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A LIFE

IN THE

BALANCE

DESSIE ELLIS was moved to the Curragh Military Hospital in County Kildare on Wednesday, his 29th day on hunger-strike and the eve of the hearing of his appeal in the Supreme Court in Dublin.

If he loses that appeal and unless Haughey reverses the decision of his justice minister Ray Burke not to use his powers under Section 50 of the Extradition Act to prevent Dessie Ellis' extradition, the hunger striker, who is now under ten stone in weight, will be flown to England where he has vowed he will die rather than face trial.

Two days before the Supreme Court appeal an intransigent Haughey met Dessie's mother and father in Government Buildings in Dublin and wiped his hands of their son's fate. He falsely claimed that there was nothing he could do and that Dessie Ellis' extradition was entirely a matter for the courts.

But on the previous Friday in his cell in Portlaoise Prison Dessie Ellis listened while a governor read to him a letter from the Minister for Justice Ray Burke in which the min-

ister acknowledged his power to stop the extradition but saying he wouldn't use that power. The Ellis family appealed to Haughey to reverse the decision but were met with a refusal. Haughey had the audacity to claim that standards of British justice had improved and that Dessie Ellis, an Irish republican facing conspiracy charges in a British court, could expect a fair trial.

TRIAL BY MEDIA

Haughey's assertion came the day before the front page of the Irish edition of the *Daily Mirror* declared "Return the bomber to face justice" — a foretaste of the trial by media Dessie Ellis can expect if sent to England. It came also as news from legal circles in Britain seemed to confirm that the new appeal of the Birmingham Six will not be heard until next year and may well

be contested by the British DPP.

How well the Ellis family could empathise with the latest message from the Six when they said: "We have lost confidence in the Irish government's willingness to help us and we are tired of mere expressions of concern."

Speaking after a visit with her brother, Martha Ellis said:

"To see Dessie today was horrific. He is so thin, his eyesight is so bad, but I tell you his spirits are so high nobody would believe it. He is so determined."

That determination was borne out in AP/RN's interview with Dessie (pages 8/9) when he said:

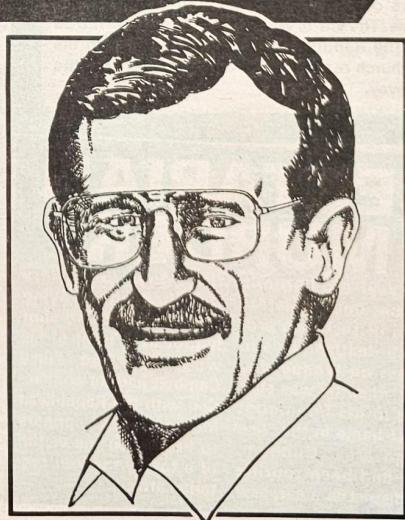
"I want to live, for myself, for my family and for my friends and comrades, but I will not accept extradition. I will die rather than be extradited to Britain."

The great groundswell of support for Dessie Ellis which has been seen at home and abroad this week must be escalated now to save the life of this courageous patriot who is sacrificing everything for the rights of his fellow Irish men and women.



DETAILS OF BUSES — SEE PAGE 14

If Dessie Ellis is extradited to England there will be a march and rally in Dublin on the evening of the extradition in protest at his hand-over. The demonstration will assemble at 6.30pm at the GPO and proceed to Leinster House.



OPINION

A BITTER MAN OF THE PAST

THE APPOINTMENT of Bishop Cahal Daly to the See of Armagh places one of the most conservative and anti-republican clerics at the head of the Irish Catholic Church. Despite the flood of media accolades which have accompanied his selection, the elevation of new primate of all Ireland can offer no comfort to the beleaguered nationalist community of the Six Counties.

He has been heralded by the British media as an "outspoken opponent of violence", but Northern nationalists will remember a bishop whose deafening silence has, all too often, ignored and condoned British violence.

He has been identified as a "man of decision". But Northern nationalists will recall that the only decision Cahal Daly made during the attempts to bury Volunteer Larry Marley with dignity in his diocese was the decision not to be available during the three-day nightmare of the Marley family, when hundreds of riot-clad RUC and British soldiers batoned mourners and forced the grief-stricken family to repeatedly postpone the burial.

Nationalists will measure Daly's 'courage' and 'commitment' to peace and justice, against his response to the murder of 15-year-old Seamus Duffy, shot dead by a plastic bullet on August 9th, 1989. Daly blamed the child's death on those who organised bonfires to commemorate the anniversary of internment rather than holding the RUC, who deliberately shot him to death, responsible.

HOLLOW LAUGHTER

Daly has been feted for his 'commitment' to ensuring fair employment for all. That will also cause hollow laughter in the nationalist community. When in the United States he spoke against the MacBride Principles for Fair Employment.

The new Archbishop of Armagh is on the extreme right wing of his church. He has taken the side of employers in industrial disputes. He is bitterly opposed to the right to divorce in the 26 Counties and to extending the rights of women. He is, in all respects, a man of the past.

By choosing him, the Vatican has opted for 19th century answers to current problems. Irish people remember with derision the way in which clerics of the last century condemned the Fenians. The vitriol which Cahal Daly now throws upon the Republican Movement and upon his own church members will be remembered in the same way.

SECTARIAN MURDER

A 21-year-old Catholic man became the latest victim of sectarian pro-British death-squads in Belfast on Wednesday night when he was shot dead in his Spamount Street home in the New Lodge area. Gunmen, who had been touring the district in a car, saw the door of Gary Campbell's home lying open, entered and shot him dead in front of his wife and child. Gary Campbell had no connection with the Republican Movement and appears to have been the victim of a totally random sectarian attack.

INTRASIGENT HAUGHEY SAYS NO TO FAMILY

THE PARENTS of hunger-striker Dessie Ellis met with 26-County premier Charles Haughey in government buildings on Tuesday morning, November 6th. Directly after their meeting with Haughey, Noel and Patricia Ellis joined a press conference in Buswells Hotel opposite Leinster House which was also attended by TDs Neil Blaney, Tony Gregory and Roger Garland.

The Ellises told the assembled media that Haughey had tried to abdicate his responsibility in their son's case and said they were depressed, but not surprised, after their meeting with Haughey who said that the government had no power to act in the case.

Haughey claimed that Dessie Ellis could expect a fair trial in Britain if he was extradited, and tried to imply that the judicial system there had improved. In a joint statement issued through the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee, Noel and Patricia Ellis said:

"We know as well as Mr Haughey does that he can stop the extradition of our son. If Mr Haughey stands by what he said today that means he is prepared to see a man who is so weak that he can hardly walk being bundled into a plane and sent across to die in prison in England.

"How can Mr Haughey say that things have improved for Irish people in the British judicial system when the Birmingham Six are still in jail. They are facing their 17th Christmas behind bars and their appeal is not likely now until well into the New Year. Having met Mr Haughey we know how they felt when they said recently 'We have lost confidence in the Irish government's willingness to help us and

we are tired of mere expressions of concern'."

Mr and Mrs Ellis concluded by appealing to people to urge Haughey to act to save their son's life:

"If Dessie loses his Supreme Court appeal we cannot sit back and let Mr Haughey allow him to be sent to his death in an English jail."

NO FAIR TRIAL

TDs Neil Blaney, Tony Gregory and Roger Garland all said that they opposed any political extradition to Britain in the present circumstances, saying that Irish people on political charges before British courts would not receive a fair trial and each of them called on the government to prevent the extradition of Dessie Ellis in particular.

The Irish Anti-Extradition Committee has condemned Charles Haughey's response to the parents of Dessie Ellis.

Nora Comiskey, spokesperson for the IAE, said that it was the Dublin government which was executing the extradition of Dessie Ellis and that Charles Haughey, as head of that government, had to take responsibility for it.

"To claim that extradition, which is a political act, is merely a matter for the courts is an insult to the parents and family of Dessie Ellis and the very many people who are opposed to extradition. Charles

Haughey has the power to stop this extradition. He must be made to use it," she said.

Commenting on Mr Haughey's attitude, West Belfast MP Gerry Adams said:

"Haughey's calls to the parents of Dessie Ellis are an attempt to deny his own responsibility for the desperate situation in which Dessie Ellis has been placed.

"The responsibility for the extradition of Irish citizens on political charges rests with the Dublin government. Down through the years successive governments have eroded the right of Irish citizens not to be handed over to stand trial for political offences. Fianna Fáil's 1987 Extradition Act, which they opposed when in opposition, takes away that right altogether. This act allows Dessie Ellis to be handed over to a judicial system which has systematically abused the rights of Irish people over the years, a system in which Haughey himself has said he has no confidence, a system which continues to imprison the Birmingham Six."

On Friday, November 2nd, Dessie Ellis was given a statement from 26-County Minister for Justice Ray Burke which said that he will not use his powers under Section 50 of the Extradition Act to stop Dessie Ellis' extradition to Britain. The statement also called on Ellis to end his hunger-strike.

TRYING TO HIDE

Dessie Ellis has told members of his family that he will remain on hunger-strike against his extradition. Reacting to the news, IAE spokesperson Nora Comiskey said:

"This is an admission from Mr Burke that he has the power to pre-



● (From left to right) Tony Gregory TD, Martha Ellis, Nora Comiskey, Roger Garland TD and Neil Blaney TD at Tuesday's press conference

vent Dessie Ellis' extradition. The existence of this power has previously been denied by government representatives who have tried to hide behind the courts.

"The question must be asked if Mr Burke can have given any real consideration to Dessie Ellis' case. The minister's message was received just five days before the presidential election on November 7th with Dessie Ellis' appeal due on the 8th. Mr Burke would appear to be attempting to remove this life or death issue from the political agenda to avoid damage to Fianna Fáil's presidential election campaign.

"This committee now calls on the Taoiseach Mr Haughey to have this decision reversed. The extradition of Dessie Ellis would not only be a personal tragedy for him and his family but would also be a blow to the rights of all Irish citizens and a signal that, in spite of countless miscarriages of justice against Irish people, this government has complete faith in the British legal and judicial system.

"Members of Fianna Fáil must challenge Mr Haughey on his refusal to implement the decision of the last Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis against political extradition. They should also question the role of the PDs in ensuring that the coalition government continues extradition at Britain's behest. In the next few days, up to and beyond the Supreme Court appeal, the campaign to prevent Dessie Ellis' extradition must be intensified as never before."

GOVERNMENT DON'T CARE

Dessie's sister Martha told Tuesday's press conference that Ray Burke's letter to Dessie "was effectively saying that his government does not care whether my brother

lives or dies. Ray Burke knows the absurd and unjust nature of the conspiracy charges against my brother, and if Dessie is extradited, he has as little chance of a fair trial as the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, Danny McNamee and so many others. Ray Burke, Charles Haughey, Brian Lenihan and their colleagues know that the Fianna Fáil party, at its Ard Fheis this year, adopted policy calling for a halt to extradition to Britain and the North. Yet they continue to operate extradition procedures which make our citizens the most easily extraditable in Europe."

She said that her brother's legal team had said early on that Dessie would be fully prepared to face trial under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act. "Yet the Attorney-General and government refused him that option, thereby forcing him to go on hunger-strike."

She went on to address herself to the three presidential candidates saying that "Mary Robinson, as someone with a lot of experience fighting civil and human rights cases, knows about the British judicial system. In the book *Ireland after Britain* she wrote that British standards of justice had fallen well below what would be acceptable to us. I would like to ask Mary Robinson if she thinks Dessie would get a fair trial in Britain. If she doesn't think he would she is obliged to say so and call for his release."

She also asked whether the Fine Gael candidate Austin Currie, who "knows full well the nature of British justice when Irish people are charged with offences such as 'conspiracy'", is going to speak for Dessie.

She then asked whether Brian Lenihan was going to "stand idly by and let my brother die".



● Protest march to the home of 26-County justice minister Ray Burke in Swords on Saturday, November 3rd

Minister spurns plea for justice

THE LETTER from 26-County justice minister Ray Burke which was read out to Dessie Ellis in Portlaoise Prison on Friday, November 2nd, said that "in the circumstances the minister wants it to be made clear to Mr Ellis that there is no question of the minister intervening in his case under Section 50 (2) (a) and (b) of the Extradition Act 1965".

The letter concluded as follows. "The minister wishes also to make the following points clear to Mr Ellis:

• "His present course of action — refusing to take food — is the risk of damage to his health even in the fairly short term.

• "There is no doubt that this course, if persisted in, places a distinctly finite limit on his life. He should bear in mind the possibility that the Supreme Court — in relation to the proceedings of which the minister has no function — may not issue its findings within that time limit.

"It is the minister's sincere concern that Mr Ellis should be left in no doubt on these matters and should fully understand the position — that his action in

putting his life at risk cannot influence the court adjudication that is to be made on his claim but will, if persisted in, lead to a tragedy which is in nobody's interest and which nobody desires."

A march to Burke's home followed a Dessie Ellis anti-extradition rally in Swords, Dublin, on Saturday. A force of 30 gardai and steel barriers prevented people from going up to the house but Dessie's sister, Letitia Ellis, handed a letter on behalf of the Ellis family calling on Burke to utilise Section 50 and release Dessie. Rosalyn Russell, sister of republican Robert Russell, extradited to the Six Counties in August '88, handed in letters from Belfast people calling for Dessie's release.

