

AN PHOBLACHT

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING  
POLITICAL WEEKLY

# PHOBLACHT

## Republican News

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• 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"



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



# 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 undaun-

ted. 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 AP/RN'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 deserved 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 Duncairn 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 Duncairn 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, Oglaih na hÉireann, 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 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, Oglaih na hÉireann, 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.

"Oglaih na hÉireann 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 fellow 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.

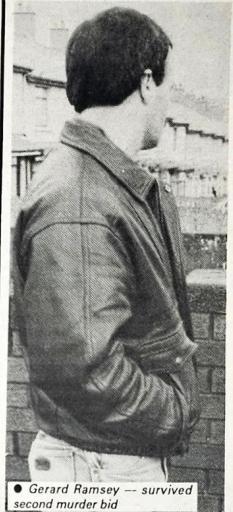
Condemning the killing, Sinn Féin Councillor Charlie McHugh said that nationalists throughout west Tyrone were "shocked and saddened by the brutal murder of Patrick Seanacháin", who was well known amongst republicans and, as a fluent Gaelgeoir and popular traditional dancer, in Irish cultural cir-



● 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 Rosapenna 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 Tavanna 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 abdomen, 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

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, which 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-

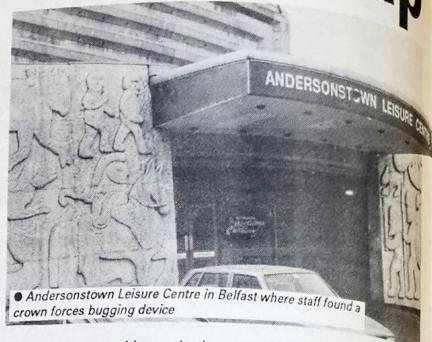
tacted after staff discovered an electronic device in the roof space of the toilet for disabled people inside the leisure centre. He continued:

"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."



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

## 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 ran 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 NIO and Housing Executive to install security walling and window grills has so far been ignored.

## 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 naoisceileanna.) 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 the facilities are inadequate, comprising 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 EOID

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

SIPU 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 McGirr 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 by the minister should use his influence 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 0.5%. 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 layoffs, 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 layoffs 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.





● The people of the Markets and Ormeau Road on their way to meet up with the people from the Short Strand

# March?.... What march?

IT WAS as if nothing had happened. Thousands of people marched in Belfast in one of the biggest nationalist demonstrations seen for many years. Yet to read the main Irish newspapers one would think that nothing of any significance had taken place. The British and Irish media once again engaged in distortion and misinformation in their reporting of the huge march and rally celebrating 20 years of resistance to British oppression in Belfast on Sunday, August 11th.

The BBC and ITV barely mentioned the fact that a rally had taken place and most British newspapers gave it no coverage. While the Belfast-based *Irish News* said that 20,000 people took part, both the *Irish Times* and *Irish Press* put the figure at a ridiculously inaccurate 5,000 people. How there could be a discrepancy of 15,000 in the figures reported by different Irish daily newspapers re-

mains to be explained.

The *Irish Press* carried its report on page seven but failed to carry any pictures of the massive rally in Dunville Park or any of sections of the march. Rather than present the event as it was — the nationalist rally of Belfast, supported by others from throughout Ireland, taking to the streets in a celebration of resistance — it ran a dated picture of Gerry

Adams speaking to a rally outside Dublin's GPO!

The *Irish Press* actually did worse than the unionist *Ulster Newsletter* which at least carried two photos and a report of the march. The *Newsletter* showed its credentials, however, in the same edition which carried a three-page splash on the Apprentice Boys march in Derry and that of the Black Preceptory in Brookeborough.

The *Irish Times* ran the report on its front page but carried no pictures of what was a colourful and spectacular community celebration. The *Irish Independent* which put no figure on the crowds but reported the turnout as, "the largest nationalist demonstration seen in Belfast for many years", also failed to carry any pictures of the rally or the march and relegated its report to page ten, the story being obviously less important than ones about the Puck Fair and how the Robinson family coped with the trauma of moving into Aras an Uachtaráin.

## DISGRACEFUL REPORTAGE

Despite its inaccurate estimation of the numbers that attended the event in Belfast, the *Irish Times* felt compelled by the numbers who turned out to devote its editorial to the subject of internment and this gave some clue as to the reasons behind the disgraceful reportage of the march itself.

The fact that 20 years later, people would turn out in such large numbers to commemorate the introduction of internment in 1971, the *Irish Times* felt, should serve to make those who would think of reintroducing it to weigh the options very carefully.

