave in its proper perspective, North Clondalkin houses some 24,000 people, hardly a small suburb. The area has suffered disproportionately from unemployment and poverty. Garret FitzGerald’s offer of £10,000 in the mid-’80s to anyone who would leave a local authority house for a private dwelling didn’t help either. When those with any money moved out, a certain social and economic balance was lost, the spending power of the area dropping. The class makeup of any area affects the provision of facilities like shopping centres. North Clondalkin’s only chance of a long-overdue shopping complex now rests on the fact that it is bordered by a major road.

Many sections of the media have been particularly unscrupulous in their efforts to get sensational news out of North Clondalkin, giving the incidents of violence front-page prominence and pointing out the inability of the gardaí to cope. The *Evening Press* carried Jim Mitchell’s allegations that the IRA are seeking “protection money” from local residents. John McCann has challenged anyone to find a residents or tenants association in the area which will back up these “scandalous allegations”.

The key issue in North Clondalkin is the same as in every other urban area which has suffered from systematic state neglect. Unemployment, poverty and a lack of facilities lead to trouble. When young people are made to feel that they have no stake in society a certain few will react against it. They often cause much suffering and hardship to their neighbours. To recognise the deep-rooted causes is not to ignore the need for immediate relief for those worst affected.

The issue of urban violence cannot be seen in isolation. The state and Dublin County Council must accept their responsibility for allowing the situation to arise. On Monday next over 500 people are expected to picket the final meeting of the year of Dublin County Council to bring home to councillors that they have had enough.

News



● Paisley — laid down a newly extended list of preconditions for future talks

Shades of Rhodesia at DUP conference

■ BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

LAST WEEKEND’s DUP conference produced its usual crop of supremacist rhetoric. “The title deeds of Ulster are ours” one Oliver Gibson, DUP councillor for Magherafelt, cried as he waved some folder. And Ruby Gillespie from Ahoghill made her contribution to the debate on Articles Two and Three of the 26-County’s Constitution with these words, which got a standing ovation:

“If Articles 2 and 3 were gone tomorrow, Dublin would still be over the border and Popery is Popery, and Popery can get a hold.” There was much flag-waving on behalf of the Ulster Defence Regiment, soon to be merged with the Royal Irish Rangers, much to

the chagrin of unionists. Delegates called for the return of the death penalty, curfews of republican areas, more SAS operations and other such measures. But the two main developments of Saturday’s conference came from the speeches by the party leader and his deputy.

Ian Paisley laid down his party’s newly extended list of preconditions for future inter-party talks in the North: absolutely no role for Dublin until the northern parties have reached agreement; a cast-iron guarantee that the South will abolish Articles Two And Three of its Constitution, without any unionist reciprocal gesture or “pay-off”; a “categorical assurance” that the inter-governmental conference will cease to meet, and the Maryfield Secretariat cease to function, for the whole duration of the talks; and finally, that the talks should take place in Westminster.

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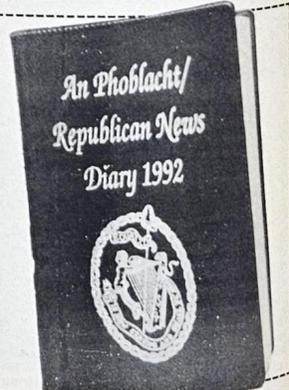
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News

Talks should start as soon as possible, Ian Paisley added, safe in the knowledge that no such thing could possibly happen now, with such a list of pre-conditions in the way. But to the average DUP voter the message would be clear enough: there would be no 'sell-out' to Dublin from Paisley's party.

The other key speech, from Paisley's deputy Peter Robinson, elaborated the views expressed by the DUP deputy leader some weeks ago. Last October, at the British Conservative Party conference, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd had said that "the discussion now focused not on the border or the unification of Ireland but on how Northern Ireland can run its affairs within the United Kingdom..." These words were taken by the main unionist party, the Official Unionist Party, and its leader James Molyneux, to indicate a shift in British government thinking from support for devolution to integration with Britain. Peter Robinson had disagreed, arguing that while the Hillsborough Agreement was in place, the Union was not safe — the classic unionist stance since 1985.

Last Saturday Peter Robinson went further, by suggesting that unless unionists could halt this inexorable drift towards 'Dublin rule', they would be required to "become masters of their own destiny" and go for an "independent Ulster". A unilateral declaration of independence, or UDI, such as that made by White Rhodesians in 1965, has always been branded by unionists as a threat to London, but never used, and has never enjoyed much unionist support in opinion polls. Like the 'bloodbath if Britain goes' scenario it belongs to the unionist arsenal of blackmail.

As it happens, Peter Robinson's 'independent Ulster' proposal was echoed by those in



● Peter Robinson (right) with former UFF commander John McMichael and Official Unionist John Carson. Robinson's proposal for an 'Independent Ulster' closely echoes the sentiments of the loyalist death squads

the DUP known to have close links with the UVF. The message to the British government is clear: unless the British stress that the Union is safe and that Dublin will have no meaningful role in a future arrangement,

loyalist death squads will escalate their attacks.

Unionists may feel despondent that six years after its signing the Hillsborough Treaty is still in operation. But contrary to John Hume's prediction, it

has not caused them to consider compromise, or become more pragmatic. And in 1991 as in 1921, it is northern nationalists who pay the price as Britain continues to shore up this sectarian statelet.

Dúirt Siad

What we need is a policy of extermination, shoot-to-kill or whatever name is attached to the permanent removal of republican terrorists who are destroying lives and property — Sammy Wilson, DUP press officer.

It doesn't change the leopard's spots — it (the 26 Counties) is still the gun-runners' haven — DUP member Ruby Gillespie on Willie McCrea's call for the deletion of Articles Two and Three.

The Roman Catholic Church is the problem in our province. Rome's aim is to destroy Protestantism, our children and our children's children. — DUP Councillor Roy Gillespie, a former B-Special.

The gun-runner Haughey, the Gadaffi of the west-ern world — DUP Councillor Oliver Gibson.

Deeply moved and greatly impressed — Tory MP Michael Mates at the Hillsborough Parliamentary Body on the collaboration of 26-County forces with the British along the border.

(The closed session) started off acrimoniously and could easily have got out of hand — Anonymous British MP at the Body.

Belfast is so close to Dublin; yet it is such a distance, it is the dark side of the moon. For people in the South, the North is the great family denial, the unruly deviant brother who's dying of AIDS. — Australian novelist Thomas Keneally.

Why is it that Irish politicians and the Dublin media are so ready to criticise Irish law and the Irish courts whenever Britain's will is not done? I wonder if it has anything to do with those politicians and media folk not having been taught Irish history beyond 1921. — Frank Dolan in the London-based Irish Post, November 23rd.

Reject O'Hagan's killers

POLLING takes place on Wednesday, December 11th, in the Sperrin by-election caused by the assassination of Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan in September. The mood in the area is still one of anger and determination that loyalist killers will not be allowed to decide for the people who will represent them.

Sinn Féin's Patsy Groogan is contesting the second by-election in the ward in a little over three months, but given the circumstances of O'Hagan's killing there is no sense of apathy whatsoever among the electorate and it seems clear that his killing will heavily influence the outcome of the poll.

Following the assassination, Magherafelt Council refused to accept a Sinn Féin co-optation and a by-election was called. Since Bernard's killing the council has not in any way acknowledged his death let alone expressed sympathy to his widow Fiona or family. During one attempt to have a vote of sympathy put before the council, Fiona and Mary Davey (widow of assassinated Councillor John Davey) were forcibly removed from the chamber by the RUC.

Prior to nominations for the by-

election, Fiona O'Hagan twice made appeals to both the SDLP and Workers' Party to stand united against Bernard's killers and, by refusing to stand candidates, not to give them any semblance of a victory. The unionist Workers' Party ignored the appeal and immediately declared their intention to stand. For their part the local SDLP made it clear that they did not wish to stand a candidate, but following much internal pressure led by ex-general secretary Patsy McGlone, they declared their intention to stand with only five days left to the close of nominations. Four prospective local candidates refused on principle even to consider running, thus forcing the SDLP executive to wait until an hour before the close of nominations before they could name their runner.

While the by-election has not drawn any wide media attention it is



being keenly followed in South Derry, where canvassers have most frequently met with the view that loyalist killers should not be allowed to decide who represents an area.

In a letter to the people of Sperrin, Fiona O'Hagan, Bernard's widow, describes how her husband "worked for all the people of this country,



● (Above) Patsy Groogan hands in his nomination papers for the Sperrin by-election brought about by the loyalist assassination of Sinn Féin Councillor, Bernard O'Hagan (left)

despised injustice and oppression and refused to be silent in spite of the enormous risk of speaking out publicly". She says she knew Bernard was shot "because his life, his qualities, his abilities and your votes represented a threat to those responsible for the injustices in our country". His killing was part of a plan "to silence and

frighten all who oppose, even peacefully, Britain's rule in Ireland".

Appealing for people to support Sinn Féin's Patsy Groogan she asks those who cannot do so not to "dilute the message" to her husband's killers by supporting others whom she asked publicly not to stand in the election.

MORE THAN ANY OTHER political figure, Garret FitzGerald dominated Irish politics in the 1980s. He revived a dying party, enabled the British to extradite political suspects from the 26 Counties and brought in the Hillsborough Agreement. This autobiography is a surprisingly faithful account of his actions and his thinking. It reads like a political diary written from the heart of the Irish political establishment and that explains both its strength and its weakness.