On Thursday, November 1st, Brian Lenihan was forced to abandon a Dublin city centre walkabout when Dessie Ellis anti-extradition demonstrators followed his entourage through the streets challenging the former minister as to his position on the case of Dessie Ellis and shouting anti-extradition slogans. Lenihan and his handlers became so embarrassed that they ducked into a cake shop, pulled down the shutter and ran out through the back door. However, Lenihan was confronted again by Dessie Ellis supporters in the IAC Centre and at the GPO, and the Fianna Fáil were eventually forced to abandon the walkabout and leave the scene. Lenihan explained that the walkabout disaster was due to the "natural enthusiasm of the people" who had "come out in huge numbers" to show their support for him.

Speaking after the picket, IAC secretary Martina Shanahan said:

"Today's protest was directed, not only at the Fianna Fáil leadership, a number of whom were present at the walkabout, including labour minister Bertie Ahern, social welfare minister Michael Woods and justice minister Ray Burke who has the power to release Dessie Ellis, but also at the Progressive Democrats."

"In the past Mr Lenihan has used the fact that he was a member of the government to avoid commenting on the plight of the hunger-striker. Now that he has been dismissed from the government must make his position clear."

"The members of the Fianna Fáil cabinet must also clarify their position. Are they prepared to extradite a dying man to England? This committee calls for peaceful and disciplined protests against the extradition of Dessie Ellis to continue."

Once again on the following Tuesday afternoon, Lenihan descended on O'Connell Street to conduct an unannounced walkabout to redress the disaster of the previous Thursday. Again, obviously to his surprise, he was met by Dessie Ellis demonstrators. Plainclothed gardai, apparently angered at the breach of confidentiality, manhandled and kicked several of the protesters and eventually arrested a journalist and a photographer. Both were later charged with a breach of the peace.

A Fianna Fáil rally for Brian Lenihan in the National Stadium on Sunday, November 4th, was picketed by a large crowd of protesters who handed out leaflets to members of Fianna Fáil, reminding them of the anti-extradition motion passed at their last Ard Fheis.

At an anti-extradition meeting in Waterford, Jimmy Kelly, union convenor at Waterford Glases, urged trade unionists to get involved in the campaign to save Ellis' life and to sign the trade union petition in favour of Ellis which is now in circulation. Davy Lane, president of Waterford Trades Council, pointed out that British opinion polls showed considerable support for British withdrawal. In spite of this Dublin governments continued to extradite people to a judicial system under which they could not expect justice.

Speaking at a meeting in Rialto, Dublin, Belfast man Tony Sloan, who is himself facing extradition proceedings to the Six Counties, said that there is nothing spectacular about Dessie Ellis and that he is a very ordinary human being. He continued:

"Dessie doesn't like to be the focus of media attention and he certainly detests the hardship and suffering that he thinks he is causing his family. Dessie has no thought for himself and is at all times thinking of others and particularly his own immediate family but also the other extraditees. So I salute Dessie and his courage."

Sloan also said that "The church silence is deafening", on the whole issue of extradition. "If Dessie gets to Baldonnel, Dessie is going to a living hell," he stated, calling on everybody there to redouble their efforts on Dessie's behalf.

Up to 100 people attended the Monday night meeting which was also addressed by Dessie's brother Sam and sister Martha. Sam said:

"I've been to quite a few of these meetings in the past few weeks in relation to what's happening to Dessie and although the response from the ordinary people like yourselves has been fantastic, it still astounds me as to how the elected representatives as they are called, just can't seem to get it into their heads that this issue is so critical." He quoted English barrister Lord Gifford who said recently of British judges that they "are thoroughly out of touch with reality" and that, "They listen to the prosecution with vigour and the defence with scepticism". He condemned the conspiracy between the Dublin and British governments on extradition.

Martina Ellis spoke of all the other people behind Dublin facing extradition. "If he was to be extradited it would open up the floodgates for extradition, and Dessie is not on for that. There is no way that he is going to let them extradite him unless he is thrown across."

"I know a hunger-strike is horrific. It really is very hard on our family. To see Dessie today was horrific. He is so thin, his eyesight is so bad, but I tell you his spirits are so high, nobody would believe it. He is so determined."

"He said that it is not bothering him the way they think it is bothering him. He is going to continue to the end."

On extradition she said, "it is people's power that will stop this".



● Patricia and Noel Ellis, parents of hunger-striker Dessie Ellis, at Tuesday's press conference

BRITISH SOLDIER EXECUTED

A BRITISH ARMY SERGEANT MAJOR with 21 years' service in the Six Counties, became the latest soldier to die in the current conflict when a lone Volunteer of the Tyrone Brigade, IRA, delivered a booby-trapped vehicle to him at the garage which he owned in Cookstown.

The soldier was at the premises, Ulster Exhausts, off Union Street, just before 10am on Friday, November 2nd, when the Volunteer drove a white Vauxhall car into the yard. A telephone arrangement had earlier been made with the soldier to carry out work on the vehicle.

As the Volunteer left the yard telling the soldier she would pick the vehicle up later, he boarded the car and was in the process of reversing it into the garage when a booby-trap device on board detonated, destroying the vehicle and

instantly killing the soldier who had, at the time of his death, been attached to the UDR in Cookstown.

BELFAST BLAST

Belfast Brigade, IRA, has said that one of its engineering units placed the bomb at St George's Market in Belfast city centre, which exploded shortly after midnight on Tuesday, November 6th, injuring a British soldier.

The device, containing 5lb of Semtex, had been placed behind a pedestrian gate beside a command-



deered vehicle which was left at the main market entrance less than 100 yards from the junction of Oxford and May Street. The soldier, a member of the UDR, was one of a number of troops who had moved into the area to begin a clearance operation when the hidden device detonated.

CONTRACTOR TARGETED

Belfast Brigade has also said that Volunteers under its command entered a house at Stoneyford on the outskirts of the city on Tuesday evening, October 30th, in search of the owner, a haulage contractor, who had for some time been involved in carrying out work for the crown forces.

The ASU waited in the house for several hours but when the owner failed to turn up they delivered a verbal warning to one of the house's occupants saying that, should the firm fail to withdraw from its crown forces contracts, action would be taken.

The firm have since given a public undertaking to cease working for the crown forces.

BELFAST BUZZING AGAIN

Belfast city centre's normalisation slogan, "Belfast is buzzing", was again given the connotation that has become commonplace in nationalist areas when a series of elaborate bomb hoaxes again set Belfast buzzing with the sound of sirens on Thursday evening last, November 1st.

Hundreds of crown forces personnel were tied down in lengthy operations as British army bomb technicians carried out a series of small bomb explosions on search devices which had been left at various locations throughout the city centre. All of the devices turned out to be hoaxes.

RUC PROPAGANDA REFUTED

Derry Brigade, IRA, has said that one of its engineering units placed a booby-trap device under the vehi-

cle of an RUC man in the city's Waterside area on Tuesday evening, November 6th.

The device which was discovered and defused was left under the vehicle at Enagh Place.

In their statement on the attack, the IRA refuted as propaganda claims that the man was no longer a serving member of the RUC. The statement said:

"The full-time reservist targeted in Tuesday's attack, and who had survived an attack two years earlier, by one of our intelligence units for some time prior to the attack and had been positively identified as being a current serving member of the RUC's full-time reserve."

IRA REITERATES POSITION

The following is the text of a supplied statement issued by the IRA:

"Following the recent propaganda stunt in the Irish News concerning the case of Gortin man Gerry Kelly, we wish to place on record, once again, that any individual who has ceased to carry out work for the crown forces and who has made this known can, in keeping with our long publicly stated position, regard themselves as having absolutely nothing to fear from the IRA."

PLANNING THE NEXT MOVE

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

BRITISH MINISTER Peter Brooke has set the end of the year as the official deadline for his 'talks about talks' initiative. However, most participants, as well as the political commentators who last May waxed lyrical about the new era of understanding, are now agreed that the talks are dead. The two points of disagreement remain: the timing of Dublin's participation in the set of proposed talks, and the status of the SDLP and unionists when talking to Dublin.

The publication of the speech which Peter Brooke was going to make on July 5th, but cancelled, shows that the British government had sided with the unionist parties on both those issues: that Dublin would not be involved until "substantial progress had been made in inter-party talks" and that unionists and the SDLP would talk to Dublin only as "part of the UK delegation" led by Peter Brooke.

Dublin foreign affairs minister, Gerry Collins, emerged from the last inter-governmental meeting on October 25th in London saying that there had been "no breakdown and no breakthrough". At their annual conference the following weekend the Official Unionists resolved that no further concessions could be made to Dublin and the SDLP. Peter Brooke described the talks as being "on hold".

Meanwhile, an Irish News commentator wrote of the "growing belief within constitutional nationalism that Brooke no longer appears to be an impartial facilitator". Those words, "impartial facilitator", were also used by the London Times in an analysis of the two draft speeches, that of Peter Brooke, and John Hume's proposal. The Times stresses the "degree to which (Brooke) has aligned himself closely with the unionist position".

The Irish Times, which for a few years now has called on Dublin to bend over backwards to "facilitate" unionists, admitted in an editorial on October 22nd that unionists could well use the "substantial progress" clause as a device to keep Dublin out of the

talks. A recent column in that same newspaper echoed the London Times comments on Brooke's unionism.

NOT NEUTRAL

All these observers are now conceding implicitly what republican spokespersons have been proclaiming since the signing of the Hillsborough Treaty in November 1985: first that unionism and nationalism, the so-called "two traditions", are not two sets of quaint ethnic customs which can be preserved side by side, but two opposite, irreconcilable standpoints on the political future of the Irish nation; and secondly, that Britain is not a neutral party in the situation, but by its continued presence, and insistence that no change should occur in the North without the "consent of the majority" there, it places itself firmly in the unionist "tradition".

The fate of Peter Brooke's initiative should be a lesson for the SDLP, and in particular for its leader John Hume, who, since November 1985, had lectured Northern nationalists, and republicans in particular, about Britain's supposed neutrality, enshrined, Hume said, in the Hillsborough Treaty's Article One.

Does John Hume still maintain that the British government is neutral? Surely if that were so Peter Brooke would not have sided with unionist in his "talks about talks" initiative. A consequence of Britain's neutrality, Hume also argued, was that the IRA's struggle was unjustified. Care to comment now, John?

Another of the SDLP's analyses, the "three stages to Irish unity" theory, has also now collapsed. Hume's argument was that with Britain "neutral" under the Hillsborough Agreement, reforms would be brought to further equality between the two communities; this would be followed by reconciliation, then Irish unity. Given that the British are not neutral, and given the dismal record of the agreement as an instrument of social reform, Hume's stages theory lies in tatters. Will the SDLP insult nationalists further by peddling it again at the next general election?

WHAT NOW?

Having accepted that the Brooke initiative is dead, what now? Northern nationalists have a right to ask those who would claim to represent them what they are going to do to bring about, as quickly as possible, political movement towards greater democracy, justice and lasting peace. Sinn Féin has repeatedly asked the SDLP and the Dublin government to channel their energies towards applying pressure on the British, at local and international level, and call on them to facilitate all-Ireland consultations between all parties, in the context of a British withdrawal. Now, more than ever, is an opportune time for such an initiative.



• PETER BROOKE

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Withdrawal is obviously not on the British agenda, and the failure of the "talks about talks" will inevitably lead to speculations on the next British move. Left to their own devices the British have three options open to them. The first, most probable and least costly, is to continue with direct rule. Brooke may try to issue a statement laying blame for the failure of the talks on the "intransigence" of the nationalist side, in the hope that this would put pressure on the SDLP to give in. This points to an interesting effect of the Brooke talks: namely that unionists are no longer the ones who are perceived as being on a hook, and on the defensive, but the SDLP, who are camping on their position of support for the agreement.

The British may decide to introduce some form of local government, as a cosmetic exercise, to give the impression of political movement, and satisfy the demand of the Official Unionists for a Regional Council. Or they might decide to act on Brooke's threat to political parties that if they failed to agree he would "set the pace and show the way", possibly over the heads of politicians.

In the last issue of *Fortnight* magazine legal expert Tom Hadden floats the idea of a joint North-South referendum which would ask the electorate to pronounce on power-sharing, a new agreement and a change or deletion of Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution. This differs from Hume's referendum in that it asks voters in advance of any agreement between politicians which measures they find acceptable.

DESPERATION

However, a referendum in the South about Articles Two and Three is not given much chance of success even by commentators who wish the two paragraphs were scrapped. The British are unlikely to take the risk of indirectly helping to launch an anti-revisionist movement in the South. The Alliance Party has called for a new Six-County assembly to be set up, with power devolved to parties in proportion to their electoral strength. This call, however, indicates the desperation of politicians for salaried jobs rather than a serious option for the British. There again, depending on the circumstances, one or more party might well boycott the assembly. This has been the record throughout the history of the Six-County statelet, and would only prove for the umpteenth time the irreformability of this "failed political entity".

Whatever happens next, nationalists have a right to be angry, not just at the British for thwarting the legitimate aspirations of the Irish people, but also at the SDLP and the Dublin government: in 20 years they came up with only one political initiative of their own, the Dublin Forum of 1983-84, and this was brought about by Sinn Féin's electoral success, and set up solely to counter that. Let those self-proclaimed spokespersons for the nationalist community now take up the demand of Irish self-determination and British withdrawal, or stop calling themselves nationalists and democrats.

