



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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# Springtime for Paisley

"SPRINGTIME FOR HITLER AND GERMANY" sang Mel Brooks in his film *The Producers*. His character turned the horrors of Nazi Germany into a ridiculous musical. But for Irish nationalists the speech by Dick Spring, which has boosted the campaign for the deletion of Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution, was no joke.

Make no mistake about it, Spring's honeyed words directed at unionists represented another step along the road to the abandonment of the constitutional commitment to Irish reunification. He made no mention of Britain's claim to the Six Counties contained in the Government of Ireland Act and subsequent legislation. He said nothing about even aspiring to Irish unity. He totally ignored the role of the main force in the conflict — the British government.

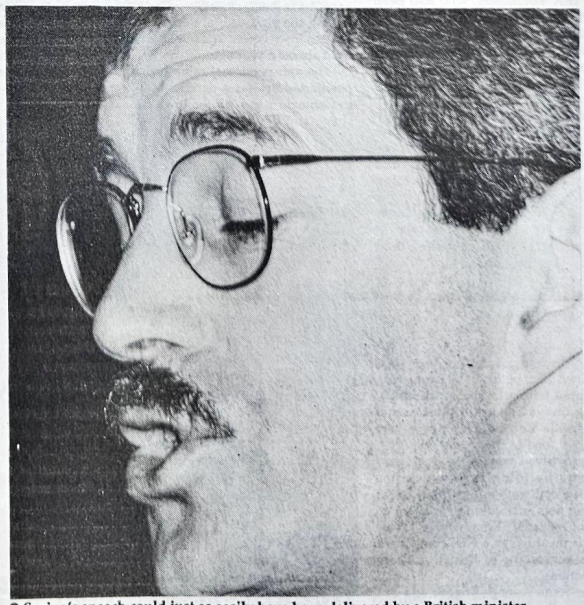
Spring's speech could just as easily have been delivered by a British minister. He inferred that it was the Irish people who were responsible for the conflict. He said in coded language that Articles Two and Three were up for sale, if the price was right.

No one should be fooled by Ian Paisley's rhetoric when he dismissed Spring's speech as "lovey-dovey" talk and said Dublin wanted to take over the Six Counties. Privately he cannot have been displeased with the speech.

A few years ago Paisley and his fellow unionists admitted openly that the deletion of Articles Two and Three or any other

changes in the 1937 Constitution would not make one whit of difference to their intransigent position. But now the unionist tactic is to make Articles Two and Three appear as the obstacles to peace and political progress. By failing to vigorously pursue the case for Irish unity the Dublin government and the SDLP is allowing that tactic to succeed. The British government, the unionists, the pro-unionist parties in the 26 Counties (Fine Gael, the Progressive Democrats and Democratic Left) all want to make the deletion of the articles a prerequisite for any further talks. Loyalist killer gangs, armed and partly controlled by British crown forces, are making that demand the latest excuse for their terror campaign, aimed at nationalist civilians.

Any weakening of the defence of Articles Two and Three is seen as a sign of encouragement by unionists. In failing to stand up for Irish unity, Spring is guilty of appeasing sectarian loyalism. No democrat or socialist in any part of Ireland should tolerate such appeasement and must defend Articles Two and Three. — See pages 6/7



● Spring's speech could just as easily have been delivered by a British minister



# News



● Bangor after the IRA yet again caused massive destruction with a 500lb car bomb

## Another barracks busted by IRA

The heavily fortified joint RUC/British army base in Keady in South Armagh was severely damaged just days after the IRA barracks buster attack rocked Bessbrook Barracks, also in South Armagh.

The IRA said that on Monday, 8 March engineers in the South Armagh Brigade mounted three heavy mortars on the back of a large tipper truck and acting on precise distances and heights, set the correct angle of fire for all three launchers. The launchers were set to fire at a distance of 50 metres from the target. With this completed other IRA Volunteers, who had been scouting the countryside around the heavily fortified barracks, contacted the launching unit who then moved into position.

Over this past number of weeks building work had been carried on at the base by a combination of British army engineers and civilian collaborators. The British army had deployed numerous mobile patrols around Keady to cover their construction squads.

This proved to be no deterrent to the IRA's active service units who, at approximately 10am, launched their attack.

Just prior to the mortars being launched, the driver of the adapted mobile mortar launcher calmly walked over to local people in the town and told them to take cover.

All three mortars, containing a combined total of 200lbs of explosives, detonated within the base's defences, killing one collaborator operating a crane inside the base. Five others were wounded, one of them very seriously. Those involved were from the Henry Brothers building firm which has lucrative contracts with British forces and persists in working for them in spite of repeated IRA warnings. Their work is regarded as a vital component in the reinforcing of British military installations.

The South Armagh Brigade said that following the attack British forces were

observed to take what is known by British forces as "hard cover". These are reinforced bunkers inside British bases.

### ■ LURGAN BOMB BLAST

Within hours of the Keady attack the IRA in North Armagh placed an anti-personnel mine beside security gates in Lurgan's town centre. The gates have been closed regularly following the almost total destruction of Lurgan town centre in a massive bomb blast almost a year ago.

The anti-personnel mine had been positioned behind a derelict building in Carnegie Street, off the town's main street, and the IRA Volunteers waited patiently for a regular RUC mobile

patrol who seal off the town centre each evening.

At approximately 9.30pm, as the RUC patrol locked the gate, the mine was detonated blowing two RUC members across the road. Both were badly injured in the blast and were later removed to hospital for emergency treatment.

### ■ TYRONE GUN ATTACK ON UVF MEMBER

Volunteers of the Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann operating in East Tyrone claimed responsibility for a gun attack on 6 March.

The Tyrone Brigade said that two of their Volunteers, armed with automatic rifles, positioned themselves late on Friday night, adjacent to a house occupied by a known member of a loyalist death squad.

The target of the IRA, a former member of the UDR and now a current



● The barracks in Keady which was blasted by an IRA Barracks Buster and a civilian collaborator was killed

UVF operative and loyalist death squad member, was shot outside his house on Saturday morning last on the road between Donaghmore and Pomeroy, County Tyrone.

The IRA said that at this time their target was standing alone, however as he was being shot at he ran towards his nine year old son. Because of the proximity of the child the IRA Volunteers immediately ceased firing and withdrew from the area.

Some news reports later on Saturday spuriously suggested that during the gunfire the child was hit in the leg. This has been denied by the IRA.

### ■ TOWN AND PATROL DEVASTATED

The IRA's Belfast Brigade detailed how Volunteers under its command once again penetrated tight security around Bangor.

Last Sunday night's massive IRA car bomb attack was notable for several things, not least that the Volunteers had remained in position for a considerable time prior to the actual detonation of the 500lb remote-control bomb. The results of the blast also are significant in that all four RUC personnel seriously injured in the attack were RUC 'reservists'.

This fact exposes a growing weakness in the RUC, similar to that in the British army; they are being forced to send increasing numbers of their most highly-trained personnel to areas of the Six Counties where the IRA have shown their superiority in tactics and operations, deploying 'reservists' elsewhere.

On Sunday night, 7 March, Volunteers drove the car containing the 500lb bomb into Bangor's Upper Main Street, and parked it barely 100 yards from the town's main RUC barracks. (The lower part of the main street was rocked five months ago in another massive IRA bomb attack.) The IRA active service unit waited until there were no civilians in the vicinity before setting off the bomb.

The movements and times of RUC patrols in Bangor had been collated by IRA intelligence units and with these details to hand the ASU waited for one which usually contained 12 RUC personnel. However when this large force of RUC passed the bomb there were civilians nearby. The ASU continued to wait until the street was clear, and when at 2.45am four RUC members passed the bomb it was detonated by remote control.

The force of the explosion blew the four RUC personnel across the road, seriously injuring them. All four are still in a very serious condition.

The blast also caused structural damage with a provisional estimate of damage put at £3 million. Claims from the earlier blast have still not been met by the British Treasury.

### ■ UDA/UVF LEADERS SHOT

Two leading members of the UDA's death squads narrowly escaped death when they were fired on by IRA Volunteers operating on the Shankill Road last Saturday, 6 March.

IRA Volunteers have been stalking these two UDA leaders for some time and when an opportunity presented itself outside the Berlin Arms, they opened fire at the pair wounding one. The other managed to run off.

One of these men is the OC of the UDA/UVF in North Belfast, while the other is directly involved in planning many sectarian murders of nationalists including that of the late human rights lawyer, Pat Finucane.

Both men have been targeted in the past and the IRA in their statement reminded both of an earlier warning to their counterpart in South Belfast three

weeks ago:

"These people cannot hide and they will eventually be made to answer for their atrocities against the nationalist people".

### ■ COLLABORATOR

#### AMBUSHED

On 4 March, Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade opened fire at a British collaborator as he drove to the joint RUC/British army barracks at Woodbourne in West Belfast.

As the collaborator drove along Cherry Road in Twinbrook early on Thursday, an IRA Volunteer fired 10 rounds at him. His car was hit nine times but he managed to drive out of view and escaped to a British base.

### ■ RUC MEMBER WOUNDED

A daring close-quarter rifle and grenade attack was launched at an RUC checkpoint outside their Grosvenor Road Barracks. This barracks lies less than 500 yards from Belfast city centre. The Volunteers slowly drove up the Grosvenor Road after driving into the city centre by another route, then stopped their car beside the checkpoint.

As the shocked heavily-armed RUC looked on the Volunteers began the attack. One Volunteer opened fire on a number of RUC personnel, while another Volunteer emerged from the sunroof of the car and lobbed a blast grenade at the RUC. The fact that the grenade only partially exploded undoubtedly saved the lives of at least three of the RUC members.

Eyewitnesses at the scene said that the uninjured RUC members ran and left their wounded colleague at the scene of the attack.

A number of minutes after the attack one returned and fired a number of shots up the Grosvenor Road, but by this time there was no sight of the ASU.

### ■ RIR SOLDIER WOUNDED

The IRA claimed responsibility for the shooting and wounding of a British soldier in East Belfast on Tuesday, 9 March. The IRA Volunteers ambushed the RIR member as he drove out of a bus depot beside the Short Strand district. Despite some media reports that he was only slightly wounded, witnesses to the shooting said that he was in a serious condition before being taken away to a British Military hospital.

### ■ DRUG DEALER TARGETED

South Down IRA said it shot and wounded a man whom it named and described as a "leading drugs importer and distributor". The attack took place at the Buttercrane Shopping Centre on 26 February. The IRA said the man operated a network of pushers in South Down, North Armagh, and North Louth, "a business which netted huge profits for himself and his cohorts".

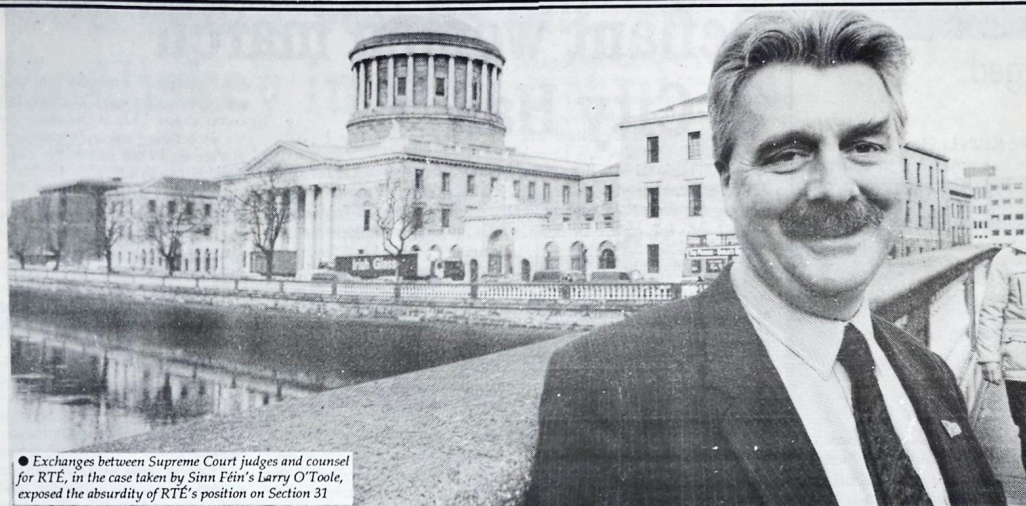
"On a number of occasions his imports were intercepted by British customs. On 3 November 1992, he was arrested with a large quantity of amphetamine with intent to supply. Earlier this year he also lost a shipment of cannabis from Amsterdam to the value of £100,000, when his courier was arrested. However most of his consignments were allowed through.

"We are also aware that on a number of occasions, he offered sums of money to others to carry out killings and beatings of people whom he believed were competing for his drug 'patch'.

"Ogligh na hÉireann takes this opportunity to warn all those involved in this trade that their activities are completely unacceptable and that if they continue they must be prepared to face the consequences of their activities.

"When this statement was first issued both the written and spoken media refused to carry it."





● Exchanges between Supreme Court judges and counsel for RTE, in the case taken by Sinn Féin's Larry O'Toole, exposed the absurdity of RTE's position on Section 31

## RTE argues for more censorship

**L**AWYERS for RTE argued in the Supreme Court that singers, newsmen, musicians and actors should be censored and asserted that members of the opposition in Leinster House had no constitutional right to appear on television or radio. These were the extraordinary lengths to which the station went to overturn last year's High Court judgment in the Larry O'Toole case which found RTE's implementation of Section 31 to be unlawful.

Michael D Higgins, the minister with responsibility for broadcasting, reiterated in Leinster House his promise that Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act would be given "careful consideration" in a review of broadcasting policy. He said that it was no secret that he has little enthusiasm for restrictions on broadcasters in the coverage of news and current affairs.