All in a Life is probably the most open testament of the Irish political elite we will ever read. In that tiny, exclusive world the experience of Irish nationalists living under British rule is virtually irrelevant. There is paranoia that the 'northern violence' will somehow spread south to disrupt the power-structure and that frantic fear dominates all other considerations.

Politicians don't normally rush to print with the details of cabinet meetings and the minute details of government. Maybe FitzGerald is aware that future historians won't be kind to him and *All in a Life* is an attempt to get his spoke in first. Maybe he's arrogant enough to believe that his worldview has attained the quality of holy writ and won't be contested.

Either way, FitzGerald's silences speak more eloquently than his many, many words. In these 650-odd pages, every cabinet discussion is meticulously recorded as are those of the Fine Gael front bench when he was out of office. EC political conflicts are reported in mind-numbing detail. But the author does not find room to mention either Bobby Sands or Nicky Kelly by name. FitzGerald was in government when Kelly was tortured in Garda custody and he headed the government which refused to exonerate Kelly on his release, basing this decision on the dubious legal practices of Lord Denning.

The Birmingham bombings figure in FitzGerald's account, but the Birmingham Six do not. He came into government for the first time when Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew were elected as IRA TDs. But he devotes only three lines to their election and doesn't even choose to mention their names either.

FitzGerald's silence on these matters is a symptom of the deep prejudice which dominates his thinking and which belies the cover photo of a smiling, kind-looking individual. He cannot name these people or mention the pain they endured because that would dignify them. They must be ignored because their very existence challenges the notion on which his political career is based.



That notion is clearly contained in the first reference this book makes to the civil rights struggle. Referring to the summer of 1971 (at which time he had become shadow Fine Gael finance minister) he writes: "Since the Derry march of October 1968, Northern Ireland had been casting a shadow over the whole island. Now, with the large-scale rioting of mid-August, it threatened the whole island's peace."

He does not choose to mention the pogroms, the murder by state forces over the decades of discrimination which preceded the riots. What moves him to

action is the 'shadow' of violence which seems — to him at least — to threaten the stability of the southern state.

"Despite my long-standing concern about the attitude of political parties in the Republic towards the North, I had not hitherto intervened in this policy area," he continues. Even moderate members of his own party reacted to these events in an "extreme" manner. A "dangerous vacuum" had appeared in Irish politics. FitzGerald's answer was not to increase pressure for an all-Ireland solution but the opposite — to remove the commitment to a united Ireland from the 26-County political scene.

Nationalists were being burned out of their homes and shot off the streets when they protested. That did not prompt FitzGerald to action but the fact that they fought back did. The loyalist veto over change had to be imported into 26-County politics. In his eyes, unity could only come about "with the consent of a majority in Northern Ireland". Britain "would never be cajoled nor intimidated into 'handing over' the North" against the loyalists' wishes. "Sterile" nationalism had to be abandoned in favour of an acceptance of partition.

At this point, FitzGerald was seen and saw himself as a liberal nationalist. But the political developments of the last 15-20 years led him in the opposite direction. That process can partly be explained by the author's childhood and upbringing, partly by the sheer cowardice of the parliament he had just joined. Unconsciously or not, the author exposes these two processes with extraordinary clarity.



The early chapters of *All in a Life* could nearly be sung to the tune of the song *Lloyd George Knew My Father*. In FitzGerald's case that was quite true. Desmond FitzGerald probably knew most of the British cabinet and was a government minister from the formation of the Free State until 1932. Holidays were often spent with relatives in South Kensington — more exclusive then than now — and there was a permanent army guard at the family mansion just south of Bray. His mother had opposed the Treaty, but living with a Free State minister as a husband, she seems to have adapted to his views.

By his own description, the young FitzGerald was a conservative, even by the standards of his day. His fellow university students also commented on his attitude towards the nearest foreign government when they christened him "Sir Garret FitzGerald, Bart.". The family's wealth diminished substantially after Desmond was thrown out of government and the son encountered a certain amount of poverty after leaving college.

Lloyd George knew my



• The Hillsborough Agreement has produced acres of paper and much windy talk but little else

But both Desmond's former government colleagues and his adversaries seem to have been generous towards Garret. Erskine Childers generously offered him a "sinecure" post on an arbitration panel to tide him over. Eventually, he secured a job with Aer Lingus where he was able to indulge his extraordinary appetite for figures and abstruse statistics. For a period, he became a journalist. When RTE television hired him for its first real election special in 1961, he could boast that he had all details of election results since 1943 — right down to the time when counts were declared.

At this point, the young 'economist' had struck up a relationship with Ken Whitaker, the central figure in the state's economic planning. He could have chosen a career in the state bureaucracy. But politics beckoned and he chose the latter in spite of advice from Whitaker. By 1969, when he finally won a parliamentary seat, FitzGerald had become an economic guru with a strong leaning towards the Common Market.

The parliament he joined was in political turmoil, as was the country. The civil rights struggle was failing to bring about reforms as the Unionist government's only answer to nationalists was repression. The Fianna Fáil government under Jack Lynch faced a choice between assisting nationalists to defend themselves or effectively

abandoning them to the loyalists. British troops were introduced and were rapidly becoming as repressive as Stormont's own forces.

Lynch abandoned both the nationalists and his own party's traditional commitment to nationalism. He turned on the republicans, not the British government and, with a few exceptions, he took his whole party with him. Thus the wind was blowing in the direction FitzGerald wanted, even before he left port.



From his own limited though lofty vantage point, FitzGerald began to develop his curious approach to politics. Far from challenging Stormont, the civil rights struggle represented "a belated and realistic 'opting in' to the Northern Ireland system". Every reference to the "legitimate grievances" of nationalists

had to be 'balanced' by "reassurance for the unionists". When the SDLP boycotted Stormont after internment, he is implicitly critical of this "very hard line". His boss, Liam Cosgrave is also criticised for calling for a British withdrawal in October 1971. The January 1972 massacre in Derry prompts him to boast of "the strength of our democratic system" because all the Fianna Fáil speeches were "directed towards taking the heat out of the situation".

But a number of references throughout the book show that FitzGerald has never really believed in the stability of that state. In 1975, when he was Foreign Affairs Minister, he told his British opposite number of "the danger of a political vacuum in Ireland in which extra-European powers such as the Soviet Union, China or Libya might be tempted to meddle". A similar nightmare was recounted to US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, but in this case, Cuba was the main bugbear.

Such lurid ideas about IRA intentions litter this work. During his 1981-2 government, FitzGerald blithely informed French President François Mitterrand that the IRA wanted "to establish a military dictatorship over the whole country". He chose to interpret a rhetorical remark by the late Dáithí Ó Conaill that the "Southern establishment would go by the board"

George father...

■ BY PAUL QUINN
Former Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald recently published his autobiography *All in a Life*. It is a revealing insight into the thought process of the leading members of the 26-County establishment, blowing sky-high, for example, their claims for the Hillsborough Agreement. In the week that marks the 70th anniversary of the signing of the 1921 London/Dublin Treaty AP/RN looks at an account that shows how very little changed in the motivation of the founders of the Free State and their successors — they still allow Britain to call all the shots.



● Desmond FitzGerald — supported the Treaty

in the event of a united Ireland, as a threat that the IRA would pursue civil war in such a situation.

Having worked himself up into such a frenzy about IRA intentions, FitzGerald was even more irritated by contacts between the British government and the republicans. When Harold Wilson visited Ireland as leader of the British Labour opposition to meet with the Republican Movement, FitzGerald talks of his "treason".

Monsignor Alibrandi, for 20 years the Papal Nuncio to Ireland, was treated to similarly patronising disdain when he tried to raise the conditions of political prisoners in FitzGerald's own jails.

Summoning up the bitterest insult he feels able to fling at a cleric, FitzGerald suggests that Alibrandi "confused Catholicism with extreme republicanism". By contrast, Cardinal O Flaherty, who is also charged with nationalist sentiment, gets off quite lightly. FitzGerald only found him guilty of creating "a serious obstacle" to peace by referring to people in Long Kesh as "our boys".

Of course, it might have occurred to FitzGerald to acquaint himself with the real intentions of the republicans. But that would have been rather difficult, as he refused point blank to meet even elected Sinn Féin representatives under any circumstances. In government he even tried to break up peace talks such as those at Feakle between republicans and some leading Protestant clergymen.

The IRA were "terrorists who threaten our state as well as Northern Ireland". During Sunningdale, he assured the British that his government "believed that the importance of defeating the IRA transcended all other considerations". After the failure of that agreement, there were proposals from the SDLP that the government of which FitzGerald was a part should prepare contingency plans in the event of a British withdrawal.

"We refused, however, as this would give the British the excuse they might want, to get out of Northern Ireland and it was our clear policy to avoid this at all costs."



The book shows that FitzGerald maintained throughout his life an extraordinary naivety about British intentions, even after he had been personally insulted by British politicians and civil servants. During the

Wilson/Callaghan governments, while Merlyn Rees was bumbling from one catastrophe to another or Roy Mason was attempting crude repression, he stubbornly maintained that there must be some form of British policy behind all this. Callaghan let him down badly after he lost the 1979 British election, when he candidly informed a US official that there really was no rationale to Labour's policy in Ireland after all.