Scramble for the last vote

BY TOM O'DWYER

SLURS, smears and slanders filled the air as the 1990 26-County presidential election campaign drew to a close on Tuesday. Bitter politicians scrambled for the last vote as if their lives depended on it while, in Portlaoise Prison, a man whose life really does depend on those politicians, continued his hunger-strike for freedom.

Dessie Ellis' protest against extradition was virtually ignored and the pantomime political contest for Aras an Uachtaráin occupied the media almost exclusively. If the corruption at the heart of the 26-County political process ever needed proof, the last week provided that in abundance.

To say that the contest was theatrical does not mean it was unimportant. Certainly the post of president is little more than a figurehead. But this year's presidential election may well prove to be the most important in the history of the office and a watershed in the history of 26-County politics.

That much is true, whatever the result (which will be known after APRN goes to print). Already this election has forced the sacking of Fianna Fáil's second-in-command, Brian Lenihan, at the very point when he needed all the kudos he could get. It is also virtually certain to form the tombstone of Alan Dukes' political career when Austin Currie limps home a poor third.

This has very little to do with the campaigning of Mary Robinson, the third candidate. Like Lenihan and Currie, she has failed to even address the central problems of the voters. The reasons why the election has turned into a cliff-hanger are entirely to do with the crises in the state's two largest parties.

CRONEYISM

Fianna Fáil has survived the most serious crises over the last few years but the events of Hallowe'en night have already set the scene for a conflict which will dwarf all the others. Charles Haughey offended against the most important Fianna Fáil 'core value' of all when he sacrificed Brian Lenihan in order to keep his government in office. Croneyism — protecting 'your own crowd' no matter what they do — is what holds the party together.

Now Haughey has dissolved that glue. The various party factions have declared peace until after November 7th but, in spite of that, Haughey was booed when he rose to speak for Lenihan at the former minister's final rally in the National Stadium. Lenihan fails to get elected those boos will be turned into the sharpest of knives.

In the past, Fianna Fáil's 'republican wing' was able to make considerable headway as the party barons clashed. But their chosen idol was Charles J Haughey and when he proved to have feet of clay, they were badly demoralised and many drifted out of politics. Now the pretenders to the throne in Dev's party have no 'republican' pretensions. They are also very numerous and none stands higher than any of the other



● LENIHAN

● ROBINSON

● CURRIE

ers. A defeat for Brian Lenihan could well start the party on the slippery slope.

On the other hand if Lenihan wins it may well be hyped within the party as Haughey's ultimate stroke. How far that could go in healing very deep wounds is much in doubt. The whole Fianna Fáil party has been thrown into the ring in this contest.

Things aren't much better for the 'second-largest party in the state'. For some time, Fine Gael has been slipping in the public opinion polls. During the last two decades it was able to offer its adherents a reasonable chance of getting their hands on the levers of power, through its alliance with the Labour Party in coalition. But now Labour has broken with coalitionism and that opportunity is gone.

Fine Gael's problems don't stop there. Fianna Fáil has adopted the concerns of the upper middle class, the natural constituency of Alan Dukes' party, and has syphoned off large numbers of votes in traditional Fine Gael areas.

LATE CURRY

After considerable efforts to find an alternative candidate for the Phoenix Park, Austin Currie was chosen. He is the only Fine Gael TD who owes his Leinster House seat to Dukes but has little more than that to recommend him. Currie started late and very low in the opinion polls but he sur-

prised all observers by dropping even lower during the campaign in the way that only someone with his political 'achievements' can.

At the time of writing, it seems as if there is a late surge in support for Lenihan which may take him into the Park. But Mary Robinson's vote also seems to be holding in spite of some extraordinary vitriol from her opponents. With the grace and decorum of a wounded weasel, Pádraig Flynn attacked her commitment to her family and Fianna Fáil has resorted to the conventional red smear amid the dying embers of the campaign.

Anyone who has seriously looked at her campaign knows that it has nothing to do with socialism. It is based on, and its main appeal lies in, the work Robinson has done to further civil liberties and the rights of women, combined with her independence of the two major parties. Its most unappealing aspect is her outright support for the most right-wing political force in this country — unionism.

The battle for Aras an Uachtaráin provides republicans with little choice and remains a tragic diversion from the fight to save Dessie Ellis' life. But there can be no doubt that the campaign has already shocked the political establishment. If Brian Lenihan loses, these shocks may prove the warning of an earthquake.

TORRENT OF SUPPORT FOR SINK FÉIN

DESPITE A VERY DETERMINED effort by the SDLP and their unionist allies to thwart the return of a Sinn Féin candidate to Dungannon District Council in the Torrent by-election which followed the de-barring of Sinn Féin councillor and IRA Volunteer Martin McCaughey (assassinated by the SAS last month) Sinn Féin, in last Thursday's election, topped the poll, increasing its vote by 25% and securing victory for Francie Molloy.

The election campaign, which was marked by the absence of any independent nationalist candidate, saw the SDLP canvassing unionist voters, seeking second preference votes "to keep Sinn Féin out", in an all-out attempt to wrest the seat from Sinn Féin.

Commenting on the result, Molloy expressed "tremendous satisfaction" at Sinn Féin's election performance. He said:

"The 2,524 votes which I received in Friday's count are an important political victory for Sinn Féin."

"The result is almost 500 votes greater, a 10% increase, on the local government results of May 1989 and a 5% increase on our best ever result in 1985."

In Dungannon District Council on Friday, November 2nd, returning officer and clerk of the council, Billy Beattie, was noted for his reluctance to announce the Sinn Féin victory. This came as no surprise to the local nationalists who remember that it was Beattie's sister,

Emily, who was the unionist party secretary, who allocated the house in Caledon in 1968 which led to the Gildernew family squatting at the start of the Civil Rights Campaign.

Commenting on the result, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams congratulated the electorate of Torrent following the massive vote of support for Sinn Féin's Francie Molloy.

THANKS FOR HARD WORK

Adams also expressed thanks for the hard work of Molloy and his constituency organisation "who did a remarkable job in the face of a concentrated campaign of abuse and harassment from both political opponents and the crown forces". He added:

"The result, which saw a significant increase in both our percentage share and actual vote in the Torrent area, sends a clear message to those who have sought to marginalise and undermine the Sinn Féin electoral base."



● FRANCIE MOLLOY

"This is the third by-election Sinn Féin has fought since May 1989 and it is now obvious that the

Sinn Féin electoral base is not only solid but that there remains room for improvement."

TABLE OF ELECTION RESULTS FOR TORRENT:

1985 Valid Vote 6,268	
Sinn Féin	2,373 (37.86%)
Ind Nat.	1,516 (24.19%)
Unionist	1,220 (19.46%)
SDLP	1,159 (18.49%)

1989 Valid Vote 6,250	
Sinn Féin	2,037 (32.59%)
Ind Nat.	1,626 (26.02%)
Unionist	1,333 (21.33%)
SDLP	1,254 (20.06%)

1990 Valid Vote 5,958	
Sinn Féin	2,524 (42.35%)
SDLP	2,033 (34.12%)
Unionist	1,297 (21.77%)
WP	104 (1.76%)

Brutal RUC beating of South Derry man

"I THOUGHT I was going to die. I really thought they were going to kill me." These were the words of 22-year-old Liam Turner from Swatragh, County Derry, as he lay in the Mid-Ulster Hospital, Magherafelt, recovering from a sustained and brutal beating at the hands of the RUC.

Twice during a 20-mile night-mare journey between Maghera and Cookstown RUC bases, an RUC man smothered Turner while he was handcuffed and held down between the front seats of an armoured RUC car. It was at this stage that Turner actually believed that he was going to die at their hands. He had already been subjected to a sustained beating, had seen his father thrown out of the barracks and was told that his father was "lying with every tooth kicked out of him", and that he himself was going to be killed.

Evidently in great pain as he held himself up in his hospital bed Turner, who had two severely bruised eyes, described what happened as he was walking along Main Street in Maghera, on Saturday, November 3rd.

At around 5pm he was on Main Street when two RUC armoured cars pulled alongside. Without warning they grabbed him and said he was being arrested for non-payment of a fine. He had recently been informed by his solicitor that the case concerning a minor motoring offence had been cleared up and he tried repeatedly to tell the

RUC that they were mistaken. Turner continues his story:

"They refused to listen, handcuffed me and began beating me into the car. The more I protested, the more they thumped me. The street was very busy and a lot of people witnessed it. In the car they punched me more and said 'as soon as we get you to the barracks we're going to fucking kill you'. They dragged me out of the car as soon as we got through the gates of the barracks and four or five of them really took into me, kicking and punching me to the ground."

Meanwhile, Turner's father William, having learned of his son's arrest, made his way to Maghera barracks. Obviously unaware of Liam Turner's presence in the barracks yard, the RUC man monitoring the gates operated the buzzer on the front gate, allowing William Turner into the courtyard.

ASSAULT WITNESSED

Turner saw his son handcuffed and being pulled back by the hair while he was viciously headbutted by one of four or five RUC men who were beating him. Two of the RUC men were forcing his arms up his back, a third was pulling his head

back while a fourth said, "there's not a mark on him yet, we'll sort that out", he then headbutted Turner repeatedly in the face. His father tried in vain to get them to stop the beating but was set upon by three additional RUC men, one of whom grabbed him around the neck and wrestled him out the gates saying "get out to fuck or we'll blow your fucking head off too".

During the entire incident an RUC inspector, well known for his anti-nationalist bigotry, observed the proceedings but at no stage attempted to intervene.

Distraught at his son's plight and still able to hear his son's screams as the beating continued, William Turner tried in vain to regain entry to the barracks but his pleas were ignored.

Inside the barracks Liam Turner was bundled into an armoured car, still handcuffed, and was driven over 20 miles to Cookstown barracks.

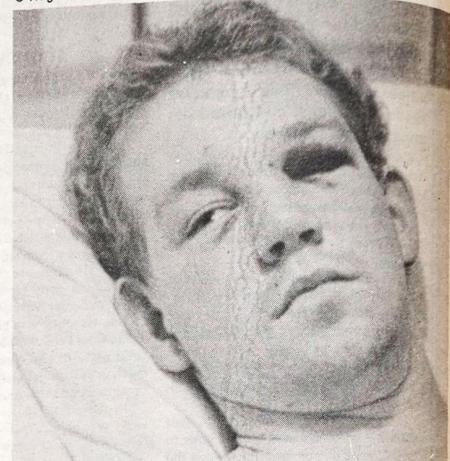
It was at this point, while being choked and smothered, that Turner thought he was going to be killed. On arrival at Cookstown barracks he was dragged from the car by the feet and pulled along the yard, in the process his clothes were ripped and he sustained more cuts and bruises. He was told by gloating RUC men that they were going to get the PAF to shoot him: "We got

Tommy Casey done last week, we'll get you done this week."

Over three hours after being arrested and beaten, Turner was seen by a doctor who, suspecting that he had a fractured skull, ordered his immediate admission to the Mid-Ulster Hospital where he remains four days later.

Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan, who visited the injured

man in hospital, described the beating of Turner and the assault on his father as among the most severe he had witnessed. He said that the beating should serve to shame those nationalists on Magherafelt who, in spite of strong protests from Sinn Féin, refused to oppose the granting of money to the RUC community relations branch.



• Liam Turner from Swatragh, County Derry, recovering in hospital after a brutal beating by the RUC

Sinister new tactic

IN A SINISTER new development to the concerted wave of attacks by pro-British death-squads operating in the Mid-Ulster area, the house outside Cookstown where Sinn Féin activist Tommy Casey was gunned down two weeks ago, was destroyed in an arson attack by an armed gang who locked two female members of the household in a shed and waited for male family members to return home.

If any man had been unfortunate enough to arrive at the house he would undoubtedly have become the latest victim of loyalist gunmen who have been operating at will within the area.

Late on Tuesday night, November 6th, two masked and armed men entered the isolated farmhouse occupied by the Mulgrew family. The only people at the house, situated some eight miles from Cookstown, were the mother and one of the daughters. The two women were tied up by the gunmen who then waited inside the family home for almost two hours, obviously intent on murdering any man who came to the house. When none arrived the gunmen took their two bound and gagged captives and placed them in an old outhouse before setting fire to the farmhouse, which was completely gutted in the subsequent blaze.

Fortunately, the women managed to break free and ran to a neighbour's house to raise the alarm. Locals dismissed reports in sections of the media which claimed the alarm had been raised by a passing RUC patrol.

This new addition to the already disturbing litany of terror tactics employed by pro-British terror squads is viewed with trepidation in an area that has felt the wrath of state-sponsored terror very acutely in the past 18 months.

British apologists (Denis Faul of Dungannon included), have been attempting to portray such attacks as 'tit-for-tat' sectarian incidents. That nonsense is rebutted by local people who know only too well that the activities of the death-squads bear no relation to IRA military operations, but do-tail neatly into the overall British policy of terrorising the community of Mid-Ulster.