The minister made these comments on Tuesday, 9 March, just five days after the Supreme Court had reserved judgement in the Larry O'Toole case. RTE is appealing against a High Court order that it should end its blanket ban on all members of Sinn Féin.

In July 1992, Judge O'Hanlon ruled in the High Court that RTE was wrong in the way it interpreted and imple-

mented the Section 31 restrictions. As chairperson of the workers' strike committee in the period before the factory was closed in 1990, Larry O'Toole was banned by RTE from speaking on behalf of his fellow workers for the sole reason that he was also a member of Sinn Féin.

O'Hanlon ruled that RTE's position was "bad in law, erroneous, based on a misconstruction of the law and null and void".

But instead of welcoming this liberalising of the restrictions, RTE chose to ignore the High Court judgement, issuing a lengthy communiqué to staff ordering them to continue its existing policy. The High Court refused to grant RTE a stay on the order, but the Supreme Court granted it on appeal,

pending its verdict.

The International Federation of Journalists, which represents 300,000 journalists in 70 countries described RTE's decision to appeal the High Court judgement as an "outrage". The American Newspaper Guild also "wholeheartedly" endorsed O'Toole, saying it was "astonished" that RTE "is asking the Irish Supreme Court for a greater restriction of its free speech rights".

The Irish Secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Jim Eadie, attended the Supreme Court hearing as a gesture of support towards Larry O'Toole. "I certainly intend to be there hoping to witness a little bit of enlightenment," he said. Independent TD Tony Gregory and Labour TD Declan

Bree also indicated their support for O'Toole before the hearing.

**D**uring the hearing of RTE's appeal on 4 March, counsel for the station Patrick Keane was repeatedly questioned about how RTE thought Section 31 should be implemented. The exchange exposed the absurdity of their position. Judge Hederman asked if an actor in a detergent advertisement was a member of Sinn Féin would he or she be banned and did this not threaten that person's right to earn a livelihood. The RTE lawyer said the advertisement would not be broadcast. Later Chief Justice Finlay asked if a government decided that only the members of the opposition it nominated could be broadcast, did other members of the opposition not have a constitutional right not to be excluded. RTE's counsel said they had no such right.

RTE also opposed the O'Hanlon judgement on the grounds that if it was implemented it would cause "administrative difficulties" as the station would not be able to ensure that there was no breach of Section 31 and a "spokesperson" for Sinn Féin interviewed. One of the judges pointed out that RTE had to scrutinise stories every day for possible libel and defamation and asked why the mechanics of implementing the O'Hanlon judgement should be any different.

The Supreme Court reserved judgement and a result is expected in the next few weeks.

Deputy General Secretary of the NUJ Jake Ecclestone has written to Michael D Higgins calling for the revoking of the orders under Section 31 which he said are "a blot on the democratic process of the 26 Counties, just as the broadcasting ban besmirches the reputation of Great Britain". He also told the minister:

"The NUJ believes that when the management of RTE resists freedom of expression, when they positively seek to reimpose the manacles of censorship, then it is your duty to restore sanity in the name of the people of Ireland."

## POW in England 'ghosted' during visits

**"B**ARBARIC" is how the Committee for the Transfer of Irish Prisoners described the 'ghosting' of Irish POW Tommy Quigley during a pre-booked annual family visit.

'Ghosting' refers to the practice of denying or disrupting visits from relatives by removing a prisoner either on the eve of a pre-arranged visit or, as in the Quigley case, during a visit, to another prison, usually hundreds of miles away. Over the last 20 years 'ghosting' has been systematically used by the prison authorities in England to inflict hardship on the families of Irish POWs.

In the latest example of this insidious practice, two brothers of Irish political prisoner Tommy Quigley had travelled from Belfast to England and onto the Isle of Wight to make their once yearly visit to their brother who was being held in Parkhurst Gaol.

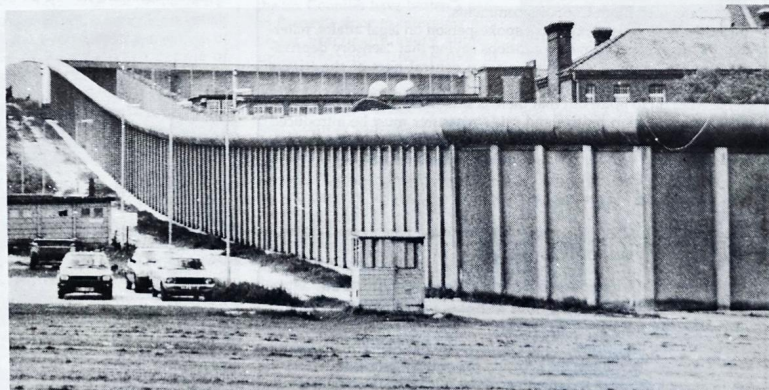
Despite the fact that the British authorities were clearly aware that the two men were on their way to visit a relative in Parkhurst, the brothers were detained at Heathrow Airport for over an hour before being allowed to continue on their journey. In line with the regulations governing prison visits, the visitors had pre-booked three visits with the Parkhurst authorities. The first of the three visits passed without incident. The second and third visits

never took place.

At 8.15am on Thursday, 4 March without notice and despite being in the middle of pre-booked visits Tommy Quigley was moved from Parkhurst to York's Full Sutton Gaol, over 500 miles away. The prisoner was moved under protest but was carried out of the prison without any violence and without restraint. As a direct consequence of the harassment of the prisoner's relatives a spontaneous protest by other Irish POWs being held in Parkhurst resulted in damage to some facilities in the prison.

Commenting on the incident, a spokesperson for the Committee for the Transfer of Irish Prisoners said that the practice of 'ghosting', the PTA, the expenses of travel, isolation and fear "all stalk the relatives of Irish prisoners held in prisons in England."

"The British government in its November 1992 Fenners Report, agreed to allow Irish prisoners temporary extended transfers so as to alleviate the difficulties faced by relatives of the prisoners concerned. None of these much publicised temporary extended transfers to prisons in the Six Counties has yet taken place. Prisoners' relatives



● Families of prisoners in England are stalked by expense, fear of the PTA, isolation and the practice of 'ghosting' when they go to visit their relatives

still have to travel to England and as this incident has shown, have to endure harassment under the PTA, while the prisoner can simply be moved at the whim of the prison authorities.

"Families, who have usually exhausted both their financial and emotional reserves in making the ini-

tial often long and difficult journey, are left stranded. Even if they are informed where the prisoner has been moved and are able to extend their journey the many hundreds of miles to another gaol, there is no guarantee that a visit which has been booked at the previous gaol will be granted at the new prison.

"The Transfer Committee will continue to demand that all Irish prisoners should have the right to serve their sentences nearer their homes and families in gaols in the Six Counties to reduce the difficulties faced by their families. The 'ghosting' of Tommy Quigley should never have happened."



## News

## Defiant women march to City Hall

the conditions whereby real and meaningful political change can come about. This is the message we are sending out on International Women's Day, this is the challenge facing us all".

A short commemorative ceremony was held in Milltown Cemetery on Sunday, 7 March to remember those republican women who were killed over the last two decades. Saturday, 6 March was also the fifth anniversary of the death of Mairéad Farrell who was shot down by SAS undercover units in Gibraltar in 1988.

Chrissie McAuley of Sinn Féin's Women's Department delivered the main address at the republican plot in Milltown Cemetery.

"Each of these women, without exception, were individually special to us and their passing has taken away a part of us along with them", said McAuley.

In commemorating those republican women who lost their lives in the struggle for a peaceful, united country, McAuley celebrated the resistance of women in general who have been jailed, had their homes destroyed by the crown forces and who have spent years visiting prisons throughout Ireland and Britain.

"Women are the core of the struggle", said McAuley, "they are the defiant ones, the committed ones, women whose inner-strength will guarantee us ultimate victory and genuine peace".

McAuley went on to warn the media and the British that their attempts to label republican women like Máire Drumm and Mairéad Farrell as "hate-filled or mindless terrorists" would come to nothing, because she said, "we know the real truth about these women".

"And more importantly", warned McAuley, "we know something which will ensure that our struggle is never defeated — we know that Máire, Mairéad and Sheena Campbell, and all those who have died, were right."

"They were right to stand up against injustice, against discrimination and the denial of their national right to self-determination. They were right, as we are right, to resist the nightmare of partition which has divided our community and created conflict and hatred."

Among other International Women's Day events were anti-strip-searching protests on 6 March on Dublin's O'Connell Bridge, organised by the Irish National Congress, and on Limerick's O'Connell Street, organised by Limerick Sinn Féin.

Also in Dublin, women gathered in Kilbarrack on Monday, 8 March to protest against violence against women. Kilbarrack is one of several areas in north east Dublin where there has been a series of attacks on women by rapists yet to be apprehended.

## IN BRIEF...

## RUC inspector charged with sex offences

A HIGH-RANKING RUC officer, Keith Lindsay, attached to RUC headquarters at Knock has appeared in court on two charges of assault with intent to commit rape and two of indecent exposure.

The charges are said to have been committed between August 1991 and May 1992 and carried out over a wide geographical area including Down, Antrim, Fermanagh and Tyrone.

A prosecuting RUC officer applied for the accused RUC inspector to be remanded into RUC custody, instead of prison, so he could be interviewed about other matters.

## Casement Accused on Spring's agenda

DICK SPRING has promised to raise the cases of three of the Casement Accused with Stormont minister Michael Mates at their next meeting. The move follows a meeting in Dublin between relatives of Pat Kane, Michael Timmons, Seán Kelly and Spring in Leinster House on Thursday, 4 March.

Showing belated concern on the Casement Accused issue Joe Hendron arranged the meeting. The Casement trials have been the focus of attention from numerous human rights groups such as the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) and the Haldane Society of Lawyers.

These bodies have criticised many aspects of the trials and highlighted the addition of special procedures and new features to the Diplock court system to secure convictions.

Bernard Kane, father of Pat, speaking after the meeting said Spring "had displayed a sense of urgency". "The entire West Belfast community has been punished for what had happened to the British soldiers", said Kane.

## Castlereagh "not user-friendly"!

ACCORDING to the person appointed by the British government to monitor the RUC's interrogation centres, Louis Blom-Cooper, these interrogation centres "are not user-friendly".

Describing Castlereagh Interrogation Centre as ramshackled, Blom-Cooper admitted that he had not, as yet, examined interrogation procedures at the notorious base.

Blom-Cooper did, however, call on the British government to improve conditions there. The human rights group, Committee on the Administration for Justice (CAJ), which has itself consistently called for improved conditions and changes in interrogation procedures welcomed Blom-Cooper's comments.

Paddy McManus, Sinn Féin's spokesperson on legal affairs, reiterated the need for improved conditions saying that "sensory deprivation and psychological pressure are a central part of the RUC's interrogation techniques".

He went on to point out that there is still evidence of torture in the RUC's interrogation centres and said "measures must be introduced so that the rights of detained people are protected, but the bottom line is that these torture centres should be closed down".

## INA chief wins Grand Marshal spot

The national chairperson of Irish Northern Aid, Paul Murray, has been elected Grand Marshal for the 43rd annual St Patrick's Day parade in Albany, New York.

Murray, the first US-born INA leader, who has held the post since 1989, says that he will use the occasion to remind Americans celebrating their Irish heritage to remember those in the Six Counties whose Irishness causes them to live in fear for their lives.

"Being Irish on St Patrick's day in America is a cause for celebration," he said, "but in the occupied Six Counties of Ireland it's all too often a cause for incarceration — or worse."

"Vigilante death squads, the highest infant mortality rate in Europe, constant harassment, intimidation and terror at the hands of the British forces — these are the realities of our Irish heritage that Americans would too often rather forget. These same things that drove our ancestors from Ireland are continuing to this very day."

A NOTHER CHAPTER in the history of the struggle for freedom was written on Sunday, 7 March when a march organised by the Sinn Féin Women's Department marched from West Belfast into the centre of Belfast to hold a rally outside Belfast City Hall.

The historic significance of the occasion was not lost on the crowd as it moved off from Dunville Park. Led by the Carrickhill Martyrs Republican Band and displaying numerous banners demanding an end to strip-searching and the release of the Beechmount Five the march, which included women's delegations from overseas, went on its way undeterred by an oppressive RUC presence.

On arrival at the City Hall, a symbol of the undemocratic nature of the Orange state second only to Stormont itself, the crowd was called to order by Rosie Shannon of the Women's Department, who was chairing the proceedings. She welcomed those who came on the march and told them of the pride she felt at being on a march that "reclaimed our streets".

Amhrán na bhFiann was then played before the speakers were introduced. Carol Cullen, a paroled POW from Maghaberry, read a statement from the women POWs. The statement was testament to the discrimination faced by women prisoners in Maghaberry in comparison to those men, in the same gaol, who are "conforming".

What lies behind NIO policy is quite simply the desire to break the women. Strip-searching is the main weapon in the NIO arsenal, but this is backed up by a refusal to grant women the same access to association, exercise and education facilities.

Veronica Martin, herself an ex-

POW, read out the names of all Irish POWs in prison throughout Ireland, England, Europe and America before Bernie O'Reilly, an ex-POW and member of the Anti-Strip-search Committee read out a statement condemning the practice as "barbaric and inhuman".

The main speaker of the day, Marie Moore, a Sinn Féin candidate for Upper Springfield in the forthcoming local government elections, was then introduced. She began by extending solidarity greetings to women struggling for equality and freedom around the world and paid a special tribute to all those women who have been killed in the course of struggle.

Moore paid particular tribute to the nationalist community and "our women in particular who have suffered enormously over 70 years". "Our mothers and grandmothers faced terrible fear, pain and suffering in loyalist pogroms", said Moore, reminding the crowd of the backdrop of sectarian violence against which the march took place.

