

AN **UNCENSORED** IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY

PHOBLACHT

Republican News

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● The message that national opposition to British rule is as tenacious and determined as ever rang out from Belfast's Falls

● The tens of thousands of people who attended Sunday's huge rally in Belfast offered the British government "the open palm of friendship or the clenched fist of resistance"

You are going to be free

THE FOREST of clenched fists which sprang up from tens of thousands people at the huge rally in Ireland's second city last Sunday was the clearest signal in years that national opposition to British rule in any part of our country is as tenacious and determined as ever and that those in the front line of resistance are looking forward to freedom in the 1990s and inviting the rest of the Irish people to join them in their march to victory.

The people were offering the British government, in the words of Gerry Adams when he addressed the crowd estimated at 20,000 and over, "the open palm of friendship or the clenched fist of

resistance". It was in celebration of resistance that the huge crowds from all parts of Ireland and from overseas gathered in Belfast to mark ten years of struggle since the H-Block hunger strikes, and 20

years of struggle since internment.

The mass peaceful protest dwarfed the British government's gunmen who were on the streets simply to remind the world that Britain still refuses to relinquish

sovereignty over its first and last colony. The way that rule has been maintained was displayed in the days before and after the march. A Sinn Féin member and a nationalist shop-keeper were shot dead by loyalist death-squads. Another nationalist narrowly escaped death and a bus-load of women and children were ambushed by pro-British gunmen with RUC collusion.

There have been many such tragedies in 20 years but the nationalist people remain undaunt-

ed. Gerry Adams told them that they had defeated prime ministers from Faulkner to Thatcher. So it will continue until the British government accepts the open palm of friendship and takes the only course that will guarantee peace between Britain and Ireland. It must learn that it cannot defeat Irish resistance. The Sinn Féin president sent the crowd away with a message that must be taken up by all the Irish people:

"You are the real freedom fighters, and you are going to be free."

RUC collusion in relatives' bus attack

IN A further escalation of British-inspired terror, two women were shot and injured when a loyalist death-squad — almost certainly with the co-operation of the crown forces — opened fire on a minibus carrying women and children to visit relatives and friends imprisoned in Long Kesh.

The injured women were among a party of six women and six children being driven on a regular journey to visit republican prisoners, when loyalists who had lain in wait at a church outbuilding at Loughgilly on the main Newry to Armagh road, raked their bus with indiscriminate gunfire.

The bus on which they were travelling had earlier that morning been stopped by RUC personnel who had tailed it to within five miles of the scene of the shooting.

The attack fits into a pattern of recent killings including the killing of two teenage girls and a young man in Craigavon and the killing of three men at a public house in Cappagh. It is almost certainly

aimed at dovetailing into the massive and carefully orchestrated increase in overall repression and terror being inflicted on the nationalist community by official and unofficial British agents and operatives, and has as one of its aims the instilling of widespread terror and demoralisation among nationalists.

TERRIFYING ORDEAL

Details of this latest incident were given to *APRN's* reporter by the driver of the minibus, 34-year-old James Maguire of Newry, who was speaking less than three hours after the terrifying ordeal through which he and his passengers had been put.

The minibus, a white Sherpa, was being driven by James Maguire shortly after 8.50am along Doran's Hill in Newry town, when two RUC armoured Ford Sierra cars raced in front of it with lights flashing and sirens blaring.

The RUC, having forced the vehicle to a halt at Barcroft Park, ordered James Maguire from the vehicle and carried out a search which lasted up to 15 minutes. The RUC took James' personnel details and asked him in which direction he was headed. He gave them the information they sought, explaining



● The RUC stopped and then tailed the van carrying prisoners' relatives until minutes before it was sprayed with automatic gunfire by a loyalist death squad

that he had to pick up several sets of relatives before driving along the Newry to Armagh road where others would be waiting.

Having been allowed to proceed James picked up his passengers and began to head for Armagh city. The Sherpa was tailed by the RUC Sierras for up to two miles along the Newry to Armagh road, and the driver had only lost sight of them some ten minutes previously when, at 9.30am, the sound of gunfire and breaking glass signaled the beginning of the loyalist attack.

James Maguire takes up the story: "There was the unmistakable

sound of at least two weapons being fired. Bullets began ripping into the bus right from the front to the back along the driver's side. There was pandemonium and panic. The sound of women and children screaming and in the midst of it all I heard someone shout, 'I'm shot, I'm shot.' By this stage I was already accelerating quite hard from the scene. I was unable to see who was firing but could make out hedgerows and a church outbuilding to my right. I later learned from the RUC that it was from this building that the gunmen fired."

GUNSHOT WOUNDS

James Maguire managed to

drive his minibus to Irish Street in Armagh from where an ambulance was summoned to bring the injured women to Craigavon Area Hospital. One suffered gunshot wounds to the lower leg while the other was struck by one bullet in the arm. Their condition is described as comfortable.

Reacting to the news Sinn Féin's Newry representative, Brendan Curran said:

"This was an indiscriminate attack on women and children. There was no attempt to specifically target any individual. The bus was fired on with the intention of killing as many of the occupants as possible."

UFF member executed in Derry



● IRA Volunteers patrolling Belfast's Markets area on August 9th

THE IRA'S Derry Brigade has said that Volunteers attached to its command carried out the shooting which left a 28-year-old UFF man dead on Friday, August 9th.

The man who died, Gary Lynch, from Brigade Road, Derry, had just arrived for work at the Foyle Meats plant on Lisahally Road on the outskirts of the city at 7.30am when IRA Volunteers, armed with handguns, stepped forward, identified their target and opened fire. Lynch, who was struck up to four times in the head and chest, died at the scene.

In its statement on the attack, the IRA said that he had been an active member of the UFF who had been involved in loyalist terror against nationalists and warned that it reserved the right to take similar action against anyone posi-

tively identified as being responsible for the organisation or perpetration of attacks against the nationalist community.

PATROLS UNDER FIRE

A total of three RUC men were injured in a series of nine IRA operations in Belfast over the past week which saw Volunteers of the Belfast Brigade target British army and RUC patrols at various locations in the North and East of the city.

The three who were injured were part of an RUC mobile patrol which was operating in Ardoyne, North Belfast shortly after 11pm on Friday evening, August 9th. A Volunteer under cover from armed comrades lobbed a single improvised grenade at an RUC Land Rover as it entered Brompton Park; the vehicle took a direct hit and three of its occupants were taken to hospital suffering from blast injuries.

The Brompton Park attack came

less than 24 hours after a joint British army/RUC patrol came under fire in nearby Alliance Avenue. A total of 17 shots were fired at the patrol but there were no confirmed reports of any injuries. Within hours of this attack a separate RUC/British army patrol operating in the Duncrain Gardens area off the New Lodge Road had a total of 10 shots fired at it. Again there were no reports of any injuries.

Saturday, August 10th saw crown forces patrols come under attack in Short Strand and Tiger's Bay. In the Short Strand attack a single improvised grenade was lobbed at a joint British army/RUC patrol which was returning to Mountpottinger Barracks. The attack at Tiger's Bay was mounted from the adjacent New Lodge Road and was aimed at an RUC DMSU squad. Volunteers fired a total of six shots at the patrol but could not throw grenades because of the

proximity of civilians to the RUC position.

On Monday, August 12th, British army and RUC patrols came under gun attack on a further two occasions. At Duncrain Gardens, in the early hours of the morning, British soldiers and RUC men were targeted by Volunteers armed with AKM assault rifles. Several hours later eight shots were fired at a patrol which was emerging from Mountpottinger Barracks in East Belfast.

Tuesday, August 12th witnessed the final two attacks of the week; both of these came in the North of the city and were directed against British army positions at Girdwood Barracks where a total of 15 shots were fired and at Templar House where 17 rounds were fired.

NEWRY

In a statement issued to the media on Tuesday, August 13th, the IRA in South Down said:

"South Down Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, claims responsibility for military actions at Fathom Park in the Drumalane Road area of Newry during the early hours of Monday morning, August 12th. After deploying a number of Volunteers armed with impact grenades and automatic rifles to give cover on routes leading into the area, an active service unit, consisting of 12 Volunteers, moved into Drumalane Park and Fathom

Park to carry out a punishment action against a number of identified individuals from both areas.

"After searching the area without success, Volunteers entered two houses, 46 Drumalane Park and 20 Fathom Park, again without locating targets. Volunteers then withdrew from the area.

"While our operation was being run down and as a cover team positioned at Drumalane Road were withdrawing from their location, an impact grenade was discharged accidentally, causing an explosion. The device detonated harmlessly on the roadside, causing no damage.

"The South Down Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, has identified a criminal gang operating an intimidation campaign in the greater Drumalane area for some time. This campaign reached a peak at 3.30am on Sunday morning, August 11th, when two men, one a member of Sinn Féin, the second a 17-year-old Republican News seller, were beaten in their beds with iron bars by members of this gang.

"Oglagh na hEireann takes this opportunity to state publicly that our Volunteers have been instructed to take military action against the following named persons if they have not left the island of Ireland by 12noon, Saturday, August 17th 1991." The statement went on to give the names of those involved.

Sinn Féin member assassinated

Victim had received RUC death threat

IN A CLASSIC CASE of collusion between loyalist death squads and the British crown forces, a Sinn Féin election worker, whose personal details from crown forces files had been leaked, was shot dead on Monday, August 12th, at Killen, outside the nationalist town of Castlederg in north-west Tyrone.

Pádraig O Seanacháin, a 31-year-old small farmer and a driver for the Department of the Environment, was killed close to the Killen Creamery on the Lerimore Road, less than a mile from his Glen Road home. The fatal shooting occurred as he drove to work shortly after 8.30am. The young farmer is believed to have died instantly when a lone gunman, positioned in a hedgerow, opened fire on his yellow Bedford van in what was clearly a carefully planned ambush.

The fatal shooting of Pádraig O Seanacháin, who had canvassed for Sinn Féin Councillor Charlie McHugh during the last local government elections, came two and a half years after another attempt on his life. In February 1989, the Tyrone farmer, who lived alone with his elderly mother, narrowly escaped injury when shots were fired outside his home as he returned from working on his farm. As with the later fatal shooting, there had been evidence to suggest crown forces collusion.

In February 1990, Pádraig O Seanacháin was one of three

Tyrone men, all of whom were targets of unrelenting harassment from the UDR and RUC, who were arrested and held in RUC interrogation centres for three days (AP/RN 15/2/1990). There they were taunted about leaks of documents to loyalist death squads, and Pádraig O Seanacháin was told, in reference to the first attempt on his life, "Next time we'll get it right." Speaking to AP/RN after his release, he said:

"They seemed to devote entire interrogation sessions to threatening me with assassination, either by British forces or loyalists. I always take this kind of thing seriously, but I know it is used as a psychological weapon, an attempt to get you to say and do what they want."

That RUC threat proved to be all too real.

Condemning the killing, Sinn Féin Councillor Charlie McHugh said that nationalists throughout west Tyrone were "shocked and saddened by the brutal murder of Patrick Seanacháin", who was well known amongst republicans and, as a fluent Gaelgeoir and popular traditional dancer, in Irish cultural cir-

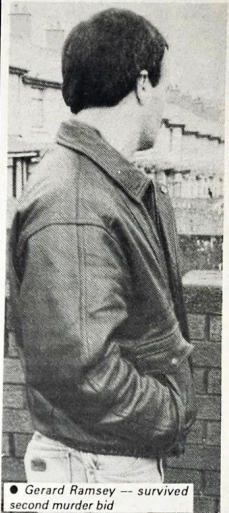


● Pádraig O Seanacháin — murdered by loyalist death-squad in collusion with British crown forces

cles. He added that, as in so many other cases, "Loyalists may well have had their finger on the trigger,

but the information which led to his death came directly from the crown forces."

Narrow escape in North Belfast



● Gerard Ramsey — survived second murder bid

A North Belfast Sinn Féin election worker had a lucky escape when a gun, held at point blank-range by a member of a loyalist death squad failed to fire. Thirty-three-year-old Gerard Ramsey, who was shot in the hip by British soldiers in a blatant and unprovoked attack in Ardoyne a year and a half ago, was babysitting in his girlfriend's house in Rosapena Street, North Belfast when this latest attack took place.

Watching television in the front room, the man, who only moments before had taken the three-year-old child he was minding upstairs, noticed a dark figure pass the window. He continues:

"I saw the figure crouch down and I heard the cocking of a weapon. The gunman was about four feet away from me and if the weapon had fired I would have been killed. As the gun jammed I ran upstairs and barricaded myself into a bedroom."

Having failed in their intentions the attackers fled from the scene in a Red Honda motor, towards the loyalist Oldpark area. Responsibility for the attack which took place on Tuesday evening, August 13th, was claimed by the UDA/UFF who said in their statement of admission that they had also planted an explosive device which caused superficial damage to a nationalist bar in the Ormeau Road area on Wednesday morning, August 14th.

Belfast newsagent shot dead

A THIRTY-THREE-YEAR-OLD nationalist newsagent was shot dead behind the counter of his West Belfast shop in a loyalist gun attack on Saturday, August 10th.

Jim Carson, the proprietor, was alone in his '7-Eleven' shop at the junction of the Donegal and Falls Road when, around 9am, two masked men got out of a red Ford Sierra car, entered the shop and shot him several times at point-blank range. The car, hijacked earlier from the Shankill, driven by a third man, and carrying the two gunmen, sped off towards the M1 and was later found abandoned in Tavara Street in the loyalist Village area at the far end of the Donegal Road.

A local butcher, whose shop stands directly opposite the newsagents, heard four or five shots and immediately ran to assist the fatally wounded man but, with a number of shots in the chest and back, Jim Carson was already dead.