FAMILY ASSAULTED HOURS AFTER BRUTALITY SETTLEMENT

IN A DEMONSTRATION of the utter cynicism of the crown forces, a mother and son were assaulted, abused and threatened that they would be killed only hours after the woman's other son, a victim of torture in Castlereagh, had been granted damages against the RUC.

Hours after Brian Gillen received £7,500 in compensation in an out-of-court settlement of a brutality case against the RUC on Monday, November 5th, his elderly mother and younger brother were threatened and assaulted by three British soldiers who ran into their West Belfast home.

The brutality case arose after Gillen was tortured while being held in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre for three days in January 1988. During the course of interrogations, Gillen was subjected to repeated assaults by the RUC, including being persistently thumped in the left ear, causing his ear-drum to burst. Appearing at Belfast High Court on Monday, Gillen was awarded substantial damages against the RUC Chief Constable when the Crown counsel offered Gillen an out-of-court settlement.

Undeterred by the fact that only hours before Brian had been awarded thousands of pounds compensation in a brutality case

against the RUC, British soldiers from the Parachute Regiment launched a vicious attack on Brian's younger brother Sean and his elderly mother, Maureen, at their Lenadoon home.

RETURNING HOME

Shortly after 2pm, 25-year-old Sean Gillen parked his car outside his mother's home in Lenadoon Avenue. He was immediately confronted by a British army foot patrol whose members questioned Sean and demanded to search his car. Sean, who has been continually targeted for stop-and-search harassment by British crown forces over many months, refused and walked towards his home. His mother, Maureen Gillen, who was in her home at the time, describes the incident.

"I was in my front livingroom when a neighbour told me that Sean had been stopped by the British army a few yards up the street and that they were giving

him a hard time. I looked out and saw one soldier pushing Sean about. A few moments later Sean walked into the house and I thought that was the end of it. Suddenly pandemonium broke out. British soldiers were running everywhere. They smashed their way through the front gate and broke down my back fence to get to the back door. The house was surrounded and they were screaming and yelling 'shoot the bastard'. It was terrifying.

"Sean was standing in the hall when three soldiers ran into the house. One soldier grabbed him around the neck and started to strangle him. I was shouting for them to leave my son alone. They were really choking him. One soldier aimed his gun directly at Sean and shouted 'I'm gonna shoot you dead'. They were like animals, booting all around them and screaming threats and abuse. Neighbours who came out of their homes to see if we were alright were also taunted and abused by the soldiers. Only hours before, my son Brian was awarded damages in a case of brutality against the RUC. I still feel very shocked and shaken. I really believed they were going to shoot my son Sean dead before my eyes."

His comrades wait

In this article a republican POW writes from Portlaoise Prison and describes the atmosphere there among the friends and comrades of Dessie Ellis. It was written on Sunday, November 4th.

THE ATMOSPHERE in Portlaoise Prison as our comrade Dessie Ellis continues to deteriorate on hunger-strike has been, until of late, an almost surreal mixture of 'normality' and dread. Contributing to the air of normality has been Dessie's insistence from day one that there be no curtailment of jail activities.

These activities range from classes, lectures and study groups to football. This is in spite of the fact that the unanimous consensus among his comrades was to cancel these fixtures in consideration of what he is suffering. Dessie is adamant, however, that there be as little disruption as possible within the prison. Because of this, and because he refuses to display even a morsel of self-pity or to complain in the slightest, it has been difficult at times to comprehend the magnitude of the tragedy that is unfolding before our eyes.

That is changing now. It is changing because in the past week or so a dramatic deterioration in Dessie's condition has been observed by all. Dessie, a karate and keep-fit enthusiast, began his hunger-strike on October 10th in superb physical condition. That fitness stood well to him on his first three weeks without food as he continued to walk in the yard, play

pool and engage in lively and humorous banter with his comrades who, outwardly at least, give him considerably more slaggering than sympathy.

Anyone who has spent a long time in prison can tell you how perceptive a prisoner becomes to even minute changes in mood or routine. Consequently, every one of us noticed immediately the day Dessie stopped walking the prison yard and sat quietly on the bench wrapped tightly against the cold. Nobody said a word, nobody needed to. It was as if it symbolised the moment the false air of normality was over and the genuine foreboding of what lay ahead must begin.

HE WON'T COMPLAIN

It's difficult at times to gauge exactly what Dessie is going through. He won't complain. His stock answer to all inquiries about his condition is, "Fine, I'm feeling 100%". His good humour and famous (some say infamous) wit is as sharp and live-



● DESSIE ELLIS

ly as ever. It seems to us as if he has delved into a deep personal well of fortitude, determination, and courage that cannot be exhausted while he remains alive. All we, his comrades, have to go on to judge his condition are his sinking cheeks, his exhausted gait climbing the stairs to his cell and his increasing need to sit down and conserve energy. The changes in his physique in the space of one month sends a collective shudder through us whenever it's observed. He is wearing dark glasses now. He

has to, the fluorescent bulbs irritate his weakened eyes, further evidence that his body is breaking down. Every republican prisoner can recite the horrific litany of the effects of starvation. A number of our comrades were in Long Kesh during the hunger-strikes. Dessie knows, we all know... it's always the eyes that go first.

TENSION AND DREAD

No, there is little normality now as Dessie enters his fifth week without food. Only dread.

An inexorably rising tension that can find no release but victory.

We write letters to everyone we can think of, TDs, senators, county councillors, trade unionists and bishops. We wait with misplaced optimism for a response that we know for the most part will never come. We listen carefully to every radio news bulletin and scan the 26-County press for mention of Dessie's plight.

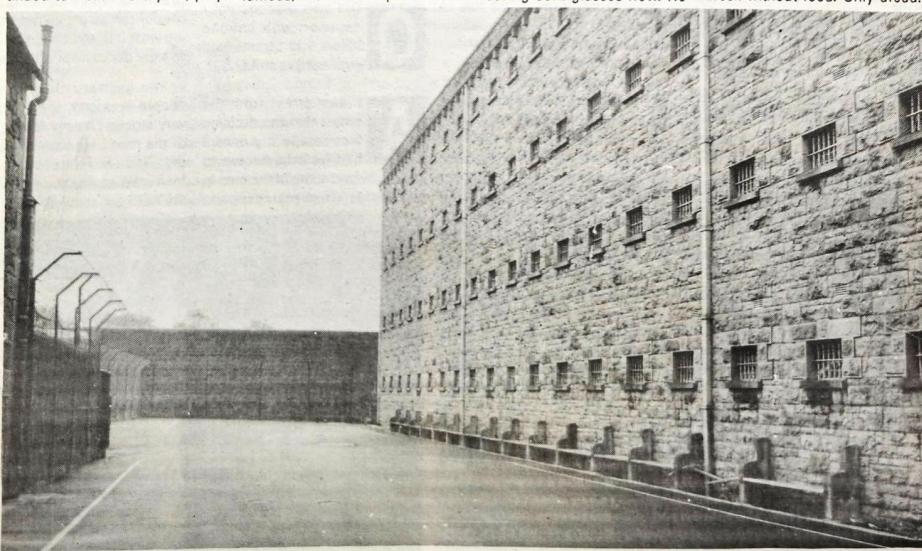
Almost always we are disappointed. Nothing. Yet, there is no shortage of air-time or ink for any Irish person who advocates the extradition of political prisoners. Have they not had their say enough? How many times can they say the same thing and in how many ways?

We can recite backwards their smug, unchallenged assertions. We are unimpressed by their dripping personal ambition and their easy generosity in offering to Thatcher what isn't theirs to give. These Irishmen and women who think better of England than it deserves, who aren't fit to tie the bootlaces of Desmond Ellis. We are inured to them and ignore them for we know whose interests they serve and why. Tiocfaidh ár lá gan dabht but looking at Dessie it's very hard these days to be patient for ár lá. A culture of censorship and the cowardice without which censorship cannot function is suffocating the plea for justice of a noble and selfless patriot.

PREPARED TO FIGHT

In 1916 both of Dessie's grandfathers were prepared to fight, to the death if necessary, for the freedom and independence of all Ireland. In 1990 their grandson is fighting to the death in this prison in the same cause. Dessie is not on hunger-strike for himself. He is dying for every political prisoner, every Irish soldier, every Irish citizen, who may face extradition on political charges to the crown forces in the future. He is being judged and condemned by fellow countrymen and women who have done well out of partition. People who couldn't conceive of taking a principled stance, never mind so much as skip breakfast for one morning.

It is up to all of us to do whatever we can to place pressure on Fianna Fáil to stop the extradition to England of Dessie Ellis. For Dessie's sake, for his family who love him, for his imprisoned comrades, and for Ireland who, in the days of peace and reconstruction, will need men like Dessie Ellis, please don't let him die.



● Portlaoise Prison

"I will die rather than be extradited to Britain"

Q This is your 25th day on hunger-strike Dessie. How has it affected you and how do you feel at the moment?

A Well, I've weakened a bit but in general terms I feel okay. Sometimes I feel a bit weak when I get up in the mornings. I have to sit on the side of the bed for a few minutes. My eyes are also a bit sore and I have to wear tints on my glasses because the light hurts my eyes. One of the bulbs in my cell had to be removed as well, to ease the pressure on my eyes. My eyes were always poor anyway, so I expected problems with them. As regards my weight, I was weighed this morning and I'm down from 12st 2lb to 10st 3lb. It seems to be averaging out at about a pound a day over the last few days. I'm trying to conserve as much energy as possible, and I get cold very easily. But overall I feel I'm doing okay.

Q The decision to embark on a hunger-strike is obviously a very big decision to make. Can you tell me why you decided to take this course of action?

A That's a massive question, but I'll try to answer it as best I can. Basically, I felt I was left with no option. I felt that I had to find some way in which I could highlight the injustice of extradition to Britain. Nobody embarks on a hunger-strike without giving it a lot of thought. There has to be a reason, a very good reason. I think the Irish people at home and abroad will understand that. I was never in Britain during the period they say I was, the Brits themselves and the government here accept that. They never even contested the affidavits I put into the High Court stating that. It is a matter of public record that I was in custody or under Special Branch surveillance during that period. So I simply couldn't have done the things they say I did. That's the first thing.

Then there's the question of a fair trial. The warrants against me charge me with conspiracy and possession in Britain. As I said before, I wasn't in Britain, but besides that how could I, or any Irish person, defend themselves against conspiracy charges in a British court? There's no way I could get a fair trial in Britain. We



● Dessie Ellis entering the Four Courts at a previous hearing in July of this year

all know what happened to the Birmingham Six and many others. I am not prepared to have that happen to me.

I also see it as a question of Irish sovereignty. Number one, to be extradited to a country that occupies a part of your own country seems to me to be totally absurd. Most European countries refuse to extradite their own citizens while the Irish government has given carte blanche to the British. It means the British government is calling the shots. It means the British government can say whether an Irish citizen has a trial here or a trial in Britain. I cannot accept that, nor would I expect any Irish citizen to accept it. So these are some of the reasons. I cannot accept extradition and don't see any other way to challenge it other than the way I am doing.

Q Was it a difficult decision to make?

A It was a very difficult decision. I had watched through the spy hole in my cell door, Paul Kane and Robert Russell being handcuffed and trailed off to be handed over to the British. There was no reason for me to expect any different. Not even the Finucane, Clarke and Carron victories in the Supreme Court gave rise to optimism. After all, in the meantime the goal posts have been shifted. They were done under the 1965 Act while I'm being done under the 1987 Act. I knew I would never accept that, and when it came



● Anti-Extradition white-line picket in Belfast

down to it I felt I had only one real option and that was a hunger-strike. I spent months tossing the idea about in my head, going over and over the possible implications, the risk to my health, the very real possibility that I could and might well die. On a personal level, I've been a person who has, all my life, lived a very healthy life and been a sort of fitness fanatic, if you want to call it that, and to do what I'm doing is a reversal of all that. So in a way that's hard.

Then there's my family. I thought about the consequences such a decision would have for them. The trauma they would go through, the impact on them of seeing me wasting away before their very eyes. The anguish, the heartbreak and the pressure they would go through would be enormous. I could picture my mother and father, my sisters Martha and Letitia, my whole family and what they would suffer. I know that no matter what I go through, they will suffer even more — much more. Nobody would contemplate putting their family through such horrors if they had some other choice. I wish I had another choice, but there is none.

Believe me, it was no easy decision, but, all things considered, I genuinely feel that I have no choice.

Q Did you discuss your decision with anyone before you commenced your hunger-strike?

A I must stress from the outset that the decision was totally my own. I had let it be known to my family and some of the men in Portlaoise what my response



● Picket on Fianna Fail headquarters in Mount Street

would be if the extradition warrants were served on me. Once I had the matter settled in my own mind I let my comrades and friends in Portlaoise know what my intentions were. For months before I announced the decision they knew what the score was. They knew how I felt and could see my logic, but not one of them actually encouraged me to go ahead. In fact they tried to dissuade me, much the same as my family and my friends in the Republican Movement outside did. They pointed out their assessment of the situation and the problems with mounting a successful campaign, censorship being what it is, etc. I had some very straight discussions with them.

You get very close to some people in prison, the bonds are very strong. Like my family, none of the men here want to see me die, it's as simple as that. Memories of the hunger-strike in the Kesh are still very vivid. But I

can be " — Dessie Ellis

This interview with Dessie Ellis was carried out in Portlaoise Prison on Saturday, November 3rd.

have made up my mind and I'm determined to stick to my decision.