For two decades the British and Irish media, in compliance with the strategy of the London and Dublin governments, have attempted to portray the republican struggle as external to and unrepresentative of the nationalist community in the North. Over the years leader writers have become smug in their portrayal of republicans as "godfathers" and "unrepresentative gangsters" and while electoral support for Sinn Féin serves to explode this myth to some degree, increased media censorship has been a blunt but fairly effective estab-

lishment answer to advances made at the ballot box.

However, demonstrations such as this year's Celebration of Resistance show in the clearest of ways the popular support that the republican struggle enjoys. In these circumstances newspaper editors can do one of two things — either they give a full and accurate account of the event, and so discredit the manner in which they have portrayed the struggle for many years or they can choose to play down the reportage and even distort the facts. Overall they chose the latter option this tinued moral cowardice.

## NO COMPARISON

Just one week earlier, the main Irish daily newspapers carried reports of a rally in Cooley, County Louth, on their front pages. The rally was organised by anti-republican elements who used the death of Tom Oliver in an attempt to whip up feeling in the Cooley area against republicanism. The story was reported in a sensational and completely biased manner and reporters claimed that 5,000 people turned out. Anyone, including the newspaper reporters, who was in Belfast on Sunday, August 11th, and who saw pictures of the rally in Cooley the previous week knows that no comparison can be made between numbers that turned out for either event.

This type of journalism is an insult to the people of Ireland, North and South. The past two weeks have clearly shown that the British and Irish media are far from being impartial elements in the conflict which continues in the Six Counties and that some newspapers see themselves as part of a political crusade against the Republican Movement.

Lies, distortion and misinformation do nothing to advance the cause of peace in this country. If journalists and editors really care about the cause of peace they could make a real and positive contribution by informing people in the 26 Counties and Britain of the facts of the situation in the North. The perpetuation of ignorance can only lead to a protraction of suffering and tragedy in our country.

# Celebration of endurance and resilience



● Raymond McCartney and Veronica Martin, two prisoners on parole during the festival

THE Sinn Féin POW Department has described a two-day event centred around prison struggles as "a celebration of endurance and resilience, which has done so much to inform and inspire".

The series of events held in the Andersonstown Felons' Club on Friday and Saturday, August 9th and 10th were an integral part of the West Belfast Festival. The sterling efforts of the POW Department, in conjunction with paroled prisoners, afforded the opportunity to local people and to the invited delegations from Troops Out, Noraid, Herri Batasuna and Corsica, to hear at first hand details of the various prison struggles both historical and contemporary and to enjoy the wealth of talented work produced in the prisons from 1916 right up until the present day.



● Part of the photographic exhibition on prison struggles

A total of 27 republican prisoners on parole attended the events over the two days. 41 of the POWs were on parole during the week of the festival.

Among the events held were workshops on various prison-related

issues, readings from prisoners' poetry, exhibitions of prisoners' arts and crafts, a photographic exhibition on prison struggles, a showing of the H-Block hunger strike video and a grand charity evening in aid of prisoners' welfare.



● Some of the artwork and handicrafts made by prisoners on display at the exhibition held in the Andersonstown Felons' Club





# Banned march organisers vow "We'll be Back"

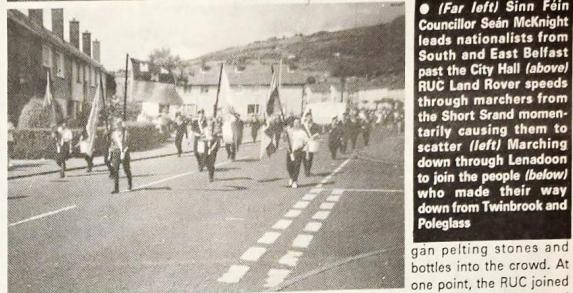
ON SUNDAY, Belfast nationalists defeated yet another attempt by the RUC to ban them from marching through their city. A legal battle over the right to march through central Belfast as part of Sunday's Internment demonstration went on right up to noon of the day before. Eventually, people from the Short 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 Séan 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 Mitchel statue. A number of bands

and a large crowd attended the colourful March of Resistance. Pat McGeown, 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 Caoimhghin Ó Caoláin recall memories of working with the Doherty family during the 1981 Leinster House elections, where Kieran was re-



turned as a TD for Monaghan. The rally also saw a presentation made to Kieran's mother, Margaret, who along with her husband Alfie, have always remained a great inspiration to local people and to many further afield. He continued, referring to the hunger strikers:

"It is justifiable to conclude that as a direct consequence of their heroism and selflessness the resistance struggle in Ireland today is firmly rooted and cannot be defeated."