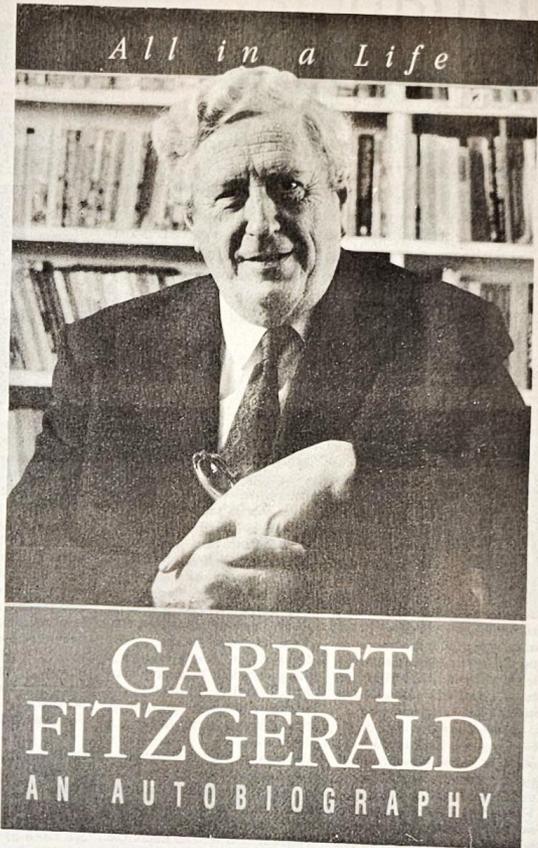
After Hillsborough, Margaret Thatcher failed to follow through on her promise to him that her government would ensure the UDR was accompanied by the RUC on patrols. "Nothing in the negotiations could have given reason to the Irish side to expect such an outcome," was FitzGerald's extraordinary remark. The entire process leading up to and away from Hillsborough had been marked by such breaches of faith on the part of the British.

Reviews of this book have made much of its 'honesty' and, by contrast with the usual run of political biographies, it is extremely frank. It certainly does provide scholars of political science with a mound of detail to work on. FitzGerald also admits he was wrong on a few minor issues. But on some matters of extreme importance, his account seems more like an apology-cum-cover-up rather than an honest account.

During the Heavy Gang period under the Cosgrave government, FitzGerald was made aware that torture was going on. But he failed to do anything substantial to stop it. He claims he was "prepared" to resign over the matter, but that he was "deflected from my purpose by a consensus in the government that we would be sending very conflicting signals to public opinion". So, because the same government was extending the length of time a suspect could be held for questioning, it was impossible to question Garda interrogation methods.

He was later approached by senior gardai on the matter in February 1977, but declined to do anything about it because of the "very negative reaction" he might get from other ministers who might complain he was interfering in their portfolio. So much for human rights...

He played an even more silent role in the O'Dálaigh scandal when the 26-County President was referred to as "a fucking disgrace" by a "tired and emotional" Paddy Donegan, then defence minister. O'Dálaigh was a former Supreme Court judge and had



reservations about whether some Coalition legislation was constitutional or not. He referred the legislation to the Supreme Court, as was his right, but that was not to the liking of the Cosgrave government. Cosgrave refused to let Donegan resign and, instead, O'Dálaigh did. Garret FitzGerald seems to have had extraordinarily little to say on this matter in cabinet.



This sort of biography invites us to judge Garret FitzGerald's entire political career — against his own standards, of course. Taken in that sense, FitzGerald must be seen to have failed. It is true that he managed to stamp his mark on the period in a more lasting fashion than his main rival, Charles Haughey. The Fianna Fáil leader initially opposed and then backed all of FitzGerald's main political projects except divorce.

But, from the perspective of 1991, FitzGerald's victories do not seem like

lasting ones. His 'constitutional crusade' was designed to lump the need for divorce in with his project to amend the 1937 constitution so as to accept the loyalist veto. There was and is a crying need for divorce in this country but this has been opposed by traditional forces, including Fianna Fáil. Some of these forces were also nationalist and it was FitzGerald's intention to tar nationalists with the conservatism of the 'anti-divorce' lobby. Those who wanted "pluralism" would be for divorce and against nationalism.

A constitutional crusade in this end was announced by FitzGerald when he came to power in 1981. To date, neither aspect of his project has been fulfilled. In fact, the state is less pluralist than it was in 1981, thanks largely to the Pro-Life Amendment Campaign which was launched by conservative Catholics in response to FitzGerald's initiative and to the fact that he disastrously handled the divorce referendum in 1986.

He has managed to bring in political extradition, but the effects of that have been mitigated in some cases by a tendency among Irish judges to uphold basic human rights at times. As for his "magnus opus" — the Hillsborough Agreement has produced acres of paper and much windy talk, but little else. The 1980s could well be seen as the FitzGerald era. But, as far as peace or human rights were concerned, they were a sad detour, a lost decade. In his autobiography, he boasts that his 1981 "vision" is "not dead but sleeping". We should all hope he's wrong.

Reviews/News

Financial fairytales

■ BY MICHAEL MORRISSEY

FINANCIAL TIMES surveys are nothing new. November 26th saw the *Financial Times* (FT) publish a survey on the Six-County economy. The FT's smoked salmon coloured pages portrayed an economy that many citizens of the statelet might not recognise. There were articles on fair employment, tourism, the notorious Lagan-side development, agriculture, and there was considerable mention of the 'troubles'.

The survey is ambiguous, misleading and at times confused.

For example the citizens of the Six Counties are supposed to be comforted by the notion that the recession that has gripped Britain has not "gouged" the Six Counties as deeply. Even though unemployment in the Six Counties is twice the British average it only grew by 1% in the Six Counties as compared to 2.5% in Britain. The Six Counties, we are told, have been cushioned by two things: lower property prices and high public sector spending. Elsewhere in the survey it is let slip that £7 billion has been "pencilled in for spending in 1992-93".

Sixty-three per cent of the Six Counties, GNP is made up of public sector spending. Forty per cent of the workforce is employed in the public sector. The survey does not explicitly say where Westminster spends public sector funds, but as one reads through the articles little clues appear. One such expenditure item is Belfast's Lagan-side development. Lagan-side we are told in a quarter page ad is "building a future for Belfast". This docklands and

riverbank development will cost £100 million to redevelop 120 acres of land alongside one and a half miles of the river Lagan. Basically you get to work with a view. The only problem we are told is "how to overcome the barrier between the centre of the city and the river that is presented by the heavily fortified law courts".

It seems that the British presence in Belfast is not conducive to property development. Another source of expenditure is the Industrial Development Board (IDB). Their ad proclaims that the Six Counties is "where blue chip companies find their grey matter". If that is not enough the small print on the ad reveals that it has not moved much from the De Lorean days, telling potential industrialists: "If that isn't enough the IDB's range of financial incentives and on-going support is the most flexible in Europe." However, the IDB sees its main role as supporting industries capable of surviving in the European single market. Their only problem is "the troubles". Senior executive Frank Hewitt, told the FT that "we could wipe the floor with the competition if

NORTHERN IRELAND



Quest for harmony



WHERE BLUE CHIP COMPANIES FIND THEIR GREY MATTER

we didn't have the troubles".

Ah the "troubles", now we come an important source of expenditure and employment in the Six Counties. Only last week 441 new jobs were announced (More RUC persons, remember?). In an article titled "a difficult war to win", we read of the new steel and concrete observation towers being built along the border. We hear of the 30,000 "security forces" who are equipped with the "most sophisticated weaponry available to a modern army, such as helicopters, advanced telecommunications...computer databases".

The reason for such considerable expenditure is the "IRA, a dedicated and ruthless band of some 400-500 paramilitaries" who according to the FT, are "one of the best trained guerrilla organisations in the world today". How much of the £7 billion "pencilled in for spending" in 1992-93 will go on fighting this war is not mentioned.

Considerable column space

THE IRELAND 2

Employment, development, security, the peace, and border

is ceilings and other barrier

Power to the people

Village days are c

An economy of cont

How does it work? Looking for an answer? The answer

The old hand at the NIO

Gloom over rural fields

A difficult war to win

The Crown estimates the height of the troubles

A problem with perception

Happily in the black

Eddie Friel, newly appointed chief executive of the tourist board. This will be done by "spearheading a public relations drive". The only problem is to overcome the Six Counties' "Terrorist image". Like most other occasions when the troubles impinge into the rosy dreams of Six-County civil servants, the answer is to try and convince both themselves and those outside Ireland that an expensive publicity campaign will ease the pain.

Shorts and Harland and Wolff are "happily in the black". Both have secured orders to last. Both companies reported profits last year. Shorts has a billion pound order book, while Harland and Wolff 'won' the biggest ever order for merchant shipping. This will keep the yard working into the mid-1990s. All of these figures are tossed off without a mention of fair employment practices at either company.

Fair employment is covered in a lengthy article, where we hear of the difficulties of the

Fair Employment Commission (FEC) in trying to "break down sectarian barriers in Ulster". There is no mention of the MacBride principles or the Directory of Discrimination. The FEC admits that the statistics show that "a Catholic is two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than a Protestant". Surprised?

The whole survey presents a state that exists only in the advertisements, press statements and publicity campaigns of the Northern Ireland Office. Property development is a "problem of perception". The NIO are engaged on a "Quest for harmony". The underlying theme of the survey shows that the NIO has three policies in relation to the Six Counties. The first is to write a blank cheque for the crown forces in their "difficult war". Next they write a blank cheque to publicise the positives. This means we get statements like "Traffic accidents kill more people than bombs or bullets every year". If that fails, send for Richard Needham.