"As Irish women, we are not only oppressed by poverty, male violence, institutional violence, sexism and inequality but we in the Six Counties are doubly oppressed by British rule", added Moore.

"The people of this country desire more than anything else a real peace process. For our part, we women and our community will continue to struggle to create



● Carol Cullen POW on parole from Maghaberry addressing the crowd outside Belfast's City Hall during International Women's Week



# News

## 'You won't sell us out' — McAliskey in UCD

THE Irish National Congress's UCD branch devoted its inaugural meeting on Wednesday, 3 March to the defence of Articles Two and Three.

Addressing an audience of over 200, the auditor of the UCD society, Donnacha O Beacháin, opened the meeting by referring to the recent spate of government statements on the issue. He said that the present concentration on Articles Two and Three was the latest in a long list of obstacles unionists have put forward, as prerequisites for political progress. Such a strategy is only to be expected from the unionists, as they are the main beneficiaries of the present status of the Six Counties. They realise that any dialogue on the future constitutional status of the North can only dilute rather than enhance their position. What is surprising is the degree which the idea of repealing Articles Two and Three has gained such acceptance among southern political parties and the southern media.

Bernadette McAliskey was then introduced as the guest speaker. She listed the indignities

and humiliations that northern nationalists have endured since partition: "It is not simply a question of abandoning the people of the Six Counties, the quality of our lives is determined by partition. The fact that we are twice as likely to be unemployed as anyone else is determined by the British constitutional claim. The fact is that we have practically no democratic mechanism of progressing in society, the peaceful way to progress has always been blocked, politically, socially and economically."

"The position of advancement for nationalists has been institutionally curtailed. That is what British citizenship, British control means to us. We are de facto British citizens. But I am not and never will be of my own free will a British citizen. My mother was not a British citizen, my grandmother was not a British citizen."

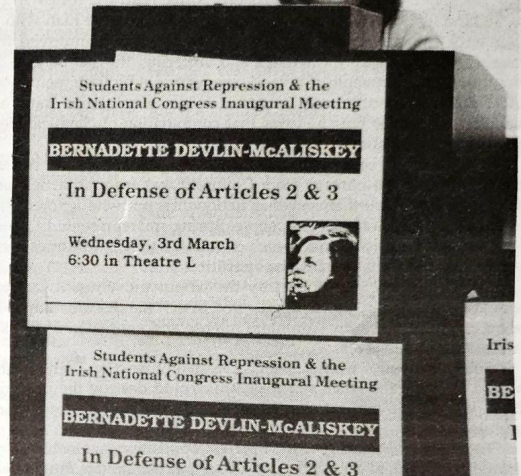
While stating that, she was

against the holding of a referendum on the issue of Articles Two and Three she said that the prospect did not perturb her for she believed that it could be fought and won. If a government referendum on Articles Two and Three was defeated, it would have serious implications for the southern government.

"If the government put something as fundamental as the integrity of the nation to the people and ask the people to sacrifice the nation's integrity and the people refuse, with what credibility could that government continue to govern? With what credibility could all those who called for the betrayal of the national integrity demand to continue to lead the nation?"

"I'll tell you two things. The northern nationalists have no intention of being voted out of birthright. And the southern state will never ever recover from a referendum on the issue."

A stimulating question and answer session followed and at the end of the meeting a plea to students to get involved in the campaign to defend Articles Two and Three by lobbying their public representatives was made.



● Bernadette McAliskey — "northern nationalists have no intention of being voted out of their birthright"

## SINN FÉIN COUNCILLOR IN LONDON

THE MONAGHAN ASSOCIATION in London was addressed by Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghín O Caoláin on Saturday, 6 February. O Caoláin was a guest speaker at the Association's annual dinner dance.

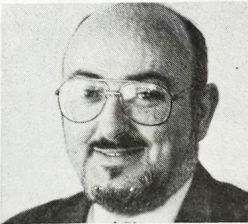
Opening his address, O Caoláin said he was honoured to speak at their yearly celebration and referred to attempts by political opponents to isolate him and his fellow councillors in Monaghan:

"If you read the *Northern Standard* and are familiar with the antics of some of our county's well known public faces, those who oppose my analysis, you will readily understand when I say I am used to being left off, left out, and locked out!"

He paid tribute to the work of the Irish county associations in Britain and the United States and the "strength of the kinship they help to kindle". He condemned the disastrous record of successive Dublin governments on unemployment and emigration. On the recent budget he commented:

"The only new jobs seem to be attached to Labour-controlled ministries — apply only if your name is Spring, Stagg, Howlin or Breathnach."

While many Irish people had achieved great success in Britain many "have found only poverty and rejection on the streets of this



● CAOIMHGHÍN O CAOLÁIN

great city and the other large urban centres on this island".

"I appeal to you on behalf of those who have lost hope, those less fortunate than you, to use your considerable organisational strengths and political clout, here in Britain and in Ireland, to secure additional help and support for the poor, impoverished and mentally ill who eke out an existence on the forgotten side of life in London."

O Caoláin said that Irish emigrants were among those "severely affected by the failure of successive Irish governments to tackle those factors that have contributed to our economic

decline and are within our range of address" and backed the call for votes for emigrants.

The main part of O Caoláin's address was devoted to the question of peace. He pointed out that the British government had no mandate from anyone to deny Irish self-determination:

"On whose behalf do they maintain their rule in part of our country by division and coercion? Not on behalf of the people of Ireland and not assuredly on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the ordinary decent people of Britain, with whom we have no quarrel. On the contrary, the people of this country have time and again expressed their support for an end to British interference in Irish affairs."

He called for the British government to have the courage to engage in all-inclusive dialogue. He revealed that he shared a dinner table in 1982 with Michael Mates, now British minister with responsibility for the crown forces in the Six Counties, and concluded:

"I take this opportunity here tonight, as a representative of Irish republican opinion, to extend an invitation to John Major, Patrick Mayhew and Michael Mates to meet with the appointed representatives of Sinn Féin at a venue of their choice. The 1982 dinner table would do very well."

## SDLP's Feeney quits

AFTER SPECULATION over the last few weeks it became clear last weekend that Belfast SDLP Councillor Brian Feeney will not be standing in this May's local government elections.

Feeney, who has been on Belfast City Council for the last 12 years, representing the largely nationalist Oldpark Ward, has always been one of the SDLP's leading lights and this decision not to stand will have a significant effect in the hard election battleground of North Belfast.

For many years now the media in the Six Counties have beaten a path to Feeney's door to interview him about practically every subject under the sun, irrespective of whether he knew about it or not.

On one famous occasion Feeney appeared on ITV's *Cook Report* to say that Conway Mill (now known as the Seán MacBride Centre) was a republican 'front' thus leaving anyone who had a work unit at the centre exposed to attack by loyalist death squads.

Several weeks later a nationalist coal deliverer was shot dead by loyalists, his business sign and name having featured behind Feeney during his scurrilous allegations, which he never bothered to substantiate.

Sinn Féin is standing four very experienced candidates in this part of Belfast in May — Gerard McGuigan, Joe Austin, Bobby Laverty and Paddy MacManus.

Feeney's decision has thrown his party into a state of confusion. Indeed, when asked by journalists at the weekend, the SDLP's party chairperson, Derry based Mark Durcan, could not confirm if indeed Feeney was standing down. Feeney



● BRIAN FEENEY

was reported to be lecturing in the United States and was "unavailable for comment".

A party colleague, Councillor Alastair McDonnell, described the decision as "a further serious blow to the fabric of the body politic in Northern Ireland". McDonnell's comments reflect the disquiet now so prevalent in the whole SDLP operation in Belfast.

Speculation on Feeney's position had been rife in the corridors of Belfast's City Hall for some time, and this decision not to stand has not come as much of a surprise.

While Feeney's family have insisted that he will not be quitting either politics or the SDLP, it is well known that he believes that the city council should be replaced with a commission. Outlining this view for her husband Patricia Feeney said that he believed Belfast City Council "should be abolished tomorrow".





# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

11 MARCH 1993

## MISREPRESENTING CONNOLLY

QUOTING from James Connolly, Labour Party leader Dick Spring in his speech at Dublin's Mansion House read the following passage: "Ireland without her people is nothing to me, and the man who is bubbling over with enthusiasm for Ireland, and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrongs and suffering, the shame and degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland, aye, wrought by Irish men upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call Ireland."

Spring proceeded to apply this to the "violence which has stained our island". In fact the passage from Connolly was from an article addressed to those who described themselves as nationalists but who ignored the social and economic oppression of their people. Spring misrepresented Connolly, whose tradition he claims, and in a speech devoted to the Six Counties chose to ignore what Connolly actually said about partition:

"Such a scheme would destroy the labour movement by disrupting it. It would perpetuate in a form aggravated in evil the discords now prevalent... In short it would make division more intense and confusion of ideas and parties more confounded..."

"Such a scheme... would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the oncoming unity of Irish labour movement and paralyse all advanced movements whilst it endured..."

"To it Labour should give the bitterest opposition, against it Labour in Ulster should fight even to the death, if necessary, as our fathers fought before us."

## STUDENTS UNDER THREAT

The headlines in the *Irish News* and *Newsletter* on Monday, 8 March, read respectively "Unionist students avoid 'dens of republicanism'" and "Students union 'seen as republican'".

Both reports quote selectively from a review by Dr Ken Logue and Mary Magowan, entitled *Review of Sectarianism and Anti-Sectarianism in the Student Movement in Ireland*, and commissioned by the National Union of Students.

The findings of the review are based on interviews with 21 individuals, mainly from Queen's University, Belfast, and notes that the Students' Union in Belfast is "perceived" by unionist students as being "dens of republicanism".

Given that loyalists have broadened their murderous campaign to include any person who can even be remotely associated with republicanism; given that the media have assisted in the demonisation of republicans, it must be said that such headlines verge on the irresponsible.

The thinking behind many loyalist killings is invariably based on the claim that the victims, since they live in nationalist areas, are probably republican — or nationalist anyway — and are therefore legitimate targets.

Are we now to have students who avail of Mandela Hall becoming 'legitimate targets' for the loyalists? And, if so, will the *Irish News* and *Newsletter* acknowledge their own responsibility?

Recently some students at Queen's University agitated against blatant sectarianism at the university. They protested against the playing of the English national anthem because they were of the opinion it was not representative of the students. Are they now to be demonised because they democratically protested?

## News

# Rumblings at Labour leader's speech

BY HILDA  
Mac THOMAS

IT HAD BEEN HYPED for days in advance as his "first major address on northern policy". Would Dick Spring, the leader of the 26 Counties' Labour Party, and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the new Fianna Fáil/Labour Coalition, depart from the Fianna Fáil line? Would he find the words to woo the unionists back to the discussion table?

Last Friday's speech by Dick Spring was neither specific enough nor did it go far enough in its promise of constitutional reform to satisfy the unionists. Northern unionists and the neo-unionist establishment in the 26 Counties were not impressed. Lots of "rhetoric of reconciliation", a Fine Gael politician pointed out, too much "fuzziness", said the *Irish Times* editorial the next day, "nothing has

changed", the OUP's Martin Smyth complained. As for Ian Paisley he saw behind the "lovely dovey baloney" the spectre of "Dublin annexing Northern Ireland".

Dick Spring's speech acknowledged the weight of history. The Six Counties had been created by "British fiat", and the British and the unionists had failed to protect the rights of nationalists living in it. Yet later Spring reduced the current conflict

to a problem of perceptions: "All we have between us and this goal are our inherited fears and suspicions."

This echoes the British line of "two warring tribes". He made no reference to the central role and responsibility of the British government today, as distinct from historically, did nothing to counter the campaign to delete Articles Two and Three, and ignored the Government of Ireland Act.

He acknowledged that unionist and nationalist demands, "rights" as he called them, were "incompatible", "as traditionally stated". Yet he asked that politicians "redefine their aspirations and positions in



● Dick Spring — a fuzzy load of baloney?

## Sinn Féin £1,000 Draw

PRIVATE MEMBERS

Comhairle na Sé Chontae and Comhairle na 26 Chontae of Sinn Féin have jointly launched a fund-raising draw to offset election debts and expenses. Tickets for the draw cost £2 and each Sinn Féin cumann retains £1 per ticket sold. Prizes for the draw include a first prize of £1,000. The draw will take place in Sinn Féin Head Office on 24 April.

For further details Phone Dublin 726100 or Belfast 241429.



# News



● Nationalists know that words like 'majority consent' amount to giving unionists the right to veto political change

the light of a new test... that of compatibility with the rights of the other tradition in this island". Given that unionists already occupy the terrain, as it were, this is asking of nationalists that they relegate their demands for national rights to a mere statement of the unachievable.

Spring reiterated his words of a few days earlier, Articles Two and Three of the 1937 Constitution were not "cast in bronze". Yet unionists were disappointed there was still no promise of a unilateral move by the Dublin government to amend Articles Two and Three.

Unionists have made it clear, especially since the ending of the last round of talks, that they would not re-enter discussions without at least a guarantee that the Dublin government was about to amend the Constitution.

What they have got from Dublin is a promise that there would be no overall 'settlement' without a constitutional amendment. Public opinion in the 26 Counties, northern nationalist anger, not to mention the growing rumblings within the Fianna Fáil party from backbench TDs to rank-and-

file party members, will prevent Dick Spring and his government from going too quickly down that road. Fianna Fáil TDs Dick Roche and Jim McDaid went on the record to express their concern over the direction Spring was taking.

For unionists it is not enough. OUP leader James Molyneux complained that the Dublin government was asking for reciprocal concessions from unionists. "What quid-pro-quo can we provide", asked OUP leader James Molyneux, "if it means putting the union on the negotiating table, there can be no question of that."