"It is right too that we as



• 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 *Amhran Na bhFíann*.



● 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

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.

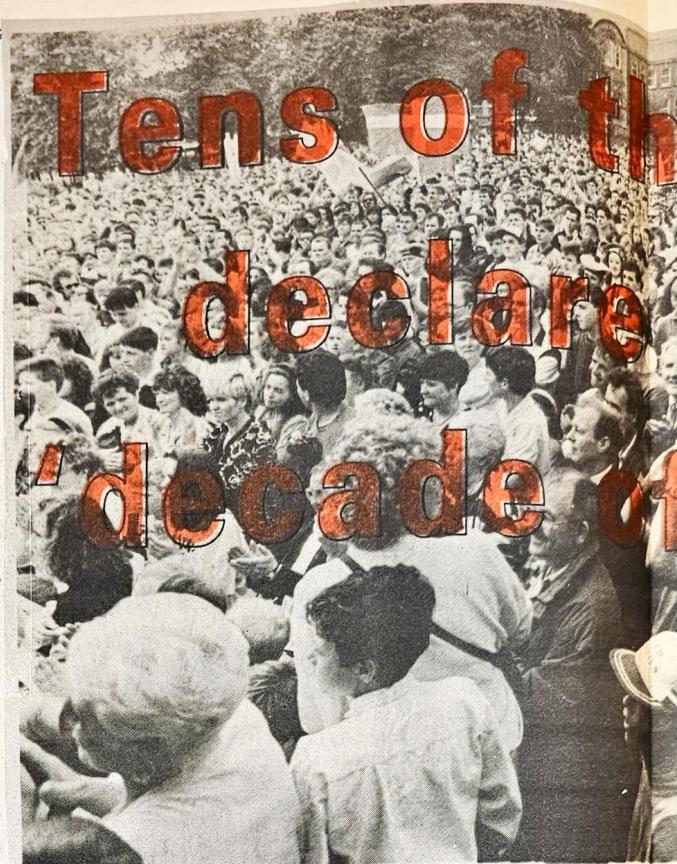
#### CHEERING PEOPLE

The march itself was greeted along its route by hundreds of cheering spectators who gave a resounding lead mile *faile* 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 Corkery, 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

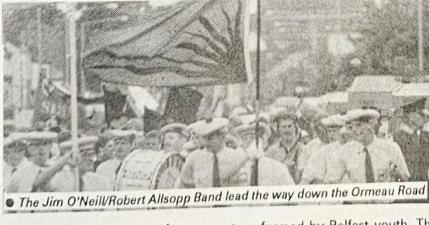
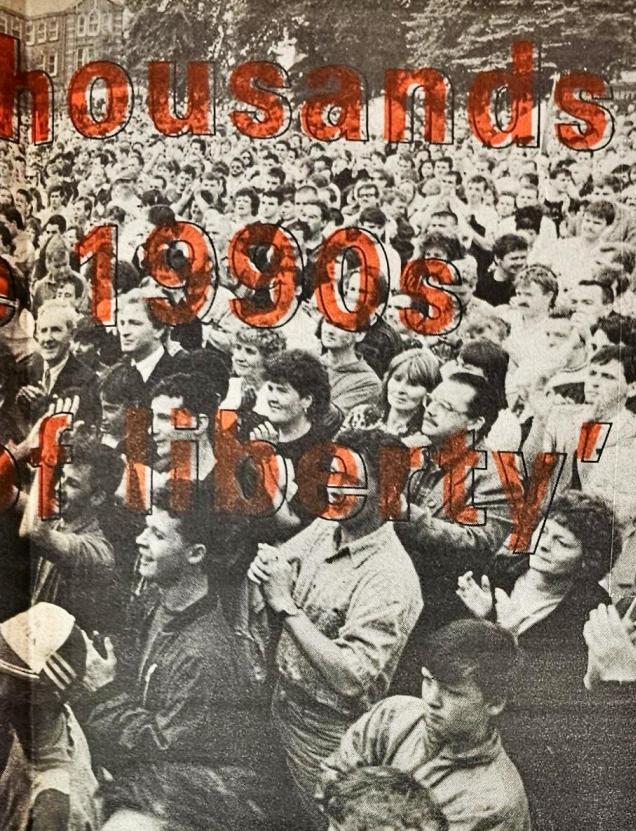
McGrath of Noraid. He gave a personal account of how the visiting delegation had participated in many events throughout its tour and had seen many things at first hand which helped in appreciating the reality of British occupation. He ended by stating that Noraid would continue in its work and that it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



● One of Derry's 20/20 Vision group

principles of freedom, such as cutting edge of the 80s and efforts of Sinn Féin which ultimately delivered a greater Irish unity.