Brutal assault precedes Needham visit

FOUR YOUNG COALISLAND MEN were set upon and beaten by members of the crown forces in an attack which was linked to the tightened military presence in preparation for a visit by British minister Richard Needham. The young people were travelling home on Thursday, November 28th, in two separate cars when they were stopped at the junction of Main Street and Stewartstown Road.

One of the men, Dwyer Girvan, was taken from the first car and hit in the face with a torch by a RUC man. A second man, Fergal O'Donnell, was forced to the ground and was severely beaten by being punched and kicked by two of the attackers.

The two other young men, Gregory Hughes and Seamus Quinn, received similar treatment with the latter receiving a broken nose after one soldier head-butted him while still wearing his helmet.

All four men were eventually arrested, and subsequently released. When examined by the police doctor and by their own GPs, Fergal O'Donnell was instructed to attend the South Tyrone Hospital for an X-ray as it was feared he may have sustained a broken neck resulting from the assault.

He was detained in the hospital for two days. Commenting on the assaults and arrests, Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy said:

"These attacks are the consequence of the security operation to protect Richard Needham when he visited Coalisland. Every time Jim Canning and the Development Association invite a British minister into Coalisland the local population are harassed and brutally assaulted to enable Mr Needham to be seen by TV viewers 'freely' walking round Coalisland.

"When Mr Needham arrived on Friday morning, November 30th, I, accompanied by Jim O'Donnell father of Fergal, approached him and Independent Councillor Jim Canning, to protest about the assault on the four

young people when I was pinned against a railing by a number of RUC men.

"When they finally let me go I

made a second attempt to protest to Needham but was prevented from doing so by the RUC. They even went so far as to stop me from walking

about the town.

"Such occurrences are an illustration of the type of 'democracy' we are forced to live in; when elected representatives are blocked from making a protest to enable Jim Canning and Richard Needham, who is elected by no-one in this country, to go walk-about."



● Sinn Féin Councillor Francie Molloy being assaulted by the RUC in Coalisland during British minister Needham's 'visit' to the town last Thursday

Reviews

Radio Times Thought for food

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

THERE ARE few things more congenial to my digestive process than hearing British ministers flustered, piqued or in full rant.

Last week the scatty Lord Belstead (who makes Stan Laurel look like Action Man) wore his bewildered Diddyman face when asked by journalists to explain what was happening in Crumlin Road Jail. Having just read out a prepared statement on the steps of Stormont Castle, Belstead came under a withering salvo of difficult questions before almost bursting into tears and with lips aquivering turned tail.

Brian Mawhinney one cannot take seriously. Those dark suits and lying eyes. That sleek smile. That totally insincere intonation in his voice, even when in the midst of attacking the IRA for blowing up streets and streets of millions of pounds worth of new investment, the money for which, I am convinced, is personally coming out of the pocket of the apoplectic Richard Needham.

Richard Needham. What a guy. Opens a new office block on Tuesday, loses it by Wednesday. He'll never be out of work. He has his own evening shows on TV and radio, just like Terry Wogan. I love Richard Needham. There, I've said it. I love Richard Needham. The proboscis with the prognosis. And I know that he just loves Ireland too. He reinforces my faith and conviction in our struggle. My gastric juices flow when I hear him rage. I eat contentedly, feel replete and smug.

After Musgrave Park he said that the British government would never talk to the IRA, "not in a thousand years". I almost leaped the fence with excitement, wondering had talks already begun! I remembered Ian Smith

in 1979 when he said not in a thousand years would there be Black majority rule in Rhodesia — a year before the White majority government surrendered power in Zimbabwe.

Richard Needham's problem, and Peter Brooke's problem, is one of credibility. We simply don't believe them when they say that the British government is never for moving. I wonder can that penetrate or is the cultural barrier too wide?

We don't believe what they say.

We especially don't believe them when that same message is delivered unintellectually through clenched teeth and flared nostrils. However, their performances do make the food in here that little bit more palatable.

The cuddliest face in the new, caring Conservative Party, its chairperson, Chris Patton, a former junior minister at the NIO, was in session on the *Nicky Campbell Show* (BBC Radio 1).

Campbell is a good interviewer and knows how to use ridicule to provoke elaborations but often lacks aggression. Previous guests have included Paul Hill and Ian Paisley (with a honeyed, North Carolina accent).

Patton declared that this father's parents were the children of immigrant Irish, forced out by the potato famine. His father played drums in a band before becoming a music publisher, publishing, among other songs, Guy Mitchell's *She wears red feathers in a hula-hula skirt*. I'm humming it now. Unfortunately, Dad didn't hold

on to the copyright, Chris had to work for a living and ended up for a time in the North, opening up new office blocks (yes, the very same scam) office blocks opened previously by his predecessor Nicholas Scott and latterly by his successor Jimmy Durante.

Patton said that he is a devout Catholic and became obsessed with Irish literature and Irish history when he was posted here. The records he chose to be played were: *Handle me with care* — The Travelling Wilburys; *Just like Belgium* — Elton John; *Sunday Girl* — Blondie; the one his Da published, though I'm not humming it just at the minute because I've an apple in my mouth; and, *Wonderful Tonight* — Eric Clapton.

Campbell attempted to get him to explain or to attempt to understand why so many nationalists voted for Sinn Féin. "I don't find it very easy to understand how anyone could even give a second-cousin endorsement to those who support violence," he said. By this stage I was positively salivating but it was almost half-past eleven, I had no access to big food and breakfast wasn't until half-past eight in the morning. He then said, "It's the Catholic judges and the Catholic policemen who are the real heroes." Now my stomach was rumbling. It had to be the old mafia-line next: "... the violence ceases to be connected to a political cause and becomes mafiosa, rackets, drinks, gambling and gaming..."

I climbed into bed contented. Satisfied that Balliol College and all the other universities in England had yet to produce one scholar in Irish politics.

Radio 4's *Thirty-Minute Theatre* featured *Maiden City Magic*, Derry writer Jack Houlihan's first radio play, produced by the BBC's drama department in Belfast. It opens with Roberta, a young Protestant girl, the daughter of an RUC sergeant, looking out across the Foyle from her attic window in her home in the Waterside. She sees the searchlight of an army helicopter "slicing through the black night" and she chews on



● No scholar in Irish politics — cuddly Chris Patton

the constant fear of her father having been killed.

She recalls the night she came downstairs very late to discover her father in his uniform, tunic undone, shoelaces untied, lying in a chair, with his gun in his hand in deep contemplation. She took it from him but he told her that everything was okay. (In fact, Houlihan strays very close to breaking a cardinal rule in drama which says that if a gun is introduced in the first scene it has to go off before the last. But there's a successful twist in this tale.)

In another scene it is New Year's Eve, and Roberta reports to her mother and sister things she has heard at her mixed school about Catholics up in the Creggan setting fire to their cats and dogs as part of some primitive sacrifices and this fascinates her. (Though, it also may make the point about how ignorance can prevail even when there is putative integration.) Roberta has an idea and forces her will on her mother and sister. They kneel down around the table on

which is placed a jar and each of them imagines all the bad things, all the hurts and misfortunes, that exist in the world and they send the images into this jar which is to be sealed. Roberta has to get to the garden, bury the jar and be back in before *Auld Lang Syne* for the magic to work. It was the thought of her daddy with the gun in his hand contemplating suicide which was the image she forced into the jar.

Suddenly the door raps and the mother faints. It's the father. He's drunk and comes in giving off abuse, presses them for an explanation and then angrily demands the jar and becomes violent. He smashes the jar on the ground and it's the last straw in an unhappy marriage. His wife packs her bags and leaves. But Roberta can't leave him and stays behind.

In the final scene she's looking out her attic window, wondering what's to become of her family, reflecting that all the suffering really had escaped from the jar: "My city hasn't slept in 20 years. Yesterday they



● Bewildered Belstead

found a policeman in his car parked at the boatclub beside the river. He was 21 and had shot himself. I'm sure he had a story but nobody to tell it to, except the river."

Martyn Lewis, the BBC TV news presenter, has just written a book about cats. Interviewed, he told the following story about an elderly woman whose cat was stuck up a tree during the firemen's strike in 1977/78. The British army was called in to rescue Tiddles. They eventually succeeded in getting the cat down and in celebration the squaddies were all rewarded with tea and cakes. When they were leaving they reversed over Tiddles and killed it.

That's cat, isn't it? Could have been worse. Tiddles could have been barbecued up in the Creggan!

A tour to remember

JUST IN TIME for Christmas, and as a fitting climax to this year's celebrations of the 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising, a special cassette tape featuring a host of distinguished artists has been produced by the Reclaim the Spirit of Easter 1916 Committee, supported by Dublin 1991 Cultural Capital of Europe.

The one-hour tape, with narrative, music, poetry and song, illustrates a conducted tour of the outposts in Dublin where the insurgents of Easter Week 1916 held out against British forces.

The vivid script, narrated by Donncha O'Dulaing, is by

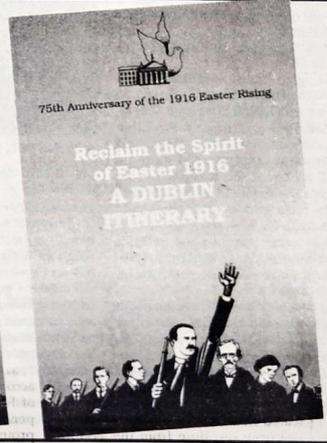
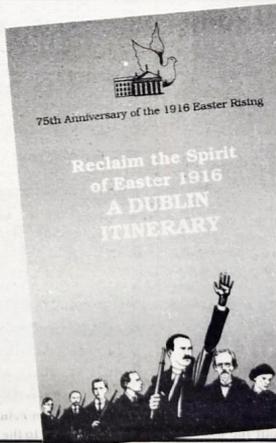
Tomás MacAnna who also produced the tape. There is poetry read by Bosco Hogan and Eithne Dempsey and music by a group of talented traditional musicians and vocalist Joan McDermott, under the direction of Gerard Keenan. Piper Sean Og Potts, flute

player Cormac Breatnach and Niall O'Callanain on bouzouki are featured.