Earlier last week Patrick Mayhew, British direct ruler, had also sent signals to unionists, reassuring them of his government's commitment to the Union while a majority in the Six Counties wanted it. Unionists had not been impressed. In their minds the Union should be cast in bronze. While nationalists know that words like 'majority consent' amount to granting unionists the right to veto political change, unionists see it as a lessening of the British commitment to see the Six Counties as "as British as Finchley" — as Margaret Thatcher once

said. Unionists are keeping an eye on demographic statistics and the higher birth rate in the nationalist community. A *Newsletter* editorial last week accused the British government of "muddling on, until demographic factors and terrorists on both sides solve the Northern Ireland problem for it".

Patrick Mayhew at least was pleased with Dick Spring's speech. There was "a man he could do business with", he said, ironically echoing the words of Thatcher about Haughey. But neither the Dublin nor the London government's positions offer much hope of a lasting peaceful settlement for unionists, much less for nationalists. The talks which both governments are so eager to resume have as little chance to produce a settlement as previous rounds have had. Their fatal flaw is their failure to include all viewpoints in the discussion, the censorship of the republican viewpoint, the refusal to boldly force the issue with unionists and move the negotiations onto the only plane where they have a chance of success — an all-Ireland settlement in a post-British withdrawal context.

## TYRONE'S BRAVERY PRAISED

A large crowd of people attended unveiling ceremonies organised by the Tyrone National Graves Association (NGA) in Galbally and Altmore, last Sunday afternoon, 7 March. The RUC and British army placed checkpoints on all roads prior to the ceremonies but these, nor the uninviting cold, succeeded in keeping people away.

Tyrone NGA chairperson, Francis Mackey presided at Galbally where graveside plaques were unveiled in honour of Tommy Armstrong and in tribute to Volunteers Dwayne O'Donnell and Malcolm Nugent. Along with Volunteer John Quinn, these men were killed by a loyalist death squad in Cappagh over two years ago. Three plaques from the people of the area and from the Republican Movement were unveiled by family members. A minute's silence was observed, a decade of the rosary was recited in Irish and wreaths were laid. A

lone piper played a lament.

Those present then travelled in a lengthy cavalcade towards Altmore, a couple of miles away. Volunteer John Quinn lies buried in Altmore and it was here that a Celtic cross was unveiled in John's memory. At John's graveside, Francis Mackey once more chaired the proceedings which also included wreath laying and the lowering of the national flag.

Róisín Mac Namee read out a statement on behalf of local POWs: "Even though they are gone from us two years, no one can say that Dwayne, John,

Malcolm and Thomas are forgotten in any way. While we have so many fond memories we will always remember them with pride. Their families have suffered a huge loss but it is a tribute to them that they acted with dignity and courage in the face of such grief.

"The thoughts of those of us in gaol are with you, especially at this time. Lastly, we would urge you all to continue to show the courage and determination which you have shown, until the day that British death squads cease to roam our country. They can never force their will upon us while Galbally and Altmore hold these graves."

In his oration, South Armagh republican, Jim McAllister traced the recent history of many deaths which the Tyrone community has been forced to endure. He paid tribute to the fortitude and commitment of the Republican Movement in the county and he extended sympathy to the bereaved families, particularly those who were directly linked to the day's ceremonies. McAllister rounded on "the John Humes and the Séamus Mallons of this society" whom he accused of contributing to a climate where republicans are never considered to be "innocent victims".



● The scene in Cappagh in 1991 where four unarmed people were killed by a pro-British death squad

## Maura McCrory Appeal

An appeal has been launched to cover the substantial costs awarded against Maura McCrory in the Hendron election case. Despite finding the SDLP guilty on 69 counts of illegal practices, the judges made a special ruling making Maura McCrory liable for the costs of the petition. This was clearly designed to penalise her and to discourage any future court action against establishment favoured candidates guilty of electoral malpractice. She is now in desperate need of funds to meet the costs of this case. Any donations, large or small, can be sent to the Appeal Fund, Box No 57, Conway Mill, Conway Street, Belfast.

### Coiste Chuimhneacháin na Poblachta

Easter Lilies should be ordered now from:  
Coiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta  
44 Parnell Square  
Dublin 1.  
Phone 726932/726100



# 1916 Easter 1993



Requests for speakers for republican Easter 1916 Commemorations must reach the Secretary of Coiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta not later than Friday, 19 March. Details of commemorations should also be sent to the above committee and to AP/RN, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 for listing in the paper.

Easter Sunday falls on 11 April this year.



1993 marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of Conradh na Gaeilge. Throughout the year and beginning this week, Seachtain na Gaeilge (Irish Language Week), An Phoblacht/Republican News will be publishing articles on the state of the language now and the way forward into the 21st Century.

In November 1892, Douglas Hyde delivered a lecture to the Irish National Literary Society entitled "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland". Speeches often usher in new eras of history and this was certainly the case with Hyde's lecture; it provided the immediate inspiration for the founding nine months later of Conradh na Gaeilge, the Gaelic League. It became a national movement and was one of main forces which helped shape 20th Century Ireland.

One hundred years later the tragedy is that many of the points Hyde made in that lecture are still relevant today. Hyde was not setting out methods to restore the Irish language or framing a political programme. He was deploring the level of cultural degradation to which the Irish people had sunk. He described this process as "ceasing to be Irish without becoming English". In 1993 in spite of 70 years of semi-independence in the 26 Counties and a century of effort to restore the Irish language to its rightful place Ireland is infinitely less Irish than in Hyde's day.

The all-pervasive influence of English culture was the obstacle Hyde had to deal with. Today in a world he and his contemporaries would hardly recognise, the communications revolution has increased a thousand fold the pressures on the Irish language and cul-

ture. The process by which the Irish language in the 19th Century ceased to become the spoken language of the majority of the Irish people has accelerated and succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of our conquerors.

When Hyde gave his lecture Irish was still spoken in very large areas along the western sea-board. It was still a living language there but it was under enormous pressure. English wars, land clearances, famines and forced emigration had eliminated the Irish language from most of the country. This was almost complete, apart from the west of Ireland, by 1893. What Hyde identified was the fact that to some extent the Irish had complied in their own cultural oppression by not recognising the importance of their language for their survival as a nation. This was especially true of Irish political leaders. And this is

where we have to put what Hyde said in the political context of the day.

The National Literary Society lecture was delivered when the country was still living through the aftermath of the fall of Charles Stewart Parnell. Under Parnell the movement for Irish independence had become concentrated on efforts in the British parliament to force the British government to grant Home Rule, a most limited form of autonomy within the British empire. The level of dependence on English parties to which this had brought Irish politics was seen when the crisis over the Parnell divorce case happened. Because of the 'scandal' of the divorce case the English Liberal Party demanded the removal of Parnell as the leader of the Irish Party at Westminster. If he stayed they could not support Home Rule. The majority

of his party thus turned against Parnell and the Irish Party split.

The bitterness of the split which continued long after Parnell was dead, and the fawning dependence of the Irish parliamentary leaders on the good will of English parties disillusioned many Irish people. They began to ask what was the quality of the independence being sought by their political leaders. For them Hyde struck a chord. In fact he did not know it, but he was sowing the seed which would blossom into the Gaelic Revival, provide the future independence movement with its leaders and supplant the Irish Parliamentary Party as the political leadership of the nation.

What Hyde said to nationalists takes on a different colour today. Now most of the ruling political class in the 26 Counties has dropped even lip-service to the Irish language. As far as nationalism goes they are, if anything, more fawning in their attitude to the British government than the Irish Party at Westminster. That attitude has poisoned the political culture of Ireland in the 1990s as it did in the 1890s. For example not one of the party leaders in Leinster House is an Irish speaker (with the exception of Proinsias de Rossa, but that's a story for another day). The president of the 26 Counties who is pledged to uphold the Constitution which describes Irish as the first national language, is not an Irish speaker.

Republicans are not surprised by any of this. We have seen how in the 26 Counties lip-service to the pursuit of Irish unity was replaced by cooperation with the British government's efforts to stabilise its rule and maintain partition. We have seen the abandonment of any notion of economic self-reliance. We have witnessed the sacrificing to Brussels of the limited political and economic sovereignty of the 26-County state. Any sense of national pride is dismissed as government ministers rush to foreign capitals with a begging bowl in one hand and a contract for the sale of what remains of state assets in the other.

The very idea that we are a nation is under attack. The revisionists tell us there are two nations in Ireland; the EC worshippers tell us nationalism is a dangerous, outdated concept; meanwhile they prepare, through the deletion of

Articles Two and Three, for the abandonment of the main victims of their failure to complete the struggle for independence.

It is in this context, as we ask ourselves what is to be done, that the message of Hyde and the other key figures of the language revival like Pádraig Mac Piarais and Mairtín Ó Cadhain, are of particular relevance to republicans today. They challenge us to look at our own commitment, they ask if we are consistent. Hyde said in that 1893 lecture:

"I should like to call attention to the illogical position of men who drop their own language to speak English, of men who translate their own euphonious Irish names into English monosyllables, of men who read English books, and know nothing about Gaelic literature, nevertheless protesting as a matter of sentiment that they hate the country which at every hand's turn they rush to imitate."

That is a message which challenges us all in a very personal way. Virtually all republicans agree in theory that Irish is a central part of the struggle. They laud the work of those in the Sinn Féin Cultural Department who, as Gearóid Ó hEara pointed out at this year's Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, have put the language on the political agenda in the Six Counties over the past ten years. But how many take seriously their

own personal obligation to the cultural struggle?

We want to set about reversing the national demoralisation, the sense of dependency on outside forces, the cultural impoverishment of masses of our people. Can we realistically set about doing this if our own individual commitments are lacking? In no other area of the struggle is the lifestyle of republicans more important than in the cultural struggle. And we are not talking about making great sacrifices. We are talking about revolutionising our own thinking, for without doing that how can we hope to revolutionise others?

We cannot leave the cultural struggle, the effort to make Irish a living language and prevent its extinction, to a few of our comrades. It demands a personal commitment and effort, no matter how small, from every republican. That means commitment on the part of those who have a little Irish to use it often, to learn more. It means that those who have none should go about learning. It means that Irish speakers should use only Irish between themselves. Even if that was done the amount of Irish spoken in and around the Republican Movement would be perhaps doubled. Above all we must alter our thinking so that we are as alert to Irish and the opportunities to use and advance it as we are to defending our politics

CONRADH NA GAELIGE COMÓ

IRIS

Are we really committed to its revival



● Murals and road signs are not enough to decolonise our country



● Unless republicans revolutionise their own thinking how can they hope to revolutionise others?



# SH committed revival?

■ BY MAIRTÍN  
Mac DIARMADA



hope and progress. But the revolution of the mind brought about during the Gaelic Revival at the turn of the century and subsequently betrayed, needs to happen again if the worst is to be avoided. Other contributors in this series of articles will look at the wider scene but for now let republicans take a look at their own role. The issue for us was summed by Pádraig O Maolchraoibhe in the booklet *Learning Irish — Ag Foghlaim na Gaeilge* published by Belfast Sinn Féin in the early 1980s:

"Decolonisation is what we are aiming at. Not any kind of regression to another age but the recovery of our own roots and the ending of the feeling of alienation produced by having in our mouths the language imposed on us by imperialism."

"The process of decolonisation will have stopped half way if, the day we succeed in driving the English from our shores, what is left behind is an Irish people possessed of the language, culture and values of the English. To be completely free we must not only remove the British presence but also reject the materialism, individualism and opportunism of the capitalist system which has been imposed on us."

everybody hints at some scheme or plan to which his next door neighbour objects. Most people are inclined to consider the case as hopeless, to rest on that conviction, and let the evil work itself out, like a consuming fire which dies away when there is nothing left to destroy. All call on the government for a plan or a remedy, but the government have no plan and no remedy; there is nothing but disagreement among them, and while they are discussing and disputing the masses are dying." (*Greville's Memoirs*).

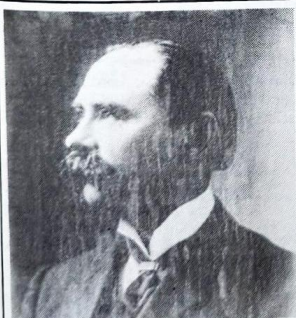
As O Cadhain said "Substitute 'Irish language' for 'masses'..." Today the work of England's artificial famine of the 1840s in de-gaelicising Ireland continues. Many people are making heroic efforts to resist it and there are lots of signs of

when they come under attack, or to making progress with them when the opportunities arise.

What goes for republicans goes for the wider community also. But we have a special responsibility for we claim to provide leadership. We have seen the advances made by our party in placing Irish on the political agenda in the Six Counties to the point where even the British direct ruler Patrick Mayhew has to pay lip-service to it. If we multiply the years long efforts of relatively few people by sharing it widely among the members of our movement imagine what progress we could achieve.

The depressing alternative was given by the Irish writer Mairtín O Cadhain. Writing in 1964 he quoted a description of the Famine:

"Nobody knows what to do,



● DOUGLAS HYDE

"In Anglicising ourselves wholesale, we have thrown away with a light heart the best claim which we have upon the world's recognition of us as a separate nationality... We must teach ourselves not to be ashamed of ourselves, because the Gaelic people can never produce its best before the world as long as it remains tied to the apron strings of another race and another island..."

— Douglas Hyde.

"Ireland, to be free, must be as free from the domination of alien thought as from alien armies of occupation."

— Liam Mellows.



● LIAM MELLOWS



● JAMES CONNOLLY

"I have said again and again that when the Gaelic League was founded, the Irish Revolution began."