The final guest speaker was Batasuna Councillor and who, opening his address in Irish languages, spoke



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



• (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:

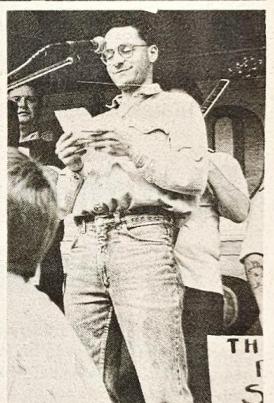
"This is most impressive, but it is only a small indicator of the way life could be in this country. In other words if all this can be accomplished despite everything, how much more could be accomplished when the British leave us and when we have control of our own affairs."

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 Gortostaga 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."

dom, supporting the IRA and the political Féin which would self-determination and  
st speaker was Herri or Andoni Gorostaga address in the Basque close

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,



(Above) Chilean artist René Castro is presented with a wooden carving and also honorary membership of the Feions' 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 by securing a nationalist majority. Magherafelt is currently evenly split with seven unionist to seven nationalist councillors, one of whom, former SDLP councillor Mary McSorley, frequently takes a pro-unionist stance.

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 difhostaithe seolta

AG PREAS-OCAID i mBaile Atha Cliath lánseáil Eagraiocht Náisiúnta na hEireann don Lucht Difhostaithe (ENELD) Cairt na gCáirt don Lucht Difhostaithe i nGaeilge. Toscairí ó ocht dtír Eorpacha a dhreáchaigh an Cháirt 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 siúd a chur an Cháirt le chéile agus dúirt go lionann sé bearna mhór sa Chaint Shoisialta Choinisiúna na hEorpa.

"Aithnítear sa chaint seo" a dúirt sé, "ceann do na buncúiseanna atá taobh thiar dhóthardhannan sósialta agus pearanta. Is i difhostaiocht buncloch na héagóra.

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

"Tá ian difhostaiocht fein ag chéad cheart atá ag teastáil ón duine difhostaithe. De réir mar atá cursaí faoi láthair tá an difhostaiocht ar chuid de na huirlísi struchtúrtha chun smachta a choimeád ar an mbolscadh agus, mar a dúirt Aire Airgeadais na Breataine, 'is fiú' an iobairt i chun cursai airgeadais an Stáit a réiteach."

## BRU AR AN CHORAS

Máidir le heisimíre dúirt sé: "Tá sé i bhfad níos fearr don tir go bhfannta ar ndaoine óga cumasacha sa bhala agus brú a chur ar an gcorás chun postanna a chruthú dóibh."

Ag críocháin dó mhol an tAthair Mac Gréil an leagan Gaeilgeil den Cháirt do ghach Ghaeilgeoir.

Gréasán Eorpach na nDaoine Difhostaithe

a dhreáchaigh an Cháirt ag an gcomhdháil bhliantúil acu. Tá náoi geart bunúsach sa chait:

1. Go racfach i mbun ar bhonn polaitiúil agus eacnamaíoch chun lánhostaiocht a bhaint amach.

2. Dáileadh cothrom ar difhostaiocht agus scith.

3. Go gruthófai poist nua chun na hearráil agus na seirbhísí atá ag teastáil on tsocail a chur ar fáil.

4. Go mbeadh gach jab réadúil agus áisiúil ó thaobh na socháide.

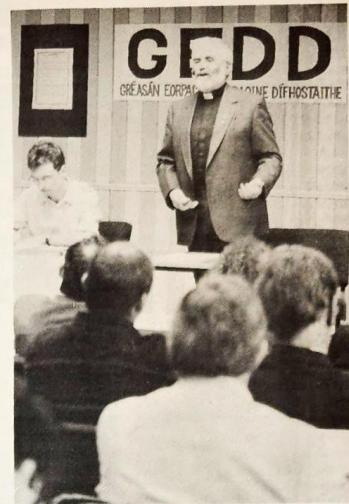
5. Ioncanaí maireachtála do chách.

6. Go gcuirí deirdeadh le fabhar agus leatrom (idirtheacháil) agus leas sósialta a lóc, teacht ar difhostaiocht agus ardu céime.