THREAT TO AP/RN SELLERS

A statement from a group calling itself the Loyalist Retaliation and Defence Group claimed responsibility for the killing, saying Jim Carson had been targeted for stocking copies of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. The statement said

that any shop selling AP/RN would be deemed a target for further loyalist attacks. The loyalist death squad said that they had "a comprehensive list of shops in greater Belfast and in some country areas who sell *An Phoblacht/Republican News*".

Commenting on the loyalist statement, local Sinn Féin councillor Fra McCann questioned the source of this "comprehensive" information on shops stocking the paper. He said:

"It seems highly unlikely that a loyalist gang would have the capability to draw up a comprehensive list of shops stocking *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, particularly in nationalist areas. In the

wake of the murder of Falls Road newsagent Jim Carson and the statement issued by the so-called Loyalist Retaliation and Defence Group, I am calling upon RUC Chief Hugh Annesley to state publicly whether documents, which included lists of paper sellers, that were seized during an RUC raid of AP/RN's Belfast office in January of this year have been leaked to loyalist death squads."



● The shop on Belfast's Falls Road in which Jim Carson was shot dead by two loyalist gunmen on Saturday

Leisure centre raid a cover-up

BUGGING DEVICE FOUND

BELFAST Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann has challenged the RUC account of a raid it carried out on Andersonstown Leisure Centre, and has accused the RUC of lying to cover up the real reason behind the raid.

The raid took place on Friday, August 9th, shortly after a sophisticated electronic listening transmitter, which is believed to have been part of a system of listening devices hidden in the centre, was discovered by a member of staff and removed from its hiding place. Describing the discovery of the listening device, councillor Fra McCann said that he had been con-

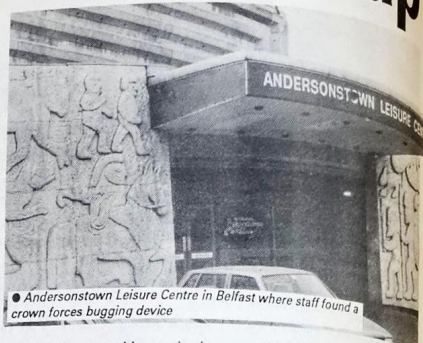
tacted after staff discovered an electronic device in the roof space of the toilet for disabled people inside the leisure centre. He continued:

"I went to the leisure centre where staff showed me the device they had discovered. It was approximately 12 inches by seven, black with a small aerial attached. It was connected by leads to a battery pack and was of a similar design to other crown forces listening devices which have been discovered over the years and presented at Sinn Féin press conferences. It was quite clearly a transmitter, picking up signals from listening devices in the building and transmitting them, most likely to the local barracks."

A short time after the device was discovered and before it could be removed from the building, the

leisure centre was sealed off by the British army and raided by the RUC. Clearly, as with other devices found in the past, its discovery must have triggered an alarm which alerted the RUC.

Commenting on the subsequent raid which lasted for almost seven hours and resulted in the cancellation of a concert organised by the West Belfast Festival Committee, Fra McCann warned that while it is possible that the RUC simply removed the transmitter, given the length of time they remained in the building, it is far more likely that the device and the bugs it was servicing were replaced in another location. Describing as "totally bogus" subsequent claims by the RUC that the centre was raided to search for munitions, and that during the course



● Andersonstown Leisure Centre in Belfast where staff found a crown forces bugging device

of the raid ammunition and other materials were found, McCann said he would be raising the matter with the City Council Leisure Services Committee, of which he is a member. He concluded:

"In the light of this discovery, Councillor O Muilleoir and myself intend to call on the council to employ an independent electronics expert to check all of the council buildings for bugging devices."

Pensioners survive petrol bomb attack

A SERIES of sectarian attacks on the homes of nationalists living in Finn Square, an area off the Falls Road which backs onto the loyalist Shankill, has left many residents, the vast majority of whom are elderly pensioners, too afraid to leave their homes but terrified of further petrol bomb attacks which could turn their houses into death-traps.

On Thursday, August 8th, a gang of loyalists climbed onto the roof of a community workshop in the Shankill area, which overlooks the back gardens of homes in Finn Square. Shortly after 9pm the loyalist mob, chanting sectarian abuse, pelted the Finn Square area with bricks, bottles and stones, smashing bedroom windows and terrifying elderly residents who remained trapped in their homes.

There were sporadic attacks on residents throughout the week, but in the early hours of Saturday

morning, the attacks took a more sinister turn when a loyalist gang petrol-bombed several homes.

During the attack, an elderly couple were lucky to escape injury when a petrol bomb smashed through their bedroom window and burst into flames. The fire quickly engulfed the room leaving it totally gutted. Normally asleep at that time of night the pensioners were downstairs, because a young relative was visiting when the attack occurred. Hearing a loud bang the three occupants of the house realised that the

upstairs of the house was on fire and immediately rang the fire brigade.

Describing the damage, Lilly Ryan (62) said that the whole of her upstairs was ruined: "The bedroom is completely gutted, all my clothes and everything was in that room. I've lost them all."

Seventy-five-year-old Annie Keenan also had a lucky escape when the petrol bomb which was thrown at her house failed to explode. She said that residents in Finn Square had been enduring sectarian attacks mounted from the Shankill area for a number of years, and during the Orange marching season these attacks occurred on almost a daily basis. Repeated requests by local residents to the NI and Housing Executive to install security walling and window grills has so far been ignored.



● The home of two elderly people in Finn Square, Belfast, whose bedroom was gutted in a loyalist petrol bomb attack on Friday, August 9th

Intolerable conditions in Limerick Jail

CONDEMNING the intolerable conditions of Limerick jail and the attempts to isolate a republican prisoner, Ann O'Sullivan of Sinn Féin's POW Department said that they were totally unacceptable and an indication of the Dublin government's disregard for human rights in Ireland.

The reopening of the women's wing of Limerick jail was attacked last year by Sinn Féin's POW Department, which stated that the prison's conditions had been condemned as unfit for holding prisoners in 1948 and closed for the same reason in the 1970s. That conditions were not improved when it reopened has been borne out by accounts from the prison.

At present, there are seven women in the jail, including republican POW Pamela Kane. All other female prisoners are serving short-term sentences of less than 12 months and are transferred in and out of the jail, leading to a feeling of isolation for Pamela, the only long-term prisoner held there.

Adding to that feeling is the denial of monthly family visits in Mountjoy jail. All other prisoners held in Limerick, both male and female are entitled to, and are trans-

ferred for, one such visit every four to six weeks. Visits currently made by family members and friends involve a full day's travel and considerable expense.

VICTORIAN CELLS

Prisoners are locked up for 15 hours a day in Victorian cells no bigger than eight feet by eight feet, with no sanitary facilities in the cells other than a chamber pot. They are allowed 15 minutes at 8am to slop out and wash before being locked up again until 9am. They are locked in for their meals at 12.30pm, 4.30pm and at 7.30pm for the night.

The exercise yard, measuring 20x10 metres, is restrictive for any type of activity other than walking around. (Pamela was the only republican POW who could not participate in the sponsored run in aid of Six-County naiscoileanna.) Other forms of recreation are limited to a poorly-

equipped gym (closed for the last three months), watching TV or playing pool in a recreation room. Only two of the facilities are open at once, restricting the choice further.

Though the prisoners have access to educational material and courses including only a single small room. No two classes can take place simultaneously and differences in standards of education makes it difficult to select courses which all can participate in. If a prisoner decides to stay in her cell she is locked in for the day. Access to the main prison library and education block is denied, as is access to kitchen facilities, thus preventing female prisoners taking a CERT cookery and hygiene course completed recently by male prisoners.

FAMILY VISITS CALL

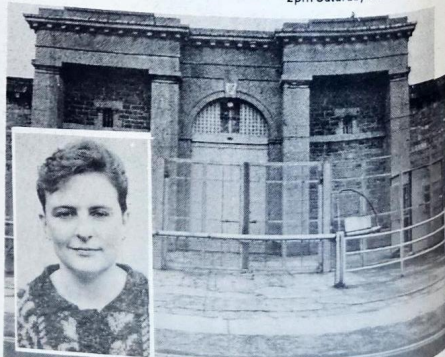
Calling for an immediate end to the discrimination which denies Pamela family visits in Dublin, Ann O'Sullivan said it was totally unacceptable for long-term prisoners to spend their time in such cramped conditions. She called for the closure of Limerick jail's women's wing and the transfer of the prisoners to another prison which would have:

- The provision of exercise, education, library, craft, workshop and recreation facilities which conform to the standards set by the Council of Europe and the Dublin government's own Whitaker Report.

- Larger cells with sanitary units and adequate gym facilities.

PICKET
Outside Jail
Musgrave Street
LIMERICK

2pm Saturday 24th August



● Limerick jail where republican POW Pamela Kane (inset) and six other women are being held in cramped Victorian conditions

Another jobs setback in Leitrim

BY ART Mac EON

COUNTY LEITRIM, already hard hit by emigration and unemployment which increased with the closure of the Arigna mines, has had another industrial setback. Workers at the Lairds jam factory in Drumshanbo are staging a sit-in and picket to secure fair redundancy payments. This follows a breakdown of talks on Friday, August 2nd.

Pickets at the plant have pointed out that management failed to give workers the statutory four weeks closure notice. Lairds is a subsidiary of Larry Goodman's Food Industries Group for which the newly-privatised Sugar Company, Greencore, recently made a successful bid.

Talks between unions and management began on Monday, July 29th, after workers rejected an offer of two and a half weeks' pay for each year of service. Workers are angrily contesting remarks by Greencore that it bears no responsibility in the matter because it will not become the owner of Food Industries for another two months.

Lairds General Manager, Tony

Cashman, ruled out the possibility of a resumption of talks while what he termed "unofficial action" continued and added that a final decision has been made to close the factory and that they are "going through an orderly cessation of activities".

BROKEN AGREEMENTS

SIPTU Branch Secretary, Michael Egan, rejected the claim that his members' actions were unofficial:

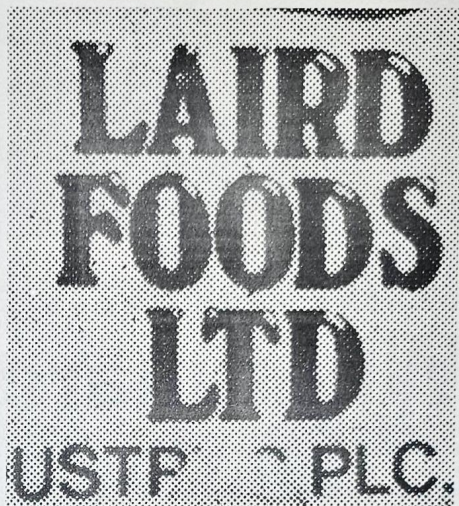
"The company are the ones who have broken the industrial agreements, which call for procedures up to a full hearing of the Labour Court. They have unilaterally broken that agreement and are in breach of the Employment

Protection Act. We are demanding that the company withdraw the termination notices. We also asked the company to allow workers to go on their annual leave and carry on the negotiations over the holiday period but they refused."

A union delegation met with Dublin horticultural minister Seamus Kirk on Wednesday, August 14th. Kirk's Louth constituency provides much of the raw material supplied to the Lairds factory. Between 25 permanent and 30 seasonal jobs are likely to be lost in the event of the closure of Lairds.

Leitrim Sinn Féin County Councillor Liam McGill has called for government action to ensure that Lairds is not closed down or dismantled:

"There have been reports that certain companies in Britain and Ireland have already been approached to buy the machinery at Lairds. The government has a social responsibility to the Lairds workers and the local community in Drumshanbo. Leitrim's population



has already been decimated by unemployment and emigration and I would urge the government to regard the county as a priority area for employment creation. While Greencore is no longer state-owned the minister should use his influ-

ence to keep Lairds in operation. State money was invested in this plant with a view to protecting Drumshanbo's industrial base and this will all have been for nothing if the present government stands by while that factory is dismantled."

Jobless and small farmers set to suffer

BY TOM O'DWYER

IT WAS embarrassment all round at the Department of Finance in Dublin on Monday, August 12th, as Albert Reynolds' underlings were forced to admit that he got his budget sums terribly wrong. The news means that commitments made to the unions in January 1991, under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress, may not be worth the paper they were printed on.

Now spending in all government departments is being frozen and Reynolds is threatening to renegotiate PESP agreements on public sector pay. The government/union deal was a bad one for workers but was accepted under duress. Any renegotiation would mean the terms will be worse still.

For the foreseeable future, unemployment will continue to rise and profits will flow out of the economy at an even greater rate than before. The recession in Britain and the US means that Irish emigrants will return to this country and join the dole queues — something they've been doing for most of the last 12 months. Employment is unlikely to pick up in the next two years and no-one knows what may happen further into the future.

When The Department of Finance issued its annual review of the economy, it was already in trouble. For the last few months, it has been public knowledge that Reynolds' civil servants vastly overestimated industrial growth figures when he framed the budget earlier this year. Monday's review recognised that fact by announcing that the expected

economic growth had been revised downward from 2.25% to 1.25%.

But even that disappointing figure still looks rather over-optimistic. The same sources who warned the Department of Finance against using rosy spectacles last time, now expect growth to be no more than 1% or even .5%. Putting these figures in human terms means that we have to expect unemployment to rise by at least 25,000 and maybe by much more.

By selling off valuable state properties like Irish Life, Reynolds can offset some of the extra funds the government will have to pay out in unemployment benefits in the short-term. But he will have lost the profits Irish Life would have made the state in future years.

IN THE FIRING LINE

Public sector workers aren't the only ones in the firing line. Small farmers are likely to be driven from the land in ever greater numbers in the near future. The poor economic indicators were published at the height of the debate over changes to the EC's Common Agricultural Policy. EC



● Reynolds — got his sums terribly wrong. Commissioner Ray MacSharry's new plan will cut some of the super-profits made by the ranching class at the expense of the ordinary consumer. But it will also hurt the 70,000 to 80,000 small farming families who are now either on or below the social welfare threshold. It could drive these families off the land, lengthening the dole queues still further.