— Pádraig Mac Piarais

"Had the last reposer of the Gaelic tradition, the last unconquered Gael, died, the Irish nation was no more. Any free state that might thereafter be erected in Ireland whatever it might call itself would certainly not be the historic Irish nation."

— Pádraig Mac Piarais.

"Si an Ghaeilge athghabháil na hÉireann agus is í athghabháil na hÉireann slánú na Gaeilge." (The Irish language is the reconquest of Ireland and the reconquest of Ireland is the saving of the Irish language.)

— Mairtín O Cadhain.



● PADRAIG Mac PIARAIS



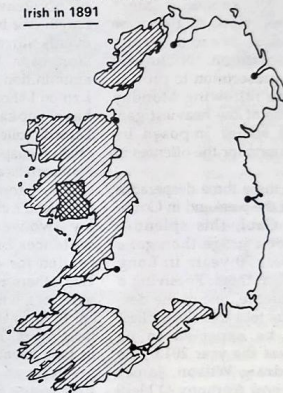
● MAIRTÍN O CADHAIN

Irish in 1851



Less than 25% of the people in this area spoke Irish.

Irish in 1891



25-80% of the people spoke Irish.

80% or more people spoke Irish.



## News

## THE SUSPENSE IS KILLING ME

■ BY LORD  
DIPLOCK

**H**ELLO AGAIN all you legal eagle watchers out there who have been inundating my hard pressed chambers with excellent examples of how my colleagues and I meat out justice in our tiny part of the fast disappearing British Empire.

The disparity of sentencing in our province has been remarked upon by several concerned contributors, but, in our Diplock Courts' defence, I must remind these disillusioned people that, without this vital element on our conveyor-belt judicial system, one of the foundations of our state would be missing.

So I will proceed...

I note that one of my close colleagues, Mr Justice Nicholson, in a case concerning three Fenians from West Belfast, issued a warning that these type of people could expect "sooner or later" heavier gaol terms. As their case came to a close on a recent wintry Friday afternoon, Nicholson asked the prosecution to provide him by the following Monday with details of the heaviest gaol sentences so far imposed by Diplock Courts for the offences in question.

Letting these three desperados linger over the weekend in Crumlin Road Gaol, this splendid example of a judge then gave them almost 70 years in Long Kesh between them. Receiving a 24-year sentence, one of the desperados was told that the earliest he could be expected to be released was the year 2013. The three, Padraig Wilson, James McVeigh, and Anthony O'Neill were found guilty of having a partly-made bomb in a flat.

This sentence, and my chum Nicholson's warning, was delivered on Monday, 18 January, but I feel it was obviously not fully listened to by fellow judge, David Smyth.

One month later, on 16 February, Crown Court Judge Smyth

gave Billy Neill, a loyal subject from Monkstown, Newtownabbey, a seven-year sentence for possession 'with intent' of 1,300 bullets, two hand guns, a safety fuse, detonators, a quantity of mercury, radio scanner, a stun gun, and three bomb-making manuals.

As I have often said my colleagues are nothing if not fair and impartial.

**A**ll my next cases arose during February's hearings in front of my learned friend, Judge Smyth. We begin with the murky events surrounding the possession of a UDA weapon and ammunition in Craigavon. (Before I go on I should say that the RUC have repeatedly assured my Diplock colleagues that those who receive suspended sentences are "not seen as a threat to society".)

Five people walked free from my friend's court on the 16 February. Two were given seven-year sentences but these were suspended for a four-year period. Two others received conditional sentences, while the fifth was given 18 months, suspended for three years. The five walked free, in part because of the evidence given by an RUC detective. He told Judge Smyth that "police accepted the circumstances in which the weapon had come into the possession of the defendants".

Judge Smyth, in his summing up, assured those present in court that it was a "wholly exceptional case" and he "hoped such a sentence would effectively discourage them from any contact with, or possession of, any kind of

weapon in the future".

Effectively 'discouraging' another defendant in front of him, Smyth sentenced Shankill Parade resident Billy Graham to three years suspended for three years, for possession of two transceivers and a radio scanner.

With a full session of appearances in February, one can only sympathise with Judge Smyth and we certainly cannot fault him for inconsistency.

On 25 February two loyalists from north Belfast got similar two year sentences, suspended for three years, for a sectarian attack on a north Belfast nationalist on 30 August 1992.

Appearing before Smyth were John Reid of Glencollyer Street and Mark Black of St Aubyn Street. Both admitted the reason for their brutal attack on a 25-year-old nationalist was "to get a Taig". They each admitted aiding and abetting and wounding with intent.

The nationalist victim was described in court as being extremely lucky not to lose an eye when he received wounds requiring 18 stitches but our ever-thoughtful judge suspended the sentences to save their "respectable families any anxiety".

On 24 February, David Harbinson (34) who lived formerly at Knockleagh Drive, Greenisland, County Antrim, was told by Smyth that he "had escaped going to gaol by the skin of his teeth". During the hearing it emerged that Harbinson, described in court as being a 'former' member of the UVF, had gone for a drink while a loyalist death squad used his car in the murder of a Ligoniel nationalist at a community centre in north Belfast on 29 April 1992.

A rifle and handgun used in the murder were found in Harbinson's car shortly after a loyalist death squad had abandoned it. Smyth fined Harbinson £2,000 and freed him with a six-month suspended gaol term.

**T**he number 24 obviously has a certain magic for Judge Nicholson.

On 19 February he again handed out 24 year sentences to another three West Belfast Fenians who were found to be in possession of two handguns at an industrial estate in Belfast some 18 months ago.

Sentencing the three men, one of whom was shot and wounded by the RUC, Judge Nicholson said that because they held onto that outdated principle of justice, the right to silence, he could "infer by their silence", that they were indeed guilty of something. Twenty-four years apiece for Michael Bennett, Oliver Masterston and Peter Lynch.

A couple of days later Judge Smyth heard the case of a "sniggering" loyalist assassin who tried to murder two nationalists outside Belfast's Mater Hospital on 12 October 1991. Smyth heard that Douglas first pointed a gun at the forehead of a nationalist outside the Mater Hospital, but that it failed to fire. He then pointed the weapon at a second nationalist but it again failed to fire. The two terrified nationalists told the court that Douglas "sniggered" as he pulled the weapon's trigger, and that when it didn't fire he swore, before running away in the direction of the loyalist Shankill Road.

Both nationalists, the court heard, believed that they were going to be killed and today are acknowledged as still being sub-

stantially affected by the attack. Loyalist George Douglas of Shankill Parade was sent to gaol for seven years.

**"T**hat's two less." This was uttered by one of two loyalists who burnt to death two Glengormley nationalists and seriously injured another. During the case at the end of January it emerged that the loyalist had also "smirked" on hearing of the deaths on a radio news bulletin the day following the murders.

Kathleen Lundy (40) and Colin Lundy (16) were burnt to death in a loyalist attack on their home 14 months ago. Mrs Lundy's 19-year-old son survived with terrible burns. At the time the double murder was compared to the rise of fascist burnings and murders of immigrants in Germany.

The arson attack was one of many in the area against nationalist homes, and our old friend, Judge Nicholson (with 24 year sentences for possession by Fenians always at the front of his mind) gave 15 years to Richard McKay of Sandyknowles Drive, Glengormley, and Mark Whyte, Carrureagh Drive, Rathcoole.

So to close this rather packed edition I want to remind all of you that it's my 20th birthday this coming August. Yes it's 20 years since my unique courts came into operation. I will be hosting a celebration later in the year to highlight the thousands of Fenians my chums and I have dispatched to Long Kesh over these years. Anyone interested in supplying my hard-pressed staff with particularly notable cases, please feel free.

Simply send contributions, financial or otherwise, to either, The Saloon Bar (recently refurbished),

Stormont Castle, or alternatively,

"Lord Diplock",  
51/53 Falls Road,  
Belfast 12. Fax 622112.

## IRA /Angel Dust spoof resurrected

■ BY NEIL  
FORDE

**"T**HE TERRIFYING TRUTH", was how the *Cork Examiner* subtitled its three-part series on the "Angel Dust Industry" in Ireland last week. The *Examiner* produced three days of coverage complete with page one stories, full-page colour specials inside the paper and an editorial. The features were yet another vehicle to link the IRA with angel dust importation and distribution.

"Death threats against lobbyist", was the page one headline story that kicked off the series in the *Examiner* last Tuesday, 2 March. Readers were told that the *Examiner* could exclusively reveal that "a network of ten terrorists are masterminding Ireland's multi-million pound angel dust industry". Readers were also told that senior gardai "have confirmed that profits from the scandal are being used to bring arms into the Six Counties".

AP/RN contacted the garda press office in Dublin who claimed that they "had not and would not"

make such statements. "It was not the official line" said a garda press officer. We then contacted Declan Kelly, one of the writers of the series who told AP/RN that he could not reveal the names of any garda members who had made such claims. This is the normal route of such stories. Make a claim against the IRA, knowing that it does not have to be substantiated, then back up the claim with a garda source whose comments are not "official". Now you have the bones of a story.

The *Examiner* and its page one exclusive was barely on the news

stands when RTE's *Morning Ireland* used the story as a lengthy item on its prime-time programme. They focussed on the alleged "provo connection", which included a "death threat" to a farm lobbyist, and the claim that the IRA have "smuggled the drug into Ireland primarily through unwitting shipping and postal agencies".

The drug was labelled by its scientific name clenbuterol, which customs officials "have been unable to spot". The absurdity of the idea that custom officials would not be able to spot the substance under its correct name or unless it was labelled angel dust in large letters did not seem to occur to the *Examiner*.

"Highly placed sources confirmed that the provos reaped millions from their angel dust enterprise" said the paper. "Senior gardai" believed that "subversives

based around the border are attempting to develop a drug import pipeline with South America". The IRA control "80% of the angel dust imports". Nowhere are we told where these figures come from or given any other evidence.

The *Examiner* investigators tell us that the drug is imported in boxes "bearing its little known chemical title". The drug is "then brought south for use in almost every county". We are then told, "the distributors (the IRA, allegedly) rarely if ever physically distribute the growth promoters". Instead this is done by a "vast network of middlemen".

"The Provo involvement ends there" according to Kelly and Riegel.

**E**ven when Kelly and Riegel do provide evidence, as in the amount of convictions to date

(seven according to them), we are told that 57 cases have been brought to date, while 23 others are in "preparation", there is no mention made of any of these cases having connections with the IRA.

There are no banner headlines telling us that one of the seven people convicted was in fact an official at the Department of Agriculture who was fined £1,500 by Navan District Court in May 1992.

Whatever intentions journalists Declan Kelly and Ralph Riegel had in investigating the abuse of growth promoters in livestock were lost in twisting the story to fabricate links with the IRA.

Similar allegations were made in 1991 and 1992 in the *Irish Independent* and such black propaganda has included stories of IRA involvement in video porn, dog fighting and drug dealing. In a statement last September the IRA totally refuted the allegations, mentioning in particular the angel dust smear.



# Reviews

## Grassroots of 1798

■ BY NEIL FORDE

AGRARIAN UNREST, religious cultural and linguistic divisions, commercial grievances, rapid economic change and "a sealed political system" — these were the factors that in the middle and late 18th Century culminated in the brief mass popular Republican Movement that was brutally crushed in 1798.

Irish radicals and the popular politics of this period are the subject matter for Jim Smyth's, *The Men of No Property*. Smyth's book is a study of the two-way process along which 18th Century Irish popular politics progressed. He says the question is "not simply how far and in what ways did events politicise the common man; but to what extent were the course of events shaped by the men of no property".

Irish history has become a political battleground. Usually the focus is on the development and dynamics of late 19th and early 20th Century national movements in Ireland. Marri- anne Elliott's 1989 work on Wolfe Tone literally re-colonised the middle and late 18th Century period and its politics. Her book is constrained by its constant need to put everything into a 20th Century focus, a focus that aims to show that modern republicans and an array of historians are

simply wrong in their analysis.

Jim Smyth's work avoids these pitfalls by identifying his task as to "try and understand the past in its own terms". Smyth works steadily through the 18th century using an impressive array of primary sources from the period. He uses the pamphlets and newspapers, contemporary histories of the time, to illustrate "popular perceptions of events at the time".

He says in the introduction that he does not want the book to become only a narrative and in this he succeeds. The book does chart the major events of the period, but Smyth continually turns away from the political stars of the period into portrayals of the rural and urban politics of the ordinary people. Thus what develops is a bottom-up analysis of the period's political history.

Smyth breaks his work into seven sections. To introduce the period he provides a

summary of the politics, economy and society of 18th Century Ireland. We find a country in rapid change. The demand for agricultural produce and a growing linen industry was revolutionising agrarian politics.

Separate regional economies developed around Belfast, Dublin, Limerick, Cork and Galway. There was rapid population growth and increasing commercialisation as towns became larger and noticeably affluent. The changing architecture of towns like Belfast, Limerick and especially Dublin became symbols not only the wealth and power of the Protestant English ascendancy but also of the growing Catholic and Presbyterian middle classes.

This was a society in transition. Social change he argues "proved combustible" because of "the stubborn continuity of legal and political structures which institutionalised sectarianism".

Smyth then outlines how these changing social and economic conditions fed into the already established pattern of secret societies across Ireland. He examines the origins,

organisation and actions of these societies. Smyth gives a detailed introduction to the emergence of a range of societies, galvanised by a deterioration of economic conditions into agrarian unrest and ultimately rebellion.

The link between agrarian issues and Catholic emancipation is the next stage in Smyth's work. He shows how the "Catholic question" remained central to Irish politics from the formation of the Volunteers in 1783 onwards.

"Overt revolutionary years" is how the author describes the period leading up to the 1798 rebellion. The reopening of the Catholic and parliamentary reform issues fuelled the growth of the United Irishmen across the country.