7. Go mbeadh teacht ar oilíúint/aitheoiliúint ardcháilíochta ag oibrethe foastaíthe agus difhostaithe agus cùiteamh cui ag gabhláil leí.

8. Achmhainní d'egraiochtai don lucht difhostaithe.

9. Go nglacfaidh an lucht fos-taíthe agus a n-eagraiochtai chomh maith leis an lucht difhostaithe agus a n-eagraiochtai go bhfuil siad freaghrach dá chéile.



• An tAthair Micheál Mac Gréil ag caint ag an chruinniú i mBaile Atha Cliath, Dé Céadaoin.

## "LUCHT LABHARTHA NA GAEILGE AN FHADHB IS MO"

Le Cian Mac Aoidh

**BA CHOIR DO BHOIRD NA GAEILGE** comhairleoir lánaimseartha a fhostó le cuidiú le tuistí atá ag tógáil a bpáistí le Gaeilge, a dúirt an diograiseoir teanga Ciarán Ó Feinneadhán an tseachtaí seo caite agus é ag tabhairt Léacht Cuimhneacháin Phádraig Úi Dhonchú i gCumann Chluain Ard, Beal Feirste.

"Ansí dán mba thoil le duine é d'fhéadadh said teagmháil leis an gcomhairleoir agus bheadh cabhráil ar fáil dóibh," seisean. "Is cinnte go bhfuil a leithéid de chabhair ag teastáil, mar silim nach bhféadadh

an oiread sin de dhaoine bainteach leis an glúaiseacháit a bheith ag déanamh cinnidh na bpáistí a thogháil le Béal. Silim fén go mbíseann ar mhíseach na ndaoine ná nach mbíonn an misneach acu ón tús."

Locraíocht O Feinneadhá — ar bunaitheoir ar an fhéachas náisiúnta teillefis é — Gaeilgeoir agus glúaiseacháit 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 labharta na Gaeilge," ar seisean. "Don chuid is mó táimid mi-eifeachta. Tá an dilseacht atá agaínn do labharta na Gaeilge an lag ar fad agus tá an obair a chuirimid i stéach i bhforbairt smaointe agus na heilmí a dhéanamh maidir leis na polaistí sin — is ar eigeann gur ann dóibh. Baíonn seo



• CIARÁN O FEINNEADHÁ  
Le formhór na nGaeilgeoirí sa tir agus mar sin de, ní ionadh ar bith é gur mar sin ata na glúaiseachtaí a

feidhmiúin thar ar gearnán."

Lean sé leis:

"Caitheáidh cinníri na glúaiseachta ceist a chuir orthu fein céan fhadh a bhfuil formhór na gceannáitíúil ag feidhmiúin neamhspleách ar an gceannasaíochta náisiúnta — go hairíthe an chuid is mó de na daonra eifeachta. Tá sé dochreidte a mhead cumainn Ghéalaigh agus coistí atíúla Ghéalaigh — agus fiú roint mhaith craobhacháde a chuid Chonradh na Gaeilge — atá ag feidhmiúin beag beann ar ghluaiseacháit náisiúnta na Gaeilge. Cén fáth nach mbíonn leithéid na ndaoine seo a leanas ar Choiste Ghnó Chonradh na Gaeilge: Brendán Mac Gearail, Mháire Mhícheál Niallais, Aine Mhícheál Murchadha, Seán de Paor, Seosamh O Cuairg, Gearóid Ó Cairealláin, Tomás Mac Siomóin,

Máiread Ó Domhnaill, Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, Pádraig Mac Donncha agus Helen O Murchú. Is cinnte nach bhfeicteann na daoine seo róil sa Chonradh ina gcuideáil oibre ar son na Gaeilge. Seo an dúshlán mar sin don Chonradh agus comóradh an chéid ag druidim leo: roimh dheireadh 1993 caithfidh an eagraiocht aon innriáilú a mhealladh isteach san eagraiocht."

I ndiaidh a chuid cainte bhronn Padraig Ó Maolchraobhíos cros Cheileach ar Chiarán mar chomhartha buiochais dó as an léacht a thabhairt le linn Fheile Larthar Bhéal Feirste. Ba bhunaitheoir de chuid Ghór na nGael in iarthar Bhéal Feirste é Padraig Ó Domhnaill agus tígíorthóir neamhleithíseasach a fuair bás i 1989 agus é in aois a 27 mbliain.