This is a unique tape which can be used on the 1916 history trail or listened to with pleasure without undertaking the walk. It contains the story of 1916, of the people who took part and the places associated with their courageous actions, with appropriate music and verse, including the voice of Siobhán McKenna and the inspiring *Mise Éire* music by Seán O Riada.

The tape, accompanied by a map of the 1916 trail, would make a beautiful Christmas gift for Irish people at home and abroad.

● A *Dublin Itinerary* costs £6.99 and is available at all leading retail outlets.



Nuacht

Geimhreadh na míshástachta i nGaillimh

■ LE EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC

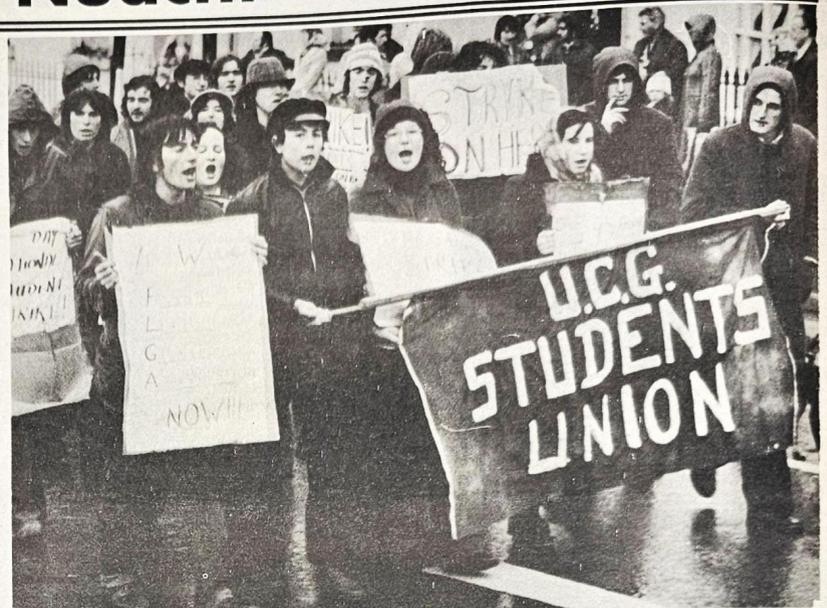
DON dara ócáid istigh coicís bhí mic léinn ó Choláiste Ollscoil na Gaillimhe ar na sráideanna agus i mbun agóidíochta an tseachtain seo. Reachtálaíodh Lá Mór na hAgóide chun aire údarais na hOllscoile a dhíriú ar fhadhbanna eagsúla nár sásaíodh, dar leis na mic léinn, cé gur iomaí cruinniú a bhí acu le stiúrthóirí an choláiste. Chaith na mic léinn an lá iomlán idir 2.00 in go dtí moch sa mhaidin ina dhiaidh ag cinntiú nach féidir leis na húdarais a rá nach raibh a fhios acu faoi ghearáin na mic léinn.

Ag caint le mórshlua de bhreis agus 1,000 mac léinn a chruinnigh isteach i bpríomhchearnóg na hOllscoile díreach tar éis lóin a ithe i mbialann phlodaíthe mhaigh Uachtarán Chomhaltas na Mac Léinn, Ronan Mullan, go raibh said tinn tuirseach ag ardú na gceisteanna i mbealach ciúin leis na húdarais.

"Tá fadhbanna spás, fadhbanna áiseanna, agus fadhbanna maoinithe i gceist anseo", arsa sé. "I mbliana d'fhógair Udarais an Choláiste go mbeadh £2.5 milliún punt ann le cur isteach i bhfoirgneamh deas nua d'Eolaíocht na Mara. Níl ag cáineadh riachtanas eolaíocht mara, ach fad agus atá foirgneamh ard-mhaisithe mar sin á thógáil acu, tá dal-

taí go fóill ina suí ar urlár le linn léach-tanna, tá spás de dhíth chun bialann cuí a thógáil, agus níl seomraí ag na cumainn eagsúla san Ollscoil dá gceid imeachtaí, mar shampla téatar ceart don chumann drámaíochta. Tá Udarais na hOllscoile ag dítlú airgead a chaitheamh a shásóidh éilimh na mac léinn. Tá spás uainn, agus tá spás uainn inniu."

Tar eis na n-óráidí, lean an mhórshliú ar aghaidh chuig tár na cathrach agus ar feadh uair go leith stadadh an trácht fad agus a bhí na mic léinn ag máirseáil. Reachtálaíodh agóid lasmuigh d'Ofíóg RTE sa chathair nuair a dhúiltaigh an stáisiún tuairisceoir a chur chuig an mhórshliú, ach rinne *Raidió na Gaeltachta* agus *Raidió a hAon*,



● Tá sé geallta ag Comhaltas na Mac Léinn i nGaillimh go leanfaidh siad ar aghaidh le sraith agóidí eile

agus *Radio Pirate Woman Galway* agallamh le mic léinn faoi na fadhbanna a chúisigh an agóid.

Coicís ó shin d'eaigh Comhaltas na Mac Léinn agóid ag Oifigí Chomhairle Chontae na Gaillimhe le haire a tharraingt ar mhóilí domhainte na comhairle ag foc na ndeantais

scolaireachta. Tá meon agóide ag fás i measc na ndáltaí faoi láthair mar ní fheiceann ceannairí an chomhaltais bealach eile lena bhfadhbanna a réiteach seachas iad a thabhairt amach as na clabhstair agus ar shráideanna Gaillimhe chun tacaíocht a iarraidh ón ghnáth-

phobail. Is léir go bhfuil geimhreadh na míshástachta ó comhair Udarais an Choláiste nó go bhfuil sé geallta ag Comhaltas na Mac Léinn go leanfaidh siad ar aghaidh anois le sraith agóidí eile agus imeachtaí chun aird an phobail a choinneáil ar cheistean-na istigh an coláiste.

Tri sháile an chime

Beirt Libiach 'ciontaithe' cheana

■ LE JOE McQUILLAN

SHIUIL Engin Raghair agus Mark Braithwaite saor ón chuir acmharc, tar éis doibh cúig bliana a chaitheamh i gcarair ar chúis dúnmaraithe PC Blakelock, dúnmarú nach ndearna siadsan. Caitheadh an chúis amach a bhí ina gcoinne, agus i gcoinne fear eile, Winston Silcott, sa deireadh thiar thall. Dúirt an cúisitheoir go raibh an bhleachtairé Graham Melvin a bhí i mbun an cháis "go follasach mímhacánta".

Le linn clár coiméide a chuala mé an tseachtain seo bhí sceitse ann. Bhí duine ann agus é ag cur i gcás go raibh sé ag tabhairt agallamh ar Melvin:

Agallóir, "Cogar mé seo a Bhleachtairé Melvin cad chuige ar chuir tú cúiseanna bréaga i gcoinne an tríúr seo?"

Melvin, "Bhuel, ní raibh Eireannach le fáil".

Cí go bhfuil creidiúint na Breataine ina smidiríní athuair tá siad ag éileamh (i dteannta leis na Poncánaigh) go dtuagann An Libia beirt dá saoránach dóibh. Tá rialtais na Breataine agus na SAM ag rá go bhfuil an bheirt seo freagrach as an bhuma Lockerbie. Dhearbhaigh rialtas na Libia go mbeidís toilteanach an bheirt a chur ar triail áit ar bith seachas an Bhreatain agus na Stáit Aontaithe. Creideann siad nach dtabharfadh na tortha seo cothrom na féinne dóibh.

Ar ndóigh séanann na Breatain agus seo ach i ráiteas atá scaoite saor acu, tá siad ag rá go bhfuil siad ar lorg na beirte agus go gcaithfidh An Libia cúiteamh a íoc chomh maith. Is sóilíf má tá siad ag éileamh cúitímh go bhfuil an bheirt ciontaithe acu cheana féin. Dúirt Tá taidhleoir Arabach a



● WINSTON SILCOTT

bhfuil cóip de na páipéir cúiseanna feicthe aige go bhfuil siad mar phlota greanta Hollywood.

Tá teoriciú scarrúil ann, 's é sin go bhfuil na Breatain agus na Poncánaigh ag moladh go ndéanfaí ionsaí míleata i gcoinne na Libia. Tá na moltaí sin á gcur i gcló sna nuachtáin ach feictear go bhfuil sé ligthe i ndearamad acu gur chreid na rialtais seo go raibh na Sírih freagrach as Lockerbie, go dtí gur chuidigh siad leis na Poncánaigh i gCogadh na Mursacaille, agus go ndearna na rialtais seo ionsaí ar An Libia, ionsaí a mharaigh páiste agus mná, i dtús báire.

Is linne na tithe móra

■ LE SEACHRANAI

LEIGH mé an méid a bhí le rá ag Eoghan Mac Cormaic in alt na seachtaine seo caite faoin tine ag teach Henry Mountcharles i mBaile Shláine, Contae na Mí agus maraon le Eoghan níl trua dá laghad agam don Tiarna Henry ná dá leitheid. Ach tá fadhb agam leis an alt a scríobh Eoghan.