All now seems set for severe public spending cutbacks next year with a highly unpopular budget likely to put the Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat Coalition, currently being reviewed by the partners, under severe pressure. Waiting in the wings is the threesome of Fine Gael, Labour and the Workers' Party, but with all equally committed to leaving the economy open to the ravages of the 'Single Market' the unemployed are going to have to look elsewhere for change.

No new age for Cork

BY TOM O'DWYER

LAY-OFFS and redundancies at two Cork high-technology firms have exposed claims from the Dublin government's Industrial Development Authority that its strategy is providing dependable employment for the city. The IDA's failure to provide skilled jobs and the willingness of multinational firms to pull out of Ireland in the current recession, have left its strategy in ruins. The Authority has concentrated its efforts on attracting the multinationals to the area over the last two decades.

Between redundancies and lay-offs, Western Digital has ditched 170 computer assembly jobs in the last few weeks and Burle Industries in the city's Technology and Business Park has laid off 20 workers in its high-technology closed circuit video equipment plant. The lay-offs at Burle might not seem

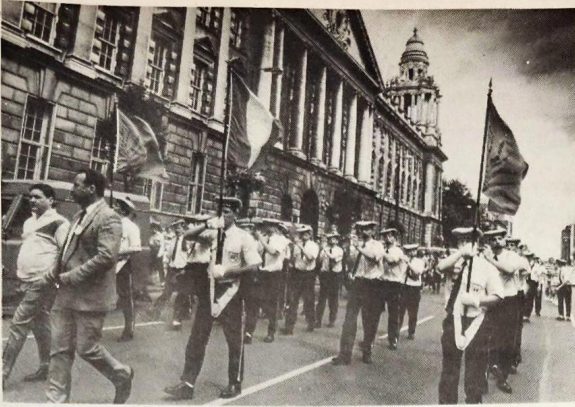
particularly news-worthy at first glance. But these jobs were in the development and design sector and they were, according to the IDA, the heralds of a new age in the Cork area.

When the security equipment makers announced the jobs two years ago, the IDA said that multinational 'high-tech' firms were now locating their lucrative research and development operations (R & D) in Cork. The Authority gave itself a large pat on the back, as usual, and gave £1.2 million to Burle which promised to employ up to 150 people.

That confidence now looks very misplaced and the remaining 80 jobs at Burle may be in jeopardy. The US and British markets for high technology goods are in severe recession and multinationals are unwilling to set up R&D facilities overseas. The IDA strategy of attracting foreign firms rather than building up the native state-owned sector has left Cork workers with yet another disappointment.







Banned march organisers vow "We'll be Back"

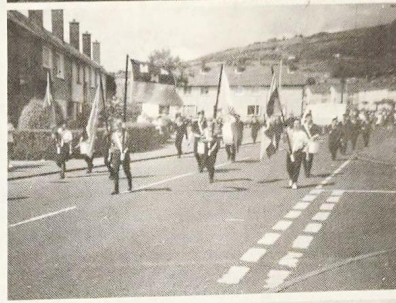
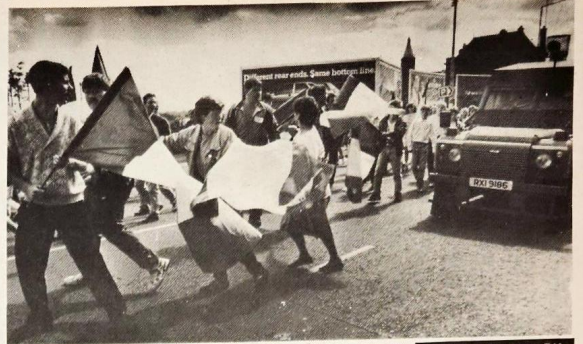
ON SUNDAY, Belfast nationalists defeated yet another attempt by the RUC to ban them from marching through their city. A legal battle over the right to march through central Belfast as part of Sunday's Internment demonstration went on right up to noon of the day before. Eventually, people from the Short Strand simply walked round an RUC cordon designed to keep them out of the city centre.

On Friday, August 9th, in the High Court, Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann challenged the RUC's right to ban marchers from the city centre in the High Court. His action particularly concerned nationalists in the Short Strand area of East Belfast who planned one of 13

feeder-demonstrations, designed to join up with the main protest in West Belfast. After an adjournment of the High Court proceedings, the RUC announced that it would notify organisers of any proposed ban by noon on Saturday.

By that time the RUC said that the section of the march which was due to cross the Albert Bridge from Short Strand to Cromac Square would not be permitted to go ahead. Because of the short time left, organisers decided SIMPLY to proceed along this section of the route with marchers taking to the footpaths, thus circumventing the RUC ban. Speaking afterwards Sinn Féin Councillor Fra McCann said "Up until last month we were not allowed to march in the city centre. We broke that ban; we will break this one as well."

A number of minor incidents occurred associated with this section of the national demonstration. The first was at Cromac



● (Far left) Sinn Féin Councillor Seán McKnight leads nationalists from South and East Belfast past the City Hall (above) RUC Land Rover speeds through marchers from the Short Strand momentarily causing them to scatter (left) Marching down through Lenadoon to join the people (below) who made their way down from Twinbrook and Poleglass

gan pelting stones and bottles into the crowd. At one point, the RUC joined in the attack, firing a total of four plastic bullets towards people on the Falls Road. A number of people suffered minor injuries.

On Friday, August 9th, Newry people also marked the 20th anniversary of internment and the tenth anniversary of the hunger strikes with a demonstration and rally at the John Mitchell statue. A number of bands

Square as marchers from the Short Strand and Ormeau Road converged. RUC Land Rovers sped through the crowd, momentarily forcing marchers to scatter. However, organisers soon restored order. Other incidents occurred as marchers to East and North Belfast returned from the Falls Road. At the junction of Millfield and Townsend Street, loyalists who were jeering from behind RUC lines be-

and a large crowd attended the colourful March of Resistance. Pat McGowan, the main speaker, told the marchers:

"August is not a month when we should be sad because we should be celebrating our resistance with confidence — confident that we will gain our freedom, confident in our will to resist and confident in our ability to go forward."

Doherty and McElwee honoured

AS CROWDS were just beginning to gather in Belfast on Sunday, August 11th, for the national march and rally to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1981 hunger strike, local people were holding two separate events to commemorate the anniversaries of hunger strikers Kieran Doherty from Andersonstown and Thomas McElwee from Bellaghy. Both commemorative events commenced at 12.30pm to allow time for those in attendance to participate in the national demonstration.

The event in honour of Volunteer Kieran Doherty, who died on August 2nd, 1981, was the official unveiling of a commemorative plaque.

A crowd of just over 1,000 people gathered at the junction of Slemish Way and the Andersonstown Road, not far from the hunger striker's home, to hear Monaghan Sinn Féin Councillor Caoimhghín O'Caoláin recall memories of working with the Doherty family during the 1981 Leinster House elections, where Kieran was re-



● Vol TOM McELWEE republicans continually appraise and re-appraise our means and methods, never forgetting that struggle, the people's struggle in all its forms, remains the sole assurance that national democracy will be restored to this island."

BELLAGHY

Meanwhile a crowd of over 300 people was gathering in Bellaghy Cemetery at the graveside of Volunteer Tom McElwee who died on



● The unveiling of the Vol Kieran Doherty commemorative plaque

hunger strike on August 8th, to attend the annual wreath-laying ceremony and commemoration.

Ceremonies at the graveside, which also hold the remains of Tom's first cousin and fellow hunger striker, Volunteer Francis Hughes,

were chaired by Margaret McKenna who called for the laying of wreaths on behalf of the Republican Movement and the families before calling on Sinn Féin party chairperson Tom Hartley to deliver the main oration.

Attending the ceremony were representatives of the McElwee, Hughes and Lynch families of South Derry. Ceremonies ended with the Keenaught Band from Desertmartin playing Amhrán Na bhFiann.



● Part of the pageant in which all aspects of British repression were relived

ONE of the most potent demonstrations ever seen of the unbroken and unbreakable spirit of resistance amongst Irish nationalists was provided on Sunday, August 11th, when tens of thousands of demonstrators from across Ireland and from overseas joined the national march and rally along Belfast's Falls Road to mark the tenth anniversary of the 1981 hunger-strike and the 20th anniversary of the re-introduction of internment without trial.

It was the largest and most impressive demonstration by republicans since the hunger-strike funerals of 1981. The mass of demonstrators stretched as far as the eye could see and was interspersed with many bands and a variety of very welcome international delegations of friends and supporters of the cause of Irish freedom. Banners from many parts of Ireland were in evidence, recalling the countrywide support for the hunger-strikers in '81 and the enduring republican



● One of Derry's 20/20 Vision group

spirit and potential, especially in the 26 Counties.

Marchers set off from 12 different locations across Belfast, and by 2.30 the bulk of the demonstrators had converged on the Falls Road for the final walk to the rally at Dunville Park. A measure of the sheer numbers involved, estimated by *Irish News* journalists as at least 20,000, is that it took the demonstrators a full three hours to cover the one and a half miles before they could file into Dunville Park for the rally. The park was completely filled and thousands remained outside, unable to squeeze in.

A massive RUC force around the rally and at various locations along the route had created a number of tense moments in what was an otherwise upbeat and positive atmosphere.

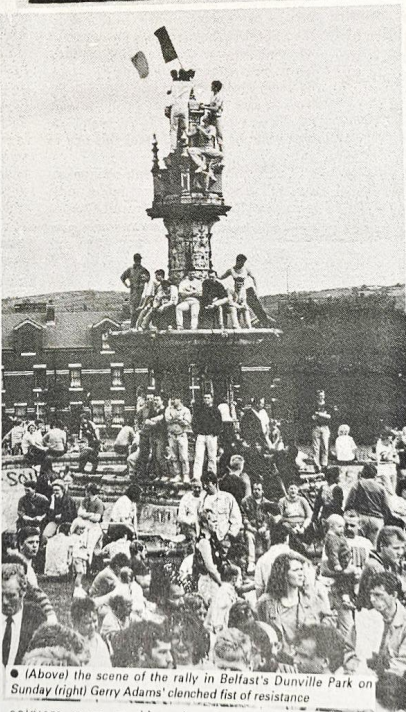
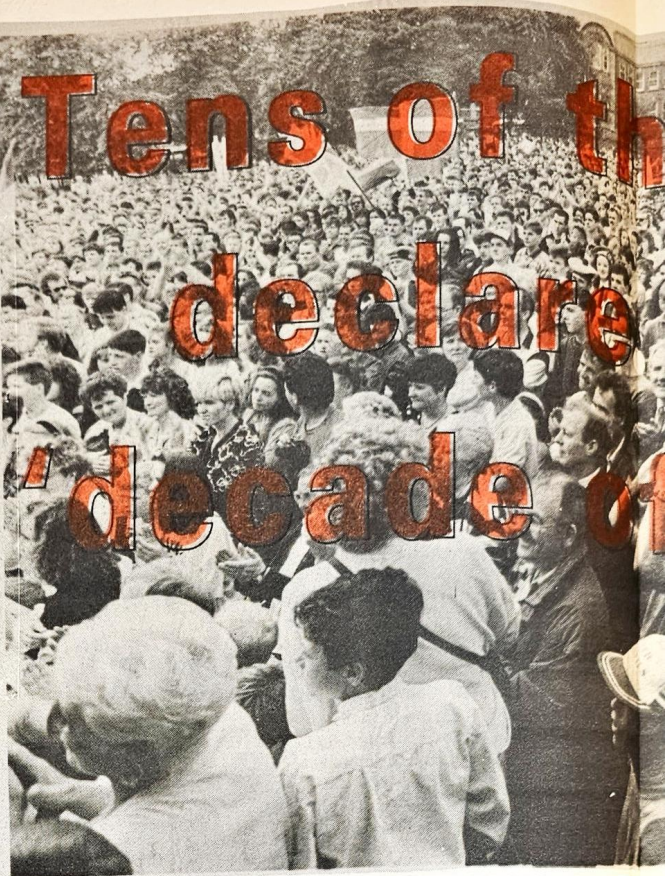
CHEERING PEOPLE

The march itself was greeted along its route by hundreds of cheering spectators who gave a resounding céad míle fáilte to visiting delegations from Euskadi, Corsica, Troops Out and Noraid.

At the rally point, with several bands and a large section of the demonstration still not inside Dunville Park, the chairperson for the rally, Anne Speed of the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle, commenced proceedings by welcoming visitors from "the North, South, East and West of Ireland and from further afield" who had turned in a massive display of unity and solidarity with each other and with the struggle for Irish self-determination. Anne, to resounding applause, gave a special welcome to the families of the 1981 hunger-strikers who had come to join in the remembrance of their loved ones' sacrifice.