## Fleadh Dhún Dealgan

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

Fleadh Dhún Dealgan is teideal don ocaid agus tá na heagraithe agus súil le 20,000 duine bheith ag diríú ar phriomhbaile Chuaig.

Cuid de chomrádh 20 Bláin ag Fás na Bunscoile atá sa cheolchoirm agus deir na heagraithe gurb é an ocaid cheoil is mó a réachtáiladh riámh ar son na Gaeilge. Rinne siad iarracht ionad a fháil don ocaid i mBaile Feirste agus gí gur theip orthu creidíonn siad go mbeadh ráschúrsa Dhún Dealgan ina ait fhóisneachán dó.

Aineenó lántacafocht stáit a bheith ag an Bhunscoil le seach mblána anuas, caithfidh tuismitheoirí fós 25% de chostais chalpítil a chur ar fáil.

• DOLORES KEANE

Mar sin tá eagraithe na ceolchoirme ag súil le moll mór aigred a thóigál ar son na scoile.

Tá costas £15 ar na scóil agus siad ar fáil ó na gnáthchóirí dhíocháin.

## Cánúintí

O 1971 go '79, nuair a bhí mé i mo pháistéach chuaamar ar ár laethanta saoire mar chlann mhór. Bhí mé ann le m'athair agus mo mháthair, mo dheirfiúir agus beirt dhearrthair. D'fhan muid i dtigh lóistín in áit i Maigh Eo darb ainm Pontoon nó i gcarbhán in Enniscrone i gContae Sligeach. Bhí teach tábhairne i bpáirt eile don teach lóistín agus óm go ham bhinn istigh san áit seo le m'athair agus bhi sé ag dul rite liom na canúintea eagsúla a thugbheáil. Ní lóistín na fadhbanna seo ag m'athair mar bhi taithí aige ar a mblánsa.

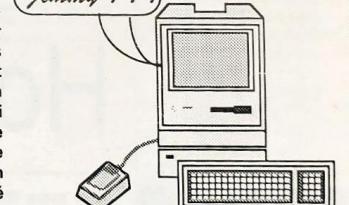
I 1989 chuaigh mé isteach i gcarcair Bhóthair Cromhílinn ar athchur agus bhi me ar Sciathán A. Bhí buachalla ann ón Srathán Bán, Doire, Béal Feirste, an tír. Tír Eoghan agus Aontroim Thuaigh. Ní raibh mórán trioblóide agam na buachaillí a thugbheáil nuaí air a bhi siad ag caint le chéile nó liomsa. Bhí deacrachtai agam ar feadh seachtaíne ag fáil amach agus rugadh agus tóigadh fear amháin. Bhí blas aige mar dhúine as an Albain ach bhi sé as an tuiseart.

Stop mé oiche amháin sa bhíallann agus chuir me an cheist air:

"Cá raih b'iu i do chonair?" Fuair mé freagra agus níl mé ag magadh, ach bhi sé mar Russ Abbott ag déanamh 'See you, Jimmy'. Dúirt duine liom gur tháinig mo dhúin as Portglenone. Bhuel i gionn tamaill, bhi mé in imheach an fear seo a thugbheáil agus anois tá a fhios agam go bhfuil an blas céanna ag daoine ó Leim an Mhadaidh go Baile an Chaisleán

Trí súile an chime

See you  
Jimmy . . .



agus ó Chúl Rathain go dtí Baile Mheánaigh.

Mí lúil 1990 bhog mé go dtí sciathán eile, sciathán C. I mi a Nollaig tháinig fear nua ar an sciathán déanamh Anraí. Rugadh agus bheadh a fhios agat! Ghearrfheadh a bhlas adhamh gan fadhb ar bith. Bhí sé sa chilin in aice liom agus i gcoinn tamaill thosúigh mé ag caint leis. Ag an am seo caithfidh mé a rá go bhfuil a lán fadhbanna ag daonra mo chéad ainn a rá i geart. Traolach is ainn dom, agus i mbéarla fuaimneoir i mar 'tray-lock'. Thug Anraí ainn nua dom, bhi sé mar 'trile-yock', agus ba é sín an fuaimniú is measa ar chuala mé i mo shaol.