The organisation of an underground movement linking the United Irishmen's leadership to street politics is dealt with by Smyth in incredible detail. He shows how the United Irishmen operated at three levels. One level was composed of middle class resentment at British imposed commercial restrictions. An emerging interest in Gaelic culture was the second level while a tactical exploitation of popular anti-English feeling was the final level.

An historical doctoral dissertation turned into a text usu-

## The Men of No Property

Irish Radicals and Popular Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century



ally sets the alarm bells ringing. However Jim Smyth's work avoids many of the pitfalls of academic literature in that the text is an accessible, readable work. The detail of the study is

its strength. Smyth has made the politics and the period seem tangible, real and relevant.

● *The Men of No Property* by Jim Smyth. Published by Gill and Macmillan. Price €9.50.

## Play-offs, drooling and profligacy

■ BY BREANDAN Mac RUAIRI

THE National Hurling League made a welcome return on Sunday after the winter recess. The firmer pitches and increased temperatures provide a much friendlier environment for the game than was the case for the pre-Christmas fare, as ambitious panels begin to knuckle down for the forthcoming championship. Results from now on are a more accurate barometer of a team's potential.

Ballycra is a difficult place to extract points from nowadays and the Down team built on their good early season form in giving the powerful Tipperary squad a good run for their money before giving way. Tipperary have booked their quarter final

place. The race for the other two places from Division 1A is more complicated.

Antrim currently occupy second spot with five points and their feat of coming from six points behind to draw with Limerick at the Gaelic Grounds

was a marvellous result for them. A point from their last match would guarantee them a place in the last eight, but they must travel to Thurles to take on the high-flying Tipperary selection. Hardly fertile territory for any visiting team.

All-Ireland champions Kilkenny are favourites to ultimately occupy second position in 1A. The Cats have Down at home in the final game and while the northerners will doubtless compete bravely, their fate looks sealed. Limerick can keep their hopes alive by defeating disappointing Offaly. This would probably be enough

to give the Shannonsiders a playoff with Antrim for the third qualifying place.

In Division 1B Wexford secured themselves one of the quarter final places by giving Cork a fair old hiding at Páirc Uí Chaoimh. This isn't the first time recently that the Slaneysiders have shone in the league only to flop in the championship. Their generally accepted lack of real class leaves me sceptical about their prospects of glory, but their hurling pedigree is such that one always expects much of them.

Dublin scored a fine victory

over the resurgent Waterford team and this rekindled their prospects of a quarter final place. However to expect the Dubs to win away against in form Wexford on the 21 March is perhaps asking too much. Galway who entertain Cork, and Waterford who have Clare in their last divisional games, remain favourites to advance along with Wexford.

The top two from Division Two make up the eight teams for the knockout stages. Laois, by dumping Carlow have confirmed their passage. While Meath and Kerry, who are locked together in second place, must wait another fortnight before their fate is decided. Kerry look to have the easier task in their final game.

RTE viewers have endured for too long the demented invective of Ian Paisley and his more emollient, if equally repugnant, fellow loyalist mouthpiece Ken Maginness. All in the pursuit of political ecumenism some would have us believe.

The Dublin television service took this distasteful aberration a step further last Wednesday when they broadcast live the European Champions League game between Club Brugge and Glasgow Rangers. For that night at least, the Belgian side has never experienced such popularity in Ireland, particularly when they took the lead one minute before half time.

Unfortunately, the brittle Brugge rearguard could not withstand the second half blud-

geoning, 15 minutes from time the scores were levelled and the game petered out into a draw.

In the RTE studio, Eamon Dunphy, unsurprisingly, drooled at the Ranger's display. Both he and former Garret FitzGerald side-kick Bill O'Herlihy sought frantically to engender some enthusiasm for the deadpan Ibrox gang.

The torment is far from over yet either. Not even Saint Patrick's Day avoids this latest RTE contribution to peace and reconciliation in Ireland as Rangers and Brugge Part Two will adorn our screens that night. One wonders what other initiatives the intrepid Montrose propaganda moguls have in store.

Perhaps the escapades of Linfield Swifts or Harland and Wolff Welders would enlighten and enrich our Saturday afternoon viewing while gaelic games could play second fiddle to the majestic skills of the RUC cricketing eleven on the *Sunday Game* during the summer months. "Was it for this the wild geese spread, the grey wing upon every tide..."

So at last the Irish rugby team has registered a win. The team in green made exceedingly heavy weather of defeating a dreadfully poor Welsh side. It would be wrong to dismiss the result after the gallant effort put in by the team, but really Ireland remains far down the international league.

One can be thankful that Welsh out-half Jenkins was so hopelessly inept with his place-kicking, otherwise the Irish would have found themselves many points in arrears.

The English kicking will scarcely be so profligate when a test of altogether different proportions presents itself at Lansdowne Road on 20 March.



● Michael Phelan (Kilkenny) and George O'Connor (Wexford). Both counties notched up good wins last Sunday







# Seán Keenan — An Appreciation

■ BY MARTIN McGUINNESS

**A**R an Chéadaoin seo chuaigh thart cailleadh Seán O Cianáin, a Gael agus poblachtánach ó chathair Dhoire. Chaith sé a raibh aige ag steacháil, agus ag fulaingt, ar son saoirse iomlán na hÉireann agus choinnigh sé cúis na Gaeilge agus cúis na hÉireann beo fríd na blianta uaigneacha go dtí an lá atá inniu ann.

Seán Keenan's death last Wednesday ended a life of struggle against British rule in Ireland. Born into a republican family shortly before the Easter Rising 78 years ago, Seán Keenan's sudden death deeply saddened all who knew and respected him.

His life was truly an exceptional one of heroic resistance, personal tragedy and unbreakable patriotism.

A man of honour, courage and dignity, he was a true ambassador for the cause he loved, the freedom of Ireland and the liberation of the Irish people, Catholic, Protestant and dissenter. For over 50 years he was an extraordinary freedom fighter and Derry's leading republican. When he was six-years-old Ireland was divided by the British and he was, like many other nationalists and republicans, condemned to a life of second-class citizenship in his own country under the uncaring and undemocratic unionist regime.

Convinced that there could be no peace or happiness in an Ireland divided undemocratically by British violence, Seán Keenan committed himself to promoting the case for Irish unity and exposing Britain's divisive interference in the Six Counties.

Identified as a danger to the state he was, over the decades, persecuted, ostracised and imprisoned by the British. Interned without trial for a total of 15 years, his treatment was as damning an indictment of British rule as Nelson Mandela's imprison-

ment was of White South African rule.

Throughout those lonely years, he proved himself an unbreakable spirit. Supported by the very few, he carried a flame of freedom down the decades through a gauntlet of special powers and British military repression. Each time he came through, the flame still bright and eternal.

Seán married Nancy Ward, a kindred spirit who also endured persecution and was herself interned without trial. Seán and Nancy had five children, Róisín, Nora, Séamas, Seán and Colm. Sadly Nancy Keenan died young in 1970. Her life as a republican woman and wife was never easy. The British made certain of that.

Several years ago I was introduced to a Dublin bus inspector who was imprisoned for his republican beliefs in Derry Gaol during the 1940s. Speaking of the desperate isolation endured by the prisoners in Bishop Street, he told me of the much appreciated visits and support given to them by Nancy and other courageous Derry women.

**W**hen, after decades of humiliation and degradation the people of Derry finally got off their knees in 1968, Seán Keenan who had already suffered and endured so much, was standing ready, willing and able to join with anyone who had the courage to demand an end to discrimination and injustice.



● Seán Keenan a leader with an unbreakable spirit

He played a key role in organising the defence of Derry from RUC and loyalist attacks. As an articulate and intelligent speaker he sought support for the people he loved. He threw himself yet again wholeheartedly into the people's struggle for justice. In response, Brian Faulkner's unionist government introduced internment without trial. Seán Keenan was again interned by the criminals in the pin-striped suits. This time the people did not forget. Thousands marched demanding the release of the internees and in Derry on the 30 January 1972, tens of thousands marched in support of the prisoners. The British then introduced mass murder, 14 Derry people were slaughtered by the British on Bloody Sunday. Things would never be the same again.

For the next 20 years Derry City and many other nationalist areas

throughout the Six Counties engaged in the struggle which moved the demand on from civil rights to national rights. Seán Keenan and his family were leaders of this thrust for freedom.

Other families followed, many of them suffered persecution, harassment, death and imprisonment but few other families in Derry made the sacrifices the Keenans made over such a long period.

While interned at Long Kesh, Seán received the news of Colm's murder by British troops. Colm, the youngest of the Keenan children, had, since the introduction of internment, been on active service with the Derry Brigade of the IRA. He was shot unarmed with Eugene McGillan in Dove Gardens in 1972.

Released for a few short hours to attend Colm's funeral, Seán's plight had a profound effect on the people of Derry.

Proudly, and with quite dignity, he buried his brave Volunteer son before returning to Long Kesh.

Seán's other sons, Séamas and Seán Junior, also involved in the freedom struggle, were to be arrested, imprisoned and shot by the British. His daughters Róisín and Nora campaigned tirelessly for the prisoners and Ireland's right to freedom.

**D**own all the years the commitment of the Keenan family was awe-inspiring and selfless. On his release from internment in the 70s Seán Keenan, approaching what many would have considered the twilight years of his life, continued his involvement in the republican struggle for almost 20 more years until the day he died.

He was a Gael and a patriot of the highest calibre. He loved the Irish people, Gaelic games, traditional music and the Irish language of which he was a fluent speaker.

He was an Irish language activist and set up a branch of Conradh na Gaeilge in the city, named after his comrade and friend Seán Dolan, and was one of the mainstays of the language movement during the '40s and '50s.

He was a man of great character, imbued with the highest principles and motivation. Totally unselfish he led a humble existence, he neither sought or received gain for himself or his family.

The decision by the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis in 1986 to take seats in Leinster House caused great difficulty for Seán. He never left the republican struggle and my feelings, love and respect for him never changed. We both wanted our friendship to continue in spite of this one difference between us. His family are amongst my closest friends and on behalf of Irish republicans everywhere I offer, to Róisín, Nora, Séamas and Seán and his brother Terry, the heartfelt sympathy of the entire republican community.

I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a nam uasal.

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

### George Noble Plunkett

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

**G**EORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT, republican, politician, author and journalist, the father of the executed 1916 leader, Joseph Mary Plunkett, was born in Dublin in 1851.

A well-known figure in Irish literary, artistic and archaeological circles in the decades prior to 1916, he was a member of many learned societies including the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language of which he was president. He was vice-president of the Irish National Literary Society founded by William Butler Yeats and Douglas Hyde, and a director of the National Museum (1907-1916).

In addition, he contributed to many newspapers including, *The Irish Monthly*, *The Nation*, *The Irishman*, *The Flag of Ireland*, *The Boston Pilot* and *North and South*.

During Easter week, April 1916, his home at Larkfield, Kimmage, was the assembly point for Volunteers from England who had

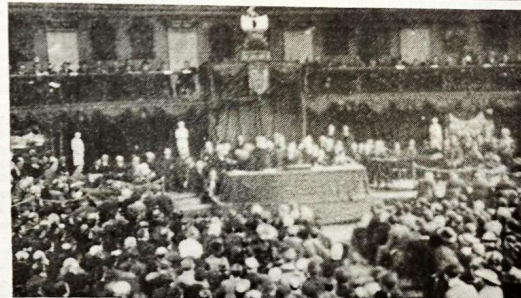
returned to Ireland to take part in the Rising. On Easter Monday, 24 April, two of his sons, George and Jack Plunkett were amongst the 52 Volunteers who made their way in to the city to take their place in the republican headquarters in the GPO. His other son, Joseph Mary Plunkett, who was mainly responsible for organising and drawing up the detailed military plans for the Rising was also in the GPO, and was one of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation and a member of the Provisional Government.

Following the ending of the Rising, the execution of his son Joseph and the imprisonment of two other sons George and Jack, Count Plunkett (his title was a Papal Award), played an active role in reorganising

Sinn Féin. At the North Roscommon by-election in February 1917, he was elected Sinn Féin MP, but refused to sit in a foreign parliament. This was the first of one of the many electoral successes for the party during the 1917/18 period.

**I**n the historic general election in December 1918, Count Plunkett was returned to represent North Roscommon and was a member of the first Dáil Éireann. He was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in January 1919 and was one of the Irish representatives at the Paris Peace Conference in the summer of that year.

Following the truce in July 1921, he accompanied Eamon de Valera to London for discussions with the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. He was appointed Minister for Fine Arts,



● Dáil Éireann

but without a seat in the cabinet on 9 August 1921, a position he held till January 1922. He withdrew from the Dáil along with all republican deputies following the acceptance of the Treaty in January 1922, and continued to represent North Roscommon until 1927.

He continued to support Sinn Féin after de Valera broke with it to form Fianna Fáil after the ard fheis of March 1926. Count Plun-

kett, despite his advanced age, continued to assist Sinn Féin and all branches of the Republican Movement, during the difficult years of coercion during the 1930s and early 1940s. He died in Dublin in March 1948 and was buried in the republican plot in Glasnevin Cemetery.

Aged 97, George Noble Count Plunkett died on 12 March 1948, 45 years ago this week.