When the announcement was finally made and the fast had begun, the reaction from the men was magnificent. They didn't want to see the hunger-strike but once it began they backed me 100%. And they have. Their support, and that of my family, has been terrific. It's the same with people outside. The response from people around the country, in Europe, the United States, Australia and from the republican prisoners in jails everywhere has been very supportive.

Q Going back to the question of choice, Dessie. The state would argue that you have an appeal in the courts. Have you no hope of being successful there?

A Well, I believe that extradition is a political decision. I have an arguable legal case, but the courts seem to follow the politics of the times. The government tries to hide behind the courts, but it is politicians who make the laws and the Minister for Justice has the power to order my release. It was the politicians who brought in the 1987 Extradition Act which is being used against me. I have been in prison now for nearly nine years.

If I was serving a life sentence I would be up before the Review Board and the minister would be considering my release. Instead he wants to send me to Britain where I could get up to 25 years on a vague conspiracy charge. I see it as usurping the rights of Irish citizens and I just don't believe that's acceptable to me, and I don't believe it would be acceptable to any Irish citizen.

Q Has the Minister for Justice been in contact with you on the issue of your hunger-strike or on any other issue?

A Last week the Prison Governor read me a letter from the minister. Basically, he said that he wouldn't intervene and that my hunger-strike is damaging my health. I didn't need the Minister for Justice to tell me that! (laughs) That's the only contact I've had.

Q Given that, do you think the minister will change his mind and decide to intervene in your case?

A If left to himself, no I don't. Simply, I don't. I think what he'll do is use the old cliché that it's a matter for the courts, as he said in the letter. The only thing I believe could possibly change his mind would be mass protests on the streets and I am not sure whether that's possible on such an issue, but hopefully support will be mustered as best it can. We'll see.

Q One of the complaints that has been made in relation to Irish cases in Britain has been the coverage given by the media. What are your thoughts on this?

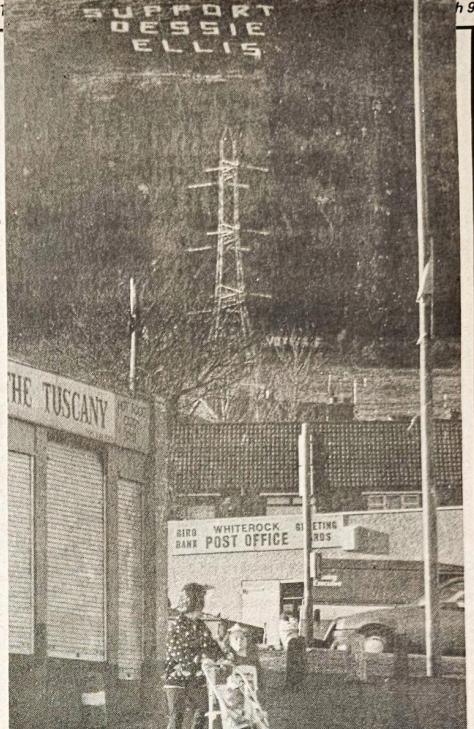
A The press has played a major part in the generation of anti-Irish bias. My own case is no exception. Like the Birmingham Six and the Winchester Three, etc, I have been tried and found guilty by the British press, particularly the tabloids. The media creates an atmosphere of anti-Irish bias before and during court cases which is designed to influence and intimidate juries. All these factors, I believe, make it impossible for an Irish person to get a fair trial in Britain on politically-related charges, least of all someone with a republican background like myself. The Attorney-General had to accept this fact in relation to Fr Patrick Ryan and released him as a result. I sometimes get the impression from politicians and elements in the media here in Ireland that, because I'm a republican, I'm fair game, that I have no rights as an Irish citizen.

Q We have discussed some of the aspects particular to your case. Do you think these make your case in any way special?

A As a republican I see my own case as part of an overall pattern. The whole policy of extradition is, from first to last, a political decision. I see extradition as a sell-out of Irish sovereignty. It seems that countries like Belgium and France have more concern for the rights of Irish citizens than the government here does. This government is willing to hand over Irish citizens to a regime which has been responsible for some of the greatest miscarriages of justice in history. The government here is signing away its sovereignty. That's what extradition means to me. This Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat Coalition is denying me my rights as an Irish citizen. If you ask me, Margaret Thatcher is dictating what the Irish government should do. In a sense that's ironic because my two grandfathers fought in 1916 to assert the right of the Irish nation to a free, sovereign and independent Ireland. And here I am 74 years later and nothing has changed.

Q Many people want to help in your campaign. Where do you think they should focus their attention or direct their energies?

A Well, I think that whatever pressure can be applied must be applied to the main political parties. At this stage the most



● Support Dessie Ellis banner in the Hatchet Field on Divis Mountain, Belfast

important now are Fianna Fáil and the PDs. They are the ones in power, and Fianna Fáil is undoubtedly the one that holds the vast majority of support in the country. Any change that comes will come politically. People in the different areas should put pressure on their local TDs, their local councillors and even their clergy. A combination of this, plus protests on the streets, could bring about a change in attitude if my case fails in the Supreme Court. Political pressure is what's needed.

Q What message would you have for Irish people in general; for supporters at home and abroad and people who may not be supporters?

A I suppose the message would be this; that the extradition of any Irish citizen on politically-re-

lated charges to a system with the proven track record of Britain is totally unjust. A system that has been discredited through the European courts, has been found guilty of inhuman and degrading treatment of Irish prisoners, and has derogated from a number of European treaties in regard to the holding of suspects under the PTA, etc. I hope that people can see, or have seen, the results of this system in the cases of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Winchester Three and others. I think the evidence is there for everyone to see and on that basis I would hope that people would support me in my fight against injustice.

Q Finally Dessie, we've talked a lot about your hunger-strike and your hopes, etc. Have you fully accepted that you may die on this protest?

A Yes, I have thought this out fully and I am definitely prepared to die. For me there is no alternative. My life is now in the hands of those who have the power to release me, or arrange for any evidence against me to be produced in this State. Obviously I don't want to die. I want to live, for myself, for my family and for my friends and comrades, but I cannot accept extradition. I will die rather than be extradited to Britain. That's a decision I have made and one I will see through to its conclusion.



● Picket on British Embassy, Dublin, on October 27th

Support for Ellis across the North

THROUGHOUT the Six Counties people rallied to the side of Dessie Ellis over the last week. Major support for the hunger-striker was shown in Belfast, Derry and Tyrone. On Thursday night, November 1st, a public meeting on Ellis' anti-extradition fight in Conway Mill, Belfast, was chaired by Fr Des Wilson, and Lily Hill told the packed hall that if Ellis was extradited to Britain he would be guaranteed an unfair trial.

In a spectacular show of support for the hunger-striker on Friday, 60 workers from the Springfield Action Committee mounted a huge "Support Dessie Ellis" banner in the Hatchet Field on Divis Mountain, dominating the Belfast skyline.

In a weekend packed with events, thousands of 'snow' letters in support of Dessie Ellis were signed and sent to the Dublin gov-

ernment and a group of people representing the Belfast Anti-Extradition Committee took part in a demonstration outside the justice minister's home in Swords, County Dublin.

At a mass meeting in Derry, over 1,000 people packed the Guildhall Square Hall in the city centre to hear speeches from local Sinn Féin representative John Carlin; Paddy

Logue, secretary of the Trades Council; journalist Eamonn McCann; and John McCluskey from the Donegal Anti-Extradition Committee. Logue pointed to similarities between the 1981 hunger-strikes and that of Ellis:

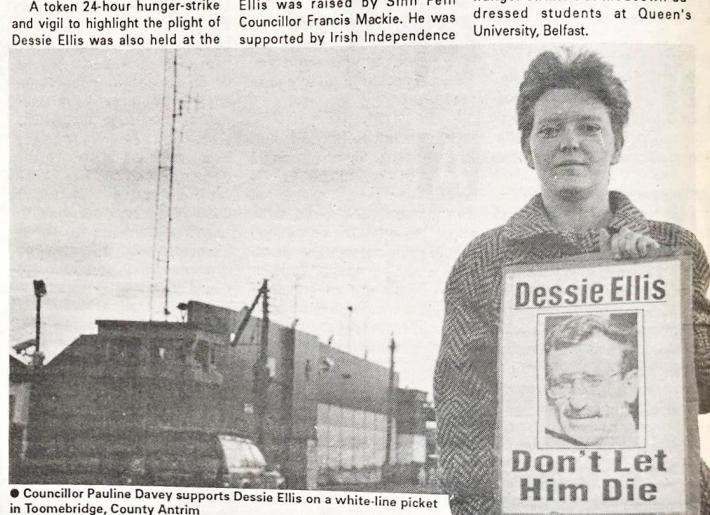
"In both cases basic human rights issues were involved and in both cases the Irish and British establishments were opposed to the hunger-strikers."

Five of Derry's SDLP councillors signed a petition calling for the release of Dessie Ellis. John Tierney, Gerry Toland, Jimmy Clifford, Annie Courtney and George Peoples called on the Dublin government to free Ellis under Section 50 of the Extradition Act.

A token 24-hour hunger-strike and vigil to highlight the plight of Dessie Ellis was also held at the



● Lily Hill addresses a public meeting in support of Dessie Ellis in Conway Mill, Belfast, on Thursday, November 1st



● Councillor Pauline Davey supports Dessie Ellis on a white-line picket in Toomebridge, County Antrim

World-wide concern for hunger-striker

FROM THE UNITED STATES and Australia messages are pouring into the 26-County Department of Justice and to the Department of the Taoiseach, condemning the extradition of Dessie Ellis. Members of state legislatures and leaders of trade unions have written, giving their support to the campaign to save the Finglas man's life.

Assemblymen John C Dearie of the Bronx, Joseph Crowley of Queens and Richard Keaney of Buffalo have written on behalf of around 100 members of the New York State Assembly to Charles Haughey, calling on him to ensure that Ellis receives a fair trial in Ireland. Given the treatment of the Guildford Four, the Birmingham Six and others, the assemblymen are 'at a loss to understand why [Haughey] would proceed with extradition'.

"Speaking for all of my Irish-American colleagues," Dearie said, "we hope that Mr Haughey will use his authority to prevent yet another miscarriage of British justice towards the Irish and, more importantly, save the life of another human being. Mr Ellis is in a condition from which he may not recover.

Ireland has enough martyrs to British brutality. Mr Haughey can prevent yet another name from being added to that distinguished list."

The Public Employees Federation in New York State has also written to Haughey, calling upon him to refuse the extradition of Ellis. "This refusal is the only reasonable response, not only because of Mr Ellis' innocence," writes James J Sheedy, the union's secretary/treasurer, "but also because of the unsubstantiated nature of the charges."

Councilman Sal Albanese of New York City plans to put forward a motion at a meeting on Thursday, the same day as Dessie Ellis' Supreme Court appearance, condemning the extradition. The Wolfe Tones, who are now touring New York and

Boston, have dedicated a song to Ellis and a 500-strong crowd rallied in front of the Irish Consulate in New York City on Saturday and a large crowd organised by the Ancient Order of Hibernians demonstrated outside the Consulate the following day.

RALLIES

There were other rallies in Albany, the New York state capital and in Philadelphia and demonstrations in both Chicago and Boston. Pickets were held in Washington DC, Atlanta, Detroit and San Francisco.

In Australia, Joan Coxedge, a member of Victoria parliament, has written to Fianna Fáil Attorney-General John Murray calling upon him to ensure that Ellis is tried in Ireland under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act. She does not believe he will receive a fair trial in Britain. Though the charges against him "may seem absurd".

She continues: "I would remind you that Australia is a country which has been largely settled by Irish immigrants and there is much

interest here in the fate of our cousins in the Northern hemisphere."

Terry Roberts and Trevor Crothers, members of the South Australian parliament, have backed her stand and written to Murray as well. They write of their "grave concern that Irish people cannot get a fair trial in Britain" and ask the government to ensure that Ellis is tried in Ireland.

The Food Preservers' Union of Australia and the Australian Meat Industry Employees' Union have both written to Charles Haughey in support of the Ellis family and of Dessie's campaign. They appealed to the Fianna Fáil leader to stop the extradition, pointing to the fact that the European Court of Human Rights and Amnesty International, among others, have "highlighted and criticised the British government's treatment of Irish citizens".

Australia's Community Radio Federation has taken a similar stand. In a letter to Justice Minister Ray Burke, its secretary Susan Duffy urges him, on behalf of her members, "to oppose such extradition by all means open to yourself and your colleagues in the cabinet".

Party Councillor Brian McGrath.

SDLP ABSTENTION

After the abstention of the SDLP members, on the grounds that they had 'confidence' in the 26-County courts, the motion fell. The votes of the six Sinn Féin members and the IIP councillor were countered by the block unionist vote of seven. The SDLP chairperson decided not to use his casting vote, despite Councillor Mackie's reminder that the Fianna Fáil Minister for Justice has it in his power to order Dessie's release.

Newly-elected Councillor Francie Molloy spoke at a meeting of the Games Administration Committee, which convenes over 50 GAA clubs in Carrickmore, on Wednesday night, November 7th, where he called on the GAA to get involved in the campaign to save Ellis' life.