Ar an mallaibh chuala mé rud ar an ráidó go bhfuil riomhára nua ag BT agus tá cláráidóir ag dul timpeall Shasana, Albain, an Bhréatain Bheag, agus an Tuaiscirt ag báilú canúinti. Tá mé ag déanamh iontais comas a scainleadh riomhára blás Anraí nuair a trioblóid go leor ag muinntí an hEireann... agus caidí faoi bhílás an Srathá Bháin? 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  
Crown 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**

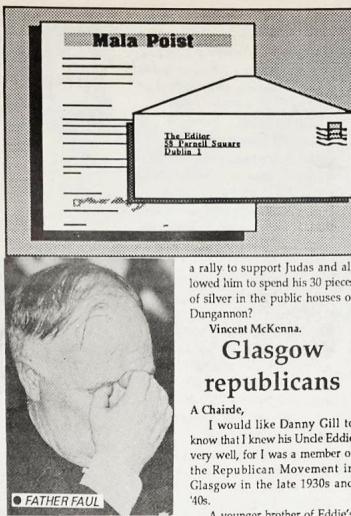
**PICKET AGAINST  
INHUMAN CONDITIONS  
IN LIMERICK JAIL**  
2-4pm  
Saturday 24th August  
Limerick Jail  
Mulgrave Street  
**LIMERICK**

## DRAW RESULTS

Fianna Eireann raffle: 1st  
prize £120; Mark Crann,  
No. 73; 2nd prize £75; N. O  
Dáligh, 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.



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

Vincent McKenna.

## Glasgow republicans

A Chaire,

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 descent, 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 Chaire,

Within Britain, there is at present considerable debate as to whether convictions should be secured solely on the basis of uncorroborated confessions obtained while in police custody. This debate arises from revelations about the illegal activities of English detectives.

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 considerable array of

evidence has now been produced 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 defendants disputing the confession while the police officers would maintain its authenticity. The police version was more likely to be accepted.

In the Six Counties there is an absence of debate about this issue. This is surprising, as a very significant proportion of convictions in the Six Counties result from uncorroborated confessions. There is evidence that many hundreds, 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 colleagues in Birmingham and Guildford. Common sense would suggest that innocent people have suffered. It is naive to suggest that while it happened in England, it could not have happened in Belfast.

There is considerable evidence of systematic abuse of detainees. Amnesty International reports, the Bennett Report, compensation awards, aquittals and judges' comments provide verification of this. There is also scientific evidence where otherwise 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 detections 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 "verbalising" techniques. The increased use of the technique is indicative of the feelings of invincibility enjoyed by these detectives and their confidence that judges will support them. The "verbalising" technique is used where all other interrogation techniques fail to elicit admissions 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 admission 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 usually consists of significant detail. It usually consists of

Most significant, however, is the increased use of the so-called "verbalising" techniques. The increased use of the technique is indicative of the feelings of invincibility enjoyed by these detectives and their confidence that judges will support them. The "verbalising" technique is used where all other interrogation techniques fail to elicit admissions 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 admission 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 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 custody 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 defendant where it would involve labelling RUC men as liars. There is something terribly wrong with a judicial system which convicts people on the basis of uncorroborated confessions or uncorroborated words of a few RUC detectives. It is quite obvious that the system as it presently stands is wide open to abuse. Yet people are daily being charged and convicted on this type of evidence. It is possible that no one in authority in the Six Counties has noted what happened in Birmingham and Guildford. But on the other hand it is more likely that it has been noted but then deliberately ignored.

Peter Corbett,  
H5 Long Kesh.

## Invasion of Pomeroy

A Chaire,

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-County statelet.

The whole episode is a good barometer by which we can properly 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 decision-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 loyalists 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 allegiance. Surely the central lesson in all of this is that to give peace and justice a chance, the main pillars of this state must be dismantled and not just the scaffolding.

Barry McElroy,  
A Wing,  
Crumlin Road Prison,  
Belfast.

## Investigative journalism

A Chaire,

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

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

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

By the word of the accompanying RUC member is acceptable now, why was it not acceptable eleven months ago?

Would the bringing of these charges eleven months later, have anything to do with the recent "investigative journalism" of the Panorama Television team?

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 as 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?

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 H4,  
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 refer 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 imprisonment. Her treatment at the hands of the British police terrified her so deeply that she never appealed 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 contradictory 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 confessions, the results of his tests became the only real nail on which the prosecution could hang its case. Now his methods have been entirely discredited. Skuse was retired for "limited efficiency" in 1985 and the outcome of the Birmingham Six appeal 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 solidarity 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 followed 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 justified 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. Unbound lunacy of the sort that shows mainstream broadcasting up for the pale unimaginative creature it is — because 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 excepted 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 iniquities 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 strictures — 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/RN.

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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.