Ba mhaith an rud é do Mountcharles dul go Duibhis nó go Darndál agus drochthithocht ár gosmhuintire a fheiceáil. Ach an gciallaíonn sin gur cuma linn nuair a scríobair foirgneamh mar Theach Shláine? Ní cuma liomsa. Cé gur

i ngleic Hooray Henry atá an teach agus gach rud atá nó a bhí ann, is le muintir na hÉireann go firinneach é Chuir alt Eoghain i gcuimhne dom an méid a chuala mé ó fhear blianta ó shin. Cheap sé gur chóir foirgnimh mar Theach an



● Is le muintir na hÉireann uile foirgnimh mar na Ceithre Chúirt

Chustaim agus na Ceithre Chúirt a scríodh mar gur tógadh iad ag lucht na dtiarnaí talún agus rialtais na Breataine.

Bhain na tiarnaí talún nua, na 'property speculators', úsáid mhaith as mothúcháin mar sin nuair a scríos siad an-chuid de chathair Atha Cliath. Bhí siad ag ligint orthu go raibh siad ag cur deiridh le seannach ach ghoird siad maoin agus timpeallacht mhuintir na cathrach.

Gnáthoibríteoirí na tíre seo a thóg na seanhoirgnimh atá i gceist againn. Obair agus talamh mhuintir na hÉireann — b'shin bunús an tsuibhris a thóg na tithe móra. Is le muintir na hÉireann iad agus an ealaíon a théann leo. Féach mar shampla sa Rúis, choiméid siad paláis na Sear don phobal le linn réabhlóide, frithréabhlóide agus athréabhlóide.

An cuma linn nuair a dhéantar truailliú ar abhaltn atá i ngleic tiarna talún? Bas mainistreacha móra a raibh saibreas na tíre acu a tháinig Leabhar Ceannannais agus a leitheid, an cuma linn má scríosar iad?

Tá tithocht mhaith do chách, agus paláis agus ealaíon don phobal uainn. Mar a deir an t-amhrán, arán agus róis.

Saoirse nua

Tá Saoirse nua ar fáil.

Altanna ar na stailceanna ocráis, saoire na Thompson, cultúr, stair an Thompson, crosfhocal, léirmheasanna agus breis.

Is féidir síntiús ceithre eagrán a ordú ó:

An t-Eagarthóir, Saoirse, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1.

● £4 an costas ar shíntiús ceithre eagrán.





● Miguel Martinez Moras from the Cuban Embassy in London who spoke at the launch of the Ireland/Cuba Solidarity Campaign in Dublin on November 27th

DEFEND CUBA

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

"If I have to eat dirt I'm staying here and fighting to keep this revolution going."

Cathy Power, a past president of the Ireland/Cuba Friendship Society, who lived in Havana for three years, was telling of a Cuban friend's determination to carry on despite the declining economic fortunes of the island nation. The Ireland/Cuba Solidarity Campaign was officially launched at a well-attended meeting in Dublin on Wednesday evening, November 27th. The meeting was chaired by artist Robert Ballagh.

Power told of her experiences living in a socialist country, of going to Cuba to learn Spanish and ending up within a few months working as a translator for the official Cuban news agency. "The misinformation about what is going on in Latin America

that we get here from the major news agencies is incredible," she said.

She described the increased rationing in the country due to changing economic fortunes in the wake of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc in Europe. She emphasised that it is important to note that this increase in hardship should be seen in relative terms. Poverty in Cuba bears no relation to poverty in Mexico, nobody goes hungry and Cuba has excellent educational and health systems.

She said that Cubans are always giving out about their bus service. There is a shortage of fuel and spare parts, but apparently Dublin's bus system just doesn't come close to matching its

Havana counterpart. With typical resourcefulness the Cubans are importing an enormous amount of bicycles from Vietnam and China to compensate for these shortages.

Labour Party TD Michael D Higgins recalled better days for Cuba when the strangest of conservative trade union leaders were going off to get their pictures taken with Fidel Castro. These same type of people are now saying that something better or purer might come out of the collapse of the Cuban revolution. His main point though was that the issue of Cuba's survival is essentially "an issue of sovereignty".

Miguel Martinez Moras, from the Cuban Embassy in London, started by contrasting the friendly atmosphere he had encountered in a few hours in Dublin with his experience of history. He described the 33-year history of the US economic blockade and the present-day threats to Cuba's survival. The survival of Cuba in the face of US aggression

was "an historic feat". He outlined Cuba's excellent record on the provision of health services. The average life expectancy in Cuba is 76 years while the infant mortality rate is 10.7 per thousand births. Despite US pressure on the Soviet Union to break off trading relations with Cuba, his country would continue to trade with the Soviets as long as possible. He explained how a Cuban motion to the United Nations General Assembly calling for a priority to be put on calling for an end to the US blockade has had to be postponed because many 'third world' countries, dependant on the US for trade, were facing intimidation on how to vote, being warned of "the negative consequences of voting in favour of Cuba".

The public meeting was the culmination of Cuba Week, which also featured a sponsored bicycle ride from Dublin to Naas and a pub quiz to raise funds for the international "A boat for Cuba Campaign" the object of which is to attempt to raise £700,000 to fill a tanker of oil to send to Cuba.

IN BRIEF...

Manchester rally calls for British withdrawal

THE 124th ANNIVERSARY of the executions of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien — the Manchester Martyrs — was marked with a march and rally in Manchester. The march included three republican flute bands — the Pollock Flute Band, the Sons of Ireland and the Wolfe Tone Band who travelled from Glasgow. The Manchester Trades Council supported the march and sent representatives who carried the Trades Council banner. Other banners in evidence included the Troops Out Movement, Pakistani Workers' Association, and the Campaign against State Terrorism in Sri Lanka.

A rally a solidarity statement from Dessie Ellis was read out in which he commended the Manchester Martyrs Committee for their concerted campaign on his behalf over the past 12 months.

The Committee reaffirmed that the way to solve the ills of the Six Counties was to allow the Irish people to determine their own future and the starting point was a British withdrawal.

No Square deal for Bloody Sunday march

THE British Department of the Environment has banned the Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland from holding its rally to mark the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday next January in Trafalgar Square. Preparations are well advanced for the demonstration which is expected to be one of the largest in recent years.

The march on January 25th goes from Hyde Park to Kilburn. In a letter to Committee member and Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn, Baroness Blatch on behalf of the British government said that the ban on Irish-related events being held in Trafalgar Square had only been only lifted twice in the last 20 years — once for the 'Peace' People in 1976 and again for the Better Life For All Campaign run by the Northern Ireland Congress of Trade Unions. The Baroness described these anti-republican and pro-British campaigns as "non-controversial and non-partisan".

Jeremy Corbyn said he hoped the march will send a signal to the British government that its policies have failed in Ireland.

"Citizens died on Bloody Sunday peacefully protesting against the horrendous internment without trial policy. Twenty years later internment is still being proposed as some sort of solution. How long more will the people of Northern Ireland and the people of Britain have to endure the continuing bankruptcy of government policy in relation to Northern Ireland?"

Cork youth honoured

FIANNA EIREANN in Cork commemorated the three Cork Fianna members who have laid down their lives in the national liberation struggle with a ceremony in St Finbarr's cemetery on November 16th, the 70th anniversary of the death of Patrick Hanly.

George O'Mahoney laid a wreath on behalf of the associate members of Fianna Eireann while Mandy Bullman and Paul Coveney laid wreaths on behalf of Fianna Eireann, Cork. The *Last Post* was sounded.

The main oration was given by Tipperary priest Patrick Ryan. In his speech Ryan drew attention to the current harassment being suffered by Fianna members in Cork.

SF Irish kick out consul

THE Irish community in San Francisco has delivered an embarrassing rebuke to the Dublin government with the removal of its Consul-General from his position as honorary chairperson of the United Irish Societies. The vote was taken after Sean Murphy of Irish Northern Aid urged that the consul be dropped because of the Dublin government's extradition of Dessie Ellis.

Now no 26-County consul may hold the honorary chair until the Dublin government formally asks the British government to withdraw from Ireland. The vote was seen as very significant by Irish activists, as the United Irish Societies is the largest umbrella organisation of Irish groups in

the state of California. It consists of 33 Irish cultural, sporting, political and social organisations.

Speaking after the vote on November 24th, Sean Murphy said that the Dublin government "sank to a new depth when they handed over Dessie Ellis to the British on a stretcher. Maybe



● Dessie Ellis outside Leinster House, seat of the government which handed him over to the British on a stretcher

Dessie's suffering was not all in vain if it helped to expose the

slave mentality of those in power in Ireland."

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

SIGNING OF THE TREATY

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE TREATY OF DECEMBER 1921, signed following the threat of "immediate and terrible war" by the British government. This began partition, split the Republican Movement, deeply divided the Irish people, and had far-reaching consequences for Ireland and its people.

In the autumn of 1921, three months after the Truce and following weeks of correspondence between the Irish and British governments, it was agreed to convene a conference in London on terms which were without pre-conditions between representatives of both sides.

Plenipotentiaries to meet the British were appointed by Eamon de Valera, President of the Irish Republic and approved by Dáil Éireann on September 14th. The five members of the Irish government chosen to open negotiations with the British in October were: Arthur Griffith (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Michael Collins (Minister for Finance), Robert Barton (Minister for Economic Affairs), Eamon Duggan TD and George Gavan Duffy TD. Erskine Childers was chosen as secretary and adviser to the delegation.