Monday night saw a packed public meeting in the Patrician Hall in Carrickmore, County Tyrone, on Sunday evening. Letitia Ellis, Dessie's sister, spoke, as did newly-elected Omagh Councillor Francie Molloy. Dessie's father Noel also attended the meeting and spoke from the floor.

Over 40 people picketed the meeting of Omagh District Council on Tuesday night, November 6th, while a motion in support of Dessie Ellis was raised by Sinn Féin Councillor Francis Mackie. He was supported by Irish Independence

Monday night saw a packed public meeting in the Glen Community Centre in West Belfast whilst on Tuesday night Ann Sloan addressed a crowd in the Tullymore Community Centre, also in West Belfast. On Tuesday night a torchlight vigil took place in the Short Strand area of East Belfast and on Wednesday afternoon former hunger-striker Pat McGeown addressed students at Queen's University, Belfast.

Leabhar ar saol chomhairleoir seolta

Ar an Aoine seo chuaigh thart seoladh leabhar nuá ag comhairleoir Shinn Féin, agus iar-cheannaire ar Roinn an Chultúir sa pháirtí, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, i mBéal Feirste. Se leabhar seo, *Comhad Comhairleora*, a d'fhoilsigh Coiscéim i mBaile Atha Cliath. Cuireann Ó Muilleoir síos ar an gcomhthácais polaití agus stáiríúil ina oibríonn sé agus a seisear chomh-comhairleoiri Sinn Féineacha mar ionadaithe poiblí do mhuintir Béal Feirste. Seo thíos sliocht as an leabhar a mbeidh léirmheas iomlán air foilsithe in AP/RN amach anseo.

IONRADH SHINN FÉIN

I Meitheamh 1985 nuair a tionóladh an chomhairle nuá i mBéal Feirste bhi, don chéad uair, foireann láidir de sheachta ag Sinn Féin ar Chomhairle Béal Feirste. Sé shiuocháin a bhí ag an SDLP, ochtar ag an Chomhaontas agus ceann amháin ag Páirtí na nOibríthe. Bhí móramh suntasach fós ar an Chomhairle 51-suiochán ag na hAontachtaithe, i measc na bPoblachtóirí bhi Teresa Holland agus Lily Fitzsimmons, na chéad mháin a toghadh ariamh don pháirtí. Chuir ceannair an DUP, Sammy Wilson, a fháilte féin roimh an fhoireann phoblachtach, 'It's obnoxious for unionists to have to sit across the chamber form evil gúmáin who have crawled out of West Belfast, evil human pus who are part of teh Republic's poison in this city' (IRIS 10, Iúil 1985).

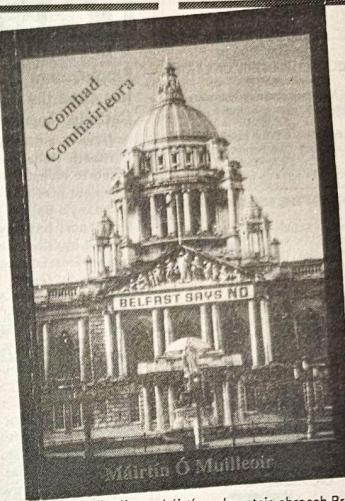
Tosaigh feachtas na hAontachtaoir in aghaidh Sinn Féin láithreach. Díúltiagh said scún canón aít ar na bord taobh amuigh den chomhairle — an Bord Oideachais, an Bord Sláinte srl. — a thabhairt don fhearsa. Mar sin de ba iad Aontachtaithe go duine na comhairleoiri a ghlaic an 48 suiochán atá ag an Chomhairle ar na bord éagsúla.

Os a choinne sin nuair a tóníodh nba coisti arís tugadh roinnt de na cathairleachtaí don SDLP agus don

Chomhaontas. Ni dhéanfaí aon gharanna, áfach, do chomhairleoiri Sinn Féin. Ag an chéad chruinniú den téarma nuá sheinn Rhonda Paisley trumpa agus mholt Sammy Wilson agur chóbh carranna na Sinn Féiníthe a chosc ó charrchlois Halla na Cathrach agus ó Sheomra na mBall, ach rialaigh Cleáreach na Comhairle go mbeadh na coscanna sin midhleathach. Díúltiadh áit do Sinn Féin ar an gCoite lchuspóir agus Airgeadáis agus gach uair a d'éirigh ionadai as Sinn Féin le labhairt thosnáigh na dilseoirí ag screadail. Ag deireadh an chruinnithe cheol Rhonda Paisley 'The Queen' agus rinne a mathair, Eileen, a bhi i measc an lucht féachana agóid aonarach le póstair frith-Sinn Féin. Bhagair Peter Robinson a bhi ina cuideachta go mbeadh 'cigír sláintíocha' de dhith sa Chomhairle feasta. (Irish News, 4 Meitheamh 1985).

Leán an cur isteach ar ionadaithe Sinn Féin gan stad, go dtí Mi na Samhna, nuair a ritheadh reún ag cur cruinntíne na Comhairle — idir choisti agus chruinnithe iomlána — ar ceal mar agóid in éadan chomhairleoirí an pháirtí. Ach i rith an ama cuireadh constaí sa bhealach ar na Poblachtóirí: curieadh Seán McKnight de chioiste bainistíochta Láirionad Pobail Dubhaoise agus ceapadh Aontachtaí ina áit, cé go raibh McKnight ina bhall den choiste ceannana ciba ar bith agus is ag gniomhú leis; ag na cruinntíne miosúla greadaíosa agus bualadh bosa le nach gcuiníni na Sinn Féiníte ag caint. Ag cruinntíne amháin, nuair nár líeadh dóbh labhairt, shiúil na Poblachtóirí óna mbinsi fein chuir báisí an DUP gur shiúil siad taobh leo nuair a bhi siad ag béisigh. Cuireadh an cruinntíne ar ceal.

Ach m'a bhí ábhar conspóide de dhith ar na hAontachtaithe tugadh dóbh é nuair a eagraiodh oscailt phobail ag láirionad nua pobail in Ard Eoín i dtuaisceart na cathrach, dhá la roimh an oscailt fhoirmeálta għlaç muinġt na háite seilbh tráthnóna



ar an aít, rann milseáin ar pháistí an cheantair, crough Brat na dTrí Dhath agus thog pláic Ghaeilge. Dífhág siad an t-ardán ansin ag na húdarás lena n-oscailt ofiugíúil a bhfeith acu, ach bhi a mhalaírt de phleann ag na hAontachtaithe a bhi catalach go leor fán fhoirgneamh nuá i gceantar Caithleach ón túis. Ag cruinntí speisialta den Chomhairle i mí Dheireadh Fómhair cuireadh an oscailt ofiugíúil ar ceal agus lorgaigh cruinntí leis an Aire Stáit. Ba é barúil an Aire ná go mbeadh ar an Chomhairle €310,000 a aisíoc leis an ríaltas dá ndrudfadh an lárióna nua. Lena chois d'héadfaidh Iníúchóir an Ríaltais Attíúil breisbháin a ghearradh ar na comhairleoiri a votálfadhar ar son dhúnadh an fhoirgnimh. D'ainneoin na comhairle i mholadh ag cruinntí iomlán den Chomhairle.



Ag cuimhniú agus ag streachailt

Tharla cuimhneachán 10 m bliain den chéad staicí ocras i 1980 ag uair tráigídeach arís do phoblachtánaigh agus staicí ocras Dessie Ellis ar siúl i bPríosún Phortlaoise. Ag na comórtha a eagraiodh timpeall na tíre cuireadh bém ar leith ar streachailt Dessie atá ag troid ar son an chúiú chéanna le staileoirí ocras 1980/81. Seo Uachtaráin Shinn Féin Gearóid MacAdhaimh agus é ag labhairt ag comóradh i mBéal Feirste a eagríodh ag Roinn na gCíni Coagáidh.

Ceacht 15

Write the sentences as if you were telling what Brian does :
"Éirinn sé ... Níonn sé é féin ..."

1. We eat breakfast at eight o'clock.
2. We go home at three o'clock every day.
3. We do not come to school on Saturday.
4. They drink tea at six o'clock every day.
5. Does he come here on Sunday ?
6. It is a quarter past twelve.
7. When do you come to school every morning ?
8. When do you go to bed every night ?

Revision

9. Are you looking ? Are you listening ?
10. Where is the big black bag ?
11. Where was the pretty red-haired girl ?
12. Where were you last night ?
13. I was reading by the fire at home.
14. Were you at the seaside in summer ?
15. They will not be here next year.
16. Say your prayers and go to bed.
17. Finish your lessons and go home.
18. She has a nice blue coat.
19. They have a big new car.
20. He has money, but he has not a pound.
21. The door is shu and the window is open.
22. The road is long and the child is tired.
23. Who is there ? What have you got ?
24. Drink the milk ; do not eat the apple.
25. Open the door ; do not open the window.
26. Were you looking at the television ?
27. I wasn't at home ; I was at the pictures.
28. The grey-haired old man is not here.
29. Is the pen lost ? Is the bicycle broken ?

Imeachtaí

PICKET ON US EMBASSY
Opposing US policy in Central America
11.30am-1pm
Every Saturday
Ballsbridge
DUBLIN

NORTH DUBLIN RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF EASTER CTTE

Meets 8pm every Thursday
16 North Great George's Street
DUBLIN
to organise a fitting celebration for
next year's 75th anniversary of the
1916 Rising
Everybody welcome

RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF EASTER 1916

Dublin Southside Group Meeting
8pm Thursday 8th November
Dublin Resource Centre
Crown Street
DUBLIN

MANCHESTER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION

8pm Friday 9th November
HUGGINSTOWN
County Kilkenny
Speaker: Tom Hartley

PUBLIC FORUM 'British Welfare and Ireland' 1-5.30pm Saturday 10th November Old White Horse Public House Brixton Road LONDON SW9 Organised by the Terence MacSwiney Commemoration Committee

FUNCTION

Sunday 11th November
Ravensdale House
CARRICKARON
COUNTY LOUTH

Organised by Sinn Féin

EDENTUBBER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION

Assemble 2.30pm Sunday 11th
November

Ravensdale House
CARRICKARON
County Louth

Main speaker: Francie Molloy

Bus leaves 44 Parnell Square at
12.30pm

Ecclés Lounge 1pm
Táille €6

VIDEO SHOWING

'The Irish Question'
7.30pm Tuesday 13th November

69 Balton Street
(off Kent Road)

LONDON

Nearest tube: Elephant and Castle

Free admission

Organised by South London Troops
Out Movement

WELCOME HOME FUNCTION

for ex-POW Seany Tierney

Friday 16th November

Craigton Hotel
CLONES

County Monaghan

Táille €4

Bar extension

TABLE QUIZ

In aid of Dublin Martyrs Republican

Flute Band

8pm Friday 16th November

Ecclés Pub

Dorset Street

DUBLIN

€10 per table

OLD MYTHS — NEW VISIONS

Conference on Women & Ireland

Saturday 17th November

Women's Centre

Wesley House

10am-4pm

LONDON WC1

Speakers: Diane Abbot MP,

Nell McCafferty, Alice Mahon MP,

Anne Speed, Margaret Ward

Organised by Everywoman &

Women's Time to Go!

SOCIAL NIGHT

In aid of Dundalk ex-POWs

Anti-Extradition Cte

Saturday 17th November

Tara Lounge

DUNDALK

Music by Slane

Táille €2

FUNCTION

Featuring The Irish Brigade

Saturday 17th November

Camelot Hotel

Malahide Road

DUBLIN

(continued on page 13)

FORD LASHED BY FAIR EMPLOYMENT TRUST

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

A REPORT COMMISSIONED by the Fair Employment Trust and published last week has cited the Ford Motor Company for anti-Catholic discrimination in employment.

New York Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman was asked to investigate employment practices at the company's Belfast plant. Her report has been described by Oliver Kearney of the Fair Employment Trust as "a serious indictment of the failure of Ford management at local and at international levels to commit themselves to redressing entrenched anti-Catholic discrimination in the workplace".

The experienced and well-informed human rights activist and legislator visited the Six Counties earlier this year. She compared the Ford Company to Shorts in Belfast and described the

company's policy as "pursuing a less than aggressive attitude towards addressing a Catholic imbalance in the Finaghy Road Ford plant". Her report also criticised the company for maintaining July 12th and 13th as bank holiday while denying to Catholic workers, in a plant on the outskirts of predominantly nationalist West Belfast, the opportunity to take March 17th, St Patrick's Day, as a public holiday. Holtzman commented on the ongoing cases of discrimination in the plant and the company's failure to address these, detailing complaints of discrimination and victimisation which she received

BOYCOTT

In the United States a boycott of the company's products is being promoted by the Irish National Caucus and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The Ford Company adopted its own set of principles, the so-called 'Ford Principles', to head off attempts to get it to adopt the MacBride Principles. No effective action has been taken, however, to put these principles into effect. A related campaign in the US, known as the shareholder resolution



OLIVER KEARNEY

campaign, has been pursued over the past four years by groups and individual shareholders in companies which have holdings in the Six Counties. The objective of this campaign is to use their voting power to demand that companies adopt the MacBride Principles and to bring this

up at annual shareholders' meetings.