It was then the turn of guest speakers to deliver their messages of solidarity and support to the assembled demonstrators described by Anne as "the representatives of the spirit of defiance". First to address the crowd was Nora Coker, spokesperson for the 100-strong delegation from the Troops Out Movement. She pledged unending efforts by Troops Out to remove the "unwanted" British visitors from Irish soil. Speaking directly to the hundreds of British army personnel surrounding Dunville Park, she said:

"Among our delegation are former



● (Above) the scene of the rally in Belfast's Dunville Park on Sunday (right) Gerry Adams' clenched fist of resistance

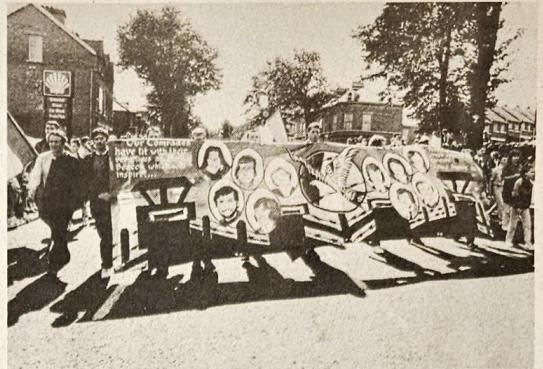
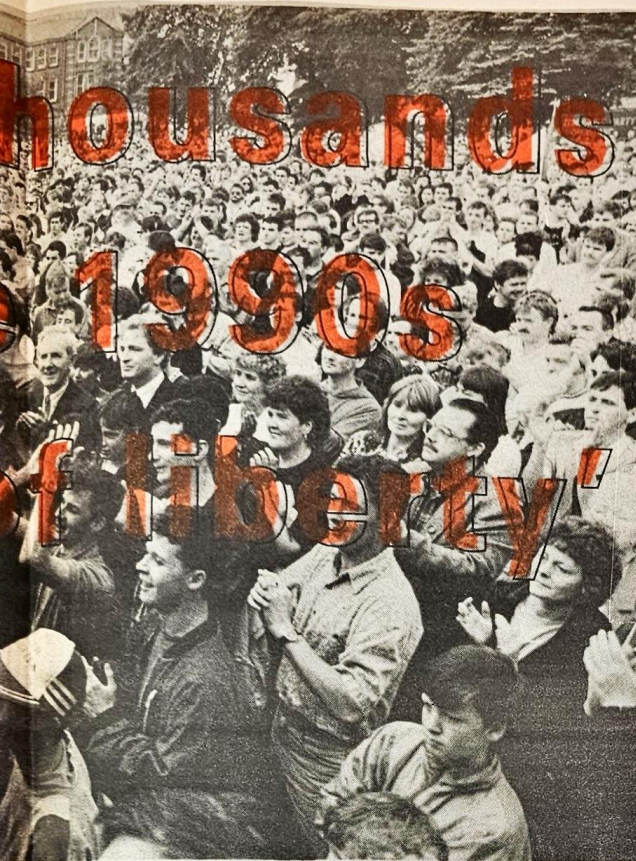
soldiers now working for British withdrawal — they have received the warmest of welcomes and the best of hospitality from our guests in Belfast. Throw off your uniforms, and you too can and will be welcome, but while you remain serving the interests of British occupation you will never be welcome."

Next to the platform was John

McGrath of Noraid. He gave a personal account of how the visiting delegation had participated in many events throughout its tour and had seen many things at first hand which helped in appreciating the reality of British occupation. He ended by stating that Noraid would continue in its work and that it would always stand by the



principles of freedom, su cutting edge of the lib an efforts of Sinn Féin to ultimately deliver self-deter Irish unity. The final guest speaker was Batasuna Councillor Ando who, opening his address and Irish language, took



● (Above) The Spirit of Freedom banner approaching Beechmount (below) passing Andersonstown Barracks



interspersed with songs from each of the main periods of struggle, were greeted with thunderous applause.

Anne Speed then read a long list of solidarity messages to the rally from groups in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Britain, America, Australia and New Zealand as well as individual messages from among others, Paul Hill of the Guildford Four. Finally Anne called on West Belfast MP and Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams, to address the crowd. Looking out over the thousands of faces before him and surveying a massive variety of banners, many from the hunger-strike period, Adams welcomed everyone to "the culmination of a week of celebration of the durability of a people in struggle".

Referring to "the vast array of talent which, with almost negligible resources and right in the eye of the storm" had put on a highly successful week-long festival, Adams commented:

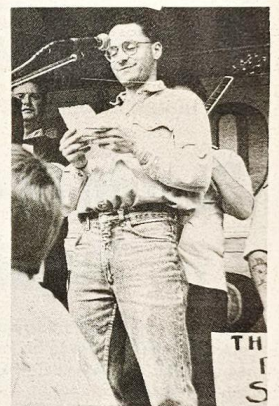
"This is most impressive, but it is only a small indicator of the way life could be in this country. In other words if all this can be accomplished despite everything, how much more could be accomplished when the British leave us and when we have control of our own affairs."

Giving a special welcome to those who had marched from East and South Belfast despite RUC restrictions, Adams observed:

"In May we here in Belfast gathered and at the time I spoke of the campaign to gain the right to march in our own city centre, saying we would break the ban. Well, through the efforts of ordinary people, mostly women, we broke that ban and reclaimed our own city centre. Today's ban on a march out of the Short Strand is another challenge — we will break that ban also."

After surveying the current political situation and taking to task those involved in the politics of denunciation, but who remain strangely silent on the methods of the oppressor, and having stated that their hypocritical pronouncements were without validity given their failure to condemn British rule or demand Irish unity, Adams said:

The 1990s is the decade for putting the British occupation at the centre of the



● Herri Batasuna Councillor Andoni Gortostia European agenda. We have a vested interest in peace, peace with justice, and we are going to put that issue on everyone's agenda."

OPEN HAND AND CLENCHED FIST

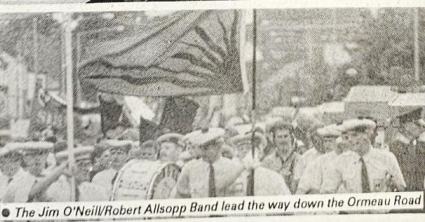
Holding up first his open palm and then his clenched fist Adams said: "What have we to offer the British? We offer them the open hand of friendship or the clenched fist of resistance." He called on the crowd to join with him in raising their clenched fists and a forest of clenched fists sprang up in and around the park to jubilant cheers.

In his final comments to the rally, Adams observed:

"You people before me have a sense of your own power and strength. You have defeated prime ministers from Faulkner to Thatcher and all in between, you have been vilified, denounced, condemned, murdered, beaten, jailed, tortured and censored. You have been marginalised, starved to death and impoverished, but never have you been defeated. I have a message for you all, old and young, men and women, you are the real freedom fighters and you are going to be free."



● "The people of the Ormeau Road and Markets remember the hunger strikers"



● The Jim O'Neill/Robert Allsopp Band lead the way down the Ormeau Road

bonds between the struggling peoples of Euskadi and Ireland. He reiterated his movement's determination to do all that it could to assist in the struggle of the Irish people against oppression.

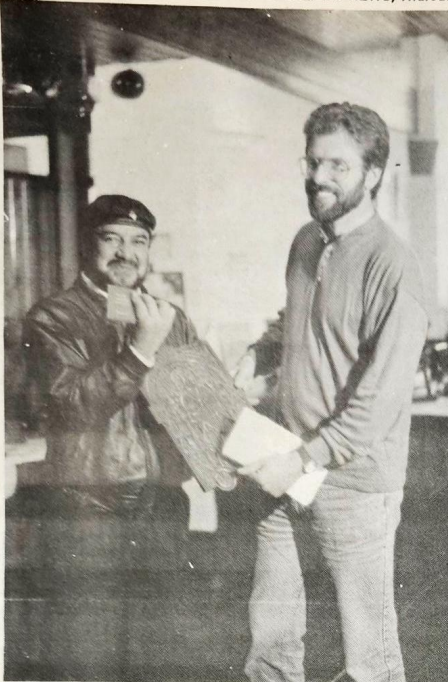
SPECIAL PAGEANT

Before the main speaker took the stage, Anne Speed introduced a special

pageant performed by Belfast youth. The crowd was spell-bound as young people relived the memories of loyalist pogroms, internment, the prison struggles and hunger-strikes, shoot-to-kill, plastic bullet deaths and all the other aspects of British repression which have scarred so many young lives and broken the hearts of so many families. Readings by the youth,

dom, supporting the IRA and the political Féin which would self-determination and

st speaker was Herri or Andoni Gortostia address in the Basque es, spoke of the close



(Above) Chilean artist René Castro is presented with a wooden carving and also honorary membership of the Felons' club by Gerry Adams. René himself presented Marcella Sands with a painting of her brother Bobby (above, right) Troops Out contingent was among the marchers (right) Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Rice addressing the Basque delegation



Sperrin by-election for August 28th

CANVASSING is well underway for the Swatragh by-election which is due to be held on August 28th and where Sinn Féin candidate Patsy Grogan is conducting a vigorous campaign. The seat, in the Sperrin ward, became vacant earlier this year following the death of SDLP Councillor Paddy Sweeney.

The ward, which is predominantly nationalist and has an electorate of over 7,500, has five seats on Magherafelt District Council. In the 1985 local government election, Sperrin returned two Sinn Féin candidates, but the party subsequently lost one seat to the SDLP in a by-election. In 1989, Sinn Féin continued to top the polls in the Sperrin ward, successfully electing one candidate and narrowly missing a second by only 14 votes.

The success of Sinn Féin in this by-election could radically alter the balance of power in Magherafelt District Council. In the 1985 local government election, Sperrin returned two Sinn Féin candidates, but the party subsequently lost one seat to the SDLP in a by-election. In 1989, Sinn Féin continued to top the polls in the Sperrin ward, successfully electing one candidate and narrowly missing a second by only 14 votes.

The 38-year-old Sinn Féin candidate, Patsy Grogan, a married man with four children, has been prominent in community politics for over a decade, with a comprehensive understanding of dealing with DHSS, Housing Executive and DOE complaints on behalf of his community. With a keen interest in Irish culture and Gaelic sport, Patsy is an enthusiastic traditional dancer and a football and hurling coach. Commenting on the forthcoming election, Grogan said he was confident that the Sperrin ward could return a Sinn Féin candidate. He continued:

"I want the people of this ward to be properly represented. Despite the fact that Magherafelt is a nationalist area, the nationalist people have been getting a raw deal, with control of the council virtually being handed over to the unionists. A victory for Sinn Féin would not only secure a nationalist majority on the district council but would also return a candidate who would challenge rather than collude with the sectarian ethos of unionism."

Large crowds expected for historic unveiling ceremony

TYRONE National Graves has announced details of a pageant, parade and unveiling ceremony in Carrickmore this Sunday to mark the completion of a new monument which stands in the Garden of Remembrance.

Large crowds are expected to take part in a colourful parade around the village at 3pm and then attend the unveiling of the monument, which will be supervised by Tyrone National Graves chairperson Patsy McMahon. South Armagh republican Jim McAllister will also speak at the ceremony. A concert later that evening will take place in the Patrician Hall, rounding off an event-filled day.

Patsy McMahon, commenting on the occasion said:

"This new County Monument, commemorating the gallant and unbroken sacrifice of Tyrone republicans, is to be unveiled approximately 75 years after the historic Easter Rising. This beautiful monument is indeed a fitting tribute to all those men and women who have given their lives for Irish freedom from 1916 to this present day."

The garden itself was bought in the late 1920s by the County Tyrone Association in New York, which had done sterling work in America to keep the spirit of

1916 alive. In 1931, work commenced to build a memorial, supervised by the newly-established Carrickmore Memorial Committee. Those who took part were John Dugan, the liaison officer between the USA and Carrickmore, Paddy Morrow of Craig and also Christy Meenagh.

On July 30th, 1931 the RUC in Coagh, under the authority of the Special Powers Act, wrote to the committee demanding that the work be stopped and the monument destroyed. After informing the County Tyrone Association of developments they replied that if the monument was not built on the land bought for the purpose, then they would send someone from America to do it. The determined efforts of local people led to the monument's completion.

In the mid-'50s the monument was blown up by pro-British elements. A beautifully made marble impression of a Volunteer which formed part of that monument miraculously survived and was recovered by local people and preserved and is to be incorporated in the new memorial.

After a visit to Carrickmore by Joe Cahill and Jimmy Steele in the late '60s the Tyrone branch of the National Graves Association was formed. Their first task was to restore the garden to its original splendour and as a result was re-opened on Easter Monday 1971 and has continued as an annual commemoration ever since.

Cairt don lucht dífhostaithe seolta

AG PREAS-OCAID i mBaile Atha Cliath lánseáil Eagraíocht Náisiúnta na hÉireann don Lucht Dífhostaithe (ENELD) Cairt na gCeart don Lucht Dífhostaithe i nGaeilge. Toscairí ó ocht dtír Eorpacha a dhreachtai an Chairt seo ag comhdháil sa Spáinn i mí Dheireadh Fomhair na bliana seo caite.

An tAthair Micheál Mac Gréil a rinne an lánseáil oifigiúil ar an 14ú Lúnasa. Mhol sé go hard iad siad a chuir an Chairt le chéile agus dúirt go líonann sé bearna mhór sa Chairt Sóisialta Chomisiún na hEorpa.

"Aithnítear sa chairt seo" a dúirt sé, "ceann de na bunchúiseanna atá taobh thiar de mhórfhadhbanna sóisialta agus pearsanta. Is i dífhostaithe bunchlocha na héagóra

agus na bochtaineachta i saol an lae inniu." Lean sé:

"Is i nfhostaithe féin an chéad cheart atá ag teastáil ón duine dífhostaithe. De réir mar atá cúlraí faoi láthair tá an dífhostaithe ar chuid de na huirsi struchtúrtha chun smacht a choimeád ar an mbolsadh agus, mar a dúirt Aire Airgeadais na Breataine, 'is fiú' an iobairt i chun cúlraí airgeadais an Stáit a réiteach."

BRU AR AN CHORAS

Maidir le heisimírce dúirt sé:

"Tá sé i bhfad níos fearr don tír go bhfanann ár ndaoine óga cumasacha sa bhaile agus brú a chur ar an gcóras chun postanna a chruthú dóibh."

Ag críochnú dó mhol an tAthair Mac Gréil an leagan Gaeilge den Chairt do ghach Gaeilgeoir.