As Envoys/Plenipotentiaries of the Irish Republic, they were authorised "to negotiate and conclude on behalf of Ireland, with the representatives of

His Majesty George V a treaty or treaties of settlement, association and accommodation between Ireland and the Community of Nations known as the British Commonwealth".

All five delegates were given written instructions that no decisions on key issues were to be taken and that no treaty was to be signed without the approval of the cabinet in Dublin, which was to be kept regularly informed of the progress of the negotiations.

Full negotiations with the British representatives which included David Lloyd George (British Prime Minister), Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill, Austen Chamberlain, Sir Hamar Greenwood, L Worthington Evans and Gordon Hewart, began in London on October 11th.

The draft of the Treaty (or articles of agreement) which was discussed throughout October and November was presented to the Irish cabinet in Dublin and rejected on December 3rd. There was dissatisfaction as to the status which Ire-

land would have (Dominion status), the form and degree of association with the British Commonwealth, the oath of allegiance to the king and Empire, and the question of the future of the Six-County northern state (established since June 1921). It was clearly understood by the delegates, as they returned to London, that the Treaty would not be signed until it had once more been referred back to the Irish cabinet.

Negotiations with the British were resumed on December 4th and continued throughout the next day.

During the prolonged negotiations the British had sized up their opponents on the Irish side, noted their weakness and strength, and through their diplomatic finesse and vast experience and skill as negotiators, they began to break down the Irish team.

The British secured an agreement from Griffith, unknown to the other delegates. This was to sign the Treaty which would partition Ireland, following the promise of a Boundary Commission which would hand over several northern counties to the new Free State so as to make the northern state economically unviable. Realising that Griffith was the weakest member of the Irish team who nevertheless would persuade the others to agree, Lloyd George issued an ultimatum to the Irish delegates to sign the Treaty by 9pm on the night of December 5th or face "immediate and terrible war".

Lloyd George would not permit the decision to be referred back to the Irish Cabinet in Dublin. Following hours of

discussion and argument, the Irish delegates gave in, one by one, and agreed to sign the Treaty in direct contravention of their written instructions from Dáil Éireann the previous September. Childers, who was not one of the delegates, refused to accept the Treaty and his advice that the Irish team break-off the negotiations and return to Ireland was rejected. At 2.20am the following morning the Treaty was signed by the Irish and British delegates.

The Treaty contained 18 Articles of Agreement including Dominion status for the 26-County Free State within the British Commonwealth, partition and the creation of two artificial states, an oath of allegiance to the English King and British empire, continued occupation of Irish ports by British forces, the payment of compensation to ex-British officials in Ireland

and a limitation on the size of the Free State defence forces.

At a cabinet meeting on December 8th, following the return to Ireland of the Irish delegation, the Treaty was accepted by four votes to three; for acceptance were Griffith, Collins, Barton and William T Cosgrave; de Valera, Cathal Brugha and Austin Stack voted against. It was now up to Dáil Éireann either to approve or reject the Treaty.

For a month after the signing of the Treaty, intense debate ensued in the Dáil and throughout Ireland on the question of accepting or rejecting a Treaty which would mean the surrender of the Irish Republic, declared almost three years earlier by Dáil Éireann.

The Treaty which dramatically altered the course of Irish history was signed on December 6th 1921, 70 years ago this week.

PRISONERS LIST

The Sinn Féin POW Department wishes to apologise for the inadvertent omission of several names of sentenced republican prisoners from the list published in AP/RN last week.

The prisoners were:

PORTLAOISE

Peter Rogers (Andersonstown) 40 years

Tommy McMahon (Crossmaglen) Life

H-BLOCKS

Kevin Crilly (Armagh) 15 years

Joe McFall (Portlengone) 8 years

Peadar Ferguson (Newry) 14 years

(includes free buffet). Organised by the Bloody Sunday March Organising Committee

FUNCTION: Featuring The Irish Brigade, Saturday 14th December, Wexford Inn, DUBLIN

CANDLELIGHT PICKET: For Pamela Kane, 8pm Saturday 21st December, Limerick Prison, LIMERICK. For further information contact Tom Ciancy, Phone 2061-53855

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 6.30pm every Tuesday, Dublin Resource Centre, Crow Street, DUBLIN

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

CHORCAIL CHOMHRA: Chóile Luan

9-10.30am, Club Chonradh na 6 Sraid Fhearcair, BAILE ATHA CLIAITH, Cleachtaigh do Ghaeilge linn

WELCOME HOME FUNCTION: For Dessie Ellis, featuring Killeen and special guest, 8pm-Saturday 7th December, Wexford Inn, DUBLIN

FUNCTION: Featuring The Irish Brigade, Saturday 7th December, Stewarts, BALLYCUMBER (Moate), County Offaly, Taille 52

WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY: To honour Liam Mellows, 3pm Sunday 8th December, Castletown Cemetery, COUNTY WEXFORD

MUSIC NIGHT: In aid of Annual Republican Prisoners Dependents fund. Music by Rip the Calico, Sunday 8th December, The Forge Inn, PORTLAOISE. Organised by the Keating/Sandco Sinn Féin Cumann

BENEFIT DISCO: POW Dept. 8-11.15 late, Sunday 8th December, JJ Smyths, Augier St. DUBLIN, Taille 51.50

PUBLIC MEETING: "British Withdrawal, who benefits?" Speaker Richard Stanton, TOM, 7.30pm Wednesday 11th December, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, LONDON WC1. Admission £1/50p unwaged

FUNDRAISING PARTY: In aid of 20th anniversary Bloody Sunday March, 8pm Thursday 12th December, bar and live music, Camden Irish Centre, Camden Square, off Murray St, LONDON NW1. Tickets £5/£3 unwaged

In Dáil Chumhne

BRADY, Terry; CAMPBELL, Brian; CAMPBELL, Sean; CRAWFORD, Laura; DOHERTY, Danny; FLEMING, Ciaran; FLEMING, Willie; FOX, Bernard; FOX, Paul; HUGHES, Sean; LOCHRIE, James; LYNCH, Ethel; Mac GIOLLA BRIGHDE, Antoine; McDAID, John; McGIRRE, Colin; NOLAN, Tony; RODDEN, Peter; WALKER, Joe. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Terry Brady, Brian Campbell, Sean Campbell, Laura Crawford, Danny Doherty, Ciaran Fleming, Willie Fleming, Paul Fox, James Lochrie, Ethel Lynch, Antoine Mac Giolla Brighde, John McDavid, Colin McGirr, Peter Rodden and Joe Walker and Pianna Bernard Fox and Sean Hughes. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but always remember by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CAMPBELL, Brian; McGIRRE, Colin (8th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Brian Campbell and Colin McGirr, killed on active service on December 4th 1983. Always remembered by the Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. Always remembered by the Coalbrook Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. Always remembered by the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann. Always remembered by the Jim Lynch Sinn Féin Cumann, Clougher. Always remembered by the South

Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin. **CAMPBELL, Sean (16th Ann).** In proud and loving memory of Vol Sean Campbell who was killed on active service on December 6th 1975. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Sadly missed by his brother Liam and Bernadette. Always remembered by his brother Peter.

Always remembered by the Sean Campbell Sinn Féin Cumann, Faughart. **CAMPBELL, Sean; LOCHRIE, Jim (16th Ann).** In proud and loving memory of Vols Sean Campbell and Jim Lochrie, killed on active service on December 6th 1975. Never forgotten by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, South Armagh.

DOHERTY, Danny (7th Ann) In proud and loving memory of our dear son, Vol Danny Doherty killed in action by an SAS murder squad on December 6th 1984. "Please Lord forgive a silent tear, a constant wish that he was here. The hardest thing in life to bear is to want your son and he's not there. So put your arms around him, Lord, and give him special care, for you have our greatest treasure, a lad beyond compare." Loved always by mum and dad.

From sister Marie, brother-in-law Hugh and niece and nephew Deborah and Ciaran.

From sister Kay, brother-in-law Marcus and nieces Caitriona and Caoimhe. From sister Bernie, Hugh, Sean, Gary, Elaine and Mark.

From brother John, sister-in-law Marian and niece and nephew Sharon and Caoian.

From brother Patay and nephews Danny and Ruairi.

From brother Jim, sister-in-law Marcella and nephews and niece Damien, Odhran and Eimhear.

From brother Joe, sister-in-law Joanne and niece Erin.

From brother Kevin and sister-in-law Linda.

From sister Sharon, brother-in-law Tommy and nephew Michael.

Always remembered by Kieran Flynn and family.

From friends and comrades in the Markets and Short Strand. From Kieran, Jock, Jim and Kevin McG. From Mark, H4, Long Kesh. Forever remembered by the Doherty family circle.

FOX, Bernard (19th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear friend Fian Bernard Fox, killed in action in Ardoyne on December 4th 1972. This day I do remember, a loving thought I give to one no longer with us, but in my heart still lives. Always missed by Seamus Clarke (Portlaoise).

Gone but never forgotten by his friend Bernard Glennon, Australia. **FOX, Paul (16th Ann)** In proud and loving memory of Vol Paul Fox who died on active service on December 1st 1975. "Love is immortal and death is only a horizon, and a horizon is nothing save the limit of our sight." St Martin, pray for him. Always remembered by his mum, dad, brothers and sisters.