In his statement, Kearney concluded:

"The recent debacle in applying the 1989 Fair Employment Act at an Industrial Tribunal provides stark evidence, if evidence were needed, that there is neither the will nor the commitment at the highest levels of the civil service to create effective machinery to eliminate anti-Catholic discrimination in employment."

"The lesson is clear. International pressure must be increased and intensified by every means open, to enforce the demand of the international community and of the nationalist community in Northern Ireland that anti-Catholic discrimination finally be rooted out from this society."

Duffy family leads plastic bullet protest

THE PARENTS of 15-year-old plastic bullet victim Seamus Duffy handed in a letter of protest during the annual picket, organised by the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets (UCAPB), of Astra Fireworks, the British company which manufactures plastic bullets.

Seamus Duffy was killed when an RUC man fired a plastic bullet at close range as the teenager walked home on the anniversary of intern-

ment in August 1989. The inquest into Duffy's death threw out a claim by the boy's killers, the RUC, that Duffy was rioting when the lethal

shot was fired and ruled that there was no rioting at the time of the killing.

Brendan and Kathleen Duffy were joined by a number of other relatives of plastic bullet victims at a protest picket at the London headquarters of Astra Pyrotechnics, a company which combines the manufacture of fireworks with that of the lethal plastic bullet.

BOYCOTT ASTRA FIREWORKS

In 1987, following an extensive campaign by many of the victims and families of victims, another company involved in the manufacture of plastic bullets, Standard Fireworks, which incorporates Brock Fireworks, ceased production of these dangerous and deadly weapons.

As in previous years, the UCAPB is calling for a boycott of Astra fireworks, describing it as insidious that a company involved in the production of fireworks designed for the delight of young people in Britain is also involved in the manu-

facture of a weapon which has killed and maimed so many children and young people in the Six Counties.

The United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets was established mainly by victims and the relatives of victims following the brutal murder of Seán Downes, who was shot dead by a plastic bullet fired by an RUC man point-blank range during a peaceful internment rally in 1984.

OLD FRIENDS REMEMBER TWOMEY

A PACKED Andersonstown Felons' Club saw veteran republican and former IRA Chief-of-Staff Seamus Twomey, who died last year, honoured on the occasion of his birthday on Monday evening, November 5th.

The evening's celebrations were chaired by West Belfast MP Gerry Adams and were attended by family and friends of Seamus. Central to the evening was the launch of a booklet recalling Seamus' life, which was one of unfailing and selfless service in the cause of the people of Ireland.

Adams called on Sinn Féin activist Marie Moore to read the first of two personal messages from close friends of Seamus who remain incarcerated in British prisons. Marie read a letter from Martin Meehan of Ardoyne, now in the H-Blocks, and was followed by Chrissie Keenan, who read a letter on behalf of her husband Brian, who is in Full Sutton Prison.

With personal messages concluded, Adams asked people to sit back and enjoy a display of Irish dancing before moving on to the main speaker of the evening, republican veteran Pádraig Mac Airt, who recounted memories of Seamus and sketched an outline of Seamus' service in Oglach na hÉireann.

In the final formal ceremony of the evening, Rosie Twomey, Seamus' widow, was presented with a copy of the booklet commemorating her husband; she was then asked to perform the honour of unveiling a portrait of Seamus, painted for the family by Lucas Quigley of Ballymurphy. A very successful evening was concluded with an enjoyable folk session.



● ROSIE TWOMEY, Seamus' widow, is presented with a portrait of Seamus in the Felons' Club in Andersonstown on Monday, November 5th



State-sponsored terrorism

FR RAYMOND MURRAY is, along with much else, one of the great chroniclers of human rights abuses in the North. Together with Fr Faul, he has written 33 books and pamphlets as well as numerous leaflets on various aspects of state-sponsored terrorism in Ireland over the past 20 years, ranging from torture to assassination.

In *The SAS in Ireland* he has used his obviously extensive files to write a lengthy book dedicated to the campaign as waged by the Special Air Service of the British army. The strength of Raymond Murray's book lies in its use of documentation such as inquest and court reports, official NIO, RUC, British army and indeed IRA statements. In addition to scouring the Irish and British national presses, he has tucked away pieces from the Six-City provincial press, and clearly subscribes to both *APRN* and *Mars and Minerva*, the SAS in-house paper. I doubt if he's missed a single thing that's in the public print. His book is, for the most part, scrupulously sourced and footnoted — and

on this level, unanswerable.

Some criticism — it is on less sure ground where Fr Murray allows himself to speculate. This ends, for instance, in suggestions such as that the British ambassador was killed by IRA members from South Armagh in retaliation for SAS activity in South Armagh. This is unconvincing; sounds groundless, and is a quite unnecessary inclusion in the book. Also he has included a lot of material — such as the killing by the IRA of informer Frank Hegarty from Derry in 1986 — which seems unrelated to the context of the book. Stuff like this is simply thrown in so that occasionally *The SAS in Ireland* loses its focus and reads like a chronology of (warlike) events in the North.

BY CON CARNEY

RAYMOND MURRAY



And, to be done with criticism, I found dubious his apparent conviction that the SAS were

behind virtually everything.

This is, though, nit-picking at what is an important and bal-

ancing contribution to the contemporary literature on the war in the North. There is nothing 'new' in Fr Murray's book. Its importance is in the way the material is arranged and the cumulative case it makes against the British. Through inquest after inquest, unlikely story after unlikely story, the evidence mounts. From the MRF of the early '70s, the Four Square Laundry, the Littlejohn affair, the revelations of Fred Holroyd and Colin Wallace, down to those of UDA killer Albert Baker; through successive waves of sectarian assassination and the Dublin bombings right up to the latest killings, Murray allows the written record to make his case of state-sponsored murder.

A reader leaves this book, amongst much else, marvelling at the manner in which the British have avoided answering all the questions raised by the events described in it, and even more at how such overwhelming evidence can be ignored by the church, by the SDLP, and by the Dublin government.

● *The SAS in Ireland*, by Raymond Murray. Published by Mercier Press. £16.99, 500 pages.

fighting erupted, the cocky SS men being taken completely by surprise by the well-organised defenders.

The narrative makes extremely distressing reading at times as the brutal and cold-blooded horror of the slaughter of a whole people is described. The doomed but courageous struggle of the ZOB gave to many the chance to fight back and die with dignity. Edelman gives many examples of the sort of individual and collective acts of bravery and collective instances of self-sacrifice to save the lives of others which took place at this time. His book is a worthy testament to his comrades who died.

Edelman himself was one of very few who managed to escape the Ghetto to join the Polish Resistance and fewer still who survived the rest of the war. "On May 10th, 1943, the first period of our bloody history, the history of the Warsaw Jews, came to an end," he concludes. "Those who were killed in action had done their duty to the end, to the last drop of blood that soaked into the pavements of the Warsaw ghetto. We, who did not perish, leave it up to you to keep the memory of them alive — forever."

Contacts were made with the Polish resistance and weapons were smuggled into the Ghetto in increasing numbers.

In April 1943 the Germans moved to 'liquidate' the ghetto completely and full-scale

publicly.

● *The Ghetto Fights* is published by Bookmarks

Publications in paperback, priced £3.95 Sterling or \$7.50.

ANTI-EXTRADITION EVENTS

WHITE-LINE
PICKETS/LEAFLETING
5-6pm every Friday
Fairview foot-bridge
DUBLIN

6-7pm every Friday
Finglas Dual Carriageway
Janelle Shopping Centre
DUBLIN

2-3pm every Saturday
Falls Road/Whiterock Road
Junction
BELFAST

5-6pm every night
Roundabout at Fassagh Avenue
or Broom Bridge
CABRA

5-6pm every Friday
Junction Dorset Street/
Lr Drumcondra Road
DUBLIN

5.30pm-6.30pm every Tuesday
O'Connell Bridge
DUBLIN

2-4pm every Saturday
outside Courthouse
DUNDALK
County Louth

12.45pm every Saturday
Traffic lights
Aiden Park

SHANNON
County Clare

4.30pm-6.30pm every Friday
Irish Embassy
LONDON

CORK ANTI-EXTRADITION GROUP
meets 8pm every Thursday
The Grand Circle
Emmet Place
CORK

RADIO ELLIS
Tune in to Radio Dessie Ellis
6.30pm-7.30pm every day
on 88FM

THURSDAY 8th NOVEMBER
PICKET
O'Connell Bridge 5-6.30pm
DUBLIN

All Dublin groups are asked to attend and bring banners

PUBLIC MEETING
Beechmount Hotel
NAVAN
Speakers: Martha Ellis, Ernest Cowan
(Fianna Fáil Against Extrusion)
(continued on page 14)

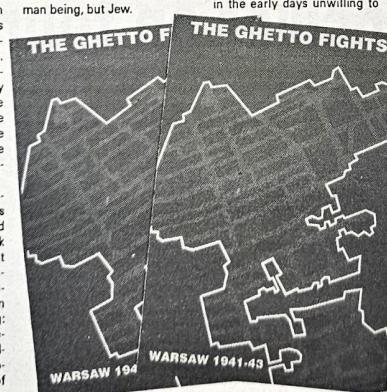
Imeachtaí

(continued from page 12)

70th ANNIVERSARY
Eddie Carmody Commemoration
Assemble 8pm sharp 22nd November
BALLYLONGFORD
County Kerry
Prominent speakers

CUMANN CABHRACH
TESTIMONIAL FUNCTION
9.30pm to 2am
Friday 23rd November
Russell Arms Hotel
NAVAN
Táille £5

MANCHESTER MARTYRS
COMMEMORATION
Assemble 12.30pm Sunday 25th November
Longsight Market
Longsight
MANCHESTER



Week 5 (FINAL WEEK)

1st prize, £10,000: County Derry, No 4,171; 2nd prize, £1,000: South Armagh, No 9,303; 3rd prize, £500: Sussy Callaghan, Cork City, No 1,020; 4th prize, £250: Newry, County Down, No 9,308; 5th prize, £150: E Palmer, Blanchardstown, Dublin 15, No 6,044; 6th prize, £100: Christy Lynch, Tralee, County Kerry, No 9,435; 7th prize, £50: Joe Stack, Cork City, No 1,189; 8th prize, £50: Derry, No 8,106.



Sinn Féin National Draw

(continued from page 13)
FRIDAY 9th NOVEMBER
 Dessie's Appeal continues
 10am outside Supreme Court
 DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING
 7.30pm Aras na Gael
 Brent Irish Centre
 Salisbury Road
 (Near Queen's Park tube)
LONDON
 Speakers include Ken Livingstone
 MP and
 Errol Smalley (Guildford Four
 Campaign)

RALLY
 On day of Dessie's extradition
 6.30pm GPO
DUBLIN

SATURDAY 10th NOVEMBER
NATIONAL MARCH
 Assemble 2pm Department of
 Justice
 St Stephen's Green
DUBLIN
 Prominent speakers
BUSES
 Belfast
 Contact Connolly House,
 Tel: 3717130/1939
 Count: 10am
 Leaving
 Swanlinbar: 10am
 Ballyconnell: 10.30am
 Cavan: 11.30am
 Virginia: 12 noon.
 Dundalk
 Leaves Market Square
 12.15pm sharp
 New Bridge, Drogheda 12.45pm
 Taille 2
 Clare-Limerick
 Leaves Miltown Malbay 9am
 Penneys, Limerick City 9.30am
 For further information contact:
 Joe Lynch, Limerick,
 Tel: 061 311457
 Paddy O'Grady, Clare,
 Tel: c/o 061 364823
 County Monaghan
 Leaving:
 Clones: 10.45am
 Monaghan: 11.15am
 Castleblaney: 11.45am
 Carrickmacross: 12.15pm

ALL NORTHSIDE GROUPS
 Meet 1pm Five Lamps
 Arden Street
DUBLIN
 March into national march
 Bring banners

BENEFIT FUNCTION
 In aid of Dessie Ellis
 Featuring: Fallen Angels,
 Cormac Breathach & Friends,
 Mick Hanly
 and special guests
 8pm Saturday 10th November
 Wexford Inn
DUBLIN
 Taille 5

SUNDAY 11th NOVEMBER
PICKET
 Attorney-General's House
 3pm Greystones Railway Station
GREYSTONES
 County Wicklow
 84 bus leaves 1.35pm from Trinity

WEDNESDAY 14th NOVEMBER
PUBLIC MEETING
 'Don't extradite Dessie Ellis'
 8pm Atlanta Hotel
 Dominic Street
GALWAY
 Speakers: Martha Ellis and Tony
 Sloan

PICKET
 5.30pm-6.30pm Archway Tube
 Station
LONDON

THURSDAY 15th NOVEMBER
 Cork Anti-Extradition Group
 Meeting
 8pm Anchor Bar
 George's Quay
CORK

PUBLIC MEETING
 8pm Islington Central Library
 Holloway Road
LONDON
 Speakers include Irish in Islington
 Project
 and Guildford Four Campaign

FRIDAY 16th NOVEMBER
PUBLIC MEETING
 'No extradition to British injustice'
 7.30pm Room 4, City Hall
 Albion Street
GLASGOW
 Speaker from Irish Anti-Extradition
 Cte

SATURDAY 17th NOVEMBER
MARCH
 In solidarity with Dessie Ellis
 2pm Parnell Square
DUBLIN

Bluster and warmongering in the Gulf

WHAT STARTED as an election ploy could well turn out to be the spark that ignites another Gulf conflict. It could also turn out to be a severe reversal for the US President. This week George Bush's administration is frantically trying to set out the ground rules for an open invasion of Iraq and Kuwait. But the unity of the anti-Iraqi forces is becoming more and more shaky and US voters are losing their appetite for battle.