Gréasán Eorpach na nDaoine Dífhostaithe

a dhreachtai an Chairt ag an gcomhdháil bhliantúil aca. Tá naoi gceart bunúsach sa chairt:

1. Go rachfaí i mbun ar bhonn polaitiúil agus eacnamaíoch chun lánfhostaithe a bhaint amach.
2. Dáileadh cothrom ar fhostaithe agus ar scoth.
3. Go gruthófaí poist nua chun na hearraí agus na seirbhísí atá ag teastáil ón tsóchair a chur ar fáil.
4. Go mbeadh gach jab réadúil agus áisiúil ó thaobh na sóchair de.
5. Ioncam maireachtála do dhá.
6. Go gcuirfí deireadh le fabhar agus leatrom (idirfheall) agus leas sóisialta a íoc, teacht ar fhostaithe agus ar dárú céime.
7. Go mbeadh teacht ar oiliúint/athoiliúint ar dháilíochtaí agus oibrithe fostaíche agus dífhostaithe agus cúiteamh cui ag gabháil leis.
8. Achmhainní d'eagraíochtaí don lucht dífhostaithe.
9. Go nglacfaidh an lucht fostaíche agus a n-eagraíochtaí chomh maith leis an lucht dífhostaithe agus a n-eagraíochtaí go bhfuil siad feagrach dá chéile.



● An tAthair Micheál Mac Gréil ag cairt ag canúintí i mBaile Atha Cliath, Dé Céadaoin.

"LUCHT LABHARTHA NA GAEILGE AN FHADHB IS MO"

Le Cian Mac Aoidh

BA CHOIR DO BHORD na Gaeilge comhairleoir lánaimseartha a fhóstu le cuidiú le tuistí atá ag tógáil a bpáistí le Gaeilge, a dúirt an díograiseoir teanga Ciarán O Feinneadha an tseachtain seo caite agus é ag tabhairt Léacht Cuimhneacháin Phádraig Uí Dhomhnaigh i gCumann Chluain Ard, Béal Feirste.

"Ansin dá mba thoil le duine é d'fhéadfadh said teagmháil leis an gcomhairleoir agus bheadh cabhair ar fáil dóibh," ar seisean. "Is cinnte go bhfuil a leithéide de chabhair ag teastáil, mar silim nach bhféadfadh

an oiread sin de dhaoine bainteach leis an ngluaiseacht a bheith ag deánamh cinnidh na bpáistí a thógáil le Béarla. Silim féin go mbeisean ar mhísneach na ndaoine nó nach mbíonn an míneach ag ón tús."

Lochtaigh O Feinneadha — ar bunaitheoir ar an fheachtas náisiúnta teilifíse é — Gaeilgeoirí agus gluaiseacht na Gaeilge as a laghad dul chun cinn atá déanta acu.

"Is deacair liom é a rá go poiblí ach creidim féin gurb é an fhadhb is mo atá ag an nGaeilge faoi láthair ná lucht labhartha na Gaeilge," ar seisean. "Don chuid is mó táimid mí-éifeachtach. Tá an dílseacht atá againn do labhairt na Gaeilge an-lag ar fad agus tá an obair a chuirimid isteach i bhforbairt smaointe agus na héilimh a dhéanaimid maidir leis na polasaithe sin — is ar eigeann gur ann dóibh. Bainneann seo



● CIARÁN O FEINNEADHA le formhór na nGaeilgeoirí sa tír agus mar sin de, ní ionadh ar bith é gur mar sin atá na gluaiseachtaí a

theidhmionn thar a gcéann."

Lean sé leis:

"Caithfidh cinirí na gluaiseachta ceist a chur orthu féin cén fáth a bhfuil formhór na gcinirí áitiúla ag feidhmiú neamhspleách ar an gceannasaíocht náisiúnta — go hairithe an chuid is mó de na daoine éifeachtacha. Tá sé dochreidte a mhead cumainn Ghaelacha agus coistí áitiúla Gaeilge — agus fiú roinnt mhaith eoraibhacha de chuid Chonradh na Gaeilge — atá ag feidhmiú beag beann ar ghluaiseacht náisiúnta na Gaeilge. Cén fáth nach mbíonn leithéid na ndaoine seo a leanas ar Choiste Ghnó Chonradh na Gaeilge: Breandán Mac Gearailt, Máire Mhic Niallais, Aine Mhic Mhurchadha, Seán de Paor, Seosamh O Cuaig, Gearóid O Cairealláin, Tomás Mac Siomóin,

Máiread Bean Uí Dhomhnaigh, Pádraig O Snodaigh, Pádraig Mac Donncha agus Helen O Murchú? Is cinnte nach bhfeiceann na daoine seo ról sa Chonradh ina gcuideis oibre ar son na Gaeilge. Seo an dúshlán mar sin don Chonradh agus comórach an chéid ag druidim leo: roimh dheireadh 1993 caithfidh an eagraíocht na cinirí áitiúla a mhealladh isteach san eagraíocht."

I ndiaidh a chuid cainte bhronn Pádraig O Maolchraoibhe cros Cheilteach ar Chuirín na comhartha buíochais dó an léacht a tabhairt le linn Fhéile Iarthar Bheal Feirste. Ba bhunaitheoir de chuid Ghloir na nGael in Iarthar Bheal Feirste é Pádraig O Donnchú agus tighrathóir neamhleithleasach a fuair bás i 1969 agus é in aois a 27 mbliain.

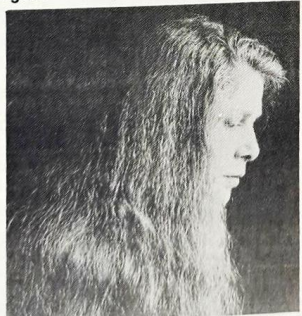
Fleadh Dhún Dealgan

DE LUAIN, 26ú Lúnasa, beidh ceolchoirm sa tsuíl i ráschúrsa Dhún Dealgan ar son Bhunscoil Phobal Feirste. Ar na ceoltóirí a bheas i láthair beidh Altan, Dolores Keane, Davy Spillane, Stockton's Wing agus Tadhg Mac Dhomhagáin chomh maith le roinnt aionna mistéire. Rónán Mac Aodha Bhui, láithreoir an chláir theilifíse *Scaoil Amach an Bobailín*, a bheidh ina fhear an tí ag Fleadh Dhealgan.

Fleadh Dhún Dealgan is teideal don ócáid agus tá na heagraíthe ag súil le 20,000 duine bheith ag díriú ar phríomhbhaile Chualigne.

Cuid de chomórachd 20 bliain ag Fás na Bunscoile atá sa ceolchoirm agus deir na heagraíthe gurb é an ócáid cheoil is mó a reáchtáladh riamh ar son na Gaeilge. Rinne siad iarracht ionad a fháil don ócáid i mBéal Feirste agus gí gur theip orthu creidim siad go mbeidh ráschúrsa Dhún Dealgan ina áit fhóirteanach dó.

Ainneolaí lánataíocht stáit a bheith ag an Bhunscoil le seacht mbliana anuas, caithfidh tuismitheoirí fós 25% de chostais chaipitil a chur ar fáil.



● DOLORES KEANE

Mar sin tá eagraíthe na ceolchoirme ag súil le mól mór airgid a thógáil ar son na scoile.

Tá costas £15 ar na ticéid agus tá siad ar fáil ó na gnáthchóirí dhíolacháin.

Cánúintí

O 1971 go '79, nuair a bhí mé i mo pháiste chuamar ar ár laethanata saoire mar chlann mhór. Bhí mé ann le m'athair agus mo mháthair, mo dheirfiúr agus beirt dhearthair. D'fhan muid i dtigh lóistín in áit i Maigh Eo darb ainm Pontoon nó i gearbhán in Enniscrone i gContae Sligeach. Bhí teach tábhairne i bpáirt eile don teach lóistín agus ó am go ham bhinn istigh san áit seo le m'athair agus bhí sé ag dul rite liom na canúinteanna eagsúla a thuigbheáil. Ní raibh na fadhbanna seo ag m'athair mar bhí taithí aige ar a mblasanna.

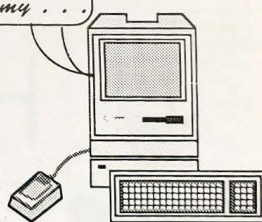
I 1989 chuaigh mé isteach i gearcair Bhóthair Cromhghaire ar athchur agus bhí mé ar Sciathán A. Bhí buachaillí ann ón tSráth Bán, Doire, Béal Feirste, an tLúir, Tír Eoghain agus Antrim Thuaidh. Ní raibh mórán trioblóide agam na buachaillí a thuigbheáil nuair a bhí siad ag caint le chéile nó liomsa. Bhí deacrachtaí agam ar leadh seachtaine ag fáil amach cáir rugadh agus tógadh fear amháin. Bhí blas aige mar dhúine as an Albain ach bhí sé as an tuaisceart.

Stop mé oíche amháin sa bhialann agus chuir mé an cheist air:

"Cá raibh tú i do chonaí?" Fuair mé freagra agus ní mé ag madagadh, ach bhí sé mar Russ Abbott ag déanamh 'See you, Jimmy'. Dúirt duine eile liom gur tháinig mo dhúine as Portlennone. Bhuel i gcoinn tamail, bhí mé in imhe an fear seo a thuigbheáil agus anois tá a fhios agam go bhfuil an blas céanna ag daoine ó Léim an Mhadaigh go Baile an Chaisleáin

Trí síle an chime

See you Jimmy . . .



agus ó Chúl Rathain go dtí Baile Mheánach.

Mí Iúil 1990 bhog mé go dtí sciathán eile, sciathán C. I mí na Nollaig tháinig fear nua ar an sciathán dárbh ainm Anraí. Rugadh agus tógadh é i nDroichead Tuaim agus bheadh a fhios agat! Ghearrfadh a bhlas adhmaid gan fadhb ar bith. Bhí sé sa chhillín in aice liom agus i gcoinn tamail thosaigh mé ag caint leis. Ag an am seo caithfidh mé a rá go bhfuil a lán fadhbanna ag daoine mo chéad ainm a rá i gceart. Traolach is ainm dom, agus i mBéarla fuaimítear i mar 'tray-lock'. Thug Anraí ainm nua dom, bhí sé mar 'trile-yock', agus ba é sin an fuaimniú is measa ar chuala mé i mo shaol.

Ar na mallaibh chuala mé rud ar an raidió go bhfuil ríomhaire nua ag BT agus tá na cláradoirí ag dul timpeallí Shasana, Albain, an Bhreatain Bheag, agus an Tuaiscirt ag bailiú canúintí. Tá mé ag déanamh iontais conas a scaoilfeadh ríomhaire blas Anraí nuair atá trioblóid go leor ag muintir na hÉireann... agus caidé faoi bhlas an tSráth Bhaín? Sin scéal eile!

— le Traolach Hollywood (H7)

Imeachtaí

PICKET

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

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING

meets 6.45pm every
Tuesday
Dublin Resource Centre
Crow Street
DUBLIN

PICKET ON US EMBASSY

opposing US policy in
Central America
11.30am-1pm
every Saturday
Ballsbridge
DUBLIN

VIDEO SHOW The Irish Hunger Strike

7.30pm
Thursday 15th August
Roger Casement Irish
Centre
131, St John's Way
LONDON N19
Archway tube

FUNCTION

Belated welcome home
for Gerald Rooney
Saturday 31st August
DUNDALK
County Louth

FIANNA EIREANN

ANNUAL CAMP
Friday to Monday
16-19th August
Donations of monies and
non-perishable food to make
this a successful camp will
be gratefully accepted
Please leave in:
44 Parnell Square
DUBLIN

PICKET AGAINST INHUMAN CONDITIONS

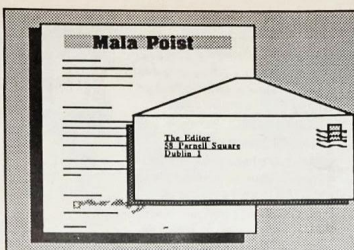
IN LIMERICK JAIL
2-4pm
Saturday 24th August
Limerick Jail
Mulgrave Street
LIMERICK

DRAW RESULTS

Fianna Eireann raffle: 1st
prize £120; Mark Crann,
No. 73; 2nd prize £75: N. O
Dalaigh, No. 259; 3rd prize
£25; Danny O'Connor, No.
111; 4th prize £10; Frank &
Peggy, No. 291; 5th prize
£10; W & P. McKeown, No.
17; 6th prize £10: S. Cullen,
No. 262.

MEMORIAL DRAW NOTICE

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



● FATHER FAUL

Informers

A Chaide,
As Father Denis Faul once
again dishes out anti-IRA propa-
ganda in relation to the arrest and
execution of informers by the
IRA, it becomes clear that his pro-
bit rhetoric has sunk to new
depths.

The informer has existed as
an institution in the world since
time began and has, down the
centuries to the present day, been
responsible for the slaughter of
millions. Informers are despised
by all except those who have
used and disposed of them to
achieve whatever ends they de-
sire.

Obviously Father Faul has
not laid his hand on the cold stiff
faces of those whom the informer
has betrayed, nor stood over the
closed coffins of those destroyed
beyond recognition by the in-
formers' masters. Father Faul
promotes himself as a civil rights
campaigner, yet would promote
people who deprive Irish national-
ists of the right to live a normal
existence.

The informer is not created by
the IRA but is created by persons
like Father Faul who would try
and justify their cowardly acts.
Would Father Faul have attended

a rally to support Judas and al-
lowed him to spend his 30 pieces
of silver in the public houses of
Dungannon?

Vincent McKenna.

Glasgow republicans

A Chaide,
I would like Danny Gill to
know that I knew his Uncle Eddie
very well, for I was a member of
the Republican Movement in
Glasgow in the late 1930s and
'40s.

A younger brother of Eddie's
called Willie Gill joined the
Republican Movement in 1943,
we called him Liam and he was a
good Republican, but I've not
seen or heard of him since 1945.
However, Danny, that is two uncles
you had in the Republican
Movement and he spoke the
Glasgow accent like most of the
Republicans in Glasgow today
who are proud of their Irish de-
scent, and they will tell you
"Born in a stable does not make
you a horse." Keep up the good
work in London Danny.