FOX/CRAWFORD (16th Ann.) In proud and loving memory of my friend Paul (Basil) Fox and Laura Crawford, IRA Volunteers who lost their lives on active service on December 1st 1975. Neither the killing of Stan, nor internment, nor imprisonment in

Always remembered by Liam Twonson.

FLEMING, Willie (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Willie Fleming who was killed in active service on December 6th 1984. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Markets, Short Strand.

From Kieran, Jock, Jim and Kevin McG.

From Mark, H4, Long Kesh.

Forever remembered by the Doherty family circle.

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FOX/CRAWFORD (16th Ann.) In proud and loving memory of my friend Paul (Basil) Fox and Laura Crawford, IRA Volunteers who lost their lives on active service on December 1st 1975. Neither the killing of Stan, nor internment, nor imprisonment in

Crumlin Road Jail could deter you or break your determination, Basil. All that courage — but I still remember the smiling face and songs — Danny Morrison, H4, Long Kesh.

MacGIOLLA BRIGHDE/FLEMING (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Antoine MacGiolla Brighde and Ciaran Fleming who were murdered by the SAS on December 2nd 1984. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, West Fermanagh.

From the Patsy Carty H-Block Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann, Bundoran and Ballyshannon.

From Colm, Monica and family Bundoran.

From Frankie Quinn (Long Kesh), Pauline Quinn and Patay og.

From the James McGinn Sinn Féin Cumann, Kilsrea.

From County Derry and South West Antrim Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

From the Fergal O'Hanlon/John Davey Sinn Féin Cumann. Sadly missed by Archie and Veronica.

NOLAN, Tony (Hookey) (20th Ann) In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Tony Nolan who died as a result of an accidental shooting on December 8th 1971. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, Markets and Short Strand.

From The Markets Commemoration Committee.

From Tony Nolan/John Donney Sinn Féin Cumann.

RODDEN, Peter (4th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Peter Rodden and his friends Liam and Geraldine Casey, tragically drowned on December 8th. Always remembered by his loving father John, Carmel, Bode, Orebetha, Cathal and Christie.

Comhbhrón

BLACK/RYAN. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Patricia Black and Frankie Ryan. "A coward dies a thousand times but a brave person only once." Always remembered by the Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Committee.

Cuimhní Breithlae

HARKER, Tony. Birthday memories of Tony Harker whose birthday occurs on this time. "Do good life to be forgotten in death." Always remembered by Pat and Cormac, Dublin.

Beannachtaí

MOLLOY, Martin (H8, Long Kesh). Happy Birthday Martin. From Mum and Dad, Anne, John, Patrick, Ciaran, Connor and Barry. From Patsy, Anne and Kerry. From all your relatives and friends South Derry. O Sheán Mór. **WHELAN, Peadar (Maghaberry).** Happy Birthday. All the best. O Sheán Mór.

Rear Gunner

Thanks forum the memory

WHAT HAVE JOHN MAJOR (the British Prime Minister) and Colm O hEocha (President of UCG) got in common? Well, apart from the pair being lookalikes they also seem to think alike — even if Major's claim to fame was his lack of a university education while O hEocha makes his crust at Galway University. Neither, it seems, wants to discuss peace in Ireland, or for that matter permit the discussion of peace in Ireland.

Last week the Political Debating Society at Galway University extended an invitation to Gerry Adams to speak at their weekly debate. The invitation is part of an ongoing series of politicians visiting the establishment — Adams competing against the likes of the Fianna Fáil TD for Mayo East who is due there this week — to explain their policies to the students. Until the Sinn Féin president's visit the Debating Society had its expenses covered by the college's fund for all student societies and clubs but when the University President, O hEocha, heard that a Sinn Féin leader was due to address the daltai the purse strings were abruptly pulled shut, much to the anger of the students who felt that O hEocha was trying to censor free speech.

The chairperson of the debating society hosting the visit was informed that Gerry Adams was not to be made welcome and failing attempts to persuade the Political Debating Society not to debate politics and to prevent Adams from delivering his lecture on

"The ending of Partition: The Pathway to Peace" a "health" warning was drawn up, and the chair of the meeting was obliged to read out a statement before Adams could speak dissociating the society and the university from whatever Gerry had to say. The ban did not stop an audience of hundreds turning up to hear Adams, packing the hall.

That O hEocha should order this dissociation disassociation from discussion on ways of ending partition and finding a peaceful solution to Ireland's British problem by placing himself in the censor's role is appropriately ironic. As Gerry Adams pointed out at the discussion, one of O hEocha's earlier positions was as chair of the New Ireland Forum. That body's combined report committed nationalist Ireland to ending partition and provoked the "Out, Out, Out" lines from Major's predecessor. An t-Uasal O hEocha would now seem to have disassociated himself from the support of the forum which he himself chaired.



● Major — like Colm O hEocha not interested in discussing peace in Ireland



WING COMMANDER Noel Ellis, preparing to dive out of a plane to raise funds for the Dublin Anti-Extradition Committee. Noel (65) father of extradition victim Desse, claimed not to be nervous but we spotted the rosary beads tucked behind his left shoulder.

IRELAND ONE UNIT FOR US VISAS. In a move which runs counter to the US administration's policy of recognising a partitioned Ireland, the US Congress has voted to treat the island of Ireland as one unit for immigration purposes. The new legislation, which came in the form of the Technical Corrections Bill, passed unchallenged through the House of Representatives on Monday November 25th to be endorsed by the Senate the following day. The bill, which was sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy, states that the "natives of Northern Ireland shall be deemed to be the natives of Ireland".

ON TUESDAY MORNING 2PM DJ Gerry Ryan asked a woman caller to his show what she thought of the fact that 1991 is the 75th anniversary of the Easter Rising. She replied to the effect that the less was said about such subjects the better given the current situation.

My sadness at this comment was backed up by something by Frank Dolan which I read in the *Irish Post*. He was concerned that the teaching of history in the 26 Counties has been "tinkered with by a simplistic form of revisionism which, in essence, argues that all Irish history tinged with nationalism is bunk: we had no heroes and those who deemed them heroes were fools.

"The result of it all is a form of Schizophrenia or, perhaps worse, no interest in the story of Ireland at all."

SAS CLAMPDOWN SCAM. A former West Midlands police officer has escaped with an 18-month suspended sentence in Birmingham Crown Court, despite cheating unwitting motorists out of thousands of pounds, often with the help of a baseball bat as a persuader.

Lee Moore, who retired from the force in 1988, ran a company called Safety and Security (SAS) which clamped cars. All very innocuous, except that the firm had no authority to clamp vehicles and used a more direct method of ensuring prompt payment.

Motorists who quibbled over the £92 charge to have their cars freed were surrounded by men wielding baseball bats. These helpful heavies would even drive financially embarrassed drivers home so they could collect the readies.

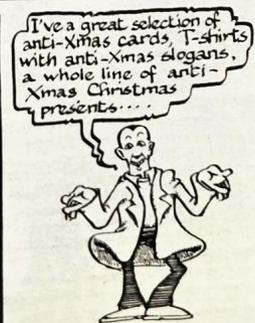
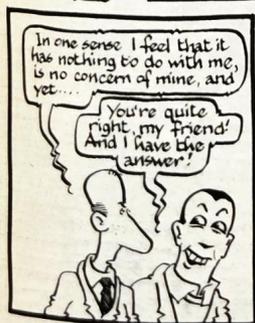
AN INTERESTING PIECE OF ADVICE for the 40,000 Brits who will return to civilian life over the next three years as part of general cutbacks in Britain's armed forces.

Soldiers registering for poll tax have been advised to call themselves Mr to avoid making themselves possible targets.

FIRST WITH THE NEWS is a boast which the *Sunday Express* can proudly stand by this week. Last Sunday's front page headline, "WE ALL WANT TO SHOP ON SUNDAY", was prophetic. As first copies of the paper hit the streets in the early hours of Sunday morning, IRA incendiary devices detonated in shops in London's fashionable West End, bringing normal activity in the area to a standstill.

Well done all concerned.

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



News



• The immense dignity and strength of the grieving relatives of Volunteer Frankie Ryan was an inspiration in the face of the unwanted harassment and assaults by crown forces at his wake and funeral

People's salute to brave Volunteers

IN AN IMPRESSIVE DISPLAY of community solidarity, the republican people of the Six Counties turned out in strength to pay homage to IRA Volunteers Frankie Ryan and Patricia Black. On the day of Frankie Ryan's burial, Tuesday, December 3rd, all of 17 days had passed since the two Volunteers had so tragically lost their lives on active service in England, a long, agonising period in which the families were forced to endure the torture of waiting. At last that waiting was at an end.

Patricia, whose remains were released the previous Wednesday, was buried after a private family service on Friday, November 29th, less

than 24 hours before the British authorities were eventually forced, by court action, into releasing the remains of Frankie Ryan.

The handling of the entire affair by the British was marked with a vindictiveness and insensitivity which is hard to imagine. In spite of the fact that both families sought only to bury their loved ones with simple dignity, the RUC and British army insisted on imposing their unwanted and unnecessary presence on both funerals, and in harassing and assaulting mourners attempting to make their way to the wake houses to pay their respects. But in spite of their worst efforts and the massive numbers of British gunmen

who swamped both burials, their shameful behaviour paled into total insignificance when contrasted to the immense dignity and strength of the grieving relatives, whose conduct throughout was an inspiration to all. Frankie Ryan and Patricia Black are now at rest, to their memory the republican people will pay the only tribute possible — they will struggle ever harder to establish the republic for which the two young people sacrificed everything.

— See pages 2 and 3



• The private family funeral of Volunteer Patricia Black