# Notices

## Imeachtaí

**WE'VE MOVED! ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING:** meets 6.30pm every Tuesday, Anti-Extradition Office, 29 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN

**BEECHMOUNT FIVE PICKET:** 2.30-4pm, every Saturday, Grafton Street, DUBLIN

**PICKET:** To deliver a petition and put a voice to our disgust at the British government's indifference to violence against women. 11am, Friday 12 March, Downing Street, LONDON. Organised by The Irish Women's Defence Campaign. For further information Tel: 071 249 7318

**PUBLIC MEETING:** 12.30pm, Friday

12 March, Green Room, Student's Union, Leicester University, LEICESTER. Speaker: Kate Magee. Organised by Leicester University Troops Out Movement. For more information contact: Kate Magee Support Group, PO Box 158, Derby, DE1 9NB

**PUBLIC MEETING:** Free the Beechmount Five, 7pm Friday, 12 March, City Halls, GLASGOW. Speaker from Beechmount Five Campaign.

**FUNCTION:** Featuring The Irish Brigade, 8.30pm, Saturday, 13 March, Mulhuddart House, BLANCHARDSTOWN. Táiille £2.50. Organised by the Joe McDonnell Cumann

**DEMONSTRATION:** Saturday, 13 March, Through Govan, GLASGOW. Details from the Glasgow Bands Alliance. All bands and supporters expected to attend both events. Fra-

ternal invite is extended to all solidarity groups

**ANTI-EXTRADITION NATIONAL ORGANISING MEETING:** 12.30pm Saturday, 13 March. Teacher's Club, Parnell Square, DUBLIN. All welcome

**ANTI-EXTRADITION DISCO:** 8pm, Saturday, 13 March. Mulligans, Hill Street, DUBLIN. Táiille: £2

**FUNDRAISER:** Saturday, 13 March. Emerald Bar, DUNDALK

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY PICKET:** Picket on Durham Jail, 1.30pm, Sunday, 14 March. In support of Irish women POWs, Old Elvet, DURHAM. Transport from Birmingham; Cambridge at 8am

**MARCH AND RALLY:** Sunday, 14 March. Assemble 2pm outside the

Shamrock Social Club, Ardoyne, BELFAST. March to the Commemoration Garden, New Lodge Road. Organised by the North Belfast Relatives Action Committee

**TOM SMITH COMMEMORATION:** After 11 o'clock mass, Wednesday, 17 March. Berkerly Road Church, DUBLIN. March to Glasnevin Cemetery

**WELCOME HOME FOR REPUBLICAN PRISONER SEAMUS CLARKE:** Irish ballad night, Wednesday, 17 March. Inis Fáil GAA Club, Malahide Road, Balgriffin, DUBLIN. Táiille £2.50. Bus from GPO, O'Connell Street, 7.30pm sharp. £1 return. Bus from Howth: Pier House, 7.45pm; Racecourse Inn Baldoyle, 8pm; Foxhound, Kilbarack, 8.10pm; Fire Station, Kilbarack, 8.15pm

**ST PATRICK'S DAY SOCIAL:** 9pm-

2am, Wednesday, 17 March. The Robby, 240 Seven Sisters Road, N4, LONDON. Finsbury Park Tube. Táiille: £4/£3 concession. Live Irish music and dancing. Organised by The Connolly Association

**REPUBLICAN BAND:** The Crossmaglen Patriots Republican Flute Band, Wishaw, Scotland, resume band practice on Tuesday nights as per usual. The band are now on the lookout for new members. Full tuition will be given. For this year's St Patrick's night venue we intend to bring over a folk band from Derry. Any person wishing to join the band or would like tickets for our social should contact any band member or contact Tommy at: c/o TAL, PO Box 266, Glasgow, SFX

**FOR SALE:** Eight diamond white marching drums. Contact New Lodge Sinn Féin

## InDíl Chuimhne

CROSSAN, Gerard; HUGHES, Charles; JOHNSTON, Seán; KEENAN, Colm; LEWIS, Tony; MCCANN, Tom; MCCracken, Kevin; MCGILLAN, Eugene. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Gerard Crossan (died 9 March 1972), Charles Hughes (died 8 March 1971), Seán Johnston (died 9 March 1972), Colm Keenan (died 14 March 1972), Tony Lewis (died 9 March 1972), Tom McCann (died 9 March 1972), Kevin McCracken (died 14 March 1988), Eugene McGillan (14 March 1972). "The republic stands for truth and honour. For all that is noblest in our race. By truth and honour, principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free." — Liam Mellows. Always remembered with love and pride by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

CROSSAN, Gerard; JOHNSTON, Seán; LEWIS, Tony; MCCANN, Tom (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friends Volunteers Gerard Crossan, Seán Johnston, Tony Lewis and Tom McCann who died on active service on 9 March 1972. Gone but not forgotten their memory we treasure. Remembered with pride by Seán, Rosie and family.

CROSSAN, Gerard; JOHNSTON, Seán; LEWIS, Tony; MCCANN, Tom (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of our young friends Volunteers Gerard Crossan, Tony Lewis, Seán Johnston and Tom McCann who died on active service on 9 March 1972. Always remembered by the Murray family. FARRELL, Mairéad (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mairéad Farrell, who was murdered by the SAS in Gibraltar 6 March 1986. In Gibraltar her young life was terminated in a cowardly and brutal manner by trained assassins of the British forces. Always loved and remembered by her mother, father, brothers and entire family circle. Also remembering her faithful comrades Seán Savage and Dan McCann. Masses offered.

FARRELL, Mairéad (5th Ann). Tragic memories of our great friend Mairéad. Always remembered and loved by Kósin, Fiach and Patricia.

FARRELL, Mairéad (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Mairéad Farrell. Always remembered by the Mairéad Farrell Sinn Féin Cumann, Dublin. FARRELL, Mairéad; MCCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Seán (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Mairéad, Dan and Seán on the fifth anniversary of their deaths in Gibraltar. Always remembered by Richard and Christie.

FARRELL, Mairéad; MCCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Seán (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Mairéad, Dan and Seán on the fifth

anniversary of their deaths in Gibraltar. We wept bitterly in 1988. We'll draw on the anger until we rid this country of British rule. Always remembered by Danny Morrison, HS Long Kesh.

FARRELL, Mairéad; MCCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Seán (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Mairéad Farrell, Dan McCann and Seán Savage, murdered by the SAS. Never forgotten by Toby.

FARRELL, Mairéad; MCCANN, Dan; SAVAGE, Seán (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Mairéad Farrell, Dan McCann and Seán Savage, GHQ staff Oglagh na hÉireann who were slain on active service on 6 March 1988. RIP. In death as in life you remain an inspiration to all those who believe in the cause of Irish freedom. Remembered with pride by Christy.

HUGHES, Charles (22nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Charles Hughes, D Company, Belfast Brigade who was killed by renegades on 8 March 1971. Fuair sé bás ar saoirse na hÉireann. Always remembered by Sinn Féin Bun na bhFéil and the Committee.

LEWIS, Tony (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear son, Volunteer Tony Lewis who died on active service on 9 March 1972. Treasured memories of my son Tony. Our Lady of Knock pray for him. A son is precious and so is his name. Without him to love life is not the same. I remember your smile and the things you would say, and I treasure the memories of you day by day. As long as I live, I will always be glad, grateful and proud of the son that I had. No words can ever say how much I miss you everyday. Always remembered by your loving mother.

LEWIS, Tony (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Tony Lewis, who had a smile to share, time to listen and time to care, a loving nature, kind and true, one in a million, that was you. Always remembered and never forgotten by his brother Gary.

LEWIS, Tony (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Tony Lewis, D Company, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann. Killed on active service, March 9th 1972. RIP. St Anthony pray for him. We think about you often and talk about you still, you will never be forgotten and to us you never will. Always remembered by his sister Pauline, brother-in-law Gary and family.

LEWIS, Tony (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Tony Lewis, St Martin pray for him. I think of you today Tony but that is nothing

new, I thought about you yesterday and the day before that too, I will think of you tomorrow as I will my whole life through, for the day I fail to think of you is the day I will be with you. Loved and missed by his sister Teresa, brother-in-law Kevin and family. LEWIS, Tony (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Tony Lewis who died on active service 9 March, 1972 striving to achieve his country's liberation. Oppression breeds resistance and when imperialism strikes out at young Irish revolutionaries many more will rise to take their places. Always remembered and never forgotten by his brother Colin.

MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of a respected friend, murdered by loyalist assassins on 7 March, 1990. "Splendid and holy causes are served by men who are themselves splendid and holy" — Pádraig Pearse. Always remembered by the Sayers family, County Kerry. MARSHALL, Sam (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Sam Marshall, murdered by pro-British agents on 7 March 1990. Your name is often mentioned, our thoughts are with you still, you haven't been forgotten. God knows you never will. Always remembered by Seán J Nash, Bradford.

MCCANN, Dan (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear cousin Volunteer Dan McCann, Oglagh na Éireann, who was executed by British crown forces in Gibraltar 6 March 1988 along with his two comrades Seán and Mairéad. We miss your strength, consideration and care, but in our hearts Dan you will always be there. Remembered with pride by Seán, Rosie and family.

MCCANN, Dan (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear nephew Danny who with his comrades Seán and Mairéad, who were murdered by the SAS on 6 March 1988 in Gibraltar. RIP. Sacred Heart of Jesus have mercy on his soul. Sadly missed by his granny and aunt M, uncle Pat and family circle.

MCCANN, Dan; FARRELL, Mairéad; SAVAGE, Seán (5th Ann). Our neighbour Dan and his two brave comrades will never be forgotten. Ireland unfree will never be at peace. Always remembered by the New Lodge Road Commemoration Committee.

MCCANN, Tom; LEWIS, Tony; CROSSAN, Gerard; JOHNSTON, Seán (21st Ann). In proud and loving memory of my friends Volunteers Tom McCann, Tony Lewis, Gerard Crossan and Seán Johnston. Gone but not forgotten by Toby.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dearly loved son Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service on 14 March 1988. RIP. St Patrick pray for him. A spe-

cial date another year, a loving thought, a silent tear, a little prayer to keep in touch, with a son we lost and loved so much, we cannot forget you, we won't even try, we miss you more as time goes by. Always remembered by your loving mother and father.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dearly beloved brother Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service on 14 March 1988. Mary Queen of the Gael and St Patrick pray for him. Quietly today your memory we treasure, loving you always, forgetting you never. Always remembered by your loving brother Steve.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service 14 March 1988. Never more than a thought away, loved and remembered every day by Maria, Damien, Pádraig and Stacy.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service on 14 March 1988. St Patrick pray for him. Remembering you is easy. I do it every day, but missing you is the heartache that never goes away, but deep in my heart your memory is kept, to love and cherish and never forget. Always remembered by your loving sister Siobhán, Kevin, Shannon and Caoimhín.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dearly loved uncle Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service on 14 March 1988. Put your arms around him Lord and touch his smiling face. For he was very special and can never be replaced. From Pádraig, Cara, Caoimhín, Stacy, Shannon, Grainne, Kevin and Pádraig.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service on 14 March 1988. St Patrick pray for him. Our pain is in equal measure to our pride in you Kevin and the noble cause for which you gave your young life. Always remembered by his uncle James and cousins Séamus, Mary, Geraldine, Michael, Seán, Anne, Eileen and families.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear nephew Volunteer Kevin McCracken who died on active service on 14 March 1988. St Patrick pray for him. A spe-

cial date another year, a loving thought, a silent tear, a little prayer to keep in touch, with a son we lost and loved so much, we cannot forget you, we won't even try, we miss you more as time goes by. Always remembered by your loving mother and father.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my friend and comrade Kevin. He died as he lived, fighting for Irish freedom. From his best friend Mamo, Tina and family.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken, killed on active service on 14 March 1988. From your friend and comrade, Danny Barklay, H3 Long Kesh. MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our friend Kevin, killed on active service, 14 March 1988. Saint Martha pray for him. Remembered by Nora and Roisin.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kevin McCracken, Belfast Brigade Oglagh na hÉireann, killed on active service on 14 March 1988. RIP. The graves of those murdered for freedom bear seed for freedom which the winds carry afar and resow. Always remembered by Christy.

MCCracken, Kevin (5th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Malcolm, murdered by loyalist assassins on 3 March 1991. Always remembered by his brother Mark.

QUINN, John; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn, Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell and Tommy Armstrong. Murdered by loyalist gunmen on 3 March 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by Mark.

QUINN, John; NUGENT, Malcolm; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn, Volunteer Malcolm Nugent, Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell and Tommy Armstrong. Murdered by loyalist assassins on 3 March 1991. Always remembered with love and pride by Brian, Paula and girls.

QUINN, John; NUGENT, Malcolm; O'DONNELL, Dwayne; ARMSTRONG, Tommy (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer John Quinn, Volunteer Malcolm Nugent, Volunteer Dwayne O'Donnell and also Tommy Armstrong who were murdered by a pro-British death squad on 3 March 1991. RIP. "We must take no steps backward, our steps must be forward, for if we don't, the martyrs who died for you, for me, for this country will haunt us for eternity." — Máire Drumm. Always remembered by Martin.

WILKINSON, Noel (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of our loving husband and father, Volunteer Noel Wilkinson, who died March 2nd 1991. Padre Pio pray for him. Sadly missed and never forgotten by his loving wife Angela, daughter Tracey, father Paddy, mother Bernice, sister Pauline, Mickey and Noelle, Shane and Margaret and family.

## Comhbhrón

BOURKE. Sincere sympathy is extended to Tom Bourke on the death of his mother. From the Republican Movement, Limerick.

COMISKEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Comiskey family on their recent bereavement, from Philip Ferguson.

COMISKEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Comiskey family on their recent bereavement, from Rose Dugdale.

COMISKEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Comiskey family on their recent bereavement, from Noel Kavanagh.

COMISKEY. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Comiskey family on the death of Ollie. From Paddy and Delores Kenny.

COMISKEY. Limerick Sinn Féin extends its sincere sympathy to Nora Comiskey and family, on their recent bereavement.