Thomas McShane,
Glasgow.

False confessions

A Chaide,
Within Britain, there is at pre-
sent considerable debate as to
whether convictions should be se-
cured solely on the basis of un-
corroborated confessions ob-
tained while in police custody.
This debate arises from revela-
tions about the illegal activities of
English detectives.

A considerable array of
evidence has now been amassed
to show that, in the course of
many investigations, detectives
have concocted false confessions.

These were then presented to the
courts as evidence. As a general
rule, defendants were convicted.
Trials would involve the defend-
ants disputing the confession
while the police officers would
maintain its authenticity. The po-
lice version was more likely to be
accepted.

In the Six Counties there is an
absence of debate about this is-
sue. This is surprising, as a very
significant proportion of convic-
tions in the Six Counties result
from uncorroborated confessions.
There is evidence that many hun-
dreds, convicted on the basis of
confessions, may have been the
victims of a squad within the
RUC which used tactics similar to
those employed by their col-
leagues in Birmingham and
Guildford. Common sense would
suggest that innocent people
have suffered. It is naive to sug-
gest that while it happened in
England, it could not have hap-
pened in Belfast.

There is considerable evi-
dence of systematic abuse of de-
tainees. Amnesty International re-
ports, the Bennett Report, com-
pensation awards, acquittals
and judges' comments provide
verification of this. There is also
scientific evidence where other-
wise none would have existed.

Against this background some
may find it surprising that, far
from reducing their reliance upon
this type of evidence, the RUC is
increasing its efforts to secure
convictions by such means. There
are daily reports in the media
which suggest that RUC detec-
tives are returning once more to
the systematic torture which they
used in the 1970s.

Most significant, however, is
the increased use of the so-called
"verballing" techniques. The in-
creased use of the technique is
indicative of the feelings of invin-
cibility enjoyed by these detec-
tives and their confidence that
judges will support them. The
"verballing" technique is used
where all other interrogation
techniques fail to elicit admis-
sions of guilt. Despite the fact
that the suspect does not make
any admissions, detectives will
untruthfully maintain that he/she
said something incriminating.
They will write this admis-
sion in the interview notes as
if it happened and subsequently
swear on oath that they heard the
suspect say it. It is not a signed
statement. It contains no signifi-
cant detail. It usually consists of

just a few words which are
enough to secure a conviction.

In the courts, the prosecution
will sometimes present a scenario
whereby a defendant remains
silent for seven days in RUC cus-
tody except for a brief instance
where he/she will break his/her
silence to make an incriminating
outburst. This is usually enough
to secure a conviction, as Diplock
judges are notoriously unwilling
to accept the word of the defend-
ant where it would involve lab-
elling RUC men as liars. There is
something terribly wrong with a
judicial system which convicts
people on the basis of uncorrobo-
rated confessions or uncorrobo-
rated words of a few RUC detec-
tives. It is quite obvious that the
system as it presently stands is
wide open to abuse. Yet people
are daily being charged and con-
victed on this type of evidence. It
is possible that no one in authori-
ty in the Six Counties has noted
what happened in Birmingham
or Guildford. But on the other
hand it is more likely that it has
been noticed but then delibera-
tely ignored.

Peter Corbett,
H Long Kesh.

Invasion of Pomeroy

A Chaide,

Between them, the RUC and a
panel of partisan Appeal Court
judges have served the nationalist
community, both in and beyond
Pomeroy, with a reminder that
equality and justice are simply
not attainable within the context
of the Six Counties statelet.

The whole episode is a good
barometer by which we can pro-
perly gauge the promised 'end to
the nationalist nightmare'. If the
government of the 26 Counties
and the SDLP could not succeed
in persuading the British deci-
sion-makers to call a halt to the
highly provocative Orange march
through Pomeroy, then what can
they and the Hillsborough
Agreement deliver on apart from
extradition?

Another question. How
would Hugh Annesley's "Recruit
more Catholics" campaign go
down in the Parkview Estate or
Main Street, Pomeroy, where the
RUC gave cover to masked loyal-
ists giving a fresh lick of red,
white and blue to the kerbstones?
Or where £16 fines awaited local
people who parked in their own
village, thereby obstructing loyal-

ist outsiders from stampeding on
their pathways before boarding
the buses for home?

This year's Orange invasion
of Pomeroy had the full approval
of the state to which nationalists
are urged to show their alle-
giance. Surely the central lesson
in all of this is that to give peace
and justice a chance, the main pil-
lars of this state must be dismantled
and not just the scaffolding.

Barry McDuff,

A Wing,
Crumlin Road Prison,
Belfast.

Investigative journalism

A Chaide,

Allow me, please, to pose a
few questions to any investiga-
tive journalists there may be in
existence in Ireland.

During recent bail applica-
tions for three British army paras,
it was revealed that those in ques-
tion conspired to pervert the
course of justice after the murder
of Karen Reilly and Martin Peake
(RIP), two "joyriders" murdered
in September last.

A) Why, after eleven months
and several interrogations of the
soldiers in question, have charges
only now been brought against
them?

B) If the word of the accom-
panying RUC member is accept-
able now, why was it not accept-
able eleven months ago?

C) Would the bringing of
these charges eleven months later,
have anything to do with the re-
cent "investigative journalism" of
the Panorama Television team?

D) Does it now appear from
the facts of this case (substantiated
by the Crown Prosecution
Services) that there has been a
further cover-up by both the RUC
and the British army is the DPP
was forced into bringing charges
against these people through the
investigative journalists on the
Panorama team who produced
independent witnesses who had
seen the Paras concoct a tissue of
lies?

E) Could there have been
charges brought if Panorama had
not investigated?

Hopefully, journalists in
Ireland can redeem themselves by
asking those questions their
counterparts in England are not
afraid to ask!

Terence Clarke,

B Wing H/4,
Long Kesh.

Hope for Judith Ward

BY TOM O'DWYER

After more than 17 years of unjust imprisonment, the
British Home Office has finally agreed to reconsider
Judith Ward's case. British Home Secretary Kenneth
Baker is considering a report produced by his officials
on her case and will "shortly" decide on whether to re-
fer it to the Court of Appeal.

Ward, an Englishwoman, was
framed in 1974 for the IRA bombing
of a British army coach and was
sentenced to 30 years plus life im-
prisonment. Her treatment at the
hands of the British police terrified
her so deeply that she never ap-
pealed against her imprisonment,
believing that her word would not
be accepted. The trauma brought
on by her questioning remained
with her and led to a series of con-
tradictory confessions which she
later withdrew.

She affirmed her innocence to
her friends in prison. But, without

community or family support, no
sustained campaign developed
around her case.

Dr Frank Skuse, the Home Office
'scientist' whose work later helped
to frame the Birmingham Six, made
his name on the Judith Ward case. In
the face of her withdrawn confes-
sions, the results of his tests became
the only real nail on which the pro-
secution could hang its case. Now his
methods have been entirely discred-
ited. Skuse was retired for "limited
efficiency" in 1985 and the out-
come of the Birmingham Six ap-
peal showed his "Greiss tests"



● JUDITH WARD
were untrustworthy.

EASY VICTIM

The British judicial system
could hardly have picked an easier

victim than Judith Ward. Alone,
hopeless and without even the soli-
darity of family or close friends,
she was the softest of targets.
After a huge campaign and long
after they were proved innocent,
the Guildford Four were released.
Then the Birmingham Six fol-
lowed in March this year. Every
shred of forensic evidence against
her was discredited.

But, instead of taking this last
opportunity to show magnanimity,
her captors clung to the confused
and contradictory 'confessions'
which she withdrew years ago. For
as long as they could, they held this
tattered 'evidence' up as if it just-
ified her imprisonment. For five
months it continued to keep this
vulnerable innocent behind bars. If
Baker chooses to refer her case to
the Appeal Court and if the judges
choose to release her, they will not
reduce their guilt by one iota.

REVIEWS

Taluhla and Raoul bare all in Dail show

BY DARA MacNEILL

GIVING ORDINARY people control of the airwaves is a dangerous, even subversive idea. At least as far as the people who control our airwaves are concerned. The mere mention of the idea is enough to make them break into a cold sweat.

RTE has, in the past, experimented with a series of so-called public access programmes, on both TV and radio. In those instances various groupings and bodies were allowed to make short programmes under the guidance and control of RTE personnel. In Britain, the approach has been similar.

Think about it for a moment. You, me and a few others pay — either directly or indirectly — for the upkeep and maintenance of 'national' broadcasting. How much power do we have when it comes to what is broadcast? How much access do we have to our own airwaves? Little, or none.

All of which brings me around nicely to *Manhattan Cable* (Channel 4, Saturdays, 12.45am). In certain respects, this is public access broadcasting in its purest form. I'm not exactly sure about the mechanics of actually broadcasting — like how much it costs, and whether it is subject to any sort of vetting, or control — on these public access channels.

But the result is certain. Unbounded lunacy of the sort that shows mainstream broadcasting up for the pale unimaginative creature it is — because it is controlled by a select few.

EXAGGERATED IDIOCY

Basically, the programme broadcast by C4 is a compilation of the wide variety of programmes on offer on Manhattan's public access channels. All the exaggerated idiocy of life in a big city is here.

There's the *Eric In His Underwear Show* in which, surprise surprise, a man called Eric shows us around his very ordinary apartment, dressed only in his underwear. I believe he changes for each show.

There's a show broadcast by a middle-aged female devotee of Frank Sinatra, in which the presenter extols the virtues of the smooth singing gangster who, we are told, is an 'inspirational champion' with a 'godlike passion for the truth'. New one on me, that!

Continuing on a religious note, the fervent can always tune into Sister Brenda and watch (live!) as she casts out demons and 'manifests miracles.' Unfortunately, she seemed incapable of making herself disappear.

Highlight of the night has to be the *Aunt Dail Show* (maybe I misread that). Anyway, here we have the soap opera to end all soaps. It has everything. Sex, awful scripts and crap actors. Actually, to be fair you can't really blame the actors in this case — they're only Barbie dolls. Last week's excerpt featured the wonderfully named Taluhla (a Barbie) engaged in a game of strip poker with the sleazy Raoul (a bare chested action man). Needless to say, Taluhla lost. When this thing goes mainstream *Coronation Street* doesn't stand a chance. Also, on what other show can you hear a man say to a woman, 'Hey doll' and manage to sound completely genuine?

Alright, so this stuff is hardly likely to set the world on fire. And yes, at the end of the day, it is rather shallow and trite. But not everyone wants to debate the inequities of monopoly capitalism, all day every day.

More importantly, what the producers of *Manhattan Cable*



● The shape of stickies to come?

have so far failed to enlighten us about is what sort of structures — if any — these channels are subjected to. Is there any form of political or moral control? If so, who exercises that control?

Meanwhile back in Section 31/Broadcasting Ban/Censorship Board land...

SCI-FI STICKS

Before I'm accused of outright plagiarism let me state that the following appeared in the most recent issue of *Hot Press*.

Under the byline of one of that

paper's regular columnists so — if he's reading — all credit to Eamon McCann for bringing the following to the attention of an unwary public.

Apparently, the said columnist and some associates were gathered together over a pint, discussing the recent *Spotlight* programme on the Workers' Party when, without warning, one of the assembled produced a copy of a sci-fi novel (*Deathlands*) and began to read:

'Nobody knew a whole lot about the stickies. They were

found in small, vicious colonies, generally in parts of Deathlands which had been particularly heavily nuked.

'All that was truly known about stickies was that they were triple crazy. They loved killing and ripping things apart. They also relished fires and explosions, taking some bizarre and perverse pleasure from staring into dancing flames. Oddly, stickies had only been known in the last 20 years.'

Kinda clarifies things a bit, eh?

Dúirt Siad

The cruel murder of Mr Carson is more than just a personal tragedy because it represents an attack on another basic human right — that of freedom of speech. Without freedom of speech we are all in chains. Newsagents sell many publications, they are not responsible for the words they contain, but they oil the wheels of democracy by making available to people the ideas and opinions of others. It is often uncomfortable to read rival views, but often our own opinions can only be proved

by testing them against others. — *Irish News* editorial on Monday, August 12th, referring to sectarian murder victim James Carson's killers' threats to sellers of *AP/IRN*.

○○○

The security forces in the North and South would be well aware of the godfathers and key activists who should be interned. — Paddy 'Heavy Gang' Cooney, former FG/Lab Coalition minister for Justice. Neither his language or his opinions have changed.

○○○

I'd put them in Mountjoy, Haughey, Reynolds, all the rest of them. I'd give them 15 years.

They've done it in Eastern Europe to people who've done less. They've been there all the time — the same people in charge, and now there's more than a quarter of a million out of work. For every year they've been in, there have been more and more unemployed. Look at all that talent wasted. They're criminals. Criminals! — Unemployed Dublin man who has had his dolc out off because he refused to take part in the degrading Jobsearch programme, *Irish Times*, Monday, August 12th.

○○○

The song didn't fall into place until two years later as I sat in a court and saw the police use

the evidence of heroin dealers to imprison members of the Concerned Parents Against Drugs group. Questions must be asked about a society that allows all this to happen. — Christy Moore in an interview with the *Irish Times*, Wednesday, August 14th.

○○○

I really believe that if there could be a more balanced view presented there mightn't be the perceived need there is for violent militarist struggle. Arguing for this is not at all condoning militarist violence from the IRA, but people pick up guns because they feel there is no other way. — Christy Moore.

○○○

The closet is a fine and private place and, unlike the grave, it is quite possible to embrace there. But just now Ireland needs its gay community, willingly, out in the daylight. — Mary Holland

○○○

I spent some serious days in jail in Mississippi. We were tortured every night, and I saw all aspects of torture, physical and psychological. But I was young — 18 or 19 — and we understood that if we weren't here, we'd have been in Vietnam fighting for America, so we might as well face the bullets and torture here for our own people. Instead of becoming weaker, we became stronger, much stronger — Kwame Ture, aka Stokeley Carmichael, Black political activist, in an interview in *Spare Rib*.