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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 dole cut 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 Stokely 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 Calverdale, owner of Pemps 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 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 Serbian 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

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 Ustase 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 Mesic 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 phoblaictáinigh ar fuaid na téar an scéala go raibh Eamonn Mac Murchú (74) ó Rinn O gCuanach i bPort-láirge tar éis bháis ar an 2ú Lúnasa 1991, in ospuidéil Naomh Iosaf, Dún Garbhán.

Cháith Eamonn a shaol ar fad ag saothrú ar son a thíre, Nuair nach raibh sé ach 20 bliain d'aois nár mar sin ghlac sé páirt san fheachtas bhuamála a bhí i Sasain agus sa mBreatain Bheag ag an am, agus le linn an am a sin d'éisigh cardeas idir é agus daoine ar nós Jack McNeela agus Seán McCaughey.

Ina dhiaidh sin thosaigh sé ag cur suim sa Ghaeilge agus sé nár bhí i theanga dhúchais i, chuaigh sé i mbun foghlamh agus ba ghairid gur bhunaigh sé craoibh de Chonradh na Gaeilge i Londain. Is ansin a

bhual sé lena bhean chéile, Dóirín, agus bhi an bheirt acu an-ghníomhach ar cheist na teangan as sin amach, ag bunú craoibhachá de Chonradh na Gaeilge aon uair a b'fhéidir. Ina dhiaidh sin chaith sé bláintá fada ag obair do Ghael-Linn.

11970 i mbreastal Eamonn, chomh maith le poblaictáinigh eile ó Phortlárge, ar Ard Fheis Shinn Féin, agus bhi sé ina measc siúd a shiúl amach nuair a bhí ceannaireacht na Glúiseachta ag an am ag iarráidh nach leanfai leis an goagadh a bhí ath-thosúaithe in aghaidh na Sasanaigh ó Thuaidh.

## CUMANN BUNAITHE

Ba ghairid ina dhiaidh sin gur bhunaigh sé Cumann Uí Réagáin/McElwee sa Rinn, cumann a d'oiríbigh go gníomhach ó shin, agus bhi fáilte i goínlí roimh poblaictáinigh i dtéaghlach Mhic Mhurchú.

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



mhaith ag Eamonn, bhí sé i goínlí gnóthach, ag muineadh an iol-iomad ran-ganna Gaeilge ar fuid chaoide Phortlárge agus is mó agóid ar son na teangan a d'earaigh sé. Cé go raibh an tsláinte ag teip air, bhí sé gníomhach i bhfeachtas na H-Blocáin/ Ard Mhacha,

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

I 1988 bronnadh Gradam na Poblachta ar Eamonn Ó Róinn an Chultúr Shinn Féin mar aithneantas ar a chuid



• (Thusa) Mairtin O Muilleoir ag bronnadh Gradam na Poblachta ar Eamonn Mac Murchú i 1988 (ar chlé) Caire is comharsana fe chóifín Eamonn Mhic Mhurchú a fuair bás ar an 2ú Lúnasa nDún Garbhán a bronnadh an Gradam.

## BRAINSE SPEISIALTA

Níor thug försai an tsaoiristí móirí faoisimh d'Eamonn le linn a shaol, agus ar a bhás do, bhi an Brainse Speisialta ag fáilte lena chorp ag geataí an ospuidéil, agus lean siad amach go dtíne thighe baile sa Rinn é, áit ar deimeadh é a thóramh. Ach níor leor leo an meáid sin cur isteach ar chlann Mhic Mhurchú, dhein siad iarracht ar dhul isteach sa teach an fháidh a bhí an torramh ar siúl. Bhí buíon armtha den Brainse Speisialta ag túis agus deireadh na sochráide, agus

churdaigh siad an reilg, fiú, roimh an aghadachad.

Ag labhairt do ag an uaigh, dírt Niclás Mac Craith go raibh an-tionchar ag Eamonn ar bhuanú na Gaeilge sa Rinn, agus gur throid sé go dían, díchealach ar son a thíre agus a theangan le linn a shaol.

Bhí an bratach náisiúnta ar an goifín agus bhi garda onóraíodh de bhaili Ghluaiseachta na Poblachta a thionlachan can chun an tséipéil agus chun na huaise.

Déanann Glúiseachta na Poblachta comhbrón lena bhaileach, Dóirín, lena chlann, Cliona, Aine, Irial, Odhrán agus Fianait, agus le clann a chlainne.





## 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... (Shut up, you rambling eejit, 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 just 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 (Elvi 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 pre-conditions 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 called 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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