Declaring war to win an election can be a very effective campaign tactic as Margaret Thatcher proved in the Malvinas. But George Bush's attempt to do the same in the Middle East is getting stuck in the sands of Saudi Arabia. At first he hoped that the economic boycott of Iraq would bring Saddam Hussein to his knees. His generals now know that it will be a long time before the UN's blockade will take effect.

War is now the only option which will bring results in the short term. That means major problems for Bush, whose Republican Party faces midterm elections this week, because none of his allies — with the exception of Margaret Thatcher — is even a quarter as committed as he is to a military solution.

The prolonged stalemate in the Saudi Arabian desert has persuaded US voters that Bush is indecisive. Roughly one third of the seats in the Senate and the House of Representatives are up for grabs, as are a number of governorships. His Republican Party candidates are likely to do badly and the little man in the White House has been talking big in an effort to win over the electorate.

He has already dredged up one of the most bizarre excuses in history for going into battle. Last week he delivered an angry tirade, peppered by war

could argue that it justified armed conflict.

When the US force was first dispatched to the Middle East there were scenes of the sort of mass hysteria which gripped Britain during the Malvinas War. Anti-Iraqi rhetoric from the White House began to drive embarrassing stories about the Savings & Loan scandal (in which Bush was implicated) from the front pages. But this ardour has cooled considerably in the intervening period and the public now has additional reasons for questioning Bush's economic mismanagement.

The US budget has to be proposed by the president but must be agreed by Congress by a given date. This year, Congress refused to accept the president's proposals and the White House refused to budge. So, for the first time in US history, there was no money in the kitty to pay civil servants and government ground to a halt for a short time. Significantly, Bush had already made sure that the money needed for his

war manoeuvres in Arabia was protected by law.

CYNICISM AMONG VOTERS

Intense — and very well justified — cynicism among voters has been the result. One poll shows that 77% of them believe that 'government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves, rather than for the benefit of all the people'.

Anti-war feeling is also growing, even among the troops themselves. Over the weekend Secretary of State James Baker visited US troops in Saudi Arabia and was forced to face up to the frustration of the soldiers. Comments such as 'Let's do something or go home' were common and at one point, the troops shouted at him 'When can we go home?'

Listening to unhappy warriors was only a small part of Baker's mission. His real purpose was to tie together the forces which are now baking in the Saudi desert. Bush was seriously worried by a recent



Sinn Féin councillor on tour of US

IN A TEN-DAY whirlwind tour of Florida, Atlanta, Pennsylvania and Minneapolis, Sinn Féin Councillor Michael Ferguson, from West Belfast, addressed conventions, school assemblies, a prison (housing mostly American Indians) and demonstrations on issues ranging from the economics of partition to the eight-year incarceration of Joe Doherty and the hunger-strike of Dessie Ellis.

Ferguson began his tour by addressing the Irish American Unity Conference on the vulnerability of the Irish economy North and South, identifying partition as the root cause of our economic ills. He addressed the damage done by entry into the EC and the long-term consequences of the pending Single European Market in 1992.

'famine', and those left will see a country reduced to a Third World tourist attraction in which we will be expected to celebrate our own picturesque poverty.'

In a lengthy radio interview while on tour in Atlanta, Ferguson spoke of the occupation of the Six Counties by British troops and the price paid by the nationalist community:

'The British government and its forces have been guilty of holding over 2,000 people without trial or charge, they have killed almost 300 Irish citizens, fired over 100,000 plastic and rubber baton rounds, raided over 300,000 homes, arrested over 60,000 people and been found guilty of inhumane and degrading treatment by the European Court of Human Rights. At present they hold over 800 political prisoners, employ censorship and use death squads to eliminate political opponents, and these people have the audacity to call on Eastern

European countries to imitate their 'democracy'.'

In Philadelphia Ferguson called on American and Irish alike to show their outrage at Britain's interference in the American judicial system which has resulted in the eight-year imprisonment of Joe Doherty despite eight successful court appearances. "American legal history," he claimed, "should not be remembered as having bolstered up British injustice."

Addressing a NORAIN testimonial dinner, Ferguson pondered on the legacy of the hunger-strikers whose tenth anniversary is fast approaching and noted with sadness that almost ten years after the hunger-strikes of 1980/81, another man, Dessie Ellis, was being forced to hunger-strike by yet another government doing Britain's dirty work.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Concluding his tour as a guest of the American Indian Movement, Ferguson was honoured with the traditional 'Drum and Pipe' ceremony at the Heart of the Earth Survival School where he addressed the assembly on the importance of culture as a means of surviving colonial occupation:

"The British say our people are



● MICHAEL FERGUSON
 backward-looking, uncivilised, un-European simply because we oppose their destruction of our culture and the impoverishment of our nation. In fact the British have brought us nothing but the negation of an ancient civilisation with death and destruction in its wake, and they continue to rule over us through the use of violence, force and terrorism."

Speaking to AP/RN on his return to Ireland, Ferguson said he had been heartened by both the warmth of his welcome in America and the level of interest in Ireland among the American peoples.





THE FLYING COLUMN

THE IRONY has probably totally escaped the 26-County establishment, but if the worse comes to the worst and Dessie Ellis is handed over next week, it seems that he will be flown to Britain from the Roger Casement Aerodrome in Baldonnell.

Ellis has proudly and courageously lived up to the ideals for which Casement gave his life in 1916 but, given his impending extradition, it is patently clear that the same cannot be said for those who now run the 26-County statelet.

A REPORT in Tuesday's *Daily Mirror* on the trial of ex-boxing champion Terry Marsh, accused of the attempted murder of his former manager Frank Warren, heard from the defence lawyer that Warren would have been a dead man if Marsh had been his assailant.

Marsh's defending barrister told the court that his client had been a crackshot in the Royal Marines and had "come under fire" in the Six Counties.

"There would have been no mess, no excitement, no fumbling if a trained Marine had done this. There would have been no wasted live cartridge at the scene," said Richard Ferguson, defending.

"We would have had Marine's training with two rapid shots followed by a third into the body prostrate on the ground."

Marsh was cleared on Wednesday. No doubt his defending counsel's remarks will be of interest to the relatives of shoot-to-kill victims in the Six Counties.

THE FLYING COLUMN notes the death of Sir David Stirling (74), the founder of the SAS in 1942. Stirling was a right-wing bigot whom Winston Churchill once described as "the mildest-mannered man who ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat".

MARY ROBINSON and Prioressias de Rossa did a spot of canvassing at the RDS in Dublin before the Shamrock Rovers/Dundalk League of Ireland match on Sunday last. They strolled around among the crowd pumping the flesh until they reached the Anglesea Stand, where the chant was "There's Only One Dessie Ellis".

Although the match itself was a disappointing 0-0 draw, the thoroughly disgusted look on Frank the Big Stick's puss

at that point and his sprint for the gate is reported to have been well worth the price of entrance.

FIANNA FAIL held a massive pre-election rally for Brian Lenihan on Sunday night last to whip up the grass roots into a last-ditch frenzy of canvassing.

While Lenihan's devotees paid homage inside, Dessie Ellis' supporters outside the National Stadium in Dublin attempted to prick the collective conscience of the so-called republican party's footsoldiers by distributing leaflets as the heads arrived and by chanting anti-extradition slogans.

A two-storey big screen erected on the South Circular Road outside showed giant pictures of Lenihan on the campaign trail and the gathering of the clans inside the Stadium which should give any passing children nightmares for weeks to come.

The ranks of the unchosen outside were next treated to the strains of the Guinness Jazz Band, loudly relayed through speakers.

The highlight of the official entertainment, however, was when the band launched into a spirited rendition of the appropriately named tune: "It's a sin to tell a lie."

NO VOTE FOR AUSTIN

Austin Currie, the man who accepted the Blueshirts' invitation to run for the cushy Lark in the Park posting, is proving to be less of a dab hand at pulling in the votes than even his failed political career in the Six Counties would lead one to believe.

The man who has memorised four street-names in Dublin West since his initial embarrassing entry into the Southern political arena, hasn't got a vote in the presidential election.

Apparently this great man of Democracy, a founder-member of the Stoop Down Low Party (SDLP), neglected to put his name on the 26-County register of electors.

No doubt the voters will have forgotten his name as well.

SERGEANT PARASITE STEALS FROM HIS OWN

A Brit NCO and paymaster has been questioned by the army's Special Investigation Branch after £20,000 in wage money went missing.

The parasitic Brit, a sergeant in the Royal Army Pay Corps, gave himself up two days after withdrawing over £5,000 from a bank account, but accountants are searching for another missing £20,000.

The funds were meant to be used to pay the wages of

Brits from two units of the Royal Military Police in the Six Counties.

TABLOID'S RACIST SLUR

"Drunken Paddy in air scare", choruses the *Daily Mirror* in a 'light' filler of an article on October 30th last.

The story concerns an incident involving a drunken Irishman who managed to get aboard a passenger plane at Manchester Airport only a week after a review of security was ordered at the airport. Rather than concentrate on the security implications of the story, the paper indulges in a spot of 'Paddybashing', saying that the unemployed navvy, named only as Patrick, "after missing a flight to Dublin, STUMBLLED through a service door, LURCHED across a 'restricted' zone and STAGGERED up the steps into a Boeing 737. He was snoozing when cleaners found him."

Dúirt Siad

I think he's a bit too quick to condemn one side. To me he's very British. — Astute comment of an Armagh passer-by interviewed by RTE following the announcement of Cahal Daly's appointment as Catholic primate of all-Ireland.

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I can only conclude that the Holy Spirit was either sleeping or on holidays when they made the appointment to the See of Armagh. — Fr Pat Buckley.

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If Danny's appeal had gone ahead as planned and if he got free — which he should be — then the papers on Dessie Ellis wouldn't be worth the paper they were written on. — Margaret McNamee, sister-in-law of Danny McNamee, on the reason for the latest postponement of Danny's appeal from November 12th until December 17th.

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It's the natural enthusiasm of the people. It's an example of the friendship established between the people and myself over the years. — Brian Lenihan after his hurried retreat into the GPO as Dessie Ellis supporters disrupted his 'walkabout' in Dublin's city-centre on Thursday, November 1st.

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A few elbows in the neck would work wonders. — A Garda on O'Connell Street as Brian Lenihan was confronted and vociferously lobbed by Dessie Ellis supporters.

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How can they even contemplate handing Irish people over to a jurisdiction which literally tortures people? — Brenda Power, daughter of Billy Power of the Birmingham Six, on Thursday, November 1st.

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The 1987 Extradition Act is based on the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. It cannot have escaped Ellis' attention that a dozen signatories of that convention entered reservations which set out offences they regarded as political, or that eight states which signed the convention refuse to extradite their own citizens. — The Sunday Business Post, November 4th.

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At the Anglesea Stand, where the crowd was much bigger, the chants began, "We want Brian, We want Brian," they roared. "One Dessie Ellis, there's only one Dessie Ellis," came thundering down from the upper stand. Mary walked up and down the terrace steps, a little uncertain, as the comments rained down. — Miriam Lord in the *Irish Independent*, reporting from the campaign trail at the RDS, new home of Shamrock Rovers, on Monday, November 5th.

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The transfer deal between the extreme right of Fine Gael and the extreme right of the Workers' Party. — Seamus Brennan, Fianna Fail tourism and transport minister, referring to the voting deal between Austin Currie and Mary Robinson on RTE's *News at One*, Monday, November 5th.

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Left is not left — I don't think there is even four people inside the Dail who could be called socialist. — Fine Gael's Michael Noonan, on the *Pat Kenny Show*, Monday, November 5th.

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If the British government is to use the absolutely unfounded charge of ties to paramilitary organisations as the reason for withdrawing that organisation's funds, it should have shut down the RUC and the UDR years ago, given their fully documented ties to Protestant paramilitaries. — Raymond Flynn, Mayor of Boston.

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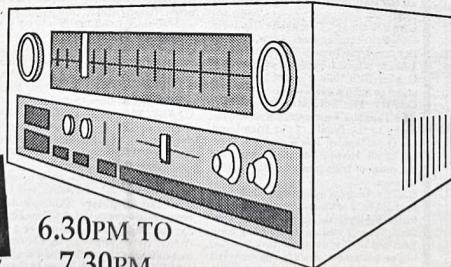
Sometimes I don't object when I'm misquoted because it sounds so much better than what I said. And, of course, you generally deny something when you really know you shouldn't have said it. — Sir Peter Imbert in the *Sunday Express* Magazine. Readers might be interested to know that Peter is reported to be getting over his recent heart attack.

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Dessie Ellis

Radio

88 FM



6.30PM TO
7.30PM

**ANNUAL EDENTUBBER MARTYRS
COMMEMORATION**
2pm Sun 11th Nov
Assemble: BORDER INN
(DUBLIN-BELFAST ROAD)
Main Speaker: Francie Molloy