○○○

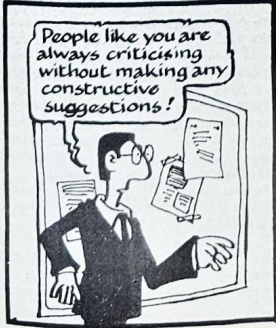
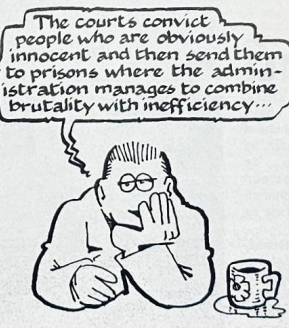
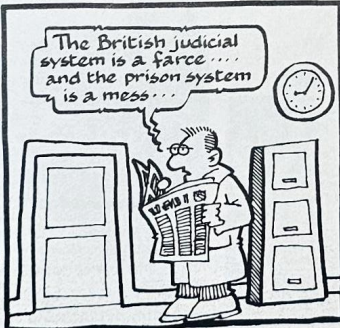
Of course King made an error, there's no question about it. King's error was that he saw non-violence as a principle, and in a violent world non-violence cannot be a principle, it can only be a tactic. — Kwame Ture.

○○○

It's time we formed a united Irish side. — Soccer legend George Best.

○○○

The worst behaved people are police officers and rugby players. — Barbara Calderdale, owner of Pemp's nightclub in Wigan, England, *The Guardian*, Tuesday, August 13th.



In part one of this article, World View looked at the complex history of Yugoslavia. The "Country of the South Slavs" is the product of centuries of inter-imperialist conflict, and antagonisms between the nations which comprise it have been deliberately played up by foreign powers. This week, we examine the more recent events which led to war between them.



YUGOSLAVIA COMES APART

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY is concrete evidence that, if national self-determination is not fully achieved or is seriously infringed, conflict ensues. Based on the presumption that nationalism was "a thing of the past", it drew together peoples with very different cultures into a South Slav federation at the end of the Second World War. Marshal Tito's state did, at least initially, respect the national aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples.

If that confederation had remained on a truly equal basis, the Yugoslav union would probably have succeeded. But the arrogance of Serbia's leaders towards the other nations in recent years prevented that. Economic stagnation saw grave divergences appear between the living standards of peoples in the various republics. In the background, the bloody history of repression at the hands of imperialists and fascists added fuel to the flames.

The collapse of Yugoslavia has begun to dominate the EC's political agenda in a way no other conflict has done. The break-up of a multinational state on the EC's very own borders poses considerable problems for the Community. Those who want to turn the EC into a multinational state with a tight, feder-

al structure now hold the upper hand in Brussels. For years they have preached that nationalism is "backward-looking" and that creating a United (capitalist) States of Europe is "modern" and "progressive".

But the events in Yugoslavia take the gloss off the "Single Europe" propaganda and show that such multinational confederations can have terrible implications. Anxious to shore up Yugoslavia as much as possible, some EC leaders have suggested sending in a military task force. Although this dangerous sabre-rattling has some important supporters, it is unlikely to gain a majority on the Council of Ministers. The EC will, most likely, remain a spectator.

The centre-piece of Yugoslavia's present constitu-

tion is its collective presidency, which reflects the respect for national rights by rotating the post of president among representatives of the six republics, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia, and the two autonomous regions of Serbia — Vojvodina and Kosovo. But, since coming to power in 1987, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has been engaged in an effort to erode that constitution by dismantling the independence of the autonomous regions.

MILITARY OCCUPATION

The Albanian people of Kosovo were determined to retain their cultural rights and their autonomy. In 1989 a general strike, begun and led by Kosovo miners, challenged Milosevic's strategy. He responded by placing the region under military occupation. Increasingly, he came under a challenge from the Chetniks — armed monarchists — and their right-wing political counterparts in the Serb Radical Party.

With dreams of the medieval Serbian empire, the Chetniks demand a "Greater Serbia". This means the in-



● Yugoslavia — failed to recognise nations' right to self-determination

corporation, under Serbian rule, of parts of Croatia and Bosnia into Serbia and the subordination of both Kosovo and Vojvodina, where there is a large Hungarian minority. Milosevic's answer — an odd one for a former Communist leader — was to outdo the Chetniks at their own game. When it declared independence from Serbia the powers of the regional assembly in Kosovo were simply taken away and transferred to Belgrade, the Serbian as well as the Yugoslav capital. Vojvodina suffered the same fate.

This strategy left Milosevic's government with three votes out of eight on the presidential council, and his popularity among the mostly Serbian population of Montenegro gave him a fourth — effectively a veto. Milosevic's standing was increased when his Socialist Party (formerly, the Communist Party) won a landslide victory in the 1990 Serbian elections.

FEAR

Both the Slovenian and the Croatian assemblies viewed these developments with fear. Delegates were cer-

tain that their rights would be the next on Milosevic's target list. The 1990 vote in Slovenia elected Communist Milan Kucan to the presidency while a broad coalition dominated the assembly. The vice-president is a member of the Green Party who has condemned "consumer communism", and the defence minister is a former journalist who was jailed in 1988 for exposing Yugoslav arms sales to Ethiopia. All are united in asserting their independence.

The Croatian assembly is more right-wing, but there can be no doubt that most Croats do not support the Ustashe fascists. It is equally certain that there is the same sense of determination to assert national rights as in Slovenia.

The growth of nationalism in Slovenia and Croatia blocked any increase in Milosevic's power — under the terms of the present constitution. The Serbian leader then decided to dismantle that constitution. He blocked the regular transfer of the presidency to Croatian representative Stipan Mesić on May 15th this year, and this decision provoked a final declaration of independence in Slovenia. The Yugoslav army

moved against the poorly-armed Slovenian forces, and the bloodshed began.

ARMED RIGHT WINGERS

But the army refused to go as far as Milosevic wanted in crushing the resistance in Slovenia and Croatia. The Serbian leader increasingly began to rely on his former opponents — the Chetniks. These armed right wingers were used to create conflicts between Serbs and Croats and to gain control of Serbian areas within Croatia. In Bosnia, they followed the same strategy. Milosevic's strategy now seems to be one of creating a de facto Greater Serbia, even if that means the dissolution of the Yugoslav state.

The break-up of Yugoslavia is a tragedy. For 40-odd years, it provided evidence that socialism did not necessarily mean total subordination to the latest word from the Kremlin. Tito made an enormous contribution to world politics by helping to found the Non-Aligned Movement of states which refused to be driven into the camps of the two super-powers. But, unfortunately, his own state relied on a repressive secret police and on imprisoning dissidents. His heirs learnt the wrong lessons and applied them with appalling crudity.

The dismemberment of Yugoslavia was likely, almost from the beginning. But it was not inevitable. The state was finally destroyed because its leaders refused to recognise the right of nations to self-determination. There are examples of this type of mistake closer to home. There are lessons to be learned, but those in power don't seem able to grasp them.

OMOS DO Eamonn Mac Murchú

BA CHUIS MHOR bróin do phoblactánaigh ar fuaid na tíre an scéala go raibh Eamonn Mac Murchú (74) ó Rinn O gCuanach i bPortláirge tar éis bháis ar an 2ú Lúnasa 1991, in ospidéal Naomh Iosaf, Dúngarbhán.

Chait Eamonn a shaol ar fad ag saothrú ar son na Gaeilge agus ar son a thire. Nuair nach raibh sé ach 20 bliain d'aois nó mar sin ghlac sé páirt san fheachtas buamála a bhí i Sasain agus sa mBreatain Bheag ag an am, agus le linn an ama sin d'éirigh cairdeas idir é agus daoine ar nós Jack McNeela agus Seán McCaughey.

Ina dhiaidh sin thosaigh sé ag cur suime sa Ghaeilge agus cé nár bhí i theanga dhúchais i, chuaigh sé i mbun foghlamtha agus ba ghairid gur bhunaigh sé craobh de Chonradh na Gaeilge i Londain, is ansin a

bhuail sé lena bhean chéile, Dóirín, agus bhí an bheirt acu an-ghníomhach ar cheist na teangean as sin amach, ag bunú craobhacha de Chonradh na Gaeilge aon uair a b'fheidir. Ina dhiaidh sin chaith sé blianta fada ag obair do Ghael-Linn.

I 1970 d'fheastal Eamonn, chomh maith le poblactánaigh eile ó Phortláirge, ar Ard Fheis Shinn Féin, agus bhí sé ina measc siúd a shíúil amach nuair a bhí ceannaireacht na Gluaiseachta ag an am ag iarraidh nach leanfaí leis an gcoagadh a bhí aththosaíthe in aghaidh na Sasanaigh ó Thuaidh.

CUMANN BUNAITHE

Ba ghairid ina dhiaidh sin gur bhunaigh sé Cumann Uir Réagáin/McElwee sa Rinn, cumann a d'oiibrigh go gníomhach ó shin, agus bhí fáilte i gcónaí roimh phoblactánaigh i dteaghlach Mhic Murchú.

Le blianta beaga anuas cé nach raibh an tsláinte go ró-



mhaith ag Eamonn, bhí sé i gcónaí gnóthach, ag múineadh an iol-iomad ranganna Gaeilge ar fuaid chomh Phortláirge agus i bhóid ar son na teangean a d'eagraigh sé. Cé go raibh an tsláinte ag teip air, bhí sé an-ghníomhach i bhfeachtais na H-Blocaí/Ard Mhacha,

agus ba mhó lá fuar geimhreadh a sheas sé sna sráideanna ag foilsíú cás na gceimí ó Thuaidh.

I 1988 bronnadh Gradam na Poblachta ar Eamonn ó Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin mar aitheantas ar a chuid oibre ar son na teangean. Ba ag Slógadh Shinn Féin i



● (Thuas) Máirtín Ó Muilleoir ag bronnadh Gradam na Poblachta ar Eamonn Mac Murchú i 1988 (ar chlé) Cairde is comharsana fé choifin Eamonn Mhic Murchú a fuair bás ar an 2ú Lúnasa nDún Garbhán a bronnadh an Gradam.

BRAINSE SPEISIALTA

Níor thug fórsaí an tSaorstáit morán faoisimh d'Eamonn le linn a shaoil, agus ar a bhás do, bhí an Brainse Speisialta ag fanacht lena chorp ag geataí an ospidéil, agus lean siad amach go dtí na thigh baile sa Rinn é, áit ar deineadh é a thórramh. Ach níor leo an meid sin gur iostach ar chlann Mhic Murchú, dhein siad iarracht ar dhul isteach sa teach an fhaid a bhí an tórramh ar siúl. Bhí buíon armtha den mBrainse Speisialta ag tús agus deirde na sochraide, agus

chuardaigh siad an reilig, fiú, roimh an adhlacadh.

Ag labhairt dó ag an uaigh, dúirt Nicolás Mac Craith go raibh an-tionchar ag Eamonn ar bhanú na Gaeilge sa Rinn, agus gur throid sé go dian, díchéallach ar son a thire agus a theangean le linn a shaoil.

Bhí an bratach náisiúnta ar an gcoifín agus bhí garda onórach de bhaili Ghluaiseachta na Poblachta a thionlac chun an tséipéil agus chun na huaigne.

Déanann Gluaiseacht na Poblachta comhbhrón lena bhaintreach, Dóirín, lena chlann, Cliona, Aine, Irial, Odrán agus Fianait, agus le clann a chlainne.

IN Dáil Chaimhrié

LAFFERTY, Eamon; LENNON, Danny; MAGORRIAN, Paul; McANALLEN, Daniel; McAULEY, Gerald; QUINN, Patrick. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Eamon Lafferty, Danny Lennon, Paul Magorrian, Daniel McAnallen, Gerald McAuley, and Patrick Quinn. I mbeir laochra na nGael go raibh siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but not the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in Ogluigh na hEireann.

CLARKE, Michael; PARKER, Anne (18th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Michael Clarke and Anne Parker. Remembered always by Eilish McElwaine and family, Shannon.

DOHERTY, Kieran (10th Ann). In loving memory of our dear son Kieran who died August 2nd, 1981 after 73 days on hunger strike. Not just a son, but a brother, a friend, a comrade. Always remembered by his father, mother and brother Brendan.

DOHERTY, Kieran (10th Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Kieran who died August 2nd, 1981 after 73 days on hunger strike. Not just a son, but a brother, a friend, a comrade. Always remembered by his father, mother and brother Brendan.

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9th 1989. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Sadly missed by his wife Kevin, aunt Susie and cousins Sean, Kevin, Colin and Orla.

DUFFY, Seamus (2nd Ann). In loving memory of our nephew and cousin Seamus, murdered by the RUC on August 9th, 1989. Sacred Heart of Jesus, care for him. Sadly missed by his loving brother Patrick and girlfriend Sinead.

DUFFY, Seamus (2nd Ann). In loving memory of my dear brother Seamus, murdered by the RUC on August 9th, 1989. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Sadly missed by his sister Christine, Patrick and nephew Patrick.

DUFFY, Seamus (2nd Ann). In loving memory of our nephew and cousin Seamus, murdered by the RUC on August 9th, 1989. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Sadly missed by his aunt Pat, uncle Paul and cousins.

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11th, 1973. Always remembered by the Seamus Harvey/Gerald McGlynn Sinn Féin Cumann, Castlederg and Ath-yaran.

HARVEY, Seamus; McGLYNN, Gerald (18th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Seamus Harvey and Gerald McGlynn, killed in action on August 11th, 1973. Always remembered by Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

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day would bring, when a precious heart stopped beating and we couldn't do anything. St. Gerard, pray for him. Always missed and loved by his loving mother.