COSTELLOE. Sincere sympathy is extended to the Costelloe family on the death of their son. From the Republican Movement, Limerick.

KEENAN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Seán Keenan. From the Republican Movement. From staff of A/P/RN.

MACUIRE. Sincere sympathy is extended to Brendan Maguire on the death of his father. From the Republican Movement, Limerick.

## Beannachtaí

FLANAGAN. To Patrick in Portlaoise Prison. Happy birthday on the 14 March, from your wife Dora, sons Noel, Kevin, Seán and daughter Sínead.

WOMEN'S DAY GREETINGS. Best wishes on International Women's Day, to Ann Marie and her comrades in Maghaberry. From Alex, England.

WOMEN'S DAY GREETINGS. Best wishes on International Women's Day, to Pamela Kane POW, Limerick. From Andrée.

WOMEN'S DAY GREETINGS. Best wishes on International Women's Day, to Pamela Kane POW, Limerick, from Combie, Limerick Sinn Féin, Bala Atha Cliahy, Friends of Pamela Kane Committee.

WOMEN'S DAY GREETINGS. Solidarity greetings to all women POWs in Maghaberry, Limerick, Durham, France and Germany. Le grá ó Póilín.





**"YOU CAN TELL MR HARRIS** that if he doesn't like that he can kiss my arse", Labour Party TD Michael Bell has told AP/RN.

He was responding to insults directed at him during a meeting of the Historical Society in Trinity College by former Sticky guru Eoghan Harris. The meeting's speakers included Austin Currie, David Trimble, Robert Ballagh and Brian Lenihan. But it was the former ideologue of the Workers' Party, Goebbels of RTE and latter-day Svengali of Fine Gael who stole the show.



● **CONGRATULATIONS** to the RUC's soccer team, who have reached the semi finals of the British Police Cup. It must make a bit of a change for the RUC, who only seem to meet British coppers when there is a vacancy for chief constable or when an investigation is ordered. Their opponents in the semifinals could be the West Midlands team, ranked second only to the RUC in terms of playing a physical game to get results. Not a lot to pick between these two squads, on available evidence.

Harris took to the podium like a telly evangelist on speed, ranting and roaring at his amazed audience. Many of his sentences finished on a croak, as he rushed to finish them rather than take a breath. It was disconcerting to think of the power which this man and his Workers' Party colleagues once wielded in RTE, as he launched into a tirade reminiscent of Hitler at a Nuremberg rally. He vented his paranoia about the pan-nationalist conspiracy which he claims exists in Ireland and which he has been crusading against in Ireland for decades. He told of his admiration for "a few brave progressives" like Conor Cruise O'Brien and the revisionists.

He said that "the greatest enemies of the Irish people have been that terrifying alliance between ultra-leftists, Trotskyists, and populist politicians".

"I fought it all through the '70s and the '80s, that terrifying mixture of the Eamonn McCanns and the Nell McCaffertys, approaching the Protestant working class with a red flag in front of them and a green flag behind their back."

It was at this point that he singled out the Labour Party in general and Louth TD Michael Bell in particular, for his scorn: "And now in the 1990s, I see their political and spiritual suc-

cessors in the form of the Labour Party, the politically correct party, in alliance with the populist party. And I expect nothing from them in Northern Ireland, because no matter what Mr Spring may say, anything he says is gainsaid by the fat squalid presence of that sectarian fatso, Michael Bell, sitting implacably in the backbenches like some intransigent Buddha of nationalism."

**WHEN INFORMED** of the contents of Harris' speech, Bell responded that he took any insult by "that sticky" Harris, as "a great compliment", advising Harris that "he'd be better off with John Bruton's outfit playing games at the ard feis", a reference to the infamous Twink sketch fiasco.

"I believe that Articles Two and Three cannot be given

away except by the consent of the nationalist community as part of an overall agreement," Bell affirmed, arguing that this is a position which "goes right back to Connolly". He said that he believed it was in line with Dick Spring's policy and that "a united Ireland must come by consent".

"You can tell Mr Harris that if he doesn't like that he can kiss my arse," he concluded.

**ANOTHER** example of the injustices faced by the loyalist community occurred outside a timber yard off the Shankill Road last week. It even provoked an angry reaction from Official Unionist MP Cecil Walker on Radio Ulster's Talkback programme.

The story concerned a 24-stone man who emerged from the timber yard with a bit of two-by-four. He was about to drive off in his car when an RUC DMSU team arrived on the scene. One officer approached the car and asked the man why he wasn't wearing a seatbelt.

His reply that he couldn't get it on cut no ice with the frosty peeler, who gave him a £20 ticket and told him that he "shouldn't be so fat".

**WHILE** we're discussing people who seem to be one sandwich short of a picnic, the DUP spokesperson for fair employment (now there's a contradiction in terms) Gregory Campbell, has called for a "fair employment scrutiny body with teeth". This body would of course prevent over-representation of Catholics.

Among key areas which he said would need examination

are the four health boards, which employ some 48,000 people throughout the Six Counties. According to Campbell a full 43% of their staff are Catholics.

But according to the 1991 census Catholics now account for 43% of the population in the Six Counties.

Maybe Gregory should invest in an abacus.

**IN A BID** to prove which was the toughest, two British regiments last summer staged an "inter-unit brawl" at a Six-County disco, a Carrickfergus court has heard.

Off-duty members of the Parachute Regiment and the Royal Irish Regiment turned a disco in Carrickfergus into a free-for-all; in court the disturbance was described as "a considerable fight".

Paratrooper Edward Sparke was fined £100 after the RUC searched him and found a baton. He tried to convince the court that he had it for self-defence.

**A ROYAL MARINE** who pulled fellow marines out of the ruins of the Deal Royal Marine Barracks when the IRA bombed it four years ago, killing eleven soldiers, has been dismissed from the service and

jailed for 15 months for phoning a hoax bomb warning to the base.

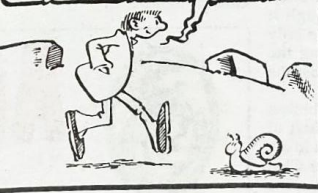
Graham Rooney told the court martial that he had been drinking.



There are many profound philosophical questions that occasionally seize my mind... What, I often ask myself, is the meaning of life?



Why do we pay more for alcohol than anyone else in the world? At what precise date did the unionists start wittering on about Articles 2 and 3?



A couple of years ago nobody had even heard of them! Now we are told that they are the major obstacle to peace on this island!



This is a profound philosophical problem? Well, it's not quite "meaning of life" stuff...



It's not even "price of drink" stuff...

Face it, kid. When you're talking about unionist thinking "profound" is not a word you're going to need too often...





## News

# Secret police attack on Cork Sinn Féin

**I**N AN ATTEMPT to smash Sinn Féin in Cork city the gardai raided and searched the homes of seven members of Sinn Féin and arrested all seven under the Offences Against the State Act. They arrested a pregnant woman unconnected with Sinn Féin and the party's office in Barrack Street was raided. Personal documents including diaries, letters, posters, books, photographs, videos, bank statements and pay slips, were taken from the member's homes. Some of the people were denied receipts.

The raids and arrests all took place on Saturday, 6 March. Fourteen gardai entered the Sinn Féin office in which just one party member was present. Four plastic bags full of material were taken. A full list of what was taken is not yet available but it included all Sinn Féin minute books, all books relating to finance, all bills and all accounts relating to the book shop. Also taken were files

relating to several campaigns Sinn Féin members have been active in or are presently active in, these included the Repeal the Eight Amendment Campaign, Cork Unemployed Workers Action Group, the Anti-Maastricht Campaign, trade unions and Unemployed Against the Programme, Anti-Extradition Committee, Irish National Congress, Repeal Section 31 cam-

paign and No to the War in the Gulf.

Cork Sinn Féin organiser Don O'Leary said:

"This was clearly an attempt by the gardai to disrupt Sinn Féin activity, intimidate the members and their families, prevent the office and shop from operating and scare off supporters and friends. The most appalling action was the arrest of the uninvolved pregnant woman, a sick intimidation tactic. This campaign of harassment is an extension of the tactics at present being employed in large measure in Limerick and throughout the country. We are not going to be cowed into submission by the state's secret police."

"We are now calling on all this

city's elected representatives to voice their opposition to this attempt to suppress our party. The continued murder of Sinn Féin members in the Six Counties, harassment by crown forces in the Six Counties, denial of free speech through Section 31, denial of access to the Mansion House in Dublin and harassment such as this week's are all part of a concerted effort to smash our struggle. They have failed and will fail."

The gardai reacted to this Sinn Féin statement by alleging to the *Cork Examiner* that they had found "material relating to IRA activities" and had "sent files to the DPP". In a further statement Don O'Leary said:

"Sinn Féin rejects these allegations as total rubbish. They represent a vain attempt to cover up a blatant act of political harassment and draw attention away from, in particular, the arrest of an uninvolved pregnant woman. We challenge the gardai publicly to state what 'IRA material' they're referring to and produce it for public scrutiny. We call on the Labour Party in this city to show their supposed concern for civil liberties by opposing such tactics as this."

The Repeal the Eighth Amendment Campaign in Cork condemned the Special Branch raid of the office and the confiscation of documents relating to their campaign.

## BRITISH SOLDIERS LIED

**S**IX PARATROOPERS invented a cover story to justify the shooting dead of teenage joyriders, Karen Reilly and Martin Peake, a court heard when their trial opened in Belfast this week.

In court, six members of the British army's 3 Para, Lieutenant Andrew Oliver, Lance Corporal Stephen Boulstead and Privates Lee Clegg, Barry Aindow, Robert Wood and Andrew Tracey faced 20 charges ranging from murder to perverting the course of justice.

Eighteen-year-old Karen Reilly from Twinbrook and 17-year-old Martin Peake from Lenadood died when the stolen Vauxhall Astra in which they were travelling was riddled with bullets fired by a British army patrol on West Belfast's Glen Road on the night of 30 September 1990. A second female passenger in the vehicle, 16-year-old Markievicz Gorman from the mid-Falls was wounded but miraculously escaped death.

Eye witness accounts contradicted initial RUC statements issued shortly after the incident which claimed that the three teenagers had been shot after their vehicle failed to stop at a British army checkpoint. It was also claimed that the Astra drove at speed at one soldier, knocking him to the ground and it was only when the car drove towards a second soldier that the patrol opened fire.

The survivor and other eye-witnesses, said there was no road block, no warning and there were two distinct bursts of sustained fire, the first bringing the vehicle to a halt and the second fired into the car as it was stationary. Witnesses also said that there was no attempt to detain or arrest the teenagers and that the two injured girls, one fatally injured, were dragged from the car and repeatedly kicked by the soldiers. Increasing media attention on eyewitness accounts precipitated

the decision to charge six members of the British army patrol.

In court, prosecuting barrister Reg Weir said that the British soldiers fired on the stolen car after they alleged it struck Private Aindow, but with his consent they had inflicted a leg injury on him to back up their claim. The soldiers' statements to the RUC investigating the incident were "false and untrue" and the claim that Aindow was struck by the car was "a subsequent invention bolstered by an assault or assaults on him", the barrister said.

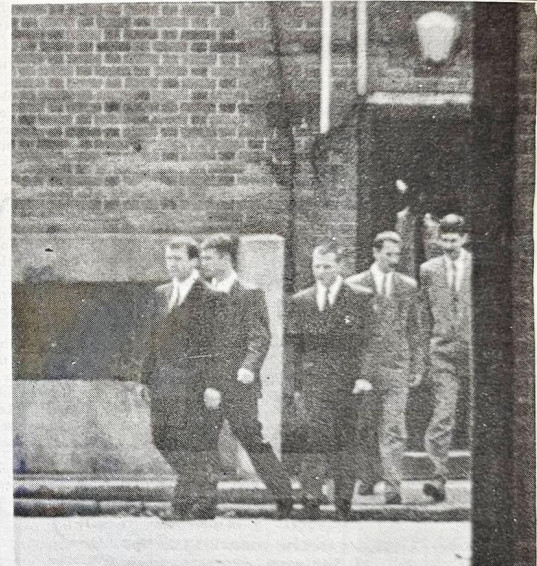
Earlier the prosecution told presiding Judge Campbell that the six soldiers were part of a 17-strong patrol sent to catch joyriders. Weir said that initially the patrol had used two army vehicles to form a roadblock but that was abandoned after one suspected joyrider had driven through it without stopping, and the only RUC officer accompanying the patrol decided they had lost the element of surprise.

After the roadblock was broken up, Weir continued, the first of two teams of soldiers, eight in all, were sent down the Upper Glen Road on patrol, followed some distance by the other teams and an RUC constable. As the RUC constable and his team of soldiers were walking, they heard a car approaching them from behind and the RUC officer turned round to see one soldier appear to signal with a torch to the approaching car which stopped some distance from him.

According to the RUC officer accompanying the patrol, although he had by then turned his back to the car, he heard the vehicle engine revving loudly. He turned to see the soldier signalling and the car

accelerate past the soldier. According to the prosecution, the RUC officer then heard a soldier shout to the car to stop, but the car continued. The RUC officer then moved aside, "as the car reached the constable's position, or in the general area of his position, he became aware of gunfire around him and he threw himself to the ground". The car then "disappeared around a corner and more shooting was heard".

Weir told the court that the RUC officer "heard a shout from one of the soldiers and saw a soldier crouch down and saw another appear to stamp or kick him in the leg". Weir said that this was also witnessed by a civilian living in a traveller's encampment by the roadside. Weir dismissed claims made by the soldiers in their statements that one of their team appeared to have been hit by the car. The case continues.



● Paratroopers' statements to the investigation into the death of two teenage joyriders in 1990 were "false and untrue"



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