MAULEY, Gerald (22nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of my brother Gerald McAuley. Always loved and forever remembered by his sister Fran and niece Gemma.

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REMEMBERING THE PAST Second Dáil Éireann

BY PETER O'ROURKE

IN AUGUST 1921, following the partition elections of the previous May and the Truce of July, the Second Dáil Éireann — the last parliament representative of the Irish people — met to consider detailed peace proposals from the British government.

The 136 republican and nationalist deputies, from all counties of Ireland, included 124 Sinn Féin TDs who were returned unopposed at the recent general elections — the volunteers boycotted the Dáil. These deputies constituted themselves as the Second Dáil Éireann (the National Assembly of Ireland), ignoring the validity claimed by the partitionist assemblies for the North and South set up by the British.

The Second Dáil met in public session in mid-August 1921 at the Mansion House, Dublin, to receive from Eamon de Valera, president of the Irish Republic, reports of his meeting with the British prime minister, David Lloyd George, embracing discussions by which an agreement might be found to end the Tan War.

TERMS REJECTED

At a private session held on August 23rd, the Dáil unanimously and enthusiastically supported the republican cabinet's rejection on Au-

gust 10th of terms of settlement. These offered dominion status for Ireland in place of an Irish Republic and excluded the six north-eastern counties.

After much discussion between members of the newly-elected republican government and the British during the following weeks, it was finally agreed to convene a conference in London, on terms which were without pre-conditions. Plenipotentiaries to meet the British were appointed by the Dáil on September 14th, and the negotiations began on October 11th. These ended with the signing of the Treaty on December 6th, 1921, and the betrayal of the Irish Republic.

When the Second Dáil Éireann narrowly approved the treaty on January 7th, 1922 by 64 votes to 57, the republican deputies withdrew from the Dáil. That assembly was never dissolved and was eventually prorogued on August 4th, 1922, at the height of the Civil War.

ALLEGIANCE WITHDRAWN

At a General Army Convention held in March 1922, following the treachery of those who supported the Treaty, the IRA, along with other republican organisations and Dáil republican deputies who had sworn allegiance to Dáil Éireann on August 20th, 1920, withdrew that allegiance. Later that year, it recognised the republican deputies of the Second Dáil who had remained loyal to the Irish Republic, as the "final custodians of the Republic".

the deputies of the First Dáil

who had sworn an oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic — the true successor of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation — declared in March 1921 that, if enemy action or treachery reduced its ranks below a quorum, the remaining faithful deputies should have over executive power of government to the Army of the Republic — the IRA.

DE JURE GOVERNMENT

In December 1938, 16 years after the republicans withdrew their allegiance from the pro-Treaty assembly and on the eve of the IRA's bombing campaign in the English cities, the last surviving loyal members of the Second Dáil handed over their authority to the IRA in accordance with the Dáil resolution of March 1921. Count Plunkett, JJ O'Kelly (Seelig), Mary MacSwiney, Brian O'Higgins, Cathal O'Muirchadha, Tom Maguire and Professor William Stockley transferred their status as the legitimate government of Ireland to the Army Council of the IRA. This was to be held in trust for the nation by the Army Council, making it the de jure government of the Irish Republic and thereby giving the IRA the right to use force and levy war.

The first session of the Second Dáil Éireann, the last democratically-elected parliament of the Irish people, met on August 16th, 1921, 70 years ago this week.

Buíochoas

NUGENT. The family of the late Hugh Nugent wish to express their sincere thanks to Hugh's comrades and friends in the Republican Movement who accorded him such a dignified farewell, especially those in London and prisoners who sent messages of sympathy.

Comhbhrón

HICKEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Maire Quinlan and all the Hickey family on the death of their mother. Your loss will be shared by all republicans. Remembered with pride, Kiwi.

HICKEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Maire Quinlan on the death of her mother. Always remembered by the Limerick POWs, Noel, Jerry, John, Kiwi (Portlaoise) and Eddie Butler (England).

JOHNSTON. Deepest sympathy is extended to Margaret on the death of her brother Frank Johnston. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. From Pat and Margaret Fennell.

JOHNSTON. Comhbhrón ó chroí chuig clann John. Mary Frank Fear é a rinne a dhícheall i gcoinne do Ghluaisceacht na Poblacht, go mór mór ina cheantar féin, Ard Eoin. O Sheáin.

MCLAUGHLIN. Our deepest sympathy to the McLaughlin family on the recent death of their son, especially to our comrade Paddy (Leicester). From Peter, Liam, David and Dan (Parkhurst).

MCLAUGHLIN. Deepest sympathy Eaddy and all the McLaughlin family on the death of their father. From the POW Department.

MAULEY. Comhbhrón ó chroí chuig clann Mauley. Mary Frank Fear é a rinne a dhícheall i gcoinne do Ghluaisceacht na Poblacht, go mór mór ina cheantar féin, Ard Eoin. O Sheáin.

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laochra na nGael go raibh a anam dílis. O Comhairle Atha Cliath Sinn Féin.

MAC MURCHU. Comhbhrón ó chroí chuig Dóirín beanchéile Eamonn Mac Murchú a fuair bás ar a mallabhair. Laoch dílis don streachtail teangan agus náisiúnta é i gcoinne. Beith cuimhné na nGael i gcoinne do Ghluaisceacht na Poblacht agus Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin.

MAC MURCHU. Comhbhrón ó chroí chuig Dóirín agus clann Eamonn Mac Murchú a fuair bás an seachtain seo chaite. O Angus.

O BROSNAIGH. Deepest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Sean on his recent death from the Kerry POWs in Portlaoise, Mick Browne, Gerry O'Shea, Martin Ferris and Kevin Griffin.

O BROSNAIGH. Comhbhrón ó chroí chuig clann Uí Bhrosnacháin agus bháin Sheáin. O chlann Uí Chonchubhair, An Daingean.

O SEANACHAIN. Deepest sympathy to the Shanaghan family on the death of our comrade Patrick. From the Gerard McGlynn/Seamus Harvey Sinn Féin Cumann, Castlederg and Ath-yaran.

O SEANACHAIN. Comhbhrón ó chroí do chlann Pádraig Uí Sheanacháin a fuair bás i gcoinne do Ghluaisceacht na Poblacht agus Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin.

O SEANACHAIN. Comhbhrón ó chroí do chlann Pádraig Uí Sheanacháin a fuair bás i gcoinne do Ghluaisceacht na Poblacht agus Roinn an Chultúir Shinn Féin.

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Beannachtaí

BARKELEY, Danny (H6). Wishing a very happy 23rd birthday to a wonderful boy Barry. Thinking of you always, see you soon. I hope when we do you have that beard off ha ha. God bless, lots of love. From your loving wee sister Eileen and fiancé Liam. XXX.

FITZSIMONS, Harry (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday Harry. From 'Mackes' Dundalk.

KAVANAGH, Paul (Full Sutton). Happy birthday to my darling husband from loving wife, Martina.

KAVANAGH, Paul (Full Sutton). Happy birthday, hope it was a nice one, keeping my fingers crossed that I will hear from you soon. Love mum.

KAVANAGH, Paul (Full Sutton). Happy birthday, hope to get to see you soon, love Gonne.

MCLEOD, Barry (Crumlin Road). Breithlú shona fada i bhfarra, a stór. Tá mé ag smaoineamh ort an t-am ar fad. Le grá an domhain ó do stór, Paula.

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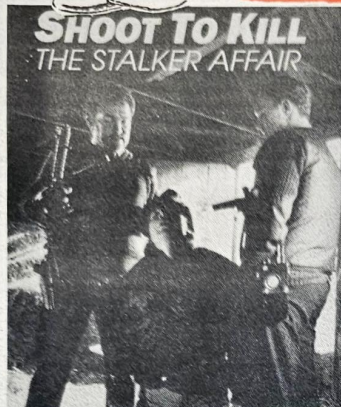
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THE FLYING COLUMN



**SHOOT TO KILL
THE STALKER AFFAIR**

RTE spent a lot of time and effort promoting the four-hour drama documentary *Shoot to Kill*, based on the Stalker Affair. Promotional trailers were shown on television and the *RTE Guide* also gave prominent coverage to the film, mentioning it on the front cover and carrying a two-page spread inside. But, just a week before transmission the film was withdrawn for legal reasons.

"Somebody, somewhere along the line has lost their nerve. Naturally I'm disappointed because it was prevented from being seen here before. I'm especially disappointed that it won't now be shown in Northern Ireland," said actor TP McKenna on the last minute decision.

Keith Richardson, controller of drama at Yorkshire Television and executive producer of the film, said the day before the film was withdrawn that "it would be appalling if a film about the people of Ireland were not seen by the people of Ireland."

The film, which was due to be shown at 9.20pm on Friday, August 16th, will doubtless be replaced by something less controversial. May we suggest something on the Royal family.

FROM Behind the Iron Curtain

One of the features of this year's West Belfast Festival was a concert by the Irish Chamber Orchestra in St Agnes' Parish Hall in Andersonstown, featuring the second and third movements of a piece written by Micheál O Súilleabháin.

The orchestra had just started into the second movement when a massive metal shutter at the front of the stage started to slowly descend. Some of the audience thought that this was part of the act, while others thought there might have been a bomb warning.

The orchestra played on oblivious until the stage man-

ager rushed out to move Micheál's piano, which was in imminent danger of being crushed.

The orchestra played on from behind the Iron Curtain and I'm told they sounded just as good; but isn't it strangely ironic, at a time when the barriers are coming down all over Europe and borders are ceasing to have any meaning, that in Belfast, this seemingly innocuous incident is, in its own small way a telling symbol of the wider issue of continuing strife in this war-torn statelet which...

(Shut up, you rambling idiot. Ed.)

THERE MUST be hundreds of thousands of us out there, the silent long-suffering majority who can't abide the smarmy, puerile, emotionless tones of the cursed Daniel O'Donnell.

Which was why I was at first overjoyed to hear that this week The Daniel O'Donnell Support Group would be in Dublin. At last, I thought, we can all band together and campaign to take him off the airwaves, and maybe even start a few support groups for those who have OD'd on Daniel. I recalled all those times I nearly did myself an injury scrambling to change the channel when some sadistic DJ decided to launch a no-warning Daniel O'Donnell attack. Our dog could be made to howl horribly just by switching the telly over to the dreaded Daniel O'Donnell show of a Sunday evening. I still shudder at the thoughts of it all.

But alas, the Daniel O'Donnell couple who hit Grafton Street this week are actually fans of his, protesting against a decision by the Country Music Association in Britain to downgrade his bestselling albums so they don't appear in the charts.

Is this a blatant example of anti-Irish discrimination or is it just a case of good taste in music?

What is the politically correct course of action for a republican music lover? I think somehow that my eardrums will be the deciding factor in this battle of conscience.

KING's fans argue over succession.

Real music fans will be distraught to hear of the bitter legal dispute being fought between the Irish Elvis Presley Fan Club and the Official Elvis Presley Fan Club of Ireland (Elvis For Everyone). This week's *AP/RN* is published on the very day of the 14th anniversary of Elvis Presley's untimely death.

The two clubs are arguing over who are the real Officials, with George Twamley of the former and John 'Elvis' Kavanagh of the latter both refusing to budge so far.

AP/RN's music editor refused to take sides in the dispute this week until she had more information but she did say that both parties should engage in talks without preconditions and that as a Provisional measure the pair of them should Stick to their guns.

A COUPLE out walking in the Kingswood area of Tallaght in Dublin on Saturday, July 27th, received a nasty shock when a dog jumped up on a wall beside them and was promptly shot dead by a blast from a shotgun, fired from the garden which the dog was exiting.

The deceased dog, whose body was left lying on the path was big and black with a white marking on its chest. The couple claimed the gardai but by the time they arrived back the carcass had mysteriously disappeared and all

that remained was a trail of blood.

We are not for one moment suggesting that he was responsible for the shooting but the tenant of the house is one Garda Alan Clarke.

Surely there must be some law against discharging a shotgun in a built-up area in the direction of a road?

The same Garda Clarke's front wall, which stands just 18 inches to two feet high, is studded with Hilti nails to prevent children from sitting on it, in an area where many of the kids are four or five.

Gardai in Clondalkin and Tallaght have so far been unable to furnish concerned Kingswood residents with a satisfactory explanation of the incident.

SHAMIE O's shame

Belfast Republican Publications supremo, Clonard's own Shamie O, was in Dublin a couple of weeks back for the friendly match between Celtic and Shelbourne.

Shamie wasn't in great form anyway, but when he came through the stiles he was highly annoyed that his ticket was torn in half. He was so angry that his ticket had been defaced that he threw away his half, but when he arrived inside the ground at the gate to enter the stand he was refused entry because he didn't have a stand ticket.

Shamie wanted to join the English contingent supporting Celtic in the stand and stood bawling out the stewards for refusing him entry, indignantly informing them that "I'm a British citizen".

The stewards were so shocked by his unprincipled stand that they let him in.

THIRTEEN HUNDRED staff working in the House of Commons have only just discovered that only MPs are covered by insurance for injuries caused by IRA attacks.

The extra insurance cover could have been provided for as little as £10 per person. One secretary said: "It is utterly shameful. We open masses of mail and in such a high-risk situation a bomb could slip through. It is outrageous that I would not be able to claim a penny of insurance if my hand was blown off — but my boss would be entitled to thousands of pounds."

An inquiry has now been ordered by Commons leader John MacGregor, while Tory MP Patrick Cormack commented obscurely that "a secretary at the House is equally likely to be injured by a bomb as a filing cabinet falling on her toe".

HARRY RING, writing in the US political newspaper, The Militant, in a piece titled 'He's still pitching', tells us the following yarn:

In an ABC interview, Fidel Castro confirmed that in the 1950s he had been offered \$4,000 to try out as a pitcher for the New York Giants. Asked if he had any regrets, Fidel responded, "What would my life have been? I might be shining shoes in New York."



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